Abstract of

TOWARD A THEOLOGY OF *PAREO DEI*:
EXPLORING A CONTEXTUAL THEOLOGY OF *MISSIO DEI*
FOR THE MISSIOLOGICAL RECONCILIATION
OF THE KOREAN PROTESTANT CHURCH

Musung Jung

This study explores a contextual theology of *missio Dei* through filial piety that is termed *pareo Dei*, in Latin, 'the obeying of God.' The Korean Protestant church is missiologically polarized between progressives and conservatives in their reductionist approaches to God's salvation and mission, which is decidedly related to the *missio Dei* concept that the former exclusively utilized in its *minjung* theological movement and the latter antagonistically labeled missional radicalism in its heaven-bound Great Commission mentality. With attention to the holistic vision of the original and biblical *missio Dei*, the researcher introduces a holistic *missio Dei* to the whole Korean Protestant church via theological contextualization, so that its age-old missiological polarity might be overcome. In the making of p*areo Dei*, Andrew Walls' pilgrim and indigenous principle serves as the overarching conceptual framework, Stephen Bevans' synthetic model as a primary typological framework, and Robert Schreiter's nine-process map as a concrete navigational framework.

The dissertation is comprised of six chapters with interdisciplinary approaches. Chapter 1 is a preliminary study of the contextual theological project, stating the research background, problem, and questions as well as its thesis and methodology. Historical studies of *missio Dei* are the focus of the next two chapters: its diachronic developments in the worldwide Protestant movements in chapter 2 and in the Korean Protestant church in chapter 3. This comparative research shows that the dissemination of a holistic *missio*

Dei to the whole Korean Protestant church is a key to its missiological reconciliation and cooperation as in the case of the worldwide Protestant movements. What follows are theological and missiological studies. Chapter 4 is a theological examination of 'authentic' contextualization with specific reference to its meaning, models, and methods, while chapter 5 is a missiological investigation of *pareo Dei* in the hermeneutical linkages between *missio Dei* and filial piety. The dissertation concludes with the integrative summary and promising research recommendations in chapter 6.

As a result of this self-theological exploration, *pareo Dei* is proposed as the supreme example of both *missio Dei* and filial piety. In *pareo Dei*, Jesus is the filial Son *par excellence* who inaugurates the 'the-anthropocosmic' *Datong* society in relational shalom. As the Incarnation of *missio Dei*, Jesus models the fivefold filial mission of worship, fellowship, discipleship, evangelism, and social action in absolute submission to his Father's redemptive will and purpose. This *pareo Dei* mindset can lead to the Korean Protestant church's missiological reconciliation, since the evangelistic Jesus is inseparable from the prophetic Jesus in his filial commitment to God's mission to the world. Furthermore, *pareo Dei* illuminates God's mission to the church, revealing the missional facility of its inner life

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LIST OF FREQUNETLY-MENTIONED ABBREVIATIONS

APM   The Australian Presbyterian Mission

BGEA   The Billy Graham Evangelistic Association

CA   The Comity Agreement/Arrangement

CCA   Christian Council of Asia

CCK   The Christian Council of Churches in Korea

CPM   The Canadian Presbyterian Mission

CWME   Committee of World Mission and Evangelization

EACC   East Asian Christian Council

ICCC   International Council of Christian Churches

ICOWE   The International Congress on World Evangelization

IMC   International Missionary Conference

JPIC   Justice, Peace, and Integrity of Creation

KCCC   Korean Conservative Christian Circle, collectively

KEC   The Korean Evangelical Church

KPCC   Korean Progressive Christian Circle, collectively

KMC   The Korean Methodist Church

LCWE   The Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization

MSG   The Missionary Structures of the Congregation

NAE   National Association of Evangelicals

NCCK   The National Council of Churches in Korea

NPM   The Northern Presbyterian Mission

PCUSA   The Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

PCK	The Presbyterian Church of Korea
SPM	The Southern Presbyterian Mission
SSW	Shinto Shrine Worship
TEF	Theological Education Fund
UIM	Urban Industrial Mission
WCC	The World Council of Churches
WEA	The World Evangelical Alliance

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Soli Dei Gloria!

CHAPTER 1

THE KOREAN PROTESTANT CHURCH IN MISSIOLOGICAL POLARITY

1.1 Background of the Study

On August 31, 2009, the World Council of Churches (WCC) Central Committee made a public announcement to have its tenth General Assembly in Busan City, Korea in 2013.[1] After one hundred and twenty-five years of Protestant missions to Korea[2] and after its second attempt to hold the WCC Assembly in the country,[3] the National Council of Churches in Korea (NCCK) celebrated the achievement of being selected to host the so-called 'Church Olympics.' Not only for Korean Christians but also for Asian Christians,[4] the WCC's decision is a celebration in that no Asian nation has played host to the meeting ever since India did in 1961 (i.e. the third General Assembly in New Delhi). In excitement, Rev. Jongwha Park, the chairperson of the NCCK bid committee,

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[1] Unless otherwise noted, Korea denotes South Korea.

[2] Horace Allen arrived in Korea in 1884 as a medical missionary. In the next year Horace Underwood and Henry Appenzeller landed at the seaport of Jaemoolpoh as the first clerical missionaries to Korea. See Nak-chun Paek, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea 1832-1910* (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1970), 97-99.

[3] The NCCK applied for the hosting of the ninth General Assembly, but in vain.

[4] Unless otherwise noted, Korean Christianity, Christians, and churches denote Protestantism. The reason for limiting the research scope to Protestant Christianity is twofold. First, in Korea, Catholicism and Protestantism are, in general, related to each other not intra-Christianly but inter-religiously in that many Protestant Christians consider Catholicism as sort of unorthodox Christianity and Catholics as their evangelistic targets on the grounds of the Korean Catholic church's orientation to religious pluralism. As a result, they are not so much familial religions in cooperation as rival religions in competition, which calls for both the dissimilar data, information and the disparate approaches, methods in investigating each religion. Second, the *missio Dei* controversy in Korea has been developed entirely in Protestant Christian history. In the progressive-conservative tension and confrontation, the Korean Protestant church has been divided in terms of the interpretation and application of *missio Dei*. When it comes to the recent discussion of the rivalry between Korean Protestant and Catholic churches, refer to Donald Baker's "Sibling Rivalry in Twentieth-Century Korea: Comparative Growth Rate of Catholic and Protestant Communities," *Christianity in Korea*, eds. Robert Buswell and Timothy Lee (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), chapter 13.

shouted: "The Korean churches are divided, and we yearn to bring them together."[5]

Ideologically as well as geographically, the Korean peninsula is separated into two

countries of South Korea and North Korea.[6] By inviting North Korean Christians, the

NCCK longs for the Assembly to be a symbolic event for the reconciliation and unity of

the two Koreas.

What Rev. Park and the NCCK failed to realize is that the churches in South

Korea are divided themselves, and many of them refuse to come together. The WCC's

resolution that its tenth General Assembly will be held in Korea's Busan is good news to

the NCCK, but bad news to the conservative Christian Council of Korea (CCK), the

largest Protestant association composed of 66 denominations and 20 Christian

organizations. In competitive reaction to the NCCK's hosting of the WCC General

Assembly in 2013, the CCK pushed ahead with the plan of holding the World

Evangelical Alliance (WEA) General Assembly in Seoul, the capital city of Korea, in

2014, which was ratified by the WEA on June 8, 2010.[7] In addition, the CCK has started

to carry out systematic campaigns against the upcoming WCC Conference in Busan. On

March 27, 2011, CCK's Anti-WCC Task Force was formally organized to disseminate

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[5] "WCC Tenth Assembly to Take Place in Korea in 2013," *Indian Orthodox Herald*, Aug 31, 2009. http://www.orthodoxherald.com/2009/08/31/wcc-10th-assembly-to-take-place-in-korea-in-2013/ Accessed on February 6, 2012.

[6] The official national name of South Korea is 'Republic of Korea' (ROK), while that of North Korea is 'The Democratic People's Republic of Korea' (DPRK).

[7] "2014년 WEA 총회, 대한민국 수도 서울에서 열린다 [World Evangelical Alliance General Assembly to be Held in Seoul in 2014]," *Christian Today*, July 14, 2010. http://www.christiantoday.co.kr/view.htm?id=209683. Accessed on February 6, 2012.

the anti-WCC ethos throughout the Korean church and society.[8] The Task Force plans

not only to distribute a booklet, *The Real Truth of the WCC,* but also to sponsor a series

of nation-wide anti-WCC forums, all of which are aimed at discrediting the WCC

General Assembly in Busan in 2013.[9]

Then, why is the CCK so antagonistic to the WCC? On February 26, 2011, in a

press interview on 'The WCC Leads to the Korean Church's Decline,' Rev. Jaecheol

Hong, the chief director of CCK's Anti-WCC Task Force, points out the WCC's

propensity to communism above democracy, religious pluralism above Christian

particularism,[10] and social salvation above spiritual salvation as major complaints against

the WCC.[11] Among the three, the most missiologically noteworthy is the issue of social

and spiritual salvation,[12] which is clearly reflected in the age-long controversy of *missio*

Dei in the Korean church. According to Soo-il Cha, a prominent Korean missiologist,

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[8] "한기총WCC 대책위, 보수교단 결집해 WCC 반대하겠다 [The CCK's Anti-WCC Task Force in Formation and Operation]," *News Mission*, February 25, 2011. http://newsmission.com/news/2011/02/25/1111.39450.html. Accessed on February 6, 2012.

[9] As of 2012, the CCK is not staging its systematic campaigns against the Busan Assembly of the WCC in 2013. That is because the CCK is now keenly aware that such an activity shames the Korean church as a whole. This is related to the shame and honor culture in Korea. Another reason is that the CCK is now suffering from its internal strife caused by its leaders' corruption, which prevents it from concentrating on the anti-WCC movement.

[10] Particularism is a more nuanced expression of a traditional term, exclusivism. See further Dennis Okholm and Timothy Phillips, eds. *Four Views on Salvation in a Pluralistic World* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1996), chapters 3 and 4.

[11] "한기총, 한국교회 분열시킨 WCC총회 반대 [The CCK Announces its Opposition to the WCC General Assembly in Korea, Criticizing the WCC for the Main Culprit behind the Korean Church's Disunity]," *The Union Press,* February 26, 2011. http://www.unionpress.co.kr/news/detail.php?number=98520&thread=01r02r01. Accessed on February 6, 2012.

[12] For example, Youngho Park's 현대 에큐메니칼 운동과 사회선교: *2013년 부산 백스코 WCC 제10차 총회 개최를 어떻게 볼 것인가? [The Contemporary Ecumenical Movement and Social Mission: How Do We Look At the WCC General Assembly Slated to Be Held in Busan in 2013]* (Seoul: The Press of Reformed Theology, 2010) is the KCCC's critique on the ecumenical movement of the WCC in general and the KNCC in particular.

"the missionary history of the Korean church has been the history of the debate over the concept of *missio Dei*."[13] That is, as for the NCCK-led Korean Progressive Christian Circle (KPCC), *missio Dei* has been a theological buttress to verify and reinforce its missional prioritism of social salvation over spiritual salvation,[14] against which the CCK-led Korean Conservative Christian Circle (KCCC) has been resistant to *missio Dei* in support of evangelism.[15]

In actuality, this missiological polarity and disunity of the Korean church is a mirror of the conservative-progressive polarity of the Korean society.[16] According to a 2006 survey by the Korean Association of Christian Pastors (KACP),[17] almost all those surveyed (99.1 %: 1,001 among 1,010 respondents) affirm the ever-dichotomizing

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[13] Soo-il Chai, "*Missio Dei*–Its Development and Limitations in Korea," *International Review of Mission* 92:367 (2003): 541.

[14] Missional prioritism affirms the ascendancy of evangelism over social action and vice versa. On the other hand, missional holism recognizes their equivalence and significance in Christian witness. See Craig Ott et al, *Encountering Theology of Mission: Biblical Foundations, Historical Developments, and Contemporary Issues* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2010), chapter 6.

[15] In this dissertation, I will use the KCCC (Korean Christian Conservative Circle) as a collective term about Korean Conservative Christians and the KPCC (Korean Progressive Christian Circle) as its progressive counterpart. These terms do not indicate that each group has a unified theological and missiological consensus. Rather, they point to the overall theological and missiological orientation in each group. That is, the KCCC is theologically conservative (or fundamentalist) and missiologically evangelistic (evangelism-centered), whereas the KPCC is theologically liberal and missiologically prophetic (social-action-centered).

[16] As part of God's design (i.e. gender), polarity itself is a neutral (not ethical) phenomenon. The problem is a destructive polarity, as in the case of the Korean Protestant church in which its two circles are in confrontation with each other clinging to their own reductionist understandings of God's salvation and mission.

[17] The KACP is made up of pastors from 15 denominations, progressive and conservative, which aims at the Korean Church's unity and renewal. "강단교류로 교단 벽 허무는 한국기독교목회자협의회 [The KACP Overcoming Denominationalism through Pulpit-Exchange]," *iGoodNews,* November, 4, 2001. http://www.igoodnews.net/news/articleView.html?idxno=1786. Accessed on February 6, 2012.

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phenomenon of the Korean society.[18] What is referred to as the most serious problem

(46.8 %) is the ideologically conservative-progressive gap,[19] which is also reflected in the

theologically conservative-progressive divide of the Korean church. The CCK represents

the KCCC, whereas the NCCK represents the KPCC. Their missiological gap is

organizationally manifested as the Korea Evangelical Missiological Society (KEMS:

CCK-oriented evangelical missiology) and the Korea Society of Mission Studies (KSMS:

NCCK-oriented ecumenical missiology).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Missio Dei has functioned as a missiological concept dividing the Korean church.

As Soo-il Chai points out, "in the history of the Korean church, *missio Dei*

has…created…barriers between conservatives and progressives, between evangelism and

humanization, between saving souls and social involvement."[20] In the dichotomous

Korean societal context between progressives and conservatives, *missio Dei* has been

virtually monopolized by the KPCC as an ideological tool to advocate social action at the

expense of evangelism, which has caused the KCCC's negative reaction to *missio Dei*.

The tension concerning *missio Dei* has never faded away until today, as demonstrated in

the current sharp confrontation between the CCK and the NCCK regarding the WCC

General Assembly in Busan in 2013.

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[18] "한국 교회 성도 99.1%, 우리 사회 양극화됐다 [99.1% of Korean Christians Affirm the Polarization of the Korean Society]," *NewsPower,* January 17, 2007. www.newspower.co.kr/sub_read.html?uid=5210&section=sc4. Accessed on February 6, 2012.

[19] The second most serious problem is the poor-rich gap (36%), which is followed by the generational gap (9.8%).

[20] Soo-il, Chai, "*Missio Dei*—Its Development and Limitations in Korea," 548.

The fact of the matter is that *missio Dei* was first introduced to the Korean church with its original holistic meaning radicalized. It was in 1969 when the term became widely known to the Korean church. The NCCK, a WCC member, held its General Assembly from January 27 to January 29 of the same year, whose theme was '오늘날 한국에서의 하나님의 선교 [*Missio Dei* in Today's Korea].'[21] In the previous year the WCC's fourth General Assembly was held in Uppsala, Sweden with 'Behold, I Make All Things New!' as its thematic slogan.[22] The Uppsala meeting in 1968 was the most socio-politically oriented assembly in the WCC history. Reflecting the turbulent global situations of the 1960s such as the Cuban missile crisis (1962), the Vietnam War (1965–1975) and the Arab-Israeli Wars (1967–1973), Uppsala 1968 interpreted and announced God's mission in terms of humanization and liberation.[23] Under the influence of such this-worldly kingdom thinkers as Johannes Hoekendijk and M.M. Thomas,[24] the Uppsala ecumenists espoused a secular missiology wherein "it is the world that must be allowed

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[21] Eunsoo Kim, "에큐메니칼 선교와 로잔 운동에 나타난 사회 책임에 관한 논의 [A Discussion about Social Responsibility in the Ecumenical Movement and in the Lausanne Movement]," an unpublished paper presented at a NCCK-sponsored theological forum on March 26, 2010. Available at http://www.theveritas.co.kr/contents/article/sub_re.html?no=6864. Accessed on February 6, 2012.

[22] Thomas FitzGerald, *The Ecumenical Movement: An Introductory History* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004), 113.

[23] In his *The Ecumenical Movement,* 114, Thomas FitzGerald describes Uppsala 1968 as follows: "The Uppsala Assembly of 1968 was distinct from previous ones. The discussions and statements reflected the world issues of the war in South East Asia, racism, poverty, and the youth revolution."

[24] Hoekendijk played an influential role in the studies of the WCC on the relationships among mission, church, and world in the early and middle 1960s, whose outcome was *The Church for Others and the Church for the World: A Quest for Structures of Missionary Congregations* (Geneva: WCC, 1968). This WCC-sponsored report became the missiological foundation of the Uppsala meeting. Refer to 2.2.1. Johannes Hoekendijk of chapter 2. M.M. Thomas was an ecumenical leader with anthropocentric missionary approach. He was the chairperson at the World Conference on Church and Society in Geneva in 1966 that endorsed the revolutionary nature and method of Christian faith and mission. On his life and thought, see Ken C. Miyamoto, *God's Mission in Asia: A Comparative and Contextual Study of This-Worldly Holiness and the Theology of Missio Dei in M.M. Thomas and C.S. Song*, Ph.D. dissertation (New Jersey: Princeton Theological Seminary, 1999), 142-172.

to provide the agenda for the churches,"[25] thus replacing the traditional God–Church–World scheme with the God–World–Church scheme in the order of God's economy.[26] In the words of David Bosch, the Uppsala Assembly was the culminating moment for the "secularization and horizontalization" of *missio Dei*,[27] which is the very concept not only officially imported to the Korean church at the NCCK's General Assembly in 1969 but also subsequently settled down as the *de facto* normative *missio Dei* theology in the Korean church and society.

The introduction of *missio Dei* to Korea is problematic in terms of its process, not to mention its content. The NCCK uncritically adopted a radical version of *missio Dei* with no serious account of its biblical implication and theological contextualization. In other words, there occurred a blind importation of an earth-bound secularized *missio Dei* theology in 1969.[28] The end result is the adverse rejection of *missio Dei* itself by the KCCC and the ever-deepening missiological divide of the Korean church. According to Paul Hiebert, local churches need the 'fourth self' of self-theologizing, let alone the three-self principle of self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating.[29] The

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[25] WCC, *The Church for Others and the Church for the World*, 15.

[26] Hoekendijk called for a paradigmatic shift from God-Church-World to God-World-Church as follows: "Our God is not a temple dweller. In the strict sense of the word he is not even a church god…We must maintain the right order in our thinking and speaking about the church. That order is God-World-Church, not God-Church-World." Johannes Hoekendijk, *The Church Inside Out* (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1966), 71.

[27] David Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1990), 392.

[28] The KPCC considers *minjung* theology as a Korean contextual theology of *missio Dei*. The problem is that its adopted *missio Dei* theology was a radical version incongruent with the biblical and holistic vision of God's mission and salvation. See 3.2.3 *Minjung* Theology as a Korean Contextual Theology of a Radical *Missio Dei* of chapter 3.

[29] Paul Hiebert, *Anthropological Insights for Missionaries* (Grand Rapids, MI.: Baker, 1985), 195-196.

Korean church at large, however, failed to self-theologize *missio Dei* as "faith's

contextual community."[30] In its original and biblical sense, *missio Dei* takes on the

"holistic nature and inclusive approach."[31] It is inherently a reconciliatory concept

defying the missional prioritism of social action over evangelism and vice versa. It is

high time, and in fact long overdue, for the Korean church to contextualize and reclaim

missio Dei with its holistic vision intact, so that the missiological gap between the KCCC

and the KPCC might be closed and they might join forces to participate in God's mission

holistically. This missiological reconciliation of the whole Korean church could be

actually the greatest Christian witness given to the Korean society: "I have given them

the glory that you gave me, that they may be **one** as we are **one**: I in them and you in me.

May they be brought to complete **unity** to let the world know that you sent me and have

loved them even as you have loved me" (John 17:22-23; emphases mine).[32]

1.3 Research Questions

Ever since its arrival in Korea in the late 1960s, *missio Dei* has been a main cause

of the Korean church's missiological polarization between the KCCC and the KPCC.

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[30] William Kirkpatrick, "From Biblical Text to Theological Formulation," *Biblical Hermeneutics: A Comprehensive Introduction to Interpreting Scripture,* 2nd ed. eds. Bruce Corley et al (Nashville, TN: Broadman & Holman, 2002), 362. Of course, the KPCC (specifically, the PCK-Gijang) served as a hermeneutical community for *missio Dei*'s contextualization by creating *minjung* theology. The problem is that their contextual theologizing was conducted on the basis of their blind adoption of a radical *missio Dei*. Any theological contextualization should start with a serious investigation into the subject matter, in this case *missio Dei*, in light of its biblical vision and original context, but the KPCC failed to do this. In contrast, the present project will thoroughly deal with *missio Dei*, not only tracing its historical developments in the Korean and wider churches (in chapters 2 & 3) but also exploring its scriptural and theological implications (in chapters 4 & 5).

[31] His Holiness Aram I, "Rediscovering *Missio Dei*: A Challenge to the Churches," *That They May All Be One: Celebrating the World Communion of Reformed Churches,* ed. Neal Presa (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2010), 21.

[32] All Scripture quotations, unless otherwise noted, are from the New International Version.

Against this historical background, the researcher will explore a contextual theology of *missio Dei* without losing its "holistic nature and inclusive approach"[33] through an East Asian cultural concept, filial piety. The reason for choosing filial piety as a contextual theological medium is twofold. First, filial piety is implied in *missio Dei* itself. The God who sends (i.e. the literal meaning of the Latin phrase, *missio Dei*) is the God who is sent, and God who is sent is the God who obeys. As Richard Longenecker puts it, Jesus Christ "evidenced that he was indeed God's obedient Son par excellence."[34] Second, filial piety is of universal significance to the Korean people regardless of ideological, religious, and theological differences. Traditionally, upheld as "the most important ethical principle,"[35] filial piety is "still considered one of the central tenets of contemporary Korean culture."[36] This notion can appeal to both the KPCC and the KCCC.

The term coined as the outcome of this contextual theology of *missio Dei* is *pareo Dei*. Literally meaning 'the obeying or submitting of God' in Latin, this new term emphasizes both the filial dimension of *missio Dei* and its hermeneutical convergence with Confucian filial piety. The implied expectations of *pareo Dei* are, first and foremost, a correction of the reductionist views on *missio Dei* in the Korean church by bringing to light its holistic nature, and furthermore, a challenge to the insufficient

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[33] His Holiness Aram I, "Rediscovering *Missio Dei*: A Challenge to the Churches," 21.

[34] Richard Longenecker, "The Foundational Conviction of New Testament Christology," *Jesus of Nazareth: Lord and Christ: Essays on The Historical Jesus and New Testament Christology*, eds. Joel Green and Max Turner (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 1995), 484.

[35] Hong-key Yoon, *The Culture of Fengshui in Korea: An Exploration of East Asian Geomancy* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2006), 206.

[36] Ines Miyares and Christopher Airriess, *Contemporary Ethnic Geographies in America* (Lanham, MD: Rowman &Littlefield, 2007), 242.

interpretation of *missio Dei* in the wider church by illuminating its *ad-intra* dimension.[37] The following are the essential questions in this constructive project toward a theology of *pareo Dei*:

1. How has *missio Dei* been developed in the worldwide Protestant movements?[38] What was the emerging context of *missio Dei* in the ecumenical movement? How has the ecumenical approach to mission been developed in relation to *missio Dei*? What was the evangelical response to the ecumenical movement in general and its *missio Dei* movement in particular? How has the evangelical approach to mission been developed in relation to *missio Dei*?

2. How has *missio Dei* been developed in the Korean church? In which context was *missio Dei* introduced and adopted by the NCCK of the KPCC?[39] How has the progressive approach to mission been developed in relation to *missio Dei*? What was the conservative response to the Korean ecumenical movement

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[37] According to Bevans and Schroeder, God's mission has "two directions—to the church itself (*ad intra*) and to the world (*ad extra*)." They add: "Mission to the church itself is necessary so that the church can shine forth in the world for what it is, a community that *shares* the identity of Christ as his body…Mission to the world points to the fact that the church is only the church as it is called to *continue* Jesus' mission of preaching, serving and witnessing to God's reign in new times and places" (italics original). Stephen Bevans and Rodger Schroeder, *Constants in Context: A Theology of Mission for Today* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2004), 394.

[38] In the dissertation, the phrase, 'the worldwide Protestant movements,' will be used as a reference to both the ecumenical and the evangelical movements of the Protestant church, following J. Gordon Melton's usage in "Preface," *Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, ed. J. Gordon Melton (New York, NY: Facts on File, Inc., 2005), xviii. His actual phrase is "the Protestant Movement," but I modified it into 'the worldwide Protestant movements' with attention to both its global scope and its diverse aspect.

[39] In Korea it was the KPCC that introduced and supported the ecumenical movement of the wider church. Thus, progressive Christians are virtually a synonym of ecumenists in the Korean society. This dissertation will use conservative(s) and progressive(s) as references to evangelical(s) and ecumenical(s) in the Korean context, since the former terms are more commonly circulated in the Korean society.

in general and its *missio Dei* movement in particular? How has the

conservative approach to mission been developed in relation to *missio Dei*?

3. How did contextualization emerge in relation to *missio Dei?* How have the

ecumenical and evangelical approaches to theological contextualization[40] been

developed in the worldwide Protestant movements? How have the

conservative and progressive approaches to theological contextualization been

developed in the Korean church? What kind of implications can be drawn

from theological contextualization, particularly in terms of its meaning,

models, and methods? What might be the best model and method to utilize as

the conceptual frameworks for the theological contextualization of *missio Dei*?

4. How can a contextual theology of *missio Dei* be formulated in relation to

Confucian filial piety? How does *missio Dei* itself involve the filial dimension?

What aspects of similarity and dissimilarity can be drawn from the comparison

and contrast between *missio Dei* and filial piety? What kind of ecclesiological

implications can be deduced from *pareo Dei*, resultantly to the extent of the

Korean church's missiological reconciliation and the hermeneutical enrichment

of *missio Dei*?

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[40] Contextualization is a comprehensive term referring to "the contextualization of the whole of Christianity, not just theology." Charles Kraft, "Why Appropriate," *Appropriate Christianity*, ed. Charles Kraft (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2005), 5. In case that I need to emphasize the contextualization of Christian theology, I will use the term, 'theological contextualization,' following Max Stackhouse' usage in his *Apologia: Contextualization, Globalization, and Mission in Theological Education* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1988), 236.

1.4 Delimitations of the Research

The project is interdisciplinary in that it takes the historical, theological, and missiological approaches and analyses. This interdisciplinary study contains the following delimitations in each research area:

1. The historical research will focus on the *missio Dei* movements in Protestant Christianity, namely in both the Korean and the wider Protestant churches.[41]

2. The theological research will focus on Western Christianity and its Trinitarian theology.[42]

3. The missiological research will focus on Confucianism and its filial piety. That is, I will utilize Confucian filial piety as my dialogue partner to contextualize *missio Dei*.

1.5 Definition of Key Terms

Conservative and Progressive

Etymologically, conservative (i.e. its verb, to conserve,) is derived from the Latin, *conservare,* literally meaning 'to preserve,'[43] whereas progressive (i.e. its verb, to progress,) is derived from the Latin, *progressus*, literally meaning 'to advance.'[44] Generally, conservatism suggests "an attitude which is averse to change, preferring to

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[41] Refer to footnote 4.

[42] The reason for this limitation is that *missio Dei* has its inspirational origin in Karl Barth's Trinitarian theology grounded in Western Trinitarian tradition. See 2.1.1. Karl Barth of chapter 2. Upon this assumption, I will recount and revisit the *missio Dei* concept in chapter 5.

[43] Charlton Thomas Lewis, *An Elementary Latin Dictionary* (New York & London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1899), 877.

[44] Ibid., 396.

adhere to those traditional values and customs that have stood the test of time and are

therefore perceived to carry an historical validity."[45] In contrast, progressivism is "the

tendency to re-symbolize historic faiths (about traditional values and customs) according

to the prevailing assumptions of contemporary life."[46] Simply put, the former is against

change in defense of the status quo, while the latter is for change in opposition to the

status quo.[47]

In the Korean society, conservatism (보수주의) and progressivism (진보주의)

are commonly used to describe its ideologically dichotomized reality, even though each

has its own varieties.[48] In general, those in favor of the current ruling party, Grand

National Party (GNP), and its policy (economically pro-conglomerate-policy[49] and inter-

Korean-relationally anti-Sunshine-policy,[50] to name a few) are identified as

conservatives, and those against them as progressives. In Christian terms, the CCK

represents the KCCC whose overall theological orientation is conservatism or

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[45] Mark Davis, *Freedom and Consumerism: A Critique of Zygmunt Bauman's Sociology* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 114.

[46] Steven Rosell et al. *Changing Maps: Governing in a World of Rapid Change* (Canada: Oxford University Press, 1995), 197.

[47] Robert Eccleshall, "Conservatism," *Political Ideologies: Introduction*, eds. Robert Eccleshall et al (New York, NY: Routledge, 1994), chapter 3.

[48] "사회 문제 키워드는 양극화였다 [The Major Talking Point of the Korean Society has been its Polarization]," *Sisa Journal* 1112 (2011). http://www.sisapress.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=54325#. Accessed on February 6, 2012.

[49] The Korean word for conglomerate is 재벌, which is virtually a byword for conservatism in Korea.

[50] The Sunshine Policy (햇볕정책), which was initiated and executed during the presidency of Daejoong Kim (Dec. 1997-Feb. 2003), is "informed by non-zero-sum thinking" and emphasizes "diffuse reciprocity" between South and North in a "mutual security framework." Victor Cha, "Security and Democracy in South Korean Development," *Korea's Democratization,* ed. Samuel Kim (Cambridge, UK: The University of Cambridge, 2003), 215.

fundamentalism, whereas the NCCK represents the KPCC whose overall theological

orientation is liberalism.[51] Historically, the KPCC has been an ardent proponent of the

WCC and its ecumenical movement, to which the KCCC has been opposed in favor of

the WEA and its evangelical movement. Missiologically, the KCCC has shown a

preference toward evangelism, but the KPCC represented by *minjung* theologians has

given priority to social action. In this sense, the Korean church at large is in the

progressive-conservative polarity between the KCCC and the KPCC.

The Ecumenical Movement

As a major stream of the worldwide Protestant movements,[52] the ecumenical

movement is a Christian effort to "recover the apostolic sense of the early church for

unity in diversity" for the eventual purpose of global shalom.[53] The word, ecumenical, is

derived from Greek *oikoumene* whose primary disseminator is traced back to Herodotus

(c. 490–425 BCE).[54] The literal meaning of *oikoumene* is "the whole inhabited world,"

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[51] In describing the theological stream of the Korean church, Jung Young Lee uses conservative
as a modifier of fundamentalism and progressive as that of liberalism. The conservative circle sticks to the
fundamentalist beliefs about "the inerrancy and verbal inspiration of Scripture," the Truth only in the Bible,
and "the salvation of individual souls" as the Christian essence. In contrast, the progressive circle clings to
theological liberalism in support of biblical criticism, social salvation, and inter-religious dialogue. See
further Jung Young Lee, "Korean Christian Thought," *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Modern Christian
Thought*, ed. Alister McGrath (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1996), 310-313.

[52] Refer to footnote 38.

[53] "Ecumenism," *Merriam-Webster's Encyclopedia of World Religions*, eds. Wendy Doniger et al
(Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster, 1999), 313.

[54] For Herodotus, *oikoumene* denoted "the civilized Greek world as opposed to the lands of the
barbarians." Calvin Roetzel*, Paul: A Jew on the Margins* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press,
2003), 52.

which is, "in a New Testament context, the site of God's reconciling mission to all people," as depicted in Matthew 24: 14.[55]

It was the Swedish archbishop N. Soderblom (1866–1931) who adopted the term, ecumenical, to "describe the work of reconciling and uniting the separated churches" on the face of the earth.[56] By the close of the twentieth century's first decade, the foundations of the ecumenical movement were laid in "three world mission conferences—in London (1888), New York (1900), and Edinburgh (1910)."[57] Among them, Edinburgh 1910 is regarded as the *de facto* first modern ecumenical movement, which "spurned several other ecumenical conferences and ventures that in 1948 became the World Council of Churches (WCC)."[58] This ecumenical spirit was introduced and disseminated to Korea by such progressive Christian leaders as Jaejoon Kim (1901–1987), which renders 'ecumenical' virtually an identical term with 'progressive' in the Korean society and church.[59]

The Evangelical Movement

As an antipode of the ecumenical movement in the worldwide Protestant movements, the evangelical movement seeks to unite believers and churches on the basis

[55] "Ecumenism," *Merriam-Webster's Encyclopedia of World Religions*, 313.

[56] Andre Birmele, "*Oikoumene," The Encyclopedia of Christianity,* Vol. 3, eds. Erwin Fahlbusch and Geoffrey Bromiley (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003), 821-822.

[57] William Ingle-Gillis, *The Trinity and Ecumenical Church Thought: The Church-Event* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 5.

[58] Raymond Sommerville, *An Ex-Colored Church: Social Activism in the CME Church, 1870-1970* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2004), 3. Edinburgh 1910 resulted in the establishments of the International Missionary Council (IMC) in 1921, Life & Work in 1925, and Faith & Order in 1927. The IMC was integrated into the WCC in 1961 as the Commission of World Mission and Evangelism (CWME).

[59] Refer to footnote 39.

of the central Reformation principle of *Sola Scriptura*. Since its inception in Lausanne in

1974, the International Congress on World Evangelization (ICOWE) has been the most

influential evangelical movement in cooperation with the World Evangelical Alliance

(WEA), "the broadest organizational and global manifestation" of the evangelical

churches.[60] With its practical root in the Berlin World Conference on Evangelism in

1966,[61] the Lausanne Congress (i.e. the first ICOWE or Lausanne I) produced the

Lausanne Covenant capturing the essentials of evangelical theology. The Lausanne

Committee for World Evangelization (LCWE) is a continuation committee of the

ICOWE in order to "preserve the spirit of Lausanne by supporting all international and

regional efforts consistent with the covenant."[62]

The International Council of Christian Churches (ICCC) is a fundamentalist

evangelical movement. Founded by Carl McIntyre in 1948, the ICCC is an anti-WCC

movement that has exerted a huge influence on the evangelical wing of the Korean

church. During the late 1950s and the early 1960s, the Korean church's three largest

denominations, the Presbyterian Church of Korea (PCK), the Korean Methodist Church

(KMC), and the Korean Evangelical Church (KEC), were embroiled in their internal

strifes over the entry into the WCC, when McIntyre functioned as the behind-the-scenes

mastermind of their schism.[63] Each conservative group who was split from the PCK, the

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[60] William Taylor, "World Evangelical Alliance," *Global Dictionary of Theology*, eds. William Dyrness and Veli-Matti Karkkainen (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 2008), 949.

[61] The ICOWE traces its symbolic origin to Edinburgh 1910. That is why the third ICOWE (Lausanne III) was held in Cape Town, South Africa, in 2010 in celebration of the centennial of Edinburgh 1910.

[62] Jay Green, "Lausanne Movement," *The Encyclopedia of Christianity,* Vol. 3*,* eds. Erwin Fahlbusch and Geoffrey Bromiley (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003), 206.

[63] Donald Hoke, ed., *The Church in Asia* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1975), 385.

KMC, and the KEC formed their own denominational organization and theological institution. In the Korean context of progressive-conservative polarity, such evangelical forces as the ICOWE, the WEA, and the ICCC have become a trademark of conservative Christianity (i.e. the KCCC).

Missio Dei

    Missio Dei, whose literal meaning is 'the sending of God' in Latin, is widely translated and circulated as 'the mission of God.' According to Lalsangkima Pachuau, the phrase "came to common parlance especially among theologians of mission as a reference to the Christian theological understanding of mission which seeks to ground Christian missionary theory and practice in the missionary activity of the Triune God." [64] Originally coined by Karl Hartenstein,[65] the term paved the way for the emergence of contemporary Trinitarian missiology, whose key scriptural text is John 20:21-22,[66] and which alludes to "the continuity between the Father's mission and Jesus' mission and the ongoing mission of the Holy Spirit in the life and witness of the church."[67] The missionary nature and activity of the church are derived from its sent-ness from the Triune God.

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[64] Lalsangkima Pachuau, "*Missio Dei*," *Dictionary of Mission Theology: Evangelical Foundations,* eds. John Corrie et al (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 2007), 232.

[65] David Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 390.

[66] John 20:21-22: "Jesus said, 'Peace be with you! As the Father has sent me, I am sending you.' And with that he breathed on them and said, 'Receive the Holy Spirit.'"

[67] Timothy Tennent, *Invitation to World Missions: A Trinitarian Missiology for the Twenty-first Century* (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel, 2010), 67.

Missio Dei is holistic in its nature and approach.[68] Its biblical vision includes and affirms both evangelism and social action in Christian witness. As Timothy Tennent rightly points out, "evangelism and social action are signs of the New Creation, which is being ushered in through *missio Dei*."[69] There is a secularized form of *missio Dei*, though, that virtually idolizes social action at the cost of evangelism,[70] which was favored and supported mainly by the ecumenical group during the 1960s–1970s. In sharp contradistinction, the evangelical circle at large has preferred a spiritualized form of *missio Dei* that defines the goal of God's mission as evangelization rather than humanization. Both of these contrary positions are generally referred to as 'prioritism,' which is juxtaposed with 'holism' taking seriously the entirety of human beings in God's salvation and mission.[71]

Trinity

Etymologically, Trinity has its origin in Latin *Trinitas* literally meaning 'a triad or threefold.'[72] It was Tertullian (c. 160–c. 220) who invented the Latin word in the conjunctive context of *persona* (tri-) and *substania* (unity).[73] Theologically, the term connotes the distinctive three Persons of scriptural God as the Father, the Son, and the

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[68] His Holiness Aram I, "Rediscovering *Missio Dei*: A Challenge to the Churches," 21.

[69] Timothy Tennent, *Invitation to World Missions*, 405.

[70] David Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 392

[71] David Hesselgrave, *Paradigms in Conflict: 10 Key Questions in Christian Missions Today* (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel, 2005), 122.

[72] Walter Skeat, *An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* (Oxford, UK: The Clarendon Press, 1893), 661.

[73] Alister McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1994), 249-250.

Spirit, thereby rendering Christianity uniquely a Trinitarian monotheistic religion. There are two theological expressions regarding the Trinity: the immanent and economic Trinity. The first refers to "what God is in God's very self," whereas the second to "what God is in his history."[74] This terminological distinction is indicative of not so much two different trinities as the continuity of God's self and God's revelation. The Greek term, *perichoresis*, is used to articulate the essential core of the immanent Trinity. Verna Harrison defines *perichoresis* as "a complete mutual interpenetration of two substances that preserves the identity and properties of each other intact."[75] The *perichoretic*[76] nature of the Trinity, thus, implies the communal unity of the Tri-personal God as the Father, the Son, and the Spirit.

<u>Contextualization</u>

Contextualization has become an active vocabulary in the Christian world since Shoki Coe of the WCC-sponsored Theological Educational Fund (TEF) introduced the term in 1972.[77] Deriving its justification and imperative from God's self-revelation in history, contextualization seeks to formulate, present, and practice "the Christian faith in such a way that it is relevant to the cultural context of the target group in terms of conceptualization, expression, and application; yet maintain theological coherence,

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[74] Laurence Wood, *Theology as History and Hermeneutics: A Post-Critical Conversation with Contemporary Theology* (Lexington, KY: Emeth Press, 2005), 210.

[75] Verna Harrison, "*Perichoresis* in the Greek Fathers," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 31:1 (1991): 54.

[76] The word, *perichoretic*, is widely used as an adjective form of *perichoresis* in contemporary theological scholarship, notably, in Jürgen Moltmann's *God in Creation: A New Theology of Creation and the Spirit of God*, trans. Margaret Kohl (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1993), 258.

[77] TEF, *Ministry in Context* (London, UK: Theological Education Fund, 1972).

biblical integrity, and theoretical consistency."[78] According to Louis Luzbetak, "the chief

agents of contextualization are the Holy Spirit and the local community."[79] It is insiders,

not outsiders, who should take the lead in contextualizing Christianity without merely

"borrowing already existing forms or an established theology."[80] Any contextualization

attempt needs a delicate balance between gospel and culture, since over-contextualization

leads to syncretism, "the mixing of elements of two religious systems…where at least one

(in this case, Christianity)…loses basic structure and identity."[81] As Charles Kraft notes,

contextualization is commonly used as a comprehensive reference to "the

contextualization of the whole of Christianity, not just theology."[82] As an emphatic

reference to the latter (i.e. the contextualization of Christian theology), the researcher will

use the phrase, 'theological contextualization,' following Max Stackhouse' usage in his

Apologia: Contextualization, Globalization, and Mission in Theological Education.[83]

<u>Filial Piety</u>

The Korean word for filial piety, 효 (*hyo*), came from a Chinese hieroglyphic

character, 孝, symbolizing the son's carrying his aged parent on his back. Basically,

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[78] Enoch Wan, "Critiquing the Method of Traditional Western Theology and Calling for Sino-Theology," *Chinese Around the World* (1999): 13.

[79] Louis Luzbetak, *The Church and Cultures: New Perspectives in Missiological Anthropology* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1988), 354.

[80] Tite Tienou, "Contextualization of Theology for Theological Education," *Evangelical Theological Education Today*: *2 Agenda for Renewal*, ed. Paul Bowers (Nairobi, Kenya: Evangelical Publishing House, 1982), 52.

[81] Robert Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1985), 144.

[82] Charles Kraft, "Why Appropriate," *Appropriate Christianity*, ed. Charles Kraft (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2005), 5.

[83] See his *Apologia*, 236.

filial piety refers to children's love and respect for their parents, both living and dead. In classic Confucianism, filial piety is not limited to familial relationships but applied to social relationships including "one's teachers, elders, [rulers, etc]."[84] In neo-Confucianism, this idea is extended even to the cosmological dimension in that "Heaven is my father and earth is my mother, and even such a small being as I finds an intimate place in their midst."[85] In other words, filial piety forms the basis of not only human relationships but also cosmic relationships. Contemporary neo-Confucian scholarship refers to such filial piety as "anthropocosmic vision,"[86] highlighting its lifelong cultivation for the enhancement of relational harmony and order in the whole universe.

1.6 Methodological Frameworks

The dissertation's main agenda is the construction of a contextual theology of *missio Dei* in its hermeneutical linkages with filial piety that is terminologically coined as *pareo Dei*. This project calls for a delicate balance between biblical faithfulness and cultural respectfulness. That is, as a self-theological outcome, *pareo Dei* is supposed to be in line with not only the scriptural and holistic vision of God's mission but also the cultural context and identity of the Korean people. To formulate such an 'authentic' contextual theology, the researcher will employ the following three theories as the methodological frameworks behind the task at hand.

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[84] Lee Dian Rainey, *Confucius and Confucianism: The Essentials* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2010), 24.

[85] Wing-tsit Chan, *Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963), 497.

[86] Tu Wei-Ming, *Centrality and Commonality: An Essay on Confucian Religiousness* (Albany, NY: State University of New York, 1989), 102.

1.6.1 Andrew Walls' Pilgrim and Indigenous Principle

First of all, 'the pilgrim and indigenous principle' articulated by Andrew Walls will serve as the overarching conceptual framework.[87] According to him, Christianity is a religion in constant creative tension between the universalizing (i.e. pilgrim or global) and particularizing (i.e. indigenous or local) elements and forces. Reflecting the 'in-the-world-but-not-of-the-world' Christian identity (cf. 1 John 17; 1 John 2:15-17; Romans 12:2), Christian faith and theology have the "bipolar relational unity" between the pilgrim and indigenous principle.[88] Walls explains: "Just as the indigenizing principle, itself rooted in the Gospel, associates Christians with the *particulars* of their culture and group, the pilgrim principle, in tension with the indigenizing and equally of the Gospel, by associating them with things and people outside the culture and group, is in some respects a *universalizing* factor" (italics original).[89] In the same vein, Charles Van Engen insists that the church should be "glocal in its theologizing," avoiding two extreme approaches of "monolithic uniformity" with overemphasis on the global/catholic aspect and "atomized plurality" with overemphasis on the local aspect.[90]

Walls further sorts out the four essential pilgrim aspects that are found in "the whole Christian tradition across the Christian centuries, in all its diversity," as follows:

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[87] Andrew Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1996), 7-9.

[88] Thomas John Hastings, *Theology and the One Body of the Christ: Toward a Missional-Ecumenical Model* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2007), 32.

[89] Andrew Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History*, 9.

[90] Charles Van Engen, "Glocal Church: Locality and Catholicity in a Globalizing World," *Globalizing Theology: Belief and Practice in an Era of World Christianity*, eds. Craig Ott and Harold Netland (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2006), 172-174.

1) "the worship of the God of Israel," 2) the ultimate significance of Jesus of Nazareth,"
3) the active and continual working of God the Spirit, and 4) the constitution of believers
as "a people of God transcending time and space."[91] This fourfold pilgrim principle is
proposed not in the Christendom bounded-set paradigm but in the post-Christendom
centered-set paradigm[92] in line with Bosch's argument that "there is not eternal theology,
no *theologia perennis* which may play the referee over 'local theologies.'"[93] That is,
Walls' proposal is concerned with whether a local expression of Christian faith draws
local Christians toward the love of the Triune God, His church, and His world.
Differently put, to be authentic, a contextual theology should help believers to recognize
and glorify the Triune God (explicit in #1, #2, and #3), form and edify the church
(explicit in # 3 and # 4), and engage and transform the world (implied in all four
constants) in their own cultural experiences.[94] In this perspective, the researcher will take
seriously both the fourfold pilgrim principle and the Korean cultural attachment to filial
piety in the making of a contextual theology of *missio Dei*. As a result, *pareo Dei* will be
not so much an ethno-centric or culturally-irrelevant theology as a glocal theology.

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[91] Andrew Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History*, 23-24.

[92] As for the centered/bounded set, refer to 4.1.3 Gospel and Culture: Cross-cultural
Communication.

[93] David Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 456.

[94] Similarly, Robert Schreiter suggests "a proposal for a set of five criteria for establishing
Christian identity" in Christian performance as follows: 1) the cohesiveness, 2) the worshiping context, 3)
the praxis, 4) the judgment of other churches, and 5) the challenge to other churches. Robert Schreiter,
Constructing Local Theologies (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2008), 117-121.

1.6.2 Stephen Bevans' Synthetic Model

Among Bevan's six contextual theological models (see Figure 1.1), the synthetic model will serve as a primary typological framework.[95] In the continuum from the creation-centered to the redemption-centered approach, Bevans locates the synthetic model at "the center of the continuum, midway between emphasis on the experience of the present…and the experience of the past."[96] As "a middle-of-the-road model," this model is "synthetic in the Hegelian sense of not just attempting to put things together in a kind of compromise, but of developing, in creative dialectic, something that is acceptable to all standpoints."[97] In approach, the synthetic model is "dialogical" for the mutual enrichment of faith and cultures,[98] therefore it best accords with the current project involving an inter-religious conversation between Christian tradition (i.e. *missio Dei*) and Confucian tradition (i.e. filial piety). The researcher will utilize Confucian filial piety as a dialogue partner with *missio Dei* to develop a theology of *pareo Dei* "that is acceptable to all standpoints."[99] As a result, *pareo Dei* will contribute to the hermeneutical enhancement of both God's mission and Confucian filial piety.

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[95] For a further discussion on Bevans' six models, refer to 4.3.2 The Models of Theological Contextualization of chapter 4.

[96] Stephen Bevans, *Models of Contextual Theology*, 88.

[97] Ibid., 88, 90.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Ibid.

Figure 1.1 Bevans' Contextual Theological Continuum[100]

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                                                                       │
│   The Creation-centered ←-------------------------------------→ The Redemption-centered │
│   (The Indigenous Principle)                           (The Pilgrim Principle)    │
│                                                                       │
│   Anthropological--Transcendental--Praxis--Synthetic--Translation—Countercultural │
│   Experience of the Present ←---------------------------------→ Experience of the Past │
│        (Culture/Social Change)                          (Scripture/Christian   │
│   Tradition)                                                          │
│                                                                       │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
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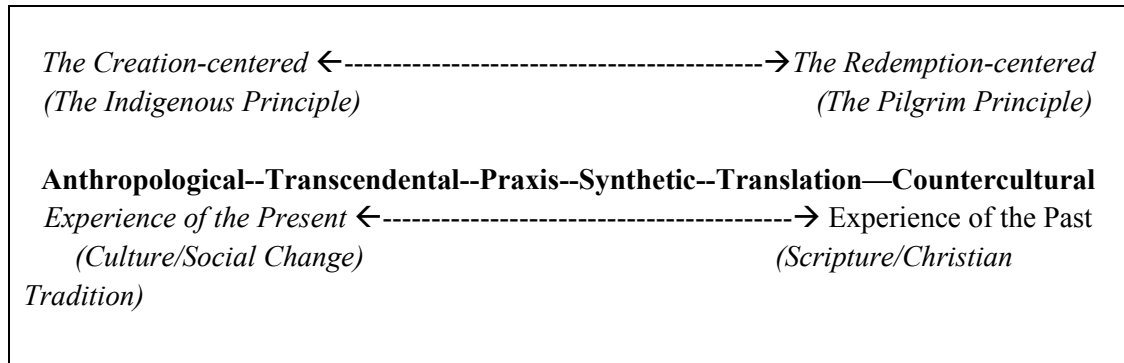
1.6.3 Robert Schreiter's Contextual Theological Map

In the making of *pareo Dei*, Robert Schreiter's contextual theological map will function as a methodological tool. In general, there are two approaches to contextualization: 1) contextualization as a strategy for effective Christian missions, and 2) contextualization as a life of local churches in their participation in God's mission.[101] These two approaches call for different methodologies in actual practice: Paul Hiebert's four-process step suitable for the first and Robert Schreiter's nine-process step appropriate for the second.[102] Among the two, Schreiter's methodology is the right one to be utilized for the current project, since it deals with the theological contextualization of a previous contextual theology (i.e. *missio Dei* birthed from the Western context) with the assumption that the Korean church is (and must be) a self-theological community.

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[100] Adapted from Ibid., 32.

[101] In the worldwide Protestant movements, the first approach was favored by evangelicals, whereas the second approach by ecumenists. See further 4.2 The Development of the Contextualization Paradigm of chapter 4.

[102] See further 4.3.3 The Methods of Theological Contextualization of chapter 4.

For the effective "evaluation and orientation" of theological contextualization,[103] Schreiter proposes a nine-phased blueprint as seen in Figure 1.2.[104]

Figure 1.2 Schreiter's Contextual Theological Map[105]

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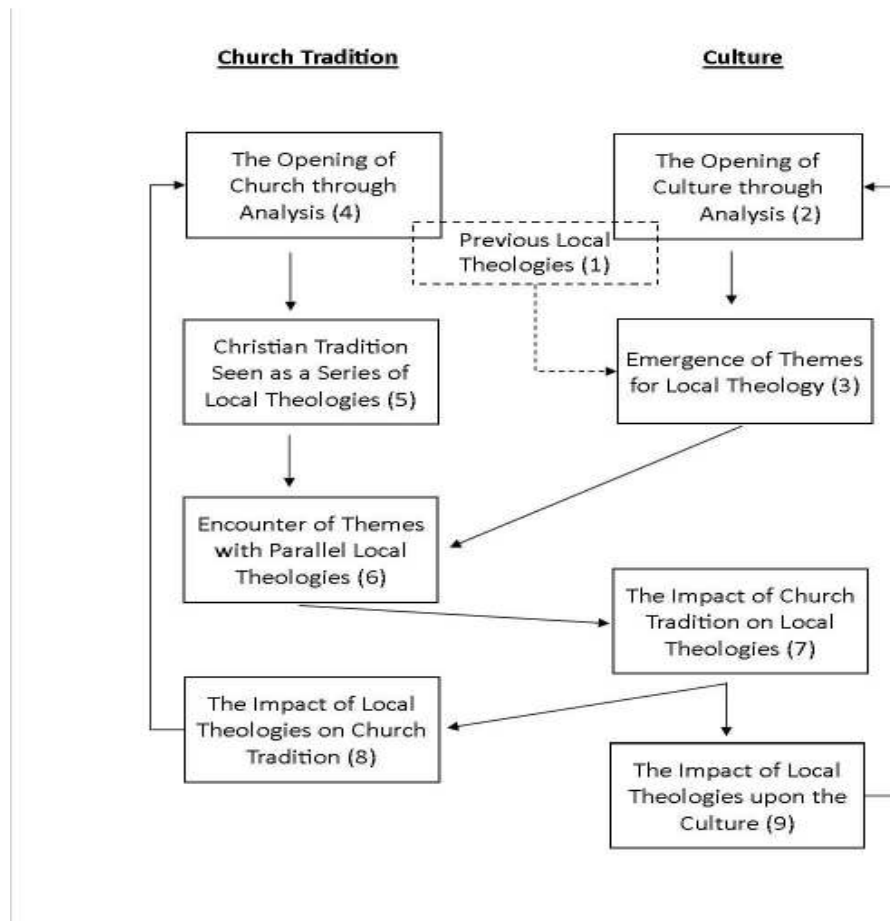
[103] Robert Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies*, 23.

[104] For a further discussion on Schreiter's map, see 4.3.3 The Methods of Theological Contextualization of chapter 4.

[105] Robert Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies,* 25.

With some modifications, the researcher will use his nine-process map as follows: 1) A previous contextual theology: *missio Dei*; 2) The opening of culture though analysis: Confucian tradition in East Asia; 3) The emergence of a theme for contextual theology: Confucian filial piety; 4) The opening of Christian tradition through analysis: Trinity; 5) A Christian tradition seen as a series of contextual theologies: Western Christianity's Trinitarian theology; 6) The Inter-religious encounter between Christian and non-Christian traditions: points of consonance and dissonance between *missio Dei* and filial piety; 7) The impact of inter-religious encounter on culture: "prophetic challenge" to filial piety;[106] 8) The impact of inter-religious encounter on a previous contextual theology: "hermeneutical challenge" to *missio Dei*;[107] and 9) The emergence of a new contextual theology: *pareo Dei*.

Finally, all of these three theories will be combined as the integrative conceptual framework in the making of a filial-piety mediated contextual theology of *missio Dei*.[108] Walls' pilgrim and indigenous principle will serve as the overarching perspectival framework; Bevans' synthetic model as a primary typological framework; and Schreitert's nine-process step as a concrete navigational framework.

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[106] According to Darrel Whiteman, the context is prophetically challenged and changed in its encounter with the text (the gospel and church tradition) in his "Contextualization: The Theory, the Gap, the Challenge," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 21:1 (January 1997): 7.

[107] Ibid., 7. Darrel Whiteman claims that authentic contextualization brings about our hermeneutical expansion about the text (i.e. the gospel and church tradition).

[108] See further 5.1.2 The Integrative Conceptual Framework of chapter 5.

1.7 Significance of the Research

Missio Dei is a paradigm-shifting concept with a far-reaching impact on the contemporary theological and missiological discourse.[109] There is a constellation of writings defining and depicting its contents, contours, implications, and ramifications. This research is second to none in this field in that it is the first foray into the theological contextualization of the *missio Dei* concept itself. That is, the biblical and holistic vision of God's mission will be reinterpreted through the lens of an East Asian Confucian notion, filial piety. This project is, on one hand, a self-critical study on the blind transplant of a radical *missio Dei* by the Korean church of old and, on the other hand, a self-theological study on the enculturation of a holistic *missio Dei* for the Korean church of today. The first introduction of *missio Dei* 43 years ago intensified the missiological polarity of the Korean church. This new introduction of *missio Dei* via *pareo Dei* aims at its long-awaited missiological reconciliation and unity.

1.8 Dissertation Outline

Chapter 1 is a preliminary study of the current project, stating the research background, problem, and questions as well as its thesis and methodology. Historical studies of *missio Dei* are the focus of the next two chapters: its diachronic developments in the worldwide Protestant movements in Chapter 2 and in the Korean church in Chapter 3. What follows are theological and missiological studies. Chapter 4 is a theological

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[109] As Gary Simpson notes, "*missio Dei* is the concept that would eventually…establish the basis for missional theology…a 'Copernican revolution' in missiology." Gary Simpson, "A Reformation is a Terrible Thing to Waste: A Promising Theology for an Emerging Missional Church," *The Missional Church in Context: Helping Congregations Develop Contextual Ministry*, ed. Craig Van Gelder (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2007), 75.

examination of contextualization with specific reference to its meaning, models, and

methods, and Chapter 5 is a missiological exploration of a contextual theology of *missio*

Dei in its hermeneutical linkages with Confucian filial piety. The dissertation concludes

with the integrative summary and promising research recommendations in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 2

THE DEVELOPMENT OF *MISSIO DEI*

IN THE WORLDWIDE PROTESTANT MOVEMENTS

This chapter traces the development of *missio Dei* in the worldwide Protestant

movements from the early twentieth century up to the present date. In his article,

"Ecumenical Missiology: Three Decades of Historical and Theological Development

(1952~1982)," Lalsangkima Pachuau delineates the ecumenical "affirmation of mission

as *missio Dei*" via three periodical demarcations of its emergence, controversy, and

convergence.[1] According to his normative periodization,[2] we will divide the

developmental phases of *missio Dei* in the worldwide Protestant movements as follows:

1) The emergent period covering the early and middle twentieth century (specifically,

1932–1958/1961);[3] 2) The controversial period covering the 1960s and early 1970s

(specifically, 1961–1973);[4] and 3) The convergent period covering the remaining

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[1] Lalsangkima Pachuau, "Ecumenical Missiology: Three Decades of Historical and Theological Development (1952–1982)," *Ecumenical Missiology: Contemporary Trends, Issues and Themes*, ed. Lalsangkima Pachuau (Bangalore, India: UTC, 2002), 29-50.

[2] This threefold division is a normative, namely, widely-established view in missiological circle. For instance, James Scherer divides the missiological trend of the ecumenical movement as follows: 1) 1948~1961: "The Church as the Agent of God's Mission; 2) 1961~1975: "The World as the Locus of God's Mission; 3) 1975~pesent: "Synthesis between the previously opposed viewpoints." James Scherer, *Gospel Church and Kingdom: Comparative Studies in World Mission Theology* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1987), 94.

[3] In 1932, Karl Barth raised his voice for God's sovereign initiative in mission at the Brandenburg Mission Conference. In 1958, Georg Vicedom published his German book of the Latin title, *Missio Dei*.

[4] In 1961, the IMC was incorporated into the WCC, from which Johannes Hoekendijk's influence began to noticeably prevail in the ecumenical movement. In 1973, the second CWME of the WCC was held in Bangkok. Actually, the Bangkok CWME lasted from December 29, 1972 to January 12, 1973.

decades of the last century and the first decade of the third millennium (specifically,

1974–present).[5]

In the scheme of the whole dissertation, this second chapter is of programmatic

importance in that the Korean church still needs the accurate understanding of *missio*

Dei's development in the worldwide Protestant movements. The initially introduced and

consequently established *missio Dei* theology in the Korean church was a radicalized

form of *missio Dei* championed by Johannes Hoekendijk and M.M. Thomas in the 1950s

and 1960s. Both the KCCC and the KPCC have been in conflict regarding *missio Dei*

without serious investigation of its original intent and content. A typical example was the

1976 progressive-conservative debate on *missio Dei*, when the representative scholars of

both groups mistakenly posited Hoekendijk as the original conceptualizer of *missio Dei*.[6]

On the grounds of this erroneous assumption, the Korean church at large has been

missiologically dichotomized into pro-*missio-Dei* progressives and anti-*missio-Dei*

conservatives. In this chapter, we will attempt a re-introduction of the historical

development of *missio Dei* in the worldwide Protestant movements, which is the first and

foremost task to be conducted prior to the theological contextualization of *missio Dei*.

2.1 The Emergence of *Missio Dei* in the Ecumenical Movement

The Christian missionary undertakings until the Great Century, namely the

nineteenth century, used to be theoretically conceptualized and practically concretized

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[5] In 1974, the ICOWE was first held in Lausanne (commonly, the Lausanne Congress), from which the evangelical movement started to accept the *missio Dei* theology in a holistic way.

[6] Hyungkeun Choi, "하나님의 선교에 대한 통전적 고찰 [A Holistic Approach of *Missio Dei*]," *Mission Theology* 10 (2005): 47. Refer to 3.3.1 The Conservative–Progressive Debate on *Missio Dei* of chapter 3.

from the anthropocentric perspectives of soteriology, ecclesiology, and culturology[7] in the optimistic and positivistic spirit of "the 'West-Reaches-the-Rest' paradigm," [8] all of which were virtually rooted in the *missio hominum* mentality that marginalized God and centralized the human aspect in Christian missions. The demise of the Christendom paradigm in the simultaneous context of secularization in the West and de-colonization in the Rest naturally ended in the collapse of the *missio hominum* mindset and ultimately led to the identity crisis of mission and concomitantly the church. The emergence of *missio Dei* from the early twentieth century,[9] however, enabled the disoriented post-Christendom church and its missionary enterprise to be revitalized and revalidated in such a way that mission is derivative of God's very attribute and the church is missionary by its very nature.

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[7] David Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 323. The soteriologically-centered missions focused upon conversion and proselytism. The ecclesiologically-centered missions focused upon church planting and expansion. The culturally-centered missions focused upon civilization and modernization.

[8] Timothy Tennent, *Invitation to World Missions*, 31.

[9] There are multiple voices critiquing the *missio Dei* concept, whose main reasons are, among others, 1) its more or less collusion with the Christendom mentality (triumphalist tendency), 2) its debilitation of the church's role (Hoekendijkian tendency), 3) its trivialization of mission (everything-is-mission tendency), 4) its abstract-ization of mission (armchair tendency), and 5) its apathy to human diverse experiences in divinity (biblio-exclusivist tendency). See Gunther Wolfgang, "The History and Significance of World Mission Conferences in the Twentieth Century," *International Review of Mission* 92 (October 2003): 530; Jayakiran Sebastian, "Interrogating *Missio Dei*: From the Mission of God towards Appreciating our Mission to God in India Today," *News of Boundless Riches-1: Interrogating, Comparing, and Reconstructing Mission in a Global Era*, eds. Max Stackhouse and Lalsangkima Pachuau (Delhi, India: ISPCK, 2007), 26-44; Philip Wickeri, "The End of *Missio Dei*–Secularization, Religions, and the Theology of Mission," *Mission Revisited: Between Mission History and Intercultural Theology*, ed. Volker Küster (Munster, German: Lit Verlag, 2010),27-44. Nevertheless, since "the terminology of *missio Dei*" is suitable for "expressing the theological foundation of mission," "virtually all branches of Christianity…have embraced the term, albeit with differing nuances," as observed by Craig Ott et al in *Encountering Theology of Mission: Biblical Foundations, Historical Developments, and Contemporary Issues* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2010), 64.

In this first section, we will start with Karl Barth who exercised a direct influence on Karl Hartenstein, the coiner of *missio Dei*.[10] Then, our attention will be given to the Willingen conference of the International Missionary Council (IMC) considered as the birthplace of *missio Dei* with reference to its major participants, Karl Hartenstein, Norman Goodall, and Johannes Hoekendijk. Last, we will look at Georg Vicedom who circulated the concept worldwide through his book of the same Latin title, *missio Dei*.

2.1.1 Karl Barth[11]

Missio Dei is a new coinage of the twentieth century widely acclaimed as "a Copernican revolution in missiology."[12] The Latin term whose literal meaning is 'the sending of God' is Trinitarian to the core in its content, intent, and extent. With regard to its insight and foresight, the idea dates back as far as St. Augustine in the early fifth

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[10] Recently, John Flett iconoclastically disproves the Barthian connection with the *missio Dei* movement of the global church. He argues: "Barth's 1932 lecture does not ground missions in the doctrine of the Trinity. His emphasis on God's subjectivity is a direct consequence of his understanding of the doctrine, but he does not develop a positive account of the Trinity's missionary economy. He never articulates something similar to the central *missio Dei* affirmation that 'God is a missionary God.' The eventual Trinitarian grounding of mission as articulated at Willingen 1952 affirms creation and culture as central to mission, and it does so in over opposition to a Christological emphasis. Barth's attempt to dislocate mission from creation is precisely the approach against which *missio Dei* theology reacts." John Flett, *The Witness of God: The Trinity, Missio Dei, Karl Barth, and the Nature of Christian Community* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010), 122. The established theory is, however, that Karl Barth is "one of the first theologians to articulate mission as an activity of God Himself." David Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 389. Thus, J. A. B. Jongeneel and J. M. van Engelen write that the *missio Dei* term "gained general currency as a result of the Willingen mission conference in 1952, but it had been forged earlier by the **'Barthian'** Karl Hartenstein" (emphasis mine) in their "Contemporary Currents in Missiology," *Missiology: An Ecumenical Introduction*, eds. F.J. Verstraelen et al (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995), 447

[11] This section will focus on the historical connection of Barth with the *missio Dei* concept. The in-depth theological study of the Barthian Trinitarian thinking in relation to *missio Dei* will be explored in chapter 5.

[12] Graig Van Gelder, *The Missional Church in Context: Helping Congregations Develop Contextual Ministry* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2007), 75.

century who theologized "divine missions" in God's economy.[13] For Augustine, God as the Trinity is, in essence, relational God within and without: "In God there are no accidents, only substance and relation."[14] In His relational and redemptive involvement in the world, God is, first and foremost, a sending God in the Trinitarian trajectory in such ways that the Father sends the Son, and the Father and the Son send the Spirit.[15] Augustine's concept of divine missions, though, had not been rightfully recognized as a theological and missiological focus until the early twentieth century. It was Karl Barth who revived the Augustinian idea of "mission as an (*missio*=sending) activity of God Himself" (parenthesis mine)[16] and linked it to ecclesiology.

The explicit connection of Karl Barth with *missio Dei* is conventionally traced back to the Brandenburg Mission Conference in Berlin, German in 1932. The conference took place in the turbulent vortex of the ever-crumbling Eurocentric Christendom myth after World War I (1914–1918) and before impending World War II (1939–1945),[17]

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[13] Craig Ott et al, *Encountering Theology of Mission*, 62.

[14] Augustine, *De Trinitate* V, 5, 6 (PL 42, 913f). Quoted from Joseph Ratzinger, *Introduction to Christianity* (San Francisco, CA: Ignatius, 2004), 184.

[15] The Augustinian Trinitarian pneumatology posits that "the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the Father and the Son…(based on) a combination of the biblical words in Matt 10:20 ("the Spirit of your Father") and Gal 4:6 ("the Spirit of his Son")." Bernd Oberdorfer, "…Who Proceeds from the Father—and the Son? The Use of the Bible in the Filoque Debate: A Historical and Ecumenical Case Study and Hermeneutical Reflections," *The Multivalence of Biblical Texts and Theological Meanings*, eds. Christine Helmer and Charlene Higbe (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 152.

[16] David Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 389. The church was not included in the Augustinian theology of divine missions.

[17] In 1935 Karl Barth declared that "Christendom in the form we have known it until now is at an end" in his "Das Evangelium in der Gegenwart [The Evangelism in the Present Day]," *Theologische Existenz Heute 25* (München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1935), 33. Quoted from Darrell Guder, "From Mission and Theology to Missional Theology," *The Princeton Seminary Bulletin*, 24:1 (2003): 41.

when Barth emphatically raised a voice for "*Mission Gottes*,"[18] namely God's sovereign

prerogative in mission, in his landmark lecture on "Die Theologie und die Mission in der

Gegenwart [Theology and Mission in the Present Situation]."[19] Darrell Guder

summarizes the central thrust of Barth's presentation as follows: "In discussing the

motive of mission, Barth reminded his hearers that the concept 'mission' was used in the

ancient church to describe the inter-relations of the Trinity as a process of sending: the

Father sending the Son, the Father and the Son sending the Spirit. This reference was for

Barth a reason to be cautious about all human motives for mission: it has to be a matter

of obedience to the 'command of the Lord sounding here and now.'"[20] Hence, for Barth,

"the church can be in mission authentically only in obedience to God as *missio*,"[21] which

prophetically paved the way for a radical shift from anthropocentric church-centeredness

to Trinitarian God-centeredness in modern missionary thinking.

