

Church and Society

Biblical, Theological and
Missiological Approaches
by Korean and Hungarian
Protestants

Studies in Hungarian and Korean Protestant Theology

Series Editors

ÁBRAHÁM KOVÁCS

(Debrecen Reformed Theological University, Hungary)

JAESHIK SHIN

(Honam Theological University and Seminary, Korea)

ISTVÁN PÁSZTORI-KUPÁN

(János Selye University, Slovakia)

JOOSEOP KEUM

(Council for World Mission, Singapore)

Volume 4.

Church and Society

Biblical, Theological and
Missiological Approaches
by Korean and Hungarian
Protestants

Edited by

ÁBRAHÁM KOVÁCS & JAESHİK SHIN

Edited by: Ábrahám Kovács & Jaeshik Shin

Published by
Debrecen Reformed Theological University • Honam Theological University and Seminary
Debrecen • Gwangju, 2024

Publisher in Charge: Béla Levente Baráth

Cover Design: Kamilla Mikáczó

Technical Editor: Éva Asztalos Szilágyiné

ISSN 2676-8356

ISBN 978-615-5853-61-6, DRTU Debrecen
ISBN 979-11-958594-4-3, HTUS Gwangju

Copyright: Editors and authors, 2024

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Printed by: Kapitális Ltd. Debrecen, Hungary

CONTENTS

Editors' Preface: Bridges that connect and bind us together in Christ VII
Ábrahám Kovács and Jaeshik Shin

PART I

Reflections on Church

- History of Korean Bible Translation and its Controversies 3
Jaeduck Seo
- Bible Translations in Hungary 19
Tamás Czövek
- A Historical Overview of Theological Education in Korea..... 39
Sang-Jo Lee
- Reformed denominational education in primary and secondary
 schools in the nineteenth and twentieth century in Hungary..... 53
Márta Lucski
- Today and Tomorrow of PCK's Worship in Light of the Cultivation
 of Sanctification of the Reformed Worship..... 65
Jin Bong Choi
- "Little" things contribute to perfection and that is not a "little thing".
 Michael Angelo Buonarotti..... 87
Edit Somfalvi

A Study on Principles and Practices of Polity of the Presbyterian
Church of Korea in the 1922 Constitution..... 99
Won Mo Suh

Politics and Religion as the context of Church Government
in relation to the Concept of Liminity 127
Szilveszter Füst-Molnár

PART II

Reflections on Society

The Call to 'Caregiver' 143
Yoojin Choi

Diakonia in Earliest Christianity and its Lessons..... 163
István Pásztori-Kupán

The Trends of Academic Research on Ecumenism in Korea..... 179
Sung-Hyuk Nam

Reformed Encounter with World Religions in a 'Christian Hungary'201
Ábrahám Kovács

The Torn Cross by Ideologies221
Sangdo Choi

The Impacts of Ideologies in the History of the Reformed Church
in Hungary 243
Gábor Lányi

A Pioneer of Korea Urban Industrial Mission259
Byung-Joon Chung

History of the Slovakian Reformed Church at a glance277
Attila Lévai

List of Contributors285

ÁBRAHÁM KOVÁCS
and
JAESHIK SHIN

Editors' Preface

Bridges that connect and bind us
together in Christ

The evergreen ecclesiastical question how the Civitas Dei should, could or may relate to Civitas Terrana has been a constant source of theological reflection since Augustine's day. Nonetheless, the issue at stake is even at the beginning of the birth of Christianity because Christ also offered his teaching about how his followers are supposed to act. What seems to be a clear answer to many people "Give to the Caesar what belongs to him and God what belong to God" is not always so simple and straight-forward.

The biblical, missiological and theological reflection offered by Hungarian and Korean Protestant scholar reflect the wide array of topics where they offer some insight into the nature of the problematic issue. The conference organisers, who are also the editors of this volume intentionally tried to create thematic groups such as Bible, education, worship, church governance, diakonia, that is Christian social work, the relationship between Christianity and world religions/ ideologies and mission in order to offer various perspectives from East-Asian, Korean and Central European, Hungarian perspectives for the same selected topic. Our intention was to create a dialogue between East and West, two Protestant, mostly Presbyterian/reformed subcultures where both have played a strong role in the making of the new modern society. Despite the differences, it is discernible that Korean Presbyterian churches and Hungarian Reformed Church encountered similar problems and challenges through its history and they tried to give creative answers to them. The intention of the biannual conferences is to create a platform from which further discussions may evolve on a chosen

topic for a much wider audience in both respective countries. Both Reformed traditions value the Scriptures highly and articles witness to the fact how much Protestant faith contributed to the spread of the gospel. One of the means was education. Studies prove that education at all levels was a highlighted area for both Calvinist traditions. Scholars addressed the themes of worship and church governance and drew attention to influences, impact and particular contextual developments. Diakonia has been at the heart of both Hungarian and Korean mission outreach that is based on Sola Scripture and Solus Christus understanding of the Bible. Finally, the last presentations at the conference held in October, 2022, at the minority Hungarian-speaking J. Selye University in Slovakia dealt with contemporary issues as of how relate our Christian faith to other world religions or ideologies and what issues mission faces today. To pay homage to our host institute a contextual historical paper was also integrated into the volume which shows the suffering of Hungarian Reformed minority under Communist and nationalist rule in former Czechoslovakia, a feeling that is known and sensed by the Korean 'Han' sensitivity. Indeed, it is claimed that despite the vast geographical distance, we have profound ties that bind us together.

Ábrahám Kovács and Jaeshik Shin

Debrecen – Gwangju,
April, 2024.

PART I

Reflections on Church

History of Korean Bible Translation and its Controversies

Focusing on the Title of Psalm 7*

Introduction

The Bible holds the distinction of being the most translated book in recorded history.¹ At present, there are ongoing translation projects targeting numerous minority languages. The process of Bible translation spans a lengthy history, with its origins traced back to the Septuagint, which emerged around 300 B.C.E. Alongside the Septuagint, the earliest extant Greek translation of the Old Testament from its original Hebrew form, and various ancient versions of the Bible, provide evidence of its translation and utilization across multiple languages. Notably, the Old Testament was translated into Greek in 300 B.C.E. to accommodate the Jewish diaspora unfamiliar with Hebrew.

Some scholars evaluate Judaism, which understands the Tanakh as a passage of revelation, as a religion of the book.² The characteristics of Judaism made it essential to translate the Hebrew Bible into a language familiar to the next generation of the *Jewish diaspora*.³ Another great moment in the history of Bible translation is the inclusion of the New Testament into the canon. The Bible became the scripture of Christianity. And the community's efforts to translate the Bible remain an important duty in Christianity. Many church members were unfamiliar with Hebrew and as Rome took over the Mediterranean, Latin became the official language. Consequently, Bible translation was inevitable. The result of this aspect can be seen in the Vulgate, which was translated into Latin, the official language at that time.

However, the need for Bible translation was ignored during the Middle Ages. Indeed, there were attempts to translate the Bible into other languages, even during this period. The Bible translations of the period were mainly English translations for clergy unfamiliar with Latin.⁴ Most of this period's English translations were only fragments, not complete translations. Of course, the Wycliffe Bible, published in the 14th century, was a complete Bible, but in 1415 it became illegal by the Constitutions of Oxford enacted in 1408.⁵ However, an important event in the history of Bible translation occurred in the next century, which was the Reformation. The Reformation can be understood as a decisive opportunity for the Bible to be translated into various languages. At this time, Martin Luther translated the Bible into German. And the German he used at this time became the standard language of German.⁶ Since then, there has been a trend in Europe to translate the Bible into their native languages.⁷ In other words, the translation of the Bible helped establish the concept of nation in Europe.

The history of Korean Bible translation after the Reformation goes hand in hand with the history of missions. During this period, China and Japan became as the center of East Asian missions. Therefore, there was an effort to translate the Bible into Chinese and Japanese, centering on the missionaries.⁸ However, missionary activities were strictly prohibited in Joseon, the last dynastic kingdom of Korea, due to its persecution of Christians. This made it difficult to translate the Bible into Korean. Thus, Korea had the Korean Bible almost one or two century(ies) later compared to other East Asian countries.

About 150 years have passed since the first Korean Bible appeared, and it has undergone several revisions since then.⁹ However, revision work and various translations were published in a relatively short period, which is a scene showing the growth of Korean Christianity and biblical theology. This is because it needs a high level of textual criticism ability on the original texts written in Hebrew or Greek.

Therefore, in this paper, first, the Old Testament Bible translation history will be briefly introduced, which is one aspect of the growth of Christianity in Korea. In addition, I would like to examine the controversy related to the early Korean translations raised in the Korean Old Testament Society. In the following chapter, an analysis of the translation characteristics of early Korean versions will be presented, with a particular focus on the title of Psalm 7,¹⁰ offering a concise response to this ongoing debate.

Korean Bible Translation History and Old Testament: Centered on Psalms

Early Korean Bible translation nineteenth to early twentieth century

The first Bible translated into Korean is the Gospel of Luke (“Yesu Seonggyo Nugabogeu Jeonseo”) in the New Testament published in 1882.¹¹ Five years after the publication of this Bible, the complete translation of the New Testament, “예수성경전서, Yesu Seonggyo Jeonseo,” was published.¹² John Ross, who was sent as a missionary to China from Scotland, translated this Bible. However, this version was translated into a dialect of the northern region of Korea. Likewise, efforts were made to publish the Korean translation of the Gospel of Mark and the complete translation of the New Testament Bible in Japan. This work was carried out by Su-Jeong Lee who published the “신약마가전복음서언후. |/ Sinyak Magajeon Bogeumseo Unhae”¹³ in 1885.¹⁴ When translating this Bible, he used the Korean and Chinese characters together. The Gospel of Mark translated by Su-Jeong Lee was introduced when the missionaries H.G. Underwood and H.G. Appenzeller arrived in Korea.

Although Korean Bibles have been published since the 1880s, all of them were New Testaments and no Korean translation of the Old Testament. Of course, with the organization of the Board of Official Translators in Korea, there came a big change in the History of Korean Bible Translation.¹⁵ The first work of the Board was the revision of the Korean Bibles that had been published. However, as pointed out earlier, the translation of the Old Testament was delayed until after the revision of the New Testament.

The first Korean translation of the Old Testament was published in 1898, 16 years after the publication of the first Korean Bible. A. Pieters translated the Psalms into Korean and published it under the name of “시편찰요/Sipyeon Chwalyo/*The Selected Psalms(SP)*.”¹⁶ As the name “Chwalyo” suggests, he didn’t translate the entire Psalms, but selected only 62 and translated them. About 10 years after that, the translation of Genesis and Psalms was completed. And the translation of the entire Old Testament was finalized in 1910. In 1911, the whole Bible translated into Korean was distributed under the name “성경전서/Seonggyeongjeonseo/*The Korean Bible(KB)*.”¹⁷

After the publication of *KB* in 1911, a revision work was carried out on the Korean Bible. The result of this translation work comes to fruition in 1938 when the revised Bible called “성경 개역/Seonggyoeng Gaeyok/*The Korean Revised Version(KRV)*” was published.¹⁸ Of course, some scholars claim that the *KRV* still follows the translation style of the *KB*.¹⁹ Nevertheless, the significance of the *KRV* is that it provided a principle for the work of Bible translation. This principle was delivered to the Translation Board by the Korean branch of the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1912, and it is the “Rules for the Guidance of Translators, Revisers, and Editors.” Above all, it orders that the Bible be translated from the original texts (Hebrew and Greek).²⁰

Bible translation of Korea since the 1950s

The continual history of Korean Bible translations since the 1950s can be divided into three main aspects; (1) the revised translations stemming from the *KB* and *KRV*, (2) the revision from the joint efforts from the Protestants and Catholics, (3) and the *NKSV/RNKSV*.

First is a translation that succeeds the *KB* and *KRV*. In 1952, during the Korean War, “성경전서 개역한글/Seonggyeong Jeonseo Gaeyok Hangeul/*The Korean Revised Version(1952)*” was published based on the “Unification of Hangeul Orthography”(1933).²¹ After that, it was revised again in 1998 as the *NKRV* (성경전서 개역개정/Senggyeong Jeonseo Gaeyok Gaejeong/*The New Korean Revised Version*).²² Since then, the two Bibles, “*The Korean Revised Version(1952)*” and “*The New Korean Revised Version*”, have become official translation versions used for worship in Korean Protestant churches.

The second flow of Bible translation was the joint translation work of the Korean Protestants with the Catholics, which can be counted as a monumental work in the history of Bible translation. The joint translation work between Protestants and Catholics started the outcome of Concilium Vaticanum Secundum, encouraging cooperation with Protestants in the Bible translation work. This work began in 1968, and about ten years later, in 1977, it was published under the title “공동번역성서/Gongdong Beonyok Seongseo/*The Common Translation*”.²³ In 1999 it was revised again and was published as a “공동번역성서 개정판/Gongdong Beonyok Seongseo Gaejeong/*The Common Translation Revised Version*”.²⁴

A third aspect of the Bible translation can be found in the “성경전서 표준 새번역/Seonggyeong Geonseo Pyojun Saebeonyok/*The New Korean Standard Version*”.²⁵ At this time, the Protestant community recognized the need for a new translation of the Korean Bible. This was because the *New Korean Revised Version* maintained the old literary forms and vocabularies that have been passed down from the *KB*. Because of these characteristics, the Bible was perceived as a difficult book for young people, including teenagers. Therefore, *The New Korean Standard Version* was translated according to modern Korean grammar and vocabulary and was published in 1993. After that, it was revised again and published in 2001 under the name of “성경전서 새번역/Seonggyeongjeonseo Saebeonyok/*The Revised New Korean Standard Version*.”²⁶

The history of Korean Bible translations since the 1950s has been with the development of the society of Korean biblical studies. Before the 1950s, foreign missionaries mainly carried out Bible translations, but after the 1950s, Bible translations were carried out mainly by Korean biblical theologians. Above all, the characteristic of this period is that the Bible was translated based on thorough textual criticism to reconstruct the original text through the development of Korean biblical studies.

Controversy over early Korean Bible Translation (before the 1950s)

As mentioned in the previous paragraph, a characteristic of the history of Korean Bible translation since the 1950s is that the Tanakh and the Septuagint were translated directly into Korean. This raises the question of whether those who were involved in Bible translation work before the 1950s could translate the original text.²⁷ In other words, it is a matter of Old Testament textual criticism. In fact, in the society of Korean Old Testament studies, there are two major views on the early Old Testament translations (*SP*, *KB*, *KRV*). One is the assertion that early Old Testament translators were unable to perform textual criticism. Therefore, they retranslated the Bible based on English translations. The other is that the early translators of the Old Testament were capable of interpreting the original Old Testament texts and that they translated the early Old Testament directly from the original texts.

First of all, a central point of the former argument is as follows: Those who translated the Bible at the time didn't have the ability to translate Hebrew or Greek text or to conduct textual criticism.²⁸ They used the English version. Young-jin Min evaluates the early days of Korean Bible translation as follows:

The period from 1882 to 1911 could be said otherwise as 'the era of the biblical reinterpretation'. Reinterpretation here refers not to translating the Bible directly from the original text, but to translating it repeatedly in other translations.²⁹

In addition, he claims that the Old Testament of *KB* was translated based on the American Standard Bible.³⁰ Of course, it is difficult to answer this question. However, judging from the above-mentioned translation guidelines provided by the British and Foreign Bible Society through Miller, it can be seen that at least the English Bible was used as an important source in translating the *KRV*.

On the other hand, Jung-eun Kim claims that early bible translators translated directly from the original text of the Hebrew Bible into Korean.³¹ His claim stems from the background of Alexander Pieters, the translator of *SP*.

..., we find that the first attempt made by the writer was this sketch fifteen years after the first Korean gospels appeared. The impetus for it may be traced back to the fact that the writer was brought up in an orthodox Jewish home, where the daily reading of the Hebrew prayerbook impressed upon him the beauty and spiritual inspiration of the Psalms, ...³²

As noted above, A. Pieters grew up in a Jewish background and, according to his report, was capable of interpreting Hebrew.³³ Of course, it is controversial, but based on his argument, it appears that *SP* has directly translated the Hebrew Bible into Korean. A. Pieters later also participated in a Board to publish the *KRV*. In other words, it can be inferred that *SP* and *KRV* were directly translated from the original text into Korean.

Of course, the question remains of what the original script (die Vorlage) of *KB* was. H.G. Underwood, who translated *KB*, also wrote an article to refute doubts about his Hebrew. In any case, according to the personal reports presented above, it seems that all of the early translations of the Old Testament in Korean were translated directly from the original Hebrew into Korean.

Characteristics of translation in three early Korean Translations: Centered on the title of Ps 7.

As observed, there exist two opposing perspectives regarding the debate surrounding the early Korean translations. Because the two views are opposite, it is difficult to provide a complete answer to resolve the two views. By selecting the text for analysis, examining the original text, and comparing the early Korean translations, we can uncover the answer as to whether the translators of that era were able to accurately interpret the original text. For this task, the headings of the Psalms will be analyzed. It is possible to check whether early Korean Translations were translated directly from the original text or another translation by analyzing proper nouns in the headings of the Psalms. The name of the person related to the Psalm, the circumstances of prayer, and the genre of the psalm all appear in the title of the Psalm. In particular, there are two aspects when translating some of the headings of the Psalms. One is a case of transliterating a Hebrew noun as a proper noun, and the other is a case of translating it into Korean. Finally, the translation style checks whether the title is translated into a noun or a verb sentence. Through this, it is possible to know whether the original text was translated as it is, or whether it was translated from another version.

Therefore, by examining the translations of *SP*, *KB*, and *KRV* for the heading of Psalm 7, I would like to check how the early translation of the Bible into Korean was made. In the headword of Psalm 7, there are proper nouns, including human names, and the expression שָׁגִיוֹן. This is because, through the analysis of the translation style for this term, the possibility of the retranslation of the early Korean translation can be confirmed.

MT שָׁגִיוֹן לְדָוִד אֲשֶׁר-לַיהוָה עַל-דַּבְּרֵי-כּוֹשׁ בֶּן-יִמִּינִי:

LXX Ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυιδ, ὃν ᾄσεν τῷ κυρίῳ ὑπὲρ τῶν λόγων Χουσι υἱοῦ Ἰεμενι.

SP(1898)

“다윗의 지은 시니³⁴ 예민의 자손 구시의 말을 인하여 여호와께 노래한 거시라”

It is a psalm written by David (which) he sang to Yahweh concerning the words of Cush, the son of Yemin.

KB(1911)

벤야민 자손 구시의 말을 인하여 다윗이 여호와를 대하여 부른 슬픈 노래라

Concerning the words of Cush, a son of Benjamin, it is a sad song that David sang to Yahweh.

KRV(1938)

다윗의 식가운, 벤야민인 구시의 말에 대하여 여호와스기 한 노래

Siggaion of David, a song to the Yahweh in response to the words of Cush the Benjaminite.

If you look at the headings of Psalm 7, you can find three proper nouns (David, the Benjaminites) and the term שִׁגְיֹון related to the genre of this psalm.³⁵ First, the Septuagint translation of the Masoretic text corresponds as follows.

(1)	(2)	(3)
שִׁגְיֹון לְדָוִד	שִׁגְיֹון לְיְהוָה	עַל־דְּבָרֵי־כּוּשׁ בְּנֵי־יְמִינִי:
Ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυιδ	, ὃν ᾄσεν τῷ κυρίῳ	ὑπὲρ τῶν λόγων Χουσι υἱοῦ Ἰεμενι.

As can be seen above, the Septuagint translates the Masoretic text as it is, in word order, style, relational history, and prepositions, except for the traditional translation of Yahweh as Lord and the translation of שִׁגְיֹון into ‘poem’(Ψαλμὸς).³⁶

The styles of early Korean translations of this text can be divided into four categories. First of all, it is a translation of שִׁגְיֹון. In the case of *SP*, the word שִׁגְיֹון is translated as “poetry”. On the other hand, *KB* translates this expression as “a sad song”. Finally, *KRV* translates שִׁגְיֹון to “식가운/shiggaion” by understanding it as a Hebrew proper noun. The second is a translation of בְּנֵי־יְמִינִי. There are two translations of this expression. *SP* translates this word as “sons of Yemin”, and *KB* and *KRV* both translate to “Benjaminites”. The third is style. It can be seen that both *SP* and *KB* are translated into narrative sentences. On the other hand, the *KRV* has been translated into a narrative-remodeled style. The style of the headword of the *KRV* continues as it is in the later *Korean Revised Version*(1952) and *the New Korean Revised Version*. Finally, the word order of the three versions.

Certainly, while it is important to provide additional evidence, the four translation forms highlighted above can be seen as supporting the premise that the early translations of the Bible in Korean were grounded in the original Hebrew text and the Septuagint. First of all, it is a translation of *שִׁיר*. As we saw earlier, *SP* translates *שִׁיר* into “Poetry”. This seems to correspond to the Septuagint translation of *Ψαλμὸς* for *שִׁיר*. The Septuagint usually translates the Hebrew word *מזמור* to *Ψαλμὸς*, but the exception of *שִׁיר* to *Ψαλμὸς* seems to be due to the unclear meaning of the Hebrew expression *שִׁיר*. Also, the plural form of *שִׁיר*, *שִׁירִים*, appears in Habakkuk 3:1, which the Septuagint translates it as *ὕμνησις*. Given that this term refers to an oath or song to the gods,³⁷ it seems that the Septuagint probably grasped ceremonial intentions of *שִׁיר*, but failed to suggest a clearer meaning.³⁸ From this point of view, the translation of *שִׁיר* by “Psalms and Songs” as a “poem” is judged to be similar to the translation of the Septuagint. The translation of *שִׁיר* by *SP* as a “poem” is considered to be similar to the translation of the Septuagint. *KB* translates *שִׁיר* as “a sad song.” This is a different translation from *SP*, and it seems to have been translated based on the meaning of the verb from which *שִׁיר* was derived.³⁹

The English Versions (*RV*, *ASV*), which were used mainly at that time, transliterated *שִׁיר*.⁴⁰ Considering that the English translation of the time and the translation style of *KB* were different and that the translators of *KB* were English-speaking missionaries at the time, it can be assumed that the Korean Bible translators at the time directly translated the Hebrew or Greek Bibles into Korean. Since then, *KRV* transliterates *שִׁיר* as a proper noun. This is a characteristic of the above-mentioned English translation of Bibles. The appearance of this characteristic was probably a compromise because the meaning of *שִׁיר* was unclear, or it seems to have been influenced by the “Rules for the Guidance of Translators, Revisers, and Editors” delivered to the Translation Board by the Korean Branch of the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1912. This is because, according to these guidelines, it was recommended to refer to the localized version of the Bible that was available when translating.

Secondly, it is a translation of *בְּנֵי-יְמִינִי*. *KB* and *KRV* are translated as “peas and carrots.” While this word can also be translated as “descendant” or “tribe,” essentially carrying the same meaning, *SP* translated it to the descendants of Yemin. This Bible transliterates the expression *בְּנֵי-יְמִינִי* differently than the other two translations. The transliteration of *SP* seems to have been influenced by MT and

LXX.⁴¹ The English Versions(*RV, ASV*) available to translators at the time translate this word as Benjaminite.

Third, is the style. First of all, as mentioned earlier, the style of the Masoretic text and the Septuagint text is the same: the noun sentence appears first, followed by the relative clause (verb sentence). To put it this way: שְׁגִיּוֹן לְדָוִד corresponds to Ψαλμὸς τοῦ Δαυιδ. And the Hebrew וְשָׁרַח corresponds to the Greek conjunction ὃν. Also, it can be seen that the sentences that follow after that both start with verbs. *SP* translates this sentence as follows: "It is a psalm written by David (which) he sang." In other words, except for the problem of the Hebrew preposition לְ, it can be seen that the style is the same. It also translates the following sentence as follows: "... (which) he sang". This translation style is similar to that of the Masoretic and Septuagint texts. These characteristics can also be found in *KB*. Of course, there is a big difference in the order of the sentences, but *KB's* translation resembles the stylistic features of the Masoretic text and the Septuagint text in two respects. (1) The translation of אֲשָׁר-וְשָׁרַח as a sentence to describe the Hebrew שְׁגִיּוֹן. (2) The translation of the Hebrew expression וְשָׁרַח into a verb. In the case of the *KRV* Translation," the first sentence follows the style of the two Bibles, but it has a difference from the previous two translations by translating the verb into a noun.

Lastly, in word order, it can be seen that the translation of the Psalms and the *KRV* follows the word order of the MT and the LXX. On the other hand, in the case of *KB*, the word order of the Masoretic text was reversed.

Based on all this evidence, it can be seen that *SP* and *KB* are not simply retranslated based on the English Versions. Of course, in the case of some scholars, referring to the Bible translation guide delivered by the "British and Foreign Bible Society" as an example, some mention the possibility that the early Korean Versions were retranslated from English Bibles at that time. However, in the case of *SP*, the publication date was 1898, and the publication of *KB* was in 1911. And the Book of Psalms in *KB* was already translated in 1906.

The guidebook of the British and Foreign Bible Society was delivered in 1902, and the translation Board adopted this guideline and the transliteration of proper nouns in the Bible by the Revision Committee in 1913. In other words, considering the timing of this Board's decision, it can be seen that the translators of *SP* and the translators of *KB* may have been able to refer to the English version, but they did not use the English translation of the Bible as the original text. Rather, based

on the aforementioned characteristics, it can be seen that *SP* is quite similar to the Masoretic text. Furthermore, it can be inferred that this Bible also referred to the Septuagint when translating, given the style of the translation of the Hebrew expressions *כָּן-יָמִינִי* and *שָׁגִיוֹן*. There is a difference in translation between *KB* and *SP* in some expressions. However, as we have seen earlier, it can be confirmed that *KB* resembles the literary characteristics of the Masoretic and the Septuagint text. In the case of the revised version of the *KRV*, A. Pieters, who was the translator of *SP*, was selected as the Translation Board member, and at the same time, the guidelines delivered by the British and Foreign Bible Society were adopted in 1913. The Translation Board also requests the Hebrew Bible edited by Ginsberg and the *Oxford Hebrew Dictionary*. This series of processes shows that the *KRV* is also more likely to have translated the original text directly than the possibility of a retranslation.⁴²

Of course, it is difficult to mention the possibility that the early Korean translations of the Old Testament were based on the original Hebrew and Greek texts with this single heading. However, the early Korean translations of the headwords of Psalm 7 show the possibility that the early translations were based on the original text, not the Chinese, Japanese, or English Bibles.⁴³

Conclusion

Thus far, we have explored the history of early Bible translations in Korea, which began alongside the history of missions in the country. A significant question arose regarding the capability of the translators of these three early Korean Bibles to accurately translate the original texts. However, through the analysis of the translations of the headword in Psalm 7, it has been verified that the early Bible translators were indeed capable of translating the original Hebrew or Greek texts. It is important to note that further research on additional texts will be necessary for a more comprehensive and precise analysis.

References

- * This article is a revision of the paper presented at the 5th Hun-Han Theological Forum in Komárno/Slovakia and published in the Korean Journal of Christian Studies(129/2023).
- ¹ Gerrit J. van Steenberg, "Translations, English," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Books of the Bible* (vol. 2), eds. M. D. Coogan (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 435.
- ² Bernd Janowski, "Auf dem Weg zur Buchreligion. Transformationen des Kultischen im Psalter," *Trägerkreise in den Psalmen* (BBB 178), eds. F.-L. Hossfeld, J. Bremer and T.M. Steiner (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017), 253-256.
- ³ Martin Meiser, "Septuaginta-Übersetzung damals und heute," *RES* 10 (2018/1), 62-63.
- ⁴ Gerrit J. van Steenberg, "Translations, English," 436.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, 437.
- ⁶ Franz-Josef Holzgangel, "Luther und die deutsche Sprache," *Die Bibel Martin Luthers: Ein Buch und seine Geschichte*, eds. Margot Käßmann and Martin Rösel (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2016), 176-179; Ralf-Gerhard Heimrath, "„Wie man soll Deutsch reden“. Luthers Einfluss auf die Entwicklung der neuhochdeutschen Sprache," *Revue Tunisienne des Langues Vivante* 22(2017), 69-87.
- ⁷ In 1612 the KJV was published.
- ⁸ Katsuomi Shimasaki, "A short history of Japanese Bible Translation," *Journal of Biblical Text Research* 24(2009/4), 116-124; Ji-yeon Hwang, "The Literary Style of Chinese Protestant Bible Translation," *Journal of Chinese Studies* 38(2012), 65-87.
- ⁹ See chapter II-2.
- ¹⁰ (1) 시편찰요/Sipyeon Chwalyo/*The Selected Psalms(SP)* in 1898, (2) 성경전서/Seonggyeongjeonseo/*The Korean Bible(KB)* in 1911, (3) 성경 개역/Seonggyeong Gaeyok/*The Korean Revised Version(KRV)* in 1938.
- ¹¹ 『예수성교누가복음전서』/Yesu Seonggyo Nugabogeu Jeonseo (Simyang: Moongwangseowon, 1882).
- ¹² 『예수성교전서』/Yesu Seonggyo Jeonseo (Gyeongseong: Moongwangseowon, 1887).
- ¹³ '언해(諺解)/unhae' means that a Book, written in Chinese characters, was translated directly into Korean.
- ¹⁴ 『신약마가전복음서언해』/Sinyak Magajeon Bogeumseo Unhae (1885).
- ¹⁵ The significance of the revision work carried out by the Bible Translation Board is that it has prepared a unified Korean notation.
- ¹⁶ 『시편찰요』/Sipyeon Chwalyo (1898).
- ¹⁷ 『성경전서』/Seonggyeongjeonseo (Gyeongseong: Daeyoung Bible Society, 1911).
- ¹⁸ 『성경 개역』/Seonggyeong Gaeyok (Gyeongseong: Joseon Bible Society, 1938).
- ¹⁹ Jeong-woo Kim, "A Preliminary Review of the Early Korean Translations of the Book of Psalms, with a Particular Emphasis on the Source Text, Translation Technique and Quality, and their Reception History," *Journal of Biblical Text Research* 28(2011), 8-12.

- 20 *Rules for the Guidance of Translators, Revisers & Editors, working in connection with the British and Foreign Bible Society* (London: The British and Foreign Bible Society, 1911). This rule also affected the translation guidelines of Bible Societies in other countries. *A Guide for translators, revisers, & editors working in connection with the American Bible Society: by kind permission of the British and Foreign Bible Society based upon and in harmony with the rules of that Society* (New York: American Bible Society, 1932).
- 21 『성경전서 개역한글』/ *The Korean Revised Version* (Seoul: Korean Bible Society, 1952).
- 22 『개역개정판』/ *The New Korean Revised Version* (Seoul: Korean Bible Society, 1998).
- 23 『공동번역성서』/ *The Common Translation* (Seoul: Korean Bible Society, 1977).
- 24 『공동번역성서 개정』/ *The Common Translation Revised Version* (Seoul: Korean Bible Society, 1999).
- 25 『성경전서 표준 새번역』/ *The New Korean Standard Version* (Seoul: Korean Bible Society, 1993).
- 26 『성경전서 새번역』/ *The Revised New Korean Standard Version* (Seoul: Korean Bible Society, 2001).
- 27 Min-suc Ki, "Translation of the Bible in Hangul," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Korea*, ed. Won W. Lee (New York: Oxford University Press, 2022), 23-40.
- 28 Some scholars claim that the Chinese Bible (Bridgman and Culbertson's Version) was also used as Vorlage when translating the Korean Bible. Hwan-jin Yi, "Exploring the basic Texts of Korean Old Version (1911)," *Journal of Biblical Text Research* 27 (2010), 21.
- 29 Young-jin Min, 『성서가 우리에게 오기까지』 (Seoul: Korean Bible Society, 1995), 43.
- 30 Ibid; Young-jin Min, "A Study on the Genesis in The Complete Bible in Korean(1911) with Reference to the Bibliographic Information, Editorial Characteristics, and Textual Decisions," *Canon & Culture* 4 (2010/1), 29-30.
- 31 Jung-eun Kim, "구약성서국역사," 『구약의 말씀과 현실 심천(深川) 김중은 구약학공부문집』 (Seoul: Korea Institute of Biblical Studies, 1996), 11.
- 32 A. Pieters, "First Translation," *Korea Mission Field* (May/1956), 93.
- 33 Ibid., 93.
- 34 Korean '～ni(ㄴ)' is a conjunction, and when translated into English, it can be transferred to a relative pronoun.
- 35 Reinhard Müller, "Psalmen," in *WiBiLex*, Deutsche Bibel Gesellschaft, 2013, <https://www.bibelwissenschaft.de/stichwort/31528/>, 4. 2022.9.20. Connect.
- 36 It is presumed that the Septuagint translates שָׁנָה as Ψαλμός because it does not provide a clear meaning except that the meaning of this Hebrew word is a song. If one assumes that the root of this word is שָׁנָה, it can be understood as a lament given in a gibberish or uneven form. Peter C. Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, WBC 19 (Nashville: Nelson, 2004), 97. It can also be understood as a prayer that petitions for the innocence of the prayer based on שָׁנָה. This phenomenon can be confirmed in *VUL*. Dieter Böhrer, *Psalmen 1-50*, HThKAT (Freiburg: Herder, 2021), 147-148.
- 37 *Lexicon of Septuagint*, Revised ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibel Gesellschaft, 2003) s.v. "ψδῆ, ῆς."
- 38 "Von hebr. schagah oder schaga' (taumeln, abirren, wandern) meint ein aufrüttelndes (erschütterndes, klagendes) Lied, das so genannt wurde entweder wegen des Inhalts

oder vielleicht auch wegen des musikalischen Rhythmus (den wir nicht mehr kennen). Da schagga'on auch Wahnsinn heißt, könnte hier etwas Ähnliches wie eine *Dithyrambe* (von griech. Dithyramos: ekstatische Chorlyrik zu Ehren des Gottes Dionysius) gemeint sein." Ludwig Neidhart, "Psalmen," 36, <https://www.ludwig-neidhart.de/Downloads/Psalmen.pdf>. 2022.10.1. Connect; Artur Weiser, *Die Psalmen I: Psalmen 1-60*, ATD 14 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987), 90.

- 39 שָׂגָגָה can be translated as lamentation (or sad song) following the verb from which it is derived. Ludwig Neidhart, "Psalmen," 36.
- 40 See a translation of the Luther Bibel.
- 41 LXX transliterates MT. Other Texts in the Old Testament (Judg 3:15; 1 Sam 9:1; 2 Sam 16:11; 19:16; 20:1; 1 Kgs 2:8) also confirm the circumstances of the Septuagint transliteration of שָׂגָגָה.
- 42 W.C. Erdman, who was a member of the translation Board, resigned due to a lack of knowledge of the original language of the Bible.
- 43 Recent research results also assert that the KB is similar to the style of the Septuagint. Seok-Jeong Jang, "The Possibility of the Combined Source Texts for the Korean Bible (1911): Focused on Exodus 4:8," *Journal of Biblical Text Research* 49 (2021), 21.

Bibliography

- 『공동번역성서』/ *The Common Translation*. Seoul: Korean Bible Society, 1977.
- 『공동번역성서 개정』/ *The Common Translation Revised Version*. Seoul: Korean Bible Society, 1999.
- 『개역개정판』/ *The New Korean Revised Version*. Seoul: Korean Bible Society, 1998.
- 『성경 개역』/ *Seonggyeong Gaeyok*. Gyeongseong: Joseon Bible Society, 1938.
- 『성경전서』/ *Seonggyeongjeonseo*. Gyeongseong: Daeyoung Bible Society, 1911.
- 『성경전서 개역한글』/ *The Korean Revised Version*. Seoul: Korean Bible Society, 1952.
- 『성경전서 새번역』/ *The Revised New Korean Standard Version*. Seoul: Korean Bible Society, 2001.
- 『성경전서 표준 새번역』/ *The New Korean Standard Version*. Seoul: Korean Bible Society, 1993.
- 『시편찰요』/ *Sipyeon Chwalyo*. 1898.
- 『신약마가전복음서언해』/ *Sinyak Magajeon Bogeumseo Unhae*. 1885.

『예슈성교누가복음전서』/Yesu Seonggyo Nugabogeu Jeonseo. Simyang: Moongwangseowon, 1882.

『예슈성교전서』/Yesu Seonggyo Jeonseo. Gyoengseong: Moongwangseowon, 1887.

Kim, Jung-eun. “구약성서국역사.” 『구약의 말씀과 현실 심천(深川) 김중은 구약학공부문집』. Seoul: Korea Institute of Biblical Studies, 1996.

Min, Young-jin. 『성서가 우리에게 오기까지』. Seoul: Korean Bible Society, 1995.

A Guide for translators, revisers, & editors working in connection with the American Bible Society: by kind permission of the British and Foreign Bible Society based upon and in harmony with the rules of that Society. New York: American Bible Society, 1932.

Lexicon of Septuagint, Revised ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibel Gesellschaft, 2003.

Rules for the Guidance of Translators, Revisers & Editors, working in connection with the British and Foreign Bible Society. London: The British and Foreign Bible Society, 1911.

Böhler, Dieter. *Psalmen 1-50*. HThKAT. Freiburg: Herder, 2021,

Craigie, Peter C. *Psalms 1-50*. WBC 19. Nashville: Nelson, 2004.

Heimrath, Ralf-Gerhard. “Wie man soll Deutsch reden”. Luthers Einfluss auf die Entwicklung der neuhochdeutschen Sprache.” *Revue Tunisienne des Langues Vivante* 22(2017), 69-90.

Holznagel, Franz-Josef. “Luther und die deutsche Sprache.” *Die Bibel Martin Luthers: Ein Buch und seine Geschichte*. eds. Margot Käßmann and Martin Rösel. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2016, 170-192.

Hwang, Ji-yeon. “The Literary Style of Chinese Protestant Bible Translation.” *Journal of Chinese Studies* 38(2012), 65-89.

Jang, Seok-Jeong. “The Possibility of the Combined Source Texts for the Korean Bible (1911): Focused on Exodus 4:8.” *Journal of Biblical Text Research* 49 (2021), 7-25.

- Bernd. "Auf dem Weg zur Buchreligion. Transformationen des Kultischen im Psalter." *Trägerkreise in den Psalmen* (BBB 178). eds. F.-L. Hossfeld, J. Bremer and T.M. Steiner Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017, 223-261.
- Ki Min-suc. "Translation of the Bible in Hangul." in *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Korea*. ed. Won W. Lee. New York: Oxford University Press, 2022, 23-40.
- Kim, Jeong-woo. "A Preliminary Review of the Early Korean Translations of the Book of Psalms, with a Particular Emphasis on the Source Text, Translation Technique and Quality, and their Reception History." *Journal of Biblical Text Research* 28(2011), 7-34.
- Meiser, Martin. "Septuaginta-Übersetzung damals und heute." *RES* 10 (2018/1), 61-76.
- Min, Young-jin. "A Study on the Genesis in The Complete Bible in Korean(1911) with Reference to the Bibliographic Information, Editorial Characteristics, and Textual Decisions." *Canon & Culture* 4 (2010/1), 5-37.
- Müller, Reinhard. "Psalmen." in *WiBiLex*, Deutsche Bibel Gesellschaft, 2013. <https://www.bibelwissenschaft.de/stichwort/31528/>. 2022.9.20. Connect.
- Neidhart, Ludwig. "Psalmen." <https://www.ludwig-neidhart.de/Downloads/Psalmen.pdf>. 2022.10.1 connect.
- Pieters, A. "First Translation," *Korea Mission Field* (May/1956), 91-93.
- Shimasaki, Katsuomi. "A short history of Japanese Bible Translation." *Journal of Biblical Text Research* 24(2009/4), 116-126.
- van Steenberg, Gerrit J. "Translations, English." in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Books of the Bible* (vol. 2). eds. M. D. Coogan. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011, 435-449.
- Weiser, Artur. *Die Psalmen I: Psalmen 1-60*. ATD 14. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987.
- Yi, Hwan-jin. "Exploring the basic Texts of Korean Old Version (1911)." *Journal of Biblical Text Research* 27 (2010). 31-55.

Bible Translations in Hungary

Introduction

Bible translation in Hungary, as everywhere, has an interesting and often complicated history, naturally due to historical, political, linguistic etc. factors. I myself had not realised this until starting to research the topic. What also came as a surprise to me was the discovery of Bible or New Testament translations hitherto unknown to me. I shall begin with a look at the general cultural situation in the 15th century which preceded the Reformation. Then, I shall review the various Hungarian Bible translations.

The General Cultural Situation Prior to the Reformation

Bishop, diplomat and Humanist poet János Csezmiczei/Ivan Česmički (Hungarian/Croatian name), known as Janus Pannonius (1434-72), was the first and foremost literary figure not only in Renaissance Hungary but also in the history of Hungarian literature. Nonetheless, Pannonius wrote all his poems in Latin.

“Prior to the Reformation, in our country there was no genuine Hungarian public education. What could be considered education was neither Hungarian nor public” (Bíró, Bucsay, Tóth, Varga 1949: 420). Books were written in Latin, copied by hand. These books, however, were hardly available to the general public. (In this respect, Hungary was not much different from other European countries.) With Johannes Gutenberg’s innovation of letterpress printing

in Europe around 1450 and “With the Reformation, the situation changes dramatically. Within a few decades a whole range of writings is published in Hungarian.” The first Hungarian language publications were issued in Krakow by János Sylvester (1504?-52) in 1527 (Bíró, Bucsay, Tóth, Varga 1949: 421).

First Attempts to Translate the Bible

The first attempt to translate the Bible into Hungarian was made before the Reformation in the early 15th century. The so-called Hussite Bible, probably prepared by Hussite priests, was an almost complete Hungarian translation, but it was never published. No original manuscript of this translation has been preserved, save for manuscript fragments in different codices. After the start of the Reformation at the beginning of the 16th century, translating the Bible or its parts became a burden for those educated at various European universities and impacted by the new currents of Humanism and Reformation.

Hungary had two universities founded in the line of Central European universities (Prague, 1348; Krakow, 1364; Vienna, 1365) – that of Pécs, founded in 1367 and that of Buda/Óbuda, founded in 1395. Due to the socio-political turmoil of the era, however, neither of these universities was in operation in the 16th century; both Pécs and Óbuda were in the region occupied and controlled by the Turks.

With the Reformation gaining ground in Hungary, more and more books of the Bible were translated into Hungarian to make it available to the general public. The Reformation significantly changed the situation of the previous century. “The change proceeded from the impact of the Word. The Reformers appealing to the Word began to conduct services in the language of the population in each country. This was the case in our country too” (Bíró, Bucsay, Tóth, Varga 1949: 420). When Johan Faber, Catholic Bishop of Vienna confronted Mátyás Dévai Bíró (1500?-1545), one of the first Reformers in Hungary, a student of Luther and Melanchton in Wittenberg and, in his final years, a promoter of the Helvetic Reformation, he responded by citing 1 Corinthians 14,19, “in church I would rather speak five words with my mind, in order to instruct others also, than ten thousand words in a [foreign] tongue” (Bíró, Bucsay, Tóth, Varga 1949: 420). Wherever the Reformation consolidated

itself in Hungary, it used two institutions: the church and the school (Bíró, Bucsay, Tóth, Varga 1949: 421). In addition, the Reformation made use of Gutenberg's newly invented press. Most of the presses in 16th century Hungary were operated by Protestants with the majority of them being in the hands of the Reformed (Bíró, Bucsay, Tóth, Varga 1949: 422).

The Pauline Epistles were translated by Benedek Komjáti/Komjáthy (1500?-56?), published in Krakow, the Kingdom of Poland in 1533, followed by the translation of the whole New Testament by János Sylvester and published by Benedek Abádi in Sárovar-Újsziget, Hungary in 1541. Being a follower of the Prince of the Humanists, Sylvester based his translation on the Greek New Testament edition of Erasmus. Being himself a linguist, he regularly checked Erasmus's edition and tried to interpret the original not in a literal but a rather liberal fashion. Summaries of the Gospels were put in dystichs, and in dystichs he put his recommendation to the Hungarian people, thus being the first to use metrical verse in Hungarian. Sylvester did not only translate the New Testament but was also the first to attempt to unify Hungarian spelling rules.

Between these two translations appeared the translation by Gábor Pesti Mizsér (?-1550?), a moderate follower of Erasmus, in 1536 in Vienna. It claimed to be the whole "New Testament in the Hungarian language" but apparently, he only translated the four Gospels. Being a humanist, he used the *textus receptus* of Erasmus. At the time of publication, Pesti Mizsér's edition was a readable interpretation of the Gospels.

A nearly complete Bible translation was prepared by Gáspár Heltai (1510?-74?), a Roman Catholic turned Lutheran turned Reformed turned Unitarian minister and printer, in Kolozsvár/Cluj between 1551 and 1556. Péter Méliusz Juhász (1532-72), Reformed pastor and bishop in Debrecen (1561-72), published his own New Testament translation in 1567 which, however, is lost. Parts of his Old Testament are still available today (Pecsuk 2020: 106).

The Historical Context of the Vizsoly Bible

In the 15th century, the Kingdom of Hungary successfully withstood the mounting onslaughts of the Ottoman Empire. After King Matthias Corvinus's (1443-90) death in 1490, weak monarchs on the throne and endless power

struggles amongst the nation's leaders destroyed Matthias's strong centralised kingdom. The 16th century ushered in a tumultuous era of political crises. It was hallmarked by turmoil, infighting and foreign oppression for people living in the Carpathian Basin. In 1514, peasants led by György Dózsa (1470?-1514), a man-at-arms and a military hero, revolted against the oppression of the kingdom's landed nobility. Thoroughgoing social reforms like abolishing the nobility and distribution of their land were top priorities of the peasants. After some initial success, the revolt was brutally crushed and Dózsa tortured to death. One of the results of the revolt was a weakened, disunited Hungary. The biggest beneficiary of this socio-political situation was the Ottoman Empire.

The Ottoman Turkish Empire led by the aggressive conquering politics of Suleiman the Magnificent (1494-1566) threatened the very existence of the Hungarian Kingdom. At the battle of Mohács in 1526 the Ottomans won a crushing victory over the united Christian forces, leaving a number of generals and noblemen dead on the battlefield. Young King Louis II (1506-26) also died fleeing from the battle field. The defeat eventually resulted in Hungary's division into three parts: the Ottoman Empire conquered the central part of the country, the Habsburgs controlled the Northern and Western part, and the South-Eastern part was retained by the Transylvanian Principality.

Thus, when the Reformation started in 1517, Hungary was undergoing the most desperate decades of its history. Division and calamities, Ottoman domination and economic depression, however, did not stop the spread of Reformation doctrine. Indeed, by the end of the century most of Hungary's population, up to 95%, had become Protestant. (This radically changed during the Counter-Reformation backed by the Habsburgs in the next century.)

One of the greatest achievements of the Hungarian Reformation was the production of the first complete Hungarian translation of the Holy Script. An additional benefit was promoting literacy and the use of Hungarian to the general populace. Bible translations hugely impacted the development of the Hungarian language. People started to study Hungarian grammar and established a Hungarian alphabet which then helped bring about the standardisation of the language itself.

The Károli Bible

After preparatory translations, Gáspár Károli (1529?-92), Calvinist pastor-superintendent in the town of Gönc, Kingdom of Hungary, began translating the Bible in 1586 and finished in 1590. In addition to his ministerial duties, it would have been impossible for one person to translate the whole Bible in four years' time, hence other people must have assisted Károli in the translation project. Linguistic examination suggests that four people worked on it at least. The New Testament in its entirety, however, was translated by Károli himself. Following the practice of the era, the deuterocanonical books were also included in the Vizsoly Bible.

Printing began on February 28, 1589 by Bálint Mantskovit/Manczkovit (?-1596) who set up his press in Vizsoly, some twelve kilometres from Gönc. Mantskovit, originally from Poland, used 4.5 million sorts or type (characters in a movable type printing press) having imported them from the Netherlands. He bought paper from Poland for which payment was due in Tokaji wine. Four workers assisted in the work for 450 days to assemble the sorts by hand so that the book could be printed. Mantskovit asks the reader in a note to overlook the errors he possibly left in the text. When printing began, the full translation was not yet finished. Each evening Károli's manuscripts were taken page by page to Mantskovit by students at Gönc, among them Albert Szenci Molnár (1574-1634), later Calvinist pastor, linguist, poet and translator of the 150 psalms of the Hungarian Reformed hymnody which is still in use today.

During the translation Gáspár Károli and his team consulted both already existing Hungarian translations, the original Greek and Hebrew as well as the Septuagint, the Vulgate and a number of scholars' wise interpretations (Koltai 2018: 121). Latin translations prepared by Humanists like Vatablus, Pagninus, Sebastian Münster and Tremellius were also consulted (Pecsuk 2020: 106). Beyond the main text, the Bible included notes and summaries by Károli. Printing the Bible was a dangerous and expensive endeavour for Károli's team. It was dangerous because the Habsburgs, who held the Hungarian crown, were Roman Catholic and hence against Protestantism. Therefore, people engaged in the translation and publishing risked prison and the confiscation of their assets.

Due to the political risks and the great financial cost of publishing the Bible, the translators needed help from nobles more sympathetic to the Protestant cause. This became clear on March 3, 1589 when Archduke Ernest and the royal secretary Faustus Verantius accused Manstkovit of printing calendars and other forbidden books. They ordered the press to be confiscated. On March 26, Sigismund Rákóczi, the future Prince of Transylvania, the landlord of Vizsoly, defended the publication before the Habsburgs asking for permission. Thanks to Rákóczi and other powerful magnates supporting the translation project both by political and financial means, the printing was finished on July 20, 1590. 700-800 copies of the Bible were printed during these seventeen months. The 2.412 pages were published in three volumes, weighing 6 kilograms. From the original Károli Bibles, called Vizsoly Bibles, only fifty-two have survived to this day, and nearly half of them, twenty-four, are abroad.

Manstkovit himself thought it necessary to correct typographical errors. Already in the years following his death in 1596, a second edition was apparently published, around 1600, of which only some fragments remain (Zsengellér 2014: 48).

The Vizsoly Bible is the basis for several Protestant Hungarian Bible editions available today, which are called Károli Bible. It was re-published over 300 times, which makes it the most published Hungarian book ever. Revised editions attempting to improve the translation of the Vizsoly Bible appeared soon after its first publication. The second edition was published by Károli's apprentice, Albert Szenci Molnár in Hanau, in the province of Hessen, in 1608, aimed at correcting the spelling errata as well as providing a smaller, handier and cheaper edition than the bulky and expensive Vizsoly Bible. The 1500 copies of the Hanau Bible were all sold in four years. Therefore, in 1612, a second edition was printed in Oppenheim.

The Várad Bible was the first Bible published in Transylvania, in Nagyvárad (today Oradea, in Romania) by Sámuel Kölcséri (1634-83), Reformed pastor, superintendent and seminary lecturer, in 1661. Its text was based on the Károli translation, it was beautifully gilded, bulky, hence expensive, meant first of all for family use. Interestingly and exceptionally, it did not include the deuterocanonical books, but contained an index of proverbs originating in the Bible.

Miklós Misztótfalusi Kis (1650-1702) was a theologian turned printer who, at his own expense, published an exquisite edition of Károli's translation called the Golden Bible (*Aranyos Biblia*) in 3.500 copies in Amsterdam in 1685, so called because of the gilded edges of the book. The Golden Bible was the first publication to use italics marking words not present in the original text but necessary for the Hungarian rendering. György Komáromi Csipkés (1628-78) made his own revision of the Károli Bible in 1675 which, due to the ongoing war, however, reached the Hungarian public in 1718 only (Pecsuk 2020: 107).

The Bible published in Pest in 1805 followed the Várad Bible. Supported by the British and Foreign Bible Society, the 1835 edition was revised by Sárospatak Reformed Seminary lecturers János Somosy (1783-1855) and Benedek Kálniczky (1786-1861) and published in Sárospatak. This edition was reprinted nearly every year for some time.

At the request of the British and Foreign Bible Society, the New Testament of the Károli Bible was revised by Vilmos Győry (1838-85), Lutheran pastor, János Menyhárt (1823-1900), lecturer at the Debrecen Theological Seminary, and Lajos Filó (1828-1905), Reformed pastor and lecturer, in 1878 (Kovács 2020: 100-122, Kovács 2021: 17-37). However, it was not well received by the wider population and profession (Zsengellér 2014: 50).

The most widely used Bible translation up to the end of the 20th century had thus been the Károli Bible. In 1908, it was revised by a committee of scholars, partly financed by the British and Foreign Bible Society, to make it sound more contemporary. Undoubtedly, it belongs to the conservative translations (cf. Karasszon 2014: 123-24).¹

Apparently not being content with this revision, László Ravasz (1882-1975), a bishop of the Reformed Church in Hungary between 1921-48, made his own revision of the New Testament, which was published in Ligonier, USA, in 1971. The sermons of Ravasz were famous for his eloquence, and his translation is a masterpiece of literature.

Recognising the shortcomings of the 1908 translation, a number of people undertook its revision. Endre Masznyik (1857-1927), a Lutheran professor of theology, revised the Károli New Testament in 1925. Sándor Raffay (1866-1947), a Lutheran bishop and professor of systematic theology and the New Testament, prepared a translation of the New Testament for the 400th anniversary of the birth of Gáspár Károli, in 1929. Recognising the influence of the Károli translation,

he kept as many of the original phrases as possible, but also gave the translation a more contemporary air. In 1938, Czeglédy and Raffay started a joint project to revise Károli's translation yet again. However, it did not get beyond the status of a "trial version" (Pecsuk 2020: 108).

Because of its popularity even a century later, it was considered necessary to revise the 1908 revision once again. The New Testament was published in 2007 and the complete Bible in 2011. Its text is based on the 1908 Károli translation. The committee also consulted previous editions of Károli's translation (like the Hanau and Oppenheim Bibles, the Várad Bible and the Golden Bible). In addition to these, some twenty Hungarian and another twenty foreign (mostly German and English) translations were consulted on a verse-by-verse comparison basis. The translation aimed at

- correcting the errors of the 1908 revision,
- providing a more contemporary language for the rather obsolete one and making the Biblical text more intelligible and simple,
- restoring the original rendering by Károli where it has been corrupted,
- taking into consideration the achievements of recent scholarship (Győri 2014: 74).

In other words, it endeavoured to make it more reliable, more contemporary and less archaic, more in accordance with recent research and, in the committee's words, to "restore the characteristic taste that makes Gáspár Károli's translation of over four-hundred years exquisitely noble. [...] During our work, we mostly corrected obsolete verbs, changed archaic words and, wherever possible, made the text simpler. Only occasionally did we change the structure of sentences, and as much as possible avoided reformulations. We kept away from interpreting texts hard to interpret; we preferred leaving them without interpretation" (Revised Károli, 21.03.2023). In 2020, the Newly Revised Károli was published with brief notes. This edition adopted Philip Yancey and Tim Stafford's NIV Student Bible.

A good sign of the popularity of the Károli Bible is its ecumenical acceptance. Both mainline and newly emerged Protestant denominations and congregations use it. Indeed, one of them, the Church of Christ's Love (Krisztus Szeretete Egyház) published its own revision in 2009 by modifying "lélek/Lélek" ("spirit/Spirit") and its derivatives to "szellem/Szellem" ("ghost/Ghost") and its derivatives.

The Patmos Bible (2011) by Faith Church (Hit Gyülekezete) is similarly based on the Károli translation with slight modifications consisting nearly exclusively of spelling corrections. Admittedly, however, the revision was not consistent and the Patmos Bible could not fully achieve its goals (Ruff 2014). The church's own Bible translation, taking the NIV as model, has been in progress for some years (Ruff 2014a: 161).

The number of copies of the Károli Bible increased with each edition, making the Holy Script available in Hungarian to the broader population. In 2017 – on the 500th anniversary of the Reformation – and in 2020, the Vizsoly Bible was reprinted on the original site using a copy of the original movable type press and paper in memory of the first Hungarian Bible.

Roman Catholic Translations²

Recognising the success and popularity of the Vizsoly Bible, the Roman Catholic Church felt compelled to prepare its own translation. It was György Káldi (1573–1634), a Jesuit monk, who was commissioned with the work. Possibly using the translation of András (Arator) Szántó (1540-1612), Káldi's fellow monk, he started the work in Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia, present-day Romania) in 1605 and finished it in Olmütz (present-day Olomouc in the Czech Republic) in 1607. After several rounds of proofreading and corrections and waiting for approval by the ecclesial authorities, it was published in Vienna in 1626. Interestingly and uniquely, the publication was sponsored both by Cardinal Péter Pázmány and the Reformed prince of Transylvania, Gábor Bethlen. As can be expected, in line with the decree of the Council of Trent (1545-63), which declared the Vulgate to be the authoritative (Latin) translation of the church, Káldi used this Latin translation as the basis for his own translation. His aim also differed from that of Károli. Káldi's foremost intention was to assist ecclesial educators (Pecsuk 2020: 107).

Káldi's translation was used in the Hungarian Roman Catholic Church for 200 years. It was first revised by Ignác Szepeszy (1780-1838), bishop of Pécs, in 1834-35 (with notes), then by József Szabó (1805-84), bishop of Esztergom, in 1851. The third revision, by Béla Tárkányi (1821-88), prebendary of Eger, became, however, the most influential revision. Three editions were published between 1862 and 1916 (Pecsuk 2020: 107). The fourth revision of Káldi's translation, initiated by

the Saint Stephen Society, was published between 1927 and 1934, using both the Hebrew and Greek texts in addition to the Latin. It was in circulation until 1973, when a more contemporary Roman Catholic translation was prepared by a committee of seven scholars. Finally, in 1979, a complete revision of Káldi's translation, called Káldi Neovulgate was published (see Tarjányi 2014).

The 1973 translation was prepared by the Saint Stephen Society (Szent István Társulat) and was republished several times.³ Reflecting the resolutions of II. Vatican Council, it is based on the Jerusalem Bible and has extensive notes. Although it seems to lack clear and consistent guidelines for translation, and thus gives the impression of a somewhat haphazard Bible translation, it is still the fruit of a careful and valuable effort (Jelenits 2014: 85). Realising that times have also changed, the Society saw it fit to publish it not only as a one-volume publication but in a smaller, handier format as well.

The popularity of the Káldi translation made it necessary to revise it once again. The 1997 translation by the Saint Jerome Catholic Bible Society (Szent Jeromos Katolikus Bibliatársulat), founded in 1990, is less scholarly but more readable than that of the Saint Stephen Society. The intention of the former translation was to have as many Roman Catholic worshippers as possible read the Bible. To this end, Káldi's translation, "exactly following the Vulgate in an exquisitely beautiful Hungarian text, only changes it when it differs from the original languages, being attentive to the text of the Neovulgate, and also when more recent developments in the Hungarian language make it necessary. The new Catholic Bible in this way is in the tradition of the best Hungarian translations, at the same time taking into consideration the most recent results of Biblical scholarship" (Káldi-Neovulgáta 2023.03.17).

The 1911 New Testament translation by István Soós (1864-1947), a Carmelite prior, was also based on the Vulgate. Gellért Békés (1915-99) and Patrik Dalos (1920-99), monks living in Rome, published a New Testament translation with extensive footnotes, first, in Limburg, Germany, then, in Rome in 1951 based on the 1948 Merk text, not the Vulgate. Owing to its popularity, the Békés-Dalos translation has been republished 18 times to date (Dejcsics 2014: 91).

Another Roman Catholic New Testament translation by Ferenc Gál (1915-98), professor of the New Testament in Budapest, and István Kosztolányi was first published in 1981 with the second publication appearing in 1985. The translation apparently follows the Vulgate and contains introductions to the synoptic

Gospels, John, the Epistles and Revelation, quite extensive footnotes as well as indices.

László Tamás Simon, a Benedictine monk and lecturer at the Pontifical Athenaeum of Saint Anselm in Rome, commissioned by Pannonhalma Benedictine Abbey, published his New Testament translation in 2017. The translation was prepared from the Greek and is mainly intended for a Christian readership and contains introductions to the Gospels, Acts, the Epistles and the Book of Revelation as well.

Recently Simon also translated the Psalms (2020) closely following the Masoretic Text, a readable small volume for every-day use with some necessary footnotes and an afterword with some theological and background discussion.

Finally, reference should be made to the translations of János Hajdók (1913-83), a Jesuit monk turned Latin teacher, even if these translations were not really authorised by the church.⁴ Hajdók translated the Psalms in one volume (Psalter) and Job, Lamentations and the Song of Songs in another volume (*From the masterpieces of the Bible*). Consulting quite a number of ancient and modern translations, he aimed at an elevated, poetic language, kept acrostics in Psalms and Lamentations, and put the psalms in iambs.

Eastern Orthodox Translations

Eastern Orthodoxy has been present in Hungary for centuries. In comparison with Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, however, the presence and influence of Greek, Russian, Romanian, Serbian etc. Orthodoxy are minimal. (In the 2001 national census, only 15,928 people declared themselves Orthodox, i.e. 0.15% of Hungary's population.) This also explains why the first Orthodox attempts to translate parts of the Bible came relatively late.

It was Tivadar Steriády, a merchant of Greek origin in Tata, who adopted and edited Károli's New Testament in Vác in 1802. The edition was arranged to suit the liturgical lectionary of the Orthodox Church. It is unknown whether the edition was authorised by the ecclesial authorities (Kiss 2014: 108).

Feriz Berki (1917-2006), a Greek Orthodox priest and seminary teacher published *Hymnologion* in 1969, a two-volume book consisting of Old Testament texts, "prophecies" (see below) as well as the Psalms. Berki's translation, probably

with no or very little assistance, was based on the LXX and meant to serve the church's liturgy. Berki translated with amazing speed, which often resulted in a less readable and reliable, sometimes inconsistent rendering (Kiss 2014: 109-10).

Atanáz Orosz, a Greek Catholic monk and bishop, is endeavouring to translate the complete LXX. So far, the translation of Genesis was published with commentaries in 2000. Jointly with Fülöp Kocsis, a Greek Catholic monk and metropolitan, Orosz has published *Ménea* for liturgical use, which consists of prophecies from Old Testament books like Genesis, Isaiah, Daniel, Ezekiel, but, interestingly, also includes parts of Proverbs, Job, Ben Sira and the Wisdom of Solomon (Kiss 2014: 108-109).

István Perczel, lecturer at the Central European University, is said to have started the translation of New Testament texts related to the lectionary of the Orthodox Church.

More Recent Protestant Translations

Sándor Czeglédy (1884-1944), a Reformed pastor, translated the New Testament in 1924. Czeglédy held that the New Testament was not meant to be an artistic work but rather one for mission. For this reason he preferred a reliable translation to a lofty one (Pecsuk 2020: 107-108). In 1938, László Farkas, Reformed pastor in Nyíregyháza, published *The Historical Books of the New Testament*, his translation of the Gospels and Acts.

The New Testament translation of István Kecskeméthy (1864-1938), professor of theology in Transylvania, was published by the Scottish Bible Society in 1931 and his complete Bible translation only posthumously in Kolozsvár Cluj-Napoca in 2002. Kecskeméthy's whole Bible translation was his oeuvre which he could not finish, however. He got to Romans 1,9 when he died. The 2002 edition is supplemented by the Revised Károli translation from that passage on. By sticking to Károli's translation in many cases and, in various other cases, providing his own translation, Kecskeméthy intended to provide a more contemporary translation which at the same time was close to the original (see Pecsuk 2020: 108). One of the criticisms levelled against Kecskeméthy is his idiosyncratic renderings like obsolete Hungarian words for better-known ones or keeping the original Hebrew *bámáh* for "height" (Tunyogi 2014: 146-47).

Reliability and an elevated style were also pursued by the New Testament translation of Gergely Budai (1887-1974), professor of the New Testament at the Reformed Seminary in Budapest, published in 1967. The translation is easy to read. The text, however, is often interrupted by explanatory notes in parentheses that make its use for study excellent but rather difficult for church services (Pecsuk 2020: 108). The format and type setting of this edition are less “religious”, making it appear more like an ordinary book.

The New Testament translations by Sándor Vida (1907-81; translation published in 1971), a Baptist minister, and Lajos Csia (1887-1962; translation published in 1978), a former Reformed pastor, try to render the Greek text verbatim in a consistent – some would say rigid – way, which can only be achieved by ignoring the basics of semantics. Following a trichotomist anthropology, Vida and Csia introduce phrases like “Holy Ghost”, quite alien to 20th century Hungarian. These translations, particularly that of Csia, are, if at all, used mainly by Christians belonging to independent churches.

In the second half of the previous century, an ecumenical project was launched, originally to prepare an updated version of the Károli translation. During the process, the aim became the whole Bible newly translated from the original languages (Pecsuk 2020: 109). Making use of new findings in Biblical scholarship, in 1975 a new ecumenical translation was published by the Hungarian Bible Society. The 1975 translation and its revisions also applied more recent translation theories. In addition to the interpretive task, the 1975 rendering aimed at an “elevated but contemporary Hungarian” as one of the translators, István Karasszon has put it (2020: 81). Recognising the translation’s shortcomings (see Karasszon 2014), by 1990, the 400th anniversary of the Vizsoly Bible, a revision was prepared which, next to the Revised Károli (1908), proved to be the most popular amongst Protestant Christians in the following years (Pecsuk 2011).

As early as 1979, the Hungarian Bible Society announced a revision of the 1975 translation and asked the general public to provide feedback about

1. translation errors,
2. wording prone to misunderstanding or misinterpretation,
3. inconsistencies in theology, lexicography or style,
4. awkward renderings,
5. linguistically foreign influence,

6. problems in liturgical usage,
7. notes,
8. other errata.

Over 1300 remarks were evaluated and processed into the revision by the translation committee. Two-thirds of the modifications in the 1990 edition were style, content or translation related. A major difference from the 1975 edition was that the 1990 edition was typeset in two columns instead of one (Pecsuk 2014: 125-29).

Since every generation needs a fresh translation, after several years of work, based on the 1975 translation and its 1990 revision, in 2014, the Revised New Translation (RÚF) was published. Its intention was to provide a fresh reading in fresh wrapping (Pecsuk 2014a: 133).

The 1975 translation and its revisions have not been able to replace the Károli translation and its revisions but have provided a feasible alternative to them. The Reformed Church in Hungary has adopted both the 1908 Revised Károli and the 2014 Revised New Translation as its official translations (Pecsuk 2020: 242). Sale figures of the Kálvin Publishing House indicate that by 2008 the New Translation (1975 and 1990 editions) overtook the sales of the Revised Károli (Pecsuk 2014: 132). Based on the 2014 translation and on the 1995 Stuttgart Study Bible, The Bible with Notes was published in 2018.

The Easy-to-Read Version was issued by Bible League International in 2012. (The New Testament had been published in 2003.) This version claims to have been translated from the original languages. For the Old Testament the 1984 edition of the Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia provided the basis, for the New Testament it was the 1993 4th edition of the Greek New Testament of the United Bible Societies as well as the 27th edition of the Novum Testamentum Graece by Nestle-Aland. On occasions, when more recent research made it necessary, the texts of the LXX and the Dead Sea scrolls were consulted. The endeavour of the translators was to put the meaning of the original Hebrew and Greek text in a simple and ordinary form to make it easily understandable and, instead of hampering, to help the reader grasp the Bible's truth.⁵

Granted that Hungary has had its "historic" and "living language" translations but no "dynamic, missional Bible translation", one wonders whether the Easy-to-Read Version can fulfil this role. Ottó Pecsuk, General Secretary of the Hungarian

Bible Society is rather sceptical about it (Pecsuk 2021: 72-73; cf. Pecsuk 2020: 268). Pecsuk's critique of the Dutch Easy-to-Read Version also holds for its Hungarian equivalent: it definitely reaches its target group but at the same time simplifies to the minimum the Biblical text's complex interpretation leading to a drastic impoverishment of the biblical passage's rich interpretive possibilities through its simplified and one-sided translation (Pecsuk 2021: 86). Nevertheless, it is a favourite buy in Christian book stores (Szócs 2014: 170). Behind its popularity, simply put, probably stands the simple reason of its being simple.

