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**Christians without Borders and Churches on the Move:
Perspectives on Catholicity from Pneumatology and Mission**

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Abstract

‘Christians without borders and churches on the move’ is one way of summing up the subject matter of mission studies and it is also an apt description of the contents of the Acts of the Apostles. It is the stuff of which Christian history is made and one of the things that makes Christianity a world religion. This article lends weight to this view by taking examples from recent study of the history of Korean Christianity and showing how Korean Christians have used pneumatological tools to support their existence as ‘without borders’ and mission theological tools to justify ‘churches on the move’. It concludes that theology of catholicity must take account of the characteristically boundary-crossing nature of Christianity and the historical mobility of church communities.

Introduction

‘Christians without borders and churches on the move’ is one way of summing up the subject matter of mission studies, which deals with both global and local Christian mission from the multi-disciplinary perspectives of theology, history, and cultural, social, religious and global studies.¹ It is also an apt description of the contents of the Acts of the Apostles. The first Christians experienced the ethnic inclusiveness and geographical universality of their new-found Christian identity and various episodes of travel, scattering, migration and deliberate mission activity led to the growth of church communities, the relocation of others and the establishment of new ones among

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¹ For examples, see the journal of the International Association for Mission Studies, *Mission Studies*.

different peoples across the Roman empire. Not only then but since, 'Christians without borders and churches on the move' has continued in the history of Christianity, if it is considered from a global perspective. In fact, it is the stuff of which Christian history is made and one of the things that makes Christianity a world religion.² Therefore, any understanding of catholicity must take account of the boundary-crossing nature of Christianity and the mobility of church communities. In this paper I suggest some tools for this task from pneumatology and theology of mission.

I anchor this essay in the recent history of Christianity in one particular context within which 'Christians without borders and churches on the move' is a fitting summary of ways of being church. That context is Korea.³ There are striking parallels between the Korean Protestant experience and that of the first Christians in the book of Acts, many of which are drawn by Korean pastors and theologians themselves in their sermons and writings.⁴ Some of these parallels are also suggested by contemporary commentaries on the Acts of the Apostles, especially those sensitive to Pentecostal and post-colonial perspectives.⁵ I use such observations to develop pneumatological and mission theological tools which owe a great deal to Korean theology and to ecumenical discussion.

Christians Without Borders: Pneumatological Perspectives

Korea was a unified country with territorial integrity from 676 AD but when they began to study Christianity more than a millennium later, Koreans experienced it as transcending these borders. From 1392 the country was known as Joseon. Confucianism functioned as the state religion and exercised 'ritual hegemony'; that is, no other

² Sebastian Kim & Kirsteen Kim, *Christianity as a World Religion* (London: Continuum, 2008); Dana L. Robert, *Christian Mission: How Christianity Became a World Religion* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009).

³ Historical details and scholarly references may be found in Sebastian C.H. Kim & Kirsteen Kim, *A History of Korean Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015). Selected sources on Korean Christianity are also included below.

⁴ See, for example, Kirsteen Kim, *The Holy Spirit in the World: A Global Conversation* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2007), pp. 103-139.

⁵ Especially, Amos Yong, *The Spirit Poured Out on All Flesh: Pentecostalism and the Possibility of Global Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2005); Justo L. Gonzales, *Acts: The Gospel of the Spirit* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2001); Beverly Roberts Gaventa, *Acts* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 2003); James D.G. Dunn, *Christianity in the Making*, Vols. 1 & 2 (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm B. Eerdmans, 2003, 2009); V. George Shillington, *An Introduction to the Study of Luke-Acts* (London: T&T Clark, 2007).

religious practices were permitted.⁶ Foreign missionaries were unable to penetrate the country but Korean scholars heard about the Catholic faith during the annual diplomatic mission to Beijing and studied Catholic literature. Finding it relevant to social issues as well as religiously attractive, they sent one of their number to Beijing for baptism and founded their own Catholic community. When in the late eighteenth century some refused to comply with Confucian ritual, they sparked persecution that lasted for nearly a century. Catholicism survived as an underground movement of small groups and Catholic villages.⁷

In the nineteenth century, a poor economic situation, internal unrest and increasing insecurity caused growing instability. Attempted invasions by Western powers (in the case of France with Catholic support) and threats from Russia and Japan led the authorities to close off Korea to most foreigners, especially missionaries, while it kept its close relationship with China. Dissidents and entrepreneurs alike left in search of freedom and new opportunities. The first Korean Protestants we know of came into one or both categories and were baptised not in Korea but in Manchuria in the late 1870s. With the help of missionaries, they produced gospels in Korean and distributed copies in Korea itself. They also founded small Christian communities there.⁸ In these circumstances, those who were open to receive Christianity were in some way dissatisfied with the status quo in Korea. They must have found the Christian gospel extraordinarily attractive since they were prepared to risk the wrath of the state to receive it. Furthermore, they were open-minded enough to receive from people beyond Korean borders. They were aware that Christianity was a universal faith – or at least that it was offered to all.

⁶ Don Baker, 'Catholicism in a Confucian World', in JaHyun Kim Haboush & Martina Deuchler (eds), *Culture and the State in Late Chosŏn Korea* (London: Harvard UP, 1999), 199-230.

⁷ For early Korean Catholic history, see Yu Chai-shin (ed.), *The Founding of Catholic Tradition in Korea* (Mississauga, Ontario: Korea and Related Studies Press, 1996); Jai-keun Choi, *The Origin of the Roman Catholic Church in Korea: An Examination of Popular and Governmental Responses to Catholic Missions in the Late Chosŏn Dynasty* (Cheltenham: The Hermit Kingdom Press, 2006); Andrew J. Finch, 'A Persecuted Church: Roman Catholicism in Early Nineteenth-Century Korea', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 51/3 (July 2000), 556-80.

⁸ For early Protestantism, see Sung-deuk Oak, *The Making of Korean Christianity: Protestant Encounters with Korean Religions, 1876-1915* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2013).

The universal Spirit: The reception of Christianity in Korea as a global connection

Korean Catholics were connected to the world Church initially through the Jesuits and hierarchy in Beijing and later by the Paris Foreign Mission, links that they struggled to maintain even under persecution. From the 1870s, as Korea reluctantly and under duress opened its doors to Japan and the West, missionaries were permitted to enter the country. Some elite Koreans who were pursuing modernisation argued that Protestant Christianity lay at the heart of the Western societies they admired (chiefly the USA) and that adopting it would be for the good of the country. They invited, and even financed, Western missionaries to come to Korea to share their faith and also their education, medicine and industry with them. When the missionaries arrived, they found believers waiting for baptism. Koreans presenting themselves to missionaries for baptism signalled not only that they wished to worship Christ but also their desire to join themselves to the global Christian movement.

