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DESTROYING THE WALL

**In Search of “Unity in Difference” in ‘*Onjeong*’ Biblical
Hermeneutics on the Basis of Korean and South African
Political and Cultural Contexts.**

by

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DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is in search of “unity in difference” in ‘*Onjeong*’ (human being’s warm hearted love) biblical hermeneutics on the basis of Korean and South African political and cultural contexts.

The theme of difference was, explicitly and implicitly, directed into the stream of discrimination in the dimension of “questing for sameness.” Under the motto of “becoming metaphoric Israelites,” each group of Korean and South African political Bible readers identified themselves with metaphoric Israelites and explicitly discriminated against metaphoric non-Israelites in the name of imperialism, nationalism, classism, racism, and liberation movement. In addition, each type of Korean and South African cultural Bible readers dissolved the tension of difference on the dialectical dimension of “questing for sameness” towards “becoming Christians.” However, under the strong influence of ‘dichotomous discriminative Cartesian psyche’ and ‘the pressure of the discriminative political ideology’, cultural Bible readers could not avoid the violence of the imposition of the grand narrative of “becoming metaphoric Israelites.”

Hence, Korean and South African postmodern Bible readers deconstructed the imposition of the grand narrative of “becoming metaphoric Israelites,” therefore the tension of difference became the object of ‘celebration’ in postmodern Bible reading. Once the imposition of the grand narrative of “becoming metaphoric Israelites” was deconstructed, there existed no more ‘the Centre’ (one chosen Israelites) with margins but many centres (many Israelites). However, this thesis points out that postmodern Bible reading could not avoid the imposition of the Cartesian psyche and further that it only reflected the ‘camouflaged’, ‘unmystical’ and ‘unreligious’ form of western individualism.

The golden mean for the unity in difference, which neither directs the theme of difference into the stream of discrimination nor into the stream of ‘unmystical’ and ‘unreligious’ form of individualism, is found in the name of “loving your neighbour” on the dimension of questing for sameness. Eliade’s ‘*Homo Religiosus*’ plays a catalytic role in reversing the stream of ‘disenchanted’, ‘unreligious’ form of individualism, by confirming that the Bible

readers are originally existential believers who have the religious, enchanted and pious dream of 'experiencing *hierophany*'. From the centre of traditional religious psyche, namely, the primordial mind of undifferentiation or indivisible dualism, African and Korean ethics/counter-ethics of '*Ubuntu*' and '*Jeong*' lay a foundation for unity in difference and they could be enhanced by the biblical ethics of love (*agape*). Hence, the essence of *Onjeong* Bible reading is revealed. It is characterised by the motto, 'loving your neighbour' on the dimension of "questing for sameness" in the symbiotic relationship between the biblical ethics of love (*agape*) and the traditional counter-ethics/ethics of love, '*Jeong* and *Ubuntu*.' Korean and South African Jehovah's Witnesses' religious practices of house to house preaching and political neutrality, show the aspect of *Onjeong* Bible reading in modern times.

Regardless of various groups or types of different Bible readers in political, cultural and postmodern Bible reading in the Korean and South African contexts, '*Onjeong*' is a universal principle for the realisation of "unity in difference" in Bible reading. It is far from the influence of the spirit of the world, whether it is 'discrimination' or 'camouflaged and unmystical form of individualism'.

**"For he (Jesus Christ) is our peace,
he who made the two parties one
and destroyed the wall in between that fenced them off"
(Eph 2:14)**

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1. INTRODUCTION	5
1.1. Statement of the Problem	5
1.2. The Aim of the Study	5
1.3. Delimitations and Limitations of the Study	7
1.3.1. Delimitations of the Study.....	7
1.3.2. Limitations of the Study	8
1.4. Definition of Terms	9
1.5. Methodology	12
1.5.1. Content Analysis	13
1.6. Summary	14
2. LITERATURE REVIEW	16
2.0. Introduction.....	16
2.1. Difference toward Discrimination (Political Realism).....	17
2.1.1. Passive Subjectivity as Subordinate to Dichotomous Structure of Discrimination	17
2.1.2. Violence: Another Name of Discrimination	19
2.1.3. Danger: Another Name of Discrimination.....	23
2.1.4. Political Bible Reading in the Principle of Discrimination and Radical Separation	26
2.2. Quest for Sameness (Scholastic Idealism)	28
2.2.1. Eliade’s Quest for Sameness in Dialectic of <i>Hierophany</i>	28
2.2.2. Critique of Eliade’s Quest for Sameness, Cultural Bible Reading in the Principle of Absorption.....	31
2.3. Searching for the Alternative to Ease the Tension of Difference (Postmodernism Approaches).....	32
2.3.1. Smith’s Play in the Tension of Difference.....	32
2.3.2. Critique of Smith’s Play in the Tension of Difference	36
2.3.3. ‘No Centre’ and ‘Many Centres’: Celebration of Difference in the Multiple Dimensions of Pluralism.....	37
2.3.4. Critique of ‘ No Centre’ and ‘Many Centres’.....	39
2.4. The Significance of Difference toward Unity: the Quest of the Phenomenological and the Ethical Perspective	41
2.5. Justification of the study: Functional Citizen versus Existential Believer	42
2.6. Summary	45

3. POLITICAL BIBLE READING IN THE STREAM OF DIFFERENCE TOWARD DISCRIMINATION: METAPHORIC ISRAELITES VERSUS NON- ISRAELITES.....	47
3.0. Introduction.....	47
3.1. Political Bible Reading in Korea.....	48
3.1.1. Japanese Imperialists' Bible Reading during the Colonial Era	48
3.1.2. Korean Nationalists' Bible Reading during the Colonial Era	53
3.1.3. Korean <i>Minjung's</i> Bible Reading in the 1970s.....	57
3.1.4. Political Bible Reading in Korea	60
3.2. Political Bible Reading in South Africa	61
3.2.1. Afrikaner's Schizophrenic and Bifocal Bible Reading during the Apartheid Era	61
3.2.2. Black South African Bible Reading in the 1970s.....	68
3.2.3. Political Bible Reading in South Africa	73
3.3. Conclusion.....	74
4. CULTURAL BIBLE READING IN THE DIMENSION OF QUESTING FOR SAMENESS: BECOMING METAPHORIC ISRAELITES.....	76
4.0 Introduction.....	76
4.1. Native Korean and South African Types of Cultural Bible Reading.....	78
4.2. Cultural Bible Reading in Korea	83
4.2.1. Type 1: Conservative Cultural Bible Reading	84
4.2.2. Type 2: Traditional Religious Context Based Cultural Bible Reading	87
4.2.3. Type 3: Liberal Biblical Scholars' Cultural Bible Reading.....	90
4.2.4. Type 4: Unification Church Members' Cultural Bible Reading.....	96
4.2.5. Cultural Bible Reading in Korea: Quest for Sameness in the Principle of Absorption.....	102
4.3. Cultural Bible Reading in South Africa.....	104
4.3.1. Type 1: <i>Amakholwa's</i> Eurocentric Missionary Bible Reading.....	105
4.3.2. Type 2: Ethiopian Church Members' Cultural Bible Reading	114
4.3.3. Type 3: Inculturated Biblical Scholars' Cultural Bible Reading	122
4.3.4. Type 4: Zionists' and Nazarites' Cultural Bible Reading.....	134
4.3.5. Cultural Bible Reading in South Africa: Quest for Sameness in the Principle of Absorption.....	140
4.4. Conclusion	142
5. POSTMODERN BIBLE READING: PLAYFUL AND MULTIPLE DIMENSIONS OF MANY ISRAELITES	144

