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<pt>Korean Pentecostalism and Shamanism: Developing Theological Self-understanding in a Land of Many Spirits

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<abh>Abstract

<ab>The background to this article is the controversy caused in 1980s South Korea when some theologians accused Yonggi Cho's Full Gospel theology of syncretizing "shamanism" with Christianity. In this article, I shall problematize the use of both "shamanism" and "Pentecostalism" in this controversy. Instead, I shall set the episode in the wider context of what might be called Korean traditional religion, which has an animistic cosmology. By pointing to an affinity between Korean Protestantism more generally and Korean traditional religion that goes back at least to the 1907 Korean Revival, I shall argue that the Pentecostal–Charismatic and the liberationist strands of Korean Protestantism together represent a developing understanding of what it means to do Christian theology in the context of animism – or in a land of many spirits.

<kw>Keywords: Korea; Pentecostalism; Shamanism; Yonggi Cho; *Minjung* theology

<ha>Introduction

<p1>The background to this article is the controversy caused in 1980s South Korea when some theologians accused Yonggi Cho's Full Gospel theology of syncretizing "shamanism" with Christianity. There were two main sources of criticism: David Kwang-Sun Suh and the Christian Academy, a leading forum of *Minjung* theology, and the University of Birmingham doctoral dissertation of Boo-Woong Yoo.<sup>2</sup> These accusations were repeated by Western scholars of Pentecostalism writing in German and English. Walter Hollenweger concluded that "shamanism has been the central force shaping the development of Korean Pentecostalism".<sup>3</sup> The theology of Cho was described by the sociologist of religion David Martin as a fusion of "revivalism and prosperity theology with shamanistic practice",<sup>4</sup> and Harvey Cox judged there was "a massive importation of

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2. Myung Soo Park, "David Yonggi Cho and International Pentecostal/Charismatic Movements", *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 12.1 (2003), pp. 107–28. David Kwang-sun Suh *et al.*, *The Phenomena and Structure of the Korean Holy Spirit Movement with Special Attention to Full Gospel Central Church* [in Korean] (Seoul: Academy House, 1981). Yoo's 1987 dissertation is published as *Korean Pentecostalism: Its History and Theology* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1988).

3. Walter J. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments Worldwide* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1997), p. 105.

4. David Martin, *Pentecostalism: The World Their Parish* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), p. 161.

shamanic practice into a Christian ritual” in Yoido Full Gospel Church.<sup>5</sup>

In this article, I shall problematize the use of both “shamanism” and “Pentecostalism” in this controversy. On the basis of my research on the Korean context from both historical and religious studies perspectives,<sup>6</sup> more than 30 years on I shall tease out some misunderstandings that contributed to the allegations of syncretism. Rather than revisiting that debate, I shall set the episode in the wider context of what might be called Korean traditional religion, which has an animistic cosmology. By pointing to an affinity between Korean Protestantism more generally and Korean traditional religion that goes back at least to the 1907 Korean Revival, I shall argue that the Pentecostal–Charismatic and the liberationist strands of Korean Protestantism together represent a developing understanding of what it means to do Christian theology in the context of animism – or in a land of many spirits.

<ha>Korean Pentecostalism as “Shamanism”: A Misguided Accusation

<p1>The Siberian shaman “archaic techniques of ecstasy” that were the basis of the development of the term “shamanism” by Mircea Eliade<sup>7</sup> may be the origin of Korean shaman practices.<sup>8</sup> However, in the Korean Peninsula, shamanic practice became fused with other traditions and adapted for pastoral life. Shamans interceded with the heavenly powers for prosperity of the land, cure of disease and sending off the soul of the deceased as part of what James Grayson calls “Korean primal religion”.<sup>9</sup> As “primal religion” is wider than shamanism, “animism”, as defined in the nineteenth century by Edward Tylor to mean “belief in many spirits”,<sup>10</sup> should also be distinguished from it. Shamanism refers primarily to a particular technique for interacting with the spirit-world. When Tylor introduced the term “animism” into studies of culture, he put it at the base of his developmental pyramid of human thought, which culminated in modern science. However it is being revived in contemporary religious studies, in which, as Graham Harvey explains, it carries two meanings. The first is Tylor’s “belief *in* many spirits” – although, instead of being seen as inherent in all religion, animism tends to be used over against other “world” religions that have a universal spirit or god. In the second meaning it refers to “the animation of the world by spiritual beings”, respect between “persons” of different species, or “beliefs *about* spirits”. It is useful because it describes a cosmology that appears to be widespread among pre-historic peoples, and among rural and indigenous peoples today. It assumes that the world is “a community of living persons, all deserving respect, and therefore to ways of inculcating good relations between persons of different species”. This usage lends itself to a “radically emplaced” or environmentalist spirituality.<sup>11</sup>

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5. Harvey Cox, *Fire from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-first Century* (London: Cassell, 1996), p. 226.

6. Sebastian C. H. Kim and Kirsteen Kim, *A History of Korean Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Kirsteen Kim, *The Holy Spirit in the World: A Global Conversation* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2007).

7. Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*; translated from the French by Willard R. Trask (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964 [1951]). See also Graham Harvey, “General Introduction”, in Graham Harvey (ed.), *Shamanism: A Reader* (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 1–23.

8. Sarah Milledge Nelson, *Shamanism and the Origin of States: Spirit, Power, and Gender in East Asia* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2008), pp. 172–4, 190–91.

9. James H. Grayson, *Korea: A Religious History*, revised edition (Abingdon: Routledge Curzon, 2002), pp. 14, 19–21.

10. E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art, and Custom* (London: John Murray, 1920 [1871]), p. 1.

11. Graham Harvey, “Introduction”, in Graham Harvey (ed.), *The Handbook of Contemporary Animism* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), pp. 1–12 (here pp. 4–5).

As far as can be known, Koreans shared such animistic belief in a world of “spirits”.<sup>12</sup> The spirits could be classified as gods, ancestors and ghosts. The gods included elements of nature as well as folk heroes, kings, generals and dragons. Ancestors were generally benevolent, unless they were not treated with the right respect or they had died an untimely or tragic death.<sup>13</sup> In the latter case, they could be ghosts, a category that includes other mostly malevolent spirits.<sup>14</sup> Spirits inhabit the air, the earth and the water and also hide in the house.<sup>15</sup> With less specificity, but also less risk of offence, this pre-historic religion could also be referred to as Korean traditional, indigenous or folk religion. It was concerned with obtaining the power of the gods, dealing with harassment by aggrieved spirits, assuaging the greed of the ancestors and creating harmony within conflicting forces.