As has been often pointed out, the Korean case presents a striking parallel to the account of the 'Macedonian call' in Acts 16.⁹ When the apostle Paul crossed into Macedonia, it was because he had heard the call of the Macedonians themselves, and when he arrived he found people already worshipping God in Philippi. Furthermore, the Acts narrative of the initiating, guiding and empowering work of the Holy Spirit suggests that the Macedonians were reaching across borders because that Spirit was already at work in them, prompting their desire for Christ and enabling their response.¹⁰ The Spirit with which the New Testament church was baptised was identified by the Church Fathers as the Spirit of God, the Giver of Life,¹¹ and as such knows no borders. The same Spirit was at work in the creation and already known in the Hebrew worship of the one God, experienced in the faith of Israel and manifest in the life and ministry of Jesus Christ. Similarly, Korean theologians insist that God was not 'carried piggy-back to Korea by the first missionary'.¹² God's Spirit was already

⁹ For example by Juan G. Ruiz De Medina, *The Catholic Church in Korea: Its Origins, 1566-1784* (Rome: Istituto Storico, 1991), pp. 7-9.

¹⁰ David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1991), pp. 84-122.

¹¹ Nicene Creed.

¹² Younghak Hyun, 'A Theological Look at the Mask Dance in Korea', in Commission on Theological Concerns of the Christian Conference of Asia (ed.), *Minjung Theology: People as the Subjects of History* (London: Zed Press, 1983), pp. 47-54 at p. 54.

present and active in Korean experience and it was because of this that the first Korean Christians embraced the gospel as both continuous with what they already knew and also a fulfilment of it.¹³

The Korean context is one in which there is awareness of many spirits. In Korean traditional religion there are nature spirits, ancestor spirits and many others.¹⁴ Both the terms *sin* and *ryeong* that were used to translate 'spirit' in the first Korean Bibles set the linguistic framework for understanding the Spirit within the many spirits of the complex Korean spirit-world. Therefore it was important that the Spirit of God manifest in Christ was distinguished from the rest as 'the Holy Spirit' and a strong theology of discernment developed.¹⁵ When the Korean feminist theologian Chung Hyun Kyung chose to present her eco-pneumatology at the general assembly of the World Council of Churches in Canberra, Australia in 1991 in terms of a shamanist exorcism,¹⁶ she was roundly condemned in the Korean churches for her failure to distinguish the Holy Spirit from other spirits and to make explicit the Trinitarian relationship of the Holy Spirit to Christ.¹⁷ Korean theologians appreciated that, although the Holy Spirit is universally at work, not every spirit is on the side of Christ. At the same time as their baptism in/with the Holy Spirit separated them from some other Koreans, it also joined them to the wider Christian community worldwide.

The Korean Pentecost: The Korean church among the churches

Protestantism took a distinctively Korean form in a revival movement in first years of the twentieth century. The first Protestant communities had been connected to transnational denominations by Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries who arrived

¹³ Ryu Tong-shik, *The Mineral Veins of Korean Theology* (in Korean), 2nd edition (Seoul: Dasan Geulbang, 2000); Sung-deuk Oak, 'Edinburgh 1910, Fulfillment Theory, and Missionaries in China and Korea', *Journal of Asian and Asian American Theology* 9 (2009), pp. 29-51.

¹⁴ For listings of the names of the gods, spirits and ghosts of the pantheon of Korean folk religion, see James Huntley Grayson, *Korea – A Religious History*, revised edition (Abingdon, Oxon: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002), pp. 221-25; Hyun-key Kim Hogarth, *Korean Shamanism and Cultural Nationalism* (Seoul: Jimoondang, 1999), pp. 121-49.

¹⁵ Kim, *The Holy Spirit in the World*, pp. 103-139.

¹⁶ Hyun Kyung Chung, 'Come, Holy Spirit – Renew the Whole Creation', in Michael Kinnamon (ed.), *Signs of the Spirit*. Official report of the seventh assembly of the World Council of Churches, Canberra, 1991 (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1991), pp. 37-47.

¹⁷ Kim, *The Holy Spirit in the World*, pp. ix-x.

from 1885 onward. These were mostly from the USA where they had been influenced by the Moody and Sankey Revival of the 1870s that cut across denominational boundaries. As a result they not only emphasised the Evangelical tenets of the Bible, the Cross, conversion and activism but also the perfecting work of the Holy Spirit in the believer. A tendency to pre-millennialism motivated the evangelisation of Korea within the shortest possible time by a unified effort regardless of denomination. To this end, the missionaries adopted the 'three-self' mission method¹⁸ which meant they encouraged Korean congregations to be self-supporting, self-propagating and (to a large extent) self-governing. In other words the Korean churches were largely independent of the missionaries and also of one another. In keeping with this method they met for prayer and Bible study in small groups in people's homes, as well as in church and also in larger gatherings known as Bible schools.¹⁹ As in the case of the Catholic Church earlier, the use of small groups made Protestantism resilient to oppression.

In the early years of the twentieth century Holiness spirituality, which focused on the 'fullness of the Spirit' or 'baptism in the Spirit', grew among the foreign missionaries in Korea and among Korean Christians. This 'revival' movement culminated in 1907 when thousands of Korean Christians exhibited the kind of spiritual outpouring also observed in Wales in 1904 and in India in 1905, and which is associated with the origins of global Pentecostalism.²⁰ News of the revival was reported around the world and it led to greater mutual respect between Koreans and missionaries now that they recognised one another as filled with the same Spirit.

The revival both demonstrated in the eyes of the international community that Koreans were true believers and at the same time made both missionaries and Koreans even more confident that there was already a Korean church and that the faith had taken root in Korean soil. The fact that the revival coincided with the establishment in 1907 of the Presbyterian Church of Korea strengthens the case of later Protestant historians who

¹⁸ Known as the 'Nevius' method in Korea.

¹⁹ For recent discussion of early missionary work, see Donald N. Clark (2003), *Living Dangerously in Korea: The Western Experience 1900-1950* (Norwalk, CT: EastBridge, 2003); Oak, *The Making of Korean Christianity*.