Karl Barth's annual lecture at Brandenburg exerted an indelible influence on one

of its participants, Karl Hartenstein. In point of fact, Hartenstein had been already

attached to Barth to the extent of delivering a lecture, "Was hat die Theologie Karl Barths

der Mission zu Sagen? [What Does Karl Barth's Theology Have to Say to Mission?]" in

1927.[22] In the lecture containing his seminal idea on *missio Dei*, Hartenstein contended

that "all mission is the continuation of the life of Christ, an act of the Lord…[who]

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[18] Philip Wickeri, "The End of *Missio Dei*–Secularization, Religions, and the Theology of Mission," 39.

[19] John Flett, *The Witness of God*, 11.

[20] Darrell Guder, "From Mission and Theology to Missional Theology," 42.

[21] Norman Thomas, ed., *Classic Texts in Mission & World Christianity* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1995), 104.

[22] John Flett, *The Witness of God*, 125.

remains the subject in all mission" in the Barthian framework of the qualitative distance

between divinity and humanity as well as the qualitative distinction between revelation

and religion.[23] Then, Hartenstein's conviction on mission as the divine initiative and

derivative was reinforced at the Brandenburg Missionary Conference, after which he

created the Latin phrase *missio Dei* in 1934[24] and became an ardent proponent of the

innovative concept at the International Missionary Council of Willingen, West Germany

in 1952.

2.1.2 The Willingen Conference of the International Missionary Council

The nineteenth century was the so-called "Great Century" of Christian missionary

movement.[25] In step with the modern *zeitgeist* (i.e. the general trend of a particular era)

of Enlightenment and Christendom,[26] mission societies mushroomed and did active work

as a global force of evangelization and civilization. The World Missionary Conference in

Edinburgh in 1910 marked the zenith of missionary optimism and triumphalism,[27] whose

catchphrase was 'Evangelization of the World in this Generation,' a recapitulation of the

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[23] Ibid., 126.

[24] Ibid., 131. According to Flett, the *missio Dei* term first appeared in Hartenstein's German article, "Wozu nötigt die Finanzlage der Mission [Why Does the Finances of Mission Need?]," *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin* 79 (1934): 217-229.

[25] It was Kenneth Latourette who called the nineteenth century "the Great Century" according to his historical assessment based on Christian expansion and recession. Refer to his *History of the Expansion of Christianity, Vol. 5: The Great Century in the Americas, Australasia, and Africa, 1800~1914* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1971).

[26] As for the interrelatedness between British missions and European Enlightenment, refer to Brian Stanley, ed. *Christian Missions and Enlightenment* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001).

[27] At the closing speech of Edinburgh 1910, John Mott announced: "The end of the Conference is the beginning of the conquest." John Mott, "Closing Address," *World Missionary Conference, 1910, Vol. 9: The History and Records of the Conference* (Edinburgh, Scotland: WMC, 1910), 347.

Student Volunteer Movement's famous watchword.[28] As a follow-up to Edinburgh 1910, the IMC was established in Lake Mohonk, New York in 1921 under the leadership of John Mott and Joseph Oldham who were, respectively, chairperson and executive secretary of the Edinburgh Continuation Committee.[29] Willingen 1952 was the fourth IMC conference following Jerusalem 1928 (the first conference), Tambaram 1938 (the second conference), and Whitby 1947 (the third conference). After the fifth conference in Ghana in 1958, the IMC was integrated into the WCC in 1961 as its affiliate, the Division of World Mission and Evangelism (DWME) that was later renamed the Commission on World Mission and Evangelism (CWME).

Willingen 1952 took place in the wake of the horrors of World War II and the expulsion of missionaries from Communist China in 1949. In the post-Christendom and "post-Mission" context,[30] the meeting groped for the church's new missionary identity, probing into "Why missions?"[31] Since Edinburgh 1910, a decisive shift had occurred

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[28] The development of the Student Volunteer Movement (SVM) is as follows: 1) Inspiration: The Dwight Moody's missionary awakening at Mount Hermon, Massachusetts in 1886 resulting in the missionary dedication of one hundred students; 2) Organization: The formal establishment of the SVM in 1888 with John Mott, one of the original Mt. Hermon One Hundred, as the first chairperson and with 'the evangelization of the world in this generation' as its slogan. The missionary involvement of more than 20,000 students through the SVM by 1945; and 3) Incorporation: The merging with other organizations in 1959 ultimately into the University Christian Movement (UCM). See further Watson Omulogoli, *The Student Volunteer Movement: Its History and Contribution*, M.A. thesis (Wheaton, IL, Wheaton College, 1967).

[29] Norman Victor Hope, *One Christ, One World, One Church: A Short Introduction to the Ecumenical Movement* (Philadelphia, PA: Church Historical Society, 1953), 30. Because of the First World War (1914–1918), the official formation of the IMC was delayed.

[30] David Chellappa, the then Bishop of the Church of the South India, declared that "we are now in the post-Mission stage" in 1958 in his "The Need for Re-evaluation of Missions," *Revolution in Missions*, ed. Blaise Levai (Vellore, South India: The Popular Press, 1958), 1-2.

[31] James Scherer epitomizes the respective focus of the WMC and the subsequent IMCs as follows: 1) "How missions?" at Edinburgh 1910, 2) "Wherefore missions?" at Jerusalem 1928, 3) "Whence missions?" at Tambaram 1938, 4) "Whither missions?" at Whitby 1947, 5) "Why missions?" at Willingen 1952, and 6) "What is the Christian mission?" at Ghana 1957/1958. James Scherer, "Mission Theology," *Toward the Twenty-first Century in Christian Mission: Essays in Honor of General H.*

from mission-society-centered mission to church-centered mission. Tambaram 1938 was

a culminating moment for church-centered mission in the ecumenical movement,[32] as

declared in the opening speech of John Mott: "Notice, it is *the Church* which is to be at

the centre of our thinking and resolving these creative days—the Divine Society founded

by Christ and His apostles to accomplish His will in the world" (italics mine).[33] It was at

the Willingen conference that this eccelsio-centric view of mission was sharply

challenged and the Trinitarian theo-centric view of mission was decisively proposed.

The IMC meeting in Willingen lasted 11 days from July 5 to July 17 in 1952 with

210 delegates from both older and younger churches. At the plenary meeting, five groups

were formed to tackle five themes in their respective sessions: 1) The Missionary

Obligation of the Church, 2) The Indigenous Church, 3) The Role of the Missionary

Society in the Present Situation, 4) Vocation and Training, and 5) Reviewing the Pattern

of Missionary Activities.[34] Then, each group prepared its interim report to be reviewed

and adopted at the plenary session.[35] As Pachuau rightly points out, among those interim

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Anderson, eds. James Phillips and Robert Coote (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1993), 194. In this regard, Gerald Anderson mentions that the ecumenical movement progressively resulted in the drawing together of church and mission that culminated in the *missio Dei* concept (i.e. the inseparability of church and mission) in his "Introduction," *The Theology of the Christian Mission*, ed. Gerald Anderson (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill, 1961).

[32] Tambaram 1938 announced: "It is the Church and Church alone which can witness to the reality that man belongs to God in Christ with a higher right than that of any earthly institution which may claim his supreme allegiance… We may and we should doubt whether the churches as they are do truly express the mind of Christ, but we may never doubt that Christ has a will for His Church, and that His promises to it holds good." IMC, *The World Mission of the Church: Findings and Recommendations of the Meeting of the International Missionary Council* (Madras, India: IMC, 1938), 28-29.

[33] Quoted from Evert Schoonhoven, "Tambaram 1938," *International Review of Mission* 67:267 (July 1978): 302.

[34] Norman Goodall, ed., *Missions under the Cross: Address Delivered at the Enlarged Meeting of the Committee of the International Missionary Council at Willingen, in Germany, 1952; with Statements Issued by the Meeting* (London, UK: Edinburgh House Press, 1953), 187.

[35] Ibid.

reports submitted by the five thematic groups, 'The Theological Basis of the Missionary Obligation' and 'A Statement on the Missionary Calling of the Church' "bear the marks of an intensive theological analysis…[foretelling] the themes and issues that would dominate ecumenical missiology in the following decade…*inter alia*, the *missio Dei* (or Mission of God), the shifting of 'the locus of God's activity' from the church to the world, and the identification of the whole world as mission fields."[36] The Willingen participants of theological diversity, however, failed to adopt a consensual statement on 'The Theological Basis of the Missionary Obligation,' [37] which was virtually a precursor of the *missio Dei* controversy in the worldwide Protestant movements in the next two decades.

One year after Willingen 1952, a participant, Norman Goodall published its official document, *Missions under the Cross*, with the conference's slogan as the title. According to the report, the Hartensteinian *missio Dei* concept was, of one accord, confirmed in the Willingen meeting to the extent of its declaration that "the missionary movement of which we are a part has its source in the Triune God Himself."[38] In the theo-centric missiological framework, the Willingen delegates emphasized God's missionary sending-ness and church's missionary sent-ness. The final report on 'A Statement on the Missionary Calling of the Church' states: "God has sent forth one

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[36] Lalsangkima Pachuau, "Ecumenical Missiology: Three Decades of Historical and Theological Development (1952~1982)," 33.

[37] Ibid.

[38] "A Statement on the Missionary Calling of the Church," *Missions Under the Cross*, 189. Three years after the Willingen meeting, Wilhelm Anderson, described its general current like this: "In the Willingen statements, the triune God Himself is declared to be the sole source of every missionary enterprise. Essential in the missionary purpose of God are the sending of the Son and the sending of the Holy Spirit." Wilhelm Anderson, *Towards a Theology of Mission: A Study of the Encounter between the Missionary Enterprise and the Church and Its Theology* (London, UK: SCM Press, 1955), 47.

Savior, one Shepherd to seek and save all the lost, one Redeemer who by His death, resurrection, and ascension has broken down the barrier between man and God…On the foundation of this accomplished work God has sent forth His Spirit, the Spirit of Jesus…to empower us for the continuance of His mission as His witnesses and ambassadors."[39] In this way, the Willingen conference sounded the death knell of church-centered mission.[40]

As such, the *missio Dei* perspective prevailed in Willingen 1952, but without the Latin term's actual appearance in the official document. It was in the post-Willingen report of the same year that Karl Hartenstein, who had coined the term in 1934, mentioned the Latin phrase in the juxtaposition with *missiones ecclesiae* (i.e. the church's missions). In "Theologische Besinnung [Theological Reflection]," Hartenstein stated that "mission is . . . participation in the sending of the Son, the *missio Dei*."[41] In addition, he said: "From the *missio Dei* alone comes the *missio ecclesiae*. That locates mission in the broadest conceivable framework of salvation history and God's plan of salvation."[42] Herein lays Hartenstein's eschatological understanding of *missio Dei* with Christological and ecclesiological implications. For him, God's sending of Jesus for salvation is "the actual *missio Dei*, which must and will be carried on in obedience by his witnesses (i.e. *missiones ecclesiae*) to the ends of the earth and to the end of this age" (parenthesis

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[39] Ibid., 189.

[40] David Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 370.

[41] Karl Hartenstein, "Theologische Besinnung [Theological Reflection]," *Mission zwischen Gestern und Morgen [Mission between Yesterday and Tomorrow]*, ed. Water Freytag (Stuttgart: Evangelischer Missionsverlag, 1952), 54. Quoted from Tormod Engelsviken, "*Missio Dei*: The Understanding and Misunderstanding of a Theological Concept in European Churches and Missiology," *International Review of Mission* 92:4 (2003), 482.

[42] Ibid., 62. Quoted from John Flett, *The Witness of God*, 159.

mine).[43] That is, the church is called and sent to participate in God's eschatological

Kingdom inaugurated by *missio Christi* "between the first and second coming of the

Lord."[44] This Kingdom-centered mission from a salvation historical point of view

formed a striking contrast with a conventional anthropocentric church-centered mission.

Johannes Hoekendijk was also a staunch advocate of "a *basileio*-centric mission"

at Willingen.[45] Entrusted with the newly-organized WCC's study department on

Evangelism (1949–1953), he joined the burgeoning *missio Dei* movement of the global

church but with a significantly divergent opinion. In his 1950 article, "The Call to

Evangelism," Hoekendijk insisted that the church is merely "an instrument of God's

redemptive action in this world…a means in God's hands to establish shalom in this

world."[46] Unlike Hartenstein's *basileio*-centric mission based decisively on inaugurated

eschatology, Hoekendijk's was grounded fundamentally in realized eschatology

vulnerable to a churchless secular mission.[47] With respect to this tension, James Scherer

writes: "Others at Willingen resisted Hoekendijk's reductionist emphasis, insisting that

the church as a 'foretaste of the Kingdom' and as an instrument of God's purpose was

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[43] Karl Hartenstein, "Übergang und Neubeginn: Zur Tagung des Internationalen Missionsrats in Willingen [Transition and New Beginning: The International Missionary Conference in Willingen]," *Zeitwende* 24:4 (1952): 338. Quoted from John Flett, *The Witness of God*, 159.

[44] Karl Hartenstein, "Theologische Besinnung [Theological Reflection]," 56. Quoted from John Flett, *The Witness of God*, 159.

[45] Lalsangkima Pachuau, "Ecumenical Missiology: Three Decades of Historical and Theological Development (1952~1982)," 33. In advance of the Willingen conference, Hoekendijk was instrumental in the preparatory documents for its sectional theme, 'The Missionary Obligation of the Church.'

[46] Johannes Hoekendijk, "The Call to Evangelism," *International Review of Missions* 39 (1950): 170.

[47] Bonhoeffer and his religion-less Christianity exerted a formative influence on Hoekendijk's church-less mission theology. As Gerben Heitink points out, "we find reflections of Bonhoeffer's work in the theology of the World Council of Churches, in the work of JC Hoekendijk." Gerben Heitink, *Practical Theology: History, Theory, Action Domains* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999), 78.

more than an apostolic function…[arguing] for a clearer statement of how the Kingdom of God has already come in Jesus Christ, but has not yet come in its fullness."[48] As a consequence of those theological differences, the final statement, 'The Missionary Calling of the Church,' had to be compromised with no satisfactory inter-relational positioning among Kingdom, church, and world. After Willingen, however, Hoekendijk's version of *missio Dei* gradually "gained the upper hand" in the WCC to the degree that it gave the "green light for revolutionary thought and action"[49] in the ecumenical movement and the rest is history.

2.1.3 Georg Vicedom

The *missio Dei* term was coined by Karl Hartenstein and the *missio Dei* discussion was initiated at Willingen 1952. But, it was Georg Vicedom who elucidated and popularized the neologism through his 1958 book, *Missio Dei: Einführung in eine Theologie der Mission [The Mission of God: An Introduction to a Theology of Mission]*.[50] At Willingen, God's mission was construed in an inseparable relation to God's Kingdom, but with little theological agreement on God's Kingdom. In general, such German participants as Walter Freytag and Karl Hartenstein supported a *basileio*-centric *missio Dei* from a perspective of *Heilsgeschichte* (i.e. salvation history or history from above). Under Oscar Cullmann's influence, they took inaugurated eschatology as their

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[48] James Scherer, *Gospel, Church and Kingdom*, 97. Such German participants as Hartenstein and Freytag were uneasy with Hoekendijk's reductionist view on *missio Dei.*

[49] Arthur Glasser and Donald McGavran, *Contemporary Theologies of Mission* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1983), 94-98.

[50] Georg Vicedom, *Missio Dei: Einführung in eine Theologie der Mission* (München, West German:Verlag, 1958). Its English edition is *The Mission of God: An Introduction to a Theology of Mission* (St. Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1965).

theological reference, as evidenced in Freytag's 1950 statement that the church "lives in a time-span between two poles: resurrection and second coming, world reconciliation and world redemption."[51] On the other hand, such Dutch and American participants as Johannes Hoekendijk and Paul Lehmann favored a *basileio*-centric *missio Dei* from a perspective of *Alltagsgeschichte* (i.e. secular history or history from below). As Newbigin notes, they tried to "swing missionary thinking away from the church-centered model which had dominated it since Tambaram and to speak more of God's work in the secular world."[52] Vicedom tried to maintain a balance of those two positions with keen attention to both the particular and the inclusive dimensions of God's Kingdom and mission.[53]

According to Vicedom, God's *missio* (God's sending) must be understood in the context of God's sovereign rule over all His creation. He postulates that "the Kingdom of God embraces more than the saving acts of Jesus, namely the complete dealing of the triune God with the world."[54] Based on this integrated historical view including both *Heilsgeschichte* and *Alltagsgeschichte*, Vicedom posits "the *missio*" as "a testimony to

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[51] Walter Freytag, "The Meaning and Purpose of the Christian Mission," *International Review of Mission* 39:2 (1950): 158.

[52] Lesslie Newbigin, *Unfinished Agenda: An Autobiography* (Geneva: WCC, 1985), 138.

[53] It is safe to say that Vicedom was ecumenically evangelical or evangelically ecumenical. Against the ecumenical attachment to a radical *missio Dei* at Uppsala 1968, he joined Peter Beyerhaus and his evangelical group at the Frankfurt Declaration in 1970. Against Beyerhaus' fundamentalist conservatization, however, Vicedom didn't side with the Frankfurt Statement in 1973. In this sense, "Vicedom has been called the last German missiologist to represent ecumenical as well as evangelical and to have been accepted by both camps." Bernhard Ott, *Beyond Fragmentation: Integrating Mission and Theological Education: A Critical Assessment of Some Recent Developments in Evangelical Theological Education* (Oxford, UK: Regnum, 2001), 76.

[54] Georg Vicedom, *The Mission of God*, 23.

His deity…an expression of His presence at work in judgment and grace."[55] Every

activity of God relative to His creation is predicated upon His sending-ness for its

preservation in general and redemption in particular. Biblically speaking, God sent

Moses and prophets; "grain, new wine, and oil" (Joel 2:19); "love and faithfulness"

(Psalms 57:3); "light and truth" (Psalms 43:3); "word" (Psalms107:20); "a famine of

hearing (his) words" (Amos 8:11); "the sword" of destroying his rebellious people

(Jeremiah 9:16); Jesus Christ, the Holy Spirit, and His church.[56] All of these indicate

that God is a sending God in creation (i.e. *missio Dei generalis*) as well as a sending God

in Christ (i.e. *missio Dei specialis*).

As such, Vicedom appreciates both the creation-centered and the redemption-

centered *missio Dei* in the dynamic tension of universality and particularity in God's

economy. Through *missio Dei generalis*, God "brings His direct influence to bear on the

world…not excludes His creation from His care."[57] At the same time, through *missio Dei

specialis*, God brings His direct influence to bear on the world and does not exclude His

creation from his salvation. The consummate moments and events of *missio Dei

specialis* are God's being "the Content of the sending" in Incarnation and Pentecost.[58] As

the crux of God's sent-nesss, Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit are the supreme *donum Dei*

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[55] Ibid., 10.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid., 16.

[58] Ibid., 8.

(God's gift),[59] out of which the church is born and sent to "carry out God's mission" for the shalomic furtherance of God's Kingdom.[60]

2.2 The Controversy of *Missio Dei* in the Worldwide Protestant Movements

The era of the *missio Dei* paradigm was inaugurated at Willingen 1952. Even so, the *missio Dei* dispute into which the worldwide Protestant movements would be plunged in the ensuing two decades did not surface at the conference. Michael Goheen explains this as follows: "The Willingen statement…already concealed profound differences about how the mission of God was to be understood. Two interpretations of this phrase had already appeared at Willingen. One interpreted the phrase to mean the providential action of God by His Spirit in the world with little reference to the church. The other emphasized God's work through the unique witness of the church as it continued the mission of Christ."[61] Karl Hartenstein represented a voice for the latter approach, which virtually won the day at Willingen.[62] And yet, it was the former approach by Johannes

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[59] In the Augustinian view, "nothing is more excellent than this gift of God…without which no other gift of God at all can bring us through to God." Augustine, *De Trinitate* 15:32. Quoted from Luigi Gioia, *The Theological Epistemology of Augustine's De Trinitate* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2008), 137-138.

[60] Georg Vicedom, *The Mission of God*, 9.

[61] Michael Goheen, "The Future of Mission in the World Council of Churches: The Dialogue Between Lesslie Newbigin and Konrad Raiser," *Mission Studies* 21:1 (2004): 97-111. A similar observation is also made by Newbigin in his *The Open Secret: An Introduction to the Theology of Mission,* revised edition (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995), 8.

[62] At Willingen, the Hartensteinian group protected "mission against secularization and horizontalization," while reserving it "exclusively for God." David Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 392. It was not until the late 1950s that a radical *missio Dei* began to prevail in the ecumenical movement. As Tormod Engelsviken comments, "from Vicedom in 1958 to Uppsala in 1968 something happened to the concept of *missio Dei*." He continues: "While Vicedom used a distinction between *missio Dei generalis* (as Berentsen calls it) and *missio Dei specialis* (Vicedom's own term) in order to distinguish between God's work in creation and redemption, in the 1960s *missio Dei* becomes a comprehensive term for God's work in general, where God's redemptive work is seen as integrated in his creative work and his preserving

Hoekendijk that eventually "conquered the ecumenical world"[63] and subsequently

triggered the missiological polarity between ecumenists and evangelicals.

This second section covers the controversial period of *missio Dei* in the

worldwide Protestant movements. We will first inquire into Johannes Hoekendijk who

played a pivotal role in the radicalization and secularization of *missio Dei* in the

ecumenical movement. Next, the Uppsala Assembly of the WCC will be delved into,

when a this-worldly *missio Dei* theology was hailed as the ecumenical missiological

norm. Last, we will deal with the post-Uppsala debate on *missio Dei* between

evangelicals and ecumenists that drove both groups into reductionist understandings of

God's mission. During this period, the worldwide Protestant movements were

characterized by their missiological divide, and the most controversial issue was, as

succinctly expressed in the book title of Peter Beyerhaus, *Missions: Which*

Way?Humanization or Redemption?[64]

2.2.1 Johannes Hoekendijk

Johannes Hoekendijk was the prime mover in the ecumenical movement's

missiological radicalization and secularization. His influence on ecumenical mission

thinking got into full swing in the 1960s with Uppsala 1968 as its high point, but he had

been already instrumental in its formative stage in the 1950s. The WCC was officially

established as an organizational association of the ecumenical movement in1948, and

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work in the historical process." Tormod Engelsviken, "*Missio Dei*: The Understanding and Misunderstanding of a Theological Concept in European Churches and Missiology," 489.

[63] Jongeneel and van Engelen, "Contemporary Currents in Missiology," 448.

[64] Peter Beyerhaus, *Missions: Which Way? Humanization or Redemption?* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1971).

Hoekendijk took charge of the WCC's Evangelism Department from 1949 to 1953.[65]

During his term of office, Hoekendijk wrote an article, "The Call to Evangelism,"[66]

which reveals his antipathy to an *ecclesio*-centric mission. He states: "To put it bluntly;

the call to evangelism is often little else than a call to restore 'Christendom,' the *Corpus*

Christianum, as a solid, well-integrated cultural complex, directed and dominated by the

Church."[67] For Hoekendijk, "evangelization and *churchification* are not identical, and

very often they are each other's bitterest enemies."[68] Instead, evangelization is an

eschatological participation in God's mission already active in the world with a view to

the actualization of God's shalom and Kingdom in the here and now.

As the secretary of the WCC's Evangelism Department, Hoekendijk made a

significant contribution to the paradigmatic shift from a church-centered to a God-

centered mission at Willingen 1952. His essay, "The Church in Missionary Thinking,"[69]

was a preparatory paper for the conference's first session, 'The Missionary Obligation of

the Church," whose final report, 'A Statement on the Missionary Calling of the Church,'

shows his formative influence on the new missiological direction of the post-WWII

ecumenical movement.[70] At Willingen, however, his position was not fully welcome on

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[65] Libertus Hoedemaker, "Hoekendijk, Johannes Christiaan," *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, ed. Gerald Anderson (New York, NY: Macmillan, 1997), 297.

[66] Johannes Hoekendijk, "The Call to Evangelism," 167-175.

[67] Ibid., 163.

[68] Ibid., 171.

[69] Johannes Hoekendijk, "The Church in Missionary Thinking," *International Review of Mission* 41 (1952): 324–336.

[70] The final report is divided into five parts: 1) The Missionary Situation and the Rule of God; 2) The Missionary Obligation of the Church; 3) The Total Missionary Task; 4) Solidarity with the World; 5) Discerning the Sings of the Times. Norman Goodall, ed., *Missions under the Cross*, 188-192. Pay

account of its church-less orientation. "The church is," according to Hoekendijk, "(nothing more, but also nothing less!) than a means in God's hands to establish shalom in this world."[71] Instead, Hartenstein and others emphasized the church's privileged role as God's instrument in God's mission between Christ's First and Second Coming. The latter position was the *de facto* accepted view at Willingen whose final report declares that "the Church is sent forth to do its work until the completion of time."[72]

Hoekendijk's theology of mission has its inspirational root in Dietrich Bonhoeffer.[73] During the Nazi regime (1933–1945), Bonhoeffer became disillusioned with the Lutheran *Volkskirche*'s (national church's) explicit collusion with Hitler's National Socialism.[74] In the emerging context of secularization in the Western society, Bonhoeffer's disillusionment with religionized and institutionalized Christianity led him to formulate 'religion-less Christianity' on behalf of and in solidarity with the secular world.[75] As for him, "the church is the church only when it exists for others…[therefore]…must share in the secular problems of ordinary human life, not

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attention to such expressions as 'the Rule of God,' 'Solidarity with the World,' and 'Discerning the Signs of the Times,' that are Hoekendijk's missiological trademarks.

[71] Johannes Hoekendijk, "The Call to Evangelism," 170.

[72] Norman Goodall, ed., *Missions under the Cross*, 191.

[73] According to Walter Hollenweger, Hoekendijk "was not only knowledgeable in Bonhoefferian theology he lived it through his participation in the Dutch resistance movement." Walter Hollenweger, *Umgang mit Mythen* (Munich, Germany: 1982), 45. Quoted from Lynne Price, *Theology Out Of Place: A Theological Biography of Walter J. Hollenweger* (London, UK: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 98.

[74] Hoekendijk's doctoral dissertation in 1948 was *Church and Nation in German Missiology*, in which he scathingly criticized the church's missions in collusion and conspiracy with the German nation's colonialism and imperialism.

[75] Concerning Bonhoeffer's religion-less Christianity, Namboodiripad explains: "It is 'religion-less' in the sense that the theory and practice of Christianity are used for the service of humanity in this world. It is, however, Christianity in the sense that it has abiding faith in God and Jesus Christ. This faith is to be used for the service of man in this world." E. M. S. Namboodiripad, *The Frontline Years: Selected Articles* (New Delhi, India: LeftWord Books, 2010), 50.

dominating, but helping and serving." [76] Under the impact of this Bonhoefferian secular

theology, Hoekendijk developed his *basileo*-centric missiology with *Alltagsgeschichte*

(secular history) as the focus and locus of God's mission and kingdom,[77] which met with

resistance at Willingen but later resurfaced with acclamation, especially after the third

WCC Assembly in New Delhi in 1961.

The New Delhi Assembly was an epochal event in the ecumenical movement

where the IMC merged with the WCC. The integration of the IMC and the WCC was

symbolic of the inseparability of church and mission, in other words, 'ecclesia as

essentially missional and mission as essentially ecclesial.'[78] Immediately after the

incorporation, the WCC embarked on the 'The Missionary Structures of the Congregation

(MSG)' project (1961–1966), behind which Hoekendijk was the guiding spirit, providing

its conceptual foundation.[79] In the process, the WCC's first CWME (then, DWME) was

held in Mexico City in 1963 with 'Mission in Six Continents' as its catchword, when

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[76] Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Letters and Papers from Prison*, ed. Eberhard Bethge, trans. Rehinald Fuller et al (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 1997). 382-383. In Bonhoefferian ecclesiology, "true mission of the church lies not in its up-building but in the preservation, reconciliation, and healing of the world." Marcella Althaus-Reid, "Bonhoeffer, Dietrich," *The Oxford Companion to Christian Thought: Intellectual, Spiritual, and Moral Horizons of Christianity*, eds. Adrian Hastings et al (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2000), 80.

[77] In contrast, his contemporary, Karl Hartenstein, took *Heilsgeschiether* (salvation history) seriously with the church as the agent and sign of God's mission and Kingdom. Despite this difference, both Hoekendijk and Hartenstein put God's Kingdom before God's church in their missionary thinking. Their Kingdom-centered approach can be, among many others, attributed to E. Stanley Jones who criticized the church-centric theology of mission at Tambaram 1938. See his "On the Tambaram Conference," *The Guardian* 23:2 (1939): l02 and "The Kingdom of God and the Church," *NCCR* (1939): 305.

[78] Schumacher said that "the inverse of the thesis 'the church is essentially missionary' is 'mission is essentially ecclesial'" in his "Geschichter der Missionstheologie-eine Denkaufgabe," *Neue Zeitschrift fur Missionswissenschaft* 26 (1970): 183. Quoted from David Bosch, *Transforming Mission,* 372.

[79] Libertus Hoedemaker, "Hoekendijk, J(ohannes) C(hristiann) ("Han")," 297.

Hoekendijk's secular *missio Dei* was positively appreciated,[80] as reflected in its final

statement: "We affirm that this world is God's world…God is Lord not only of creation

but also of history. What is happening in the world of our time is under the hand of

God…We are called to a sustained effort to understand the secular world and to discern

the will of God in it."[81]

The central thrust of Hoekendijk's theology of mission is found in *The Church

Inside Out*, a compilation of his writings from 1954 to 1966.[82] A classic understanding of

missio Dei used to recognize the church's prerogative role in God's economy, as

articulated in *The Missionary Nature of the Church* (1962) by Johannes Blauw.[83] In

contrast, Hoekendijk accentuated God's direct involvement in the world with no

intermediate agency of the church. He says: "Our God is not a temple dweller…not

even a church god. He advances through time…[as] the King of the history of the

world…We must maintain the right order in our thinking and speaking about the church.

That order is God–World–Church, not God–Church–World."[84] In the Hoekendijkian

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[80] It should be pointed out that the ecumenical mission theology at large has been developed with a holistic approach as its main missiological trend. In the early 1960s, the WCC's main current was still a holistic *missio Dei* supported by such moderate ecumenical leaders as Newbigin, the first Director of the DWME, whose stated aim took on a holistic aspect: 'to further proclamation to the whole world of the gospel of Jesus Christ, to the end that all men may believe and be saved.' This approach became anthropocentrically radicalized from the mid-1960s through Geneva 1966, the MSG project (i.e. *Planning for Mission*, *The Church for Others*, and *The Church for the World*), and Uppsala 1968 that reached its peak at Bangkok 1973. Such ecumenical leaders as Newbigin, Visser 't Hooft and Anderson see this period's thisworldly, humanistic emphasis as a deviation from the ecumenical mission tradition. Notably, Newbigin called such radical move as "ecumenical amnesia" in his debates with Raiser Konrad in "Ecumenical Amnesia," *International Bulletin of Missionary Rese*arch 18:1 (1994): 2-5.

[81] WCC, M*inutes of the Second Meeting of the Commission on World Mission and Evangelism* (Geneva, Swiss: WCC, 1963), 128.

[82] Johannes Hoekendijk, *The Church Inside Out* (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1966).

[83] In the 1960s, Johannes Blauw was active in the WCC's ecumenical movement. But what the WCC embraced as its missiological policy was Hoekendijk's radical approach.

[84] Johannes Hoekendijk, *The Church Inside Out*, 68.

framework of God–World–Church, the world is the essential locus of God's mission and kingdom, and the church finds its reason for being only "in *actu Christi*, that is, *in actu Apostoli*" between Kingdom gospel and secular world.[85] His secular *missio Dei* boiled down to 'the church for others' as its ecclesiological focus and 'humanization' as its soteriological focus which the WCC hailed as its missiological platform at Uppsala.[86]

2.2.2 The Uppsala Assembly of the World Council of Churches

The unprecedented two World Wars marked the demise of the Christendom mentality and the advent of the Kingdom mentality in ecumenical missionary philosophy. The conceptual basis of this paradigmatic shift was the newly-hatched *missio Dei* theology whose ultimate concern was God's shalomic Kingdom. In its formative phase, *missio Dei* was by no means anti-ecclesial. Rather, the church was appreciated as a primary agent of God's mission as well as a witnessing sign of God's Kingdom. This version of *missio Dei* was still the main current at the post-WWII IMC meetings. That is, the Whitby conference in 1947 underlined the church's global evangelistic partnership in its participation in God's mission; the Willingen conference in 1952 highlighted the church's sent-ness to the world for God's mission; and the Ghana conference in 1957/1958 underscored the church's missionary *esse* by God's mission.

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[85] Ibid., 42. In the Hoekendijkian framework, the God–World–Church order is tantamount to the Kingdom–Gospel–Apostolate–World order, wherein the church is called to establish shalom in this world through *kerygma, koinonia*, and *diakonia*.

[86] According to Charles Van Engen, Uppsala 1968 "ended up following J. C. Hoekendijk's mistaken pessimism about the church and unwarranted optimism concerning 'The Church Inside Out,' entailing a secularized ecclesial presence in the world." Charles Van Engen, "Opportunities and Limitations," *Working Together with God to Shape the New Millennium: Opportunities and Limitations,* eds. Kenneth Mulholland and Gary Corwin (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2000), 89.

After the WCC–IMC integration in 1961, the ecumenical movement experienced another missiological shift from a church-appreciated *missio Dei* to a world-appreciated *missio Dei* during the mid-1960s to the early 1970s. In God's mission, the church was dethroned from its privileged position and the world was uplifted as the principal context of God's action and mission. In this regard, James Scherer comments: "The church-centered missionary framework, sharply criticized at Willingen by Hoekendijk but not overthrown, now came to be steadily displaced in the years after New Delhi by the concept of the world as the locus of God's mission."[87] The ensuing decade saw a this-worldly *missio Dei* predominate in the ecumenical movement, which reached its culmination at the Uppsala conference of the WCC in 1968 and subsequently the Bangkok conference of the CWME in 1973.

The Uppsala meeting was the WCC's fourth General Assembly after Amsterdam 1948 (the first Assembly), Evanston 1954 (the second Assembly), and New Delhi 1961 (the third Assembly). In total, 704 delegates of the WCC's 235 member churches participated in the worldwide event that lasted 22 days from July 4 to July 20. With 'Behold, I Make All Things New' as the overarching theme, Uppsala formed six sectional units to discuss six sub-themes: 1) Unit I: The Holy Spirit and the Catholicity of the Church; 2) Unit II: Renewal in Mission; 3) Unit III: World Economic and Social Development; 4) Unit IV: Towards Justice and Peace in International Affairs; 5) Unit V: Worship; 6) Unit VI: Towards New Styles of Living. As evidenced by the sub-themes, Uppsala's main concern was the social, economic, and political spheres of human life. Even in Unit V, its committee defined worship as "ethical and social in

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[87] James Scherer, *Gospel, Church, & Kingdom*, 107.

nature…orientated towards the social injustices and divisions of mankind."[88] After

Uppsala, such was the socio-economic and political conscientization of the WCC that the

Program to Combat Racism (PCR), the Commission on the Churches' Participation in

Development (CCPD), the Christian Medical Commission (CMC), Dialogue with People

of Living Faiths and Ideologies (DPLFI), and the like were initiated and executed.[89]

The 1960s were a tumultuous decade of social, cultural, and political revolution.

In the heat of the Cold War (1946–1991), the Vietnam War (1960–1975) broke out after

the Cuban Revolution (1952–1959) and triggered the Anti-War Movement across the

world. In the Middle East, the age-long Arab-Israel conflict ended in their third war in

1967 and created a sense of crisis on a global scale.[90] In America and South Africa, the

inhumane White-Black discrimination led to the Civil Rights Movement (1955–1968)

and the Anti-Apartheid Movement (1960–1994), respectively. This revolutionary

zeitgeist enabled such theological radicalization as Liberation Theologies to gain

momentum in the ecumenical movement.[91] In 1966 the WCC hosted the 'Church and

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[88] "Section V: Worship," *The Uppsala Report 1968*, ed. Norman Goodall (Geneva, Swiss: WCC, 1968), 74-85. Affirming secularization for compatibility with Christian worship, the Worship Report insists that the worship should reflect "the reality of God, of man, and of the (secular) world."

[89] From 1954 to 1971 the WCC operated within a structure of divisions: the Division of Studies (DS), the Division of Interchurch Aid (DIA), The Division of World Mission and Evangelism (DWME→CWME), the Division of Ecumenical Action (DEA). Each division had several departments. From 1971 to 1992, the WCC operated within a three-unit program system: Unit I, Faith and Witness; Unit II, Justice and Service; Unit III, Education and Renewal. Proposals for the work of each unit and its subunits came from unit committees.

[90] The Arab-Israeli tension was exploded into military conflicts and wars in 1948–49, 1956, 1967, 1973–74, and 1982.

[91] For example, Paul Gauthier's *The Poor, Jesus and the Church* (Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1965) and Rubem Alves' *Toward a Theology of Liberation*, Doctoral dissertation (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Theological Seminary, 1968). Alves' dissertation was published in 1969 under the title of *A Theology of Human Hope* (Washington, DC: Corpus Books, 1969). Meanwhile, Gustavo Gutierrez presented a paper of the same title as Alves', *Toward a Theology of Liberation*, in Peru on July 1968, after which he was influential in the global emergence of liberation theologies "in full force" at the Latin American Bishops Conference (CELAM) held from August 26 to September 6, 1968 in Medellin,

Society' conference in Geneva and discussed 'Theology and Revolution' from a liberationist perspective. Combined with this anthropocentric move at Geneva 1966,[92] a secular and radical m*issio Dei* that had not been fully welcome at Willingen 1952 was given special prominence to at Uppsala 1968.

The missiological contours of the Uppsala Assembly were reflective of those of the 'Missionary Structures of the Congregation' (MSG) project (1961–1966). In 1967 the MSG's working groups produced the final report, *The Church for Others*,[93] in which the context of mission was defined as the secular world and the content of mission as shalomic humanization.[94] This theoretical construct was deeply affected by the Bonhoefferian-Hoekendijkian line of thinking. As the *de facto* progenitor of secular theology to prevail in full force in the 1960s,[95] Bonhoeffer set up the present world as his theological point of departure and subordinated the church's function to the service for humanity. Hoekendijk's *missio Dei* was nothing less than a missiological version of

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Colombia. Christian Smith, *The Emergence of Liberation Theology: Radical Religion and Social Movement Theory* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), 165.

[92] A significant figure leading the ecumenical movement in this anthropocentric way was M.M. Thomas, the chairperson of Geneva 1966, whose thisworldly *missio Dei* was characterized by "the centrality of humanity." See further Ken C. Miyamoto, *God's Mission in Asia,* 142-172.

[93] The report title traces its origin to Bonhoeffer, according to whom "the church is the church only when it exists for others." Peter Frick, ed., *Bonhoeffer's Intellectual Formation: Theology and Philosophy in His Thought* (Tubingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 222. In the same vein, Hoekendijk states that "the nature of the Church can be sufficiently defined by its function, i.e., its participation in Christ's apostolic ministry" for the world in his *The Church Inside Out*, 40.

[94] WCC, *The Church for Others and the Church for the World* (Geneva: WCC, 1967). The report comprised two parts: the first by the Western European group and the second by the North American group. As for the goal of *missio Dei,* the first group described 'shalom' and the second group 'humanization.'

[95] According to Keith Clements, "Bonhoeffer was greatly influential in the 'radical' and 'secular' theology movements in western Protestantism in the 1960s, especially through his emphasis on 'the world come of age.'" Keith Clements, "Bonhoeffer, Dietriech," *The Oxford Companion to Christian Thought*, eds. Adrian Hastings et al (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2000), 80.

Bonhoeffer's this-worldly theology. Their secular perspective resonated at Uppsala in such a way that churches and mission societies were urged, in the footsteps of secular activist groups, "to place the work for justice and development in the center of their activities."[96] In the God-World-Church framework, Uppsala maximized the social, economic, and political aspects of God's salvation and mission in affirming both secularization and humanization. According to Bosch, "by introducing the phrase (i.e., *missio Dei*), Hartenstein had hoped to protect mission against secularization and horizontalization, and to reserve it exclusively for God."[97] Contrary to Hartenstein's expectation, *missio Dei* was anthropocentrically secularized by the Hoekendijkian camp, and they took over the reins of the ecumenical movement of the 1960s with its acme at Uppsala 1968.

2.2.3 The Evangelical–Ecumenical Missiological Polarity

The Willingen conference of the IMC in 1952 was not only the birthplace of the *missio Dei* theology but also the starting point of the *missio Dei* controversy. Kinnamon and Cope explain: "Willingen, coming at the end of the colonial period, represents a turning point in ecumenical reflection. Its attack on a church-centered view of mission (it is not that the church has a mission but that God's mission has a church) led gradually to

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[96] Norman Goodall, ed., *The Uppsala Report 1968*, 27. The Uppsala attendees "concurred with the controversial Vatican II decree in de-emphasizing foreign missions and stressing solidarity with the poor and oppressed as a central priority of Christian missions and proposed instead an increased participation in secular programs for urban renewal and civil rights movement." Ju Hui Judy Han, "Reaching the Unreached in the 10/40 Window: The Missionary Geo-science of Race, Difference, and Distance," *Mapping the End Times: American Evangelical Geopolitics and Apocalyptic Visions*, eds. Jason Dittmer and Tristan Sturm (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 189.

[97] David Bosch, *Transforming Mission,* 392.

significant differences between evangelicals and ecumenical approaches."[98] The post-

Willingen ecumenical movement went in the radical direction of the "secularization and

horizontalization" of *missio Dei*.[99] In response, the evangelical movement expended its

effort to recover and rejuvenate the evangelistic élan of Edinburgh 1910 via its own inter-

church and inter-parachurch networks on a global scale.[100]

In fact, the evangelical–ecumenical polarity has its origin in the fundamentalist–

modernist controversy of the early twentieth century. In the wake of the eighteenth

century Enlightenment, two theological traditions were formulated according to their

dissimilar epistemological approaches to God and His revelation. One was liberalism

under the influence of the Kantian idealism that affirmed the agnostic and in-perceptible

position of the noumenal world.[101] The other was fundamentalism under the impact of

Thomas Reid's commonsense realism that acknowledged the reality and

understandability of the noumenal world.[102] The rise of liberalism in the Presbyterian

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[98] Michael Kinnamon and Brian Cope, eds., *The Ecumenical Movement* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1997), 339.

[99] David Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 392.

[100] Interestingly enough, both the ecumenical and the evangelical circles trace its genesis to Edinburgh 1910. In general, the former takes seriously the 'unitive' aspect of Edinburgh, while the latter makes much of the 'apostolic' aspect of Edinburgh.

[101] Regarding the Kant-liberalism nexus, Cairns explains: "There is a logical line of continuity between Kantian idealism and modern liberalism with its insistence on the 'spark of the divine' within each of us, which liberals insist that we need only to cultivate to achieve good moral conduct and eventual immorality. In this fashion Kant helped to provide a philosophical framework for both biblical criticism and modern liberal theology." Earle Cairns, *Christianity through the Centuries: A History of the Christian Church* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1996), 419.

[102] Concerning the Reid-fundamentalism nexus, Ralph Hood et al explain: "Common-sense realism is a philosophical position made popular by the Scotsman Thomas Reid (among others). It maintains, in opposition to Locke and Hume, that the mind perceives the world as it really is. People are directly aware of external reality; what they perceive is reality itself, not merely an image of reality…This realist position was indispensable to the conservative Christian notion that God had created an ordered universe that was capable of being known by all people. Hence, Newton could appeal to both 'books'-of nature and of God-with the same basic philosophical assumptions…This philosophy also provided a firm

Church in the United States of America (PCUSA) plunged the denomination into the

fundamentalist–modernist controversy between 1922 and 1936. In opposition to the

modernist liberal adoption of higher criticism, such Princeton theologians as Charles

Hodge and Benjamin Warfield defended biblical authority and inerrancy in continuity

with the Reformed tradition.[103] The end result was the fundamentalist Presbyterians'

secession from Princeton and the PCUSA, which triggered a chain reaction of other

denominational schism in America.[104] In the ecumenical movement, the fundamentalist–

modernist confrontation was exhibited representatively as the Hocking–Kraemer debate

of the 1930s wherein Kraemer's emphasis on Christian uniqueness under biblical realism

was in sharp contradistinction with Hocking's stress on religious mutuality under modern

liberalism.[105] The pointed divide between ecumenists and evangelicals during the 1960s

and early 1970s was practically an extension of this fundamentalist–modernist polarity.[106]

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foundation for yet another exceedingly important tenet of conservative Christian thinking: Just as God's truth could be known directly by the common person through scripture ('special revelation), it could also be known through empirical science ('general revelation). The special role of the Bible is obviously a central theme in Christian fundamentalist thought today; with common-sense realism as an underlying philosophical base, general revelation too was vitally central to the belief system of 19th-centiry evangelist." Ralph Hood et al., *The Psychology of Religious Fundamentalism* (New York, NY: The Guilford Press, 2005), 55.

[103] Charles Hodge, as an ardent champion of Reid's common sense, argued that "the Bible is to the theologian what nature is to the man of science. It is his storehouse of facts." Charles Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, Vol. 1 (New York, NY: Scribner, Armstrong and Company, 1872), 10.

[104] Fundamentalist Presbyterians split from the liberalizing PCUSA to form the Presbyterian Church of America (PCA; aka Orthodox Presbyterian Church, OPC) in 1936, whose right-wing Presbyterians split from the PCA/OPC in 1937 to found the Bible Presbyterian Church (BPC). Also, fundamentalist Baptists split from the liberalizing Northern Baptist Convention (NBC) to organize the Baptist Bible Fellowship (BBF) in 1930, the General Association of Regular Baptist Churches (GARBC) in 1932, and the Conservative Baptist Association (CBA) in 1947. See Nancy Ammerman, "North American Protestant Fundamentalism," *Fundamentalism Observed*, eds. Martin Marty and Scott Appleby (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), 29-30.

[105] William Ernest Hocking, *Re-Thinking Missions: A Laymen's Inquiry after One Hundred Years* (New York, NY: Harper & Brothers, 1932). This report was an outcome of Hocking's 1930–1932 research, which argued for the continuity between Christianity and other living faiths from the fulfillment perspective, as did John Nicol Farquhar as early as in 1913 in *The Crown of Hinduism* (London, UK:

The evangelical missionary movement came into existence and development in its strained relation with its ecumenical counterpart. Several ecumenical organizations grew out of Edinburgh 1910: the IMC in 1921, the Life & Work Movement in 1925, and the Faith & Order Movement in 1927.[107] However, the "perceived liberal trends" in the post-Edinburgh ecumenical movement,[108] which would be actualized in the first IMC meeting at Jerusalem in 1928,[109] gave birth to the Interdenominational Foreign Missions Association (IFMA) in 1917 decisively by faith missions societies. In the embryonic stage of the WCC (1937–1947),[110] the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) was

Oxford University Press, 1913). In response, Hendrik Kraemer defended the discontinuity between Christian faith and other religions from the replacement standpoint in his *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World* (New York, NY: Harper & Brothers, 1938), a preparatory report for the Tambaram meeting of the IMC in 1938.

[106] Edward John Carnell, *The Case for Orthodox Theology* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1959), 114. The term, evangelical, began to be employed preferentially by Billy Graham, Carl Henry, and Harold Ockenga from the mid-twentieth century in distinction from the word, fundamentalist, that had such negative connotations as "extremes and extravagances." John Stott, *Evangelical Truth: A Personal Plea for Unity, Integrity and Faithfulness* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 2003), 17-18. As for the evangelical–fundamentalist difference in mentality, Roger Olson explains: "The mentality of Fundamentalism (in contrast to Evangelicalism) is dominated by ideological thinking. Ideological thinking is rigid, intolerant, and doctrinaire; it sees principles everywhere, and all principles come in clear tones of black and white; it exempts itself from the limits that original sins place on history; it wages holy wars without acknowledging the elements of pride and personal interest that prompt the call to battle; it creates new evils while trying to correct old ones." Roger Olson, *The SCM Press A-Z of Evangelical Theology* (London, UK: SCM Press, 2005), 48. The fundamentalist group itself went through the evangelical-fundamentalist split, particularly from the year 1942, when the NAE was founded as an evangelical organization against both ecumenical liberals and fundamental literalists.

[107] The Life & Work Movement pursued the Christian unity in "social witness and action," whereas the Faith & Order Movement sought the Christian unity in "doctrine and polity." J. Philip Wogaman, *Christian Ethics: A Historical Introduction* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993), 258.

[108] "Faith Mission," *Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, ed. Gordon Melton, 218.

[109] Stephen Neil described Jerusalem 1928 as "the nadir of the modern missionary movement." He added: "This was the moment at which liberal theology exercised its most fatal influence on missionary thinking, the lowest valley out of which the missionary movement has ever since been trying to make its way." Stephen Neil, *The Unfinished Task* (London, UK: Edinburgh House, 1957), 151

[110] At the initiative of Joseph Oldham, the Life & Work Movement and the Faith & Order Movement agreed to merge into the WCC in 1937, whose official establishment was delayed until 1948 due to the Second World War.

founded in Wheaton in 1942 as an evangelical reaction to the ecumenical formation of

the WCC.[111] Opposed to the ecumenical direction to social activism, the NAE put the

fulfillment of the Great Commission on the front burner with the creation of the

Evangelical Fellowship of Mission Agencies (EFMA) as its missionary arm in 1945. The

official launch of the WCC in 1948 drove the evangelical circle's organizational

revitalization of the Evangelical Alliance (EA) into the World Evangelical Fellowship

(WEF; later renamed World Evangelical Alliance, WEA, in 2001) in 1951.[112] In 1961

the IMC was integrated into the WCC despite the objection of the evangelically-minded

IMC members.[113] As a consequence, "a significant number of evangelicals left the WCC

and became active in the evangelical movement later represented by such major

gatherings as Wheaton 1966, Berlin 1966, Lausanne 1974, Pattaya 1980, Manila, 1989,

and Seoul-GCOWE [114] 1994."[115]

After Edinburgh 1910, the ecumenical group began to call special attention to the

church's prophetic role in the society under the influence of the Social Gospel

Movement.[116] The emergence and prominence of a secular and radical *missio Dei*

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[111] The NAE was critical about both the ecumenical liberal/pluralist trend and the fundamentalist bibliolatrous/separatist attitude. The most anti-ecumenical organization was the fundamentalist International Council of Christian Churches (ICCC) set up under the leadership of Cark McIntire in 1948, which condemned the WCC as "apostate, un-American, and pro-communist." Richard Kyle, *Evangelicalism: An Americanized Christianity* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2006), 137.

[112] W. D. Taylor, "World Evangelical Alliance," 950.

[113] The WCC–IMC Committee was held at the WCC Assembly at Evanston in 1954 to discuss their integration, which was approved by the IMC meeting at Ghana in 1958 and actualized at the WCC Assembly at New Delhi in 1961.

[114] GCOWE stands for Global Consultation on World Evangelization.

[115] Charles Van Engen, "Opportunities and Limitations," 89.

[116] The Social Gospel Movement (SGM) emerged in the late nineteenth century under the influence of Christian socialism applying the gospel to social issues and problems. Notably, Charles

accelerated and intensified the ecumenical orientation to social salvation. In contrast, the

evangelical group attached the supreme importance to the gospel mandate, an igniter of

not only the modern missionary movement through William Carey but also the modern

ecumenical movement through Edinburgh. Interestingly enough, both the ecumenical

and the evangelical movements trace their roots to Edinburgh 1910. In the evangelicals'

eyes, though, the ecumenical movement was a far cry from a rightful heir of Edinburgh

whose spirit was essentially evangelistic under the catchphrase of 'Evangelization of the

World in This Generation.'[117] It was no wonder that Edinburgh's slogan was re-

emphasized whenever evangelicals held their missionary conferences.

After the ecumenical constitution of the WCC in 1948, the first major gathering of

the evangelical group took place in Chicago in 1960 under the aegis of the IFMA in the

name of the Congress on World Missions (CWM). The 1959 preparatory report shows

the IFMA's intention to host the meeting as follows: "Fifty years after the great

Edinburgh Missionary Conference in 1910, half the world still remains un-evangelized.

To help meet this urgent spiritual challenge, the IMFA proposes to convene a Congress

on World Missions December 4-11, 1960 in Chicago, Illinois."[118] As a result, thousands

of evangelicals including approximately 500 missionaries attended the eight-day event at

Moody Memorial Church, where they deplored the ecumenical "loss of missionary vision"

Sheldon's 1896 novel, *In His Steps: "What would Jesus do?"* was instrumental in the SGM's formation. In 1908 "ecumenically-minded social gospelers" organized the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, proclaimed the Social Creed of the Churches and inaugurated the era of the SGM. See Gary Dorrien, *Social Ethics in the Making: Interpreting an American Tradition* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 98.

[117] The matter of the fact is that the ecumenical movement has taken a holistic approach to mission in principle since its inception, but its diversity-in-unity atmosphere enabled radical voices to be appreciated and sometimes prevail (i.e. at Uppsala 1968).

[118] Edwin Frizen, *75 Years of IFMA, 1917–1992: The Nondenominational Missions Movement* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1992), 341.

of Edinburgh 1910. In continuity with Edinburgh's missionary triumphal optimism, the Chicago Congress proclaimed "the total evangelization of the world during the immediate generation" and proposed the strategic dispatch of 18,000 additional missionaries to the un-reached Non-Western areas.[119]

In one sense, Chicago 1960 was an evangelical response to the decision of the IMC meeting at Ghana in 1958 to merge with the WCC. The IMC–WCC integration was ratified at New Delhi 1961, serving as a catalyst to deepen the missiological polarity between evangelicals and ecumenists. The WCC lost no time in conducting its six-year MSC project (1961–1966), which, according to Charles Van Engen, "unfortunately…ended up following J. C. Hoekendijk's mistaken pessimism about the church and unwarranted optimism concerning 'The Church Inside Out,' entailing a secularized ecclesial presence in the world."[120] In the middle of the MSG project, the WCC hosted its first CWME (then, the DWME, which was the IMC's successor), in Mexico City in 1963 under the motto of 'Mission in Six Continents,' whose implication was that "as the object of God's mission, there can be only one 'mission field,' that is, the world."[121] This 'mission-in-six-continents' thinking brought about a critique from the evangelical movement in general and the Church Growth Movement in particular whose

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[119] Arthur Glasser and Donald McGavran, *Contemporary Theologies of Mission*, 117-18. In Glasser's evaluation, the Chicago Congress was "the last attempt of dispensationalist-separatists to dominate the American missionary movement. And it fell far short of being a success…a curious mixture of triumphalism and pessimism…the platform was dominated by the old guard." Arthur Glasser, "The Evolution of Evangelical Mission Theology since World War II," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 9:1 (1985): 9-13.

[120] Charles Van Engen, "Opportunities and Limitations," 89.

[121] Lalsangkima Pachuau, "Missiology in a Pluralistic World: The Place of Mission Study in Theological Education," *International Review of Mission* 89:355 (October 2000): 539-555. This idea was already mentioned at New Delhi 1961 as "all in each place." *The New Delhi Report: Third Assembly of the World Council of Churches in New Delhi, 1961* (London: SCM Press, 1962), 116.

missionary emphasis was decisively on the un-reached and un-evangelized people-groups.[122]

In 1966 evangelically-minded groups gathered forces to hold a series of worldwide rallies in the spirit of evangelical ecumenicity. The starter was the Congress on the Church's Worldwide Mission (CCWM) in Wheaton from April 9 to April 16 by the joint sponsorship of IFMA and EFMA.' "Billed as a Counter-World Council of Churches movement,"[123] Wheaton mustered 938 delegates from 71 countries and issued an evangelistic call for global evangelization. The Wheaton Declaration articulated: "The gospel must be preached in our generation to the peoples of every tribe, tongue, and nation. This is the supreme task of the church." Six months after the Wheaton Congress, more than 1,100 evangelical leaders representing over 100 nationalities assembled in Berlin from October 26 to November 4 under the banner of the World Congress on Evangelism (WCE).[124] Co-sponsored by the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association (BGEA) and *Christianity Today*,[125] the Berlin Congress announced that "our goal is

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[122] The Church Growth Movement, pioneered by Donald McGavran, attaches top priority to strategic evangelization through planting homogeneous unit churches among kindred people groups. According to Donald McGavran, the ecumenical concept of "mission-in-six-continents" has a "fatal weakness" in that "mission cannot be the same everywhere, even in one continent." He adds: "What mission is depends partly on God's will and partly on the population to which He sends His emissaries. In short, mission in the six continents is bewilderingly different, not the same." Donald McGavran, "Introduction," *Eye of the Storm: The Great Debate in Mission*, ed. Donald McGavran (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1972), 36.

[123] Efiong Utuk, "From Wheaton to Lausanne: The Road to Modification of Contemporary Evangelical Mission Theology," *Missiology: An International Review* 14:2 (April 1986): 207.

[124] Both Wheaton 1966 and Berlin 1966 tried to revitalize the initial evangelical elan of Edinburgh 1910, so that they might focuse on world evangelization within their own generation. This spirit was well reflected in their respective themes (Wheaton 1966's 'The Church's World-Wide Mission' and Berlin 1966's 'One Race, One Gospel, One Task.').

[125] In 1950 Billy Graham founded the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association (BGEA) to facilitate his propagation of the gospel. In 1955 he founded *Christianity Today* with his father-in-law, Nelson Bell, as its sister magazine.

nothing short of the evangelization of the human race in this generation." Contrary to the

ecumenical emphasis on social action via *missio Dei*, Berlin re-affirmed the Great

Commissions as the justification of mission, thereby highlighting evangelism as the

church's top priority. In his lecture at Berlin 1966, John Stott states: "We engage in

evangelism today…because we have been told to. The church is under orders. The risen

Lord commanded us to 'go,' to 'preach,' to 'make disciples,' and that is enough for

us."[126] This evangelical commitment to the Great Commission was disseminated through

the Berlin Congress' regional follow-ups: the Asia-South Pacific Congress on

Evangelism (ASPCE) in 1968 in Singapore, the North American Congress on

Evangelism (NACE) in 1969 in Minneapolis, the Latin American Congress on

Evangelism (LACE) in 1969 in Bogota, and the European Congress on Evangelism (ECE)

in 1971 in Amsterdam.

In the same year (1966) that Wheaton and Berlin took place, the WCC sponsored

the Conference on Church and Society (CCS) in Geneva and completed its six-year MSC

project undertaken from 1961. With almost half its participants from the Third World,[127]

the Geneva meeting "set the agenda for considerable theological debate and social action

within its member churches" with a supporting argument for the gospel's revolutionary

nature and its relevance to the injustice-riddled world.[128] Despite its full backing of

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[126] John Stott, "The Great Commission," *One Race, One Gospel, One Task*, Vol. 1, eds. C. Henry and W. Mooneyham (Minneapolis: World Wide Publications, 1967), 37.

[127] In total, 420 delegates from 8 nations and 164 churches took part in the fourteen-day event from July 12 to July 26.

[128] John De Gruchy and Steve De Gruchy, *The Church Struggle in South Africa* (London, UK: SCM Press, 2005), 114. Robert Brown remarked that "the Geneva conference of 1966 marks the beginning of a new era in ecumenism in which major attention is shifting from a preoccupation with Faith and Order themes to a preoccupation with Life and Work themes." Robert Brown, "Uppsala: An Informal Report," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 5 (1968), 637.

Martin Luther King's Civil Rights Movement,[129] the conference was skeptical about his

non-violent activism, since "it may be very well that the use of violent methods is the

only recourse of those who wish to avoid prolongation of the vast covert violence which

the existing order involves."[130] In the 'end-justifies-the-means' mentality, the Geneva

conference spoke out for human liberation even by means of violent revolution.[131] In the

next year (1967), the MSC committee produced its final outcome, *The Church for Others

and the Church for the World* and answered the question put forth at the Mexico City

conference of the CWME in 1963, "What is the form and content of the salvation which

Christ offers men in the secular world?"[132] The final report[133] defined the goal of mission

as shalomic humanization on the basis of the Hoekendijkian framework of God–World–

Church,[134] which was heartily embraced at Uppsala 1968, the climactic moment of the

ecumenical radicalization and secularization.[135]

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[129] Martin Luther King was invited to Geneva 1966, but he could not attend the conference.

[130] Paul Albrecht and M. M. Thomas, eds., *The World Conference on Church and Society* (Geneva: WCC, 1967), 143.

[131] In the same logic, the CELAM gathering in Medellin, Colombia, in 1968 gave support to an emerging Latin American liberation theology.

[132] M.M. Thomas, "A Dialogue Between H. Berkhof and M. M. Thomas," *Secular Man and Christian Mission*, ed. Paul Loeffler (New York, NY: Friendship Press, 1968), 22.

[133] The final report was a compilation of two working groups' researches, *The Church for Others* by the Western European group, and *The Church for the World* by the North American group. The first construed salvation as shalom, "a social happening, an event in inter-personal relations." In the same manner, the second interpreted salvation as humanization, "restored relationships in love of neighbor, in service and suffering for the sake of greater justice and freedom." WCC, *The Church for Others and The Church for the World*, 14, 77-78

[134] Such anthropocentric ecumenical leaders as M.M. Thomas of India and Paul Lehmann of America exerted a direct influence on the ecumenical attachment to humanization and liberation from the mid-1960s to the early 1970s. However, this radical move was enabled and empowered mainly by Hoekendijk's instrumentalist ecclesiology. In 1960 the World Student Christian Federation (WSCF) Teaching Conference was held at Strasbourg, whose original intention was, according to Bassham, "to pass along the consensus that had been reached in the ecumenical movement in the previous twenty-five years on the missionary nature of the church." Yet at the conference," continues Bassham, "leaders such as Niles, Newbigin, Visser 't Hooft and Karl Barth did not seem able to speak to or for the students. Hans

The evangelical counteroffensive to Uppsala 1968[136] was the Theological

Convention of Confessing Fellowships (TCCF) in March, 1970. At the initiative of Peter

Beyerhaus, a group of confessional evangelical theologians convened in Frankfurt, West

Germany, with a grave concern about the ecumenical attachment to liberalism,

secularism, radicalism, and relativism. Consequently, they issued the 'Frankfurt

Declaration of the Fundamental Crisis of Christian Mission' in an anti-Uppsala tone.[137]

"Humanization," stated the Declaration, "is not the primary goal of mission….a product

of our new birth through God's saving activity in Christ within us, or an indirect result of

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Hoekendijk was received with more enthusiasm than any other speaker when he called for 'full identification with man in the modern world,' which required the church to move out of ecclesiastical structures to open, mobile groups; to 'desacralize' the church; and to 'dereligionize' Christianity." Bassham concludes: "Strasbourg was a harbinger of things to come. No longer would the church be in the center of the picture as the bearer of salvation. Rather the focus would be the world. This decisive change of focus helped to point the way for the emerging theology of mission which would dominate ecumenical thinking in the 1960s." Rodger Bassham, *Mission Theology: 1948–1975 Years Worldwide Creative Tension* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1979), 47. A similar opinion is also expressed by David Bosch: "By and large, the Uppsala assembly endorsed this theology [i.e. mission as humanization]. The Hoekendijk approach had become the 'received view' in WCC circles. Mission became an umbrella term for health and welfare services, youth projects, activities of political interest groups, projects for economic and social development, the constructive application of violence, etc" (parenthesis mine). David Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 383.

[135] The 1960s saw the rise of secular theology: Peter Berger, *The Noise of Solemn Assemblies* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1961); Gibson Winter, *The Suburban Captivity of the Church* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1961); Colin Williams, *Where in the World?* (New York: National Council of Churches, 1963) and *What in the World?* (New York: National Council of Churches, 1964); and Harvey Cox, *The Secular City: Secularization and Urbanization in Theological Perspective* (New York: Macmillan, 1965). This theological trend translated into secular missiology in which the world set the agenda for the church and its mission.

[136] Donald McGavran deplored the ecumenical attachment to social action and detachment from evangelism at Uppsala, saying "Will Uppsala betray the two billion?" John Stott and Arthur Glasser also denounced the Assembly's disregard for "evangelical concerns." Timothy Yates, *Christian Mission in the Twentieth Century* (New York, NY: Cambridge University, 1996), 197-198. The Uppsala meeting's radicality was problematic not only to evangelicals but also to ecumenists. Notably, Douglas Webster expressed his anti-Uppsala position, insisting that "it is high time to draw attention to the increasing secularization of the Christian concept of mission, which is in danger of being divorced from its roots in the Bible." Harvey Hoekestra, *Evangelism in Eclipse: World Mission and the World Council of Churches* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1979), 83.

[137] Such German ecumenical leaders as Georg Vicedom joined this anti-Uppsala Declaration led by Peter Beyerhaus, a conservative evangelical leader who wrote *Missions: Which Way? Humanization or Redemption?* in the following year after the Frankfurt meeting in an anti-ecumenical fashion.

the Christian proclamation in its power to perform a leavening activity in the course of world history."[138] At Uppsala, mission was depicted as "placing the church alongside the poor, the defenseless, the abused, and forgotten, the bored ...entering the concerns of others...accepting their issues and their structures as vehicles of involvement...discerning with other men the sings of the times, and moving with history towards the coming of the new humanity."[139] In addition, three months before this Frankfurt meeting, the WCC's Ecumenical Consultation on Development (ECD) proposed the so-called Montreux triangle of economic growth, social justice, and self-reliance as the missionary strategy.[140] At Frankfurt, however, mission meant "the witness and presentation of eternal salvation performed in the name of Jesus Christ by His Church and fully authorized messengers by means of preaching, the sacraments and service."[141]

The early 1970s saw the ever-widening missiological gap between evangelicals and ecumenists, as a radical *missio Dei* was more emphasized in the ecumenical movement. As John Stott puts it, "during the five years between Uppsala (1968) and Bangkok (1973) the ecumenical emphasis shifted from humanization and development to the secular liberation movements, and the Programme to Combat Racism (launched in

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[138] The Frankfurt Declaration (1970) is available at http://kccmo.or.kr/declaration.htm. Accessed on December 16, 2011.

[139] "Renewal in Mission: The Report as Adopted by the Assembly," *International Review of Mission* 58 (1969): 356-357.

[140] Ignatius Swart, *The Churches and the Development Debate: Perspectives on a Fourth Generation Approach* (Stellenbosch, South Africa: Sun Press, 2006), 39. *Fetters of Injustice* was released as the official report of the ECD.

[141] "The Frankfurt Declaration (1970)." Available at http://kccmo.or.kr/declaration.htm. Accessed on December 16, 2011.

1969) gathered momentum."[142] The emergent liberation theologies from South America

infiltrated the ecumenical movement[143] to the extent that the CWME in Bangkok in

1972/3 went so far as to qualify salvation as "the liberation of persons and societies from

all that prevents them from living an authentic existence in justice and a shared

community."[144] From the liberationist perspective, Bangkok reckoned "the struggles for

economic justice, political freedom and cultural renewal as elements in the total

liberation of the world through the mission of God."[145] "Salvation is," according to

Bangkok, "the peace of the people in Vietnam, independence in Angola, justice and

reconciliation in Northern Ireland and release from the captivity of power in the North

Atlantic community."[146] At last, the liberationist–nationalistic Bangkok participants

sounded the alarm regarding missionary colonialism and paternalism, issuing a call for

'mission moratorium.'[147]

Bangkok 1972/3 invited immediate criticism from evangelicals, one from the

German side and the other from the American side. First, under the leadership of Peter

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[142] John Stott, *Christian Mission in the Modern World* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 1975), 135.