Maintaining harmonious relations with the spirits and ancestors was not only the responsibility of the shaman; it was integral to everyday life for everyone through totems, shrines, rituals, charms, divination and so on.<sup>16</sup> But shamans were deemed to have a special ability to commune with the spirits and intervene in the spirit world. In ancient times, the shamans were mostly men of the ruling classes, who had political and juridical as well as ritual power, although there were also women shamans. However, from the fourth and fifth centuries, the people of the Korean peninsula were attracted to the religions of Buddhism and Confucianism because they seemed to offer greater power over the spirit-world than their indigenous faith.<sup>17</sup> The latter was despised publically as “superstition” by both the Buddhist elites, who were dominant until 1392, and also by the neo-Confucians who took tight control of Korean society after them.<sup>18</sup> The traditional religion, including shaman practices, gradually became marginalized and was reduced to the activity of mainly women specialists, who practised mostly in private.<sup>19</sup> The condemnation of shamanism as “superstition” by elites was continued by Catholic and Protestant Christians<sup>20</sup> and by modern governments.<sup>21</sup>

Today, the shaman (*mudang*) either inherits her ability or is recognized as having charismatic power after prolonged suffering or “disease of the spirit” which compels her to submit to the demands of the spirits.<sup>22</sup> Her chief role is solving problems in domestic life and family relations, or giving advice on

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12. There are significant historiographical difficulties with recovering the nature of indigenous religions as they existed in pre-history. See, for example, Jens Peter Schødt, “Reflections on Some Problems in Dealing with Indigenous Religions of the Past”, in James L. Cox (ed.), *Critical Reflections on Indigenous Religions* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 29–47.

13. The treatment of ancestors in the traditional religion differs significantly from Confucian ancestor veneration, See Roger L. Janelli and Dawnhee Yim Janelli, *Ancestor Worship and Korean Society* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1982).

14. Hyun-key Kim Hogarth, *Korean Shamanism and Cultural Nationalism* (Seoul: Jimoondang, 1999), pp. 121–49.

15. Grayson, *Korea*, pp. 221–5.

16. Don Baker, *Korean Spirituality* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai’i Press, 2008), pp. 24–5.

17. Grayson, *Korea*, p. 48; Baker, *Korean Spirituality*, p. 29.

18. Martina Deuchler, *The Confucian Transformation of Korea: A Study of Society and Ideology* (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1992).

19. Hogarth, *Korean Shamanism*, pp. 279–327.

20. Sung-Deuk Oak, *The Making of Korean Christianity: Protestant Encounters with Korean Religions, 1876–1915* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2013), pp. 141–50.

21. The shamans were belittled and persecuted by the Japanese colonial government and shamanistic practice was suppressed by President Park Chung-hee’s military-backed government of the 1960s and 70s in the name of modernization. Laurel Kendall, *Shamans, Nostalgias, and the IMF: South Korean Popular Religion in Motion* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2009), p. 10.

22. Hogarth, *Korean Shamanism*, pp. 45–62.

how to improve the family's well-being or fortunes. If matters are serious, she performs a dance to the beat of drums known as a *gut* that releases *han* – the pent-up feelings caused by injustice – and produces an outburst of energy that resolves the emotions. In addition, the charismatic shaman may approach the angry ghosts or playful spirits and allow them to possess her. In a trance-like state she communicates messages and instructions from the ancestors or gods to enable the family to placate them by changed behaviour or giving of gifts to the shaman.<sup>23</sup>

Shamanism is not institutionalized and it is not recognized as a religion in the Korean census; its practice is largely restricted to the private sphere. Because the private is the domain to which women were traditionally restricted, some feminist theologians have acclaimed shamanism as a source of feminine power and a resource for an alternative women's theology.<sup>24</sup> However, in Korea the shamans are almost universally despised – by women as well as men. Shaman practices are the “waste disposal” of the religious world – a way of dealing with the unmentionable, the abnormal and the irrational, which are not countenanced in the ordered world of public life.<sup>25</sup> So, although Western commentators tended to equate shamanism with charismatic leadership in a Weberian sense or with giftedness in a Pentecostal sense, caution needs to be exercised because the shaman is not usually a popular leader. Moreover, the shaman's special abilities are understood within a different cosmology.<sup>26</sup>

This analysis of shamanism raises some problems for the reading of Korean Pentecostalism as shamanism in the 1980s. First, “shamanism” was being used as a term of abuse, which is unacceptable from the perspective of religious and feminist studies. This was the case in Korea at least. In the West attitudes varied: Hollenweger's use of “shamanism” was critical; but although Jürgen Moltmann assumed Cox was condemning Cho for syncretizing Christianity with shamanism, Cox maintained that he intended to be affirming of Yonggi Cho's ministry.<sup>27</sup> Secondly, shamanism was a misnomer; what was referred to came under the broader category of Korean traditional religion or animism. A third problem is that Yonggi Cho explicitly rejected any spirits that did not confess Jesus Christ.<sup>28</sup> Fourth, his theology appeared to have more in common with US Pentecostals, especially Oral Roberts.<sup>29</sup>

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23. For studies of Korean shamans, see Youngsook Kim Harvey, *Six Korean Women: The Socialization of Shamans* (St Paul, MN: West Publishing, 1979); Laurel Kendall, *Shamans, Housewives, and Other Restless Spirits: Women in Korean Ritual Life* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 1985); Chongho Kim, *Korean Shamanism: The Cultural Paradox* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

24. See, for example, Kendall, *Shamans, Housewives, and Other Restless Spirits*; Hee-an Choi, *Korean Women and God: Experiencing God in a Multi-religious Colonial Context* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2005).

25. Kim, *Korean Shamanism*, pp. 82–100, 189–91. Kim takes issue with Kendall and others who take a feminist interpretation of shamanism.

26. Jarrad Reddekop, “Shamanism and Charisma: Reflections on the Problem of Enchantment in Modernity”, *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 10.3 (2010), pp. 349–61.

27. Harvey Cox, “A Response to Jürgen Moltmann's ‘Blessing of Hope’”, *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 14.2 (2006), pp. 287–8.

28. E.g. David Yonggi Cho, *The Fourth Dimension*, vol. 1: *The Key to Putting Your Faith to Work for a Successful Life* (Secunderabad, India: Ben Publishing, 1999 [1989]), pp. 35–6.