One of the most recent Bible editions is the *Fire Bible (Tűzbiblia)*, a volume adopting the concept of the Full Life Study Bible. It contains the text of the Revised New Translation of 2014, short commentaries and notes. My impression is that it is widely read amongst Christian youth.

Non-Christian Translations

The Hungarian Jewish community undertook its own Hebrew Bible translations. It was Móric Bloch/Mór Ballagi (1815-91), a Hungarian Jew, yeshiva student and the first Jewish member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (1840), who published a Hebrew and Hungarian bilingual Torah with commentaries from the Talmud in 1840-41. In 1842, Bloch published his translation of the book Joshua, a remarkable scholarly achievement, since he made use of contemporary scholarship and knew Hebrew better than Hungarian (Balogh-Zsengellér 2014: 19-20). In 1943 Bloch converted to Christianity, first, Lutheranism and, then, Calvinism, and was professor of religion and the Bible at the Reformed Theological Academy in Kecskemét from 1851, then, in Budapest from 1855.

Two other Hebrew-Hungarian bilingual translations are worth mentioning. Rabbi Móric Rosenthal published the Psalms in 1841 and Henrik Bauer Márkfi the book of Proverbs in 1844 (Balogh-Zsengellér 2014: 20).

The Jews could not use a Bible translation based on the Latin text, thus the various Káldi translations were out of the question. Since Károli used the Latin translation by Tremellius, a Jew-turned-Christian, it was also regarded with suspicion. Generally speaking, Jews usually accused Christian translations and interpretations of not being accurate and reliable (Balogh-Zsengellér 2014: 21).

Between 1898 and 1907 a new translation of the entire Old Testament was prepared by the most important rabbis of Hungary. Their intention was not only to provide the assimilated Hungarian Jewry with the Holy Scriptures but also to help them assimilate. The IMIT (Izraelita Magyar Irodalmi Társulat; Jewish Hungarian Literary Association) translation (4 volumes) was meant to provide a reliable and, at the same time, readable rendering of the Hebrew Bible. While the former principle was granted by critics, it was the latter aspect to which it did not measure up in the eyes of, mainly Protestant, critiques. The IMIT translation was republished in 1993, 1997 and 2002 (Balogh-Zsengellér 2014: 22-27). Since the translation was done by Neolog rabbis, obviously, it has been used by Neolog Jews to a higher extent than by orthodox Jews who have been rather dismissive of it (Köves 2014: 41).

Translations of particular Old Testament books followed between the two world wars, of which the Torah edition with the Haftarahs by Joseph H. Hertz (1872-1946), born in Hungary and later Chief Rabbi of the British Empire, is perhaps the most important. It was translated into Hungarian in 1939-42 and is considered a revision of the IMIT translation (Balogh-Zsengellér 2014: 28).

Jehovah's Witnesses have their own New World Translation in Hungarian.⁶ The Hungarian New Testament, amongst Jehova's Witnesses referred to as Christian Greek Scriptures (the Old Testament as Hebrew Scriptures), was published in 2000, the complete Bible in 2003 (Szalai 2014: 153).

Concluding Words

Like the Lutherbibel in Germany and the King James Version in the Anglo-Saxon world, the Károli Bible has shaped Hungarian culture and language. It has been particularly influential amongst Protestant Christians. Káldi's translation had a similar effect on the Roman Catholic population. While the Károli translation still enjoys popularity, the various alternative translations provide a useful base for Bible studies and group discussions (cf. Szabó 2014: 64-65).

References

- 1 As an example for the conservative attitude of translations reference may be made to Exod 20,5. Károli translated the phrase “jealous God, *'ēl qannā*”, borrowed from the covenantal language of the ancient Near East, as “erős bosszúálló”, i.e., “strong revenger”. Probably for theological reasons, this rendering was not acceptable to the committee of the 1908 revision who changed it to “féltőn szerető/jealously loving” which has remained in each revision and the 1975 translation and its revisions.
- 2 For a succinct account of Roman Catholic translations, see Pecsuk 2020: 105.
- 3 There is some uncertainty as to exactly when it was published; Jelenits (2014) dates it to 1974.
- 4 The publications have, however, the publication notice, *cum approbatione ecclesiastica*.
- 5 Zoltán Szócs (2014: 168-69), head of the Simple Translation committee, lists the procedure of the translation in 12 points. It is nonetheless unclear how much the translation was prepared, as it claims, using the original languages and is not an adaptation of a foreign Bible translation (see Szócs 2014: 170). Through his specific suggestions, Szócs (2014: 170-72) betrays grave ignorance of the basics of textual criticism.
- 6 For a good overview of Hungarian translations in use, see Lanstyák 2016.

Bibliography

- Balogh K., Zsengellér J. Az IMIT-fordítás, in Fabiny T., Pecsuk O., Zsengellér J. (eds.), *Felebarát vagy embertárs. Bibliafordítások és használatuk a mai Magyarországon*. Budapest: Luther–Kálvin–Hermeneutikai Kutatóközpont Alapítvány, 2014, 19-31.
- Bíró S., Bucsay M., Tóth E., Varga Z. (eds.) *A Magyar Református Egyház története*. Budapest: Kossuth, 1949.
- Dejcsics K. "Isten szava: lélek és élet", in Fabiny T., Pecsuk O., Zsengellér J. (eds.), *Felebarát vagy embertárs. Bibliafordítások és használatuk a mai Magyarországon*. Budapest: Luther–Kálvin–Hermeneutikai Kutatóközpont Alapítvány, 2014, 91-99.
- Győri T. J. Az újonnan revideált Károliról, in Fabiny T., Pecsuk O., Zsengellér J. (eds.), *Felebarát vagy embertárs. Bibliafordítások és használatuk a mai Magyarországon*. Budapest: Luther–Kálvin–Hermeneutikai Kutatóközpont Alapítvány, 2014, 71-77.
- Jelenits I. Katolikus bibliafordítás a második vatikáni zsinat után, in Fabiny T., Pecsuk O., Zsengellér J. (eds.), *Felebarát vagy embertárs. Bibliafordítások és használatuk a mai Magyarországon*. Budapest: Luther–Kálvin–Hermeneutikai Kutatóközpont Alapítvány, 2014, 83-87.
- Karasszon I. A Magyar Bibliatanács 1975-ben megjelent új bibliafordítása, in Fabiny T., Pecsuk O., Zsengellér J. (eds.), *Felebarát vagy embertárs. Bibliafordítások és használatuk a mai Magyarországon*. Budapest: Luther–Kálvin–Hermeneutikai Kutatóközpont Alapítvány, 2014, 121-24.
- Karasszon I. Az 1975-ös „Új Fordítású Biblia” jelentősége, *Confessio 1 (2020) 80-83*.
- Kiss E. Az ortodoxok szentíráshasználata Magyarországon, in Fabiny T., Pecsuk O., Zsengellér J. (eds.), *Felebarát vagy embertárs. Bibliafordítások és használatuk a mai Magyarországon*. Budapest: Luther–Kálvin–Hermeneutikai Kutatóközpont Alapítvány, 2014, 100-117.
- Koltai K. Milyen fordítási elv szerint jött létre a Károli-biblia? Az Ótestamentum nyelvének vizsgálata a forrásszöveg(ek) fényében, in É. Kiss K., Hegedüs A., Pintér L. (eds.), *Nyelvelmélet és dialektológia 4: A Károli-biblia nyelve*. Budapest Piliscsaba: PPKE, 2018, 120-47.

- Kovács, Á. Revivalism, Bible Societies and Tract Societies in the Kingdom of Hungary. A Multi-ethnic and Multi-cultural work for Spreading the Good News of Jesus Christ, *Perichoresis the Theological Journal of Emanuel University* 1, 2021, 17-37.
- Kovács, Á. British Evangelicals and German Pietists Promoting Revival Through the Work of the Bible and Tract Societies in Hungary, *Scottish Church History* 49, 2020, 100-122.
- Köves S. A Tanach fordításai és az IMIT-fordítás, in Fabiny T., Pecsuk O., Zsengellér J. (eds.), *Felebarát vagy embertárs. Bibliafordítások és használatuk a mai Magyarországon*. Budapest: Luther–Kálvin–Hermeneutikai Kutatóközpont Alapítvány, 2014, 32-44.
- Lanstyák, I. A magyar bibliafordítások jövőjéről (Gondolatok egy bibliafordítási kötet ürügyén), *Fórum Társadalomtudományi Szemle* 18/2, 2016, 3-24.
- Pecsuk O. Az 1990-es protestáns új fordítású Biblia revíziójának elméleti és gyakorlati kérdései, *Magyar Terminológia* 4, 2011, 72-81.
- Pecsuk O. Az 1975-ben megjelent új fordítású protestáns Biblia 1990-es revíziója, in Fabiny T., Pecsuk O., Zsengellér J. (eds.), *Felebarát vagy embertárs. Bibliafordítások és használatuk a mai Magyarországon*. Budapest: Luther–Kálvin–Hermeneutikai Kutatóközpont Alapítvány, 2014, 125-32.
- Pecsuk O. Az 1975-ös protestáns új fordítás 2014-es revíziója, in Fabiny T., Pecsuk O., Zsengellér J. (eds.), *Felebarát vagy embertárs. Bibliafordítások és használatuk a mai Magyarországon*. Budapest: Luther–Kálvin–Hermeneutikai Kutatóközpont Alapítvány, 2014, 133-39. (Pecsuk 2014a)
- Pecsuk O. *Pontos. Természetes. Érthető. A bibliafordítás elmélete, gyakorlata és távlatai*. Budapest: Kálvin, 2020.
- Pecsuk O. Szükséges és lehetséges-e az egyszerű nyelvű bibliafordítás? Egy holland példa nyomában, *Modern Nyelvoktatás* 27, 2021, 72-87.
- Ruff T. A Patmos-Biblia, in Fabiny T., Pecsuk O., Zsengellér J. (eds.), *Felebarát vagy embertárs. Bibliafordítások és használatuk a mai Magyarországon*. Budapest: Luther–Kálvin–Hermeneutikai Kutatóközpont Alapítvány, 2014, 78-79.
- Ruff T. A Szent Pál Akadémián készülő Újszövetség-fordítás, in Fabiny T., Pecsuk O., Zsengellér J. (eds.), *Felebarát vagy embertárs. Bibliafordítások és*

használatuk a mai Magyarországon. Budapest: Luther–Kálvin–Hermeneutikai Kutatóközpont Alapítvány, 2014, 161-64. (Ruff 2014a)

Szabó Z. Bibliaolvasás és bibliafordítások a nazarénus történelemben, in Fabiny T., Pecsuk O., Zsengellér J. (eds.), *Felebarát vagy embertárs. Bibliafordítások és használatuk a mai Magyarországon*. Budapest: Luther–Kálvin–Hermeneutikai Kutatóközpont Alapítvány, 2014, 58-65.

Szalai A. A Jehova Tanúi „Új világ”-fordítása, in Fabiny T., Pecsuk O., Zsengellér J. (eds.), *Felebarát vagy embertárs. Bibliafordítások és használatuk a mai Magyarországon*. Budapest: Luther–Kálvin–Hermeneutikai Kutatóközpont Alapítvány, 2014, 153-60.

Szőcs Z. Az egyszerű fordítású (EFO) Biblia, in Fabiny T., Pecsuk O., Zsengellér J. (eds.), *Felebarát vagy embertárs. Bibliafordítások és használatuk a mai Magyarországon*. Budapest: Luther–Kálvin–Hermeneutikai Kutatóközpont Alapítvány, 2014, 165-72.

Tarjányi B. A Káldi-Neovulgata bibliafordítás, in Fabiny T., Pecsuk O., Zsengellér J. (eds.), *Felebarát vagy embertárs. Bibliafordítások és használatuk a mai Magyarországon*. Budapest: Luther–Kálvin–Hermeneutikai Kutatóközpont Alapítvány, 2014, 88-90.

Tunyogi L. Kecskeméthy István bibliafordítása, in Fabiny T., Pecsuk O., Zsengellér J. (eds.), *Felebarát vagy embertárs. Bibliafordítások és használatuk a mai Magyarországon*. Budapest: Luther–Kálvin–Hermeneutikai Kutatóközpont Alapítvány, 2014, 140-49.

Zsengellér J. Az 1908-as „Károli-Biblia”, in Fabiny T., Pecsuk O., Zsengellér J. (eds.), *Felebarát vagy embertárs. Bibliafordítások és használatuk a mai Magyarországon*. Budapest: Luther–Kálvin–Hermeneutikai Kutatóközpont Alapítvány, 2014, 47-57.

Káldi-Neovulgáta: <http://www.biblia-tarsulat.hu/docum/neovulgata.htm>;
accessed 17.03.2023.

Revised Károli: <https://karolibiblia.hu/a-reviziorol/>; accessed 21.03.2023.

A Historical Overview of Theological Education in Korea

Focusing on Presbyterian University and Theological Seminary (PUTS)

Introduction

This paper aims to describe the historical development of the theological education of Presbyterian University and Theological Seminary (PUTS), one of the most important theological educational institutions of the Presbyterian Church of Korea (PCK).¹ In general, theological educational institutions in Korea have as their goal the task of preparing those whom God has called to a life of mission and ministry for church.² The purpose of PUTS is also to provide higher education through nurturing leaders and ministers of church on the foundation of biblical theology, in adherence to the confessions of faith and constitution of the Presbyterian Church.

Theological education of PUTS can be divided into four periods: The period of forming the foundation of theological education (1901-1959), the period of reconstructing theological education (1960-1979), the period of academic development in theological education (1980-1999), and the period of field-oriented theological education (2000-Present). In these four periods I would like to focus on the direction and characteristics of PUTS theological formation. I hope that scholars outside of the Korean context can not only see a historical flow of PUTS theological education, but also gain an understanding of the course and history of Korean theological education.

The Period of Forming the Foundation of Theological Education (1901-1959)

The Korean Presbyterian Theological Seminary in Pyongyang, the predecessor of PUTS, was established in 1901. The Pyongyang Theological Seminary was originally founded to spread the gospel, not to study theology itself. The purpose of this seminar was therefore to support the field pastors, who were urgently needed at the time, and to continuously train them in basic theological education. Seminarians at that time were already doing pastoral work in each field. Indeed, in the early days (1901-25, theological education lasted only three months a year, and the students devoted the rest of the year to field work (church ministry).³ The content of theological education was also Bible-centered, and guidelines and standards for church ministry were taught. At that time there were four main educational principles for the training of pastors in the Pyongyang Theological Seminary:

1. Focus on the spiritual aspect of the minister and strive to become faithful believers,
2. Thoroughly teach the Word of God and establish it on the basis of truth,
3. Thoroughly train candidates for ministry as soldiers of Christ, to withstand all difficulties,
4. The level of education of the pastor should not be too high, and the level of knowledge of the pastor should be slightly higher than that of the general church members.⁴

As such, the principle and direction of the Pyongyang Seminary's theological education in the early days was to emphasize the faith and spiritual training that students should have as pastors, and there was relatively little about professional theological training. Therefore, the seminary had a five-year curriculum for seminarians, but in 1920, the five-year curriculum was changed to a three-year curriculum. Courses included: General Theology and Catechism, Soteriology, Jewish History, Pastoral Studies, the Gospel of Matthew and Ancient History, the Pentateuch, and Arithmetic.⁵ After that, in addition to the Bible, Church History, Systematic Theology, and Practical Theology were added to the curriculum. From 1920, the curriculum was reorganized into a one-year, two-semester system (from March to June for the spring semester, and from September to December for the fall semester).⁶

During the period between 1925 to 1938, Pyongyang Theological Seminary classes were held for three years, three semesters a year, but it appears seems that class time has not changed much from the initial theological education period.⁷ However, there was also a significant change during this period, namely the establishment of Christian education department to train Christian leaders.⁸

The establishment of Christian education department was related to the rise of Sunday school. In the initial period of church establishment in Korea, Sunday school education began with its informal approach of Sarangbang (“Guest room”) education and “Grown-up education”. The early Sunday school was targeted for the children and teenagers; but it was actually adult-centered Sunday school by training and evangelizing the grown-ups. It was a deeply moving event that the Bible was translated into Korean to be freely read by peasant people and women. It had great educational significance and led to the eradication of illiteracy through the teaching of the Bible. It had a great meaning that the Sunday school at a church conducted literacy education ahead of religious education. Therefore, in the church field, professional Christian teachers were needed to systematically teach Christian education. As a result, a specialized Christian education course was newly established at the Pyongyang Theological Seminary.

The entire curriculum of the Pyongyang Theological Seminary focused on Bible studies in the Old and New Testaments, and historical theology and systematic theology made up a significant part of theological education. Beginning in 1936, a Bible exam such as “Bible Studies” was held every semester, and a score of 80 or more was required for pass.⁹

Meanwhile, conflicts and debates arose among professors who were teaching theology at the time because they had different views of the Bible. It stems from the problem of accepting historical (advanced) critiques of biblical interpretation. At that time, there is no doubt that the North American missionaries in Korea who planted and led the Pyongyang Theological Seminary during its formative era, played a pivotal role in forming its dominant biblical theology. It is plain that the majority of North American Presbyterians before the fundamentalist-modernist controversies in the 1920s had an old Princeton (Hodge-Warfield line) theology based on biblicism. As it is well known, one of the features of this theology was its emphasis on the plenary and verbal inspiration of Bible, which was taken for granted by most of the North American missionaries of the time. The missionaries in Korea were strongly conservative, and they held the premillennial view of

Christ's second-coming as a vital truth. They therefore regarded generally higher criticism and liberal theology as dangerous heresies.¹⁰

In this theological atmosphere, the issue of higher biblical criticism emerged in earnest in the Pyongyang Theological Seminary and the Korean Presbyterian church. There was intense controversy and conflict due to *The Problem of the Author of Genesis* (1934)¹¹ and *The Publication of Abingdon Commentary* (1935)¹², which adopted historical criticism. *Abingdon Bible Commentary* translated jointly by the Presbyterians and the Methodists in order to celebrate the 50th anniversary of Protestant mission in Korea. A few foreign missionaries and many Korean pastors from both the Methodists and the Presbyterians participated in the translation of *The Abingdon Bible Commentary*, and Hyunki J. Lew led this meaningful project. However, the General Assembly of the Korean Presbyterian Church rejected *The Abingdon Bible Commentary*, because this *Commentary* denied the biblical inerrancy and verbal inspiration. Also, the Presbyterian Church adjured the Presbyterian writers to withdraw their translations in the next publication of the commentary.

Furthermore, the 1930s was the period of the imperialistic aggression by Japan. The colonial policy of Japan became more vicious during its 15-year war of aggression. Japan prohibited the use of the Korean language in order to destroy the national spirit of Korea. Korean language education was restricted in the schools and the colonial government forced the use of the Japanese language in 1937. Japan tried to destroy Korean culture through newspaper censorship, making both the *Dong-A Daily* and *Cho-Sun Daily* illegal in 1940. The extent of the enforced assimilation of language included the systematic replacement of Korean names with Japanese names, replacing Korean personal and cultural identity with imposed Japanese identities.¹³ The cultural annihilation policy of Japan severely conflicted with Christianity, as the Japanese colonial government imposed a forced worship at Japanese shrines in order to oppress Christianity. Religious imposition to break people's faiths included abolishing Christian schools, causing dissolution within the churches, banishing of foreign missionaries in 1942, and abolishing Christian organizations such as the YMCA.¹⁴ In this historical and political background, the Korean Presbyterian Theological Seminary in Pyongyang had to go through chaos due to the political pressure of Japanese imperialism. In 1938, the General Assembly in September finally decided to visit the shrine. In response to this resolution, the seminary was closed indefinitely in September 1938.

After liberation from Japanese persecution (1945) and the Korean War (1950-1953), the Korean Presbyterian Church split into four main groups. First, the practice whereby some Churches allowed members to worship in Japanese shrines caused a split that came to form the Presbyterian Church of Korea Kosin branch (PCK:Kosin) in 1951. Second, acceptance of a more liberal theology by some members caused a split leading to the establishment of Kijang, the Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea (PROK) in 1953. Third, admission into the WCC caused a split between Hapdong, the Presbyterian Church in Korea (GAPCK) and Tonghap, the Presbyterian Church of Korea (PCK) in 1959. Presbyterian University and Theological Seminary (PUTS) has ties with the Presbyterian Church of Korea (PCK Tonghap), of which I am a member.

To summarize the first 60 years of the theological education in the PUTS, which started in Pyongyang, its purpose was to produce pastors who would lead the urgently needed field of Korean church, and to provide standards and guidelines necessary for pastors' field ministry mainly through Bible education. The educational philosophy of PUTS was to nurture pastors with the ability to spread the gospel of the kingdom of God based on the Bible, truth, research ability, and academic knowledge. This can be confirmed by the following six points recorded in the purpose of education section of the Pyongyang Theological Seminary:

1. Train ministers to preach the gospel by studying the revealed the Word of God in the Bible.
2. To continue the work of providing powerful and sincere ministers to the church by studying the Bible wholeheartedly.
3. Encouraging talented individuals who fulfill their pastoral responsibilities in the spiritual, moral, and intellectual spheres and are aware of their social responsibilities.
4. To inspire and nurture the true spirit of evangelicalism to establish Christ's Church.
5. In order to awaken the spirit of inquiry and develop considerable academic skills, after graduation we train people who will be respected and trusted by the public and who can protect orthodoxy and stop heresy.
6. Maintaining the historic standards of the Presbyterian Church, namely the Creed, Catechism, Ordinance on Political Discipline and Model of Worship, as the standard of education in this school.

In summary, the educational purpose of the Pyongyang Theological Seminary is to train faithful and dedicated disciples of Jesus Christ who have received a thorough training in piety and science based on the Bible to spread the gospel of Jesus Christ and to embody the kingdom of God in this story. Therefore, it can be evaluated that Pyongyang Theological Seminary was founded by missionaries of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, and its purpose was to train American pastors rather than European-based theories. As a result, the Pyongyang Theological Seminary cultivated pure believers who were not stained by science or philosophy, and many pastors who succeeded in evangelism and pastoral ministry, and the church developed in a shorter period of time than any other country in the world. However, it was difficult to form an independent theology under Japanese rule (1910-1945), and the establishment and development of theological education could not be expected right away in situations such as the Korean War (1950-1953) after liberation (1945). In this regard, it would be right to regard the 60-year history since the opening of Pyongyang Theological Seminary as a period of preparing for laying the foundation of theological education.

The Period of Reconstructing Theological Education (1960-1979)

The current Presbyterian University and Theological Seminary (PUTS), whose predecessor was the Pyongyang Theological Seminary, was founded in 1960 in Gwangyang-dong, Seoul. In 1961 it was recognized by the state as the "Presbyterian Church of Korea Jesus Theological Seminary". In 1973, the name of the school was changed to "Presbyterian University and Theological Seminary."¹⁵

After theological scholars returned to Korea from abroad in the 1960s, PUTS came into the period of forming actual academic science of theological education. At the beginning of the 1970s, Professors of PUTS have "pursued the unity and diversity of the whole subject by clarifying the nature and division of each subject, which had been decided by hand because there was no clear default."¹⁶ The entire theological education is divided into four areas: Biblical Theology (34%), Historical Theology (15%), Systematic Theology (26%), Practical Theology (25%). Also, during this time, the curriculum continued with an emphasis on biblical theology.¹⁷

However, the process of reorganizing the PUTS system was not so smooth. In 1968, it experienced riots on campus. The problem started with dissatisfaction with the teaching ability and impersonal attitudes of some professors.¹⁸ Furthermore, there seems to have been a serious conflict between the critical tendencies of Western theology introduced by professors returning from abroad and the traditional teachings of denominational theology for cultivating pastors. In fact, the problem of the professors' view of the Bible became an issue at the General Assembly. For example, Chang-hwan Park (1924-2020), a professor of biblical studies, caused a stir in 1961 because he understood Jesus as a human being and the Son of Man as the son of man.¹⁹ In 1966, Ki-soo Kim, a professor of the Old Testament, was open to bible criticism and eventually resigned from the professorship.²⁰ In addition, the positive attitude of Jong-seong Lee (1922-2011), a professor of systematic theology, towards "neo-orthodox" theology became a major controversy. The religious atmosphere at that time was predominantly negative, as it valued biblical criticism and neo-orthodox theology as the new theology versus orthodox theology.²¹ In a word, it can be said that this period of PUTS was an ordeal to establish a theological direction.

The period of Academic Development in Theological Education (1980-1999)

Until 1980, the PUTS divided education into four branches according to the traditional theological divisions of the past: Biblical Theology, Historical Theology, Systematic Theology and Practical Theology, and the number of full-time professors remained at about 15 people. However, in the mid to late 1970s the PUTS attempted to raise the level of theological education through efforts to hire excellent professors, and in the 1980s the quality of theological education at PUTS became visible. The division of theology that remained in the previous four areas was also divided into 10 areas: Old Testament, New Testament, Historical Theology, Systematic Theology, Christianity and Culture, Practical Theology, Missiology, Christian Education, Church Musicology and General Studies (Liberal Arts). The number of full-time professors increased significantly to 36 persons: Chang-Hwan Park of Biblical Studies, Hyeong-Ki Lee of Historical Theology, Jong-Sung Lee of Systematic Theology, Yong-Gil Meng of Christianity and Culture,

Seong-Chun Oh and Jeong-Bok Jeong of Practical Theology, Jeong-Woon Seo of Missiology, Seon-Ae Joo and Seon-Ae Yong of Christian Education, etc.

The discussion about the importance of the academic theology of the PUTS is clearly shown in the lecture of the then Dean Jong-seong Lee. In his 1979 orientation Lecture, Jong-seong Lee pointed out that the Korean Presbyterian Church trains many capable pastors but does not produce competent theologians. Jong-Sung Lee's belief that the PUTS should have the theological capacity to balance the purpose of a pastor's cultivation led to a discussion about the coordinates and direction of theology. As a result, he established "*Pietas et Scientia*" as the educational philosophy of the PUTS.²² His theological characteristics are referred to as "Holistic Theology".²³

The discussion about holistic theology led to "Theology at the Center" by systematic theologian Lee Tae Kim. "Theology at the Centre" means the central, not the fringes of theology, the center between tradition and innovation, conservative and progressive, and left and right. The centrality of this theology can be expressed by the word "tension" in its character. Rather than choosing a side on the frontier and opposing the other, it meant a theological movement that "includes" one another and converges through gradual changes rather than sensational changes relative to the times.²⁴

The theological orientation of the PUTS as such holistic theology and central theology has since established itself as an expression that refers to the characteristics of the theological education of the Korean Presbyterian Church. This theological character of PUTS was revealed in the theological manifesto *The PUTS Theological Statement* (1985), which consists of seven sentences to express the coordinates of the PUTS theology²⁵:

1. Our theology is evangelical and biblical.
2. Our theology is Reformed and ecumenical.
3. Our theology serves the Church and the Kingdom of God.
4. Our theology performs a missionary function and a function of historical and social engagement.
5. The field of our theology is Korea, Asia and the world.
6. Our theology must respond to technological social problems.
7. Our theology is conversational.

It can be said that it is a conversational character of PUTS theology, embracing the Reformed tradition and the ecumenical movement, the Church and Kingdom of God, mission and social participation. The theological statement of PUTS was also intended to define the theological character of the Korean Presbyterian Church. As Karl Barth said, “the Bible in one hand and the newspaper in the other” best represented the atmosphere of theological education at the time. Many of these characters appear in the aspects of the professors who taught at PUTS at the time. A few of the professors who returned from Germany came from the University of Tübingen, where Jürgen Moltmann taught at the time. The PUTS theological education during this period reinterpreted the words of the Bible within the framework of modern Reformed theology—dialectical (neo-orthodox) theology led by Barth and Moltmann and the identity of “holistic” theology and “central” theology.

The holistic theology of PUTS embraces different theological tendencies and realities in the context of the times in which progressive and conservative, evangelical and ecumenical faith emerged, as well as conflicts and confrontations between church and society, and considered them in a scientifically coordinated and comprehensive perspective. This centrality can be fully recognized as a positive aspect of PUTS theology.

However, the wholeness and centrality of this theology is not shown in the church field. It is necessary to think about how it can be implemented concretely and seriously in the field of pastoral care. To what extent has the ecumenical church embodied itself as a church of Reformed tradition? What is the field of ministry in which conservative and progressive theology are realized? It is a time when theological educational tasks of academic theology have to respond to concrete practical requirements.

The Period of Field-oriented Theological Education (2000-Present)

In the 2000s, the theological direction of PUTS, which was founded within the framework of dialectical theology (neo-orthodox theology), faced new challenges and tasks of change. Professors have to focus in theological formation on the training of pastors who can respond to and deal with the practical and social

challenges arising from the diversification of the ecclesiastical sphere and the various problems of life of modern Christians. Especially when the growth of the Korean church stagnated in the 21st century and the credibility of Christianity in society declined sharply, theological education was given the task of addressing specific societal problems. As a result, professors began to think about the task of developing the practical pastoral competence of graduates.

Professors of PUTS has felt the importance of theological education in line with the changing times of the 21st century. To commemorate the 100th anniversary of the PUTS in 2002, the *Theological Education Statement* was released to reinterpret the educational philosophy and purpose and educational goals of PUTS and prepare a theological education that can respond to the challenges of reality. As a result, the PUTS made it clear that the purpose of theological education is to “educate ministers who will serve the Church and Kingdom of God” and advocated a hands-on curriculum. To accomplish this, the Curriculum Development Committee set direction for two curriculum changes: “Strengthening Bible Education” and “Strengthening Field Education”.²⁶ To strengthen Bible training in the Master of Divinity (M. Div.) course, “Old Testament Bible Study” and “New Testament Study” were newly established so that “students can experience practical Bible study” every semester. Specifically, this course was led by a Bible Studies professor, a Christian Education professor, and three local pastors. And the goal was to publish the results of the Bible study experienced in each semester as a textbook so that it can be used in the church area. In addition, the practical character of the pastoral practical course was strengthened in order to strengthen the field work. Therefore, the pastoral practice of the second graders in the seminary was divided into “internship within the church” and “internship outside the church” and by entrusting the practice leader with the responsibility of the practice supervisor to the field of practice training.²⁷ In addition, it has been established “Glocal[Global & local] Field Education Center” to provide administrative support for such field training and systematized the pastoral training course for seminary graduates by hiring professional administration professors.

Additionally, it has been opened a competency-based integrated class in the Master of Divinity (M.Div.) course. This class was designed with the aim of strengthening the comprehensive practical competence as a pastor by designing a class together with professors from three different fields of study:

“Bible, Theology and Sermon” (integrated teaching of the Old Testament, Systematic Theology and Preaching Theology), “Mission Field and Human Understanding” (integrated teaching of the New Testament, Pastoral Care and Christian Education), “Korean cultural education in church and Christian society” (integrated class for Historical theology, Missiology, Christianity and Culture) and “a study on pastoral space” (integrated class for Historical theology, Missiology and Pastoral Theology).

In the 21st century, PUTS focus on the practicality and practicality of theological education to provide practical help to future ministerial candidates, paying attention to the varied changes and circumstances of the time and the pastoral competence assignments demanded in the church field. To this end, the *Theological Life Manual* was created to offer student-centered theology education. In this sense, the orientation of the theological education of PUTS after 2000 can be described as “practical”.

Conclusion

This paper has provided a historical overview of PUTS theological education. During the first 60 years of the theological education in the Presbyterian University and Theological Seminary (PUTS), which started in Pyongyang, it was to produce pastors who would lead the urgently needed field of the Korean church, and to provide standards and guidelines necessary for pastors’ field ministry mainly through Bible education. After theological scholars returned to Korea from abroad in the 1960s, PUTS came into the period of forming actual academic science of theological education. In the period 1980-1999 was PUTS a development of Academic Theological Education. The theological orientation of PUTS as such holistic theology and central theology has since established itself as an expression that refers to the characteristics of the theological education of the Korean Presbyterian Church. In the 21st century, PUTS focus on the practicality and practicality of theological education to provide practical help to future ministerial candidates, paying attention to the varied changes and circumstances of the time and the pastoral competence assignments demanded in the church field.

In summary, the theological education of PUTS has recognized the diversity and practical relevance of theology and has provided an educational space for the training and cultivation of practical pastoral competence through theology, not only where theology is taught in seminars. But if an attention can be paid to the excessive demands of the field, there is a risk of missing the essence of theological training. Therefore, it should be cleared that participants in theological education must always consider the relationship between the nature and direction of theological education.

References

- 1 The PCK (Presbyterian Church of Korea), a branch of the Korean Presbyterian Church, was born in 1959. It is one of the largest Protestant denominations in Korea. The Korean Presbyterian Churches trace back their origins to the first General Assembly meeting of "Chosun YasoKyo Jangrohoe"[The Council of Presbyterian Churches in Korea (CPCK)] held at the Pyongyang Women's Bible Institute on Sep. 1, 1912. With the support of the PC (Presbyterian Church) USA, the PCC (Presbyterian Church in Canada), and the PCA (Presbyterian Church of Australia), the Korean Presbyterian Church was established with the name, "Chosun YasoKyo Jangrohoe[Presbyterian Church of Korea(PCK)]." It adopted the Reformed theological tradition. Presently more than 200 denominations are using "Presbyterian" in the names of their denominations. More than 27 Presbyterian denominations are affiliated in "The Council of Presbyterian Churches in Korea" in 1912.
- 2 Michael Dudit, "Theological Education and Ministry Calling," in David S. Dockery (ed.), *Theology, Church and Ministry. A Handbook for Theological Education* (Illinois: B&H Academic, 2017), 59.
- 3 Joon Bong Jeon, "The Theology and Education of Korean Presbyterian Theological Seminary: Focused on Theological Seminary in Pyongyang," in *Korea reformed journal*, 29 (2014), 234-235.
- 4 Hyung-Ki Rhee, "Searching for the educational purpose and direction of theology of Divinity School of PUTS - Theology for the composition of the curriculum" in *Korea Presbyterian Journal of Theology* 14 (1998), 111.
- 5 In-Soo Kim (ed.), *History of one hundred years of the Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary* (Seoul: Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary Press, 2002), 83.
- 6 *Ibid.*, 85.
- 7 Won-Seok Koh, "Beyond Traditional, Academic, and Practical Theological Education: Analysis of Theological Education of PUTS," in *Theology and Praxis*, 77 (2021), 436.
- 8 Various denominations started to organize education departments and to form educational policy in the period 1906~1929. The Federation of the Sunday school spanning all denominations was organized, the Summer Bible school was opened in 1922, the stepwise Bible text for each department was published in 1927, and various types of teaching materials, Christian books, and textbooks were published.
- 9 Won-Seok Koh, "Beyond Traditional, Academic, and Practical Theological Education: Analysis of Theological Education of PUTS", 436.
- 10 Joon Bong Jeon, "The Theology and Education of Korean Presbyterian Theological Seminary: Focused on Theological Seminary in Pyongyang," in *Korea reformed journal*, 29 (2014), 228ff; Chil-Sung Kim, "A Missiological Study on the Abingdon Bible Commentary Affair in the 1930s," in *Theology of Mission*, 62 (2021), 72-75. Rev. Samuel Moffett, who was a pioneering and leading theological Professor of the Pyongyang Theological Seminary, had a healthy Biblicist theology, which did not have a fundamentalist tendency. The Biblicist theology of Rev. William Reynolds, who was a successor to Rev. Moffett, was almost the same as Moffett's up to 1930, but after that, turned out to be fundamentalist gradually.
- 11 Chil-Sung Kim, "A Missiological Study on the Abingdon Bible Commentary Affair in the 1930s," in *Theology of Mission*, 62 (2021), 73. The committee of the Presbyterian General Assembly

reported in 1935 that Genesis was the work of Moses and that the person who denied this could not become a Presbyterian minister.

- 12 Chil-Sung Kim, "A Missiological Study on the 'Abingdon Bible Commentary Affair' in the 1930s", 66-72.
- 13 Young Woon Lee, "A Brief History of Korean Christian Education," in *A Journal of Christian Education in Korea*, 35 (2013), 108.
- 14 Deuk Young Kim, *The foundation of Reform education Christian education* (Seoul: Chongshin University Press, 1976), 162.
- 15 Sang-Jin Park, *Presbyterian University and Theological Seminary 110 Year Curriculum White Paper* (Seoul: Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary Press, 2011), 75-77.
- 16 In-Soo Kim (ed.), *History of one hundred years of the Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary*, 427.
- 17 Sang-Jin Park, *Presbyterian University and Theological Seminary 110 Year Curriculum White Paper*, 99.
- 18 In-Soo Kim (ed.), *History of one hundred years of the Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary*, 425.
- 19 *Ibid.*, 400-403.
- 20 *Ibid.*, 407-408.
- 21 Won-Seok Koh, "Beyond Traditional, Academic, and Practical Theological Education: Analysis of Theological Education of PUTS", 438-439.
- 22 Hyeong-Ki Lee, "Searching for the educational purpose and direction of theology of PUTS", *Korean Presbyterian Journal of Theology*, 14 (1998), 112.
- 23 Chung-hyun Baik, "Chapter 4: Systematic Theology", *Past and Present of PUTS Seminary* (Seoul: Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary, 2019), 139ff.
- 24 *Ibid.*, 144-146.
- 25 In-Soo Kim (ed.), *History of one hundred years of the Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary*, 482-487.
- 26 Sang-Jin Park, *Presbyterian University and Theological Seminary 110 Year Curriculum White Paper*, 165-166.
- 27 *Ibid.*, 166.

Reformed denominational education in primary and secondary schools in the nineteenth and twentieth century in Hungary

The history of Reformed religious education

Hungarian Reformed religious education in the 20th century

In the second half of the 19th century, changes began in the school affairs of the Reformed Church. This was mainly due to financial reasons, it was increasingly difficult for parishes to maintain schools. Although the inhabitants of the settlement continued to maintain the schools, among which the church members were also present, the church thus lost its previous right of supervision. In the last third of the 19th century, an average of 878 Reformed church members per settlement maintained a school and paid one teacher. Due to financial difficulties, many teaching positions ceased, between 1868 and 1908 534 of the Reformed schools and 203 Reformed schools lost their denominational character in the 1890s.¹ There was a shortage of teachers in the schools, as the congregations could not provide the necessary basic salary. In many places, because of this, pastors and cantors became teachers. The pastors and cantors, who did teaching work, were able to do significant mission work and managed to provide a good standard of education, despite the difficult financial circumstances. Education and passing on tradition and culture was also the responsibility of the school, parents were unable to pass these on to their children due to their work, so this was the responsibility of

the school. Reformed teachers strove to impart the formation of character through Calvinist spirit in both public and civil schools.² For about 50 years, the presence of cantor-teachers in elementary schools became common, who, in addition to teaching, also performed cantor service in the parishes. One of the positive results of this was that the students were in contact with the churches, since they also carried out the religious education. In 1948, after the World War, a significant change occurred in the school organization, which changed the service of the cantor-teachers until then. Due to nationalization, cantors could only continue teaching in schools if they gave up their church service.³

The religious education of the 20th century was defined by an article of law that regulated the religious education of children and young people. Article 43 of 1895 made a distinction between legally recognized and unrecognized denominations in our country. It regulated the possibilities of establishing a legally recognized denomination, the conditions for leaving the denomination, conversion, and religious obligations for children. It was determined that children under the age of 18 had to be brought up in one of the established or recognized religions.⁴ At the beginning of the 20th century, the tension in the relationship between the church and the state became strongly felt, which had an impact on education as well. At the beginning of the century, schools approx. 80% belonged to church.⁵ In many cases, this was a difficulty for parishes, which is why civil schools were founded. The question of faith and moral education and its curricula were not discussed at the state level. They were careful to leave this in the hands of the ecclesiastical authority.⁶ At that time, no decisions had been issued at the national level regarding the subject matter, course, and textbooks of religious education. The General Convent did not issue a central curriculum until 1916, but they formulated the concepts and guiding principles on the basis of which the church districts prepared their own religious education curricula. which were made available to religious teachers and pastors by the dioceses. The church districts tried to solve this issue within their own jurisdiction. The religious education curricula of the Tiszántúli Egyházkerült were among the first to appear, and their content had such an impact on the work of the General Convent that the first central religious education curricula were prepared almost by adopting them. Thus, in 1901, in the Reformed Church District of Tiszántúl, the religious and moral education curriculum prepared for the students of Reformed high

schools and non-Reformed high schools was born, the purpose of which was to educate Protestant intellectuals who would become faithful church members.⁷

The primary material of religious teaching was the Bible. „On the basis of the Holy Scriptures, let us familiarize the students with the doctrines of our Reformed Church, let us make them like the institutions of our Hungarian Reformed Church, so that in the future, even outside the walls of the school, they will gladly read our holy book, zealously participate in the divine worship of the church, and become members of our church who are steadfast in their faith and work in love. „ He draws attention to the fact that Christ and His teaching should always be at the center, and that the principle of biblical interpretation should be the derivation of moral lessons and faith-instilling lessons from stories.⁸

Among the clarifications of the situation and possibilities of catechesis, a trend appeared during World War I that could be formulated as follows:

„Enthusiastic religious teachers, smart curriculum, good religious books.”⁹ This summarizes everything that was missing in relation to catechesis, or what the church's people dealing with religious education were striving for. At the same time, it also became evident for this period that more and more schools need to be handed over to the state due to the compelling circumstances of the state rules (expectations of schools, insufficient financial background). The idea of the state, according to which they wanted to remove religious education from school, also became evident. It was said from several sides: the religious school does not educate religiously by itself, individual faith is needed to develop faith. It crystallized during the attacks: it is necessary to educate one's individual faith, and religious education is an essential tool for human development. The goal became a religious personality, as well as bringing the Scriptures and God closer to people's lives.¹⁰

In the period between the two world wars (1916-1948), the separation of church and state gradually strengthened, which also appeared in schools. The first reformed educational institutions appeared, and then there was a change in education, the 20th article of the law of 1940 was about the obligation to attend school and the eight-grade folk school. Until then, it was a mandatory six-class elementary folk school, and students often continued their studies in the four-class civic school after the four-class elementary school. The new schools presented catechesis with new challenges.¹¹ On the basis of the 1916 curriculum, a proposal for a religious studies curriculum was created in 1940 for elementary

folk schools and secondary schools, which brings changes to the curriculum of the 3rd and 6th grades compared to the previous ones. In the 3rd grade, only Old Testament Bible knowledge is taught, while in the case of the 6th grade, the teaching material of faith and morals is broadened to include the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Our Father, and the teacher of baptism and the Lord's Supper. In the case of repeat schools, in the last year not only church knowledge is included, but also the current constructive work of the church. Its purpose is clearly the development and strengthening of religious and moral feelings, in addition to which the consolidation of faith in God is emphasized.¹²

1948 presented a new situation to Reformed religious education. Since the schools were nationalized and the teaching of religion in schools became only optional, the renewal of catechesis was necessary. The birth of the new curriculum required a new guiding aspect, and this became the church-likeness of catechesis. The curricula still in force at that time represented the position that catechesis is the methodical teaching of specific religious knowledge with the aim of religious and moral education. Due to the end of religious education in schools, catechesis gained a new meaning: it took place in congregational settings, where, in addition to the teaching aspect, the pastoral and missionary nature was more strongly emphasized. The spiritual awakening of the church through the revival and youth movements appeared in the background, and catechesis, which until then was almost only limited to schools, became a church activity again. The main goal became education in the regular use of the Bible and the Reformed songbook. Its stated purpose: „Participating in the community of the church, introducing God's plan of salvation to those who participate in religious education. The purpose of this is that they themselves obey God and want to belong to the community of the church.”¹³

The curriculum was therefore prepared and adopted by 1951. For the curriculum, new religious teaching guidebooks and a religious education reading book began to be developed. Because of the special conditions, the goal here was pastoral and missionary, and catechesis became a kind of preaching, and the goal was to build the congregation. They tried to lead the children to a personal relationship with God, and they used the Holy Scriptures and creeds as tools for all of this.

If we look at the curriculum processes of religious education, it can be seen that this curriculum will survive almost until the end of the century. Although the state

pressure eased in the 1970s, no major changes appeared in religious education. The greater curricular freedom inevitably brought with it the strengthening of personal involvement, the personality of the catechist, his relationship with the Word of God and his church determined his relationship with religious education and thus its quality.¹⁴

Another change took place in 1989-1991, when congregational religious education became legal again. More and more churches tried to reorganize, and parents also enrolled their children in greater numbers, as they wanted the children to receive religious and spiritual education. Religious teachers were also needed for religious education groups, so the training and commissioning of volunteer religious teachers, as well as the training of voluntary church workers, began. Due to the newly changed situation, the purpose and content of the catechesis had to be reformulated. In 1998-1999, the Reformed Religious Education Curriculum 1-6 was published. and 7-12. divided into grades, which entered into force in 2000. Here, the central goal was the preaching of the gospel and the familiarization of biblical stories. 1-6. priority goal for grade: „With the help of stories from the Bible, to introduce children to the rich world of God, His deeds. To introduce them to the life of the church. To show the gift of prayer. Through all of this, to provide a basis for understanding church history and preparation for confirmation. To lead students to the personal and community knowledge and practice of Reformed piety.”¹⁵ Although it is not listed as a priority goal, it is clear from the system of requirements that the goal of catechesis is to create and strengthen trust in God, to encourage them to follow Christ, and to raise children so that they themselves can become committed, self-sacrificing members of the Reformed Church as adults and to their own congregation.

Reformed denominational education in the 21st century in Hungary

In the beginning, the introduction of mandatory religious and ethical or moral education in schools caused a social debate. Those who did not want or do not want to enroll their children in religion classes, could choose the ethics class, although the curriculum there was also formulated on the basis of Christian morals and ethics.

In the school year starting on September 1, 2013, it became mandatory to organise religion and ethics education in state-run schools as well. The new subjects were introduced in an ascending system, i.e. in elementary schools, they were first compulsory subjects only in the first and fifth grades. Finally, by 2016, the compulsory religion or ethics classes were included in the school timetable of all grades.

Regarding the introduction of the subjects, a high degree of division was perceptible in society. In the churches, it became a question as to how they would be able to fulfill the task of teaching in religion classes, whether there would be enough properly trained teachers to carry out the task.

However, the opinion and criticism of many was that the state actually wants to impose church and religious doctrines on children. Although it was precisely for this reason that ethics was introduced for those who did not want to enroll their children in religion classes. According to the surveys, children are enrolled in religious education and ethics classes in a ratio of about half to half, although the number of participants in religious education classes is higher in traditionally more religious regions. Nevertheless, family socialisation proves to be the most decisive factor in terms of which subject is chosen.

According to the legal regulations, parents must declare in writing whether their child wishes to participate in ethics or religious education. The date of declaration is the same as the date of school enrollment, for which the declaration document is therefore required.

After that, the director of the school hands over the data of the students who applied for religious and ethics education organised by the church to the authorised representative of the church legal entity concerned. (The children's personal data cannot, of course, be accessed by other persons apart from the school, the relevant established church and its internal church legal entity.)

After that, the director of the given school consults with the representatives of the churches about the formation of the study groups. This could be, for example, the Catholic, Reformed or Lutheran churches or other denominations as well. In relation to the subject of ethics, all teachers can teach this subject in the lower grades, but in the upper grades, ethics is taught by already qualified teachers.

Like most state measures, the introduction of new subjects had more than necessary political overtones, especially from the side of the political opposition.

As a result, several media strongly criticized the introduction of the new measure. On the other hand, many people had the opinion that cultivating Christian values, or passing on any value system to children can be necessary, especially in the midst of encountering so many ideological and moral questions due to the globalizing zeitgeist of our modern world. That is why religious education is considered to fill a gap in Hungarian education.

Essential factors of religious education

The main task of catechesis is to introduce the word of God to children, so that teaching and education in the faith can be realised.

Through pedagogical work, the child meets the Bible and its stories, through which its message can be known.

In catechesis, the word of God and the child are at the center, so it can be called double-centered. In the case of a child, catechesis must take into account the child's age-related characteristics, the process of faith development, the formation of the image of God and the given life situation in which the child is currently present. For the sake of effective catechesis, important factors are biblical, theological background and context, historical characteristics and fundamental or basic truths that can be learned in the Word, which can be passed on to children as a message in the way they can understand it.

It is a fundamental fact that all environmental factors affect the individual, thus children are also affected by many factors during education. In Hungary, in recent years and previous decades, particular emphasis has been placed on the preservation of Christian tradition and values. This insight led to compulsory education in religious studies and ethics in schools, so that children can encounter God, issues of faith and Christian values as widely as possible. In this way, the transmission of the Christian faith is basically ensured in the school environment as well. Of course, children have the opportunity to choose ethics instead of religious studies, however, many still choose religious studies belonging to different denominations in schools.

Individual faith can primarily be linked to the family, values passed down within the family primarily affect the faith development of the individual and the child. This is followed by school religious education, which is intended to

strengthen both the cognitive and subjective aspects of faith. In particular, schools belonging to churches, such as Reformed schools, place great emphasis on this.

A child or a student can have typical and atypical characteristics, have individual abilities, and also build knowledge through learning. The task of the teacher, in this case the religion teacher, as a professional, is to impart knowledge, carry out teaching and educational work, take into account the individual characteristics and abilities of the students, help the learning process, provide frameworks for effective learning, and through all this help the intellectual, emotional and religious and spiritual development of the child.

During religious education, different concepts are present, which work together and have an effect on the child. In Reformed religious education, these aspects are primarily named as goals. In terms of knowledge, it is important to impart knowledge of the Bible, knowledge of churches and congregations, the image of God, the Christian image of man and worldview. In this way, a biblically based vision and value system can be formed in the child.

Several factors can be named regarding the child's attitude, which are essential from the point of view of Christian faith development. These include commitment to God, commitment to the church and the congregation, motivation to cultivate a relationship with God, and the development of a Christian spirit.

Based on the above, the practical consequences include a living relationship with God, Bible reading, prayer, the practice of the community of believers and the realization of all these in everyday life and actions. These are the factors that help in the formation of the Christian community or society.

In Hungary, until September 1, 2013, religious education was implemented in two areas. One of them is the religious education work carried out in the parishes, the church catechesis, the characteristics of which are facultative, carried out in a church room or in a public school. In addition, the other area was church schools, where participation in religion classes is mandatory and takes place in church school buildings.

After that, there was a change in religious education (after September 1, 2013), when the teaching of faith and ethics were included in the school curriculum instead of ethics. These classes have already been included in the school timetable, it is compulsory to attend one of them based on choice, and religious education takes place on the school premises.

Religious educators, pastors and religion teachers can participate in compulsory religious education according to the currently valid legislation. In addition to church religious education, they can also teach religion in schools. Religious education is present in both state and church schools now. Its curriculum is determined by the Reformed Pedagogical Institute and the Education Office of the Hungarian Reformed Church.

Reformed religious education in Hungary today

The data of the school system of the Hungarian Reformed Church during the academic year 2021/2022:

- 192 Reformed public education and vocational training institutions are currently operating, of which 85 are multi-purpose educational institutions
- Reformed educational institutions are located in 196 settlements
- 503 task performance places – maintained by 132 church legal entities. This includes parishes, church districts, dioceses, and the Synod of the Hungarian Reformed Church
- 101 kindergartens, 115 elementary schools, 38 high schools, 5 vocational high schools, 16 technical schools, 11 vocational training schools, 26 elementary art schools, 3 special pedagogic and conductive pedagogical institutions providing developmental education and training, 26 boarding schools, as well as 2 pedagogical specialist services, 1 network of operating special pedagogues and 1 pedagogical professional service institution.¹⁶

References

- 1 Barcza, József: Az egyház iskolaügye, In: *Tanulmányok a Magyarországi Református Egyház történetéből 1867–1978*, Studia et acta ecclesiastica V. kötet, főszerk: Bartha Tibor, Makkai László, Budapest, Magyarországi Református Egyház Zsinati Irodájának Sajtóosztálya, 1983. 121.
- 2 Hörcsik, Richárd: Református iskola és nevelés, In: *Tanulmányok a Magyarországi Református Egyház történetéből 1867–1978*, Studia et acta ecclesiastica V. kötet, főszerk: Bartha Tibor, Makkai László, Budapest, Magyarországi Református Egyház Zsinati Irodájának Sajtóosztálya, 1983. 302–304.
- 3 Szűcs, Endre: A tanfolyami kántorképzés helyzete, In: Dávid István (szerk.): *Merre tovább kántorképzés?* Konferenciakötet, Károli Gáspár Református Egyetem, Budapest, 2013. 55.
- 4 Balogh, Margit – Gergely, Jenő: *Állam, egyházak, vallásgyakorlás Magyarországon, 1790–2005, Dokumentumok*, I. kötet: 1790–1944, Budapest, História Kiadó, 2005.
- 5 Barcza, József: Az egyház iskolaügye, In: *Tanulmányok a Magyarországi Református Egyház történetéből 1867–1978*, Studia et acta ecclesiastica V. kötet, főszerk: Bartha Tibor, Makkai László, Budapest, Magyarországi Református Egyház Zsinati Irodájának Sajtóosztálya, 1983. 121.
- 6 Az 1883. évi XXX. Törvénycikk a középiskolákról és azok tanárainak képezéséről, In: Balogh, Margit – Gergely, Jenő: *Állam, egyházak, vallásgyakorlás Magyarországon, 1790–2005, Dokumentumok*, I. kötet: 1790–1944, Budapest, História Kiadó, 2005. 386–390.
- 7 Iskolaügy, PEIL, 1901. 15. szám, 227–229.
- 8 Tanterv a Tiszántúli Református Egyházkerület Népiskolái számára, 1909. 4.
- 9 Szászi, Andrea: *„Lelkes vallástanítók, okos tanterv, jó valláskönyvek” Hittanoktatási tantervek Magyarországon a 20. században*. Forrás: <http://rpi.reformatus.hu/hittanoktatasi-tantervek-magyarorszag-a-20-szazadban>
- 10 Nánay, Béla: *Középközpontúink nemzeti és vallásos nevelése*, PEIL, 1915. 28. szám, 207–209.
- 11 Az 1940. évi XX. törvénycikk az iskolai kötelezettségről és a nyolcosztályos népiskoláról, In: Balogh, Margit – Gergely, Jenő: *Állam, egyházak, vallásgyakorlás Magyarországon, 1790–2005, Dokumentumok*, I. kötet: 1790 – 1944, Budapest, História Kiadó, 2005. 750–751.
- 12 Egyetemes Konvent 1940/213. határozat, 7. számú melléklet
- 13 Szászi, Andrea: *„Lelkes vallástanítók, okos tanterv, jó valláskönyvek” Hittanoktatási tantervek Magyarországon a 20. században*. Forrás: <http://rpi.reformatus.hu/hittanoktatasi-tantervek-magyarorszag-a-20-szazadban>
- 14 Molnár, Miklós: A gyermekmisszió szempontjai és problémái ma, *Theologiai Szemle* 1991/2. 77.
- 15 *Református hittanoktatási tanterv, 1-6 évfolyam*, Református Pedagógiai Intézet, Budapest, 1998.
- 16 Data based from the Reformed Pedagogical Institute

Bibliography

- Balogh, Margit - Gergely, Jenő: *Állam, egyházak, vallásgyakorlás Magyarországon, 1790–2005*, Dokumentumok, I. kötet: 1790–1944, Budapest, História Kiadó, 2005.
- Barcza, József: Az egyház iskolaügye, In: *Tanulmányok a Magyarországi Református Egyház történetéből 1867–1978*, Studia et acta ecclesiastica V. kötet, főszerk: Bartha Tibor, Makkai László, Budapest, Magyarországi Református Egyház Zsinati Irodájának Sajtóosztálya, 1983.
- Egyetemes Konvent 1940/213. határozat, 7. számú melléklet
- Hörcsik, Richárd: Református iskola és nevelés, In: *Tanulmányok a Magyarországi Református Egyház történetéből 1867–1978*, Studia et acta ecclesiastica V. kötet, főszerk: Bartha Tibor, Makkai László, Budapest, Magyarországi Református Egyház Zsinati Irodájának Sajtóosztálya, 1983.
- Iskolaügy, *PEIL*, 1901. 15. szám, 227-229.
- Molnár, Miklós: A gyermekmisszió szempontjai és problémái ma, *Theologiai Szemle* 1991/2., 77-80.
- Nánay, Béla: Középkoraink nemzeti és vallásos nevelése, *PEIL*, 1915. 28. szám, 207-209.
- Református Pedagógiai Intézet adatbázisa - www.refpedi.hu
- Református Tanterv, 1909.
- Szászi, Andrea: *A kötelezően választható hittan lehetőségei és kérdései*. Előadásanyag, 2022. 05. 20.
- Szászi, Andrea: *„Lelkes vallástanítók, okos tanterv, jó valláskönyvek” Hittanoktatási tantervek Magyarországon a 20. században*. Forrás: <http://rpi.reformatus.hu/hittanoktatasi-tantervek-magyarorszag-a-20-szazadban>
- Szűcs, Endre: A tanfolyami kántorképzés helyzete, In: Dávid István (szerk.): *Merre tovább kántorképzés?* Konferenciakötet, Károli Gáspár Református Egyetem, Budapest, 2013.
- Tanterv a Tiszántúli Református Egyházkerület Népiskolái számára*, (Debrecen Szabad Királyi Város Könyvnyomda vállalata: Debrecen, 1909).

Today and Tomorrow of PCK's Worship in Light of the *Cultivation of Sanctification* of the Reformed Worship*

Introduction

J. J. von Allmen, a Reformed theologian, called worship a heartbeat of the church. The pulse of the church beats like a heart in worship that repeats contraction and relaxation movements. Just as the heart collects and pumps out the blood of the whole body, worship repeats the process of gathering believers scattered around the world, washing them holy, and then sending them out into the world.¹ Worship is the breath of the church, and the breath makes the lives of believers alive.

The task of theology is to preserve the purity of the faith and the vitality of the Church. To this end, the Church constantly learns from its historical heritage. The legacy of the Reformed Church that the Korean Presbyterian Church pays attention to is worship. In appearance, Korean worship and the 16th century European worship is strikingly different each other. However, the spirit of the Reformed Church continues and transcends the distance between the two through worship.

The Reformed worship has been traditionally the execution of sanctification, and the church leads people's sanctification through worship. Worship as an "*cultivation of sanctification*" means worship that edifies believers, renews their lives and encourages their sanctification. Understanding the Reformed worship as the practice of sanctification is useful for reflecting on today's Korean Presbyterian worship and prospecting its future direction. For this purpose, this study focuses on Calvin's 『The Form of Church Prayers』 (FCP) (Strasbourg, 1545)

as one of the legacy of the Reformed Church. Through this, this study confirms that worship is at the center of the piety of sanctification. Next, this study examines today's worship of the Presbyterian Church of Korea (PCK) from the perspective of cultivating sanctification. The worship of PCK has both a connection and a break with the tradition of the Reformed worship. Finally, this study proposes directions for the tomorrow of PCK's worship that would sustain the purity of faith and the vitality of the church.

Reformed Worship and Sanctification

Reformed Faith and Life

The Reformed Church was born as a devotional movement to return to the Bible, God-centered, and living faith. Huldrych Zwingli was convinced that salvation depends not on the outward acts of faith, but on the action of the free Spirit of God, which promises to renew our hearts and spirits and transform our lives.² For Calvin, the duality of Christian faith consisted in justification by forgiveness and renewal of life, that is, sanctification. He sought to find the sincerity of faith in the holy life of believers accompanied by justification.³ Therefore, he reconsidered any theology or worship that did not aim at the edification of life.⁴ In this dimension, the piety of the Reformed Church is understood as a life of sanctification under the grace of justification. Louis Berkhof defined sanctification as "*the gracious and continuing work of the Holy Spirit by which the Holy Spirit rescues the justified sinner from the corruption of sin, renews his nature in the image of God, and enables the believer to perform good works.*"⁵ The faith of the Reformed Church is tied to the ethical renewal and sanctification of life of the world.

Dogmatic Ground of Sanctification

Worship activates the theological doctrines. Reformed theologian John H. Leith emphasizes that dogmas have been treated not as ends in themselves, but as practical wisdom that helps the lives of the faithful and the church's practices

to shape Christian humanity and society.⁶ The dogmatic themes that this study deals with are human incapability, God's salvation, and illumination of the Holy Spirit. These are the doctrinal resources that lead the Reformed worship to practicing sanctification.

Human Incapability

The Reformed piety goes with an awareness of humanity. Humans are utterly ignorant of salvation. They seek to be the Lord of themselves and are full of confidence in their own freedom and liberty. This is human despair.⁷ Calvin said that human incompetence becomes self-evident before the law.⁸ But salvation opens in their self-awareness. However, the self-awareness is not by human ability, but by the total grace of God. The light of the Spirit enables them to know who they really are.⁹ Humans in despair are waiting for salvation.

God's Victory of Salvation

The Reformed Church sees the awe of God's victory as true piety.¹⁰ Salvation is not in human resources. Karl Barth's consistent theme is the triumph of a saving God.¹¹ For Zwingli, salvation is the victory of God's love that comes from the abyss of human despair. Emil Brunner professed his trust in God: *"Lord, only you can lead me on the right path and reconcile us to yourself."*¹² The Reformed Church praises God for overcoming the hopeless incompetence of humans and leading them to a true life.

Illuminating Spirit

The doctrine of the Word of God is central to the theology of the Reformed Church. It is the Word that builds the church's faith and life. But the word is revealed by the illumination of the Holy Spirit. Calvin wrote that the Spirit *"illuminates us with his light so that we may learn and clearly appreciate the greatness of the riches of God's mercy we possess in Christ."*¹³ In that the Holy Spirit illuminates the deep dimension of the believer's understanding, it is the spirit of sanctification that opens believers' lives anew. Dogmatically, the Holy Spirit is the justifying spirit, and justification by the Spirit involves sanctification.¹⁴ The Heidelberg Catechism, in response to the question[Q.86] of why believers who are saved by the grace of Christ should live a good life, answers that *"it is because Christ, who has saved us, renews us through the Holy Spirit."*¹⁵ The Reformed faith is a life-forming faith;

the Holy Spirit is holy and the Spirit ethically uplifts the life of the church and believers.

『*The Form of Church Prayer*』 (Strasbourg, 1545)

Berkhof regarded sanctification as a direct work of the Holy Spirit, occurring at the subconscious level, but also at the conscious level. The conscious dimension is the practice of the church, such as the study of the Word, prayer, and fellowship of saints.¹⁶ The Reformed church views worship as a workshop where believers are transformed into the image of God.¹⁷ A representative example of this is Calvin's 『*The Form of Church Prayers*』 (Strasbourg, 1545).¹⁸

『*The Form of Church Prayers*』 (FCP)

FCP is recognized as the best embodiment of the Reformed piety of sanctification that synthesizes the various worship services of Reformed churches of the 16th century.¹⁹ There are three reasons for this: First, it best followed the example of early Christian worship by balancing the Word and the Lord's table better than other worship services.²⁰ Second, the Lord's table was important to Calvin because it was a channel for edifying believers along with discipline. Moreover, he could celebrate the Eucharist at Strasbourg at least monthly, not four times a year.²¹ Third, FCP's spirit was "*Glory to God*" (*Soli Deo Gloria*).²² For Calvin, worship that glorifies God was not different from living a life of obedience and holiness. Therefore, Calvin made it possible for worship itself to teach believers a life of sanctification, so that worship would glorify God. Bard Thompson provides the composition of FCP as follows:

Calling Word(Ps.121:2) - Confession - Absolution - First Table of the Commandments
 - prayer - Second Table of the Commandments - Collect for Illumination - Lesson
 and Sermon - Intercessor Prayer - The Apostle's Creed(bread and wine on the table)
 - Prayer for Lord's Table - Institution(excommunication) - Communion(singing the
 Psalm) - Thanksgiving Prayer - Canticle of Simeon - Benediction - Dismiss²³

FCP consists of edifying lessons for sanctification. They are four themes. The first is a repetition of the statement about human sinfulness. Second, it recalls the grace

of the cross of Christ and the effect of God's salvation. The third is the repetition of the confession of the true and holy life of believers under the illumination of the Holy Spirit. The last is the Eucharist as the table of sanctification.

FCP As Cultivating Sanctification

Confessing Human Nature

FCP begins with the words of the Bible: *"Our help is from the Lord, who made heaven and earth."*(Ps.121:2) Believers confess their desperate state by praising God as the Lord of creation and salvation.²⁴ Then, <Confession> comes as follows: *"O Lord God,.. we confess and acknowledge unfeignedly... that we are poor sinners, conceived and born in iniquity and corruption... incapable of any good, and that in our depravity we transgress thy holy commandments..."*²⁵ James F. White criticizes the Reformed Church's persistence to sin, which gave worship a highly penitent character,²⁶ but Calvin saw the confession of sin as the proper way for believers to admit themselves honestly, and as a biblical and trustworthy act of entrusting their imperfect selves to God for doing good.²⁷ This is made clear at <Absolution> as follows: *"To all those that repent in this wise, and look to Jesus Christ for their salvation, I declare that the absolution of sins is effected in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen."*²⁸

FCP's <Confession> is an act that provokes faith in sanctification. It stimulates believers to turn to Savior. It needs to be noticed that Calvin prayed for a renewed life in the Holy Spirit in <Confession>: *"as thou dost blot out our sins and stains, magnify and increase in us day by day the grace of thy Holy Spirit: that as we acknowledge our unrighteousness... we may be moved... producing in us the fruits of righteousness and innocence which are pleasing unto thee."*²⁹ Following the confession of sins, <Absolution> encourages believers to start a new life in God's grace.

Merits of the Cross

The Reformed sanctification is not based on human resources. God's Word gives believers faith to live obedience and holy lives. The virtues of the cross in worship are mainly announced by Bible reading and preaching which is the same and one word of God. The sermon, the exposition of the Bible, gives believers a common memory of the biblical world-view, thereby strengthening their identity and instructing their way of life.³⁰ Above all, <the Commandment> in FCP enacts

the third rule of the law in relation to the gospel; the Ten Commandments are not sung to judge believers or as conditions for salvation.³¹ The prayer between the Ten Commandments shows that it is the answer to life that God's pardoning grace gives: "*Heavenly Father, full of goodness and grace, as thou art pleased to declare thy holy will unto thy poor servants, and to instruct them in the righteousness of thy law, grant that it may also be inscribed and impressed upon our hearts in such wise, that in all our life we may endeavor to serve and obey none beside thee....*"³² In FCP, <the Commandments> function as a cultivation of sanctification practicing the Reformed theology of the Law and the Gospel.