²⁰ See Allan H. Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism* (Cambridge: CUP, 2004), pp. 136-39.

see this as the point at which Christianity became indigenous.²¹ Distinguishing features of Korean spirituality were already in evidence by the time of the revival such as early morning prayer meetings, simultaneous prayer, prayer mountains, collective Bible reading and generous giving. As a result of the revival these practices, together with a Bible-based faith and a fervent spirituality, were baptised as authentic Korean Protestantism. Later denominations such as the Holiness churches since the 1920s and the Pentecostal churches from the 1950s both adopted these practices in Korea and also connected their histories to the revival as a sign of their own Korean-ness.²²

Korean Protestants themselves saw the Korean Revival of 1903-1907 as 'the Korean Pentecost' in which the Holy Spirit descended on the people. The description of the Pyongyang revival by the local synod is clearly influenced by the account in Acts 2: 'When the Holy Spirit came, one person started crying aloud and confessing his sins and others joined in. In the evening ... there was the presence of a strong wind and then eventually the Holy Spirit descended'.²³ However, Korean theologian Ryu Tong-shik sees the revival as spawning two strands of Holy Spirit movement in Korea: the paternal and the maternal. The former was connected with public responsibility and political activism and emerged as *minjung* theology, a Korean political theology, in the 1970s. The leading *minjung* theologian Suh Nam-dong identified the Holy Spirit as the source of the power of the movements of the masses for their rights in various peasant uprisings in history and in his day in the movements for labour and civil rights under military-backed governments.²⁴ The maternal movement was characterised by interiority and individualism which came to the fore in the charismatic revivalism and the growth of Pentecostalism in the same period. Ryu sees these two pneumatologies as running along pre-existing fault-lines in Korean society between Confucian and shamanistic patterns of religiosity which correlate to some extent with class and gender. At a time of

²¹ For example, Lak-geon George Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea 1832-1910*, 2nd edition (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1970 [1929]), pp. 374-75.

²² For example, Young-hoon Lee, *The Holy Spirit Movement in Korea: Its Historical and Theological Development* (Oxford: Regnum, 2009).

²³ Quoted in Deok-joo Rhie, *A Study on the Formation of the Indigenous Church in Korea, 1903-1907* (in Korean. Seoul: Institute for Korean Church History, 2001), pp. 110-111. My translation.

²⁴ Nam-dong Suh, 'Historical References for a Theology of the Minjung', in Commission on Theological Concerns of the Christian Conference of Asia (ed.), *Minjung Theology: People as the Subjects of History* (London: Zed Press, 1983), pp. 155-82 at pp. 167-77.

polarisation between *minjung* and popular Korean Christianity under military dictatorship, Ryu sought to unify them by both an appeal to a primordial national spirit and a belief in one Holy Spirit active in varied ways in Korean history.²⁵ Ryu's pneumatology treads a fine line between a nationalism that identifies the Korean Spirit with the Holy Spirit and an internationalism of the universal spirit that undermines the particularity of Korean experience. Jong Chun Park, a contemporary Methodist theologian, aims to resolve this tension when he describes how the Holy Spirit is both on the inside and the outside of Korean faith. The Spirit of God both 'crawls' with the people through all their troubled history and struggles for life and also breaks into Korean history in 'dance' prompted by transnational encounter and resulting in religious revival and social transformation.²⁶

The national spirit: Koreans as the chosen people of God

Although the 1907 revival may be seen as part of a global Pentecostal movement, the fact that it occurred at a time of national crisis in Korea. Japan had defeated the other major contenders for Korean territory: China (1895) and Russia (1905) and proclaimed a protectorate over the peninsula suggests that there were nationalist factors at work as well. As the nation was fighting for survival, Korean Christians saw the growth of the church as a form of resistance and hope. In the midst of turmoil, the revival provided a cathartic opportunity for repentance and faith that God was blessing Korea despite appearances to the contrary. When the Presbyterian mission went ahead with its plan, informed by three-self mission policy, to establish the Presbyterian Church of Korea in 1907 and the first seven Korean pastors were ordained, the Korean Church proudly took its equal place among the churches of other nations. However, when Japan finally annexed Korea in 1910, the nation ceased to exist. The Japanese took over most Korean institutions and the only ones that stood independent of Japanese control were religious.

²⁵ Kirsteen Kim, 'Holy Spirit Movements in Korea: Paternal or Maternal? Reflections on the Analysis of Ryu Tong-Shik (Yu Tong-shik)', *Exchange*, journal of missiological and ecumenical research 35/2 (2006), pp. 147-68.

²⁶ Jong Chun Park, *Crawl with God, Dance in the Spirit! A Creative Formation of Korean Theology of the Spirit* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1998).

In spite of their avowed neutrality in politics and refusal to support armed insurrection, the mainline Protestant churches and schools implicitly encouraged nationalism. They were founded on three-self principles which encouraged self-reliance and an alternative modernisation. Moreover, they used the Korean language rather than Japanese and educated Koreans in their own heritage. Networked together nationally and also across the growing Korean diaspora, they acted as a lobbying group on behalf of the people in dealings with the Japanese and they offered leadership skills for Koreans and trained a class of political leaders and intellectuals. Among the religions of Korea – chiefly Confucianism, Buddhism and indigenous religions, the Christian churches especially posed a challenge to the Japanese authorities. Not only did Christians see themselves as protectors of the nation but there is evidence – in the form of church growth – that many other Koreans regarded the churches as part of the nationalist struggle for self-reliance, modernisation and Korean language and culture. Christians taught that God had specially blessed Korea and had chosen her for salvation. In this way the Holy Spirit was construed as reinforcing the national spirit of resistance and self-reliance.²⁷

Protestant leaders showed their nationalism in several ways. One way was to lend their strong support to the independence movement of 1 March 1919. This bid for the self-determination promised by US President Woodrow Wilson to other small nations in the aftermath of the First World War was brutally suppressed by the Japanese colonial government but not before news and photographs were flashed around the world with the help of foreign missionaries.²⁸ The global missionary presence protected the church and it was one reason why Korean churches continued to invite Western missionaries despite the growing autonomy of the churches, complaints about missionary domineering and the difficulties set in the way of foreign mission work by the Japanese.

²⁷ See, for example, Sok-hon Ham, *Queen of Suffering: A Spiritual History of Korea*, trans. E. Sang Yu (London: Friends World Committee for Consultation, 1985); Mahn-yol Yi, 'The Birth of the National Spirit of the Christians in the Late Chosŏn Period', trans. Ch'oe Ŭn-a, in Chai-shin Yu (ed.), *Korea and Christianity* (Fremont, CA: Asian Humanities Press, 2004), pp. 39-72; Young-keun Choi, 'The Great Revival in Korea, 1903-1907: Between Evangelical Aims and the Pursuit of Salvation in the National Crisis', *Korean Journal of Christian Studies* 72 (2010), pp. 129-49; Kyoung-bae Min, 'National Identity in the History of the Korean Church', in Yu, *Korea and Christianity*, pp. 121-43.

²⁸ For a recent account, see Timothy S. Lee, 'A Political Factor in the Rise of Protestantism in Korea: Protestantism and the 1919 March First Movement', *Church History* 69/1 (2000), pp. 116-42.