29. Allan Anderson, “The Contextual Theology of David Yonggi Cho”, in Wonsuk Ma, William W. Menzies and Hyeon-sung Bae (eds), *David Yonggi Cho: A Close Look at His Theology and Ministry* (Baguio, Philippines: APTS Press, 2004), pp. 133–59 (here pp. 148–50); Park, “David Yonggi Cho”;

While he was criticized for “shamanism”, Cho was at the same time implicated in criticism of “prosperity theology” in the USA which caused the Assemblies of God to distance itself from preaching a gospel of “wealth and health”.<sup>30</sup> However, Cho refused to do the same and withdrew his church from the US denomination in 1981, causing a three-way split in the Korean denomination.<sup>31</sup> Both criticism of shamanism and of prosperity theology were involved in the decision of the dominant Presbyterian Church of Korea in 1983 to declare that Cho had a “pseudo-Christianity”. They also accused him of corruption, and they forbade their members to associate with him.<sup>32</sup>

<ha>The 1907 Korean Revival and the “Holy Spirit Movement”: Protestantism in the Context of Animism

<p1>The previous section shows that the accusations of the 1980s of an affinity between Korean “shamanism” and “Pentecostalism” were problematic from both religious studies and theological perspectives. This section argues that they were also problematic historically because of confusion about what was meant by “Pentecostalism” in the Korean context. Instead it points to a broader encounter between Korean traditional religion – or animism – and aspects of Korean Protestantism as a whole that go back before the 1907 Korean Revival.

The first Pentecostal congregations in Korea were founded in 1933 through the agency of single Western women,<sup>33</sup> but Protestantism had been practised in the peninsula from the late 1870s.<sup>34</sup> The first Protestant missionaries, who were Presbyterian and Methodist, entered in 1885. At that time there was a pervasive belief in spirits, a strong folk religiosity and a tendency to recourse to the shaman. The first Protestant missionaries, who were Presbyterian and Methodist, were anxious to attract a mass movement, so they expressed the Christian faith with respect to these popular Korean traditions rather than the Chinese-oriented Confucianism of the state, which they resisted, and the dominant religion of Buddhism, which they rejected as “derelict”.<sup>35</sup> To some Koreans, Christianity was attractive because it appeared to offer alternative sources of power, including political power to defeat China, Russia, Western powers and Japan (which threatened the country on all sides), realize independence, and modernize the nation. Moreover, progressives were anxious to harness the religious power of the missionaries as well as the powers of education and Western medicine to which they had access.<sup>36</sup>

Despite their support for Korean traditions, the beliefs in spirits and the powers of the shamans caused

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Ig-jin Kim, *History and Theology of Korean Pentecostalism: Sunbogeum (Pure Gospel) Pentecostalism* (Zoetermeer: Uitgeverij Boekencentrum, 2003), p. 193.

30. There was a connection between these charges since fear of contamination by New Age spiritualities, which included shamanism, was part of the reason the Assemblies of God distanced itself from “prosperity theology”. Allan H. Anderson, “The Contribution of David Yonggi Cho to a Contextual Theology in Korea”, *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 12.1 (2003), pp. 85–105 (here pp. 89–91).

31. Kim, *History and Theology of Korean Pentecostalism*, pp. 175–9.

32. For more detail, see Kim, *History and Theology of Korean Pentecostalism*, pp. 185–7.

33. Kim, *History and Theology of Korean Pentecostalism*; Young-hoon Lee, *The Holy Spirit Movement in Korea: Its Historical and Theological Development* (Oxford: Regnum, 2009), pp. 66–8.

34. The history of Catholicism in Korea is a century longer. For further detail, see Kim and Kim, *A History of Korean Christianity*.

35. Oak, *The Making of Korean Christianity*, p. 16.

36. Lak-geon George Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea 1832–1910*, 2nd edition (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1970 [1929]); Donald N. Clark, *Christianity in Modern Korea* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1986), pp. 6–10.

problems for the first Protestant missionaries. They rejected them both as “polytheism” and “superstition” and tended to use the pejorative term “shamanism” to cover them all.<sup>37</sup> Converts were required to destroy anything connected with the old religion. Missionaries worried that superstitious belief carried over into Korean Christianity, especially women’s faith, in the form of fear of spirits, use of Christian objects as talismans or hymns as incantations, and belief in good and bad luck.<sup>38</sup> It is true that some of the “bible women” or women evangelists were former shamans or, like them, took on their role after prolonged suffering or “disease of the spirit”.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, in many respects they occupied the role of shamans in counselling, advising, healing and dealing with troublesome spirits. However, the activities of the bible women are better understood as functional substitutes for traditional rituals.<sup>40</sup> To those who feared the spirit-world they offered a greater power, the Holy Spirit, to address problems.<sup>41</sup>

Despite their concerns about superstition, such was the strength of Korean belief in many spirits that several missionaries revised their theology of religions to take account of it. They not only likened Korean beliefs to those in the New Testament but some accepted that spirit possession was a reality and performed exorcisms.<sup>42</sup> Since they were recorded in the New Testament, evil spirits could be incorporated into the Protestant worldview but, unlike the shaman’s negotiation with, or appeasement of, the spirits, Christian exorcists regarded them all as demonic.<sup>43</sup> There was a power encounter between missionary Christianity and shamanism in which “Christ was presented to Koreans as the most powerful shaman *mudang* – both a mediator and a spirit”. But this was part of a wider encounter with animism in which the Holy Spirit was invoked as the “Great Spirit”, *Hananim*, who was more powerful than any others.<sup>44</sup> *Hananim* was the god of Dangun, the legendary king and founder of Korea and an important deity in shamanistic practices.<sup>45</sup> The early missionaries agreed that a belief in many spirits underlay Korean religiosity.<sup>46</sup>

The Korean Revival of 1903–7 was characterized by emotional confession of sins, simultaneous loud

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37. See Oak, *The Making of Korean Christianity*, pp. 141–73.

38. Oak, *The Making of Korean Christianity*, pp. 173–87.

39. See the example of Deaconess Chang in Harvey, *Six Korean Women*, pp. 205–34.

40. Lee-Ellen Strawn, “Korean Bible Women’s Success: Using the Anbang Network and the Religious Authority of the Mudang”, *Journal of Korean Religions* 3.1 (2012), pp. 117–49.

41. Martha Huntley, *Caring, Growing, Changing: A History of the Protestant Mission in Korea* (New York: Friendship Press, 1984), pp. 123–5.