6. SEARCHING FOR THE ALTERNATIVE IN THE STREAM OF DIFFERENCE TOWARD UNITY: LOVING YOUR NEIGHBOUR IN ONJEONG BIBLE READING	155
6.0. Introduction.....	155
6.1. <i>Homo Religiosus</i> : “The Centre” (the Cosmic Principle of Love) with Many Centres (Individuals’ Existential Bible Reading).	157
6.2. <i>Jeong</i> (情): Korean Counter-Ethics of <i>Agape</i> and ‘ <i>Ubuntu</i> ’: African Ethics of <i>Agape</i>	166
6.2.1. <i>Jeong</i> (情): Korean Counter-Ethics of <i>Agape</i>	166
6.2.2. <i>Ubuntu</i> : African Ethics of <i>Agape</i>	175
6.3. <i>Agape</i> : Biblical Ethics of Love	181
6.4. Conclusion.....	189
7. ONJEONG BIBLE READING: TOWARDS UNITY IN THE STREAM OF DIFFERENCE	191
7.0. Introduction.....	191
7.1. Korean and South African Jehovah’s Witnesses’ Religious Practices	191
7.1.1. House to House Preaching	191
7.1.2. Political Neutrality.....	199
7.2. Conclusion.....	204
8. CONCLUSION: UNITY IN DIFFERENCE IN ONJEONG BIBLE READING	207
BIBLIOGRAPHY	212

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIC	African Independent Churches
APC	Agricultural Product Council
CEV	Contemporary English Version
DCJ	<i>Draw Close to Jehovah</i>
DKS	Digital Korean Studies
DOP	Dictionary of Philosophy
DRC	Dutch Reformed Church
EOA	Encyclopaedia Of Africa
EOB	Encyclopaedia of Britannica
EPIC	Electronic Privacy Information Centre
GP	Government publication
HR	<i>Human Relations and the South African Scene in the Light of Scripture</i>
HS	HangukSimmun
JWs	Jehovah's Witnesses
KCHRC	Korean Church History Research Centre
KJV	King James Version
LMS	London Missionary Society
MRKPC	<i>Minutes and Reports of Korean Presbyterian Church</i>
NAB	New American Bible
NEDLAC	National Economic Development and Labour Council
NIV	New International Version
NWT	New World Translation
SBS	Seoul Broadcasting System
UC	The Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity (Unification Church)
WLSA	Women and Law in Southern Africa
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association

Abbreviated Bible References

Gen	Genesis	Matt	Matthew	Col	Collosians
Ex	Exodus	Rom	Romans	Heb	Hebrews
Le	Leviticus	1Cor	1Corinthians	Jas	James
De	Deuteronomy	2Cor	2Corinthians	Rev	Revelation
Ps	Psalms	Eph	Ephesians		

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Statement of the Problem

From a historical viewpoint, the theme of 'difference' has been transformed into the theme of 'discrimination' in cultural politics. Foucault (1989) explained how discourse of 'power' and 'knowledge' deconstructed 'unified, rational, self-determining' individuals (the self) within a dichotomous discriminative structure from a genealogical viewpoint. Figuratively, individuals who belonged to one group, willingly or unwillingly, discriminated against others who belonged to a different group. In other words, two different individuals were not categorised by the theme of 'difference', but immediately categorised by the theme of 'discrimination'.

Biblical hermeneutics, in particular, bolstered this trend of discrimination in Korean and South African political contexts. For example, in the colonial era of Korea and South Africa, the Japanese, the colonial masters of Korea, interpreted the Bible from a nationalistic viewpoint and the Afrikaners, the colonial masters of South Africa, interpreted the Bible on the basis of racism. Colonial masters regarded native Koreans and Africans as the object of economic exploitation and political conquest.

On the contrary, biblical hermeneutics was also used as a tool of liberation by the oppressed. For example, in the period of colonialism, Koreans interpreted the Bible for their independence and the black South Africans interpreted the Bible for their liberation. They regarded colonial masters as wicked people.

In any case, both sides of the Bible readers discriminated against each other in subjection to the dominant political discourses of Korea and South Africa. They did not sublimate the tension of difference into 'unity' in biblical hermeneutics.

1.2. The Aim of the Study

The aim of this study is to search for "unity in difference" in '*Onjeong*' (human being's warm-hearted love, 溫情) biblical hermeneutics on the basis of

Korean and South African political and cultural contexts. It has significance in that it gives the Bible readers insight on how the tension of difference can be dissolved and sublimated into unity.

Eliade's creative hermeneutics of *hierophany* and the concept of *Homo Religiosus* provide an effective tool as a first step to search for the element of unity in biblical hermeneutics. Furthermore, Korean and South African traditional religious ethics of *Jeong* (情) and *Ubuntu* play catalytic roles in the search for the essence of unity in biblical hermeneutics. These elements of unity are closely connected by the biblical concept of 'love'. Given the essential similarity of these elements of unity, a phrase '*Onjeong* biblical hermeneutics' is coined in this study. That is, all these elements for unity are based on 'human being's warm hearted love', '*Onjeong* (溫情)'. '*Onjeong*' biblical hermeneutics in particular, can contribute to the realisation of humanity that is characterised by the harmonious compassionate human relationship irrespective of the pressure of dominant discriminative political and cultural discourses.

To clarify the topic, this study reveals how biblical hermeneutics of Korea and South Africa were used as a tool of politics depending on Bible readers' political contexts from a historical viewpoint. It was characterised by the theme of discrimination against both sides of different Bible readers. This is understood by the principle of 'radical separation' or 'discrimination'.

Secondly, this study reveals how biblical hermeneutics eliminated the trend of discrimination on the basis of Korean and South African cultural contexts. This is understood by the principle of 'absorption'. This principle arose from Bible readers' motivation of searching for sameness toward one side's cultural inclination to settle the issue of difference. It showed another insight of easing the tension of difference, which normally led to discrimination. If the first principle of radical separation is based on Bible readers' political realism, the second principle of absorption to the contrary, is based on their scholastic idealism.

Thirdly, in synthesis, this study searches for elements of unity in *Onjeong* (溫情) biblical hermeneutics, which can direct the stream of discrimination into the stream of 'unity' in regard to the issue of 'difference'. This is understood by the principle of 'unity'. This principle is embodied in the biblical concept of 'love', which also arose from the traditional religious ethics of Korea and South Africa. In particular, the first principle of 'radical separation' (political realism) and the second principle of 'absorption' (scholastic idealism) are harmonised in the third

principle of 'unity' in the name of 'love', 'Jeong' (情) and 'Ubuntu' on the basis of Korean and South African traditional religious ethics, respectively. This study emphasises that the third principle of 'unity' can lead into the unity of different Bible readers in the name of 'Onjeong biblical hermeneutics'.