[143] Such liberation theologians as Julio de Santa Ana and Jose Miguez Bonino were active within the WCC, which enabled liberation theology to gain momentum in the ecumenical movement.

[144] WCC, *Bangkok Assembly: Minutes and Report of the Assembly of the CWME in Bangkok* (Geneva: WCC, 1973), 37.

[145] Ibid., 89.

[146] Ibid.

[147] According to Timothy Yates, "there was a call for a moratorium on missionaries sounded by the African leader, John Gatu, in 1971 and taken up by the All-African Council of Churches at its Lusaka meeting of 1974; and of the WCC-CWME meeting at Bangkok of 1973." Timothy Yates, *Christian Mission in the Twentieth Century*, 199.

Beyerhaus,[148] a band of German evangelicals announced the Frankfurt Statement in continuity with their 1970 Frankfurt Declaration. They passed harsh judgment on Bangkok, claiming that its understanding of salvation was a product of not so much biblical reflection as "a clever strategy of group dynamics, which in psychological terminology is called 'engineering consent'"[149] Furthermore, they condemned the WCC-CWME and encouraged the evangelical disassociation from the WCC-influenced mission societies.[150] On the other side of the Pacific, at the initiative of Ralph Winter, American evangelicals released *The Evangelical Response to Bangkok* with a majority of contributors from the Church Growth Movement. In their view, Bangkok "devalued" Christian salvation, while minimizing its "eternal significance" and maximizing its "temporal meaning."[151] In one voice, they insisted that "evangelicals should work and pray that this deliberated debasing of Christian currency ceases and that the reformation of social order…should not be substituted for salvation."[152] In the next year, the biggest evangelical conference that the world had ever known until that moment was convened in Lausanne. Contrary to their expectation, the meeting cast an evangelical vision of holistic mission in positive evaluation of the ecumenical emphasis on social salvation, so

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[148] Peter Beyerhaus censured Bangkok's inattention to "the preeminent goal of Christ's Great Commission" and exhorted evangelicals to "present the biblical alternatives by articulating our faith and by acting accordingly in obedience to Christ's Great Commission." Peter Byerhaus, "The Theology of Salvation at Bangkok." *Evangelical Missions Quarterly* 9:3 (April 1973):150-161.

[149] Peter Beyerhaus, *Bangkok 73* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1973), 75-76.

[150] This fundamentalist and separatist move brought about the schism among German evangelicals into pro-Beyerhaus and anti-Beyerhaus. Georg Vicedom, who had sided with Peter Beyerhaus at the Frankfurt Declaration, hereafter broke away from the pro-Beyerhaus group. Bernhard Ott, *Beyond Fragmentation*, 75.

[151] Donald McGavran, "Salvation Today?" *The Evangelical Response to Bangkok*, ed. Ralph Winter (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1973), 31.

[152] Ibid.

that it eventually paved the way for the evangelical–ecumenical missiological reconciliation.

2.3 The Convergence of *Missio Dei* in the Worldwide Protestant Movements

The rise of a secular and radical *missio Dei* in the ecumenical movement brought about the upsurge of the evangelical–ecumenical tension. Concerning the situation, John Stott poignantly expressed in his introductory address on 'The Biblical Basis of Evangelism' at the Lausanne Congress in 1974: "We all know that during the last few years, especially between Uppsala and Bangkok, ecumenical–evangelical relations hardened into something like a confrontation."[153] The ecumenical goal of mission was, in the *missio Dei* framework of God–World–Church, proclaimed decisively as humanization at Uppsala 1968 and liberation at Bangkok 1972/73. Diametrically, the evangelical goal of mission was, in the Great Commission framework of God–Church–World, announced consistently as evangelization throughout Wheaton 1966, Berlin 1966, and Frankfurt 1970/1973. The more secularized and earth-bound the ecumenical missiological approach became, the more spiritualized and heaven-bound the evangelical missiological approach became.

Starting in the middle 1970s, a desire for rapprochement began to build up between evangelicals and ecumenists in the worldwide Protestant movements. James Scherer writes: "The decade of the 1970s, especially after 1974, was by contrast the beginning of a time of convergence, dialogue, and mutual exchange between different

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[153] John Stott, "The Biblical Basis of Evangelism," *Let the Earth Hear His Voice: Official Reference Volume, Papers, Responses, International Congress on World Evangelism, Lausanne, Switzerland*, ed. J. D. Douglas (Minneapolis: World Wide Publications, 1975), 65.

viewpoints."[154] Interesting enough, *missio Dei*, which had reinforced the evangelical–

ecumenical dichotomization,[155] was now conducive to their missiological reconciliation.

As David Bosch notes, "since Willingen, the understanding of mission as *missio Dei* has

been embraced by virtually all Christian persuasions—first by conciliar Protestants, but

subsequently by other ecclesial groupings, such as…many evangelicals,"[156] and their

understanding of *missio Dei* has gradually converged in holism intrinsic to God's mission

and Kingdom.[157] On June 28, 2011, the WCC and the WEA publicized their five-year

collaborative study, "Christian Witness in a Multi-Religious World: Recommendations

for Conduct," together with the Vatican's Pontifical Council on Inter-religious Dialogue

(PCID), whose Section I, 'A Basis for Christian Witness,' attested to their common

affirmation of *missio Dei* and holistic mission: "Just as the Father sent the Son in the

power of the Holy Spirit, *so believers are sent in mission to witness in word and action* to

the love of the triune God" (italics mine).[158]

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[154] James Scherer, *Gospel, Church, and Kingdom*, 40.

[155] This sort of tension was felt not only between evangelicals and ecumenists but also within their own circles. In the ecumenical movement, such leaders as Newbigin and Visser't Hooft consistently supported a holistic *missio Dei*. In the evangelical movement, such leaders as John Stott and Rene Padilla were proponents of a holistic approach to mission.

[156] David Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 390.

[157] As Ross Langmead points out, "there is a difference between the ecumenical concept of holistic mission and the evangelical view (at least represented by John Stott and the Lausanne Movement), even though both groups use phrases similar to 'the whole church taking the whole gospel to the whole world.'" He details: "The evangelical view sees verbal proclamation and social action as closely related but ultimately distinct, like the two blades of a pair of scissors or the two wings of a bird. The ecumenical concept of holism is thoroughgoing, seeing Christian witness to the kingdom as one task for one vision, taking place in both word and deed, for liberation at all levels of human existence." Ross Langmead, *The Word Made Flesh: Towards an Incarnational Missiology* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2004), 197.

[158] The WCC, the WEA, and the PCID, "Christian Witness in a Multi-Religious World: Recommendations for Conduct," a collaborative document released on June 28, 2011. Available at http://www.oikoumene.org/fileadmin/files/wcc-main/2011pdfs/ChristianWitness_recommendations.pdf. Accessed on December 17, 2011.

This third and last section will cover the convergent period of *missio Dei* in the worldwide Protestant movements. In the first place, we will discuss the evangelical path to a holistic *missio Dei*, beginning with the Lausanne Congress in 1974 and ending with Lausanne III in 2010. In the second place, we will explore the ecumenical path[159] to a holistic *missio Dei*, beginning with the WCC Assembly in Nairobi in 1975 and ending with the WCC-initiated Edinburgh Conference in 2010. In a manner of speaking, the evangelical–ecumenical missiological convergence from the middle of the 1970s onward implies that their previous polarized relation was not so much a destructive one as a constructive one. Out of the tension came mutual challenge and enrichment leading to missional holism beyond missional reductionalism and prioritism. That is why Rodger Bassham designated their previous polarity as the "*creative* tension" (italics mine).[160]

2.3.1 The Evangelical Path to a Holistic *Missio Dei*

Following the first International Congress on World Evangelization (ICOWE) in Lausanne in 1974, *missio Dei* was no longer the sole preserve of the ecumenical movement. At the Lausanne Congress, John Stott, the architect of the Lausanne Movement, declared that "mission is an activity of God arising out of the very nature of God." Discarding his previous Great-Commission-centered approach to mission

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[159] A better expression might be 're-path,' because a holistic mission approach has been a main ecumenical trend from its beginning to the present except for the short period of time during the mid-1960s and the early 1970s. Even in this radical decade, ecumenical voices for a holistic *missio Dei* were strongly raised by Newbigin and many others.

[160] The expression, "creative tension," appears in the subtitle of his book, *Mission Theology: 1948–1975 Years of Worldwide Creative Tension Ecumenical, Evangelical, and Roman Catholic.*

expressed at the Berlin Congress in 1966,[161] Stott described mission from the ecumenical

perspective of *missio Dei*.[162] He continued: "The Living God of the bible is a sending

God, which is what 'mission' means. He sent the prophets to Israel. He sent His Son

into the world. His Son sent out the apostles and the seventy, and the Church. He also

sent the Spirit to the Church and sends Him into our hearts today. So the mission of the

Church arises from the mission of God and is to be modeled on it." [163] As Rodger

Bassham mentions, this evangelical affirmation of 'mission as *missio Dei*' broadened

"the focus of the Congress from evangelism to mission,"[164] and created "a public shift in

mainline evangelical understanding of the relationship between evangelism and social

concern."[165]

In classic evangelical tradition, mission was equated with evangelism. The

Frankfurt Declaration in 1970 articulated the evangelical traditional view: "Mission is

the witness and presentation of eternal salvation."[166] This reductionist understanding of

mission as soul-winning evangelism was not compatible with *missio Dei* which takes

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[161] In an extended version of his address at the Lausanne Congress, John Stott argued that "not only the consequences of the commission but the actual commission itself must be understood to include social as well as evangelistic responsibility, unless we are to be guilty of distorting the words of Jesus." John Stott, *Christian Mission in the Modern World*, 37.

[162] Of course, the *missio Dei* theology that John Stott adopted was not a radical Hoekendijkian model but a balanced Vicedomian model. Vicedom tried to strike a balance between God's work in creation and redemption." Tormod Engelsviken, "*Missio Dei*: The Understanding and Misunderstanding of a Theological Concept in European Churches and Missiology," 489.

[163] John Stott, "The Biblical Basis of Evangelism," *Let the Earth Hear His Voice*, 66.

[164] Rodger Bassham, *Mission Theology,* 231.

[165] Timothy Dudley-Smith, *John Stott: A Global Ministry* (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press 2001), 218

[166] "The Frankfurt Declaration in 1970." http://kccmo.or.kr/declaration.htm. Accessed on December 16, 2011.

seriously human life and context in the here and now. The evangelical adoption of *missio Dei* as its missiological point of departure resulted in its comprehensive understanding of mission. This beginning of the shift was well reflected in The Lausanne Covenant: "Evangelism and socio-political involvement are both part of our Christian duty. For both are necessary expressions of our doctrines of God and man, our love of our neighbor and our obedience to Jesus Christ."[167]

In actuality, the evangelical shift from reductionist prioritism to comprehensive holism had been progressing prior to the Lausanne Movement. As far back as from the 1940s, such (neo-) evangelical leaders as Carl Henry promoted the evangelical social consciousness and action, arguing that "if historic Christianity is again to compete as a vital world ideology, evangelicalism must project a solution for the most pressing world problems."[168] At this time, the evangelical movement in general and the BGEA in particular began to pay keen attention to the church's prophetic call and role in the revolutionary vortex of the 1960s. Samuel Escobar explains: "The rediscovery of holistic mission among evangelicals in the 1960s was occasioned by the experiences of churches whose evangelistic work took places in countries or social classes going through painful processes of social transformation."[169] The evangelical path to missional holism was discernibly perceived in Billy Graham's 1963 statement that "evangelism has a

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[167] Section 5 of the Lausanne Covenant. Available at www.lausanne.org/covenant. Accessed on December 17, 2011.

[168] He added: "It must offer a formula for a new world mind with spiritual ends, involving evangelical affirmations in political, economic, sociological, and educational realms, local and international. The redemptive message has implications for all of life; a truncated life results from a truncated message." Carl Henry, *The Uneasy Conscience of Modern Fundamentalism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1947), 68.

[169] Samuel Escobar, *The New Global Mission: The Gospel from Everywhere to Everyone* (Downers Grove: IVP, 2003), 145-146.

social responsibility,"[170] the BGEA-sponsored Berlin Congress in 1966 and its regional follow-up meeting from 1968 to 1971. Notably, the Asia South Pacific Congress of Evangelism (ASPCE) in 1968 announced: "There is no such thing as a separate individual gospel and a separate social gospel…only one gospel—a redeemed man in a reformed society."[171]

In this growing evangelical orientation to missional non-dualism,[172] the Lausanne Movement was initiated by the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization (LCWE) with the Lausanne Congress in 1974 as the starter. Attracting more than 2,500 evangelical leaders from 150 nations with half of them from the Third World, the first ICOWE cast an evangelical vision of holistic mission involving both evangelism and social action. However, there existed differing voices concerning the inter-relatedness between evangelism and social action. The Lausanne Congress, where "McGavran's voice…won out in the end," [173] sided with the prioritizing view enough to state that "in the church's mission of sacrificial service, evangelism is primary" in its Section 6.[174] The

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[170] Billy Graham, "Why the Berlin Congress?" *Christianity Today*, November 11, 1963, 5. However, the overall tone of his article was critical about a holistic approach to mission equating evangelism and social action in God's mission. His main concern was individual conversion and spiritual salvation.

[171] Benjamin Fernando, "The Evangel and Social Upheaval (part 2)," *Christ Seeks Asia,* ed. W.S. Mooneyham (Charlestown, IN: Rock House, 1969), 118. The Latin American Congress on Evangelism (LACE) in 1969 also held the same opinion: "To discuss whether we should evangelize or promote social action is worthless. They go together. They are inseparable…God is really interested in our service and in our evangelistic task." Samuel Escobar, "The Social Impact of the Gospel," *Is Revolution Change?* ed. Brian Griffiths (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 1972), 98, 100.

[172] The Chicago Declaration of Evangelical Social Concern was issued in 1973, which revealed "a radical shift" in the evangelical missionary movement. Joel Carpenter, "Compassionate Evangelicalism," *Christianity Today*, December 1, 2003. Available at http://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2003/december/2.40.html. Accessed on December 17, 2011.

[173] Christopher Little, "What Makes Mission Christian?" *International Journal of Frontier Missiology* (April-June 2008): 66.

[174] "Lausanne Covenant." www.lausanne.org/covenant. Accessed on December 17, 2011.

other non-prioritizing view was advocated by a Third-World-oriented *ad hoc* camp called

'the Radical Discipleship Group (RDG),'[175] whose document, "Theological Implications

of Radical Discipleship" made it appear that "there is no biblical dichotomy between the

Word spoken and the Word made flesh in the lives of God's people."[176]

As such, the Lausanne Congress paved the way for the evangelical affirmation of

a holistic *missio* Dei,[177] but with the relation between evangelism and social action being

undeveloped.[178] The following decades saw the Lausanne Movement trying to articulate

their relationship in the framework of missional holism. In the wake of the Willowbank

Consultation on Gospel and Culture (CCGC) in 1978, John Stott emphasized the

inseparability of evangelism and social action in light of Christian identity as Kingdom

people. He said: "To seek first God's Kingdom and His righteousness may be said to

embrace our Christian evangelistic and social responsibilities, much as do the 'salt' and

'light' metaphors of Matthew 5. In order to seek first God's Kingdom…God's

righteousness, we shall still evangelize (for the inward righteousness of the heart is

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[175] The leading figures of the RDG were Samuel Escobar and Rene Padilla from Latin America. See further Al Tizon, *Transformation after Lausanne: Radical Evangelical Mission in Global-Local Perspective* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2008).

[176] J.D. Douglas, ed. *Let the Earth Hear His Voice*, 1294. The RDG was influential in 'The Statement of Concern for the Future of the LCWE' of Pattaya 1980 and 'The Statement on 'Transformation: The Church in Response to Human Need' of Wheaton 1983. Bosch's evaluation on the Wheaton Statement (1983) was that "for the first time in an official statement emanating from an international evangelical conference the perennial dichotomy (between evangelism and social responsibility) was overcome." David Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 407.

[177] As for the meaning of 'holistic,' Rene Padilla says: "In a way, the adjective holistic only intends to correct a one-sided understanding of mission that majors on either the vertical or the horizontal dimension of mission." Rene Padilla, "Holistic Mission," *A New Vision, A New Heart: A Renewed Call Lausanne Occasional Papers from the 2004 Forum for World Evangelization*, Vol.1, ed. David Claydon (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2005), 216. In this sense, it can be said that the Lausanne Congress did not fully accept a holistic approach to mission.

[178] The un-development of their relationship was later exhibited as "two streams of evangelical missiology…what might be termed 'frontier missions' and 'holistic mission.'" Allen Yeh, "Tokyo 2010: Global Mission Consultation," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 35:1 (January 2011): 5.

impossible otherwise), but we shall also engage in social action and endeavor to spread

throughout the community those higher standards of righteousness which are pleasing to

God."[179] And yet, the Consultation on World Evangelization in Thailand's Pattaya in

1980 re-confirmed the Lausanne Congress' primacy of evangelism. The Thailand

Statement writes: "…evangelism and social action are integrally related, but…none is

greater than their alienation from their Creator…If therefore we do not commit ourselves

with urgency to the task of evangelization, we are guilty of an inexcusable lack of human

compassion."[180]

In 1982, the LCWE hosted the Consultation on the Relationship between

Evangelism and Social Responsibility (CRESR) in Grand Rapids for the in-depth

clarification of their correlation. During the CRESR, its official report was released

under the title, *Evangelism and Social Responsibility: An Evangelical Commitment*,

which highlighted their mutual integrality in light of *missio Christ*: "Evangelism and

social responsibility, while distinct from one another, are integrally related in our

proclamation of and obedience to the gospel…In practice, as in the public ministry of

Jesus, the two are inseparable."[181] In addition, the Grand Rapids Report detailed their

relations triply as social activity as a bridge, a consequence, and a partner of evangelism.

In spite of all, the CRESR could not break free entirely from the prioritizing tendency of

the Lausanne Congress, adding that "evangelism has a certain priority." In the next year,

the Consultation on the Church in Response to Human Need (CCRHN) was held in

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[179] John Stott, *Christian Counter-Culture* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 1978), 172.

[180] "Thailand Statement."   http://www.lausanne.org/all-documents/the-thailand-statement.html.
Accessed on December 17, 2011.

[181] "Evangelism and Social Responsibility: An Evangelical Commitment."
http://www.lausanne.org/all-documents/lop-21.html. Accessed on December 17, 2011.

Wheaton as the third track of the WEF-sponsored Conference. The direct outgrowth of

the CCRHN was the Wheaton Statement, *Transformation: The Church in Response to*

Human Need, in which, according to David Bosch, "for the first time in an official

statement emanating from an international evangelical conference the perennial

dichotomy (between evangelism and social responsibility) was overcome."[182] On the

authority of the "biblical vision of God's Kingdom...both present and future, both societal

and individual, both physical and spiritual,"[183] the Wheaton Statement (1983) construed

mission as total transformation affecting every dimension of human life. This non-

prioritizing Kingdom-centered approach "put to the final rest for many evangelicals,

especially in the Two-Thirds World, the argument between evangelism and social

action."[184]

   After Wheaton 1983, the evangelical mission theology came down to a *basileio*-

centric holistic mission. As typical examples, the Manila Manifesto (1989) from the

second ICOWE (Lausanne II) insisted that "as we proclaim the love of God, we must be

involved in loving service, and as we preach the Kingdom of God, we must be committed

to its demands of justice and peace"[185] and the LCWM's Pattaya Forum (2004) specified

that "holistic mission is the means through which the glory of the Kingdom of God is

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[182] David Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 407.

[183] "The Wheaton Statement." http://www.lausanne.org/all-documents/transformation-the-church-in-response-to-human-need.html. Accessed on December 17, 2011.

[184] Vinay Samuel and Christ Sugden, eds., *Mission as Transformation: A Theology of the Whole Gospel* (Oxford: Regnum, 1999), x.

[185] "The Manila Manifesto." http://www.lausanne.org/manila-1989/manila-manifesto.html. Accessed on December 17, 2011.

announced and concretely manifested in history."[186] Meanwhile, Wheaton 1983 laid the

groundwork for the "theological understanding of many of the leading evangelical relief

and development agencies"[187] such as the Micah Network. Organized in 1999, the Micah

Network has grown into an international networking of more than 250 evangelical

agencies committed to "integral mission," which is, according to the 2001 Micah

Declaration, "the proclamation and demonstration of the gospel."[188]

In 2010 the Lausanne Movement celebrated the centennial anniversary of

Edinburgh 1910 by holding the third ICOWE (Lausanne III) at Cape Town, South Africa.

With more than 4,000 evangelical leaders from almost every nation on earth, Lausanne

III lasted ten days from October 16 to October 25 under the theme of 'Witnessing to

Christ Today.' The largest evangelical conference that the world has ever seen was

thoroughly holistic in its orientation, as demonstrated in its official document, *The Cape

Town Commitment: A Confession of Faith and a Call to Action*. That is, on the grounds

of the holistic nature of Christian message,[189] the Cape Town Commitment promoted the

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[186] David Claydon, ed., *A New Vision, A New Heart,* 227.

[187] Vinay Samuel and Christ Sugden, eds., *Mission as Transformation: A Theology of the Whole Gospel*, x.

[188] The Micah Declaration continues: "It is not simply that evangelism and social involvement are to be done alongside each other. Rather, in integral mission our proclamation has social consequences as we call people to love and repentance in all areas of life. And our social involvement has evangelistic consequences as we bear witness to the transforming grace of Jesus Christ. If we ignore the world, we betray the Word of God which sends us out to serve the world. If we ignore the Word of God, we have nothing to bring to the world." Available at http://www.micahnetwork.org/sites/default/files/doc/page/mn_integral_mission_declaration_en.pdf. Accessed on December 17, 2011. Such adjectives as 'integral, whole, and comprehensive' are frequently employed as the substitute for holistic without connotative distinction. Among them, integral is favored by Latin American evangelicals. Ross Langmead, *The Word Made Flesh: Towards an Incarnational Missiology* , 107.

[189] Section 7 of the Cape Town Commitment reads: "God's good news…for individual persons, and for society and for creation." Codifying creation care as "a gospel issue," Lausanne III includes ecological salvation in the evangelical holistic mission. Available at http://www.lausanne.org/ctcommitment. Accessed on December 17, 2011.

Christian obligation of holistic mission, insisting that "we commit ourselves to the integral and dynamic exercise of all dimensions of mission to which God calls his Church."[190] This way, the evangelical commitment to holistic participation in *missio Dei* was verified and strengthened at Cape Town. In doing so, the founding spirit of the Lausanne Movement in the last century has become the enabling spirit of the Lausanne Movement in this new millennium: 'the whole church, with the whole gospel, to the whole world!'[191]

2.3.2 The Ecumenical Path to a Holistic *Missio Dei*

Unlike the evangelical movement that started taking seriously a holistic approach to mission from the Lausanne Congress in 1974, the ecumenical movement has developed with missional holism as its main missiological trend from its beginning. By the close of the twentieth century's first decade, the foundations of the ecumenical movement were laid in "three world mission conferences —in London (1888), New York (1900), and Edinburgh (1910)."[192] Among them, Edinburgh 1910 is regarded as the *de facto* first modern ecumenical movement, which "spurned several other ecumenical conferences and ventures that in 1948 became the World Council of Churches (WCC)."[193] The formation of the WCC was enabled by the merger of the Faith and

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[190] Ibid.

[191] Interestingly enough, this holistic slogan was the ecumenical invention at Mexico City 1963. The evangelical adoption of this motto at the Lausanne Congress shows the ecumenical movement's influence on the evangelical formulation of holistic theology of mission.

[192] William Ingle-Gillis, *The Trinity and Ecumenical Church Thought,* 5.

[193] Raymond Sommerville, *An Ex-Colored Church: Social Activism in the CME Church, 1870-1970*, 3.

Order Movement and the Life and Work Movement, which represents the ecumenical commitment to holistic mission with emphasis on both doctrinal, evangelistic issues (i.e. Faith & Oder) and ethical, prophetic issues (i.e. Life & Work). This holistic tradition was renewed and revitalized at Willingen 1952 through the *missio Dei* theology, where "the total missionary task" of the church was described as both the proclamation and the demonstration of God's shalomic Kingdom.[194]

As mentioned earlier, the 1960s and early 1970s saw the ecumenical movement attached to a radical *missio Dei*. Even so, voices for a holistic approach to mission were strongly raised in the ecumenical circle in such ways 1) a famous holistic slogan, 'the whole church bringing the whole gospel to the whole world,' that would echo both at the Lausanne Congress in 1974 and at Nairobi 1975 was proposed at the CWME in Mexico City in 1963, [195] 2) both the vertical and horizontal dimensions of mission were emphasized in the opening address of Visser 't Hooft at the WCC Assembly in Uppsala in 1968,[196] and 3) a comprehensive nature of Christian salvation was mentioned at the CWME in Bangkok in 1973.[197] In the wake of this radical period, the ecumenical

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[194] Norman Goodall, ed. *Missions Under the Cross*, 190-191.

[195] Stephen Neil, *Salvation Tomorrow: The Originality of Jesus Christ and the World's Religions* (London, UK: Lutterworth Press, 1976), 50.

[196] Visser't Hooft was emphatic about the holistic dimension of Christian faith and mission as follows: "A Christianity which has lost its vertical dimension has lost its salt and is not only insipid in itself, but useless for the world. But a Christianity which would use the vertical preoccupation as a means to escape from its responsibility for and in the common life of man is a denial of the incarnation, of God's love for the world manifested in Christ." Quoted from Norman Goodal, ed., *The Uppsala 68 Report* (Geneva: WCC, 1968), 317.

[197] The Section II Report of Bangkok 1973 reads: "The salvation which Christ brought, and in which we participate, offers a comprehensive wholeness in this divided life…It is a salvation of the soul and the body, of the individual and the society, mankind and the groaning creation…This comprehensive notion of salvation demands of the whole of the people of God a matching comprehensive approach to their participation in salvation." Michael Kinnamon and Brian Cope, eds., *The Ecumenical Movement: An Anthology of Key Texts and Voices*, 356.

movement reverted to its original holistic tradition at the WCC Assembly in Nairobi in 1975, as observed by Bassham: "The confession of Christ in word and deed, in a holistic approach to mission, was one of the strongest emphases at Nairobi."[198]

The Nairobi meeting was the WCC's fifth General Assembly that lasted 18 days from November 23 to December 10 in 1975. Under the theme of 'Jesus Christ Frees and Unites,' about 2,600 participants from 160 countries with 676 delegates from 268 WCC member churches were gathered to discuss the past, present, and future of the post-Uppsala ecumenical movement.[199] "As an assembly of consolidation,"[200] Nairobi sought to "reconcile churchly and worldly approaches to mission"[201] to the contributive extent of the evangelical–ecumenical missiological convergence.[202] In a certain sense, Nairobi was an ecumenical version of the first ICOWE of the emergent Lausanne Movement launched in the previous year. At the Lausanne Congress, evangelical mission theology was constructed in the framework of *missio Dei* with emphasis on holistic mission, and this new direction was enabled decisively by such ecumenically-minded Latino voices as Rene Padilla. In like manner, the already-existing ecumenical affirmation of mission as *missio Dei* was rejuvenated in relation to holistic mission at Nairobi, and this formulation

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[198] Rodger Bassham, *Mission Theology*, 101.

[199] At Nairobi, "both membership and agenda were more worldwide and more representative of the human race." WCC, *Breaking Barriers: Nairobi 1975: The Official Report of the Fifth Assembly of the World Council of Churches, Nairobi, 23 November-10 December, 1975* (Geneva: WCC, 1975), 4.

[200] Ibid., 35.

[201] James Scherer, *Gospel, Church, and Kingdom*, 126.

[202] Bassham' evaluation was that "Nairobi pointed to a convergence of theological viewpoints." He continued: "It confirmed the emphasis on the world as the locus for mission and highlighted the concern for evangelism expressed at the International Congress on World Evangelization in Lausanne (1974), the Synod Bishops meeting on evangelism, and the Orthodox contribution on 'Confessing Jesus Christ Today.' In drawing together these strands, it strove to present a comprehensive understanding of salvation and of the mission of God's people in the world." Rodger Bassham, *Mission Theology,* 106.

was heavily indebted to such evangelically-minded Latino voices as Mortimer Arias. In his plenary address at Nairobi, the Bolivian bishop stated that "true evangelism is…proclamation in words and in deeds in a concrete situation,"[203] ultimately orienting the Assembly toward integral evangelism reminiscent of the position of the Radical Disciple Group in the Lausanne Movement.[204]

The following decades saw the predominance of Nairobi's holistic view in the ecumenical movement. In particular, this trend was accelerated by the ecumenical rediscovery of the incarnational connection among *missio Dei, missio Christi*, and *missiones ecclesiae*. As representative examples, 1) in 1982 the Ecumenical Affirmation postulated the wholeness of "the spiritual Gospel and the material Gospel" in Jesus' life and ministry,[205] 2) in 1987 the Stuttgart Statement[206] insisted that "we live by the gospel of an incarnate Lord" with the gospel "incarnated in ourselves,"[207] 3) in 1989 the San Antonio CWME declared that God's will be done through mission in Christ's way in "a creative tension between spiritual and material needs, prayer and action, evangelism and

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[203] Mortimer Arias, "That the World May Believe," *International Review of Mission* 65 (1975):18.

[204] Unlike the evangelical distinction between evangelism and mission, the ecumenical group tends not to differentiate them, thus equating integral evangelism with integral/holistic mission. A typical example is the CWME's Stuttgart Consultation in 1987 whose focus was on integral evangelism, as shown in its publication title, *Proclaiming Christ in Christ's Way: Studies in Integral Evangelism*, eds. Vinay Samuel and Albrecht Hauser (Oxford, UK: Regnum, 1989).

[205] WCC, *"You Are the Light of the World" Statements on Mission by the World Council of Churches 1980–2005* (Geneva: WCC, 2005), 23.

[206] With such evangelicals as Rene Padilla, Vinay Samuel, Christopher Sugden and Ronald Sider as its invitees, the Stuttgart Consultation paved the way for the evangelical–ecumenical missiological reconciliation.

[207] Vinay Samuel and Albrecht Hauser, eds., *Proclaiming Christ in Christ's Way*. 214.

social responsibility,"[208] 4) in 1996 the Salvador CWME highlighted the message and

ministry of Jesus Christ as "our common foundation for a proclamation and a witness,"[209]

5) in 2000 the 'Mission and Evangelism in Unity Today' (MEUT) document articulated

that we are "called to participated in God's mission…in Christ's way…(which is)

holistic,"[210] and 6) in 2005 the Athens CWME was emphatic about both vertical and

horizontal reconciliations in God's mission in Christ's way in Spirit's power.[211]

In the process, the ecumenical understanding of holistic mission was expanded

enough to include creation care into God's mission. The post-WWII world observed the

rapid progress of urbanization and globalization with economic issues as the top priority,

out of which environmental destruction was intensified and ecological concerns were

recognized. The WCC began to pay due attention to environmental problems through its

Faith and Order Commission (FAOC). Especially noteworthy was the FAOC meeting in

Bangalore in 1978 which raised a voice for a paradigm shift from anthropocentrism

"focused on human destiny" to cosmocentrism "[focused] on the natural history of the

cosmos."[212] The ecumenical awareness of ecological concerns led to the program launch

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[208] Frederick Wilson, ed., *The San Antonio Report: Your Will Be Done: Mission in Christ's Way* (Geneva: WCC, 1990), 20.

[209] Charles Klagba, "Salvador and Relationships in Mission," *International Review of Mission* 86: 342 (1997): 134.

[210] Available at http://www.oikoumene.org/resources/documents/wcc-commissions/mission-and-evangelism/cwme-world-conference-athens-2005/preparatory-paper-n-1-mission-and-evangelism-in-unity-today.html. Accessed on December 17, 2011.

[211] Robert Schreiter was "a dominant voice" at Athens, whose missional emphasis was on both "reconciliation between people" and "reconciliation with God." Tormod Engelsviken, "Come Holy Spirit, Heal and Reconcile: An Evangelical Evaluation of the CWME Mission Conference in Athens, May 9–16, 2005," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 29:4 (2005): 191.

[212] WCC, *Sharing in One Hope: Commission on Faith and Order, Bangalore 1978* (Geneva: WCC, 1978), 185. This creation-centered approach was proposed by one working group dealing with 'Christian Hope and Natural Science.'

of 'Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation' (JPIC) at the WCC Assembly in

Vancouver in 1983. Originally, the JPIC movement was initiated by the World Alliance

of Reformed Churches (WARC) at its General Council in Ottawa in 1982,[213] and the

WCC adopted the concept at Vancouver in lieu of Nairobi's 'Just, Participatory and

Sustainable Society' (JPSS).[214] Since Vancouver, the integrity of creation,[215] not its

sustainability, has become the main focus of the ecumenical movement to the extent that

the WCC sponsored the Seoul Convocation on JPIC in 1990 in promotion of

environmental ethics and subsequently published *Ecotheology* in 1994 in appreciation of

ecological salvation.[216]

Recently, the WCC took active part in Edinburgh 2010 in the centennial

celebration of Edinburgh 1910 with many other Christian traditions including the

WEA.[217] With 297 Christian delegates from 60 countries, the Centenary Conference

lasted five days from June 2 to June 6 under the theme of 'Witnessing to Christ Today.'

Edinburgh 2010, which was indeed ecumenical in its demographic constitution including

both evangelicals and ecumenists, turned out to be thoroughly faithful to the established

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[213] The Ottawa Assembly of the WARC in 1982 stressed the necessity for "responsible care and stewardship of the world of nature." WARC, *Ottawa 1982, Proceedings of the 21st General Council of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches* (Geneva: WARC, 1983), 192

[214] David Gill, ed., *Gathered for Life. Official Report, Sixth Assembly of the World Council of Churches, Vancouver* (Geneva: WCC, 1983), 225.

[215] The WCC-sponsored Consultation on Church and Society held in Annecy, France in 1988 produced a statement on the integrity of creation, which defines it as "the value of all creatures in themselves, for one another, and for God, and their interconnectedness in a diverse whole that has unique value for God." Charles Birch et al, eds., *Liberating Life: Contemporary Approaches to Ecological Theology* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1990), 277.

[216] David Hallman, ed., *Ecotheology: Voices from South and North* (Geneva: WCC, 1994).   The WCC Faith & Order Commission in 1991 articulated that "In Jesus Christ God has acted to save creation." Lorelei Fuchs, ed., *Confessing the One Faith: An Ecumenical Explication of the Apostolic Faith as It Is Confessed in the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed* (Geneva: WCC, 1991), 41.

[217] Edinburgh 2010 was initiated by the Church of Scotland under the leadership of Kenneth Ross.

ecumenical affirmation of a holistic *missio Dei*. As the ultimate foundation of Christian

witness, "Trinitarian *missio Dei*" was endorsed in Edinburgh 2010's Study Section 1,

'Foundations for Mission.'[218] Also, holistic mission was upheld as essential to God's

mission in a special meeting by the Oxford Centre for Mission Studies (OCMS). The

final report of the OCMS-sponsored conference was released as *Holistic Mission: God's*

Plan for God's People[219] which advocated holistic mission on the basis of biblical

holism. In contrast to Greek dualistic worldview, [220] Hebraic worldview was holistic with

human beings as "a single whole" comprising "all aspects of life—body, mind, and

spirit." [221] In this holistic worldview, God's ultimate concern is the wholeness (i.e.

shalom) of His whole creation. The report thus writes: "Shalom, meaning peace,

completeness and welfare, is at the heart of holistic gospel...not only does it propose a

way of restoring our relationship with God, but also to mend individual psyches, to bring

justice and peace to the political systems between peoples, and to heal our relationship

with God's created environment."[222] All these are an eloquent testament to the

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[218] Daryl Balia and Kirsteen Kim, eds., *Edinburgh 2010: Witnessing to Christ Today*, Vol. II (Oxford, UK: Regnum, 2010), 28. Edinburgh 2010's study themes are nine-fold as follows: 1) Foundations for Mission; 2) Christian Mission among Other Faiths; 3) Mission and Post-modernities; 4) Mission and Power; 5) Forms of Missionary Engagement; 6) Theological Education and Formation; 7) Christian Communities in Contemporary Contexts; 8) Mission and Unity–Ecclesiology and Mission; 9) Mission Spirituality and Authentic Discipleship.

[219] Brian Woolnough and Wonsuk Ma, eds., *Holistic Mission: God's Plan for God's People*, Regnum Edinburgh 2010 Series (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2010).

[220] According to Bruce Bradshaw, missional prioritism is derived from dualistic mentality putting spiritual things above physical matters. He says: "Christians who separate evangelism from development have a dualistic world view. They use dualism to justify a 'spiritual' ministry such as evangelism, instead of 'physical' ministries in development." Bruce Bradshaw, *Bridging the Gap: Evangelism, Development, and Shalom* (Monrovia, CA: MARC, 1993), 28.

[221] In biblical holism, "there is no need to bring together, to integrate, different distinct components into a single whole; they already exist in a holistic unity." Brian Woolnough and Wonsuk Ma, eds., *Holistic Mission: God's Plan for God's People*, 5.

[222] Ibid., 7

contemporary ecumenical (and the evangelical) preoccupation with a holistic *missio Dei*

with spiritual, social, and ecological implications.[223]

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[223] Creation Care also received due attention at Lausanne III, whose Section 7 states that "Creation is a gospel issue."

CHAPTER 3
THE DEVELOPMENT OF *MISSIO DEI*
IN THE KOREAN PROTESTANT CHURCH

This chapter traces the development of *missio Dei* in the Korean church over the course of the previous and current centuries.[1] According to Soo-il Chai, "in the history of the Korean church, *missio Dei* has…created…barriers between conservatives and progressives, between evangelism and humanization, between saving souls and social involvement."[2] It is true that the Korean church became pointedly dichotomized after the appearance of *missio Dei* in the late 1960s. The plain fact of the matter, however, is that the conservative–progressive polarity existed and persisted from the early period of Korean Christianity, and the introduction of *missio Dei* by the KPCC intensified (not created, as expressed by Chai) the pre-existent polarity in a radical manner. In this historical perspective, we will divide this chapter into three parts: 1) The origin of the conservative–progressive polarity; 2) The emergence of *missio Dei;* and 3) The controversy of *missio Dei*.

In the scheme of the entire dissertation, this third chapter is of programmatic importance in that it calls attention to 1) the predominance of reductionist views and practices of mission in Korea and therefore 2) the necessity of an infusion of a holistic *missio Dei* into the Korean church. As explained in the previous chapter, the worldwide Protestant movements, which was once in the missiological polarity between evangelicals and ecumenists, has now entered into the reconciliatory and cooperative stage due to their

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[1] The Korean church, hereafter, refers to the Korean Protestant church.

[2] Soo-il, Chai, "*Missio Dei*—Its Development and Limitations in Korea," 548.

united commitment to a holistic *missio Dei*. In contrast, the Korean church is deeply

polarized missiologically, as clearly demonstrated in its current head-on conservative–

progressive confrontation regarding the next WCC Assembly in Busan in 2013.[3] Even

so, the dichotomous situation can be overcome by their joint affirmation of and common

witness to a holistic *missio Dei*, as in the case of the worldwide Protestant movements.[4]

In this chapter we will examine the development of *missio Dei* in Korea unfortunately

(and somewhat anachronistically) stuck into the controversial stage with the dominance

of reductionist approaches to mission, which brings into sharp relief the necessity and

legitimacy for the conscientization and dissemination of a holistic *missio Dei* into both

the KPCC and the KCCC of the Korean church.

3.1 The Origin of the Conservative–Progressive Polarity in the Korean Protestant Church

The nineteenth century was characteristic of "reform, reaction and revolution" in

the conservative–progressive tension.[5] Following the French Revolution (1789–1799)

and the American Civil War (1861–1865), the progressive voices and forces against the

conservative status quo mushroomed and exploded over almost all over the world,

radically transforming global history and society. In Western Europe, the liberal reform

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[3] Refer to 1.1 Background of the Study of chapter 1.

[4] Jungsuk Rhee contends that the Korean church should follow the example of the WCC–WEA cooperative work on "Christian Witness in a Multi-Religious World: Recommendations for Conduct." Jungsuk Rhee, "The Korean Church and the WCC," a presentation at the fifth Baekseok Academic Symposium held on April 13, 2010. His paper is available at www.jsrhee.com/WCC.doc. Accessed on January 6, 2012.

[5] The expression, "reform, reaction, and revolution," was borrowed from David Bien's article, "The Army in the French Enlightenment: Reform, Reaction, and Revolution," *Past and Present* 85 (1979): 68–98. The development of the French Revolution was practically a microcosm of that of the nineteenth century.

movements[6] spread like wildfire in Belgian (1857–1870), Netherlands (1862–1866),

Greece (1863–1864), Sweden (1866), and Denmark (1866), which culminated in the

formation of the republic regime in France in 1870 (i.e. The French Third Republic until

1940). In Eastern Europe, the anti-feudalist emancipatory movements gained momentum

enough to end the inhumane serfdom in Hungary in 1848, Russia in 1861, and Romania

in 1864.[7] The anti-imperialist nationalist movements led to the autonomy and

independence of Serbia, Montenegro, Romania, and Bulgaria from the Ottoman Empire

in 1878.[8] In the Third World, the progressive spirit of reform and revolution was

manifested representatively in the *Taiping* Rebellion in China (1850–1864), the

Democratic Constitution in Mexico in 1858, the *Meiji* Restoration in Japan (1868–1912),

the Independence Revolts in Cuba (1868–1878) and Algeria (1871), and the

overthrowing of the Brazilian Empire in 1889.[9]

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[6] "Liberalism enjoyed its hey-day during the nineteenth century…Their successes were for the most part bound up with the interests of the rising bourgeoisie, the middle class who sought personal liberties and freedom for economic enterprise. Liberalism was in the vanguard of movements for constitutional reform and for the enlargement and the protection of civil liberties…Battles against privileges and power of the church gave liberal parties an indelible anti-clerical coloring." Emil Joseph Kirchner, ed., *Liberal Parties in Western Europe* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 17.

[7] "The year between 1848 and 1853 had the most frequent incidents (14 cases) of emancipation. In the largest of serf nations, Russia, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the ratio of (private) male serfs to total male population generally ranged between 45 and 55 percent, being about 45 percent in 1858…just prior to the legistrated emancipation of 1861." Julian Lincoln Simon, *The State of Humanity* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1995), 173.

[8] Gábor Ágoston and Bruce Alan Masters, eds., *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire* (New York, NY: Facts on File, Inc. 2009), 29.

[9] As for each historical event, see the following references: Shunshin Chin, *The Taiping Rebellion*, trans. Joshua A. Fogel (Armonk, NY: An East Gate Book, 2001); William Dirk Raat, ed., *Mexico, from Independence to Revolution, 1810-1910* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1982); William G. Beasley, *The Meiji Restoration* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1972); Jorge I. Domínguez, *Cuba: Order and Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978); Charles-Robert Ageron, *Modern Algeria: A History from 1830 to the Present* (London, UK: Hurst & Co., 1991); Robert Edgar Conrad, *The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, 1850-1888* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1973).

The Korean peninsula was no exception to this reformist and revolutionist

zeitgeist of the nineteenth century. The then Chosun dynasty (1392–1910) was operating

under the feudalist system within and an isolationist policy without, having fundamental

"neo-Confucianism as the state ideology."[10] Starting with the *Hong Kyongnae* Rebellion

in 1812,[11] the anti-Chosun movements gathered momentum enough to trigger the *Gapsin*

Coup d'état and subsequently the *Donghak* Revolution in 1894.[12] The end result was the

modernist *Gabo* Reform (1894–1896) by the Chosun establishment under the domestic

and foreign pressures that was similar to the *Meiji* Restoration of Japan in its content.[13] It

was in this turbulent period of conservative–progressive tension and confrontation that

Christianity was introduced to the Hermit Kingdom[14] and congregations began to be

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[10] Weon Yeol Chu, *The Confucian Roots of Fundamentalist Ethos in the Korean Presbyterian Church* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2006), 108.

[11] In the Chosun society, there existed the fourfold caste system: *yangban* (the aristocratic class), *chungin* (the sub-aristocratic class), *sangmin* (the commoner class), and *chunmin* (the sub-human class). Andrew Nahm, *Korea: Tradition & Transformation* (Elizabeth, NJ: Hollym, 1988), 100-101. The *Hong Kyongnae* Rebellion was the first united anti-establishment movement by those four classes from Pyungan Province that was marginalized from the Pyungyang/Seoul-centered administration. See further Sun Joo Kim, *Marginality and Subversion in Korea: The Hong Kyŏngnae Rebellion of 1812* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2007).

[12] The abortive *Gapsin* coup d'état was attempted by pro-Japanese radical intelligentsias, while the failed *Donghak* Revolution was waged by the anti-*yangban* classes from *chungin, sangmin,* and *chunmin* who was reduced to peasants and joined forces with *Donghak* as their religious ideology. *Donghak* (aka *Cheondogyo*), whose literal meaning is 'Oriental Learning' (aka 'Heavenly Way') in Korean, was founded by Jaewoo Choi in 1860 with egalitarian *Innaecheon* (literally meaning 'Humans are Heaven') as its doctrinal core. Over the course of time, the *Donghak* movement turned into anti-feudalism against the Chosun regime and anti-imperialism against foreign powers. Refer to Soonchul Shin and Jinyoung Lee, *A Short History of the Donghak Peasant Revolution, trans. Rohini Singh and Chongmin Lee* (Seoul: Donghak Peasant Revolution Memorial Association, 2008).

[13] After its victory in the first Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895), Imperial Japan backed up pro-Japanese Korean politicians to embark on *Gabo* Reform under the pretext of Korean modernization. Its real intention was the Korean establishments' incapacitation to facilitate its Korean colonization. Taedon Noh et al, eds., 시민을 위한 한국역사 *[Korean History for Citizens]* (Seoul: Creation and Criticism Press, 1997), 303-305.

[14] Korea's Chosun was known as the Hermit Kingdom of the East because of its isolationist foreign policy. Soo-young Lee explains this way: "Joseon (Chosun) adopted Confucianism as a political ideology and social system of rule and had little access to other countries except China which had been a

planted in the Korean land. This dichotomous Korean reality was translated into the emergent Korean church that would be gradually split into the KPCC and KCCC.

In this first section, we will deal with the origin of the conservative–progressive polarity in Korean Christianity with reference to the following five turning points: 1) The Comity Agreement of Foreign Missions during the 1890s and 1900s in late Chosun (1392–1910); 2) The Japanese Protectorate Invasion from 1905 to 1910; 3) The Shinto Shrine Worship Controversy of the 1930s in the Japanese Colonial Period; 4) The Conservative–Liberal Theological Controversy of the late 1940s in new-fledging Korea; and 5) The WCC-related Controversy of the 1950s in early modern Korea. These momentous events rendered the Korean church a faith community of disunity rather than unity.

3.1.1 The Comity Agreement of Foreign Missions

As aforementioned, the nineteenth century was a tumultuous era of reform, reaction, and revolution. At the same time, the period was the "Great Century" of Christian expansion, as Kenneth Latourette termed it.[15] With William Carey's missionary exploration of India in 1793 as the pioneering inspiration,[16] the modern

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long-time big brother of Korea. Therefore, Korea had been known as a so-called 'Hermit Kingdom' until 1876, when Korea finally opened the door to Japan with the conclusion of the Gangwha Treaty." Soo-young Lee, *God's chosen People: Protestant Narratives of Korean Americans and American National Identity*, Ph.D. dissertation (Austin, TX: The University of Texas Press, 2007), 30.

[15] Kenneth Latourette, *History of the Expansion of Christianity, Vol. 5: The Great Century in the Americas, Australasia, and Africa, 1800~1914* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1971).

[16] William Carey founded the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) and volunteered to Indian missions. Such volunteer missionary societies as the BMS were the driving force of the modern missionary movement. See further Christopher Smith, "William Carey 1761–1834: Protestant Pioneer of the Modern Mission Era," *Mission Legacies: Biographical Studies of Leaders of the Modern Missionary Movement,* eds., Gerald H. Anderson et al (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1994), 245-254.

missionary movement began to cover and transform the face of the 'un-reached' globe

with Christianity in one hand and civilization in the other hand.[17] The modern

missionary movement culminated in the Student Volunteer Movement in North America

through which over 20,000 students volunteered to commit themselves to the fulfillment

of the Great Commission within their own generation.[18] The Korean peninsula was no

exception to the influence of the modern missionary movement in general and the

Student Volunteer Movement in particular. Starting with Horace Allen's entry in 1884,[19]

foreign missionaries, predominantly from North America, came in droves to evangelize

and civilize the Hermit Kingdom.[20]

The Korean missions were driven mainly by Presbyterian and Methodist

missionaries.[21] In 1885 Horace Underwood and Henry Appenzeller were dispatched as

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[17] There was an intimate relation between Christianization and civilization in the modern missionary movement, as Charles Tabor mentions: "The superiority of Western civilization as the culmination of human development, the attribution of that superiority to the prolonged dominance of Christianity, the duty of Christians to share civilization and the gospel with 'benighted heathen'–these were the chief intellectual currency of their lives." Charles Tabor, *The World Is Too Much with Us: Culture in Modern Protestant Missions* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1991), 71.

[18] Refer to footnote 28 of chapter 2.

[19] Horace Allen was the first Protestant non-clerical, namely medical, missionary to Korea. Some claim that Christianity was first introduced to Korea's Shilla Dynasty as early as in the eighth century. Nestorian stone crosses were excavated in the *Bulgook* temple yard built in 751. John Kim, *Protestant Church Growth in Korea* (Belleville: Essence Publishing, 1996), 85. In 1795 the first Catholic missionary, Chinese priest Zhou Wenmo, came to Korea from China. Catholicism that had been secretly introduced in 1784 became a target of severe suppression under Chosun's fundamentalist Confucian regime, which culminated in the Four Great Persecutions (in Spring 1866; in Summer & Fall 1866; in 1868; in 1871) when more than 8,000 Korean Catholics were martyred. Andrew Nahm, *Korea: Tradition & Transformation: A History of the Korean People* (Seoul: Hollym International Corporation, 1988), 141-142.

[20] A majority of the early foreign missionaries were fundamentalist in their theological orientation. Because of the term's negative connotations, they preferred calling themselves "conservative evangelical." Myungsoo Park, "근대 복음주의와 초기 한국 선교 [Modern Evangelicalism and Early Korean Missions]," *Christian Thought* (January 1995), 99. In Korea, those three terms, fundamentalist, conservative, and evangelical, have been generally lumped together in the same category.

[21] According to Jungtaeck Oh, "American Presbyterian missionaries played an important role in the Korean church and its Christians than missionaries of other countries and denominations, because they

the first clerical missionaries to Korea by the Northern Presbyterian Mission (NPM) and

the Northern Methodist Mission (NMM), respectively.[22] The following decades saw the

influx of foreign missionaries from the Northern Methodist Mission (NMM), the

Southern Presbyterian Mission (SPM), the Canadian Presbyterian Mission (CPM), and

the Australian Presbyterian Mission (APM), among others.[23] As a result, the issue of

missionary cooperation came to the fore to avoid missionary competition, and the comity

agreement (CA) was proposed to maximize missionary effectiveness.[24] The initial CA

proposal was put forth by Appenzeller as early as in 1888 for the missionary partition

between the NMM and the SPM, but the passivity of the NMM foiled his plan.[25] In 1892

the first CA was signed by the NPM and the SPM,[26] after which Presbyterian Missions

concluded their mutual CAs with the NPM–APM CA in 1903 as the last.[27] Meanwhile,

immediately after the NPM–SPM CA in 1892, Presbyterian and Methodist Missions

discussed and concluded their inter-denominational CA, which was not officially ratified

due to the opposition of Randolph Foster, the then American Bishop of the Methodist

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were the majority and held important posts in the Korean church." Jungtaeck Oh, *The Roots of Puritanism in the Korean Presbyterian Church*, Ph.D. dissertation (South Africa: University of Pretoria, 2007), 99.

[22] The NPM was associated with the Presbyterian Church in the United States (PCUS), and the NMM with the Methodist Episcopal Church (MEC).

[23] The SPM was associated with the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (PCUSA) and the SMM with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South (MECS). The slavery issue split the EMC into the EMC and the EMCS in 1844. They reunited in 1939 and inaugurated the United Methodist Church in 1968 with other Methodist denominations.

[24] The CA stands for the Comity Agreement or Comity Arrangement.

[25] Changwook Byun, "초기내한 장로교·감리교 선교사간 초교파협력의 이중적 성격 [A Dualistic Characteristic of Inter-denominational Cooperation among the Early Presbyterian and Methodist Missionaries in Korea]," *Mission and Theology* 14 (2004): 91-96.

[26] The comity rules adopted at the Mexico Missionary Conference in 1888 and the Shanghai Missionary Conference in 1890 served as a basis of the CAFM in Korea. Ibid., 97-98.

[27] Kyungbae Min, *A History of the Korean Church* (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1993), 197.

Episcopal Church (MEC supporting the NMC).[28] In spite of all, the CA draft served as the *de facto* modus operandi between Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries.

The abortive inter-denominational CA was resurrected at the inauguration of the United Council of Presbyterian and Methodist Missions in Chosun (UCPMMC) in 1905. Accordingly, the NMM and the NPM exchanged the CA of Pyunganbuk Province, but it was not until 1909 that the whole of Presbyterian and Methodist Missions entered the unitive CA covering the entire Korean peninsula. On September 16 and 17, 1909, the UCPMMC convened its CA Committee at the YMCA's headquarters in Seoul and concluded the long-awaited CA, according to which 1) the NPM was assigned to Kyungsangbuk Provinces plus parts of Pyungan, Hwanghae, and Chungchungbuk Provinces, 2) the SPM to Jeolla and Chungchungnam Provinces plus Jeju Island, 3) the CPM to Hamkyungbuk Province plus parts of Hamkyungnam Province, 4) the APM to Kyunsangnam Province, 5) the NMM to parts of Pyungan, Hwanghea, Kyunggi, Chungchungbuk, and Gangwon Provinces, and 6) the SMM to parts of Hamkyungnam, Kyunggi, and Gangwon Provinces.[29] Simply put, this comprehensive CA designated the then three largest cities, Seoul, Pyungyang, and Wonsan, as the common mission fields and the remainder as the allotted mission fields.

Notwithstanding its significant contribution to the rapid-fire growth of Christianity,[30] the comity agreement of foreign missions backfired, creating localism and

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[28] Changwook Byun, "초기내한 장로교·감리교 선교사간 초교파협력의 이중적 성격 [A Dualistic Characteristic of Inter-denominational Cooperation among the Early Presbyterian and Methodist Missionaries in Korea]," 99.

[29] Kyungbae Min, *A History of the Korean Church*, 197-198.

[30] Clark singles out the foreign missions' adoption and execution of the Nevius Method under the ecumenical CAs as the principal reason for their initial missionary successes in Korea. See Charles A. Clark, *The Korean Church and the Nevius Method* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1930).

factionalism between denominations within the Korean church.[31] Those designated areas

were dominated by specific denominations with little contact with the other

denominations, which created and promoted denominational exclusivism and

sectarianism that became a hallmark of the Korean church. In addition, the church's

theological polarity was born in the emerging context of denominational localism and

factionalism by the comity agreement of foreign missions.[32] The early twentieth century

saw the American churches entangled in the conservative–liberal or fundamentalist–

modernist controversy,[33] and the comity agreement of foreign missions enabled this

theological polarization to be transplanted to and established in the Korean church. That

is, those places belonging to conservative foreign missions produced the KCCC, whereas

those places belonging to liberal foreign missions generated the KPCC.[34] To take a

Presbyterian example, Hamkyung Province under the liberal-oriented Canadian

Presbyterian Mission (CPM) became a seedbed of nurturing progressive Presbyterians

who would later break away from the then conservative-oriented Presbyterian Church in

Korea (PCK) in the 1950s and take the lead in the *minjung* theological movement from

the 1970s onwards.

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[31] Kyungbae Min, *A History of the Korean Church*, 198.

[32] As Jungtaeck Oh notes, "their (American missionaries') education was directly transferred to theological seminaries and religious leaders in Korea." Jungtaeck Oh, *The Roots of Puritanism in the Korean Presbyterian Church*, 100.

[33] Refer to 2.2.3 The Evangelical–Ecumenical Missiological Polarity of chapter 2.

[34] Overall, those missionaries from the CPM, the SMM, and the NMM were open to liberalism. In particular, the CPM contributed a lot to the liberal formation in the PCK. After the United Church of Canada was inaugurated in 1925, the CPM took a more liberal aspect and step.

3.1.2 The Japanese Protectorate Invasion

The rise of Christianity in Korea's Chosun coincided with the fall of the royal

dynasty. In 1884 the first Korean congregation, Sorae Church, was planted on June 29 by

the Suh brothers and the first foreign missionary, Horace Allen, landed at Jaemulpoh on

September 20.[35] In the next quarter-century, the Korean church grew exponentially with

approximately 200,000 believers in 1910.[36] During the same period, Chosun fell victim

to the simultaneous intrusions of such neighboring colonial powers as China's Qing

dynasty, Japan's Meiji Seifu, and Russia's Czarist Empire. Their power struggles for

colonial control over the Korean and Manchurian territories erupted into the First Sino-

Japanese War (1894–1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) that ended with

Japanese victories. Following the Russo-Japanese War, the Japanese imperial

government got into its stride for the colonization of Korea in such a way as to enforce a

series of protectorate treaties in 1905 and 1907.[37] On August 29, 1910, Japan finalized its

colonial invasion of Korea by enforcing the Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty.

During the period of the Japanese protectorate invasion on the verge of national

collapse, the early Korean church moved in two opposite directions. The first was the

revival movement by such conservative Christian leaders as Sunjoo Gil with emphasis on

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[35] Sorae Church was the first Korean church by the Korean laity who came to faith in China. The first Korean church by foreign missionaries was founded under the name of Saemoonan Church in 1887 at the initiative of Underwood and Ross. Kyungbae Min, *A History of the Korean Church*, 171.

[36] Roy estimates that there were as many as 360,000 Christians in Korea by 1910. Andrew T. Roy, *On Asia's Rim* (New York, NY: Friendship Press, 1962), 16. Clark categorizes the 1897-1906 period as "the period of the rise of the church" and the 1907-1911 period as "the period of revival and growth" in his *History of the Korean Church*.

[37] The protectorate treaty in 1905 deprived Korea's Chosun of its diplomatic rights. The protectorate treaty in 1907 deprived Korea's Chosun of its internal administration and military rights. Ki-Baik Lee, *A New History of Korea* (Massachusetts, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 309-310.

the spiritual aspect of the gospel, and the other was the independence movement by such

progressive Christian leaders as Deokgi Jun with stress on the political dimension of the

gospel. In 1907 these two movements reached their respective high points: the explosion

of the Pyungyang Great Revival among fundamentalist revivalists[38] and the organization

of Shinminwhoe, a nation-wide anti-Japanese secret society, by the progressive Christian

leaders.[39] The rest of this Japanese protectorate period saw the polarity between these

groups widen. The revivalist circle inaugurated the 'A Million Souls for Christ'

Campaign (1909–1910),[40] spiritualizing Christian salvation and mission.[41] On the other

hand, the progressive camp engaged in anti-Japanese armed campaigns, socio-politicizing

Christian salvation and mission.

As such, two antithetical traditions of Korean Christianity, conservative and

progressive, were created while Imperial Japan subjugated Korea's Chosun as its

protectorate. After that, conservative Christianity developed through the Holy Spirit

Movement in Japanese-ruled Korea and the Church Growth Movement in modern Korea

(especially during the 1960s–1980s).[42] In contrast, progressive Christianity involved

itself actively in social and political action for national liberation during the Japanese

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[38] These revivalists were pre-millenarians with eschatological dispensationalism under Moody's theological influence. Jungtaeck Oh, *The Roots of Puritanism in the Korean Presbyterian Church*, 106.

[39] Haeyeon Kim, 한국 교 회사 [*A History of the Korean Church*] (Seoul: Sungkwang, 1997), 198-199.

[40] William N. Blair, *Gold in Korea* (Topeka, KS: H. M. Ives and Sons, 1947), 72.

[41] From a progressive perspective, Jaeyong Joo criticizes the conservative revivalists of the early Korean church for its other-worldly de-policization. Jaeyong Joo, "한국교회 부흥운동의 사적 비판 [A Critique on the Korean Revival Movement]," *Christian Thought* 243:9 (1978): 70.

[42] The Pyungyang Great Revival in 1907 was succeeded representatively by the revival movements of Youngdo Lee in the 1920s, Sungbong Lee during the 1940s–1950s, and Yonnggi Cho (the founding *pastor of Yoido* Full Gospel Church) during the 1970s–1980s. Myunghyuck Kim, 한국교회 쟁점진단 [*Diagnoses on the Korean Church's Hot Issues*] (Seoul: Kyujang, 1998), 38-40.

Occupation and *minjung* humanization during the Park–Jun military dictatorship (1961–1987). In this way, the Korean church's conservative–progressive polarity was solidified.

3.1.3 The Shinto Shrine Worship Controversy

The Japanese colonial years (1910–1945) were the darkest period of Korean history as the Koreans were politically oppressed, socially marginalized, economically exploited, culturally ravaged, and sexually molested.[43] This same period was also the darkest time in Korean Christian history when the Korean church at large succumbed to idolatry by bowing down before Shinto shrines.[44] After its forcible annexation in 1910, Imperial Japan explored every avenue of strengthening its colonial rule in the Korean peninsula for the ultimate purpose of the Japanization of the Korean race in the name of 황민화 (皇民化, Tennoization). At the heart of the Tennoization was the Shinto Shrine Worship (SSW) with the enthronement of the Japanese Emperor as God worthy of adoration and submission,[45] which caused every Korean denomination to fall away from faith.

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[43] The Japanese inhuman oppression upon the Koreans reached its worst point at the enforced military sexual slavery of Korean women. According to Yoshimi, there existed "as many as 200,000 women of varying nationalities, euphemistically known as 'comfort women,'…[in] "some 2,000 comfort stations," most of whom were drafted from Japanese-ruled Korea. Yoshimi Yoshiaki, *Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery in the Japanese Military during World War II* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2000), 30.

[44] Kyungbae Min, *A History of the Korean Church*, 478.

[45] Shintoism, whose meaning is "the way of *kami*, namely gods" in Japanese, is essentially polytheistic with over 8 million *kami*. This polytheistic aspect translated into the worship of the Japanese Empire as the Supreme *kami* in the rise of imperial nationalism in Imperial Japan. See further Kun Sam Lee, *The Christian Confrontation with Shinto Nationalism: A Historical and Critical Study of the Conflict of Christianity and Shinto in Japan in the Period between the Meiji Restoration and the End of World War II (1868-1945)* (Philadelphia, PA: The Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Co., 1966).

Initially, the Japanese colonial administration did not enforce the indiscriminate SSW strategically. The colonizers feared that the compulsory SSW might endanger domestic stability[46] and international relations by offending the Korean people and foreign missionaries who considered such worship as ethnically shameful and religious idolatry, respectively. Instead, a selective SSW policy was implemented effective in public educational and administrative establishments. Following the Manchurian Incident (aka Mukden Incident) in 1931, this conciliatory policy turned into a coercive measure on the pretext of national spiritual mobilization. To cope with the Great Depression (1929–1941), Imperial Japan invaded China's Manchuria on September 18, 1931 and entered into the wartime that would last until the end of the WWII. During this wartime (1931–1945), Korea was exhaustively victimized in the name of "total national mobilization," in which all human and natural resources were exploited for the Imperial Japanese Armed Forces.[47] To maximize this policy, the SSW was enforced for ideological integration and patriotic inspiration.

After the triumphant occupation of Manchuria via the Manchurian Incident (1931–1933), Imperial Japan geared up for a full-scale war against China to take possession of its mainland. Amidst preparation for the second Sino-Japanese War (1937–

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[46] In 1919 the non-violent Independence Movement broke out all across the Korean peninsula under the impact of the post-WWI Paris Peace Conference (1918) in which American President, Woodrow Wilson, argued for national self-determination. The Korean Independence Movement in 1919 met with Imperial Japan's brutal retaliation, eventually to the extent that more than 40,000 were imprisoned and about 6,000 were killed. In the wake of this Independence Movement, Japan changed its colonial policy into the so-called "cultural policy" (1919~1931) in which the Koreans could enjoy 'freedom of speech, assembly, religion, the press' to some degree. Kyungbae Min, *A History of the Korean Church*, 342; Haeyeon Kim, 한국 교회사 [*A History of the Korean Church*], 211.

[47] Ki-Baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 353. In 1939, Imperial Japan enacted the National Manpower Mobilization Act.

1945),[48] the Japanese military regime issued a decree for a mandatory SSW on November 14, 1935, commanding its institution and observance in every town and school in its colony, Korea.[49] The Christian response was bifurcated according to theological orientation, particularly in the Presbyterian Church of Korea. Overall, the liberal theological circle accommodated the SSW, justifying the activity as a patriotic obligation. The conservative theological group resisted the SSW, condemning the activity as unbiblical idolatry. At the initiative of the former and understandably by fear of persecution, each Korean denomination passed the resolution in favor of the SSW with little controversy,[50] except for the Presbyterians.

The Presbyterian Church of Korea (PCK) was officially organized in 1912 as a united Presbyterian association.[51] It was created through the ecumenical cooperation of the Southern Presbyterian Mission (SPM), the Northern Presbyterian Mission (NPM), the Australian Presbyterian Mission (APM), and the Canadian Presbyterian Mission (CPM). These Presbyterian missions' theological differences, though, portended the future schism of the PCK. In general, the SPM, the NPM and the APM were conservative, but the CPM was liberal. Their responses to the SSW corresponded with their theological positions: the APM as hard-lining dissenters, the SPM and the NPM as dissenters, and

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[48] The First Sino Japanese War broke out from 1894 to 1895 in the Korean land for the control of the Korean peninsula.

[49] Yangsun Kim, 한국기독교사연구 [The Studies of Korean Christian History] (Seoul: Christian Literature Press, 1971), 177-179.

[50] The Korean Catholic Church also approved of the SSW in the wake of the 1936 Vatican resolution in which the SSW participation was affirmed as a patriotic activity compatible with Catholic faith. Sungdeuk Oak, ed., Sources of Korean Christianity 1832–1945 (Seoul: The Institute for Korean Christian History, 2004), 428.

[51] The independent synod of the Chosun Presbyterian Church (CPC) was formed in 1907, which was developed into the General Assembly of the CPC in 1912. George L. Paik, The History of Protestant Missions 1832–1910, 387-389.

the CPM as consenters. In the wake of the 1935 mandatory SSW decree, the mission

schools run by the first three were shut down one by one because of their

insubordination.[52] Finally, the foreign missions had to close down their remaining

schools and hospitals and withdraw their missionaries.[53] The CPM out-survived the

others owing to its compromise, but the outbreak of the Pacific War (1941–1945)

compelled its missionary force to leave the Korean land in 1942.

During this process, the PCK held its twenty-seventh General Assembly at

Pyungyang Seomun Church on September 9, 1938 and resolved to abide by the SSW

ordinance under the pretext of patriotic participation in national ceremony.[54]

Immediately after the resolution, the PCK sent its twenty three delegates to worship at

Pyungyang Shinto Shrine,[55] which caused fierce resistance from Pyungyang Theological

Seminary, among others.[56] At that time, Pyungyang Theological Seminary was the only

Presbyterian seminary under the fundamentalist influence. At the initiative of

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[52] Haeyeon Kim, 한국 교회사 [*A History of the Korean Church*], 265-267.