42. Oak, *The Making of Korean Christianity*, pp. 181–7.

43. Christian rejection of animistic spirits and exorcism continues in Korean communities today, sometimes with violence, and in ways that are deeply gendered. Kyung Hong, “Korean Exorcism: Driving Out Demons or Women?” *The International Journal of Religion and Spirituality in Society* 5.3 (2015), pp. 19–31.

44. Oak, *The Making of Korean Christianity*, pp. 146–7, 186.

45. Hogarth, *Korean Shamanism*, pp. 257–72. As is the case with many indigenous religions, it is debated whether ancient Koreans also believed in a supreme god or whether this was a missionary invention. See Don Baker, “Hananim, Hanūnim, Hanullim, and Hanöllim: The Construction of Terminology for Korean Monotheism”, *Review of Korean Studies* 5.1 (2002), pp. 105–31; Oak, *The Making of Korean Christianity*, pp. 33–83. See also more generally, James L. Cox, *The Invention of God in Indigenous Societies* (Durham, NC: Acumen, 2014).

46. See, for example: Homer Hulbert, *The Passing of Korea* (New York: Doubleday, Page, & Co., 1906), pp. 403–4; Horace Grant Underwood, *The Call of Korea: Political–Social–Religious* (London: Fleming H. Revell, 1908), pp. 84–5. See also Oak, *The Making of Korean Christianity*, pp. 25–30.



prayer, outbreaks of ecstatic behaviour and incidents of demon-possession and exorcism.<sup>47</sup> This revival was “the Korean Pentecost” which in many respects formed the Korean church and its devotional practices.<sup>48</sup> These included the dimension of Christian spirituality described as *gibok sinang* or “faith in blessings”. This is the expectation of health and wealth as a result of faith, and is the aspect of Korean Christianity which is most readily linked with shamanism.<sup>49</sup> But its concern with material well-being and its popular practices are more broadly characteristic of animism. The revival in Korea did not directly result in Korean Pentecostal churches. Instead it realized a charismatic dimension to the existing Presbyterian and Methodist churches in the peninsula. Through it, the churches became distinctively Korean. Although some missionaries were influenced by the global revivals associated with the Holiness and emerging Pentecostal movements, the Korean Revival should be understood as an indigenous religious response to the Christian gospel.<sup>50</sup> This response took place at a time of national crisis when Korea’s traditional protector China was weakened and other powers took advantage of this. Korean Protestants signalled that they were pro-nationalist and linked themselves with ethnic nationalism<sup>51</sup> when they adopted the name *Hananim* for God. Although, Western missionaries and Korean church leaders tried to direct church members’ attention to “spiritual matters” and away from the political turmoil which resulted in the annexation of the country by Japan in 1910, the revival took on material and political significance. The Revival encouraged a hope for the restoration of the nation within the coming of the kingdom of God. Personal repentance and righteousness was connected theologically to national calamity and the struggle for justice.<sup>52</sup> Protestantism gained a popular appeal as an intellectual and social reform movement as well as a religious one, and Protestantism became politically charged.<sup>53</sup>

#### <ha>The Maternal and Paternal Holy Spirit Movement

47. Huntley, *Caring, Growing, Changing*, pp. 131–7; Oak, *The Making of Korean Christianity*, pp. 181–2.

48. For accounts of the revival in English, see, William Blair and Bruce Hunt, *The Korean Pentecost and the Sufferings Which Followed* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1977); Dae-young Ryu, “The Origin and Characteristics of Evangelical Protestantism in Korea at the Turn of the Twentieth Century”, *Church History* 77.2 (2008), pp. 371–98; 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; cf. Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions*, pp. 374–5.

49. Sebastian C. H. Kim, “The Word and the Spirit: Overcoming Poverty, Injustice and Division in Korea”, in Sebastian C. H. Kim (ed.), *Christian Theology in Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 129–53.

50. 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.

51. Gi-wook Shin, *Ethnic Nationalism in Korea: Genealogy, Politics, and Legacy* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006).

52. Kenneth M. Wells, *New God, New Nation: Protestants and Self-reconstruction Nationalism in Korea, 1896–1937* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai’i Press, 1990), pp. 32–41; Kyoung-bae Min, “National Identity in the History of the Korean Church”, in Chai-shin Yu (ed.), *Korea and Christianity* (Seoul: Korean Scholar Press, 1996), pp. 121–43; Choi, “The Great Revival in Korea”; cf. Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions*, pp. 367–78.

53. Wi-jo Kang, *Christ and Caesar in Modern Korea: A History of Christianity and Politics* (New York: State University of New York, 1997); Chung-shin Park, *Protestantism and Politics in Korea* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2003).

The Korean theologian and scholar of religions Tong-sik Ryu pioneered a historical overview of the development of Korean theology that included reflection on the 1907 Revival, or the “Holy Spirit Movement”. Using the *yin-yang* perspective that sees all aspects of life as part of dualities characterized by gender differences, he argued that Korean spirituality has two strands: maternal and paternal. These correspond respectively to folk religiosity, or animism, on the one hand and the elite Confucian form of Korean religion on the other.<sup>54</sup> Ryu argued theologically that both the “maternal” movement of popular religious revivalism and a “paternal” movement of national revitalization and social reform could be seen as arising from the Revival and therefore constituted a single “Holy Spirit Movement”. Ryu traced these strands through holiness revivals in the 1920s and 30s on the one hand and the Protestant nationalism that inspired the 1919 independence movement and other resistance to Japanese rule on the other.<sup>55</sup>

When Pentecostalism entered Korea in the late 1920s, it capitalized on the pre-war holiness revivals and also claimed the heritage of the 1907 Revival.<sup>56</sup> So Korean Pentecostalism, understood not in terms of global Pentecostalism but from within the Korean revival tradition, appeared as a new form of “maternal” Holy Spirit Movement. Whereas the paternal movement was concerned with institutional life, politics and modernity, the maternal addressed to a greater extent the traditional religiosity of Korea.