Another way in which they were nationalist was that Korean Christians resisted being subsumed under Japanese denominations. Japanese theologians applied pressure by arguing that Koreans should join the unified Japanese church in the name of ecumenism and Christian unity. Pneumatologically, they argued that Koreans should experience the freedom of the 'New Testament spirit', which they argued was universal and they criticised Koreans for preferring the limited spirit of the Old Testament faith of Israel. Conveniently for them, the Japanese believed the New Testament spirit was fulfilled in the Japanese church and empire, whereas most Koreans understandably clung to belief in the election of Israel and of Korea.²⁹ Korean Protestants also distinguished the Holy Spirit from the spirits of Shintoism. They condemned as idolatrous the participation in Shinto rituals that was imposed by the Japanese and a minority of conservatives mounted the only significant opposition to it.³⁰ As the Japanese grip tightened, the churches as institutions and church leaders were forced to submit to control of the colonial authorities, who eventually imposed a union on the Korean churches, and the foreign missionaries left as Japan asserted itself against the West. The misuse of ecumenical theology to force unity left a lasting suspicion of ecumenism in the Korean churches for whom the spirit of truth was the only basis of unity. In these difficult circumstances the independency of Korean Christianity and its basis in small groups allowed Christianity to continue as an underground movement until the end of the war in local congregations and small prayer and Bible study groups.

Under Japanese colonisation, which claimed to benefit Korea by carrying out modernisation that it was not capable of achieving by itself, Korean Christian leaders shaped their own vision for national development. This was for a nation founded on Christian values, as they believed the Western nations were, which would be powerful and prosperous, while also democratic and caring. Although the liberated Korea was tragically divided, Christian leaders worked with successive governments in South Korea to actualise these ideals. Pneumatologically speaking, Korean church leaders

²⁹ Sung-deuk Oak, 'Japanese Colonialism and Christianity', in Sung-deuk Oak, *Sources of Korean Christianity* (Seoul: Institute for Korean Church History, 2004), p. 323; Gregory Vanderbilt, 'Post-war Japanese Christian Historians, Democracy, and the Problem of the "Emperor-System" State', in Julius Bautista and Francis Khek Gee Lim (eds), *Christianity and the State in Asia: Complicity and Conflict* (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 59-78, at pp. 63-66.

³⁰ Allen D. Clark, *A History of the Church in Korea* (Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1971), pp. 221-26.

understood the blessing poured out in the Korean Pentecost as life-giving, including in a material sense. Their pneumatology was informed by indigenous understandings of 'spirit' as the life-force or power derived from the Confucian, Daoist and Shamanistic cosmologies prevalent in Korean thought.³¹ The leading Protestant pastor in the second half of the twentieth century was Han Kyung-chik whose sermons of that period express the Christian vision for the nation in a pneumatological framework.³² Han prayed that the church should be 'a centre for evangelisation of the Korean people', 'a stronghold of liberal democracy' and 'a source of social renewal'³³ and he believed this would be achieved by the power of the Spirit. Han saw the Holy Spirit and religious revival as the non-violent power that would overcome Communism and other spiritual forces³⁴ and give victory over adversity to both church and nation.³⁵ This would be through the education and empowering of believers 'to live and serve justly',³⁶ to create a community of love and sharing³⁷ and to transform the wider society.³⁸ Through more than five decades of struggle and change in South, Han led his church in a holistic ministry of worship, discipline and self-support, together with evangelism, social service, support for modernisation and missionary activity, especially toward North Korea. He regarded the Spirit as the source of the blessing of church growth, democratisation, security and prosperity that South Korea has gained despite the odds.³⁹

³¹ Kim, *The Holy Spirit in the World*, pp. 103-139.

³² In 1992 Han was awarded the Templeton Prize for progress in religion. His collected works are translated and published as Eun-seop Kim (ed.), *Kyung-chik Han Collection*. Vols 1-10. Seoul: Kyung-chik Han Foundation, 2010. See particularly, Yoonbae Choi, 'Kyung-Chik Han's Theology of the Holy Spirit', in Eun-seop Kim (ed.), *Kyung-Chik Han Collection 9: Theses 1* (Seoul: Kyung-Chik Han Collection, 2010), pp. 315-64.

³³ Han, Kyung-chik, *Autobiography of Han Kyung-chik: My Thanksgiving* (in Korean) (Seoul: Duranno, 2010), p. 377.

³⁴ One of his favourite texts was 'Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts' (Zech 4:6).

³⁵ Kyung-chik Han, *May the Words of My Mouth* (Seoul: Youngnak Church, 2002), pp. 196-212 (Sermon from 1966).

³⁶ Kyung-chik Han, 'Another Counsel', in Eun-seop Kim (ed.), *Kyung-Chik Han Collection 4: Sermons 1* (Seoul: Kyung-Chik Han Collection, 2010), pp. 333-46 (Sermon from 1967), p. 340.

³⁷ Kyung-chik Han, 'Be Filled with the Spirit', in Eun-seop Kim (ed.), *Kyung-Chik Han Collection 4: Sermons 1* (Seoul: Kyung-Chik Han Collection, 2010), pp. 358-71 (Sermon from 1968).

³⁸ Kyung-chik Han, 'The Source of Ability', in Eun-seop Kim (ed.), *Kyung-Chik Han Collection 4: Sermons 1* (Seoul: Kyung-Chik Han Collection, 2010), pp. 311-21 (Sermon from 1970).

³⁹ Kyung-Chik Han, *Just Three More Years to Live* (Seoul: Rev. Kyung-Chik Han Memorial Foundation, 2005), pp. 178, 180.

Pentecostal mega-church pastor Cho Yonggi (1936-) also preached a pneumatology of development. Cho identified the realm of the Holy Spirit as 'the fourth dimension'. This 'hovers over' the three-dimensional, material world and the world of evil spirits does not encroach on it, being only 'supernatural' and not 'spiritual'.⁴⁰ In this world of dreams and visions, Cho taught his disciples to 'see by faith' what they want to achieve in accord with 'the desire of the Holy Spirit'.⁴¹ Through prayer, fasting and exorcism, Cho taught that the Holy Spirit who enables believers to overcome the evil spirits and other problems that hold them back and realise the blessings that God wishes to bestow on them.⁴² In common with some US American prosperity preachers, Cho taught of a 'three-fold blessing', which was based on the verse 3 John 2 that in Cho's interpretation promises 'spiritual well-being', 'general well-being' – including material prosperity, and 'bodily health' to believers. It was strongly criticised by both other Pentecostal and also mainline churches at the time as a gospel for success which manipulated God to obtain wealth.⁴³ However, Cho insisted from his Korean experience that poverty is 'a curse from Satan'⁴⁴ and that the kingdom of God is one of well-being and good living.⁴⁵ Theologians of his 'full gospel' tradition have refined Cho's thought into a 'holistic approach' in which the power of the Spirit deals with people's suffering and enables them to live a full life.⁴⁶ So although Cho placed greater emphasis on visionary and other supernatural means and was more focused on economic success than social change,

⁴⁰ David Yonggi Cho, *The Fourth Dimension: The Key to Putting Your Faith to Work for a Successful Life* (Secunderabad, India: Ben Publishing, 1999 [1989]) pp. 45-49, 72-73; David Yonggi Cho, *The Fourth Dimension: More Secrets a Successful Faith Life Vol II* (Secunderabad, India: Ben Publishing, 1999 [1983]), pp. 35-37.