[53] In the wake of the Pacific War on December, 1941, some 40 remaining foreign missionaries had to leave Korea. According to Yonggyu Park, one of the main objectives of Imperial Japan's compulsory SSW was the complete withdrawal of the whole missionary force in Korea. Yonggyu Park, "한국 교회 신사참배 반대운동: 역사적 개관 [The Korean Church's Anti-SSW Movement: A Historical Survey]," *Theology Compass* 256 (2000): 210-211.

[54] The chairperson of the Assembly, Taekgi Hong, announced that "the SSW is just a patriotic national ceremony." Kyungbae Min, *A History of the Korean Church*, 485. In the same year (1938), the National Council of Churches in Japan resolved to participate in the SSW, as well.

[55] Haeyeon Kim, 한국 교회사 [*A History of the Korean Church*], 269-271.

[56] Except for the CPM, the APM, the SPM, and the NPM made a formal objection to the PCK's pro-SSW decision. Since the SSW was enforced in their schools and hospitals, these three foreign missions closed down their institutions and disengaged themselves from Korean missions. Yangsun Kim, 한국기독교사연구 [*The Studies of Korean Christian History*], 191.

Hyungyong Park who had studied under J. Gresham Machen at Princeton,[57] his colleagues and students at Pyungyang Theological Seminary engaged vigorously in the anti-SSW campaign only to incur its closure by the Japanese Government General of Korea. Their anti-SSW spirit was not extinguished, but rekindled more intensely among Presbyterian hardliners to the extent that the anti-SSW protests were extensively staged by Gichul Joo in Pyungyang, Gisun Lee in Pyungbuk, Sangdong Han in Kyungnam, Busun Han in Manchuria, etc.[58] The Japanese Governor-General's hard-line policy, however, brought the anti-SSW camp much grief with 200 churches destroyed, 2,000 Christians incarcerated, and 50 captives killed.[59]

After Korea's independence in 1945, the PCK suffered from its internal strife because of the SSW.[60] Under the leadership of Sangdong Han, the APM-rooted anti-SSW camp established its own seminary, Goryo Theological Seminary, in 1946 in defiance of the PCK-affiliated Chosun Theological Seminary that had come into existence by the CPM-oriented pro-SSW circle in 1940.[61] Installing Hyungyong Park as the first president of Goryo Theological Seminary, the anti-SSW camp claimed its

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[57] Hyungyong Park was "a Machen of Korea" or "a Fighter for Conservative Theology." Jungtaeck Oh, *The Roots of Puritanism in the Korean Presbyterian Church*, 139. Machen was antagonistic to modern liberalism, saying that "the modern non-redemptive religion is called modernism or liberalism...(which) is a different religion from Christianity but belongs to a totally different class of religions." J. Gresham Machen, *Christianity and Liberalism* (New York, NY: Macmillan, 1923), 2-7.

[58] Youngheon Lee, 한국 교회사 *[A History of the Korean Church]* (Seoul: Concordia Press, 1978), 242-243.

[59] Allen D. Clark, *A History of the Church in Korea* (Seoul: Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1971), 230.

[60] Unlike the PCK, the Korean Methodist Church (KMC) did not experience its split because of the SSW. In post-liberation Korea, the anti-SSW ('reconstructionists') and pro-SSW ('revivalists') groups in the KMC had a brief confrontation, but they agreed upon "unconditional unification" on April 1949. Kyungbae Min, *A History of the Korean Church*, 518-521.

[61] Youngheon Lee, 한국 교회사 *[A History of the Korean Church]*, 239.

rightful heirship of Pyungyang Theological Seminary. In addition, they insisted on the ex-communication of the pro-SSW pastors and elders from the PCK but to no avail. On the contrary, censured as "the climax of factional theology,"[62] the APM-rooted anti-SSW camp (i.e. those against Shinto Shrine Worship who supported Goryo Theological Seminary rooted in Australian Presbyterian Mission) was denied admission to the thirty-sixth General Assembly of the PCK held on May, 1951 during the Korean War (1950–1953) and subsequently expelled from the PCK. In reaction, they organized their own Presbyterian association, Gosin (commonly, PCK-Gosin), on September, 1952[63] with the "Reformed faith" as its confessional backbone.[64]

As such, the PCK's first schism occurred in the aftermath of the controversy surrounding the Shinto Shrine Worship (SSW). The most vehement anti-SSW movement was spearheaded by those national Presbyterians from Kyungsang Province, the missionary base of the most-conservative Australian Presbyterian Mission (APM). At the risk of their lives, the APM-influenced Christians refused to bow down in Shinto shrines in accordance with their theological conviction that such participation was an apostatic violation of the First Commandment (Exodus 20:3). No wonder, they deprecated those PCK leaders influenced by the Canadian Presbyterian Mission (CPM) for misleading the denomination into idolatry through their liberal affirmation of the SSW. Since that time,

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[62] Kyungbae Min, *A History of the Korean Church*, 522

[63] The PCK-Gosin was joined by 363 churches and 50 pastors, which occupied the ten percent of the then PCK. Youngjae Kim, 한국 교회사 *[A History of the Korean Church]* (Seoul: The Korea Society for Reformed Faith and Action, 1992), 30.

[64] Sangdon Han, the chairperson of the PCK-Gosin General Assembly, announced: "We will keep the Reformed faith…Calvinism…the most logical system of Christian faith…(handed down to us through) Bavinck, Kuyper, Warfield, Hodge, Machen, Berkof." PCK, 장로교 총회 회록: *1952-1960 [The Minutes of the General Assembly 1952–1960]* (Seoul: PCK, 1961), 14.

the PCK-Gosin (from the APM-rooted anti-SSW camp) has represented the most conservative voice in the Korean church and society, currently leading the vanguard against the WCC Assembly in Busan in 2013.[65] In this vein, it can be said that the conservative arm of the Korean church was consolidated through the SSW and its controversy.

3.1.4 The Conservative–Liberal Theological Controversy

The inauguration of the Presbyterian Church of Korea (PCK) in 1912 was pregnant with its schismatic seed between conservatives and progressives. Broadly speaking, in the theological continuum, the Korean Presbyterians under the influence of the Canadian Presbyterian Mission (CPM) were the most liberal and the Korean Presbyterians under the influence of the Australian Presbyterian Mission (APM) were the most conservative. As for the Korean Presbyterians under the influence of the Northern Presbyterian Mission (NPM) and the Southern Presbyterian Mission (SPM), their overall position was conservative with the former being more tolerant of liberalism.[66] In terms of the Shinto Shrine Worship (SSW), the NPM/SPM-rooted circles sided with the CPM-rooted group in support of both its observance under Japanese rule and the expulsion of the APM-rooted anti-SSW camp from the PCK. Since those three groups' cooperation was tactical and temporary, the PCK was a volatile coalition in its theological tension which would eventually result in the threefold separation of the 1950s.

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[65] The PCK-Gosin was more offended by the fact that the NCCK plans to host the WCC Assembly in its territorial base, Busan.

[66] From 1885 to 1910, there were 113 missionaries from the SPM, 51 from the NPM, 17 from the CPM, 13 from the APM, 60 from the NMM, and 49 from the SMM. Among them, those from the CPM, the NMM, and the SMM were, in general, open to liberalism. Sungchun Chun, *Schism and Unity in the Protestant Churches of Korea* (Seoul: The Korean Christian Literature Society, 1979), 71.

The second split of the PCK occurred in the aftermath of the Korean version of modernist–fundamentalist controversy.[67] After Pyungyang Theological Seminary was closed down in 1938 because of its disobedience to the SSW, the pro-SSW PCK leaders lobbied the Japanese Government General of Korea for permission to open a new one. As a consequence, Chosun Theological Seminary was founded in 1940 with theological openness as its educational motto and with the CPM-supported theologian, Jaejun Kim, as its first president.[68] Jaejun Kim was a staunch advocate of liberal theology as well as the ecumenical movement.[69] As early as in 1934, he took the initiative in publishing the Abingdon Bible Commentary (ABC) in favor of higher criticism, against which such professors as Hyungyong Park at Pyungyang Theological Seminary criticized his view as heretical in defense of "verbal inspiration and inerrancy of Scripture."[70] The PCK dominated by "the fundamentalists…numerically and politically" was on the side of Pyungyang Theological Seminary,[71] boycotting the ABC and demanding Kim's public apology. In the turmoil of the closing of Pyungyang Theological Seminary as well as the

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[67] I will call this controversy 'the conservative–liberal theological controversy,' since it is commonly called as such in Korea.

[68] Kyungbae Min, *A History of the Korean Church*, 507. Unlike the fundamentalist conservatism of Pyungyang Theological Seminary, the newly-founded Chosun Theological Seminary welcomed higher criticism of modern liberalism.

[69] Jaejoon Kim first learned about liberal theology from William Scott sent by the CPM. Under the CPM's sponsorship, he studied theology at Chungsan Academic School in Japan, Princeton Theological Seminary, and Westminster Theological Seminary. Yangsun Kim, 한국 기독교 해방 10 년사, *1945-1955* *[The Ten-Year Christian History of post-Liberation Korea]* (Seoul: PCK, 1956), 189.

[70] Yongkyu Park, 한국 장로교 사상사 *[A History of Korean Presbyterian Thought]* (Seoul: Chongshin University Press, 1996), 200.

[71] Chung-shin Park, *Protestantism and Politics in Korea* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2003), 61. The Pyungyang Theological Seminary was formed in 1901 and Samuel Moffett was its president until 1924. He was known as an "uncompromising conservative." Yongkyu Park, 한국 장로교 사상사 *[A History of Korean Presbyterian Thought]*, 74.

opening of Chosun Theological Seminary, the situation was reversed: Kim and his like-minded colleagues dominated Chosun Theological Seminary through which their theological influence was significantly expanded in the PCK.

Following Korea's liberation from Japan in 1945, the PCK's theological conflict was aggravated as the conservative circle regained its power in line with the Korean society's anti-communist conservative shift during the Cold War (1946–1991). On April 18, 1947, conservative Presbyterians submitted a petition against the liberal trend of Chosun Theological Seminary to the PCK General Synod and called for a theological investigation into the school.[72] Consequently, the Investigation Committee of Chosun Theological Seminary was organized with Hyungyong Park, a former professor of Pyungyang Theological Seminary, as its chairperson, whose predictable decision was that Chosun Theological Seminary must be reorganized to rid itself of modernist liberalism. Jaejun Kim flatly rejected the committee's reform plan, after which a band of conservative Presbyterians set up their own seminary, Presbyterian Theological Seminary, on June 2, 1948, with Hyungyong Park as its first president. In the next year, the PCK approved the newly-founded Presbyterian Theological Seminary as its affiliated seminary and tried in vain to merge its two schools, Chosun Theological Seminary and Presbyterian Theological Seminary. In the middle of the Korean War (June 1950–July 1953), the PCK under conservative-hardliners' control decided on the cancellation of Kim's pastorship and the rejection of Chosun Theological Seminary graduates' ordinations at the thirty-seventh General Assembly on April 1952.[73] Subsequently, the

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[72] Haeyeon Kim, 한국 교회사 [A History of the Korean Church], 341-342.

[73] In 1951 Chosun Theological Seminary was changed into Hangook Theological Seminary.

PCK announced the excommunication of those Presbyterians in support of Chosun

Theological Seminary at the thirty-eighth General Assembly on June 1953. The liberal

circle could not help but form its own Presbyterian association, the PCK-Gijang, on June

10, 1953, claiming to stand for "freedom of conscience" in theological pursuit and

praxis.[74]

Since then, the PCK-Gijang has been the most progressive voice in the Korean

church and society. Out of its theological liberality came *minjung* theology that provided

an ideological basis for the Korean Democratization Movement of the 1970s–1980s. In

addition, the PCK-Gijang has been in the vanguard of the ecumenical movement in

Korea, leading the National Council of Churches in Korea (NCCK), a Korea-based

association of WCC member churches. In the KCCC's eyes, the PCK-Gijang has been a

pain in the neck and a thorn in the side.[75]

3.1.5 The Controversy Surrounding the World Council of Churches

Unlike the previous Shinto Shrine Worship Controversy and Conservative–

Liberal Theological Controversy dividing the Presbyterian Church of Korea alone, this

controversy surrounding the WCC had a schismatic effect on the overall Korean church.

In the worldwide Protestant movements, the ecumenical preparation for and organization

of the WCC (1937–1948) provoked the evangelical circle to launch the National

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[74] Harvie M. Conn, *Studies in the Theology of the Korean Presbyterian Church* (Seoul: The Korean Society for Reformed Faith and Action, 1997), 209. As of 1994, 568 churches and 291 pastors joined the PCK-Gijang. Haeyeon Kim, 한국교회사 *[A History of the Korean Church]*, 343-344.

[75] Such was the conservative hostility to the liberal PCK-Gijang that the Conservative–Liberal Theological Controversy was portrayed as "the fight between two religions named Christianity and Liberalism" by the conservative side. Harvie M. Conn, *Studies in the Theology of the Korean Presbyterian Church*, 209.

Association of Evangelicals (NAE) in 1942, International Council of Christian Churches (ICCC) in 1948, and the World Evangelical Fellowship (WEF; now WEA) in 1951. This global polarity was directly transmitted to the already-dichotomized Korean church leading to the scandal of its "Great Schism" (1959–1961).[76]

The Federal Council of the Chosun Church (FCCC), the first inter-denominational association established in1924 but dismantled in 1938 by Imperial Japan, was reorganized in 1946 by the progressive circle, sent its two Presbyterian and Methodist delegates to the first WCC General Assembly in Amsterdam in 1948, and transformed itself into the WCC-affiliated NCCK.[77] In response, the *de facto* first conservative inter-denominational association, Faith Alliance (FA), was formed in 1947 by the initiative of right-wing Presbyterians, developed into the NAE-affiliated National Association of Evangelicals in Korea (NAEK) in 1952, and joined the WEF in 1955.[78] Two former spin-offs from the PCK, Gosin and Gijang, had the upper hand over the NAEK and the NCCK, respectively.

The 1950s saw the conservative–progressive rift of the PCK (and other major denominations) deepened into the pro-WCC and pro-NAE polarity. In the pro-NAE camp's growing concern over the WCC's identity, the PCK dispatched Hyungjung Kim and Sinhong Myung to the second WCC General Assembly in Evanston in 1954 as

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[76] Paul Yonggap Jeong, *Mission from a Position of Weakness* (New York, NY: Peter Lang, 2007), 127.

[77] Youngheon Lee, 한국 교회사 *[A History of the Korean Church]*, 323.

[78] Ibid., 325. As of 1957, the KNAE grew into an influential conservative association composed of 1,200 pastors, 15,000 corporate members, and 135,000 individual members. Yonggyu Park, 한국기독교회사 2 *[The Korean Christian History 2]* (Seoul: The Word of Life Press, 2004), 974.

investigatory observers.[79] Their factional differences produced two opposing reports:

Kim from the pro-WCC side saw no problem in the WCC, but Myung from the pro-NAE

side found the WCC problematic in terms of its orientation to liberalism theologically as

well as communism politically. For a more thorough investigation, the PCK launched the

Ecumenical Committee at the forty-first General Assembly in 1956, which reconfirmed

their differing stances and exacerbating their conflicting relations.[80] On August, 1959, at

the initiative of those Presbyterians under the influence of the Southern Presbyterian

Mission (SPM), the pro-NAE side of the PCK went so far as to make an anti-ecumenical

proclamation, urging the immediate disaffiliation of the PCK from the WCC and the

NCCK.[81] The pro-WCC side of the PCK promptly announced its rebuttal statement,

assailing its counterpart as sectarianists and fundamentalists.[82] Finally, the PCK

imploded at the forty-fourth General Assembly on September 28, 1959 in such a way that

their heated arguments escalated to the point of mutual imputation and imprecation.[83]

The end result was the meeting's discontinuation and the PCK's bisection into pro-WCC

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[79] Jungjun Kim, 현대 에큐메니칼운동 해설 [An Explanation about the Modern Ecumenical Movement] (Seoul: Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1957), 168.

[80] Gyuoh Jung, 신학적 입장에서 본 한국장로교회사 1 [A History of the PCK From a Theological Standpoint 1] (Kwangjoo: Korea Evangelical Literature Society, 1983), 127-132.

[81] Gyuoh Jung, 신학적 입장에서 본 한국장로교회사 1 [A History of the PCK From a Theological Standpoint 1], 133-136. In 1958 Hyungyong Park published an anti-ecumenical article, in which he made it clear that the WWC was "liberal in theology and one-church-istic in policy." Hyungyong Park, "에큐메니칼 운동의 교리와 목적 [The Doctrine and Objective of the Ecumenical Movement]," Theological Compass (June 1958): 19-20. The pro-NAE side of the PCK relied on his logic to attack the pro-WCC circle of the PCK.

[82] The pro-WCC circle of the PCK contended that the WCC was not "neo-theological and pro-communist" but "evangelistic and unitive." Yonggyu Park, 한국기독교회사 2 [The Korean Christian History 2], 969.

[83] Youngheon Lee, 한국 교회사 [A History of the Korean Church], 328-331.

Tonghap and anti-WCC Hapdong.[84] In a similar manner, the second and third largest

denominations, the Korean Methodist Church (KMC) and the Korean Holiness Church

(KHC), were torn apart into pro-WCC (KMC-Gigam and KHC-Gisung) and anti-WCC

(KMC-Yegam and KHC-Yesung) associations in 1961.[85]

Especially noteworthy was the ICCC's behind-the-scenes machination in this

controversy. The ICCC came into being in 1948 under the leadership of Carl McIntyre, a

fundamentalist Presbyterian pastor, as "a definite countermovement to the WCC,"

accusing the organization of liberalism, relativism, and communism.[86] Korean

conservative Christians uncritically accepted the ICCC's antagonistic view on the

WCC,[87] as evidenced by Myung's post-Evanston report abounding in such McIntyre-

hackneyed phrases as "pro-communist, liberal…one-church-istic ecumenism."[88] Upon

hearing the news of the PCK's factional strife at the General Assembly in 1959, McIntyre

visited Korea on November of the same year and assumed personal command of the anti-

WCC campaign.[89] He fomented the internal rift into an irrevocable split, funding the

PCK-Hapdong to build its own seminary, Chongshin Theological Seminary. On top of it

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[84] Ibid., 260-261.

[85] Donald Hoke, ed., *The Church in Asia*, 385.

[86] The ICCC is "a definite countermovement to the WCC…(accusing) the WCC of the modernism and relativism in relation to the basic truths of the Bible, of fraternizing with the Roman Catholic Church, of compromising with communism, and of promoting pacificism." Harold Fey, ed., *A History of the Ecumenical Movement: Vol. 2, 1948-1968* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1967), 60.

[87] As early as in 1950 Yunsun Park from the PCK-Gosin criticized the WCC as an organization of "neo-theologians, crisis-theologians, social evangelists…(who) want to control the world churches." Yunsun Park, 한국장로교회는 어디로 가는가? *[Where Is the PCK Going?]* (Seoul: Youngeum Press, 1950), 18.

[88] Samuel H. Moffett, *The Christians of Korea* (New York, NY: Friendship Press, 1962), 115.

[89] "The conservative group began a systematic campaign to discredit the WCC on three grounds– liberalism, superchurch ambitions, and pro-Communism." Donald Hoke, ed., *The Church in Asia*, 385.

all, McIntyre involved himself deeply in the 1961 schism of the Korean Methodist Church and the Korean Holiness Church as a willing sponsor of their respective anti-WCC groups.[90]

The controversy surrounding the WCC was virtually the last blow finalizing the Korean church's polarity with far-reaching consequences. The Korean Progressive Christian Circle (KPCC) aligned with the WCC and its ecumenical movement with the NCCK as its united forces. In contrast, the Korean Conservative Christian Circle (KCCC) aligned with the NAE and its evangelical movement with the NAEK (currently, CCK) as its united forces. Their collective confrontation regarding the WCC continues up to date, as attested by the fact that they are currently at odds concerning the WCC General Assembly in Busan in 2013.

3.2 The Emergence of *Missio Dei* in the Korean Protestant Church

The Cold War of the 1960s (1946–1991) was a notably tumultuous decade replete with counter-cultural and anti-establishment movements in the pro-USA capitalistic bloc. With the Vietnam War (1955–1975) as the epicenter, the progressive outcries and demonstrations against the static state of affairs emanated from almost every societal sphere: genderally egalitarian, culturally avant-garde, racially liberationist, economically socialist, and politically pacifist movements.[91] This anti-status-quo *zeitgeist* that drove the Western society into the conservative–progressive confrontation also moved in the

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[90] Juduk Kim, "한국교회 분쟁의 형태 변화에 관한 선교적 고찰 [A Missiological Study on the Korean Church's Division]," *Mission Theology* 23:1 (2010): 83. The pro-ICCC Korean Christians organized the Korean association of the ICCC, the KCCC, in 1965.

[91] David B. Perrin, *Studying Christian Spirituality* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2007), 316.

Christian sector. The Western church at large aligned itself dyadically with the ecumenical movement and the evangelical movement whose inimical situation deteriorated as the former began to commit to a radical *missio Dei*. In conjunctive solidarity with the ecumenical movement, the KPCC adopted its radical *missio Dei* and went to extremes in *minjung* messianism. As a consequence, the Korean church's conservative–progressive polarity, which had been generated and reinforced by a series of events (i.e. the Comity Agreement of Foreign Missions, Japanese Protectorate Invasion, the Shinto Shrine Worship Controversy, the Conservative–Liberal Theological Controversy, and the WCC-related Controversy), took on a radical new dimension.

In this second section of chapter 3, we will look at the emergence of the *missio Dei* concept in Korea. First, the Korean ecumenical movement until the 1950s will be examined with attention to the formative development of the NCCK, the ecumenical driving force of the KPCC. Second, the introduction of the *missio Dei* concept to the Korean church will be discussed with reference to the NCCK General Assembly in 1969. Last, *minjung* theology will be explicated in its continuity with a radical *missio Dei*. Such was the impact of the *minjung* theological movement upon the Korean church and society that Sebastian Kim characterizes Korean Christianity of the 1960s–1980s as "liberation Christianity."[92]

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[92] Sebastian Kim, "The Word and the Spirit: Overcoming Poverty, Injustice, and Division in Korea," *Christian Theology in Asia*, ed. Sebastian Kim (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 129-153. Sebastian Kim diachronically classifies Korean Christianity into five: 1) Bible Christianity (from beginning to 1940s), 2) Revival Christianity (during the 1950s and 1960s), 3) Liberation Christianity (from 1960s to 1980s), 4) Indigenization Christianity (from 1970s to 1990s), and 5) Unification Christianity (from 1990s to the present).

3.2.1 The Korean Ecumenical Movement

The Korean ecumenical movement has its origin in the formation of the Federal Council of the Chosun Church (FCCC) in 1924, a predecessor of the NCCK.[93] As early as in 1905, the Federal Council of the Chosun Protestant Evangelical Missions (FCCPEM) was created as a cooperative association among Presbyterian and Methodist foreign missionaries to Korea's Chosun.[94] Then, the FCCPEM acted as a stimulus for the organization of the Federal Council of the Chosun Presbyterian and Methodist Churches (FCCPMC) in 1918 by national Presbyterian and Methodist leaders. The FCCPMC was succeeded by the FCCC inclusive of other major denominations in 1924, but Imperial Japan in wartime brought it to dissolution in 1938. Following the fall of the Japanese Empire in 1945, the FCCC was restored in 1946 at the initiative of the Presbyterian Church of Korea (PCK) and the Korea Methodist Church (KMC), and then reorganized in 1948 as the NCCK, a WCC member. The NCCK, thereafter, became virtually a byword for ecumenical, progressive, and liberal Christianity in the Korean society.

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[93] Heegook Lim, "회고와 전망: 한국장로교회의 분열에 대한 회고와 일치를 향한 전망–2013 세계교회협의회 제 10차 총회를 맞이하여 [Retrospect and Prospect: Retrospect on the PCK's Split and Prospect on the PCK's Unity–Expecting the WCC tenth General Assembly in 2013]," *Jangsin Forum* 41 (2011): 141. With emphasis on its continuity with the NCCK, Lim Romanized 조선예수교연합공의회 (whose literal translation is the Federal Council of the *Chosun* Church) into Korean National Christian Council (KNCC). In this dissertation, I will use the FCCC to avoid the terminological confusion between the NCCK and KNCC. That is, the FCCC existed from 1924 to 1938 as the Korean member council of the IMC, and then the NCCK succeeded the FCCC from 1946 to the present as the Korean member council of the WCC.

[94] The ultimate aim of the FCCPEM was the "organization of the (united) Evangelical Church in Korea." George Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 1832–1910*, 368. The six Presbyterian and Methodist foreign missions participated in the FCCPEM through which they worked together for educational and medical missions, but their denominationalism hindered its maximal operation. As for their ecumenical cooperation and denominational competition, see Changwook Byun, "초기내한 장로교·감리교 선교사간 초교파협력의 이중적 성격 [A Dualistic Characteristic of Inter-denominational Cooperation among the Early Presbyterian and Methodist Missionaries in Korea]," 70-107.

From its inception, the Korean ecumenical movement was developed in close touch with the worldwide ecumenical movement. After co-founding the IMC in 1921, John Mott made the rounds of the Asian countries publicizing and promoting it. On his visit to Korea in 1925, Mott inspired national Christians to enter into a formal affiliation with the newly-fledging IMC that would become the FCCC in 1924.[95] As a Korean member of the IMC, the FCCC sent its delegation to the second IMC held in Jerusalem in 1928 for the first and last time to the resultant degree of being decisively progressivatized.[96] The Jerusalem conference, which took place between the First World War (1914–1918) and the Great Depression (1929–1941), was self-reflective on missionary triumphalism and colonialism with keen attention to the socio-econo-political aspect of the Christian message and mission, under whose influence the FCCC went in the opposite direction of conservative Korean Christianity (i.e. the KCCC) and formulated its progressive identity.[97]

From its embryonic stage clear through today, the main stream of the Korean church has been conservative as a natural outcome of the predominant presence of

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[95] Soo-il Chai, "*Missio Dei*–Its Development and Limitations in Korea," 539.

[96] Taeckboo Jeon, *한국교회발전사 [A Developmental History of the Korean Church]* (Seoul: The Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1987), 227. The FCCC sent four delegates to the Jerusalem meeting of the IMC. Among them, Heungwoo Shin, the then General Secretary of the Korean YMCA, organized the Positive Faith League (PFL) in 1932 for the systematic campaign against missionary conservatism and colonialism. Confronted with violent resistance from conservative missionaries and nationals, his radical movement ended with Shin's Inquisition and the PFL's disbandment in 1935.

[97] According to Gyosung Ahn, the Korean ecumenical movement was developed in the dichotomous context of Korean Christianity, "majority versus minority, conservative versus liberal, evangelical versus ecumenical, Pyungyang versus Seoul." Gyosung Ahn, *Mission in Unity: An Investigation into the Question of Unity as It Has Risen in the Presbyterian Church of Korea and Its World Mission*, Ph.D. dissertation (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 37.

conservative foreign missionaries from the "Puritan" tradition.[98] Under the Japanese

colonial rule, this conservative trend was strengthened by the Japanese tyrannical

persecution on religious politicization in such a way that mystical and apocalyptic

revivalism caught and raged on. The revival movement reached its peak during the

1920s and 1930s in an upsurge of national nihilism caused by the failed Independence

Movement in 1919. Swimming against the conservative tide, the FCCC rekindled the

progressive tradition of Korean Christianity through social consciousness and

involvement. On April, 1929, the FCCC launched the Rural Department (RD) to cope

with the ever-degenerating agrarian reality in Japan's agricultural exploitation policy.[99]

In concert with like-minded YMCA and YWCA, the FCCC's RD staged a nation-wide

rural reconstruction campaign by enlightening the rural community into civilization, on

one hand, and conscientizing the peasantry into unionization, on the other hand. Armed

with the social gospel,[100] the FCCC led the Korean ecumenical movement in both

resistant and proactive methods until its enforced disintegration in 1938.

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[98] Arthur Brown, General Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions in the early
twentieth century, testified that "the typical missionary of the first quarter after the opening of the country
was a man of the Puritan type…In Korea the few men who hold the modern view have a rough road to
travel, particularly in the Presbyterian group of missions." Arthur J. Brown, *The Master of the Far East:
The Story of Korea's Transformation and Japan's Rise to Supremacy in the Orient* (New York, NY: Charles
Scribner's Sons, 1919), 540.

[99] The Jerusalem meeting of the IMC in 1928 paid keen attention to rural problems in light of
Christian missions. See IMC, *Christian Mission in Relation to Rural Problems*, Vol. VI (NY: Forth Ave,
1928). The FCCC's launch of the Rural Development resulted from its participation in the Jerusalem
meeting of the IMC. As for the detailed spheres of the Rural Development's social activity, refer to Jaegun
Choi, "1928년 예루살렘국제선교협의회와 한국교회 [The Jerusalem Conference of the IMC in 1928
and the Korean Church]," *Theology Forum* 45 (2006): 200-207.

[100] One of the early leaders in the Korean ecumenical movement, Heungwoo Shin, claimed that
"the church must become a witness for the social salvation of farmers." Soo-il Chai, "*Missio Dei*–Its
Development and Limitations in Korea," 539.

Over the course of the convulsive mid-twentieth century from the 1945 Korean Independence to the 1950–1953 Korean War to the 1960 Civil Revolution, the Korean ecumenical movement was revitalized under the leadership of the NCCK in league with such wider ecumenical organizations as East Asian Christian Council (EACC; Christian Council of Asia, CCA, from 1973) and the WCC. Inheriting the progressive spirit of the FCCC as well as adopting the radical current of the WCC and EACC, the NCCK was at the forefront of social and political activism in modern Korea in solidarity with secular activist groups. As a prophetic voice and force, the NCCK effectuated the Korean Student Christian Council (KSCC) in 1959,[101] which in turn generated the Korea Christian Faculty Fellowship (KCFF) in 1966 that would produce *minjung* theology via ecumenical contact with the CCA and the WCC.[102]

3.2.2 The Introduction of *Missio Dei* to Korea

The first government (1948–1960) of post-liberation Korea was a dictatorship under the cloak of a presidential democracy, subverted by the Civil Revolution led by student and labor activists on April 16, 1960, and ultimately displaced by a parliamentary

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[101] The KSCC was an ecumenical association of three progressive youth organizations, the KSCF, the YMCA, and the YWCA. In Korea, Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), and Korean Student Christian Federation (KSCF) were established in 1903, 1922, and 1948, respectively. In 1957 the KSCF was changed into Korea Student Christian Movement (KSCM), and in 1969 the merging of the KSCM and the YMCA birthed the KSCF again. In 1994 the YMCA was separated from the KSCF.

[102] The KCFF members who were jailed and fired due to the NDYSC Incident in 1974 formed Korea Dismissed Faculty Council (KDFC) in 1975, after which KDFC became the major stronghold of *minjung* theologians. Allegedly, National Democratic Youth–Student Confederation (NDYSC) was a nation-wide alliance of militant student activist organizations. In 1974 Park's Yusin regime made a wholesale arrest of 253 progressive leaders under the pretext of proletarian communist revolution conspiracy via the NDYSC. Recently, the 1974 NDYSC Incident was revealed as Park's frame-up to oppress the progressive anti-establishment movement.

administration.[103] Eight months after the second government's inauguration, however,

Junghee Park seized power in coup d'état on May 16, 1961 and established military

dictatorship that would continue until his assassination in 1979. Under the Park Junta

whose top priority was on national security and economic viability, the Korean society

was tightly controlled through anti-communist thought-control political measures, while

at the same time being modernized through pro-conglomerate government-controlled

industrial policies. The conservative–progressive polarity of the Korean church was

revealed in such a way that the Korean Conservative Christian Circle (KCCC) cooperated

with the military regime and the Korean Progressive Christian Circle (KPCC) opposed to

the regime. Not surprisingly, the Korean ecumenical movement in general and the

NCCK in particular (of the KPCC) took the lead role in the anti-Park movement, and the

ecumenical *missio Dei* theology served as the theoretical basis of their aggressive

resistance against the military government.[104]

Missio Dei was originally a post-Christendom creation with emphasis on the

Triune God's missionary sovereignty and His church's missionary *esse* in the salvation-

historical construct.[105] This Barthian–Hartensteinian sense of *missio Dei* taking seriously

the spiritual aspect of God's mission without disregard for its social aspect was radically

secularized by the Bonhoefferian–Hoekendijkian ecumenical camp into a thisworldly

missio Dei almost identifying Christian salvation with liberationist humanization. During

the revolutionary 1960s, such a radical and secular *missio Dei* predominated in the WCC

[103] In the parliamentary system, "the ruling party, Democratic Party, was plunged into factional strife and ideological conflict, so that it failed to cope with national chaos." Hyungshik Shin, 한국사 입문 *[An Introduction to Korean History]* (Seoul: Ewha University Press, 2005), 135.

[104] Soo-il Chai, "*Missio Dei*–Its Development and Limitations in Korea," 540.

[105] Refer to 2.1.1 Karl Barth of chapter 2.

and the EACC,[106] which naturally seeped into the NCCK's ecumenical movement and radicalized its missional involvement in the unjust Park regime.

The radicalized *missio Dei* was officially introduced to Korea at the NCCK's General Assembly in 1969, but the Korean ecumenical movement was operative under its implicit impact as early as in 1957. The PCK was developed, *ab initio*, in close relationship with the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. (PCUSA). As a founding member and influential sponsor of the WCC, the PCUSA took the initiative of creating Industrial Mission (IM) for the victims of rapid urbanization and industrialization,[107] which the PCK publicly adopted at its forty-second General Assembly in 1957. In the progressive–conservative tension, the PCK's primary concern became Industrial Evangelism (IE) aiming at the Christianization of industrial settings through evangelistic and pastoral outreach. Following the "Great Schism" (1959–1961),[108] the Korean church was split into pro-ecumenical and anti-ecumenical with the former united around the NCCK. As Urban Industrial Mission (UIM) drew wide attention from the worldwide ecumenical movement of the 1960s, the Korean ecumenical movement naturally shifted its focus from IE to UIM.

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[106] As a founding member of the EACC (CCA from 1973) in 1959, the NCCK was greatly influenced by such Asian ecumenical leaders as M.M. Thomas. For instance, on April 13, 1962, the NCCK sponsored the EACC's seminar, 'A New Type of Social Service of Christian Churches in a Rapidly-Changing Society,' whose main speaker was M.M. Thomas. Notably, M.M. Thomas was a pioneer of thisworldly ecumenical thinking. On his life and thought, see Ken Miyamoto, *God's Mission in Asia*, 112-172.

[107] Richard P. Poethig, "Toward Worldwide Industrial Mission: The Presbyterian Story, 1945-1975," *American Presbyterians* 73:1 (Spring 1995): 35-47. The PCUSA launched the Presbyterian Institute of Industrial Relations (PIIR) on January 1, 1945.

[108] This split resulted from the issue of joining the WCC. Refer to 3.1.5. The Controversy Regarding the World Council of Churches of the present chapter.

Unlike IE with its evangelistic emphasis, UIM dealt with the systemic nature of evil inherent in capitalistic industrialization via incarnational identification with the urban masses. In the emerging context of a radical *missio Dei*, the IMC took keen notice of UIM, creating the UIM Department in 1959 "with a new militant spirit of Christian support for the urban and rural masses."[109] The IMC–WCC integration at New Delhi 1961 enabled UIM to be a major tenet of the WCC: 1) the UIM Committee was installed under the CWME in 1964;[110] and 2) the UIM operational manual was published in 1966 by the CWME.[111] Such was the ecumenical attachment to UIM that UIM was elevated as a principal agent of messianic shalom in the *missio Dei* movement in the WCC– CWME's report of the 'Missionary Structure of Congregation' Project during 1961– 1966.[112] As the WCC's regional council, the EACC set up a standing committee on UIM at its Bangkok meeting in 1968, which subsequently empowered the NCCK to proclaim its commitment to UIM in the *missio Dei* perspective in the next year.

From January 27 to January 29, 1969, the NCCK held its twenty-second General Assembly under the banner of 오늘날 한국에서의 하나님의 선교 [*Missio Dei* in Today's Korea].[113] In ecumenical continuity with the Uppsala General Assembly of the

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[109] Pauline Webb, ed., *Faith and Faithfulness: Essays on Contemporary Ecumenical Themes: A Tribute to Philip A. Potter* (Geneva: WCC, 1984), 121

[110] Originally, Urban Industrial Evangelism (UIE), which was changed into UIM in 1965. K.P. Aleaz, *Theology of Religions: Birmingham Papers and Other Essays* (Calcutta: Moumita, 1998), 356. In 1978, UIM merged with Rural & Agricultural Mission (RAM) into Urban Rural Mission (URM).

[111] WCC/DWME, *Becoming Operational in a World of Cities: A Strategy for Urban and Industrial Mission* (Geneva: WCC, 1966).

[112] WCC, *The Church for Others and the Church for the World*, 95-126.

[113] Eunsoo Kim, 현대 선교의 흐름과 주제 [*The Currents and Themes of Contemporary Mission]* (Seoul: The Christian Literature Society of Korea, 2001), 118.

WCC in 1968, the conference defined God's mission as liberation from inhumane oppression at every societal level. The Korean ecumenical movement's anti-establishment campaign was thereafter systematically staged in an economically anti-conglomerate and politically anti-dictatorial manner. On August, 1969, the NCCK issued a declaration against Park's plot to perpetuate his military regime and joined the democratization movement in progressive alliance with such dissident politicians as Daejoong Kim.[114] Not only that, on November, 1969, the NCCK inaugurated the Korea Student Christian Federation (KSCF) through the incorporation of the KSCM and the YMCA,[115] while buckling down to the labor movement in strategic linkage between UIM and Saul Alinsky's Grass Roots Community Organization (GRCO).[116] The NCCK's commitment to a thisworldly *missio Dei* through UIM resulted in 'A Theological Declaration on Industrial Mission' on September 1978, in which UIM was defined as "God's Mission in Industrial Age" and UIM missioners as "Little Jesus."[117]

As such, the Korean *missio Dei* movement started in earnest at the NCCK's General Assembly in 1969. Under Park's despotic totalitarianization and oligarchic industrialization,[118] God's mission and salvation meant humanization and

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[114] In contrast, the KCCC issued a pro-Park and anti-NCCK declaration on September, 1969, under the name of Korea Christian Association (KCA). Deokjoo Lee and Viejas Cho, 한국그리스도인의 신앙고백 *[Korean Christians' Confessions of Faith]* (Seoul: Handeul, 1997), 266.

[115] Refer to footnote 101 of this chapter.

[116] Byungwook Ahn, ed., 유신과 반유신 *[Yusin and Anti-Yusin]* (Seoul: The Memorial Society for Democratization Movement, 2005), 559. Saul Alinskyn's *Reveille for Radicals* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1946), and *Rules for Radical Rules for Radicals: A Practical Primer for Realistic Radicals* (New York, NY: Random House, 1971) were an inspiration to the KEM's UIM leaders.

[117] NCCK, *1970년대민주화운동: 기독교인권운동을 중심으로 3 [The Democratization of the 1970s: With Special Attention to Christian Human Rights Movement 3]* (Seoul: NCCK, 1987), 1248.

[118] The Park regime carried out the five-year economic development plan four times: 1) the first phase (1962–1966); 2) the second phase (1967–1971); 3) the third phase (1972–1976); and 4) the fourth

democratization to the conference attendees. The inevitable corollary of such

missiological conscientization was the *minjung* theological and liberation movement of

the 1970s.

3.2.3 *Minjung* Theology as a Korean Contextual Theology of a Radical *Missio Dei*

"We are not machines! Enforce the Fair Labor Standards Acts!" This was a cry

of a twenty-three-year-old worker that disclosed the dark side of Korea's industrial

modernization under the military regime.[119] On November, 1970, Taeil Jeon burned

himself to death in protest against subhuman working conditions. His self-immolation

ignited the modern labor union movement in Korea in which the NCCK played a leading

part through its UIM in general and its Human Rights Commission in particular.[120] In its

midst, the Park Junta effectuated the *Yusin* Constitution in 1972 with a view to permanent

dictatorship by means of the National Assembly dissolution and a fraudulent plebiscite

under emergency martial law. The anti-establishment forces lined up against the *Yusin*

regime (1972–1979) with the NCCK's Korea Christian Faculty Fellowship (KCFF) as the

brains behind the movement providing theoretical and conceptual assistance through

minjung theology.

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phase (1977–1981). This long-term economic policy was, in essence and practice, pro-*chaebol* (pro-conglomerate) at the cost of working classes, which "led to the formation of the loosely organized 'distributional coalition' under the banner of *minjung*." Richard Appelbaum and Jeffrey Henderson, eds., *States and Development in the Asian Pacific Rim* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1992), 145.

[119] On the life of Taeil Jeon and his death's impact on the Korean society, see Youngrae Cho, 전태일 평전 *[A Biography of Taeil Jeon]* (Seoul: Stone Pillow, 1991).

[120] The NCCK installed the Human Rights Committee on April, 1974, which was the first civil agency on human rights in Korea. NCCK, *1970년대민주화운동: 기독교인권운동을 중심으로 1 [The Democratization of the 1970s: With Special Attention to Christian Human Rights Movement 1]* (Seoul: NCCK, 1987), 381.

The expression, *minjung* theology (*minjung*'s theology, originally) made its first

public appearance in Namdong Suh's 1975 article, "민중의 신학에 대하여 [Apropos of

Minjung's Theology]."[121] However, its origin can be traced back to the *minjung*-oriented

ministry of Deokgee Jeon (1875–1914) in the early Korean church who pioneered the

progressive tradition of Korean Christianity.[122] The KPCC, thereafter, focused on

mission for and with *minjung*, but it was not until the mid-1970s that *minjung* became the

integrating center of their theological task. As the Korean *minjung* condition became

more dehumanized under the *Yusin* political situation, the NCCK-led ecumenical

movement of the KPCC became more radicalized, involving itself deeply in the 1974

abortive formation of the National Democratic Youth–Student Confederation (NDYSC),

a nation-wide alliance of militant student activist organizations. The moment the

NDYSC announced its inaugural declaration on '민중, 민족, 민주 [*Minjung*, Nation,

Democracy],' on April, 1974, the military government crushed it, alleging that it was

fomenting a communist proletarian revolution.[123] On March 1, 1975, a Christian service

was held as a token of remembrance of the release from prison of the NCCK's KCFF

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[121] Namdong Suh, "민중의 신학에 대하여 [Apropos of *Minjung*'s Theology]," *Christian Thought* (April 1975): 85-91.

[122] The life of Deokgee Jeon itself was inseparable from the *minjung* experience. He was born into an abjectly poor family in the low social status in 1875. At the age of 9, he became an orphan and was raised by his uncle who was a street vendor at Namdaemoon Market, the largest marketplace of the country. In 1892 he happened to meet with a Methodist missionary by the name of Scranton engaging in the mission-from-below, and started to work for him as an errand boy. Under his Christian influence, Deokgee Jeon, who had been an atheist steeped into the Marxist thought, was baptized in 1896, was ordained in 1905, and was sent to Sangdong Church located in the middle of Namdaemoon Market. His ministry was *minjung*-oriented, so that he organized the People-Loving Relief Center in his church to succor the indigent. After Korea's sovereignty was virtually encroached by the Japanese Empire through the enforced Protectorate Treaty in 1907, his *minjung* ministry was patriotically sublimated into the anti-Japanese independence movement wherein Korea as a whole was a *minjung* nation oppressed by Imperial Japan. Cf. Deokjoo Lee, "전덕기 목사의 민중목회와 민족운동 [The *Minjung* Ministry and Nationalist Movement of the Rev. Deokgee Jeon]," *Theology of World 25* (Winter 1995): 133-141.

[123] Concerning NDYSC, refer to footnote 102 of this chapter.

members, Changook Kim and Donggil Kim, who had been in jail in complicity with the NDYSC. It was then that another KCFF member, Byungmoo Ahn, went public with a *minjung* theological hermeneutic in his preaching, '민족 민중 교회 [National *Minjung* Church]' for the first time.[124] In the next month, Ahn's KCFF colleague, Namdong Suh, coined the term, 민중의 신학 [*minjung*'s theology], and published an article under the same name.[125] Suh's phrasing was modified into 민중신학 [*minjung* theology] at the CCA's Commission on Theological Concerns (CTS) held in Seoul in 1979. In the wake of this conference, the neologism gained worldwide acceptance as "a Korean contextual theology of suffering people."[126]

   Minjung, whose literal meaning is the popular masses or the people from the grass roots, has been preferentially used by progressive Koreans, both Christian and non-Christian, as a collective and comprehensive term denoting the (potential and actual) victims of institutional and structural evil.[127] The 1960s and 1970s saw the *minjung*

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[124] This sermon was published in *Christian Thought* 203 (April 1975) under the same name, "민족 민중 교회 [National *Minjung* Church]." According to Keedeuk Song, it was Younghark Hyun who made the first attempt at *minjung* theology. On June, 1974, Hyun wrote an article entitled, "민중 속에 성육신해야 [Ought to be Incarnated in *Minjung*]," in *Korea Theology Newsletter*. Keedeuk Song, "민중신학의 정체 [The Identity of *Minjung* Theology]," *Spirit* 2 (1989): 142-145. The established view, though, is that *minjung* theology was inaugurated by both Ahn and Suh in 1975. John Parratt, ed., *An Introduction to Third Word Theologies* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 96).

[125] On February, 1975, Namdong Suh published "예수, 교회사, 한국교회 [Jesus, Church History, Korean Church]," in *Christian Thought* from a perspective of liberation theology. This article provoked the KCCC in a way that Hyunghyo Kim wrote "혼미한 시대의 진리에 대해서 [About the Truth in the Chaotic Age]" on April of the same year in *Literature Thought* from a standpoint of anti-liberation theology. Suh's "민중의 신학 [minjung's theology]," was written to controvert Kim's response. Namdong Suh, *민중신학의 탐구 [An Exploration into Minjung Theology]* (Seoul: Hangil Press, 1983), 29.

[126] Paul Chung, "Asian Contextual Theology of Minjung and Beyond," *Asian Contextual Theology for the Third Millennium: Theology of Minjung in Fourth-Eye Formation,* eds. Paul Jung et al (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2007), 1.

[127] Dongwhan Moon, one of leading *minjung* theologians, explains the origin of *minjung* as follows: "The term came to be used first during Yi Dynasty (aka Chosun: 1392–1910) when the common

increase dramatically under Park's political oppression and economic exploitation, out of which *minjung* theology was created under the ecumenical influence of a thiswordly *missio Dei* theology generally and Latin American liberation theologies particularly.[128] According to Namdong Suh, its first inaugurator, *minjung* theology is a rediscovery of God's constant pro-*minjung* mission in Korean history in light of biblical *minjung* narratives. Where *minjung* is, God is there for their emancipation as in the case of the Exodus.[129] In monarchic Korea, God's mission was demonstrated as anti-feudalist movements; in Japanese-ruled Korea, as anti-imperial movements; and in post-liberation Korea, as anti-dictatorial movements. Since there is a confluence between biblical *minjung* tradition and Korean *minjung* tradition in God's mission, "the task of *minjung* theology lies in witnessing to *missio Dei* to which the *minjung* tradition in Korea is integrated and fused." [130] This *minjung*-centered historical perspective entails *minjung*

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people were oppressed by the *yangban* class, the ruling class…At that time, anyone who was excluded from the *yangban* class was a *minjung*. During the Japanese occupation (1910–1945), most Koreans were reduced to *minjung* status except for a small group who collaborated with the Japanese imperialists. Today (i.e. in the 1970s), the term, *minjung* may be used for all those who are excluded from the elite who enjoy prestigious positions in the present dictatorial system." Joung Young Lee, ed., *An Emerging Theology in World Perspective: Commentary on Korean Minjung Theology* (Mystic, CT: Twenty-Third Publications, 1988), 4.

[128] In 1973, the NCCK announced in its Theological Declaration of Korean Christians: "We believe that Christians are witnesses to truth, always struggling to break any system of deception and manipulation, for to tell the truth is the ultimate power that sets people free for God's Messianic Kingdom." Wi Jo Kang, *Christ and Caesar in Modern Korea: A History of Christianity and Politics* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1997), 101.

[129] According to *minjung* theologians, *habiru* in the OT and *ochlos* in the NT were *minjung*. That is, "God in the biblical world is the great sympathizer with the biblical *minjung, habiru* and *ochlos*; God's salvation is promised as the divine response to their hope and is actualized through the liberation of their life." Hiheon Kim, *Minjung and Process: Minjung Theology in a Dialogue with Process Thought* (Bern, Germany: Peter Lang AG, 2009), 137.

[130] Namdong Suh, "*Missio Dei* and Two Stories in Coalescence," *Asian Contextual Theology for the Third Millennium: A Theology of Minjung in Fourth-Eye Formation*, 64.

ecclesiology in which the church exists for *minjung* by revitalizing and recapitulating those previous emancipatory traditions in its present *Sitz im Leben.*

Byungmoo Ahn, another pioneer *minjung* theologian, developed Suh's seminal work through the New Testament concept of *ochlos*.[131] For him, historical reality is the antagonistic duality between *minjung* subjugation and anti-*minjung* domination, in which God not only shows His preferential compassion and option for *minjung* but also forms His existential solidarity and unity with them. The Christ event was the culmination of God's pro-*minjung* mission in such a way that God Himself became the Galilean grass roots, *ochlos*, in a liberative struggle against the Jerusalem and Roman anti-*ochlos* authorities. This incorporate subsumption of *misso Christi* under *missio Dei* in Jesus–*minjung* unity[132] led Ahn to go so far as to claim that "*minjung* is the very subject of God's messianic mission."[133] The church's *raison de'tre* can be thus accomplished to the utmost only through its homogeneous participation in *minjung* movements undermining anti-*minjung* establishments.

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[131] Ahn paid special attention to the frequent usage of *ochlos* in Mark (i.e. thirty six times vis-à-vis two times of *laos*) and its inseparable connection with Jesus' ministry. That is, "Jesus was where *ochlos* was, and *ochlos* was where Jesus was." For Ahn, *oclos* was *minjung* in Jesus' day. Byungmoo Ahn, 역사와 민중 *[History and Minjung]* (Seoul: Hangil Press, 1993), 129.

[132] The essence of Ahn's Christology boils down to his famous statement: 'Jesus is *minjung* and *minjung* is Jesus.' In his framework of Jesus–*minjung* unity, Ahn "see Jesus as not a person but an event." Byungmoo Ahn. 민중신학 이야기 *[A Narrative of Minjung Theology],* (Seoul: Korean Theological Institute, 1990), 25-26.

[133] Byungmoo Ahn. 민중신학 이야기 *[A Narrative of Minjung Theology]*, 125. As for the contemporary discussion on *minjung* theology, refer to *Asian Contextual Theology for the Third Millennium: A Theology of Minjung in Fourth-Eye Formation,* eds. Paul Chung et al (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2007) and Volker Küster, *A Protestant Theology of Passion: Korean Minjung Theology Revisited* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2010).

3.3 The Controversy of *Missio Dei* in the Korean Protestant Church

The official introduction of *missio Dei* at the NCCK General Assembly in 1969

widened the progressive–conservative gap, almost to the irreconcilable point, in the

Korean church between the KCCC and the KPCC. The imported *missio Dei* was the

Hoekendijkian version with secular and horizontal soteriology that had predominated at

Uppsala 1968. This radical *missio Dei* served decisively as a theological tool

contributing to the progressive formation of *minjung* theology,[134] which ratified and

fortified the progressive anti-establishment involvement in the anti-*minjung Yusin* system

(1972–1979) and the subsequent Jeon military regime (1980–1987). Contradistinctively,

the KCCC gave its implicit and explicit support to the dictatorial authorities in

submission and prayer,[135] so that they could concentrate on soul-winning and church-

growing in safety from domestic unrest and North Korean communist invasion.[136] While

the KPCC fought together for humanization and democratization in a radical *missio Dei*

paradigm, the KCCC rallied together for such massive evangelistic campaigns as the

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[134] It can be said that *minjung* theology was formed in the unjust Korean context under the ecumenical influence of a thisworldly *missio Dei* theology (especially by M.M. Thomas) generally and Latin American liberation theology particularly.

[135] Youngjae Kim, *한국 교회사 [A History of the Korean Church]*, 276. The KCCC leaders justified their submissive and prayerful cooperation with the military establishments on the grounds of Romans 13:1-2 and 1 Timothy 2:1-4: "Let everyone be subject to the governing authorities, for there is no authority except that which God has established. The authorities that exist have been established by God. Consequently, whoever rebels against the authority is rebelling against what God has instituted, and those who do so will bring judgment on themselves" (Romans 13:1-2); "I urge, then, first of all, that petitions, prayers, intercession and thanksgiving be made for all people, for kings and all those in authority, that we may live peaceful and quiet lives in all godliness and holiness. This is good, and pleases God our Savior, who wants all people to be saved and to come to a knowledge of the truth" (1 Timothy 2:1-4).

[136] Matthew 16:26: "What good will it be for someone to gain the whole world, yet forfeit their soul? Or what can anyone give in exchange for their soul?"

Korea 1973 Billy Graham Crusade[137] and the CCC-sponsored Korea Explo 1974[138] in its

heaven-bound Great Commission paradigm.[139]

This last section of chapter 3 will devote itself to the controversial stage of *missio Dei* in the Korean church that continues up to date. First, the conservative–progressive debate concerning *missio Dei* will be examined with attention to its development and culmination. Second, the ongoing missiological polarity between the KPCC and the KCCC will be discussed with attention to their directly-opposed missional declarations and manifestations. The global society saw the missiological Cold War of the worldwide Protestant movements between ecumenists and evangelicals *defacto* terminated via their joint affirmation of a holistic *missio Dei*.[140] Quite the contrary, the Korean society still observes the missiological Cold War of the Korean church between conservatives and progressives worsened, far from being lessened, through their current confrontation on the Busan WCC General Assembly.[141]

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[137] This Billy Graham Crusade, "held on May 30, 1973…opened with record-breaking number of 510,000 attendees, and 1,100,000 people attended on the last day (June 3rd)." Kwang Gun Seok, *The Impact of Intercessory Prayer upon the Spiritual Growth of Church Members*, D.Min. dissertation (Tulsa, OK: Oral Roberts University, 2008), 47.

[138] This Expo was held from August 13 to 18 under the slogan of "Let the Seasons of the Holy Spirit Come" with "the total of 6,500,000 people participated." Ibid.

[139] Yonggyu Park, 한국교회를 일깨운 복음주의 운동 [The Evangelical Movement Awakening the Korean Church], 116-124.

[140] Refer 2.3 The Convergence of *Missio Dei* in the Worldwide Protestant Movements of chapter 2.

[141] As for the KCCC's critique on the *missio Dei*-centered ecumenical missiology, refer to Youngho Park, 현대 에큐메니칼 운동과 사회선교: 2013년 부산 백스코 WCC 제10차 총회 개최를 어떻게 볼 것인가? [The Modern Ecumenical Movement and Social Mission: The Response to the WCC General Assembly to be Held in Busan in 2013] (Seoul: The Press of Reformed Theology, 2010) and Myungsoo Park's "WCC는 통전적 선교를 지향하지 않는다 [The WCC Does Not Pursue Holisitc Mission]," *Ministry and Theology* (April 2010): 68-79, among many others.

3.3.1 The Conservative–Progressive Debate on *Missio Dei*

After the NCCK's General Assembly in 1969, *missio Dei* became a missiological weapon energizing the progressive commitment to social transformation.[142] In the *missio Dei* paradigm, the NCCK issued a series of public announcements, '한국 그리스도인 선언 [The Korean Christian Manifesto]' on May 20, 1973, and '한국그리스도인의 신학적 성명 [The Korean Christian Theological Manifesto]' on November 18, 1974, both of which exhorted the whole Korean church to rise against the military dictatorial regime. The 1973 Declaration asserted that social resistance against anti-*minjung* power is a bounden duty of every Christian, "compelled by the divine mandates of the Messianic Kingdom."[143] In the same vein, the 1974 Declaration stated that "Christians are witnesses to truth, always struggling to break any system of deception and manipulation…set people free for God's Messianic Kingdom."[144]

This progressive attachment to *missio Dei* brought about an instant counterattack from the KCCC. One month after the 1974 Manifesto, Myunghyuk Kim published an

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[142] Soo-il Chai, "1970년대 진보교회 사회참여의 신학적 기반 [The Theological Foundation for the Social Engagement of the Progressive Christians in the 1970s]," *Korean Christianity and History* 18:2 (2003): 9-35. In this paper, Chai demonstrates that the ecumenical *missio Dei* theology served as the theological reference of the 70s' progressive social and political activity and *minjung* theology was the very Korean *missio Dei* theology.

[143] "Theological Declaration by Christian Ministers in the Republic of Korea, 1973," *Asian Voices in Christian Theology*, ed. Gerald Anderson (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1976), 241.

[144] Wi Jo Kang, *Christ and Caesar in Modern Korea*, 101. This Declaration became a turning point in the Korean ecumenical movement against the *Yusin* regime. That is, "starting in 1974, 민주회복국민회의 [the Democratic Recovery People's Committee] composed of Christian pastors, professors, and political activists, became a center of anti-autocracy and 재야 (dissent: literally, 'out in the fields' in Korean) movements, forming 민주주의국민연합 [Democratic People's Coalition] in 1978 and a People's Coalition for Democracy and National Unification in 1979." Joshua Young-gi Hong, "Evangelicals and the Democratization of South Korea," *Evangelical Christianity and Democracy in Asia*, ed. David Halloran Lumsdaine (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press), 189.

article, "하나님의 선교와 복음주의 선교 [*Missio Dei* and Evangelical Mission]," for the purpose of passing judgment on the ecumenical *missio Dei* concept.[145] A conservative theologian from the anti-WCC PCK-Hapdong,[146] Kim was an ardent proponent of the Reformed Missiological Tradition. In continuity with the threefold mission by Gisbertus Voetius and Johannes Bavinck, he claimed that mission is all about converting non-Christians, planting churches, and glorifying God.[147] Upon this premise, Kim criticized the KPCC's attachment to *missio Dei* in that "its aim lies in constructing thisworldly shalom socio-politically at the expense of winning souls to Christ for eternal salvation."[148] To him (and other conservatives), *missio Dei* was an anti-evangelical mission theology stimulating the church's radical social activism, and emasculating the church's evangelistic involvement in the lost world.

Furthermore, the KCCC took the initiative in founding the anti-ecumenical Asian Missions Association (AMS) and hosted its inaugural meeting at Yoido Full Gospel Church (YFGC) from August 27 to September 1, 1975. Under the influence of the 1974

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[145] Myunghyuk Kim, "하나님의 선교와 복음주의 선교 [*Missio Dei* and Evangelical Mission]," *Theology Compass* (December 1974): 61-66. *Theology Compass* was the first conservative theological journal in Korea launched in 1918 as a periodical of Pyungyang Theological Seminary.

[146] PCK-Hapdong is an anti-ecumenical Presbyterian denomination that came into being as a result of the PCK's split in 1969.

[147] According to Voetius, "the first goal of mission is the conversion of the heathen; the second, the planting of churches; and the highest, the glory of God." Johannes Verkuyl, *Contemporary Missiology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), 21. To Voetius' threefold missional goals, Bavinck added the eschatological dimension, integrating them into the coming Kingdom of God. In Bavinck's view, thus, "missions is…an activity of Christ, exercised through the Church…in this interim period…so that they (i.e. non-Christians) may be…incorporated into the fellowship of those who await the coming of the Kingdom." Johan H. Bavinck, *Introduction to Science to Mission* (Philadelphia, PA: Presbyterian and Reformed Pub. Co., 1960), 62.

[148] Myunghyuk Kim, "하나님의 선교와 복음주의 선교 [*Missio Dei* and Evangelical Mission]," 61.

Berlin Declaration,[149] its participants publicized the Seoul Declaration on Christian

Mission that would be the *de facto* missiological norm of conservative Korean

Christianity.[150] Lashing out at the ecumenical *missio Dei* concept and its ramification,

Bangkok 1973's anthropocentric soteriology, as the total deviation and "destruction of

the historic Christian message," the 1975 Seoul Declaration insisted that "we have to turn

back from 'Mission through people's organizations,' or liberation movements to 'Mission

through Christ's ministry…from socio-foundation…to biblical foundation." [151] This

conference aroused the conservative antipathy to the *missio Dei* theology, which

translated into the conservative hostility even against the term, *missio Dei*, itself as the

KPCC's utilization of *missio Dei* into *minjung* theology was accelerating from the mid-

1970s.

In the growing tension over *missio Dei* within the Korean church,[152] the Korea

Theological Study Institute (KTSI) hosted a symposium on July 12, 1976, under the

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[149] Peter Beyterhaus, the chief architect of the Berlin Declaration in 1974, was the behind-the-scenes mastermind of the Seoul Declaration on Christian Mission in 1975. Myunghyuck Kim published a report after the meeting, "서울선언의 의의와 현대 에큐메니칼 선교신학의 동향 [The Significance of Seoul Declaration and the Trend of the Contemporary Ecumenical Mission Theology]," in which Peter Beyerhaus was quoted to say: "Seoul Declaration is a vivid testimony of how the gospel has been distorted (by the ecumenical camp)…It is an Asian Christian voice longing for Asian evangelization…I am confident that God will bless the Asian Missions Association." Myunghyuck Kim, "서울선언의 의의와 현대 에큐메니칼 선교신학의 동향 [The Significance of *Seoul* Declaration and the Trend of the Contemporary Ecumenical Mission Theology]," *Theology Compass* 42:4 (Winter 1975): 73-74.

[150] "Asians from the Republic of China, Hong Kong, Philippines, Indonesia, Brunei, Singapore, Thailand, Bangladesh, India and Pakistan joined with Korean leaders to issue 'The *Seoul* Declaration on Christian Mission' on August 31, 1975." Martin L. Nelson, *The How and Why of Third World Missions: An Asian Case Study* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1976), 10.

[151] The Seoul Declaration in 1975 is available and downloadable at http://asiamissions.net/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/AMA-1975-Seoul-Declaration.pdf. Accessed on January 9, 2012.

[152] Under the auspice of the military regime, the conservative-led Korea Religious Matters Institute (KRMI) disseminated the anti-ecumenical, anti-*missio Dei,* and anti-*minjung* theology ethos through a booklet, 한국기독교와 공산주의 *[Korean Christianity and Communism]*, in 1976, identifying the KPCC with pro-communist radicals. Soo-il Chai, "1970년대 진보교회 사회참여의 신학적 기반

theme of '하나님의 선교 이후의 선교신학의 동향 [The Trend of Mission Theology after the Emergence of *Missio Dei*]' that would be the first and last public discourse on the subject between conservatives and progressives. Contrary to its intention of bridging the missiological gap,[153] the symposium, with ten leading theologians as its invitees,[154] turned out only to verify and fortify their conflicting perspectives and paradigms. As a progressive representative, Ilsub Shim presented "하나님의 선교신학과 교회문제 [The *Missio Dei* Theology and the Korean Church's Issues],"[155] in which the PCK-Gijang scholar argued for the Hoekendikian *missio Dei* in light of its relevance to the Korean context as well as its authenticity to the Jesus Manifesto (Luke 4:18-19).[156] In response, Myunghyuk Kim, a conservative counterpart, presented "하나님의 선교 이후의 선교신학의 동향 [The Recent Trend of Mission Theology after the Missio Dei]," in which the PCK-Hapdong scholar argued against the ecumenical *missio Dei* theology in light of its liberationist radicalism as well as its detachment from *Heilsgeschichte*.[157]

[The Theological Foundation for the Social Engagement of the Progressive Christians in the 1970s]," 32-33.

[153] Founded in 1973 by Byungmoo Ahn, a *minjung* theologian from the PCK-Gijang, the Korea Theological Study Institute (KTSI) has been in the forefront of introducing the ecumenical thoughts to the Korean society and church through its regular seminars and its quarterly journal, *Theology Thought*.

[154] Six invitees from the progressive side were Ilsub Shim, Jungjoon Kim, Yonggil Maeng, Geunwon Park, Sunwhan Byun, Dongshik Ryu. Four invitees from the conservative side were Myunghyuk Kim, Soonil Kim, Bongho Son, Cheolha Han.

[155] Ilsub Shim, "하나님의 선교신학과 교회문제 [The *Missio Dei* Theology and the Korean Church's Issues]," *Theology Thought* 14 (1976): 524-539.

[156] "The Spirit of the Lord is on me, because he has anointed me to proclaim good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim freedom for the prisoners and recovery of sight for the blind, to set the oppressed free, to proclaim the year of the Lord's favor" (Luke 4:18~19).

[157] Myunghyuk Kim, "하나님의 선교 이후의 선교신학의 동향 [The Recent Trend of Mission Theology after the *Missio Dei*]," *Theology Thought* 14 (1976): 539-544.

The greatest problem at the symposium was the erroneous assumption that *missio Dei* was created at the Willingen meeting of the IMC in 1952 at the initiative of Johannes Hoekendijk.[158] That is, both Shim and Kim took the Hoekendijkian *missio Dei* as the original *missio Dei* with no correct understanding of its Barthian–Hartensteinian genesis, let alone the balanced and holistic interpretation of *missio Dei* by such scholars as Georg Vicedom. This assumption's fallacy produced a foregone conclusion: the progressive affirmation of *missio Dei*, and the conservative negation of the term itself. The KPCC, thereafter, monopolized *missio Dei* to develop its *minjung* theological movement. This symbiotic nexus of *minjung* theology and *missio Dei* rendered the latter term practically a missiological stumbling block to conservative Christians, just as the former term became a theological stumbling block to them. As a result, *missio Dei* has become practically the demarcation line separating conservatives (KCCC) and progressives (KPCC) in the Korean church.

3.3.2 The Ongoing Missiological Polarity

As Park's military junta (1961–1979) was followed by another military dictatorial government led by Doowhan Jeon (1980–1987),[159] the progressive anti-establishment movement continued into the 1980s with emergent *minjung* theology as its conceptual backing. *Minjung* theology, which had been inaugurated by Namdong Suh and

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[158] Hyungkeun Choi, "하나님의 선교에 대한 통전적 고찰 [A Holistic Consideration of *Missio Dei*]," 47.

[159] Park was assassinated on October 26, 1979 by his security chief, Jaekyu Kim, who bored Park malice after losing his favor. In the post-assassination chaos, lieutenant general Doowhan Jeon seized power in a coup d'état on December 12, 1979.

Byungmoo Ahn in the mid-1970s,[160] was recognized as the *de facto* official ideology of

the KPCC on October, 1979 at the first consultation of the NCCK's Committee of

Theological Studies. The progressive affirmation of and commitment to the *minjung*

theological movement were expressed undeniably in the Declaration of Korean

Theologians, an outcome of International Conference of Theologians held in the

centennial remembrance of Korean Christianity during October 10–13, 1984.[161] In

continuity with the 1973 and 1974 declarations as well as in solidarity with Third World

liberation theologians,[162] the 1984 Manifesto announced: "We shall speak against and

actively reject any political ideology that…oppresses the *minjung* of Korea."[163] This

minjung theological spirit spurred the KPCC toward aggressive participation in the

Democratization Movement, which reached its peak at the June 1987 Civil Uprising,[164]

and which ushered in the democratic process of presidential selection and election.[165]

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[160] John Parratt, ed., *An Introduction to Third Word Theologies*, 96.

[161] The conference was co-hosted by the progressive-led Korea Association of Christian Studies (KACS: 1973-present) and Korean Association of Accredited Theological Schools (KAATS: 1965-present). The conservative counterparts of KACS and KAATS are the Korea Evangelical Theological Society (KETS:1983-present) and the Association of Evangelical Theological Schools in Korea (AETSK: 1996-present), respectively.

[162] As a representative of Third World liberation theologians, Jose Miguez Bonino was present at the conference in 1984. His book, *Doing Theology in a Revolutionary Situation* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975), was instrumental in the formation of *minjung* theology in Korea.

