

**Zeitschrift:** Theologische Zeitschrift  
**Herausgeber:** Theologische Fakultät der Universität Basel  
**Band:** 54 (1998)  
**Heft:** 3

**Artikel:** Simul Christianus et paganus  
**Autor:** Kim, Kwang Shik  
**DOI:** <https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-878026>

### **Nutzungsbedingungen**

Die ETH-Bibliothek ist die Anbieterin der digitalisierten Zeitschriften auf E-Periodica. Sie besitzt keine Urheberrechte an den Zeitschriften und ist nicht verantwortlich für deren Inhalte. Die Rechte liegen in der Regel bei den Herausgebern beziehungsweise den externen Rechteinhabern. Das Veröffentlichen von Bildern in Print- und Online-Publikationen sowie auf Social Media-Kanälen oder Webseiten ist nur mit vorheriger Genehmigung der Rechteinhaber erlaubt. [Mehr erfahren](#)

### **Conditions d'utilisation**

L'ETH Library est le fournisseur des revues numérisées. Elle ne détient aucun droit d'auteur sur les revues et n'est pas responsable de leur contenu. En règle générale, les droits sont détenus par les éditeurs ou les détenteurs de droits externes. La reproduction d'images dans des publications imprimées ou en ligne ainsi que sur des canaux de médias sociaux ou des sites web n'est autorisée qu'avec l'accord préalable des détenteurs des droits. [En savoir plus](#)

### **Terms of use**

The ETH Library is the provider of the digitised journals. It does not own any copyrights to the journals and is not responsible for their content. The rights usually lie with the publishers or the external rights holders. Publishing images in print and online publications, as well as on social media channels or websites, is only permitted with the prior consent of the rights holders. [Find out more](#)

**Download PDF:** 08.03.2026

**ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, E-Periodica, <https://www.e-periodica.ch>**

# Simul Christianus et paganus

## *1. Christian and pagan at the same time*

It is not likely that a Western theologian agrees to a certain analogy which some Koreans are seeking to find existing between the Incarnation of the divine Logos and the indigenization of Christian gospel. Differing from the doctrine of the Incarnation that the divine nature and the human nature are united in one person of Christ without being separated, divided, mixed, or changed, the principle of the Incarnation where the divine becomes the human could be applied to the definition of the concept of indigenization. Tong Shik Ryu, one of the pioneers in Korean theology, preferred the hermeneutical principle of the Incarnation to the duophysitistic doctrine because he thought that the double transcendence or the double negation of Christian gospel comes about bearing some analogy with the hermeneutical principle. The gospel transcends or negates the Western culture in order to be indigenized in the context of the East Asian culture on the one hand. The indigenized gospel transcends or negates also the East Asian culture on the other hand.

However, the duophysitistic doctrine does not imply simply the similarity between indigenization and the Incarnation but rather is supposed to presuppose the identity of Christ in both events. It is the identity of Christ that makes the similarity between the Incarnation and indigenization possible and necessary. The creaturely similarity is not able to secure the identity of Christ in both events. The identity precedes the similarity ontologically, though this appears first in our perception of the events epistemologically. Not knowing the ontological identity, Ryu emphasized merely on the epistemological similarity between the two events. The possibility and the necessity of the latter can be secured only by the former. This is because Christ comes to us primarily through the Incarnation and secondly through indigenization. Jesus Christ came to us as a Jew in the history of Israel at first, and then he came again and again as a good Samaritan or as a Gentile. That is to say, *Christus est simul Judaeus et paganus*.

The Johannean witness that Jesus Christ came in flesh can and should be understood in the double meaning of the Incarnation and indigenization. The Word became flesh. This is not a myth but history. Now the historical event has a double meaning. The meaning of the Incarnation and that of indigenization belong together, but there is a great distinction between them. The former signifies the original or the primary indigenization, while the latter can be called the repeating or the second Incarnation. This is hardly a matter for sur-

prise. The conception that the Incarnation is the original indigenization tells us that Jesus Christ is Jew as well as the indigenized Logos.

The original event of indigenization, i.e. the Incarnation, in proper sense, belongs to the past history of Jesus Christ that took place once for all and cannot be repeated. However, the indigenizations as the second Incarnations have been repeating themselves for different cultures in the history of mankind. Jesus Christ came as a Jew once for all, but he came as a Gentile repeatedly, and is still coming as a pagan for all the people in the world. The coming Christ is a Jew and a pagan at the same time. This reminds us of the famous formula of the Reformer: *simul justus et peccator*. According to Martin Luther Christians are righteous and sinners just as Jesus Christ is righteous and a sinner at the same time.

What makes it possible for Jesus to be a Jew and a pagan at the same time? Martin Luther referred to three theological loci which explain the Christological *simul*: the *homo deificatus*, the *communicatio idiomatum*, and the joyful exchange. The first locus was the most important theme that the Alexandrian fathers had ever discussed in terms of the orthodox doctrines concerning the Trinity and Christ. The second one was introduced by the Latin fathers to explain the relation between divinity and humanity in one person of Christ. The last one was made by Luther himself to illustrate the doctrine of justification. Having overtaken the two loci and applied his own for the doctrine, the Reformer proposed the famous formula «*simul justus et peccator*» for the exegesis of Gal 2:20 as well as for that of Rom 8:17. Christians are indicated to experience in their believing existence that they are righteous and sinful at the same time just as Jesus Christ himself is a righteous man and a sinner. It is in the light of the three loci that the Christological and soteriological formula was intended to be understood.