Illumination for Sanctifying Life

The Reformed Church emphasizes that prayer, preaching, and the sacraments become living acts by the Holy Spirit.³³ The prayer for the illumination of the Spirit shows the nature of the Reformed worship. Through this prayer, the Holy Spirit is revealed as the Spirit that not only makes the Word understandable, but also leads to sanctification. Its content is that when they look to Christ, the Holy Spirit illuminates them so that they may know the holy Word of God, so that they may bear the fruit of righteous life.³⁴

The invocation of the illumination repeatedly appears in <Confession> and <Intercessor Prayer>. In particular, <Intercessor Prayer> links the faithful life of believers with the grace of the Holy Spirit as follows: "*O most gracious and merciful Father,... those who are... being in the darkness and captivity of error and ignorance, may be brought by the illumination of thy Holy Spirit and the preaching of thy Gospel to the straight way of salvation... To the end that He... may mortify our old Adam, renewing us for a better life, by which thy name... may be exalted and glorified everywhere and in all places...*"³⁵ The Reformed Church consistently recognizes the Holy Spirit as the illuminating spirit for sanctification. This characterizes worship as an exercise of sanctification.

Sanctifying Bread and Cup

The Reformed Church regards the Word as the primary means of sanctification and the sacraments as the secondary.³⁶ However, in FCP, the sacrament is not secondary. Calvin called the Lord's supper a mystical medicine that heals souls of sinners.³⁷ But it is not for all; it is for believers who entered into the stage of sanctification. <Institution> makes clear the nature of the Lord's table as follows:

Therefore, whosoever shall eat this bread and drink of this cup unworthily shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. But let a man examine himself...

...by the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ, I excommunicate... all who promote sedition or mutiny; brutal and disorderly persons, adulterers, lewd and lustful men,... I warn them to abstain from this Holy Table....

...let every man examine... to see whether he truly repents of this faults... desiring to live henceforth a holy life according to God. Above all, let him see whether he has his trust in the mercy of God and seeks his salvation wholly in Jesus Christ and,.. has high resolve and courage to live in peace and brotherly love with his neighbors.³⁸

FCP's eucharistic excommunication is not legalistic segregation. For Calvin, the Lord's table is not an invitation to salvation, but the "bread of sanctification." It preserves the holiness of the church by protecting the lives of saved believers and encouraging them to live worthy of grace. It is also a lesson for the life of sanctification, like what the Ten Commandments do. Above all, the exhortation to have "*high resolve and courage to live in peace and brotherly love with his neighbors*" is a part that teaches the ethical character of the Eucharist.

Finally, <Thanksgiving Prayer> makes clear what the effect of the Lord's Supper is. The Eucharist is not just the provision of Christ to believers. It is to cause the faith that stimulates all good works to grow and multiply in the believer, and to have that effect repeatedly imprinted on the mind of them.³⁹ In FCP, the Lord's table is to receive faith, which acts as an internal resource that enables life of sanctification.

In short, FCP shows that worship activates mutually formative communication between dogma-faith-life(*lex orandi, lex credendi, lex vivendi*). The Reformed Church does not practice worship as a religious practice separate from daily life. Its worship consistently redefines and strengthens the identity of the church and the believer, as well as repeatedly purifies their lives. In this respect, the Reformed worship is an ethical practice for purifying society and the world, not just the church.

Presbyterian Worship of Korea and Its Sanctification

Dogmatic Ground

The church that inherits the faith of the Reformed Church in Korea is the Presbyterian Church. she began with one church. However, after liberation from Japan imperialism, she was divided into three major denominations. These are the representative denominations of the Presbyterian Church in Korea: The General Assembly of Presbyterian Church in Korea(GAPCK) which advocates conservative orthodoxy, the Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea(PCRK) which stands for social salvation and progressive neo-orthodoxism, and the Presbyterian Church of Korea(PCK) which follows centrist neo-orthodox theology. They formed their own denominations, but they share the 『Westminster Confession of Faith』 (1648) in common as their basic creed.

Based on the Westminster Confession, PCK's creed to which the writer belongs is additionally supplemented by 『Creed』 (1909), 『PCK Confession of Faith』 (1986), and 『21st Century PCK Confession of Faith』 (1999). These provide the doctrinal basis for the faith and practices of PCK.

Understanding of Humanity

PCK faithfully follows the Reformed understanding of humanity. Human nature was corrupted by sin imputed from the disobedience of the first humans. By this depravity humans are opposed to all good and are utterly incapable of doing it. The actual and concrete acts of sin committed by them are due to this corruption. The corruption of believers has been forgiven through Christ, but the effect of corruption remains with believers.⁴⁰ 『PCK Confession of Faith』 (1986) states that communion with God was cut off due to the corruption of human nature, and extends it not only to the personal realm but also to social and national unhappiness such as human rights oppression.⁴¹ 『21st Century PCK Confession of Faith』 (1999) included the destruction and moan of the created world in the reality of sin caused by the fall of mankind.⁴² PCK's understanding of humanity reveals that there is no possibility of salvation in humans, human society, and even creation in light of the Reformed understanding.

Salvation

PCK confesses salvation as God's total grace and sovereignty. First, as the 『Westminster Confession of Faith』 states, God has set apart those who save and those who do not within God's sovereign will. God saves those whom wills to save in God's free will and special grace. But God's election does not depend on their works of faith or godly obedience. It is totally by the righteousness of Christ.⁴³ 『PCK Confession』 (1986) also states salvation as a gift of God's grace through the cross of Christ. Salvation includes the reconciliation between God and humans, namely, the restoration of the relationship with God at creation.⁴⁴ Notably, PCK confesses that salvation comes through faith in God's grace, but that faith must be accompanied by repentance, and salvation cannot be experienced without experiencing repentance.⁴⁵ In other words, 『PCK Confession』 (1986) views salvation as God's total grace, but connects it with believer's act of faith or repentance. 『21st Century PCK Confession』 (1999) sees salvation as a new fellowship between God, mankind, and all creation, achieved through the cross and resurrection of Christ.⁴⁶ In short, PCK dogmatically emphasizes salvation by exclusive grace, but places importance on the repentant life of the saved and the act of faith.

Holy Spirit and Sanctification

『The Westminster Confession of Faith』 followed by PCK confesses the Holy Spirit as the spirit of salvation, faith, life, and illumination. However, the Holy Spirit is ultimately the "spirit of sanctification." Therefore, good and holy deeds are the evidence of true faith, not human merit.⁴⁷ 『PCK Confession』 (1986) also states that the Holy Spirit is the sanctifying spirit and makes it possible for believers to live a life of sanctification. Sanctification is manifested in love, justice, and holiness in the individual, social, and national realms.⁴⁸ 『21st Century PCK Confession』 (1999), written in a shorter and condensed form, confesses the Holy Spirit as the minister of reconciliation between God-human and creation, and briefly states as follows: *"even though they are sinners, they receive Jesus as the Christ through the work of the Holy Spirit and through this gospel, they are justified by faith, leading to repentance, progressing toward sanctification and glorification, and enjoy eternal fellowship with the Triune God."*⁴⁹

In short, PCK follows the traditional confession of the Reformed Church on human nature, salvation, and believer's life. In particular, 『PCK Confession』 (1986), at "Salvation" of Chapter 6, briefly confesses in relation to sanctification

as follows: *“Christians are to live a life of love, justice, and holiness in accordance with the life...of Jesus Christ. They must continue a life of love, helping them and serving them, rather than taking advantage of others....”*⁵⁰ However, PCK’s own credo, 『PCK Confession』 (1986) and 『21st Century PCK Confession』 (1999) selectively deal with several central themes, and their contents are abbreviated. Therefore, they do not clearly reveal the Reformed identity of PCK, including sanctification. In other words, PCK still receives much of confession of faith from 『the Westminster Confession of Faith』 380 years ago.

Worship and Its Cultivation

The Reformed worship is traditionally a place where doctrine, faith, and life mutually communicate. This study observes how PCK’s worship mutually communicates with its doctrines and life of sanctification.

Forms

Ways of worship vary according to local situation and culture of each church. Nevertheless, Protestant churches of Korea worship in a similar way beyond the identity of each denomination. Broadly, in PCK, there are two ways of worship: One is traditional worship with a fixed form; the other is modern worship, a freer and simpler way of worship centered on praise songs.

First, traditional way of worship is sermon-centered worship influenced by the Reformed tradition. It is centered on prayer, hymn, sermon, and offering. But it varies to range from a more extended form with other detailed orders to a more simplified form consisting of hymn, prayer, Bible reading, anthem, sermon, offering, hymn, benediction.⁵¹ The celebration of the Lord’s table varies according to circumstances of each church, such as 1 or 2 times a year, 4 times a year, and monthly. The traditional way is mainly carried out in corporate worship of the Lord’s day.

Another way is modern styled worship centered on praise songs and music. It is common in worship other than corporate worship on Sunday. This worship uses gospel songs, praise worship, or contemporary Christian music (CCM) rather than traditional hymnody. Worshipers are free to express their personal emotional responses. This worship largely consists of opening praise-prayer-sermon-praise and prayer-benediction.⁵²

Contents of Worship

PCK has a worship directory which is titled 『the Book of Common worship』 (BCW). It is based on the identity of PCK and is used as a general standard for composing worship. BCW, although limited, shows the relationship between worship and sanctification. This paper uses [Sunday Worship (Form 1)] of PCK's BCW(2022) as a sample for research. It is presented as the model for Sunday worship service.

Meaning of Worship

PCK emphasizes worship as an act of serving the one and only God. PCK reveals its understanding of worship in [Part 4_Worship and Ceremony] of the Constitution. First, it states that the purpose of the church is to glorify God through worship and to enjoy Him forever.⁵³ True worship consists in realizing God's creation and saving work and responding to it in a thrilling way. The center and object of worship is God alone, because worship is conducted by the sovereign grace of God from the beginning to the end. The attitude of worship is to offer praise to God with the utmost of heart, soul, and will.⁵⁴

Such understanding of worship is also confirmed in the guidelines for educating worship. The church should educate her people to understand the theological relationship of God and humans, and teach that worship is the highest priority in life. In addition, the church should educate its members so that they can know the meaning of each order and actively participate in worship service.⁵⁵ PCK's understanding of worship focuses on explaining the meaning of "*worship*" as an action toward God and guiding the worshiper's mind-set. In other words, PCK associates the goal of worship, "*glorifying God,*" with the correct attitude of believers participating in worship.

The revised PCK's BCW(2022) addresses the public dimension of worship. Worship should be linked to a life of service for people (*leiturgia*) along with action toward God. This is one of the characteristics of worship in the Reformation tradition. Worship must open to a responsible and practical life of caring for the world and nature according to God's will in creation.⁵⁶ However, reference to public service of worship is limited to an overview introduction to worship. In addition, BCW(2022) presents "*worship glorifying God*" as a characteristic of PCK worship in accordance with that of the Reformation. However, BCW(2022) does not provide the meaning of "*worship glorifying God,*" and its connection with

public service or practical life is ambiguous.⁵⁷ Also, the examples of BCW(2022) do not clearly show how “*glorifying God*” can be expressed and practiced in prayers, confessions, and praises in worship.⁵⁸ On the other hand, the Reformed Church saw the renewal of life as “*Glory to God*,” and linked worship to “*Glory to God*” with the edification or practice of sanctification. As mentioned earlier, Calvin repeatedly expressed doxology in each part of worship.

Confession and Absolution

Calvin’s FCP included supplication for the renewal of life along with confession of sin. In this way, the proclamation of absolution stimulated the believer’s will to live a new life, relying on the grace of forgiveness.

Sunday worship(Form 1) of PCK’s BCW(2022) begins <Prayer of Confession and Confession> calling “*Holy and Compassionate God*”. This is the reason why people confess their sins to God. Before God’s holiness, they confess their faults and sinful deeds; because God is also merciful, they ask forgiveness from him. The purpose of this prayer is that people who confess relying on God’s forgiveness may follow Lord’s way of life. Below is the comparison between FCP’s <Confession> and PCK’s <Prayer of Penance and Confession>.

THE FORM OF CHURCH PRAYERS (<i>Strasbourg, 1545</i>)	BOOK OF COMMON WORSHIP (<i>PCK, 2022</i>) ⁵⁹
<p>O Lord God, eternal and almighty Father, we confess and acknowledge unfeignedly before thy holy majesty that we are poor sinners, conceived and born in iniquity and corruption, prone to do evil, incapable of any good, and that in our depravity we transgress thy holy commandments without end or ceasing: Wherefore we purchase for ourselves, through thy righteous judgment, our ruin and perdition. Nevertheless, O Lord, we are grieved that we have offended thee; and we condemn ourselves and our sins with true repentance, beseeching they grace to relieve our distress. O God and Father most gracious and full of compassion, have mercy upon us in the name of thy son, our Lord Jesus Christ. And as thou dost blot out our sins and stains, magnify and increase in us day by day the grace of thy Holy Spirit: that as we acknowledge our unrighteousness with all our heart, we may be moved by that sorrow which shall bring forth true repentance in us, mortifying all our sins, and producing in us the fruits of righteousness and innocence which are pleasing unto thee; through the same Jesus Christ [our Lord. Amen.]</p>	<p>“If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just and will forgive us our sins and purify us from all unrighteousness” (1 John 1:9). Holy and merciful God, we walk with those who do wrong, and we have also walked in sin. Forgive us our sins. Although the cross of Jesus opened the way for forgiveness and gave us the best life, we longed for more of the things of the world, and wandered in the dark to obtain them. Hear our penitence, and lead us in the path of your righteousness, as we realize our folly and ask the Lord’s forgiveness. Oh, God of salvation, help us. I pray in the name of Jesus Christ. amen.</p>

In terms of content, it seems that Calvin's confession and PCK's are not different. However, Calvin's <Confession of Sin> boldly used language that directly highlighted the total corruption, depravity, and complete incompetence of worshipers, whereas PCK's <Prayer of Confession and Confession> let believers reflect on some of the sins committed by believers rather than accusing them of such total depravity. In addition, Calvin's <Confession of Sin> directly expresses the longing for fruits of sanctification, confessing that righteous and holy life that overcomes sin comes from the abundant grace of the Holy Spirit. On the other hand, PCK's <Prayer of Penance and Confession> expresses invocation of sanctification in a rather general language by saying, "Guide us to the path of your righteousness." PCK's prayer of confession needs to use more direct and appropriate language to faithfully contain the Reformed understanding of humanity and grace of forgiveness. Above all, the confession of penance must include a confession of the work of the Holy Spirit's grace that makes life renewal possible. The <Words of Forgiveness> following <Prayer of Confession and Confession> declares Bible verses related to forgiveness and expresses gratitude to God for forgiveness.

Invocation of Illumination

For the Reformed Church, the Holy Spirit is the spirit that makes prayer, preaching, and the sacraments, and everything else alive. von Allmen noted that worship is not a fantasy or magic because it is a prayer for the presence of the Holy Spirit.⁶⁰ In the Reformed worship, the Holy Spirit is both the spirit of illumination and sanctification; the Spirit gives believers a true understanding of the Word and leads them to realize a deep dimension of life, so that they may turn from the old way of life to the new.

FCP prays for the illumination prior to Bible reading and sermon. This prayer reveals the purpose of Bible reading and preaching. It is to enlighten the true knowledge of the Word through the illumination of the Spirit to believers and let them produce fruits of a righteous life in their daily lives. In a word, petition for the illumination of the Spirit is for a life of sanctification. On the other hand, PCK's BCW suggests two example prayers for the illumination. But they mainly focus on the illumination related to understanding of the Word. Below is a comparison between FCP's <Collect for Illumination> and <Prayer for the Illumination of the Holy Spirit> of PCK's BCW.

THE FORM OF CHURCH PRAYERS <i>(Strasbourg, 1545)</i>	BOOK OF COMMON WORSHIP <i>(PCK, 2022)⁶¹</i>
<p>Let us call upon our Heavenly Father, Father of all goodness and mercy, beseeching Him to cast the eye of His clemency upon us, His poor servants, neither impute to us the many faults and offenses which we have committed, provoking His wrath against us. But as we look into the face of the Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, whom He hath appointed Mediator between Himself and us, let us beseech Him, in whom is all fulness of wisdom and light, to vouchsafe to guide us by His Holy Spirit into the true understanding of His holy doctrine, making it productive in us of all the fruits of righteousness: to the glory and exaltation of His name, and to the instruction and edification of His Church. And let us pray unto Him in the name and favor of His well-beloved Son, Jesus Christ, as He hath taught us to pray, saying: Our Father, which art in heaven....</p>	<p>[ex.1] God, when the Bible is read and your word is proclaimed, enlighten our hearts and minds with the power of your Holy Spirit, and guide us to understand the truth and obey you. I pray in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. amen.</p> <p>[ex.2] God, when we hear your word, lead us by the power of your Holy Spirit, and let the way of your word be opened in us. Let us rejoice in your truth. I pray in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. amen.</p>

In addition to <Collect for Illumination>, FCP seeks the illumination of the Holy Spirit in confession of sins and pastoral prayer. They are invariably related to the formation of sanctifying life of believers.⁶² On the other hand, PCK's BCW does not link the illumination of the Spirit with the life of sanctification, and it is difficult to find other prayers related to the illumination in worship, except for the prayer for the presence of the Spirit in the Lord's table.

Lord's Table and Sanctification

FCP ate and drank the Lord's table as "*the food of sanctification.*" It stands out in its institution and exhortation, and becomes more evident in the prayer of thanksgiving after the table, which links its effectiveness to sanctification.

PCK's BCW(2022), unlike its predecessors, has a link between the Lord's table and sanctification. Its prayer for the presence of the Spirit is a prayer to sanctify the bread and cup through the Spirit's presence and to ask believers to receive the Lord's bread and cup worthily.⁶³ Though not explicit, BCW(2022) includes pleas for the change in the lives of the participants: 1) Through the presence of the Spirit, Lord let us participate in the body and blood of Christ. 2) In the Spirit, unite us with Christ and with others who partake of the table, and connect with Christ's

ministers in the world. 3) Eating the bread, let us become another body of Christ that brings life to the world. 4) May God's will be fully accomplished in the church and in the world through the sacrament. 5) Lead us until all believers participate in the heavenly feast and be faithful to God's work.⁶⁴ Although not clear, the connection between the Lord's table and sanctification is also confirmed in the prayer of thanksgiving after the table.

<p>THE FORM OF CHURCH PRAYERS <i>(Strasbourg, 1545)</i></p>	<p>BOOK OF COMMON WORSHIP <i>(PCK, 2022)⁶⁵</i></p>
<p>Heavenly Father, we offer thee eternal praise and thanks that thou hast granted so great a benefit to us poor sinners, having drawn us into the Communion of thy Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, whom thou hast delivered to death for us, and whom thou givest us as the meat and drink of life eternal. Now grant us this other benefit: that thou wilt never allow us to forget these things; but having them imprinted on our hearts, may we grow and increase daily in the faith which is at work in every good deed. Thus may we order and pursue all our life to the exaltation of thy glory and the edification of our neighbor; through the same Jesus Christ, thy Son, who in the unity of the Holy Spirit liveth and reigneth with thee, O God, forever. Amen.</p>	<p>[ex.1] God of life, thank you for feeding us today with the bread of life and the cup of salvation, for making us one body with Christ, and for uniting all of us who participate. Now, in the power of the Holy Spirit, let us go out into the world to share with the world your redeeming love and the resurrection life of Jesus Christ. We pray in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. amen.</p> <p>[ex.2] Abundant God, thank you for feeding us today with the bread and drink of salvation. May we, who have been strengthened by the food of life, live by showing love to our neighbors and the world. Also, help me to live as a witness of the resurrection every day in the power of the Holy Spirit. I pray in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. amen.</p>

BCW's second example expresses the benefits of sanctification by the Lord's table. However, the challenge of BCW is that there are practical limitations to its use by local churches. Its prayers for the Lord's table are long and verbose as they follow the traditional form of the great Eucharistic Prayer. In addition, the general worship of PCK is the word worship centering on praise, prayer, and sermons. Except in exceptional cases, most churches in PCK celebrate the Holy Communion once or twice a year, or four times a year. Given that worship's life-shaping effect lies in its continuity and repeatability, PCK is clearly limited in terms of edification or practice of sanctification.

Reflection

First, PCK's BCW(2022) refers to the public dimension of worship, unlike previous directories. However, it is a brief introductory statement. Moreover, it does not present the theological connection between "*worship glorifying God*," PCK's cause of worship, and ordinary life of believers. Such disconnection clearly appears in [Sunday Worship (Form 1)]. It is not clear which part of worship characterizes PCK's worship as "*worship glorifying God*." In addition, it is not also clear how the renewal of life by worship relates to "*glory to God*." This shows that PCK's BCW(2022) still recognizes worship as a mindful act toward God. The act of worship to God is also part of sanctification. However, sanctification pursued by the Reformed Church is concretely directed toward the renewal of the lives of believers in the world and their purified social relationships. It is reasonable for PCK to reflect that the secularization of faith in Korean church would be related to the lack of sanctification in worship. In order to generate faith in God and form the Christian identity, PCK worship needs to re-shape words of prayer, confession, and praise in a more balanced way for a life of sanctification. In this regard, Calvin's FCP is still a fruitful example.

Second, the Reformed Church sees the illumination of the Holy Spirit as an inner sign of faith. It makes worship true and characterizes the *Reformed* worship. FCP repeatedly seeks the illumination of the Spirit in parts other than <Collect for Illumination>. They are related to shaping believers' life. On the other hand, PCK's BCW limits the role of the Holy Spirit to the part of "Prayer for Illumination." And it does not link closely the illumination of the Spirit with sanctification. This requires a theological and pastoral reflection to PCK on what the Reformed faith would be and how worship should perform it.

Prospect for Tomorrow's Worship of PCK

James De Jong, who was a principal of Calvin Theological Seminary, USA, insists that worship service should be remolded to match with a real life of congregation when it does not go with loving people in ordinary life.⁶⁶ The Reformed worship is a worship that shapes the lives of believers. In this regard, PCK has challenges to be overcome in order to be a cultivation of sanctification.

First, it is a reflection on whether worship mutually links the church's doctrines, confessions of faith, and people's lives. As Raymond Abba stressed, worship must be theological, not pragmatic. Rooted in the Reformed piety, PCK worship needs to be based more on the theology of the law and gospel and perform it by languages of prayer, confession, and praise song. Sanctification, in its relation to justification, is rightly edified by the balanced knowledge of the law and gospel, which would be an inner and deep grammar of the Reformed worship.

Second, in this sense, PCK needs to use the Ten Commandments in her worship, and it is necessary to make prayer for the illumination of the Spirit more explicit to be a prayer for sanctification. PCK respects the autonomous judgment of a local church on how to worship and the improvised presiding of worship by the head pastor. In this context, the nature and direction of worship depends on the pastor's faith and theology even if worship is the church's communal practice. Moreover, historically, over the past century, the Korean Protestant Church as a missionary church has been with the growth ideology of salvation of souls, church growth, and revival by birth. Although today's social value system has changed rapidly, many protestant churches are still under the influence of the revival and growth ideology. For this reason, it is often the case that the standards of worship are not based on biblical doctrine, but rather on people's preferences or on the cultural tastes of believers. Therefore, worship that attracts attention among believers is worship that is more pragmatic, emotionally stimulating, felt and experienced. Worship cannot ignore these factors. However, in many churches, those attractive dimensions are eroding the biblical and pious values of the church. Accordingly, PCK must come up with measures so that the church can maintain the Reformed piety, form a believer's sanctification, and make worship an ethical practice in the world, without infringing on the autonomy of local churches. Therefore, PCK should be concerned to more realistically and richly capture the dimension of sanctification of worship that the Bible teaches and has been shared by the churches of history

Finally, it is necessary to make the Lord's table a routine of life as a faithful rhythm. In the Reformed tradition, worship means "preaching worship." The Lord's table is not essential for salvation, but a "bread of sanctification" that confirms the saved faith and strengthens their identity and life. Therefore, PCK needs to make the Lord's table a regular part of worship so that it can be a part of our faith and daily life. Thus, PCK needs to find out a more concrete and practical way to do this.

References

- * This article was published in Korean in the *Korea Presbyterian Journal of Theology*, vol.54/5 (2022.12), 211-236.
- 1 J. J. von Allmen, *Worship: Its Theology and Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), 55. On the Relationship between the puritans' sunday worship and the holy life, refer to Horton Davies, *The Worship of the American Puritans*, trans. Seok-Han Kim, 『Cheong-gyodo Yebae(1629-1730)』 (Seoul: Gidogyo Munseo Seongyo Hoe,1995), 29-30.
 - 2 Huldrych Zwingli, *Schriften III*, trans. Gong Seong-cheol. 『Cheubing-geulli Jeojag Seonjib 3』 (Seoul: Yeonse Daehaggyo Daehag Chulpan Munhwawon, 2017), 250.
 - 3 John H. Leith, *An Introduction to the Reformed Tradition: A Way of Being the Christian Community*, Revised Edition (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1981),79.
 - 4 Ibid.
 - 5 Louis Berkhof, *Systematic Theology*. trans. Young-Min Ko, 『Vulkov Systematic Theology』, Second volume (Seoul: Gidogyomunsa, 1999), 298.
 - 6 Leith, *Introduction to the Reformed Tradition*, 109-10.
 - 7 Zwingli, *Schriften III*, 69,78,83-84,85,86-87,88.
 - 8 Ioannes Calvinus, *Institutio Christianae Religionis*, trans. Byeong-Ho Moon, 『Latin-eo Jig-yeog Gidogyo Gang-yo』 (Seoul: Saengmyeongui Malsseumsa, 2009), 139-40. W. P. Stephens, *Zwingli: An Introduction to His Thought*, trans. Park Kyung-soo, 『Cheubing-geulliui Saeng-aewa Sasang』 (Seoul: Daehan Gidogyo Seohoe, 2013), 123,125.
 - 9 Zwingli, *Schriften III*, 85,86,88,95,128.
 - 10 Ibid., 95-96.
 - 11 Karl Barth and Eduard Thruenysen, *Come Holy Spirit: Sermons* (New York:Round Table Press, 1933), 57-66.
 - 12 Emil Brunner, *The Great Invitation* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1955), 54-61.
 - 13 Calvinus, *Institutio Christianae Religionis*, 191.
 - 14 Berkhof, *Systematic Theology*, 295.
 - 15 Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), *Book of Confessions* (New York and Atlanta: Office of the General Assembly, 1983), 4.086.
 - 16 Berkhof, *Systematic Theology*, 300.
 - 17 Hughes Oliphant Old, *Guides to the Reformed Tradition: Worship That Is Reformed According to Scripture* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1984), 4, 8.
 - 18 John Calvin, "The Form of Church Prayers and Hymns with the Manner of Administering the Sacraments and Consecrating Marriage According to the Custom of the Ancient Church," in Bard Thompson(sel.), *Liturgies of the Western Church* (Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Co., 1964), 197-208.

- 19 Leith, *Introduction to the Reformed Tradition*, 181. Robert E. Webber, *Worship Old & New: A Biblical, Historical, and Practical Introduction*, Revised Edition (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1994), 113.
- 20 Bard Thompson(sel.), *Liturgies of the Western Church* (Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Co., 1964), 189, Old, Guides to the Reformed Tradition, 128.
- 21 Thompson, *Liturgies of the Western Church*, 188.
- 22 Calvin, *Opera selecta*, 2:12; Philip Gradham Kyken, Derek W. H. Thomas, & J. Ligon Duncan III(ed.), *Give Praise to God*, trans. Kim Byung-ha and Kim Sang-gu, 『Gaebyeogjuui Yebaehag: Yebaegaehyeog-eul Wihan Bijeon』(Seoul: Gaebyeogjuui Sinhagsa, 2012), 636; Thompson, *Liturgies of the Western Church*, 193,194. In worship, "Glory to God" appears in various places in the form of a song or a lesson. In <Calling Word>, <Prayer> between the two Commandments, <Intercessor Prayer> after the sermon, <Prayer for Lord's Table>, <Thanksgiving Prayer> after the sacrament, etc. Doxology in Intercessor prayer is as follows: "...May the name of the Lord be exalted and glorified in all places and in all places. We offer true and perfect obedience with all creation..." Ibid., 198,201,203,205,208.
- 23 Ibid., 197-208. See also, Leith, *Introduction to the Reformed Tradition*, 182.
- 24 Refer to Thompson, *Liturgies of the Western Church*, 190.
- 25 bid., 197.
- 26 James F White, *Protestant Worship: Traditions in Transition* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1989), 66.
- 27 Inst., III,iv,9-10. Refer to Thompson, *Liturgies of the Western Church*, 190-91.
- 28 Ibid., 198.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 James F. White, *Introduction to Christian Worship*. Third Edition Revised and Expanded (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2000), 237-38.
- 31 Refer to Berkhof, *Systematic Theology*, 294.
- 32 Ibid., 198.
- 33 Ryken, Thomas, & Duncan III, *Give Praise to God*, 636.
- 34 Thompson, *Liturgies of the Western Church*, 209n 4.
- 35 Ibid., 200-02.
- 36 Berkhof, *Systematic Theology*, 295, 301.
- 37 Thompson, *Liturgies of the Western Church*, 206.
- 38 Ibid., 205-06.
- 39 Ibid., 208.
- 40 General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Korea(PCK), 『Heonbeob』(*Constitution*) (Seoul:Hangug Janglogyo Chulpansa, 2019), 86-87,88 (1pyeon-4bu-6,7jang).

- 41 Ibid., 153 (1pyeon-5bu-5jang-4,5jeol).
- 42 Ibid., 169 (1pyeon-6bu-2jang-2jeol).
- 43 Ibid., 94-95 (1pyeon-4bu-10jang-2jeol, 11jang-1jeol).
- 44 Ibid., 153-54 (1pyeon-5bu-6jang-1,2jeol).
- 45 Ibid., 154 (1pyeon-5bu-6jang-3jeol).
- 46 Ibid., 170 (1pyeon-6bu-2jang-3jeol).
- 47 Ibid., 88,93-94,98,99,101,102,135 (1pyeon-4bu-7jang-3jeol, 10jang-1,2jeol, 13jang-1,3jeol, 14jang-1jeol, 16jang-2,3jeol, 34jang-3,4jeol).
- 48 Ibid., 151,154,155 (1pyeon-5bu-4jang-2,3jeol, 6jang-4,7jeol).
- 49 Ibid., 170-71 (1pyeon-6bu-2jang-4jeol).
- 50 Ibid., 155 (1pyeon-5bu-6jang-7jeol).
- 51 Ibid., 24-28.
- 52 Ibid., 69. Gim Segwang. 『Yebaeui Sinbi: Yebae Bonjil-ui Tamgu- Dayangseong-gwa Tongilseong』 (*The Mystery of Worship: An Exploration of the Essence of Worship - Diversity and Unity*) (Seoul: Handeul Chulpansa, 2020), 217-18.
- 53 General Assembly of PCK, 『Heonbeob』, 379 (4pyeon-1jang, 1-1-1).
- 54 Ibid., 380 (4pyeon-1jang, 1-2-1, 1-2-2).
- 55 Ibid., 383-84 (4pyeon-1jang, 1-5-1, 1-5-2, 1-5-3).
- 56 Committee on the Book of Common Worship (ed.), 『Yebae Yesigseo』 (*The Book of Common Worship*) (Seoul: Hangug Janglogyo Chulpansa, 2022), 18, 23.
- 57 Ibid., 21.
- 58 In the examples of *BCW*(2022), “*doxology*” is found in the Lord’s table of the Sunday worship (Form 1). Among them, it is found in <The Eucharistic Prayer> and <The Great Thanksgiving>. However, this is only the case when traditional prayers are followed. Ibid., 55.
- 59 Ibid., 50.
- 60 von Allmen, *Worship*, 27, 29.
- 61 Committee on *BCW*, 『Yebae Yesigseo』 (2022), 51.
- 62 Thompson, *Liturgies of the Western Church*, 200-02.
- 63 Committee on the Book of Common Worship (ed.), 『Yebae Yesigseo』 (*the Book of Common Worship*) Standard Revision (Seoul: Hangug Janglogyo Chulpansa, 2008), 58, 67, 68.
- 64 Committee on *BCW*, 『Yebae Yesigseo』 (2022), 56, 98,
- 65 Ibid., 59.
- 66 James A. De Jong, *Into His Presence: Perspectives on Reformed Worship*, trans. Kyu-III Hwang, 『Gaehyeogjuui Yebae』 (Seoul: Gidoggyo Munseo Seongyo Hoe, 1997), 186.

Bibliography

- Barth, Karl. & Thruenysen, Eduard. *Come Holy Spirit: Sermons*. New York: Round Table Press, 1933.
- Bavinck, Herman. *Gereformeerde Dogmatiek*. Translated by Yeonggyu Gim. 『Gaehyeogjuui Gyoihag I』. Seoul: Keuliseuchan Daijeseuteu, 1996..
- Berkhof, Louis. *Systematic Theology*. Translated by Youngmin Ko. 『Vulkov Systematic Theology』, Second volume. Seoul: Gidoggyomunsa, 1999.
- Brunner, Emil. *The Great Invitation*. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1955.
- Bullinger, Heinrich. *Dekaden*. Translated by Park Sang-bong and Kang Seung-wan. 『Heinrich Bullinger's Theory of the Church: Sermons 41-45 of the 50 Sermons』. Suwon: Hapshin Graduate School Publishing Department, 2020.
- Calvinus, Ioannes. *Institutio Christianae Religionis*. Translated by Byeong-Ho Moon. 『Latin-eo Jig-yeog Gidoggyo Gang-yo』. Seoul: Saengmyeongui Malsseumsa, 2009.
- Committee on the Revision of the Book of Common Worship (ed.). 『Yebae Yesigseo』 (*The Book of Common Worship*). Seoul: Hanguk Janglogyo Chulpansa, 2022.
- Davies, Horton. *The Worship of the American Puritans*. Translated by Seok-Han Kim, 『Cheong-gyodo Yebae(1629-1730)』. Seoul: Gidoggyo Munseo Seongyo Hoe, 1995.
- De Jong, James A. *Into His Presence: Perspectives on Reformed Worship*. Translated by Kyu-Il Hwang. 『Gaehyeogjuui Yebae』. Seoul: Gidoggyo Munseo Seongyo Hoe, 1997.
- General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Korea(PCK). 『Heonbeob』 (*Constitution*). Seoul: Hanguk Janglogyo Chulpansa, 2019.
- Gim, Segwang. 『Yebaeui Sinbi: Yebae Bonjil-ui Tamgu- Dayangseong-gwa Tong-ilseong』 (*The Mystery of Worship: An Exploration of the Essence of Worship - Diversity and Unity*). Seoul: Handeulchulpansa, 2020.
- Leith, John H. *An Introduction to the Reformed Tradition: A Way of Being the Christian Community*, Revised Edition. Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1981.

Old, Hughes Oliphant. *Guides to the Reformed Tradition: Worship That Is Reformed According to Scripture*. Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1984.

Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.). *Book of Confessions*. New York and Atlanta: Office of the General Assembly, 1983.

Ryken, Philip Gradham. Thomas, Derek W. H. & Duncan III, J. Ligon. *Give Praise to God*. Translated by Kim Byung-ha and Kim Sang-gu. 『Gaehyeogjuui Yebaehag: Yebaegaehyeog-eul Wihan Bijeon』. Seoul: Gaehyeogjuui Sinhagsa, 2012.

Stephens, W. P. *Zwingli: An Introduction to His Thought*. Translated by Park Kyung-soo. 『Cheubing-geulliui Saeng-aewa Sasang』. Seoul: Daehan Gidogyo Seohoe, 2013.

Thompson, Bard(sel.). *Liturgies of the Western Church*. Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Co., 1964.

von Allmen, J. J. *Worship: Its Theology and Practice*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1965.

Webber, Robert E. *Worship Old & New: A Biblical, Historical, and Practical Introduction*. Revised Edition. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1994.

White, James F. *Introduction to Christian Worship*. Third Edition Revised and Expanded. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2000.

_____. *Protestant Worship: Traditions in Transition*. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1989.

Zwingli, Huldrych. *Schriften III*. Translated by Gong Seong-cheol. 『Cheubing-geulli Jeojag Seonjib 3』. Seoul: Yeonse Daehaggogyo Daehag Chulpan Munhwawon, 2017.

“Little” things contribute to perfection and that is not a “little thing”. Michael Angelo Buonarotti
Connections between the Liturgy of the Hungarian Reformed Worship and the Heidelberg Catechism (HC)

I had the honour on the V. HUN-HAN Conference to reveal the essential connections between the Liturgy of the Hungarian Reformed Worship in Transylvania (Romania) and the Heidelberg Catechism, one of the most important Calvinistic Creed.

In this essay we would go through the next topics:

1. Liturgy as dramatized confession
2. Historical background of our Reformed Liturgy
3. How the Heidelberg Catechism came into being
4. How the Heidelberg Catechism shapes the form of the Hungarian Order of Worship in The Reformed District of Transylvania in Romania in practice and how liturgy keeps alive our confession in general – (teaching sermons) and particular – we use as confession formula the answer of the first question.

Liturgy as communication and dramatized confession

The word “liturgy” derives from the ancient Greek word leiturgia that means cooperation and joint service, in churchly area of interpretation will mean the order of acts made by believers, priests and laics. Each service, every denominational worship has its liturgy, they differ and are alike in the same time

in many ways. In this way of thinking liturgy is a dialogue between the calling God and the answering man, where man answers not only by words, but by all his life.

If we look at the Orthodox Divine Liturgy, the Roman Catholic Mass, the Liturgy of Protestant Worship, or other Liturgies used by neo protestant churches, we can observe that in a way or other they organise their liturgies around what they believe about God, Trinity, Church, Communion and believers. Liturgies are in fact dramatized confession of faith from each church. In some points they have parts in common, but we can recognize a church's set of dogma's by its liturgy. Like Christian life, the order of worship in liturgy is a cohesive whole, and the elements should complement one another and be a mirror of the Christian way of existence.

a. as Orthodox church understands it: worship is part of the heavenly worship in front of God. These can be recognized in the elements of Orthodox Divine Liturgy:

1. Preparation/Liturgy of the preparation: Proskomedia, Liturgical Objects, Vestments
2. Liturgy of the Catechumens/Liturgy of the Word: Great Litany, Antiphons, Little Entrance, Troparion, Thrice-Holy Hymn, Epistle, Gospel, Homily, Litany of Fervent Supplication, Litany for the Departed, Litany of the Catechumens
3. Liturgy of the Faithful/Liturgy of the Eucharist: Cherubic Hymn, Great Entrance, Litany of the Completion, Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, Anaphora, Epiclesis, Megalynarion, Lord's Prayer, Communion, Dismissal, Antidoron.
4. b. as Roman Catholic church understands it: worship is preparation of a believer to be in holy communion with Christ in the Last Supper. Elements of RC Liturgy according to the Latin Rite
5. Introductory Rites: Entrance, Greeting, Penitential Act, Glory to God, Collect.
6. Liturgy of the Word: First Reading, Responsorial Psalm, Second Reading (on Sundays and Solemnities), Gospel Acclamation, Gospel, Homily, Profession of Faith (on Sundays, Solemnities and special occasions), Universal Prayer.
7. Liturgy of the Eucharist: Presentation of the Gifts and Preparation of the Altar, Prayer over the Offerings, Eucharistic Prayer, Preface, Holy, Holy, Holy, First Half of Prayer, including Consecration, Mystery of Faith, Second Half of Prayer, ending with Doxology. The Lord's Prayer, Sign of Peace, Lamb of God, Communion, Prayer after Communion,

8. Concluding Rites: Optional Announcements, Greeting and Blessing, Dismissal.

c. as Reformed churches understands it: worship is a duty that one has to exercise in discipline by knowing himself/herself as sinner and expecting the teaching of God about Grace and Absolution, then expecting the teaching for a well-organized, self-controlled and thankful Christian life. Elements of a Calvinistic worship:

Invocation and Call to Worship, The Confession of Sin (prayer) and Brief Absolution, Reading of the Scripture, Psalm Sung, Pastoral Prayer or Prayer for Illumination, The Word of God Preached (Sermon), Prayer of Intercession and Application, ending with the Lord’s Prayer, Psalm Sung, Benediction. It did not contain liturgy for the worship for Communion, because it did not happen every day or every Sunday.

As it can be seen, is very simple if we look at the other liturgies, it is very rational, it sees the church service as a possibility and demand for making oneself ready to understand God’s will and taking the decision to fulfil it.

Short historical background of the Hungarian Reformed Liturgy in Romania

Our Reformed Church in Romania did not develop on its own, it was organic part of the Hungarian Reformed Church in the Carpathian Basin, in the Hungarian Kingdom, and which was organised very short after the Reformation in 1517. In the beginning the Hungarian speaking Protestant Churches had followed the Lutheran wing of the Reformation, then, when pastors, who were trained abroad, came home with ideas spread by Zwingli, Calvin, Melancton and Bucer, our Church has chosen to follow the Calvinist wing of the Reformation. Most congregations in Partium (Temes, Arad, Bihar, Szatmár, Máramaros counties) and Transylvania, which are part of Romania now, became in very short time Hungarian speaking Reformed Churches, and only a few remained Lutherans. Liturgy was also reformed and reshaped, first by Luther, who started to use the translated Bible in German, and stated that everything good and well what does not go against the core teaching of the Scripture. Changes had been made by Zwingli, Bucer and by Calvin as well. He and the other protestant scholars wanted

not only to form the liturgy a bit less Catholic, but they wanted a total reformation of liturgy, so it can link back to the early Christian communities. Here is a description, how Calvin thought the church worship should be: "Calvin's service opened with the minister entering, positioning himself behind the communion table, and saying: "Our help is in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth" (Psalm 124:8).

A call to confession of sins and an appropriate prayer followed. In Strassburg he used an absolution at this point in the service ("To all those who thus repent and seek Jesus Christ for their salvation, I pronounce absolution in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen."); in Geneva he replaced the absolution with a statement of forgiveness. The singing of the first table of the Law, followed by a prayer and the singing of the second table, concluded the service of confession.

As the people sang the second table of the Law, the minister entered the pulpit (in later years Calvin conducted the entire service from the pulpit). The minister then led the congregation in a prayer for illumination, concluded with the Lord's Prayer. The singing of a psalm, a Scripture reading, and the sermon followed. Calvin's service ended with collections for the poor, intercessions, singing the Apostles' Creed, brief pastoral encouragements, singing another psalm, and the Aaronic benediction."¹

Calvin did not order to have Holy Communion in every Sunday, but he created a reformed liturgy for that also. It starts like the other, with calling to worship. It is followed by the confession of sin and Absolution. The Ten Commandments and a psalm is sung. Then comes the Word Read from Old or New Testament and a prayer for illumination. Preaching of the Word / the Sermon is next and prayer of intercession. Here comes the singing of the Apostle's Creed and The Lord's Supper. The Holy Communion is followed by a prayer of thanksgiving and singing, sometimes psalm, sometimes Song of Simeon. Finally, the blessing ends the ceremony. We can notice that lacks any mystical part and personal input.

Hungarian Reformed liturgy in Transylvania – Hungarian way of worship / Hungarian Liturgy

The Hungarian Reformed Liturgy has its roots in this Calvinistic heritage, but because of the special historical background of Transylvania, which initially was part of the Hungarian Kingdom, but later had to stand strong on its own, here the Reformed Liturgy has developed slightly different. In Transylvania in the first

century of Reformation the order of elements in worship and the problem of liturgy hardly occurred. For example, they talked about the altars in the Synod of Beregszász in 1552, that those should be eliminated, but there were reformed churches where in 1656 the altar was still in, and it did not mean problem. People here used the Lutheran more or less cleansed liturgy and life went on. Muslim invasion and re-catholization was our real danger. Lutheran and Calvinistic style of liturgy lives along each other centuries in Transylvania. There were endeavours during the long centuries to form a common prayer book, common liturgy for all congregations, at least in one district, but it does not happen until 1929, when a reform took place between 1929 – 1932. Four very important theologians worked on it, Makkai Sándor, Imre Lajos, Gönczy Lajos and Vásárhelyi János, the first three were professors in our Institute in Kolozsvár. The Synod accepted the Book of Common Prayer of Transylvania – so called Agenda – *Our Worship* and it was set in use on the 1st of January 1933.

The theological concept behind the Hungarian Reformed Liturgy in Transylvania was that the worship is part of the great worship from Heaven with Jesus Christ, is called by God and is organized by the Congregation. Because Christ is the centre of it, the written, read and preached Word must be in the centre of the liturgy, so there is no liturgy without congregation and Scripture reading. The pastor is the called and ordained person who is trained specially to lead the liturgy and to preach the Word clearly. The congregation as a community join in the heavenly worship and celebrates in the church and in personal life. Our liturgical description calls them “factors”. So, the first factor is God’s Word as written/proclaimed/visible sign – as Bible, as loudly read and preached Scripture, as Baptism and Holy Supper. The second factor is the Congregation, who is the fully responsible organizer and participant of the liturgy. The third and last factor is the Pastor, who is ordained to hold the liturgical and preaching responsibilities. He is responsible in the first place to God, then to the Congregation and thirdly to his superiors (dean and bishop). The “participants” of worship will use the elements of the liturgy to express their faith in God, trustworthiness and loyalty to the Word of God and respect to their tradition. The elements make possible the dialogue between God and his people, between Christ and His redeemed believers. While the dialogue happens, there is also a connection between past and present, ancestors and 21st century congregation, because we use the same formulas, vocations, texts, blessings and songs. Even the translated Hungarian

Bible text is from 1590, and is used ever since, with smaller corrections.

The elements of the Hungarian Reformed Liturgy in Transylvania are as it follows:

WORDLY side – when God talks to us – WORLDLY side – when we talk to God

Scripture readings	Prayers
Sermon	Our Father
Sacraments	Psalms and hymns
Unchanging texts, directives	Confession, Creed
Blessings, benediction	Donation, offertory
Absolution	Oath, vow

These elements are set in such a succession that the dialogue is possible and the Congregation is an active participant of the whole liturgy.

If we look deeper into it, we will find, that the Hungarian Reformed liturgy is shaped by a guide-book for Christians written centuries ago, but it is still relevant to our present spiritual and liturgical life. Those professors and scholars in 1929 chose to organize our liturgical understanding and worshipping life around the structure of the Heidelberg Catechism.

How the Heidelberg Catechism came into being

The HC was written in the sixteenth century in the city of Heidelberg. It was requested by the Elector Frederick the third (1516 – 1576), ruler of the Palatinate, an ancient and very influential German province. (It was an important settlement since the Roman Empire). Before his rulership, before 1559 – 1576, lot of tension rose among Christians because of the different understanding of biblical texts and teachings, the Lutheran and the Calvinist wing of the Reformation was wrestling. Frederick wanted to have a clear understanding on the Reformed Christian teaching, based exclusively on the Holy Bible, so he asked Zacharias Ursinus and Caspar Olevianus, professors of the University of Heidelberg, to lead a group of scholars and pastors to create a very practical and tangible help for that. The work has started and in January 1563 was accepted by the Synod of Heidelberg as *the catechismus* of that province and it was printed three times in German

language and even in Latin in the same year. The most well-known version is the fourth print from 1563, identical with the third, when it became part of the Liturgy (Order of worship – sort of a Book of Common Prayer in Palatinate) and the HC found its place between the Christening service and the Holy Supper. The message in this was clear: The child, after being baptized, has to learn to know God by learning the HC and this may the child may arrive to be part of the Holy Supper. Growing up in faith means to learn and know the teaching of the HC, because this confession of faith offers comprehensive instruction of Reformed doctrine and theology, so it should be used both in personal spiritual life and church teaching. Its long title is: *Catechism, or Christian Instruction, According to the Usages of the Churches and Schools of the Electoral Palatinate*. The text of the confession was organized around 129 questions and answers, and in order to be even more comprehensible, it was later divided in 52 parts. This division was important, because the whole text was taught on 52 Lord’s Days of the year in the Reformed Churches. In many places the afternoon liturgy is still called *teaching service* or *catechising service*, because during these services the churchgoers were able to learn and acquire the fundamental beliefs of the Reformed denomination during centuries up until now. Frederick the third got the name *Pious*, after he made all this possible and defended the Calvinist wing of Reformation. The HC was translated in many languages, being one of the most important confession texts for the Reformed denomination all over the world.

How HC shapes the form of our Hungarian Reformed Liturgy in practice

The following tabling shows how a theological revelation, that both liturgy and catechism forms and leads the way of being Christian, so they should empower each other in being the core of Christian life as celebration of God’s grace, gratitude and love.

Heidelberg Confession	Christian Life	Order of Worship	Dialogue
<i>The Misery of Man</i>	<i>Conversion</i>	Call for worship/Votum	World
		Invocation/Salutation/ Prayer	Word
		Opening Psalm/Hymn	World
		Scripture reading	Word
		Confessional/pastoral prayer	World
		Absolution	Word
<i>The Redemption or Deliverance of Man</i>	<i>Revival</i>	Psalm/Hymn	World
		Prayer of Illumination for the Sermon	World
		Psalm/Hymn	World
		Reading the Scripture text and Sermon	Word
<i>The Gratitude Due from Man</i>	<i>Sanctification</i>	Psalm/Hymn	World
		Prayer of Application	World
		Quiet prayers	World
		Lord's Prayer	Word and World together
		Call for donation, an- nouncements	World
		Hymn/Psalm	World
		Apostol's Creed or 1st Answer of HC	World
		Closing psalm or hymn	World
		Blessing (Benediction)	Word

In this way the Lord's Day is each week a remembrance of Christ's deeds and our confession of our faith in Him. The liturgy mirrors Christian life as it grows in Christ and reminds us the structure of the Heidelberg Catechism, on the other hand the text of the HC is an unfailing source of essences of Christian teaching. It has answers to the most questions of a human life, so it is just natural that congregations are using it on daily basis in their teaching and mission services. Our worship uses the answer of the first question as a confession of faith at

the third part of the liturgy, when it comes to the sanctification of man. It is interchangeable with the Apostle’s Creed, and there are times, when our answer to a sermon has to be: “My only comfort in life and death is that I with body and soul, both in life and death, am not my own, but belong unto my faithful Saviour Jesus Christ; who, with His precious blood, hath fully satisfied for all my sins, and delivered me from all the power of the devil; and so preserves me that without the will of my heavenly Father, not a hair can fall from my head; yea, that all things must be subservient to my salvation, and therefore, by His Holy Spirit, He also assures me of eternal life, and makes me sincerely willing and ready, henceforth, to live unto Him.”

In the Hungarian Reformed Church in Transylvania children learn it two years before they get their confirmation, and later on they will repeat it when they attend the afternoon services. We still have the old-school tradition to teach the HC in the Sunday afternoons, when we try to understand the great and important correlations from our Bible.

As it was demonstrated, there is a deep togetherness between the Hungarian Reformed Liturgy in Transylvania and the Heidelberg Catechism by what we are some sort of “speciality” in European liturgical understanding, but we are certainly very proud of it.

Thank you for your kind attention!

Appendix

Calvin's Liturgies: Strassburg and Geneva ²	
Strassburg, 15	Geneva, 1542
The Liturgy of the Word	
Scripture Sentence: Psalm 124:8	Scripture Sentence: Psalm 124:8
Confession of sins	Confession of sins
Scriptural words of pardon	Prayer for pardon
Absolution	
Metrical Decalogue sung with Kyrie eleison after each Law	Metrical Psalm
Collect for Illumination	Collect for Illumination
Lection	Lection
Sermon	Sermon
The Liturgy of the Upper Room	
Collection of alms	Collection of alms
Intercessions	Intercessions
Lord's Prayer in long paraphrase	Lord's Prayer in long paraphrase
Preparation of elements while Apostles' Creed sung	Preparation of elements while Apostles' Creed sung
Consecration Prayer	
Lord's Prayer	
Words of Institution	Words of Institution
Exhortation	Exhortation
	Consecration Prayer
Fraction	Fraction
Delivery	Delivery
Communion, while psalm sung	Communion, while psalm or Scriptures read
Post-communion collect	Post-communion collect
Nunc dimittis in meter	
Aaronic Blessing	Aaronic Blessing

References

- 1 De Jonge, James J.: *Calvin the Liturgist: How 'Calvinist' is Your Church's Liturgy?* <https://www.reformedworship.org/article/september-1988/calvin-liturgist-how-calvinist-your-churchs-liturgy> , last opened on the 10th of October, 2022.
- 2 De Jonge, James J.: *Calvin the Liturgist: How 'Calvinist' is Your Church's Liturgy?* <https://www.reformedworship.org/article/september-1988/calvin-liturgist-how-calvinist-your-churchs-liturgy> last opened on the 10th of October, 2022.

A Study on Principles and Practices of Polity of the Presbyterian Church of Korea in the 1922 Constitution*

Introduction

The development of the Presbyterian Church of Korea (henceforth PCK) has close connections with the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America (henceforth PCUSA). This derives from the fact that the Presbyterian missionaries from the United States have had a huge impact on establishing the theology, ideology, worship and ministry of the PCK. This is also the case in the area of church polity and offices. As we shall see below, the Constitution of the PCK, especially that of 1922, is established on the basis of the Westminster forms of government interpreted by the PCUSA, which is still exerting an influence on the PCK today. This study seeks to examine the principles and contents of the PCK in the 1922 Constitution. This is based on the conviction that the 1922 Constitution captures well the principles and contents of the Presbyterian polity and provides a starting point for a discussion of polity and offices of the Korean Church.

This study consists of two parts. The first deals with formation of the church government of the PCK up to 1921. The second analyzes the 1922 Constitution in comparison to its mother law, the Constitution of the PCUSA. It will be carried out with a focus on the characteristics of the 1922 Constitution.

Formation of the Institution of the Early Presbyterian Church (1893-1921)

The stages of the PCK development can be divided into the pre-presbyterian council (-1892), council consisting only of missionaries (Missionary Council; 1893-1901), joint council consisting of missionaries and the Korean representatives (the Chosun Christian Presbyterian Council; 1901-1906), the All-Korea Presbytery (1907-1911), and the establishment of the General Assembly (1912-), and the 1922 Constitution can be seen as an important milestone for the next step of the PCK. Here we shall briefly look at how the polity system of the PCK had been formed prior to the 1922 Constitution.

Missionary Council

The door of Chosun opened upon the signing of the 1876 Korea-Japan Treaty of Amity and of 1884 Korea-USA Treaty of Amity, and the Protestant mission had begun with the arrival of the medical missionary H. N. Allen in 1884. The mission by the Northern Presbyterian Church of America that started with Allen had picked up a momentum with the arrival of H. G. Underwood, medical missionaries Mr. and Mrs. Herron (1885), S. A. Moffett (1890), W. M. Baird (1891), G. Lee, Mr. and Mrs. Swallen, Mr. and Mrs. Miller (1892), Mr. and Mrs. Adams (1895). In 1889, Rev. J. H. Davies and his sister, M. T. Davies arrived in Korea signalling the start of the mission of the Australian Presbyterian Church. In 1892, L. B. Tate, W. D. Reynolds, W. M. Junkin, and female missionaries, M. Tate and L. Davies from the Southern Presbyterian Church of America entered Korea, and R. Grierson, D. M. McRae, W. R. Foote from the Canadian Presbyterian Church came to Korea in 1898. Thus missionaries from the Northern Presbyterian Church of America, the Southern Presbyterian Church of America, the Australian Presbyterian Church, and the Canadian Presbyterian Church came to Korea between 1884 and 1898.

The missionaries who settled in Korea needed a consultation institution. Allen, Underwood, and Herron first formed the Northern Presbyterian Church of America Missions and then established the United Council of Presbyterian Missions in 1889 in partnership with the Australian Presbyterian Church.¹ This Council met three to four times to discuss a few issues, but was discontinued

after the death of Davies in 1890. When the missionaries from the Southern Presbyterian Church of America arrived in Korea, the missionaries from the Northern Presbyterian Church of America organized the Council of Missions Holding the Presbyterian Form of Government at the house of Vinton in Seoul. As five missionaries from the Australian Presbyterian Church arrived in 1891 and missionaries from the Canadian Presbyterian Church in 1898, this Council became the united agency of four Presbyterian Church Missions.

The Council set as its goal the establishment of single church with Protestant faith and Presbyterian polity.² However, the Council had no jurisdiction and gathered only for discussion, encouragement and fellowship. The right of discipline was held by each missions council for their own missionaries,³ and though each missions council could only advise, the Council of Missions became the ruling council over all the churches under missionary jurisdiction.⁴ The Council formed sessional committees with the right of session in each province, and established the council committees as sub-organizations (as agencies) because the area under its jurisdiction was large.⁵ Until 1901 there were only two council committees, the Pyongyang Council Committee for Hwanghae province and the south and north Pyongan province, and the Kyungsoong Council Committee for other areas. The Jeonla Council Committee and the Kyungsang Council Committee were added in 1901 while the Hamkyung Council Committee was set up in 1902. The Church Committee carried out the roles of church leadership such as examining the candidates for baptism, planning sacrament, exercising discipline, and preparing elders election under the supervision of the Council Committee.⁶ All elders elections were to obtain the permission from the Council Committee, and the elders election of the Korean Church started from 1900 and had 25 elders had been elected by 1904.⁷

Chosun Christian Presbyterian Council

The Missionary Council consisted only of missionaries until 1900 and no regulation was made as it did not have any power.⁸ Also, all male missionaries could join the Council Committee regardless of ordination, but a limit was introduced in 1901 to include only the ordained missionaries and elders, and when issues relating to women were discussed, female missionaries were invited.⁹ In 1900 the

Missionary Council invited the Korean representatives to participate and decided to use English and Korean.¹⁰ Thus the joint council (Chosun Christian Presbyterian Council) was formed consisting of missionaries and Korean representatives.¹¹ The Chosun Christian Presbyterian Council was a body of meeting for national chapters in one place, was the foundation of the Presbytery yet to be organized, and was established in the hope of completing the presbyterian governing system such as the Presbytery, the Convention, and the General Assembly.¹²

Until the All-Korea Presbytery was established in 1907, the Chosun Christian Presbyterian Council took on the role of training Korean leaders. Since Korean representatives were not familiar with church ministry and there was no pastor with only a few elders, the governing authority was with English-speaking meetings while Korean-speaking meetings were places of learning the principles of church ministry, practicing and discussing how they were carried out.¹³

In 1904, the regulation of the Chosun Christian Presbyterian Council was adopted for the first time. The regulation stated that it was the aim of the Council to establish independent church in Korea which acknowledges protestant faith and incorporates the presbyterian polity. What was notable in the regulation was organization restructuring. The Council Committee was reorganized as the Presbyterial Committee, which granted the right of session to an appropriate person for churches without session, and the session was required to keep the record of the meetings in Korean. When electing elders and deacons, permission had to be sought from the Presbyterial Committee, and six months training had to be completed before appointment with ordination. Also, the Presbyterial Committee had the right to carry out exams for and train the candidates for ministry, but ordination for ministry was prohibited. Moreover, the Presbyterial Committee could grant the right to Korean helpers to carry out catechism for catechumens and accept them as church members.¹⁴ There were seven Presbyterial Committees in total with the establishment of Hwanghae Presbyterial Committees and Pyungbuk Presbyterial Committee in 1907.¹⁵

The most important task for the Chosun Christian Presbyterian Council was making preparations for establishing the PCK. First of all, a decision had been reached to establish the standard of faith. In 1904, the Council decided to publish five thousand copies of the Westminster Shorter Catechism,¹⁶ and, in 1905, the Church Constitution Preparations Committee suggested the adoption of the Confession of Faith (the Creed of Twelve Articles) established by the National

Church of India in 1904, which was presented to the Presbytery in 1907 and adopted temporarily for a year, followed by full adoption in 1908.¹⁷ However, there were more discussions about the form of polity. In 1905, the Council held discussions about how to organize the PCK, and the united agreement which summarizes the basic principles of all polity forms and the report on polity which was to be applied to ruling councils whether it be presbytery, convention, or general assembly were submitted, but the decision was postponed.¹⁸ These two items were re-discussed in 1906 and a complete polity form like that of the Westminster was presented, but the Council decided to research for one more year. In the last Council of 1907 which dealt with remaining affairs, a translated document of the Westminster polity was submitted. However, the Council judged the PCK still weak to incorporate the Westminster polity and decided that simplified polity based on the general principle of the world presbyterian churches be used until the PCK became familiar with the presbyterian creed, at which point more appropriate polity would be established. Following this decision, a simpler form of polity was presented when establishing the Presbytery.¹⁹

Since most of the works supervised by the Council was to be transferred to the Presbytery upon its formation, the Council organized the Regulation Establishing Committee of Remaining Affairs in 1906.²⁰ Also, the Korean-speaking council was to be closed upon the establishment of the Presbytery, and the representatives of the Presbytery were to consist of pastors and elders to whom the rights to speak and vote were granted.²¹ The Council came together before the Presbytery in 1907, delegating the governing authority of all the churches in the country, and the English-speaking council was to continue only for matters concerning the united missionaries such as controlling seminaries, publishing hymns, evangelizing Japanese and Chinese, publishing dictionaries, and issuing newspapers, and was to be called the Federal Council of Presbyterian Missions.²²

All-Korea Presbytery and 1907 Polity Regulation

In September 29th, 1907, Chosun All-Korea Single Presbytery was organized in Pyongyang signalling the proper start of the PCK, and the main items related to polity can be summarized as follows. In 1907, the Presbytery changed the Presbytery Committee to the Sub-presbyteries, and allocated the same districts

as before, and delegated the exams for the candidates for elder and pastor and pastor installation to each SSub-Presbytery. This can be seen as acknowledging the Sub-presbyteries to act almost like the Presbytery except for the right of pastoral appointment.²³ What is of more significance is the adoption by the All-Korea Presbytery of the creed and polity presented in the Chosun Christian Presbyterian Council. In 1907, the All-Korea Presbytery adopted the Westminster Shorter Catechism and the Confession of Faith (the Creed of Twelve Articles) as the constitution of the PCK temporarily for a year to review,²⁴ and in the following year 1908, fully accepted the Westminster Shorter Catechism and the Creed of Twelve Articles based on the report of the special members, Seok Jin Han and Moffett.²⁵ The polity regulation had been adopted through the same procedure as the creed.²⁶ This polity regulation was attached with the title "Korea Christian Presbyterian Regulation" to the first record of the Presbytery.²⁷ It was the regulation submitted to the Presbytery by the Chosun Christian Presbyterian Council in place of Westminster polity and lasted until 1922 when a new constitution replaced it.

Unlike the Creed of Twelve Articles, there is not much mention of this polity regulation adopted in 1907 in Clark's articles or the Presbytery record. It has been argued recently that like the creed, this polity regulation was a slight modification of that of the National Church of India, but it seems there need to be more thorough research.²⁸ The polity regulation is recorded in the Presbytery record, and attached in English in the appendix of Clark's *The Korean Church and the Nevius Methods. Digest of the Presbyterian Church of Chosun* shows how each article of the regulation has been dealt with in the subsequent presbytery or general assembly. This is an important resource that clearly shows how the polity regulation has been applied actually.²⁹

The 1907 polity regulation consists of full text with five articles and twelve sections and eight rules. The first article deals with the church, the second with worship, the third with officers, the fourth with church court, and the fifth with amendments. The polity regulation contains the eight principles of presbyterian polity which appears in the introduction to the polity of the PCUSA. Clark points out that the PCK did not make any decision concerning the fundamental principles,³⁰ which appear in the 1922 Constitution.

The 1907 polity regulation has the following characteristics. Firstly, the ecclesiology of the regulation exhibits trinitarian traits and emphasizes

institutional aspects. The first article which deals with ecclesiology defines what church is (sec. 1) and states about local church (sec. 2). The church is said to be God's chosen people from the world and is defined as "the Church of the living God, the body of Jesus, and the temple of the Holy Spirit." Moreover, there are the invisible church and the visible church. It states that the former is known only to God while the latter is established all over the world, calls themselves Christians, and honors the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit that is the Trinity.

Section 2 states that the church is a gathering of Christians who follow one regulation, worship God with one form, behaves holy, obey the biblical commandments, strive to expand the Kingdom of Jesus, and gather together regularly to worship. The meaning is clearer in English. "A local church consists of numerous disciples of Jesus Christ, united under a form of government for the worship of God, for holy living according to the Scriptures, and for extension of the Kingdom of Christ; and assembling stately for public worship."³¹ Here, it is stressed that the church has one regulation and form (polity form), aims toward worship, holy life, and the extension of God's kingdom, and holds regular public worship.

Secondly, the 1907 polity regulation basically emphasizes the double offices of elder and deacon, which would become important for the PCK through the 1922 Constitution. The third article of the regulation states about church officers and deals with six topics: permanent officers (sec. 1), two kinds of elders (sec. 2), ministers (sec. 3), elders (sec. 4), deacons (sec. 5), licentiates (sec. 6). Section 1 states that there are two kinds of officers, elder and deacon, and section 2 states that there are two kinds of elders, pastor who is in charge of the pulpit and discipline and elder who is in charge of government only, and stipulates that only men who participate in the Eucharist can be pastor or elder. It is notable that the church office is defined from the perspective of double offices of elder and deacon.

Thirdly, the 1907 polity regulation places the visitation committee within the Presbytery (article 4 sec. 3 C), which is unique polity system developed in the PCK. The visitation committee visits session, local church and believers that are not yet formed as a local church, and carries out seeking a new pastor, preaching when there is no pastor, and discussing all other matters. The visitation committee or the special committee appointed by the Presbytery is to deliberate and report about pastor-seeking letter, placement of pastor and licentiate, pay,

and other matters the Presbytery mentioned. Also, the right to appoint minister *ad interim* and licentiates *ad interim* can be granted by the visitation committee. In the 1922 Constitution, the regulation about visitation committee is reinforced considerably, which is not in the Constitution of PCUSA.

Fourthly, the 1907 polity regulation limits the right to be elected to men for permanent offices. Only men who participate in the Eucharist are qualified to be elected as pastor and elder (article 3 sec. 2) and as deacon (sec. 5). This regulation limiting women for election appeared in the first Constitution of PCUSA in 1788 and was maintained until the early twentieth century. In the constitution of PCUSA, this regulation is addressed in conjunction with staff election, but the 1907 polity regulation and the 1922 Constitution give a stronger impression of sexual discrimination because it is reiterated in addressing pastor, elder and deacon.

Finally, the 1907 regulation permits in the rules the use of the current procedures and forms of the parent churches for items not addressed in the regulation (sec. 6 & 7). This is firstly related to the detailed procedures and forms relating to ordination of staff and performing sacraments. At a time when directory for worship is not adopted as the Presbytery Constitution, it stipulates that the procedures and forms of parent church can be used. This gave rise to the discussion that a constitution defining the presbyterian polity, service, and discipline in a more complete way than the 1907 regulation was needed.

The 1907 polity regulation was adopted by the All-Korea Presbytery together with the Creed of Twelve Articles and the Shorter Catechism and provided the basic framework of presbyterian system. As mentioned above, the significance of this regulation lies in the fact that it defines church in trinitarian way, stipulates that church staff is basically twofold office of elder and deacon, holds the visitation committee, and acknowledges missionary as member of the Presbytery. These appear as they are in the new 1922 Constitution, providing a unique framework for the PCK polity.