Although Korean Pentecostal growth and vigour can be explained by many other reasons apart from its religious context, such as US cultural influence and anti-communism in the context of the Cold War, the widely held view is that neo-Pentecostalism thrived in the folk religious context, which proved especially amenable to the neo-liberal framework of belief in the economic context of developing South Korea.<sup>57</sup> In this sense, Cox is right in making Korea an example of the affinity between Pentecostalism and “primal spirituality”. However, although the context of neo-liberalism was new, as we have seen, the encounter of Christianity with animism goes back much further than the arrival of Pentecostal Christians in Korea. Nor was Pentecostalism the only, or the largest, form of Christianity supporting engagement with neo-liberalism. Mainline Protestant mega-churches were also doing that as they supported modernization. As the economy and the churches grew simultaneously, not only Pentecostals but many South Korean Christians came to regard faith and material blessing as two sides of the same coin.<sup>58</sup> Yoo and *Minjung* theologians used “Pentecostal” to

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54. Tong-sik Ryu, *The Mineral Veins of Korean Theology* [in Korean], 2nd edition (Seoul: Dasan Geulbang, 2000 [1982]), pp. 414–26; Kirsteen Kim, “Holy Spirit Movements in Korea – Paternal or Maternal? Reflections on the Analysis of Ryu Tong-Shik (Yu Tong-Shik)”, *Exchange* 35.2 (2006), pp. 147–68. Ryu’s analysis was indebted to Pong-pae Park, “Is It Compromising or Reforming?” [in Korean], *Sinhak sasang* 1 (1973), pp. 28–48.

55. Ryu, *The Mineral Veins*, pp. 414–26.

56. Lee, *The Holy Spirit Movement in Korea*, pp. 66–9.

57. Andrew Kim, “Korean Religious Culture and its Affinity to Christianity: The Rise of Protestant Christianity in South Korea”, *Sociology of Religion* 61.2 (2000), pp. 117–33; Sun-gun Kim, “Resurgence of Neo-Pentecostalism and Shamanism in Contemporary Korea”, in David Westerlund (ed.), *Global Pentecostalism: Encounters with Other Religious Traditions* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2009), pp. 137–56; Cox, *Fire from Heaven*, pp. 229–37.

58. Sebastian C. H. Kim, “The Problem of Poverty in Post-war Korean Christianity: *Kibock Sinang* or *Minjung* Theology?” *Transformation* 24.1 (2007), pp. 43–50; Kirsteen Kim, “Korean Discourse on Mission: The Spiritual Vision for the Nation of Rev. Kyung-Chik Han”, *Missiology: An International Review* 44.1 (2016), pp. 33–49; Kirsteen Kim, “Critical Perspectives on Religions – especially Christianity – in the Development of South Korea Post-1945”, in Emma Tomalin (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook on Religions and Global Development* (New York: Routledge, 2015), pp. 250–65.

refer not only to the denomination but more widely to this popular Korean Protestantism or Evangelicalism.

Although critical of Cho's Pentecostalism,<sup>59</sup> Ryu continued his historical analysis into the 1980s in an attempt to reconcile the theological extremes of popular Protestantism and the *Minjung* movement. *Minjung* theologians opposed the military-backed governments that were driving economic development on grounds of civil and human rights. They claimed the support of the people or masses (*minjung*) against the structural evils of capitalism and dictatorship.<sup>60</sup> They criticized mainline Christians for quietism when they did not take the kind of political action against military-backed governments that the *Minjung* theologians thought they should. The two strands were particularly divided by the polarized situation on the Korean peninsula, as illustrated by the fact that North Korea also accused Christians of shamanistic superstition.<sup>61</sup> From the *Minjung* perspective, the Holy Spirit movement in Korea could be traced back to historical movements for liberation such as the Imsul Farmers' Revolt of 1862–3 and the Donghak Rebellion of 1894, which were inspired by the teaching of Je-u Choe about a new society of peace and social equality by the power of the Great Spirit, *Hananim*.<sup>62</sup> This action culminated in the 1907 Revival and continued in the resistance movement against the Japanese.<sup>63</sup>

Paradoxically, while condemning popular Protestantism for looking like shamanism, cultural and *Minjung* theologians made conscious and explicit attempts to inculturate Christianity with respect to the Korean spirit-world. These included the work of Nam-Dong Suh, who laid claim to the Holy Spirit movement as a revolutionary force as well as to traditional concepts like *han* to express the angst of the suffering Korean people.<sup>64</sup> Another example is the infamous presentation of Hyun Kyung Chung at the seventh assembly of the World Council of Churches at Canberra in 1991, in which she illustrated her feminist liberation theology of the Holy Spirit in the form of a shaman's *gut*.<sup>65</sup> Cox,

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59. Ryu contributed an article to the critical volume David Suh *et al.*, *The Phenomena and Structure of the Korean Holy Spirit Movement*.

60. For *Minjung* theology, see Commission on Theological Concerns of the Christian Conference of Asia (CTCCA) (ed.), *Minjung Theology: People as the Subjects of History* (Singapore: Christian Conference of Asia, 1981); Jung-young Lee (ed.), *An Emerging Theology in World Perspective: Commentary on Korean Minjung Theology* (Mystic, CT: Twenty-Third Publications, 1988); David Kwang-sun Suh, *The Korean Minjung in Christ* (Hong Kong: The Christian Conference of Asia, 1991); Volker Küster, *A Protestant Theology of Passion: Korean Minjung Theology Revisited* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

61. For example, after the 1973 Billy Graham Crusade. In-cheol Kang, *Korean Protestant Church and Anti-Communism* [in Korean] (Seoul: Jungsim, 2006), p. 129.

62. Paul Bierne, *Su-un and His World of Symbols: The Founder of Korea's First Indigenous Religion* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

63. Choo Chai-Yong, "A Brief Sketch of a Korean Christian History from the Minjung Perspective", in CTCCA, *Minjung Theology*, pp. 73–9; Kim Yong-Bock, "Korean Christianity as a Messianic Movement of the People", in CTCCA, *Minjung Theology*, pp. 80–119; Nam-Dong Suh, "Historical References for a Theology of the Minjung", in CTCCA, *Minjung Theology*, pp. 155–82.

64. See, for example, Nam-Dong Suh, "The Third Age of the Spirit" [in Korean], *Kidokkyo-sasang* (1975), pp. 39–52; Suh, "Historical References for a Theology of the *Minjung*", in CTCCA, *Minjung Theology*, 155–82; Nam-Dong Suh, "Towards a Theology of *Han*", in CTCCA, *Minjung Theology*, pp. 55–69.