The doctrine of *homo deificatus* is closely related to the doctrine of the Incarnation. It is well known that the Alexandrian school developed the so-called physical theory, i.e. the theory of the Incarnational redemption, owing mainly to the Logos-flesh Christology. The Alexandrian fathers including Athanasius and Cyrill adhered to the doctrine of consubstantiality in order to make the divine Logos omnipotent enough for deifying man by overcoming the weakness of his flesh. The Logos became flesh to make this incorruptible and accordingly immortal. The redemption is here closely related to the Incarnation. The history of Israel and the Jewish religion are absolutized in the doctrines and theologies of the European churches in comparison with the history of other people and with other religions in the world. They take the holy people and the holy religion for granted. Jesus as a Jew is also considered to be holy and absolutized to exclude any possible form of Jesus as a pagan. But if the physical theory of the Alexandrian school is to be applied to the conception of Jesus as a pagan, the histories and the religions of other people can also

be thought to be holy. Jesus Christ must be a pagan if he is to be the Saviour for pagans.

The second locus of the Christological simul is found in the doctrine of the two natures of Christ. The Western doctrine of the *communicatio idiomatum* means that the attributes of the two natures are communicated to each other. The communication of the attributes of the two natures can be understood to exchange the divine righteousness with the human sinfulness and vice versa. Thus Christ is the righteous sinner or the sinful righteous man in Luther's theology. Similarly Christians are righteous and sinful at the same time. A Jew is usually considered to be a righteous man in Jewish religion, while a pagan or a Gentile is condemned as a sinner. Jesus is righteous as a Jew, but he comes to pagans as a pagan or as a sinner in the sense of Jewish religion. He came as a sinner for sinners, though he is righteous in himself. He was a sinner insofar as he took over all the sins of his people around the world. Jesus as *simul Judaeus et paganus* is the Saviour of the world.

The Reformer's formula «*simul justus et peccator*» relates not only to Jesus Christ but also to Christians and the Christian community. Luther made efforts to explain the Christological simul in terms of the joyful exchange. Christ as the bridegroom gives his righteousness to his bride, the community, who in turn presents her sin to her groom. The give and take between Christ as the head and the community as the body is called «joyful exchange». Christ gives his righteousness and takes the sin of his community for his own while the community presents her sin to Christ and receives the righteousness of Christ as her own. The joyful exchange takes place in the redemptive event of justification of sinners, Jews at first, and then Gentiles.

Since the Reformer's formula *simul justus et peccator* can be analogized to the indigenized formula *simul Christianus et paganus*, the Reformation as a German model of indigenization is supposed to indicate and prepare the way to the Korean model of the event. The Reformer's understanding of justification with relation to Gal 2:20 seems to be a good example to follow for the indigenization of Christian gospel in the East Asian cultures. Martin Luther started with Christological simul and arrived at the doctrine of justification of sinners. Likewise, we can start with the Christological formula *simul Judaeus et paganus* and may arrive at the soteriological self-understanding *simul Christianus et paganus*. One may wonder if the Reformer's simul really implies to that of indigenization theology. But it should be kept in mind that both Jews and Christians are believed to be righteous, while pagans are condemned to be sinners. Therefore the pagans have to be justified. The justification of the pagans takes place through the redemptive event of indigenization.

According to John Wesley, Christians are justified by the grace of Jesus Christ and sanctified by the work of the Holy Spirit. In connection with the indigenized formula the doctrine of sanctification may help us understand the

actualization of indigenization. Pagans become Christians without ceasing to be pagans. That is to say, *simul Christianus et paganus*. This describes the redemptive event of indigenization. However, it is the work of the Holy Spirit that actualizes the event for all the people around the world. In a word, indigenization theology supposes always pneumatological actualization as well as Christological foundation. Otherwise the theology would fail in following the Reformation tradition. Without conferring with the tradition it cannot help deteriorating into humanism. As a conclusion, indigenization theology should be founded on Christology and based upon pneumatology to say the least. Christ came as a Jew and he comes as a pagan for those who are Christians and pagans at the same time.

## *2. Nonduality of God and earth*

With opening negotiations for Uruguay Round the term «Shintoburi» suddenly began to be in common use among Koreans. In former times they usually used the stereotyped phrase «patronize home production» to keep foreign goods from being imported. Now Korea is one of the newly industrialized countries and exports her own products to almost every nation all over the world in such large quantities as to be the 13th greatest exporting country. The phrase does not sound plausible any longer even to some patriotic Koreans. Instead of the phrase the old term was rediscovered for commercial use.

It seems that «Shintoburi» has been used in reference to the excellent efficacy of the traditional Korean medicine for those who were born and live on the land. These days the farmers who are afraid of their almost certain failure in agriculture make every effort to survive all the perils that some foreign farm produce might bring about. Now they use the term to make people aware of the excellent quality of their produce in comparison to foreign crops which are supposed to be inadequate for the correct nourishment of the Korean people. Shintoburi means literally nonduality of body and earth. The concept of «not two» or nonduality, comes from the Sanskrit word «advaita». The Buddhist concept of «not two» means that emptiness and colour are not two. Likewise, the nonduality of body and earth means that the earth from which a person's body is formed is the best thing for the person to live on. That is to say, Korean farm products are the best for Korean people to live on. So the patriotic catchphrase is replaced by the capitalistic one, i.e. «Shintoburi».