⁴¹ Cho, *The Fourth Dimension: The Key*, pp. 51-73; Cho, *The Fourth Dimension: More*, pp. 50-57.

⁴² David Yonggi Cho, *The Holy Spirit, My Senior Partner: Understanding the Holy Spirit and His Gifts* (Milton Keynes, UK: Word Publishing, 1989).

⁴³ See discussion in Wonsuk Ma, William W. Menzies & Hyeon-sung Bae, *David Yonggi Cho: A Close Look at His Theology and Ministry* (Seoul: Hansei University Press, 2004).

⁴⁴ Cho, *The Fourth Dimension: The Key*, pp. 137-38; David Yonggi Cho, *Born to Be Blessed* (Secunderabad, India: Ben Publishing, 1999), p. 121.

⁴⁵ David Yonggi Cho, *Solving Life's Problems* (Secunderabad, India: Ben Publishing, 1998 [1980]), pp. 27-41.

⁴⁶ Jeong Chong Hee, 'The Korean Charismatic Movement as Indigenous Pentecostalism', in Allan Anderson & Edmond Tang (eds.), *Asian and Pentecostal: The Charismatic Face of Christianity in Asia* (Oxford: Regnum Books, 2005), pp. 551-71.

Cho's confidence in the power of the Holy Spirit to bring about positive and material change was not dissimilar to that of Han Kyung-chik⁴⁷ or even some *minjung* theology.

In this section we have seen how Korean Christians have used pneumatological tools to support their existence as 'without borders' in the triple sense of openness to transnational influences, participation in world Christianity and sense of identity. In the next section we shall look at the mission theological perspectives that inform the global mobility of Korean Christians in migration and mission.

Churches on the Move: Mission Theological Perspectives

The worldwide spread of Christianity in the New Testament is partly due to the sending activity of the church in Antioch and also, presumably, to the sending activity of other churches, with whose apostles or missionaries – like Apollos – Paul occasionally came into contact. Another factor encouraging its spread was the already existing Jewish diaspora. According to Luke, these dispersed Jewish communities extending from Pontus in the north of Asia Minor south to Egypt, from Rome in the west to Elam, east of Arabia, were all represented among the crowd at Pentecost (Acts 2.9-11). Even if the message was not immediately taken back to them at that time, the list in Acts 2 is also intended as a record of the first Christian churches. This mode of spread through the diaspora is substantiated by the travels of the apostle Paul, who in most cities found a Jewish community with which he made contact first and, despite the usual opposition, from which some of first Christians in each place were drawn. A third factor was the situation of the first Christians within the Roman Empire which, like most empires, dispossessed and displaced individuals and whole communities. Persecutions, like those recorded in Acts 8, 11 and 18, caused Christians to scatter or re-locate. As well as such involuntary movement, the empire also facilitated mobility for some, like Paul himself, his fellow tent-makers Priscilla and Aquila and Lydia, the business woman from Asia Minor.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Cf. Hong Jung Lee, 'Minjung and Pentecostal Movements in Korea', in Allan H. Anderson & Walter Hollenweger (eds.), *Pentecostals After a Century: Global Perspectives on a Movement in Transition* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), pp. 138-60 at pp. 149, 157.

⁴⁸ For insight into the colonial and diaspora context of early Christian mission, see *inter alia* N.T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God* (London: SPCK, 1992); Udo Schnelle, *Apostle Paul: His Life and His Theology*, trans. by M.E. Boring (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2005); Alexander J.M.

It is often said that the Acts of the Apostles would be better named ‘the Acts of the Holy Spirit’.⁴⁹ There are repeated Pentecosts in Acts in which the Spirit comes on different communities in the same way as the Spirit had come at first on the Jews in Jerusalem (4.31; Samaritans, 8.14-17; Romans, 10.44-48; 11.17-18; 15.8-9; Ephesians, 19.1-7). The ending of Acts leaves open the possibility of continued manifestations of the Spirit’s power in the ongoing life of the church.⁵⁰ Not only is the Spirit at work through the church but the Spirit in Acts is seen to be ‘the principal agent of mission’.⁵¹ Prior to the church, there is a mission of the Spirit in which the church is privileged to participate: ‘The Church, as the body of Christ, acts by the power of the Holy Spirit to continue his life-giving mission in prophetic and compassionate ministry’.⁵² This recognition of the *missio Spiritus* lends both dynamic and fluid dimensions to the church’s missionary activity. As stated in the new World Council of Churches statement on mission, ‘... Christian witness ... unceasingly proclaims the salvific power of God through Jesus Christ and constantly affirms God’s dynamic involvement, through the Holy Spirit, in the whole created world.’⁵³ In view of the precedence of the *missio Dei*, mission is increasingly understood as an invitation to ‘find out where the Holy Spirit is at work and join in’.⁵⁴

Global connections: Christians in exile, diaspora and migration

As well as a similar pneumatological orientation, many of the same factors of imperial power, migration and sending observed in Acts can also be seen in the history of the Korean church. Growing instability on the Korean peninsula in the late nineteenth and

Wedderburn, *A History of the First Christians* (London: T&T Clark, 2004); Dale T. Irvin & Scott W. Sunquist, *History of the World Christian Movement*, Vol. I (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2001); R. Geoffrey Harris, *Mission in the Gospels* (Peterborough: Epworth, 2004).

⁴⁹ Cf. Gonzales, *Acts*.

⁵⁰ Yong, *The Spirit Poured Out on All Flesh*, p. 83.

⁵¹ John Paul II, *Redemptoris Missio: On the Permanent Validity of the Church’s Missionary Mandate* (Rome: Vatican, 1990), paragraph 21.

⁵² World Council of Churches, *The Church: Toward a Common Vision*. Faith and Order paper 214 (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 2013), p. 5 (section 1.A.1).

⁵³ World Council of Churches, *Together Towards Life: Mission and Evangelism in Changing Landscapes* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 2013), p. 10 (para. 18).