1.3. Delimitations and Limitations of the Study

A limitation is a factor that may or will affect the study in an important way, but is not under the control of the researcher; a delimitation differs principally, in that it is controlled by the researcher.

1.3.1. Delimitations of the Study

This study delimits Korean and South African Bible reader's diverse and various political and cultural Bible reading to their political and cultural context from a historical viewpoint, particularly from the period of the arrival of Christianity.

Firstly, in regard to the principle of 'radical separation', various biblical interpretations are discussed given the era of colonialism of Korea (the early 20th century) and South Africa (the 19th and the early 20th century) and the era of dictatorship of Korea (1970s) and the era of Apartheid of South Africa (1970s). This is because political contexts in these periods were characterised by discrimination. Depending on these political contexts, Bible readers interpreted the Bible for their political purposes.

Secondly, in regard to the principle of 'absorption', various types of biblical interpretations are discussed on the basis of Korean and South African traditional cultural contexts, which embraced Christianity in the 19th century. Essentially, these various types of biblical interpretations arose from the process of the Bible readers' "questing for sameness."

Thirdly, in regard to the principle of 'unity', the elements of unity are discussed on the basis of the Bible. These elements are also inferred from the Korean and South African traditional religious ethics. In particular, Eliade's creative hermeneutics of *hierophany* and the essence of '*Homo Religiosus*' play a catalytic role in directing the epistemological stream of discrimination into the

stream of unity of different Bible readers.

1.3.2. Limitations of the Study

This study does not discuss various theological approaches of biblical hermeneutics and all case studies in the Bible. That is, the main thread of this study is solely explained by adopting a wide scope of viewpoints from scholars of religious studies and anthropologists, rather than by adopting microscopic and detailed scopes of viewpoints from theologians and scholars in the field of biblical studies.

Accordingly, this study does not discuss historically revised dynamic natures of the biblical documents themselves ('historicality of literary document'), which are the major hermeneutical issues in modern historical-critical approach in the name of 'source criticism' and 'form criticism' (McKnight, 1988:45; Aichele, 1995:4). In addition, the imprecise fragmented biblical document's authorship and individual-based numerous, diverse and pluralistic biblical interpretations are not discussed in this study (McKnight, 1988). Instead, given the significance of postmodern hermeneutical trend, 'reader oriented' biblical hermeneutics, this study specifically demarcates various types of Bible reader groups particularly in Chapter 4. This study generally classifies native Bible readers into two groups, elite theologians and grassroots churchgoers given the hermeneutical tension "between 'biblical interpretation in the university' versus 'biblical interpretation in the church'; 'historical exegesis' versus 'theological exegesis'; 'exegesis of the Bible as text'¹ versus 'exegesis of the Bible as scripture'; and 'study of scripture as source' versus 'study of scripture as canon'" (McKnight, 1988:93). Nonetheless, this demarcation between the Bible readers blurs. That is, in some (political) aspects they are regarded as one group whereas in other (cultural) aspects they are regarded as multiple groups.

For the clarification of the issue of difference in biblical hermeneutics on the basis of Korean and South African political and cultural contexts, scholars of religious studies' wide scope of academic insights are applied much more than microscopic and detailed viewpoints of Bible studies scholars. For that reason,

¹ The concept of some words is emphasised in form of bold and underlined writing in this thesis.

this study engages in an academic discussion around a debatable academic area in between the academic world of religious studies and that of theology.

For a comparative methodology, this study values Eliade's 'homology' in addition to Smith's 'analogy' (Section 2.3.1). As Smith (1978, 1982) mainly discusses, when this study juxtaposes Korean biblical hermeneutics and South African biblical hermeneutics for comparison, the aspect of "no fit", "incongruity" and "discrepancy" between them inevitably arises from the difference of historical, political and cultural contexts of both sides. For example, colonialism in Korea and South Africa cannot always be regarded as the same given both side's unique historical and political contexts.² Furthermore, native Bible readers' attitudes toward the Bible text were generally different depending on each side of historical, political and cultural contexts.³ Nonetheless, this study places much more value on the aspect of "fit", "congruity" and "similarity" to find the element of unity of different Bible readers in the name of "*Onjeong* biblical hermeneutics." That is, although this study acknowledges Smith's postmodern methodology of analogy, (the methodology of religious studies given the playful dimension of "fit" and "no fit" in comparative studies: Section 2.3.1), this study also regards Eliade's homology as a methodological tool for the search of the element of 'unity in difference' in biblical hermeneutics on the basis of Korean and South African political and cultural contexts.

1.4. Definition of Terms

To define the term, 'biblical hermeneutics' and to confine its application

² Japanese colonialism in Korea lasted for 36 years (1910-1945); hence, Japanese colonialists left Korea and their colonialism was officially finished in 1945. In contrast, European colonialism in South Africa began earlier, given the establishment of the Dutch East India Company at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652 (Chidester, 1996:23). Furthermore, the European colonialists became citizens of South Africa whilst playing a master role against native black people.

³ Koreans voluntarily accepted the Bible as a revolutionary ideology for political reformation. Hence, the Bible was not translated in Korean only by missionaries but also by Korean scholars in the 1880s. In contrast, the Bible found its way to South Africa with European colonialists. Accordingly, South African natives' general attitude toward the acceptance of the Bible was comparatively passive in the early stage (Kim, 2003:47).

into one specific trend of biblical scholarship is challenging given the diverse and historically changed hermeneutical trend on the continuum stretching from an 'uncritical pre-modern tradition' to 'postmodern reader oriented criticism' via 'biblical text based historical criticism in modern biblical scholarship' (Aichele, 1995:13). Nonetheless, a current hermeneutical exegesis in academic scholarship is generally toward the stream of reader oriented postmodern biblical hermeneutics (Lategan, 1984; West, 1996; Adams, 1997; Leffel, 2004).

Ricoeur's (1970) well-known hermeneutical proclamation, 'hermeneutics of suspicion', heralded the hermeneutical shift from the focus on the biblical text to readers (Robinson, 1995; Berlinerblau, 1999:31; West, 1991:28; Tracy, 1987:79). Although Adam (1995:12) regarded 'hermeneutics of suspicion' as an extension of modern historical criticism in biblical hermeneutics, in that it tends to "discover the lurid **secrets** that are surely concealed there (in the biblical text)" on an 'absolute modern foundation' such as Cartesian philosophical foundation,⁴ Ricoeur's 'hermeneutics of suspicion' was a definite epistemological break of modern historical criticism by unmasking a 'false consciousness/understanding of the text' (Adam, 1995:12; Ricoeur, 1970:33-34). Further, Aichele pointed out that 'reader oriented postmodern criticism' served a Copernican revolutionary role in hermeneutical exegesis. He states, "reader-response criticism, in particular, has served as a primary gateway for biblical critics **leaving historical criticism and entering postmodern territory**" (1995:13). West's (1993) three modes of contextual Bible reading also comprehensively show the historical hermeneutical trend of biblical exegesis, from 'within the text' (literary criticism) via 'behind the text (socio-historical and cultural context of the text approach) to 'in front of the text' (context of the reader's approach).