The Chinese character «Shin» of Shintoburi means body. But there are four different characters which are pronounced as Shin in the Korean dialect. They are body, God, faith, and new. Of course there are many other characters that are pronounced as Shin, but these four denote the most important

topics of indigenization theology. So the nonduality of God and earth may be considered to be the first subject of the theological Shintoburi in relation to the indigenization event as the redemption of the Korean people with their culture in terms of simul Christianus et Coreanus. The nonduality of body and earth, that of faith and earth, and that of novum and earth form the second, third, and fourth subjects.

The theological nonduality of God and earth indicates the reason for justifying the necessity of the holy land where God dwells and dominates His people. Jahweh, God of Israel, appeared to Moses and gave him the Two Stones of the Ten Commandments on the mountain. God is closely related to the mountains. The place in which He meets His people is holy. In this case nonduality means the close relationship between God and the holy place. Just as Jahweh is the God of Israel, so Haneunim is the God of Koreans. Haneunim appeared to Koreans on the mountains, too. Now the Christian God encounters Koreans in the land where Haneunim appeared to them. It is from the perspective of Christian faith in the Biblical God that Christians consider Haneunim to belong to the earth, the domain of old religions in Korea. Haneunim as the earth is the holy place in which God encounters Koreans. But Christians experience the Biblical God existentially in a similar way as people do with Haneunim. It is not easy for them to have Christian faith in God without the belief in Haneunim. So Haneunim as the earth is the holy place in which God encounters man.

It seems that there have been great changes in the concept of the Biblical Christian God since some missionaries began to preach the gospel of a personal God who reveals Himself in the Old and New Testament, especially to East Asian people. At first the Biblical God was too strange for Chinese to believe in. They thought that T'ien, the supreme God of Confucianism, must be an impersonal deity and the other gods which are personal should be subordinate to the supreme God. They wondered how the Biblical personal God could be identified with the impersonal deity of Confucianism when they translated the name of God into «T'ientsu», or the heavenly Lord. «Heavenly» seemed to them to signify the impersonal supreme God, while «Lord» meant a personal God. Though the Taoistic supreme God «Shangti» appears to be personal, this name and the Biblical God do not readily cross-translate to each other. Shangti often makes the Biblical God misunderstood as the Taoistic God. Therefore the Chinese developed a new name, «Shangtzu», for the Christian God. This name means «the supreme Lord», which may be considered to be fitting for a personal god. Presently the Chinese have two different translations of the Bible in their language. One is called the Shangtsu Bible, and the other is called the Shin Bible. Two different names are used for God in the two different translations of the Bible.

The Korean Catholic church has taken over the Chinese name of God «T'ientsu», or the heavenly Lord, and repronounced it as «Cheonju» in the

Korean enunciation. So they call God «Cheonjunim». The personal suffix «nim» means Mr., lover, or lord. The reason why Koreans like to suffix the name with nim, is that they believe in the personality of God. This belief seems to have come from the traditional concept of God, which is still cherished by the people not only for some religions but also in every day life. The very concept of God is well preserved in the name of God «Haneunim». It is not by mere chance that most Korean Catholics prefer «Haneunim» for God to the traditional Catholic name «Cheonjunim». At first, Korean Protestant believers called God «Sangjunim», while Chinese translated God's name either into «Shangtzu» or «Shin». Sangju is of course the Korean pronunciation of Shangtzu, but the name should be suffixed with nim in order to fit God. Later, however, the Protestants came to call God either «Haneunim» or «Hananim». Here, Hananim is a coined name of God. Hana is one in Korean, and nim is suffix. So Hananim means Mr. One, or the Only Lord. The coinage sounds very monarchianistic. However, the conservative majority of Protestants prefers the coined name of God Hananim to the traditional name of God Haneunim. This is because they are seeking to distinguish the Biblical God from the national God by contrasting Hananim to Haneunim, not knowing that the coinage implies a monarchianistic monolatry which is quite different from Christian faith in the Biblical God.

Haneunim is indeed believed to be the national God of Koreans. But the God seems to be *Deus otiosus* in terms of the transcendence, though not in the way that Gnosticism understood it. Haneunim as *Deus otiosus* has had nothing to do with any particular religion with the exceptions of the so-called national religions that were created in the recent history of Korea when she suffered from troubles both at home and from abroad. Even though the newly created Haneunim cults made efforts to worship the national God, this deity transcends all religions standing beyond all human approaches to make him a religious god. Haneunim is in reality a religionless god. This god can be rightly understood as a personified humanity. The question is how faith in the Biblical Christian God and belief in the national God Haneunim as humanity are related to each other in terms of Shintoburi as the nonduality of God and earth.

First of all, it is common sense for all theologians to identify the distinction between the Biblical God and a national God. The traditional thesis on the relationship between revelation and reason is based on the conviction that divine grace brings nature to perfection. The belief in the superiority of grace over nature should be carried through also in the discussion on the epistemological aspect of Shintoburi. Jesus Christ comes in flesh as a Jew and a Korean at the same time. Likewise, God reveals Himself as Jahweh and Haneunim. The Christian God comes into humanity i.e. the humanity of the Korean people, so that He may be understood as their own God. This God can rightly be called «God in humanity».