[163] "Declaration of Korean Theologians," *East Asian Journal of Theology* 3:2 (October 1985): 290-92. The Manifesto continued: "We reject a social structure that denies the dignity of individual human beings and manipulates and exploits economically to the point of reducing human beings into material beings and dehumanized humans".

[164] In this nation-wide uprising, *minjung*-centered progressive groups, Christian and non-Christian, played a leading role. Its success, though, "owed much to the participation of a large number of citizens, including white-collar workers, small business owners, poor urban residents, and industrial workers." Charles K. Armstrong., ed., *Korean Society: Civil Society, Democracy and the Sate* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2002), 78.

[165] The first democratic transition resulted in the conservative-oriented Taewoo Noh government (1988~1992), which showed how the Korean society at large had been conservatized during the previous

The progressive formulation of *minjung* theology and active social action fostered

the conservative resistance. In 1983, the Korean Evangelical Theologian Society (KETS)

was organized in opposition to the progressive-led Korea Association of Christian

Studies (KACS), and its inaugural journal, 성경과 신학 *[The Bible and Theology],*

devoted wholly to deprecating *minjung* theology, claiming that it is "not so much a

theological construct as a sociological one."[166] Besides, Myunghyuck Kim, the chief

architect of the Korean Evangelical Theological Society, denounced the root of *minjung*

theology, *missio Dei*, in his 1987 publication, 현대교회의 동향 *[The Current of*

Contemporary Church], concluding that it is unbiblically a humanistic notion.[167] In this

anti-*missio Dei* and anti-*minjung* theology ethos, conservative churches concentrated on

Korean evangelization, collectively, and church growth, separately, in the same way they

did in the 1970s. Not only did they make concerted efforts to evangelize the whole

country through the World Evangelization Crusade in 1980,[168] the International Prayer

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military regimes. It was not until 1998 when the first progressive-oriented government was established (i.e. the Daejoong Kim government).

   [166] Myunghyuck Kim, "신학운동이 아닌 사회운동 [Not Theological Movement but Social Movement]," *The Bible and Theology* 1 (1983): 260. The conservative critique on *minjung* theology is threefold on the whole: 1) syncretistic methodology putting the context above the text; 2) dualistic worldview polarizing *minjung* and anti-*minjung*; and 3) a-Christology dethroning the Savior in salvation history (i.e. *minjung* theology as *minjung*-ology without God). Cf. Yongwha Na, "A Theological Assessment of Korean *Minjung* Theology," *Concordia Journal* 14 (April 1988):138-149; Seyoon Kim, "Is *Minjung* Theology a Christian Theology?" *Calvin Theological Journal* 22 (1987): 251-274; and Yangrae Son, "A Hermeneutical Critique of *Minjung* Theology," Christian Conference of Asian Commission on Theological Concerns, *CTC Bulletin* 15:1. Papers and Presentations from the Congress of Asian Theologians (June 1998): 87-98.

   [167] Myunghyuck Kim, 현대교회의 동향 *[The Current Trend of Contemporary Church]* (Seoul: Sungkwang Press, 1987).

   [168] This CCC-sponsored three-day crusade (August 10–12) "drew more than 2 million people," among whom 1 million people made first-time 'decisions' for Christ, and 1 million pledged a commitment to some sort of involvement in world missions." John G. Turner, *Bill Bright & Campus Crusade for Christ: The Renewal of Evangelicalism in Postwar America* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 291.

Assembly for World Evangelization in 1984/85,[169] and the National Evangelization

Crusade in 1988,[170] they were also enthusiastically hunting for church growth secrets and

principles in the hope of becoming another Yoido Full Gospel Church.[171]

In post-democratic Korea (1988–present), the progressive–conservative polarity

has not decreased in the least degree. Rather, the societal polarity has solidified and

intensified in alternate changes of conservative and progressive regimes,[172] just as has

the ecclesial polarity. Following the advent of political democracy, the KPCC has

shifted its *missio Dei* focus from democratization and humanization to unification and

creation[173] under the influence of the ecumenical JPIC.[174] On February 29, 1988, the

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[169] This event was the LCWE's first International Prayer Assembly for World Evangelization held in June under the theme of "Seeking God's Face for a Movement of Prayer for the World" with "3,200 participants from 69 nations." David B. Barrett et al, eds., *World Christian Trends, AD 30–AD 2200: Interpreting the Annual Christian Megacensus* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2001), 818.

[170] Held from August 15 to 18 with "a total attendance of 1.5 million," this massive outreach was full of "the jingoistic notion…that the Korean church had now taken over the mantle of leadership of the evangelization-of-the-world movement." Timothy S. Lee, *Born Again: Evangelicalism in Korea* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2010), 110-111.

[171] Founded by David Yonggi Cho and his mother-in-law in 1958, the Yoido Full Gospel Church grew into the world's biggest church with about 700,000 members. Cho, who retired in 2008, was a champion of the Church Growth Movement in the KCCC. He instituted the Church Growth International in 1976 to disseminate his church-growth know-how at home and abroad. For an in-depth study on his life and ministry, see Sung-Hoon Myung and Young-Gi Hong, *Charis and Charisma: David Yonggi Cho and the Growth of Yoido Full Gospel Church* (Oxford, UK: Regnum, 2003).

[172] The Taewoo Noh government (1988–1993) and subsequent Youngsam Kim government (1993–1998) were conservative regimes. The Daejoong Kim government (1998–2003) and subsequent Moohyun Noh government (2003–2008) were progressive regimes. The current Myungpark Lee government (2008–present) is a conservative regime.

[173] Sebastian Kim, thus, calls the 1990s–present Korean Christianity 'Unification Christianity,' in his "The Word and the Spirit: Overcoming Poverty, Injustice, and Division in Korea." These days, the NCCK-led KPCC prefers to use Life Mission as a comprehensive term including its missions toward humanization, democratization, unification, and creation. The starting point was traced back to the year 1996 when the PCK-Gijang changed its *Minjung* Church Movement Association into Life Mission Network. The PCK-Gijang's twenty-fourth General Assembly (January 2009) issued 'the Life Mission Network Declaration (LMND)' in the continuity with *minjung* theological tradition but with renewed emphasis on environmental, neo-capitalistic, and unification issues. The LMND is available at http://www.dangdangnews.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=8762#. Accessed on January 9, 2012.

NCCK issued 'A Declaration of Korean Churches on National Reunification and Peace' at the thirty-seventh General Assembly,[175] encouraging all Christians to unite in participation in "God's mission…God's liberative works active in Korean history…by actualizing peace and reunification in the Korean peninsula."[176] As a follow up, in November of the same year, the NCCK sent eleven delegates to Switzerland for a WCC/CCA-sponsored conference with seven delegates from North Korea's Chosun Christian Federation (CCF). This conference produced the 'Glion Declaration on Peace and the Reunification of Korea.'[177] Under the WCC's auspice, the NCCK staged the Jubilee Movement, hosting a World Conference on Jubilee and releasing the Jubilee Manifesto on Peace and Reunification during August 9–16, 1995.[178] In addition to its

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[174] In 1990, the NCCK hosted the Seoul Convocation on the WCC's JPIC, which "placed ecological issues in the WCC on a par with the already-established peace and justice emphases." Tarjei Rønnow, *Saving Nature: Religion As Environmentalism, Environmentalism As Religion* (Berlin, Germany: Lit Verlag, 2011), 29.

[175] Kwangsun Suh, *한국 기독교 정치신학의 전개 [The Development of Korean Christian Political Theology]* (Seoul: Ewha University Press, 1996), 158.

[176] This so-called 88' Declaration is available at http://www.hanshin.ac.kr:8080/~yunej/bbs/zboard.php?id=yunefile&page=3&sn1=&divpage=1&category=5&sn=off&ss=on&sc=on&select_arrange=headnum&desc=asc&no=141. Accessed on January 9, 2012.

[177] The ecumenical movement made a significant contribution to the reconciliation of South and North Korean churches in the following ways: "First, there was a preparatory stage for the encounter of the South and North Korean churches in Vienna (Nov. 1980). Second, the western churches developed contacts with the churches in South and North in the years 1981–1986. Third, the WCC played an important mediating role in the meeting of the Korean churches in the South and North. Thus, the 'Consultation on Peace and Justice in Northeast Asia,' held under the supervision of the WCC in Tozanso, Japan in 1984, provided the developed direction of the movement for peaceful reunification of the Korean churches. Under these circumstances the South and the North Korean churches met for the first time in 1986 in Glion, Switzerland. Throughout the second (1988) and the third consultation (1990), the North and South Korean churches could shape the concrete common aims for reconciliation and peace, while setting 1995 as a 'Year of Jubilee for Peace and Reunification."   In-Sub Ahn, "The Presbyterian Churches of (South) Korea and the Reunification Issues–A Matter of Reconciliation," *Reshaping Protestantism in a Global Context*, ed. Volker Küster (Munster, Germany: Lit Verlag, 2009), 90-91.

[178] The year 1995 marked the fiftieth anniversary of Korea's liberation from Imperial Japan. One year after this Jubilee Conference, 'The Ecumenical Forum for Peace, Reunification and Development Co-operation on the Korean Peninsula (EFK)' was launched by the NCCK and the CCF under the auspices of the CCA and the WCC.

commitment to unification, the NCCK engaged in the pro-life movement inclusive of ecological salvation in such ways as holding the Seoul Convocation on the WCC's JPIC in 1990 and launching 한국교회 환경선교 협의회 [The Council of Korean Churches on Environmental Mission (CKCE)] in 1996.[179]

The NCCK's new missional direction toward unification in alliance with North Korea's CCF infuriated the communism-phobic conservative churches,[180] ultimately leading to the organization of the Christian Council of Korea (CCK) on December, 1989 that would be the largest inter-denominational association in Korean history.[181] With the CCK as the central force, the KCCC leveled criticism at the NCCK for its radical inter-Korean missions aiming at unification "via national solidarity beyond ideologies and religions."[182] Aside from this negative reaction, the KCCC began to take such aggressive

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[179] In the same year, 기독교 환경운동연대 [The Christian Alliance of the Green Movement (CAGM)] was established by the KPCC. Since then, the CKCE and the CAGM has been leading the Korean Green Movement in league with secular and non-Christian environmental groups. Currently, they are staging a fierce campaign against the construction of a naval base in the Jeju Island by the current conservative Lee government. The KCCC, which supports Lee, is silent about such environmental issue and critical about such radical campaign by the KPCC.

[180] On March 24, 1988, the KCCC issued its counterattack declaration in the name of 한국 개신교 교단 협의회 [The Korean Protestant Denominational Association], disproving the NCCK's representativeness of the Korean church. The NCCK Declaration on Unification in 1988 was so controversial even in the KPCC that the NCCK's two largest members, PCK-Tonghap and KMC-Gigam, suspended its approval. Wongi Park, 기독교 사회 윤리: 이론과 실재 [*Christian Social Ethics: Theory and Praxis*] (Seoul: Ewha University Press, 2005), 88-89.

[181] Such was the anti-communism of the Korean church that the NCCK's leading member, PCK-Tonghap, seceded from the NCCK and joined the CCK after the NCCK's pro-North Korean move. Incheol Kang, "한국개신교 반공주의의 형성과 재생산 [The Formation and Reproduction of Korean Protestant Anti-Communism]," *History Critique* 70 (2005): 58.

[182] This supra-ideological and supra-religious aspect of the NCCK's 88' Unification Declaration cannot be acceptable to the KCCC who wants the unified Korea to be economically capitalistic, politically democratic, and religiously Christian.

measures as sponsoring the Holy Spirit World Explo Crusade in 1992[183] for national

Holy-Spiritization and the Global Consultation on World Evangelization (GCOWE) for

national evangelization in 1995.[184] In the wake of the GCOWE, the conservative

evangelistic approach was more systematically developed through the Holy City

Movement with Calvin's Geneva Theocracy as its ideal model.[185]

In this new third millennium, the Korean church is in continuous missiological

polarity between conservatives and progressives in their paradigmatic clash.[186] The

NCCK-led KPCC has been strengthening, in a radical *missio Dei* paradigm, its prophetic

efforts, releasing the 'Common Prayer for the South–North Peaceful Unification'

together with North Korea's Chosun Christian Federation on July 26, 2010[187] and

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[183] Held from August 15–16 by the Central Association of the World Holy Spirit Movement that had been organized in 1989 by leading Korean revivalists, this event resulted in 500 revival meetings at home and abroad. http://kcm.kr/dic_view.php?nid=39834. Accessed on January 9, 2012.

[184] The Seoul GCOWE sponsored by the A.D. 2000 Movement was held from June 13–25 with 5,000 delegates from 200 nations. David B. Barrett et al, eds., *World Christian Trends, AD 30–AD 2200: Interpreting the Annual Christian Megacensus*, 188. Created in the wake of the 1989 Singapore GCOWE under the motto of "A Church for Every People and the Gospel for Every Person by 2000," the A.D. 2000 Movement was, "in the twentieth century, the most important movement that focused the church's energy on 'completing' the Great Commission." Timothy C. Tennent, *Invitation to World Missions*, 100.

[185] The Holy City Movement has its origin in the 1972 Holy City Crusade by Joongon Kim, one of the KCCC leaders who had founded the Korean CCC in 1958. Starting with the year 1996, the movement began to work in full swing. As of 2010, the movement set up more than 70 branches in Korea's major cities and towns. On this movement, see Jungon Kim, 성시화운동 편람 *[A Handbook of the Holy City Movement]* (Seoul: Soon Press, 2006).

[186]   The Korean church's conservative–progressive polarity is manifested organizationally as follows: 1) Interdenominational association: CCK versus NCCK; 2) Christian schools' association: AETSK (The Association of Evangelical Theological Schools in Korea) versus KACS (The Korea Association of Christian Studies); 3) Theological Studies Association: KETS (The Korea Evangelical Theological Society) versus KACS (The Korea Association of Christian Studies); 3) Missiological Association: KEMS (The Korea Evangelical Missiological Studies) versus KSMS (The Korea Society of Mission Studies).

[187] "조그련•NCCK 2010 남북 공동 기도문 발표 [The NCCK and the CCF Release the Common Prayer for the South−North Peaceful Unification in 2010." *NewNjoy,* July 07, 2010. http://www.newsnjoy.co.kr/news/quickViewArticleView.html?idxno=31802. Accessed on January 9, 2012.

proclaiming the 'Manifesto of the Korean Church on Peace and Unification in the Korean Peninsula' on August 5, 2010.[188] On the other hand, the CCK-led KCCC has been, in a heaven-bound Great Commission paradigm, beefing up its evangelistic endeavors, holding the Global Holy City Movement during October 10–13, 2011.[189] Their differences in missiological paradigms are clearly demonstrated in the most recent General Assembly declarations of the NCCK and the CCK: the former's devotion to *missio Dei* through the JPIC, in general, and inter-Korean unification, in particular;[190] on the other hand, the latter's dedication to the Great Commission through global evangelization, in principle, and the 100,000-missionary-dispatch-by-2030, in strategy.[191]

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[188] "평화통일 한국교회선언, 8월 5일 공식 발표 [The Korean Church's Declaration on Peace Unification to be announce on August 5]." *Ecumenian*, July 29, 2010. http://www.ecumenian.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=7854. Accessed on January 9, 2012.

[189] "2011서산국제성시화대회 열린다 [The International Holy City Crusade to be Held in Seosan in 2011]." *NewsPower,* July 06, 2011. http://www.newspower.co.kr/sub_read.html?uid=17641. Accessed on January 9, 2012.

[190] The NCCK held its fifty-ninth General Assembly on November 15, 2011 under the theme of 'Now Choose Life (Deuteronomy 30:19)!' Its declaration is available at http://www.christiantoday.co.kr/view.htm?id=242411. Accessed on January 9, 2012.

[191] The CCK held its twenty-first General Assembly on January 28, 2010 under the conservative theme of 'Seek Transformation Different from Secularization.' Its declaration is available at http://www.usaamen.net/news/board.php?board=korea&page=10&command=body&no=1521. Accessed on January 9, 2012. The CCK's 2011 General Assembly (January 20) was suspended because of its internal leadership strife colluded with election bribery.

CHAPTER 4

CONTEXTUALIZATION AS ESSENTIALITY OF *MISSIO DEI*

This chapter explores the concept of contextualization in its relation to *missio Dei*. According to the 1972 TEF Report that first introduced the term, contextualization, to the wider church, "contextualization is not merely a fad or a catch-word but a theological necessity demanded by the incarnational nature of the Word."[1] The Scriptural God is a living missionary God[2] whose deity is revealed as "the *missio*" in His Creation.[3] In *missio Dei* (i.e. the sending of God or God's mission), human contexts are taken seriously such that God Himself becomes the object of His *missio* as *incarnatio Dei* (i.e. the incarnation of God in the Christ event). Upon this major premise, we will first look at the gospel–culture dynamics in Christianity operative under the pilgrim and indigenous principle. Next, we will trace the historical developments of the contextualization paradigm in the Korean and wider churches. Lastly, we will examine the meaning, models, and methods of theological contextualization.

In the scheme of the whole dissertation, the present chapter serves as a bridge between the previous two chapters on *missio Dei* and the next chapter on its theological contextualization. Not only will contextualization be explored in general as an essential aspect in *missio Dei*, but also as a specific theological imperative in *missiones ecclesiae*.

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[1] TEF, *Ministry in Context*, 19.

[2] John Stott, "The Living God is a Missionary God," *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement: A. Reader*, fourth edition, eds. Ralph D**.** Winter and Steven C. Hawthorne (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2009), 3-9.

[3] Georg Vicedom states that "the *missio* is…a testimony to His deity…an expression of His presence at work in judgment and grace" in his *The Mission of God: An Introduction to a Theology of Mission*, 10.

The latter part of this chapter will tackle the issue of theological contextualization in

principle and practice, upon whose basis the integrative conceptual framework for the

task at hand (i.e. the theological contextualization of *missio Dei*) will be presented in the

following fifth chapter. In addition, the current chapter will challenge the Korean

church's lack of the 'authentic' contextualization mentality. Overall, the heaven-bound

Great-Commission-centered KCCC holds fast to the non-contextualization mindset,[4]

while the radical *missio-Dei*-centered KPCC remains steadfast in the over-

contextualization mindset.[5] This chapter's biblical, historical, theological, and

missiological researches will inform these two camps of "authentic

contextualization…arising always out of a genuine encounter between God's Word and

His World."[6]

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[4] According to Gookwon Bae, the 1960s Indigenization Debate of the Korean church was the "zero-sum" confrontation triggering two antithetical attitudes on indigenization or contextualization. He explains: "To some (i.e. the overall KCCC), even the term, indigenization, becomes a reminder of the compromising distortion of the biblical gospel…Contrastingly, to others (i.e. the overall KPCC), indigenization means the absolute good (*sumecum bonum*) to be pursued at any cost." Gookwon Bae, "성의 신학, 한의 신학, 상생 신학의 비판적 검토 [A Critical Examination of *Sung* Theology, *Han* Theology, *Sangsaeng* Theology]," *Ministry and Theology* 37 (July 1992): 59-60. This anti-contextualization-ism of the KCCC can be understood in its historical continuity with the early foreign "missionaries' attitude toward Korea's traditional religions (that) was one of triumphalism, seeking to supplant—or at best co-opt—native Korean religions." Timothy S. Lee, *Born Again: Evangelicalism in Korea*, 121. Ironically, however, shamanistic, Buddhist and Confucian elements are predominant in the Korean church with no exception of the KCCC, as articulated by such scholars as Jung Young Lee in "Christian Syncretism with Other Religions in Korea," *Essays on Korean Heritage and Christianity*, ed. Sang Hyun Lee (Princeton Junction, NJ: Association of Korean Christian Scholars in North America, 1984). In this sense, it can be said that the KCCC opposes the concept of contextualization or indigenization without recognizing their subconscious incorporation of contextualized practices into their ministry. The non-contextualization mindset of the KCCC, thus, refers to the lack of its self-theological consciousness and systematic efforts.

[5] According to Younghan Kim from the KCCC, the indigenization efforts of the KPCC that reached its peak in the 1960s and 1970s resulted in "syncretism (in the case of Sungbeom Yoon), eclecticism (in the case of Sunwhan Byun and Dongshik Yoon), hybridism (in the case of Kwangshik Kim and Kyungjae Kim), etc." Younghan Kim "한국사회와 기독교문화 [The Korean Society and Christian Culture]," *한국 기독교와 기독 지성인 [Korean Christianity and Christian Intellectuals]*, ed. Younghan Kim (Seoul: Poongman Press, 1989), 121.

[6] TEF, *Ministry in Context*, 20.

4.1 Christianity in the Indigenous and Pilgrim Principle

Christianity is the missionary religion *par excellence*.[7] The Christian God is a

social God within and without,[8] which renders Christianity essentially "a social religion

[that] must be a missionary religion."[9] As a "mobile faith,"[10] Christianity has been

developed via the dynamic interaction between gospel and culture, in the well-known and

well-quoted words of Andrew Walls, via 'the pilgrim and indigenous principle.'[11] In the

pilgrim or universalizing principle, the gospel is to challenge and confront human

cultures. In the indigenous or localizing principle, the gospel is to be embedded and

incarnated in cultural elements. To put it another way, the indigenous principle induces

the gospel into contextualization in cultural respectfulness, while the pilgrim principle

activates the culture into gospel-ization in biblical faithfulness. This conforming and

transforming paradox of the gospel–culture encounter is, according to Walls, the

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[7] Of course, there are some other missionary religions (i.e. Islam, Buddhism). As Charles Ellwood mentions, relational sociality is the essence of a missionary religion. Since Christianity believes in the Triune God who is fundamentally social, it can be said that 'Christianity is the missionary religion *par excellence*.' As for Ellwood's sociological study on religion, see his *The Reconstruction of Religion: A Sociological View* (New York, NY: The Macmillan Company, 1922).

[8] The internal sociality of God is commonly called 'Trinitarian *perichoresis*,' while the external sociality of God might be called '*missio Dei* or *missio Trinitas*.' As for their intimate nexus, refer to 5.2.1. Mission as the Overflowing and Outpouring of God's Inner Life, Agape, of chapter 5.

[9] Charles Abram Ellwood, *The Reconstruction of Religion: A Sociological View*, 186. A logical corollary of this is that the Christian Scripture is a missionary document and the Christian Church is a missionary community, which is not only the firmly-established theory in missiological scholarship but also the widely-accepted opinion in theological scholarship (i.e. Andreas J. Köstenberger and Peter T. O'Brien's *Salvation to the Ends of the Earth: A Biblical Theology of Mission*).

[10] This term was borrowed from Jehu Hanciles' *Beyond Christendom: Globalization, African Migration and the Transformation of the West* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2008), Part III–Mobile Faiths.

[11] Andrew Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History*, chapter 1: "The Gospel as Prisoner and Liberator of Culture." According to Paul Pierson, the indigenous principle is commensurate with McGavran's "homogeneous unit principle," and the pilgrim principle with "Lovelace's concept of dis-enculturation." Paul Everett Pierson, *The Dynamics of Christian Mission: History Through a Missiological Perspective* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2009), 289.

"Ephesians moment"[12] and driving force for the Christian faith's glocalization in unity-in-diversity from the first-century mono-cultural Jewish Christianity to contemporary poly-cultural world Christianity.

This first section is an in-depth study on gospel and culture, two vital requisites of the pilgrim and indigenous principle. Structurally, we will streamline the section into three: 1) gospel and culture: basic assumptions; 2) gospel and culture: manifold relations; and 3) gospel and culture: cross-cultural communication. The first part will concentrate on the terminological connotations of gospel and culture for the purpose of presenting their definitional and interrelated assumptions. The second part will look into the correlational dimensions of gospel and culture with a view to disclosing their manifold relations. The last part will deal with the communicational implications of gospel and culture with the intention of addressing the paradigmatic shift in the gospel–culture theology fostering and promoting the contextualization mindset in the Christian world.

4.1.1 Gospel and Culture: Basic Assumptions

In our discourse on gospel and culture, there are four basic assumptions that are not mutually exclusive but mutually integrative. The first assumption is that <u>each of them (i.e. gospel and culture) has its ultimate origin and source in God.</u> In the unfolding *theo*-drama of history (i.e. His Story or God's Story), the culture is birthed out of *missio Dei generalis* (God's mission in creation), while the gospel is born out of *missio Dei*

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[12] Walls calls this glocalizing (i.e. globalizing + localizing) aspect the "Ephesians Moment" (Ephesians 2:14) in which diverse cultures are incorporated into One Body in Christ with their God-given identity unmarred. Christianity is, thus, a religion of not so much uniformity as unity-in-diversity. Andrew Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission and Appropriation of Faith* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2002), chapter four.

specialis (God's mission in Christ).[13] As the outcomes of *missio Dei*, they reflect God's

paradoxical nature of transcendence and immanence[14] with both divine and human

elements intertwined. Hence, the gospel takes on both supra-cultural (divine) and via-

cultural (human) aspects, while the culture takes on the ethical dimension of creation-

oriented goodness and Fall-affected corruptness.[15]

The above characteristic leads to the second assumption: <u>both gospel and culture</u>

<u>constitute the vital entity involving and influencing human totality</u>. With the supra-

cultural and via-cultural characteristic, the gospel exhibits itself decisively as theocentric

translatability,[16] so that it is revealed, related, relayed, and relevant to concrete life

situations. As Lesslie Newbigin remarks, "there can never be a culture-free

gospel…[which]…calls into question all cultures, including the one in which it was

originally embodied."[17] That is because the gospel is "truth…public truth…that ought to

govern all our lives, public or private."[18] This comprehensively vital attribute and

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[13] As for *missio Dei generalis* and *specialis*, refer to 2.1.3 Georg Vicedom of chapter 2.

[14] "If God were transcendent only, there would be no way for God to communicate with us. If God were immanent only, God would not be divine. Just as *yin* is inseparable from *yang,* God's immanence is one with God's transcendence." Jung Young Lee, *The Theology of Change* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1976), 49.

[15] The Creation account of Genesis 1 confirms the aboriginal goodness of God's creation. The Fall, though, distorts its goodness and completeness to the extent that "the whole creation has been groaning as in the pains of childbirth right up to the present time" (Romans 8:22).

[16] Lamin Sanneh argues that the gospel message is translatable in human cultures, deriving its justification from God's self-translation, the Incarnation. See further his *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2008).

[17] Leslie Newbigin, *Foolishness to the Greeks: The Gospel and Western Culture* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1986), 4.

[18] Lesslie Newbigin, *Living Hope in a Changing World* (London, UK: Alpha International, 2003), 93. The Apostle Paul describes the gospel as "the **power** of God for the **salvation** of everyone who believes: first for the Jew, then for the Gentile" (Romans 1:16; emphases mine), which supports

function of the gospel is similarly intrinsic to the culture. With the ethical feature, the culture displays itself definitely as anthropocentric fluidity,[19] so that it is "constructed, contested, and contingent, and conveyed" intra-culturally as well as inter-culturally.[20] As Paul Hiebert observes, the culture is, in the process, formulated into the "integrated system" concerned with the whole of human reality, materially, cognitively, affectively, behaviorally, and evaluatively.[21] Total human reality, thus, falls within the orbit of the culture, as it does within the orbit of the gospel.

Newbigin's opinion in that to be saved means to be "a new creation" in Christ (2 Corinthians 5:17) in full recognition of His Lordship in every sphere of life.

[19] Though its ultimate source (actually, everything) is derived from God, the culture is basically anthropocentrically from below, as evidenced not only by its biblical basis, the Cultural Mandate (Genesis 1:26: "Be fruitful and increase in number; fill the earth and subdue it. Rule over the fish in the sea and the birds in the sky and over every living creature that moves on the ground.") but also by its etymological root, *colere*, meaning "to cultivate." On the other hand, the gospel is basically theocentrically from above, as demonstrated not only by its biblical basis, the Evangelistic Mandate (Matthew. 28:18-20: "All authority in heaven and on earth…go and make disciples…baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you…to the very end of the age.") but also by its etymological root, God-spell, namely "God's news."

[20] Michael Rynkiewich states that every culture whose boundary is "fuzzy and porous" is intrinsically "contingent, constructed, and contested" in his "The World in My Parish: Rethinking the Standard Missiological Model," *Missiology* 30:3 (2002): 315. In a similar way, Louis Luzbetak views the culture as "organism." Louis J. Luzbetak, *The Church and Cultures: New Perspectives in Missiological Anthropology*, 292-294. This intra-cultural dynamics, namely the culture's inner organic dynamics, implies that the culture should not be taken as "a monolithic whole," which is frequently committed by such non-holistic thinkers as Richard Niebuhr (i.e. his approach to culture in *Christ and Culture*), and which will be dealt with in the next part.

[21] Paul G. Hiebert, *Cultural Anthropology*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1983), 25. This complex and comprehensive approach to culture is unanimously accepted in anthropological, sociological, and missiological circles: 1) anthropological scholarship: "Culture consists in patterned ways of thinking, feeling and reacting, acquired and transmitted mainly by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values." Clyde Kluckhohn, "The Study of Culture," *The Policy Sciences*, eds. D. Lehner and H.D. Lasswell (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1951), 86; 2) sociological scholarship: "The culture of a group can defined…as a pattern of shared basic assumptions that the group learned as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, that has worked well enough to be considered valid, and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems." Edgar H. Schein, *Organizational Culture and Leadership*, 4th ed. (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 2010), 18; and 3) missiological scholarship: "We may see culture as a society's complex, integrated coping mechanism,

The ensuing third assumption is that <u>gospel and culture compete to function as</u> <u>human plausibility structures</u>. According to Peter Berger, human identity and activity are contingent upon a given plausibility structure, "a collection of people, procedures and mental processes geared to the task of keeping a specific definition of reality going." [22] The plausibility structure offers the *nomos* (order) and meaning in life, without which humanity is disoriented and disintegrated. As afore-assumed, gospel and culture alike are the vital entities involving and influencing the human totality, which signifies that each of them plays a pivotal role in human life as a plausibility structure. A far cry from a *cultus privates* (i.e. a private religion), the gospel is the *veritas publicus* (i.e. the public Truth) necessitating human ultimate loyalty "that replaces all other commitments." [23] Likewise, with the "implicit" worldview level included, [24] the culture demands human ultimate allegiance in control of human fundamental reality. [25]

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consisting of learned, patterned concepts and behavior, plus their underlying perspectives (worldview) and resulting artifacts (material culture)." Charles H. Kraft, *Anthropology for Christian Witness* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1996), 38.

[22] Peter L. Berger, *Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1967), 10.

[23] Since "the authority of Jesus is ultimate," says Newbigin, "the recognition of it involves a commitment that replaces all other commitments." He adds: "The community that confesses Jesus is Lord has been, from the beginning, a movement launched into the public life of mankind….. The Church could have escaped persecution by the Roman Empire if it had been content to be treated as a *cultus privatus*." Lesslie Newbigin, *The Open Secret*, 14-16.

[24] It is Paul Hiebert who informs us of the culture's threefold level: 1) The "sensory" level about phenomenal things; 2) The "explicit" level about belief systems; and 3) The "implicit" level about worldview themes. Paul Hiebert, *Transforming Worldviews: An Anthropological Understanding of How People Change* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2008), 33. Likewise, Edgar Schein puts forth the three-layered-ness of the culture as follows: 1) "Artifacts" about visible elements; 2) "Espoused beliefs and values" about ideational elements; and 3) "Basic underlying assumptions" about worldviews. Edgar H. Schein, *Organizational Culture and Leadership*, 24

[25] As Paul Hiebert states, the worldview-included culture "provides people with their basic assumptions about reality." Paul G. Hiebert, *Cultural Anthropology*, 371.

As such, gospel and culture are the *dunamis* (powerful entity) with divine and human natures encompassing human subsistence and existence. They eventually vie for human plausibility structures, out of which the fourth and last assumption is drawn: the gospel–culture tension is inevitable in the gospel–culture encounter.[26] That is why God's mission operates under the indigenous and pilgrim principle in constant creative tension between gospel and culture. For this reason, human participation in *missio Dei* requires "appropriate contextualization" holding them in "critical balance."[27]

4.1.2 Gospel and Culture: Manifold Relations

As argued above, the gospel–culture encounter entails the gospel–culture tension. It was Richard Niebuhr who called due attention to their inevitable tension and first articulated their multilateral interrelatedness in his book, *Christ and Culture*.[28] In the early and middle twentieth century when his idea on the topic was set forth in his 1951 publication,[29] the Christian world was in an identity crisis. In the wake of two world wars, the Christendom myth was debunked. In the emerging context of secularization and decolonization, Christianity (as the Truth) was suspect. In its place Christian-ism (as one of multiple truths) became popular. The disoriented Christian world saw itself

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[26] In this vein, Garrett DeWeese claims that "the Christian must keep in mind the tensions between Christian claims and competing worldviews currently dominating the culture." Garrett J. DeWeese, *Doing Philosophy as a Christian* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 2011), 19.

[27] Darrell L. Whiteman, "The Function of Appropriate Contextualization in Mission," *Appropriate Christianity*, ed. Charles H. Kraft (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2005), 49-66.

[28] This book is an expanded version of a series of his lectures on "Christ and Culture" at Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary in Texas in 1949.

[29] Much of his theological claims assumed and proposed in *Christ and Culture* were developed and sophisticated through his previous works such as *The Kingdom of God in America* (1937), *The Meaning of Revelation* (1941), and "Types of Christian Ethics" (1942).

fluctuating between Thomas Reid's common sense realism and Immanuel Kant's

transcendental idealism, between Hendrik Kraemer's biblical realism and William

Hocking's modern liberalism,[30] and between Karl Barth's theological realism and Ernest

Troeltsch's cultural relativism.[31] In the via-media approach, Niebuhr tried to reconcile

these binary views into the radical monotheistic framework taking seriously "both the

universality of the one God and the relativity of all historical manifestations of God and

expressions of faith in God."[32]

For Niebuhr, the Christian life is an "enduring problem," since both Christ and

culture are the actual "powers" claiming the life-governing "authority."[33] History shows,

according to him, that the Christian world has responded to this ontological and

existential dilemma in the following five ways: 1) Christ against culture, 2) The Christ of

Culture, 3) Christ above Culture, 4) Christ and Culture in Paradox, and 5) Christ the

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[30] As for the epistemological, theological, missiological polarity between the Reidian-Kraemerian and the Kantian-Hockingian circles, refer to 2.2.3. The Evangelical–Ecumenical Missiological Polarity of chapter 2.

[31] The essence of Karl Bath's theological realism can be summed up as "the revelation of God as the abolition of religion," the sectional title of his *Church Dogmatics*. According to him, God's revelation in Christ is the supreme historical reality rendering a final verdict on all cultural and religious expressions and manifestations. See further Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics 1.2. The Doctrine of God*, trans. Geoffrey Bromiley & Thomas Torrance (New York, NY: T&T Clark, 2004), section 17. In contrast, Ernest Troeltsch made little of the Christian uniqueness and absoluteness in positive appreciation of the synchronic and diachronic plurality of religio-cultural human reality. Refer to Ernest Troeltsch, *The Absoluteness of Christianity and the History of Religions*, trans. David Reid (Louisville, KY: John Knox Press, 1971.)

[32] Peter Hodgson and Robert King, "XIV: The Christian Paradigm: Alternative Visions," *Readings in Christian Theology*, eds. Peter Hodgson and Robert King (Minneapolis, MI: Fortress Press, 1985), 381.

[33] H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (San Francisco, CA: Harper, 2001), chapter 1. This view is similar to the third gospel–culture assumption of the previous part that gospel and culture compete to function as human plausibility structures.

Transformer of Culture.[34] The first and second models are two directly-opposed

extremes: the Christ-ward separation with attachment to an otherworldly Kingdom, and

the culture-ward accommodation with attachment to a this-worldly Kingdom,

respectively. In Niebuhr's estimation, Anabaptists, Mennonites, Christian Brethren,

Pentecostals, fundamentalists, etc were those Christ-against-culture proponents.[35] On the

other hand, Gnostics, Christian rationalists, cultural Protestants, liberal modernists, etc

were those Christ-of-culture defenders.[36]

The remaining three are located in between the two extreme ends in Niebuhr's

Christ–Culture scheme. As the mediating models, they are characteristic of the both-and,

non-zero-sum approach, unlike the first two's either-or, zero-sum one. Firstly, the Christ-

above-Culture type was championed by such early apologists as Justin Martyr and such

medieval theologians as Thomas Aquinas, whose main concern was to synthesize Christ

and culture, eventually to the extent of the Christ-centered fulfillment of culture.[37]

Secondly, the Christ-and-Culture-in-Paradox mode was embraced by such dualists as

Martin Luther pitting Christ against culture in ongoing tension of God's churchly and

worldly economy.[38] Lastly, Niebuhr's preferred model, Christ the Transformer of

Culture, was advocated by such holists as the Puritans, Wesleyans, and neo-Calvinists

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[34] Niebuhr is aware of the typological danger, saying that those five models are "by no means wholly exclusive of each other, and there are possibilities of reconciliation at many points among the various positions." Ibid., 231.

[35] Ibid., chapter 2.

[36] Ibid., chapter 3.

[37] Ibid., chapter 4.

[38] Ibid., chapter 5.

during the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, who aimed at cultural renewal and societal reformation via Christly Word and Christ-like deeds.[39]

Niebuhr's typological scheme is an inspired description of the relational dynamics between Christ/gospel and culture. Reflecting the complexities of Christian faith and life, his taxonomy points to many a correlation intrinsic in the gospel–culture encounter and alludes to the necessity of holistic hermeneutics regarding the gospel–culture relation:[40] the gospel can reject the culture, as in the Christ-against-Culture case; the gospel can validate the culture, as in the Christ-of-Culture case; the gospel can transcend the culture, as in the Christ-above-Culture case; the gospel can fulfill the culture, as in Christ-and-Culture-in-Paradox case; and the gospel can revitalize the culture, as in the Christ-the-Transformer-of-Culture case. Such is the impact of his typology that it is commonly employed as the prototypical frame of reference in contemporary scholarship on gospel and culture (see Figure 4.1). Notably, Charles Kraft adapts the Niebuhrian formula into 1) God-against-Culture, 2) God-above-Culture, 3) God-in-Culture, and 4) God-above-but-through-Culture, with anthropological and missiological emphasis.[41] Recently, Dean Flemming modifies it into 1) the culture-affirming gospel, 2) the culture-relativizing

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[39] Ibid., chapter 6.

[40] Critiquing human tendency to prioritize and idolize one model, D.A. Carson contends: "We should not think of each pattern in Niebuhr's fivefold scheme as warranted by individual documents in the New Testament, such that we have the option to pick and choose which pattern we prefer…Rather, we should be attempting a holistic grasp of the relations between Christ and culture, full aware…that peculiar circumstances may call us to emphasize some elements in one situation, and other elements in another situation." D.A. Carson, *Christ and Culture Revisited* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008), 43. Dean Flemming supports this holistic hermeneutics, as well, in his *Contextualization in the New Testament: Patterns for Theology and Mission* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 2005), chapter 4.

[41] Charles Kraft, *Christianity in Culture: A Study in Dynamic Biblical Theologizing in Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1979), chapter 6.

gospel, 3) the culture-confronting gospel, and 4) the culture-transforming gospel, in the

biblical and theological perspective.[42]

Figure 4.1 The Manifold Relations of Gospel and Culture

Niebuhr	Kraft	Flemming	History	Bible
Christ against Culture	God-against-Culture	Confronting Culture	Radical Reformers	Rom 1:26-27
Christ above Culture	God-above-Culture	Relativizing Culture	Medieval Thomistic Synthesis	Gal 3:28
Christ of Culture	God-in-Culture	Affirming Culture	Modernist liberalism	Rom 1:19-20
Christ and Culture in Paradox[43]	*God-in-but-not-of-Culture	*Sanctioning Culture	Lutheran Two Kingdoms	Rom 13:1
Christ, the Transformer of Culture	God-above-but-through-Culture	Transforming Culture	Calvin's Geneva	Rom 8:19-21

Notwithstanding its lasting contribution to the gospel–culture discourse,

Niebuhr's schematic typology has a fundamental deficiency in its definitional assumption

regarding gospel (Christ) and culture. The first and foremost assumption in any

discussion on gospel and culture is (and should be) that they originate in God's

paradoxical nature of immanence and transcendence, thereby manifesting themselves as

paradoxical composites of divine and human elements.[44] Niebuhr, though, holds the

simplistic and dualistic view of gospel and culture as "a monolithic whole"[45] without

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[42] Dean Flemming, *Contextualization in the New Testament*, chapter 4.

[43] The asterisked terms of Kraft's and Flemming's are my additions.

[44] Refer to 4.1.1 Gospel and Culture: Basic Assumptions of this chapter.

[45] Dean Flemming, *Contextualization in the New Testament*, 126.

fully recognizing their respective inner dynamics as the outcomes of *missio Dei*. His

failure to grasp this reality results in Niebuhr's preference for the fifth model, Christ the

Transformer of Culture, blinding him to the fact that gospel (Christ) and culture are

mutually transformed in their 'authentic' communication. In the words of Lesslie

Newbigin, Niebuhr passes over "the difficult and complicated questions that arise in the

communication of the gospel from one culture to another," [46] thus showing that he still

had a triumphalist Christendom and modern Enlightenment mindset[47] characteristic of the

one-way communication from Christ to culture with little serious consideration of

'Whose understanding of Christ?'[48] In the next and last part of this section, we will deal

with the communicational dynamics between gospel and culture with reference to the

paradigmatic shift from unilateral transmission to reciprocal communication.

4.1.3 Gospel and Culture: Cross-Cultural Communication

The worldwide communication of the gospel is acclaimed and commanded in the

Bible, because it mediates God's salvation for humanity. Mark prescribes the gospel

mandate with global implications: "Go into all the world and preach the gospel to all

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[46] Lesslie Newbigin, *The Open Secret*, 145.

[47] Many scholars, *inter alia* Darrel Guder and Rodney Clapp, find fault with the "Constantinian" or "Christendom" connotation of the Niebuhrian taxonomy. See Darrell L. Guder, ed., *Missional Church: A Vision for the Sending of the Church in North America* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998), 115; Rodney Clapp, *A Peculiar People: The Church as Culture in a Post-Christian Society* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 1996), 64-65. In addition, John Howard Yoda criticizes Niebuhr's favorite model, Christ the Transformer of Culture, in that it implicitly endorses the Enlightenment mentality uplifting Western civilization as " what 'culture' was intended to be," namely the highest cultural achievement. John Howard Yoder, "How H. Richard Niebuhr Reasoned," *Authentic Transformation: A New Vision of Christ and Culture,* eds. John Howard Yoder et al (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1996), 53.

[48] For instance, Choan Seng Song, a Taiwanese theologian, holds that Asians must have a direct encounter with Christ in Asian cultural experiences, avoiding the uncritical embracing of the Western-enculturalized Christ. See C.S. Song, *Third-Eye Theology: Theology in Formation in Asian Settings* (New York, NY: Orbis, 1979). In the same vein, Hitoshi Fukue, a Japanese theologian, asserts the "interpenetration" of Christ and culture in his "Beyond Christ and Culture," *The Mediator* 3:2 (2002): 1-10.

creation." (Mark 16:15). Isaiah praises those committed to the gospel mandate: "How beautiful on the mountains are the feet of those who bring good news, who proclaim peace, who bring good tidings, who proclaim salvation, who say to Zion, 'Your God reigns!'" (Isaiah 52:5). Christian missionary movements have been promoted by such gospel-mandate enthusiasts as the Apostle Paul in the early church, Martin of Tours in the medieval church, and William Carey in the modern church.[49] History testifies, however, that the gospel was not always communicated as it should be.[50] Instead of a culture-sensitive communication, a culture-insensitive communication was prevalent, as vividly demonstrated by the *tabula-rasa*-principled missionary activity in the modern missionary movement.[51] Even those few advocates of "adaptation and accommodation"[52] failed at a culture-sensitive communication because of their existential connection with the Christendom and enlightenment mentality.

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[49] In other words, the Apostle Paul inaugurated the early missionary movement by pioneering Gentile missions; Martin of Tours, the medieval missionary movement by pioneering monastic missions; and William Carey, the modern missionary movement by pioneering voluntary society missions.

[50] The worldwide dimension and direction of the gospel mandate imply that the gospel is to cross cultural boundaries, which means that the normative way of the gospel-culture communication is a culture-sensitive transmission.

[51] *Tabula rasa*, whose literally meaning is 'blank state,' is originally an epistemological term negating the a priori knowledge of human beings. The *tabula- rasa* principle of Christian missions dictates the complete eradication of non-Christian religions before Christian indoctrination. This culture-insensitive activity prevailed in "the historical churches." John Pobee, "Political Theology in the African Context," *African Theological Journal* 11 (1982):169.

[52] For instance, Roberto de Nobili, Matteo Ricci, and Bartholomew de Las Casas made efforts to adapt and accommodate the gospel in India, China, and South America, respectively. Yet, since they lived in the Christendom era, they could not completely divest themselves of its triumphalist and deterministic mentality. As Richard Cote mentions, their practices of "accommodation and adaptation" were far from authentic communication and contextualization, because they tackled merely "external manifestations or visible signs" without delving into "the deepest level of a culture, that dynamic inner 'core' of a culture…'a collective consciousness' of a people." Richard G. Cote, *Re-visioning Mission: the Catholic Church and Culture in Postmodern America* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1996), 41.

The predominant missionary mindset in the Christendom era was dualistic, triumphalistic, and deterministic in its epistemological approaches to gospel and culture. First, the gospel was considered as a "bounded" whole,[53] impeccable and impregnable. The missionary gospel was the normative one to be believed in and depended on, which justified the missionaries' monopolization of Christ.[54] Second, the culture was thought of as a self-contained set in a cultural hierarchy from primitive to civilized.[55] The missionary culture was the highest civilization to be admired and imitated, which rationalized the missionary connivance in cultural colonization. Last but not least, non-Christian religions were regarded as accidental to the culture, disposable and dispensable, which legitimized the missionary enforcement of proselytization.[56] All of which resulted in the ethnocentric communication of the gospel advancing a mono-cultural Christendom,[57] not the multi-cultural Kingdom.

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[53] I borrowed the terms, "bounded" and "centered" from Paul Hiebert who classifies human socio-cultural groupings into the centered, the bounded, and the fuzzy sets in his *Anthropological Reflections on Missiological Issues* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1994).

[54] "The Christian West…defined the gospel…exported it around the world," resultantly to the point of verifying and fortifying "the Western monopoly of the gospel." Shirley C. Guthrie, *Always Being Reformed: Faith for a Fragmented World* (Louisville, KY: John Knox Press, 2008), 62.

[55] This cultural hierarchism even "creates a world hierarchy of language" in which there are sacred languages appropriate for Christian faith and practices (i.e. missionary languages) and profane languages inappropriate for them. William Smalley, "Missionary Language learning in a World Hierarchy of Languages," *Missiology: An International Review* 22:4 (1994): 481-488.

[56] According to Andrew Walls, proselytism includes one's adoption of the missionary culture (as in the case of Judaism), whereas conversion does not entail the divesting of one's cultural identity (as in the case of the early church). See Andrew F. Walls, "Converts or Proselytes? The Crisis over Conversion in the Early Church," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 28 (2004): 2-6.

[57] Because of this mono-culturalism, Christianization was virtually identified with Western cultural civilization.

In the emerging context of decolonization, secularization, and post-modernization,[58] the latter part of the twentieth century saw a radical paradigmatic shift in the gospel–culture communication. The dualistic Christendom mentality was superseded by the holistic post-Christendom mentality whose epistemology was, according to Paul Hiebert, anchored in "critical realism" reconciling the modernistic naïve realism/idealism and the post-modernistic instrumentalism/functionalism.[59] In the critical realistic perspective, both revelation and reason, both positivism and relativism, both objectivity and subjectivity, and both the noumenal and the phenomenal are taken into serious account and held in critical balance, such that in the contemporary theology on gospel and culture,[60] the gospel is considered as centered, the culture as inter-related, and other faiths as culturally essential.

In the first place, critical realism helps us to view the gospel as a centered and vital entity, rather than a bound or fuzzy whole. Since the gospel is both supra-cultural and via-cultural, there should be neither its hegemonic claim by a specific culture nor theological laissez-faire by any culture. In the second place, critical realism helps us to

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[58] The term, postmodernism, began to be used from the late nineteenth mainly in the fields of arts and philosophy as a counter concept of modernism. But it was not until the 1960s when it "began to spread its influence" in full swing in every academic/non-academic field. Darrell L. Whiteman, "Anthropological Reflections on Contextualizing Theology in a Globalizing World," *Globalizing Theology: Belief and Practice in an Era of World Christianity Globalizing Theology*, eds. Craig Ott & Harold Netland (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker), 57.

[59] Naïve realism and idealism indicate the black-and-white mentality maximizing objectivity at the cost of subjectivity and vice versa. Instrumentalism and functionalism point to the truth-in-the-eyes-of-the-beholder mindset deconstructing human meta-reality (i.e. human totality of both subjectivity and objectivity) into a nihilistic and atomistic function. See further Paul Hiebert, *The Missiological Implications of Epistemological Shifts: Affirming Truth in a Modern/ Postmodern World* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1999).

[60] Notably, Lesslie Newbigin represents this view in his *Foolishness to the Greeks: The Gospel and Western Culture*, which is also assumed and implied in Andrew Walls' discussion on the indigenous and pilgrim principles. The first part of this section (4.1.1. Gospel and Culture: Basic Assumptions) reflects this new approach, which is not wholly a contemporary product. Such missionary-scholars as E. Stanley Jones expressed this kind of position as early as in 1925 in his *The Christ of the Indian Road*.

see each culture not as a self-contained set but as a relational organism, vertically with

God and horizontally with each other. Since each culture is ethically formulated with

divine and human elements, there should be neither its whole-sale negation nor its whole-

sale affirmation. In the final place, critical realism helps us to appreciate non-Christian

religions as essential to their cultures[61] rather than accidental to the cultures. Since the

vestiges Dei (i.e. God's traces; Romans 1:28[62]) is interspersed in cultures and therefore

religions, the absolute exclusive attitude toward the cross-cultural communication of the

gospel should be avoided. At the same time, since human fallen-ness pervades cultures

and therefore religions, the indiscriminate relativistic position should be avoided in

communicating the gospel inter-religiously.

Reflective of this paradigmatic shift were, albeit incompletely, Eugene Nida's

"dynamic-equivalent translation" and Charles Kraft's "dynamic-equivalent

transculturation" in the gospel–culture communication studies. First, as early as in the

1960s, Nida drew attention away from the word-for-word formal-equivalent translation

into the thought-for-thought functional-equivalent translation[63] with keen attention to

three areas of cultural dynamics. In the cross-cultural translation of the Bible, three

cultures are active and operative: 1) the biblical culture; 2) the missionary culture; and 3)

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[61] This theory of religion-culture synthesis was widely circulated by Clifford Geertz in anthropological scholarship and Paul Tillich in theological scholarship. Geertz advocated "religion as a cultural system" in his *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 87-125. Similarly, Tillich argued that "religion is the essence of culture, and culture is the form of religion" in his *Theology of Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), 42.

[62] Romans 1:20a: "For since the creation of the world God's invisible qualities—his eternal power and divine nature—have been clearly seen, being understood from what has been made…"

[63] In his latter days, Nida preferred the term, functional equivalence, instead of dynamic equivalence, as shown in the title of his co-authored book with Jan De Waard, *From One Language to Another: Functional Equivalence in Bible Translating* (Nashville, TN: Nelson, 1986).

the receptor culture.[64] According to Nida, this cultural nexus requires the code-

converting process of decoding and encoding for the effective translation.[65] He explains:

"In this model, a message in language A is decoded by the receptor into a different form

of language A. It is then transformed by a 'transfer mechanism' into language B, and the

translator then becomes a source for the encoding of the message into language B."[66]

Nida's seminal work was further developed by Charles Kraft in a more

theological fashion. With critical realism as the epistemological frame of reference,[67]

Kraft modified Nida's dynamic-equivalent translation into "dynamic-equivalent

transculturation" aiming to "represent the meanings" not only authentic to the source text

and but also relevant to the receptor context.[68] According to him, dynamic-equivalent

transculturation is maximally achieved when the gospel-communicators 1) take the

receptor-oriented approach,[69] 2) allow for hermeneutical flexibility of receptors,[70] 3)

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[64] Bruce Nicholls adopted Nida's triadic cultural perspective into the contextualization studies: "The contextualization of the gospel is the task of cross-cultural communication. It has three centers or foci: the encultured gospel of the Bible, the messenger or communicator who belongs to another culture, and the receiver of the gospel who responds from within the context of his own culture." Bruce J. Nicholls, *Contextualization: A Theology of Gospel and Culture* (Exeter, UK: Paternoster, 1979), 53.

[65] About the necessity of code-converting and code-sharing in communication, David Hesselgrave puts it succinctly as follows: "The word communication comes from the Latin word *communis* (common). We must establish "commonness" with someone to have communication. The commonness is to be found in mutually shared codes." David J. Hesselgrave, *Communicating Christ Cross-Culturally: An Introduction to Missionary Communication* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1991), 46

[66] Eugene Nida, *Toward a Science of Translating: With Special Reference to Principles and Procedures Involved in Bible Translating* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 1964), 146.

[67] Charles Kraft, *Communication Theory for Christian Witness* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1983), 233-234

[68] Charles Kraft, *Christianity in Culture*, 280.

[69] Charles Kraft, *Communication Theory for Christian Witness*, 89-108.

[70] Charles Kraft, *Christianity in Culture*, 131-138. To put it another way, the receptors' responses are subject to their assumptions and predispositions.

distinguish forms as variants from functions/meanings as constants,[71] 4) pursue the meaning-focused transmission in not generalized but concrete terms,[72] and 5) consider the motivational impact on gospel receptivity.[73] Furthermore, carrying "dynamic equivalence beyond transculturation into the realm of theologizing,"[74] Kraft came up with "a Christian ethno-theology" in his 1973 article of the same title.[75] Under the influence of the emerging contextualization paradigm,[76] he claimed that the authentic gospel–culture communication must lead to the ethno-theological formation through an ethno-theological hermeneutic that calls for both theological and anthropological discernments about "God, humanity, and culture."[77] Kraft tried but failed to fully get over the indigenization paradigm in his ethno-theological approach by downplaying the communicational mutuality of gospel and culture, not only from gospel to culture but also from culture to gospel.

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[71] Charles Kraft, *Communication Theory for Christian Witness*, 118-119.

[72] Ibid., 110-115; *Christianity in Culture*, 140-141.

[73] Charles Kraft, *Communication Theory for Christian Witness*, 54. According to Kraft, effective communication needs both information and motivation, and the higher the receptor is motivated, the better he/she is informed.

[74] Robert L. Thomas, *Evangelical Hermeneutics: the New Versus the Old* (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel, 2002), 89.

[75] Charles Kraft, "Towards a Christian Ethno-theology," *God, Man, and Church Growth*, ed. Alan Tippett (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1973), 109-126.

[76] I posit the year 1972 (when the term, contextualization, was introduced by the TEF) as the starting point of the contextualization paradigm. Kraft articulated his ethno-theological position one year after the contextualization paradigm was inaugurated.

[77] Charles Kraft, *Christianity in Culture: A Study in Dynamic Biblical Theologizing in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, 103-146. Kraft construes this model as the dynamic and dialectical interaction of God, humanity, and culture, which is based on the following five assumptions: 1) Critical realistic worldview with supra-cultural and cultural coexistence; 2) God's revelation and action through human cultures; 3) The culture-bound aspect of theological expressions with supra-cultural elements; 4) The primacy of supra-cultural meanings over cultural forms; 5) Cultural egalitarianism without any God-endorsed cultural hegemony.

4.2 The Development of the Contextualization Paradigm

The advent of the post-Christendom, post-colonial, and post-modern age ushered
in the contextualization paradigm in the gospel–culture studies.[78] Craig Van Gelder puts
it this way: "One of the most significant developments in thinking about Christian
mission the past several decades is the emerging belief that the gospel is inherently
contextual. There is no gospel except that which is mediated through history and clothed
in human culture. It is assumed that this gospel is inherently translatable."[79] This new
paradigm replaced the long-cherished indigenization paradigm that gained wide currency
from the mid-nineteenth century. Rooted in the "three-self principles" of Henry Venn
and Rufus Anderson, the indigenization paradigm emphasized the non-missionary
national initiatives in the financing, administration, and expansion of local churches
under the banner of "self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating."[80] As Charles
Taber observes, however, the self-theologizing aspect was taken into little consideration
in the indigenization paradigm, such that "there was little in it of real cultural indigeneity,
apart from a pragmatic recognition of the need to use vernacular languages and to appoint
'native' church leaders."[81] Out of critical reflections on this old paradigm came the

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[78] Craig Van Gelder, "Mission in the Emerging Postmodern Condition," *The Church between Gospel and Culture: the Emerging Mission in North America*, eds. George Hunsberger and Craig Van Gelder (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1996), 134.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Michael J. McClymond, "Mission and Evangelism," *The Oxford Handbook of Evangelical Theology*, ed. Gerald McDermott (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2010), 348.

[81] Charles R. Taber, *The World Is Too Much with Us,* 61. Taber is highly critical of this indigenization model, since it postulated that "the churches founded by missionaries should in all major features be identical with the churches that had sent the missionaries."

contextualization paradigm sanctioning a self-theological prerogative in appreciation of cultural plurality, gospel diversity, and gospel-cultural mutuality.

In this second section of chapter 4, we will trace the historical developments of the contextualization paradigm in the post-Christendom era. First, the ecumenical case will be explored with special reference to the WCC's TEF/PTE, the birthplace of contextualization, and the Salvador CWME conference in 1996 that focused entirely on "the relationship between gospel and culture in the context of mission."[82] Second, the evangelical case will be examined with specific reference to the Willow Bank Consultation on 'Gospel and Culture' in 1978 that articulated the evangelical affirmation of syncretism-immune contextualization and its follow-up, the Haslev Consultation on 'Contextualization Revisited' in 1997, that challenged the conventional evangelical understanding of contextualization. Lastly, the Korean case will be discussed with reference to the contrasting attitudes of the KCCC and the KPCC to contextualization that stem from their polarized missiological paradigms.

4.2.1 The Ecumenical Case

At the outset, the ecumenical movement was, by and large, under the influence of the indigenization paradigm devoid of self-theologizing. Edinburgh 1910's main concern was "the necessity…of theological education" and "adequate ministerial training in the Younger Churches,"[83] implicitly, after the Western models.[84] The Jerusalem IMC

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[82] "Missiological Abstracts," *Missionalia* 25:2 (August 1997), 75.

[83] WMC, *World Mission Conference 1910, Report on Commission II: The Church in the Mission Field* (Edinburgh & London: WMC, 1910), 182ff. cf. Christine Lienemann-Perrin, *Training for a Relevant Ministry: A Study on the Work of TEF* (Madras/Geneva: WCC, 1980), 4.

meeting in 1926 focused primarily on the "transfer of responsibility and authority to Younger Churches" without taking seriously their self-theological autonomy.[85] This emphasis on the cultivation of indigenous leadership and administration continued until the Ghana IMC meeting in 1958, when indigenous theological issues came into prominence in the global upsurge of nationalistic decolonization,[86] and when the TEF was launched to support and enhance indigenous ministerial and theological education in the Third-World church.[87]

The TEF was developed through three mandate-driven phases until its 1977 transition into the PTE.[88] The first phase (1958–1965) was devoted to the 'advance' mandate of funding indigenous theological schools. The second phase (1965–1970) involved the 'rethink' mandate of funding indigenous curriculum developments. The final phase (1970–1977) carried out the 'reform' mandate of funding indigenous theological formation. During this period, the ecumenical movement leaned toward a radical *missio Dei* theology with liberationist emphasis,[89] which led to the TEF's formulation of the contextualization paradigm in the gospel-culture encounter.

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[84] William Smalley points out the colonial mindset behind indigenization in his "Cultural Implications of an Indigenous Church," *Practical Anthropology* 5:2 (1958): 51-65.

[85] Christine Lienemann-Perrin, *Training for a Relevant Ministry*, 6.

[86] Ronald K. Orchard, *The Ghana Assembly of the International Missionary Council* (London: Edinburgh House, 1958), 153-154. The term, indigenous theology, was first introduced by V. E. Devadutt in his "What Is Indigenous Theology?" *Ecumenical Review* 2:1 (1949): 40–51.

[87] The IMC conducted such extensive on-the-spot surveys as "Surveys of the Training of the Ministry in Africa and Madagascar (1950–1957)" to be informed of the actual circumstances of indigenous theological education, after which it realized the need for more systematic assistance and then established the TEF through Rockefeller's sponsorship. Christine Lienemann-Perrin, *Training for a Relevant Ministry*, 9.

[88] In 1992 the PTE was renamed the Ecumenical Theological Education (ETE).

[89] Refer to 2.2 The Controversy of *Missio Dei* in the Worldwide Protestant Movements of chapter 2.

According to Shoki Coe, the coiner of the neologism in 1972, the traditional term,

indigenization, exudes the "past-oriented" passive response to "the Gospel in terms of

traditional culture" with scant regard for the present situation and future expectation.[90]

As its alternative, he proposed contextualization, postulating that the new term is "a more

dynamic concept" both inclusive of "all that is implied in…indigenization" and "open to

change and…future-oriented."[91]

In his initial introduction, Coe mentioned two contextualization-related points of

moment that would be the *de facto* ecumenical norm onwards. First, contextualization is

essential to and instrumental in *missio Dei*. For Coe, the hermeneutical focus of

contextualization is "contextuality" not only critically assessing human existential reality

"in light of the *missio Dei*" but also missiologically discerning "the signs of the times"

and God's call into His mission.[92] This praxis-oriented approach was reconfirmed as the

core mandate of the PTE which voiced for "the need to liberate theological education and

ministerial formation and practices from bondages which hamper faithfulness in their life

and witness"[93] The PTE's liberationist emphasis culminated in its 1986 release of

Theology by the People: Reflections on Doing Theology in Community,[94] which

construed the performer, perspective, and process of contextualization as "all the

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[90] TEF, *Ministry in Context,* 20.

[91] Ibid., 21.

[92] Ibid.

[93] John Pobee, "Education," *Dictionary of the Ecumenical Movement*, eds. Nicholas Lossky et al (Geneva: WCC, 2003), 387.

[94] Samuel Amirtham and John Pobee, eds., *Theology by the People. Reflections on Doing Theology in Community* (Geneva: WCC, 1986).

believing Christians," "justice for all the oppressed people of God," and "engagement with the struggles of poor people of the world," respectively.[95]

Another remarkable insight by Coe is that contextualization is an ongoing dialogical process for mutual enrichment of gospel and culture. In the indigenization paradigm, the unilateral transmission from gospel to culture was taken for granted with gospel as a constant and culture as a variable. In the contextualization paradigm, both gospel and culture are subject to change in the "painful process of de-contextualization, for the sake of re-contextualization."[96] This 'dialogically ongoing' aspect was welcomed at Vancouver 1983 as "a new ecumenical agenda in which various cultural expressions of the Christian faith may be in conversation with each other,"[97] which was again reaffirmed at Canberra 1991 in the incarnation–contextualization nexus.[98] Also, the 'mutually transformative' aspect was upheld at Bangkok 1973 as "living theology which refuses to be easily universalized because it speaks to and out of a particular situation,"[99] which was reemphasize at the WCC Central Committee meeting in 1994 convened to "seek to understand the implications of a gospel that both challenges and be challenged by the cultures in which it finds itself."[100]

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[95] Thomans F. Best, ed., *Vancouver to Canberra 1983-1990: Report of the Central Committee to the Seventh Assembly of the World Council of Churches* (Geneva: WCC, 1990), 216.

[96] TEF, *Ministry in Context,* 23.

[97] David Gill, ed., *Gathered Life,* 32-33.

[98] Michael Kinnamon, ed., *Signs of the Spirit: Official Report, Seventh Assembly, Canberra, Australia, 7-20 February 1991* (Geneva: WCC, 1991), 98.

[99] "Meeting in Bangkok," *International Review of Mission* 62:246 (1973): 190.

[100] WCC Central Committee, *Minutes* (Geneva: WCC, 1994), 98. This meeting launched the three-year taskforce for an investigation into the gospel–culture relation, which served as the preparatory study group for the 1996 Salvador CWME.

In the growing concern over the pluralistic connotation of the dialogical and dialectical methods, Melbourne 1980 made it clear that contextualization must be a theological pursuit of not so much de-centered diversity as centered diversity through "relating the local cultures to the Kingdom of God."[101] This unity-in-diversity dimension was fully embraced as the normative ecumenical approach at Salvador 1996, the last mission conference of the twentieth century.[102] Under the theme of 'Called to One Hope: The Gospel in Diverse Cultures,' Salvador was devoted entirely to the gospel–culture issues with four sectional divisions,[103] in which the paradoxical natures of gospel and culture were recognized (section I & IV),[104] the mutual illumination and transformation of contextualization were declared (section I), "culture-sensitive evangelism" was promoted (section II), and "the multicultural richness" of gospel and church was celebrated (section III).[105]

Coe's desire to substitute contextualization for indigenization has been accomplished to the extent that David Bosch hailed contextualization as one of central elements of the contemporary ecumenical missionary paradigm.[106] In the new

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[101] Emilo Castro and Jacques Matthey, eds., *Your Kingdom Come: Mission Perspectives: Report on the World Conference on Mission and Evangelism* (Melbourne, Australia, 12-25 May 1980) (Geneva: WCC, 1980), 182-183.

[102] This event was held from November 24 to December 1996 with some 600 participants from 80 countries.

[103] Section I–Authentic Witness within Each Culture; Section II–Gospel & Identity in Community; Section III–Local Congregation in Pluralist Societies; and Section IV– One Gospel, Diverse Expression.

[104] Section I highlighted both life-affirming and life-oppressing aspects of the culture, while Section IV underscored both catholic and contextual aspects of the gospel.

[105] Christopher Duraisingh, ed., *Called to One Hope: The Gospel in Diverse Cultures*, (Geneva: WCC, 1998), 29-76.

[106] David Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 420-431.

millennium, the ecumenical affirmation of authentic contextualization is being reinforced in the vortex of migration and globalization rendering intercultural and interreligious encounters both frequent and natural.[107] Paying keen attention to this worldwide phenomenon, Edinburgh 2010 emphasized both dialogue and witness in Christian mission, sanctioning San Antonio 1989's affirmation that "witness does not preclude dialogue but invites it, and that dialogue does not preclude witness but extends and deepens it."[108] It was in this tension of dialogue and witness that Coe envisioned "authentic contextualization" enabling churches "to serve the same *missio Dei* in the diversified contexts."[109] It was in this unity-in-diversity perspective that Salvador 1996 articulated that "the gospel, to be most fruitful, needs to be both true to itself, and incarnated or rooted in the culture of a people."[110]

4.2.2 The Evangelical Case

Contextualization was introduced by the WCC–TEF in 1972 and affirmed as the replacement of indigenization at Bangkok 1972/3. This ecumenical attachment to contextualization invited evangelicals' contrary reactions at the first ICOWE in 1974. The Lausanne Congress entrusted its Theology of Evangelism Study Group with the issue

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[107] As Paul Numrich points out, cultural and religious plurality is observed everywhere anytime in this ever-globalizing era. Refer to his *The Faith Next Door: American Christians and Their New Religious Neighbors* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

[108] Daryl Balia and Kirsteen Kim, eds. *Edinburgh 2010 II – Witnessing to Christ Today*, 48. Originally, the phrase came from the statement of San Antonio 1989: "We recognize that both witness and dialogue presuppose two-way relationships. We affirm that witness does not preclude dialogue but invites it, and that dialogue does not preclude witness but extends and deepens it." Frederick R. Wilson, ed., *The San Antonio Report: Your Will Be Done: Mission in Christ's Way* (Geneva: WCC, 1989), 32. David Bosch also supports this approach in his *Transforming Mission*, 487.