Despite the existence of various and diverse modern 'biblical text-centred historical critical hermeneutical exegesis', a current postmodern trend of 'reader oriented Bible reading' could best reveal how the theme of difference in biblical hermeneutics has been historically constructed and reconstructed in the Korean and South African political and cultural contexts. Aichele asserts, "postmodern readings demonstrate that traditional interpretations are themselves enactments of domination or, in simpler terms, power plays" (1995:3). Furthermore, given that readers are generally composed of two groups, firstly elite theologians who are well versed in 'historical literary criticism of modernistic Bible reading' and

⁴ There is at least one certain truth, 'I think (cogito)'.

'postmodern biblical exegesis', and secondly grassroots churchgoers who generally and stereotypically read the Bible as 'scripture', the notion of biblical hermeneutics is broadly defined in this thesis as follows:

Biblical hermeneutics: Interpretation of the Bible on the basis of diverse political and cultural contexts of Bible readers. It contains grassroots' general understanding of the Bible as 'scripture' and the historical and critical interpretation of the Bible as 'text', which is based on theologians' scholastic biblical insights.

As Dreyfus and Rabinow state, grassroots' hermeneutics can be defined as a broad neutral term, '**commentary**' "for the recovery of meanings and truths from our everyday practices or from those of another age or culture," whilst modern biblical scholars' hermeneutics pertains to '**hermeneutics of suspicion**', searching for a "deep truth, which has been **purposefully** hidden" (1982:xix). Although modern biblical scholars, inwardly or outwardly, disregard the 'general', 'unnuanced' and 'stereotypical' Bible reading of ordinary people, historically not all Korean and African Bible readers could read the Bible as elite biblical scholars did. Some were illiterate and most of all, still had a traditional mindset. That is, the majority of Korean and African Bible readers understood and read the Bible on the basis of their political, cultural and religious experiences, some of which were concretised in various religious practices (Chapter 3 and 4). Furthermore, modern biblical scholar's exegetical starting point of biblical hermeneutics became the target of criticism by postmodern scholars to the contrary as "the hermeneutic unearthing of a different and deeper meaning of which **social actors are only dimly aware**" (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982:xx).

On this ground, from the reader oriented postmodern hermeneutic exegesis, not only does this study regard modern theologian's scholastic viewpoint of 'the Bible as text' but also grassroots Bible readers' general understanding of 'the Bible as scripture' as the exegetical starting point of the Bible reading to attain the aim of this study (McKnight, 1988). Hence, the term, Biblical hermeneutics is defined in this study.

1.5. Methodology

This study does not only focus on the Bible text, but also on the Bible readers. This is because the Bible text was interpreted according to the Bible readers' political intentions. In addition, the Bible text was understood on the basis of the Bible readers' cultural contexts. On this ground, Korean and South African Bible readers' political and cultural contexts are highly regarded in this study. From a historical viewpoint, this study compares biblical hermeneutics within the Korean political and cultural context with the South African political and cultural context.

This comparison is for clarifying the issue of 'difference,' which is analysed with three principles: 'radical separation,' 'absorption' and 'unity'.

Firstly, with the principle of 'radical separation,' the Bible readers understood the Bible in a discriminative way both in Korea and South Africa. This issue is discussed on the basis of Korean and South African political contexts from a historical viewpoint. It shows how biblical hermeneutics was used as a tool of politics, which changed the concept of difference into the theme of discrimination.

Secondly, with the principle of 'absorption,' the Bible readers digested the different and foreign notion of Christianity given the traditional Korean and South African cultural contexts. This was the by-product of Bible readers' scholastic "quest for sameness." Various cases of biblical interpretations are discussed on the basis of Korean and South African cultural contexts. It shows the potential to transform the Bible reader's discriminative viewpoint into the stream of unity on the issue of difference.

Thirdly, with the principle of 'unity,' the Bible readers can direct the stream of discrimination into the stream of unity. Firstly, Eliade's creative phenomenological perspective of '*Homo Religiosus*' plays a major role in breaking the historical trend of discrimination. Secondly, in the process of searching for the element of 'unity' in biblical hermeneutics, this study compares the important concept of love in the Bible, with '*Jeong* (情)' and '*Ubuntu*' which arose from the traditional religious ethics of Korea and South Africa respectively. This provides creative insight on how different Bible readers can be harmonised in '*Onjeong*' biblical hermeneutics.

Emphatically, this is a comparative study in biblical hermeneutics from a historical viewpoint on the basis of the political and cultural contexts of Korea

and South Africa. To clarify controversial issues, this study focuses on some exemplary biblical interpretations. For that, this study uses 'content analysis' referring to books, journals and Internet documents.

1.5.1. Content Analysis

Stone summarises the definition of 'content analysis' as follows: "Content analysis is any research technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics within text"(1966:5). Similarly, Holsti and Janis define 'content analysis' as follows:

It may be defined as referring to any technique for the classification of the sign-vehicles, which relies solely upon the judgments (which theoretically, may range from perceptual discriminations to sheer guesses) of an analyst or group of analysts as to which sign-vehicles fall into which categories, on the basis of explicitly formulated rules provided that the analyst's judgments are regarded as the reports of a scientific observer. (Holsti, 1969:3; Janis, 1949)

These two definitions of 'content analysis' reveal a broad agreement on the requirements of 'objectivity', 'system' and 'within text'.

With regard to 'objectivity', content analysis "stipulates that each step in the research process must be carried out on the basis of explicitly formulated rules and procedures" (Holsti, 1969:3). Accordingly, this study discusses the main topic coherently according to the theme of difference. For example, to search for the element of unity in '*Onjeong*' biblical hermeneutics, this study, firstly, discusses various religious studies scholar's viewpoint on the issue of difference. Foucault, Eliade and Smith are representative scholars, who analysed the issue of difference in the following themes: "from difference to discrimination", "quest for sameness" and "playing in the tension of difference" respectively. Secondly, this study reveals that Korean and South African Bible readers also developed these themes in the same manner. That is, 'from difference to discrimination in political Bible reading', 'quest for sameness in cultural Bible reading', and 'postmodern Bible reading on a playful dimension'.

'Systematic' means that the "inclusion and exclusion of content or categories is done according to consistently applied rules...content analysis

includes listing the attributes of documents according to specified rules, but this represents only an intermediate step toward answering some research question”(Holsti, 1969:4-5). Accordingly, listed books in bibliography were systematically used for analysing the political and cultural viewpoint of difference. Furthermore, they represent an intermediate step toward the goal of this study, ‘searching for unity in difference in *Onjeong* biblical hermeneutics’.

The notion of ‘within text’ implies that ‘content analysis’ is based on the notable textual form rather than ‘various paralinguistic cues’, such as ‘all aspect of communication or symbolic behaviour’. In addition, ‘content analysis’ focuses on the description of content itself, which is regarded as its primary objective (Stone, 1966:12-14). Accordingly, this study refers to the written forms of documents such as books, journals and Internet documents.