Organization of the General Assembly and Preparation of the New Constitution

Although the general assembly was formed in 1912, the Creed, the Shorter Catechism and the polity regulation were maintained as they were. In relation to church polity, the All-Korea Presbytery and the general assembly appear to have strove to establish a presbyterian governing system of session, presbytery, and the general assembly in accordance with the polity regulation. In the Fifth Presbytery in 1911, it was decided that the sessional committee has no right of discipline, but only of discussion and teaching.³² The General Assembly in 1912 resolved not to organize agent committee,³³ and held that *Yeongsu-hoe* (the extended board of leaders) and *Jejik-hoe* have no right of discipline over church and cannot replace the presbytery.³⁴ There had been continuous debate on helpers and leaders who came onto the scene of early mission as Christian leaders. The 1907 polity regulation made relatively clear rules for pastors and licentiates and addresses helpers in rules section 2, but it does not mention leaders at all. The 1910 presbytery resolved that session was to appoint leaders and Sunday school teachers while the 1913 general assembly stated that session was in charge of electing leaders and heir terms and that a local pastor was to take charge where there was no session.³⁵

The 1912 General Assembly accepted the 1907 creed, catechism, and polity regulation, but it was soon followed by attempts to revise the Constitution of the General Assembly according to the Westminster standard. In fact, discipline ordinance and directory for worship were missing from the 1907 Constitution, but it hinted at the need for directory for worship by stipulating in the rules section 6 that the procedures and models of parent church could be used until detailed regulation on ordination and sacrament was made ready. Clark regarded this section to be applicable to discipline ordinance.³⁶ Moreover, in the last Christian Presbyterian Council in 1907 for remaining affairs, the Council judged the polity regulation based on the Westminster standard, though it was submitted in translated publication form, to be burdensome for newly born PCK, and presented instead "simple polity" to the Presbytery that was to be organized anew.³⁷ In this respect, it was natural that the early leaders of the PCK and missionaries were not content with the 1907 Constitution and tried to establish a new constitution in line with the Westminster standard.

The General Assembly formed the Church Polity Editorial Committee in 1915, and united the Polity Editorial Committee and the Polity Committee in 1916 for compilation of constitution related to polity. In 1917 Polity Editorial Committee compared, edited and reviewed the Westminster polity and the polity regulation that was in use at the time, and completed revising discipline ordinance and directory for worship. When the first draft of church polity was completed in 1920, it was distributed to the pastors across the country and was finally adopted in the 1922 General Assembly.

In the revision of the Constitution, Clark's missionary activities have to be noted. During this period, he published *Digest of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen* (1918),³⁸ and translated *Questions and Answers on Church Polity of the Presbyterian Church* (1919) from J. Aspinwall Hodge's book, *What Is Presbyterian Law As the Church Courts?*³⁹ Moreover, he edited and published *Church Government of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen* (1919) which was the parent of the polity regulation of the new 1922 Constitution,⁴⁰ wrote many articles on creed, church polity, discipline ordinance, and constitution for *Sinhakjinam* from 1919 to 1925,⁴¹ and edited and published constitutions of Chosun Christian Presbytery.⁴²

Digest of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen and *Questions and Answers on Church Polity of the Presbyterian Church* are two books officially recommended by Clark for ministers' reference other than the Constitution.⁴³ *Digest of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen* is an edited book that contains the outline history of each meeting since the establishment of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen, church polity, each regulation, ceremony, change of personnel, and each year's statistics, and has six chapters: history of the general assembly, church polity, regulations of the general assembly, members of the general assembly and history of missions, list of missionaries and Korean pastors, and statistics of 33 years. When writing history, *Digest of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen* is focused on revealing how an issue was discussed and resolved based on the minutes with special attention to the development of church polity regulations. In particular the collection of polity in the second chapter is organized according to the division and title of the Westminster constitution.⁴⁴ Especially, the polity collection, in introducing the 1907 polity regulation, shows clearly how constitution is related to the decision of the actual governing body by organizing the resolution of the Presbytery or the General Assembly topically.

Questions and Answers on Church Polity of the Presbyterian Church is a condensed and translated version of Hodge's *What is Presbyterian Law as Defined by the Church Courts?* (1903).⁴⁵ Clark introduces the book as an edited collection of interpretations on the Westminster polity used by PCUSA and contends that no other book is helpful than this one when it comes to understanding the fundamental interpretation of polity.⁴⁶ He also mentions in the rules section 6 & 7 of the 1907 polity regulation which states that the regulation of the missionary's parent church can be used until the Korean Church establishes detailed procedures and regulations on a given topic, and introduces the book as showing clearly what the polity of the parent church is like.⁴⁷ The 1919 General Assembly resolved that the book be used as a reference book for church polity.⁴⁸

Moreover, Clark edited and published *Church Polity of the Presbyterian Church of Chosun* in 1919. This book was researched for three years from 1915 and completed by fourteen members of the Polity Editorial Committee. It was adopted by the 1922 Constitution with additions only to chapter 18 on missionary meeting and minor corrections of expression. The book states that it is very different from the 1907 polity regulation, and is edited with important parts from the polity used by Canadian and Australian Presbyterian Church, the Southern Presbyterian Church of USA, Japanese Presbyterian Church (Christ Church) and the Northern Presbyterian Church of USA with the Westminster polity as the basis.⁴⁹ Furthermore, Clark was confident that the constitution was worth teaching others in that it was compatible with the Bible, regulations of the apostolic period, and the character and history of the PCK.

Clark reveals that there are seven principles of church polity expressed in *Church Polity of the Presbyterian Church of Chosun*, and contends that all of the principles are based on the Bible and discusses them in light of the scriptures.⁵⁰ The seven principles are as follows: 1) believers choose church officers; 2) the offices of overseers and elders are equal and non-hierarchical; 3) there have to be a number of overseers or elders in a local church; 4) appointment (ordination) is not individual task, but that of the Presbytery; 5) the disciplining body is hierarchical; 6) the lower division can appeal to the higher division; 7) Jesus Christ is the only head of the church and there can be no pope or other chief; we are all brothers. In this author's view, the most characteristic principle out of the seven is the second one. This shows that the twofold offices of the 1907 polity regulation and the 1922 Constitution comes from Clark's deep-rooted conviction. He argues

for this principle from the Scripture by noting that “overseers” appears in one place (Phil. 1:1) and “elders” in the other (James 5:14) and contending that two offices refer to the same office in light of Titus 1:5-7, 1 John 2:1, and Acts 20:17-28.

Clark is confident that a church that adheres to the seven principles is a church in line with God’s will and that *Church Polity of the Presbyterian Church of Chosun* is written with the seven principles as the basis. There is no need to examine whether his biblical interpretation is correct or whether his theory of church polity is just. Rather, it is important to understand that the new 1922 Constitution, especially the polity, was completed on such theoretical basis and that the presbyterian church polity was explained, interpreted, and taught according to such principles in the PCK.

1922 Constitution

Since the 1922 Constitution accepted *Church Polity of the Presbyterian Church of Chosun* with slight modifications, analysis in this section will be on the Constitution. *Church Polity of the Presbyterian Church of Chosun* and the polity of the 1922 Constitution based on this has its roots in the forms of government of the Constitution of PCUSA,⁵¹ and thus the relationship between the 1922 Constitution and the Constitution of PCUSA has to be examined.

Relationship with the PCUSA Constitution

Since the early days of colony in the 17th century, settlers with presbyterian background moved to the east coast and a large number of presbyterians settled in New England between 1625 and 1640. While some moved to North Carolina, most lived in middle states such as New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. In 1706, the first Presbytery was established in Philadelphia under the leadership of Rev. Francis Makemie (died in 1708), and the Philadelphia Convention was organized in 1716. Though the Convention divided into four presbyteries – Philadelphia, New Castle, Long Island, Snow Hill, the last presbytery was not actually established.⁵²

Through the 1729 Convention, the PCUSA developed as confessional church. The Convention accepted the Westminster Confessions and Catechism as the standard of faith and required all members, and future members to be, to accept the “essential and fundamental article” in writing or by word. The PCUSA adhered to the Adopting Act of 1792, despite much dispute, until the General Assembly was established.⁵³

In 1788, the New York and Philadelphia Conventions resolved to meet in Philadelphia and establish the General Assembly. The Convention adopted a new constitution that presented doctrinal standard and regulations about public worship, polity, and discipline. For doctrinal standard, the Westminster Confessions, Shorter and Larger Catechisms were adopted with slight modifications. The modified articles declared that the Church has the right to be free from government interference and requested protection from the government for worshipping God in accordance with one’s conscience. At the same time, the Constitution declared that the church should not participate in politics except for special cases and for conscience.

The newly established constitution of the PCUSA made a new directory for worship in place of the 1640s model used until then. The new directory for worship acknowledged form and freedom, and required balance of sermon, prayer and praise, recommended regular Eucharist, and permitted hymns of psalms and of Isaac Watts. New documents, ‘The Form of Government and Discipline’ and ‘Forms of Process in the Judicatories of this Church’ were also adopted for polity and discipline as well as for service. This demonstrates well that the Constitution of PCUSA follows the Westminster standard of Britain while adapting it to the context of the United States.⁵⁴

The following table compares the forms of government of the Westminster Assembly (1645), the Constitutions of PCUSA (1788, 1916) and of Korea (1922). In the table it can be seen that the “Westminster” government introduced to Korea is in fact an interpretation of the original Westminster form of government (1645) by PCUSA, and more specifically, it was the polity of the Constitution of the PCUSA.

Table: Comparison among Forms of Government of the Westminster Assembly (1645), the Constitutions of Presbyterian Church of United States(1788, 1916) and of Korea(1922)

Preface	Principle	I. Principle	I. Principle
Church	I. Church	II. Church	II. Church
Church Staff	II. Church Staff	III. Church Staff	III. Church Office
Pastor	III. Bishop or Pastor	IV. Bishop or Pastor	IV. Pastor
Teacher			
Elder	IV. Elder	V. Elder	V. Elder
	V. Deacon	VI. Deacon	VI. Deacon
	VI. Local Church Laws	VII. Local Church Laws	VII. Church Decorum and Laws
Kinds of Governing Body	VII. Governing Body	VIII. Governing Body	VIII. Church Polity and Government
Local Church			
Local Church Laws			
Local Church Staff			
	VIII. Session	IX. Session	IX. Session
Presbytery	IX. Presbytery	X. Presbytery	X. Presbytery
Convention	X. Convention	XI. Convention	XI. Convention
General Assembly	XI. General Assembly	XII. General Assembly	XII. General Assembly
Hierarchical Governing Body			
Discipline Example - When repenting - Excommunication Procedrues - Pardoning Procedures			
	XII. Elder/Deacon Election	XIII. Elder/Deacon Election and Appointment	XIII. Elder/Deacon Election and Appointment
	XIII. Associate Pastor	XIV. Associate Pastor	XIV. Pastor Assistant and Associate Pastor
Pastor Appointment - Power of Appointment - Doctrinal Aspects of Appointment - Appointment Model -Appointment Regulation	XIV. Bishop/Pastor Election and Appointment	XV. Bishop/Pastor Election and Appointment	XV. Appointment of Pastor and Missionary

	XV. Pastor Leaving	XVI. Pastor Leaving	XVI. Pastor Leaving
	XVI. Pastor Resignation	XVII. Pastor Resignation	XVII. Pastor Resignation
	XVII. Missionary Meeting	XVIII. Missionary Meeting	XVIII. Missionary Meeting
	XVIII. Chairman	XIX. Chairman	XIX. Chairman
	XIX. Privileges		
	XX. Secretary	XX. Secretary	XX. Secretary
	XXI. Vacant Church	XXI. Vacant Church	XXI. Vacant Church Worship
	XXII. General Assembly Representatives	XXII. General Assembly Representatives	XXII. General Assembly Representatives
		XXIII. Rights and Responsibilities of Each Meeting in the Church	XXIII. Rights and Responsibilities of Each Meeting in the Church
		XXIV. Constitution Revision	XXIV. Constitution Revision
		XXV. Deacons Meeting	
	XXVI. Plenary Authority Committee		Appendix: Samples on Questions and Answers of the Committee of Visitation

Characteristics of 1922 Constitution

Now let us compare and analyze “the polity of the 1922 Constitution” (henceforth ‘1922 polity’) with its mother law, the Constitution of the PCUSA (henceforth ‘US Constitution’). In comparison to the US Constitution, what is notable about the 1922 polity is its educational character. The 1922 polity does not simply aim to present regulations, but is completed from an educational perspective to make it a manual for church polity and management by including the important contents related to church management as well as the theory and principle of presbyterian polity.

This trait can also be seen in the US Constitution. For example, the US Constitution first presents eight principles of presbyterian polity (Ch. I). These eight principles are adopted as the basis of polity ordinance as the New York and Philadelphia Conventions are preparing a new constitution for the General

Assembly, and they are still in the US Constitution today. The eight principles – freedom of conscience, freedom of church, church staff and responsibilities, relationship between truth and action, staff and qualifications, staff's right to vote, right of government, and discipline – expresses the core of the presbyterian polity and the 1922 polity accepts this as it is (section 1).

The regulation about the character of the governing body of US Constitution can be understood from an educational perspective (Ch. VIII.2). The governing body cannot interfere with national administration nor impose penalty of the national law; its authority is only moral, spiritual, of service and declarative. Here the basic principle of the US Constitution is clearly expressed in its declaration of the separation between the church and the government and of the fact that the church's government and discipline is not physical, but moral and spiritual. The right of the governing body is for the purpose of leading believers to obey the law of Christ, and preventing the rebellious and the unclean from enjoying the privilege of believers, and the maximum punishment is excommunication of the unrepentant.

The 1922 polity reinforces such educational character of the US Constitution even further. For instance, the 1922 polity supplements the US constitution considerably in addressing the governing body. First of all, it states that there has to be polity when governing the church, but what governs the church is not an individual, but the session, the Presbytery or the General Assembly, which is seen reasonable and compatible with the biblical teaching and apostolic practice (Ch. 8 sec. 1). That the right of government does not lie with an individual, but with the governing body is not in the US Constitution. The 1922 polity also makes the principle of collective leadership clearer, and stresses that the principle not only follows the practice of the churches in the apostolic period, but is also rational.

What follows this is the section on the nature and jurisdiction of the governing body (Ch. 8 sec. 2), which is not in the US constitution. The contents are as follows. Though the governing body is hierarchical, it has the nature of the Presbytery because elders are the only members of each governing body, which has the same right and authority since they are formed with the same qualifications and the difference between the governing bodies is regulated by the Constitution. Hence, disputes on creed or polity can be appealed to the upper division, and each governing body is to set the scope of jurisdiction to handle matters lawfully and is under the inspection and jurisdiction of the upper division though it has

the right of jurisdiction. Therefore, the governing body is not an autonomous body, but is linked to one another and all matters have to go through the representative body of government, which becomes the decision of the whole church. This shows that the presbyterian polity has relational character, and the principles of representative government and collective guidance are clearly expressed.

The 1922 polity also exhibits educational nature when stipulating the office and authority of pastor, elder, and deacon. In the US Constitution, pastor is said to be the first office and is called variously according to its varying responsibilities. First of all, the 1922 polity includes the 1907 polity regulation that states that pastor is appointed by ordination of the Presbytery and is in charge of proclaiming the gospel of Christ, carrying out sacraments, and ruling the church (Ch. 4 sec. 1). In the next two sections, it states about the qualification (sec. 2) and duty (sec. 3) of pastor, which is not in the US Constitution. Pastor as a person of learning (theology, science), of good behavior, of sincere faith, and of good teaching, ought to be in line with the gospel, thrifty and holy in all things, manage his household well, and well attested by others. It states that there are four duties of pastor, i.e., pastor of a local church, teacher at college and seminary, mission pastor, and chaplain who produces newspaper and books.

This educational nature is also manifest in addressing the duties and authority of elder (Ch. 5). In comparison to the US Constitution, the stipulations about elder and deacon are considerably reinforced. The stipulation about deacon will be looked at here as elder will be addressed below. First of all, deacon is a permanent office of one who is chosen by the members of a local church and ordained by a pastor and only faultless men can be deacon (sec. 1). The qualification of deacon is good reputation, sincere faith and wisdom, discernment, language fitting the gospel, and exemplary behavior (sec. 2). These two stipulations are not in the US Constitution. In particular, the article about *Jejik-hoe* states in detail the practical management principles such as that almsgiving and expenses are to be handled, not by an individual, but by meeting, that expenditure and collection of offerings are to be decided by vote, that treasurer is to handle the accounts only by the order of *Jejik-hoe* and use receipts, that *Jejik-hoe* is to report to *Gongdong-uihoe* (congregational meeting) annually with account of income and expenditure and budget, and submit the accounts book (par. 4).

We shall not look at the characteristics of the 1922 polity that is differentiated from the US Constitution in the actual church polity. Firstly, the 1922 polity understands the church in trinitarian way, emphasizes mission and evangelism, and states the importance of church polity. Chapter 2 on ecclesiology of the 1922 polity has four sections. The first two sections borrow from the 1907 polity regulation rather than from the US constitution, and the definition of church from a trinitarian perspective and the distinction between visible and invisible church appear as they are in the 1907 polity. The next two sections largely follow the US Constitution. But in the last section on the definition of local church, being “united under a form of government for the worship of God, for holy living according to the Scriptures, and for the extension of the Kingdom of Christ” is added, thus stressing mission and union. Because it follows the US Constitution, it includes the children of church members unlike the 1907 polity regulation and highlights that they “should follow the polity designed specially.”

Secondly, the 1922 polity presents double offices like the 1907 polity regulation and regards elder as spiritual leader. Chapter 3 of the 1922 polity deals with church duties and follows the US Constitution largely. However, when distinguishing the permanent offices of the church, the US Constitution has three offices of bishop or pastor, the representatives of the people called the ruling elders and deacons while the 1922 polity has two offices of elder (bishop, Acts 20:17, 28; 1 Timothy 3:1) and deacon (sec. 2). The 1907 polity regulation has only elder and deacon, but the 1922 polity include bishop in the brackets. Nevertheless it is clear that the 1922 polity basically presents two offices from his scriptural references. 1 Timothy 3:1 is cited in the footnote of the US Constitution, but Acts 20:17, 28 that identifies elder with bishop is not found.

There was no need to distinguish elder into two kinds since the US Constitution regarded office as threefold. Also, *Questions and Answers on Church Polity of the Presbyterian Church* which Clark translated from Hodge’s book as a reference for church polity also teaches threefold office of pastor, elder and deacon.⁵⁵ However, because the 1907 polity regulation and the 1922 polity saw office as twofold, they immediately divide elder into two kinds, pastor who is in charge of preaching and government and elder who is in charge of government only. The 1922 polity has one additional stipulation that is not in the 1907 polity regulation and the US Constitution. Licentiate has the permission from the Presbytery to preach and minister as directed by the Presbytery, but is without the right to govern. This

comes basically from the framework of twofold office. Elder is twofold; pastor who preaches and governs and governing elder who only rules. The one who preaches but does not govern is differentiated from pastor and elder. Licentiate belongs to the Presbytery like pastor, and not to a local church as elder is.

Such twofold understanding of office can also be seen in stressing the spiritual role of elder. Chapter 5 has four sections and describes in much more detail than the US Constitution the establishment, authority, qualification, and duty of elder. As in the era of the Law, people are chosen to govern the church in the era of gospel and they are governing elders (sec. 1). An elder is not responsible for preaching and teaching, but handles affairs with the same authority as pastor in each governing body (sec. 2). An elder is to be of good behavior, of sincere faith, wise and discerning, of holy speech and conduct, and exemplary to the whole church (sec. 3). All these are not in the US Constitution. It has fairly detailed stipulations about the duties of an elder (sec. 4). First of all, it is stated that a governing elder is chosen by the church members to be a representative and cooperate with pastors for government and discipline, and this appear in the US Constitution as well. However, the 1922 polity goes beyond by stipulating that an elder is to direct the spiritual relationship of local and national churches, keep the flock as the session or an individual from misunderstanding of creed or corruption of divine virtues, report the unrepentant to the session, visit and comfort members, especially the sick and the bereaved, pray with and for members, study the results of preaching among the members, and report to the pastor the sick, the sorrow, the repentant and especially those to be saved.

In sum, the role and duty of an elder is very much reinforced in the 1922 polity and goes beyond the then US Constitution. A sentence in section 4 is noteworthy: "Even a layperson has a responsibility for the practice of love. If it is so, an elder has to do more and more practice of love with responsibility and official duty." This shows that an elder is not just a layperson, but is one with duty and responsibility like that of a pastor, and related to the principle of twofold office that regards pastor and elder as equal.

Thirdly, the 1922 polity has set regulations about the unique polity system of the Korean Church. First of all, *Jejik-hoe* can be mentioned. *Jejik-hoe* appears when dealing with deacon in Chapter 6, and is introduced as "the extended board of deacon" (sec. 4). As noted in the table above, the 1916 US constitution has a section on deacons meeting (Ch. XXV). However, the 1922 polity chose *Jejik-*

hoe, rather than deacons meeting, as the basis of the PCK. *Jejik-hoe* is a union of the session and deacons of a local church with the pastor as the chairman. It needs to have a secretary and a treasurer for meeting, and, depending on the circumstance of the session, the right to be member of *Jejik-hoe* is given to *Seori-jipsa* (substitute deacons), helpers, and leaders who are appointed to handle the affairs of *Jejik-hoe*. In the case of unorganized church, pastor, a helper or helpers, a leader or leaders, and *Seori-jipsa* can carry out the works of *Jejik-hoe* temporarily.

The stipulation about substitute deaconess is also important in relation to this (Ch. 6 sec. 5). Like the 1907 polity regulation, the 1922 polity limits the right to be elected of women. In Chapter 3 on church duties, the article 3 section 2 of the 1907 polity regulation is taken as it is, and it states that only men who can participate in the Eucharist have the right to be elected for the office of an elder (pastor or governing elder; Ch. 3 sec. 2 B). In addressing the duties of deacon, it adds 'faultless men' to the polity which is not found in the US Constitution (Ch. 6 sec. 1), and when stating about the election of governing elder and deacon, it holds that the election is limited to men who participate in the Eucharist (Ch. 13 sec. 1) according to the US Constitution (Ch. XIII. 2). However, the 1922 polity made new stipulations about substitute deaconess because the activities of women were active in Korea. Substitute deaconess is appointed by the session for comforting and caring the sick, criminals, widows, orphans, and those in trouble under the direction of the session. Moreover, there is an extra stipulation for the election of substitute deaconess (Ch. 13 sec. 9). When substitute deaconess has to be appointed, the session can appoint one directly in prayer without election and ordination. Because PCUSA does not have the system of *Seori-jipsa*, the deacons meeting is meeting of ordained deacons and consists of men only. In Korea, however, the stipulations about substitute deaconess and *Jejik-hoe* paved the institutional way for women to participate in church management.

Another important system is the visitation committee. It is mentioned already in the 1907 polity regulation, but the 1922 polity has more detailed stipulations about it (Ch. 10 sec. 5). For the Presbytery to exercise its government over the church, the members from the Presbytery are chosen to form the visitation committee which patrols local churches and unorganized churches and discusses all matters. Since the visitation committee is not the governing body, it does not have the right to accept or pass on to a pastor the invitation of a new pastor and to appoint a temporary pastor. However, when the session of a church without

a pastor (the vacant church) seeks a pastor, it can discuss together and report to the Presbytery about the place of ministry for pastors and licentiates and the pay. When it is not the presbytery period, the Presbytery can allow the visitation committee to visit churches without pastors and appoint temporary pastors or the head of session. The purpose of the visitation committee is to visit each church and session and patrol for the Presbytery, and is to visit once every three years to examine the spiritual and financial state, and the state of evangelism, Sunday school, meetings in each church. In particular, the appendix of the 1922 polity has a detailed list in the form of questions for the visitation committee to check with pastor, elder, session, *Jejik-hoe*.

Finally, I would note what is in the US Constitution and is reflected in the 1922 polity, but has not been given much attention in the PCK so far, that is, the term of office. The US constitution and the 1922 polity mentions the system of “the term of service” and “the order of service” when dealing with the election and appointment of elders and deacons (Ch. XIII.8; Ch. 13 sec. 8). Governing elders and deacons are of permanent office and cannot resign by one’s accord or deprive the post other than dismissal (Ch. XIII.6; Ch. 13 sec. 5). However, any church can decide the term of service and the order of service of elders and deacons with a majority vote of the entire member of baptized Christians. Mostly the term of service is three years and the order of service can be divided into three. Every year one division is to be off-duty. An elder who is already appointed may not be able to work due to the expired term of service, but the office of elder continues and he can work as a representative by the resolution of the session or the Presbytery (Ch. XIII.8; Ch. 13 sec. 8). Such term of service has already been introduced in *Questions and Answers on Church Polity of the Presbyterian Church*.⁵⁶ Clark was asked on this article on a number of occasions and gave his reply in *Sinhakjinam*.⁵⁷

It is very interesting that the term of service for governing elders and deacons is introduced early in the history of the PCK and stipulated in the Constitution. This is surprising considering that the term of service is suggested as an improvement of the system of the PCK today. Perhaps as Clark mentions, it is thought that since the early PCK suffered from the lack of people volunteering for church offices, it was stressed that the church office was permanent, and now it has been forgotten that the term of service was once in the PCK Constitution.⁵⁸

Conclusion

Most would agree that one of the main problems in the Korean Church today is to do with church polity and office. Church polity and office are tools for God's kingdom and mission and have to be adapted to every era. However, they have become the tools for the pursuit of power and honor, and are suffering from closure, stiffness and faction. The Korean Church will have to regain the fundamental spirit that the basis of church polity is obedience to Jesus Christ and that the purpose of office is to serve the church. Such attempts for renewal will have to start from reviewing the historical heritage of the presbyterian polity and office.

With this recognition, this study has looked at the acceptance and accommodating process of the presbyterian polity with special reference to the 1922 Constitution and summarized the principles of the presbyterian polity expressed there. The 1922 Constitution shows that the Westminster polity model as interpreted by the PCUSA has been passed on to the PCK, adopted, taught and spread. In this respect, one could criticize the 1922 Constitution as an example of adopting the polity system of the US as it was without considering Korean circumstances and culture. However, this author is confident that the 1922 Constitution can be more actively and positively interpreted and provide a starting point for the discussion of the polity and offices of the PCK today.

First of all, though the 1922 Constitution was based on the US Constitution, it can be noted that there are progressive aspects that move beyond the US Constitution such as the equality of pastor and governing elder, reinforcement of the elder's role, and emphasis on the role of women through the office of substitute deaconess and *Jejik-hoe*. Moreover, the 1922 Constitution created and consolidated *Seori-jipsa* system, *Jejik-hoe*, visitation committee and so on which are unique to the Korean Church. Finally, it has to be remembered that the term of service for governing elder and deacon is stipulated in the 1922 Constitution. The greatest weakness of the 1922 Constitution is the removal of women's right to be elected, but this can be the limitation of the age.

More than anything else, the 1922 Constitution sought to present clearly the principles of the presbyterian polity and stipulate church management and office in detail according to the principles. The four principles of the presbyterian polity in the 1922 Constitution – representative, collective, constitutional,

relational – are the principles that form the basis of democracy, and it shows that the principles and practices of democracy are rooted in the grass-root level with the introduction of church polity in Korea. One could question whether such principles are suitable to Korea. However, the democratic principles expressed in the 1922 Constitution provides a key to solving the problem of church privatization, individualism and conflicts between pastors and elders, and offer a strong foundation for reformation and renewal of Korean presbyterian churches. Nowadays the voice for unity and union of the PCK has become stronger. In order to accomplish such a historical task, the PCK will have to understand the heritage of the presbyterian polity more deeply and go back to her roots. The 1922 Constitution will be a good guide for the PCK in her attempts for renewal.

References

- * This article was published in Korean in the *Korea Presbyterian Journal of Theology*, vol. 45/1 (2013), 63-91.
- 1 Charles Allen Clark, *Jyangnogyohoesadyeonhwijip* [below Digest of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen] (Gyeongseong: Joseonyasogyoseohoe, 1918), 14-15.
 - 2 Clark, *Digest of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen*, 15; *Korean Church and Nevius Methods* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1930), 93.
 - 3 Clark, *Digest of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen*, 15.
 - 4 Ibid. 15-16; *Korean Church and Nevius Methods*, 93.
 - 5 Clark, *Digest of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen*, 16.
 - 6 Ibid., 16, 21; *Korean Church and Nevius Methods*, 94.
 - 7 Clark, *Korean Church and Nevius Methods*, 94-95; For the list of elders, see *Digest of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen*, 19-20.
 - 8 Clark, *Digest of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen*, 17.
 - 9 Clark, *Korean Church and Nevius Methods*, 94.
 - 10 Clark, *Digest of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen*, 17.
 - 11 Ibid., 18.
 - 12 Clark, *Korean Church and Nevius Methods*, 213-214.
 - 13 Clark, *Digest of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen*, 18.
 - 14 Ibid., 34-35; *Korean Church and Nevius Methods*, 128.
 - 15 Clark, *Digest of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen*, 47.
 - 16 Ibid., 38.
 - 17 Ibid., 42-43, 82-83; *Korean Church and Nevius Methods*, 129.
 - 18 Clark, *Digest of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen*, 41.
 - 19 Ibid., 44; *Korean Church and Nevius Methods*, 131.
 - 20 Clark, *Digest of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen*, 45.
 - 21 Ibid., 44.
 - 22 Ibid., 46.
 - 23 Ibid., 50; *Korean Church and Nevius Methods*, 146.
 - 24 Seok Jin Han ed., *Daehanyesugyojyangnohoehoerok* [below *Records of the Governing Bodies of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen*], (Gyeongseong(Seoul): Yasogyoseohoe, 1913), 8.
 - 25 Clark, *Digest of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen*, 50-51, 83. However, Clark points out that the secretary did not record it in the minutes and writes that the shorter catechism was published separately and was not recorded in the 1908 minutes.

- 26 Han, *Records of the Governing Bodies of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen*, 8. According to Clark, it was fully adopted in the second Presbytery, but was not recorded in the minutes (*Digest of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen*, 50-51, 84).
- 27 Han, *Records of the Governing Bodies of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen*, 31-41.
- 28 Jaebum Hwang, "Daehanyesugyojangnohoe (Doknohoe) seollipgwajeong" [The Process of Establishing Korea Christian Presbytery (Single Presbytery)], *Journal of the Church History Society in Korea* 20 (2007), 297-298.
- 29 Clark, *Korean Church and Nevius Methods*, 248-252; *Digest of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen*, 84-116.
- 30 Clark, *Digest of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen*, 84.
- 31 Clark, *Korean Church and Nevius Methods*, 248.
- 32 Clark, *Digest of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen*, 100; Han, *Records of the Governing Bodies of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen*, 26,
- 33 Clark, *Digest of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen*, 98-99.
- 34 Ibid., 100.
- 35 Ibid., 92.
- 36 Ibid., 116.
- 37 Ibid., 44.
- 38 Clark published it again in 1935.
- 39 Hodge, J. Aspinwall. *What Is Presbyterian Law As the Church Courts?*, eighth edition (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath-School, Work, 1899). It is not clear which edition Clark used in his translation.
- 40 *Jyosyeonjangnogyohoejeongchi* (Church Polity of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen) (Gyeongseong(Seoul): Joseonyasogyoseohoe, 1919).
- 41 "Gyohoejeongchie-daehan-mundap" [Questions and Answers about Church Polity]. *Sinhakjinam* 7-3 (1925. 7): 150-53; "Gyohoejeongchiuion" [Discussions on Church Polity]. *Sinhakjinam* 7-2(1925. 4): 158-64; "Gwonjingdyorye" [Rules of Discipline]. *Sinhakjinam* 4-4 (1922. 9): 122-37; "Gwonjingdyorye" [Rules of Discipline]. *Sinhakjinam* 5-1(1923. 1): 127-38; "Gwonjingdyoryejesusyeok" [Commentary on Rules of Discipline]. *Sinhakjinam* 3-1 (1920.4): 81-99; "Gwonjingdyoryejesusyeok" [Commentary on Rules of Discipline]. *Sinhakjinam* 3-2 (1920. 7): 251-64; "Gwonjingdyoryejesusyeok(sok)" [Commentary on Rules of Discipline (continued)]. *Sinhakjinam* 3-4 (1921.5): 495-506; "Gwonjingdyoryejesusyeok(Jesamgwongesahosok)" [Commentary on Rules of Discipline (vol.3 no.4)]. *Sinhakjinam* 4-2 (1922.1): 96-110; "Muimmoksareul-chirijangnoro-simukehami-eotteolkka" [Is it possible to appoint ministers not engaged in any ministry as elders?]. *Sinhakjinam* 18-3(1936. 5): 74-75; "Bonjangnogyohoesinheonbeop" [The New Constitution of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen]. *Sinhakjinam* 2-3 (1919.10): 89-104; "Jangnotupyosi-gipyoga galrineun-gyeongueostteokehalkka" [What shall we do when votes for the election of elders are divided?]. *Sinhakjinam* 18-4(1936. 7): 82-83; "Jyosyeonyesugyojyangnohosingyeongnon" [Exposition of the Creeds of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen]. *Sinhakjinam* 2-1(1919. 4): 71-83;

- “Jyosyeonyesugyojyangnohoeheonbeop” [The Constitution of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen]. *Sinhakjinam* 2-2(1919. 7): 70-76.
- 42 *Jyosyeon Yesugyojyangnogyohoeheonbeop* [*The Constitution of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen*] (Gyeongseong(Seoul): Joseonyasosuseohoe, 1922); *Jyosyeon Yesugyojyangnogyohoeheonbeop Cheongubaepsamsipsanyeon Sujeongwiwonjeongjeongjaepan* [*Constitution of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen 1934, Edition with Revised Creed and Catechism*] (Seoul: Joseonyasosuseohoe, 1930; 9th ed., 1950).
- 43 Clark, “Jyosyeonyesugyojyangnohoeheonbeop” [The Constitution of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen], 75.
- 44 Clark, *Digest of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen*, 5-6.
- 45 Though not in Hodge’s original, the book lists the total of 651 numbered questions. However, there are actually 652 questions due to the duplication of 448 questions.
- 46 Clark, “Jyosyeonyesugyojyangnohoeheonbeop” [The Constitution of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen], 75-76.
- 47 *Questions and Answers on Church Polity of the Presbyterian Church*, iv.
- 48 Clark, *Digest of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen* (1935), 20.
- 49 Clark, “Jyosyeonyesugyojyangnohoeheonbeop” [The Constitution of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen], 74-75.
- 50 Clark, “Bonjangnogyohoesinheonbeop” [The New Constitution of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen], 89-104.
- 51 Clark acknowledges this point (Clark, *Korean Church and Nevius Methods*, 177).
- 52 James H. Smylie, *A Brief History of the Presbyterians* (Louisville: Geneva Press, 1996), 39-45.
- 53 David W. Hall & Joseph H. Hall, *Paradigms in Polity: Classic Readings in Reformed and Presbyterian Church Government* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1994), 348-64.
- 54 Smylie, *A Brief History of the Presbyterians*, 62-64.
- 55 *Questions and Answers on Church Polity of the Presbyterian Church*, 42 (questions 55-56).
- 56 *Questions and Answers on Church Polity of the Presbyterian Church*, 280-82 (questions 491-496 [490-495 in the English original]).
- 57 Clark, “Gyohoejeongchiuionon” [Discussions on Church Polity], 158-64; “Gyohoejeongchie-daehan-mundap” [Questions and Answers about Church Polity], 150-53.
- 58 Clark, *Korean Church and Nevius Methods*, 117.

Bibliography

- Ahn, Kyo-Seong. "The Identity and Witness of the Presbyterian Church of Korea(Tonghap) as an Ecumenical Church." *Korea Prebyterian Journal of Theology* 40 (2011), 12-35.
- Cha, Jae Myeong ed. *Jyosyeon Yesugyojyangnohosesagi* [Historical Report of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen]. Gyeongseong(Seoul): Joseonyesugyojyangnohoechonghoe, 1928.
- Clark, Charles Allen. *The Korean Church and the Nevius Methods*. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1930.
- _____. "Bonjangnogyohoesinheonbeop" [The New Constitution of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen]. *Sinhakjinam* 2-3 (1919.10): 89-104.
- _____. "Gyohoejeongchie-daehan-mundap" [Questions and Answers about Church Polity]. *Sinhakjinam* 7-3 (1925. 7): 150-53.
- _____. "Gyohoejeongchiuion" [Discussions on Church Polity]. *Sinhakjinam* 7-2(1925. 4): 158-64.
- _____. "Gwonjingdyorye" [Rules of Discipline]. *Sinhakjinam* 4-4 (1922. 9): 122-37.
- _____. "Gwonjingdyorye" [Rules of Discipline]. *Sinhakjinam* 5-1(1923. 1): 127-38.
- _____. "Gwonjingdyoryejusyook" [Commentary on Rules of Discipline]. *Sinhakjinam* 3-1 (1920.4): 81-99.
- _____. "Gwonjingdyoryejusyook" [Commentary on Rules of Discipline]. *Sinhakjinam* 3-2 (1920. 7): 251-64.
- _____. "Gwonjingdyoryejusyook(sok)" [Commentary on Rules of Discipline (continued)]. *Sinhakjinam* 3-4 (1921.5): 495-506.
- _____. "Gwonjingdyoryejuseok(Jesamgwongesahosok)" [Commentary on Rules of Discipline (vol.3 no.4)]. *Sinhakjinam* 4-2(1922.1): 96-110.
- _____. *Jyangnogyohoesadyeonhwijip* [Digest of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen]. Gyeongseong: Joseonyasogyoseohoe, 1918.
- _____. *Jyangnogyohoesadyeonhwijip* [1935 Digest of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen]. Gyeongseong(Seoul): Joseonyasogyoseohoe, 1935.

_____. "Jangnotupyosi-gipyoga galrineun-gyeongue-eostteokehalkka" [What shall we do when votes for the election of elders are divided?]. *Sinhakjinam* 18-4(1936. 7): 82-83.

_____. "Jyosyeonyesugyojyangnohoesingyeongnon" [Exposition of the Creeds of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen]. *Sinhakjinam* 2-1(1919. 4): 71-83.

_____. "Jyosyeonyesugyojyangnohoeheonbeop" [The Constitution of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen]. *Sinhakjinam* 2-2(1919. 7): 70-76.

_____. *Jyosyeon Yesugyojyangnogyohoeheonbeop* [The Constitution of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen]. Gyeongseong(Seoul): Joseonyasosuseohoe, 1922.

_____. *Jyosyeon Yesugyojyangnogyohoeheonbeop Cheongubaepsamsipsanyeon Sujeongwiwonjeongjeongjaepan*. [Constitution of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen 1934 Edition with Revised Creed and Catechism]. Seoul: Joseonyasosuseohoe, 1930; 9th ed., 1950.

_____. *Jyosyeonjangnogyohoejeongchi (Church Polity of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen)*. Gyeongseong(Seoul): Joseonyasogyoseohoe, 1919.

_____. "Muimmoksareul-chirijangnoro-simukehami-eotteolkka" [Is it possible to appoint ministers not engaged in any ministry as elders?]. *Sinhakjinam* 18-3(1936. 5): 74-75.

Hall, David W. & Joseph H. Hall. *Paradigms in Polity: Classic Readings in Reformed and Presbyterian Church Government*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1994.

Han, Seok Jin ed. *Daehanyesugyojyangnohoehoerok* [Records of the Governing Bodies of the Presbyterian Church of Chosen]. Gyeongseong(Seoul): Yasogyoseohoe, 1913.

Hodge, J. Aspinwall. *What Is Presbyterian Law As the Church Courts?* Eighth edition. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath-School, Work, 1899.

Hwang, Jaebum. "Daehanyesugyojyangnohoe (Doknohoe) seollipgwajeong" [The Process of Establishing Korea Christian Presbytery (Single Presbytery)]. *Journal of the Church History Society in Korea* 20 (2007), 297-298.

Smylie, James H. *A Brief History of the Presbyterians*. Louisville: Geneva Press, 1996.

Politics and Religion as the context of Church Government in relation to the Concept of Liminality

Politics and religion in the context of the concept of liminality

In the diversity of interpretations, we are looking for a hermeneutical framework that creates a common ground between the social, political, and religious processes that determine us. This hermeneutical framework can contribute to a better understanding of our age and, within that, the evaluation of the role of religion, especially Christianity. We focus on the theory of Victor Turner, a British anthropologist, 'social drama,' which will be a decisive element of ritual, liminality, threshold, and 'communitas'. The theory, narrowing our further interest, can help the theological and institutional self-reflection of the Church, helping to understand the concepts and experiences of 'transition' and 'experience' more subtle and sensitive to contemporary context.

Above all, in connection with our topic, it is important to highlight some basic orientations that determine the views of politics (public life), religion, and the relationships between these two as lessons of our recent (last 20th century) past. In the context of public life and religion, it is an important starting point for the relationship between theology and religion. We briefly also introduce Hungarian Reformed Church leadership theological consideration and short evaluation to make further elaborations in the present context.

In our approach experiment, with the involvement of Turnerian concepts, we want to focus on aspects that do not give up the interaction of public life and religion. Still, we hope for a more realistic analysis.

Religion and/or theology¹

Ervin Vályi Nagy, whose critical insights expand the framework of the concept of interpretation, is greatly summarized by the context of the characteristic interactions of religion and theology and religion and public life.

By now, one of the typical approaches of the twentieth century has become classic in the theology of Barthian dialectics, which has been dismissive of religion. The establishment of this rejection does not generally question the legitimacy of religion but asks about the role of the Christian within the faith. (It should be noted in brackets that the religious criticism of Marxist ideology can have a decisive influence on the intensification of this position.) It predominantly looks at religion as a human work and way of finding God because of man's guilt. *Religio Christiana* is opposed to faith in Christ.

In this process, the next important milestone Dietrich Bonhoeffer is to suggest²: how to say and advertise the good news of the gospel in an extremely intense individualism amid fundamental non-religiousness.

The concept of religion is handled by both approaches, according to contemporary and later criticism. However, it is questionable whether the most complex concept of religion will be able to solve the Bonhoefferian dilemma.

In our theological evaluation, religion as a human construction is a phenomenon that, where appropriate, is most sensitive to change (supported or even confronted with it). Faith, however, the faith in Jesus Christ, has features, power, and, *dünamis* that, if necessary, become capable of distinguishing from a sufficiently complex concept of religion, or even catalyst, relativizing Christianity, Christian religion. Simply put, the practice and experience of the Christian religion will be the criterion of faith in Jesus Christ. In this case, we can talk about the justification of religion, which can prevent role-playing, over-evaluation of human phenomena (religion), and ignoring God. For God accepts, in the context of justification, our human efforts, and our (Christian) religion. In this sense, the non-self-doing of theology plays an inseparable role in religion, within a denomination, and in addition to a society and its public life, as they can be the most important resource and control, in other words, conscience.³

Over the past century, but even more closely, the trends of the last three decades in Hungary can be read quite clearly that religion will hardly be pushed out of public life and, in the other way, a complex process of normality. At the

same time, however, in contrast to the gospel and the inseparable theology, it will never have such clarity. Always the position of the rim, the borderline, if you like, the threshold (liminality) is the position. Just because the invocation you can only rely on is the Almighty God.

Religion and public life⁴

The historical perspectives of our region show that the state, society, and public life have always needed (Christian) religion. It was primarily because it saw it integrating power and thus played a decisive role in the cohesion of society. After recognizing this need, comes the chain reaction in which enforcement is the next step. There are many examples of testimony to effectiveness or failure. On the one hand, in compliance with the requirements of religiousness, the *Celsus* will always consider Christians wicked because they will not be able to take over the function of the gods of the Imperium at all times. Moreover, for example, the fanaticism of denominational confessionality after the Reformation, in the shadow of religious wars, made it clear that the integrative power of the Christian religion, to put it mildly, is quite limited. Public life could not have been the area of validation of absolute truth, at best, a common denominator.

The differentiation of social institutions has created a completely new situation in the lives of premodern modern, and later postmodern societies. New substructures do not need a transcendent justification; their rationality and efficiency are sufficient without religious legitimacy. Today's societies are characterized by a highly neutral and plural determination, which is quite limited to the room for maneuvering. This role is distributed by the power at all times: it is a kind of animator stimulating enthusiasts in achieving power and public life following different political interests. Especially in areas where the machinery of political power can be less rationalized: the conditioning of family, private life, leisure, and moral life. Religious institutions can count on the fact that their classic legitimacy role has expired and that they are no longer needed in their old role in the new situation. They can perceive this in public life, in many ways in a corner, where (you) go to the crisis of so many losses of their identity. They are looking for opportunities for their rise at the almost endless fair of the intellectual-moral marketplace. Meanwhile, they are drifting into the very center of many insoluble

social conflicts in which the geniuses of politics or even demons live in a multitude of paradoxical and tense situations with their gods created by themselves or even the God formed by the Christian Church.

Meanwhile, there is still no question of religion and politics as a matter of responsibility, along with the ethical burden of taking a risk. In some new coordinate systems of commitments, distance should be just as pronounced as the awareness of obligations. It seems that social encyclicals and 'fraternal messages' are responsible for *res publica* as *Magister Mundi* has expired, and their functionality and effectiveness have now disappeared.

Social drama⁵, liminality⁶, permanent liminality⁷, communitas⁸

Cultural anthropologist Victor Turner, during the observation of the African NDEMBU tribe, sensed that conflicts formed for various reasons were treated according to his rhythm, based on which he created the theory of "social drama". The theory distinguished four phases in the process of conflict management and later in the profound changes in smaller or larger communities⁹:

1. specific groups break the norm system of the majority and former society;
2. deepening and extent of the conflict of the interruption;
3. Start organizing and problem-solving mechanisms under the direction of leading members of the social group;
4. The reintegration of the disintegrated social group, or the awareness of the irreparable rupture or the occurrence of a rupture.

Of the phases of this ritual process, Turner focused primarily on the middle two phases, the intermediate state in which previous conditions are invalid and later unclear. He called this middle section a liminal (threshold) phase. When his attention later turned to the analysis of complex societies, he spoke about liminoid phenomena instead of his liminal expression. Beyond the formal area of rituals¹⁰, it is a pattern of basic structures of complex societies. And the structure that is marked by liminality is called an anti-structure. According to the concept of liminality, he explained how society can develop. He saw society as a

dialectic force of structures and anti-structures, which is realized in liminality and *communitas*.

Transitional rites accompany or create a transition from one of these states to another. It calls the claim of the two states and the non-condition of the Turnerian Liminality, the threshold, the most important feature of which is a deficiency. It is structurally invisible, neither living nor dead, but living and dead simultaneously. In this paradoxical position, there may be both persons and groups, and their eccentric position can be stuck in the fact that they are strangers in every respect compared to the previous and next state. Their behavior is passive against cleansing, converting penalties. The subjects in this now-existence develop intense camaraderie and egalitarianism, the differences in socio-status are eliminated, and the participants are homogenized.

*Permanent liminality*¹¹ appears as a certain degree of criticism of the concept of liminality. In this context, liminality does not mean a dynamism, or dialectic between structures, but that, in the absence of authority, actors who can authentically be able to indicate the directions of transition and the new identity of individuals after the transition. That is, while premodern temporary rites have always been connected, they guaranteed the integration into new structures and the individual acquisition of new role sets, in our time, in our age, the initiated actors, the assessments, and frameworks are no place. More specifically, the objectives locked in the individual are unable to go beyond their one-time, closed, and therefore proven to be unstable, while on a social level, figures that mimic initiation but do not know the long-term directions prevail. Thus, in the absence of structures, only temporary situations in the Liquid Modernity phase are alternated, identity is not designated by social frameworks, finding it an individual project, a life-long work to be done.

Turner is confronted with organized, legal, political, and economic structured societies, where more and less, above and below and below. On the contrary, the most important feature is the lack of law and holiness. These are primarily structured communities. These *communitas* models have a decisive thing to do with religion, the holy, the sacrament, but not to the sacred status of religions, but the status of the status in the period of transition. On the other hand, this experience of holiness can lead to a higher religious-social status.¹²

Turner distinguishes three types of *communitas*: a) existential or spontaneous, b) normative, and c) ideological. The characteristic of existential communion is

complete spontaneity and immediacy, which lacks all structures. These were created in any period of history and soon became merged into the structure of the medium. In normative communities, existential communion is structured and organized as a social system. The ideology paints the utopian image of the social system, relying on the characteristics of existential *communitas*.

In the decades after the regime change, institutions, including religious communities, were given a free journey, and the public became free. In addition to economic and political life, there has been a large and multi-directional sparkling in the religious field, with not only a colorful rotation of fantasies and interests but also decades of deep contradictions that have not been processed by the (traumatized) history of memory (for example, "Trianon "or the" fifty-sixth "revolution). First and foremost, it is not the factual data that awaits clarification but their meaning and significance and their status in social memory.

Our present state of threshold

The application of the hermeneutical framework needs to present a broader and narrower context and the features that can contribute to the dilemmas and questions of the current situation.

The value change defines our social and ecclesiastical presence in a rather ambivalent way. On the one hand, we see the structure of a more or less well-known, all-type, categorizing, hierarchical world. At the same time, there are cracks, fractures, and boundaries between the specific points of the structure, and between its clearly defined statuses. Using the concepts of intermediate or appropriate anthropology and sociology, these are the so-called (and already presented) liminal situations that result in structural changes. The gaps that open in the change indicate new directions of transition. We could also say that in the completed structures behind us, the place of "rebirth" is set. The crossing individual "passes through a cultural sphere that has little or no qualities that characterize past or future conditions."¹³ Turner writes. In this process, the sober and real experience can play a decisive role, protesting to take possession of what it is experienced and have to include in dogmas, and objective doctrines and thus incorporate it into the structure. On the contrary, the essence of this process is the essence of this process, which promises the possibility of a completely

different (interpretation of Numinous Rudolf Otto)¹⁴ to the concrete resolutions of everything and permissions everything and condemn everything. At the same time, in the liminal processes of transition, we can observe the structural changes of thinking as a destructive and creative process. As a result, social, rank, wealth differences, and private interests will disappear, and a puritanical, creative community, communion, create new forms, solutions, and human relationships in some kind of creative fever. We must be careful with describing the transition experience and the communion that is born in this way since communion of full and definite personalities, as the alienation of purely human relationships, is hardly a finding. They suggest that the impersonality of the structure is just a mask under which the entire persons are there, so they only have to put aside the mask. As a result, *communitas* could also be appreciated as some worldly Eden, utopian, or millenary state that must be directed to the religious activities of the community and the individual.¹⁵ Avoiding the trap of tamed utopia, focusing on the drama of the liminal experience. Namely, in the process of transition or liminality, the essence lies in the breaking and opening of the structure in which the being seizes its existence¹⁶ and faces the possibility and risks of its rebirth. In the context of all this, the current situation can particularly enhance the possibility of interpretation of transition and liminality in our age. In a nutshell, one of the liminality defined as the context of our social life today is the concept of so-called "Liquid Modernity" (introduced by Bauman).¹⁷ The concept describes modern society as a "liquid" state whose basic feature is fragility, temporary vulnerability, and constant changes.

In connection with these changes, the identity of the individual or a community and its factors are far from static but are set to change and become something. The search for identity can thus become a life task that can create so many current identities with the perhaps realistic potential of the past, and the re-starts and 'rebirths', often only illusory and infinite, are unveiled. If these processes occur without certain elementary structures, then it is only the alternation of the transitional situations without the identity of the identity. In this context, individualization effects can also result in an unwanted result that makes identity formation quasi-individual and narrows the life program of community identity into an isolated life program. Experimentations can be started in vacuum situations that change structures, and transition (liminality) that do not encounter significant obstacles. In this situation, however, it is

likely that the result will be quite uncertain and immature and will not be able to contribute to existential security and stability promises all identity-forming processes and bridges fractures and cracks.¹⁸

Bauman describes the attitudes of participants and societies of social history with the metaphor of the forester, gardener, and hunter. The premodern age is the forester, the modern age is the gardener, and the current (post) modern period (Liquid Modernity) is the hunter. By expanding the metaphor for our current period, we can understand the hunter's attitude to the environment, nature, and the prey to be killed by rapid destruction. It is no longer the primary goal of killing and acquiring 'prey', but to be 'wild' itself.¹⁹ Bauman also interprets his metaphor for desires, in which the feature of the premodern age is the birth of desires, the fulfillment of the modern age, and the maintenance of Liquid Modernity.²⁰

Baudrillard's earlier observations can continue to shade the characteristics of Liquid Modernity, according to which, in the state of transition, it precisely because of the disintegration of structures - content is often faded to participants of society, and even a kind of indifference can be observed. As a result, self-indulgence can take the lead, even in setting goals. In this way, operativity as a tool can play an overweight role that often permeates the process of incompetence in pointless performance. Operation is replaced by operation, which results in self-indulgence in trying to objectify. This process can be particularly dangerous for institutional structures such as the Church. The framework of an organization is crucial for defining motivations and goals and proper subordination of tools. Organization can give you a truly safe interpretation framework, designate narratives with persistent references with the ability to consider perspective, and can help a community or any individual actor in the community through long-term behavior and norms. If confession and dogmas can fulfill their role in the life of the Church, then they should be marked in a way that is constantly confronted and dialogue with the diverse context of the church community, as they can become real and authentic reference points in the liminal situations during turns and trends.

It is worth mentioning another characteristic direction for criticism of Modernity (Liquid Modernity). There are exciting points in Eric Voegelin's work. The main points of this are, in connection with the Turner Concept of liminality, develops on the following: At the starting point, the classic theorem that one is

fundamentally determined by the metaphysical situation is inevitable. Man must find his place in the tension between divine and human. According to this ontic starting point, a man comes into contact with all sales of existence and becomes a participant.

Its existence is determined by its physicality as an organic and vegetative reality as material existence. At the same time, in its soul, it can experience mystical participation in the divine due to *noetic*²¹ attraction.²² From this encompassing, often hierarchically presented character, the synthetic nature of man can be derived from a specific, rational being, noetic determination. The noetic Intelligence, in the classical philosophical approach, is a cognitive force that is the director, creative and shaping the order of order and also being. As a result, man can either realize his nature or completely deploy (as an example is the gnostic character of modernity, the separation of transcendent foundations in 19th -century German philosophy, and the religions of 20th -century politics). In this sense, human existence is also publicity (metaxy or liminal state that stands outside and beyond it): it can head towards the divine, but it can deny it (*nosema*, the disease of the spirit) with its defining order, thus creating itself based on itself (subjective relativism)²³. In the Western civilization of modernity, the soul turned away from divine foundations, which is equivalent to the loss of reality, led to social disorders, which Voegelin said is a characteristic feature of the 20th century. Voegelin's political philosophical endeavor was to make a diagnosis and find therapy. He saw the restart, not in progress, but the look back. "The reaction of the spirit to the crisis is the -orientation of the spirit" in the name of an old tradition is formulated on the thought base of classical political philosophy and medieval Christianity. Voegelin designates the path of social action and political order towards Plato and Aristotelian politics. It becomes clear here that the order of our existence is found in the order of consciousness (Plato calls it anamnesis). Thus, opposite the clutter of modernity, the work of remembrance must be moved again, thus overcoming the mess in returning to order.²⁴

Summary

In a summary, we can say that today we live in a period that begins with modernity. Modernity (after Yves and Berger) can be described according to four basic

religious principles: 1) decline, 2) adaptation and reinterpretation, 3) conservative reactions, and 4) innovation. The effects of secularization and new religious forms are both at the same time, while in the background our age is massively determined by the decline of human and divine hierarchies, the different types of self-spirituality, the para-theory experiments to interpret 'reality, the power of pluralism, the pervasive mobility, There are many phenomena of 'Liquid Modernity' that specifically determine our world and in this situation the context of the Church.²⁵

In these contexts, the interaction of politics and religion may be at the forefront of the risk factors presented above, which can be realized in the man and living space of today in different nature (social, public, public and religious, theological). In the phase of Liquid Modernity, the most characteristic of today's direct context, in the absence of structures, virtually only transitional situations (permanent limitation) are alternated, and finding identity is reduced to an independent individual project. Thus, the individual life paths without connections do not break and connect fractures but embed themselves in a series of fractures. As a result, identity must always remain flexible and volatile, and the search for identity is a primary task. The continuous movement of identity and the development of current identities promise a constant possibility of closing the past, an endless series of re-starts and rebirths. In the emptiness of the structures (void), experimentation is easy, there is no obstacle, but its results are never stable; their life cycle is short, so they can never create promised existential security.²⁶

Based on all this, the issue of responsibility (public life and religion, theology and religion) is concentrated in the vital relativism in individualism in Liquid modernity. Together with all representation returns, and despite the individual, the individual is an *ens realissimus* that is more than the collapse of representation. The individual's personality is the densest reality, his suffering, his or her finality in his or her loneliness before God. The belief in Jesus Christ (in the adjusted religion), the gospel can help to understand in two directions in the interpretation of liminality:

1. The (created) world is significantly more than the schema and ideology of the current structure. This is just a transient, always changing image: structure and antistructure.
2. Christian faith is practically liminoid. The characteristic determination of

the threshold is essentially unmatched. It has no (cannot be) designated place in the world scheme, so it refers to "completely different". This otherness is the form of life of *communitas, ecclesia* (challenged). Due to his mission, he has a critical function that always reminds me that truth is in God. This means that there are always different measures than the given context, society, public life, culture, etc. designated.

2.1 The Christian faith, the liminality, and space of faith in Jesus Christ is a reference point whose many elements will not be assimilated by religion. These elements can be crucial, especially for *ecclesia* and indirectly for the world's scheme.

References

- 1 Valyi Nagy, Ervin: *Minden idők peremen*, (Basel / Budapest, Europai Protestans Szabad Egyetem, 1993), 210-218.
- 2 Here it is worthwhile to recall that the phenomenon of Reichskirche and Deutsche Christen are tragic examples of the ideology of the German National Socialism in the early 20th century and used the suitable elements of Christianity to support its own right.
- 3 Vályi Nagy, Ervin: *Minden idők peremén*, Európai Protestáns Szabad Egyetem, Basel / Budapest, 1993.; 210-218
- 4 Vályi Nagy, Ervin: *Minden idők peremén*, Európai Protestáns Szabad Egyetem, Basel / Budapest, 1993.; 210-218.
- 5 Turner, Victor: *Schism and Continuity in an African Society: A Study of Ndembu Village Life*, (Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 1996)..
- 6 The concept is among the first to see Arnold van Gennep (*Les Rites de Passage*, 1909). In the second half of the 20th century, Victor Turner's writings became widespread in the use of 'liminal' and 'liminality' theory in anthropology and sociology. Turner started following Van Gennep and, in the 1960s, filled the theory of liminality in many ways, which remained a decisive element of his works until death until 1983. See Turner, V *Structure* (1969), and "*Passages, Margins, and Poverty: Religious Symbols of Communitas*," from *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors* (1974).
- 7 The concept of permanent liminality is partly a critique of the concept of Victor Turner liminity, in which the authors argue in the middle of the Model of Transitional Rites (Gennep), in the absence of authority, the actors who can authentically be able to denote the transition directions. Cf. Szakolczai, Arpad: *Permanent Liminality and Modernity. Analyzing the sacrificial carnival THROUGH NOVELS*. (London: Routledge, 2016).; Thomassen, Bjorn: *Liminality and the Modern. Living THROUGH THE IN-BETWEEN*. (Farnham-Vermont, Ashgate, 2014).
- 8 In a liminal period, social structures are repealed, community hierarchies are disrupted, and a creative energy-filled community can develop new forms, solutions, human relationships. The group itself seeks and shapes its norms and compares them to current social conventions. This is a special case of community experience, communitas. Victor Turner: *The Ritual Process*, (London: Routledge, 1969), 96-97. See also Turner, Victor: "*Passages, Margins, and Poverty: Religious Symbols of Communitas*," from *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors* (1974), 233.
- 9 Máté Tóth, András: *Vallásnézet*, Korunk-Komp-Press, Kolozsvár, 2014.; 154-157.
- 10 Turner gives a new approach to rites in the sense that not only do they train social dramas from a sociological point of view, but social dramas are created because of the obvious interruption of social norms, as they give insight into tensions and conflicts within society and forced the participants to do so to treat them in some way. This tension transition is treated by rites, which have the power to think and social structure.
- 11 In permanent limination, it is not the goals themselves that are eliminated, but the social structures that provide stability and lasting value for goals. In contrast to premodern liminal situations, the targets become an elaborate, possible, and ultimately empty; On the one hand, the ritual for initiation, introducing into different statuses, takes over the decisive role, in which the experience of its self will be virtually decisive. Cf. Thomassen, Bjorn: *Liminality and the Modern. Living THROUGH THE IN-BETWEEN*. (Farnham -Vermont, Ashgate, 2014), 167-191.

- 12 Bauman, Zygmunt: *Mortality, Immortality and Other Life Strategies*. (Cambridge, Polity, 1992), 166-167.
- 13 Victor Turner: Liminalitas es communitas. In: Zentai Violetta (szerk.): *Politikai antropológia*. (Osiris–Lathatatlan Kollegium, 1997), 52-53.
- 14 Numinous is outside everything, “quite different”, no human, any other phenomenon of the universe. In contrast to the numinos, one is captured by a feeling of his own self-nullity, he feels “just creature”, or as Abraham said to the Lord, “No other dust and ash.” The saint always manifests itself as a reality that is quite different from “natural” reality. While language expresses Tremendum, Majestas, or Mysterium fascinans with words borrowed from nature or man’s profane spiritual life, this analogizing expression stems just because we are unable to name the whole thing: language, which goes beyond normal human experience, is forced to dress in words that come from normal experience. Cf. Rudolf Otto: *The Idea of the Holy*. Trans. John W. Harvey. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1923; 2nd ed., 1950 [Das Heilige, 1917]).
- 15 Turner, Victor: Átmenetek, határok és szegénység: a communitas vallási szimbólumai. In: P. Bohunna–M. Glazer (szerk.): *Mérföldkövek a kulturális antropológiában*. (Budapest: Pannem Kft., 1997), 681.
- 16 In the distinction of existence and existing concept, the “existence grabs its existence”, we refer to Heidegger. Heidegger calls this difference an ontological difference. For it is distinguished between the existing and its basis, that is, the existence of existence: it is the basis of the existing, pervades and surpasses it. Being itself is transcendent, beyond all existing, and we have the knowledge of it at the same time: “We do not know what existence means. But if we ask - what is existence? -, we already hold ourselves in understanding Van without being able to record what means.” Cf. Martin Heidegger: *Being and Time*. (Bp. Thought 1989, Jav. (Published: Osiris Publishing House, 2004), 5. However, with the term “existent grabs its existence”, we do not want to remain consistent with Heidegger. In our study, we are confronted with Heidegger, seeing the determination of existence to man, as an existential idea in the present.
- 17 Bauman, Zygmunt : *Liquid Modernity*, (Cambridge–Malden, MA, Polity, 2000).
- 18 Bauman, Zygmunt: *Consuming Life*. (Cambridge–Malden, MA: Polity, 2007), 100-101.
- 19 Ibid, 98-100.
- 20 Ibid, 98.
- 21 Noetic is the operation whose moments take place in the soul (mind) of the functioning subject; the end result is possible in the physical world. Such is theoretical thinking and ethical action. You can learn about the moments and results of external operation by the perception of the outside observer. The outcome of noetic operation can create a reasonable assumption by thinking or sensation, and attempts to reconstruct the moments of operation based on this assumption.
- 22 Plato’s symposium Diotima’s shape and role. Voegelin uses the concept of Platon Metaxy to describe the intermediate state that means existence between two existential states. This is the “publicity” of the infinite (Apeiron) and finite or immanent and transcendent. The relationship between the nous with material reality.
- 23 Ld.Voegelin, E.: *Die Neue Wissenschaft der Politik*, (München: Anton Pulstet ,1959.), 100.
- 24 Voegelin, E.: *Anamnesis. Zur Theorie der Geschichte und Politik*, (München: Piper & Co., 1966), 11-12.

- 25 Yves, Peter Berger uses the concept of secularization and modernity. See Peter Berger, *The Sacred Canopy*, New York, Doubleday, 1967) and Yves, L.: "Religion in Modernity As a New Axial Age: Secularization or New Religious Forms?" In *Sociology of Religion* (No. 60, 1999), 303.
- 26 Bauman, Zygmunt (2001): *Community. Seeking Safety in an Insecure World*. Cambridge–Malden, MA Polity, 2001.; 99.

PART II

Reflections on Society

The Call to 'Caregiver'

Care, Gender and Universal care*

Introduction

Among the housekeepers, the most frequent case of taking a break from work was due to one-sided notification from a customer due to concerns about external infection. Nevertheless, when they continued their job, customers demand a lot: "I don't want you to go to crowded places.", "Tell me where you've been", or calling an hour before going to work and asking, "How are you?; do you have a fever?", and after hearing the answer, "Nothing is wrong," the customer let them go to work. It is also said that some customers do not let them even touch the faucet for fear of spreading germs. It is said that as soon as they arrive to work, a customer turns on the faucet and lets them wash their hands and wear a mask before starting work. They understand that this is for the hygiene of the house, but they feel bittersweet like 'isn't it too much?' Brazil's first COVID-19 death was a housekeeper. The owner of the house who had been to Italy was tested for COVID-19 and was waiting for the result, but the owner let the housekeeper keep coming to work without notifying the housekeeper. In the end, the housekeeper who was infected with COVID-19 died in the hospital.¹

During the pandemic period of COVID-19, the novel coronavirus has made us face the uncomfortable truth that humanity has traditionally done things for reasons of efficiency. One is that care, which has been structured as women's work and trivial matters, has begun to reveal its limits. Infectious diseases do not discriminate between class and race, but the data given to us show that disasters "parasitize gender, class, and race and are amplified."² The story of the housekeeper above is that although most work stopped during the quarantine

period or the work was done from home, care, an essential labor, did not stop, showing that those in charge of care-giving were more exposed to the risk of the virus.

Ahead of the 11th WCC General Assembly to be held in Karlsruhe this year, addressing the change in the way of dealing with the 'care' issue that has arisen in Korean society after the corona pandemic will provide an appropriate stimulus and agenda for the world church. This is because 'care' is no longer the labor passed on to women in private space, but a necessary condition for all living things to return to life on Earth. If you think that the WCC's ecumenical movement is also an effort to make Oikos a place where life lives and rests, I think that the urgency and relevance of the topic will be ensured. This paper explores the possibility of 'caring democracy' as an alternative to the neoliberal market order and social-democratic welfare system in order to solve the problem of care that is unequally allocated to gender, class, and race that the pandemic has clearly uncovered. In addition, a theological approach to care is necessary to solve the problem of meeting the need for intimacy in an autonomous community that is lacking in caring democracy and the problem of human-centered care arrangements. In this context, I propose universal care based on Leonardo Boff's concept of care. In addition, I describe how this universal care can be found in the transformational discipleship of Jesus Christ, who came as a 'caretaker' and this remains the task of diakonia, an important theology of the WCC.

WCC, Care, and Diakonia

Care belongs to the realm of diakonia, which has been continuously pursued since the inception of WCC's ecumenical theology. When we think of diakonia, we often think of the personal level of 'relief' work that helps the underprivileged other than the 'prayer and word ministry' of the church (Acts 6:1-6). However, since the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work, Stockholm, Sweden in 1925, WCC went beyond the simple level of helping the underprivileged, and covered all human areas such as industry, society, politics, and international relations. It began to regard social issues as a structural dimension, such as the need to take responsibility not only as an individual, but also as a joint responsibility.³ It was recognized from the beginning of the WCC that it is impossible that the concept

of diakonia in the Bible era, which was born in an agricultural society and a society based on the local market, does not include the concept of diakonia that has evolved since the industrial society. This recognition lays the foundation for the direction of the diakonia theology.