In the second place, one may raise a question in argument wondering whether the God of humanity can be identified with the Biblical Christian God. The ontological dimension of the nonduality of God and earth is at stake if any negative answer is given to the question. The negation of the nonduality is to lead inevitably to that of the redemptive event of the indigenization that a Korean Christian as *simul Christianus et paganus* is saved by the Saviour Jesus Christ as *simul Judaeus et Coreanus*. The God of humanity appears to Koreans as Haneunim who is already Christianized by means of the concept of the Biblical God, and as a result also changed in this concept. The Biblical Christian God becomes Haneunim as the indigenized form of the divinity. The enthusiasm of the conservative Christians for keeping God from being indigenized in the form of a national God is often misleading a lot of people to a wrong alternative of the monarchianistic monolatry in the form of the belief in «Hanim» as Mr. One or the Only Lord. In fact the conservative majority of Protestants supports the coined name of God as Hanim. However, this coinage is possible only as the result of indigenization, for Hanim is nothing more than a modified form of Haneunim. Even the coined name of God can not escape from belonging to the event of the indigenization.

In the last place, the ontological identity of the indigenized concept of God and faith in the personal God of Biblical Christian tradition may seem to some to be a stumbling block on which Christian faith is destined to fall down. There are indeed many Christians who distinguish Hanim from Haneunim. Do they then really mind hearing non-Christians confess implicitly faith in God when these same ones sing the Korean national anthem with the divine name Haneunim? Even a Buddhist monk or a Confucian literatus can not avoid praising and praying about the Christian God if this is identified with Haneunim in the patriotic song. The implicit confession of faith in God may contribute to the Christian mission in Korea.

### *3. Nonduality of body and earth*

The traditional term «Shintoburi», which originally meant the nonduality of body and earth, has been used to denote the close relationship between the human body and the earth on which it lives. The body can not be isolated from the earth; neither can it be separated from the earth. The Incarnation means that the divine Logos assumed flesh, i.e. the man Jesus, who is *simul Judaeus et paganus*. The historical particularity of Jesus' human existence is closely related to the geographical and cultural limitations of Judaism and Hellenism. The open question of the historical Jesus in the New Testament studies reminds us of the uncertainty of the theological arguments on the particularity and the limitation of the problem. In spite of the uncertainty, the theological

concern for the historical Jesus can not be neglected. This is because the body of the incarnate Logos is the same as that of the historical Jesus.

When the primitive church understood itself as the body of Christ, the body was supposed to belong to Jesus as *Judaeus et paganus*. Jesus was the Saviour not only for Jews, but also for Gentiles. The primitive church as the body of Christ moved between Judaism and Hellenism, just like Jesus lived in a world which was located at the intersection of two different traditions: Rabbinic and Hellenistic. It is in the primitive church that Jesus Christ was believed to be the Saviour for all the people, including Jews and Gentiles. The Christian church exists as the body of Christ as long as Jesus Christ comes to his people, in whatever nation on earth these people may belong to. Accordingly, as churches are located in a certain place, Jesus Christ as well as Christians are subordinated to the earthly nation, though he and his people transcend his and their nationality as well as the cultural limitations.

Even during the history of the apostles it can be indicated that the indigenization was a matter of primary concern for the primitive church, especially when the gospel was preached to the Gentiles for the first time. The Gentiles did not need to be converted into Judaism in order to become Christians. James, the brother of the Lord, seems to have supported indigenization of the gospel for the Gentiles instead of Judaization of the converted pagans (Acts 15:19-21). The Apostles' Council declared that the pagan Christians were justified to be Christian and pagan at the same time. The Apostles Paul and Barnabas must have been the first indigenization theologians in terms of Anti-Judaization.

Though Anti-Judaization can, but should not, be identified with Hellenization, the Christian gospel began to be indigenized in the ancient Greek context with the orthodox doctrines of the early church defined in metaphysical categories and concepts. The doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation are considered to be the cardinal ones for Christianity that were created by the Greek fathers. The reason why the fathers considered the doctrine of the Holy Trinity to be of vital importance can be found in their conviction that the Incarnation of the divine Logos meant for them the decisive foundation of salvation. They believed that the Incarnation makes mortals immortal by changing the corruptibility of man into the incorruptibility of deity. The divinity of the Logos can not be emphasized too much for the redemptive motive of deifying man.

Considering the Greek and the Latin churches to be the first and the second models of indigenization of Christian gospel in the contexts of Hellenization and Roman law respectively, the Reformation church can be rightly understood to be the third model of indigenization of Christianity in the history of the church. The Reformers accepted readily the cardinal doctrines of the Greek fathers with necessary modifications, but rejected the doctrines of seven sacraments and purgatory. Catholic ecclesiology, including hierarchical

orders and sacramental administration, describes the security of the means of salvation in terms of the Cyprian formula: *extra ecclesiam nulla salus*. The ecclesiological doctrines are considered to have been formulated by those who were at home in Roman law. So the doctrines might well be said to have been made after the model of the law in concepts and categories. Even though the Reformers modified the ecclesiology, they did not abolish the Catholic doctrines in general. The Reformers preferred reform and creative interpretation to abolishment or mere preservation. Notwithstanding, they preserved the Orthodox doctrine of the Trinity as well as the Catholic ecclesiology in their modified form. What appeared the most important thing for them was that Christians experienced the certainty of salvation either through justification by faith or through predestination by God's sovereignty.