Nevertheless, the notion of ‘within text’ does not exclude a ‘critical or discourse analysis’. In other words, ‘content analysis’ includes a ‘discourse analysis’. By adopting Foucault’s idea, Jupp and Norris (1993:39) assert that texts reveal the mechanisms by which power is exercised. Besides, Worrall states, “discourse analysis embraces all aspects of communication: not only its content, but its author (who says it?), its authority (on what ground?), its audience (to whom?), its object (about whom?), its objective (in order to achieve what?)” (1990:9). In this sense, this study additionally uses ‘discourse analysis’, particularly when it discusses Eliade’s creative hermeneutics of *hierophany* and the concept of *Homo Religiosus*. Eliade’s ultimate objective of research contributes to shifting the trend of discrimination into the trend of unity with regard to the issue of difference.

1.6. Summary

This study diverts the classical academic research premise of biblical hermeneutics, the Bible as a ‘historical text’, into the Bible as ‘religious scripture’. The shift of the research attention enables the inclusion of the historically neglected grassroots Christians’ Bible reading in the established elite theologians’ biblical hermeneutics. To attain the aim of the study, namely, to find the essence of the unity in different Bible readers, the hermeneutical attention of research is shifted to the Bible reader’s political and cultural

contexts from the Bible text itself. Given that the established modern theological school mainly focuses on the detailed and microscopic analysis of the Bible text, anthropologists' and religious studies scholars' broad scope of analysis of socio-politico-cultural contexts are applied in this study.

Chapter 2 discusses theories on "difference" by adopting views of various scholars from religious studies, mythology and anthropology. The theory of "difference" is developed with some specific patterns, rules or principles as follows: firstly, "the stream of difference toward discrimination and radical separation," secondly, "questing for sameness" and thirdly, "playing in the plural dimension of difference." Given that the stream of difference toward unity was neglected in the established modern biblical hermeneutics, Chapter 2 points out the major problem of the viewpoint of Bible readers in modern academic scholarship. According to the development of the theme of difference in the Korean and South African political and cultural contexts, Chapter 3 and 4 discuss various political groups and cultural types of the Bible reading and, further, Chapter 5 discusses the postmodern trend of the Bible reading. To transform the theme of difference into unity, Chapter 6 discusses the elements of unity in the Korean and South African traditional religious ethos and, finally concretises the essence of *Onjeong* Bible reading. Chapter 7 introduces Korean and South African Jehovah's Witnesses' religious practices, which can be a visible example of *Onjeong* Bible reading in modern times.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0. Introduction

This chapter discusses theories on 'difference' by adopting the wide scope of academic viewpoints of anthropologists and scholars in religious studies, given that the established modern theological and hermeneutical approach tends to neglect the Bible reader's political and cultural contexts in detail. It concretises the diverse and dynamically changed socio-politico-cultural discourses on difference in three streams of difference. Firstly, Jordan and Weedon's (1995) analysis of the role of culture in cultural politics, Foucault's (1979,1988,1989) genealogical analysis of 'the self', Girard's (1978,1986,1987) insight on 'the sacred' and Douglas' (1996) new category of 'antinomy' vividly show the existence of the stream of difference toward 'discrimination' and 'radical separation' in socio-politico-cultural contexts. Secondly, Eliade's (1959,1974,1976) dialectics of *hierophany*, idealistically and scholastically shows how the tension of difference can thaw in the dimension of "questing for sameness." Thirdly, Smith's (1978, 1986, 1990) postmodern approach of difference shows another stream of difference, which is characterised by the motto, "playing in the tension of difference."

Three streams of difference reveal how socio-politico-cultural discourses have constructed, deconstructed and reconstructed the subjectivity of various groups or types of social constituents ('the self', 'the Bible reader'). Given that there is little substantial discussion on the stream of 'difference toward unity' and, further that the viewpoint of 'religious man' in the modern academic scholarship is questionable, another stream of difference toward unity is strongly required. This chapter outlines the general development of the theme of difference, whose pattern is applied throughout the thesis.

2.1. Difference toward Discrimination (Political Realism)

2.1.1. Passive Subjectivity as Subordinate to Dichotomous Structure of Discrimination

As Jordan and Weedon state, the realm of cultural politics is explained by dichotomous categories such as official culture/subordinate culture, displayed culture/ hidden culture, projected history/marginalised history and so on.

Whose culture shall be the official one and whose shall be subordinated? What culture shall be regarded as worthy of display and which shall be hidden? Whose history shall be remembered and whose forgotten? What images of social life shall be projected and which shall be marginalized? What voices shall be heard and which be silenced? Who is representing whom and on what basis? This is the realm of cultural politics. (1995:4)

In addition, given the dichotomous category of 'official history and critical history', Harrison summarises the discriminative characteristics of the official history as follows: "official history suppresses the stories of resistance and dissent against the status quo and presents the past either as the triumph of the deserving or as evitable" (1985:250).

Briefly, Giroux describes this dichotomous discriminative category as 'the cultural politics of modernism'.

Within cultural politics of modernism, European culture becomes identified with the centre of civilization, high culture is defined in essentialist terms against the popular culture of the everyday, and history as the reclaiming of critical memory is displaced by the proliferation of images. (1991: 22)

In particular, Giroux emphasises the role of culture, which becomes an organising principle for constructing borders that reproduce relations of 'domination, subordination and inequality' (1991:22). On this ground, the theme of difference has been explained as 'radical separation' or 'discrimination' in cultural politics (Kaplan, 1987:194).

Jordan and Weedon discuss why human beings have lived under the dichotomous structure of discrimination by explaining the notion of 'identity' and

'subjectivity'. As Jordan and Weedon explain, "'identity' implies a conscious sense of self, 'subjectivity' encompass unconsciousness and subconscious dimensions of the self, and implies contradictions, process and change"(1995:15). Given the notion of subjectivity, which implies 'unconsciousness and subconscious dimensions of the self,' it, unconsciously and unintentionally, becomes the object of constitution of dominant discourses of 'power and knowledge' in cultural politics. In other words, subjectivity is socially and culturally constituted. Therefore, Jordan and Weedon emphasise the role of culture. They confirm, "in its strong version, a vision which comes out of structuralist and poststructuralist theory, **culture determines subjectivity**"(1995:8). That is, their concept of cultural politics is characterised by individual's passivity to the dominant discourses of knowledge and power.