[109] TEF, *Ministry in Context,* 22.

[110] Christopher Duraisingh, ed*., Called to One Hope: The Gospel in Diverse Cultures*, 21-22.

of 'The Gospel, Contextualization, and Syncretism,'[111] in which there existed a tension between pro-contextualization and anti-contextualization groups. Bruce Nicholls spoke for those reluctant to adopt the ecumenical jargon, insisting that "the structures of theological interpretation can be indigenized but that the gospel itself cannot be."[112] For this group, the evangelical "task is one of communication."[113] On the other hand, Byang Kato representing those willing to accept the new term argued that "the incarnation itself is a form of contextualization."[114] Their evangelical disposition, though, prevented the pro-contextualization attendees from fully embracing the ecumenical approach to contextualization which was prone to syncretism (in their view). For them, contextualization must aim "to express the never changing Word of God in ever changing modes for relevance."[115]

The next half-decade saw a heated evangelical debate on contextualization. In continuity with Byang Kato at the Lausanne Congress, Norman Erickson supported the usage of contextualization, deriving its rationale from the New Testament.[116] Charles Tabor sided with him, pointing out the obsolescence of the old indigenization paradigm.

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[111] Its official report is M. Bradshaw and D. Savage, "The Gospel, Contextualization and Syncretism Report," *Let the Earth Hear His Voice*, ed. J.D. Douglas (Minneapolis, MN: Worldwide Publications; 1975), 1224-1228.

[112] Bruce J. Nicholls, "Theological Education and Evangelization," *Let the Earth Hear His Voice,* 637.

[113] Ibid., 637.

[114] Byang H. Kato, "The Gospel, Cultural Contextualization, and Religious Syncretism," *Let the Earth Hear His Voice,* ed. J.D. Douglas (Minneapolis, MN: World Wide, 1975), 1217. He argued for making "Christianity culturally relevant without destroying its ever-abiding message" in an "effort to express the never changing Word of God in ever changing modes for relevance."

[115] Ibid.

[116] Norman R. Ericson, "Implications from the New Testament for Contextualization," *Theology and Mission: Papers Given at Trinity Consultation No.1,* ed. David J. Hesselgrave (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1978), 71-86.

According to Tabor, the old term fails to grasp not only the cultural complexity and

dynamics in the gospel-culture encounter, but also fails to address its comprehensive

nature beyond cultural interface.[117] On the other hand, in the continuity with Bruce

Nicholls at the Lausanne Congress, James Buswell questioned the fundamental

distinction between contextualization and indigenization,[118] and Bruce Fleming critiqued

the praxis-oriented radical aspect of contextualization.[119] Given the old paradigmatic

connotations of indigenization, the latter suggested the use of 'context-indigenization,'

while the former preferred the term 'ethno-theology' proposed by Charles Kraft.[120]

Because of this debate, the Lausanne Movement held a consultation on gospel and

culture in Willowbank, Bermuda, in 1978 hoping to put the evangelical approach to

contextualization in proper perspective. The Willowbank participants approved of the

emerging contextualization paradigm but with some limitations. In the final report, they

applauded contextualization, because it pays keen attention to "dynamic interplay

between text" and context,[121] as well as contributing to the development of "a more

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[117] See Charles Taber, "The Limits of Indigenization in Theology," *Missiology* 6:1 (1978): 53-79 and "Contextualization: Indigenization and/or Transformation," *The Gospel and Islam: A 1978 Compendium*, ed. Don McCurry (Monrovia, CA: MARC 1979), 143-154.

[118] James Buswell, "Contextualization: Is It Only a New Word for Indigenization?" *Evangelical Missions Quarterly* 14:1 (1978): 13-20. Buswell distinguished the terms as follows: 1) Inculturation concerned with witness dimension; 2) Indigenization concerned with church leadership etc. 3) Contextualization or ethno-theology concerned with indigenous theological things. James Buswell, "Contextualization: Theory, Tradition, and Method," *Theology and Mission*, ed. David J. Hesselgrave (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1978), 90-97.

[119] Bruce Fleming, *Contextualization of Theology: An Evangelical Assessment* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey, 1980), 60-67.

[120] The term, ethno-theology, first appeared in Charles Kraft, "Towards a Christian Ethno-theology," *God, Man, and Church Growth*, ed. Alan Tippett (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1973), 109-126. Later, Kraft favored his new coinage, 'dynamic indigeneity.' Charles Kraft and Tom Wisely, eds., *Readings in Dynamic Indigeneity* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1979), xix-xx.

[121] "The Willowbank Report," *Down to Earth: Studies in Christianity in Culture*, eds. John Stott and Robert Coote (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1980), 317.

radical concept of indigenous church…[so that] each church may discover and express its selfhood as the Body of Christ within its own culture."[122] At the same time, they cautioned against any contextualization attempt detached from biblical faithfulness, announcing that contextualization must be "a kind of upward spiral in which Scripture remains always central and normative."[123]

The Willowbank Consultation charted the course toward the evangelical affirmation of 'syncretism-free contextualization.' One year after the event, Bruce Nicholls, the then executive secretary of the WEF/WEA Theological Commission, commended this gospel-centered approach terming it "dogmatic contextualization," contrasting it with the ecumenical commitment to the so-called "existential contextualization."[124] Consequently, syncretism became the evangelical main concern, such that Paul Hiebert set forth the four-step process for syncretism-avoiding contextualization in the mid-1980s,[125] and Peter Kuzmic urged worldwide evangelicals to "firmly refuse to participate in any syncretistic processes" removing the "unchanging" biblical message at Lausanne II in 1989.[126] All of this represented the over-protective

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[122] Ibid., 329.

[123] Ibid., 317.

[124] Bruce Nicholls, *Contextualization: A Theology of Gospel and Culture*, 24.

[125] Paul Hiebert, "Critical Contextualization," *Missiology: An International Review* 12 (1984): 287-96 and *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 11:3 (July 1987): 104–11. His methodology for critical contextualization will be detailed in 4.3.3 The Methods of Theological Contextualization of this chapter.

[126] Peter Kuzmic, "How to Teach the Truth of the Gospel," *Proclaiming Christ Until He Comes: Calling the Whole Church to Take the Whole Gospel to the Whole Word, Lausanne II in Manila International Congress on World Evangelization,* 1989, ed. J.D. Douglas (Minneapolis, MN: World Wide Publications, 1989), 197-203.

attitude, rather than the "risk-taking" attitude to contextualization, as the Haslev

Statement confessed in retrospection.[127]

In 1997, the evangelical approach to contextualization took a major step forward

with two momentous events. First, leading missions anthropologist Darrel Whiteman

published an article, "Contextualization: The Theory, The Gap, The Challenge" in the

January issue of International Bulletin of Missionary Research.[128] In critical reflection on

the predominant evangelical understanding of contextualization characteristic of

'dogmatic and didactic,' he argued that contextualization, if conducted properly, entails

three transformative challenges: 1) the prophetically transformative challenge to the

context; 2) the hermeneutically transformative challenge to the gospel; and 3) the

personally transformative challenge to the change agent. Among the three, the most

enlightened was the second argument that "contextualization expands our understanding

of the Gospel, because we now see the Gospel through a different cultural lens."[129] This

was virtually a call for the evangelical world to shift from one-way-ism to two-way-ism

in its approach to contextualization.

Another crucial event was the Haslev Consultation held from June 17 to June 21

in 1997 in Denmark. As a sequel of Willowbank 1978, the Haslev meeting concentrated

entirely on contextualization, ultimately calling on the evangelical world to change its

perspective on the subject matter. At Haslev, such conventional evangelical attitudes as

"over-protecting," "independent," and capitalizing on "contextualization as merely a

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[127] "The Haslev Statement." http://www.lausanne.org/en/component/content/article.html?id=318. Accessed on February 17, 2012.

[128] Darrel Whiteman, "Contextualization: The Theory, The Gap, The Challenge," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 21:1 (January 1997): 2–7.

[129] Ibid., 7.

strategy for cross cultural mission" were challenged. Instead, such proactive attitudes as "risk-taking," "interdependent," considering "contextualization as a necessary and conscious practise of all churches in mission within their own cultures," were recommended. The Haslev Statement concludes: "Contextualization... [is] a way of discovering the fullness of the gospel…and celebrating cultural diversity… through a living, growing encounter between the gospel…and the personal, social, political, economic, religious worlds in which we live."[130]

Haslev's proposal has not yet gained wide currency in the evangelical movement. As Siga Arles points out, "evangelical missiological fervor tends to take its cue predominantly from the biblical content as 'God's Word' and only secondarily from the agenda of the world,"[131] so dogmatic and didactic methodology still prevails in the evangelical approach to contextualization. A typical example is found in the 2006 publication of the Evangelical Missiological Society entitled, *Contextualization and Syncretism*, whose predominant ethos was anxiety over widespread syncretism marginalizing Scripture "in the contextualizing process."[132] Nevertheless, evangelicals are increasingly receptive to what Haslev envisioned, 'authentic contextualization,' in paradigm changes of their epistemology and missiology. With the rise of critical realist epistemology, they are more aware of the global dimension of contextualization, as perceived at the WEA Theological Commission's Consultation on Contextualization in

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[130] "The Haslev Statement." http://www.lausanne.org/en/component/content/article.html?id=318. Accessed on February 17, 2012.

[131] Siga Arles, "Ecumenical Missiology: Challenges from an Evangelical Perspective," *Ecumenical Missiology*, 64.

[132] Gailyn Van Rheenen, ed., *Contextualization and Syncretism: Navigating Cultural Currents* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2006), 4.

2008.[133] Also, they are more cognizant of the mutual aspect of contextualization in the

rise of dialogical interfaith missiology that was affirmed at Lausanne III-Cape Town

2010.[134] As a result, the evangelical approach to contextualization has become more

ecumenically-oriented in the pursuit of mutuality in creativity as well as unity in diversity.

4.2.3 The Korean Case

The gospel was not transmitted to Korea in a religious vacuum at all. Such

traditional religions as Shamanism, Buddhism, and Confucianism had already taken deep

root in the Korean land. In this multi-religious context, Christianity became established

rapidly in the nation in a short period of time,[135] which was largely due to the

indigenization efforts of foreign and national Christians.[136] For instance, John Ross

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[133] The consultation's presentations are edited and compiled in Matthew Cook et al, eds., *Local Theology for Global Church: Principles for an Evangelical Approach to Contextualization* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2010).

[134] The Cape Town Commitment articulates the dialogical mode of Christian witness as follows: "We affirm the proper place for dialogue with people of other faiths, just as Paul engaged in debate with Jews and Gentiles in the synagogue and public arenas As a legitimate part of our Christian mission, such dialogue combines confidence in the uniqueness of Christ and in the truth of the gospel with respectful listening to others." http://www.lausanne.org/en/documents/ctcommitment.html. Accessed on December 17, 2011.

[135] In 1884, the first Protestant missionary reached the Korean land, after which Christianity experienced a rapid growth. In 1900, there existed 216 churches and 21,136 Christians, which jumped into 3,279 churches and 323,574 Christians in 1920 with a phenomenal growth rate of 1,530%. The Christian population reached 507,922 in 1940 and then 623,072 in 1960, when there were 5,011 churches across the country. The Korean church's explosive growth continued throughout the 1970s, 1980s, and early 1990s at the initiative of the KCCC's Church Growth Movement. As a result, there were 35, 869 churches and about 8,760,000 believers in 1995. Young-gi Hong, "Revisiting Church Growth in Korean Protestantism: A Theological Reflection," *International Review of Mission* 89:353 (2000): 190. After the mid-1990s, however, Christianity is continually declining with negative growth rate.

[136] David Chung, *Syncretism: The Religious Context of Christian Beginnings in Korea* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2002), xi. See further Junghan Kim, "Christianity and Korean Culture: The Reasons for the Success of Christianity in Korea," *Exchange* 33:2 (2004): 132-152 and Andrew Kim, "Korean Religious Culture & Its Affinity to Christianity: The Rise of Protestant Christianity in South Korea," *Sociology of Religions* 61:2 (2000): 117-133. Other major factors contributive to Christian expansion in Korea were: 1) the adoption of the Nevius method, 2) the ecumenical cooperation among foreign missions, and 3) the positive perception on Christianity as a civilized and patriotic religion.

adopted the Korean vernacular term, *Hananim*, for the Christian God in translating the Bible in the 1880s[137] and Sunjoo Gil began to employ the shamanistic-Buddhist prayer custom, 새벽기도 (*Saebyuk-Gido*, early morning prayer), in Christian services from 1906.[138] All of these bridged an existential gulf between Christian-ness and Korean-ness, enabling the Koreans to accept Christianity in traditional cultural terms and customs.

The fact of the matter is that such initial indigenization attempts were a far cry from self-theological endeavors to koreanize the gospel.[139] Rather, they were the by-products of strategic cross-cultural missions (in the case of Ross) and spontaneous soul-winning fervors (in the case of Gil) under the influence of the modern missionary movement. Of course, there existed some indigenous theological tasks in the early Korean church. In the religio-cultural dimension, Byungheon Choi tried to reconcile Christianity and Confucianism from the fulfillment standpoint,[140] and in the socio-political dimension, Deokgee Jeon sought to interpret the gospel from the *minjung* perspective.[141] As Kwangshik Kim points out, even these incipient forays into "Korean

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Thompson Brown, "Why Has Christianity Grown Faster in Korea Than in China?" *Missiology* 22:1 (1994): 77-88.

[137] Sung-wook Hong, *Naming God in Korea: The Case of Protestant Christianity* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2009), 107.

[138] In-Soo Kim, 한국 교회사 *[The History of the Korean Church]* (Seoul: Presbyterian Theological Seminary Press, 1997), 246-247.

[139] Refer to Charles Taber's critique on the indigenization paradigm in footnote 80 of this chapter.

[140] Byungheon Choi is generally considered as the first indigenous theologian in Korea. The overarching assumption of his theology was '동양지천, 서양지천 (the Supreme Being Asians has historically worshipped is nothing other than the Christian God).' Refer to Gilseob Song, "한국교회와 동양사상: 한국신학 형성의 선구자 탁사 최병헌과 그의 시대 [The Korean Church and the Far-East Asian Thought: The Pioneer of the Korean Theology, Rev. Byungheon Choi, and His Era]," *Theology and World* 6 (1980): 11-90.

[141] Deokjoo Lee, "전덕기 목사의 민중목회와 민족운동 [The *Minjung* Ministry and Patriotic Movement of Rev. Deokgee Jeon]," 133-141.

theology" were not self-theological in the truest sense of the phrase because of "their fundamental deficiency in indigenous or *minjung* theological consciousness."[142] It was not until the 1960s when the Korean church began to wrestle with theological indigenization[143] with full-fledged self-theological consciousness under the leadership of the KPCC.[144]

As delineated in chapter 3, Korean Christianity was developed in the polarization between conservatives and progressives according to their contrastive theological and political stances. The conservatives (i.e. the KCCC), which have been the majority throughout Korean Christian history, were indifferent , at best, and being hostile, at worst, to theological indigenization from the very outset due to the predominant presence and power of the conservative/fundamental missionaries, who adhered to biblical infallibility and literalism.[145] In contrast, the progressives (i.e. the KPCC) were encouraged to be sympathetic to theological indigenization both under the auspices of

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[142] Kwangshik Kim, "교회의 에큐메니칼 차원과 복음의 토착화 [The Ecumenical Dimension of the Church and the Indigenization of the Gospel]," *Contemporary Times and Theology* 19 (October, 1994): 34-50.

[143] In the 1960s, the term, contextualization (상황화), was not yet introduced into both the Korean and wider churches. The Korean church's self-theological efforts prior to the 1970s are, therefore, called '신학적 토착화' (theological indigenization).

[144] As Sung-wook Hong observes, "not many church leaders were involved in this movement (i.e. indigenization) before the 1960s, and the scale of its influence was also very limited." Sung-wook Hong, *Naming God in Korea*, 109. This indifference to indigenization resulted from the fundamentalist conservatization of the Korean church under the influence of the early foreign missionaries from

[145] "Most of the first foreign missionaries in Korea were very conservative and did not understand Korean culture properly. The Western missionaries did not even want Korean pastors to have higher education." Ilsup Shim, 한국민족운동과 기독교수용사고 *[Korean National Movement and Receptive Thought of Christianity],* (Seoul: Asea Munwha Press, 1982), 197. Despite their antipathy to theological indigenization, those conservative/fundamentalist missionaries encouraged non-theological indigenization at the surface level in the areas of sanctuary-construction and hymn-composition.

liberal foreign missions[146] and via their ecumenical connection with the IMC which lasted through the 1920s.[147] During the following three decades, however, the internal and external troubles of the Korean church[148] hindered the KPCC's serious involvement in theological indigenization,[149] which began to be pursued in earnest only in the 1960s during the worldwide eruption of post-colonial theological exploration.

According to Justin Ukpong, contextual theological efforts are manifested dyadically as indigenization type in the religio-cultural dimension and liberation type in the socio-politico-economic dimension.[150] Since the 1960s, the KPCC's self-theological awareness has been exhibited in those two directions: 1) the indigenous theological movement and 2) the *minjung* theological movement.[151] First, the indigenous theological movement was kicked off in 1961 and developed through two debates mainly

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[146] Overall, Methodist missionaries were theologically open-minded in positive appreciation of Korean traditional religions. Under this influence, Byoungheon Choi (1858–1927), a Korea Methodist pastor, pioneered comparative religious studies in the early twentieth century.

[147] After attending the Jerusalem meeting of the IMC, one of the Korean delegates, Heungwoo Shin (1883–1959), staged an anti-missionary movement, arguing for the koreanization of Christianity.

[148] Externally, the Korean church suffered from systematic persecutions (i.e. the enforcement of Shinto Shrine Worship and the dissolution of the Korean ecumenical associations) during wartime Japan (1931–1945). Internally, the Korean church suffered from destructive strives and splits between the KCCC and the KPCC (i.e. the SSW Controversy, the Conservative–Liberal Theological Controversy, and the WCC-related Controversy). Refer to 3.1 The Origin of the Korean Protestant Church's Polarity of chapter 3.

[149] "Not many church leaders (even in the KPCC) were involved in this movement (i.e. indigenization) before the 1960s, and the scale of its influence was also very limited" (parentheses mine). Sung-wook Hong, *Naming God in Korea*, 109.

[150] Justin Ukpong, "What is Contextualization?" *Neue Zeitschrift fur Missionswissenschaft* 43 (1987): 161-168. This categorization is based on the ecumenical assumption that contextualization means more than indigenization (i.e. the 1972 TEF's view).

[151] Since *minjung* theology was discussed in detail in 3.2.3 *Minjung* Theology as a Korean Contextual Theology of a Radical *Missio Dei* of chapter 3, it will be explained in brief in this part.

at the initiative of the KMC-Gigam theologians.[152] On December 1961, Byungil Jang

published "단군신화에 대한 신학적 이해—창조설화의 토착화 소고 [A Theological

Understanding of *Dangoon* Myth—A Reflection on Indigenization of Creation Myth]" in

Christian Thought,[153] in which he first used the term, 토착화 (indigenization), and

probed the possibility of interweaving the Korean and Biblical Creation Myths. In the

following year, his mentor and colleague, Dongshik Ryu released "복음의 토착화와

한국에서의 선교적 과제 [The Indigenization of the Gospel and the Missional Task in

Korea]" in *Methodist Theological Seminary Bulletin* in support of Jang's theological

experiment,[154] which triggered the first indigenization debate in the KPCC.

In this controversial article, Ryu, who was decidedly influenced by D.T. Niles,[155]

construed indigenization as the dialectical process of the gospel's "self-denial" and "self-

actualization." He explains: "God's self-denial, which was by no means ontological

extinction or existential negation…enabled His Gospel event to be concretized in the

first-century Jewish culture…[through which] God's will has been actualized…[and

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[152] In 1961 the Korean Methodist Church (KMC) was divided into pro-WCC Gigam and anti-WCC Yegam.

[153] Byungil Jang, "단군신화에 대한 신학적 이해—창조설화의 토착화 소고 [A Theological Understanding of *Dangoon* Myth─A Reflection on Indigenization of Creation Myth]," *Christian Thought* (December 1961): 70-77.

[154] Dongshik Ryu, "복음의 토착화와 한국에서의 선교적 과제 [The Indigenization of the Gospel and the Missional Task in Korea]," *Methodist Theological Seminary Bulletin* 14 (1962): 43-58.

[155] Hee-Sung Keel, "Korean Theology: Past and Present," *Inter-Religio* 12 (Fall 1987): 87. On August, 1962, D.T. Niles visited Korea and lectured "Biblical Studies and Indigenization." Kyuhong Yeon, "한국신학 100년의 성찰과 전망 [Reflection and Prospect of the 100-year Korean Theology]," *Theology Study* 43 (December 2002): 127-165. In terms of contextualization, Niles is quoted to say: "The gospel is like a seed, and you have to sow it…. Now, when missionaries came to our lands they brought not only the seed of the gospel, but their own plant of Christianity, flower pot included! So what we have to do is to break the flowerpot, take out the seed of the Gospel, re-root it in our own cultural soil, and let our own version of Christianity grow." Paul-Gordon Chandler, *God's Global Mosaic: What We Can Learn from Christians around the World* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 1997), 16.

through which] God's history and world have been renewed."[156] In this perspective, the

gospel is a culture-bound entity to be deconstructed from the missionary culture and then

reconstructed into the receptor culture via theological indigenization, so Ryu insisted that

the first and foremost task of the Korean church is to sift out the essence of the gospel

and then graft it into Korean traditional cultures and religions.[157] In dissent, Kyungyeon

Jeon from the PCK-Gijang issued "그리스도교 문화는 토착화할 수 있는가? [Can

Christian Culture be Indigenized?]" on March, 1963 in *New World*,[158] arguing that

theological indigenization is all about the cultural-purification by the gospel rather than

the specific-culturalization of the gospel. Promptly, Ryu critiqued Jeon's Barthian view

on the gospel[159] in the April issue of *Christian Thought*,[160] which invited Jeon's

immediate counterattack in the May issue of the same theological journal.[161] For Jeon

who upheld historical confessions of faith as the invariable constancy of the gospel, self-

theological indigenization must aim at "interpreting indigenous traditions in light of

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[156] Dongshik Ryu, "복음의 토착화와 한국에서의 선교적 과제 [The Indigenization of the Gospel and the Missional Task in Korea]," 43-44.

[157] Ibid., 55-58. Kyungjea Kim, thus, calls Ryu's approach "the grafting model" in his book, *Hermeneutics and Religious Theology* (Seoul: Korea Theological Studies Institute, 1994).

[158] Kyungyeon Jeon, "그리스도교 문화는 토착화할 수 있는가? 민족전통과 그리스도교 신앙 [Can Christian Culture be Indigenized? National Tradition and Christian Faith]," *New World* (March 1963): 207-213.

[159] For Karl Barth, the gospel "sets a question-mark against all truths." He continues: "It is the victory by which the world is overcome…and by the gospel the whole concrete world is dissolved and established." Karl Barth, *The Epistle to the Romans*, trans. Edwyn Hoskyns (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 35.

[160] Dongshik Ryu, "기독교의 토착화에 대한 이해 [An Understanding of Christian Indigenization]," *Christian Thought* (April 1962): 64-68.

[161] Kyungyeon Jeon, "기독교 역사를 무시한 토착화 이론은 원시화를 의미 [Indigenization Theory Disregarding Christian History Means Primitization]," *Christian Thought* (May 1963): 22-28.

Christian traditions," but not vise verse.[162] He concluded that "indigenization

disregarding Christian history is primitization."[163]

Their head-on confrontation ended with Jeon's second rejoinder, but this first

debate served as a catalyst arousing academically systematic investigations into

theological indigenization in Korea. Divided between pro-Ryu and Pro-Jeon, a group of

Korean theologians began to exchange thoughts as explored this controversial topic.[164]

Subsequenlty, the second debate broke out regarding "the indigenization of the concept

of God in Korean religious culture."[165] On May, 1963, Sungbum Yoon, who was Ryu's

colleague at Methodist Theological Seminary, made an attempt at the theological

indigenization of Trinitarian theology by use of the Three-God concept in Korean

Creation Myth in "환인, 환웅, 환검은 곧 하나님이다 [*Hwanin, Hwanung, Hwangum*

Are God]."[166] In response, Bongrang Park, who sided with his PCK-Gijang colleague,

Jeon, in the first indigenization debate, critiqued Yoon's approach as "inappropriate

indigenization" by pointing out its eisegetical hermeneutic relying on analogical

imagination. Yoon instantly refuted Park, asserting that his hermeneutical employment

towards intercultural and interreligious typological consonance is permissible in

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[162] Ibid., 23.

[163] This statement was the title of his article.

[164] Those in favor of Dongshik Ryu were Jangshik Lee, Kyuho Lee, Haheun Jung, etc. On the other hand, those in support of Kyungyeon Jeon were Jongsung Lee, Cheolha Han, Hyunseol Hong, etc.

[165] Sung-wook Hong, *Naming God in Korea*, 112.

[166] Sungbum Yoon, "환인, 환웅, 환검은 곧 하나님이다 [*Hwanin, Hwanung, Hwangum* Are God]," *The World of Thought* (May 1963): 264-270.

theological indigenization in search of "our lost treasures."[167] Park's prompt reply was

that Yoon's methodology was outside of "the indigenization principle" which puts the

gospel at the center and as the arbiter.[168] For Park who espoused Calvin and Barth,

Yoon's argument for *vestigia trinitatis* in Korean Creation Myth was unacceptable.[169]

As Sung-wook Hong observes, a series of these debates in the 1960s were "the

starting point for a Korean theology."[170] The next several decades saw the KPCC

vigorously engaging in self-theologizing in positive appreciation of Korean cultural and

religious heritages. That is, in the 1970s Sungbum Yoon and Dongshik Ryu formulated

성의 신학 (*Sung* Theology; roughly, Theology of *Sincerity*) and 풍류 신학 (*Poongryoo*

Theology; roughly, Theology of Convivial Elegance) via the typological adaptation

between gospel and culture;[171] in the 1980s Kyungjae Kim and Sunwhan Byun

championed 문화 신학 (Cultural Theology) and 종교간 신학 (Interreligious Theology)

via the holistic integration of gospel and culture;[172] and in the 1990s Jungyoung Lee and

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[167] Sungbum Yoon, "하나님 개념의 세계사적 성격: 박봉랑 박사의 대답에 답함 [The Universal Character of the Concept of God: Answer to Park, Bongrang 's Criticism]," *The World of Thought* (September 1963): 271; Bongrang Park, "성서는 계시의 유일한 소스: 윤성범박사의 대답에 답함 [The Bible is the Only Source of Christian Revelation: Answer to Yun, Sungbum's Criticism]," *The World of Thought* (October 1963): 235-246.

[168] Bongrang Park, "성서는 계시의 유일한 소스: 윤성범박사의 대답에 답함 [The Bible is the Only Source of Christian Revelation: Answer to Yun, Sungbum's Criticism]," 235-246.

[169] The second indigenization debate came to a stop with Park's second reply. As for a detailed discussion on the second debate, see Sung-wook Hong, *Naming God in Korea,* 112-123.

[170] Ibid.

[171] Sungbum Yoon, "성의 신학 이란 무엇인가? [What is the Theology of *Sung*]," *Christian Thought* 17 (February 1973): 83-91; Dongshik Ryu, "풍류도와 기독교 [*Poongryoo* and Christianity]," *Theology Forum* 16 (1983): 321-328.

[172] Kyungjae Kim, *한국 문화 신학 [Korean Cultural Theology]* (Seoul: Korean Theological Institute, 1983); Sunwhan Byun, "불교와 기독교 대화 [A Dialogue between Buddhism and Christianity]," *Christian Thought* 291 (September 1982): 153-179.

Jongcheon Park proposed 역의 신학 (Theology of Change) and 상생의 신학 (Theology of Symbiosis) via the mutual revitalization of gospel and culture.[173]

Besides, the indigenous theological debates of the 1960s ignited self-theological attention to social and political aspects beyond cultural and religious areas contributing to the emergence of the *minjung* theological movement in the 1970s. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, most of the PCK-Gijang theologians of the KPCC became disillusioned with the indigenous theological movement spearheaded by the KMC-Gigam theologians of the KPCC who did not pay attention to the dehumanized socio-political context of the Korean society. They began to call for "future-oriented indigenization rather than past-oriented indigenization,"[174] "a missiological theology for the salvation of Korean grassroots,"[175] "a theology of future-forwarding power,"[176] and "an eschatological theology not from present to future but from future to present."[177] Combined with the influx of such ecumenical concepts as a radical *missio Dei* and UIM, these voices for socio-political indigenization resulted in the formation of *minjung* theology by Namdong Suh and Byungmoo Ahn from the PCK-Gijang in the mid-1970s. With the *minjung*

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[173] Jongcheon Park, 상생의 신학 *[Theology of Symbiosis]* (Seoul: Korea Theological Institute, 1991); Jungyoung Lee, *The Trinity in Asian Perspective* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1996).

[174] Myoungkwan Jhee, "한국교회의 미래 [The Korean Church's Future]," *Christian Thought* 123 (August 1968): 51-58.

[175] Jungjun Kim, "이스라엘 역사와 한국사 [Israeli History and Korean History]," *Theology Studies* 12 (1971): 81-124.

[176] Younghark Hyun, "한국교회와 서구화 [The Korean Church and Westernization]," *Christian Thought* 163 (December 1971): 51-57.

[177] This expression virtually corresponds to the thesis of Jürgen Moltmann's *Theology of Hope*, which was translated into Korean by two PCK-Gijang theologians (Bongrang Park & Kyoungyeon Jeon) in 1973, and which made a significant impact on the *minjung* theological movement. After the formation of *minjung* theology, Moltman was eager to introduce it to the global church in close touch with Korean *minjung* theologians.

context as their hermeneutical center, Suh and Ahn took the lead in the *minjung*

theological movement from a pneumatological viewpoint and from an Christological

standpoint, respectively.[178] In this twenty-first century Korean society where its long-

held agenda, *minjung* liberation from economic exploitation and political dictatorship,

became obsolete, the *minjung* theological movement is now trying to make the gospel

meaningful and relevant to such contemporary Korean issues as ecology and unification.

As such, the contextualization of the gospel[179] was launched and advanced by the

KPCC from the 1960s onwards. The KMC-Gigam played the leading role in the

indigenous theological movement religiously and culturally, while the PCK-*Gijang* was

in the vanguard of the *minjung* theological movement socially, economically, and

politically (recently, ecologically). These movements are, according to such KPCC

theologians as Kyungjae Kim, the very struggles for the authentic incarnation of the

gospel in the Korean *Sitz-im-Leben*, so that the gospel might be "Living Water and Bread

of Life" to Korean people.[180] However, these same movements are attempts at

compromising and desecrating Christian faith and tradition in the eyes of the KCCC

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[178] Namdong Suh, 민중신학 탐구 *[A Survey of Minjung Theology]* (Seoul: Hangilsa, 1983); Byungmoo Ahn, 민중신학 이야기 *[Understanding Minjung Theology]* (Seoul: Korean Theological Institute, 1990).

[179] Coe defined contextualization in the comprehensive sense involving not only cultural/religious aspects but also social/economic/political aspects, according to which I here used contextualization as inclusive of both indigenization and liberation in self-theological efforts. However, Kyungjae Kim classifies those two movements into "religious-cultural indigenization" and "social-political indigenization" in the comprehensive view on indigenization in "토착화 신학과 해석학 [Indigenous Theology and Hermeneutics]." His article is available at http://theologia.kr/zeroboard/zboard.php?id=koreatheo&page=1&sn1=&divpage=1&category=3&sn=off&ss=on&sc=on&select_arrange=headnum&desc=asc&no=103&PHPSESSID=ea53a457661d46dd3ee3715ec11c0f4d. Accessed on February 16. 2012.

[180] Kyungjae Kim, "한국교회의 선교과제로서의 해석학적 종교신학 정립 [The Establishment of Hermeneutical Theology of Religions as the Korean Church's Missional Task]," a public lecture at Honam Theological University on September 18, 1996. Available at http://soombat.org/article/Asianrel.hwp. Accessed on February 16. 2012.

which is situated in historical continuity with the early foreign "missionaries' attitude toward Korea's traditional religions…[that] was one of triumphalism, seeking to supplant—or at best co-opt—native Korean religions."[181] While the KPCC is trying to rediscover and revitalize Korean traditional heritages via theological contextualization, the KCCC's main concern has been the rediscovery of "puritan heritages…transplanted to them…by (puritanical) foreign missionaries."[182] No wonder, the KCCC disparages the KPCC's indigenous theological and *minjung* theological movements as the hotbed of syncretism, pluralism, and radicalism.[183] In reaction, the KPCC finds fault with the KCCC's non-contextualization mentality "content with importing and interpreting Western theology."[184] Thus, the Korean church finds itself polarized between the pro-contextualization KPCC and the anti-contextualization KCCC.

In fact, the polarity between the KPCC and the KCCC about contextualization is closely related to their differing missiological paradigms. As explicated in chapter 3, the KPCC is attached to a radical *Missio Dei* mindset, whereas the KCCC holds to a heaven-bound Great Commission mentality. Since the Korean context is the central agenda of God's mission to be appreciated, the KPCC views contextualization as "the *summum*

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[181] Timothy S. Lee, *Born Again: Evangelicalism in Korea*, 121.

[182] Jungteack Oh, *The Roots of Puritanism in the Korean Presbyterian Church*, 8.

[183] Younghan Kim, "한국사회와 기독교문화 [The Korean Society and Christian Culture]," *Korean Christianity and Christian Intellectuals*, 121; Yongwha Na, "A Theological Assessment of Korean *Minjung* Theology," *Concordia Journal* 14 (April 1988): 138-149; Seyoon Kim, "Is *Minjung* Theology a Christian Theology?" *Calvin Theological Journal* 22 (1987): 251-274.

[184] Chai-shin Yu, *Korean Thought and Culture: A New Introduction* (Bloomington, IN: Trafford Publishing, 2010), 82. The KPCC's contextualization movement has its ideological origin practically in the founding spirit of the first liberal theological seminary in Korea, Chosun Theological Seminary (1940–present; now, Hangook Theological Seminary affiliated with the PCK-Gijang) which aimed at "liberation from the domination of foreign missionaries and conservative theology." Youngjae Kim, *한국 교회사 [A History of the Korean Church]*, 227.

bonum to be pursued by any means."[185] On the contrary, since the Korean context is the

strategic target of the Great Commission to be converted, the KCCC perceives

contextualization as a necessary evil, at best, or the *summum malum* to be avoided at any

cost, at worst. This Korean situation is anachronistic in that the worldwide Protestant

movements at large defy neither reverential (like the KPCC) nor inimical (like the

KCCC) attitudes to contextualization. With a 'discerning attitude' to contextualization

itself, both the evangelical and the ecumenical movements promote 'authentic

contextualization,'[186] which enriches their discourse on contextualization in terms of its

meaning, models, and methods, and to which we will turn in the next section.

4.3 Contextualization as Theological Imperative

The emergence of the post-modern, post-colonial, and post-Christendom era

brought about the rediscovery of the contextual nature of Christian faith, cannon, and

theology. First, God Himself is the Contextualizer par excellence. In *missio Dei*

specialis, "God has contextualized himself in Jesus Christ."[187] The Incarnation was

God's way of contextualizing Himself for the salvation of His creation. Next, all

Scripture is the contextualized revelation. As Max Stackhouse says, "revelation takes

place in history in the way that the Bible authoritatively indicates."[188] God's Word is not

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[185] Gookwon Bae, "성의 신학, 한의 신학, 상생 신학의 비판적 검토 [A Critical Examination of *Sung* Theology, *Han* Theology, *Sangsaeng* Theology]," 59-60.

[186] The worldwide Protestant movements, both ecumenical and evangelical, stated that they aim at "authentic contextualization" (not merely contextualization) at the TEF Report in 1972 and the Haslev Consultation in 1997, respectively.

[187] C. Rene Padilla, *Mission between the Times: Essays on the Kingdom* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1985), 83.

[188] Max Stackhouse, *Apologia*, 170.

only culture-transcending but also culture-conditioned. Lastly, every theology is

contextual theology.[189] As Clemens Sedmak reminds, "theology is always done from a

certain perspective within a particular context."[190] Human God-talk takes place not in a

cultural vacuum but instead amid cultural baggage all the time and in all situations. .

This last section of chapter 4 is an in-depth look at contextualization with such

divine, biblical, and theological legitimacy and imperative. We will first explore

theological contextualization's meaning reflectively drawn from the common

denominators of the evangelical and ecumenical understandings of the concept. We will

further recount contextual theological models systematically classified in a dynamic

tension between gospel and culture. We will finally discuss contextual theological

methods meticulously formulated as the navigational tools toward authentic

contextualization. As a result of this research, the Korean church will be provided an

authentic contextualization paradigm.

4.3.1 The Meaning of Theological Contextualization

The worldwide Protestant movements are, more and more, regarding

contextualization as not optional but essential to their participation in God's mission. As

early as in 1972, the ecumenical movement declared that "contextualization of the gospel

is a missiological necessity" in the TEF report.[191] Subsequently, the evangelical

movement insisted on "the contextualization of Word and Church in a missionary

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[189] "There is no such thing as theology, there is only contextual theology." Stephen Bevans, *Models of Contextual Theology* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2003). 3.

[190] Clemens Sedmak, *Doing Local Theology: A Guide for Artisans of a New Humanity* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 2002), 15.

[191] TEF, *Ministry in Context,* 30.

situation" at Willowbank 1978.[192] Despite of this macroscopic consensus, they have

defined contextualization using the different nuances of their perceptive distinctions

about the gospel–culture tension inherent in contextualization. On the whole, the

ecumenical movement used to see contextualization in their 'dialectical' tension, as

reflected in Sinone Havea's statement at Vancouver 1983: "We look to…our culture as

well as our gospel as the measuring rods."[193] On the other hand, the evangelical

movement showed a tendency to view contextualization in their 'didactical' tension, as

mentioned in the Lausanne Covenant: "the gospel…evaluates all cultures."[194] That is

why Bruce Nicholls labeled the ecumenical approach "existential contextualization" and

the evangelical approach "dogmatic contextualization."[195]

Their gap in perspective regarding contextualization is being bridged, though, in

this new era of missiological convergence and cooperation.[196] In particular, we observe

three essential common denominators in contemporary evangelical and ecumenical

trends:[197] contextualization as a communal, constructive, and continual process. First,

contextualization is a communal process performed by the local church and affirmed by

the wider church. The subject of contextualization is not gospel-bearers but gospel-

receptors, since the *emic* knowledge of culture is indispensible in the gospel-enculturating

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[192] This phrase was the subtitle of the consultation.

[193] Michael Kinnamon and Brian Cope, eds. *The Ecumenical Movement,* 262.

[194] J.D. Douglas ed., *Proclaim Christ Until He Comes*, 22.

[195] Bruce J. Nicholls, *Contextualization: A Theology of Gospel and Culture*, 24-27.

[196] Chapter 2 described the missiologically converging and cooperative trend of the worldwide Protestant movements.

[197] To support my argument, both evangelical and ecumenical works will be referred to in each discussion on their three essential common denominators.

task. Paul Hiebert, thus, emphasizes the local church's role in contextualization as "a hermeneutical community."[198] The problem is that the exclusively *emic*-centered contextualization gives birth to an ethnocentric theology with little Christian integrity and continuity, so Newbigin refers to the wider church as the local church's dialogue partner.[199] In the same vein, Dean Flemming writes: "Christians in different local settings must be willing to test their theologies in light of the wider Christian community…[including] the historic tradition of the church throughout the ages and with today's global community of Christians in other cultures."[200] In this critical balance between local and global voices, contextualization renders Christianity a glocal faith.

Second, contextualization is a constructive process conducive to the mutual enrichment of gospel and culture. As Max Stackhouse and Lalsangkima Pachuau put it, the gospel is the good "news of boundless riches,"[201] which implies that contextualization is a two-way process between gospel and culture. That is, the gospel crosses cultures into contextual theologies revealing its abundant richness. At the same time, cultures meet the gospel in contextual theologies reflecting their manifold richness. Hence, Salvador 1996 and Haslev 1997 alike describe contextualization "as a way of discovering the fullness of the gospel" in appreciation and celebration of "diverse cultures."[202] In this

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[198] Paul Hiebert, *Anthropological Reflections on Missiological Issues*, 91.

[199] Lesslie Newbigin, *The Open Secret*, 153.

[200] Dean Flemming, *Contextualization in the New Testament*, 304.

[201] The title of their co-edited book is *News of Boundless Riches: Interrogating, Comparing, and Reconstructing Mission in a Global Era* (Delhi: ISPCK, 2007). The gospel as the good news of boundless riches has dual implications: the gospel enriches cultures and at the same time it is enriched by cultures in its cross-cultural translatability.

[202] This sentence is the synthesis of their respective statements.

synergetic encounter between gospel and culture, contextualization leads Christianity into a multi-cultural faith.

Finally, contextualization is a continual process until the final fulfillment of God's Kingdom. God's mission advances via God's contextualization, in which as the "Go-Between God," the Holy Spirit orchestrates His church's missionary encounters with variegated cultures and changing contexts,[203] and through which the unspeakable riches of the gospel are unearthed and enjoyed among *panta ta ethne*. In spite of it all, the fullness of the gospel will be brought into light and viewed in its entirety at the very moment of the eschatological accomplishment of God's salvation plan, until which, as Michael Goheen states, "the process of contextualization will never be a *fait accompli* but a continuous challenge intrinsic to the church's theological calling."[204] The Haslev attendees, thus, shift out attention from "contextualization as a noun" into "contextualizing as a verb…discovering a deeper understanding of the gospel of the Kingdom." In this continued tension between gospel and culture, contextualization renders Christianity a pilgrim faith envisioning the not-yet picture of God's Kingdom inclusive of "every nation, tribe, people and language" (Revelation 7:9).[205]

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[203] In light of the Pentecostal event, the Holy Spirit is the ultimate facilitator of the gospel-culture encounter toward the multi-cultural kingdom of God. As for the go-between aspect of the Holy Spirit, see John Taylor, *The Go-Between God: The Holy Spirit and Christian Mission* (London, UK: SCM, 1972). Similarly, Louis Luzbetak opines that "the chief agents of contextualization are the Holy Spirit and the local community" in his *The Church and Cultures*, 354.

[204] Michael W. Goheen, "Theology in Context: The Changing Landscape," *Christian Courier* 2667 (July 2001): 15.

[205] Revelation 7:9–12 bespeak the multicultural vision of God's Kingdom: "After this I looked, and there before me was a great multitude that no one could count, from every nation, tribe, people and language, standing before the throne and before the Lamb. They were wearing white robes and were holding palm branches in their hands. And they cried out in a loud voice: "Salvation belongs to our God, who sits on the throne, and to the Lamb." All the angels were standing around the throne and around the elders and the four living creatures. They fell down on their faces before the throne and worshiped God,

4.3.2 The Models of Theological Contextualization

Shoki Coe's proposal for a new term, contextualization, in 1972 drove the

worldwide Protestant movements into the indigenization–contextualization and the core-

of-gospel debates, particularly among the evangelical movement. The first debate was

concerned with the terminological validity of the neologism,[206] while the second dealt

with the contextual scope of the gospel.[207] As Wilbert Shenk observes, beginning with

Willowbank 1978, "evangelicals had embraced the key ideas of contextualization," as

well as the term itself.[208] That is, concerning those two issues, the evangelical consensus

chose 'contextualization,' not indigenization, leaving 'the contextualization of the gospel'

with its supra-cultural core meanings unmarred,[209] as reflected in Bruce Nicholls' 1979

book, *Contextualization: A Theology of Gospel and Culture*.

As a result of the common affirmation of contextualization in the worldwide

Protestant movements including the Roman Catholic Church,[210] the 1980s saw the

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saying: "Amen! Praise and glory and wisdom and thanks and honor and power and strength to our God for
ever and ever. Amen!""

[206] Refer to 4.2.2 The Evangelical Case of this chapter. See further Bruce J. Nicholls,
Contextualization: A Theology of Gospel and Culture, 20-23.

[207] Bruce Fleming, *Contextualization of Theology*, 57-58. That is, one's definition of the core of
the gospel determines to what extent he/she will contextualize the gospel.

[208] Wilbert R. Shenk, "Contextual Theologies: Last Frontier," *The Changing Face of Christianity:
Africa, the West, and the World*, eds. Lamin O. Sanneh & Joel A. Carpenter (London, UK: Oxford
University Press, 2005), 209.

[209] According to John Stott, at the heart of the gospel is Jesus Christ: 1) the gospel events: Jesus'
life and ministry; 2) the gospel witnesses: the Scriptural and apostolic attestation; 3) the gospel
affirmations: Jesus as the Savior and Lord; 4) the gospel promises: "regeneration and the indwelling of
the Holy Spirit"; and 5) the gospel demands: the "complete reorientation of life" in repentance, baptism,
and faith. John Stott, *Christian Mission in the Modern World*, 44-54.

[210] According to Robert Schreiter, contextualization became "the most widely used term in
Roman Catholic circles to describe the proper relation between faith and cultures." Conventionally, the
Roman Catholic Church preferred the term, inculturation, but it fails to capture "the importance of
(changing) context." Robert Schreiter, "Faith and Cultures: Challenges to a World Church," *Theological*

unprecedented upsurge of attention to contextual theological models. The issue at hand was now "the critical balance between cultural relevancy and biblical integrity"[211] in contextual theological formation, which naturally led to rich discussions as to which model might best correspond to authentic contextualization. Following Bruce Nicholls' seminal work regarding the classification of existential and dogmatic models, Krikor Haleblian sorted contextual theology into the translational and semiotic models in the extreme polarity in 1983.[212] Two years later, Steve Bevans delineated the translation, anthropological, praxis, synthetic, semiotic, and transcendental models,[213] while Robert Schreiter described the translation, adaptation, and contextual models.[214] In 1987 Justin Ukpong made a thematic categorization into the indigenization (i.e. religio-cultural) and socio-politico-economic models, subdividing the first into translation and enculturation and the second into evolution and revolution.[215]

Studies 50 (1989): 747. In my treatment of contextualization's models and methods, such Roman Catholic theologians as Robert Schreiter and Steve Bevans will be included because of their significant contributions to those two studies.

[211] Charles Kraft, *Appropriate Christianity*, 64.

[212] Krikor Haleblian, "The Problem of Contextualization," *Missiology* 11 (January 1983): 104-108.

[213] Steve Bevans, "Models of Contextual Theologies," *Missiology: An International Review* 13:2 (April 1985): 186-200. According to him, "the "anthropological" model, which lays particular stress on listening to culture; the "translation" model, which lays stress on the message of the Gospel and the preservation of Church tradition; the "praxis" model which sees as a primary *locus theologicus* the phenomena of social change, particularly the change called for by a struggle for justice; the "synthetic" model which attempts to mediate the above three by employment of an "analogical imagination"; the "semiotic" model which attempts to listen to a culture by means of semiotic cultural analysis; the "transcendental" model, a meta-model which focuses not on theological content but on subjective authenticity within theological activity."

[214] Robert Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies*, 6-15.

[215] Justin Ukpong, "What is Contextualization?" 161-168. Cf. David Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 421.

Among the aforementioned attempts, the most comprehensive and authoritative is

Steven Bevans' six-fold classification: the translation, anthropological, praxis, synthetic,

transcendental and countercultural models.[216] For Bevans, contextualization is "a

theological imperative" as well as a missiological directive under the dynamic tension

between the "creation-centered" and "redemption-centered" perspectives.[217] The

creation-centered perspective takes seriously *missio Dei generalis*, therefore, drawing

contextualization into cultural respectfulness and contextual relevancy. In contrast, the

redemption-centered perspective takes seriously *missio Dei specialis*, therefore, inducing

contextualization into biblical faithfulness and canonical consistency. In Bevan's

contextual theological continuum, the anthropological model is the most creation-

centered and the countercultural model is the most redemption-centered. The others lie

somewhere in between with the synthetic model as a median locus.[218]

What Bevans conclusively emphasizes is that all these various models are

"inclusive in nature" and practice with their respective distinctive values.[219] Not only

does each model contain overlapping elements, but they can be "used in conjunction with

others."[220] A particular context may necessitate a specific model, which must never be

understood as a hegemonic sanction of its exclusive authority or exhaustive validity in

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[216] His original six models (1985) was reduced into five, exclusive of the semiotic model, in the first edition (1992) of his landmark book, Models of Contextual Theology, which was later modified into six inclusive of the countercultural model in its revised and expanded edition (2001).

[217] Stephen Bevans, *Models of Contextual Theology*, chapter 1.

[218] For a brief overview of each model's distinctive features, see "Synthetic Tables of the Six Models" in Ibid., 141-143.

[219] Ibid., 139.

[220] Ibid., 32.

contextual theological formulation. Among contextual theological models, there exists only functional priority, not essential superiority, in "the complex reality of theological pluralism" reflective of "today's world of radical plurality and ambiguity."[221] According to Max Stackhouse and David Bosch, this inclusive attitude is "surely a mark of genuine theological education," since it denotes "the humility in the face of the full mystery of God" and His Kingdom,[222] and since it recognizes 'God's mission and contextualization in diversified modes.'[223]

4.3.3 The Methods of Theological Contextualization

Aside from the models of theological contextualization, the wider church of the 1980s showed increased interest in its methodology due to "the question of syncretism"[224] parasitic on any contextualization endeavor. To illustrate this, Paul Hiebert put forth the four-process step of contextualization in 1984 in a prescriptive manner,[225] while Robert Schreiter charted a nine-process map for local-theologizing in 1985 in a descriptive fashion.[226] Their schemata are basically designed to foster healthy contextualization immune from syncretism. Caused by the indiscreet "mixing of

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[221] Ibid., 140.

[222] Max Stackhouse, *Apologia*, 215.

[223] The phrase, 'God's mission and contextualization in diversified modes,' was adapted from the title of the last chapter, 'Mission in Many Modes,' in David Bosch's *Transforming Mission*.

[224] Krikor Haleblian, "The Problem of Contextualization," 109.

[225] Paul Hiebert, "Critical Contextualization," *Missiology: An International Review* 12 (1984): 287-96 and *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 11:3 (July 1987): 104–11.

[226] Robert Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies,* chapter 2.

elements of two religious systems,"[227] syncretism degrades the translatability of the gospel into a religious hybrid of either "split-level Christianity" or "Christo-paganism," as Hiebert remarks.[228] That is, non/insufficient-contextualization brings about a syncretistic split-level faith with the separate operation of Christian and non-Christian principles at the surface and underground levels, whereas over-contextualization creates a syncretistic Christo-pagan faith with the indiscriminate absorption of Christian identity into a non-Christian structure.[229]

According to Hiebert, the key to preventing syncretism is critically-performed contextualization. With the translation model as its conceptual referent, the so-called critical contextualization entails the following four steps: 1) "phenomenological analysis" of a given cultural manifestation in the *epoche* (i.e. as it is); 2) "ontological reflection" on its biblical precedent for hermeneutical linkage; 3) "evaluative response" to those correlated events in theological discernment; and 4) "missiological transformation" of the subject matter into a functional alternative with biblical soundness and cultural appropriateness.[230] This deliberate process narrows and bridges the gap between gospel/faith and culture/life, enabling the gospel to infiltrate the culture effectively enough to satisfy the existential felt-needs of local believers.

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[227] Ibid., 144.

[228] Paul Hiebert, "Critical Contextualization," 287-289.

[229] Ibid.

[230] Paul Hiebert et al., *Understanding Folk Religion: A Christian Response to Popular Beliefs and Practices* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1999), 20-29.

Even though it makes an enduring contribution to "an understanding of contextualizing theology" in a multi-cultural world,[231] Hiebert's theory is built primarily upon the conventional evangelical mentality which the Haslev Consultation describes as "contextualization as merely a strategy for cross cultural mission."[232] Indeed, critical contextualization targets for the enhancement of gospel receptivity in cultural sensitivity. As Haslev argues, though, our attitude should go beyond 'contextualization as a strategic execution' towards "contextualization as a necessary and conscious practice of all churches in mission within their own cultures."[233] That is because contextualization itself is in the missional DNA of God and His people. It is Robert Schreiter's concept which reflects this line of thought.

Schreiter, first and foremost, posits theology as "the work of God through a human, graced community."[234] God's mission activates the church's missional encounter with the world, which generates the church's hermeneutical reflection leading to the emergence of a contextual theology.[235] Thus, every theology is subject to reorientation and revitalization in light of God's ongoing mission, upon whose premise Schreiter proposes a nine-process blueprint contributing to the formation of an authentic contextual

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[231] Darrell Whiteman, "Anthropological Reflections on Contextualizing Theology in a Global World," *Globalizing Theology: Belief and Practice in an Era of World Christianity*, 57.

[232] "The Haslev Statement." http://www.lausanne.org/en/component/content/article.html?id=318. Accessed on February 17, 2012.

[233] Ibid.

[234] Robert Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies*, 24.

[235] In this sense, Martin Kahler states that "mission is the mother of all theology." Quoted from David Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 16.

theology.[236] The first phase is the appreciation of previous contextual theologies, because no "theological development could begin *de novo*."[237] The second phase is the "opening of culture" though holistic analysis of "thick description."[238] The third phase is the discovery of a theological theme in "culture texts" pertaining to "current issues."[239] The fourth phase is the "opening of church tradition" through holistic analysis of multicultural hermeneutics. The fifth phase is the recognition of church tradition "as a series of contextual theologies" with "relative normative value."[240] The sixth phase is the "encounter of church tradition and local theme…either in content, in context, in form, or in all three."[241] In the wake of this phase, a contextual theology emerges, which "needs to be tested against the experiences of other Christian communities, both present and past" (the seventh phase), and after which the new theology makes prophetic impacts on both ecclesial and cultural traditions (the eighth and ninth phases).[242]

As Schreiter remarks, his map is neither "a [miracle] recipe for successfully confecting local theology" nor a stringent manual to be followed step by step.[243] Rather, it can serve as a guide for "orientation and evaluation" in constructing contextual

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[236] Schreiter prefers 'local theology' to 'contextual theology with attention to the 'local' initiative of contextualization. For terminological consistency, I will use 'contextual theology' in my treatment of Schreiter's work.

[237] Robert Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies*, 26.

[238] Ibid., 28.

[239] Ibid., 29-30.

[240] Ibid., 32-33.

[241] Ibid., 33.

[242] Ibid., 34-36.

[243] Ibid., 23-24.

theologies. He explains: "The orientation function helps a community locate where it is in the overall process of developing a complete theology. The evaluation function, which builds upon the orientation function, helps to ascertain the strengths and weaknesses in what has done."[244] In fact, what Hiebert intends in his schematic proposal is, albeit strategically, the activation of such a 'navigating' mechanism in the contextualizing process, which shows their common awareness that contextualization is a unity-in-diversity seeking struggle in biblical faithfulness, cultural respectfulness, ecumenical openness, and spiritual submissiveness.[245]

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[244] Ibid., 23.

[245] Lesslie Newbigin believes that the genuine contextualization takes place in triadic pursuit of scriptural fidelity, cultural relevance, and ecumenical dialogue with the global church. Lesslie Newbigin, "Christ and Cultures," *The Scottish Journal of Theology* 31 (1978): 10-12. To Newbigin's concept, I added one more aspect, spiritual submissiveness, namely the humble dependence on the Holy Spirit's guidance, which both Hiebert and Schreiter emphasize in their contextual theological methodologies. See Paul Hiebert, "Critical Contextualization," 293; Robert Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies*, 24.

CHAPTER 5

THE MAKING OF A CONTEXTUAL THEOLOGY OF *MISSIO DEI*

This chapter explores the contextual theology of *missio Dei* as it relates to filial

piety. [1] As discussed in chapter 3, *missio Dei* has been a polarizing concept between the

KPCC and the KCCC in the Korean church. The former (especially, the PCK-Gijang)

exclusively utilized a radical *missio Dei* into its *minjung* theological movement, which

drove the latter to react negatively to the term, *missio Dei*, itself. As illustrated by the

worldwide Protestant movements of chapter 2, *missio Dei* can be a reconciling concept if

properly construed in its genuine and holistic sense. The stigmatization of *missio Dei* as

missional radicalism, however, makes it complicated to reclaim and revitalize a holistic

missio Dei for the missiological reconciliation of the Korean church. Chapter 4 affirmed

the self-theological prerogative and imperative in *missio Dei* and *missiones ecclesiae*,

which offers a clue as to how to solve this dilemma by creating a contextual theology of a

holistic *missio Dei* using the filial piety concept that appeals to both the KPCC and the

KCCC.

With this goal in mind, we will approach the task at hand in three phases. As a

preliminary stage, the first section will introduce filial piety as a contextual theological

medium. As an elucidatory stage, the second and third sections will recount and revisit

missio Dei and filial piety, respectively. As an analytic stage, the fourth section will

compare and contrast *missio Dei* and filial piety to propose *pareo Dei* as a filial-piety-

mediated contextual theology of *missio Dei*. Arnold Toynbee once said: "The family

system in Korea, which is based on the virtue of filial piety, is one of the greatest

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[1] Filial piety, hereafter, refers to Confucian filial piety.

heritages in human history, which I would like to take with me without fail when I go to heaven."[2] As a result of this self-theological exploration, the filial-piety-based family system will turn out to be one of the greatest heritages not only in human history but also in God's mission and salvation.

5.1 Filial Piety as Contextual Theological Medium

This initial stage is a preliminary study prior to the theological contextualization of *missio Dei*. First, we will detail the why of filial piety as a contextual theological medium, describing Korea as a nation of filial piety. Second, we will delineate the how of filial piety as it connects with *missio Dei*, presenting the integrative conceptual framework guiding the way to 'authentic' contextualization.

5.1.1   Korea as a Nation of Filial Piety

From ancient times, Korea has been known as 동방 예의지국 (東　　　國: the country of the courteous people in the East) with filial piety at the center of its cultural principles and values. Such was the reputation of the filial-piety-based Korean culture that Confucius allegedly desired to live in the Korean land.[3] Even the Korean language reflects this filial piety ethos enough to have "its elaborate honorific system."[4]

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[2] Quoted from Ilshik Hong, *21세기와 한국전통문화 [The Twenty-first Century and Korean Traditional Culture]* (Seoul: Modern Literature Press, 1993), 144, 264.

[3] According to *the Analects*, Confucius desired to dwell among "the Nine Wild Tribes of the East" (口夷: the old term referring to those living in the Korean peninsula). "Confucian Analects, Book IV, Chapter XIII," *The Four Books: Confucian Analects, The Great Learning, The Doctrine of the Mean, And the Works of Mencius*, trans. James Legge (New York, NY: Paragon, 1996), 114.

[4] As Kim-Renaud notes, "an important part of Korean language acquisition is apprehending its honorific system." That is because "the proper grammatical forms" should be "chosen on the basis of criteria established by social convention—such as relative age, parentage, social status, and sex—that also

In fact, the Korean cultural attachment to filial piety began at the very moment when Korea was founded as an ethnically unified entity some four thousand years ago. The first Korean nation, Go-Chosun (Old Chosun), virtually legitimized the filial duty to parents, connecting such human filiality to the submission to the Heaven.[5] This indigenous filial piety thought was elaborated and sophisticated over the course of time through the continuous influx of Chinese Confucian ideas.

Go-Chosun was succeeded by the Three Kingdoms epoch (c. 57 BCE–668 CE) when Gogooryo, Baekje, and Silla vied for hegemonic leadership of the Korean peninsula. It was during this period that Confucianism in its primordial mode[6] was transmitted from China and filial piety was elevated as the backbone of the educative and administrative system. All three kingdoms adopted *the Book of Filial Piety* as a mandatory textbook in their institutions of higher education, promoting the filial obligation to both familial heads (parents) and societal heads (kings). This national emphasis on filial piety continued even in the Buddhist dynasties of Unified Silla (668–935) and Goryo (918–1392) in relation to the Buddhist doctrine, 효순심 (孝順心:

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govern other systems of social behavior." Young-Key Kim-Renaud, "Change in Korean Honorifics Reflecting Social Change," *Language Change in East Asia*, ed. T.M. McAuley (Surrey, UK: Curzon Press, 2001), 27.

[5] Dukgyoon Kim, "삼국유사 를 통해본 삼국시대의 효문화[The Filial Piety Culture of Korea's Three Kingdoms Era with Special Reference to the Heritage of Three Kingdoms]," *Journal of Korean Hyo Studies* 3 (December 2006): 72-73.

[6] Gogooryo, one of the Three Kingdoms, built 대학(□學: a public higher educational institution with Confucian curricula) in 372, which means that Confucian thought was already disseminated to the Korean land before the year of 372. Charles Clark, *Religions of Old Korea* (New York, NY: Revell, 1932), 94.

matapettibharo).[7] Unified Silla reshuffled all educational curricula according to the

Confucian classics with *the Book of Filial Piety* as the central axis alongside *the Analects*

of Confucius.[8] Subsequently, Goryo decentralized and universalized a filial-piety-based

education in its twelve administrative districts through the regional dispatch and

establishment of Confucian scholars and schools.[9]

The Korean filial piety culture became philosophically systematized and

religiously fundamentalist as the Chosun dynasty (1392–1910) certified Zhu Xi's neo-

Confucianism as its state ideology.[10] Philosophically, filial piety was upheld as the

ethical norm that put into order and harmony all human relationships. One of the two

greatest neo-Confucian scholars of Chosun, Hwang Lee, described filial piety as "the

most supreme good" inherent in human nature and highlighted the application of filial

spirit into every conduct, private and public.[11] The other great neo-Confucian scholar, Yi

Lee, singled out filial piety as the guiding principle of 삼강오륜 (三口五倫: the Three

Bonds and the Five Moral Rules in Confucianism)[12] and classified the five fundamentals

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[7] According to Soodong Jung, *matapettibharo* is the filial attitude and practice to not only parents but also all humanity and non-humanity. See further his "불교의 효사상 [The Filial Piety Thought in Buddhism]," *Journal of Korean Hyo Studies* 8 (December 2008): 1-20.

[8] Sungmoo Lee, 한국의 과거 제도 *[The Highest-level State Examination of Old Korea]* (Seoul: Jipmoondang, 1994), 54.

[9] Sungmoo Lee, 한국의 과거 제도 *[The Highest-level State Examination of Old Korea]*, 43.

[10] Confucian and neo-Confucian filial piety will be detailed in the next section. Here we will briefly sketch the historical development of the Korean filial piety culture.

[11] Danhaeng Lee, "충·효·예의 현대적 이해[A Contemporary Understanding of Loyalty, Filial Piety, and Propriety]." Online article available at http://emkculture.com/data/down/chung.hwp. Accessed on February 17, 2012.

[12] Three Fundamental Principles (　綱) talks about the mutually-binding relationships 1) between ruler and subject, 2) between parent and child, and 3) between husband and wife. The Five Moral Disciplines (五倫) describe the ideal status in human inter-relatedness: 1) The relationship between father and son is one of love; 2) The relationship between ruler and subject is one of loyalty; 3) the relationship

of filial piety into 공순(□順: psychological filial piety), 순종(隨從: volitional filial piety), 부양(扶養: material filial piety), 안락(樂: mental filial piety), and 제사(祭祀: ceremonial filial piety).[13] The ceremonial aspect of filial piety led to the long-held custom of ancestor worship, falling into cultic ritualization during the Chosun era when the ritual veneration of ancestors in punctuality became the first and foremost responsibility of every male adult. Such was the national infatuation with ceremonial filial piety that kings placed 종묘 제례(宗廟祭禮: the Royal Ancestral Ritual) at the top of their governmental agendas.

From the nineteenth century, the neo-Confucian Chosun society began to crumble as a result of its feudalist system within and isolationist policy without. Internally, anti-governmental revolutionary movements sprang up in almost every part of the country. Externally, imperialist powers rolled in from far and near to colonize the Korean peninsula. Symbolically representative of this chaotic situation was the emergence of a new religious movement, 동학 (□學: *Donghark* or Oriental Learning). Under the banner of anti-feudalism and anti-colonialism, the declassed elites as well as the dehumanized peasants joined forces in a vain attempt to resurrect their malfunctioning society. Even the *Donghark* movement (1860–1895) derived its ideological groundwork from filial piety. With 인내천 (人□天: Humanity is like Heaven) as its doctrinal core, *Donghark* envisioned a world of cosmopolitan filial piety where every human being is

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between husband and wife is one of mutual respect; 4) The relationship between elder and younger is one of order and discipline; and 5) The relationship between friends is one of trust.

[13] Sangho Rho, "율곡의 효행 연구 [A Study of Yi Lee's Filial Piety Thought]," *Journal of Korean Hyo Studies* 1 (April 2004): 247-255.

filial to one another in familial love.[14] This Korean cultural affinity for filial piety was

dogmatically expressed at the inceptive moments of Christian missions to late Chosun,

which faced severe persecutions, particularly on the part of Catholic missions,[15] due to

the stigmatization of Christianity as an un-filial religion resulting from their flat rejection

of ancestor worship.[16]

Through the colonization by Japan (1910–1945) and the nation's industrial-

modernization (1960s–1980s), the Korean society saw its ethical ideology

compartmentalized and differentiated.[17] Consequently, filial piety, which was once held

as the integrating core of every socio-political and even cosmic code of ethics, had been

downgraded to a peripheral virtue applied simply to the family.[18] In addition, filial piety

is often disregarded because of its previous association with the patriarchally

androcentric feudalism.[19] In spite of it all, filial piety is still valued as "the most

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[14] Jangtae Keum, 유학 사상과 유교 문화 *[Confucian Thought and Confucian Culture]* (Seoul: Korea Scholarly Information, 2001), 137.

[15] Catholicism that had been secretly introduced in 1784 became a target of severe suppression, which culminated in the Four Great Persecutions (in Spring 1866; in Summer & Fall 1866; in 1868; in 1871) when more than 8,000 Korean Catholics were martyred. Andrew Nahm, *Korea: Tradition & Transformation*, 141-142.

[16] As Bong Rin Ro states, "ancestor worship has been one of the most important traditional practices among Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans in Asia and has been a continuing obstacle to Christian evangelism and missions." Quoted from Chuck Lowe, *Honoring God and Family* (Bangalore: Theological Book Trust, 2001), 1-2.

[17] Jangtae Keum, 유학 사상과 유교 문화 *[Confucian Thought and Confucian Culture]*, 138.

[18] According Keum, this ethical compartmentalization occurred from the nineteenth century in such ways that 효 (孝: filial piety) has become confined to familial ethics, 신 (信: fidelity) to social ethics, and 충(忠: loyalty) to national ethics. Ibid., 138.

[19] In modern China, Confucianism was criticized as hierarchal and patriarchal in the May Fourth Movement of 1919 and then condemned as anti-communist during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). Similarly, feminist theologians attack the Confucian tradition. See Sang-Wha Lee, "Patriarchy and Confucianism: Feminist Critique and Reconstruction of Confucianism in Korea." *Women's Experiences and Feminist Practices in South Korea*, eds. Pil-wha Chang and Eun-Shil Kim (Seoul: Ewha Womans University Press, 2005), 67-116.

important ethical principle"[20] by the Korean society at large. This was vividly evidenced

when Korea passed the world's first legislation on filial piety. Since the 1970s, civic

groups, Christian and secular, have staged vigorous campaigns for the promotion of filial

piety and having gained social consensus, the National Assembly passed an unheard-of

law on filial piety on July 2, 2007.[21] Even in the midst of "individualism and

materialism,"[22] the Korean government opted for the reclaiming and renewing of filial

piety, the very ethical crux of its cultural legacy, without which Korean-ness cannot be

achieved to the fullest, and, furthermore, without which humanness cannot be affirmed in

the true sense of the word.[23]

5.1.2 The Integrative Conceptual Framework

As Angie Pears notes, doing a contextual theology starts with a keen recognition

of "culture as a key component of human existence."[24] Filial piety is not only a key

cultural element but also the *de facto* cultural nucleus of Korean existence. Of universal

and historical importance to the Korean people, filial piety forms the foundation of the

Korea ethnic identity. The researcher will appreciate and utilize this filial piety concept

to contextualize *missio Dei*, which will be built upon and framed by the following

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[20] Hong-key Yoon, *The Culture of Fengshui in Korea: An Exploration of East Asian Geomancy*, 206.