⁵⁴ World Council of Churches, *Together Towards Life*, p. 10 (para. 18), p. 11 (para. 25), p. 40 (para. 110). Cf. Kirsteen Kim, *Joining in with the Spirit: Connecting World Church and Local Mission* (London: SCM Press, 2012).

early twentieth centuries and Korea's absorption into the Japanese empire provoked emigration for economic and political reasons. Koreans worked in Japan's growing factories, laboured on plantations in Hawaii or, if they could, studied in Japan or the USA. As Japan tightened its grip in Korea, thousands left to join the guerrilla fighters resisting occupation and after the 1919 uprising a network of émigrés formed the Korean provisional government in Shanghai. Whole church communities moved en masse to Manchuria and Siberia where they could develop uncultivated land and keep their culture. There they founded their own villages to model a Korean Christian society, enlighten the homeland and resist the Japanese.⁵⁵ Later, as the Pacific War gathered pace, hundreds of thousands were conscripted or otherwise forced to move to fight, support the troops or manufacture armaments. Others emigrated in the hope of returning once Korean sovereignty and security was returned. Those migrating to Western countries tended to be Christians, or became so on arrival, and Protestant churches formed the social as well as religious centre of diaspora communities. Often with the help of church workers sent out from Korea, through the church, exiles kept up Korean customs and language, established Korean schools for their youth, were informed of developments at home, put pressure on foreign governments to support Korean independence, and raised funds for the nationalist effort and those suffering on the peninsula.⁵⁶

Eventually in 1945 Korea was liberated from Japan by the victory of the Allied powers only to be divided into two parts administered by USSR and USA military regimes in the north and south, respectively. The ideological pressures of the emerging Cold War and the mutual antagonism of Communist- and Western-oriented Koreans were major factors contributing to the formation of two separate Koreas: the Democratic Peoples' Republic of Korea in the North and the Republic of Korea in the South. When these went to war in 1950-1953 and were backed by the superpowers, the devastation of the peninsula and loss of life was tremendous.⁵⁷ Emigration from South Korea continued

⁵⁵ At least until 1931 when Japan created Manchukuo.

⁵⁶ For the Korean Christian diaspora, see S. Hun Kim and Wonsuk Ma (eds), *Korean Diaspora and Christian Mission* (Oxford: Regnum Books, 2011).

⁵⁷ There are no verifiable figures for the total casualties in the Korean War but recent estimates give 3 million Koreans (roughly 10 per cent of the population) were killed, wounded or missing by 1953. Don Oberdorfer and Robert Carlin, *The Two Koreas: A Contemporary History*, 3rd edition (New York: Basic Books, 2014), p. 8.

and was encouraged from the 1960s as a way of bringing remittances, building foreign relations and relieving political pressure. Large-scale migration to the United States from 1968 resulted in a Korean community there of 2 million that is estimated to be 70 per cent Protestant today. There are also large Korean Christian communities in Canada, Japan, Vietnam, Philippines, Australia, Germany, the UK, Brazil and Argentina. Migrant communities maintain links with the homeland and are also linked to each other forming a global network. Developments on the peninsula are watched with interest and prayed over in all these communities, which may also seek to intervene.⁵⁸ The US American diaspora has not only supported and influenced the churches in Korea but the influence is also the other way on the American churches, for example in their use of the cell-group methods, which are held by some to be a key factor in church growth.⁵⁹

A light to the world: The return and gathering of the nations

Although they crossed national borders to bring the gospel to Korea, when it came to establishing churches, the Protestant missionaries had been very bound by the notions of territory that prevailed in Europe. Moreover, their denominations were in competition with each other so they divided up the Korean peninsula between them under the system known as 'comity'; that is, Christians within one region were expected to belong to the same denomination. The massive internal displacement of Koreans during the colonial period and even more so during the Korean War largely broke down that system. From 1945 until the 1960s, South Korea was a country of refugees as returned exiles and those displaced by colonial policy were joined by others fleeing from the communists in the north. The majority of Protestants had been northerners and Pyongyang was such a Christian enclave that it had been known as 'the Jerusalem of the East'. Many of these refugees now formed new congregations in the south. Because they tended to be better educated and more fervent and conservative in their faith, the existing structures of the denominations were placed under strain as the northern refugees remade the southern churches in their image.⁶⁰ Meanwhile in North Korea all

⁵⁸ For an insightful study of a particular migrant Christian community, see David K. Yoo, *Contentious Spirits: Religion in Korean American History, 1903-1945* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010).

⁵⁹ See, for example, Donald A. McGavran and C. Peter Wagner, *Understanding Church Growth* (3rd edition. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm B. Eerdmans, 1990).

⁶⁰ For details of the influence of the northerner migrants on the churches in the south, see In-cheol Kang, 'Protestant Church and Wolnamin: An Explanation of Protestant Conservatism in South Korea', *Korea*

religious activity was suppressed and the functional substitute of Juche-Kimilsungism was imposed.⁶¹ It is possible that the cell formation allowed Christianity to survive underground for some time despite its suppression by the communist regime but this is not possible to verify.

To the denominational divisions brought by the missionaries, from the 1950s in South Korea were added new Presbyterian denominations born of the struggles under occupation and partition (Koshin and Kijang) and the Cold War (Tonghap and Hapdong), and other splinter groups. In addition to the Catholic, Presbyterian, Methodist, Holiness, Baptist and Anglican churches and the Salvation Army that were there before the Pacific War, returning Koreans converted elsewhere established Pentecostal, Nazarene, Adventist, and Church of Christ congregations. The massive aid effort mounted by the UN and by Western churches brought more denominations into the country, including Lutherans and Quakers. In addition the chaotic spiritual atmosphere of the 1940s and 50s led to many new Korean-founded movements.

Christians were disproportionately represented in the political leadership in the south, and in particular in the person of former exile Syngman Rhee, first president of South Korea and a Methodist, who held power until 1960. Rhee believed that freedom and equality would be assured if the nation was founded on Christianity. Christian leaders shared his vision of a Christian nation as opposed to the Communist one promoted in the north. Foundational to this vision was religious freedom, including not only freedom of belief and practice but also the freedom to propagate one's faith. In the democratic context of South Korea and as a challenge to the regime in the North, church leaders set themselves targets to increase Christian numbers by mass evangelisation in addition to local church growth efforts. These bore fruit in the much-vaunted membership figures which roughly doubled every decade up to the early 1990s. Mass events which were held every 3-4 years during this period, which drew millions of people, were ecumenical

Journal (Winter 2004), pp. 157-90. Kang argues that the comity system did play a part in the denominational divisions.