Before Copernicus' era (1473-1543), the dominant discourse of knowledge was geocentrism, however it was changed to heliocentric theory. People who lived before Copernicus believed that the sun revolved around the earth, whereas people in modern day are sure that the earth revolves around the sun. Likewise, in the history of cultural politics, there exists the epoch of racism, classism, sexism and humanist liberalism.⁵ Given the passive subjectivity to dominant discourses of knowledge and power in cultural politics, in the epoch of racism, classism and sexism, people who belong to a dominant group discriminate against others who belong to a subordinate group. To the contrary, in the epoch of humanist liberalism, people are subjected to acknowledge that individuals should be treated equally as human beings. The point is that whether they are racists or humanists, their subjectivity is assumed to be whole and coherent subjects with a unified sense of identity instead of being regarded as passive subjects in cultural politics. Jordan and Weedon stipulate, "even though social constructions of subjectivity, such as masculinity and femininity, are often contradictory, we are none the less assumed to be whole and coherent subjects with a unified sense of identity" (1995:16). For that reason, people have discriminated against others without realizing their passive subjectivity, which is subordinate to dominant discourses of power and knowledge in cultural politics.

Similarly, Foucault (1979, 1989) shows how discourses of power and knowledge ghettoised histories of women, homosexuals and minorities in the

⁵ Particularly, Jordan and Weedon regard humanist liberalism as common-sense views of contemporary people in the West (1995:15).

name of 'discipline and punishment'. They have been positioned on the margin of society as constituents of the discourses of 'power and knowledge'. Likewise, given the historical epoch of colonialism in Korea and South Africa, individuals who belonged to the oppressor's political and cultural system discriminated against those who belonged to the oppressed political and cultural system. Japanese Bible readers, colonial masters of Korea, and Afrikaner Bible readers, colonial masters of black South Africans, are the typical examples that show this discrimination.

The dichotomous category such as high/low culture, displayed/hidden culture, official/critical history and projected/marginalised history was sustained by the role of culture in cultural politics of modernism. Furthermore, Foucault (1979, 1989) revealed this discriminative structure by deconstructing the self, which is characterised by passive subjectivity to the dominant discourses of 'knowledge and power'. The theme of difference, therefore has been explained as 'radical separation' or 'discrimination' in cultural politics (Kaplan, 1987:194).

2.1.2. Violence: Another Name of Discrimination

Foucault (1989,1988,1979) emphasises passive subjectivity which is subordinate to dichotomous structure of discrimination by analysing dominant discourses of knowledge and power from a genealogical viewpoint. Similarly, Girard (1986,1978), through his analysis of various ancient mythologies, emphasises that individual's 'mimetic desire' induces 'discrimination' or 'violence' in society.

Girard asserts (1986, 1978) that people have 'mimetic desire', which eventually induces 'disorder' and 'violence'. Figuratively, if someone sees others eating bread, s/he desires to eat bread. This is not because of his or her hunger, but because of his or her desire of imitation (mimetic desire); s/he also wants to imitate other's behaviour, eating bread. If bread is enough to fulfil everyone's desire and if fairly distributed, it will not cause any economic or social problem. However, the more individuals look for the same bread to fulfil their mimetic desire, the faster the object (bread) of their mimetic desire disappears.

Similarly, Girard (1978) explains Freud's Oedipus complex⁶ on the basis of the mimetic desire. Whereas 'Oedipus complex' fixes desire on the maternal object on the basis of libido (sexual desire), the mimetic process detaches desire from any predetermined object (1978: 180). That is, whether male or female babies, they desire to be loved by their mothers mimicking or imitating the behaviour of their fathers.

Interestingly, the mimetic desire that individuals have does not limit its influence to a small scale of the family or community only. The more individuals imitate others' desire of 'eating bread' or 'being loved by mothers', the quicker the object of desire (bread or mother) disappears. This is because the quantity of bread and the number of mothers are limited.

Once the object disappears and 'the mimetic frenzy' reaches a high degree of intensity, their family or their community is full of potential for violence. To ease this extreme tension, the entire community unifies itself to find a single individual, scapegoat. Finally, a scapegoat is killed by violence and is offered as a sacrificial animal. Through this ritual, society is united and is in order as Girard asserts, "conflictual mimesis therefore create a *de facto* allegiance against a common enemy, such that the conclusion of the crisis is nothing other than the reconciliation of the community"(1987:26). Thereafter, they sacralise the scapegoat as a divine being to deliver themselves from guilty conscience. Girard's hypothesis can be explained by 'the process of mimetic desire', 'the scapegoating process' and 'the theory of violence' (Golsan, 1993:88).

In the mythology of Oedipus, Oedipus exerts his mimetic desire to imitate his father (Lious), the king of Thebe, a city in Ancient Greece. At the climax of his mimetic desire, Oedipus kills his father and takes his father's wife, his mother. He becomes a new king of Thebe deposing his father. His mimetic desire is fully satisfied by identifying himself with his father. After his father's death, a plague ravages Thebe. To prevent disasters, prosecutors (community members) target Oedipus as a scapegoat. This is because he has many

⁶ Oedipus complex is explained as follows: "At a very early age, the little boy develops an object cathexis for his mother...; the boy deals with his father by identifying himself with him. For a time these two relationships proceed side by side, until the boy's sexual wishes in regard to his mother become more intense and his father is perceived as an obstacle to them; from this the Oedipus complex originates. His identification with his father then takes on a hostile coloring and changes into a wish to get rid of his father in order to take his place with his mother. Henceforward, his relation to his father is ambivalent..." Freud, (1953-66: 31-2)

victim's signs. Girard notes, "Oedipus's infirmity (Oedipus limps), his past history of exposure as an infant, his situation as a foreigner, newcomer, and king, all make him a veritable conglomerate of victim's signs" (1986:26). Furthermore, he committed parricide and incest, which are regarded as a threat to disturb the order of society as Girard notifies, "patricide and incest serve openly as the intermediaries between the individual and the collective; these crimes are so oblivious of differences that their influence is contagious to the whole society" (1986:25). On this stance, he deserves death. Nonetheless, Oedipus commits these errors in ignorance. For that reason, mysterious advice was given to Oedipus by an oracle who stated that Oedipus would die in peace and his graveyard would be sacralised and blessed.

This clearly shows Girard's explanation of 'the process of mimetic desire', 'the scapegoating process' and 'the theory of violence'. Similarly, this model can also be applied to explain the biblical story of 'Jesus' and 'Cain and Abel'.

Jesus is regarded as the Incarnation of God. Therefore, he possessed special abilities, such as prophesying, healing and resurrecting people. Ordinary people in Jesus' time desired the same ability. However, this divine ability could not be universally given to ordinary people. Despite their inability, the frenzy of their mimetic desire reached a high degree of intensity and their community was full of potential for violence. Adversely, their violence focused on a common enemy, Jesus. He was targeted as a scapegoat and executed. However, descendants of the people who killed Jesus sacralised Jesus Christ as God, so that they delivered themselves from guilty conscience.

Abel, a herder of sheep, got favour from Yahweh by offering the firstling of his flock. However, Cain, a cultivator of the ground, did not get any favor from Yahweh by offering crops. Accordingly, by exerting the mimetic desire, Cain offered Abel as a sacrificial animal, just as Abel offered flesh (the firstling of the flock) rather than crops. In response to Abel's murder, Yahweh banishes Cain from His presence but He promised him protection by marking him, such that anyone who killed him would get sevenfold vengeance against him/herself. Cain settles in the land, "east of Eden" (Golsan, 1993:90).