This principle was maintained at the 1966 World Consultation on Inter-church Aid held in Swanwick, England. The published *Summary Report*, described the changes from simple aid to challenging the structure, from aid based on friendship and personal relationship of churches to aid based on publicity and objectivity, from aid based on regarding the world as an object to aid based on participation in the world.⁴ In the Larnaca *Declaration* proclaimed at WCC World Consultation on Diakonia in Larnaca, Cyprus in 1986, diakonia, like Jesus who came to give abundant life, is "life service" and reveals three transformative viewpoints. Firstly, since the resources of this world do not belong to any particular individual, nation, or class, but to God, diakonia must go beyond the benefactor-beneficiary structure; secondly, not changing unfair structures and systems leads us to conspire as an accomplice. To do nothing is recognized that you are complicit as an 'accomplice.' Thirdly, it defines the fight against the gigantic system of economic, political, and military organizations as "the prophetic service."⁵

Next, *Guidelines for Sharing* adopted at the WCC World Consultation on Koinonia held in El Escorial, Spain in 1987 can be summarized in three ways: going into a radical new value system by identifying, exposing, and confronting the structure and causes of the injustice that exploits the third world; breaking the distinction between beneficiaries and beneficiaries; and fighting in solidarity.⁶

Lastly, *Theological Perspectives on Diakonia* in the 21 Century, presented at the conference jointly organized by the Justice and Diakonia, Just and Inclusive Communities, and Mission and Evangelism programmes of the WCC held in Colombo, Sri Lanka, 2012, also suggests the following three perspectives, which also contain the radical and structural reforming the concept of diakonia. Firstly, since diakonia is part of Missio Dei, its scope should be broad. It has to include a range from the local to the global level, from the individual to the community level, from care and relief to system and structural change, and prophetic service. Secondly, diakonia should be viewed from the perspective of the marginal community. It is that the marginal community, which was previously regarded as the beneficiary, is rather the subject of diakonia. In that sense their livelihoods of being both victims and resisters of injustice can create opportunities to spark

transformation for justice and peace. Thirdly, diakonia has been configured from the perspective of the southern hemisphere. It should not be limited to service, as it could be used for the benefit of those who practice oppression and exploitation. It is because "Diakonia, then, besides being an expression of support and help to those in need, is essentially a creative action meant to bring about the world God so desires. (III-22).⁷

In summary, in the documents related to diakonia in the history of the WCC, diakonia means creating an alternative by breaking away from the narrow meaning of diakonia in which beneficiaries are subjected to infinite benefit and by deconstructing the exploitive structure divided into benefactors and beneficiaries. Thus, the nature of diakonia is radical and the scope of it is comprehensive. In other words, diakonia is a subversive lifestyle that resists the way of life in this world. However, the diakonia theology of WCC so far has limitations that are still restricted to caring for humans. Ahead of the 10th WCC Busan General Assembly, Seong-won Park reflected on the documents related to the WCC's diakonia summarized above, and argued that in the midst of climate change and ecological crisis, the future ecumenical diakonia should now be transformed from "human-centered diakonia" to "all-things-centered diakonia." This sounds like a prophetic voice that predicted the current corona pandemic situation.⁸

This paper discusses how diakonia as a radical, comprehensive, and subversive way of life including all things can be realized as a form of care.

Care shifted to the Private Realm and Women and the World on the Cross⁹

The Seoul Sinmun (Seoul News Paper) obtained and did in-depth analysis of 108 cases of caregiver murder cases that occurred from 2006 to September 2018, the time when the planned serialization was assigned.¹⁰ The perpetrators, the caregiver for their family, said that the reason why they decided to commit a crime was 42 cases of momentary anger from quarrels (38.9%), 35 cases of the being tired of various symptoms of dementia, such as violence and running away (32.4%), 26 cases of the despair for their situation (24.1%), and 22 cases of killing the patient before committing suicide for unwillingness to burden other

family members (20.4%). Mrs. Mun (55) strangled and killed her husband, who had entrusted himself to her, after leaving the family without taking care of them for 20 years and collapsed from brain stroke. Jeong Hyun-woo (54, pseudonym) helped his wife commit suicide by lighting a fire of charcoal fire while taking care of his wife with breast cancer, his mother who has suffered a stroke, and his daughter with a congenital brain lesion alone. Heo Kang-won, a 73-year-old who has a son with a developmental disability, murdered his 41-year-old son with a hammer and committed suicide. He was also ill but he feared that if he died, it would be a burden to the five-year-old younger brother of the disabled child. Kim Jin-gyu, a sweet son who had cared for a paralyzed mother, gave her mother a sleeping pill after 5 years of care. Most of the accused feel depressed and were complained of lack of sleep because they cared for patients for a long time. They were also unable to pay their hospital bills and living expenses because they were unable to do other work due to nursing care. Experts emphasize the importance of a system for patients and family caregivers that prevents shifting the burden of care to only the patient's family. They say that having a family to take care of patients all day means low economic ability: the lower the economic power, the longer the care time and the higher the depression. They then suggest that we should find a way to reduce the cost of care for the low-income class by using the financial resources of health insurance and long-term care insurance for the elderly. In their conclusion, it is an insufficient approach to care to simply pass care onto the private realm, that is, the family.

In addition to the problem of care placement shifting to the private sphere, another problem is the shifting of care to women. And these two misplaced responsibilities are interlocked. After modern industrialization, the public and private dichotomy was created as a result of the complicity between patriarchy and capitalism. Because women's parenting for reasons of pregnancy, childbirth, and lactation reduces opportunity costs, the male supporter model, in which women work in the private area and men in the public area, was established.¹¹ For a long time, caring, a so-called family job, has been the job of women in the home. However, the gender asymmetric distribution of care-work based on this dichotomy continues even after women are summoned as wage workers in the public area because poor or migrant women who are employed at cheap wages and could fill in for the lack of caregivers. This is called the "global care chain".¹² In the 2000s, as the domestic market's services such as nursing and

housework in Korea were opened to the global market, the number of migrant female workers doing care work, especially Korean-Chinese migrant women, has risen sharply.¹³ On the one hand, the labor force of migrant women contributed to the socialization of care, but the gender division of labor for care, which is a fundamental problem, was not solved, and the problem of racial and hierarchical division of labor was created. In this imputation, women's wages are kept low, and the value of care work is further devalued.¹⁴ In the end, the genderization of care arrangements is extended to the problems of classification and racialization.

The problems of the private territorialization, genderization, classification, and racialization of care were highlighted more clearly in this pandemic situation. Due to social distancing, social care facilities have been closed at home, and the care for children, the disabled and the elderly was passed on to a woman who was imprisoned in the facility. Female wage workers, telecommuting and care work, suffer relatively more from the double work they have to do together. In addition, the care and gender division of labor has a significant impact on the employment rate of women workers. The female wage workers have a relatively high risk of layoffs and at home they are much more pressured to quit their jobs to take care of their children than men since many of them are non-regular workers.¹⁵ On the other hand, socially essential workers such as care workers, caregivers for the sick, and nursing staff, who are mostly women and migrant women, are at the forefront of care and cannot stop working despite the risk of infection.

So far, the neoliberal market economy system has maintained a production-oriented economic model by mining nature and the reproductive labor force of women, mainly women in the southern hemisphere. The pause caused by the pandemic has provided an opportunity for us to reflect on and stop this evil economic model. The cross provides a theological foundation to stop this evil model. Here the cross is not reduced to the doctrine of redemption but a hermeneutical principle" functioned as "*crux probat omnia* (the cross tests everything)."¹⁶ In other words, the cross is the standard and hermeneutic lens of theology that can test what is true and what is false. According to Nancy Bedford, young Luther saw the cross as a "lens" that helps us not be blinded to the lies and idolatry in our lives and in our society. When we regard the cross as a hermeneutic principle, the cross dismantles the current theology of glory, mainstream theology and informs the solidarity of God, and helps humans to live in the reality as they are. Vitor Westhelle asserts that the divine justice discovered

by Luther on the cross allows us to see God's grace and at the same time see the evil that blinded us by revealing the wickedness of knowledge and power that govern this fallen world.¹⁷ The power of Christ locked up in the order of a fallen world is foolish in the eyes of the fallen world. However, in fact, this power has the power to subvert the concept of justice in this world. That is the meaning of the cross. Looking through the prism of the cross, the neoliberal market economy system that disproportionately distributes care is false and an evil that we must overthrow. Jon Sobrino says that "this world [El Salvador] is one gigantic cross for millions of innocent people who die at the hands of executioners."¹⁸ Quoting Ignacio Elacuria, he argues that on the cross 2000 years ago to save the sinful world, the poor people of El Salvador are now hanging. The people who are supporting care work, i.e. the world's dirty work and chores, are those who have been crucified. Also, through capital, power, and system, this earth ecosystem, which is mined helplessly is a world on the cross. Based on Sobrino, the task of theology is to bring them down from the cross.

Call for Transition to a Caring Society

The Indifferent World

The socialization strategy of care, which converts the care that is freely distributed to women into wage labor to solve the problems of private territorialization and genderization of care, may have succeeded in recognizing the social value of care, but it is not a satisfactory solution to alleviating gender discrimination. This is because, as we have seen before, socialized care work is carried out by other women, mainly poor women, with cheap wages. Ahn Sook-young points out that on the one hand, in the new Cold War system, men are a "protection type of free-rider" in which it is thought that men can be exempted from care because they serve in the military. On the other hand, she continues that in a neoliberal market system that regards men as ideal workers, men are a "production type of free-rider." She suggests that we need a shift to "caring masculinity" for complementing the socialization strategy.¹⁹

Another reason the socialization strategy of care is insufficient is the fact that care cannot be easily socialized. Since care involves dealing with living things, especially vulnerable humans in a face-to-face situation, care for someone involves negative emotions such as anger, shame, and disgust as well as positive emotions such as pride and reward.²⁰ Hee-kyung Jeon, based on her nursing experience, describes the complex feelings of caregivers. She says that the patient's caregiver is in the paradox of actively living the passive time, which has to stay in their social time while adjusting their body and mind to the condition of the sick person 24 hours a day. "I don't have time to sleep. But the bank opens only until four o'clock." A caregiver then finds out the fact that s/he runs a risk of becoming a "transparent self" who gives his or her everything to the sick.²¹ Thus, the complexity of care, which is intertwined with morality, empathy and responsibility, leads to a new way of thinking about care. This complexity of caring cannot be properly dealt with in a neoliberal market economy system, where profit-making and efficiency are the highest values based on autonomous individuals. Not a handful of analysts say that the ecosystem of care has collapsed because 40 years of financial capitalism has weakened European welfare systems and democratic procedures and institutions. In the normalization of this kind of indifference to care, the state can transfer care to relatives or platform markets (e.g., Care.com), and the quality of care has become lower.²²

It was after the foreign currency crisis in the late 1990s that the public intervention of care and the socialization strategy of caring as a policy agenda in Korea were paid full attention to. The mass layoffs and labor flexibilization of the neoliberal economic system that began with the IMF system led to the recall of married women into the public realm on behalf of men as supporters of livelihoods, and the "Korean welfare model," which care was passed on to families and women, no longer works.²³ Kyung-hee, Ma argues that this dominant policy discourse regards care only as means of new growth for job creation or industry revitalization. This approach to care as a means, she criticizes, has limitations that do not deviate from the framework of productivism. In other words, in this kind of the production-framework, people who give and receive care are marginalized and care cannot be radically deviate from the existing social paradigm where care is undervalued.

Human Vulnerability and Interdependence

Therefore, a shift in the ontological and epistemological paradigm is necessary for us to relocate care justly. Above all, the premise of the 'autonomous and independent individual', which is the basis of the classical liberal contractual concept, must be dismantled. Instead of thinking that, as in liberalism, the individual comes first and then the care takes place, one should think that the individual can live in a caring relationship.²⁴ There is no one who is not dependent on this world; it just looks that way. We need to resist the practice of only taking certain dependencies as normal. Husbands are dependent on their wives for childcare, and business owners depend on the labors of workers but their dependence is concealed. It appears that wives and workers depend on their husbands and business owners. Everyone is in the structure of dependence, but only those who support the lower layers of that structure are labeled as 'dependent'. Thinking of independence and dependence in two is a "fictional frame that sustains the ruling system."²⁵

We know, empirically and from data, that we cannot survive without the full care of someone early in life. We also constantly need someone's care in growing up until we die. In the neoliberal market economy system designed as "efficiency, autonomy, choice, and contract-oriented" based on autonomous individuals competing to meet their desires infinitely, we have witnessed the loss of care that is understood as "love, morality, empathy and responsibility."²⁶

Theology of Care and Propose of Universal Care

Relocation of Care and the Limits of Caring Democracy

Joan C. Tronto believes that the problem of injustice in caring can be solved only when the political value of justice is given to the moral value of caring.²⁷ Hee-gang Kim agrees with Tronto's point of view and proposes a caring democracy that reorganizes democracy from the perspective of care. Liberal democracy, which resisted feudalism by advocating the value of 'freedom' and the market system, excluded workers without means of production from the decision-making process and in order to overcome this limitation, the social democracy

was achieved that aims for a welfare system centered on the value of 'labor.' However care is not considered in both the market system operated by bourgeois male citizens and the social democratic welfare system designed around full-time male workers. She argues that care was excluded and thus as an alternative to this, caring democracy is necessary to democratically distribute care.²⁸ Making men and women human lies neither in the rational capacity nor in the productive and independent labor capacity but in the giving and taking of care. In a caring democracy, citizens are carers who care for other citizens. In order to take care of each other, she claims that it is necessary to operate the 'together caring system which is the responsible system of care, all members of society have practical responsibility of taking care of each other.

However, according to Eun-jung Gu, if caring is approached only through public institutions and policies in order to materialize the socialization strategy of care, there is a risk that caring will be quantitatively quantified and regarded only as 'labour.'²⁹ In other words, the qualitative value of care, the relational and emotional value, cannot be captured. Just as friendship cannot be enforced when social workers for the elderly take care of them, strategies to socialize care in a policy and public way have limitations. Taek-jin Jeong, who conducted field research on Dongja-dong district, Jjokbang village (densely populated with compact rooms) in Seoul, mentions that welfare policies dependent on basic pension supply and demand produce beneficiaries who accustomed to those policies and emphasizes the need to form an interdependent self-help community for residents. It is said that not unilateral dependence (aiming for from dependence on receiving aid to independence) but solidarity, mutual care, and positive interdependence between residents should be promoted.³⁰ Therefore, when care is democratically arranged, not only the institutional and policy dimensions, but also the formation of an autonomous caring community in which the relational value of care is cultivated and should be promoted.

In addition, caring democracy that democratically distributes responsibilities of care may have limitations in limiting the subject of care to only human beings. Socialization of care, which is linked to justice, a political value, and the concept of policy care can be narrowly regarded as a practice, experience, and value of care by and for humans.³¹ Of course, reassessing the value of care as labor is still an important issue in Korea, where the working environment is poor, and the private sphere of care and genderization are still deeply rooted. In this sense,

Baek Young-kyung significantly evaluates the proposal of the 'caring democracy' and the 'caring new deal' that goes beyond the Korean version of the new deal (a new deal concept that includes care as a value, publicity of care (as a system, and gender equality) after the corona virus. However, she criticizes the fact that these two policy visions are still captured by the growth-oriented capitalist system.³² In the existing growth-oriented capitalist system, no matter how democratically distributed care is, we are bound to face the dilemma of sacrificing another for the care of one species. And this kind of sacrifice will result not in a global dimension of care but of destruction. In this sense, Baek proposes to move toward universal care based on degrowthism in order to democratically redeploy care and transform it into a genuine caring society.

Care, Human Mode of Being in the Network of Life

So far, in the previous section, the political model of a caring democracy was introduced for the democratic redeployment of care. It also added a suggestion that caring democracy requires a community that can form close relationships with specific others, and that care should also be expanded to the ecosystem. In this sense, investigating care in theology is thought to be able to supplement the limitations of caring democracy. This is because theology is the product of a concrete community that believes in God, through the Holy Spirit, and in Jesus, and the extent of God's involvement extends to the entire biosphere, including humans.

Theologian Leonardo Boff writes that care is derived from the Latin word *cūra*. Citing Heidegger who mentions the myth that humans belong to the goddess Kura (who made mud lumps into humans) while they are alive, he conceptualizes the care that humans have to be deeply involved while they are alive. He translates Heidegger's 'Sorge' (caution, care, and concern) into *ep*.³³ For Heidegger, 'Sorge' is not an action or attitude, but a unique way of being human. "The mode of being is not a new being. It is the self-structuring and self-knowledge that the being itself has."³⁴ Heidegger intuitively feels that human beings are unable to shake off their worries while they are alive. Boff goes one step further and engraves into his conception of care the ethical implications of the 'duty to take care of others', which Heidegger lacks.³⁵ In this respect, Boff's concept of care (*cuidado*)

means that being a human means not just about being concerned but taking care of something or someone. In other words, care is “the way through which the human being structures itself and through which it interacts with others in the world.”³⁶

Based on this concept of care, Boff describes two basic ways of being in the world. One is work and the other is care. He maintains that while the way of being through work reduces all relationships to the main object schema, denies the autonomy of the other party, and uses them for a more complete and axiomatic purpose to know and conquer, the way of being through care establishes a relationship of subject-to-subject with the other and does not dominate, but creates a relationship of intimacy, hospitality and protection, and provides rest and peace.³⁷ It pays attention not really to an independent and autonomous individual, but rather to “independent dependence” or “independence based on dependence.”³⁸

In this context, Hyo-Jeong Chae introduces that the word care (*cūra*) in Latin means to produce life together with nature, and ‘care’ is a synonym for ‘cultivating.’ Therefore, it is said that care has a much more fundamental meaning than the narrow meaning used in the capitalist labor market. “In this way, care holds the prototype of the fundamental meaning of the coexistence of the human economy and the natural economy and the relationship between beings within it.”³⁹

Hee-gang Kim saw that “the relationship of giving and receiving care is a social relationship that can no longer be divided and the starting point of a bond that cannot be reduced to an individual.” Quoting Virginia, Held, she also describes this as a “precursor,” which means “a caring relationship is a starting point for a person to form relationships with others and a prerequisite for making social bonds possible.”⁴⁰ Chae, Kim, and Held’s definitions of caring are in line with Boff’s insight that care is a human form of existence. This definition of Boff is very handy for linking care with the definition of political value, moving away from the dimensions of ‘activity’ and ‘labor’ and expanding it to personal, social, and relational values, and further to the ecological realm.

Boff argues that at a time when the planet Earth is destroyed and human dignity is trampled under the neoliberal system, the way of being through care must be restored. Not the indifference and negligence based on logos, reason, and understanding regarded an importance when performing work, but pathos, emotions, ability of sympathy and empathy, dedication, care, and

communication with each other regarded as important when performing care should be restored.⁴¹ With this concept of Boff's care, we will be able to expand the scope of intimacy and care within the community to the ecosystem.

Jesus the Good Shepherd, the Care of the Triune God

Understanding this world and humans from the perspective of care is in many ways consistent with the kingdom of God proclaimed by Jesus. The kingdom of God, that is, the reign of God, is a place where everyone gives and receives care. Jesus came to this earth to take care of this world, to show Himself the kingdom of God. Jesus came to this earth "that they may have life and have it abundantly." (John 10:10). And he defines himself as the good shepherd. The good shepherd is a caregiver who can lay down his life for the sheep, unlike the hired hand who leaves the sheep and runs away when s/he sees a wolf coming (John 10:11-12). And Jesus, who is a good caregiver, takes care of the other sheep that are not in the pen (John 10:16), and goes out to find the one sheep that is lost even if there are ninety-nine out of a hundred (Matthew 18:12; Luke 15:4). The scope of care is wide, and the way is radical.

Boff introduces Jesus of Nazareth as the person who personified the way of being through care. His whole public life is full of care. He cared for the poor, the hungry, the excluded and the sick, and made friendships with women never before seen at that age. The key to his ethic was mercy. He showed mercy for caring for others. Without mercy there is no salvation for all (Matthew 25:36-41). Jesus speaks of the parable of the Good Samaritan, who showed compassion for a man who had fallen on the road (Luke 10:30-7), as an example of care and of being fully human. While dying on the cross, Jesus was a caregiver who took care of two robbers, his mother, and his favorite disciple, John. Moreover the Heavenly Father and Heavenly Mother, whom Jesus showed us, is the One who takes care of every hair on our head, the food of the birds, and the sun and rain for all.⁴² The Holy Spirit, the Comforter, then, reminds us of Jesus' caring ministry who, hoping against hope, follows Jesus. S/he helps us to live along that path in a concrete care crisis situation that is a disaster of structural inequality and infectious diseases here and now (Romans 4:18; John 14:26).⁴³

Diakonia as a Disciple of Care

As mentioned earlier, above all else, it is important to recognize that we are vulnerable and interdependent. "As vulnerable beings who are injured, sick, old, and someday dying, it is a caring relationship that every human being needs to participate in and live in."⁴⁴ As mentioned earlier, if we say 'independent dependence' and 'independence on dependence', if we regard human beings as vulnerable and in need of care, rather than as autonomous individuals based on neoliberalism, in other words, if we acknowledge that we are interdependent beings who have no choice but to live as caregivers at some point in our lives and as caretakers at other times, it cannot then be denied that all care work should be universally reorganized and redeployed.

In this universal care system, all life communities on Earth can flourish only by protecting the weak link in which disasters penetrate, that is, by creating an equal structure for social inequality. Therefore, we must extend our care to all living things. This is called the universal care model, which is a social ideal in which "care is given priority at all levels of life and put at the center, and everyone takes responsibility for all kinds of care necessary to maintain the community and the planet itself, as well as direct interpersonal care."⁴⁵

The transition to a caring society where universal care is performed requires a community that can give and receive care at an emotional and relational level as well as an approach at the institutional and policy level. The local church community and the global church community can be a good seedbed for concrete implementation of such universal care. Just as Taek-Jin Jeong suggested 'interdependence from dependence' rather than 'independence from dependence' for a Jjokbang village in Dongja-dong, the conclusion about the care of Pastor Kim Geon-ho, who served the homeless as the head of the Yeongdeungpo Urban Industrial Mission's Sunshine Shelter (homeless shelter) for over 10 years, was to create and operate 'Nonemaegi (dividing into several parts and sharing)', a self-supporting cooperative for the homeless.⁴⁶ This caring community should be expanded into a life network that cares for all life. We are called for diakonia to care for this community of life.

In addition to considering the cross as a hermeneutic principle, Bedford proposes discipleship as an epistemological principle. If we ask the epistemological question, "how do we know Jesus?", we must answer, "I know

by following Him." In other words, we must recognize not "I believe that I might understand" (credo ut intelligam) but "I follow that I might understand" (sequor ut intelligam).⁴⁷ This means that we know God when we do just things, we know God by loving (I John), and we know that we become human when we serve those in need (Matthew 25).⁴⁸ "[T]o have faith in God means to do the will of God, to follow Jesus with the spirit of Jesus in the cause of God's kingdom."⁴⁹

Conclusion

So far, in this paper, we have discussed the necessity and nature of 'universal care' that democratically rearranges gendered and hierarchical care, requests a voluntary caring community, and includes the ecosystem. This universal care calls for discipleship to specifically follow Jesus, the good caregiver who came to this earth to enrich life. The chain of care must not be broken in this way in which the caregiver takes care of the care recipient, and the caregiver is also cared for by another caregiver in the community or at the social level. In this virtuous cycle of care, it is possible to bring down from the cross the people and ecosystems crucified in this world. In this sense, the WCC diakonia theology defined at the Colombo Conference should be extended to the dimension of caring for the ecosystem. Such diakonia theology of WCC can make a great contribution to nurturing the caring capacity of individual believers and local communities. In addition, the church community united with the diakonia theology will be able to form a network of close caring for others more concrete than any other group. The kingdom of God will be preempted in advance in the network of caring relationships that follow Jesus as caregiver.

The 11th WCC General Assembly will be held this year in Karlsruhe, Germany with the theme of "Christ's love moves the world to reconciliation and unity." The theme of this conference is 2 Corinthians 5:14, which refers to the love of Christ, who "urges us." This then suggests that through Christ God has given us the ambassador of Christ's love, the ministry of reconciliation (2 Corinthians 5:18-20).⁵⁰ As Ioan Sauca explains this theme, when we talk about the love of Christ, we represent our "suffering with", working together with and in Christ through the Holy Spirit. He adds that this is not a narrowly exclusive, anthropocentric Christology, but an emphasis on the incarnation in a cosmological and universal

Christology that encompasses a Trinitarian and ecological vision. In other words, it means that the incarnate Christ specifically bears the suffering of the world and identifies it with us, which calls for “transforming discipleship.”⁵¹ This identification is compassion, which is “to suffer together” that goes beyond “pity.”⁵² This is precisely the diakonian life, a subversive way of life that resists the way of life in this world. Jesus, the caregiver, through the Holy Spirit calls us into the diakonia of care.

References

- * This paper was originally published in Korean in *Korean Journal of Systematic Theology* 67(2022):195-227.
- 1 Jeonbuk Women's Workers' Association Eun-jin Park, "Forcibly resting or not even touching the faucet... grievances of housekeepers," *Oh My News* (2020.05.25.) cited in Bae Jin-kyung, "Suggestions for Equal Work and the 'Care New Deal'." *Research Report of Korean Women's Development Institute* 2020(6), 26.
 - 2 Hyun Mee Kim, "Corona 19 and Inequality of Disaster," *Feminism in the Era of Corona*, ed. Eunsil Kim (Seoul: Humanist, 2020), 73
 - 3 "Message: Universal Christian Conference on Life and work, Stockhom, 1925," *The Ecumenical Movement An Anthology of Key Texts and Voices*, eds. Michael Kinnamon & Brian E. Cope, (United States: WCC Publications, 1997), 265-267 cited in Seong Won Park, "Theological Reflections on Diakonia from an Ecumenical Perspective: A Comprehensive Commentary on the WCC Diakonia Documents," *The World Council of Churches Speaks Theology*, ed. the Korean Preparatory Committee for the 10th General Assembly of the World Council of Churches (Seoul: Presbyterian Church of Korea Publishing Company, 2013), 331-332.
 - 4 Leslie Cooke, "Digest: World Consultation on Inter-church Aid, Swanwick, Great Britain, 1966," *The Ecumenical Movement An Anthology of Key Texts and Voices*, 446-447 cited in Seong Won Park, *Ibid.*, 334-335.
 - 5 "Larnaca Declaration: WCC World Consultation on Diakonia, Larnaca, 1986," *The Ecumenical Movement An Anthology of Key Texts and Voices*, 315-317 cited in Seong Won Park, *Ibid.*, 335-337.
 - 6 "Guidelines for Sharing: WCC World Consultation on Koinonia, El Escorial, 1987," *The Ecumenical Movement An Anthology of Key Texts and Voices*, 443-446 cited in Seong Won Park, *Ibid.*, 336-337.
 - 7 "Theological Perspectives on Diakonia in 21st Century: From the Conference jointly organized by Justice and Diakonia, Just and Inclusive Communities, and Mission and Evangelism programs of the World Council of Churches in Colombo, Sri Lanka, June 2-6, 2012," <https://www.oikoumene.org/resources/documents/theological-perspectives-on-diakonia-in-21st-century> (Accessed to: May 25, 2022) cited in Seong Won Park, *Ibid.*, 340-343.
 - 8 Seong Won Park, *Ibid.*, 344.
 - 9 The number of care workers in Korea increased by about 520,000 from 583,000 (2008) to 1,101,000 (2019) and of which number of women increased by about 490,000 from 533,000 (2008) to 1,018,000. The proportion of female workers is overwhelming. Kyunghee Ma, "Redesigning care policies for gender justice after COVID-19," *Research Report of Korean Women's Development Institute* (2021), 45.
 - 10 Research and Planning Department (Director Young-gyu Yoo, Reporter Ju-hyeong Lim, Seong-won Lee, Yong-a Shin, and Hye-ri Lee), "Confession of 154 Nursing Murderers: Nursing is war, and it ends only when you die," *Seoul News Paper*, September. 2, 2018, <https://www.seoul.co.kr/news/newsView.php?id=20180903005004> (Accessed to: February 11, 2022).
 - 11 E. S. Bark-Yi, "The System of Sexuality and Basic Income," *Marxism* 21 10(2) (2013), 59. While Korean women spend 17.1% of their total life time on housework and care, or about 28 hours and 43 minutes per week, Korean men spend 3.8 % of their total life time, or 6 hours and 23

minutes per week. In addition, the average daily time spent on housework by men was 46 minutes for single-income earners and 41 minutes for dual-income earners. It is no difference. Among the applicants to family care leave implemented by the Ministry of Employment and Labor as an emergency support for COVID-19, 36 % of the applicants are male and 64 % are female. The difference is almost double. Jin-hee Cho-Han, "Coronavirus and Gender: Towards Just Care," Su-ryun Kim et al., *Post-Corona Society: The Experience of the Pandemic and a Different World* (Paju: Writing jar, 2020), 169; According to the survey data on the elderly published by the Ministry of Health and Welfare in 2017, while the majority of male are cared for by their wives, elderly women are cared for by their daughter. 96.7% of male cancer patients are cared for by their spouses, while only 28% of female cancer patients are cared for by their spouses. Jin-hee Cho-Han, *Ibid.*, 176-7.

- 12 JungMee Hwang, "Migration and Gender in the Age of Globalization," *Gender and Society: Women and Men Reading from 15 Perspectives*, ed. the Korea Women's Research Institute (Dongryok, 2014, 2018), 213. For example, when a Filipino woman moves to a Hong Kong home to do housework and childcare work, and remits her wages to her hometown, another woman in the Philippines takes care of the children of a woman who works migrant labor in Hong Kong. will be. It is called global care chain.
- 13 Ra-Keum Huh, *Migration and Gender in Global Asia* (Paju: Hanul Academy, 2011), 13-14.
- 14 JungMee Hwang, *Ibid.*, 214
- 15 From February to April 2020, the male employment rate decreased by 1.8 percentage points (71%–69.2%), while the female employment rate decreased by 2.7 percentage points (52.4%–49.7%). During the same period, the number of women on temporary leave increased by 472,000, 1.7 times more than men (280,000). Last year, the total number of male employed decreased by 82,000 and woman decreased by 137,000 compared to the previous year. Among the employed, the fact that female temporary workers (30.2%) who are easily dismissed, are more than male ones (15.5%). has influenced the rate of layoffs; As a result of a survey released by the Seoul Northwest Workplace Mother Support Center, 48.6% of women who retired after the COVID-19 outbreak in December last year chose 'the absence of child care' as the reason for their retirement. Da-hye Park, "It is important to talk to and face the women around you," *The Hankyoreh*, March 6, 2021. <https://www.hani.co.kr/arti/society/women/985683.html>(Accessed to: August 24, 2002).
- 16 WA V, 179, 31, Nancy Bedford, "Otra vez la cristología" in *La porfía de la resurrección* (Buenos Aires: Kairós, 2008), 115-156. "Christology, again: A feminist Latin American perspective"(unpublished English paper), 13
- 17 Vitor Westhelle, *The Scandalous God: The Use and Abuse of the Cross* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2006), 41.
- 18 Jon Sobrino, *The Principle of Mercy: Taking the Crucified People from the Cross* (Orbis Books: Maryknoll, New York. 1994), 4.
- 19 Sook-Young Ahn, "Gender and Care: Focusing on Men's Participation in Care," *Journal of Korean Women's Studies*, 33(2) (2017), 128.
- 20 The Care Collective, *The Care Manifesto: The Politics of Interdependence*, trans. So-Young Jeong (Goyang: NikeBooks, 2021), 57-58.

- 21 Eva Feder Kittay, *Love's Labor: Essays on Women, Equality and Dependency* (Seoul: Bakyounsa, 2016), 114-115, Hee-kyung Jeon, "The position of 'guardian,'" *To the Body at Three in the Morning: Another Story of Sickness, Care, and Old Age*, ed. May (Seoul: A Book of Spring Days, 2020), 108.
- 22 The Care Collective, *Ibid.*, 13-14.
- 23 Kyunghee Ma, "Political Ethics of Care: Beyond the Dualism of Care and Justice," *Korea Social Policy Review* 17(3) (2010), 322.
- 24 Hee-kyung Jeon, "Caring for and Being Cared for as a Citizen," 46-7.
- 25 *Ibid.*, 57.
- 26 Hee-Kang. Kim, "Caring Democracy: Beyond Liberal and Social Democracies. *Journal of Korean Women's Studies* 36(1) (2020), 75.
- 27 Joan C. Tronto, *Caring Democracy: Markets, Equality, and Justice*. trans. Hee-gang Kim and Sang-won Na (Seoul: Aporia 2014).
- 28 Hee-Kang. Kim, *Ibid.*, 78.
- 29 Eunjung, Koo. "Community 'in-between' Us, Sharing Incommensurable Values," *Economy and Society* (2021. 9), 189-191.
- 30 Jeong, Taek-jin. *People in Dongja-dong: Why Caring Continues to Fail* (Seoul: Red Salt, 2021), 169.
- 31 Hee-Kang Kim, "Care as a Constitutional Value," *Korea Social Policy Review* 25(2) (2018), 20.
- 32 Young-kyung Baek, "The Demand for Transformation into Degrowth and the Topic of Care," *Creation and Criticism* 48(3) (2020, 9), 47.
- 33 A Portuguese version of Boff's book was published as *O Cuidado Necessário: Na Vida, na Saúde, na Educação, na Ecologia, na Ética e na Espiritualidade* (Brazil: Vozes, 2000).
- 34 Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, trans. John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), §193, 238 cited in Leonardo Boff, *Essential Care: An Ethics of Human Nature*, trans. by Alexandre Guilherme (Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2008), 15.
- 35 Heidegger regarded the analysis of being itself as the task of philosophy rather than the ethics related to the daily life of beings, and paid attention to the analysis and description of being. He believes that if the question of ontology was solved, the problem of ethics would be solved. Levinas criticizes Heidegger for lack of ethical concern by placing emphasis on being rather than individual beings. In this sense, Heidegger's *Sorge* (Care) is only a concern for oneself, that is, the desire to live, not an ethical imperative. On the other hand, the concept of Care, which Boff used as appropriation of Heidegger's *Sorge*, has ethical implications of caring for others beyond Heidegger's self-care. In Boff's book, there are no footnotes on this part, so I can't confirm it, but Boff seems to be actively promoting the ethical dimension, agreeing with Heidegger's idea that ontology must first be resolved before moving on to the concept of ethical concern. On Levinas' critique of Heidegger, see Lee Sung-lim, "Levinas and his Critique of Heidegger," *Theological Thought* 124 (2004): 139-166. On the possibility of Heidegger's ethics, see Shin Sang-hie, "The Foundation of Fundamental Ethics on the Horizon of Heidegger's Thought of Being," *Philosophy and Phenomenon* 37 (2008): 43-71 and Peter Ha, "Heidegger's Concept of 'Care' as the Foundation of Ethics," *Phenomenology and Contemporary Philosophy* 19 (2002): 165-191.
- 36 Leonardo Boff, *Essential Care: An Ethics of Human Nature*, 59

- 37 Ibid., 60-64.
- 38 Jeon, Hee-kyung. "Caring and Being Cared as a Citizen," 60.
- 39 Hyo-jung, Chae. "Who Cares for This World?-A Simple Thought for Reconstructing the Meaning and Value of Caring after Corona," *Today's Literature Criticism* (2020.12), 49.
- 40 Held, 2017: 190 cited in Kim Hee-Kang, "Caring Democracy: Beyond Liberal and Social Democracies," 79.
- 41 Leonardo Boff, *Essential Care: An Ethics of Human Nature*, 67.
- 42 Leonardo Boff, *Essential Care: An Ethics of Human Nature*, 121.
- 43 Nancy Bedford, *Who was Jesus and What does it mean to follow him?* (Harrisonburg, Va.: Herold Press, 2021), 68.
- 44 Jeon, Hee-kyung. "The Position of 'Guardian'," 67-8.
- 45 The Care Collective. *Care Manifesto*, 55; In order to transition to a universal care model, Baek Young-kyung takes examples of what to do: "recognizing the value of non-wage labor and gendered care work," "regenerating the environment," and revitalizing "the needs economy," reducing the "gender wage gap," and "specialization and stabilization of female jobs" and "dissolution of gender division of labor." Baek Young-kyung. Ibid., 36-48.
- 46 Geon-ho Kim. *School of Weakness*. ed. Noneumaegi. (not for sale, 2019).
- 47 Nancy Bedford, "Christology Again," 7; Moltmann combines dogmatics and practice, stating that the way of Jesus Christ encompasses both christological and ethical categories. "whoever walks in the way of Christ will know who Jesus really is. He or she who truly believes in Jesus as the Christ of God will follow his path. Christology and Christian practice are united in the holistic knowledge of Christ." Jürgen Moltmann, *Der Weg Jesu Christi: Christologie in messianischen Dimensionen*. trans. Gyun-Jin Kim and Myeong-yong Kim (Seoul: The Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1990), 10-11.
- 48 Jon Sobrino, *The Principle of Mercy*, 38.
- 49 Ibid, 9.
- 50 Ioan Sauca, "God is love – The Experience of the Just, Compassionate, and Merciful God," *The Ecumenical Review* 73(3) (2021), 351.
- 51 Ibid., 355.
- 52 The word 'compassion' is said to be derived from two Latin words; 'cum' means 'with' and 'pati' means 'to suffer.' Christina M. Puchalski, "Compassion: A Critical Component of Caring and Healing" in *Living Well and Dying faithfully: Christian Practices for End-of-Life Care* ed. John Swinton, Richard Payne, et al. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co. 2009), 188. In this paper, this word is translated as 'compassion' or 'to suffer together' depending on the context.

Diakonia in Earliest Christianity and its Lessons

Upon assessing the principles and practices of ecclesiastical diakonia, i.e. the work of charity often labelled as deaconry, we must state right at the outset that this is not some incidental factor or an optional part of our Christian communal life, but rather its inseparably integral and essential component. Speaking of the hallmarks of the Church, the Reformers emphasised that the external characteristics of the Church include the pure preaching of the Gospel and the correct delivery of sacraments.¹ This may raise the question: can deaconry qualify as preaching, and if so, in what sense?

Deaconry as Mission and Witnessing

In formulating the above statement, it was probably not the idea of parish deaconry which appeared before the eyes of Luther and the signatories of the *Confessio Augustana*, but rather the renewal and restoration of ecclesiastical preaching to its original gospel foundation, from which it had withered away. Nevertheless, preaching is not a goal in itself: in its spiritual effects and in the practical realisation of its message, the human actions arising from faith already play a very serious role, since faith is by hearing, so in a sense it is (also) a consequence of hearing the preached Word.² Another important document of the Reformation is the *Heidelberg Catechism*, in which, when asked why we should do good, the answer includes the following statement: 'so that by our godly living our neighbours may be won over to Christ'.³ The activity of a deacon,

enriched by good works, is thus not only a service, but also a mission, which, nourished by the bread of the preached gospel, may bring to the recipients the gospel of bread, i.e. the good news of responsible care for others.

Based on the above, it may be said, therefore, that the deacon/deaconess, whilst performing his/her own ministry, is performing a mission, and even preaching the Word in a peculiar sense. To put it more succinctly, the deacon/deaconess bears witness to Christ. Jesus himself often associates the utterance of the gospel with physical good works and healing. One of the most obvious examples of this is given in Mk 2:1–12 in the very context of healing the paralytic. The Lord first pronounces the good news: 'son, your sins are forgiven'.⁴ Then, seeing the disapproving glances of the scribes, he settles into their own train of thought: if they believe that sickness is the punishment for sin, and healing cannot occur until that particular sin has been forgiven by God, then Jesus is about to prove that his preaching of forgiveness (i.e., the 'good news') was not a word spoken unfoundedly or irresponsibly into the air. So he continues: 'but that you may know that the Son of Man has power on earth to forgive sins, he said to the paralytic, I say to you, arise, take up your bed, and go to your house.'⁵ Healing is thus, on the one hand, a practical justification of Jesus' divine power (even according to the logic of the scribes and Pharisees!), yet on the other hand, a concrete gospel, a gospel of healing for the thrashed, and finally an act of mission to the community, since, in the words of the evangelist, 'all were amazed and glorified God, saying, We never saw anything like this!'⁶ The glorification of God is anyway one of the main consequences of mission and preaching.

In this way, the work of deaconry cannot be separated from the act of preaching, but rather should be seen its specific form and realisation – obviously not in an exclusive sense. It can be seen as an act of witnessing or as an illustrative education, for the good work which flows from faith is also teaching. Starting from the institution of baptism, we must (also) make disciples of all nations by teaching them to observe all things that the risen Lord had commanded us.⁷ Among his commandments is the love of the neighbour, which includes all good deeds, help, and merciful works. All these works necessarily proclaim Christ, and the act itself may bear an even more eloquent testimony than the most beautiful sermon: it is in this that the concrete missionary character of deaconry comes to the forefront.

Diakonia is performed in the name of Christ, with the help of the Spirit

Hence the next characteristic of the Christian work of charity, which must be emphasised in our time, namely, that the diaconry is not only nourished by the good deeds of Christ, but also bears witness to him. It is not merely that this service must be distinguished from all other acts generally regarded as humane or humanely motivated (for in its external manifestations the two may often appear almost identical), but that diaconry, performed at the command of Christ, necessarily transcends itself and does not measure its limits on a temporal scale. The well-known boldness of Christian faith also permeates the work of charity, which is capable of seemingly impossible ventures, occasionally surpassing the limits of humane actions that would be considered reasonable.

The nature of diaconry as witnessing must be manifested both within and outside the local congregation: let us not forget that the first disciples were labelled 'people of Christ', that is, Christians, precisely because of the name of Christ. This phrase in Acts 11:26 is therefore not a self-designation of Christians — who sometimes called themselves 'followers of the Way',⁸ disciples,⁹ 'brothers',¹⁰ etc.—but a nickname imposed on them by the outsiders. They earned this precisely by constantly talking about some kind of 'Christ', i.e. 'the anointed One', praying to Him, helping those in need, healing or giving alms in His name and so on. In the end, they themselves proudly accepted the name they had received from others, as it was another external confirmation that they had truly bore witness to Christ by all these manifestations.

This Christ-oriented missionary nature of Christian diakonia and its importance cannot be currently overstated. When, for example, a Christian church building is transformed into a home for refugees belonging to other faiths in such a way that all sorts of Christian symbols, drawings, illustrations are removed, in order to avoid 'offending' anyone's sensibilities, this is the point where the ultimate betrayal of the very nature of Christian charity happens, for it is essentially the same as denying Jesus in front of the people.¹¹ This action does not only send a message that for us Christ is merely an 'incidental factor' who could be easily renounced, e.g. to fulfil the so-called criterion of 'political correctness', but it is also a fundamental distortion of one of the main motives and drivers of Christian

diakonia, since the very pointing to the risen, life-giving Lord is not some secondary effect, but an integral and indeed central part of this ministry.

It is in fact the act of our Comforter and Advocate (Παράκλητος), the Holy Spirit promised and sent for us by our risen Lord, by the power of whom we are able to do this.¹²

The most clearly offered biblical guidance is precisely Jesus' admonition regarding the last judgment: 'Because I was hungry and you gave me food; I was thirsty and you gave me drink; I was a stranger and you took me in.'¹³ And he explains the meaning of this in the same place: 'Truly I say to you, inasmuch as you did it to one of the least of my brothers, you did it to me.'¹⁴ Crystal-clear words. The king returning to the last judgment refers to himself all the good deeds that the sheep standing at his right hand did to others, his 'least brothers'. There can be no doubt concerning our duty. Our Lord, however, does not leave us in the dark about the way of acceptance either, as he teaches us on several occasions to do all this in his name: 'whoever accepts such a small child *in my name*, accepts me'.¹⁵

Emptying our churches and our ecclesiastical buildings from Christian symbols in order to create, so to say, a more welcoming atmosphere for refugees belonging to other faiths is, therefore, an erroneously interpreted notion of 'self-emptying' (κένωσις). As the Apostle aptly put it, the notion of 'self-emptying' refers primarily to Christ, 'who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but emptied himself, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of humans'.¹⁶ In following Christ, our self-emptying may well include emptying all our pockets, renouncing all our privileges and inherited advantageous positions (similarly to the way how our Lord renounced his divine privileges whilst e.g. facing the tempter in the wilderness), yet we cannot empty ourselves from Christ himself, since according to the very same Apostle, 'it is no longer I who live, but Christ lives in me'.¹⁷ Being followers of Christ, we cannot renounce him in such a way, the more so since those who seek our aid would not appreciate this, because they themselves have strong binds to their own faith and do not appreciate positively if someone is ready to give up the very basis of their conviction. The central message of the New Testament gospel is 'Jesus and the resurrection' – addressed even to the Greek philosophers in Athens.¹⁸ So, asking to give up Jesus and the symbols pointing towards him as our Saviour amounts to request from a faithful Muslim to renounce the five pillars of Islam,

which would obviously be a ridiculous, or rather revolting demand from their viewpoint.

Therefore, the very witnessing of Christ is not some additional side-effect, but a crucial part of diakonia. If it would not happen so, we would not be reading in the Book of Acts about the missionary and testimonial ministry of the first deacons, namely of Stephen and Philip, or even about the martyrdom of the former.

Is diakonia accompanied by 'signs and miracles'?

Concerning the mission of the Early Church, it is by no means a coincidence or incidental aspect that the work of the first disciples as deacons contributed significantly to the fast spread of the Gospel. Amongst other things, it was precisely this selfless charity and the wave of conversion that began in its wake that earned the wrath of the religious leaders of the time, namely of the Sanhedrin, against all those who participated in this process. The scene described in Acts 2 and 3, when Peter and John heal a man lame from birth 'in the name of Jesus' on the threshold of the temple, also points in the same direction. Luke, who is also the author of Acts, does not put the following prophecy in Simeon's mouth by accident: 'Behold, he is destined for the fall and rising of many in Israel, and for a sign which will be spoken against'.¹⁹ The very name of Jesus, any reference to or good deeds done in his name, aroused great anger from the persecutors from the inception of the first Christian community. The above example of Peter and John was by no means an isolated phenomenon: after the high council commanded them 'not to speak at all nor teach in the name of Jesus',²⁰ the Apostles immediately responded, 'we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard'.²¹

We read of Stephen the Martyr that 'being full of grace/faith and strength, he performed great miracles and signs among the people.'²² If we were to ask now, do today's deacons also perform great miracles and signs? Is that their duty? The answer, by the way, is a very clear 'yes'. After all, what would be a greater miracle in our world where people living increasingly isolated lives than the selfless, regular visit of one's neighbour, nurturing them, caring for them, surrounding them with love? What sign would be more powerful than that the person does all this in the name of Jesus, in obedience to him, in preaching him? After all, it is

slowly becoming a supernatural miracle for someone to embrace their Christian faith openly and without hesitation, as well as to act accordingly.

The testimony of the deacon: a stumbling stone?

At this point let us turn our attention towards the testimony about Christ of the first Christian deacon. After Stephen is summoned to the high council for his public confession of faith and stoned after his sermon and vision of Jesus as the Son of a man at the right hand of God, Luke records the following about the dying martyr: 'and they stoned Stephen as he was praying and saying: "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!"'.²³ The deepest respect for Jesus, the risen Lord, could not be expressed more clearly than this. Nevertheless, in the posthumous work of Géza Vermes, we can read this statement regarding the above event:

There are only two passages in Acts with a potentially more elevated meaning. Both occur in the account of the martyrdom of Stephen. The first is the vision in which Jesus is seen 'standing at the right of God' (Acts 7:55). However this image, associated with Jesus' ascension to heaven, does not imply divine status. Enoch and Elijah in the Bible, and Moses and the prophet Isaiah in post-biblical Jewish tradition, also enjoy the privilege of such exaltation, the first two without dying, and Moses and Isaiah after their deaths. The second reference that might suggest Jesus' elevation to divine status is connected with the dying Stephen's prayer, 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit' (Acts 7:59). Although as a rule Jewish prayer is directed to God, we must bear in mind that Stephen's supplication echoes the request of the repentant criminal crucified on Golgotha, asking the innocent and righteous Jesus to remember him when he enters God's Kingdom (Lk. 23:42). Treating these words as amounting to a deification of Jesus would be a serious misjudgment.²⁴

Within the framework and focus of our present work we cannot undertake a detailed refutation of Vermes' regrettable misinterpretation of the above biblical passage. Nevertheless, we consider it necessary to make some specific observations concerning our central subject. Referring to Jesus standing 'at the right hand of God' we recommend Larry W. Hurtado's excellent analysis, from which it becomes clear that the original formula found in Psalm 110:1 (*Septuagint*: ἐκ δεξιῶν – 'at the right hand' of the Lord) undergoes an apparently small, but highly significant change when quoted by Early Christians. The latter, Christian

version says about Jesus, that he is ἐν δεξιᾷ, i.e. 'in the right hand' of the Lord. This modification describes Jesus's much closer relationship with God as opposed to that of the prophets of the Old Testament.²⁵ It is definitely not a coincidence that precisely this statement of Stephen provokes the fatal reaction of his enemies: this was the very moment when they stopped their ears, clearly indicating that they did not want to hear 'the blasphemy against God' (Acts 6:11) with which the deacon was originally accused; this very statement caused them to run at Stephen with one accord, to cast him out of the city and stone him immediately.

All of these are unmistakably essential elements of the punishment for 'blasphemy': the expulsion from the city is meant to protect the sacredness of Jerusalem against Stephen's 'outrageous' statement, since he has now dared to rank Jesus, a previously convicted blasphemer, together with God.²⁶ The silencing, i.e. the stoning of the 'blasphemer' was thus an instinctive reaction, which happened so suddenly that the witnesses did not even have time to do it properly, but rather laid down their garments quickly (ἀπέθευτο – Aor. Ind.) at Saul's feet, so that these would not hinder them from carrying out the rushed punishment, which, by the way, was executed without any formal verdict! These incredibly passionate responses of Stephen's opponents indicate most eloquently how outraged they were by the deacon's statement, which effectively elevated Jesus near God. One can only be perplexed at how someone so well-versed in Jewish traditions and religious practices as Géza Vermes, could misunderstand the above passage.

Even if some misapprehension concerning Jesus 'standing at the right hand of God' were permissible, Stephen's plea to Jesus dispels all doubts. First, he calls Jesus *Lord* (Κύριε Ἰησοῦ), which, based on the Septuagint's parlance (יהוה = Κύριος), makes it clear that the dying deacon identifies Jesus directly with the eternal יהוה, i.e. the One whose name cannot be uttered. In other words, calling Jesus Lord, labelling him Κύριος is synonymous with acknowledging his divinity. In addition, this supplication is in fact a prayer, a call for divine help: Luke calls the deacon as being ἐπικαλούμενος, i.e. pleading for the help of God/Jesus. Whilst recognising the prayer formula, Géza Vermes rightly notes that 'as a rule Jewish prayer is directed to God',²⁷ yet he fails to draw the inescapable conclusion from this unbreakable rule: if Stephen prays to Jesus, moreover, he even calls Jesus Κύριος, then he truly considers him to be God, partaker of divine exaltation. Instead, Vermes attempts to circumvent the truly compelling consequence by misinterpreting another biblical passage, also preserved in Luke's formulation.

According to Vermes, 'Stephen's supplication echoes the request of the repentant criminal crucified on Golgotha, asking the innocent and righteous Jesus to remember him when he enters God's Kingdom (Lk. 23:42).' ²⁸

In fact, there is nothing wrong with this parallel. Stephen's supplication is indeed reminiscent of the plea of the repentant criminal, albeit with one essential difference, namely, that the villain's request in Luke 23:42 reads: 'Jesus, remember me when you come into your kingdom.'²⁹ More clearly, the repentant is clearly talking about *the kingdom of Jesus*, and not about the *kingdom of God* in general. Moreover, if we accept the above interpretation of Géza Vermes, and this is indeed referring to *the kingdom of God*, then the *kingdom of God* is the same as 'your' kingdom, where 'you' is none other than Jesus himself. And from that, even according to Vermes' very own interpretation, it follows again that Jesus is God.

Apart from the fact that, in connection with the above issue, we can refer the reader to the works of analysts who were much more knowledgeable and thorough in terms of elucidating the details than Géza Vermes,³⁰ another observation has to be made from the viewpoint of the cultivation of scholarship, especially concerning its ethical aspects. The above sentence – 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!' – literally contains the last words of a dying man, followed by an interceding prayer for the martyr's murderers: 'Lord, do not hold this sin against them.'³¹ This again is reminiscent of the Lord's supplication on the cross: 'Father, forgive them; for they do not know what they are doing.'³² Let us now separate what any analyst would personally think of Jesus, since it is completely irrelevant in this regard. The only question here is what Stephen, the dying martyr, and Luke, the author of Acts (who put these words in Stephen's mouth) and their first-century Christian audience thought of Jesus. Based on the clear message of the text, it is obvious that Jesus has ascended to divine heights, that he deserves the respect due to God, and the supplication addressed to him directly. Of course, one can disagree with this concept – after all, it is everyone's personal right what they believe. Yet to assert that what the dying martyr transmitted through his very last words, moreover, what he sacrificed his life for, he himself did not believe (or did not mean it seriously!), but rather to claim that taking Stephen's words at face value 'would be a serious misjudgment' is utterly surprising, to say the least. The credibility of the account is further strengthened by the fact that Luke was a disciple³³ and travel companion³⁴ of Saul, who became Paul, so he had enough opportunity to hear the above story, in which, upon writing it down, he mentions Saul himself by name.

Deacons should be selected from members of their own community

It is also no coincidence that these words come from the very lips of Stephen, who is the representative of Hellenistic/Hellenised (or at least not Judean-rooted) Christians: among them, such statements that elevate Jesus to divine heights were inherently more natural than among Jewish Christians, as we see many later examples in the history of Christian doctrine. Here it is enough to refer, for example, to the typically 'low' Christological thinking of the Ebionite and Elkezaite Jewish Christian trends.

It was no coincidence that the Apostles selected the seven deacons from among the members of the very community which had been in need of charity. One may note that all seven bear Greek names: Stephen, Philip, Prochorus, Nicanor, Timon, Parmenas, and Nicolaus. The latter is even recorded by Luke as being a proselyte of Antioch.³⁵ There is a very wise consideration behind this decision: the deacon/deaconess can do his/her own ministry much more easily among his/her own, since he/she knows their habits, expectations, peculiar or even odd manners, etc. In the same fashion, it is much easier for the person receiving diakonia if he/she does not have to deal with cultural differences, moreover, he/she learns to appreciate the deacon and his/her work, which can thus increase the internal unity and cohesion of the respective community. All this, of course, does not mean that a person with a specific national and cultural heritage would be unable to perform diakonia among his/her fellow humans with different backgrounds than his/her own, yet the goal is always that the community assisted by the missionary influence of diakonia would bring forth Christians who are suitable to perform this service selflessly. Otherwise, there is a danger that the party 'receiving' diakonia will collectively stop performing this ministry in its own midst, and sooner or later take for granted that the deacon's work is the business of 'others'. To illustrate this in practice, it is perhaps enough to consider that the selfless work of Christian aid organizations from 1990 onwards, mainly from Western Europe, was, on the one hand, a great help to the Eastern European Christian communities emerging from communist dictatorship, but at the same time many Eastern communities became 'comfortable' in various places, often claiming that helping each other, performing public work in their local congregation, partaking in the common burden was no longer their business, but that of the foreigners who were visiting them year after year.

Deaconry is not self-sufficient, but presupposes sacrifice

In our time, in the wake of economic considerations that are otherwise worthy of appreciation, occasional claims are made that good congregational or institutional church deaconry is inherently 'self-sufficient', which 'breaks even'. Behind this pleasing wording there lies an obvious, albeit financially desirable expectation that with proper strategic planning it is possible to achieve that the diakonia does not cost anything, and in extreme cases 'produces' its own costs. It is indisputable that a serious financial background is required to perform diakonia, and for that reason it is necessary to engage in other activities, which bring income and profit. The only catch is if the income (or a portion of it) flows (back?) from the deacon's own work into the fund of the individual or community performing diakonia. The latter practice cannot be regarded diakonia in theological sense, since it is no longer a selfless assistance, but a paid service.³⁶

In the practice of the Apostolic Age and the Early Church, we clearly see that the deaconry cannot be materially self-sufficient in any way, but involves conscious, though obviously planned, sacrifice. Charity does not and cannot produce direct profit. The material, economic, financial, infrastructural, etc. framework necessary for the performance of the deacon's service must therefore be produced by various other works and investments, which are entirely separate from the work of diakonia per se. If the two are confused, the very essence of diakonia is in jeopardy. Acts 4:32-37 shows that the basic conditions of diakonia were created by the more affluent community members, and while we cannot speak of a universally binding communal property,³⁷ the story of Ananias and Sapphira clearly indicates that even partial gain cannot be presented as genuine sacrifice or unselfish donation.³⁸

Of the many examples of the Early Church, we will now mention only three. The first is Basil the Great of Caesarea (330–379), who made incredible efforts to eradicate poverty, social vulnerability, wealth inequality — and not just at the level of preaching. In this respect, the following excerpt from his *Sermon to the Rich* based on Matthew 19:16-22 is noteworthy:

Now, you are obviously very far from having observed one commandment at least, and you falsely swore that you had kept it, namely, that you've loved your neighbour as yourself. For see: the Lord's commandment proves you to be utterly

lacking in real love. For if what you have claimed were true, that you have kept from your youth the commandment of love, and have given to each person as much as to yourself, how has it come to you, this abundance of money? For it takes wealth to care for the needy: a little paid out for the necessity of each person you take on, and all at once everything gets parcelled out, and is spent upon them. Thus, the man who loves his neighbour as himself will have acquired no more than what his neighbour has; whereas you, visibly, have acquired a lot. Where has this come from? Or is it not clear, that it comes from making your private enjoyment more important than helping other people? Therefore, however much you exceed in wealth, so much so do you fall short in love.³⁹

To finance his extensive charitable activity, Basil used both his own income and inheritance. This was quite a serious deaconry enterprise in Cappadocia in the fourth century. Basil also paid a high emotional price for maintaining this network, as he also tested his multi-year friendship with Gergely Nazianzen. The background to the case is that in 371, despite the protests of Basil, emperor Valens, who supported the Arians, divided the province of Cappadocia into two parts: Caesarea became the capital of Cappadocia Prima, whilst Tyana was made capital of Cappadocia Secunda. In addition to imperial interests, the emperor wanted to undermine Basil's growing authority by this move. The Bishop of Caesarea tried to maintain his influence throughout Cappadocia, so he hurt his already sensitive friend Gregory Nazianzen by appointing him bishop of the otherwise insignificant city of Sasima. The locality was important to Basil for one major reason: the Monastery of St. Orestes was built on the land belonging to the town of Sasima, and this monastery was in possession of gold mines, the revenues of which were needed to ensure the continuous financing of Basil's hospitals and shelters.

Gregory, who refused the appointment, resented this act of Basil, who had made an emotional sacrifice for maintaining his carefully constructed network of diakonia. Following in his footsteps, John Chrysostom did likewise when Emperor Arcadius had the famous preacher of Antioch consecrated against his will as Patriarch of Constantinople. The new patriarch, who had practiced abstinence, immediately removed the furniture of his luxurious residence and auctioned it off along with the other expensive furnishings, using the proceeds to support the poor and hospitals. Unlike his predecessor, Patriarch Nectarius, instead of holding luxurious receptions at his patriarchal residence, John ate alone, being content with the simplest food.⁴⁰

Our third and final example of the Early Church is Theodoret of Cyrus (393–460), also raised in Antioch, then being appointed Bishop of the city of Cyrus against his will. Seeing the neglected state of the city and of the local community, he immediately began his work of diaconry. Although the diocese of the famous Cyrrestica desert included 800 parishes, and the province was mainly famous for being a hotbed of a wide variety of heresies, the bishop risked his life on many occasions to return thousands to the Church by his preaching. This attitude was characteristic of very few of his contemporaries: both Cyril of Alexandria and Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople saw the solution to the problem in the physical extermination of heretics and in the use of armed forces against them. Theodoret, however, preferred to be stoned repeatedly and brought to the very gates of death in his monastic garment, lest he should go against the heretics aided by the military. By his own admission, with this humble service he returned to the church eight villages of Marcionites as well as a Eunomian and an Arian community.⁴¹

From his personal income, he put reconstructed the city: he built aqueducts, bridges and public baths. He brought in skillful craftsmen and trained doctors to keep the city running smoothly and ensuring the health of the population. In order to alleviate the extremely burdensome taxes of the public he also wrote a letter to Pulcheria, the mighty sister of emperor Theodosius II.⁴² His social thinking is well characterised by his statement: 'He who presides over the universe has so allocated things that need makes those who pride themselves on their riches dependent on poverty through service'.⁴³

A series of examples of the Early Church such as the above could be presented at toilsome length. Nonetheless, it is already abundantly clear that the missionary, testimonial, church- and society-building service of the Christian diakonia, which, being based on the teachings and example of Jesus also gains eschatological dimension through the application of the laws of the Kingdom of God on earth, may find its place and true meaning in the arena of salvation history only in selfless work without any focus on material profit.

References

- 1 See e.g. *Augsburg Confession* Article VII, or Philip Melanchthon, *Apologia Confessionis Augustanae* VII, In: *Corpus Reformatorum XXVII*, ed. Karl G. Bretschneider (Brunswick: Schwetschke, 1859).
- 2 See Romans 10:17: 'So then faith comes by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God'.
- 3 *Heidelberg Catechism* 86.
- 4 Mark 2:5.
- 5 Mark 2:10–11.
- 6 Mark 2:12.
- 7 Cf. Mt 28,20.
- 8 Acts 9:2.
- 9 Acts 9:10.
- 10 Acts 11:1.
- 11 See Matthew 10:33 'but whoever denies me before others, I also will deny before my Father in heaven'. Concerning the issue of removing Christian symbols from churches, see e.g. the heated debate in Norway in 2015: <https://www.thelocal.no/20151130/norway-remove-cross-refugees/> (accessed: 5 October 2022).
- 12 At this point, it is enough to refer to the 2015 initiative of Eva Brunne, bishop of the Swedish Lutheran Church, to remove Christian symbols from the church in the port of Stockholm, and to create a Muslim prayer hall in it: <https://www.christianpost.com/news/worlds-first-openly-lesbian-bishop-to-remove-crosses-build-islamic-prayer-room-in-swedish-seamens-church-147095/>; <https://www.aoiusa.org/the-cross-of-christ-is-foolishness-to-the-world-a-swedish-lutheran-bishop-wars-against-the-christian-faith/> (accessed: 18 October 2022).
- 13 Matthew 25:35.
- 14 Matthew 25:40.
- 15 Matthew 18:5. See also Mark 9:37; Luke 9:48.
- 16 ὅς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων οὐχ ἀρπαγμὸν ἠγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ, ἀλλὰ ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε μορφὴν δούλου λαβὼν, ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος. *Philippians* 2:6-7.
- 17 *Galatians* 2:20.
- 18 Acts 17:18.
- 19 Luke 2:34. I am indebted to Prof. Choi Yoo Jin for having brought the profound importance of the Holy Spirit and of the Trinitarian doctrine concerning deaconry to my attention.
- 20 Acts 4:18: παρήγγειλαν καθόλου μὴ φθέγγεσθαι μηδὲ διδάσκειν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ.
- 21 Acts 4:20: οὐ δυνάμεθα γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἄ εἶδαμεν καὶ ἠκούσαμεν μὴ λαλεῖν.
- 22 Acts 6:8: πλήρης χάριτος/πίστεως καὶ δυνάμεως ἐποίει τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα μεγάλα ἐν τῷ λαῷ.

- 23 Acts 7:59: καὶ ἐλιθοβόλουν τὸν Στέφανον ἐπικαλούμενον καὶ λέγοντα Κύριε Ἰησοῦ, δέξαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου
- 24 Géza Vermes, *Christian Beginnings: From Nazareth to Nicaea* (London: Penguin Books, 2012), 84–85.
- 25 Larry W. Hurtado, Two Case Studies in Earliest Christological Readings of Biblical Texts, in: <https://larryhurtado.files.wordpress.com/2010/07/perth-symposium-paper.pdf> (accessed: 21.11.2021). See also Larry W. Hurtado, Early Christological Interpretation of the Messianic Psalms, *Salmanticensis* 64 (2017), 73–100 <https://summa.upsa.es/high.raw?id=0000045852&name=00000001.original.pdf> (accessed: 21.11.2021).
- 26 See e.g. Matthew 26:65.
- 27 Vermes, *Christian Beginnings*, 85.
- 28 Vermes, *Christian Beginnings*, 85.
- 29 Ἰησοῦ, μνησθητί μου ὅταν ἔλθῃς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν σου. Some ancient manuscripts contain also 'Lord' as referring to Jesus in this passage. See the Nestle-Aland New Testament critical apparatus.
- 30 See e.g. the comprehensive work of Larry W. Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ: Devotion to Jesus in Earliest Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), esp. pp. 140, 176, 189, 193–194, 197–198, 208–213, 220, 238, 256, 293, 618–620, 624, etc. See also Larry W. Hurtado, *How on Earth did Jesus become a God?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005).
- 31 Acts 7:60.
- 32 Luke 23:34.
- 33 See Colossians 4:14; 2 Timothy 4:11; Philemon 1:24.
- 34 See e.g. the first-person plural descriptions in Acts: Acts 20:6; 20:13; 21:3; 27:4 etc.
- 35 Acts 6:5.
- 36 Concerning the origin of the term διάκονος, including its ancient, Early Church meaning, see Bart Koet, *The Go-Between: Augustine on Deacons* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), especially the second chapter of the volume: 'The Origin of the Word *Diakonos*, Classical and Biblical Backgrounds', pp. 7–25.
- 37 From Peter's words addressed to Ananias it becomes clear that in the first Christian community there was no compulsory common ownership: 'While it remained unsold, did it not remain your own? And after it was sold, were not the proceeds at your disposal?' Acts 5:4.
- 38 See Acts 5:1-11. Ananias had the right to sell the field, he could even set aside the profit, but he wanted to portray it as if he had donated the entire purchase price to the benefit of the community like Joseph (Barnabas) in Acts 4:36-37.
- 39 Basil of Caesarea, *Homily to the Rich in Migne, Patrologia Graeca* 31, 277-304 (col. 277). English translation by Peter Gilbert. <https://bekkos.wordpress.com/st-basilis-sermon-to-the-rich/> (accessed: 8 October 2022).
- 40 Socrates Scholasticus, *Church History* 6, 4. See also Sozomen, *Church History* 8, 9. For a detailed presentation of Chrysostom's biography and social sensitivity see J. N. D. Kelly, *Golden Mouth:*

The Story of John Chrysostom – Ascetic, Preacher, Bishop (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995), 115–120.

- 41 See Theodoret, *Letter 81. to the consul Nomus*, in: Théodoret de Cyr, *Correspondance II*, ed. Yvan Azéma, *Sources Chrétiennes* 98 (Paris: Cerf, 1964), 192–199 (p. 196).
- 42 Theodoret, *Letter 43. to Pulcheria*, in: *Sources Chrétiennes* 98, 112–115.
- 43 Ἐξήρτησε δὲ τῆς πενίας διὰ τῆς χρείας τοὺς ἐπὶ πλούτῳ βρενθυομένους τῶν ὅλων ὁ πρύτανις. Theodoret, *A Cure of Greek Maladies* 6, 50. English translation by Thomas Halton, in: Theodoret of Cyrus, *A Cure for Pagan Maladies*, *Ancient Christian Writers* 67 (New York: The Newman Press, 2013), p. 147. On the interdependence between the rich and the poor, see also Theodoret, *Ten Discourses about Providence* 6, 31–35.