⁶¹ For religion in North Korea and Juche-Kimilsungism, see for example, Charles K. Armstrong, *The North Korean Revolution, 1945-1950* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004); Bruce Cumings, *North Korea: Another Country* (New York: New Press, 2004); Shin, Eun-hee, 'The Sociopolitical Organism: The Religious Dimensions of Juche Philosophy', in Robert E. Buswell, Jr. (ed.), *Religions of Korea in Practice* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), pp. 517-33.

in the sense that they were supported by almost all the Protestant denominations.⁶² However, the imposed union of the late colonial period had created a great suspicion of ecumenism among many Korean Christians and the inclusion of Communist-approved churches in the World Council of Churches turned most against it. Furthermore, the religious and denominational plurality of South Korea, combined with capitalist models of enterprise and a belief in the positive value of market forces, encouraged competition for growth between local churches that militated against structural or visible church unity. What is more, rapid urbanisation created the conditions for the emergence of the megachurches for which South Korea is famous.⁶³

The churches tended to see the growth of Christianity, which was unique in modern Asia, as a measure of the 'success' of the gospel in Korea, evidence of Korea's election and vindication of Korean ways of practising the faith. From the 1970s, Christians from other parts of the world came to see the phenomenon and study it, and Korean Christians began to think of their calling as centripetal; that is as being a light to Asia and the world, a city set on a hill to which the nations gather. In the early 1980s, theologian Han Chul-ha, for example, insisted that Korea would evangelise the world, not according to the Western colonial model of 'triumphalistic missionary sending', but by an ethical mission of demonstrating a righteous national life like 'Jerusalem of old'.⁶⁴ The climax of this view of mission as bearing witness to what God had done in Korea was in 1988 when the Olympic Games were held in Seoul. South Koreans were able to showcase their country's economic 'miracle' and also its religious and other achievements to the other nations of the world, including China, the USSR and other Communist countries – with the exception of North Korea, of course, and a few of its allies. The event was a triumph for the South Korea and set it on the world stage. The churches took full advantage of the opportunities for evangelism and were also very active in hosting the visiting teams.

⁶² For post-war Protestant evangelisation of the South, see Timothy S. Lee, *Born Again: Evangelicalism in Korea* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010).

⁶³ See for example, Soo-han Gil, *Social Sources of Church Growth: Korean Churches in the Homeland and Overseas* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1994).

⁶⁴ Chul-ha Han, 'Involvement of the Korean Church in the Evangelization of Asia' in Bong-Rin Ro and Marlin L. Nelson (eds), *Korean Church Growth Explosion* (Seoul: Word of Life Press, 1983), pp. 51-68.

Sent to all nations: Korean world mission

However, by the end of the 1980s, the energy behind the 'explosive' growth of Korean Protestant churches was being channelled into a centrifugal mission from Korea to the world helped by growing financial resources and a surplus of clergy. The impulse to world mission from Korea went back to the origins of the Protestant churches in gratitude for what they had received and a desire to 'repay the debt of the gospel' that had been brought to them. Not content with sending missionaries to the diaspora, Korean Protestants understood that taking the gospel to another people was the sign of a mature church and in 1913, soon after its establishment, the Presbyterian Church of Korea had commissioned three men for church planting in Shandong province in China.⁶⁵ Such cross-cultural mission was considered more prestigious than pastoral work among diaspora communities.⁶⁶ Missionary sending continued on a small scale but when the churches collaborated to organise the 'World Evangelization Crusade' in 1980, they declared their intention to start a 'Korea-modelled and Korea-led [world] missionary movement' and launched a programme to send 100,000 missionaries and volunteers overseas in the next decade.⁶⁷ The global missionary movement mushroomed as South Korea's foreign relations became multi-lateral, governmental restrictions on overseas travel and foreign exchange were relaxed and globalisation brought greater freedom of movement. Furthermore Western-based mission agencies actively recruited Koreans because they saw their potential for evangelising the rest of Asia, especially areas closed to Westerners.

The Korean world missionary movement cannot be separated from national aspirations for global recognition and national and business interests. Nor can it be easily distinguished from the diaspora communities which, like the Jewish diaspora in the New Testament, provided bases and logistical support for mission or were themselves

⁶⁵ Young-woong Choi, 'The Mission of the Presbyterian Church of Korea in Shandong, North China, 1913-1957', in Klaus Koschorke (ed.), *Transcontinental Links in the History of Non-Western Christianity* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2002), pp. 117-30.

⁶⁶ Cf. Donald N. Clark, 'History and Religion in Modern Korea: The Case of Protestant Christianity', in Lewis R. Lancaster & Richard K. Payne (eds), *Religion and Society in Contemporary Korea* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Institute of East Asian Studies, 1997), pp. 169-214 at p. 185.

⁶⁷ Joon-gon Kim, 'Korea's Total Evangelization Movement' in Bong-rin Ro & Marlin L. Nelson (eds), *Korean Church Growth Explosion* (Seoul: Word of Life Press, 1983), pp. 17-50, at p. 35. For Korean missionary thinking in the 1980s and 1990s, see also the other articles in this volume and in Bong-rin Ro and Marlin L. Nelson (eds), *Korean Church Growth Explosion*, 2nd edition (Seoul: Word of Life Press, 1995).

missionary toward their respective contexts. The growing number of Protestant missionaries saw themselves as ambassadors for South Korea and exported not only a Korean gospel but also Korean culture and products wherever they were sent. By making global networks, South Koreans were also protecting themselves from the threat from North Korea and even understood themselves to be bringing about a global peace that would eventually solve the problem on the peninsula. By 2010 there were estimated to be 20,000 Koreans serving abroad in evangelism, church-planting and service of various sorts, including medical work and IT development and support.⁶⁸ These included a growing number of Catholics who formed a national society of apostolic life in 1975 and had become increasingly oriented toward global mission by the twenty-first century for similar motives of 'gratitude' and 'requit'.⁶⁹

Although Western missionaries encouraged the Korean churches to be self-propagating, it is clear that this did not extend to the expectation of a world mission from Korea. In fact in the post-colonial period earlier expansionist theologies were giving way to a new paradigm of *missio Dei*, that is, mission should be primarily understood not as sending from one territory to another but as a participation in the sending activity of God the Father – the sending of Christ and the Holy Spirit into the world.⁷⁰ Both the *missio Dei* and its corollary that each local church is missionary were originally formulated at the meeting of the International Missionary Council in Willingen, Germany, in 1952 in a post-War and post-colonial world in which sending of Western missionaries was becoming difficult and contentious. Western churches were forced to withdraw from what had been their main mission fields of India and China and some churches in the Third World, wishing to assert their independence from their former colonial masters, called for a moratorium on mission.⁷¹

⁶⁸ For further details, see Steve Sang-cheol Moon, 'The Protestant Missionary Movement in Korea: Current Growth and Development', *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 32/2 (2008), pp. 59-64; 'Missions from Korea 2012: Slowdown and Maturation', *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 36/2 (2012), pp. 84-85.

⁶⁹ Korean Missionary Society, *2014 Introduction: Korean Missionary Society* (Seoul: Korean Missionary Society, 2014), p. 1.

⁷⁰ Bosch, *Transforming Mission*.

⁷¹ For in-depth study of the origins of the *missio Dei* paradigm, see John G. Flett, *The Witness of God: The Trinity, Missio Dei, Karl Barth, and the Nature of Christian Community* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm B. Eerdmans, 2010).