The justification of sinners by faith is considered to consist in the immediate relationship between God and man without any ecclesiological interference by priestly mediation. The immediacy seems to have come from German mysticism even though the idea of *unio mystica* is to be understood in Christological context. It is just in this sense that the Apostle Paul insists on Christ-mysticism (Gal 2:20). Martin Luther related his doctrine of justification to the Apostle's mysticism of Christ. The Reformer did not think it necessary to make his doctrine depend on the traditional concept of merits. Instead, he took it as justified by the Bible to introduce the immediacy of mysticism in the context of Christological confession of Christian existence in his own person for which he used the formula *simul justus et peccator*.

The doctrine of predestination, the core of Reformed theology, presupposed the immediacy between God and man. God had already decided and determined the fate of man before He created the heavens and the earth. There is no room between God and man for the church to interfere. The sovereignty of God excludes not only the work of the law, but also the ecclesiastical mediation by means of hierarchical order and sacramental administration. So the divine decree might well be said to be the ontological foundation for the immediacy of the relationship between God and man. The decree comes to us in the form of *pluperfect*. The tense does not allow any reasonable being to decide according to its own freedom of will. Moreover, the divine decree is unchangeable and untouchable. It is impossible for the church to alter the decree. Thus the doctrine of predestination implies the mystic nearness of God to man.

The doctrine of justification, as well as that of predestination, is supposed to be affiliated upon German mysticism in terms of the immediate relationship between God and man, which excludes both the work of law and ecclesiastical mediation. It may sound very strange to some to say that the Word-centered theology of the Reformation has something to do with the meditation-centered mysticism that prefers mystic experience to preaching of the Word of God. The preaching is indeed executed by the persons that are

qualified to take over the office of sermon, but the Word of God implies the immediacy of God's presence. The immediacy always actualizes itself as the work of the Holy Spirit. In a word, the Reformation is the third model of indigenization of Christian gospel in terms of the immediacy of the relationship between God and man.

The fourth model of indigenization of the Christian gospel in East Asian churches seems to be possible only at the cost of losing the Western identity of theology as a «science». Those who are accustomed to the immense but subtle speculations of Euro-American theology would find indigenization theology to be a great deviation from the main stream Christian tradition of theology. First of all, the cultural resurrection of Christ Jesus by means of the intellectual ideas and conception, as well as the emotional experience and depth of Yu-Bul-Seon religions (the Confucianism, the Buddhism, and the Shamanism) in the context of Korean churches, would probably appear to some as if the pagan cults had already overcome Christianity.

The Western identity of Christian theology in terms of its hamartiosoteriological structure is indeed to fall prey to the reconstructing church and theology in the context of the Yu-Bul-Seon cults. But this does not necessarily mean the abandonment of the identity of Christian faith. If we are to do justice to the indigenization formula «Christian and pagan at the same time», both Christian identity of faith and pagan identity of Yu-Bul-Seon should be combined as the work of the Holy Spirit, but not merely as that of humanity, for the formation of the Christian community as well as for the making of religious consciousness and experience of individual believers. Not only the Christians, but also the church in Korea is rightly described as Christian and pagan at the same time.

The ecclesiological nonduality of the Korean church consists in its undertaking of the socio-religious roles of Yu-Bul-Seon, the old religions. Even though Confucianism has lost its influence over the majority of the population of Korea, it is still dominating the heart and mind of the people as ethics and customs including the ceremonial occasions in the areas of social activity and family life. Christians still keep the ethics of filial piety. The ranking of the hierarchy in the church has been created by people's sense of Confucian public orderliness. The traditional piety and world view of Buddhism seems to have given the religious basis on which Christian spirituality and liturgy are based. For instance, morning prayer meeting, fasting, or the vulgar idea of retribution is supposed to come from the Buddhist traditional piety. The Shamanism as the third religion has been exerting a great influence upon the spiritual life and thought of the people, and also upon the heart and mind of believers in their prayers for blessings of health, wealth, and success in life (or peace).

#### *4. Nonduality of faith and earth*

Since Christology has been shown to be closely related to soteriology, it might well be said that the nonduality of body and earth could be considered to be the basis on which the nonduality of faith and earth is grounded. This assumption is only possible if we accept the bold theological proposition that our faith in Jesus Christ as «simul Judaeus et paganus» is to be understood as Christian and pagan at the same time. It goes without saying that Christian faith differs from pagan cults in many respects. First of all, faith is as much personal trust in Jesus Christ as it is an ultimate revelation, and is at the same time an extraordinary knowledge of the divine act of redemption in the cosmotheandric dimension of history and nature. To the contrary, pagan cults are often considered to be merely human efforts at attaining the divine truth only to fail.

In previous days, theologians were concerned about any possible pagan distortion of the Christian gospel, which might have been the case with the missionary works of some younger churches in different cultures. However, the church has been making a great contribution to the reform and opening of the country by introducing Western civilization and Christian culture into the hermit nation and by proclaiming the gospel's strength against the communist threat in order to keep the capitalistic system from being attacked by North Korean aggressors. Since the seventies, the church began to preach the gospel of «Saemaoul», or New Village, a dream of a wealthy life in addition to the conventional proclamation of the blessed life after death.