65. 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; Kim, *The Holy Spirit in the*

following Yoo and Ryu, combines the broader understanding of the Holy Spirit movement stemming from the 1907 revival and links Chung's eco-feminism with Pentecostalism as another example of Korean "primal spirituality".<sup>66</sup> Korean Pentecostals deny any connection.<sup>67</sup>

<ha>The Holy Spirit Movement and Animism: Discourses of Spiritual Power

<p1>Since the late twentieth century there have been signs of a revival, or rather invention, of shamanism. On the one hand, the traditions of the shamans have been recognized as part of Korea's folk heritage. Consequently, their practices have become more public both for tourist consumption and also for South Koreans looking for something authentic from a vanishing past. On the other hand, some shamans have adapted their practices to capitalist society in which many of their clients are looking to become rich. Shamanism has begun to find a place in the religious plurality of South Korea especially for those looking to acquire wealth and success. Particularly since the economic crash of 1997–8 when the International Monetary Fund was called in to bail out the country, some shamans have become rivals of the prosperity teachers of Christianity.<sup>68</sup> Nevertheless shaman practice is still marginal and participation is largely hidden.

However, belief in many spirits – animism – remains pervasive in Korean society, and continues to be the religious context in which other Korean religions are practised.<sup>69</sup> So it is appropriate to look at how Korean Christians profess their faith within a materialist and many-spirit cosmology. By examining the Full Gospel Church response to the allegations against Cho's theology, we will gain some further insight into how Korean theology deals with the spirits of animism.

Yonggi Cho's Full Gospel is widely available in English as well as Korean, and is translated into many other languages. Cho's central message of the "five-fold gospel" followed the "four cardinal doctrines" of the Assemblies of God<sup>70</sup> plus "the Gospel of Blessing" based on the verse 3 John 2 which, in Cho's interpretation, promised "spiritual well-being", "general well-being" and "bodily health".<sup>71</sup> When Cho began his ministry in the mid-1950s, health and prosperity were the primary concerns of people who had recently come through life and death challenges in the Korean War and were trying to reconstruct their lives. Lacking the means to offer practical help, Cho preached that the spiritual world holds power over the material.<sup>72</sup> As South Korea became more prosperous, Cho's

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*World*. Contrary to what Harvey Cox suggested (*Fire from Heaven*, pp. 218–19), Chung's presentation bore little if any resemblance to Korean Pentecostal practices. Moreover, Chung had rejected literal belief in the Korean spirit-world – see Hyun Kyung Chung, "Han-pu-ri: Doing Theology from a Korean Women's Perspective", *Ecumenical Review* 40.1 (1988), pp. 27–36.

66. Cox, *Fire from Heaven*, pp. 328–9. Hollenweger (*Pentecostalism*, pp. 100–103) followed Yoo.

67. E.g. Lee, *The Holy Spirit Movement in Korea*, p. 80.

68. Kendall, *Shamans, Nostalgias, and the IMF*.

69. Grayson, *Korea*, p. 230. Korean Buddhism is also regarded as syncretized with folk religion; e.g. Don Baker, "Introduction", in Robert E. Buswell Jr (ed.), *Religions of Korea in Practice* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), pp. 1–31 (see pp. 18–19).

70. Regeneration, baptism in the Spirit, divine healing, and the return of Jesus Christ.

71. Kim, *History and Theology of Korean Pentecostalism*, 202–7; Lee, *The Holy Spirit Movement in Korea*, pp. 100–102; Yonggi Cho, *Triple Salvation* [in Korean] (Seoul: Yeongsan Publishing Company, 1977); Yonggi Cho, *The Fivefold Gospel and Threefold Blessing* [in Korean] (Seoul: Seoul Logos, 1983). See also the Yoido Full Gospel Church website: [http://english.fgtv.com/a1/a1\\_052.asp](http://english.fgtv.com/a1/a1_052.asp).

72. William W. Menzies, "David Yonggi Cho's Theology of the Fullness of the Spirit: A Pentecostal Perspective", in Ma, Menzies and Bae, *David Yonggi Cho*, pp. 27–42; Anderson, "The Contextual Theology of David Yonggi Cho"; Wonsuk Ma, "Toward the Future of David Yonggi Cho's Theological Tradition", in Ma, Menzies and Bae, *David Yonggi Cho*, pp. 255–72.

gospel for survival and healing developed as a gospel for success. In books with subtitles like “more secrets for a successful faith life”, he taught his disciples to “see by faith” in a “fourth dimension” what they wanted to achieve and then pray it into becoming reality.<sup>73</sup>

In response to the accusations that his ministry was shamanistic, Cho used his International Theological Institute to help him systematize and establish Full Gospel theology in mainstream Christian doctrine and academic theology.<sup>74</sup> Unlike the *Minjung* theologians, Cho did not explicitly adopt any of the language or cultural symbols of shamanism. Instead he exalted the Holy Spirit in “the fourth dimension” which hovers over the three-dimensional world to which evil spirits, being only “supernatural” and not “spiritual”, are restricted. Believers are joined to the Holy Spirit – therefore to the heavenly Father, Creator of the Universe – through explicit confession of Jesus Christ.<sup>75</sup> In this case then Cho’s theology was arguably not an example of syncretism but a legitimate contextualization of Pentecostalism in Korea.<sup>76</sup> The theological development by Cho’s institute diverted attention from prosperity and material blessing to focus instead on the power of the Holy Spirit to effect real change in people’s lives. As the country transitioned to democracy, it was even possible for Full Gospel theologians to dialogue with theologians of the *Minjung* tradition. The overarching role of “the fourth dimension” could be described as a “holistic approach” that deals with people’s *han*.<sup>77</sup>

After a decade of debate, and some apologies and adjustments from Cho, Full Gospel theology was exonerated internationally and in Korea. In 1991 the Assemblies of God in Korea was re-united and Cho’s relationship with the US Assemblies of God was restored.<sup>78</sup> In 1994 the committee of the Presbyterian General Assembly that had been investigating Cho’s theology pronounced it now to be basically sound.<sup>79</sup> The Korean Assemblies of God had joined the mainline, becoming a member of the National Council of Churches in 1992.

The second accusation, which came especially from the *Minjung* theologians or the “paternal” strand of the Holy Spirit Movement, was self-interest and a lack of social participation by the Full Gospel Church. The “fourth dimension” was heavily criticized as magical and disconnected from social, political and economic realities.<sup>80</sup> However, the Full Gospel Church could argue that it was not limited to solving domestic and personal problems; it also addressed issues of poverty by its theology of blessing. Not only was poverty and dispossession the original context of Cho’s preaching, but he claimed testimonies of lives turned around through the Full Gospel Church,<sup>81</sup> upward mobility for his

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73. David Yonggi Cho, *The Fourth Dimension*, vol. 1, pp. 45–9, 72–3; Yonggi Cho, *The Fourth Dimension*, vol. 2: *More Secrets for a Successful Faith Life*, vol. II (Secunderabad, India: Ben Publishing, 1999 [1983]), pp. 35–8.