[21] "효행 장려 및 지원에 관한 법률 [An Act on the Promotion and Support of Filial Piety]," *Journal of Korean Hyo Studies* 4 (August 2007): 1-8.

[22] Academic Association of Korean Social History, 한국산업사회의현실과전망 *[The Reality and Prospect of the Korean Industrial Society]* (Seoul: Literature & Intellect, 1992), 49.

[23] The Korean word for humanity, 인간, is composed of two Chinese characters, 人 and 間, whose combined literal meaning is 'between people,' signifying that a human being is a relational being.

[24] Angie Pears, *Doing Contextual Theology* (London, UK: Routledge, 2009), 18.

theoretical constructs: 1) Andrew Walls' pilgrim and indigenous principle, 2) Steven Bevans' synthetic model, and 3) Robert Schreiter's nine-process map.[25]

Firstly, Walls' theory is an enlightening reminder that any contextual theological project ought to seek a unity-in-diversity theology reflective of the universality and particularity of Christian faith.[26] As Walls states, "all churches are culture churches" in the indigenous principle, but at the same time all churches are supra-culture churches in the pilgrim principle.[27] Culture-bound and culture-specific as ecclesial theology is by its very nature, it needs to be aligned with "the whole Christian tradition across the Christian centuries, in all its diversity."[28] In terms of contextual theological constants, Walls puts forth the historical reality and confessional centrality of the Triune God in His creation generally and in His church particularly.[29] Differently put, the glorification of God, the edification of God's people, and the transformation of God's world are to be elicited from theological imagination (*poiesis*), expression (*theoria*), and implementation (*praxis)* in cultural diversity.[30] The making of a contextual theology of *missio Dei* aims at the maximization of such perennial constants in the Korean filial piety context.

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[25] This section complements 1.6 Methodological Frameworks of chapter 1.

[26] As for the universality and particularity of Christianity, refer to Christopher Wright, *Mission of God*, 328-329, in which he argues for the universality of the ultimate goal in God's mission as well as the particularity of the means in God's mission.

[27] Andrew Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History*, 8.

[28] Ibid., 24.

[29] According to Walls, the perennial constants are "1) the worship of God of Israel…2) the ultimate significance of Jesus of Nazarene…3) that God is active where believers are…4) that believers constitute a people of God transcending time and space." Ibid., 23-24.

[30] David Bosch insists that "the best model of contextual theology succeed in holding together in creative tension *theoria, praxis,* and *poiesis*—or, if one wishes, faith, hope, and love." David Bosch, *Transforming Mission,* 431.

Secondly, Bevans' synthetic model is a primary typological model that predominates in the construction of *pareo Dei*. As "a middle-of-the-road model" in the gospel–culture continuum,[31] the synthetic model is dialogical in its process and reciprocal in its product,[32] which best corresponds to the present project entailing the inter-religious conversation between Christian and non-Christian traditions contributive to their mutual enrichment. This dialogical and reciprocal approach positively appreciates God's grace and traces in the Korean traditional religions. That is, such non-Christian cultural elements as Confucian filial piety are under the orbit of "God's prevenient grace,"[33] "God's eternal power and deity,"[34] "God of all grace,"[35] or the universal "dispensation of grace,"[36] as confirmed in the Wesleyan, Reformed, evangelical, or ecumenical perspective. Even though Christian faith and tradition are not "the exclusive possessor" of God's revelation,[37] they are uniquely graced with God's special revelation which Kraemer calls the *sui generis* events of Living and Written Word.[38] That is why Lesslie Newbigin insists that contextualization "accord the gospel its rightful primacy, its power

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[31] Stephen Bevans, *Models of Contextual Theology*, 88

[32] Ibid., 90.

[33] The Wesleyan tradition confirms God's prevenient grace operating in God's creation and conducive to God's salvation. Notably, Richard Watson, who is considered as the first Methodist systematic theologian, says that "by virtue of universal prevenient grace the heathen are supplied with the means of salvation." Richard Watson, *Theological Institutes* (New York, NY: Lane & Scott, 1851), 2:447.

[34] In the Reformed tradition, Johan H. Bavinck confirms "God's eternal power and deity in the work of creation" in *Reformed Dogmatics: God and Creation* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2004), 75.

[35] Norman Anderson, *Christianity and World Religions* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 1984). 32.

[36] Donald Bloesch, *The Church: Sacrament, Worship, Ministry, and Mission* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 2002), 41.

[37] Lesslie Newbigin, *The Open Secret,* 203.

[38] Hendrik Kraemer, "Continuity or Discontinuity," *The Authority of the Faith* (Tambaram Volume 1) (London: IMC and Oxford University Press, 1939), 1-23.

to penetrate every culture and speak within each culture, in its own speech and symbol, the word which is both No and Yes, both judgment and grace."[39] This prophetic viewpoint puts the gospel, not the context, at the integrating center or "*possessio*" role[40] in the dialogical process of the task at hand.

Thirdly, Schreiter's nine-process map is available as a navigating mechanism in creating a theology of *pareo Dei*. Under the assumption that contextualization is a way of Christian life beyond a strategy for Christian witness, his map takes seriously the dialogical and reciprocal aspect of the synthetic model and offers concrete contextual theological guidance. The methodical blueprint of the immediate project can be described as follows: 1) A previous contextual theology: *missio Dei*; 2) The opening of culture though analysis: Confucian tradition in Asia; 3) The emergence of a theme for contextual theology: Confucian filial piety; 4) The opening of Christian tradition through analysis: Trinity; 5) A Christian tradition seen as a series of contextual theologies: Western Christianity's Trinitarian theology; 6) The Inter-religious encounter between Christian and non-Christian traditions: points of consonance and dissonance between *missio Dei* and filial piety; 7) The impact of inter-religious encounter on culture: a prophetic challenge to Confucian filial piety; 8) The impact of inter-religious encounter on a previous contextual theology: a hermeneutical challenge to *missio Dei*; and 9) The emergence of a new contextual theology: *pareo Dei*.

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[39] Lesslie Newbigin, *The Gospel in a Pluralist Society*, 152.

[40] Central to Bavinck's missiology is the term, *possessio*, by which he means "adopting, taking over, taking possession of." In connection with other faiths, he claims that "Christian life does not accommodate itself to pagan forms of life, but takes possession of them and, in so doing, renews them." Johan H. Bavinck, *Inleiding in de Zendingswetenschap* (Kampen: Kok, 1954), 181. Quoted from Anton Wessels, "Biblical Presuppositions For and Against Syncretism," *Dialogue and Syncretism: An Interdisciplinary Approach*, eds. Jerald D. Gort et al (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1989), 62.

Finally, all of these three theories are taken together and employed as the integrative conceptual framework in the making of *pareo Dei*. Walls' insight operates as the undergirding principle; Bevan's synthetic type operates as the primary model; and Schreiter's map operates as the navigational method. Given its heuristic, not regulatory, nature,[41] the map's nine-process step will be streamlined into four as follows: 1) A study of *missio Dei* (1+4+5 in the original map); 2) A study of filial piety (2+3 in the original map); 3) Their convergences and divergences (6 of the original map); and 4) The emergence and implications of *pareo Dei* (7+8+9 in the original map). As mentioned in the introductory section of this chapter, the first two will be dealt with in the next two sections, and the last two in the final section.

5.2 *Missio Dei*, Recounted and Revisited[42]

Missio Dei affirms that mission belongs to none other than God. This theological concept is rooted fundamentally in the radical monotheistic confession of Christian faith that God, who is the uncreated "I am who I am" (Exodus 3:14), is the ground of all beings and things.[43] As the Creator *ex nihilo*, God is the ultimate source of every existence, animate and inanimate (cf. Genesis 1-2, Isaiah 44:6, 1 Corinthians 8:6, etc). Besides, far from being deistically indifferent to His creation, God is a missionary

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[41] Schreiter makes it clear that his map is "intended to help a community learn to make its own map as it develops its theology." Robert Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies*, 23.

[42] Since *missio Dei*'s historical study was explored in chapter 2, this part will focus on its theological investigation.

[43] It was Paul Tillich who described God as the ground of all beings, the source of every being, and the ultimate concern. According to him, God is "the name for that which concerns ultimately…whatever concerns ultimately becomes a god." Paul Tillich, *Systematic Theology*, Vol. 1 (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1963), 211.

divinity involving Himself continually in its sustenance and salvation. Such is God's affinity with His creatures that "the *missio*" (i.e. the sending) is "a testimony to His deity,"[44] running throughout the entirety of His Word as its pivotal theme "describing the purpose of His action in human history."[45]

According to Bosch, *missio Dei* is the creation-ward (i.e. human-ward as well as nonhuman-ward) movement of God's seeking, sending, and saving love.[46] This agapic movement is eschatologically headed toward the ultimate fulfillment of God's shalom and Kingdom. This cosmic movement is filially exemplified by God Himself in the Christ event of *kenotic* submission to the divine will and purpose. All of these indicate that *missio Dei* is agapically-initiated, eschatologically-oriented, and filially-driven. First, mission starts with God's agapic nature in His Trinitarian trajectory. Second, mission ends with God's shalomic Kingdom in His theocratic eschaton. Last, mission goes on in God's filial spirit during the interim period. Given the above three fundamentals of *missio Dei*, mission can be defined as 1) the overflowing and outpouring of God's inner love, 2) the foretelling and foretasting of God's eschatological Kingdom, and 3) the embracing and embodying of God's filial *kenosis*, to which we will turn for their respective explications.[47]

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[44] Georg Vicedom, *The Mission of God*, 10.

[45] Darrell Guder and Lois Barrett, eds., *Missional Church*, 4.

[46] David Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 390.

[47] We will never understand the full-orbed dimensions of *missio Dei* on this side of heaven. We can only do theological speculations on *missio Dei* on the basis of the Bible and church tradition by means of God-given reason.

5.2.1 Mission as the Overflowing and Outpouring of God's Inner Life, Agape

The Scripture declares that "God is love" (1 John 4:8; *ho theos agape estin* in Greek). As Jung Young Lee notes, the Johannine statement "signifies that agape is more than a mere attribute but the very nature of God."[48] This divine love, agape,[49] is not an outsourced emotion but a dynamic reality in God's own inner life. Monotheistic as it is, the biblical God is the three-personal being with the Father, the Son, and the Spirit in loving relationship. Concerning this revealed mystery,[50] Tertullian first termed the *Trinitas* in the context of "*una substania—tres personae*" (one substance–three persons)[51] and Augustine later stated that "in God, there are no accidents, only substance and relation."[52] Self-revealed as the Great I-Am in Scriptures, God is undifferentiated in essence but triply-personalized in relation, which connotes the community-in-love within

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[48] Jung Young Lee, *God Suffers for Us: A Systematic Inquiry Into a Concept of Divine Passibility* (The Hague: Martinus Nyhoff, 1992), 7.

[49] As Martin Luther King comments, agape is "not a weak, passive love.. [but] a love in action…seeking to preserve and create community." Martin Luther King, "Pilgrimage to Non-Violence," *American Religion: Literary Sources and Documents*, ed. David Turley (Mountfield, UK: Helm, 1998), 420.

[50] As God's ontological nature, the Trinity is a mystery beyond human comprehension. Mysterious as it is, the Trinity is partially revealed in God's Word.

[51] Quoted from Alister McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction*, 249-250.

[52] Augustine, *De Trinitas* 5.5.6. Quoted from Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, *Introduction to Christianity*, 184. As an elaborator of Nicene Trinitarianism, Augustine viewed "the Trinity which God is" as "a divine unity in the inseparable quality of one substance" with specific functional roles as the Father, the Son, and the Spirit in his *De Trinitas* 1.4.7. Quoted from Lewis Ayres, *Augustine and the Trinity* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 96.

the single Godhead.[53] Karl Barth is right when he claims: "The statements, 'God is' and

'God loves,' are synonymous. They explain and confirm one another."[54]

As the hallmark of Christian monotheism,[55] the Trinity alludes to God's

"interpersonal relatedness"[56] characteristic of unity in diversity. God's Triune identity

was disclosed decisively by God Incarnate, Jesus Christ, in the Great Commission of

triadic structure, "in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit"

(Matthew 28:19). As David Black observes, three Trinitarian persons are grouped into a

unified entity by the use of the singular form 'the name of' with emphasis on their

respective individuality.[57] To depict God's unity-in-diversity noumenon, John

Damascene aptly appropriated the Christological term, *perichoresis*,[58] that used to refer

to "a complete mutual interpenetration" of Jesus' two natures, divine and human, with

their personal "identity…intact."[59] Abounding implicitly in the Johannine Gospel,[60] this

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[53] In this sense, Newbigin argues that "God is no solitary monad" in his *Open Secret*, 70.

[54] Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics, Vol. 4.2. The Doctrine of Reconciliation,* trans. Geoffrey Bromiley (Edinburgh: T.&T. Clark, 1958), 755.

[55] Islamic monotheism differs from Christian monotheism in that it holds on to the doctrine of *Tawhid,* namely the indivisible oneness of God.

[56] Newbigin, *Open Secret*, 70.

[57] David Black, "Trinity," *Mercer Dictionary of the Bible*, 934-935. Each person of the Trinity is identified individually with use of the definite article preceding each (the Father…the Son…the Holy Spirit). The use of the definite article for each person of the Trinity identifies each as unique and distinct from the others.

[58] "St. Gregory Nazianzen used the term *perichoresis* to describe the mutual compenetration of the human and divine natures in Christ against both Nestorians and Monophysites ('Christological *perichoresis*'). St. John Damascene used it in this sense as well, but extended it to refer to the mutual compenetration of the three Divine persons." "Circumincession," *Our Sunday Visitor's Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. Peter Stravinscas (Huntington, IN: Our Sunday Visitor, Inc., 1998), 239.

[59] Verna Harrison, "*Perichoresis* in the Greek Fathers," 54.

[60] For example, "I and the Father are one" (John 10:30) and "in the Father and the Father in me" (John 14:10).

Trinitarian *perichoresis* forms the *gestalt* of God's ontological essence, what Ruth Duck and Patricia Wilson-Kastner call "divine dance of love."[61]

It is Karl Barth who links such intra-Trinitarian agapic communality to *actio Dei* in space and time.[62] As George Hunsinger observes, Barth views the Trinity as "the *perichoresis* of three *hypostases* in the one *ousia*,"[63] eternally activated by the mutual indwelling of tri-functional modes, the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, with agape as His ontological core. As *der Liebende* (i.e. the One who loves),[64] the *ad-intra* Trinity is social, communal, and relational, which is recapitulated in the *ad-extra* Trinity. Barth explains: "That he is God—the Godhead of God—consists in the fact that he loves, and it is the expression of his loving that he seeks and creates fellowship with us."[65] The divine vitality of "ceaseless flowing of love and shared life" cannot help but "open out

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[61] Ruth Duck and Patricia Wilson-Kastner, *Praising God: The Trinity in Christian Worship* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1999), 35. They further describe *perichoresis* as "a ceaseless flowing of love and share of life that opens out toward creation."

[62] As Hoedemaker notes, in the 1928 lecture on mission, Barth "connected mission with the doctrine of the Trinity." L.A. Hoedemaker, "The People of God and the Ends of the Earth," *Missiology: An Ecumenical Introduction*, eds. A. Camps et al (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995), 163. As Joseph Bracken mentions, "Barth here endorses the notion of *perichoresis* as set forth by St. John Damascene." Joseph A. Bracken, *Three Who Are One* (Collegeville, MN: Michael Glazier Press, 2008), 46.

[63] George Hunsinger, *Disruptive Grace: Studies in the Theology of Karl Barth* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000), 192. In other words, the Trinity is "self-identical in being (*ousia*), self-differentiated in modes of being (*hypostases*), and self-united in eternal life (*hypostases*)." Peter Oh interprets the central thrust of the Barthian Trinity as a triadic interplay among God-in-esse, God-in-relation, and God-in-action. See further his *Karl Barth's Trinitarian Theology: A Study in Karl Barth's Analogical Use of the Trinitarian Relation* (New York, NY: T & T Clark, 2006).

[64] According to Dietrich Bonhoeffer, "love is always God Himself." Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Ethics* (New York: The McMillan Company, 1955), 174.

[65] Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, Vol. 2:1, 275.

toward creation"[66] (i.e. *missio Dei generalis*) and its salvation in the wake of the Fall (i.e. *missio Dei specialis*).[67]

The Barthian nexus of the *ad-intra* and *ad-extra* Trinity is further highlighted by Karl Rahner from an angle of *missio Dei specialis*. In the Augustinian Trinitarian tradition,[68] Rahner identifies the immanent/*ad-intra* Trinity with the economic/*ad-extra* Trinity,[69] saying that "the Triune God can only appear in history as He is in Himself, and in no way."[70] For Rahner, God's inner self is nothing other than God's self-revelation in Christ, which is "for us a mystery of salvation."[71] Differently put, the immanent Trinity who "is love" (1 John 4:8) is the very economic Trinity who "so loved the world" enough to give "His one and only Son" (John 3:16). In the post-Fall relational brokenness and perverseness, God's internal agape gives birth to His *kenotic* incarnation for the cosmic

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[66] Ruth Duck and Patricia Wilson-Kastner, *Praising God: The Trinity in Christian Worship*, 35.

[67] This viewpoint is beautifully described by Ladislas Orsy as follows: "Within God and inwardly, there is circumincession, *perichoresis,* the interpretation of the three Persons; true communication although beyond our intelligence. Within God and outwardly, there is the effusion of life—the action of creation—that brings us existence and sustenance." Ladislas Orsy, *Receiving the Council: Theological and Canonical Insights and Debates* (Collegeville, MN: Michael Glazier Books, 2009), 51. Similarly, Donald Bloesch says that "because He experiences love within Himself, He can relate in love to His creation" in *God the Almighty: Power, Wisdom, Holiness, Love* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 1995), 40.

[68] The Augustinian or Western tradition affirms the identification of the immanent and economic Trinity. On the other hand, the Eastern tradition posits that the immanent Trinity is more than the economic Trinity.

[69] Simply put, the immanent Trinity refers to "what God is in God's very self," while the economic Trinity to "what God is in His history." Laurence Wood, *Theology as History and Hermeneutics*, 210.

[70] Karl Rahner, *Trinity and Kingdom: the Doctrine of God,* 153.

[71] Karl Rahner, *The Trinity*, trans. Joseph Donceel (New York, NY: Harper & Herder, 1970), 21.

restoration of a loving relationship with and among His created things and beings (Romans 8:19-22).[72]

To sum up, mission is the overflowing and outpouring of God's inner agapic life.[73] The Evangelical–Roman Catholic Dialogue on Mission (1977–1984), thus, reports that "mission arises from the self-giving life and love of the Triune God himself and from eternal purpose for the whole creation."[74] The *perichoretic* relation of the Trinitarian persons is sublimated into their functional roles in God's generative and redemptive economy with the Father as the Creator, the Son as the Savior, and the Spirit as the Sanctifier.[75] The immanent Triune God is the community-in-agape, which missionally overflows and goes out into space and time. At the same time, the economic Triune God conscientizes and actualizes the *perichoretic* shalom, vertical and horizontal.[76] In this

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[72] Romans 8:19-22: "The creation waits in eager expectation for the sons of God to be revealed. For the creation was subjected to frustration, not by its own choice, but by the will of the one who subjected it, in hope that the creation itself will be liberated from its bondage to decay and brought into the glorious freedom of the children of God. We know that the whole creation has been groaning as in the pains of childbirth right up to the present time."

[73] Nels Ferre views agape as "outgoing concern for fellowship" in his *Evil and the Christian Faith* (New York: Haper & Brothers, 1947), 79. In the same sense, John Stott writes that "mission arises from the heart of God Himself" in *The Contemporary Christian: An Urgent Plea for Double Listening* (Leicester: IVP, 1992), 335.

[74] J. Meyer Gros and W. Rusch, eds. *Growth in Agreement II: Reports and Agreed Statements of Ecumenical Conversations on a World Level, 1982-1998* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000), 409.

[75] Timothy Tennent classifies the functional roles of the economic Trinity into the Father as "the providential source and goal of *missio Dei*," the Son as "the redemptive embodiment of the *missio Dei*," and the Spirit as "the empowering presence of *missio Dei*" in *his Invitation to World Missions*. The Wheaton Consultation aptly expresses the Holy Spirit's functional role in the economic Trinity as follows: "He (God) has given us His Spirit, the Transformer par excellence, to enlighten us and be our Counselor (John 16:7), to impart His many gifts to us (Rom 12:1; 1 Cor 12), to equip us to face and conquer the enemy (2 Corinthians 10:3-5; Galatians 5:22-23)." Vinay Samuel and Chris Sugden, eds., *Mission as Transformation*, 275-276.

[76] The biblical meaning of shalom has both vertical and horizontal dimensions. Andrew T. Lincoln, *Ephesians,* Word Biblical Commentary, Vol. 42 (Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1990), 161. Similarly, Walter Brueggemann says that "in its most inclusive dimension it (shalom) is a vision encompassing all of reality" in his *Living toward a Vision: Biblical Reflections on Shalom* (New York: United Church Press, 1982), 17.

vein, God's mission is the *ad-extra* extension of the *ad-intra* Trinity, enabling, ennobling, and enlivening "the very heartbeat of all reality, all creation, all history and all that yet lies ahead us."[77]

5.2.2 Mission as the Foretasting and Foretelling of God's Eschatological Kingdom

Missio Dei flows from God's Trinitarian love and moves to God's eschatological Kingdom. In addition to Trinitarian monotheism, Christian faith ratifies "teleological monotheism" in which God's mission unfolds in His purposeful timeline with a beginning and an ending, to quote Christopher Wright, "a four-point narrative of creation, fall, redemption, and future hope."[78] In the teleological monotheistic framework, God's Kingdom is placed at the center of God's mission and salvation, since its final realization is the ultimate goal of God's mission, and since its full actualization is the eventual completion of God's salvation. It is no wonder that contemporary missiology is "more and more coming to see the Kingdom of God as the hub around which all mission work revolves."[79]

In fact, the Kingdom or Kingship of God[80] is "a key thread in scripture, tying the whole Bible together."[81] The Old Testament is predicated upon God's universal

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[77] Christopher Wright, *The Mission of God*, 533.

[78] Ibid., 64. The biblical view on history is linear from the creation to the new creation.

[79] Johannes Verkuyl, *Contemporary Missiology: An Introduction*, trans. D. Cooper (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1978), 203.

[80] The Kingdom of God includes both the realm and rule of God's theocracy. With regard to its connotation, G. Ladd notes: "The primary meaning of both the Hebrew word *malkuth* in the OT and of the Greek word *basileia* in the NT is the rank, authority and sovereignty exercised by a king. A *basileia* may indeed be a realm...and it may be the people who belong to that realm…but these are secondary and derived meanings. First of all, a kingdom is the authority to rule, the sovereignty of the king." George E. Ladd, *The Gospel of the Kingdom: Scriptural Studies in the Kingdom of God* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1959), 19.

Creatorship and, therefore, sovereign Lordship.[82] In the wake of the fall, God's Kingdom

becomes an anticipated reality in the messianic hope, as encapsulated in "Zion theology

texts."[83] To the Jewish messianic anticipation, God's thisworldly entrance in the New

Testament brings a new dimension: God's Kingdom as an inaugurated reality. With

God's own entrance into human history, the messianic fulfillment turns into the

eschatological intersection between the presence and the future of God's Kingdom. As

Bosch remarks, "the future has invaded the present" in the person and ministry of Jesus,[84]

which renders God's kingdom mysteriously both transcendent and immanent, and whose

hermeneutical preferences determine the contents and contours of God's mission.

　　According to Howard Snyder, Kingdom hermeneutics are basically "grouped as

models of future hope, models of present blessings, or models of earnest anticipation."[85]

From an eschatological angle, the first corresponds to the thoroughgoing Kingdom, the

second to the realized Kingdom, and the last to the inaugurated Kingdom. Pioneered by

Johannes Weiss and Albert Schweitzer, the thoroughgoing Kingdom reverses Adolf von

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[81] Howard Snyder, *A Kingdom Manifesto* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock, 1997), 12.   Similarly, John Bright argues for the thematic centrality of the Kingdom in Scriptures: "The Kingdom of God…involves…the total message of the Bible. Not only does it loom large in the teachings of Jesus, it is to be found in one form or another through the length and breadth of the Bible." John Bright, *Kingdom of God* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1953), 7.

[82] Christopher Wright, *The Mission of God*, 103. God is the sole creator of the world and its inhabitants (Gen 1). By virtue of this, the OT recognizes Him as the sovereign ruler of all (2 Kings 19:15; Psalm 95:3-5). "His dominion is an everlasting dominion" (Daniel 4:34), and he is "the King of all the earth" (Psalm 47:7). See further Graeme Goldsworthy, "Kingdom of God," *New Dictionary of Biblical Theology*, eds. T. Desmond Alexander and Brian S. Rosner (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 2000), 618.

[83] According to Willard Swartley, Isaiah 24:23, 31:4, 40:9, and 52:7 are Zion theology texts. He explains:
"Zion theology is royal theology, related to the Davidic kingship tradition, but consisting essentially of the proclamation of God's own Kingship and sovereign rule." Willard M. Swartley, *Covenant of Peace: the Missing Piece in New Testament Theology and Ethics* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2006), 16.

[84] David Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 32.

[85] Howard Snyder, *Models of the Kingdom* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2001), 18.

Harnack's kernel-husk metaphor,[86] taking Jesus' eschatological language seriously and centrally. For them, Jesus is not so much a great ethical teacher as the apocalyptic announcer of a new era that will imminently and cataclysmically bring the present age to a crashing end.[87] At the other end of the eschatological spectrum is the realized Kingdom espoused by C.H. Dodd who views Jesus' earthly ministry as the actual attainment of the messianic Kingdom. For Dodd, God's Kingdom is a present fact, not something to anticipate in the near or distant future, since "the eschaton has moved from the future to the present, from the sphere of expectation into that of realized experience" in the Christ event.[88]

In between those two extremes lies the inaugurated Kingdom championed by George Ladd. God's Kingdom is, for Ladd, "the presence of the future" that has begun in the Incarnation and will be consummated after the Advent.[89] As Snyder articulates, this model "mediates between the strongly present and future orientations of the first two, holding together the already/not yet tensions of the Kingdom."[90] It is 'already' because Jesus has inaugurated the Kingdom, like the planting of the mustard seed of the parable in

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[86] Adolf von Harnack, *What is Christianity?* trans. Thomas Bailey Saunders (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), 57. The non-eschatological ethical kingdom is grounded in Adolf von Harnack's kernel-husk metaphor, in which Jesus' eschatological language is the 'husk' that must be cut away from the 'kernel' of his moral ideal.

[87] Albert Schweitzer, *The Mystery of the Kingdom of God*, trans. Walter Lowrie (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1985), 47-51.

[88] C. H. Dodd, *The Parables of the Kingdom* (London: Fontana, 1961), 34.

[89] Before God's Kingdom finally and fully appears, it has become dynamically active in the person and mission of Jesus. See George E. Ladd, *The Presence of the Future: The Eschatology of Biblical Realism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1974), 139. The term 'inaugurated eschatology' was introduced by Anthony A. Hoekema, who claimed that "inaugurated eschatology implies that eschatology has indeed begun, but is by no means finished" in his *The Bible and the Future* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1979), 18.

[90] Howard Snyder, *Models of the Kingdom*, 18.

Luke 13:19. At the same time, it is still 'not yet' because the Kingdom seed has not grown fully into the Kingdom tree (Matthew 13:32). In the words of Joachim Jeremias, eschatology is "in the process of (complete) realization,"[91] so humanity is currently living in the overlapping of the two ages between D-Day (decisive battle) and V-Day (final victory).[92]

Among the three Kingdom perspectives, contemporary missiology rightly leans towards the inaugurated Kingdom, since it can maximize the holistic aspect of *missio Dei*. The thisworldly attachment of the realized Kingdom tends toward the secularization and horizontalization of *missio Dei*, while the other-worldly adherence of the thoroughgoing Kingdom tends toward the spiritualization and verticalization of *missio Dei*. These typical reductionist approaches, which prevailed during the missiological Cold War between evangelicals and ecumenists in the worldwide Protestant movements,[93] are by no means compatible with "the biblical vision" of God's mission and salvation including "both present and future, both societal and individual, both physical and spiritual."[94] Only in the inaugurated Kingdom can this both-and tension be

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[91] K.R. Snodgrass, "Parable," *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels*, eds. Joel Green et al (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity, 1992), 592.

[92] D. Lyle Dabney, "Oscar Cullmann," *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Theologians*, eds. Patrick W. Carey and Joseph T. Lienhard (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000), 138-139. In the tension between the two, the church must live, and must always live, as the "eschatological community." Cf. John Bright, *Kingdom of God,* 236.

[93] Refer to chapter 2.

[94] "Transformation: The Church in Response to Human Need, Wheaton Consultation June 1983, VIII. 49," *Mission as Transformation*, eds. Vinay Samuel & Chris Sugden, 274.

maintained in critical balance and be sublimated into holistic transformation, as confirmed at the Wheaton Consultation.[95]

In summary, mission is a teleological movement to the eschatological fulfillment of God's Kingdom.[96] Assumed in God's creation and inaugurated in God's incarnation, God's Kingdom will be consummated in God's new creation, when the whole creation will be "no longer subjected to destructive forces"[97] in cosmic shalom.[98] Until that consummate moment, God's mission continues in the triadic schema of "the proclamation of the Kingdom, the presence of the Kingdom, and the prevenience of the Kingdom."[99] To put it another way, God's eschatological hope can be both experienced and expected under God's sovereign Kingship in every dimension of space and time. In this light, mission is the foretelling and foretasting of God's eschatological Kingdom in holistic activation of spiritual, social, and ecological salvation.[100]

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[95] The WCC also holds to this position: "The whole church of God, in every place and time, is a sacrament of the kingdom which came in the person of Jesus Christ and will come in its fullness when he returns in glory." "Section III-1 at the 1980 CWME World Conference on Mission and Evangelism held in Melbourne," *New Directions in Mission and Evangelization 1: Basic Statements 1974-1991*, eds. James Scherer and Stephen Bevans, 31.

[96] In the same thinking line, Timothy Tennent says that "this end goal of the *missio Dei* ultimately is found in the eschaton, which securely positions missions within an eschatological context" in his *Invitation to World Missions*, 123.

[97] Andrew Kirk, *What is Mission? Theological Explorations* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000), 29.

[98] In terms of God's Kingdom, Mariasusai Dhavamony says: "The Kingdom of God is that new order of things begun in Christ, which, when finally completed by him, will restore man's true relationship to God and to his fellowmen, and to nature. The whole of the church's wide and deep mission activity must receive its focus and orientation in this Kingdom perspective." Mariasusai Dhavamony, *The Kingdom of God and World Religions* (Rome: Gregorian University Press, 2004), 25.

[99] Lesslie Newbigin, *Open Secret*, 64.

[100] Similarly, F. Hrangkhuma proposes the mega-model of the Kingdom of God inclusive of the redemptive, liberative, and ecological types in his "Interrogating Holism in Mission," *News of Boundless Riches 1*, eds. Max Stackhouse and Lalsangkima Pachuau, 124-144.

5.2.3 Mission as the Embracing and Embodying of God's Filial *Kenosis*

God is the alpha and the omega of mission. Not only does mission originate in

God's triune life, but it is also finalized in God's eschatological theocracy.[101]

Furthermore, God is the supreme example of mission. As Georg Vicedom observes,

God, who is the subject of mission, becomes the object of mission in the economic triune

mechanism:[102] the Father sends the Son (cf. John 3:16, 1 John 4:14, etc), and the Father

and the Son send the Spirit (John 16:7; cf. John 14:26).[103] In the sin-affected world, God

the Sender becomes God the Sent in the Christ event, who is, according to Timothy

Tennent, "the redemptive embodiment of the *missio Dei*,"[104] and who is, according to

Andreas Köstenberger and Scott Swain, the *kenotic* missioner in filial rapport with God

the Sender in absolute obedience to His will and purpose.[105]

In the orthodox Christological formula, Jesus Christ retains the *hypostatic* union

of divine and human natures. The Chalcedonian statement (451) makes it clear that full

divinity and full humanity coexist in the unitive person of Jesus "without confusion,

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[101] According to John Piper, "missions exists because worship doesn't." He adds: "Worship is ultimate, not missions, because God is ultimate, not man. When this age is over, and the countless millions of the redeemed fall on their faces before the throne of God, missions will be no more." John Piper, *Let the Nations Be Glad! The Supremacy of God in Missions* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2007), 17. In the full-blown God's Kingdom, the whole creation will be under the actual (currently, potential) orbit of God's sovereign reign, while worshipping His supreme glory and honor.

[102]   Both Jesus and the Holy Spirit are sent in God's mission. Georg Vicedom, *The Mission of God,* 8, 50.

[103] The Western Trinitarian tradition takes seriously John 16:7 ("If I go, I will send him (the Spirit) to you") and recognizes the Son's participation in the sending of the Spirit. On the other hand, the Eastern Trinitarian tradition takes seriously John 14:26 ("the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name") and negates the Son's co-prerogative with the Father in the sending of the Spirit.

[104] Timothy Tennent, *Invitation to World Missions*, 227.

[105] Richard Bauckham argues for the inseparability of Jesus' filial status and earthly ministry in "The Sonship of the Historical Jesus in Christology," *The Historical Jesus, Vol 3: Jesus' Mission, Death, and Resurrection*, ed. Craig A. Evans (London: Routledge, 2004), 104-117.

without change, without division, and without separation."[106] The second person of the

Trinity, who is the eternal Logos (John 1:1), is enfleshed in Jesus of the Nazareth (John

1:14),[107] who is a first-century Jewish male, without losing such divine properties as

preexistence, omniscience, and the like. As the Nicene Creed stipulates, Jesus Christ is

homoousios (of the same substance) with the Triune God as well as with humankind.

According to Gregory of Nazianzus (aka Gregory Nazianzen: c. 329–c. 390), this divine

incarnation in *hypostatic* or *perichoretic* union[108] is a mystical factuality in God's

redemptive plan and practice, since "that which is not assumed is not healed, but that

which is united to the Godhead is also saved."[109] In other words, salvation is made

complete and accessible thanks to God Incarnate, whose "human agency and life"

verifies and fortifies his divine Savior-ship as the Son of God.[110]

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[106] Karl Rahner and Herbert Vorgrimler *Theological Dictionary* (New York, NY: Herder & Herder, 1965), 71. See further Richard Norris and William Rusch, eds., *The Christological Controversy* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1980). At Chalcedon, Mary was declared as *theotokos* (God-bearer), not *christotokos* (Christ-bearer).

[107] John 1:14: "The Word became flesh and made his dwelling among us. We have seen his glory, the glory of the one and only Son, who came from the Father, full of grace and truth."

[108] Originally, the term, *perichoresis*, was used to denote the interpenetrating dimension of Jesus' divine and human natures.

[109] Gregory of Nazianzus, "To Cledonius Against Appollinaris" (Epistle 101), *Christology of the Later Fathers, Library of Christian Classics,* Vol. 3., ed. Edward Hardy (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1954), 218. In the same manner, Gregory of Nyssa (c. 332-395) links Jesus' dual attributes, wholly divine and wholly human, to soteriology, contending that "what God has not assumed, God has not saved."

[110] Thomas Torrance, *The Trinitarian Faith: The Evangelical Theology of the Ancient Catholic Church* (London: T & T Clark, 1988), 8. On this issue, Torrance cogently explains as follows: "It is essential to realize that Jesus Christ the Son of God is also man, of one and the same being and nature as we are. If he is not really man, then the great bridge which God has thrown across the gulf between himself and us has no foundation on our side of that gulf. Jesus Christ, to be Mediator in the proper sense, must be wholly and fully man as well as God. Hence the Creed stresses the stark reality and actuality of his humanity: it was for our sakes that God became man, for us and for our salvation, so that it is from a soteriological perspective that we must seek to understand the human agency and life of Jesus Christ. He came to take our place, in all our human, earthly life and activity, in order that we may have his place as God's beloved children, in all our human and earthly life and activity, sharing with Jesus in the communion of God's own life and love as Father, Son and Holy Spirit."

As the Gospels record, Jesus of Nazareth designates himself as the Son of God (Matthew 11:25-27[111]; Mark 13:32;[112] Mark 12:1-12;[113] Mark 14:61-64[114]). According to Donald Guthrie, Jesus' self-address as God's Son reveals the "unique filial relation between Jesus and God" in his human consciousness,[115] which is enabled by his double *perichoretic* reality. In the Trinitarian *perichoresis*, the divine Jesus is fully aware of his agapic and filial connection with his Sender and Father. In the *hypostatic perichoresis*, the human Jesus is simultaneously capable of such filial status and cognition to the extent of calling God "Abba" and obeying God's will (Mark 14:36[116]). Regarding this Aramaic utterance,[117] Ben Witherington comments that "this form of address does imply a filial consciousness on the part of Jesus that involved a degree of intimacy with God unlike

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[111] Matthew 11:25-27: "At that time Jesus said, "I praise you, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because you have hidden these things from the wise and learned, and revealed them to little children. Yes, Father, for this is what you were pleased to do. "All things have been committed to me by my Father. No one knows the Son except the Father, and no one knows the Father except the Son and those to whom the Son chooses to reveal him." The Lukan parallel is Luke 10:20-21: "At that time Jesus, full of joy through the Holy Spirit, said, "I praise you, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because you have hidden these things from the wise and learned, and revealed them to little children. Yes, Father, for this is what you were pleased to do."

[112] Mark 13:32: "But about that day or hour no one knows, not even the angels in heaven, nor the Son, but only the Father."

[113] This pericope is about the parable of the tenants whose parallels are Matthew 21:33-46 and Luke 20:9-19.

[114] Mark 14:61-64: "But Jesus remained silent and gave no answer. Again the high priest asked him, "Are you the Messiah, the Son of the Blessed One?" "I am," said Jesus. "And you will see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of the Mighty One and coming on the clouds of heaven." The high priest tore his clothes. "Why do we need any more witnesses?" he asked. "You have heard the blasphemy. What do you think?" They all condemned him as worthy of death."

[115] Donald Guthrie, *New Testament Theology* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 1981), 307.

[116] Mark 14:36: "Abba, Father," he said, "everything is possible for you. Take this cup from me. Yet not what I will, but what you will."

[117] Joachim Jeremias is confident that "Abba as an address to God is *ipsissima vox*, an authentic and original utterance of Jesus." Joachim Jeremias, *The Central Message of the New Testament* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1965), 30.

anything we know of in Judaism prior to Jesus' day."[118] As the second Triune person,

Jesus is not only cognizant of the familial mystery of the divine inner life but also entitled

to refer to God as Abba. In this filial awareness, Jesus is assured of his sent (i.e.

missionary) role as "the unique mediator of a relationship with God,"[119] so that he leads a

filial life of self-emptying for his Father's mission and glory.

In addition to the Son of God, another filial self-appellation of Jesus is the Son of

Man (Mark 2:1-12; Mark 14:61-64). As both Oscar Cullmann and Ben Witherington

note, Jesus of Nazareth personalizes the OT messianic title (cf. Daniel 7:13-14, Psalm

110:1, Psalm 80:17)[120] in "a conscious identification with God"[121] and connects it to his

royal Son-ship (cf. Isaiah 7:1-16, 9: 1-7, 42:1-7, 61:1-2) and *kenotic* Messiah-ship (Isaiah

53:1-12).[122] In keen awareness of his *perichoretic* filial rapport with God, Jesus has a

perfect grasp of the very reason for being sent in human form: "to give his life as a

ransom for many" (Matthew 20:28). Such filial consciousness is, thusly and rightly,

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[118] Ben Witherington III, *The Christology of Jesus* (Minneapolis, MI: Fortress Press, 1990), 220. In the same sense, Martin Hengel states that this expression is "expressive of Jesus' filial consciousness" in his *The Son of God*, trans. John Bowden (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1976), 45, 63.

[119] Ibid., 220. This point of view challenges Schleiermacher's Ebionitic claim. Notably, Schleiermacher recognizes Jesus' supreme God-consciousness: "Instead of being obscured and powerless as in us, the God-consciousness in Him (Jesus) was absolutely clear and determined each moment, to the exclusion of all else, so that it must be regarded as a continual living presence, and withal a real existence of God in Him." In spite of the "real existence of God," this consciousness is merely Jesus' human keen awareness of God raised to the perfect level. For Schleiermacher, Jesus is a super-human being with no divine nature. See further Friedrich Schleiermacher, *The Christian Faith*, trans. H.R. Mackintosh and J.S. Stewart (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1928).

[120] The Son of Man appears in Psalms 8:4 and Ezekiel (2:1, 3, 6, 8), as well. In these cases, it refers to humanity and the prophet, respectively.

[121] Oscar Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament* (Philadelphia, The Westminster Press, 1959), 282.

[122] Ben Witherington III, *The Christology of Jesus*, 262. This perspective is also supported by Raymond Brown who interprets Jesus' appropriation of the OT Son-of-Man title in the context of "divine prerogative." Raymond Brown, *An Introduction to New Testament Christology* (Mahweh, NJ: Paulist, 1994), 96.

underlined by Cullmann as the integrating link of "his person and his work,"[123] in the

words of Alexander Bruce, "the source of his Messianic…[giving] birth to faith in his

messianic vocation…through all the trials of His public life."[124] In this light, Jesus is the

filial Son of God whose ontological being is totally identified with his "filial mission

from God."[125]

As such, Jesus' filial life marked by *kenosis* is a natural outcome of his filial

status and cognition. He cannot help but submit wholly to the Father, because, as

Andreas Köstenberger and Scott Swain notes, "the Father's will is his will (*homoousios*)

and because obedience to the Father is the truest personal expression of his filial unity

with the Father."[126] This perspective is aligned with contemporary Christology treating

ontological and functional Christology in the same category.[127] The Son in the triune life

is the very Jesus in Jewish enfleshment, whose filial position determines, and is validated

by, his filial action. Kasper is right, therefore, when he states that "nature and mission,

essential Christology and functional Christology, cannot be opposed…separated…[but

are] mutually dependent."[128] To this Barthian approach,[129] Richard Bauckham consents,

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[123] Oscar Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament,* 290.

[124] Alexander Balmain Bruce, *The Kingdom of God; or, Christ's Teaching According to the Synoptical Gospels* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1889), 180.

[125] Richard Bauckham,   "The Sonship of the Historical Jesus in Christology," *The Historical Jesus, Vol 3: Jesus' Mission, Death, and Resurrection*, 114. According to him, Jesus' divine "son-ship is a relationship to be fulfilled in mission; and as such it both determines and is validated by Jesus' whole life and fate."

[126] Andreas J. Köstenberger and Scott R. Swain, *Father, Son and Spirit: The Trinity and John's Gospel* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 2008),124.

[127] For example, Wolfhart Pannenberg argues for the inseparability of ontological and functional Christology in his *Jesus–God and Man* (London: SCM, 1968). .

[128] Walter Kasper, *Jesus the Christ* (New York, NY: Paulist Press, 1977), 110-111.

saying: "Jesus cannot be said to be the Son independently of his mission: the two are inseparable."[130]

In summation, mission is the embracing and embodying of God's filial *kenosis*. As Hoedemaker rightly evaluates, "Barth and Hartenstein want to make clear that mission is grounded in an intratrinitarian movement of God Himself and that it expresses the power of God over history, to which the only appropriate response is **obedience**" (emphasis added).[131] The obedient mission is exemplarily put into action by the Son of God who "made himself nothing…by becoming obedient to death—even death on a cross!" (Philippians 2:7a, 8b). As the filial Son of God, Jesus effectuates the prototypical filial mission doing "the will of him who sent me" (John 6:38) in filial status and consciousness, which pleases and glorifies God the Sender and Father (John 8:29, 17:4).[132] Undoubtedly, this sort of filial *kenosis* is expected of God's people (i.e. the church) when they participate in God's mission[133]

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[129] Barth holds that Jesus Christ is unthinkable without his earthly mission and vice versa. Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, 111/2, 66-69. .

[130] Richard Bauckham, "The Sonship of the Historical Jesus in Christology," 113.

[131] L.A. Hoedemaker, "The People of God and the Ends of the Earth," 163.

[132] In John 8:29, Jesus Christ says that "the One who sent me is with me; He has not left me alone, for I always do what pleases Him." In John 17:4, he says that "I have brought you glory on earth by finishing the work you gave me to do."

[133] Based on the "theological uniqueness of Christ's incarnation," Andreas J. Köstenberger argues for "representational model" instead of "incarnational model" in terms of "the model of mission." See further his "Challenge of a Systematized Biblical Theology of Mission: Missiological Insights from the Gospel of John," *Missiology* 23 (1995): 445-464.

5.3 Filial Piety, Recounted and Revisited

Filial piety is the centerpiece of East Asian culture. The oriental attachment to filial piety starts with the historical dawn of ancient civilization in China, the East Asian cultural epicenter. After the pre-historic Xia times (代, c.2205–c.1766 BCE), China entered into human history as a culturally unified entity under the political dominion of the Yin dynasty (代: c.1766–c.1046 BCE; aka the Shang dynasty, 商朝).[134] As a civilized nation, the Yin dynasty invented archaic Chinese pictographic characters, namely, oracle bone script (□□文, shell-and-bones writings), in which the filial piety word (孝) is frequently found, signifying the cultural formulation of the filial piety concept in or before the first historic regime. The Yin dynasty was followed by the Zhou dynasty (周, c.1046–c.771 BCE), whose *Classic of Poetry* (經)[135] and *Dynastic Annals* (周書)[136] alike abound with the filial piety theme,[137] indicating the cultural promotion of filial piety in this society that revered age.

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[134] As regards ruling regimes, Chinese history has developed as follows: 1) The Yin dynasty (c.1766–c.1046 BCE), 2) The Zhou dynasty (c.1046–c.771 BCE), 3) The Spring and Autumn Period (770–403 BCE), 4) The Warring States Period (403–221 BCE), 5) The Qin dynasty (221–206 BCE), 6) The Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 AD), 7) The Three Kingdoms (220–580), 8) The Sui dynasty (580–618), 9) The Tang dynasty (618–907), 10) The Song dynasty (907–1271), 11) The Yuan dynasty (1271–1368), 12) The Ming dynasty (1368–1644), 13) The Qing dynasty (1644–1912), 14) The Republic of China (1912–1949), and 15) The People's Republic of China (1949–present).

[135] *The Classic of Poetry* contains 305 poems written from the early Zhou dynasty to the early Spring and Autumn Period.

[136] *The Dynastic Annals* (or *The Zhoushu or Book of the Zhou Dynasty*) is the official historical document of the Northern Zhou dynasty (557-581) with 50 chapters, among which 8 chapters are about imperial biographies (紀) and the rest chapters about normal and collective biographies (列傳).

[137] For instance, 개풍 (□風) of *the Classic of Poetry* is an eulogy to filial piety. See *The Chinese Classics, Vol. 4: The Book of Poetry,* trans, James Legge (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), 50-51.

In the Yin-Zhou era, filial piety at large took on the dyadic aspects: ante-mortem and post-mortem filial piety. The first is the filial duties to living parents, whom children must respect (敬), obey (服從) and support (奉養). The second is the filial obligation to deceased parents, for whom children must conduct ancestral rites (追孝). This primordial notion of filial piety is functionally related to socio-political solidarity and continuity in Chinese hierarchical dynasties. To illustrate, *the Zuo Zhuan* and *the Guoyu*,[138] the historical documents during the Spring and Autumn Period (770–403 BCE), describe filial piety as the source of *li* (禮) and *wen* (文), respectively. As Namyoung Lee comments, the then meaning of *li* or *wen* was the patrilineal establishment and continuance of the familial, societal, and royal system, which points to the functional importance of filial piety as socio-political ethics.[139]

It was Confucius (551–479 BCE) who put filial piety at the center of Chinese ethics, both private and public. He upheld filial piety not only as the foundational purpose of education[140] but also as the motivational root of *ren* (仁)[141] that he regards as the supreme element of human nature and virtue. In the Confucian nexus of filial piety and *ren*, Mencius (372 –289 BCE) emphasizes the human inherence of filial piety (孝心; the filial nature or inner filiality) and its cultivation and application in every human relationship (汎孝論; comprehensive filial piety). This Confucian-Mencian approach

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[138] Both *the Guoyu* (口語) and *the Zuo Zhuan* (左傳) are the historical collections of the Spring and Autumn Period.

[139] Namyoung Lee, "효 사상의 한국적 전개 [A Development of the Filial Piety Thought in Korea]," *Journal of Korean Hyo Studies* 1 (April 2004): 236.

[140] See "Chapter I: The Scope and Meaning of the Treatise," *The Hsiao King or Classic of Filial Piety*, trans. James Legge (Whitefish, MT : Kessinger Publishing, 2004), 17.

[141] In *the Analects*, Confucius emphatically states: "Filial piety and fraternal submission!—are they not the root of all benevolent actions?" "Confucian Analects, Book I, Chapter II," *The Four Books*, 3.

was made more philosophically sophisticated by such neo-Confucian scholars as Zhu Xi (or Chu Hsi, 1130–1270) and Yang-min Wang (1472–1529) with emphasis on the cosmic dimension of filial piety. In the neo-Confucian cosmological assumption of the universe as a relational whole, filial piety is underlined as the conscious and actual embodiment of filial interconnection and interdependence of all things, in the contemporary neo-Confucian terms, the anthropocosmic vision and action.[142] The Confucian sages were the very persons who cultivated and demonstrated such filial spirit.

As above-outlined, the filial piety concept has been developed over the course of Chinese and Confucian history. In the pre-Confucian era, filial piety was primarily an ethical virtue describing and prescribing social status and order. To this functional formula, Confucius adds the *ren* aspect, thereby ascribing filial piety as the root of genuine humanity. The Confucian view was elaborated by Mencius into comprehensive filial piety, which was further expanded by neo-Confucianism into cosmic filial piety seeking a relational harmony among self, community, nature, and Heaven. Given these historical developments that have broadened and deepened its content and extent, <u>filial piety at large can be defined as 1) reciprocal response to parental love and care, 2) social manifestation of the supreme human nature, *ren,* and 3) life-long cultivation and activation of anthropocosmic vision.</u> Far from being mutually exclusive, these three definitions are conjunctively integrated under the orbit of Confucian anthropology that is relational, social, and filial. In what follows, we will discuss each of these in detail.

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[142] Tu Weiming represents this voice. See his *Humanity and Self-Cultivation: Essays in Confucian Thought* (Berkley: Asian Humanities Press, 1979) and *Centrality and Commonality: An Essay on Confucian Religiousness* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989).

5.3.1 Filial Piety as Reciprocal Response to Parental Love and Care

According to the oracle bone script of the Yin dynasty, the original form of the Chinese word, filial piety (孝), is composed of two pictographic letters, an aged person (老) and a son (子), with the son carrying his elderly parent on the back. Etymologically, filial piety refers to children's physical support of their elderly parents, which is well reflected in "육아(蓼莪)" of *the Classic of Poetry (經)*. In the poetry, the author laments over his old parents' demise and, therefore, for his loss of filial opportunity.[143] During the Yin-Zhou period, this literal and basic meaning was expanded to the filial duties toward parents regardless of their life situations and stages, whether non-aged or aged, and whether alive or dead.[144] This expansive sense of filial piety was re-confirmed and strengthened by Confucius: "Parents, when alive, should be served according to propriety; when dead, they should be buried according to propriety; they should be sacrificed to according to propriety."[145] Such an understanding, thereafter, forms the rudimentary *gestalt* of Confucian filial piety.

The filial responsibility to living and deceased parents is the bound duty of every child, because his/her parents are the source of his/her existence and subsistence on earth. First, as *the Classic of Filial Piety* writes, parents are life-givers: "Our bodies—to every hair and bit of skin—are received by us from our parents."[146] Also, parents are life-

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[143] *The Chinese Classics, Vol. 4: The Book of Poetry,* 350-352.

[144] Alan Kam-leung Chan and Sor-hoon Tan, eds., *Filial Piety in Chinese Thought and History* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 1.

[145] "Confucian Analects 2.5," *The Four Books,* 15.

[146] "Chapter I: The Scope and Meaning of the Treatise," *The Hsiao King or Classic of Filial Piety*, trans. James Legge (Whitefish, MT : Kessinger Publishing, 2004), 17.

sustainers, as *the Classic of Poetry* sings: "Father! You birthed me! Mother! You raised me! How can I make a return for your love and care?"[147] Put together, parents are the creators and nurturers of children children; therefore they are entitled to their offspring's filial piety. Without parents' presence and support, children cannot come into being and come of age properly. Children are to repay such life-giving and life-sustaining love of their parents with the utmost filial affection and action, which must continue even after their parents' death and will only end with their own death.

This approach puts filial piety in reciprocal mutuality. Parents give birth to and take care of children. In return, children hold filial liability during their entire lifetime, which are, according to Tseng Ts'an (505–c. 436 BCE), made up of ten virtuous duties: 1) making parents dwell comfortably (居), 2) serving them wholeheartedly (敬), 3) obeying them respectfully (敬), 4) supporting them materially (養), 5) making them happy (樂), 6) nursing them in times of sickness (憂), 7) holding a funeral solemnly (喪), 8) grieving their death (哀), 9) ritualizing their death into ancestor worship (祭), and 10) conducting ancestral ceremonies punctually (嚴).[148] In the Ts'an's prescription, the first six are ante-mortem filial piety applied to living parents, and the next four are post-mortem filial piety performed during the three-year mourning period (numbers 7 & 8) and in ancestral rites (numbers 9 & 10).

When it comes to ante-mortem filial piety, *the Classic of Filial Piety* has a somewhat different content with situational-ethical filial action allowed. As Jung and

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[147] *The Chinese Classics, Vol. 4: The Book of Poetry,* 350-351.

[148] Younkee Bae, "동서양의 절대가치로서의 효애사상의 원리 [The Principle of Filial Love as the Absolute Value of East and West]," *Journal of Korean Hyo Studies* 7 (August 2008): 151; Gyuntaek Yim, *한국사상과 윤리 [The Korean Thought and Ethics]* (Seoul: Hyungseol Press, 1992), 373-374.

Park observe, there are eight indispensable filial duties in the Confucian text.[149] First, children ought to take good care of themselves physically (保身), which *the Classic of Filial Piety* considers as "the beginning of filial piety."[150] Since our life is indebted to our parents, *the Classic of Filial Piety* insists that "we must not presume to injure or wound them."[151] The second and third are concerned with attitudinal deference (恭敬) and volitional obedience (順從), respectively. Children are, fourth, encouraged to live close to and pay a regular visit to parents (侍奉), and, fifth, to cherish and realize parents' will (陽志). The sixth and seventh are about material support (奉養) and courteous remonstrance (□言), respectively. Last but not least, children should try their best to achieve success and prestige, resulting in family pride (揚名).

Among the eight precepts, courteous remonstrance (□言) alludes to the situational-ethical dimension of Confucian filial piety. In principle, children are to listen to and comply with whatever parents say. Being human, however, parents are not infallible in the least. Not only that, as children grow up, they can at times surpass their parents in knowledge, discernment, and judgment. "Therefore, when a case of unrighteous conduct is concerned," articulates *the Classic of Filial Piety*, "a son must by no means keep from remonstrating with his father."[152] Even in this case, children are

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[149] Jeongae Jung and Youngsook Park, "한국 여성과 결혼 이민 여성의 효 의식과 자기 효능감에 관한 연구 [A Study on the Filial Piety Consciousness and Self-Efficiency of Korean Women and Immigrant Women by Marriage]," *Journal of Korean Hyo Studies* 10 (December 2009): 119-122.

[150] "Chapter I: The Scope and Meaning of the Treatise," *The Hsiao King or Classic of Filial Piety*, 17.

[151] Ibid.

[152] "Chapter XV: Filial Piety in Relation to Reproof and Remonstrance," *The Hsiao King or Classic of Filial Piety*, 33.

supposed to treat parents with love and respect, because this activity is, albeit

remonstratively, a filial duty, and, as Confucius notes, filial piety should be always done

as such (i.e. out of love and respect) in whatever format.

Post-mortem filial piety (奉祀) is divided into 'mourning-for-three-years'

(三□喪) and ancestral rites (祭禮). The first is a custom of the eldest son having a three-

year temporary residence beside his parental gravesite in grief.[153] When questioned

regarding his opinion of the practice's necessity, Confucius answered: "It is not till a

child is three years old that it is allowed to leave the arms of its parents. And the three

years' morning is universally observed throughout the empire. Did Yu enjoy the three

year's love of his parents?"[154] This filial obligation serves as a bridge between ante-

mortem filial piety and ceremonial filial piety. Confucius explains: "The services of

love and reverence to parents when alive, and those of grief and sorrow to them when

dead: these completely discharge the fundamental duty of living men. The righteous

claims of life and death are all satisfied, and the filial son's service of his parents is

complete."[155] What follows are ancestral rites in which deceased parents are

memorialized under the leadership of the eldest son at their death anniversary.[156]

It is well known that Confucius was not so much a super-naturalist as a

humanistic realist. When questioned regarding death and supernaturalism, Confucius

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[153] It is generally said that the three-year-mourning practice stared during the Yin-Zhou period. The National History Compilation Committee, *상장례: 삶과 죽음의 방정식 [Funeral and Ancestral Rites: An Equation of Life and Death]* (Seoul: Doosan Donga, 2005), 118.

[154] "Confucian Analects, Book XVII, Chapter XXI," *The Four Books*, 268-269.

[155] "Chapter XVIII. Filial Piety in Mourning for Parents," *The Hsiao King or Classic of Filial Piety*, 36.

[156] Alan Kam-leung Chan and Sor-hoon Tan, eds., *Filial Piety in Chinese Thought and History*, 1.

replied: "While you do not know about life, how can you know about death?...The subjects on which the Master did not talk, were—extraordinary things, feats of strength, disorder, and spiritual beings."[157] Confucius' traditionalist disposition,[158] though, led him to appreciate ancestral rites prevalent from the Zhou dynastic era in implicit affirmation of the animistic folk belief, the driving force behind ritual filial piety. According to Chinese folk animism, human beings are immortal in the ghostly sense, as reported by Confucius himself.[159] That is, a deceased person's non-material elements depart his/her physical body and change into three entities: 1) heavenly soul (魂), 2) earthly soul (魄), and 3) ghost (鬼). The first goes up to the heaven and the second returns to the earth. The last is a ghostly vitality moving around in the air, which is the very object of human veneration in ancestral rites, and which is "believed to give blessings or misfortunes to their descendents according to their filial piety."[160] This animistic framework accords utilitarian importance to ancestor worship in East Asian folkways.

　　To sum up, filial piety is, first and foremost, a reciprocal response to parental love and care.[161] Lee Dian Rainey articulates this pre-Confucius notion of filial piety that Confucius also embraced: "We owe our parents for the gift of our life and nothing we can do could ever repay that. Parents care for us when we are helpless; as we grow older

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[157] "Confucian Analects, Book VII, Chapter XX and Book XI, Chapter XI," *The Four Books*, 87, 141

[158] Confucius argues for the acquirement of new things without disregard of old things, which shows his traditionalist tendency. See "Confucian Analects, Book II, Chapter XI," *The Four Books*, 18,

[159] Refer to "Confucian Analects, Book III," *The Four Books*, 24-37.

[160] Gapsoo Cho, *Ancestral Practices in Korean Churches: An Evangelical Protestant Understanding*, D. Miss. Dissertation (CA: Fuller Theological Seminary, 1999), 85.

[161] Jungmook Choi, "인간다움에 대한 공자의 논변 [The Confucian Argument for Humanness]," *East-West Philosophical Studies* 39 (2006): 57-59.

we must repay that care."[162] It is natural that children should carry out filial duties to their own life's creators and sustainers, parents, with "grateful heart and respectful love."[163] Even after parents pass away, filial piety must continue in modes of three-year-mourning and ancestral rites. This post-mortem filiality is entangled in animistic folklore in its utilitarian performance, which is essentially incongruent with Confucius' deontological approach to every filial activity inclusive of ancestral rites, and which is the topic of the next section.

5.3.2 Filial Piety as Social Manifestation of Inner Humanness, *Ren*

Prior to Confucius, filial piety generally was construed functionally as a catalytic virtue for an ordered familial and social life. When filial piety is displayed as a reciprocal reaction to parental love and care, patriarchal familism is maintained and strengthened. When this filial spirit prevails in the whole society, agnatically-hierarchical kinship and kingship are secured and rooted. That is why *the Zuo Zhuan* and *the Guoyu* alike commended and promoted filial piety as the fountainhead of *li* (禮) and *wen* (文), namely the patrilineally dynastic system ruled by such sage-kings as King Wu of Zhou.[164] As a critical traditionalist,[165] Confucius appreciated this primordial approach

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[162] Lee Dian Rainey, *Confucius and Confucianism: the Essentials*, 25. Similarly, Kyu-taik Sung holds that "filial piety essentially teaches the rule of behavior, and directs offspring to repay parent love and grace" in his *Care and respect for the Elderly in Korea: Filial Piety in Modern Times in East Asia* (Seoul: Jimoondang, 2005), 32.

[163] Insoo Son, *한국인의 효도 문화 [The Filial Piety Culture of the Korean People]* (Seoul: Mooneum Press, 1997), 67.

[164] Namyoung Lee, "효 사상의 한국적 전개 [A Development of the Filial Piety Thought in Korea]," *Journal of Korean Hyo Studies* 1 (April 2004): 236.

but with a fundamentally different perspective. Linking filial piety to human nature, he

maximized its deontological ethic, thus revitalizing its functional role of creating human

relational networks in line with moral propriety.

According to Confucius, the essential trait of human nature is *ren*. As the

composite of two hieroglyphic elements, a person (人) and two (二), *ren* (仁) originally

referred to the regal benevolence to subject-people, signifying that only kings are

qualified to be the perfect person (i.e. the *ren*-person).[166] This privileged term was

changed by Confucius into a word referring to the essential trait inherent in every person,

implying that each and every human being can attain to the level of the *ren*-person. That

is, in Confucius' vocabulary, *ren*'s meaning is sublimated into the supreme quality of

human goodness: "*ren* is to love fellow human beings."[167] For Confucius, the ideal

person is a *ren*-person (仁子) who is thoroughly virtuous in every way. He says that

"*ren*-people are sure to be brave, but those who are brave may not always be men of

ren."[168] By implication, *ren* is the totality of human virtues that makes it perfect for a

human being to be truly human. Mencius, thus, states that a human being cannot be

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[165] In *the Analects* 2.11, Confucius confirms both old and new things in pursuit of knowledge, which shows his critical traditionalist tendency. That is, he values traditional things with a critical eye. See "Confucian Analects, Book II, Chapter XI," *The Four Books*, 18.

[166] As Joanne Birdwhistell notes, "the filial behavior to which *ren* (benevolence) refers is thought of as the beginning of the kingly way." Joanne D. Birdwhistell, *Mencius and Masculinities: Dynamics of Power, Morality, and Maternal Thinking* (Albany: State University of New York, 2007), 83.

[167] "Confucian Analects, Book XII, Chapter XXII," *The Four Books*, 171. James Legge's translation is: "It (*ren*) is to love all men." His words, all men, were changed into an inclusive expression, fellow human beings.

[168] "Confucian Analects, Book XIV, Chapter V," *The Four Books*, 194. James Legge's translation is: "Men of principle are sure to be bold, but those who are bold may not always be men of principle." His phrase, men of principle, was modified into *ren*-people to better reflect the original text's expression, 仁子.

human without *ren*,[169] describing *ren* as "distinguishing characteristic" of a human being.[170]

In Confucius' thought on *ren,* there are two major assumptions: the human inherency and cultivability of *ren.* To begin with, every human has *ren* in himself/herself. Confucius held that "by nature, men are nearly alike; by practice, they get to be wide apart."[171] This statement is, as Chen Que comments, "uttered from the fundamental vantage point of (human inherent) goodness," namely *ren*.[172] All people are born with innate but untapped *ren,* whose cultivation determines their ontological value. A natural corollary of this cultivation factor is that every human has potential to be a *ren*-person: "Is *ren* a thing remote! I wish to be *ren*, and lo! *Ren* is at hand."[173] Since *ren* is dormant in human nature, it needs to be constantly cultivated and practically activated into "excellence in interpersonal relations,"[174] which forms the essential *gestalt* of a *ren*-person who is nothing more than a filial person.

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[169] According to Mencius, *ren* is nothing other than 惻隱之心 (roughly, loving and caring heart) which is "essential to" human beings. See "The Works of Mencius, Book II, Part I, Chapter VI," *The Four Books*, 548-550.

[170] "The Works of Mencius, Book VII, Part II, Chapter XVI," *The Four Books*, 987.

[171] "Confucian Analects, Book XVII, Chapter II," *The Four Books*, 255.

[172] Chen Que, "An Explication on Human Nature (Xingjie)." Quoted from On Cho Ng, *Cheng-Zhu Confucianism in the Early Qing* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), 30.

[173] "Confucian Analects, Book VII, Chapter XXVI," *The Four Books*, 91. James Legge's translation is: "Is virtue a thing remote! I wish to be virtuous, and lo! Virtue is at hand." His word, virtue, was modified into *ren*, to better reflect the original text's word, 仁.

[174] Randall Peerenboom, *Law and Morality in Ancient China: the Silk Manuscripts of Huang-Lao* (Albany : State University of New York Press, 1993), 130. According to Randall Peerenboom, through the cultivation of *ren*, "one is transformed from the biological level of human qua beast to the higher levels of personhood in which human qua social being is himself the determining factor in bringing about a harmonious social order."

In pre-Confucius times, filial piety was merely a phenomenological virtue, as in the case of filial duties. Just like the Platonic Idea-Form schema, Confucius posited human filial nature, the invisible principle acting as the driving force behind all filial attitudes and activities. That is, there exists the mind of filial piety (孝心; the filial nature or inner filiality) as human ontological nature, which is, according to Confucius, the core root of *ren*. He said: "A noble man (□子) tries his best to establish human fundamental basics (□本) in himself; and when established, filial piety is activated; and when activated, *ren* is activated, as well."[175] In the above statement, filial piety does point to innate filial nature upon which all human virtues, *ren*, are dependent and contingent. In this sense, *the Classic of Filial Piety* claims that "filial piety is the root of all virtues"[176] and even *the Journey to the West* asserts that "filial piety is the source of a hundred act, the source of all morality."[177] As human ontological nature, inner filiality is the central core of *ren* whose cultivation and activation leads to a perfectly virtuous person (i.e. a *ren*-person) capable of being filial to all human beings.

The inseparable nexus of *ren* and filiality inevitably leads to the comprehensive approach to filial piety. Human virtuousness (*ren*) is generated by the human filial nature, which implies that every virtuous activity is the manifestation of this inner filial

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[175] "Confucian Analects, Book I, Chapter II," *The Four Books*, 3. James Legge's translation is: "The superior man bends his attention to what is radical. That being established, all practical courses naturally grow up. Filial piety and fraternal submission!—are they not the root of all benevolent actions?" His translation was modified to better reflect the original text: "□子務本、本立、而□生、孝弟也者、其為仁之本與."

[176] "Chapter I. The Scope and Meaning of the Treatise," *The Hsiao King or Classic of Filial Piety*, 17.