The Trends of Academic Research on Ecumenism in Korea

Introduction

The more modern origin of the ecumenical movement was in the evangelism of the world, thanks to the evangelical awakening movement of the 19th century. In other words, in evangelism, various denominations needed cooperation, and they realized that they should cooperate in spreading the “gospels” rather than their identity. The history of Europe and North America from 1817 to 1914 was called “The Great Century.”¹ It seems that the evangelical mission of Protestantism reached its peak in the 19th century. Simultaneously, it requests the cooperation of denominations at the site of missionary work. Moreover, the “gospels” spread should go beyond the denomination.

The words “ecumenism,” “ecumenicity,” and “ecumenical” are derived from the Greek word *oikumene*, meaning “the whole world in which people live.”² The first to use this “*oikumene*” concerning the church was Polycarp in the second century. Origen interpreted Psalm 32:8 and said, “The Church of God resides in *Oikumene*,” and Basilus saw the “whole world” in Psalm 48:2 as an object of evangelism. As will be examined in this research, ecumenism and mission/evangelism have a close relationship. The use of “*Oikumene*” as a reference to the catholic Church originated in 381 AD when the Council of Constantinople called the First Ecumenical Council of 325 AD the Council of Nicaea. The Seven Ecumenical Councils, which opened between 325 AD and 787 AD and represented both the universal churches of the Mediterranean world, were generally valid

in the Mediterranean Christian world. Moreover, the emperor of the empire convened this council meant that the council's decision was legally binding.³

What does the Korean church show if the etymological and historical meaning of ecumenism is so? This study statistically investigates the academic trends that Korean theologians understand ecumenism. The purpose and value of this study are as follows: First, It shows the current status of Korean theologians' ecumenism research. Various themes include secular society, publicity, multiculturalism, the Bible, philosophy, theology, liturgy, sacraments, denominations, regions, WCC, pastoral ministry, counseling, history, persons, and missionary work. Discovering that the trend of research is different depending on the subject, time, and publishing institution shows the past and present interest in ecumenism. Second, it expects a balance in studying ecumenism in the Korean church. By examining the inclination of ecumenism research, it is possible to find areas where research is insufficient and encourage follow-up research. Beyond the specificity of the Korean church, it can help to discover research topics that can contribute to the universality of the world church. Third, this study shares the unity and diversity of ecumenism research in Korean and European churches. Discovering the pros and cons of ecumenism research in the two church traditions would promote international academic exchanges more actively. Through this, it is possible to discover the abundance of the Kingdom of God, make Korean and European churches healthy, and revive the significance of the international academic conference.

The Korean Academy is largely divided into the Korea Association of Christian Studies, which embraces the ecumenical movement, and the Korea Evangelical Theological Society, which criticizes it. Each branch of the Korea Association of Christian Studies and the Korea Evangelical Theological Society exists. The former has fourteen branch societies, and the latter has ten branch societies.⁴ The Korea Association of Christian Studies has branches of Feminist Theology, Cultural Theology, Christian Social Welfare, and Liberal Arts Education. It shows that the ecumenical movement has a broader category than evangelical society in Korea.

Ecumenicalism published 268 articles in journals, while evangelicalism did 43. The former produced 147 theses, and the latter did 19. Ecumenicalism printed 72 books, and evangelicalism did 27. The few degree papers on ecumenism by evangelicalism may reflect the positions of students who prefer stable topics

to content that may be controversial. It is very burdensome to approach topics related to ecumenism and WCC, which are difficult to answer simply as a degree thesis. Moreover, seminaries and students cannot ignore the propensity of their denomination. For example, there are 66 theses by Presbyterian University and Theological Seminary(Tonghap) students and 18 dissertations from Hanshin University in the ecumenical camp. From the evangelical camp, there is one thesis by Hapdong Theological Seminary and six dissertations by Chongshin University, including no papers by Kosin University.

According to their tendency, there is a strong division in the study of ecumenism in the Korean church. Ecumenicalism became a movement for the church union centered by WCC. On ecumenism, evangelicalism has a critical understanding represented by the Lausanne movement. As a result, evangelicalism was passive by writing critical articles about ecumenism, while ecumenicalism actively defended them. For example, while ecumenicalism continued active academic research, evangelicalism found that there were only vigorous publications during the 10th Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Busan in 2013. The reason why there are relatively few evangelical writings is that the keywords aligned with the scope of writings subject to this study are "ecumenism" and "ecumenical" rather than "evangelicalism" and "evangelical." Rather than criticizing ecumenism, evangelicalism puts more power in advocating the legitimacy and value of the evangelical movement, so the number of papers on ecumenism was naturally less published.⁵

Research Methods

The data extracted by searching for the subject words "Ecumenism" and "Ecumenical" in the Research Information Sharing Service (RISS) are about 600 papers, including journal articles, degree theses, and books. For comparing the academic interest in ecumenism in Eastern Europe, this study deals with only Korean ecumenism research. The scope is 311 domestic academic papers published in advanced registered journals.⁶ There are more than 2,000 keywords extracted from them. It classifies the keywords of the articles by subject and period (from the 1960s to the present). For the reliability of the data, this research excludes the works of the Eastern Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic

Church. Instead, it deals with the work of Protestant studies.⁷ In the situation of polarization on ecumenism by the Korean church, defending or opposing a specific position is not the scope of this study. It only statistically reveals Korean church scholars' research interests and tendencies toward ecumenism.

The Composition of a Research

First, including the overall appearance of academic research on ecumenism in the Korean church, each study's keywords were classified and approached diachronically. They are social engagement, theoretical research, liturgy and ministry, WCC, history, biography, mission, and education. Second, a synchronic approach narrows down as a significant field of interest in the Korean church ecumenism movement. The diachronic and synchronic approaches enable a balanced analysis of academic research trends in the Korean church on ecumenism.

Keyword Extraction

The extracted keywords can be analyzed only after a consistent modification process.⁸ This is because the keywords are so complex that interpretation is impossible and can distort their relationship. In particular, the keywords of the ecumenism study have many proper nouns, including names of people, institutions, geography, and conferences. In addition, as the keyword was composed of multiple words, the number of words increased. Therefore, the failure to go through the refining process for the extracted keywords in consideration of the complex situation of the study subject was confusing. Therefore, for the consistency of the thesis, the keywords inevitably extracted are repeatedly corrected, controlled, and removed. Here, 'correction' refers to tasks such as a singular and plural of the extracted subject words, abbreviations, spacing, and changes in the form of parts. For example, it requires consistent correction of abbreviations such as WCC and the same expression, such as World Church Council. In addition, it removes confusion in translating foreign or foreign languages into Korean.

'Control' means organizing the synonyms. It is to designate representative words with the same meaning but different notation. The keyword with a synonym and mix makes it impossible to accurately analyze the change in research trends. For example, the "1910 Edinburgh WMC" is designated as representatives of "Edinburgh 1910" and "Edinburgh World Mission Conference." A proper expression with multiple words, such as *Missio Dei*, remains untouched as it is.

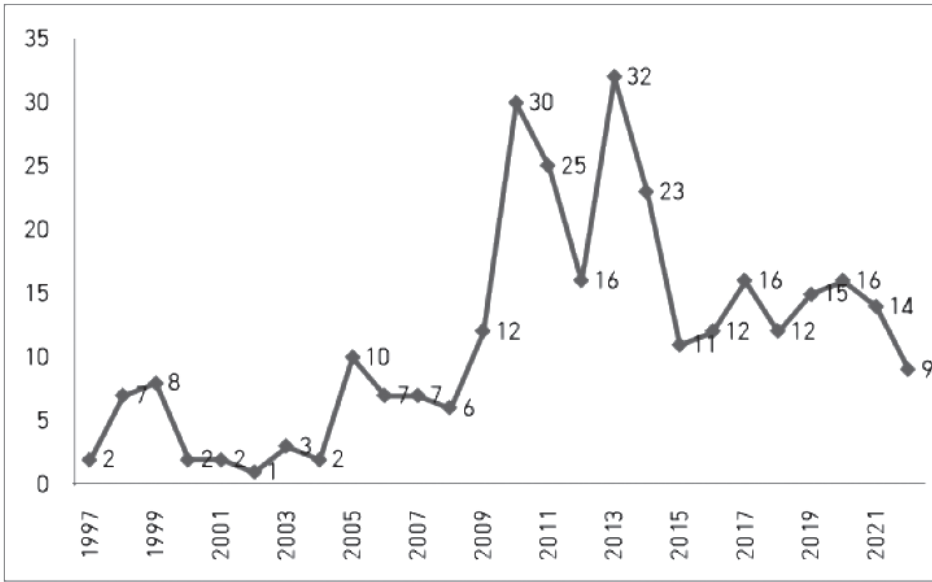
'Removal' removes overly general concepts from the high-frequency keywords, as general concepts can distort the relationship between concepts when they remain with other significant keywords. For example, after extracting the keyword, general words such as direction, task, status, and suggestion were removed. In this way, refining the keywords prevents the distractions of the research and shows better reliability.

Korean Church and Ecumenism (Diachronic Analysis)

From the ecumenical movement history, some events became milestones around the history of Faith and Order, Life and Work, and CWME, the three central axes of WCC. In 1910, Edinburgh WMC in 1910, Faith and Order in 1914, and Life and Work began in 1925. The two groups merged to form the WCC in 1948. In 1921, the WMC changed its name to IMC. In 1961, the IMC joined the WCC and changed its name to "CWME." After that, it had a history of 10 times until the Busan WCC meeting in 2013. Since the 1974 Lausanne Covenant, the evangelical camp split from the ecumenical movement in protest of religious syncretism and excessive social participation priorities. The second gathering was held in 1989 in Manila, and the third at Cape Town in 2010.

It is necessary to point out the crucial period of the Korean church in response to the historical trend of the global ecumenical movement. There was a significant incident in 1959 in which the Presbyterian Church of Korea was divided into Tonghap and Hapdong. Since then, Tonghap has accepted ecumenicalism. Hapdong has advocated winning souls wary of the ecumenical movement's social engagement. The evangelical camp argued that with the Uppsala Congress in 1968, missionary work was on the path of social reform and humanization, and it caused division and conflict away from the priority of the Gospel.

ANNUAL PUBLICATION OF ARTICLES ON ECUMENISM IN KOREA



The chart above shows a sharp increase in published journal articles in 2010 and 2013. On 31 August 2009, the Central Committee of the WCC decided to hold the 10th General Assembly in 2013 Busan in Korea. As a turning point during this period, interest in ecumenism became popular in Korean churches and was reported daily in various media articles. In October 2013, the 10th WCC gathering was held in Busan, with 5,000 people from all over the world attending. At that time, there was a heated debate, and conflicts and divisions over the WCC and the ecumenism movement peaked within the Korean church. The Korean church's stance on ecumenism, which is on the rise of polarization, is expected to draw attention again as the 4th Lausanne conference is held in Seoul, Korea, in 2024.

The keyword *oikoume*, the etymology of ecumenism, appears seven times. *Oikoumeme* is a fundamental concept because it is the world, the site of evangelism. The division of Korean churches into ecumenical movements and evangelical movements is also a representative keyword. Ecumenism appears 42 times, and ecumenical appears 174 times. 'Ecumenism' is a noun supported by an adjective. 'Ecumenical' is a practical participle to support other words—for example, ecumenical cooperation, ecumenical understanding, and ecumenical

mission. However, in Korean papers, ecumenism and ecumenical are viewed as synonyms, so they appear 216 times. The word evangelical appears 56 times. Ecumenicalism was published about four times more than the keyword of evangelicalism. It is the same trend as in the number of published articles that the weight of the ecumenicalism is very dominant.

It is necessary to look at the keywords before and after establishing the WCC in Amsterdam in 1948. The Liverpool Mission of 1860, the Central Conference on the Protection of the World in 1888, the New York Ecumenical Mission in 1900, the Edinburgh World Mission Conference in 1910, the 1928 International Conference, and the 1934 Barmen Theological Declaration. In particular, the 1910 Edinburgh WMC appeared eight times as an important event for ecumenism research. The frequency of events from the foundation of WCC is as follows.

Ecumenism	WCC	58
	Life and Work	2
	Faith and Order	3
	CWME	1
WCC	1st Conference in Amsterdam (1948)	2
	2nd Conference in Evanston (1954)	1
	3rd Conference in New Delhi (1961)	1
	4th Conference in Uppsala (1968)	4
	Bangkok CWME Conference (1973)	1
	5th Conference in Nairobi (1975)	1
	Lima document (1982) - Faith and Order	3
	6th Conference in Vancouver (1983)	10
	7th Conference in Canberra (1991)	0
	8th Conference in Harare (1998)	6
9th Conference in Porto Alegre (2006)	3	
10th Conference in Busan (2013)	25	
Evangelicalism	WEA(World Evangelical Association)	2
	NAE(National Association of the Evangelicals)	2
Lausanne Movement	Congress on the Church's Worldwide Mission in Wheaton (1966)	4
	World Congress on Evangelism in Berlin (1966)	3
	The International Congress on World Evangelization in Lausanne (1974)	17
	Manila Manifesto (1989)	1
	Capetown Commitment (2010)	1

WCC is the most critical event in the discussion of ecumenicalism and evangelicalism. The low frequency of WCC's Life and Work, Faith and Order, and CWME is such a fundamental concept in the study of ecumenism that, despite their use in most papers, they were not selected as keywords. However, the

progressive theology and ministry pursued by these groups, the three pillars of the WCC, were at odds with the conservative camp pursuing traditional doctrines. Faith and Order, which emphasized the union of visible churches, revealed the weakness of the non-visible church theory. Life and Work, which emphasized the church's social responsibility, embraced modern theology such as social gospel, liberation theology, and the theology of hope. They are concerned between the salvation of the soul and the realization of justice through the gospel of "CWME," which actively embraced the *Missio Dei*, which uses the world, not the church, as the mission's starting point. As a result, the conservative church was divided into evangelical camps, and the progressive church was divided into ways that supported the WCC's ecumenical movement. With the advent of the WCC, the Korean Church was divided into conservatives and liberals.

Some events with high frequency are as follows. Uppsala 1968 caused controversy by insisting on the coexistence of other faiths. Evangelicalism criticized it as the subject of missionary work is not God but humans. This agenda triggered the 1974 Lausanne Covenant. In the research on ecumenism, Korean Christianity is divided into ecumenicalism and evangelicalism; the evangelical camp finds the beginning of the Lausanne Movement in 1974 very important. Vancouver 1983 received much attention for its JPIC theme. Sub-keywords related to this appear as many as 48 times.⁹ The paper on Canberra 1991 is rare. Probably, it is because of Chung Hyun Kyoung's performance for the dead, the so-called 'Cho-Hon-Je.' At that time, the WCC movement was understood as a religious syncretism and served as a reason for the Korean church to oppose the ecumenical movement fiercely. Conservatives of the Korean Church still branded this case as accusing the ecumenical movement of religious pluralism and is still a frequent conflict between the ecumenical and evangelical movements.¹⁰ Busan 2013, which had many papers, is also overwhelming in the frequency of subject words.

The analysis of ecumenism's keywords over time shows the polarization of ecumenicalism and evangelicalism. Concerning the schism of the denomination, conflicts arising from their respective positions, interrelationships, and differences occupy the subject of the papers. Furthermore, the most considerable difference in position is a discussion and argument between winning soul and social justice. As a result, the priorities and themes of evangelization emerge in various ways due to differences in opinions, interests, practices, and theology between

the denominations. As a result, the frequency of church, denominationalism, unity, conflict, inter-denominational dialogue, and pluralism became high. This polarization phenomenon of the Korean church already had a cause in the WCC. "Faith and Order" and "Life and Work" formed the central axis of the WCC together, but at the same time, there were many conflicts because the goals they were pursuing did not match. While "Faith and Order" focused on studying the church's identity, "Life and Work" focused on the church's social responsibility and the history of the human community.

Over time, as the progressive identity of Life and Work became clearer, Faith and Order could not help but be embarrassed. Social salvation, which was overlooked by individual salvation, became a conflict by developing a church-unity movement while ignoring ecclesiology due to excessive obsession with social service. These themes and flows lead to missionary work.

Main Key Word	N	Sub Key Words
Mission	140	Missiology: Mission Strategy, World Mission, Martyrdom, Faith Mission, Missional, Mission Station, Missio Dei, the Kingdom of God; Missional Church: Missional Ecclesiology, Mission-Oriented Church, Missionary Church; Student Volunteer Movement, Three-Self Principles, Missionary Moratorium, Mission Devolution.
Holistic Integrity	36	Contextualization, Indigenization, Assimilation, Incarnational.
Evangelism	68	Evangelization, Witness, Conversion, Repentance, Soul-Saving, Discipleship, Spirituality, Faith, Pastoral Counseling, Shepherding, Ministry, Bible Club: Bible Study, Faith Education, Sunday School

Ecumenism's interest in individual evangelism is not tiny but appears 179 times with missional work broadly, although the keyword is 68 times. Understood from the perspective of traditional missionary work, evangelism and social salvation prove an inseparable relationship, and naturally, related keywords appear 153 times.

Main Key Word	N	Sub Key Words
Diakonia	9	Relief, CIMADE, Resource
Koinonia	16	Community, Communion, Friendship, Sympathy

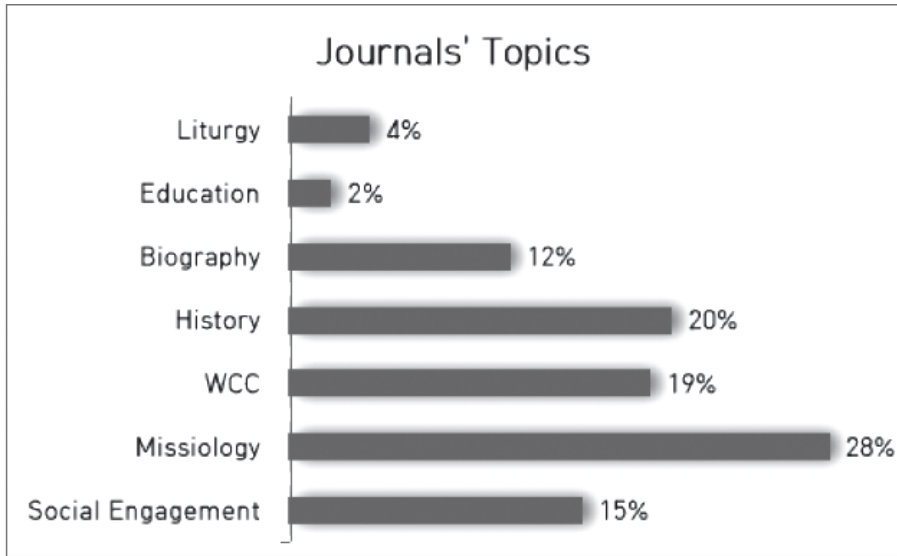
Identity	32	Immigrants, Diaspora, Minority, Margin, Homosexuality, Gender, Youth, Women, Feminist, Intellectual, Professor, Dismissal Professors, Missionary, Missionary Kids, Mission Member Care, Global Member Care
Responsible Society, Social Engagement, Social Responsibility, Social Work, Social Participation, Social Concerns, Apostolic Responsibility, Public Theology	96	State, Politics, Socialism, Neo-Marxism, Independence, Liberation, De-Colonialism, Liberation, Liberty, The Third World, Non-Christian World, Nonviolence, Non-Resistance, Resistance
		Ethics, Climate, Climate change, Development, Modernization, Human Right, Humanity, Human Development, Economy, Starvation, Poverty, Civil Society, Labor Movement
		Medical, Academy, College, Education, Seminary, Theological-education, Curriculum

This social participation includes several events and figures in Korean history. For example, topic words related to Independence, the Korean War, unification, and democratization appear 22 times: unification, reunification, 3.1. Independence Movement, Iksan Independence Movement on April 4, Korean War, Democracy Movement of May 18 in Gwang-Ju, Minjung Theology, Yushin System, and Myeong-Dong Incident.

The characters in the articles include 48 foreign and 24 domestic characters. 11 people are related to the missionary work of the Korean Church. Representative figures include John R. Mott, Samuel A. Moffet, Severance, Oliver R. Evison, and Horace G. Underwood. Among the domestic figures, Kyoung Gik Han, the representative of the Presbyterian Church, is the most mentioned.

Geographical names also appear as the main words, mainly in Asia. They are China, Japan, Manchuria, Northern Asia, North Korea, South Korea, and Thailand, totaling 20 times. Korea is the primary environment for research, with only one selection as the keyword, but the Asian names appearing are related to the modern history of Korean society: Manchuria, North Korea, Japan, North Asia, and China. 16 out of 25 frequencies are about 64%. Other regions appear only eight times. The case of Germany appears with a connection to the unification of Korea.

Korean Church and Ecumenism (Synchronic Analysis)



The number of articles by subject is classified as shown in the chart above.¹¹ Since each article does not belong to only one category, the overall category is not enough to analyze trends. Therefore, this analysis will re-group the categories again to deal with only the mission, history, WCC, and social engagement areas that occupy a large proportion.

Mission

In the mission category, there are 89 keywords for ecumenism and more than 69 keywords for evangelicalism. However, compared to the overwhelming research of the ecumenical camp on the number of papers or the frequency of the keywords, the research of evangelical missiologists' work is quite vigorous. In particular, 15 studies on Lausanne Covenant appear.

There are more studies on the 2013 Busan WCC than other conferences, but only four appearances in the mission category. Instead, it also deals with many missionary gatherings ahead of the 1948 Amsterdam, the beginning of the WCC.¹² Moreover, there is also an article that goes back a lot in time and deals with the

17th-century Denmark-Halle Mission and Pietism Mission. The 1910 Edinburgh WMC, with the slogan “The Evangelization of the World in this Generation,” is the most frequently mentioned (eight times). It shows that Korean theologians consider this event very important and are studying it. The Uppsala Conference in 1968 appeared four times, a relatively higher frequency. It is a subject that missionaries cannot miss because they insist on coexistence with other faiths. The change in perception from the object of evangelism to the object of coexistence stimulated evangelicals. In particular, the evangelical missionary camp saw that the 1968 Uppsala replaced evangelical missionary work with social revolution and humanization for the realization of justice, which advocates nonviolence. Since then, the conflict and division between the two camps have deepened. The 1983 Vancouver Conference appeared four times, mainly in many keywords related to JPIC (Justice, Peace, and the Integrity of Creation).

“Mission”				
		Frequency	Percentage	
Missiology	Theory	55	22%	38%
	Inter-Faith	27	11%	
	Missionary	13	5%	
Church	Ecclesiology	13	5%	28%
	Unity / Conflict	43	17%	
	Evangelism / Ministry	40	16%	
Social Participation	Social Work	51	20%	24%
	Church and State	10	4%	

This category includes missional studies (theory, inter-faith conversation, missionary), churches, and social participation. First, 15 times for holistic missions, 13 times for missio Dei, and 13 times for contextualization in the theory area.¹³ It is in line with the ecumenism movement’s emphasis on social participation. Second, the keywords appeared 23 times for unity and conflict, 17 times for evangelism, and eight times for the missional church.

Even in the mission field and local churches, it still reflects the divided situation of ecumenicalism and evangelicalism. Third, social participation has a wide variety of keywords, including six times for the medical and education areas. Political topic includes division and unification related to the Korean War and the independence movement during the occupation of the colony by Japanese Imperialism.

History

"History"				
		Frequency	Percentage	
History	Historical Event ¹⁴	25	9.5%	21.5%
	Institutional Groups	32	12%	
Mission	Theory	38	15%	25.5%
	Inter-Religion	14	5%	
	Evangelism	15	5.5%	
Church	Ecclesiology	55	21.5%	29%
	Denomination	20	7.5%	
Social Engage-ment	State	33	12.5%	24%
	Social Work	30	11.5%	

The Korean church, which has a sharp ecumenical debate, is polarized into ecumenicalism's WCC church unity movement, which emphasizes social participation, and evangelicalism, which opposes it and emphasizes the priority of spreading the Gospel. Evangelicalism goes beyond losing the priority of the Gospel and criticizes ecumenicalism for forgetting the winning soul altogether. Relatively, the position of advocating the ecumenical movement tries to prove that its roots have been from early Christianity and that its legitimacy runs through the history of the Christian Church. There are 78 ecumenical papers related to the history category and 12 evangelical papers. In addition, there are 28 biographical papers related to ecumenism compared to other categories. In all papers in the history category, 72 persons appeared as the keywords. There are

mainly ecumenical theologians and figures related to the ecumenical movement of the Korean Church.

Ecumenical conferences/groups, missions, churches, and social participation comprise this category. The keywords are evenly distributed and deal with history. Church-related keywords account for the highest proportion; among them, unity and schism and related keywords are high in frequency.¹⁵ It shows a similar tendency of the Korean Christian Church's dichotomy into ecumenicalism and evangelicalism. It proves that each denomination's position on ecumenism greatly influences Korean Christian scholars' research.

WCC

The mission and history categories discussed earlier account for the largest proportion of ecumenism research. However, the WCC category contains mission and history aspects and is one of the most active research parts. In Korea, WCC is at the center of the debate between ecumenicalism and evangelicalism; this study examines it separately. As the 10th WCC General Assembly was held in Busan and Korea in 2013, it was the year with the most active academic research on ecumenism and evangelicalism. Ecumenicalism published 58 articles, and 27 articles of evangelicalism. In particular, the Korean Evangelical Historical Theological Society published a special issue called "Learning about WCC" in 2010, criticizing that ecumenicalism weakened evangelism by overemphasizing social participation and exposed to the risk of religious pluralism.¹⁶

Social Engagement

For social engagement, there are inevitably more voices from ecumenicalism than evangelicalism. Of the 69 papers, two articles written in the evangelical camp were less than 3%. The related topic emphasizing evangelicalism is only 4% in the social domain (13 out of 350).¹⁷ Although the evangelical camp does not refuse to participate in society, its contribution to research is relatively small because the ecumenical camp is wary of the watering down of the emphasis on personal salvation and the Gospel by emphasizing social participation. However,

there is a particular institution that stands out, Hanshin University. From 19 out of 40 articles by them, they participated actively enough to represent this area. Considering that the largest number of Presbyterian University and Theological Seminary with ecumenism is six in social participation, Hanshin University is relatively more actively interested in this area.

"Social Work"			
		Frequency	Percentage
Institution / Conference		61	33%
JPIC	Politics	53	29%
	Economy / Environment	27	15%
Mission		42	23%

This category has subcategories: organization/conference, politics/economy/society, and mission. First, there are 61 keywords related to organization/conference. The most frequently mentioned conference is the 2013 WCC in Busan. In this regard, the National Council of Churches in Korea (NCCK) appears seven times, and various domestic and foreign groups appear.¹⁸ It also appears 19 times about various church movements participating in domestic issues and the association and conflict of churches.¹⁹ Second, the subject of the domain of politics/economy/society/culture is very diverse. With the appearance of peace 15 times, justice nine times, and social responsiveness nine times, the interest in social activities of the Korean church is remarkable. Political keywords appear 53 times, indicating that they vary in 31 types. The main keywords are democracy and communism, the division and unification of the two Koreas, and the domestic political situation and history.²⁰ Economic and environmental keywords have appeared 27 times, showing the association with JPSS in Nairobi (1975) and JPIC in Vancouver (1983).²¹ Third, the main words of the missionary field appear 42 times. It deals with other religions and relationships, indigenous people and their culture and relations regarding missional dialogue and strategy, and social participation focuses on medical care and education.²²

In the social engagement category, the most frequently addressed issues are political, revealing that the history of democracy in Korean society is relatively short. As a result, pursuing stability in the political field of independence, inter-

Korean division, and unification was not easy. In addition, research on inequality problems hidden in the shadow of success due to sudden economic growth is accompanied.

Conclusion

This study examines Korean scholars' research interests in ecumenism. Although active publications are in various categories, the most prominent phenomenon is the division and polarization of liberal ecumenicalism and conservative evangelicalism. Oikoumene is an area of evangelization that both ecumenicalism and evangelicalism must embrace.²³ However, because of the polarization, ecumenicalism was misunderstood as not being interested in personal evangelism. Critics evaluate ecumenicalism as it recognizes religious pluralism for social justice, not the Gospel. Although evangelicalism targeted the oikoumene for evangelization, there is a distortion that it is not interested in social participation.

However, the two camps differ only in their emphasis. After all, evangelicalism does not deny social participation, and ecumenicalism does not exclude personal evangelism. Interest in the 1968 Uppsala led to the 2013 Busan WCC, which sparked a heated debate, not simply because it was an event held in Korea. The polarized Korean church argued the WCC between God's mission and religious pluralism. It naturally triggered the vigorous academic activities of historians and missiologists. Ecumenicalism's efforts to expand ministry boundaries made evangelicalism uncomfortable. While the former views other religions as a missional target, the latter sees the difference as a missionary obstacle. Eventually, evangelicalism interpreted ecumenicalism as non-biblical and religious pluralists. While social participation research was relatively shrinking as evangelicalism was wary of syncretism, ecumenicalism actively studied historical, social participation related to Korea's Independence, inter-Korean division, unification, and democratization. It turns out that there was a significant difference in the perspective of missional work and history between ecumenicalism and evangelicalism.

As ecumenism cannot be the exclusive property of ecumenicalism, evangelism cannot be of evangelicalism. Evangelicalism should not overlook

social participation, while ecumenicalism does not exclude winning souls.²⁴ Now, beyond the polarization of Korean Christianity against conflict-ridden ecumenism, the two camps should work together to promote the future of traditional evangelism, including social changes.²⁵

References

This article was published in *Korean Journal of Christian Studies*, vol. 129 (2023), 321-350.

- 1 Kenneth S. Latourette, *Great Century: Europe and the United States 1800 A.D. To 1914 A.D.* (Grand Rapid, MI: Zondervan Pub. House, 1970).
- 2 Soo-il Chae, "Oikumene Theology and Oikumene Learning", *Theology of Mission*, Vol. 1 (1997): 207-12.
- 3 Hyung-Kee Lee, "Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow of the Church History Society in Korea," *Korea Journal of Christian Studies*, Vol. 50(2007): 79-80.
- 4 *Ecumenical Movement* - the Korea Association of Christian Studies (14): The Korean Society of Old Testament Studies, New Testament Society of Korea, The Church History Society in Korea, Korean Society of Systematic Theology, The Korean Association for Christian Ethics, The Korean Society for Practical Theology, The Korean Society of Christian Religious Education, Korean Association of Feminist Theology, The Korean Society of Mission Studies, Korea Church Music Association, The Korean Society for Pastoral Care & Counseling, The Society for Korean Cultural Theology, Korea Academy of Christian Social Welfare, Korea Academy of Christianity and Liberal Arts.

Evangelical Movement - the Korea Evangelical Theological Society (10): Korea Evangelical Old Testament Society, Korea Evangelical Society of New Testament Studies, Korea Evangelical Historical Theological Society, Systematic Theology of Korea Evangelical Theological Society, Korea Evangelical Society of Christian Ethics, Korean Society of Evangelical Practical Theology, Korean Evangelical Counseling Society, Korea Evangelical Missiological Society, The Korean Society of Evangelical Christian Education, Korea Evangelical Society of Church Music.
- 5 It is possible to have fewer papers on the evangelical movement because the research keywords were ecumenism and ecumenical. It may cause the study of the Lausanne-centered evangelical movement would have been less likely. Nevertheless, it is outside the scope of this study. The Professors' Society for Lausanne Study has published books every year since 2014. The statistics of this research include some articles of them because they were registered in RISS using ecumenical/ecumenism as the keyword. They have published 12 books so far: *The Lausanne Movement and Mission* (2014: seven articles), *The Lausanne Movement and Mission Theology* (2015, nine articles), *An Analysis and Discussion of Lausanne Movement* (2016, thirteen articles), *Theology and Praxis of Lausanne Movement* (2017, thirteen articles), *Contemporary Mission Strategy and the Lausanne Movement* (2018, twelve articles), *The Lausanne Movement and Mission Context in the 21 Century* (2019, fourteen articles), *Missional Perspectives of the 21st Century and the Role of Lausanne Movement* (2020, fourteen articles), *History and Praxis of Lausanne Movement* (2021, fourteen articles), and *Lausanne Movement and Christian Mission in Transition* (2022, twelve articles).
- 6 It finds one hundred sixty-six theses and ninety-nine books as ecumenism-related data, but the reasons for excluding them from this study are as follows: First, the scope of research has been excessively expanded, making it challenging to analyze vast amounts of data. Second, unlike journal articles, there is a risk of loss of objectivity caused by the researcher arbitrarily setting the keywords of each degree thesis and book because the author does not indicate the keywords assigned
- 7 There is no ecumenism study by Orthodox Church on RISS.

- 8 Hyo Sook Kim, "An Analysis of Research Trends of Mission and Theology Using Language Network Analysis," *Mission and Theology*, Vol. 47 (2019):197-198.
- 9 They are eco, ecology, creation, Creator, justice, just war, peace, peacemaker, shalom, and pacifism.
- 10 The Tonghap denomination of the Korean Presbyterian Church claims that Chung Hyun-Kyung's controversy is not a representative opinion of WCC in "On the controversial performance for the dead [WCC Special Episode 2]" through the YouTube channel of Christian Newspaper. https://youtu.be/YUP6iACXZfA?list=PLJ0Bo_Xlsg2n5Mn8Go3CrVcvKMCp74Kd2 (3 October 2022 access)
- 11 The frequency of publication of papers by the institutions is as follows: Ecumenicalism - Presbyterian University and Theological Seminary(53) including Center for World Mission(30), The Korean Society of Mission Studies(41), Hanshin University(40), The Institute of the History of Christianity in Korea(15), The Church History Society in Korea(14), Korean Association of Christian Studies(12), Yonsei University(11), and so on; Evangelicalism - Korea Evangelical Missiological Society(15), Korea Reformed Theology Society(12), Korea Evangelical Historical Theological Society(11), Korea Evangelical Theological Society(6), and so on.
- 12 They are Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge(SPCK), Liverpool Missionary Conference in 1860, The Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions(SVM) in 1886, London Centenary Conference on the Protestant Missions of the World in 1888, and 1990 New York Ecumenical Missionary Conference.
- 13 *Theory*: faith mission, missio Dei, nature, motive, Kingdom of God, holistic, integrity, wholistic, prophetic, contextualization, indigenization, incarnational, text and context, Gospel, culture, multicultural, hermeneutics, Analogia Entis, Analogia Fidei, triune theology, eschatology, and syncretism.

Inter-Faith: inter-religious, interfaith, Islam, Buddhism, Korean folk religion, other religion, pluralism, dialogue, communication, consilience, assimilation, discernment, exclusivism, intercultural, diversity, and nomanclature controversy.

Missionary: missionary moratorium, delegation of authority, mission devolution, independence, Three-Self Principles, mission station, missionary kids, and mission member care.
- 14 They are history, historiography, Nicene Creed, Augsburg Confession, the Reformation, Danish-Halle Mission Society, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge(SPCK), International Missionary Council (IMC), Student Volunteer Movement(SVM), 1910 Edinburgh World Missionary Conference, and New York Missionary Conference.
- 15 Ecumenical conferences/groups, missions, churches, and social participation comprise this category. The keywords are evenly distributed and deal with history. Church-related keywords account for the highest proportion; among them, unity and schism and related keywords are high in frequency. It shows a similar tendency of the Korean Christian Church's dichotomy into ecumenicalism and evangelicalism. It proves that each denomination's position on ecumenism greatly influences Korean Christian scholars' research.
- 16 In 2010, the Korea Evangelical Historical Theological Society published special edition with six articles under the topics, "Learning about WCC": "Dialogues with Other Faiths in the WCC: A Historical Study," "Non-Biblical, Anti-Doctrinal: A Critique of WCC's Theory of Visible Church Unity," "WCC and Evangelism," "Change and Issues of WCC Missiology," "The Formation and

History of World Council of Churches," "WCC and Religious Pluralism: Focusing on the Baar Statement of 1990."

- 17 They are Evangelicalism(10), NAE, Lausanne(2), and Wheaton Conference in 1966.
- 18 Domestic groups are YMCA, Christian Ethics Movement of Korea, the Christian Council of Korea, and Korean Christian Federation. Foreign groups are Christian Conference of Asia and Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians.
- 19 They are mega-church, small church movement, younger church, hospitality, embrace, reception, unity, solidarity, coexistence, union, interfaith cooperation and solidarity, reconciliation, conflict, division, and controversy.
- 20 The keywords in politics are diverse: state, Christian nation-building theory, separation of religion from state, democratization, democracy, unification, pro-communist controversy, anti-communism, socialism, social movement, conservatism, liberation, liberal, liberty, civil society, Minjung, human right, labor movement, student movement, Korean War, Yushin System, May 18 Uprising in Gwangju, March 1 Declaration of the Democratic Salvation, independence, the March First Independence Movement, the Iksan Independence Movement on April 4, non-violence, non-Resistance, resistance movement, and the Barmen Theological Declaration.
- 21 The keywords in economy and environment are ethics, global, eco, creation, ecological crisis, preservation, watchman's role, Sustainable Development Goals(SDGs), development, modernization, starvation, economy, stagnation, poverty, relief, community, diakonia, and love.
- 22 The keywords in mission are pluralism, inter-religious cooperation, Confucian Spirituality, Three-Self Principles, transfer of missionary work, missio Dei, indigenization, incarnation, contextualization, multicultural, holistic, Kingdom of God, and evangelism. In social activities of medical and educational services are Jejoongwon, Severance Hospital, Severance Union Medical College, Yonsei University, Chosen Christian College, women's missionary society, and children's song dissemination movement.
- 23 Seung-Oh An, "A Study on the Necessity of Inquiring the 4th Mission Theology," *Theology of Mission*, Vol. 38 (2015): 259.
- 24 YoungWhan Park, "The Limitations, Tasks, and Alternatives to the Holistic Mission in the Evangelical Mission," *Mission and Theology*, Vol. 50 (2019): 185.
- 25 Kook-il Han, "Mission and Oikumene: A Study of Five Themes in Missionary Theology from an Ecumenical Perspective," *Theology of Mission*, Vol. 4 (2000): 217.

Bibliography

- An, Seung-Oh. "A Study on the Necessity of Inquiring the 4th Mission Theology." *Theology of Mission*. Vol. 38 (2015): 237-64.
- Bae, Bon Jour. "Change and Issues of WCC Missiology." *Journal of Historical Theology*. Vol. 19 (2010): 100-20.
- Chae, Soo-il. "Oikumene Theology and Oikumene Learning." *Theology of Mission*. Vol. 1 (1997): 207-27.
- Han, Kook-il. "Mission and Oikumene: A Study of Five Themes in Missionary Theology from an Ecumenical Perspective." *Theology of Mission*. Vol. 4 (2000): 185-218.
- Hwang, Dae Woo. "WCC and Religious Pluralism: Focusing on the Baar Statement of 1990." *Journal of Historical Theology*. Vol. 19 (2010): 162-85.
- Kim, Hong Man. "Dialogues with Other Faiths in the WCC: A Historical Study." *Journal of Historical Theology*. Vol. 19 (2010): 8-39.
- Kim, Hyo Sook. "An Analysis of Research Trends of Mission and Theology Using Language Network Analysis." *Mission and Theology*. Vol. 47 (2019): 189-216.
- Lee, Eun Seon. "The Formation and History of World Council of Churches." *Journal of Historical Theology*. Vol. 19 (2010): 121-61.
- Lee, Hyung-Kee. "Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow of the Church History Society in Korea," *Korea Journal of Christian Studies*. Vol. 50(2007): 69-113.
- Moon, Byung Ho. "Non-Biblical, Anti-Doctrinal: A Critique of WCCs Theory of Visible Church Unity." *Journal of Historical Theology*. Vol. 19 (2010): 40-62.
- Park, Myung Soo. "WCC and Evangelism." *Journal of Historical Theology*. Vol. 19 (2010): 63-99.
- Park, YoungWhan. "The Limitations, Tasks, and Alternatives to the Holistic Mission in the Evangelical Mission." *Mission and Theology*. Vol. 50 (2019): 152-189.

Reformed Encounter with World Religions in a 'Christian Hungary' Reflections on a particular local Reformed Context

This paper reflects on how Hungarian Reformed people relate to world religions in both a local context in Debrecen as well as Hungary as a whole. The study also addresses the issue of how the notion of Christian Hungary is a rather weak political concept. The government's attitude is scrutinised so as to show how seriously it takes its self-appointed role as a guardian of Christianity, a unique attitude in the European Union and how its approach to inherited culture differs from the mainstream EU agenda. To achieve these goals, the paper needs to focus on the following issues. First of all, the paper clarifies what is meant by world religions and the word 'religion' in a historical perspective in Hungary and how it has an impact on the present discourse about world religious related topics such as migration, freedom of religion and speech. Second, it is vital for the foreign reader to understand historical concepts of 'national church' in the Hungarian cultural, legal and social sphere. Finally, the paper investigates how the national churches and the Hungarian government react to the challenges posed by non-Christian religions, that is, 'religions of the world' by the presence of foreign citizens residing in the country. It also examines how they react to the particular ideology of European 'liberalism' which is, in my opinion, close to a form of libertinism. It also examines how Reformed people encountered people of different faith appearing in the formerly so called 'Calvinist Rome', Debrecen.

One of the recurring issues in most of the academic papers which deal with religion and/or state is that the word religion is not clarified in the beginning of the reflections. The lack of a precise definition on the part the authors may

be misleading the entire discourse in an unfortunate direction. Religion is often, but mistakenly used as a word that is synonymous with Christianity. This is a common practice amongst scholars as well as Hungarian politicians. More specifically, in the politicians' rhetoric religion is identical with mainstream forms of Christianity, that is, Christian denominations (mostly Roman Catholic, Reformed, Lutheran churches) that have prevailed historically in Hungary. The Orbán government has strong Christian leanings. Right wing politicians often come from devout Christian families or religious groups within those historical churches. Ministers and heads of departments within ministries often struggle to relate not only to world religions which seem to most of them a false religion but also cannot relate to fellow Christians if they do not come from the three aforementioned denominations. Their knowledge about the 'other' is not only limited but also prejudiced which often comes from lack of knowledge as well as personal encounter with the other. Therefore, I believe education to 'all' is vital.

The Hungarian use of the word 'neo' Protestants referring to the Baptists, Adventist, Pentecostals to name a few, or more recent ones like the charismatic Faith Church are often looked down by those who position themselves as prominent and committed members of traditional 'national' churches. Of course, there are open minded ecumenical church leaders, officials and lay people but many top politicians, if they are Christians, or to say they perceive themselves as such are ultraconservative and ignorant of the fact that many smaller forms of Protestant faith, including the Methodists or the Brethren have also been in Hungary for more than a hundred years. In a sense they are also historical even if they are small religious minorities. In addition to the ecumenical narrowmindedness of some church leaders and politicians, there are many other, non-Christian religious traditions which are not understood by 'Christian' politicians and many church leaders. Therefore, let me underline it again, religious education (not that of a particular Christian denomination, 'hittan' or a world religion) at all level is vital. To highlight the problems mentioned above the paper will evidence with a case study. When dealing with world religions a brief reference will be made to the Western European offshoots of vaisnava Hinduism, commonly known as Hare Krishna religious tradition.

A concise study of the use of the word 'religion' in the cultural-religious and political context of historical Hungary

The paper confines its investigation into how Reformed Christians related to followers of world religions in Hungary. Ideologies, new religious movements and worldviews are only mentioned if it is necessary to clarify the wider concepts. The paper attempts to study carefully the word 'religion' from a Reformed Christian historical perspective incorporating elements from the Scientific Study of Religion in its approach.

In Hungary the word 'religion' has been historically used in the cultural-religious context with political overtones. Traditionally 'religion' meant a person's confessed *Christian* faith. Therefore, it had a meaning which indicated what a certain individual believed about Christian doctrine, ethics and practice. Religion consequently related to a person's *denominational* stance, a branch *within* Christianity that was considered *legally and culturally* as a traditional religion of the country. Another expression has also been used such as the term *accepted religion* (or tolerated religions, that is certain *Christian denominations* gained legal recognition in the specific historical context of Hungary since Reformation.

Here a further elaboration is necessary. The language of social-political discourse and the use of religion by the political-legal structure may overlap but it may also differ. When an individual is asked in the street 'what is your religion?' till recent past, the question was understood by the public in a particular way and an answer was given: 'I am Roman Catholic', or in a similar manner 'I am Reformed, Lutheran, Unitarian' etc. Here the word 'religion' is understood as *denomination*. It is a very recent phenomenon to refer to a person's religious stance, or perhaps 'affiliation' as "I am religious in my own way". This answer became 'fashionable'/commonplace after the collapse of Communism (1989). If traditional denominations (Catholics, Reformed and Lutherans) are not mentioned as an answer in a survey, then sociologists of religion would likely receive the aforementioned answer.

Another interesting feature of the Hungarian cultural-religious context is the result of a unique historical development. The traditional use of the terminology, 'religion' by the public was extended to a specific non-Christian world religion, Judaism due to the large presence of Jewish people in Hungarian Kingdom since

the 1830s. In such a case the answer to the question 'what is your religion', 'I am Jewish'. In this case it may relate primarily to one's adherence to Judaism. This twist, nuance of using the term differently, also unique to culture of our Central European region in Hungary. As well as being interchangeable with the word Christian, the word religion could also be used for Judaism and Jewish people. This is the result of a unique historical development – the large increase of Jewish people in Hungary since the 1830s.

If the issue of 'religion' is looked at from a legal perspective, then the picture becomes even more fascinating and complex. Historically Roman Catholicism constituted the *religio praedominans*, *dominant religion* exclusively until 1791 because the Habsburg rule was Roman Catholic. It was only centuries after the Reformation that was 'permitted' to pass a law under the rule of Leopold II. to start changing the overwhelming privileges of the Catholics. Article 26 gave some more right to Lutherans and Reformed and the decision of the MPs was incorporated into *Corpus Juris*.¹ This new law became relevant to the royal territories of the Hungarian Kingdom conquered by the Habsburg. Since Reformation the two main Protestant denominations, the Lutherans and the Reformed survived, despite the fact that Hungary experienced the longest Counter reformation (1517-1780) in the world.² It is a remarkable fact that Protestantism not only survived but also became a strong cultural component of the society at large. Despite the fact that Roman Catholic Habsburg viewed Reformed as rebellious, a sect, if not a despised heresy, Reformed faith was the carrier of national vernacular language (not Latin), a bearer of national culture and offered education to the poor, a significant proportion of the population. One of the reasons why Protestants survived is that a new state, Transylvanian principality (1570-1711) emerged between two world powers, the Habsburg and the Ottoman Turks. Transylvania was often ruled by Calvinist princes under whose rule the first European policy of religious tolerance, an *edict* was made in 1568.³ The Edict of Torda gave equal legal rights to Lutherans (mostly Saxon Germans), Reformed (Hungarians), Unitarians (Hungarians and Székely/Sekler) and Roman Catholics (Hungarians, Slovaks) in Transylvania.⁴ When Hungarians lost their first War of Independence under Prince Rákóczi in 1771 Royal Hungary and Hungarian Transylvania was conquered by the Austrians and administered directly by the Habsburg from Vienna. However, they did not alter the legal situation of Transylvania which had been legally accepted centuries before by

the Edit of Torda. The Habsburg court carefully avoided violating the religious and political legal structure in the newly occupied territories from the 1700s.⁵

Here some observations must be made. First of all, Unitarians are included in the peaceful coexistence of 'religions', a Christian trend that was perceived as *heretic* and severely persecuted in Western Europe. The peaceful religious co-existence of many 'religions' made Hungarian Transylvania a progressive place, a haven if not heaven. Second, it is important to underline that in 1568 Christian religions never persecuted each other as happened in the West. Third, Romanian Orthodox of Transylvania lived in peace besides the four legally accepted Latin forms of Christian 'religion'. Although their legal status was not at the same level as the religions of ruling Hungarian/German/Szekely/Romanian elite of Transylvania, basic religious freedom was granted and eastern liturgy was freely practiced by Romanian Orthodox. Owing to Habsburg interference a new denomination came into being, that is Greek Catholicism amongst Romanians and Ruthenians.⁶ The aim of Roman Catholic Habsburg was to divide and rule as well as to bind Romanians closer to their power through a Christian identity maker, Roman Catholicism. They succeeded partially and an offshoot of Romanian Orthodoxy formed as Greek Catholic Church came closer to Rome and Vienna and accepted the Pope's Roman Catholic jurisdiction.

Taking all into consideration, it is possible to state that by the end of the short lived Austrian-Hungarian Empire (1867-1918) the Hungarian Kingdom including Transylvania, excluding Croatia which had been part of the Hungarian Crown since (1092), the *religio praedominans* was Roman Catholicism. A new era was ushered in 1791 when Reformed, Lutherans became *religio recepta* (recognised religion) in royal Hungary till 1914.⁷ The Jews as a people received civil tolerance in 1867 and religious tolerance in 1895.⁸ In Transylvania (1568-1914) *tolerated religions* were Lutherans, Reformed, Unitarians and Roman Catholic denominations of Hungarians, Germans, and Székely (Sekler) and Romanian Orthodoxy was also allowed to be practiced. It was mentioned that Greek Catholicism emerged among Romanians in 1700s. The term 'religion' customarily referred to a Christian denomination in our history, mostly to those that had managed to survive and gain legal rights (*religio recepta*) next to the *religio praedominans* of Roman Catholicism by the nineteenth century in Royal Hungary and Transylvania. Other Christian denominations and world religions remained outside of this legal framework well into the twentieth century and this 'development' effected the past 30 years too.

World religions and Reformed Christian Faith. An Encounter with the other in Debrecen, Hungary

Hungary has encountered world religions in the past three decades differently from the West. First of all, Hungary is seen as a second or third target for migrants who come to Europe from all over the world. The economic gains of living a better life than in Africa, the Middle East or Asia in Western Europe like Britain, the Benelux or Scandinavian states are much more attractive. People from different countries come to Hungary either as students for the excellence and relative inexpensiveness of education to become medical doctors, nurses, dentist, engineers and alike or they arrive to Hungary for its culture. Of course, this is a generalisation but Hungary is not at the point of inviting a cheap labour force. Therefore, those who come from other cultures bringing their religions with them from Asia are either middle class or upwardly mobile upper working class people. A typical example of this is the attraction for students from the United Arab Emirates of arriving in my town to study at Debrecen University. They are not necessarily from an Arabic ethnic background but they are from the first generation of migrant workers in Dubai from India, Pakistan, Malaysia and alike. Needless to say their parents never receive full citizenship even after 20 years of work in Dubai, which leave much to say about the superficially s glimmering 'multi-culture' of that state. Nonetheless Hungarians profit from this process of 'educational migration' and the 'deal' is mutually beneficial to both sides. The people of Debrecen city encounter Hindu, Muslim, Jewish and even Buddhist faith along with the Communist ideology presented by Chinese or Vietnamese students. The latter are rather silent voices. Owing to the Hungarian government initiative, the scholarship programme *Stipendium Hungaricum* offers scholarship at MA and Ph.D. level to students from all over the world. There are even Latin American students at the University of Debrecen which is a leading centre of learning in Hungary. These students may come from poorer economic background but their social and economic mobility show similar tendencies, with the former group. Most of them seem to use Hungary as a stepping stone to move to Western Europe since Hungary grants them also an EU residence permit to travel freely in Europe while studying here.

The Israeli student community is also significant in Debrecen. Muslims may come from Iran, the Emirates, Saudi Arabia, or Jordan. Their religious affiliation to Islam mirrors a wide variety from the liberal ends to very conservative trends. What

is rather interesting is that their very diverse religious background and presence has not caught the attention of local people yet. One of the most visible groups is the Protestant Evangelical presence of home churches of American people who proselytise among Hungarians, foreign students and even people coming from materialistic cultures like China, Vietnam and Cambodia. Another peculiar phenomenon is the presence of newly formed black African student churches with a strong emphasis on evangelisation amongst fellow foreign students and the local Hungarian public. There is a significant Nigerian and South African presence in Debrecen and the Reformed church has no connections into this sphere of fellow Christians. There is a Korean Presbyterian presence on campus, due to the large number of Korean students studying medicine. They rent out the university chapel owned by the Reformed Church for Sunday worship.

Since 2023 a new impulse started has started to make its presence in the religious landscape of Debrecen. Due to the Chinese and Korean battery factories new temporary workers arrived from Sri Lanka, the Philippines, Korea, and other South East Asian countries apparently for a better income. They often represent a very low social layers of their own societies which is in contrast with the social composition of the foreign student body. These 'migrant workers' present religions such as Hinduism, Catholic Christianity, Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism and ideologies like Marxism. What impact it will have on the local community is hard to tell but one might consider drawing parallels to similar cases in Western Europe. At this point the encounter between Reformed Christians and people of other faith is at the stage of curiosity, shyness towards the other, perhaps a bit of mistrust and indifference from the side of the general local public. As for Christians, particularly the local Reformed churches there are very few conscious and targeted interactions with people of other faith in the city of Debrecen. Our congregations seems to forget to open up to the world, the immediate context surrounding them. Catholics are somewhat more progressive in the 'Calvinist Rome', Debrecen. There is an international student church at Saint László Catholic parish.

It is not the task of this paper to address the problematic issue of the term, world religion. Some scholars argue whether Judaism is a world religion despite the presence of Jewish people all over the world. It is questioned that in what sense Judaism qualifies to world religion like it is presented as such in Helmut von Glasenapp's famous book.⁹ Consequently the question arises as to why indigenous religions of Africa are not mentioned in textbooks, or why Shintoism

is considered a local religion although almost 100 million people's life is affected by it. Certainly it is practiced by Japanese students in Debrecen.

For the sake of simplicity world religion is used as Huston Smith¹⁰ applied it referring to Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, Judaism, and Confucianism. To broaden the scope we also add local religions of Africa as well as the pseudo-religions as used by John E. Smith¹¹ applied to Marxism or Humanism. The former represented by the Vietnamese or Chinese the latter by Western European students from Norway, English second generation migrant's children studying medicine in Debrecen, or others.

The rapidly changing situation calls the Reformed church to consider various forms of mission outreach to these people surrounding it. It would be useful to set platforms for interreligious encounters with people of various faith and create theologies, religious, social and cultural responses. These steps are unavoidable and evoked by the contextual situation where the city, within itself the Christian, more particularly the Reformed Community is drifting. Local Reformed congregations do invite speakers to talk on Islam, much less on other world religions. Besides the Karakter 1517 Café of the Great Church also host events where some sort of dialogue may happen. The Department of Dogmatics at Debrecen Reformed Theological University quietly promotes a interreligious dialogue. Leaders of Vaisnava Hinduism have been invited to lecture for theological students. Muslim students also expressed their religious views in relaxed settings within the premises and outside of Debrecen Reformed Theological University (DRTU). Another department of the university, Mission and Ecclesiastical Studies is also keen on promoting 'mission exposure' to students to encounter world religions. DRTU has also given a place to interreligious dialogues at a high level. One of the prime example was an initiative by the Hungarian government's State Secretariat for Church and Nationality Relations. It organised an event in 2021 under the aegis of the European Council with the aim of promoting mutual understanding and acceptance of religious traditions. Speakers were carefully chosen by the government not scholars, an experts. Nonetheless, it was an important breakthrough in Debrecen. The Department of Science of Religion of the Collegium Doctorum of the Hungarian Reformed Church led by Ábrahám Kovács has been organising events on interreligious dialogue with leaders of Hungarian Buddhists, Hindus and Muslims and Hungarian and foreign experts on those religions since 2005.

Unfortunately, there are not many guides such as books or forums where lay Christians may receive education regarding other world religions. One of the few initiatives by the Reformed Church of Hungary was to publish a volume addressing pressing questions edited by Ábrahám Kovács. Nonetheless, the Catholics are more progressive and far more advanced than us in Hungary. (The activities and books published by Párbeszéd Háza, Békés Gellért Ecumenical Institute are telling examples of their work not to mention the excellent Jesuit initiatives for interreligious dialogue in Budapest). There is much work to be done in this regard for the Reformed people. Swift changes in the city require prompt, adequate and responsible Christian responses based on a Christ centered understanding of the gospel.

Interreligious dialogue or/and proclamation of Christ's gospel?

Christians are called by Jesus to witness to their faith. To many the exclusiveness of Jesus Christ's claims about himself are rather straightforward. "I am the Truth", "I am the Way the Truth and the light". Such claims may convince many Christians about the unique nature of the Christian gospel. However, the case how to relate one's deeply convinced faith to others adhering to another religious tradition is really complex. It is not our task here to unfold the issue. Enough to allude to the variety of approaches regarding what and how it is best to convey, or pass on one's dearest faith conviction to others with whom we work, study and live together in a city, university, school or workplace.

Given the changing, developing and transforming situation of Debrecen city since 2000, it is vital to have open ears whether one prefers interreligious dialogue or mission. Dialogue even in an interreligious environment refers, in its very meaning, to a sort of openness of opinion to adherents of other religions and at the same time opens a gate through which one may grasp the other person's beliefs. Dialogue is a complex notion, both in theory and in practice, and it is necessary first to begin to unravel that complexity.¹² First, we focus on where it may occur. It may well start naturally at grass-roots level, or may be induced by government. It could well be academic inter-religious dialogue with representatives of different religious communities involved in such a process. It

is relevant for us to note that the Christian dialogue with other religions may operate with different theories and goals. These may take different forms. First, dialogue can be done with an intention to listen and try to understand the belief of other religions different from one's own. Another goal of dialogue is more secular, inasmuch as different religious traditions are more concerned about economic, political and sociological issues rather than theological ones. The third goal brings theology and religious studies closely together inasmuch as both endeavour to establish the facts about other religious traditions in order to avoid overt misunderstandings. There is an overlap between religious studies and theology for both are seeking to achieve this end from slightly different angles.¹³ Finally dialogue is regarded as *mutual witnessing*. At this point we also find divisions of opinions. Martin Buber who has given a profound analysis of the nature of dialogue, has made it very clear that the presupposition of genuine dialogue is not that the partners agree beforehand to relativise their own conviction, but that they accept each other as persons.¹⁴ The two poles are the involvement of *epoche* and *einfihlung*, in dialogue on the one hand and the other viewpoint which finds it almost impossible to put one's conviction into brackets because this would be to imply that our convictions do not matter. What is most important in the dialogue is to have a humble attitude which wants to listen and is open to incorporating the enriching ideas of the other who holds onto a different yet beautiful religious tradition.

A major critique of traditional Christianity is the lack of knowledge about other religions and that the willingness to listen to the other is missing. This is very much true for the Reformed people of Debrecen, but also stands for the general public. On the other hand it is also true that top church leaders are too quick to act and formulate a common statement with the leaders of other world religions. In doing so they often tend to forget about the very fact that Christianity is a missionary religion. By knowing both sides of the criticism it does not exempt us from dealing with the almost unsolvable challenge of having a dialogue with other religions. A Christian should always proclaim the gospel even if he or she engages in dialogue. This stems from the very nature of Christian conviction. Yet, the way it is done especially in dialogue poses a challenge. The San Antonio CWME Meeting has a position that is fair to the missionary nature of the Christian church and it does justice to mission and dialogue at the same time. The statement says: "We affirm that witness does not preclude dialogue but invites it, and that

dialogue does not preclude witness but extends and deepens it".¹⁵ Certainly, it is a tension but a creative one that has to be learnt by each participant on both sides day by day. Having briefly dealt with the local religious landscape, and the future task of the Reformed people of the city, the paper turns its attention to the attitude of Christian Hungary towards religions, and religious traditions.

Christianity as a political religion. The self-perception of true and staunch Christians and the meaninglessness of an intellectual political discourse

The patriotic Orbán government of Hungary perceives itself as the leader of a Christian nation. As a reckoned counterbalance, it has sought to encounter the liberal, often very radical views of Western European nations regarded as liberal often with misleading outlook as if no national, even nationalist interest is persuaded in their economic, societal and cultural policy. The current Hungarian reaction must also be seen as a reaction to the so-called supranational endeavour of European bureaucrats with an international identity rather than being rooted in a particular national culture, language and way of thinking and being 'cosmopolitan', citizen of the world at the same time. Both polarised extremes fail to incorporate the other perspective and mutually detest each other.

There is a tension between the understanding of two worldviews, perceptions of how to organise society and what is considered main value by the people. Needless to say both different worldviews do have a very strong call to educate the people, the citizens. This process of formation of individuals, families, communities and larger bodies like countries or pan-national like initiatives e.g. European Union is vital to all political players since worldviews, ideologies and religion function as 'doctrines' by which people's attitude is 'measured'. Therefore, it is crucial to any ruler to control this mechanism.

The Orbán government reaches back to the teaching of Christianity which had shaped European society over long centuries whereas the current western agenda cannot handle its Christian past, often has a very negative, therefore rather one sided views. Also, the Orbán government fails to consider the values of European liberal ideas emerging from Enlightenment, humanism and also, strange as it may sound from Calvinism! Not to mention the failure of both

contesting attempt to acknowledge the enormous influence of Hellenism as a pretext to Judeo-Christian religion and culture. Not to take one's religious and cultural views very seriously is a fatal mistake. This is true for the oversimplified term of 'liberalism' and the mystified 'Christian' conservative ideological perception.

Christians standing up for minorities under Muslim, Buddhist, Hindu majority or Communist rules

This ideological struggle, which is based on radically different worldviews, is best seen through the example of how Hungary as a state relates to Christians who live in non-Christian environment whether it means a world religion, or an ideology often under strong Muslim, Buddhist or Communist rule less tolerant, albeit to different degrees. Part of the Western media is keen on demonizing the Christianising tendencies of the Orbán government. Therefore, it completely dismisses, underestimates and neglects a precious cultural-religious initiative of the 'Christian' government in a post Christian Europe. More than a decade ago the conservative government of Hungary established the "Hungary Helps" programme and even assigned a ministry for such a purpose. It is a unique and unparalleled initiative of the Hungarian state. Its webpage declares its aim in such a vein: "We are not abandoning innocent people's suffering. We protect communities threatened by religious or other persecution, violence, catastrophes or the effects of migration. We are bound by our thousand-year-old Christian heritage, by our moral duty resulting from this heritage and also by the general principles of humanity. As a result, the Hungarian government is taking an active part in international humanitarian assistance efforts based on a specific national model called Hungary Helps, the initiative for providing Hungarian assistance. The migration and humanitarian policies of the Hungarian government go hand in hand. We are not advocating that people in need should leave their homelands."¹⁶ Post war conflict treatment, Women's empowerment, Agriculture and food security projects, cultural heritage as a new component for peace and security, focusing on local communities. Regardless of how critical the Western non-Christian, post-Christian 'liberal' political-cultural 'elite' is of Orbán government Christianising tendencies, it seeks, with its political religion, to foster and preserve Christian values in the modern world. Moreover, it is also

socially very sensitive to the weakened, persecuted Christian minorities around the world especially where an ancient Christian presence has survived the various Muslim rules (Middle East and Africa) for more than a thousand years. The Orbán government addresses a vital topic. It is a minority issue that consist of many distinct hardly known ethnic groups, Christian cultures and endangered languages about whom Western powers are silent. The democratic slogans of Western national leaders not only forget to raise a voice but are seemingly completely ignorant regarding the aforementioned topics. In other worlds, the kind of minorities the West often prefers to protect are the ones which are not yet entirely dominant, like Muslim religious 'minorities' in the secularised West. It often fails to notice that Muslim interreligious dialogue institutes may function as an honest endeavour to foster interreligious dialogue abroad, that is Europe, but no such as really allow in the home, that is Arabic Muslim countries.

Ideological groups with a strong sense of secular forms of 'mission' to spread and enforce their far left 'values' and perspectives on the otherwise indifferent secularised majority where the main interest is in the economic and social welfare then safety is granted to citizens. Spirituality is vital but secondary to the average citizen.

The government and churches relation to world religions a concise survey

Interreligious dialogue is coming to the fore in the churches and their relations to the world. The slowness in comparison with the West is due to the much slower social and cultural impact of globalisation, the impact of migration and social media presence. The region where Hungary is situated, is not the main target for the peoples of Asia, Africa and other continents. Nonetheless the importance of interreligious dialogue is recognised. Hungary hosted a significant event in Gödöllő under its EU presidency in 2011 where a declaration was made.¹⁷ Jesuits are the forerunners in dialogue with their House of Dialogue initiative. The Gellért Békés Ecumenical Institute established by Asztrik Várszegi in 2001 also fosters not only ecumenical but interreligious dialogue.¹⁸ The Reformed Church has been slow to catch up in comparison with the Roman Catholics. It is partially due to the fact that some of their leading voices in the clergy at the collapse of communism

were in conflict with some New Religious Movements that emerged from Eastern world religions. However, traditionalists and more often progressives either coming from a liberal, evangelical or cultural Christian background began to build a bridge of dialogue between various faiths. A rather peculiar phenomenon is the realisation that the challenge of secularisation, materialism or Darwinism brought the former 'opponents' into the same camp.¹⁹ One of the best examples is how conservative Lutheran theologians and the followers of Vaisnava Hindduism, ISCKON found common ground rejecting Darwinism along with similar argumentations. Finally, it must be stated that both Roman Catholics and Protestant denominations have cordial ties with the religious leaders of the Jewish communities. There is a meeting on the last day of the ecumenical prayer week with Jewish people, also Christian churches always participate in remembering the Holocaust and the deportations carried out during WW II. There are theological universities in Hungary belonging to various Christian denominations, as well as Judaism, Buddhism and Hinduism. The country is one of the least anti-Semitic in the whole of Europe. The current government is highly successful in creating a very good climate for Jewish communities which is much appreciated by the state of Israel. Muslim communities are small, and Hungary does not have any kind of problem with people coming from an Islamic background. That is a great achievement when compared to the rest of Europe.

The Relation of the Hungarian public and Christians to Vaisnava Hinduism, the ISCKON movement. A World Religion, a New Religious Movement or a Sect?

The short history of the Hare Krishna movement is a rather interesting issue for case study as no form of Hinduism officially appeared in Hungary until the twenty-first century . The people of Hungary were puzzled when the Westernised form of a trend of Hinduism, that is, the vaisnava branch appeared in Hungary. The reaction from the traditionalist was a dismay. Others were indifferent. Most people were interested in economic gain right after the collapse of communism and enjoyed freedom. Only a few though of revitalising Hungary as a Christian nation. No wonder since the membership of Hungarian churches was at an extremely low ebb at the collapse of Communism. Most of the churches were empty places

and even the freedom did not result in a significant growth in people attending the churches. However, the number of nominal Christians rose significantly as Christianity functioned still as an identity maker which had live through Marxist Communism to the dawn of the new era of Capitalist transformation, or rather exploitation in the name of 'privatisation' by Western European countries.²⁰

As a new religious community, the believers of the Hare Krishna movement came from all sort of walks of life. It cannot be claimed that they came from a Christian country. Since Communism profoundly changed the religious landscape of Hungary in 40 years. What is for sure is that it was new, and produced features sociologically speaking that were seen as a 'threat' to certain people and families. It was a phenomenon like the Evangelical Crusades to convert the nominally religious Hungarians to Christ which also cause splits in families and created bitter or sweet debates. Here were seeking not to make a judgement just try to grasp briefly what happened. What also contribute to the picture is the ignorance of people, including Christians, not to mention even scholars about the origin of this Westernised form of Hinduism.