In the mean time, the church has rapidly grown and gradually become an unbelievably massive body of conservative groups in the developing country, which has been galloping toward the goal of victory over poverty with the help of Confucianized capitalism and the successful development of industries. The church growth in Korea is often said to be a miracle in the history of the Christian mission. Many people have been trying to give answers to the questions concerning the rapid successful growth of the church in Korea as compared with the relatively slow growth or, to say the worse, the stagnation of the churches in other countries of East Asia.

It is often indicated that the rapid growth of the church has been possible since the beginning of the seventies after the military dictatorship was finally completed by the main group of the coup d'état in 1960. The military regime is considered to have created the solid foundation on which industrial development and economic prosperity could be attained. Nevertheless, the dictatorial government is blamed for irregularities and corruption that made the whole society unstable. The social conflicts were caused by the development and prosperity on one hand, and by the irregularities and corruption on the other. The conflicts seem to some to have contributed greatly to the rapid church growth. It was these very conflicts that drove into church those who

lost their way in all the fields of life. Christianity, or exactly to say, Christ is the way, the truth, and the life for all the people who could not find peace and happiness either in their successful secular life or in their traditional pious cults of Yu-Bul-Seon. It is not by accident that church growth ran parallel with social and economic development.

There is another group of scholars who are trying to explain the rapid church growth from the perspective of a religious vacuum that resulted from the destruction of the traditional values during recent decades, as well as from the historical background of persecuting of the Buddhists and the Shamanists. Under Japanese oppression from 1910 to 1945, the Confucian (lite were deprived of their socio-political privileges and accordingly the Confucian values were relativized. The result was that the Confucian classics were no longer taught in the schools, and instead of Chinese classics, the so-called «new learnings» were introduced. During the period of the Yi Dynasty, Confucianism was the national ideology by which the leading literati oppressed the Buddhist monks and the Shamans who had had great influence on the official and private life of the people in the previous dynasty of Goryeo, or «Korea». Although the Japanese rulers sought to rear and support Buddhism, the cult was losing its influences on the average citizens, who Christianity was increasing its influence on, especially since the Liberation from Japanese imperialism in 1945.

The third group of scholars insists that the successful church growth is due to the religiosity of the Korean people that has been fostered and influenced by the traditional cults of Yu-Bul-Seon, even though these are losing their influences on the lives and thought of the people. The so-called Korean piety is often indicated to have contributed greatly to the Christian mission in the way it causes a fanatic enthusiasm for the gospel. The apparently dying religions are in fact still living in the minds and hearts of the secular people who are modernized or Americanized in their conscious level of life and thought, but still strong conservativists in their unconscious measure of ethics and piety for family and society, private and official life, etc. On one hand, the secularity of the Koreans was created in the beginning by the Confucian ideology, which excluded Buddhism and Shamanism from official life, and then intensified in the process of modernization to meet the needs of science and technology, as well as the secular philosophy from the West. However, Koreans are much too conservative to give up their ethical and religious values all at once on the other hand. It is understandable in this sense that the conservative groups of churches have been successful in rapid growth.

In connection with the religiosity of the people, Tong Shik Ryu proposed a convincing hypothesis of the so-called substructural culture for explaining the historical development of traditional religions in Korea by the help of his systematic study on the history and the structure of Korean Shamanism. The hypothesis relates to the unchanging substratum of culture on the basis of

which all foreign religions that have been introduced from China were accepted by the people, and by which they were influenced enough to be reformulated, reconstructed, or indigenized in the context of the socio-cultural development of the people, who are considered to have been too conservative to change their religiosity even after having been converted to other religions than their previous faiths. The substratum hypothesis presupposes that Shamanism should be considered to be the unchanging and enduring foundation of Korean culture by which Confucianism, Buddhism, and even Taoism have been received, and through which the foreign religions are transformed, reformulated, and indigenized into proper cultural forms to be used by the people in this country. In other words, the development of the cults is considered to depend upon the unfolding of the stratum.

Continuing with the substratum hypothesis, the concept of the so-called «cultural a priori» of Korean thought, represented by Sung Bum Yun, helps us understand the meaning of the indigenization of Christianity that is supposed to have contributed greatly to the Christian mission in this land. Yun was groping for some clue to the cultural apriority which consists in the beauty of harmony and the curved line created by Korean geniuses of art and philosophy. The property of beauty and the line is produced through the creative process of «Somsu», the harmonizing skill, which makes the divided or split raw materials infinitely able to form either beauty or the line. The raw materials are called «Gam» in Korean, and the created beauty and line «Meot», or elegance.

The beauty of harmony is supposed to appear in the colour of Korean celadon porcelain, or «Goryeo ceramics». The beauty of the colour is indicated to show the harmony between the heavens and the earth. For the colour is identified neither with that of the heavens nor with that of the earth, but shows just the harmonious medium between them. In analogy to beauty, the harmonizing power of Korean thought is often indicated to have been working in the fields of religion and philosophy. The curved line, which is peculiar to Korean arts and crafts, is also interpreted as a symbol of freedom and liberty, by and with which they express the experience of redemptive events when people find themselves really liberated from all earthly troubles about which they feel much annoyed in daily life. Yun identified the freedom or liberty symbolized by the curved line even with the work of the Holy Spirit. But it is not certain whether he meant the line itself belongs to the redemptive works of the Holy Spirit. In any case, the curved line has come to symbolize freedom. Yun seems to say that the redemptive works of the Holy Spirit might have appeared in the history of Korea.