[177] Cheng'en Wu, *Journey to the West,* Vol. 2, trans. Anthony Yu (Chicago, IL: University Of Chicago Press, 1983), 87. Written in the sixteenth century of the Ming dynasty, *Journey to the West* (　記) is considered as one of the Four Great Classical Novels of Chinese literature.

principle. It is Mencius who systematically develops this comprehensive filial piety

theory (汎孝論).[178] As a staunch proponent of the innate goodness of human nature,[179]

he links human filial nature to not only *ren* but also such other cardinal virtues as *yi* (義),

li (禮), *chih* (智), and *le* (樂), arguing for the filially-initiated virtuous conducts.

According to Mencius, love is exhibited as a result of *ren* generated by inner filiality,

justice as a result of *yi* generated by inner filiality, reverence as a result of *li* generated by

inner filiality, integrity as a result of *chih* generated by inner filiality, and joyful peace as

a result of *le* generated by inner filiality.[180] In other words, human filial nature

sublimates human virtues into concrete behaviors conducive to relational and social

order. From this perspective, every virtuous conduct is none other than human filial duty,

as affirmed in *Li Chi* (　記): "No sincerity in daily life, no filial piety; no loyalty in

public offices, no filial piety; no friendship between friends, no filial piety; no bravery in

battlefields, no filial piety."[181]

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[178] Sangsun Lee, "유가 효의 형이상학적 근거 [Metaphysical Grounds of the Confucian Filial Piety]," *Journal of Korean Hyo Studies* 1 (April 2004): 285-289.

[179] Mencius claims that human nature is inherently good, saying that "this goodness is endowed by Heaven." On the other hand, Xunzi argues for the inherent badness of human nature. Kim-chong Chong, "Classical Confucianism (II): Meng Zi and Xun Zi," *History of Chinese Philosophy*, ed. Bo Mou (New York: Routledge, 2009), 201.

[180] Soomoo Lim and Wonshik Hong, "효 윤리의 형성과 철학적 근거 [The Formation of Filial Piety Ethic and Its Philosophical Foundation]," *Oriental Philosophical Studies* 29 (2002): 304-306; Keunsung Ryu, "맹자 도덕철학에서 이성과 감성의 문제 [The Issues of Reason and Emotion in the Mencian Moral Philosophy]," *Oriental Philosophical Studies* 52 (2007): 281-289.

[181] "Chapter XXI. *Ki Li* or the Meaning of Sacrifice, Section II. 11.," *Li Chi: Book of Rites* Part 2, trans. James Legge (Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing, 2003), 226. James Legge's translation is: "If a man in his own house and privacy be not grave, he is not filial; if in serving his ruler, he be not loyal, he is not filial; if in discharging the duties of office, he be not reverent, he is not filial; if with friends he be not sincere, he is not filial; if on the field of battle he be not brave, he is not filial." His translation was concisely modified.

In summary, filial piety is the cultivation, activation, and manifestation of human nature, fundamentally inner filial nature, and secondarily, inner virtuous nature, to the contributive extent of inter-personal harmony and social order. Confucius believed that the supreme human virtue, *ren*, stems from human filial nature, virtually indentifying a *ren*-person with a filial person. On this premise, Mencius opines that human filial nature is the mother of all virtuous attributes, considering all virtuous activities as filial piety. This comprehensive approach to filial piety leads to the Confucian envisioning of the *Datong* society (□□社會; literally, the Grand Unity or Harmony society): "When the perfect order prevails, the world is like a home shared by all…All people love and respect their own parents and children, as well as the parents and children of others."[182] In the *Datong* society, everyone is faithful to his/her inner-humanness, therefore filial to one another in a familial love, such that the whole human community abides by the Confucian ethical norm encapsulated in 'Three Fundamental Principles and the Five Moral Disciplines' (三□五倫) with no relational discord and dysfunction.[183] This sort of cosmopolitan filial piety goes beyond familistic, nepotistic, and nationalistic narrow-mindedness; yet it is still human-centered. The next section will discuss neo-Confucian efforts to overcome this anthropocentric filial piety.

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[182] *Li Chi: Book of Rites 1*, trans. James Legge (New Hyde Park: University Books, 1967), 364-367.

[183] Three Fundamental Principles (綱) talks about the mutually-binding relationships 1) between ruler and subject, 2) between parent and child, and 3) between husband and wife. The Five Moral Disciplines (五倫) describe the ideal status in human inter-relatedness: 1) The relationship between father and son is one of love; 2) The relationship between ruler and subject is one of loyalty; 3) the relationship between husband and wife is one of mutual respect; 4) The relationship between elder and younger is one of order and discipline; and 5) The relationship between friends is one of trust.

5.3.3 Filial Piety as Lifelong Cultivation and Activation of Anthropocosmic Vision

The conventional notion of filial piety as reciprocal response to parental love is enriched by Confucius and his disciples who draw the *raison d'etre* and modus operandi of filial piety from core human nature and virtue, *ren*. This classic Confucian concept of filial piety as an interpersonal manifestation of inner humanness is further redefined by neo-Confucian scholars who enlarge the content and extent of filial piety using Taoist cosmology and anthropology. Notably, Taoism contends that the whole universe is organically interrelated and symbiotically interdependent with *tao* (道) as its ultimate source. In the *tao*-centered universe,[184] *chi* (氣) is the cosmic energy activated by the ceaseless interplay of *yin* (陰) and *yang* (陽). The *chi* movement enables the universe to be a vitally ever-evolving whole (i.e. a unified vitality in constant change)[185] in interconnected harmony, which is nothing other than the will and way (i.e. *tao*) of the Heaven. From this cosmological viewpoint, a human being is an indispensable part of the cosmic reality as well as a co-creator of the cosmic equilibrium. That is, one's enlightenment and embodiment of *tao* within oneself contributes to the relational harmony of the whole universal system. This neo-Confucian genius is the hermeneutical blending of such cosmic humanism and filial piety resulting in cosmic filial piety that

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[184] In Taoist cannons, *tao* is described as follows: 1) the uncreated being (the 68th chapter of *Hua Hu Ching*), 2) the creating force (the 68th chapter of *Hua Hu Ching*), 3) the sustaining power (the 41st sentence of *Tao Te Ching*), and 4) the mysterious reality (The 1st chapter of *Tao Te-Ching*). According to Kay Keng Khoo, the Taoist *Tao* is very similar to the Christian *Logos* in properties and attributes, but their fundamental difference lies in the direct involvement of the Christian *Logos* in human history through the Christ event. He construes Jesus Christ as the incarnation of the Heavenly *Tao*. See further his "The *Tao* and the *Logos*: Lao Tzu and the Gospel of John," *International Review of Mission* 87: 344 (January 1998): 77-84.

[185] In the Taoist cosmology, there is no duality between being (ontology) and becoming (phenomenology). Everything that exists is cyclically in constant change, which means that being is becoming and vice versa.

goes beyond social filial piety.

The inceptive Confucian-Taoist linkage is found in Mencius who pioneers comprehensive filial piety beyond the parent-child relationship. In Taoist terms, he argues: "All things are already complete in me."[186] According to Zhu Xi, the Mencian statement implies that the *li* (理, roughly a neo-Confucian equivalence to *tao*) of the whole universe is inherent in every human being.[187] As a microcosmic reflection of the cosmic reality, humanity is a supra-personal being inextricably connected with the universal whole. Mencius continues: "To turn within to examine oneself and find that one is to be *cheng* (誠)—there is no greater joy than this. To dedicate oneself in all earnestness to reciprocity—there can be no closer approach to humanness."[188] Herein lays the seminal idea regarding cosmic filial piety. For Mencius, *ren* signifies the inherent essence of humanness. For the actual manifestation of *ren* to take place, one needs self-examination and self-cultivation, and which enables one to be a person of *cheng* whose life is, as Zhu Xi comments, aligned completely with one's innate *li* that is also the cosmic *li*. This perspective links the social sense of *ren* to the cosmic sense of *cheng* in such a way that a *ren*-person culminates in a *cheng*-person in harmonious unity with the universe within and without. In the *ren-cheng* nexus, filial piety as the highest

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[186] "The Works of Mencius, Book VII, Part I, Chapter IV," *The Four Books*, 935.

[187] Xi Zhu, *The Four Books: The Basic Teachings of the Later Confucian Tradition*, trans. Daniel K. Gardner (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Company, 2007). 96.

[188] "Book 7A:4," *Mencius*, trans. Irene Bloom (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 144. Irene Bloom's translation better reflects the original text than that of James Legge in "The Works of Mencius, Book VII, Part I, Chapter IV.," *The Four Books*, 936. However, Bloom also simply translated the original word, *c*heng (誠), into sincere, without recognizing its complex nuances. So I retained the term whose overall meaning in the original context is the manifest content of the supreme human integrity and sincerity. That is, *c*heng amounts to *ren* in its terminological implications.

human virtue is not limited to interpersonal relationships but cannot help but reach out to the whole universe.

Such cosmic anthropology under the Taoist influence paves the way for the neo-Confucian formulation of cosmic filial piety. Classic Confucianism is based on socially-related humanism whose predictable outcome is interpersonal filial piety for social order and harmony. The neo-Confucian model is, on the other hand, predicated upon cosmically-related humanism, whose natural corollary is an all-encompassing filial piety leading to cosmic order and harmony. Following Mencius' tacit remark on cosmic humanism, Dong Zhongshu (179–104 BCE) makes its first explicit expression: "Heaven is the root of creativity, Earth is the root of nourishment, and humanity is the root of completion."[189] This statement is elaborated on by Zhang Zai (1020–1077) emphasizing the cosmic familial connection: "Heaven is my father and earth is my mother. Even such a tiny existence as I finds an intimate niche in their midst. That fills the universe I take as my body and that directs the universe I take my nature. All people are my brothers and sisters and all things are my companion."[190] In the neo-Confucian affirmation of the universe as a familial whole, the interpersonal sense of *ren* is sublimated into the transpersonal sense of *ren*. Cheng Hao (1032–1085), thus, insists that a *ren*-person is the one united in relational harmony with the all beings and things of the universe without any differentiation or discrimination.[191]

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[189] Dong Zhongshu, "The Chunqiu Fanlu," *Chinese Civilization: A Sourcebook*, ed. Patricia Buckley Ebrey (New York: The Free Press, 1993), 57.

[190] "The Western Inscription," *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, 497.

[191] See "Complete Works of the Two Chengs," Ibid., 523-571.

This hermeneutical expansion of the cosmic sense of *ren* is affirmed and strengthened by both Zhu Xi (1130–1200) and Wang Yang-min (1472–1529), the two most important thinkers in neo-Confucian history. "Representing the summit of development in the theory of ren,"[192] Zhu Xi articulates the neo-Confucian approach to *ren* as follows: "The mind of Heaven and Earth is to produce things. In the production of man and things, they receive the mind of Heaven and Earth as their mind. Therefore, with reference to the character of the mind, although it embraces and permeates all and leaves nothing to be desired, nevertheless, one word will cover all of it, namely *ren*."[193] For Zhu Xi, *ren* is the mind of not only Heaven and Earth but also humanity: *ren* in human nature is "the spring of all virtues and the root of all good deeds;"[194] and *ren* in cosmic nature is the source of all biological living and thriving. Regarding Zhu Xi's formula, Chun-Chieh Huang comments: "The entire cosmos is infused with a ceaselessly dynamic spirit, and the human person and the myriad things in the cosmos each receive their portion of the impulse of ceaseless production and reproduction, when they are produced and grow. The shared value of this cosmos is none other than *ren*."[195]

Since there are both ethical and metaphysical dimensions to *ren*, a *ren*-person is concerned with not only human relationships but also cosmic relationships. Wang Yang-min, thus, states: "The learning of the great man consists entirely in getting rid of excessive selfish desires in order by his own efforts to make manifest *ren* (his brightest

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[192] Wing-tsit Chan, *Neo-Confucianism Etc.: Essays by Wing-tsit Chan* (Hanover: Oriental Society, 1969), 31.

[193] "A Treaties on *Ren*," *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, 593.

[194] Ibid., 594.

[195] Chun-Chieh Huang, *Humanism in East Asian Confucian Contexts* (New Brunswick & London: Transaction Publishers, 2010), 78.

virtue), so as to restore the condition of forming a unity with Heaven, Earth, and the myriad things, a condition that is originally so, that is all."[196] In continuity with the Song neo-Confucian metaphysics, Wang of the Ming dynasty here presumes that the cultivation and manifestation of human *ren* is none other than those of heavenly *ren*, holding that the supremely virtuous person, a *ren*-person, is self-transcendently in harmonious unity with the cosmic reality. When cultivated, activated, and manifested, *ren* as the moral mind contributes to social order, which simultaneously contributes to cosmic order in that *ren* of the moral mind intersects with *ren* of the cosmic mind within oneself. The attainment of the highest sage-hood, namely a *ren*-person in cosmic interconnectedness, is possible for every human being, since, as Wang notes, "even the mind of the small man necessarily has the humanity (*ren*) that forms one body with all."

As discussed earlier, in the Confucian-Mencian formula, a *ren*-person is a person of filial piety in interpersonal propriety. The integrative conjunction of this approach with the Song-Ming neo-Confucian metaphysical hermeneutic on *ren* is a person of filial piety in cosmic propriety beyond social ethics. That is, the filial nature as the root of *ren* implies that the embodiment of cosmic interconnection in thinking, speaking, and acting is the supreme filial duty of humanity. It is Tu Weiming who reclaims and revitalizes this cosmic aspect of filial piety in contemporary terms. As the leading scholar of Boston Confucianism, Tu highlights the anthropocosmic dimension and direction of filial piety with 'selfhood as creative cultivation' as his conceptual point of departure. For Tu, a human being is an organic whole within as well as a relational whole without. As an organic whole, the human self sees no dichotomy between physical and non-physical

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[196] "An Inquiry on the Great Learning," *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, 659.

elements inside oneself; as a relational whole, the human self sees no isolation with human and non-human networks outside oneself. To be truly human is to actualize this dual potentiality through a broadening and deepening process.

According to Tu, the deepening process is to the human self as an organic whole what the broadening process is to the human self as a relational whole. The first refers to the centripetal cultivation of the inner holistic selfhood, while the latter to the centrifugal cultivation of relationships in social and cosmic spheres. These two processes are not mutually exclusive but mutually integrated with simultaneous occurrence. Tu explains their conjunctive symbiosis: "The body, as a particular configuration of vital energy [i.e. *chi* (氣)] , is never a static structure but a dynamic process…alive with feeling, willing, sensing, and knowing capacities…If properly cultivated, these innate capacities will enlarge the body to incorporate all forms of otherness into its consciousness and sensitivity."[197] For the person who self-cultivates one's bodily *chi* (氣) to the fullest,[198] all forms of otherness disappear such that one embodies filial intimacy with oneself and, subsequently, one's immediate and larger world. Differently put in the Song-Ming neo-Confucian terms, the deepening process enables one to be truly human (i.e. a *ren* or filial person), which naturally overflows into one's interpersonal and trans-personal relationships to the consummate point of establishing a harmonious unity with the whole universe. The one who is filial to oneself cannot help being filial to ones' family, community, nation, and even nature in cosmic familial mindfulness. Tu, thus, concludes

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[197] Tu Weiming, "Filial Piety as the Root of Humanity," *Journal of Korean Hyo Studies* 5 (December 2007): 2-3.

[198] Given the neo-Confucian affirmation of humanity as a microcosmic vitality, the bodily *chi* is indivisibly linked to the comic *chi* in the same sense that the human *ren* is to the cosmic *ren*.

that the ultimate filial piety is "our filial attachment to…the cosmos as a whole" through the constant process of inward deepening and outward broadening.[199]

In summation, filial piety is the lifelong cultivation and activation of anthropocosmic interconnectedness and interdependence. The more cultivated one's inner humanity (i.e. *ren*) is, the more activated one's inner filiality (i.e. the filial self) is, and the more activated one's inner filiality is, the more expanded ones' outer filial intimacy is. As the outcome of the cosmic *ren* (i.e. *li* or *tao*), a human being has the same *ren* in his nature (i.e. the human *ren*) whose full-blown actualization can lead to a *ren*-full sage forming a filial unity with the human and cosmic world.   Through this sort of anthropocosmic filial piety, the human and cosmic *ren* is manifested interpersonally and trans-personally creating anthropocosmic order and harmony. That is why *the Zhougyong* includes humanity as one of the dynamic trinity along with Heaven and Earth in the cosmic transformative process, in the words of Thomas Berry, "as a functional co-creator of the universe together with Heaven and Earth."[200]   In this vein, the destiny of the human and universal world hinges upon the deepening and broadening cultivation of the filial self within each and every human being, without which anthropocosmic propriety and facility will malfunction, and without which anthropocosmic unity and shalom cannot be achieved to the fullest.[201]

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[199] Ibid., 3.

[200] Thomas Berry, "Individualism and Holism in Chinese Tradition: The Religious Cultural Context," *Confucian Spirituality*, Vol. 1, eds. Tu Weiming and Mary Evelyn Tucker (New York, NY: Crossroad Publishing Company, 2003), 44.

[201] A natural corollary of the intra-personal cultivation of the filial self is the interpersonal and transpersonal manifestation of the filial self. Recently, Jung Sun Oh proposed a theology of filial piety based on this neo-Confucian anthropology and cosmology. See further his "A Hermeneutics of Korean Theology of Filial Piety as a Global Theology," *Korean Journal of Christian Studies* 69 (2010): 147-163.

5.4 *Missio Dei* vis-à-vis Filial Piety

Following the previous elucidatory studies on *missio Dei* and filial piety, this section will compare and contrast them for the purpose of unearthing and conjugating their converging points of view into *pareo Dei*. The combined approach of the previous descriptive and current analytic studies is suggested by Terry Muck as a viable method of inter-religious studies to prevent such commonly-committed errors as extrapolation, identification, a-historicalism, and triumphalism.[202]

5.4.1 Points of Consonance and Dissonance

Humankind retains *imago Dei*, though only partially because of the fall.[203] In God's cultural mandate, humankind becomes *homo culturalis*, creating diverse cultures that reflect *imago Dei*. God's vestiges (i.e. the images and traces of the Triune God) in human cultures are, therefore, an unavoidable fact of life. The filial piety concept of East Asian Confucianism is such a vestige of God's triune life marked by the *perichoretic* relation inwardly and manifested by the filial mission outwardly. Since cultures are the products of humankind with the sin-affected *imago Dei*, they do not contain God's vestiges in a perfect and ideal state, and neither does the East Asian Confucian culture of filial piety. From this perspective, we will explore points of contact and contrast between *missio Dei* and filial piety. This attempt will center around the following three issues: 1) motivation, 2) expectation, and 3) orientation. The first part will address the 'why' issue:

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[202] Terry Muck, *The Mysterious Beyond: A Basic Guide to Studying Religion* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1993), 100-103.

[203] According to John Wesley, the Fall does not result in the total loss of *imago Dei*. Sin radically mars the image of God in humanity, but not completely. Even after the Fall, *imago Dei* is inherent in human beings. See further his sermon, "The Image of God," *John Wesley's Sermons: An Anthology*, eds. Albert Outler and Richard Heitzenrater (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1991), 14-21.

"Why do *missio Dei* and filial piety transpire?" The second part will deal with the 'what' issue: "What is expected of their participant and practitioner?" The last part will discuss the 'where' issue: "Where are they oriented and headed?" As a result, *pareo Dei* will be proposed as a filial-piety-mediated contextual theology of *missio Dei* with their consonance highlighted and their dissonance redefined in Christian perspective.

5.4.1.1 Motivation: Love

The first and foremost point of contact between *missio Dei* and filial piety is that <u>both are love-based in their motive</u>. In *missio Dei*, love is the foundational motivation. The essential trait of God's triune life is agape in *perichoretic* mutuality. The intra-Trinitarian agape is the original source of all creation (via *missio Dei generalis*) and eventual new creation (via *missio Dei specialis*). The perfect example of *missio Dei* is *missio Christi* which is characteristic of filial life and mission. As the Son of God, Jesus is eternally in loving relationship with God the Father and Sender, which enables him to love the whole creation as much as the Triune God does. Out of that same love, he becomes a self-emptying Savior of the whole world. Such divine love is expected of the church when it participates in God's mission. Without agape, the church cannot be truly the community-in-mission. The economic Triune God as the community-in-mission is a natural outcome of the immanent Triune God as the community-in-agape. Similarly, the church-in-love is an apriori postulation of the church-in-mission. Were it not for agape, mission in its truest sense could not transpire.

Likewise, in filial piety, love is the driving force behind all filial activities. Since parents are children's life-sources and life-sustainers, they are the qualified objects of children's filial piety in respectful love. In response to parental love and care, children

are to carry out ante-mortem and post-mortem filial duties in the same degree of love and care that they have received from their parents, which is the greatest moral behavior. As the supreme virtue and *summa bonum* (i.e. the supreme goodness), *ren* is the cardinal trait of humanity. The filial nature (inner filiality) is the root of *ren*, which signifies that filial piety characterizes the essential human-ness of humankind. To be human is to be filial not only to parents but also to others. The same respectful love that one has for one's parents naturally flows into one's interpersonal relationship in which otherness is replaced by filial-ness. By extension, a person of filial piety tries to establish a loving connection even with nature and Heaven, since the universe is a familial whole intimately connected with and symbiotically dependent on one another.

This common love-rootedness does not mean that *missio Dei* and filial piety have the entirely same motivating source. The highest expression of earthly love is parental love to children and filial love to parents in intimate mutuality. Though selfless and sacrificial in nature, such parental and filial love is qualitatively different from the divine love, agape, that makes oneself *kenotic* and totally identified with the object of one's love, as shown in the Christ event. In addition, Christian agape and Confucian *ren* differ fundamentally in that the former belongs exclusively to the divine realm and the latter predominantly to the human area. Agape stems only from the Triune God who is agape. As the divine essentiality, agape in its entirety cannot be found in human nature, much less being manifested in human life. Only its partial and incomplete aspect is inherent in human nature whose *summa bonum*, *ren*, is also merely a partial and incomplete reflection of agape.

Despite this fundamental difference, Christian agape and Confucian *ren* function similarly in *missio Dei* and filial piety. Firstly, they are inner vital realities, not outsourced attributes. Agape is the integrating and sustaining power of God's triune life, defining the divine essence. *Ren* is the core center of human nature with its potentiality and cultivability, defining the human essence. Secondly, both of them overflow and outpour into the outer world. The intra-Trinitarian agape keeps on out-gushing and outpouring into creation, which is nothing other than *actio* and *missio Dei*. The inherent *ren* is, when inwardly cultivated, simultaneously manifested outwardly, which is nothing other than filial activities. Lastly, they are indispensable in *missio Dei* and filial piety. Without agape, *missio Dei* neither exists nor lasts. Without *ren*, filial piety neither exists (since the heart and soul of *ren* is the inner filial nature) nor lasts (since the life-long cultivation of *ren* is required for life-long filial piety). ,

5.4.1.2 Expectation: Submission

The next significant point of contact in both *missio Dei* and filial piety is that submission is required in the practice of both. In *missio Dei*, Jesus shows the absolute obedience to the will and purpose of his Sender. His whole being and doing are submissively aligned with God's mission for God's glory.   As the Son of God, Jesus is in eternal *perichoresis* with God the Father, which enables him to perfectly recognize and actualize his *raison d'etre* on the face of the earth. Jesus' full submission to *missio Dei* results from his agapic unity and filial relation with God the Father in the Trinitarian mechanism. In this divine union, Jesus leads a life of filial mission, overcoming all the trials and temptations designed to thwart God's cosmic will and redemptive plan. Nothing can stop his filial submission to his Father and Sender which ultimately

culminates in his propitiatory death. Jesus lives up to God's expectations in submissive

kenosis. Confucian filial piety entails submission on the part of children, as well. Parents

who give birth to and take care of children deserve the respectful submission from

children. Since parents desire only the best for their children, so the children's obedience

to their parents' words leads to their benefit.

This common link to submission does not mean that *missio Dei* and filial piety

have the same expectations regarding their practitioners. There are, at least, three

prominent points of contrast on this matter. First, in *missio Dei*, its participants are

required to wholly submit to God, since God's will and way is always perfect and better

than human wisdom. In filial piety, however, absolute submission is not required, as

illustrated in remonstrative filial piety. Parents' ideas and words can be contrary to what

is right or fall short of what is best, since they are just finite human beings, not

omniscient divine beings. Second, *missio Dei* expects its participants to self-empty

themselves, so that the Holy Spirit can indwell, govern, and guide their missional life.

Kenotic servant-hood is eventually expected of every participant in *missio Dei*, as

demonstrated by Jesus' earthly life and ministry. On the other hand, filial piety expects

its practitioners to self-cultivate, so that *ren* can be fully manifested in relation to the

social and cosmic networks. Anthropocosmic sage-hood is eventually expected of every

practitioner of filial piety, as affirmed in contemporary neo-Confucian currents. Finally

and summarily, *missio Dei* is participation-expected, while filial piety is cultivation-

expected. Mission belongs to God alone, so humans are called to take part in God's

mission. Human participation in *missio Dei* is enabled by God's grace and power

through God's Spirit. However, Confucian filial piety is contingent upon humans, since

filiality is cultivably inherent in human nature. Our human performance of filial piety is enabled by one's own work and effort. As *kenotic* participants, Christian missioners are totally reliant on God in fruitfulness (cf. John 15), in contrast with Confucian filial practitioners who are self-cultivators entirely dependent upon themselves for the full manifestation of *ren* and human-ness at the individual, familial, communal, global, and cosmic levels.

In spite of it all, there are, at least, two remarkable converging points between *missio Dei* and filial piety. First, their highest expectations lie in the submissive actualization of God's will and parental will, respectively. In *missio Dei*, God's will is the top priority of and the greatest importance to its participants. When they internalize and act upon God's Word and will, God is pleased and glorified. In filial piety, parents are pleased and honored when their words and wills are listened to and implemented by children. When children are filial to parents to the point that they create a parental and familial pride, parents are indeed glorified. Next, *missio Dei* and filial piety are both contextualized when they are executed. Though singular in principle, they are plural in practice. In *missio Dei*, diverse contexts determine which missional activity will be functionally prioritized. God's mission is in many modes made concrete through evangelistic or prophetic activities. Likewise, there are many precepts in filial piety that need to be applied to specific situations. The Mencian portfolio of ten filial responsibilities is a vivid example of such manifold filial duties to living and dead parents.

5.4.1.3 Orientation: Peace

The last but certainly not least point of contact is that *missio Dei* and filial piety alike are peace-oriented in *telos* or goal. *Missio Dei* aims at the final and full realization of God's Kingdom marked by cosmic renewal and shalom. With God as the cosmic King, the whole creation will enjoy a perfect life with relational harmony. The vertical relationship between God and all creation will be reconciled and restored in such a way that all creation as God's filial existence will obey and praise God the Most High throughout all eternity (cf. Daniel 7:27; 1 Corinthians 15:28; Ephesians 1:10; Revelation 15). The horizontal relationship among all creation will be reconciled and restored in such a way that the human world will have a filial, loving status with the human world and non-human world (cf. Isaiah 11:6-9, 35:1-10). Holistic salvation will be actualized spiritually, physically, ecologically, and cosmically. In the sovereign rule of God the Father-King, everyone and everything will be in a filial rapport with one another to the point of cosmic harmony, order, and peace. God's shalom will permeate and dominate in the entire areas of cosmic reality in a perfect state beyond human comprehension.

Filial piety envisions the *Datong* society in which people are filial to one another. Under the leadership of the sage-king, the *Datong* society enjoys a peaceful life in familial love and mutual respect. Every person from the greatest king to the smallest child acts with moral propriety in one's social status for the maximal good of the whole society. As a community-in-*ren*, all the members of the *Datong* society try their utmost to manifest their inner humanness in interpersonal networks, so that the Three Fundamental Principles and the Five Moral Disciplines become modus vivendi and operandi. This *ren*-fullness renders the *Datong* society a cosmopolitan world where

every human being is treated equally and valued as he/she is like a familial brother/sister regardless of ethnic, racial, or national differences. The whole world operates like a peaceful family in relational propriety, harmony, and order. By extension (in neo-Confucian terms), such a cosmopolitan vision translates into an anthropocosmic vision where the whole universe moves in accordance with the cosmic-human *ren*. Since the human world is full of those who self-cultivate to form a filial unity with the human world as well as the non-human world, there is relational propriety, harmony and order all across the universe. In this symbiotic manifestation of the human *ren* and the cosmic *ren*, the whole universe functions like a cosmic family without relational disorder and dysfunction.

As such, both the Kingdom vision in *missio Dei* and the *Datong* vision in filial piety take seriously the importance of cosmic shalom in ordered relationships. They both focus on a relational shalom, which has a cosmic scope beyond the human world. Because of the qualitative differences of their sources,[204] their common orientation to cosmic shalom shows fundamental points of contrast in terms of their actualizes and systems. First, the Kingdom vision is realizable only through God, while the *Datong* vision comes about decisively only through the actions of humanity. In *missio Dei*, God is the sole sovereign King throughout the ages and eternity. He initiated, continues, and will complete His eschatological mission of spreading God's shalom all across the whole universe, and humankind may join Him as mere participants. Cosmic shalom can only be actualized by none other than God who is the Creator of all. In filial piety, humanity is the co-creator of cosmopolitan shalom as well as cosmic shalom. Through self-

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[204] The Kingdom vision in *missio Dei* is fundamentally from God, whereas the *Datong* vision in filial piety is decisively from human beings.

cultivation of the human *ren* which is nothing other than the heavenly *ren*, everyone can

contribute to local, global, and cosmic order and peace. Second, the Kingdom vision is

‘the-anthropocosmic’ with God as the Father-King,[205] while the *Datong* vision is

anthropocosmic with the supreme sage as the father-like king.[206] God’s Kingdom is

theocratic to the core with the whole universe living under God’s light and love. As

God’s beloved children, all people will live in a filial state and rapport with God in

respectful adoration and submission. Under God’s perfect Kingship full of love and

justice, everyone and everything will enjoy a cosmic shalom for eternity in God’s

Kingdom. On the other hand, the *Datong* society is primarily humanistic with the whole

world under the sage-king’s compassionate and righteous rule. As the *ren*-person *par*

excellence, the sage-king conducts a cosmopolitan administration with fairness and

impartiality. His *ren*-ful governance inspires his subjects to be filial to one another in a

familial love. Furthermore, his filial attachment to nature and Heaven expands his

cosmopolitan ruling to the cosmic dimension. The *Datong* society driven by such

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[205] I borrowed Heup-Young Kim’s term, ‘the-anthropocosmic, denoting the interrelatedness among God, humanity, and cosmos, in contrast with the neo-Confucian term, ‘anthropocosmic,’ that excludes God in shalomic life. Heup-Young Kim, *Wang Yang-min and Karl Barth: A Confucian–Christian Dialogue* (Lanham, New York, London: University Press of America, 1996). 175-177, 185-188. His ‘the-anthropocosmic’ view was indebted to Raimundo Panikkar’s *The Cosmotheandric Experience* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1993).

[206] *The Doctrine of the Mean* (中庸) states: “It is only he who is possessed of the most complete sincerity (誠) that can exist under heaven, who can give its full development to his nature. Able to give its full development to his nature, he can do the same of other men. Able to give its full development to the nature of other men, he can give their full development to the natures of animals and things. Able to give their full development to the natures of creatures and things, he can assist the transforming and nourishing powers of Heaven and Earth. Able to assist the transforming and nourishing powers of Heaven and Earth, he may with Heaven and Earth form a ternion.” “The Doctrine of the Mean: Chapter XXII,” *The Four Books*, 398-399. According to Confucius, humanity can make *Tao* (道; the Way) great through the cultivation of great filial piety. See “Confucian Analects, Book XV, Chapter XXVIII,” *The Four Books,* 231.

anthropocosmic vision enjoys a relational harmony and holistic peace among people, nature, and Heaven.

5.4.2 *Pareo Dei* as Contextual Theological Link
between *Missio Dei* and Filial Piety[207]

According to Sungbum Yoon, "filial piety to God the Father is the *ratio essendi* and *cognoscendi* of filial piety to earthly parents."[208] The Father-Son relation in the Trinity ontologically precedes the father-child relation of the human family. As the ontological archetype, the former provides the latter with the normative principles that can be found in 'Jesus' filial life in *missio Dei*' which we call *pareo Dei*. Literally meaning the obeying or submitting of God in Latin, *pareo Dei* refers to Jesus as the filial Son *par excellence* whose life is marked by the 'the-anthropocosmic' *Datong* vision. As the supreme example of filial piety, *pareo Dei* puts Confucian filial piety in a correct perspective, challenging its humanistic tendency and perfecting its ideal intention.

5.4.2.1 *Pareo Dei* as the Summa Exemplar of Filial Piety

In *pareo Dei*, Jesus Christ is the filial Son *par excellence* that Confucian filial piety would idealize. Above all, he is in agapic *perichoresis* with his Father in the Triune life. This divine reality makes their Father-Son relationship a perfect mutuality in love. The Father pours unconditional and unlimited love upon Jesus; in response, Jesus shows his self-emptying love to the Father through his absolute submission to the Father's word

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[207] This does not mean that *pareo Dei* is a replacement of *missio Dei*. Rather, it is a contextual theological response to (a holistic) *missio Dei* through Confucian filial piety. In other words, *pareo Dei* is a Christological reinterpretation of a holistic *missio Dei* with reference to filial piety.

[208] Sungbum Yoon, 孝 *[Filial Piety]* (Seoul: Seoul Cultural Press, 1974), 32.

and will that are eternally infallible and ultimately beneficial. In the *perichoretic* filial rapport with the Father, Jesus' inner agape cannot help but lead him to devote himself wholly to the Father's mission. To actualize the Father's redemptive purpose in his earthly life, Jesus makes his filial mission a reality in many ways. As the Gospel illustrates, Jesus preaches, heals, fellowships, disciples, and worships in his participation in God's mission. His filial activities are holistically diversified in such ways to involve himself with spiritual, physical, and social matters.

In *pareo Dei*, Jesus is the *ren*-person *par excellence* whose whole being is agape, the *summa bonum* of the *summa bonum* (i.e. *ren par excellence*). As God Incarnate, Jesus is fully human and fully divine in the perfect co-existence of the cosmic and human *ren* within himself. His inner filiality with the Father in *perichoretic* union is the source of his cosmic and human *ren*-fullness. As the creator of the whole universe, the divine Jesus is the fully-activated embodiment of the cosmic *ren*. As the sinless Jewish male of Nazareth, Jesus is simultaneously the fully-cultivated embodiment of the human *ren*. In this inner *ren*-fullness, Jesus cannot help but love the Father and the humanity created by *imago Dei*. The Greatest Commandment (Matthew 22:36-40) about the love of God and people is nothing other than the divine mandate that humankind should be filial to God and their fellow human beings. This cosmopolitan filial life is possible only through the indwelling and empowering of the Holy Spirit that is nothing other than the Spirit of the filial Son.

In *pareo Dei*, Jesus is the visionary of the theocratic *Datong* society in cosmic relational order and peace.   His filial life is enabled by his filial status with the Father that is characterized by diversity in unity in relational harmony. As the *ad-extra* Triune

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extension of God who is agape, God's creatures are supposed to enjoy such divine relational shalom with God and among themselves under God's sovereign Kingship. The entrance of sin into the world foils God's shalomic plan for His creation in that it causes the universal prevalence of relational discord and dysfunction. To rectify this anti-Trinitarian reality, Jesus self-empties and leads a filial mission whose essential message is the shalomic Kingdom of God. As the perfect state of cosmic shalom, God's Kingdom is, in its full actualization, like the 'theo-anthropocentric' *Datong* society where everyone and everything in the whole universe acts upon God-given propriety in familial love under the perfect leadership of the Sage-King who is the Father of all. This vision of cosmic shalom is not only announced but also inaugurated by Jesus, since he is the redemptive embodiment of God's inner life that is the archetype of all relational networks. Through the presence and power of Jesus' Spirit of filial piety, those who acknowledge his Savior-ship and Lordship experience this divine shalom in the here and now: "The Kingdom of God is within you (Luke 17:21)." In its entirety, this already-activated *Datong* vision via Jesus' filial life will permeate the whole universe in the every dimension of the whole cosmos at the eschatological accomplishment of *missio Dei.*

5.4.2.2 *Pareo Dei* as the Summa Exemplar of *Missio Dei*

God-in-agape in the immanent Trinity translates into God-in-mission in the economic Trinity, which culminates in God-in-submission in the Christ event. As "the redemptive embodiment of *missio Dei*,"[209] God's own submission to God's mission, namely *pareo Dei*, best epitomizes the principal constituents of God's mission in diverse

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[209] Timothy Tennent, *Invitation to World Missions*, 227.

modes. According to Bevans and Schroeder, God's mission has "two directions—to the church itself (*ad intra*) and to the world (*ad extra*)."[210] They add: "Mission to the church itself is necessary so that the church can shine forth in the world for what it is, a community that shares the identity of Christ as his body…Mission to the world points to the fact that the church is only the church as it is called to continue Jesus' mission of preaching, serving and witnessing to God's reign in new times and places."[211] This twofold direction of God's mission unquestionably looms large in Jesus' filial life and mission.

In *pareo Dei*, the *ad-intra* direction of God's mission is worship, fellowship, and discipleship. First of all, Jesus worships his Father who alone is worthy of praise and honor for eternity. Even the boy Jesus desires to be with God in God's House (cf. Luke 2:41-52). This element of God's mission might be called filial mission via *leitourgia* in which Jesus glorifies God as the worshipping Son. Second, Jesus calls his chosen to fellowship with and train (cf. Mark 3:14ff). During the three-year public ministry, he lives together with his disciples, infusing them with his Kingdom messages. His ultimate goal is to mold them into the church which will continue his filial mission after the Ascension until the Advent.[212] These elements of God's mission might be called filial mission via *koinonia* and filial mission via *didache*,[213] respectively, in which Jesus

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[210] Stephen Bevans and Rodger Schroeder, *Constants in Context*, 394.

[211] Ibid. Howard Snyder also recognizes the dual direction of God's mission: "The church has a mission **to** God as well as **from** God" (emphases original). Howard Snyder and Daniel Runyon, *Decoding the Church: Mapping the DNA of Christ's Body*, 50.

[212] In John 13:15, Jesus tells his disciples to follow his life and ministry.

[213] In John 3:2, Nicodemus describes Jesus as the greatest teacher from above, confessing "Rabbi, we know that you are a teacher who has come from God." Even his adversaries call Jesus as "teacher" (Matthew 22:16; Mark 12:14; Luke 20:21).

glorifies God as the church-forming and -edifying Son.

In *pareo Dei*, the *ad-extra* direction of God's mission is evangelism and social action. First, Jesus proclaims the good news of God's salvation unto God's creation (cf. Mark 1:15; Luke 4:18). He discloses the Kingdom ethics contributive to God's shalom (cf. Matthew 5-7). He comes to seek and save the lost world, so that the God-humankind relationship might be reconciled. This element of God's mission might be called filial mission via *kerygma*, in which Jesus glorifies God as the evangelistic Son. Next, Jesus demonstrates God's love by meeting the felt-needs around him. Not only does he heal those suffering with mental and physical diseases (cf. Matthew 4:23-24), [214] but he also raises and shows a prophetic voice coupled with action concerning for the disenfranchised (cf. Mark 11:15-19). This element of God's mission might be called filial mission via *diakonia,* in which Jesus glorifies God as the prophetic Son.

As such, Jesus is the filial Son of God devoted to the *ad-intra* and *ad-extra missio Dei*. In word and deed, he bears witness to God's shalomic Kingdom. In worship, fellowship, and discipleship, he brings and builds up God's people, the church. All of these activities bring glory and honor to God the Father and Sender. As the builder and sender of the church,[215] Jesus sets the supreme example of *missiones ecclesia*: fivefold filial mission. The church, thus, exists to conduct filial duties to God who is the Creator of all existences and the Father of all believers, specializing in worship, fellowship,

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[214] The Gospels introduce 72 cases of Jesus' healing.

[215] Jesus Christ is not only the builder of the church (Matthew 16:18: "I will build my church.") but also the sender of the church (John 20:21: "As the father has sent me, I also send you."). Consequently, Jesus is the head of the church, which is his body (Col 1:18a).

discipleship, evangelism and social action.[216] In the words of Craig Ott et al, the church is a missional community of "the Great Calling," "the Great Commission," and "the Great Commandment" called for "doxology…evangelism and discipleship…compassion and social concern" (see Figure 5.1).[217] In *pareo Dei*, the Great Calling is the church's filial mission via *leitourgia;* the Great Commandment is the church's filial mission via *koinonia* and *diakonia*; and the Great Commandment is the church's filial mission via *didache* and *kerygma* (see Figure 5.2).[218] The more faithful the church is to *pareo Dei*, the more fruitful is its participation in *missio Dei*, and the better fulfilled is its *raison detre* as a community of filial mission.

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[216] According to John Roxborogh, *missiones ecclesia* are composed of "worship, inner life, and external mission." John Roxborogh, "Is Mission Our Only Mission? Revisiting the Missionary Nature of the Church," a paper presented at Aotearoa New Zealand Association for Mission Studies Inaugural Conference, Bible College of New Zealand, 27-28 November 2000. Available online at http://roxborogh.com/missiology.htm.   Accessed on February 17, 2012.

[217] Craig Ott et al, *Encountering Theology of Mission*, 156.

[218] This fivefold filial mission of the church is in line with the contemporary understanding about the church's missional task in not only missiological scholarship but also in theological scholarship. For instance, Thomas Rausch states that "the church mediates God's salvation in Christ through its preaching (*kerygma*), teaching (*didache*), worship (*leitourgia*), ministry (*diakonia*), and shared life (*koinonia*)" in his *Who is Jesus? An Introduction to Christology* (Collegeville, MN: the Liturgical Press, 2003), 196.

Figure 5.1 The Totality of *Missiones Ecclesiae*

The Great Calling	Doxology
The Great Commission	Evangelism & Discipleship
The Great Commandment	Compassion & Social Concern

Figure 5.2 *Missio Dei* and *Missiones Ecclesiae* in Light of *Pareo Dei*

Missio Dei	*Missiones Ecclesiae*		*Pareo Dei*	
The *Ad-Intra* Direction of *Missio Dei* (Intra-ecclesia Missio Dei)	Inner Life	Worship	Filial Mission via	*Leitourgia*
		Fellowship		*Koinonia*
		Discipleship		*Didache*
The *Ad-Extra* Direction of *Missio Dei* (Extra-ecclesia Missio Dei)	Holistic Life	Evangelism		*Kerygma*
		Service		*Diakonia*

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CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION: TOWARD A THEOLOGY OF *PAREO DEI*

6.1 Integrative Summary

This study started with a keen observation that the *missio Dei* concept has historically intensified the missiological polarity and disunity of the Korean church between progressives (the KPCC) and conservatives (the KCCC). With a view to resolving this tension which runs counter to Jesus' mandate to be "one" in Christian life and witness (cf. John 17:22-23), the researcher attempted historical, theological, and missiological explorations (including contextual-theological and comparative-religious studies) into the controversial concept of *missio Dei* that revealed not only its holistic and contextual nature but also its hermeneutical linkages with Confucian filial piety. As a result, *pareo Dei* was constructed and offered as a filial-piety-mediated contextual theology of *missio Dei* that can challenge the Korean church's reductionist understandings of mission and, therefore, contribute to its long-awaited missiological reconciliation and unity between the KCCC and the KPCC.

Chapters 2 and 3 were devoted to the historical developments of *missio Dei* in the wider and Korean churches, respectively, with reference to Lalsangkima Pachuau's threefold periodization about the *missio Dei* movement (i.e. its emergence, controversy, and convergence). As a post-Christendom outcome, *missio Dei* was a self-reflective reaction to the conventional church-centric missionary thinking in favor of a kingdom-centric missionary thinking whose overarching premise hinged on God's sovereign rule and redemptive involvement in His whole creation. Initiated by such German scholars as Karl Barth and Karl Hartenstein, the *missio Dei* movement started to hold sway over the

ecumenical movement from the International Missionary Council's meeting in Willingen in 1952 with emphasis on the missionary nature of God, the missionary calling of His church, and the missionary concerns about His world, spiritual as well as material. The upsurge of the revolutionary *zeitgeist* of the mid-twentieth century induced the radicalization of the *missio Dei* movement by such this-worldly kingdom champions as Johannes Hoekendijk and M.M. Thomas to the extent that "the ecumenical emphasis shifted…to the secular liberation movements."[1] The ecumenical attachment to a secular and radical *missio Dei* during the 1960s and the early 1970s was sharply pitted against the evangelical adherence to an otherworldly-centered interpretation and application of the Great Commission. This so-called missiological Cold War of the worldwide Protestant movements has melted away with the epochal dawn of a holistic *missio Dei*: the resurgence of a holistic approach to mission in the ecumenical movement since Nairobi 1975 and the gradual acceptance of a holistic approach to mission in the evangelical movement since Lausanne 1974. As Priscilla Pope-Levison says, "the essential key to ecumenical evangelism…is that it is holistic—the whole church brining the whole Gospel to the whole world—and comprehensive—involving both word and deed,"[2] and the same is true of evangelical theology of mission. In this reconciliatory stage, the worldwide Protestant movements join forces to participate in God's mission for the shalomic actualization of God's Kingdom in human souls (spiritually), systems

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[1] John Stott, *Christian Mission in the Modern World*, 135.

[2] Priscilla Pope-Levison, "Evangelism in the WCC: From New Delhi to Canberra," *New Directions in Mission and Evangelization 2: Theological Foundations*, eds. James Scherer and Stephen Bevans (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1992), 126. In the ecumenical documents, evangelism is frequently used as a synonym of mission in a broad sense. As early as in 1950, Hoekendijk published an article, "The Call to Evangelism," in which evangelism means both the proclamation and the demonstration of the gospel. Cf. Johannes Hoekendijk, "The Call to Evangelism," *International Review of Mission* 39 (1950): 162–175.

(socially), and soils (ecologically). The visible fruit of the ecumenical–evangelical convergence and cooperation is Edinburgh 2010 and the 2011 document, 'Christian Witness in a Multi-Religious World,'[3] all of which stand as their joint affirmation of and common witness to a holistic *missio Dei* in this new millennium.

Unlike the worldwide Protestant movements in missiological convergence on a holistic *missio Dei*, the Korean church is still mired in the missiological polarity between the KPCC and the KCCC with their age-long fixations on reductionist approaches to mission. This dichotomous reality is historically deep-rooted, traceable back to the early period of Protestant missions to Korea (then, Chosun), when the comity arrangements among foreign missions gave rise to the twofold distinct traditions of Korean Christianity in accordance with their theological orientations: conservative and progressive. Overall, the former (the KCCC) was theologically liberal and missiologically prophetic, while the latter (the KPCC) was theologically fundamental and missiologically evangelistic. These dyadic streams were further developed through their contrastive responses to the Japanese Protectorate Invasion in the 1900s as revivalists vs. anti-Japanese militias, to the Shinto Shrine Worship Controversy in the 1930s as resisters vs. accommodators, to the Conservative–Liberal Theological Controversy during the 1930s–the 1940s as fundamentalists vs. liberals, and to the WCC-related Controversy during the 1950s as evangelicals vs. ecumenists. Consequently, the Korean church at large was dichotomized between the KPCC and the KCCC, whose missiological polarization was exacerbated by the former's adoption of a radical *missio Dei* in the late 1960s and subsequently its

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[3] On June 28, 2011, the evangelical WEA and the ecumenical WCC released the document together with the Catholic PCID, whose first section, 'A Basis for Christian Witness,' reveals that a holistic *missio Dei* is their missiological common denominator.

formulation of *minjung* theology in the 1970s. From that moment on, a radical *missio*

Dei, generally, and *minjung* theology, specifically, have been the KPCC's missiological

framework upon which they have acted as a prophetic voice for democratization during

the 1970s–1980s and reunification during the 1990s–present. In contrast, the KCCC has

concentrated on soul-winning and church-growing as an evangelistic force with a

spiritualized Great Commission as their sole missiological compass. In this paradigmatic

clash and missiological polarity, both the KPCC and the KCCC are distorting the biblical

and holistic vision of Christian salvation and mission with their reductionist approaches

to mission: the former's earth-bound socio-politicization and the latter's heaven-bound

spiritualization. As a consequence, the Korean church as a whole fails to reflect and

testify to the unity and integrity of the Body of Christ, allowing its rich diversity to

degenerate into the conservative–progressive polarity we see today (cf. Ephesians 1:22-

23; 1 Corinthians 12:12).[4]

The predominance of such non-holistic missional understandings in the Korean

church calls for the conscientization and dissemination of a holistic *missio Dei* taking

serious both the spiritual and the social sides of the whole gospel. This urgent task is not

an easy one to tackle, since the KPCC clings to a radical *missio Dei* in relation to *minjung*

theology and the KCCC harbors hostility even to the term, *missio Dei*, itself, due to its

historical connection with the *minjung* theological movement by the PCK-Gijang of the

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[4] Ephesians 1:22-23: "And God placed all things under his feet and appointed him to be head
over everything for the church, which is his body, the fullness of him who fills everything in every way"; 1
Corinthians 12:12: "Just as a body, though one, has many parts, but all its many parts form one body, so it
is with Christ." . Ephesians 4:3-6: "Make every effort to keep **the unity of the Spirit** through the bond of
peace. There is **one body** and one Spirit, just as **you were called to one hope** when you were called; one
Lord, one faith, one baptism; one God and Father of all, who is over all and through all and in all"
(emphases mine).

KPCC. To cope with this dilemma, the researcher came up with the idea of creating a contextual theology of a holistic *missio Dei* through the East Asian cultural notion, filial piety, which is of historical and universal significance to the whole Korean race regardless of ideological and theological differences. This contextual theological project required the preceding study on contextualization itself for the purpose of debunking myths held by both circles. The KCCC in the non-contextualization mentality believed that contextualization is incongruent with God's Word and mission, whereas the KPCC in the over-contextualization mindset believed that the context is the arbiter and center in localizing God's Word and mission. Chapter 4 was, thus, committed to 'authentic' contextualization with attention to its being essential to *missio Dei* as well as its theological imperative.

The Christian message is always formulated and communicated in the dynamic interface between gospel and culture. Andrew Walls construes this reality in the pilgrim and indigenous principle, whose major assumptions consist of the divine-human vitalities of gospel and culture, their ultimate functions as human plausibility structures, and the inevitable tension in their encounter. As early as in the mid-twentieth century, correlational schematization of such tension was pioneered by Richard Niebuhr with typological reference to the nullifying, validating, transcending, fulfilling, and transforming roles of the gospel in its encounter with the culture. His formula was constructed fundamentally under the influence of the triumphalist Christendom paradigm with the missionary gospel as an impregnable constant and the receptor culture as a passive variable. The culture-insensitive one-way-ism in the gospel–culture encounter was critically questioned by such missionary linguists and anthropologists as Eugene

Nida and Charles Kraft who, respectively, articulated triadic-cultural translation and ethno-theological communication in their translation and communication studies. All of these efforts were a significant step forward in the epistemological shift from modernist naïve realism to postmodernist critical realism, but without fully overcoming the conventional indigenization paradigm. It was not until the ecumenical initiative on contextualization in 1972 that this modernist approach to gospel and culture began to be deconstructed in recognition of the organic, holistic, and reciprocal dimensions of gospel and culture, and of their relation and communication.

In the contextualization paradigm, the gospel, cultures, and other faiths are, respectively, viewed not so much bounded, self-contained, and accidental to cultures as centered, inter-related, and essential to cultures. This hermeneutical transition was closely linked with the emergence of Trinitarian *missio Dei* theology in which human contexts are positively appreciated as the sphere and medium of the Triune God's holistic salvation toward the multi-cultural Kingdom of God. The ecumenical articulation of contextualization challenged the evangelical movement in the indigenization paradigm to reassess its traditional approach to gospel and culture in such a way that the Willowbank Consultation in 1978 adopted the contextualization paradigm with emphasis on syncretism-avoiding contextualization as an effective strategy for Christian mission. Furthermore, the evangelicals at the Haslev Consultation in 1997 fully embraced the risk-taking and way-of-life attitudes regarding contextualization, following in the footsteps of the ecumenical movement's Salvador CWME in 1996. In their common affirmation of a holistic *missio Dei*, the worldwide Protestant movements at large are now promoting contextualization as a constructive (i.e. toward the richness of both gospel and culture),

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communal (i.e. participations of both local and global churches), and continual (i.e. until the final consummation of God's Kingdom) process indispensable to Christian faith, life, and witness.

As a theological and missiological imperative, contextualization reflects God's agapic dealings with His creation culminating in His own cultural enfleshment in the Christ event. God's mission is effectuated only through a live touch in specific situations, only to the degree that the divine good news has become a part of the vernacular in that locality. In communicating and making concrete the Christian faith appropriately, a delicate balance is needed between gospel and culture to avoid either over-contextualization or insufficient contextualization. Consequently, theoretical studies on theological contextualization were developed with regard to its models and methods. In the gospel–culture continuum, Stephen Bevans comprehensively arranged six models from the creation-centered anthropological to the redemption-centered countercultural that activate God's salvation in diverse codes and modes. For the minimization of both colonialist and syncretistic tendencies in the gospel communication, Paul Hiebert presented critical contextualization in the four-process step having an evangelical accent. For the orientation and evaluation of authentic contextualization as an essential and expressive way of Christian love and life, Robert Schreiter proposed a contextual theological map having a nine-process step with an ecumenical-Catholic tone. All of these conceptual tools enable God's mission to be authentically incarnated in human contexts, through which the riches of gospel and culture are revealed and celebrated at the service of God's Kingdom, and through which global Christianity flourishes in the spirit of diversity-in-unity.

Following this preliminary investigation of theological contextualization, chapter 5 got down to the construction of a contextual theology of *missio Dei* for the missiological reconciliation and unity of the Korean church between the KCCC and the KPCC. The concept of filial piety was utilized as a contextual theological medium with keen attention to its symbolic and actual status as the perennial Korean cultural icon. As the integrative conceptual framework for the task, Andrew Walls' twofold principle and Stephen Bevan's synthetic model were combined with Robert Schreiter's navigational map whose nine-process methodology was condensed into four with reference to Terry Muck's compare-and-contrast approach in inter-religious studies.

The first step uncovered the biblical contents and contours of God's mission whose fundamental essentials are summed up triply as 1) mission as the overflowing and outpouring of God's inner life, agape, in Trinitarian *perichoresis*, 2) mission as the foretasting and foretelling of God's eschatological Kingdom toward cosmic shalom, and 3) mission as the embracing and embodying of God' filial *kenosis* in submission to the Father and Sender. The second step unearthed the conceptual development of filial piety whose fundamental essentials are summarized triply as 1) filial piety as a reciprocal response to parental love and care in the pre-Confucian custom, 2) filial piety as the interpersonal manifestation of inner humanness, *ren*, in the Confucian ideology, and 3) filial piety as the life-long cultivation and activation of "anthropocosmic vision" in the neo-Confucian perspective.[5] In the third step, the major points of consonance and dissonance between missio Dei and filial piety were analyzed triply as 1) love-motivated

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[5] Tu Weiming, *Centrality and commonality*, 102. Neo-Confucian scholars use the term, anthropocosmic, to denote the interrelatedness of humanity and cosmos in contrast with the term, anthropocentric (human-centered).

in distinction between the divine love operating in *missio Dei* and the human love operating in filial piety, 2) submission-entailed in distinction between absolute submission inherent in *missio Dei* and relative submission inherent in filial piety, and 3) peace-oriented in distinction between 'the-anthropocosmic' shalom in God's Kingdom and 'anthropocosmic' shalom in the *Datong* society. With their common grounds accentuated, the fourth and final step set forth a filial-piety-mediated contextual theology of *missio Dei* termed as *pareo Dei*.

   Pareo Dei whose literal meaning in Latin is 'the submitting or obeying of God' is the summa exemplar of both *missio Dei* and filial piety. In *Pareo Dei*, Jesus is the filial Son of God who personifies the love and mission of God the Father and Sender. In *perichoretic* communion with God the Father and God the Spirit, Jesus holds the full humanity and the full divinity, which enables him to lead an agapic and *ren*-ful life in complete submission to God's eternal Word and redemptive purpose. As the reconciliatory mediator between God the Creator and His whole creation, Jesus commits himself entirely to filial mission as the visionary and inaugurator of the theocratic *Datong* society, namely the shalomic Kingdom of God. Jesus' divine Sonship is nothing other than his servant Messiah-ship characterized by his filial life of loving and obeying God all the time and all the way with all his being. Motivated by agape within the Trinitarian trajectory, Jesus translates his filial rapport with God the Father into his filial mission reconciling all things and beings with the Triune God and each other. In the perfect father-child relation, Jesus shows himself as the *ren*-ful filial Son who actualizes the 'the-anthropocosmic vision' of the *Datong* society in cosmic relational harmony and order.

Pareo Dei clearly reveals God's twofold mission to the church and the world. First, there is the *ad-intra* direction of God's mission toward His church for its formation, edification and sanctification. As the founder and sustainer of the church, Jesus models the filial mission via *leitourgia* (worship), *koinonia* (fellowship), and *didache* (discipleship). Through this *intra-ecclesial missio Dei*, the church is formed, nurtured, and empowered to reach out to the pre-Christian world. Second, there is the *ad-extra* direction of God's mission toward the world for its holistic transformation. As the creator and sustainer of the universe, Jesus engages in the filial mission via *kerygma* (evangelism) and *diakonia* (service). Through this *extra-ecclesial missio Dei*, the pre-Christian world turns into the Kingdom of God with spiritual, social, and furthermore ecological shalom. According to Andrew Walls, every Christian theology should be, though uniquely formulated in the indigenous principle, in line with the pilgrim principle conducive to the glorification of the Triune God, the edification of His church, and the transformation of His world. *Pareo Dei* is an authentic and holistic contextual theology operative under both the indigenous principle through its respectfulness to the Korean filial piety culture and the pilgrim principle through its faithfulness to the threefold objective.

As the children of God and the followers of Jesus, the church is called and sent to take part in God's twofold mission encapsulated in Jesus' filial life. The church is a community of filial mission entrusted with worship, fellowship, discipleship, evangelism, and service, through which the church is edified, the world is transformed, and the Father of all is glorified. Since agape is the ultimate motivation of *pareo Dei*, the church cannot be a community-in-mission unless it becomes a community-in-agape. Only when agape

abounds in the inner life of the church can it follow the example of *pareo Dei* to the fullest. Scott Jones, thus, states that "a threefold formula of the church's task—worship, formation, and witness—corresponds to the three objects Christians are called to love in the Great Commandments." He adds: "By worship we love God. By formation we love ourselves. By witness we love others. This threefold approach illuminates how the church responds to the reign of God in obedience to God's commands."[6] *Pareo Dei* can be reenacted only by the church's agapic relationship with and action toward God, itself, and the world.

As such, *pareo Dei* illuminates God's twofold mission, *ad intra* and *ad extra*. If the Korean church as a whole embraces *pareo Dei* as its missiological framework, the missiological polarity between the KPCC and the KCCC can be resolved, since *pareo Dei* elucidates the holistic nature of God's *ad-extra* mission. In *pareo Dei*, Jesus is faithful in the the proclamation and demonstration of God's love and power, and the church is supposed to be as well. His redemptive concerns include every facet of His creation from spiritual to material. While *pareo Dei* recognizes both the KPCC's horizontalization of mission and the KCCC's verticalization of mission, it challenges each of them to go beyond their one-sided reductionist attitudes and practices toward the holisticalization of mission, advancing God's Kingdom both in word and deed. There is no room for the hegemonic priority between evangelism and social action in *pareo Dei*. The evangelistic Jesus is inseparable from the prophetic Jesus in his filial life and mission. In this *pareo Dei* mentality, the KPCC and the KCCC of the Korean church can be missiologically reconciled enough to become a unified change agent brining a holistic

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[6] Scott J. Jones, *The Evangelistic Love of God and Neighbors: A Theology of Witness and Discipleship* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 2003) 55.

transformation of Korea society and beyond, envisioning and actualizing the 'the-anthropocosmic' *Datong* society of relational shalom, both vertically and horizontally.

6.2 Suggestions for Further Research

Christian theology is contextual by nature, and any contextual theology is provisional. There is no finalized theology in absolute perfection. Every contextual theology is on the way and in the making. In this pilgrim consciousness, the worldwide Protestant movements rightly view contextualization as a constructive, communal, and continual process.[7] This study brought into being *pareo Dei* as a filial-piety-mediated contextual theology of *missio Dei*. *Pareo Dei* is merely a point of departure for further discussions and explorations of *missio Dei* and its manifold modes in diverse cultures. *Pareo Dei* is in constant need of theological and missiological scrutiny by *emic* (i.e. East Asian cultural) and *etic* (i.e. other cultural) voices for its biblical and cultural appropriateness. Several promising areas for important research arose out of this initial attempt at the theological contextualization of *missio Dei*.

First, *pareo Dei* challenges the wider church to probe all the deeper into the *ad-intra* direction of *missio Dei*. The conventional discourse on God's mission has concentrated on the *ad-extra* direction of *missio Dei* which covers spiritual and socio-ecological salvation. The worldwide Protestant movements of old experienced a missiological dichotomy concerning the priority issue of evangelism and social action. The worldwide Protestant movements of today enjoy a missiological unity in their common affirmation of a holistic *missio Dei*. That is, the *extra-ecclesial missio Dei* has

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[7] Refer to 4.3.1. The Meaning of Theological Contextualization of chapter 4.

been the dominant topic of global missiology. God's mission, however, includes not only His world but also His church. As the Body of Christ, the church cannot exist nor function properly without God's sustaining and empowering presence. God's mission to the church shapes and propels its inner life. As the Sovereign Lord, God is active among His own people in worship, fellowship, and discipleship for their renewal and revival into His missional community. In fact, contemporary missiology is shedding new light on the *ad-intra* direction of God's mission. Notably, Stephen Bevans and Rodger Schroeder make it clear that God's mission has "two directions—to the church itself (*ad intra*) and to the world (*ad extra*)."[8] This insight calls due attention to the missionary facility of the church's inner life characterized by worship, fellowship, and discipleship. Recently, Howard Snyder and Ken Miyamoto alike argue for the inseparability of worship and mission.[9] In spite of it all, the *ad-intra* direction of God's mission is nothing but an unknown and neglected sphere of missiological discipline. The wider church needs to explore the symbiotic interrelatedness between the church's inner life and mission to reveal the contents and contours of the *intra-ecclesial missio Dei* all the more.

Second, *pareo Dei* inspires each culture to pursue its own contextual theology of *missio Dei*. The Korean cultural attachment to filial piety drove the researcher to utilize filial piety as a contextual theological medium. In one sense, *pareo Dei* is a self-theological effort to understand God's mission through the lens of the Korean filial piety culture. As a result, the fivefold filial mission was proposed as a way for the Korean

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[8] Stephen Bevans and Rodger Schroeder, *Constants in Context,* 394.

[9] Howard Snyder and Daniel Runyon, *Decoding the Church*, 50. Ken Miyamoto, "Worship is Nothing But Mission: A Reflection on Some Japanese Experiences," *Mission in the Twentieth-First Century: Exploring the Five Marks of Global Mission*, eds. Andrew Walls and Cathy Ross (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2008), 157-164.

church to holistically participate in God's mission. In the same manner, diverse cultural

concepts can be employed in contextualizing the *missio Dei* theology born out of the

Western context. For example, the Chinese church might formulate 'righteous mission'

with emphasis on the Chinese cultural attachment to 義 (roughly, righteousness) and the

Japanese church might work out 'loyal mission' with reference to the Japanese cultural

attachment to 忠 (roughly, loyal).[10] These self-theologizing endeavors should be carried

out in alignment with the biblical and holistic vision of God's salvation and mission. The

loss of biblical fidelity ends with a contextual theology of *missio Dei* that fails to secure

the universal credibility even to one's own cultural Christian group. A case in point is a

theology of 恨 (*Han*: roughly, deep sorrow in Korean) developed by a band of *minjung*

theologians in Korea who attempted to self-theologize God's mission and salvation

through the concept of *han*.[11] Their liberationist interpretation and application, though,

ended up with a radical *missio Dei* theology incompatible with biblical and missional

holism, and therefore rejected by a majority of Korean Christians. The local church

needs to be a hermeneutical community that is true to both Scriptural meta-narrative and

its own cultural identity.

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[10] According to Yongwoon Kim, Korea, Japan, and China have shown different emphases on Confucian virtues even though they belong to the same East Asian Confucian cultural bloc. In the spirit of *Samurai*, Japan has prioritized 忠 (loyalty); in the spirit of *Junzi* (口子), China has prioritized 義 (righteousness); and in the spirit of *Sunbee* (the Korean vernacular word for Confucian scholar), Korea has prioritized 孝 (filial piety). Yongwoon Kim, "정보화 시대의 한국 [Korea in Information Age]," a paper delivered at the seventeenth Future-Oriented Culture Lecture of the Sungchun Institute on October 23, 2001. Available at http://www.sungchun.or.kr/files/435/OLD/contents/data/futurebooks-2.htm. Accessed on February 17, 2012.

[11] For further discussion on a theology of *han*, refer to Nam-Dong Suh, "Towards a Theology of *Han*," *Minjung Theology: People as the Subjects of History*, ed. Yong-Bock Kim (Singapore: Commission On Theological Concerns, 1981), 51-66.

Third and last, *pareo Dei* invites the Korean church[12] to reexamine the person and work of the Holy Spirit in light of filial mission. The current research is a sort of Christological reinterpretation of God's mission through filial piety. In *pareo Dei*, Jesus of Nazareth is construed as the filial Son of God *par excellence* inaugurating the 'the-anthropocosmic' *Datong* society of holistic shalom. He is the supreme example of the fivefold *kenotic* filial mission (i.e. worship, fellowship, discipleship, evangelism, service) that his followers (the church) should embrace and embody for the furtherance of God's eschatological Kingdom. Yet, a moot question is the role of the Holy Spirit in *pareo Dei*. In the economic-Trinitarian framework,[13] God's mission is a synergetic cooperation of the Triune God including the Father, the Son, and the Spirit. As Timothy Tennent notes, God the Father is the "providential source and goal" of His mission, God the Son is the "redemptive embodiment" of His mission, and God the Spirit is the "empowering presence" of His mission.[14] The Bible makes it clear that that the Holy Spirit is the *Paraclete* (cf. John 14:16; 1 John 2:1; Luke 24:29; Acts 1:4), namely Advocate, Helper, Comforter, Director, or Strengthener, in God's redemptive plan and activity.[15] In *pareo Dei*, then, the third person of the Trinity can be referred to as the filial Spirit submissive to God the Sender (i.e. the Father and the Son[16]) so as to advocate, help, comfort, direct,

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[12] Since *pareo Dei* was constructed as a Korean contextual theology of a holistic *missio Dei* by the Korean church (i.e. by its member, the researcher) for the Korean church's missiological reconciliation, its continual revisiting should be conducted under the leadership of the Korean church with the adjunctive help of the global church. As Paul Hiebert reminds, insiders must take the lead in self-theologizing.

[13] Refer to 5.2.1. Mission as the Overflowing and Outpouring of God's Inner Life, Agape, of chapter 5.

[14] The quoted expressions are the titles of Part 2, 3, and 4 in his I*nvitation to World Missions*.

[15] See further R.E. Brown, "The *Paraclete* in the Fourth Gospel," *NTS* 13 (1966/1967):113-132.

[16] This view is anchored in the Western Trinitarian tradition.

or strengthen the filial mission of Jesus and Jesus-followers. The Korean church needs to investigate a pneumatological reinterpretation of God's mission for the complementary enrichment of *pareo Dei*.[17]

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[17] A seminal work on this topic was done by Yu Chi-Ping of Hong Kong, who views the Holy Spirit as "the Spirit of filial love" who "inspires us to follow Jesus' example of denying himself in order to realize the Father's will." See further his "Theology of Filial Piety: An Initial Formulation," *Asia Journal of Theology* 3:2 (1989): 496-508.

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