The first believers of Hare Krishna appeared in the country in the 1970s, when they could only practice their religion illegally, so there were no institutional system, no public preaching, no street programmes, no churches. A. C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada wanted to visit Hungary in 1977, but the authorities refused to allow him to enter. His health steadily deteriorated during the year, and he died on 14 November 1977. Interestingly, he managed to visit the Soviet Union in 1971. At first, believers gathered in private homes for communal worship. A change began when in the 1980s A.C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada's Hungarian-born, Canadian-raised disciple Sivarama Swami took over preaching in the UK and Ireland, from where he gave increasing guidance to Hungarian believers.

In the second half of the 1980s, several religious movements were operating illegally in Hungary, including the Hare Krishna movement. In a 1986 report, the State Office for Church Affairs listed the movement as a sectarian group operating without a licence, although it had "minimal knowledge" of its activities. In 1987, the Ministry of the Interior's Group III/III Directorate General set itself the task of "curbing the activities of the Hare Krishna sect and severing their links".

His first personal visit took place in 1987, followed by several more, but until the regime change he could only come incognito, disguised as a tourist. In the late 1980s he began to accept and initiate his first disciples in Hungary. With the

fall of communism, the obstacles to legal operation were removed. In 1989 the church was registered as the Hungarian Krishna Community of Believers. At the same time, the Hungarian branch of Food for Life, a worldwide poverty relief organisation, was established, the Food for Life Public Benefit Foundation, which distributes vegetarian food free of charge to those in need. Centres have been set up in the country's main cities, in Budapest, Pécs, Debrecen, Eger, Szolnok and Kecskemét.

For Sivarama Swami, it was important to have a rural centre for the church alongside the urban centres, demonstrating subsistence farming. After a few years of research, in 1993 he found the right site on the outskirts of Somogyvámos. 260 hectares of land were purchased, most of which had previously been pasture. Volunteers started to move in, and soon construction work began: in addition to the church, residential and commercial buildings had to be erected. Many donations were received from supporters, lay believers and companies. Thanks to these efforts, the church was consecrated in August 1996. This rural centre is known to tourists as Krishna Valley (the name used by devotees is New Vrindavan, after the original Vrindavan in India).

Due to the political situation in Central and Eastern Europe, the new religious movements arrived in the region some 20 years late. The Hare Krishna movement arrived in our country in 1976, when a yoga teacher invited devotees to give lectures. Shortly afterwards, in 1977, devotees from Western countries began teaching in a rented apartment, and by 1980, 25-30 Hungarian devotees had been initiated.²¹

After the regime change, the movement operated openly and without restrictions, but its activities backfired in the following years. Their strange lifestyles, habits, dress and spectacular public appearances aroused resentment and disapproval from many people, especially from the Christian church. The first major attack on them was launched by "a legendary figure in Hungarian sect history",²² the Reformed minister Géza Németh, who saw the movement as having a "destructive" effect on young Hungarians, tearing families apart and posing a danger to society.

Géza Németh of the Helping Friend Work Group, founded at that time, considered it his task to expose the movements called cults and destructive sects, to mobilize law enforcement agencies, to return and "reprogram" the victims. The group's declaration of intent, published in November 1992, called the Hare

Krishna movement (together with other groups) "national security threatening"²³ infiltrators.

The concerns in society are reflected in the parliamentary debate on the allocation of the 1993 budget.²⁴ The debate centred on the free exercise of religion, the separation of church and state and the autonomy of parliament. On the one hand, all churches that met the legal requirements could be eligible for funding, and on the other hand, Parliament had the right to decide which organisations it would and would not fund. As a result of the dispute, the Parliament's decision classified the Hare Krishna movement as a "destructive sect" and deprived it of the possibility of state support.

The believers of Hare Krishna tried to fight for their acceptance and recognition through petitions, open conferences and lawsuits. They were successful. In 1994 the Parliament voted again in favour of state support for them, and they won the civil suit against Géza Németh.

References

- 1 Bucsay, Mihály: *A protestantizmus története Magyarországon 1521-1945*, trans. by Auer Kálmán, Ádámné Révész Gabriella (Budapest: Gondolat, 1985), 175.
- 2 Kovács, Ábrahám: „Counter Reformation”, Jonathan, Bonk (szerk.) *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Missions and Missionaries: Religion and Society series Part 1*. New York (NY), Amerikai Egyesült Államok: Routledge (2007), 107-109.
- 3 *Erdély története: három kötetben/főszerkesztő Köpeczi Béla; közreműködő Barta Gábor; készült a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézetében*, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987).
- 4 Pásztori-Kupán, István: “Invocation of biblical authority in a secular decision: the theocratic relevance of the Torda Edict (1568)”, *Református Szemle* 101/6 (2008), 677–699. See also: István Pásztori-Kupán, “The Spirit of Religious Tolerance – A Transylvanian ‘extra calvinisticum?’” In: Kovács, Ábrahám; Baráth, Béla Levente (eds.) *Calvinism on the Peripheries: Religion and Civil Society on the Peripheries of Europe* (Budapest: L’Harmattan Kiadó, 2009), 155-179.
- 5 Pirigyi, István: *A görögkatolikus magyarság története* [a bevezetőt írta Pregun István] ; [a rev. változat szövegét gond. és az utószót írta Gergely Jenő] (Budapest: Ikva, 1991).
- 6 Kovács, Ábrahám, Szilágyi, Ferenc: „Identity, Ethnicity, and Religious Changes in Bihar County, Romania. Reflections on the Changes of Romanian and Hungarian Christian Denominations in Bihar County during the 20th Century. The Case of Érseleendő/Silindru”, *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai Theologia Reformata Transilvanica* 67:1 (2022), 159-184.
- 7 Zsilinszky, Mihály: *A Magyarhoni Protestáns Egyház története*, (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1907); See also: *A Magyar Református Egyház története*, ed. by Sándor Bíró and István Szilágyi, Egyháztörténeti tanszék Kiadványa, edn (Sárospatak: 1949; repr. Sárospataki Református Kollégium Theológiai Akadémiája, 1995).
- 8 Gyurgyák, János: *A zsidókérdés Magyarországon. Politikai eszmetörténet* (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2001); Csohány, János: Az 1894-95. évi magyarországi egyházpolitikai törvények és a református közvélemény: teológiai doktori értekezés az egyháztörténet tárgyköréből (Debrecen: Debreceni Református Kollégium, 1987).
- 9 von Glasenapp, Helmuth: *Az öt világvallás: bráhmaizmus, buddhizmus, kínai univerzizmus, kereszténység, iszlám* [ford. Pálvölgyi Endre]; [az utószót írta Lukács József], (Budapest, Gondolat Kiadó 1987).
- 10 Smith, Huston: *A világ nagy vallásai* / [ford. Karafiáth Jenő, Nádasdy Nóra], (Budapest: Officina Nova: Magyar Könyvklub, 1995).
- 11 Smith, John E.: *Quasi Religions: Humanism, Marxism and Nationalism* (Houndmills [etc.]: Macmillan, 1994)
- 12 Kovács, Ábrahám: „The Challenge of the Post-Christendom Era: the Relation of Christian Theology to World Religions” In: Stephen, R Goodwin (szerk.) *World Christianity in Local Context: Essays in Memory of David A. Kerr* (New York (NY), Amerikai Egyesült Államok, London, Egyesült Királyság / Anglia: Continuum, (2009), 3-23. This section had been published in the Festschrift prepare for prof David Kerr, my Edinburgh professor to whose generous and patient attitude I still owe a debt after more than 25 years.

- 13 Whaling, Frank: *Christian Theology and World Religions: A Global Approach* (Basingstoke: Marchal Pickering, 1986), 91.
- 14 Vissert-Hooft, W. A.: *No Other Name*, (London, 1963), 117 ff.
- 15 *The San Antonio Report*, ed. Wilson, F.R. (Geneva, WCC, 1990), I. 27., 32.
- 16 <https://hungaryhelps.gov.hu/hungary-helps-program-main-page/> (downloaded 2024. 02. 12.)
- 17 The declaration was worded by Dr. Ábrahám Kovács and Dr. László Gonda together with an ad hoc committee at the conference in Gödöllő.
- 18 Nagypál, Szabolcs: *Az ökumenikus és vallásközi párbeszéd útja: hivatalos egyházi megnyilatkozások / szerk. Nagypál Szabolcs ; [a szövegeket Csonka-Kovács Abigail et al. ford.] ; [ill. Rebecca Blocksome] L'Harmattan; Pannonhalma: Békés Gellért Ökumenikus Intézet, 2009).*
- 19 Szentpétery, Péter: *Darwin hatása a teremtéshitre – teológiai és emberi kérdések* (Budapest: 2008).
- 20 It is a puzzling phenomenon that there is hardly any theological reflection on how this incredible economic exploitation was done.
- 21 Farkas, Judit: *Ardzsuna dilemmája* (Budapest, MTA Néprajzi Kutatóintézete-PTE Néprajz-Kulturális Antropológiai Tanszék-L'Harmattan, 2009), 30.
- 22 *Ibid.*, 32.
- 23 *Ibid.*
- 24 Mezei, Andrea: „Szekta és egyház a rendszerváltás után”, *Társadalmi Szemle* 49. évf. 3. szám (1994), 44-53.

The Torn Cross by Ideologies

An Encounter with Communism and Protestant Christianity in Korea*

Introduction: Protestant Christianity and Ideologies in Korea

Communism became another ideological power base for anti-Japanese Korean nationalists when it was introduced to them in the 1920s, just as Protestant Christianity had done when it was established in Korea during the late 19th century, especially in the early stages of the Japanese colonial regime from 1910 to 1945. Before 1919, during the first decade of Japanese rule over Korea, Protestantism was closely involved with national independence movements led by Korean Protestant Christians. However, the March First Independence Movement in 1919 failed to achieve total liberation from Japan, even though Korean Protestant Christians played a vital role in leading the movement. As a result, nationalist leaders sought another authority to empower their independence movements, which was communism. The Communist International (Comintern) declared its support for anti-imperialism and independence movements of colonised nations. However, when a communist state appeared in the world through the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, so-called western Christian nations were not interested in the liberation of colonised nations. They were only interested in mapping the world for their own purposes after World War I. At the same time, in this context, most church leaders in Korea seemed to change their appearance from a people's leader to a bourgeois-like figures who confronted socialists/communists in Korea.

Given these facts, this study seeks to sketch the relationship between Protestant Christianity and communism from the 1920s onwards, when Korean

nationalists encountered communism. Since the Korean peninsula was divided into two in 1945 by Western powers immediately after World War II, the two Koreas have been in discord, worsened by the Korean war from 1950 to 1953. Both governments of two Koreas justify their political ideologies: anti-imperialism or anti-Americanism in the North and anticommunism in the South, to sustain their own political power. Churches on both sides function as a strong bastions for their respective ideologies, regarding the other as an object to be freed from evil.

It is fair to say that the Korean War in mid-20th century was an exemplar of the Cold War. Seventy-two years after the outbreak of war in Korean peninsula, a neo-Cold War seems to be revisiting our history. Political and economic tensions and discord between Russia-China bloc and the USA-Western European power bloc have deepened and become stronger than before, showing spread-eaglimism and chauvinism. This new world mapping, drawn by the big nations, has put our world into war-threaten situation and actual war in 21st century. Amidst this condition, what should the church do, and how should it be, to achieve peace of God? In this sense, this study reflects on the relationship and actions between communism and Protestant Christianity in Korean history to envisage an instructive lesson.

Encounter with Communism

The March First Independence Movement in 1919, in which the Protestant Church in Korea played a crucial role, providing the 'leadership, activists, and organisation' based on non-violence politically failed to gain Korea's total independence from Japanese imperial rule. While it resulted in a change of Japan's colonial policy from 'military rule' based on a gendarmerie-police system to a 'cultural policy' (*bunka seiji*), allowing limited rights for Koreans to publish, assemble, organise a social group, the mood of colonised Korea was deeply despairing as described in a poem written in 1920:

Our land of Korea is in ruins...In ruins lie all our defects and short-comings, inside and outside, physical as well as mental: emptiness, grievance, discontent and resentment, sighs and worries, pain and tears-all these evils will lead to extinction and death. As we stand before the ruins, darkness and death open their fearsome,

cavernous mouths, threatening to gobble us up. Again, we are struck by the feeling that the old ruins spell extinction and death.¹

Born in despair, those Protestant Christian leaders who had *directly* led the movement sought alternative ways to resolve the sombre mood. One was that of 'transcendental mysticism' led by Rev Kim Ik-Doo, Gil Seon-Ju, and Lee Yong-Do, concentrating on individual salvation waiting for Jesus' second coming to give despairing Koreans an apocalyptic hope, and the other that of 'social enlightenment,' seeking to reform the world through cultural movements like eradicating illiteracy, rural enlightenment, running night school in churches, and promoting Sunday school.² Most Protestant Church leaders chose an apolitical stance, turning their backs on direct political involvement and opting for 'pure' Christianity. However, some Protestants, like evangelist Yi Dong-Wi, associate pastor Yeo Un-Hyeong, and elder Kim Kyu-Sik, directly participated in various types of independence movements, taking socialist/communist ideas and activities that were rapidly penetrating Korea in the 1920s due to its anti-imperialism and anti-Japanese approach.³

The communist movement had rapidly spread among colonised Korean nationalists who escaped to or residents in Manchuria and Siberia after the failure of the March First Movement in 1919.⁴ They were looking for any means to resolve the desperate situation resulting from the Movement. Expecting an opportunity to appeal to the world for Korea's independence, the Korean delegation was organised by the Provisional Government of Korea, organised in Shanghai in China in April 1919, to participate in the Paris Peace Conference (18 January 1919 – 21 January 1920) and Washington Naval Disarmament Conference (Pacific Conference, 12 November 1921 – 6 February 1922) held by so-called Western Christian nations. However, the Korean delegation were left behind from both conferences.

The French authorities at Paris Peace Conference rejected the Korean delegation led by elder Kim Kyu-Sik, raising issue with his qualification as a party leader not a government representative. Even at the Washington Pacific Conference, the United States government did not acknowledge the existence of the Korean delegation and completely excluded the Korean issue from the agenda. Disappointed with the result of the two Conferences that had "nothing to do with Korean independence",⁵ Korean nationalists sought other support for their independence movement. That was the Communist International

(Comintern).

Unlike the Paris and Washington Conferences, at the First Congress of the Toilers of the Far East in Moscow in January 1922, Comintern declared their support for the Koreans' anti-Japanese independence movement, saying that

the present Congress will have to tell all the Korean revolutionaries, regardless of their particular beliefs, sincerely and in a brotherly manner, that they must once and for all rid themselves and their people of any remnants of hope that the Korean national question can be solved in any way other than by a close union with the advanced revolutionary workers.⁶

This support was however part of Comintern's strategy to encourage Korean nationalists' independence movement against Japanese imperialism to use them as "board guards" in Eastern Siberia, where Japan's military was stationed from August 1918 until October 1922.⁷ For the Korean nationalists at that time, Comintern and all it represented was perceived as a "new saviour"⁸ to restore the nation from Japan. How much the Korean nationalists leaned on the Comintern was seen by the fact that in the Congress of 144 official delegates of the Far East, more than one third, 54, were Koreans.⁹ Leading Korean Protestant Christians among the Korean delegation at the Congress were elder Kim Kyu-Sik, associate pastor Yeo Un-Hyeong, evangelist Yi Dong-Wi etc.

It is fair to say, therefore, that from 1920 onwards, Korea's national independence movement was rapidly tied up with communist movements both in and beyond Korea. This was largely due to the fact that communists offered a strong and viable alternative to the oppressive rule of the Japanese colonial authorities, and many Korean nationalists saw communism as a means to achieve national liberation. As mentioned above, Protestant Christians who were leading the anti-Japanese imperialism movement in Korea also encountered communism and became involved in the struggle for national independence. This led to the formation of various socialist and communist parties in Korea, as well as in Manchuria and Siberia. Some of the key communist or socialist parties that were formed during this period included the Korean Socialist Party in May 1918, Korean-Russian Communist Party in September 1919, Korea Communist Party Shanghai Faction and Irkutsk Faction in May 1921, and Communist Party in Korea in 1925.

Confrontation between Protestantism and Communism

In the 1920s

During the 1920s, the relationship between Protestantism and communism in Korea was complex and conflicted. While some Protestants aligned themselves with communism to achieve national liberation, most Church leaders doubted, questioned, and confronted communism. In addition, the social status of most Korean Protestants in the 1920s shifted from being people's leader to institutionalised vested interests. Nationalists such as Shin Chae-Ho and Kim San criticised the main leaders of the church for their concentration solely on intrinsic mysticism and cultural social enlightenment while ignoring political and economic issues under Japanese colonial power. They criticised the Korean church as a "rich and powerful religion" that was reluctant to engage in socio-political national movements. An editorial of a 1922 newspaper criticised church leaders that they looked away "from the way poor laborers live to receive donations from the rich."¹⁰ Even Korean communists criticised the Protestant leaders in Korea regarding them as "the messenger of the conquest of the weak";¹¹ "the backbone of capitalism";¹² "the arms of imperialism in territorial expansion".¹³ Amidst this tension between Protestantism and Communism in Korea, the first blood shedding confrontation between the Protestants and communists occurred in 1925 when six Baptist Christians were killed by communists in Kirin, Manchuria¹⁴ during the Japanese colonial regime.

In the 1920s, Korean Protestant Church had already secured their position in Manchuria and Siberia establishing churches, schools, hospitals for their mission works for immigrant Koreans who moved into the regions whether in accordance with Japanese encouragement or to avoid Japanese economic exploitation and political persecution.¹⁵ Though there was a tension between the Irkutsk Faction, the *Korean-Russian* communist group, and Shanghai Faction, *Korean* revolutionary group,¹⁶ Korean communists in the regions needed to overthrow the position of these securely-based Christian groups in order to take over hegemony in Manchuria and Siberia. They did this by provoking anti-religious movements, especially targeting Christian groups. Amidst those hegemonic struggles between communists and Christians, the first blood shedding conflict occurred in 1925 as mentioned above. Subsequent clashes were frequently

reported to the home-church in Korea: over 13 churches were burned and four Protestant Christians killed in East Manchuria from 1931 onwards.¹⁷

Especially under this situation, the Korean National Christian Council published the Social Creed containing 12 articles in September 1932. In confessing the Creed, the Church clearly presented her anti-communism stance saying, "We oppose all material education, materialism, class struggle, social reform by revolutionary means and reactionary coercion... and believe that as all property will be consigned by God we contribute to God and human beings."¹⁸

This Social Creed made the ideological position of anti-communism a confession of faith for the entire Protestant Church in Korea. Since then, anti-communists were regarded as a devil or Satan who should be defeated by faith.

These and similar events suggested how deeply the violent conflict between Christianity and Communism might affect the heart of the Christian community in Korea after liberation from Japanese rule in 1945. Most Protestant Christians who were killed by communists and designated as Christian martyrs seemed to serve as icons of the ideological confrontation during this period, rather than, or perhaps as well as, icons of personal faith.

After Liberation in 1945

(1) Division of Territory and the Church between North and South:

These and similar events suggest how deeply the violent conflict between Christianity and Communism affected the Christian community in Korea after liberation from Japanese rule in 1945. Most Protestant Christians who were killed by communists and designated as Christian martyrs seemed to serve as icons of the ideological confrontation during this period, rather than, or perhaps as well as, icons of personal faith.

Immediately following liberation from Japanese rule, the Korean peninsula was divided into two zones of occupation under the influence of the Soviet Union and the United States. In northern Korea, the occupying communist Soviet troops desired to establish Korea as a pro-USSR communist nation, while in southern Korea, the US Army established a military government introducing democratic capitalism. Accordingly, two contradictory political systems took over Korea, leading to the Korean War in 1950. The fact that the dominant power of a free Korea

was handed over not to Korea itself but to two foreign powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, means that Korea's division was decided by the hegemonic ideologies of Western powers¹⁹ under the cold-war world system. In fact, a month before the end of World War II, at the Potsdam Conference, four international powers - China, Great Britain, the USSR, and the USA - had already agreed to a "Four-Power Trusteeship for Korea" on June 1945 without any Korean voice. US President Truman proposed that this trusteeship "might last from 20 to 30 years" while Marshal Stalin of the USSR responded that "the shorter the trusteeship period the better".²⁰ Under the agreement the USA and USSR entered the Korean Peninsula, which became a battlefield of two contradictory ideologies divided along the 38th Parallel after Independence from Japan in 1945. This ideological conflict deepened when the two occupying powers finally elected two *returnees* as the political leader in Korea: Rhee Syng-Man, a Methodist Christian, from the USA in the South and Kim Il-Sung from Manchuria involved to the Comintern in the USSR. Nationalist political leaders at *home* such as Yeo Un-Hyeong in South, and elder Jo Man-Sik in the North were ignored, even though there was a wide array of political leaders from conservative rightist to radical leftist in liberated Korea.²¹ As a result two separated states were established in Korea: the 'Republic of Korea' (ROK) on 15 August 1948 with Rhee as the first President, and the 'Democratic People's Republic of Korea' (DPRK) on 9 September 1948, with Kim as the chair of the Supreme People's Assembly in the North.

(2) In Northern Korea:

In the midst of the political turmoil, the Protestant Church leaders began to actively participate in political action soon after Liberation. In North Korea two political parties were organised, led by church ministers and elders of the Protestant Church, the Christian Social Democratic Party (Gidokgyo sahoe minjudang) in September 1945 and the Christian Liberal Party (Gidokgyo jayudang) in 1947.²² Especially the Korean Democratic Party (Chosun minjudang), launched and led by church elder Jo Man-Sik in November 1945, took a prominent initiative in northern Korea with "some 500,000" members by early 1946 when other communist parties had "only 4,530".²³

Furthermore, in October 1945 church leaders in northern Korea organized the Joint Presbytery of Five Provinces in the North (Ibuk odo yeonhaphoe) to "coordinate collective action" for both church affairs and in opposition to Soviet

occupation and Kim Il-Sung's group.²⁴ To the communists of northern Korea those Christian groups were seen as working in a key role to oppose the establishment of a communist nation in northern Korea. Consequently the Soviet authority and Kim Il-Sung group began to systematically execute land and currency reform causing suppress and uproot Protestant Christianity to impose their influence in northern Korea. This resulted in the natural clean-up of pro-Japanese Koreans, including church leaders who had privileges during the last decade of Japanese rule over Korea.

The election of the People's Committee on Sunday, 3 December 1946, which was boycotted by the Joint Presbytery of Five Provinces in the North due to their "strong Sabbatarian views",²⁵ stoked the conflict between Protestant Christians and communists in northern Korea. In addition, since the Christian Federation of North Korea (Bukchosun Geuriso Do Yeonmaeng) was formed on 28 November 1946 to support Kim Il-Sung to spread propaganda for communism, the communist authority required all church officers to join it by law.²⁶ Those who refused were imprisoned, ousted, and even liquidated. Moreover, due to the land reform, church buildings and properties were confiscated and used for other purposes.²⁷ Those who could escape from those political suppressions fled to southern Korea under the US Military regime.

(3) In Southern Korea:

Meanwhile, in southern Korea, Rhee Syng-Man, who had been an exile in the USA during the Japanese colonial period, returned to Southern Korea under the permission of the US army after Liberation. To gain political power at home, he allied with pro-Japanese, Americans, and Christian leaders under the slogan of anticommunism, vanquishing rival leaders such as Yeo Un-Hyeong or Kim Gu. Although Rhee was said to have worked for the independence movement during the colonial periods, his alliance with pro-Japanese groups was anticipated. This was because he was supported by US Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK) which continually employed those Koreans who had served the Japanese colonial government during the colonial periods after Korea's independence, judging politically that "there are no qualified Koreans"²⁸ in liberated Korea at that time. The long-entrenched anti-Japanese nationalism was quickly converted in the South into anticommunism in the post-1945 political situation to gain political power. Under the guise of anticommunism, most pro-

Japanese Koreans maintained their power and position, few being branded as national traitors. While being anti-Japanese was the core nationalism during the Japanese colonial regime, anticommunism functioned as the new nationalism in South Korea in the postcolonial period.²⁹

As the Protestant church followed this trend, church leaders solidly supporting Rhee. In 1946 under the USAMGIK, 35 of 50 Korean Cabinet ministers were Protestant Christians, and of 90 members of the Korean Interim Legislative Assembly, there were 21 Protestant Christians including seven ordained ministers. Of 190 seats in the first South Korean National Assembly, 38 places were taken by Protestant Christians including 13 ordained ministers.³⁰ This indicates just how firmly Protestant Christians were involved in Rhee's anti-communist government during the global Cold War of that time. Furthermore, when the pro-Japanese Protestant Christian groups allied with Rhee's anti-communist camp to overcome and elide possible problems of memory amidst the new democracy,³¹ the ideological struggle between Protestantism and communism became deeper and deeper.

Thus those who stood against Rhee's government in South Korea, such as the nationalist Kim Goo and Kim Gyu-Sik, insisting on the establishment of a unitary government between North and South Korea and the purging of the pro-Japanese group, were designated as pro-Communists who should be expelled from the nation.³² In addition, when refugees who had experienced severe oppression in North Korea caused by land and currency reform under the communist rule escaped to South Korea and joined the anti-communist Christians group supporting Rhee's government, the conflict between them became more serious than ever because they repeatedly emphasized their anti-communist discourse in South Korea, detailing their suffering under the communist regime.

The most severe conflict between rightist Rhee's regime and leftist or communist power occurred in Jeju Island in southern Korea when the UN approved on 26 February 1948 a separate election to be carried out "only in the area where it is possible".³³ According to the USAMSIK investigation, "approximately two-thirds of the population" on Jeju Island were "moderate leftist".³⁴ Demonstrations inspired by the local communists against the separate election after 1st March 1948 had developed into guerrilla warfare after 3rd April due to the cruel excessive use of police power. By the end of 1948 there were 102 recorded battles between the guerrilla army and the US army and Rhee's government military force.³⁵ Recent

investigation conducted by the 4.3 Committee of ROK government makes clear that from 1948 to 1954, around 25,000-30,000 died in the conflict and of those 14,045 reported victims, 10,955 (78.1%) were killed by the punitive force of the US and ROK army and 1,764 (12.6%) by guerrillas.³⁶

Another conflict is the uprising by ROK soldiers which occurred in Yeosu on 20 October 1948 which was clearly marked for memory by Protestant Christians as it led to the two sons of Rev Son Yang-Won being declared martyrs. The cause of the uprising was the refusal of the Fourteenth regiments of the ROK army to embark on a mission against so-called Jeju guerrillas. Some 700 soldiers stationed in Yeosu, south Jeolla Province, arose in rebellion and immediately seized control of Yeosu and Suncheon city. Even leftist students at the Suncheon secondary school joined in the rebellion, assaulting rightist fellow students and even police officers,³⁷ and killing the two sons of Rev Son Yang-Won. Rhee immediately reacted to the uprising, promulgating martial law and sending troops to the regions, the US army secretly playing a pivotal role behind the ROK force.³⁸ As in Jeju, the suppression of the rebellion was brutal and cruel, with many rebels killed. Such awful retribution was predictable: "loyal troops were shooting people whom they had the slightest suspicion...of giving cooperation to the communist uprising."³⁹ James Hausman reported the scene of suppression in Suncheon: "they are out for revenge and are executing prisoners and civilians... Several royal civilians are already killed and people are beginning to think we are as bad as the enemy".⁴⁰ Kim Deuk-Jong estimates, based on research in the local institute in Yeosu, that around 10,000 people died amidst the conflict and of those victims about 9,500 (95%) were killed by rightist forces of suppression while about 500 (5%) were killed by the leftist rebels.⁴¹

(4) During the Korean War from 1950 to 1953:

Amidst those conflicts mentioned above, the Korean War broke out on 25 June 1950, with grim results for the country in general and destruction and death for church buildings and leaders:

541 Presbyterian, 239 Methodist, 106 Holiness, 4 Salvation Army, and many other denominations' churches were destroyed or lost. 177 Presbyterian, 44 Methodist, 11 Holiness, 6 Anglican Church ministers, bishops, and workers were killed or kidnapped and sent to North Korea by the communists.⁴²

The Roman Catholic Church in Korea also suffered, although less than the Protestant Church in Korea: in the South alone, 33 churches were destroyed or lost and besides the lay Christians, 150 bishops, priests, monks, sisters, and seminarians were arrested or killed.⁴³

However, during the Korean War Christians were not only killed by communist troops. On Sunday 8th November 1950, about 250 Christians gathered for Sunday service at Sinuiju (North Korea) first and second Church were killed by "550 tons of incendiary bombs" dropped by "seventy B-29" US air force under the 'wipe-out' operation.⁴⁴ The US air forces dropped a total 420,000 bombs during the war on Pyongyang, North Korea, resulting in 6,000 civilian deaths.⁴⁵ Besides the bombing by the US air force, there were numerous civilian massacres carried out by the US infantry armies during the war: at Nogunri, South Korea about 400 civilians were killed on 28 July 1950; in Sincheon, North Korea, 35,383 civilians were killed.⁴⁶ The ROK armed forces also carried out numerous massacres under the pretext of "communist hunting".⁴⁷ Observing those massacres, Alan Winnington, a British correspondent in Korea, wrote on the front page of the "*Daily Worker* 9th August (1950)" that "7,000 people"⁴⁸ had been "horribly butchered" near Taejon (Daejeon), South Korea "under the supervision of American Officers" providing "rifle, pistol and carbine bullets" to kill, and "trucks" and "some drivers" to transport their corpses. Though the vicious slaughter, "shooting, beating, and beheading", was done by South Korean "puppet police", he concluded that it was "*an American crime, one of the worst the world has ever known*".⁴⁹ Clearly some Christian civilians also died in these bombings and massacres, although Christians in the South were basically regarded as those who have strong pro-USA and ROK stance.

The North Korean People's armies also committed countless brutal and uncountable mass executions, with the largest scale being the massacre from September 23rd to 26th, 1950, at Taejon Prison. According to the report of the War Criminal Division in Korea,⁵⁰ over 5,000-7,500 people were killed by North Korean troops yet most executed were civilians,⁵¹ to avenge attacks by the US and ROK armies.

In this context of countless civilian massacres committed by the US, ROK, and DPRK armies during the Korean War, Christians were not spared such atrocities. A special correspondent in Korea pointed out those brutal situations in Korea during the War in *London Times* issued on 25 October 1950:

Various abuses against the North Korean Government could be levelled as well against that of the ROK, the only difference between two governments being that "at present men and women accused of being communists or of collaborating are being killed or imprisoned under UN flag"...persecution and murder continue, reprisals being no less vicious than atrocities committed by Communists... being repeated throughout Korea...reprisals as numerous as reports Communist atrocities.⁵²

For the communists, Christians, especially Protestant Christians, were seen as representatives of capitalism, friends of the USA,⁵³ supporters of Rhee's government, and intellectuals.⁵⁴ Accordingly it was seen as necessary to control, suppress and eliminate them to achieve the communist revolution. On the other hand, the Christians' logic in rejecting communists was that the basic philosophy of communism was dialectical materialism which was absolute atheism opposing all religion. Moreover, communism in Korea was under the influence or control of the Soviet Union which was anti-American during the Cold War. Most of all, the Protestant Church leaders, just like the USAMGIK authority, regarded the Soviet Union as an imperialistic power which had planned to "sovietise"⁵⁵ Korea, and thus all communists in Korea were branded as her henchmen. For those reasons, there could be no compromise between Christians and communists in Korea.

It is important to note that the fierce conflict between Christianity and Communism which had deepened since the 1920s, became entrenched in the Korean War after Liberation in 1945, and is still part of the present socio-political and religious context of Korea. The ideology of anticommunism in *South Korea*, known as the "Red Complex", is therefore, one of the significant elements in the discourse of Christian martyr-making. Specifically, the *construction* of the "Red Complex" in the Protestant Christian community in South Korea is genuinely rooted in Rhee's political intentions in the historical situation following Korea's independence from Japan in 1945,⁵⁶ paralleling the Protestant Church's martyr-making process.

Conclusion

The post-independence polarisation of the Protestant Church in Korea increased in large part due to the issue of pro- and anti-Japanese behaviour, exacerbating the division of the Church. Even due to the immediate occupation of the Korean peninsula after liberation from Japan in 1945, the North being occupied by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and South by the United States of America (USA), there could be no clear historical resolution of the 'pro- or anti-Japanese issue' because it was linked rapidly and strongly to pro- or anti-communism. This impasse still persists in South Korea today.

Internally, The Korean War left only scars of destruction and reckless sacrifice, with no clear winners or losers. The church's active support and sympathy for this brutal and violent war promoted the ruling ideology of the political authorities, abandoning the mission of inviting people to the gospel of reconciliation through the crucifixion of Jesus Christ (2Cor 5:18-20, Ep 2:13-16). The church's past mobilisation for Japanese ultra-national militarism and support for the war during the last decade of Japanese colonial rule were unfortunately reproduced through the Korean War. Indeed, throughout the Korean War, the cross of the churches in two Koreas became a symbol of war. Indeed, the cross is torn by ideologies in two Koreas.

It is painful and nightmarish to remember and reenact the killing and destruction of war. Therefore, it is crucial for the church to pursue the heavenly way of achieving peace and reconciliation through self-sacrificing love and forgiveness, exemplified by Jesus Christ on the cross, rather than countering or supporting war violence caused by secular ideological conflict.

As we mark the 72nd anniversary of the outbreak of the Korean War, churches in both the North and South still face the danger of division-violence and war. However, it is important to remember that Christians are called the disciples of peace by striking swords and spears to moisturise and make sickles (Mic 4:3). The cry of Erasmus in the 16th century for all Christians who wish for peace in a new heaven and new land where there is no damage or harm still resonates strongly today: "I appeal to all who call themselves Christians! I urge them, as they would manifest their sincerity, and preserve their consistency, to unite with one heart and one soul, in the abolition of war, and the establishment of perpetual and universal peace."⁵⁷

References

- * This paper has been revised after being presented during the 5th Han-Hun(Korea-Hungary) Theological Forum, 17-21 October 2022, at János Selye University, Komárno/Komárom, Slovakia.
- 1 Sang-Sun Oh, 'Sidaegowa Geu Huisaeng', *Pyeheo* (Ruins) 1:1 (July 1920), 21-2. Quoted from Park Chung-Shin, *Protestantism and Politics in Korea*, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2003, 139.
 - 2 Deok-Ju Rhie, '3.1 Undonge Daehan Sinangundongsajeok Ihae' (Understanding the March First Movement as a Religious Movement), *Gidokgyosasang* (Christian Thought) 34:3 (March 1990), 149-55.
 - 3 Chung-Shin Park, '1920yeondae Gaeshingyo Jidocheunggwa Minjokjuuiundon' (The Relationship between Protestant Leaders and the Nationalist Movement in the 1920s), *Yeokshakbo* (Historiography Bulletin) 134-5 (September 1992), 154-61; Idem, *Protestantism and Politics*, 139-57.
 - 4 For the full discussion about the Korean communist movement during the Japanese colonial period, see, Dae-Sook Suh, *The Korean Communist Movement, 1918-1948*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967 and Robert A. Scalapino and Chong-Sik Lee, *Communism in Korea*, 2 vols, Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1972.
 - 5 Ho-Min Yang, 'The Perception of the United States during the Japanese Colonial Period' in Young-Ick Lew, Byong-Kie Song et al., *Korean Perceptions of the United States: A History of Their Origins and Formation*, Michael Finch trans., Seoul: Jimoondang, 2006, 256; Suh, *The Korean Communist*, 36.
 - 6 *The First Congress of the Toilers of the Far East*, 31. Quoted from Suh, *The Korean Communist*, 38.
 - 7 Yang, 'The Perception', 258.
 - 8 Suh, *The Korean Communist*, 39.
 - 9 Scalapino and Lee, *Communism in Korea*, vol. I, 38.
 - 10 Recited from Park, *Protestantism and Politics*, 150-151.
 - 11 Seong-Ryong Bae, "the significance of the anti-religious movement", *Gaebek* (The Dawn of Civilisation) 63 (1925), 57-63.
 - 12 Wi-Goun Han, "I cannot ignore it", *Gaebek* (The Dawn of Civilisation) 63 (1925), 73.
 - 13 Heon-Yeong Park, "The Inside of Christianity in History", *Gaebek* (The Dawn of Civilisation) 63 (1925), 64-70)
 - 14 Rin-Seo Kim, *Hangukgyohoe Sungyosawa Geu Seolgyojip* (The History and Sermons of Martyrs of the Korean Church), Seoul: Sinang saenghwalsa, 1962, 30; Yong-Hae Kim, *Daehan Gidokgyo Chimryehoesa* (The History of the Baptist Church in Korea), Seoul: Daehan gidokgyo chimryehoe chonghoe, 1964, 43-4.
 - 15 See, IHCK, *Hanguk Gidokgyoui Yeoksa II*, 113-46; Byong-Chul Ko, 'Iljeha Gidokgyoindeului Manju Ijuwa Minjokundon' (The Manchuria Immigration and Nationalist Movement of Christians under the Japanese Colonial Rule), *Jonggyomunhwa Bipyeong* (The Critical Review of Religion and Culture) 8 (2005), 190-330; Idem, '1920yeondae Jeonhu Manju Jiyeokui

- Banjonggyoundong' (Protestant Activities and Anti-Religious Movements in Manchuria in the 1920s), *Jonggyoyeongu* (Studies in Religion) 36 (2004), 311-38. For the history of Manchuria from the perspective of the relationship between colonialism, nationalism, and capitalism, see, Hyun Ok Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed: Empire, Social Life, and The Origins of the North Korean Revolution in Manchuria*, Durham and London, Duke University Press, 2005.
- 16 Suh, *The Korean Communist*, 25-54.
 - 17 Chosun Yesugyo Jangnohoe Chonghoe (General Assembly of Presbyterian Church of Chosun), *Chosun Yesugyo Jangnohoe Chonghoe Je 21hoe Hoerok* (The Minutes of 21st General Assembly of Presbyterian Church of Chosun (Korea)), 1932, 103; Kyoung-Bae Min, *Hanguk Gidokgyo Sahoe Undongsa, 1885-1945* (A History of Social Movements in Korean Churches, 1885-1945), Seoul: Daehangidokgyo chulpansa, 1987, 214.
 - 18 "chosunJesugyoyeonhapgonguihoe sahoesinjo (A Draft of Social Creed of Korean National Christian Council)", *chosunJesugyoyeonhapgonguihoe je9hoe hoeuirok* (Minute of Nineth Meeting of the Korean National Christian Council), 1932, 52.
 - 19 Jong-Sun Noh, one of the Korean Minjung theologians, insists that Korea's division, instead of Japan, the defeated nation of World War II, is not an accidental one comparing the case of Germany which was also divided after World War II according to the hegemonic ideologies. Jong-Sun Noh, 'The Effects on Korea of Un-Ecological Theology' in C. Birch, W. Eakin and J. D. McDaniel ed., *Liberation Life: Contemporary Approaches to Ecological Theology*, New York: Orbis, 1990, 127-8.
 - 20 'No. 250: Memorandum by the Assistant to the President's Naval Aide (Eley) – Korea' (undated), 'No. 252: Briefing Book Paper – Interim Administration For Korea and Possible Soviet Attitudes' (July 4, 1945), 'No. 253: Briefing Book Paper – Post-War Government of Korea' (July 4, 1945), 'No. 254: Note by the President's Chief of Staff (Leahy) – Korea' (undated) in *Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Paper* (FRUS), 1945 (The Conference of Berlin (The Potsdam Conference)), vol. 1, Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 309-15 (Quotation in order in 310, 309). Internet access: <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/FRUS.FRUS1945Berlinv01> (30 Sep 2022)
 - 21 Benninghoff, a political adviser in Korea, reported the political situation in Korea at that time to the Secretary of State, saying that especially in southern Korea "two distinct groups", the democratic or conservative group (Korean Democratic Party) and the radical or communist group (the Korean Provisional Commission), were actively working. He was convinced "Soviet agents" were spreading communism throughout southern Korea through several "communist-inspired" parades and demonstrations in Seoul. 'The Political Adviser in Korea (Benninghoff) to the Secretary of State', No. 1 (15 September 1945) and No. 6 (29 September 1945) in FRUS, 1945 (The British Commonwealth, the Far East), vol. 6, 1049-53, 1061-5.
 - 22 James H. Grayson, *Korea: A Religious History*, London: RoutledgeCruzon, 2002 (Revised edition), 162.
 - 23 Park, *Protestantism and Politics*, 163.
 - 24 Park, *Protestantism and Politics*, 163-4; Yang-Seon Kim, *Hanguk gidokgyo haebang sipnyeonsa* (A Decade History of the Korean Church since the Liberation), Seoul: Daehan yesugyo jangrohoe chonghoe jonggyo gyoyukbu, 1955, 46-9.
 - 25 Grayson, *Korea*, 162; Kyoung-Bae Min, *Hanguk Gidokgyohoesa* (A History of the Korean Church), Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 2004 (new revised version), 515.

- 26 Hanguk Gidokgyo Yeoksahakhoe (The Society of the History of Christianity in Korea), *Hanguk gidokgyoui yeoksa III* (A History of Christianity in Korea III), Seoul: IKCHS, 2009, 48-50.
- 27 Grayson, *Korea*, 163; Min, *Hanguk Gidokgyohoesa*, 516.
- 28 *FRUS*, 1945, vol. 6, 1049.
- 29 Go-Wook Shin, *Ethnic Nationalism in Korea: Genealogy, Politics, and Legacy*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006, 80, 151-65. For Rhee's invention of anticommunism in South Korea, see, Deuk-Jung Kim, *'Ppalgaengi'ui tansaeng: Yeosunsageongwa bangong gukga hyeongseong* (Birth of the Red: Yeosun Revolt and the Establishment of Anticommunist Nation), Seoul: Sunin, 2009; Chung-Lo Yun, *Vetnamgwa hangukui bangongdokjaegukga hyeongseongsa: Ngo Dinh Diem gwa Rhee Syng-Man jeonggwon bigyo* (A History of Establishment of Anticommunist Dictatorial Nation: Comparison of Ngo Dinh Diem and Rhee Syng-Man Government), Seoul: Sunin, 2005.
- 30 H. A. Rhodes and A. Campbell, *History of the Korean Mission, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1935-1959*, New York: Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations, The United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1965, 379-81.
- 31 Rhee Syng-Man had little political background in Korea compared to other nationalistic leaders because of his exile during the Japanese colonial period. Meanwhile, pro-Japanese Christian groups were called rebels or traitors of the Korean people after liberation. Thus these two needed a means to hide those disadvantages, which they found in anticommunism. Grasping each other's hands, Rhee could obtain political power and the former pro-Japanese could avoid losing power. When the majority of the Korean people wanted to eradicate the Japanese legacy, Rhee claimed fighting communism had priority. In accordance with his claim, pro-Japanese people became national security guards against the Communists. See, Song Geon-Ho Song, *Haebangjeonhusai insik I* (A Recognition of History Before and After Liberation I), Seoul: Hangilsa, 1981, 26-35.
- 32 Jeong-Min Seo, *Yeoksasokui Geu – Han-Il Gidokgyosalon* (He in the History – The Historical Essay of Christianity in Korea and Japan), Seoul: Handeul, 1994, 25.
- 33 Man-Gil Kang, *A History of Contemporary Korea*, Global Oriental Ltd. trans., Kent: Global Oriental Ltd., 2005, 185-6.
- 34 Quoted from Bruce Cumings, *Korea's Place in the Sun: A Modern History*, New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2005, 219.
- 35 Cumings, *Korea's Place*, 221.
- 36 Jeju 4.3 wiwonhoe, *Hwahaewa sangsaeng: Jeju 4.3 wiwonhoe baekseo* (Reconciliation and Living Together: A White Paper of the 4.3 Committee), Seoul: Jeju 4.3 sageun jinsang geumyeong mit huisaengja myeongyehoebok wiwonhoe, 2008, 107-8.
- 37 Cumings, *Korea's Place*, 222.
- 38 Cumings, *Korea's Place*, 222.
- 39 'Yesou Operation, Amphibious Stage', reported by 'Special Agent no. 9016', G-2 Intelligence Summary no. 166, Nov. 5-12, 1948. Quoted from Cumings, *Korea's Place*, 222.
- 40 'Message from Hausman', Oct. 25, 1950. Quoted from Cumings, *Korea's Place*, 222.

- 41 Deuk-Jung Kim, *'Ppalgaengi'ui tansaeng: Yeosunsageongwa bangong gukga hyeongseong* (Birth of the Red: Yeosun Revolt and the Establishment of Anticommunist Nation), Seoul: Sunin, 2009, 295-367.
- 42 Min, *Hanguk Gidokgyohoesa*, 526; *Hangukgidoksinmun* (The Korean Christian Daily), 25 June 1952.
- 43 In-Cheol Kang, *Jeonjaenggwa Jonggyo* (War and Religion), Seoul: Hanshindaehakgyo chulpanbu (Hanshin University Press), 2003, 292-7.
- 44 Bruce Cumings, *The Origins of the Korean War: The Roaring of the Cataract, 1947-1950*, vol. 2, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 753; IHCK, *Bukhan Gyohoesa* (A History of North Korean Church), IHCK, 1999, 418.
- 45 IHCK, *Bukhan Gyohoesa*, 410.
- 46 Joo-Seop Keum, 'Remnants and Renewal: A History of Protestant Christianity in North Korea, with Special Reference to Issues of Church and State, 1945-1994', PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2002, 160. For the massacre carried out by the US, ROK, and DPRK army during the Korean War, see, Gi-Jin Kim, *Hangukjeonjaenggwa Jipdanhaksal* (The Korean War and Massacre), Seoul: Pureunyeoksa, 2006. Kim provides full text of documents from National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) in the USA re massacres during the Korean War. Here I am in debt for the NARA documents to him. Also see, Jung-Seok Seo, Deuk-Jung Kim et al., *Jeonjaeng Sokui ddo Dareun Jeonjaeng* (The other War in the War), Seoul: Sunin, 2011.
- 47 'Headquarters U.S. Eighth Army in Korea', 16 November 1950, National Archive, Record Group (RG) 338, Box P629, File 1820-00-00048. Quoted from Kim, *Hangukjeonjaenggwa Jipdanhaksal*, 91, 397.
- 48 According to the Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC) report, it occurred on "1 July 1950" and "14,000 civilians from Taejon and vicinity" were killed by ROK police. See, 'Headquarters, 25th CIC Detachment, Subject: War Diary and Activity Report, 7 October 1950', 2 November 1950, National Archive, RG 407, Entry 429, Box 3758. Quoted from Kim, *Hangukjeonjaenggwa Jipdanhaksal*, 287.
- 49 'General Headquarters, Far East Command', 12 August 1950, MacArthur Library & Archives, RG 9, Box 77. Quoted from Kim, *Hangukjeonjaenggwa Jipdanhaksal*, 293 (emphasis added).
- 50 It was organised on 13 October 1950 and lasted until 31 May 1954. See, Jeong-Sim Yang, 'Hangukjeonjaengi Migukui Jeonjaengbeumjoe Josawa Cheori: Jeonjaengjosadaneul Jungsimeuro' (War Criminal Investigation and Judgement of the US Army during the Korean War: Focusing on the War Criminal Division in Korea) in Seo, Kim et al., *Jeonjaeng Sokui*, 225-62.
- 51 Kim, *Hangukjeonjaenggwa Jipdanhaksal*, 178, also see, 'Headquarters, 25th CIC Detachment'.
- 52 'Department of State, Telegraph Branch, From London to Secretary of State, No. 2475', 31 October 1950, National Archive, LM 81, Reel 6 (Microfilm). Quoted from Kim, *Hangukjeonjaenggwa Jipdanhaksal*, 446.
- 53 Of 1,952 Protestant missionaries who worked in Korea from 1893 to 1983 about 1,710 seem to have been Americans, of whom 637 arrived in Korea before the liberation in 1945: the relationship between the PCK and the USA is clear. Man-Yeol Lee, *Hangukgidokgyowa Minjok Uisik* (Christianity in Korea and Nationalism), Seoul: Jisiksaneopsa, 1991, 445.

- 54 William N. Blair and Bruce F. Hunt, *The Korean Pentecost and the Sufferings Which Followed*, Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1977, 134-5.
- 55 *FRUS*, 1945, vol. 6, 1065.
- 56 Seo, *Yeoksasokui Geu*, 377-379, 407-8.
- 57 Desiderius Erasmus, *The Complaint of Peace*, Open Court, 1521. Internet Access: <https://oll.libertyfund.org/title/erasmus-the-complaint-of-peace> (30 April 2023)

Bibliography

- “chosunJesugyoyeonhapgonguihoe sahoesinjo” (A Draft of Social Creed of Korean National Christian Council). *chosunJesugyoyeonhapgonguihoe je9hoe hoeuirok* (Minutes of Nineth Meeting of the Korean National Christian Council). 1932.
- Bae, Seong-Ryong. “the significance of the anti-religious movement”, *Gaebeuk* (The Dawn of Civilisation) 63 (1925), 57-63.
- Blair, William N. and Bruce F. Hunt, *The Korean Pentecost and the Sufferings Which Followed*. Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1977.
- Chosun Yesugyo Jangnohoe Chonghoe (General Assembly of Presbyterian Church of Chosun). *Chosun Yesugyo Jangnohoe Chonghoe Je 21hoe Hoerok* (Minutes of 21st General Assembly of Presbyterian Church of Chosun (Korea)). 1932.
- Cumings, Bruce. *Korea' Place in the Sun: A Modern History*. New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2005.
- Cumings, Bruce. *The Origins of the Korean War: The Roaring of the Cataract, 1947-1950*. vol. 2. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992.
- Erasmus, Desiderius. *The Complaint of Peace*. Open Court, 1521. Internet Access: <https://oll.libertyfund.org/title/erasmus-the-complaint-of-peace> (30 April 2023)
- Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Paper* (FRUS) 1945 (The Conference of Berlin (The Potsdam Conference)), vol. 1. Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1960. Internet access: <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/FRUS.FRUS1945Berlinv01> (30 April 2023)
- FRUS*, 1945 (The British Commonwealth, the Far East), vol. 6. Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1969. Internet Access: <https://search.library.wisc.edu/digital/AFOFYVK7LN2GSN9E> (30 April 2023)
- Grayson, James H. *Korea: A Religious History*. London: RoutledgeCruzon, 2002.
- Han, Wi-Goun. “I cannot ignore it”, *Gaebeuk* (The Dawn of Civilisation) 63 (1925), 73.

- Hanguk Gidokgyo Yeoksahakhoe (The Society of the History of Christianity in Korea), *Hanguk gidokgyoui yeoksa III* (A History of Christianity in Korea III). Seoul: Hanguk Gidokgyo Yeoksayeonguso (The Institute of the History of Christianity in Korea, IHCK), 2009.
- Hanguk Gidokgyo Yeoksayeonguso (Institute of the History of Christianity in Korea). *Bukhan Gyohoesa* (A History of North Korean Church). IHCK, 1999.
- Jeju 4.3 wiwonhoe. *Hwahaewa sangsaeng: Jeju 4.3 wiwonhoe baekseo* (Reconciliation and Living Together: A White Paper of the 4.3 Committee). Seoul: Jeju 4.3 sageun jinsang geumyeong mit huisaengja myeongyehobok wiwonhoe, 2008.
- Kang, In-Cheol. *Jeonjaenggwa Jonggyo* (War and Religion). Seoul: Hanshindaehakgyo chulpanbu (Hanshin University Press), 2003.
- Kang, Man-Gil. *A History of Contemporary Korea*. Global Oriental Ltd. trans. Kent: Global Oriental Ltd., 2005.
- Keum, Joo-Seop. "Remnants and Renewal: A History of Protestant Christianity in North Korea, with Special Reference to Issues of Church and State, 1945-1994". PhD Thesis. University of Edinburgh, 2002.
- Kim, Deuk-Jung. *'Ppalgaengi'ui tansaeng: Yeosunsageongwa bangong gukga hyeongseong* (Birth of the Red: Yeosun Revolt and the Establishment of Anticommunist Nation). Seoul: Sunin, 2009
- Kim, Gi-Jin. *Hangukjeonjaenggwa Jipdanhaksal* (The Korean War and Massacre). Seoul: Pureunyeoksa, 2006.
- Kim, Rin-Seo. *Hangukgyohoe Sungyosawa Geu Seolgyojip* (The History and Sermons of Martyrs of the Korean Church). Seoul: Sinang saenghwalsa, 1962.
- Kim, Yang-Seon. *Hanguk gidokgyo haebang sipnyeonsa* (A Decade History of the Korean Church since the Liberation). Seoul: Daehan yesugyo jangrohoe chonghoe jonggyo gyoyukbu, 1955.
- Kim, Yong-Hae. *Daehan Gidokgyo Chimryehoesa* (The History of the Baptist Church in Korea). Seoul: Daehan gidokgyo chimryehoe chonghoe, 1964.
- Ko, Byong-Chul. "1920yeondae Jeonhu Manju Jiyeokui Banjonggyoundong" (Protestant Activities and Anti-Religious Movements in Manchuria in the

- 1920s). *Jonggyoyeongu* (Studies in Religion) 36 (2004), 311-38.
- Ko, Byong-Chul. "Iljeha Gidokgyoindeului Manju Ijuwa Minjokundon" (The Manchuria Immigration and Nationalist Movement of Christians under the Japanese Colonial Rule). *Jonggyomunhwa Bipyong* (The Critical Review of Religion and Culture) 8 (2005), 190-330.
- Lee, Man-Yeol. *Hangukgidokgyowa Minjok Uisik* (Christianity in Korea and Nationalism). Seoul: Jisiksaneopsa, 1991.
- Min, Kyoung-Bae. *Hanguk Gidokgyo Sahoe Undongsa, 1885-1945* (A History of Social Movements in Korean Churches, 1885-1945). Seoul: Daehangidokgyo chulpansa, 1987.
- Min, Kyoung-Bae. *Hanguk Gidokgyohoesa* (A History of the Korean Church). Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 2004.
- Noh, Jong-Sun. "The Effects on Korea of Un-Ecological Theology" in C. Birch, W. Eakin and J. D. McDaniel ed. *Liberation Life: Contemporary Approaches to Ecological Theology*. New York: Orbis, 1990, 125-136.
- Park, Chung-Shin. "1920yeondae Gaeshingyo Jidocheunggwa Minjokjuuiundon" (The Relationship between Protestant Leaders and the Nationalist Movement in the 1920s). *Yeoksahakbo* (Historiography Bulletin) 134-5 (September 1992), 154-61.
- Park, Chung-Shin. *Protestantism and Politics in Korea*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2003.
- Park, Heon-Yeong. "The Inside of Christianity in History", *Gaebeuk* (The Dawn of Civilisation) 63 (1925), 64-70.
- Park, Hyun Ok. *Two Dreams in One Bed: Empire, Social Life, and The Origins of the North Korean Revolution in Manchuria*. Durham and London, Duke University Press, 2005.
- Rhie, Deok-Ju. "3.1 Undonge Daehan Sinangundongsajeok Ihae" (Understanding the March First Movement as a Religious Movement). *Gidokgyosasang* (Christian Thought) 34:3 (March 1990), 149-55.
- Rhodes, H. A. and A. Campbell. *History of the Korean Mission, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1935-1959*. New York: Commission on Ecumenical Mission and

- Relations, The United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1965.
- Scalapino, Robert A. and Lee Chong-Sik. *Communism in Korea*. 2 vols. Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1972.
- Seo, Jeong-Min. *Yeoksasokui Geu – Han-Il Gidokgyosalon* (He in the History – The Historical Essay of Christianity in Korea and Japan). Seoul: Handeul, 1994.
- Seo, Jung-Seok. Kim Deuk-Jung et al., *Jeonjaeng Sokui ddo Dareun Jeonjaeng* (The other War in the War). Seoul: Sunin, 2011.
- Shin, Gi-Wook. *Ethnic Nationalism in Korea: Genealogy, Politics, and Legacy*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006.
- Song, Geon-Ho. *Haebangjeonhusaui insik I* (A Recognition of History Before and After Liberation I). Seoul: Hangilsa, 1981.
- Suh, Dae-Sook. *The Korean Communist Movement, 1918-1948*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967.
- Yang, Ho-Min. 'The Perception of the United States during the Japanese Colonial Period' in Young-Ick Lew, Byong-Kie Song et al. *Korean Perceptions of the United States: A History of Their Origins and Formation*. Michael Finch trans., Seoul: Jimoondang, 2006.
- Yun, Chung-Lo. *Vetnamgwa hangukui bangongdokjaegukga hyeongseongsa: Ngo Dinh Diem gwa Rhee Syng-Man jeonggwon bigyo* (A History of Establishment of Anticommunist Dictatorial Nation: Comparison of Ngo Dinh Diem and Rhee Syng-Man Government). Seoul: Sunin, 2005.

The Impacts of Ideologies in the History of the Reformed Church in Hungary

A Short Introduction

16th Century – A nation under siege

The European Protestant Reformation reached Hungary at one of the most critical moments in her history. In the Battle of Mohács in 1526, not only was the army of the Kingdom of Hungary devastated by the Ottoman forces, but King Louis II also fell on the battlefield. The loss of the king resulted in a succession crisis and the division of the Kingdom of Hungary into three parts (1541). From then on, the Habsburgs exercised power over the Kingdom of Hungary, which included the Western and Northern territories, while in the East a new state was organised, the Transylvanian Principality, which was vassalized with the Ottomans, while the Southern territories got under direct Ottoman occupation and control.¹ In accordance with the different political, social and cultural contexts, the Reformation took on specific characteristics in the three different parts of the Hungarian habitat. In Transylvania, which for a time had been able to navigate skillfully between the Habsburg and Ottoman empires, the various Christian denominations were able to build up their church organisations, form their internal relations and culture in relative legal security. In the Ottoman-occupied territory, the tolerance of the Muslim invaders, resulting from their indifference, did not hinder the spread of the Reformation, while in the Habsburg-ruled Kingdom of Hungary, Counter-Reformation measures were adopted with varying intensity, almost driving Protestants to extinction by the 18th Century.

The permanent crisis, the war conditions and the precariousness of everyday life that accompanied the division of the divided nation made Hungarians as

individuals open to the message of the Gospel of Christ, proclaimed in the spirit and with the tools of the Reformation. At the same time (in the 16th and 17th Centuries), the communal rather than the individual content of the Reformation became much more important for Hungarians. The Reformation's view of history offered an explanation and a solution to the acute political and social crisis. Protestant preachers drew parallel between the fate of the Biblical Jewish and Hungarian peoples.² They pointed out that, as had happened repeatedly in the history of the Jews, God had brought foreign, pagan occupation upon his people because they had turned away from Him and worshipped idols – by this they could easily draw parallels with the traits of Catholic piety too.³ The Reformation also provided a programme of national salvation, according to which national death could be avoided by returning to God and repenting.⁴ An important element in this programme was the spread of humanistic education, preaching in vernacular and the ability to read the Bible in the mother tongue. The first complete Hungarian Scriptures were translated and printed in 1590 by a working group led by the Reformed dean Gáspár Károli (1529-1591). The so called Vizsoly or Károli translation had a decisive influence on the development of the Hungarian literary language.

Apparently, it would be an anachronistic statement to describe the initial phase of the Hungarian Reformation as nationalistic, but it is clear that the Reformation – after a brief initial mistrust due to its German origins – eventually became closely intertwined with the ideals and aspirations of independent Hungarian statehood, national self-determination, and the emergence of the Hungarian nation in general.

By the mid-17th Century, the ecclesiastical and educational framework of Hungarian Protestantism had been established in all three Hungarian inhabited territories, and by this time the bitter debates on denominationalisation had already been settled. The urban middle classes of Transylvania and Upper Hungary, with German (Saxon) roots, largely retained their initial Lutheranism, while the Reformed denomination became dominant among the Hungarian population of Transylvania and in the Ottoman-occupied territory. On the one hand, this was because Calvinism was able to provide an adequate theological argument against the anti-Trinitarianism that emerged in Transylvania and spread from there, and which, thanks to the prince's (John Sigismund Zápolya, 1540-1571) personal sympathy, was granted the status of an established religion

in 1568 (Edict of Torda)⁵ and, as the Unitarian denomination,⁶ could remain a vital denomination among the Hungarians of Transylvania to this day; on the other hand, the consciousness of election arising from John Calvin's doctrine of predestination – that despite all earthly hardships and losses, the chosen of God cannot lose his salvation – served as an attractive and inspiring spiritual factor in an era full of spiritual and physical struggles and wars.

The Hungarian Protestant clergy, although trained in domestic institutions from the earliest times (the most important colleges were founded in Sárospatak, 1531; Pápa, 1531; Debrecen, 1538; Laskó, 1544), carried on extensive studies at German, Swiss, Dutch, English and Scottish universities, which activity is called *peregrinatio academica*.⁷ The fact that until Melancthon's death (1560) Wittenberg and then the Reformed Heidelberg were the main destinations of their study trips indicates the shift in denominational attitudes in the second half of the 16th century. The peregrine students brought the latest literature of the European Reformation to the Hungarians – some of them (e.g. Gáspár Heltai, 1510-1574) came home with a complete printing press – , and the theological works of one of the early Hungarian reformers (István Szegedi Kis, 1505-1572), who wrote his theology based on foreign models, were published in Basel after his death.⁸ On the basis of the humanist educational programme, congregations established local schools, and preachers, in keeping with the Renaissance humanist polymath ideal, did not only remarkable work in the philosophical but also in the natural sciences (e.g. see the "Herbariums" of Péter Méliusz Juhász, 1532-1572, and András Beythe, 1564-1599).

17th century - Puritanism and Orthodoxy

Through the so-called "academicus" – those preachers who has been educated abroad – the Hungarian Reformed Church was in constant and lively contact with current Western theological, denominational and ecclesiastical developments, views and trends. Hungarian theologians who had also visited England (e.g. János Tolnai Dali, 1606-1660, Pál Medgyesi, 1604-1663) brought Puritan ideas home in the 1630s,⁹ and translated the works of leading foreign Puritan writers (e.g. William Perkins, Lewis Bayly, William Ames) into Hungarian. The Hungarian

translation of John Calvin's Institutes of the Christian Religion was published in 1624 (translated by Albert Szenczi Molnár, 1574-1634).

The external, political and social ideas of Puritanism and its efforts to establish a Presbyterian church organisation could not be realised due to the open opposition of the ruling aristocratic classes, who played a dominant role in Hungarian Reformed life, but also due to the social conditions, which were less developed than in the West, especially the small proportion of the bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, Puritanism gave important impulses to the internal renewal of the Hungarian Reformed, to become more self-conscious, to deepen individual piety, to strengthen the commitment to Christian living, and to abandon the last remnants of the ecclesiastical customs of Catholicism. According to Dénes Dienes and Szilveszter Füsti-Molnár, Hungarian Puritanism, through its disputes with Protestant Orthodoxy, entered into a synthesis with its counterpart and perhaps the name "Reformed Pietism" rather than Puritanism is more appropriate.¹⁰

At the end of the 17th century, the *rationalist philosophy* of Francis Bacon and René Descartes and the *encyclopaedic method* of Western science also appeared by scholar of Puritan sentiment, János Apáczai Csere (1625-1659).

18th century - Enlightenment, rationalism

By the end of the 17th century, the Habsburgs had gradually reconquered the territories of the former *Kingdom of Hungary* conquered by the Ottomans (the process was completed by the *Treaty of Karlowitz*), and then took control of Transylvania (1711). The liberators soon proved to be invaders. They pursued a strong *Counter-Reformation* policy in the reconquered territories, rightly recognising that the Protestant, mainly Reformed Hungarian communitarian conception of power and their desire for national independence naturally conflicted with their Habsburg ambitions to create an *absolute monarchy*. The saying attributed to Leopold Karl von Kollonitsch (1631-1707), the *Archbishop of Esztergom* of Austrian origin, a leading figure of Hungarian Catholicism and *Counter-Reformation* at the end of the 17th century, is a fine example of the foreign intention: "I will make Hungary first beggar, then Catholic, and finally German." The first phase of the Hungarian *Counter-Reformation* (especially during the reign of King Leopold I, 1657-1705) was known as the "*bloody Counter-Reformation*" because of its violent

action.¹¹ Its highlight was when all the Protestant pastors of the *Kingdom of Hungary* were summoned to court for their Protestantism, and were sentenced first to death and then to *galley slavery* as a mercy, on the principle of collective guilt. With the expansion of Habsburg *Enlightened absolutism* (under *Charles III*, 1711-1740, but especially under his daughter *Maria Theresa*, 1740-1780), "*bloody Counter-Reformation*" was replaced by "*bloodless Counter-Reformation*", whose social policy provisions treating Protestants as second-class subjects were far more effective than the open aggression of bloody *Counter-Reformation*.¹² *Maria Theresa's* shrewd *Counter-Reformation* instrument was to limit the *peregrinatio academica*, which shattered the previously lively Western networks of the Hungarian Reformed. This caused that the Western philosophical, theological and ideological trends could not have such a rapid and widespread impact on Hungarian Reformed theologians anymore.