The harmony and unfolding are attributed to the two Methodist professors, Sung Bum Yun and Tong Shik Ryu, respectively, who were themselves by no means aware of what we call here harmony and unfolding in terms of a thought pattern which forms a striking, strange, and singular contrast to that

of the Western culture, i.e. analysis and synthesis. Yun proposed the theology of «Seong», or sincerity, in which he seeks to mediate every contradictory idea in theology, including the relationship between realism and idealism, the problem of the historical Jesus and the Christ of faith, and so on. To the contrary, Ryu has been seeking to indicate the repeating manifestation or the unfolding of Shamanism as the substratum of the Korean culture. He then wants to see the ideal Shaman in the person of Jesus Christ in terms of indigenized Christology of his «Pungryu» theology.

In connection with our modification of the Reformer's formula, *simul justus et peccator* into *simul Christianus et paganus*, one should notice that Luther's concept of peccator, or the sinful man, connotes the estrangement of man from God, while the above proposed concept of paganus does not imply any kind of alienation. This may sound strange to Western theologians especially, because they take it for granted to assume that the fate of pagans in general should be determined by the universality and necessity of sin. But the hamartiological understanding should be overcome by means of the socio-cultural justification of the concept.

### *5. Nonduality of novum and earth*

The socio-cultural justification of pagandom and paganism is to be achieved in the process of sanctifying the pagan cultures. Sanctification is supposed to attain the goal of Christian perfection, which means the perfect realization of nonduality of novum and earth. Christianity has been usually considered by Koreans to be new and strange to their old cults. From the beginning of the evangelization in the «land of the morning calm» the pagan religions and cultures were the first enemy that the Christian mission had to overcome, for they seemed to be either idolatry or anti-Christian cultures, though Christians agreed to some extent to the humanism, the ideal of ethical values, and the good customs of Yu-Bul-Seon. In fact, Christians have not done justice to these conventional religions because the logic of «black and white» made them misunderstand the pagan cults in the way goodness should be ascribed to Christianity, and evil to paganism. It is just such a misunderstanding that should be corrected in terms of socio-cultural justification as the redemptive event which is to be achieved in the eschatological process of sanctification of pagandom and paganism in East Asia.

It is well known that Carl Gustav Jung had sought to apply his psychological treatment of quaternity to Christianity in order to cure the sickness caused by the doctrine of the Trinity, which was determined by Augustine's definition of evil as *privatio boni*. This definition is attributed to a typical logic of black and white. The Trinitarian doctrine had made a great contribution to the development and healing of the Western civilization until the doctrine as

a Christian archetype lost its influence and began to bring about a negative effect upon Christianity, especially because the concept of God excludes that of evil. Jung's doctrine of quaternity meant an alternative to the logic of black and white. His psychological treatment for the logical sickness of Christianity finds an echo in the ecumenical dialogue among contemporary theologians. Even the Catholic leaders at the Second Vatican Council were prepared to recognize Protestant and Greek Orthodox churches as their separated brothers. In spite of the extension of theology out of denominational slots to ecumenical dimensions in terms of *theologia viatorum*, neither clergymen nor laity are likely to give up, or at least to modify, their favorite logic of black and white between Christianity and paganism.

As for Korean Christians, what belongs to Christianity and seems to have come from this true religion has been hitherto supposed to be valid as *novum* or «the new» that Koreans are usually eager to appropriate for themselves in order to meet the urgent need of modernization of their country, while the conventional religions appear to them to be «the old» that has to be overcome, set aside, and finally abolished for the preparation of the way to true religion. A Korean version of the Christian black and white logic seems to be due both to the excluding doctrines of Euro-American churches, and to the obstinacy and the reluctance against heresy in the sense of Neo-Confucian traditions of thought and life. It is in this sense that the Confucian oppression and the persecution of the Buddhist, as well as the Shamanist, during the Yi Dynasty can be easily understood. However strongly the Confucian leaders were opposed to other religions, most of the people, including women and the illiterates, were eager and anxious for the enthusiasm and the pietism of other religions, with which Confucianism was not able to provide them.

Having been influenced by the ambiguity in the traditional attitude toward other beliefs, Korean Christians are on the one hand strongly opposed to other religions, just as the Confucianists were to the Buddhists and the Shamanists, and prepared on the other hand, to receive, confess, and express Christian faith by the help of the enthusiasm and the pietism of other religions, just as the people were eager and anxious for them. The ambiguity of the believers between the exclusivism to be opposed to other religions, and the inclusivism to be related to those cults, is a distinctive thing in the religious attitude of Korean Christians, who in themselves are conservative in faith and liberal in accommodating themselves to any of the foreign cultures. The first is often expressed in the form of antagonism against other religions. Before the Inquisition of the Korean Methodist Church took place in 1991, there had been a series of debates between the so-called «theologians of religions», and the most conservative group of pastors and revival movement leaders, as well as some of the fundamentalists. Theology of religions is advocated by some liberals who are seeking to find the same salvation in other religions as alleged to be allowed only to Christians who believe in the name of Jesus Christ. The

critics concerned themselves with the famous Cyprian formula: *extra ecclesiam nulla salus*.