Whereas the theology of *missio Dei* was intended for a world in which churches stayed put, today's theology of mission must take into account that churches are 'on the move' as well as new intentional and expansionist mission movements. Korean churches have never had a settled history. Even in the Catholic Church, which has the longest history in the peninsula, it was not possible to establish a parish system until the 1960s. The churches have existed within a context of repeated threat and radical change and this has contributed to their global mobility and their dynamic sense of apostleship. This section has shown how Korean participation in mission and insistence on sending has been sustained, despite practical and theological pressures against it. Korean Christianity does not only consist of renewed forms of spirituality but is a movement that aims to serve personal, social, national and even international concerns.

Conclusion: Catholicity in the context of Christians without borders and churches on the move

The recent history of Korean Protestantism offers various manifestations of 'Christians without borders and churches on the move'. The Korean churches moved due to persecution, migration and displacement. The challenges to national borders gave the church a desire to maintain its international links. It also gave a transnational self-understanding but for survival encouraged its primary expression in local congregations and even house-groups. The result today is, first, that Korean Christianity is not limited to Christianity in Korea and, second, that Korean churches continue to be mobile in the sense of both migration and (not unrelated) missionary sending. Korean Christianity is a dynamic global network: Korean denominations have developed diaspora expressions and Korean agencies are sending missionaries in multiple directions. The rise of Korean Christianity represents a further diversification of the faith in that over the last couple of centuries another global expression of Christianity has been added to the very many already existing. Furthermore, this new form of Christianity exists in multiple denominations.

The development of another form of Christianity may be seen as a blow by those who have been working toward structural unity which reduces the number of denominations. Furthermore, the mobile and boundary-crossing nature of Korean

Christianity interferes with the settled ministry developed in Europe over centuries and with efforts for peace between religious communities in many parts of the world. However, as I have pointed out, 'Christians without borders and churches on the move' is not a new pattern of Christianity. As I have indicated, this is a New Testament pattern that is replicated many times in church history. Since Pentecost, for various reasons both voluntary and forced, the church has been globally widespread and represented by many different ethnic identities that have often co-existed with each other in particular localities. Our theologies of unity and ecumenism should not bemoan such diversity but celebrate it, recognise other Christians and reflect on the implications of these developments.

The history of Korean Christianity raises important questions about the meaning of catholicity and at the same time it suggests some theological tools for understanding it. First, from its history, it poses a significant challenge to theologies which prioritise structural unity in inter-church relations. It shows that although structurally unified churches may be desirable, they are not practicable everywhere. The reality for many Christians globally is that, for reasons of survival in hostile situations, churches exist as small underground independent groups, possibly networked with one another. Therefore, if the church is catholic, then this reality must also be an expression of it. Furthermore, the experience of the Korean churches under the latter part of Japanese colonial rule shows how structural unity is not necessarily the result of reconciliation between Christians but may be the result of political pressure or even be forced on churches by government authorities. True catholicity, therefore, must be more than structural in its expression. It must arise from Christian freedom and love within which difference and diversity is expressed without fear.

A second historical question is that the growth of Korean Christianity, and of world Christianity in general, shifts interest away from viewing Christian diversity primarily in terms of doctrine and polity toward the ethnic and/or geographical diversity, which was the primary sense in which the first councils of the church experienced it. Therefore the catholicity envisaged is not mainly across denominations but more across cultures and regions. The ecumenism of the colonial period, which gave birth to the World Council of Churches, tended to assume that overcoming the doctrinal and liturgical

differences between the churches of Europe and the denominations they fostered would unite Christians globally. Now that we have other globally connected churches emerging from different centres, new models of ecumenism are needed and our understanding of catholicity must include global interconnectedness. For historical reasons, Korean churches include a diaspora expression and they have also developed global mission activities. While this may be problematic for inter-church relations, it is a repeated historical pattern (the Anglican Communion, to name but one example). Nor is it only a matter of lack of respect; in contexts of denominational plurality, it may not be clear which is the legitimate local church with which to work. Perhaps there is a need for more informal means of mutual recognition that allow for working together until the more complex structural, liturgical and doctrinal issues can be addressed.

As well as raising historical questions for catholicity, Korean Christianity has some theological tools to suggest, particularly in regard to pneumatology and to mission. Korean theology draws attention to pneumatology, particularly in the narrative of Pentecost and mission in the book of Acts. This biblical perspective suggests a border-crossing and dynamic understanding of the church as it participates in the *missio Spiritus*. It suggests that catholicity must allow for a missional understanding of church and for eschatological expectation. The church's catholicity is still being discovered and expressed. Furthermore, the repeated Pentecosts of Acts give weight to theological conviction that there are no second- or first-class Christians – God shows no partiality. This theological insight of the first Christians is echoed in the conviction of Korean theologians that the Holy Spirit has been present and active in Korean history and has been outpoured on the nation. This is ground for the legitimacy of Korean Christianity as one among many expressions of the faith and for mutual respect between these to be a necessary aspect of catholicity. The gift of discernment of spirits is given to Koreans as much as to others who have been Christian for longer, therefore discernment should be an 'ecumenical endeavour' and a truly 'global conversation'.⁷²

⁷² Stanley Samartha, 'The Holy Spirit and People of Other Faiths', in Emilio Castro (comp.), *To the Wind of God's Spirit: Reflections on the Canberra Theme* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1990), pp. 50-63 at p. 58; Kim, *The Holy Spirit in the World* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2007).

Regarding mission, Korean church leaders have a theology of sending and sharing motivated by both gratitude and obligation. If catholicity includes reciprocity, which it surely does, then it must accommodate this desire to 'repay the debt' in appropriate ways. Only by all churches being both givers and receivers can the Korean church and other churches be affirmed in their maturity. In a world of 'Christians without borders and churches on the move', where Christians read the Acts of Apostles and see themselves as part of it, missionary sending activity will continue in varied directions. It should be recognised as a valid and valuable expression of faith. The challenge to catholicity is to ensure that missionary activity is done in an ethical and responsible way with regard both to other Christians and people of other faiths and none.⁷³ 'Mission in the Spirit' will be mutually up-building and contribute to the growth of the kingdom.⁷⁴

⁷³ For an important step in this direction, see the joint statement by the Roman Catholic Church, World Council of Churches and World Evangelical Alliance, *Christian Witness in a Multi-religious World: Recommendations for Conduct* (2011).

⁷⁴ Samuel Rayan, 'A Spirituality of Mission in an Asian Context', SEDOS (1999), para. 11. Available at <http://sedosmission.org/old/eng/rayan2.htm>. See also Kirsteen Kim, *Mission in the Spirit: The Holy Spirit in Indian Christian Theologies* (Delhi: ISPCK, 2003).