74. Ma, “Toward the Future”, pp. 260–61. See International Theological Institute, *Faith and Theology of Yoido Full Gospel Church*, 2 vols [in Korean] (Seoul: Seoul Books, 1993).

75. Cho, *The Fourth Dimension*, vol. 1, pp. 45–9, 72–3; vol. 2, pp. 35–8.

76. Anderson, “The Contribution of David Yonggi Cho”.

77. Chong Hee Jeong, “The Korean Charismatic Movement as Indigenous Pentecostalism”, In Anderson and Tang, *Asian and Pentecostal*, pp. 465–82.

78. In 1992 Cho became the first non-American chair of the World Assemblies of God Fellowship.

79. Kim, *History and Theology of Korean Pentecostalism*, pp. 185–86.

80. See, for example, Jong Chun Park, *Crawl with God, Dance in the Spirit! A Creative Formation of Korean Theology of the Spirit* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1998), pp. 97–102.

81. See, for example, Charles Elliott, *Sword and Spirit: Christianity in a Divided World* (London: BBC Books, 1989), pp. 20–21.

congregation;<sup>82</sup> charity work, schools and hospitals, and extensive business operations.<sup>83</sup> This response bears out that Cho and the *Minjung* theologians shared a theology of the Holy Spirit as engaged in the material world, and both shared with animism a sense that spiritual power was exercised in physical and this-worldly ways.

The *Minjung* theologians' criticisms of Cho's theology clearly revealed the tension between the "paternal" spirituality of the elite, on the one hand, and the popular "maternal" faith, on the other. This was partly the result of the class divide within South Korea. The critics, who by and large enjoyed material blessing, appeared to be condemning the traditional religiosity of the people who aspired to it.<sup>84</sup> However, there was another factor: the criticisms of Pentecostalism were continuous with those of *gibok sinang* and revivalism in the mainstream churches going back to the early Western missionaries, and they echoed Confucian and Buddhist accusations that popular religion was "superstition".

#### <h4>Developing Theological Self-understanding in a Land of Many Spirits

<p1>Scholars of religion have naturally resisted Tylor's conclusions that all religions should be excluded from rational thought, but they have made use of his hierarchy of religions.<sup>85</sup> However, this relegates the study of animism to an inferior place compared to the study of "world religions".<sup>86</sup> By their nature as religions of a particular place, traditional, indigenous or folk religions are varied and elude generalization.<sup>87</sup> However, animism offers a conceptual way of discussing a common feature that arises from such embeddedness in a particular natural environment: the vitality of the land and the dead, and their interconnectedness with the living. Korea provides a case study of how theological self-understanding can develop along with such a cosmology. Both the developments in Pentecostalism and in *Minjung* thought in Korea are suggestive for the theological dialogue with animism.

Christian theology is not entirely distinct from animism. First, Christian belief in God's creation and animation of the world, in the incarnation and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit itself, could itself be described as a kind of animism.<sup>88</sup> Such affinities have encouraged the development of eco-theology since the 1990s.<sup>89</sup> In particular, since the Holy Spirit is confessed as "the giver of life" (Nicene

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82. Upward mobility is often associated with Pentecostalism. See, for example, Martin, *Pentecostalism*, pp. 14–16.

83. Lee, *The Holy Spirit Movement in Korea*, pp. 114–16, 124–5; cf. Kim, *History and Theology of Korean Pentecostalism*, p. 152.

84. Kim, "The Word and the Spirit", pp. 134–8.

85. For example, the report of Commission IV for the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910 cited Tylor's *Primitive Culture* and placed animism first in its consideration of the "non-Christian religions"; although it noted that some missionaries declined to recognize it as a religion. World Missionary Conference, *Report of Commission IV: The Missionary Message in Relation to Non-Christian Religions* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier, 1910), p. 6.

86. James L. Cox, *From Primitive to Indigenous: The Academic Study of Indigenous Religions* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016).

87. Cox, *From Primitive to Indigenous*, p. 11.

88. Mark I. Wallace, "Christian Animism, Green Spirit Theology, and the Global Crisis Today", in Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen, Kirsteen Kim and Amos Yong (eds), *Interdisciplinary and Religio-Cultural Discourses on a Spirit-Filled World: Loosing the Spirits* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 197–211.

89. For an early example, see David G. Hallman (ed.), *Ecotheology: Voices from South and North* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1994).

Creed), theologians must revise tendencies to gnosticism and dualism that separate spirit from material. In Korea, as well as other global contexts, since democratization, both Korean feminists and also *Minjung* theologians have turned toward eco-theology and set themselves against the “life-denying” features of global capitalism.<sup>90</sup> And the Spirit has been presented as bringing about ecological well-being, holism and harmony.<sup>91</sup> If there is an affinity between shamanism and neo-liberal economics, there is also one between animism and ecology.

A second reason is that the New Testament acknowledges a spirit-world. It is replete with references to demons, angels, and other powers. Being called “spirit”, the Holy Spirit is both like other entities called “spirit”, and at the same time, being called “holy”, it is distinguished from them. Since the Enlightenment, mainline Protestants especially have referred to only one Spirit and associated that Spirit with morality, rationality and progress.<sup>92</sup> The negative reception in 1888 of Hermann Gunkel’s suggestion of a link between the biblical Holy Spirit and spirit-possession<sup>93</sup> is indicative of the background to the missionary encounter in Korea and contemporary Protestant theologians continue to shy away from discussion of many spirits.<sup>94</sup> This was evident in the reactions and debate around Chung’s presentation at Canberra in 1991. The divide evident there between a “unitive” pneumatology and a “plural” one that can take account of other spirits correlates closely with the tension between the paternal-maternal models of spirituality identified by Ryu in Korea.<sup>95</sup> In South Korea, reaction from the mainline churches to Chung’s presentation was furious.<sup>96</sup> In my view, her theological approach was undiscerning of what differentiates Christianity from animism and shamanism. Nevertheless, she did suggest ways in which Christian theology could make peace with Korean traditional religion. Her presentation was an early example of the potential of the dialogue of Christian pneumatology and traditional religion for eco-theology.<sup>97</sup>

The debate around “Pentecostalism” and “shamanism” in Korea lays some foundations for theological self-understanding in a world of many spirits. First, the encounter of Christianity with animism need

90. A leading figure in this development was Yong-Bock Kim, who insisted on the need for transformative encounter with the principalities and powers. Using his thought, Korean progressive Christians globalized *Minjung* theology when they called for a restructuring of the global economy toward *sangsaeng* or a “sharing community”. See [Anon.], “Bringing Together *Ubuntu* and *Sangsaeng*: A Journey Towards Life-Giving Civilization, Transforming Theology and the Ecumenism of the 21st Century”, *International Review of Mission* 97.384–5 (2008), pp. 129–34.