Girard (1987) points out the difference of biblical text from ancient Greek mythology text. That is, Oedipus committed serious errors such as patricide and incest, therefore he deserved death. However, Jesus and Abel were innocent, in that they had no specific reason to be killed. In addition, the biblical accounts focus on the victims (Abel, Jesus) instead of their persecutors (Cain, Romans).

In the story of Oedipus Rex, persecutors (members of the community) justified their violence by focusing on Oedipus' faults such as Oedipus limps, patricide and incest. That is, the victim was focused on only for the purpose of hiding the persecutors' violence. Therefore, 'persecutor-centred story' is mainly developed, even though the story ostensibly discusses the victim, Oedipus. On this ground, biblical text is slightly different from Girard's hypothesis, namely 'the process of mimetic desire', 'the scapegoating process' and 'the theory of violence'.

Nonetheless, the main structure of the biblical text is almost similar to the text of ancient mythology. The process of Jesus' sacralisation and the process of Cain's mimetic desire are typical examples to show this similarity. For that reason, Girard (1987) locates biblical texts in the strata between myths and a more recent stage of 'radical demythification' (1987:127).

In particular, Girard (1987) evaluates Judeo Christian biblical writers' achievement in that biblical texts unveil the color of human violence, which is hidden in the sacred. In other words, if biblical texts had followed the same pattern of ancient myths, Jesus and Abel would have committed errors for which they deserved death. For that reason, persecutors would have justified their violence. However, Jesus and Abel were innocent so that persecutors' (Romans, Cain) violence was clearly revealed.

The point is that the sacred which is regarded as being perfect, is also the by-product of human violence. McKenna consents, "the sacred is this misconstruction of its origin by the community...the immortality of the sacred, its transcendental, generative agency, masks the structural illusion of its violent origin" (1992:15,18). Just as Foucault's 'the self' is deconstructed within dichotomous discriminative structure by discourses of power and knowledge, so the sacred is also deconstructed in the name of violence.

From the perspective of the stream of difference into discrimination, the concept of difference is explained in a double-layered structure of discrimination. In the first layer of discrimination, a dichotomous structure is located as follows: high/low culture, displayed/hidden culture, official/critical history, projected/marginalised history, the sacred/the profane, modern/primitive, we/ they and the self/the other etc. Individuals that belonged to the former group have normally discriminated against others who belonged to the latter group.

In the second layer of discrimination, Foucault analyses that the self, who belongs to the former group, is also deconstructed within dichotomous discriminative structure by discourses of power and knowledge. Girard

emphasises that the sacred, which pertains to the former group, is also the byproduct of violence. The point is that whether individuals pertain to the first layer or to the second layer of discrimination, different individuals have discriminated against each other within dichotomous discriminative structures in the name of discourses of power and knowledge and invisible violence.

2.1.3. Danger: Another Name of Discrimination

Douglas (1996) discovers a new layer of discrimination, which can be defined as 'antinomy', beyond the notion of 'dichotomy'.⁷ That is, she asserts that the 'dichotomous' discriminative category such as high/low culture, displayed/ hidden culture, official/critical history, projected/marginalised history, the sacred/ the profane, modern/primitive, and us/ them, need to be developed into 'antinomic' category' such as 'purity and danger', 'cleanness and pollution', and 'clarity and ambiguity.' As Foucault and Girard focus on the second layer of discrimination by deconstructing 'the self' or 'the sacred', so Douglas also focuses on beyond the first layer of discrimination. Nonetheless, Foucault and Girard deconstruct 'the self' and 'the sacred' within the dichotomous discriminative structure by analysing 'history of dominant discourses of power and knowledge' and 'invisible violence' from the standpoint of 'post-structuralism' or 'postmodernism'. To the contrary, Douglas identifies a new type of classification from the standpoint of 'modernism.' That is, the former dichotomous discriminative viewpoint in the first layer of distinction is incorporated into one category of 'sameness' or 'purity' and the other new category is generated in the name of 'danger', 'pollution', 'mystic power' or 'ambiguity'. The former classification between 'them and us', 'primitive and modern' pertains to discriminative dichotomy, while the new type of classification between 'purity' and 'danger' pertains to antinomy. Whether Douglas' viewpoint is defined as discriminative 'dichotomy' or 'antinomy', Douglas sustains her divisive viewpoint on the basis of modernism.

⁷ 'Antinomy' and 'dichotomy' are defined as 1. Antinomy: "The mutual contradiction of two principles or inferences **resting on premises of equal validity**" (DOP, 1968:14); 2. Dichotomy: "Division of a whole or of a collection into two mutually disjoint and complementary parts" (DOP, 1999:67).

According to Douglas' (1996) analysis of Leviticus, animals that do not have stereotypical biological characteristics are regarded 'unclean'. For example, Leviticus specifies characteristics of edible animals as follows: two-legged fowls that fly in the sky, fishes with fins and scales that swim in the sea, and for the pastoralist Israelites, edible animals that walk upon the earth with cloven hooves and chew cud. Thus, animals that swarm upon the ground and crawl (but not hop), things in the water without scales and fins (crustaceans) are not edible. In addition, a pig that uniquely is cloven-footed but does not chew cud is also classified as inedible animals.

In other words, if things fall under one of the categories, they are regarded as being pure and normal, to the contrary if things fall in between categories, they are regarded as being 'abominable', 'filthy', 'polluted', 'unhealthy' and 'dangerous'. Douglas (1996) rejected the former dichotomous discriminative categorisation between them and us, primitive and modern. In the 19th century, the notion of 'primitives' was defined as being 'undifferentiated' between 'defilement' and 'hygiene'.

The nineteenth century saw in primitive religion two particularities which separated them as a block from the great religions of the world. One was that they were inspired by fear, the other that they were inextricably confused with defilement and hygiene... primitive means undifferentiated; modern means differentiated. (Douglas, 1996:1, 78)

However, Douglas discovers that primitive people also have the differentiated notion between defilement and hygiene; therefore, she asserts that the division between 'them' and 'us', 'primitive' and 'modern', falls under one category of sameness.

Beyond the first layer of dichotomous discriminative distinction between them and us, primitive and modern, Douglas suggests a new type of antinomic distinction between 'purity' and 'danger'. That is, whilst the realm of purity pertains to things that fall into category, the realm of danger pertains to things that are located out of the category. For example, God the Father and Adam fall into the category of 'spirit and human', therefore God the Father is pure in that He belongs to the spirit realm. Likewise, Adam is also pure in that he belongs to the other realm of human. However, Jesus is located in between the realm of 'spirit and human.' That is, Jesus is both spirit as the Son of God and human as

a man who died on the cross. Therefore, Jesus is regarded as being dangerous such that he was executed.

Further, Douglas asserts that things that are located in between categories also become the source of tremendous power, despite being treated as abominations. Douglas explains, "there are different kinds of impossibilities, anomalies, bad mixings and abominations...within the ritual frame, the abomination is then handled as a source of tremendous power"(1996: 166). Although things that are dangerous are regarded as a threat to the order of society, they are, inversely, deemed as possessing power.⁸ Furthermore, given their status being situated beyond human being's category and having supernatural power, they are related to sacredness.⁹

Contrary to things that are clean and pure, things that are located outside human's categorisation are deemed as being unclean, filthy, disorder, dangerous, mysterious, powerful, and sacred. As shown, Jesus was regarded dangerous so that he was executed, however he was also the powerful, sacred God. Likewise, there are many examples that accord to Douglas' hypothesis.