The second attitude of the believers is characterized by the nonduality of novum and earth. That is to say, the inclusivism of Korean Christians is due to the unconsciously but communally working spirituality of the believers that is partly ascribed to the piety of Yu-Bul-Seon, and partly to the work of the Holy Spirit. The piety has to be justified lest the cults should be taken for idolatry. Justification is taking place in the form of indigenization, and the work of the Holy Spirit in turn sanctifies the piety into Christian spirituality. Thus the old piety and the new spirituality are united in the redemptive event of indigenization. This event results in the nonduality of novum and earth. The sanctifying Spirit works in the event so that this can lead to the consummation of nonduality. However, the eschatological aspect of nonduality is often overlooked, misunderstood, and distorted. Some people do not think consummation is possible. Others take it for a fantasy, and still others seek to make it appear as their own work. The eschatology of nonduality can only be rightly understood to be the doctrine of sanctification in terms of indigenization.

The above mentioned ambiguity of Christian attitude toward other religions is supposed to have resulted in the ambivalent response to other religions. In fact, Korean Christians can not escape from being influenced by other religions, from applying the enthusiasm and the piety of the cults, and from cooperating with those who are confessedly non-Christian. In other words, Christians have to live as pagan Christians together with pagans in the traditionally pagan, but now more and more secularized, society. This means that Christians have already accepted implicitly and unconsciously the other religions as an integral part of their culture and piety, that they have recognized reluctantly the influence of other religions upon their life, and that they in reality experience and express their own Christian spirituality by means of and through the forms of conventional piety of Yu-Bul-Seon, not knowing that the spirituality and the piety are united into one experience by the work of the Holy Spirit.

In spite of the existing close relationship between Christian spirituality and Korean piety in believers' individual and communal life and experience, every pious Christian must be appalled, chilled, or at least exasperated by certain theological arguments that some typically Korean Christian spirituality is directly or indirectly related to the conventional piety of the old religions. Most of the conservative Christians are seeking to keep themselves from being disgraced by, related to, or identified with other faiths more than they think as protection against heresy and paganism, without being aware of their involvement in subtle religious syncretism notwithstanding the serious efforts to be orthodox and pure in faith. The more they become enthusiastic and pious, the more they come close to old cults even without ceasing to be real Christians. The nonduality of novum and earth is realized for the individual

Christian existence as well as for the Christian community. However, the conservative Christians can not imagine that their orthodox faith is destined to be experienced and expressed in the form of conventional piety in terms of the nonduality of novum and earth.

In distinction from the traditional understanding of justification as related to individual salvation in the sense of either *unio mystica* or *unio cum Christo* the socio-cultural understanding of the doctrine is considered to be related to the functional union of *mundus triplex Christi* and the socio-cultural roles of Yu-Bul-Seon in terms of the nonduality of novum and earth. According to John Calvin's doctrine concerning the work of Christ the prophetic, the priestly and the royal ministries are attributed to the Anointed Lord. These three ministries are supposed to be analogized with the socio-cultural roles of Yu-Bul-Seon, i.e. the norming, the coordinating, and the granting functions. This analogy may lead us into a deep understanding of the nonduality of novum and earth.

Considering that more than mere analogy is meant by the word, one should not identify the nonduality of novum and earth with comparison of Christological ministries to socio-cultural functions, though the analogy prepares a way to nonduality. It is in nonduality that the analogy of Calvin's Christological ministries with the socio-cultural functions becomes a union of them in terms of socio-cultural justification of Yu-Bul-Seon, which is to be sanctified for Christian perfection as an eschatological event. Salvation here means justification and sanctification of conventional piety for Christian perfection of spirituality in a socio-cultural dimension of reality. It is the event of indigenization that takes place as salvation of socio-cultural reality from paganism to Christianity in order to become Christian and pagan at the same time. The three functions of the community, which the three ministries of Christ are supposed to imply respectively, that is to say, the norming, the coordinating, and the granting functions of the Christian church for the world, are considered to have a sort of analogy with those socio-cultural functions of the old religions in Korea. Here we find the nonduality of novum and earth.

The norming function of the Christian church is supposed to be determined more or less by that of Confucianism, the coordinating function by that of Buddhism, and the granting function by that of Shamanism. The edifying role of Confucianism belongs to the norming function, the awakening role of Buddhism to the coordinating function, and the blessing role of Shamanism to the granting function respectively. The edifying role as well as the norming function refers to philosophy and ethics of Confucianism which are still widely preserved and strongly working among Korean Christians. The awakening role as well as the coordinating function refers to the philosophy and religiosity of Buddhism which are supposed to have greatly influenced the spirituality and liturgy of the Protestant Church in Korea. The blessing role as well as the granting function refers to the folk customs and popular beliefs of Shama-

nism. The Shamanistic soteriology of blessing, which consists of health, wealth and success in life, seems to have been incorporated into the Korean understanding of Christian salvation for this world, and even for the life after death. Thus the piety of old religions is transformed into Christian spirituality in terms of nonduality of novum and earth.

*Kwang Shik Kim, Seoul*