91. Hyoen Sung Bae, “Full Gospel Theology and a Korean Pentecostal Identity”, In Allan Anderson and Edmond Tang (eds.), *Asian and Pentecostal: The Charismatic Face of Christianity in Asia*, second edition (Oxford: Regnum Books, 2011), pp. 445–64.

92. Alasdair I. C. Heron, *The Holy Spirit: The Holy Spirit in the Bible, in the History of Christian Thought, and in Recent Theology* (London: Marshall Morgan & Scott, 1983), pp. 99–116, 137–40.

93. Hermann Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit: The Popular View of the Apostolic Age and the Teaching of the Apostle Paul*, trans. Roy A. Harrisville and Philip A. Quanbeck II (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1979 [1888]); John R. Levison, *Filled with the Spirit* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm B. Eerdmans, 2009), pp. 3–13.

94. Amy Plantinga Pauw, “Where Theologians Fear to Tread”, *Modern Theology* 16.1 (2000), pp. 39–59.

95. Kim, *The Holy Spirit in the World*, pp. 140–73.

96. Bong Rin Ro, “Theological Debates in Korea after Canberra”, in Bong Rin Ro and Bruce J. Nicholls (eds), *Beyond Canberra: Evangelical Responses to Contemporary Ecumenical Issues* (Oxford: Regnum Books, 1993), pp. 53–9; Sung-hong Han, *Streams of Korean Theological Thought* [in Korean], vol. 2 (Seoul: Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary Press, 1996), pp. 489–526.

97. Kim, *The Holy Spirit in the World*, pp. 148–9.

not be a negative one because the spirits of animist worldviews are not necessarily evil – indeed many are revered ancestors. There are life-giving as well as death-dealing spirits, and also spirits who may be either friendly or hostile. Pentecostal theologians have an advantage here compared to other Protestant theologians because of their acknowledgement of many spirits but they are also disadvantaged by their demonization of them.<sup>98</sup> Second, study of Korean traditional religion makes plain that animism is a pneumatological world view. In Korea, discourse on Spirit and spirits is not restricted to the religious sphere or to private life; nor is it mainly environmental. It covers all the forces experienced by human beings, including the economic and the political. In a land of many spirits, pneumatology in dialogue with animism will include scientific, economic and political use of spirits, forces and powers.

Some theologians outside Korea have recently developed pneumatology with respect to a spirit world: for example, Walter Wink applied New Testament exorcism to action for social justice<sup>99</sup> and Michael Welker, in dialogue with Pentecostals, has discussed pneumatology in relation to force fields in public life.<sup>100</sup> Amos Yong argues more generally that contemporary pluralism rehabilitates to some extent an earlier worldview of many spirits in reaction to the reductionism of rationalist thought.<sup>101</sup> Further examples of contemporary thinking involving pneumatological plurality – religious, cultural, political, and scientific – are given by other Pentecostals and theologians from other traditions.<sup>102</sup> This re-enchanted world opens up new resources and dialogue partners for Christian pneumatology. At the same time it raises important questions about the nature of spirit and spirits for the prolegomena to pneumatology and highlights the importance to theology of the Holy Spirit of discernment.<sup>103</sup>

#### <ha>Conclusion

<p1>The initial encounter between Protestant Christianity and traditional religion in Korea came in the wake of centuries of condemnation of shaman practices as superstition by the elite and Christian assumptions that spirits were necessarily evil. However, some of the first Korean leaders and missionaries in Korea had allowed for exorcism and other demonstrations of the power of Christian faith over other evil spirits, and some of them recognized animism as a form of religion that could prepare people for Christian faith. The Korean Revival of 1907 incorporated traditional forms of spirituality and religious expectations and at the same time encouraged nationalism and belief in the “Great Spirit” (the mountain God or *Hananim*) in the context of threats to the nation. “The Holy Spirit Movement” that resulted from the Revival has been seen as divided into both paternal, or political, and maternal, or revivalist, strands, which became polarized during the period of military-backed governments. The maternal is a private and popular spirituality that is also suited neo-liberal economic development while the paternal is public and political in support of nationalism, resistance and social justice.

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98. Cf. Allan H. Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 196–7.

99. As summarized in Walter Wink, *The Powers That Be: Theology for a New Millennium* (London: Doubleday, 1998).

100. Michael Welker, *God the Spirit*, trans. John F. Hoffmeyer (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1994).

101. Amos Yong, “On Binding, and Loosing, the Spirits: Navigating and Engaging a Spirit-filled World”, in Kärkkäinen, Kim and Yong, *Interdisciplinary and Religio-Cultural Discourses*, pp. 1–12.

102. See articles in Kärkkäinen, Kim and Yong, *Interdisciplinary and Religio-Cultural Discourses*.

103. Kirsteen Kim, “Conclusion: The Holy Spirit in a Spirit-filled World: Broadening the Dialogue Partners of Christian Theology”, in Kärkkäinen, Kim and Yong, *Interdisciplinary and Religio-Cultural Discourses*, pp. 243–56.



The criticisms of the maternal Holy Spirit movement by advocates of the paternal also raises important religious and theological questions of the relationship between spiritual and material, what is meant by “spirit”, and how to do theology in a land of many spirits; that is, about the encounter of Christianity not only with shamanism but also more generally with animism. The Western identification of shamanism in Korean Pentecostalism mostly misunderstood the Korean context in which shamanism was a term of abuse. By unpacking relevant parts of Korean history and dealing with the traditional religion more broadly, this article finds that the encounter is better described as one between Protestant Christianity and the world view described as animism. Recent developments in the study of animism emphasize its relevance to ecological thought particularly but discourse of many spirits is also being applied to the relationship between Christian theology and science, history, economics, politics and other fields.

In the encounter between Christianity and animism, pneumatology is a common factor and the spirits are plural. Their sensitivity to the spirit-world – even negatively – gives Pentecostal theologians an advantage in conceiving the Holy Spirit in a land of many spirits. The encounter of the Holy Spirit Movement with Korean traditional religion, and Korean theological reflection on this, are suggestive of how theology of the Holy Spirit may develop where there is belief in many spirits.

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