Eventually, the enlightened absolutist *Emperor Joseph II* (1780-1790) allowed the free exercise of religion and the autonomy of church administration and education for Lutherans, Reformed and Greek-Catholics by his *1781 Decree of Toleration*. During the period of the "*Protestant golden freedom*", the Reformed ecclesiastical and secular elites were determined to achieve not only equality before the law with Catholics, but also parity in as many areas of social and political life as possible. In order to enhance the everyday social and political emancipation, the unification of the Protestant denominations became a frequent topic of public church discourse. However, the unification attempts failed, the discourse about the foundation of a joint Protestant University in Pest resulted in the birth of the *Theological Academy of Pest* (1855), the legal predecessor of the *Károli Gáspár University* (1993).¹³

Restrictions of the *peregrinatio academica* before the *1781 Decree of Toleration* resulted in the belated spread of the *Enlightenment's rationalist theology* in Hungary, which fervently criticized the existing dogmatic, ecclesiastical authoritarian and biblical norms.¹⁴ In 1784, the theologian *István Szentgyörgyi* of Sárospatak published his book on *natural theology*, in which he identified the way of reason and nature instead of faith as the way to know God, while *Gáspár Göböl* (1745-1818), dean of Kecskemét, was the first to introduce *biblical criticism* into Hungarian theology. *Immanuel Kant's* influence can first be seen in the work of *Márton Mándi* (1760-1831), a theological teacher at the Pápa Reformed College.¹⁵ The *supranaturalist branch of rationalism*, which sought to formulate

the doctrines of *pietism* in a rational way, also played a greater role in Hungary: this included the work of *György Szikszai* (1738-1803), dean of Debrecen, and *Ézsaiás Budai* (1766-1841), bishop of the Transtibiscan Church District.¹⁶ Hungarian theological rationalism was late to emerge, but therefore survived much longer than in the West. Its endurance can be attributed to the lasting difficulty of getting into Western universities, the Latin education of Hungarian theologians, and rationalism of popular preachers such as the bishops *Gábor Báthori* (1755-1842) and *Sámuel Bodolai* (1790-1866) or the pastor-poet *Mihály Tompa* (1817-1868), who were described as “vulgar rationalists” by *Sándor Koncz* or – in a more subtle manner – as “populist rationalists” by *Ábrahám Kovács*.¹⁷

19th century – Romanticism, Liberalism, Evangelicalism

At first, *Gábor Szeremley* (1807-1867), a theology teacher in Sárospatak and later in Vienna, and *Lajos Zsarnay* (1802-1866), Bishop of the Cistibiscan Church District, represented *Daniel Schleiermacher's romantic theology* in Hungary. The appearance of *romantic theology* in Hungary was so belated that it could only be a “shadow” of his importance in Germany, but it nevertheless became an important pioneer for the later conquest of *liberal theology* in Hungary.¹⁸

Through Professor *Mór Ballagi* (1815-1895) of Jewish origin, who first became a Lutheran and then a Reformed, the *Theological Academy of Pest* became the first influential Hungarian workshop of modern *liberal theology*.¹⁹ Influenced mainly by *Hegelian philosophy* and the biblical historical criticism of the *Tübingen school* (F. C. Baur), the Hungarian theological liberals fought a lively intellectual duel not only with the “*confessionalists*” (*Lajos Filó*, 1828-1905),²⁰ who were in a minority in Pest, but also with the “*orthodox*” in Debrecen, whose main representatives were *Imre Révész Sr.* (1826-1881) and *Ferenc Balogh* (1836-1913),²¹ who defended the scriptural truths of Christianity on the basis of traditional Reformed theology, especially the reality of the resurrection of Jesus,²² which, along with other biblical miracles, was denied by the liberals.²³

Meanwhile, radical changes were taking place in the political and social life of Hungary. During the revolution against the Habsburg rule in 1848 and the subsequent war of independence, the traditional Hungarian Reformed aptitude for national independence, self-determination and traditional anti-Habsburg

sentiment came to the fore again: the Lutheran freedom fighter *Lajos Kossuth* (1802-1894) proclaimed the "Declaration of Independence of the Hungarian Nation", the dethronement of the Habsburg dynasty, in the *Reformed Great Church of Debrecen* (14 April 1849). In the decade of passive resistance after the defeat of the *1849 War of Independence*, national resistance was successfully expressed in the field of preserving the internal autonomy of the Reformed Church and her educational system. By 1867, the geopolitical situation had forced the Habsburgs to reconcile with Hungary (*Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867*), which led to the birth of the *Austro-Hungarian Empire* (or *Dual Monarchy*) and the establishment of an autonomous system of Hungarian internal and religious affairs. The opportunities created by the new political system during the period of so-called *dualism* (1867-1918) saw Hungary undergo rapid economic recovery, industrialisation, urbanisation and, at the same time, a strong *secularisation*. In the apt words of *István Bogárdi Szabó*: "By the time the freedom of religion that had been longed for centuries had been completed, the practice of religion itself had become irrelevant."²⁴

Despite their theological differences, the *liberals*, the *orthodox* and the emerging *Christian revivalists* of the second half of the 19th century also sought to find solution for the former problem, namely how to make Christianity attractive again to modern people who had lost their religious beliefs in the midst of the rush of social change.²⁵ Their approaches differed, however: *Liberalism* emphasised worldly action, a moral life following the human example of Jesus instead of complying with the requirements of a transcendent, personal God, and a theology that was in tune with the scientific understanding of the modern age. The *Christian revivalist Home Mission* movement, with its foreign roots, sought to build from the bottom up, and aimed at the rejection of modern criticism of the Holy Scripture and the personal conversion of individuals to God. The latter, because of their interdenominational – "*general Christian*" – character, were confronted by orthodox confessionalists who saw the solution in the reemphasis of the original principles of the Reformation what they considered as a kind of golden age of church and society. In the developing civic society of late 19th-century Hungary, the different theological trends created their own private organisations and press organs and engaged in lively debate with each other. The *Scottish Mission*, which settled in Pest in 1841, and the *German-speaking Reformed congregation of Pest*, which began to organise in 1859, had a decisive

influence on the *Home Mission* movement and on the spiritual renewal of the Reformed Church as a whole. In 1881, the same year in which a young theological student – *Aladár Szabó* (1860-1944) – initiated a revivalist movement that shortly thereafter took over the *Theological Academy in Pest*, the unified and centralised Hungarian Reformed Church was founded in Debrecen from the five dioceses that had previously only loosely connected with each other.

20th century - Revolutions and renewal attempts

The era of dualism lulled the Hungarian Reformed Church into a Cinderella dream. Her newly realised organisational unity (*Debrecen Constitutional Synod*, 1881), her outstanding number of members (1910: 2,620,000), her high political embeddedness (e.g. by *Prime Minister István Tisza*, 1903-05; 1913-17), the social weight and prestige of her educational system, and the increasing state subsidies made the Reformed Church an integral part of the dualist system, its beneficiary and one of its main supporters. Consequently, like the dualist system itself, the official Reformed Church also became insensitive to the increasingly pressing social problems such as social justice, poverty, the situation of workers and ethnic minorities.

The awakening from the dream was bitter. Hungarian society as a whole, including the Reformed, was shocked by the revolutionary waves after the lost Great War, but especially by the huge territorial loss of Hungary by the *1920 Trianon Treaty*. The Reformed Church lost around 1100 congregations, almost one-million members (916 906), half of its pastors, and hundreds of schools and teachers.²⁶ While every Church Districts were torn up by the new state borders and they had to form new church bodies in their new countries, the whole Transylvanian Church District was lost to Romania.

The *Chrysanthemum Revolution*, which broke out in October 1918, brought a radical bourgeois government to power, ended the almost 1000-year-old *Kingdom of Hungary* with the proclamation of the Republic (16 November 1918) and overnight abolished the Reformed Church's status as a "*secondary state church*". In the spring of 1919, the bourgeois government was swept away by a communist coup. The *Hungarian Soviet Republic* (from 21 March 1919 to 1 August 1919), which they called into being, aimed to "liquidate" the Christian churches,

which meant not only depriving them of their property but also annihilating their social role and even restricting the free flow of their own internal life. The *Hungarian Soviet Republic* was unable to consolidate its rule due to a lack of popular support and the attacks on Hungary by the newly formed neighboring countries. The so-called *National Army*, composed of *Admiral Miklós Horthy's* nationalists and supported by the Western powers, was able to overcome the chaos. *Admiral Horthy* (being Hungarian Reformed himself) restored not only the kingdom and established an authoritarian system as its regent, but he also renovated, in part, the conditions of the dualist era, which brought the Reformed Church back into close contact with the ruling system.²⁷

The Interwar period - Historical Calvinism, Evangelicalism, Nazism, Barthian dialectical theology

The acute national crisis after the lost Great War put the spotlight within the church on those who wanted and could articulate a more forceful response to the challenges of the situation.

The *Historic Calvinism* represented by *Jenő Sebestyén* (1884-1950)²⁸ advocated the introduction of the *neo-Calvinism* of the Dutch *Abraham Kuyper* in Hungary. According to Sebestyén: "Our program is nothing else than pure Calvinism itself, what we need to translate into the language of the 20th Century. Our goal cannot be else than proclaiming Calvinism as a worldview and adopt its theological, ethical, church-organizational, church-political principles to every field of the Hungarian Reformed Church and Hungarian national and social life."²⁹ The historic Calvinists did much to revitalise Hungarian-Dutch relations and to publish theological literature in the spirit of Calvinism, but Kuyper's social and political views were only fragmentarily applicable to the Hungarian realities, which were so different from those in the Netherlands.³⁰

Historic Calvinism was sharply critical of the so-called "*general Christians*";³¹ by whom they meant the representatives of interdenominational revival theology (e.g. John Victor Jr, 1888-1954) and their missionary associations (*KIE* and *Bethánia*, the Hungarian branches of *YMCA* and *Christian Endeavour*).³² The dispute between the two movements led to a partial confessionalisation of the Christian revivalist *Home Mission* movement, strengthening the Reformed identity of many of its

leading members and balking the schism that had already occurred in several Reformed churches in Western Europe.

The pacification and instrumentalization of the various piety and theological movements into the general renewal of the Reformed Church was a deliberate aim of the church government led by *Bishop László Ravasz* (1882-1975), who dominated the inter-war period.³³ In his 1921 inaugural address, Ravasz stated that the understands as his most important task to create an "*integrated Calvinism*, which is pure in its institutions, worldview, and creed."³⁴

Nazi ideology failed to win over large numbers of Hungarians (their parties were banned in the Horthy era. When the *Arrow Cross Party* was allowed to run in the 1939 elections, its best result was 15%), it only had an impact on Reformed theological thinking to the extent that Hungarian theologians and church leaders, regardless of their theological orientation, spoke out against the conquest of the *Deutsche Christen* movement in Germany and Rosenberg's ideas about the myth of blood and race.

By the mid-1930s, the visions of *Karl Barth* and the *dialectical theology* had become of particular importance in Hungary.³⁵ By the time of World War II, the vast majority of Hungarian systematic theologians had come under the influence of Barth, not one of them had a personal relationship with him as a disciple [eg.: Béla Vasady (Sárospatak, Debrecen), István Török, Tivadar Rózsai (Debrecen), Barna Nagy, Sándor Koncz, Ernő Mátyás (Sárospatak), István Tóké, Zsolt Geréb (Kolozsvár)].³⁶ The *dialectical theology* had a fertilizing influence not only on Hungarian systematic theology, but also on hermeneutics, biblical theology and many branches of practical theology, especially on preaching.³⁷ Since Barth did not become anti-communist after World War II, the connection with him could be maintained even during the period of forced turning away from the West, and the new Reformed church government, which cooperated with the communists, even tried to use Barth as a source of legitimacy.

The People's Republic (1945-1989)

After World War II, Hungary became part of the Soviet sphere of influence, and in 1948 the local communists established a one-party dictatorship. The Communists replaced the Ravasz church government with collaborators who reduced the

social role, political weight and role in everyday life of the Reformed Church.³⁸ In *László Ravasz's* apt phrase: the church was weakened by the church.³⁹ The communist state nationalised the church's educational institutions, abolished her media, banned her missionary associations, made her self-supporting activities impossible and subjected her daily ministry to strict scrutiny (by the *State Office for Church Affairs* founded in 1951).⁴⁰

The most damaging effects on theological life were the withering away of the previously vibrant press and debating culture, and the making of study abroad impossible. Only a single theological trend, developed and disseminated by the collaborant church government was able to gain wider publicity. It went by different names from decade to decade (1948-1958, *Theology of the Narrow Way*⁴¹; 1958-1982, *Theology of Service*; 1982-1989,⁴² *Evangelical Calvinism*),⁴³ but its basic outline remained the same. According to this perspective, the Reformed Church had to do some serious self-criticism and repentance about its history, life and theology, because she had been an active participant and beneficiary of the pre-socialist social order and had sided with the exploiters. After the advent of the *Socialism*, the church must, following the example of the "servant Christ", go from being master to servant and find its right place in the construction of the new socialist social order. As a result, Hungarian theologians, under strong control, took part in the peace movement dominated by Soviet propaganda, criticising the West in all its forms, and even theologically justifying the radical social policy changes introduced in Hungary: nationalisations, collectivisation of agriculture, restrictions on private property, and even measures against the churches.⁴⁴

The period after the end of the communist system (1989-present days), although to a certain extent it could have been characterised by a similar search for new paths as the period after Trianon or the Second World War, did not lead to the emergence of new theological trends. The hypocritical, empty rhetoric of the *Theology of Service* was gone together with the socialist establishment, and the theological academies freed from state influence began to revise and reinterpret the theological heritage (liberal theology, historical Calvinism, Barthian, revivalist, evangelical, fundamentalist theologies) that had been suppressed after 1948.⁴⁵

To conclude, it can be said that Hungarian Reformed theology has always closely observed and followed the dominant Western theological trends, which were brought to Hungary primarily by theological students studying abroad.

The rapidity and intensity of the appearance of these trends was related to the intensity and opportunities of peregrination in the given period. In any case, the theological and ideological achievements of the West arrived 10-20 years or even a lifetime later, but they were replaced by the next one accordingly later. Even if the trends coming from the West got a little Hungarian flavour, it was never achieved or even attempted to create an original and specific Hungarian theology. The attempt to do so after 1945 was also misguided, the official legitimizing theology of the church leadership collaborating with the communists could not gain wider popular support due to its origins and false intentions, as a theological system *Theology of Service* remained incoherently undeveloped and truncated.⁴⁶

The characteristic feature of Hungarian Reformed thought that has transcended the ages – which of course also had Western origins, but which had nevertheless found its own way into the Hungarian Reformed soul and thinking – was the communal message of the Reformation, its national programme, its messages of national self-determination, independence and the paramount importance of education in order to reach it.

References

- 1 Murdock, Graeme: *Calvinism on the Frontier, 1600-1660. International Calvinism and the Reformed Church in Hungary and Transylvania*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2000, 10.; Daniel, David P.: Hungary, in: Andrew Petegree (ed.): *The Early Reformation in Europe*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992, 48–69, 52.
- 2 Füstí-Molnár, Szilveszter: *Ecclesia sine macula et ruga. Donatist Factors among the Ecclesiological Challenges for the Reformed Church of Hungary especially after 1989/90*, Sárospatak, Sárospatak Reformed Theological Academy, 2008, 108.
- 3 Őze, Sándor: *Apokaliptikus időszemlélet a korai reformáció Magyarországon (1526–1566)*, Doctoral Theses, Budapest, 2011, http://real-d.mtak.hu/503/45/dc_220_11_doktori_mu.pdf
- 4 Győri, L. János: *A magyar reformáció irodalmi hagyománya*. Budapest: Református Pedagógiai Intézet, 1998, 89.
- 5 Murdock, Graeme: *Calvinism on the Frontier, 1600-1660. International Calvinism and the Reformed Church in Hungary and Transylvania*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2000, 16.
- 6 Füstí-Molnár: *Ecclesia sine macula et ruga*, 112.
- 7 Murdock: *Calvinism on the Frontier*, 46.
- 8 Daniel, David P.: Calvinism in Hungary: the theological and ecclesiastical transition to the Reformed faith, in: Andrew Petegree – Alastair Duke – Gillian Lewis (eds.): *Calvinism in Europe*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994, 205–230, 213.
- 9 Murdock: *Calvinism on the Frontier*, 45.
- 10 Füstí-Molnár: *Ecclesia sine macula et ruga*, 112., 113; Dienes, Dénes: „Melyeket én az én Uram Jézus Krisztusomtól tanultam...”. *A református kegyesség jellemző vonásai a 18. században Magyarországon*. Sárospatak, 2002, 10–93, 23.
- 11 Szelényi, Balázs: The Difficult Victory of Habsburg Absolutism, in: *The Failure of the Central European Bourgeoisie*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, 65–70.
- 12 For the fuller picture about the “bloodless” Counter-Reformation see: Csorba, Dávid (ed.): *Vértelen ellenreformáció*, Budapest, L’Harmattan – Károli Gáspár Református Egyetem, 2020.
- 13 Csekey Sándor: Az alapítás kora, in: Ladányi Sándor (ed.): *A Károli Gáspár Református Egyetem Hittudományi Karának története. 1855-2005*, Budapest, KRE Hittudományi Kar, 2005, 17–49.
- 14 Füstí-Molnár: *Ecclesia sine macula et ruga*, 115.
- 15 Márkus, Jenő: *A liberális szellem a református egyházban*, Budapest, Kálvin Kiadó, 2005, 35.
- 16 Kovács, Ábrahám: *Hitvédelem és egyháziasság: A debreceni új ortodoxia vitája a liberális teológiával*, Budapest, L’Harmattan, 2010, 25.
- 17 Ibid., 26.
- 18 Koncz, Sándor: *Hit és vallás. A magyar református vallástudományi teológia kibontakozása és hanyatlásai*, Debrecen: Csuka Nyomda, 1942, 56.
- 19 Kovács, Ábrahám: “Ballagi Mór és a Skót Misszió: megtérés, áttérés vagy kitérés? Egy liberális protestáns zsidó életútjának kezdete”, *Confessio* (2007), 109–125.

- 21 Ibid., 47–111.
- 22 Márkus: *A liberális szellem*, 85–100.
- 23 Kovács, Ábrahám: A Scottish Millennial Mission to Jews: The Conversion, Work, Theological views, and Hungarian Connections of Adolph Saphir (1831–91), *International Review of Mission* 109, 2020, 297–312., Kovács, Ábrahám: *A hitvalló Balogh Ferenc teológiai professzor debreceni naplója 1866-1871*, Budapest, Magyarország, Debrecen, Magyarország: Európai Tudományos Oktatási és Kutató Intézet, Debreceni Református Hittudományi Egyetem, 2023, Kovács, Ábrahám: Dogma and Creed: ecclesia semper reformari or transformari debet? A Response from the New Orthodoxy of Debrecen to Hungarian Liberal Theology, *Zeitschrift für Neuere Theologiegeschichte / Journal for the History of Modern Theology* 26, 2019, 1–19., Füsti-Molnár: *Ecclesia sine macula et ruga*, 216–218.
- 24 Bogárdi Szabó, István: Kálvin hagyománya Dunamelléken, in: Farbaký Péter – Kiss Réka (eds.): *Kálvin hagyománya – Református kulturális örökség a Duna mentén. A Budapesti Történeti Múzeum kiállítási katalógusa*. Budapest, Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2009, 20.
- 25 Kósa, László: A vallási közönyösség növekedése Magyarországon a 19. század közepéig, in: Kósa László (ed.): *Művelődés, egyház, társadalom*, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 2011, 155–184.
- 26 Révész, Imre: *History of the Hungarian Reformed Church*, Washington, Hungarian Reformed Federation in America, 1956, 151.
- 27 Ladányi, Sándor: Vázlatos történelmi áttekintés a Magyarországi Református Egyház közelebbi múltjának alakulásáról, in: Barcza József – Dienes Dénes (szerk.): *A Magyarországi Református Egyház története 1918-1990*. Tanulmányok, Sárospatak, 1999, 101–139.
- 28 Ladányi, Sándor: Sebestyén Jenő, in: Ladányi Sándor (ed.): *Emlékkönyv Sebestyén Jenő születésének 100. évfordulójára*, Budapest, Zsinati Sajtószolgálat, 1986.
- 29 Sebestyén, Jenő: Magyar kálvinizmus, Quoted in Nagy, Barna: A történelmi kálvinizmus korszaka (1918–1944), in: Ladányi Sándor (ed.): *A Károli Gáspár Református Egyetem Hittudományi Karának története. 1855-2005*, Budapest, KRE Hittudományi Kar, 2005, 130.
- 30 Nagy: A történelmi kálvinizmus korszaka, 134.; Szabó, László: Sebestyén Jenő politikai vezetése és azok fogadtatása, *Mediárium* 7, 3–4/2013, 14–38.
- 31 Hörömpő, Gergely: Sebestyén Jenő, az ember: személye, teológiája, hatása. in: Ladányi Sándor (ed.): *Emlékkönyv Sebestyén Jenő születésének 100. évfordulójára*, Budapest, Zsinati Sajtószolgálat, 1986, 32.
- 32 Kiss, Réka: Református ébredés Budapesten, in: Kósa László (ed.): *Reformátusok Budapesten 2.*, Budapest, Argumentum, 2006, 1343–1368.; Kósa László: Az egyesületek a budapesti reformátusság életében, in: Kósa László (ed.): *Reformátusok Budapesten 2.*, Budapest, Argumentum, 2006, 1077–1117.
- 33 Kiss, Réka: Ravasz László püspöki működése, in: Kósa László (ed.): *Reformátusok Budapesten 1.*, Budapest, Argumentum, 2006, 537–578.; Hatos, Pál: Szabadkőművesből református püspök. Ravasz László élete, Budapest, Jaffa, 2016.
- 34 Major, János B. (ed.): *Dr. Ravasz László dunamelléki püspök beiktatása alkalmával elhangzott beszédek és imák*, Budapest, Dunamelléki Református Egyházkerület, 1921, 35.
- 35 For the recent study of Barth's early influence on Hungary see: Fazakas, Sándor – Ferencz, Árpád (eds.): *Barth és a magyar református teológia*, Debrecen, Karl Barth Kutatóintézet, 2011.

- 36 Füsti-Molnár: *Ecclesia sine macula et ruga*, 125.
- 37 Fekete, Károly: Karl Barth és a magyarországi gyakorlati teológia, in: Fazakas Sándor – Ferencz Árpád (eds.): *Barth és a magyar református teológia*, Debrecen, Karl Barth Kutatóintézet, 2011, 59–76.
- 38 Kiss Réka: Bereczky Albert lelkipásztori, püspöki működése, in: Kósa László (ed.): *Reformátusok Budapesten 1.*, Budapest, Argumentum, 2006, 601–620.; Lányi, Gábor: Bishop Albert Bereczky (1893-1966) A Life Full of Questions, in Jaeshik Shin – Ábrahám Kovács (eds.): *Nationalism, Communism, and Christian Identity. Protestant Theological Reflections from Korea and Hungary*, Debrecen-Gwangju, Debrecen Reformed Theological University – Honam Theological University and Seminary, 2019, 123–140.
- 39 Ravasz, László: *Emlékezéseim*, Budapest, Kálvin Kiadó, 1992, 372.
- 40 Erdős, Kristóf: Magyar Köztársaság és a Magyarországi Református Egyház 1948-as egyezményének vizsgálata, in: J. Újváry Zsuzsanna (ed.): *Összekötnek az évezredek*, Budapest – Piliscsaba: PPKE – Szent István Társulat, 2011, 310–331.
- 41 Bereczky, Albert: *A keskeny út*, Budapest, Református Egyetemes Konvent Sajtóosztálya, 1953.
- 42 Gonda, László: *The service of evangelism, the evangelism of service*, Doctoral Thesis, Universiteit Utrecht, 2008, 55–62.
- 43 Füsti-Molnár: *Ecclesia sine macula et ruga*, 164.
- 44 For the most complete analysis of the era see: Bogárdi Szabó, István: *Egyházvezetés és teológia a Magyarországi Református Egyházban 1948 és 1989 között*, Debrecen, 1995.
- 45 Füsti-Molnár: *Ecclesia sine macula et ruga*, 209–213.
- 46 Vályi Nagy, Ervin: *Minden idők peremén*, Basel – Budapest, EPMSZ, 1993, 43–57.

A Pioneer of Korea Urban Industrial Mission Rev. Cho Ji-song's Activities and Thoughts

Preface

Rev. Cho Ji-song was a pioneer of the Urban Industrial Mission (UIM) movement in Korea, dedicated to promoting the human rights and improving the lives of workers who were the most marginalized and exploited during the rapid industrialization process that took place under the military dictatorship government in the 1960s and 1970s.

Firstly, this thesis aims to examine the life of Cho Ji-song, his industrial mission policies, and his theological thoughts in historical perspective. During this period Korea underwent extensive urbanization and industrialization, and the UIM movement played a vital role in advocating for the rights of workers. While the UIMs of the World Council of Churches (WCC) and the Christian Council in Asia (CCA) were reorganized into the Urban Rural Mission (URM), this was not the case in Korea.¹

Secondly, this thesis aims to reveal that Cho Ji-song's UIM theology and practical activities were closely related to the world ecumenical movement. The principle that the most specific is the most universal applies here. The UIM has a universality for the global churches and the human community.

Unfortunately, Cho Ji-song left behind only a few reports on industrial mission work and a few articles which were not enough to fully inform his life and thoughts. Fortunately, in 1985, Kim Yong-bok interviewed Cho Ji-song for six months and left 12 oral tape recordings. In addition, another interview was

conducted for the writing of *"A Gospel for Workers: The Story of Cho Chi Song and the YDP-UIM."* and the data were secured.²

Chapter II of this thesis will reconstruct Cho Ji-song's simple biography, while Chapter III will examine the changes of his mission strategies. Chapter IV will focus on his UIM theology and ecclesiology.

Life: Birth to Pastor

Childhood in North Korea (1933-1950)

Cho Ji-song (1933-2019) was born in Hwangju-gun, Hwanghae-do, in North Korea, as the youngest of seven children. During his elementary school years, he read the New Testament 11 times, which fostered his passionate conservative faith based on pre-millennial eschatology and his anticipation of the second coming of Jesus.³ This type of eschatology was prevalent in the Korean church during the end of the Japanese colonial period, and the villagers fondly called young Cho Ji-song "little pastor."

Shortly after the liberation, 13-year-old Ji-song attended school under the communist rule. The communist regime altered the national anthem, changing the phrase "God bless our country long live" to "the people protect our country long live." As a sign of resistance, Ji-song left school with 20 students and went up a mountain where he was slapped by his teacher. His older brother's anti-communist and conservative beliefs had a significant impact on him.

In the spring of 1950, Ji-song was drafted into the communist army but deserted during training. His family planned to flee to South Korea, but the Korean War broke out, complicating their escape. On October 19, 1950, when the UN forces advanced north and occupied Pyongyang, the capital of North Korea, his oldest brother, a right-wing man, was appointed as the regional security chief. However, the Chinese military's intervention in the war jeopardized the safety of all families. On December 5, only five of his family managed to catch the last train to South Korea.⁴

Refugee days (1951-1958)

After Seoul was recaptured on March 14, 1951, Ji-song worked unloading goods from US military aircraft at Gimpo Airfield. He later transferred to the US Artillery Unit (8th Division) in Osoe-ri, Gimpo and got a job in the chaplain's office. It was there that Ji-song met and fell in love with Park Gil-soon, a Sunday School teacher. They got married in 1955 and started their honeymoon in a hut. However, after his marriage, Ji-song had to stop his theological studies in order to support his family.

When the U.S. military base withdrew, Ji-song and his family faced financial difficulties. In 1958, Ji-song found a new job in the chaplaincy of a tank unit in Munsan. Despite other Korean workers stealing munitions, Ji-song did not participate in any such activities. The US military newspaper, *Stars and Stripes*, published an article praising Ji-song for his honesty and vision. Additionally, an American Baptist pastor provided him with a \$25 monthly scholarship for three years.

With this scholarship, Ji-song returned to the seminary in 1958 and simultaneously pursued a two-year program in Korean literature at Kyonggi University.

Theological Education and Internship in the PCK (1958-1963)

In 1956, Rev. Henry Jones was dispatched by the Presbyterian Church (USA) to serve as the general secretary of the Industrial Evangelism at the the East Asian Christian Council (EACC).⁵ Upon accepting Jones' proposal, the Presbyterian Church of Korea (PCK) formed the 'Industrial Evangelism Committee' in 1957.

Ji-song met Henry Jones in the seminary chapel in July 1961 and volunteered for the 1st Industrial Evangelism Training course.⁶ While working in a coal mine during the training, Ji-song witnessed that the miners were "more miserable than the wretchedness of war"⁷ and was deeply affected by it.

In March 1962, Ji-song began working as an intern at the Industrial Evangelism Bureau in the PCK. Over the next 8 months, he gained work experience in various industries, including coal mining, steel production, textiles, and motor

manufacturing. The experience convinced him to pursue a career in industrial evangelism.⁸

In 1962, Ji-song was given permission from a company to work with workers without revealing his identity. The company's owner and executives were Christians, and all employees were required to attend the worship services. During one service, Ji-song overheard a worker swearing at the preacher, saying,

“We’re going to die of tiredness, but that bastard slept well last night and is screaming madly, ‘Come to me, you who are weary and heavy laden,’” The people around me also cursed, because they didn’t know who I was.⁹

In December 1963, Cho Ji-song was ordained as the first minister for industrial evangelism in the PCK and was assigned to the YDP District.¹⁰ Despite his background growing up with apocalyptic beliefs in North Korea, as a pro-American, anti-communist refugee Christian who studied with American support while working for a US military unit in South Korea, Ji-song was supported by the world ecumenical movement in his work with the UIM, which was unusual.

Changes in Cho Ji-song’s UIM Policy and Theology

Cho Ji-song’s UIM policy changed depending on who was at the center of the mission. At first, he attempted to pastor a factory with the cooperation of the company’s owner or executive. Then, he tried evangelizing factory workers by training Christian laypeople. He later attempted industrial mission through trade unions and finally developed industrial mission by awakening worker consciousness among female workers through numerous small groups. Through this process, Cho Ji-song realized that only workers can solve the problems of industrial society.¹¹

Korean theologians describe these YIM policy changes as “the way of incarnation” or “the way of being enslaved.” Hwang Hong-ryeol attributed this change to the workers’ backlash against the ‘approach from above.’¹² However, Cho Ji-song said that this change was not intentional but rather “the result of a continuous rollover” that he realized after failing repeatedly.

If someone worked with the plan of working in order, first with the boss, then with the executives, next with the employees, and finally with the union, that person would be a genius. But this was the result of running into reality without a plan and continuing to roll to the floor.¹³

*First Stage: Industrial evangelism in cooperation with the company
(1958-1963)*

In the initial phase of his mission, Cho Ji-song attempted to evangelize factory workers with the assistance of Christian-run companies. Employers believed that forcing workers to attend worship services would help control them, so they mobilized workers to attend. While workers attended these services to survive, they also harbored resentment towards their employers and the churches. However, Cho Ji-song did not realize that this approach to evangelism was harmful to both the church and the missions.

It was only in early 1965 that Cho Ji-song finally realized the shortcomings of his approach. During a conversation with a worker, he was shocked to hear that the workers resented him for associating with the company owners. This served as a turning point for Cho Ji-song, allowing him to break free from the constraints of traditional industrial evangelism.

At that time, I also had a vague sense that something was not quite right. But when I heard a specific word from a worker, I came to the realization that I was definitely doing something wrong. I understood that if I continued down this path, things would go in the opposite direction of what I had hoped for.¹⁴

Between workers and business owners, I was first on the company's side and then on the workers' side, but the theory of the church stands in the middle. That's the logic I learned. But I couldn't stand in the middle, I couldn't be in the middle. A missionary must choose one or the other.¹⁵

Second Stage: Industrial evangelism through lay employees (1964-1967)

After the incident with the worker, Cho Ji-song shifted his focus to promoting fair distribution of profits as God's will and a way to improve the standard of living

for all people.¹⁶ However, this did not sit well with business owners, and he was unable to continue his work in their factories.

He then turned to “laity theology” and developed a policy of evangelizing by training lay people at 250 factories in the YDP.¹⁷ He organized the Lay Industry Evangelism Association in June 1964, and over three years, 300 people were trained.

However, it soon became clear that educating lay workers in the workplace was not enough to solve the labor problems of industrial society. Educated workers were often promoted and cooperated with their employers rather than supporting other workers.¹⁸

In 1966, around 10 of the lay people trained by Cho Ji-song became union leaders. He studied union theory with them, invited experts to educate them on labor laws, and established relationships with executives from the Korea Federation of Trade Unions (KFTU). In July of that year, he organized a training program for union officers in the YDP district, exchanging programs and building personal relationships with the KFTU.

Cho Ji-song also participated in a field trip program for Industrial Mission in Taiwan and Japan organized by the East Asian Christian Council (EACC) in March-April 1966. In October-December of the same year, he completed training for union officers at the Asian Labor Education Center in the Philippines. These experiences were helpful in understanding industrial evangelism and trade union movements in other countries.

Worker Christology

During this time, Cho Ji-song’s monthly news publication, *Industrial Evangelism*, published many articles showcasing the development of his theological thought. In his article “Christian Reflections on Trade Unions,” he argues that it is the attitude of a Christian manager to give a denarius to every worker who worked in the vineyard. In “Why Are We Poor?” he asserts that poverty is not just an individual responsibility, but a shared responsibility of the state, capitalists, religious people, and intellectuals. He criticizes feudal, authoritarian, and monopolistic business owners and recommends that workers support those business owners who work for social justice and welfare. In “Japan in Crisis,” he analyzes that Japanese companies facing a crisis of rising labor wages and declining productivity are trying to solve the problem by using the low wages

of Korean workers. Cho Ji-song was highly attuned to international changes that affected workers' living conditions.

In his article "Jesus Who Came as Carpenter," Cho Ji-song develops the concept of "worker Christology." He argues that the perfect person of Jesus was accomplished through 30 years of labor, and therefore, only the working man can make himself and his family true human beings and create a valuable society. The higher the social treatment of workers, the deeper the church's interest in them, and the greater the joy of the worker Jesus. Work is not an end in itself, but a means of making humans truly human. Therefore, the primary purpose of management and labor is not to make money but to consider how to use it. Cho Ji-song came to recognize that the labor issue is not just a national issue, but also a mission issue of the church.

It is evident that Cho Ji-song's "worker Christology" became the root for the later development of "union ecclesiology." Based on the idea that labor is a true tool of humanization, worker Christology and union ecclesiology emerged.

Third Stage: UIM through the labor union (1968-October 1972)

In 1968, Cho Ji-song changed the name of his publication from *Industrial Evangelism* to *Industrial Mission* and sought to expand the UIM by establishing unions. This change was in line with the shifting focus of the global ecumenical movement towards industrial mission rather than evangelism. At the Urban Industry Research Conference of the EACC held in Bangkok in January 1968, the motto of the movement was also changed from "I work, too" (John 5:17) to "the gospel to the poor."¹⁹ During this conference, Cho Ji-song found that the concerns of Asian industrial mission were similar to his own and gained confidence that the mission he envisioned was a movement with global universality.²⁰

The church should be able to explain and demonstrate God's justice or the right way of God in the events that take place in a factory or enterprise, such as labor-management problems, human relation problems, and wage problems, etc. I think it is UIM's responsibility to make an effort to understand these issues and to inform others of their significance.²¹

1968, the YDP-UIM intervened in organizing the first democratic labor union at Jeil Trading Co. in Mullae-dong. From October 1969, small group meetings for each plant were started, and in October 1970, the 'Pioneer,' a training meeting for small group leaders, began. The YDP-UIM worked with the KFTU and local unions to train 12,000 union leaders in 21 sessions over 3 years. Cho Ji-song realized that workers were more engaged when sharing "serious field stories" during breaks, and he increased the number of worker-related lectures.²² By this time, UIM had organized labor unions in about 100 companies in Seoul and Incheon, with a total of 40,000 union members.

With the support of the global ecumenical movement, Cho Ji-song toured civil society movements, social missions, and labor movements in the US and Europe for 7 months from September 1970 to April 1971, including the German labor movement. He met with officials from the German Protestant Church (EZE) and secured financial support for the construction of the YDP-UIM Center. He was also inspired by the labor priests in the slums of Paris, France who saw their presence among the people as the church.

Through this trip, Cho Ji-song learned the importance of organization and "the logic of power". He returned with the conviction that "justice without power is the devil's plaything" and that the only way for the weak to achieve justice is to work through organized action.²³

Forth Stage: UIM through small-group movement (1972-1979)

In December 1971, President Park Chung-hee restricted workers' right to collective action and bargaining through the Act on Special Measures for National Security. The KFTU and the heads of 17 industry unions supported the measures and the constitutional amendment to abolish the presidential term (October 1972). Companies seized this opportunity to suppress workers' rights and destroy unions. Cho Ji-song was greatly disappointed to see union leaders become slaves to power.

In January 1974, 18 Christian groups belonging to the Joint Labor Relations Council issued a statement criticizing the KFTU and the National Textile Union.²⁴ The government-controlled KFTU declared that they would fight the UIM. When

Cho Ji-song saw the unions' apostasy, he was once again frustrated and hit rock bottom, where he met young female workers. He said,

The UIM had to find a new avenue. ... What started as an alternative was a small group organization activity. As the core of UIM, this movement left many achievements in the labor movement of the 1970s. It was a grave mistake that the Park Chung-hee dictatorship did not prevent this movement in advance.²⁵

The workers, who had grown in consciousness within the small group meetings, went to their companies to engage in union activities. They consulted closely with the UIM, which eventually led to numerous labor-management disputes.... However, the corporations and government organizations could not break the small group activities.... The UIM's training courses made workers aware of labor problems and helped them develop as mature human beings. Corporations could not destroy workers' organizations because worker's mindsets, social consciousness, and views on political economy were clearly established.²⁶

Cho Ji-song saw feeble-looking female workers brought to consciousness through small group meetings, transformed into new personalities, and with unyielding courage fought huge capital and oppressive powers. He found hope as female workers devoted themselves to their fellow workers, embodying the true humanization of industrial society. He became convinced that the church was not the channel to save them, but rather the workers were the channel to save the church and the country.

Cho Ji-song's UIM Theology and Ecclesiology

Cho Ji-song's UIM Theology

In October 1972, after Park Chung-hee established his permanent rule of power, Cho Ji-song felt the need to defend the UIM towards the Korean church. He explained "The New Direction of Industrial Mission" with 14 articles.²⁷

1. It does not mean pastors gathering employees in a factory and preaching to them.
2. It is not social work or charitable activity.
3. It emphasizes fair compensation for workers rather than loyalty to their employers.
4. It emphasizes Christian social ethics more than doctrine.
5. It means contacting workers individually or as a group and taking an interest in their real-life issues.
6. It meets with union members more often than with business owners.
7. It focuses more on the problems of marginalized workers than those recognized by the company. \
8. It takes an interest in concrete actions to improve the working conditions of workers.
9. It is interested in the fair distribution of corporate profits.
10. It hopes that the church will become neighbors of workers and serve them.
11. It emphasizes learning by action rather than preaching or lectures.
12. It emphasizes the need to prevent injustice in industrial society with the organized power of workers.
13. It emphasizes the stewardship mission of recognizing all capital and corporate profits as God's.
14. It opposes the system that treats workers as production machines and respects the dignity of workers.

The 14 articles can be classified into three types: firstly, the traditional industrial evangelism method was denied as ineffective. Secondly, there was an emphasis on the need for humanization of workers, fair wages, wage increase, improvement of living conditions, and education and organization for workers. Thirdly, the church must serve workers as neighbors to realize God's sovereignty and justice in the economic realm.

In 1973, the YDP-UIM supported female workers who were struggling against forced worship at a textile company where the owner and many executives were members of the Dongshin Church, which belongs to the PCK. The workers were required to hold a worship service once a month, and those living in the dormitory had to participate in the service every Thursday. Workers assigned to work on Sundays had to work 18 hours. The YDP-UIM and workers

raised awareness about the conditions and sought support from the churches across the contry, which eventually led to the abolition of forced worship and reinstatement of laid-off workers. However, Cho Ji-song faced direct attacks from Christian entrepreneurs and the church authorities.

In October 1974, Cho Ji-song stated in an article titled "Mission to Workers" that the church's attitude toward workers must focus on the justice of an industrial society through the fair distribution of corporate profits. He also emphasized that the church should serve workers with the attitude of serving Christ and respect them as human beings.

In doing mission to workers, we must not only respect them as human beings, but also serve them with the attitude of serving Christ. ... If the church says "work is sacred" or "work is a participation in God's creative work" to workers without addressing business ethics, it cannot boost the workers' self-esteem, and it may even sound like a curse to them. ... The worker is poor not because they work little, but because there are those who work little and get more.²⁸

The PCK UIM Central Committee announced its basic position in UIM as the following 9 articles on May 31, 1975. These articles included the need to value the position of workers, protect them from unfair treatment, and care about their housing, health, education, and job issues. The committee also emphasized that UIM was not only a method of evangelism but also the only way to build an anti-communist and democratic country.²⁹

In 1978, when the government, corporations, and conservative churches jointly attacked the UIM as a pro-communist group, Cho Ji-song defended the UIM's legitimacy by citing the document announcing the PCK UIM Central Committee's basic position on UIM.

Cho Ji-song saw that many workers who participated in the UIM's activities became converted to Christians, the UIM's staff, moved by the workers, became devoted activists, and even the soldiers who tortured the UIM's workers were touched by their sincerity. He said he had no choice but to surrender to the workers.³⁰

Ecclesiology from the Perspective of Workers

Cho Ji-song called the UIM a “Jesus Movement” and the “True Church” because he believed that the labor unions and small group movements within the UIM were creating a movement that embodied the values of Jesus as a champion of the oppressed and marginalized. He said, “A church without walls is more productive than a church in preaching the gospel and proclaiming salvation to workers.”³¹

1) Why did he call the UIM a “Jesus Movement” or “True Church”?

As previously mentioned, Cho Ji-song had formulated a Christology centered on the workers. Through the lens of the working class, he saw Jesus in the Gospels as the one who stood in solidarity with them in the context of industrial society.

Jesus stood with the weak who were unjustly oppressed and discriminated against, and at the same time, boldly confronted and criticized the evil powers that caused them to suffer from crying, hunger, and sickness. Jesus also converted the wicked. This image of Jesus must continue in the history of Korean Christianity.³²

Cho Ji-song saw that this Jesus movement was being realized within the labor unions and the small group movement of the UIM, in where the workers learn the values that may save this industrial society.

I believe that the trade union movement is the best, if not the only way, to protect workers’ rights. To me, the union is like a church for workers. It is where we learn human rights, democracy, love for our neighbors, sacrifice, and service. We also learn what it means to suffer for the sake of righteousness, how to fight practically for social justice and workers’ rights, and what true peace is.³³

The trained workers in unions and the small groups were reinvented as new human beings. “In the UIM, I’ve seen a lot of workers who have never heard of Jesus, think like Jesus and act like Jesus,” said Cho Ji-song.³⁴

This is a faith. Truly, this is what makes me human. This is the way to love the workers. This is the way business owners can live conscientiously. This is beneficial to society and the country. I have such a very strong conviction. ... There is a holy

priestly mission in such a young woman who is despised as so-called *Gong-sooni* (a factory girl), who barely graduated from elementary school in the countryside. Then, such a decision, "I will die for 500 workers at any cost during the struggle," is the same as Jesus' determination to take up the cross. So, it's solemn, so it's really bowed down and respectful.³⁵

Cho Ji-song discovered the sacred humanity of becoming a 'being for the other' in the conscious female workers. Through them, he learned anew what it means to be justified by faith, why it is blessed to be persecuted for righteousness' sake, and what it is to pray for our daily bread.³⁶ And he also learned from them liberation theology, minjung theology, the doctrine of the cross, and courage.³⁷ So he was able to call the small groups of the UIM and the unions that fostered such humanity as "a Jesus movement" and "a true church."

2) Why did he give up hope for the institutional church?

Cho Ji-song discovered God's mission through the UIM. But at the same time, he discovered the reality that "the dictatorship government," "money-blind businessmen," and "some big churches" were forming the anti-worker cartel as "triplets."³⁸ He saw that a church that did not become a neighbor of the workers, did not sympathize with the pain, and rather became an enemy of the workers, was not the true church.

On the one hand, he tried to protect the YDP-UIM from attacks by the government, corporations and churches, and on the other hand, he tried to keep the institutional churches from becoming the enemy of the workers.

Since 1976, discovering the church represented capitalists' interest and attacked UIM, he gradually lost hope for it.

I understand that governments and businesses oppose UIM, but I cannot forgive the church against UIM. So, I always told this story in several places. Churches, governments, and businesses are triplets. The church is a group that has no power to save workers. ... Specifically, is it possible to rescue the workers from hell? The church has to go to hell to save the workers, but the church has no intention of going to hell. Heaven is where the church lives now.³⁹

Cho Ji-song expressed concern and regret over the prospect of the day when the church would be abandoned by the workers.

On the day that the workers become self-sufficient, They could potentially destroyed [the church]. If we remain indifferent to their struggles and pain, there is a risk that the church, which has grown in luxury, could collapse overnight. ... However, the church must be enlightened and renewed to adress labor issues, and take small steps towards progress. ... Sometimes I have these mixed thoughts of hope, while at other times, I think "Oh, let them all die' all get ruined. It's impossible to caim that we can save workers through the church." So, I have comfling thoughts going back and forth.⁴⁰

In his 1994 article, Cho Ji-song presented a series of thought-provoking questions that he had been contemplating for two decades, and he asserted that any church that cannot answer them is without hope. These questions are as follows:⁴¹

1. Can a church truly embody love if it ignores the suffering of workers?
2. Can missionary work be carried out without being persecuted by unjust forces?
3. Shouldn't the church be concerned about not being saved before attempting to save others?
4. Is the church's silence in the face of unjust power justice?
5. Is the church's neutrality between the strong and the weak just?
6. Who is the owner of the church, money, authority, or God?

3) Support of the global ecumenical movement for the YDP-UIM

In 1978, the Korean government put pressure on churches and Christian organizations to stop supporting the YDP-UIM. However, the global ecumenical movement and foreign media continued to support the UIM, providing essential funding. For example, out of the \$2 million budget of the WCC-URM in the 1970s, \$1 million was allocated to the CCA-URM (Jaesik Oh), and half of the CCA-URM's budget was used for the Korea UIM and the democratization movement in Korea.⁴²

Cho Ji-song believed that the American and European churches supported the Korea UIM because they had failed to support workers in their own countries, and saw the UIM as a beacon of hope for workers around the world. Oversea media thought the Korea UIM as a symbol of democracy. So, the Korea UIM has received wide supports from the global ecumenical movement and the human community.⁴³

The YDP-UIM was not alone. If it was alone, it would have already been destroyed. It was a part of a larger world mission movement. The YDP-UIM gained worldwide support due to its ability to instill hope in global workers and churches, and it was worth protecting desperately. ... So, as a humble person, I was able to survive thanks to the global organization and support. In fact without this support, the YDP-UIM would have faced extinction on several occasions.⁴⁴

Cho Ji-song, who had suffered from severe migraines since 1978, attended the WCC Missions Conference in Melbourne in May 1980 as an advisory member. After returning home, he withdrew from the field of the YDP-UIM, and officially resigned in 1983. Despite his resignation, Cho Ji-song continued to work for the rights of workers and the democratization of Korea until his death in 2011.

Concluding Remark

Cho Ji-song's faith initially had fundamental and conservative roots, but his experiences with workers in the 1960s and 1970s led him to reorient his missionary vision towards addressing the problems faced by workers.

Initially, Cho Ji-song tried to evangelize factory workers through the owners and lay workers, but he soon realized that this approach was not effective in solving labor problems and humanizing workers. He then turned to helping workers become conscious through unions, but government-controlled unions were hostile towards the UIM. Finally, he focused on small group activities for female workers, which laid the foundation for the modern labor movement in Korea and contributed to the humanization of workers and the restoration of their dignity.

Although Cho Ji-song was not an academic theologian, his UIM theology developed in the same direction as global ecumenical theology, such as 'God's mission,' 'laity theology,' 'humanization,' and 'today's salvation.' The theology and missions developed within the most oppressed Korean workers were linked to the global and universal ecumenical movement.

Many established churches considered Cho Ji-song's UIM activities as non-evangelical and anti-church and opposed it. However, Cho Ji-song rediscovered the meaning of the gospel among workers in industrial society and developed a workers' Christology and a trade union ecclesiology. He viewed a church that did not contribute to the humanization and present salvation of workers as a

hindrance and believed that a church separated from the reality of the lives of those who suffer the most was not the true church.

The women workers transformed through UIM did not yield to the oppression and attacks of the country's most powerful military dictatorship, corrupt financial powers, and dominant religious forces. They made miraculous changes that restored the dignity of working people, improved working conditions, created democratic unions, and won the eight-hour work system.

References

- 1 In 1964, the Commission of the World Mission and Evangelism (CWME) of the WCC established the UIM desk, which played a crucial role in supporting local movements and forsting international solidarity. In 1973, the CWME established the Department of Rural Missions (CWME-RAM), and in 1978 the UIM and the RAM were merged to form the Department of Urban Rural Missions (URM). Similarly, in 1973 the CCA renamed its UIM department to the URM.
- 2 Duk-seok Seo, "Interview with Cho Ji-song for his Biography," (August 22, 2011), located at Yeongdeungpo Urban Industrial Mission (hereafter YDP-UIM).
- 3 Duk-seok Seo, "Interview with Cho Ji-song for his Biography," 5.
- 4 Yong-Bok Kim, "Rev, Cho Ji-song's Oral Materials Vol. 12," 2.
- 5 The East Asian Christian Council (EACC) held its inaugural general meeting in 1957, and at the 5th General Assembly in Singapore in 1973 revised its charter and changed its name to the Christian Conference of Asia (CCA). The Singapore General Assembly changed the existing Urban Industrial Mission (EACC-UIM) program to the Urban Rural Mission (CCA-URM).
- 6 *Gidokgongbo* (Gazette of the PCK), June 24, 1961, 1.
- 7 Yong-Bok Kim, "Rev, Cho Ji-song's Oral Materials Vol. 12," 9.
- 8 Yong-Bok Kim, "Rev, Cho Ji-song's Oral Materials Vol. 1," 10.
- 9 Yong-Bok Kim, "Rev, Cho Ji-song's Oral Materials Vol. 12," 11.
- 10 Ji-song Cho, "A Brief Story of Yeongdeungpo Urban Industrial Mission," *Industrial Mission (Sanup Sungyo)* 21 (Autumn 1994), 71. Hereafter "A brief Story of YDP-UIM."
- 11 Ji-song Cho and others, "The Current State and Prospect of Industrial Mission" *Christian Thoughts (Gidokgyo Sasang)* 13(3) (March 1969), 55.
- 12 Hong-ryeol Hwang, "Yeongdeungpo UIM: Rev. Cho Ji-song's Understanding on UIM," in the 2nd Anniversary Memorial Ceremony and Mission Seminar to commemorate Rev. Cho Ji-song, 25.
- 13 Yong-Bok Kim, "Rev, Cho Ji-song's Oral Materials Vol. 12," 1, 53.
- 14 Yong-Bok Kim, "Rev, Cho Ji-song's Oral Materials Vol. 12," 12.
- 15 Yong-Bok Kim, "Rev, Cho Ji-song's Oral Materials Vol. 12," 13.
- 16 Ji-song Cho, "Eat your own food," in *Industrial Evangelism* 7 (March 1, 1965).
- 17 Yong-Bok Kim, "Rev, Cho Ji-song's Oral Materials Vol. 1," 11.
- 18 Yong-Bok Kim, "Rev, Cho Ji-song's Oral Materials Vol. 1," 13.
- 19 The conference highlighted 1.) that the task of mission in an industrial society is humanization, 2.) that social justice and united work among Asian countries are desperately needed, and 3.) that the church needs to reform itself toward the workers.
- 20 Yong-Bok Kim, "Rev, Cho Ji-song's Oral Materials Vol. 12," 72.
- 21 Ji-song Cho and others, "The Current State and Prospect of Urban Industrial Mission" *Christian Thoughts (Gidokgyo Sasang)* 13(3) (March 1969), 54.

- 22 Ji-song Cho, "A Brief Story of YDP-UIM," 72.
- 23 Ji-song Cho, "For a New Forward," in *Data Collection for the 35th Anniversary of Industrial Mission* (December 20, 1993), 13; Ji-song Cho, "A Brief Story of YDP-UIM," 86.
- 24 National Council of Churches in Korea, *Labor Fields and Testimonies in the 1970s* (Pulbit, 1984), 406.
- 25 Ji-song Cho, "A Brief Story of YDP-UIM," 74-75.
- 26 Yong-Bok Kim, "Rev, Cho Ji-song's Oral Materials Vol. 2," 25.
- 27 Ji-song Cho, "The New Direction of Industrial Mission," *Hwalcheon* (October 1972), 40.
- 28 Ji-song Cho, "Mission to Workers," (October 25, 1974), 2-3 in *Data Collection of the Yeongdeungpo Urban Industrial Mission Book (I)*, 222.
- 29 "Basic Position of the Presbyterian Church of Korea on Urban Industrial Mission," in *Data Collection of the Yeongdeungpo Urban Industrial Mission Book (I)*, 243.
- 30 Yong-Bok Kim, "Rev, Cho Ji-song's Oral Materials Vol. 3," 48.
- 31 Ji-song Cho, "A Brief Story of YDP-UIM," 83.
- 32 Ji-song Cho, "Working and Doing Mission in Following Christ," *Christian Thoughts* 23 (October 1979), 80.
- 33 Ji-song Cho, "For a New Forward," 12.
- 34 Hoon-hee Lee and others, "Interview with Rev. Ji-song Cho (Autumn 2010), 5.
- 35 Yong-Bok Kim, "Rev, Cho Ji-song's Oral Materials Vol. 8," 130-131.
- 36 Yong-Bok Kim, "Rev, Cho Ji-song's Oral Materials Vol. 12," 15-17.
- 37 Ji-song Cho, "For a New Forward," 15.
- 38 Ji-song Cho, "For a New Forward," 11.
- 39 Duk-seok Seo, "Interview with Cho Ji-song for Biography," 19.
- 40 Yong-Bok Kim, "Rev, Cho Ji-song's Oral Materials Vol. 9," 13-14.
- 41 Ji-song Cho, "A Brief Story of YDP-UIM," 83.
- 42 Jaesik Oh, *The Phenomenon that Approaches to Me as a Flower: Memoirs of Jaesik Oh*, (Christian Literature Society in Korea, 2012), 186.
- 43 Yong-Bok Kim, "Rev, Cho Ji-song's Oral Materials Vol. 12," 44.
- 44 Duk-seok Seo, "Interview with Cho Ji-song for Biography," 26

History of the Slovakian Reformed Church at a glance

1918–1938

Until the end of World War I, the congregations of the Reformed Christian Church in Slovakia were part of the Reformed Church in Hungary. After the end of the World War, with the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the signing of the Treaty of Trianon, the Reformed Church lost a large part of its congregations. Initially, the aim was to ensure that our Reformed congregations would not split from the mother church in Hungary, but later it became clear that this was an impassable path. The political leadership of Czechoslovakia, led by the President of the Republic, T.G. Masaryk, urged the Reformed Church to create its own districts in the country, to draw up its constitution, and then the Reformed community would be given full independence and freedom within the Czechoslovak Republic. At that time, only 31 of the seceded congregations were Slovak and 12 were bilingual (Hungarian and Slovak), compared to 449 Hungarian-speaking congregations. When the first steps towards self-organisation were taken, it was clear that the work of church organisation itself would not be easy. However, the work had to be done, the life of the congregations could not stop, and it was necessary to start the process of dividing the congregations into districts. First, the district of the Danube district would elect a bishop and a general curator, Elemér Balogh, a pastor from Bratislava, and Béla Szilassy, a landowner from Losonc. The elected officials were inaugurated at the General Assembly of the District on 22 June 1921 in Bratislava. Not even half a year had passed, and on 30 October, the newly elected bishop and head curator of the newly formed

district of Tisza, István Pálóczi Czinke, pastor of Rimaszombat, and Géza Lukács, district curator of Gömör, were installed in office. These two districts were joined by a third, the Transcarpathian District, where, after the elections of 7 June 1923, Béla Bertók, dean of Munkács, became bishop of the district and Endre György, retired minister, its general curator. Together, these three districts formed the United Reformed Church of Slovakia and Transcarpathia (Subcarpathia).

To adapt to the changed circumstances, the church had to create its own laws. This was the task of the Council of Léva in 1923 and of the Council of Pozsony in 1928. The decisions and decrees of the first synod were submitted to the head of state, with an accompanying document pointing out that the laws made were also in accordance with the state constitution. The document also states that the Church has a claim to an independent pastoral training institute and that it will not prevent the creation of a Slovak District if the presbyteries of the congregations concerned apply to the Church leadership. The discussions in 1924, and again in 1926, were unsuccessful. In the meantime, the Losonc Theological Seminary had begun to operate, but it had not received any state support during its period of operation (1925-1939), nor had it gained any state recognition. In 1928, at the Synod in Pozsony, the laws were further discussed, the attempt to obtain recognition of theology and the best conditions for the creation of a Slovak district continued, and the decisions were again sent to the state authorities. No progress has been made, the state has not taken the Reformed Church's proposals seriously, and the church laws have never been approved. The church, however, tried to keep what it had, and in these difficult years it established schools, a theology, a teacher training institute in Komárom in 1935, orphanages (1928-Beretke, 1928-Kiskoszmály, with two branch orphanages in Léva and Komárom, 1935-Munkács and Nagyszöllős), and a student canteen in Bratislava, all of which were financed by the church, thanks to the sacrifices of the faithful. During these years there were several changes at the head of the districts.

István Pálóczi Czinke left the episcopate of the Tisza Inner District in 1929 and moved to Hungary. His place was taken by Mihály Péter, pastor of Gálszécs, who was the bishop of the district for 4 years, until his death in 1933. He was succeeded by Barna Idrányi, pastor of Nagyszalánc, but in the same year God Almighty called him from the living. The last bishop of the Inner Tisza District was Dr. Sándor Magda, pastor of Csicsér and later of Nagykapos, who was the head of the district

until the district was reattached to Hungary. Elemér Balogh was the bishop of the Inner Danubian District until the first half of 1938, but he died before the country was annexed back to Hungary. He was succeeded in the bishopric by Béla Sörös, who was also the only director of the theological seminary in Losonc between 1925 and 1939. Béla Sörös also died shortly after the re-annexation in 1939.¹ Béla Bertók was the only bishop of the Transcarpathian district who served as bishop from its foundation until its dissolution. I would like to mention in just a few words the achievements that have been made in these almost 20 years, which have benefited the Reformed Church. In spite of all the financial restrictions, in which the “congrua - law” issued by the state in 1926, which made it impossible for pastors to work, played a role, the church established its own pension fund, its own insurance office (Helvetia), and the district of Ung established its own relief association. During these years, the church had its own printing press in the Bereg district (Transcarpathian district) and dozens of newspapers were published in the church, edited by Reformed pastors and maintained by the congregations and the Reformed Church.² In addition to the periodicals, several books, studies and publications were also published by our Reformed pastors, hymn books and the Small Catechism. On the spiritual field, Reformed Christianity began to find its own way: the missionary movement, which had its origin in the theology of Losonc, had its influence. Both internal and external missions were started, and congregational life also began to develop, the number of church members did not decrease but rather increased.

1938–1945

The re-annexation to Hungary created a new situation in the Reformed Church. The majority of the congregations were again divided into the ecclesiastical districts of the Reformed Church of Hungary, with the change of borders. In the territory of the then Slovakia, there were only 25 Reformed congregations, approximately equally divided along national lines. These congregations tried to build up their ecclesiastical organisation and tried to organise themselves into districts. They elected Sándor Böszörményi, a pastor from Homonna, as their bishop, but instead of confirming them, the state appointed a so-called Organisation Committee and entrusted it with the management of church affairs.³

The war, however, also interfered with the life of the church to such an extent that the majority of the congregations, waited and reached the end of World War II in an orphaned state, since there had been no replacement of pastors and even those pastors who would have tried to advance the church, died.

1945–1952

After the Second World War, with Hungary once again on the losing side, the pre-1938 border was restored, except that Transcarpathia was annexed to the then Soviet Union. Once again, the congregations of the Reformed Church had to face new difficulties. It began with the deportation of tens of thousands of people to forced labour after the arrival of the 'liberating' Soviet army, and then, under the Kassa Government Programme of 1945, a large part of the Hungarian population, including the majority of the Reformed, lost their citizenship, and at the same time a series of deportations began. I should mention here two church initiatives that were intended to promote mission within and outside the country, both of which were initiated by Kálmán Tóth, a former orphanage pastor. To start the inner mission, he founded the Timothy movement, and with the young pastors who gathered around him, they travelled the country evangelising. The other was the search for and pastoral care of displaced Reformed people trapped in the Czech Republic, also organised by Kálmán Tóth. At this time, the previously established Organizing Committee, headed by Ján Tomašula and Vojtech Ozorovský, pastor and lay president respectively, again took over the management of the Reformed Church.⁴ The communist leadership granted citizenship to the Hungarian population and stopped the deportations, but at the same time the church had to fight its own life-and-death battle with communist ideology and its methods for many decades. The new social order that had emerged also called into question the work of the ruling Organizing Committee, and new elections had to be held in 1951. The state placed the Reformed Church under strict control. A new church constitution had to be drawn up, and the church was ruled for years by the senior church secretaries. The changed circumstances brought about changes in church government that had never been seen before. All assignments to church ministry, substitute ministers, and proposals for filling offices were approved by the state church office. It was under these circumstances that the new church officers

were elected in 1952. A bishop, 1-1 Slovak and 1 Hungarian deputy bishop and a senior pastor were elected to lead the church, and the new church constitution stipulated that Hungarian and Slovak leaders had equal rights. Dr. Imre Varga, a pastor from Rimaszombat, is elected bishop of this newly-formed Reformed Church, and Bertalan Csáji, a doctor from Kassa, is elected as its general curator.⁵

1953–1989

The Church, in defiance of the spread of communist ideology and ideas, tries to keep its faithful intact despite the constraints and tries to carry out the work of the Church in the best possible way. I emphasise the church work because no other kind of church work was made possible by the state during these years. The Reformed schools were nationalised, and they even tried to hinder the worship services. In order to apply for further education, college or university, everyone had to bring their school transcripts with them, and if the transcript included the fact that the applicant had attended church, had been confirmed, or belonged to a congregation, the path to further education was almost cut off. For almost forty years, the students of our Reformed Church studied at the Comenius Faculty of Theology in Prague, where the teaching was in Czech, but our Church employed 1 professor and 1 associate professor, who taught Reformed students at the Faculty in Hungarian in theological subjects such as practical theology, Hungarian church history, the theology of Calvin, etc. There was hardly any church literature published by our church (except for the republication of our Reformed hymnal, the publication of our creeds (Second Helvetic Confession, Heidelberg Catechism) and a textbook for the confirmation age group called Little Catechism), and the journal *Kálvinista Szemle*, i.e. Calvinist Review and its Slovak version, *Kalvinské Hlasy*, were published. Foreign trips and scholarships almost ceased, the bishop was allowed to go abroad (outside the socialist countries) a few times to represent our church, and during the 40 years about 5 theologians and pastors received scholarships to a Western European university. In 1980 Imre Varga died and our church continued to live without a bishop until 1984, when Zsigmond Horváth was elected bishop and Zoltán Takács, an engineer, both from Komárom, was elected as general curator. After four years, Bishop Horváth died and was replaced by Dr Jenő Mikó, a pastor from Bratislava. The following

year, 1989, brought changes not only in society but also in the Church. In the autumn of 1989, the Velvet Revolution overthrew the existing order and the country embarked on the path of democratisation.⁶

1990–2022

The new era, the reopening of borders and religious freedom have also brought new challenges for the Church. After forty years of imposed ideology, people began to return to churches, congregations began to flourish, and people's interest in faith and the Reformed Church was revived. It became clear to the leadership of the church that the challenges had to be met and the interest of the congregations and people interested in our church had to be satisfied. Twenty years ago, the Calvin J. Theological Institute was established in Komárom, initially to train Reformed teachers of the faith and Levites. Zoltán Takács, that time general curator, and Imre Peres, formerly pastor in Pozsony, were entrusted with its management. This institute was later transformed into the Calvin J. Theological Academy, which began its theological activities in 1994 and trained pastors until 2004, when the Selye János University of Komárom was founded, with the Faculty of Reformed Theology as its first faculty. A change in the life of the Church's leadership took place in 1995-1996, when a renewal took place from the congregational to the synodal level. In 1996, Dr Géza Erdélyi was elected bishop of the church, a post he held until 2008, succeeded by László Fazekas, pastor of Komárom. After the church elections in 2020, Róbert Géresi was elected bishop of the church. In the last 20 years, the General Curators have been Árpád Asszonyi, László Koncsol, Vince Fekete and currently Ferenc Porubán.⁷

At present the Reformed Christian Church in Slovakia is made up of nine districts, of which seven are Hungarian and two Slovakian. The Reformed Christian Church of Slovakia is a church looking to the future, trusting in the living God and asking Him for strength and preservation. We trust in God to keep us, to preserve our church despite all external and internal problems, sometimes tensions, and to grant us spiritual and faithful progress.

References

- 1 Csomár, Zoltán: *A Csehszlovák államkeretbe kényszerített magyar református keresztyén egyház húszéves története* (Ungvár: Magyar Királyi Nyomda, 1940), 27.
- 2 Csomár: 31-33.
- 3 Szabó, Antal: *A Szlovákiai Református Egyház története - I. rész.*, 55-57.
- 4 Lévai, Attila – Somogyi, Alfréd: *A Szlovákiai Református Keresztyén Egyház története 1918 – 1938*, 57.
- 5 Somogyi, Alfréd. *Száz év: A Szlovákiai Református Keresztyén Egyház története az önállósulástól napjainkig*, 77.
- 6 *Ibid.*, 97.
- 7 *Ibid.*, 247.

Bibliography

Csomár, Zoltán: *A csehszlovák államkeretbe kényszerített magyar református keresztyén egyház húszéves története (1918-1938)*. Ungvár; Magyar Királyi Állami Nyomda kirendeltsége: 1940.

Lévai, Attila – Somogyi, Alfréd: *A Szlovákiai Református Keresztyén Egyház története 1918 – 1938 1.*: Selye János Egyetem, Komárno 2015.

Szabó, Antal: *A Szlovákiai Református Egyház története - I. rész*. In: Régió kisebbségtudományi Szemle; I. évf. 3. sz. 1990. július. 204-221 p. ISSN 0865-557X

Tóth, László (szerk): *A (cseh)szlovákiai magyar művelődés története 1918-1998. I. kötet*. Budapest; Ister: 1998. ISBN 9638587008Ö, ISBN 9638587016

Lévai, Attila – Simon, Attila – Somogyi, Alfréd – Szarka, László – Tömösközi, František: *Az első húsz év = Prvých dvadsať rokov. Reformovaná kresťanská cirkev na Slovensku v rokoch 1918-1938: A Szlovákiai Református Keresztyén Egyház 1918-1938 között*. Komárno: Univerzita J. Selyeho, 2019.

Somogyi, Alfréd. *Száz év: A Szlovákiai Református Keresztyén Egyház története az önállósulástól napjainkig*. 1. vyd. Michal'any: Szlovákiai Református Keresztyén Egyház Kulturális és Közművelődési Központja, 2023. ISBN 978-80-89964-29-1.

List of Contributors

Korean contributors

Choi, Jin Bong: Dr.Theol. Associate Professor
Christian Worship & Homiletics, Presbyterian University and Theological
Seminary, Korea

Choi, Sangdo: Ph.D. Assistant Professor
Ecclesiastical History, Honam Theological University and Seminary, Korea

Choi, Yoojin: Ph.D. Assistant Professor
Systematic Theology, Honam Theological University and Seminary, Korea

Chung, Byung-Joon: Th.D. Professor
Church History, Seoul Jangsin University, Korea

Lee, Sang-Jo: Dr.Theol. Assistant Professor
Historical Theology, Presbyterian University and Theological Seminary, Korea.

Nam, Sung-Hyuk: Ph.D. Assistant Professor
Missiology, Presbyterian University and Theological Seminary, Korea

Seo, Jaeduck: Dr.Theol. Assistant Professor
Old Testament, Honam Theological University and Seminary, Korea

Suh, Won Mo: Ph.D. Professor
Historical Theology, Presbyterian University and Theological Seminary, Korea

Hungarian contributors

Czövek, Tamás: Ph.D. Professor
Old Testament, Pentecostal Theological University, Hungary

Füsti-Molnár, Szilveszter: Ph.D. Professor
Systematic Theology, Sárospatak Reformed Theological University, Hungary

Kovács, Ábrahám: Ph.D., Dr. habil. Professor,
Systematic Theology, Debrecen Reformed Theological University, Hungary
Historical and Systematic Theology, J. Selye University, Slovakia

Lányi, Gábor: Ph.D., Dr. habil. Associate Professor
Károli Reformed University, Hungary

Lévai, Attila: Ph.D. Associate Professor
Historical theology, J. Selye University, Slovakia

Lucski, Márta: Ph.D. Assistant Professor, Practical theology
Pápa Reformed Theological University, Hungary

Somfalvi, Edit: Ph.D. Associate Professor
Protestant Theological University, Romania

Pásztori-Kupán, István: Ph.D. Dr. habil., Professor
Systematic Theology J. Selye University, Slovakia

Gonda, László: Ph.D. Associate Professor
Missiology and Ecumenism, Debrecen Reformed Theological University, Hungary



9 786155 853616
HU ISBN 978-615-5853-61-6

값 30000 원



9 791195 859443
ISBN 979-11-958594-4-3