Firstly, 'a mermaid', as residing in between human and fish, is regarded mysterious. Secondly, 'Centaur', as being located in between man and horse, is regarded as a filthy monster and a powerful god. Thirdly, homosexuals or lesbians, as not easily being classified neither normal men or women, are regarded as immoral (filthy) beings. Fourthly, ghosts, as residing in between this world and next world, are regarded as being dangerous and the object of fear. Fifthly, in a patriarchal society, an old woman at menopause, is classified as a witch who possesses dangerous and mysterious power. This is because she is not classified as a normal woman who is able to give birth nor beautiful to satisfy man's sexual desire. Lastly, the prohibition of inter-marriage in the Apartheid era can be explained by adopting Douglas' hypothesis. Oppressors were fearful of intermarriage couples' dismantling their boundary, which is characterised by apartheid, the separation between 'black and white.'

Douglas considers that the newly generated category of 'danger', 'pollution', 'ambiguity' and 'anomaly' arises from a systematic ordering of ideas.¹⁰ Therefore, she clarifies antinomic structure of 'purity and danger',

⁸ "It (disorder) symbolises both danger and power"(Douglas, 1996:95).

⁹ "Can there be any people who confound sacredness with uncleanness?" (Douglas, 1996:160)

¹⁰ "Defilement is never an isolated event. It cannot occur except in view of a systematic

'clarity and ambiguity' and 'order and disorder' beyond the former dichotomous discriminative structure of 'them and us' and 'primitive and modern'. However, people who belong to the realm of 'purity' have discriminated against others who reside outside of the realm of 'purity' in the name of 'danger'. Therefore, the validity of the existence of the people in the realm of danger cannot be sustained. This shows another aspect of discrimination in Douglas' antinomic structure of 'purity and danger'. In short, just as Foucault and Girard show the double layer of the structure of discrimination by the deconstruction of the self and the sacred, so Douglas shows another layer of the structure of discrimination by her hypothesis, 'purity and danger'.

2.1.4. Political Bible Reading in the Principle of Discrimination and Radical Separation

Although the theme of difference has developed various levels, the stream of difference converges into the large stream of discrimination in the name of 'dichotomous discriminative structure', 'violence' and 'danger'.

In the first layer of discrimination, people who belonged to the former group discriminated against others who belonged to the latter group within the dichotomous discriminative structure, that is, high/low culture, displayed/hidden culture, official/critical history, projected/marginalised history, the sacred/the profane, modern/primitive, we/they and the self/the other. This dichotomous category was sustained by the role of culture in cultural politics of modernism. Foucault (1979,1989) reaffirmed the existence of this discriminative structure by deconstructing the self, who is constituted by dominant discourses of power and knowledge.

Furthermore, in response to the question as to why members of the former group have discriminated against others of the latter group, Foucault (1979,1989) emphasises the passivity of individuals' subjectivity to the dominant discourse of power and knowledge. That is, under the influence of powerful discourses, individuals easily identify their subjectivity with identity. That is, subjectivity, which 'encompasses unconscious and subconscious dimensions of the self' so that it is mainly constituted by dominant discourses, is regarded as

ordering of ideas" (1996:42).

identity, 'unified, rational and self-determining consciousness' (Jordan and Weedon, 1995:15). In this sense, without realizing it, the former group has discriminated against the latter group as proved in histories of women, homosexuals and minorities. This shows another layer of discrimination on the basis of post-structuralism or postmodernism.

Similarly, in the second layer of structure of discrimination, Girard also emphasises the deconstruction of 'the sacred'. The entity of 'the sacred' is compared to Foucault's entity of 'the self'. Just as Foucault's self is deconstructed within the dichotomous discriminative structure, so 'the sacred' is deconstructed in the name of violence. In other words, as Foucault's self is deconstructed within discrimination by various political and cultural discourses of power and knowledge, so Girard's sacred is deconstructed by the invisible force of 'violence'. From the standpoint of 'post-structuralism' or 'postmodernism', Foucault and Girard clearly show that the entity of difference has been transformed into the entity of 'discrimination' or 'violence' in the double-layered structure of 'discrimination'.

In the case of Douglas (1996), she suggests the revised layer of 'discrimination' by modifying the first layer of 'discrimination'. If the first layer of 'discrimination' is characterised by the discriminative 'dichotomy' such as 'high/low culture, displayed/hidden culture, official/critical history, projected/marginalised history, the sacred/the profane, modern/primitive, us/ them and the self/the other, then the revised layer of discrimination is camouflaged by 'antinomy' such as 'purity and danger', 'cleanness and pollution', 'clarity and ambiguity.' Just as Foucault and Girard reveal the large stream of 'discrimination' or 'violence' by deconstructing 'the self' or 'the sacred', so Douglas reveals another aspect of discrimination in the name of 'danger'.

In this way, various scholars of religious studies, such as Foucault, Girard, and Douglas prove this shift of theme of difference toward the stream of discrimination. Correspondingly, political Bible reading can also be discussed in the stream of discrimination from difference. This is characterised by 'the principle of discrimination', or 'the principle of radical separation'. In short, the theme of difference has been transformed into the theme of discrimination in political biblical hermeneutics in Korea and South Africa. This is discussed in Chapter 3.

2.2. Quest for Sameness (Scholastic Idealism)

2.2.1. Eliade's Quest for Sameness in Dialectic of *Hierophany*

Given that discrimination arises from the tension of difference, if different objects could be viewed as sameness or could fall into the same category, the tension of difference would thaw. Eliade (1959,1974) searches for sameness between 'sacred' and 'profane' in the name of the dialectic of *hierophany*. Eliade (1959:10) postulates the existence of the dichotomous structure, namely 'sacred and profane', 'eternal and temporary', 'mythic and historic time', 'cosmos and chaos' etc. Contrary to the general notion of dichotomous discriminative structure between 'the sacred' and 'the profane', each element in both sides 'coexists in a paradoxical relationship' (Eliade, 1976:29-30). This is explained by the dialectic of *hierophany*.

For Eliade, the term '*hierophany*' (from Greek *hiero-*, "sacred," and *phainein*, "to show") means the 'manifestation of the sacred' (1959:11).¹¹ Eliade (1959:11) explains that a great number of hierophanies constitute the history of religions by manifestations of sacred realities from some ordinary object, a stone or a tree to the supreme *hierophany*, which in Christianity is, 'the Incarnation of God in Jesus Christ'.

The transcendent sacred is described in such terms as 'God', 'divine', 'supernatural', 'absolute reality', 'being', 'eternal', 'transhistorical', 'infinite', 'source of life', 'power', and 'bliss' (1959:28). These elements are located far beyond the realm of human being's perception. Therefore, they need to 'degrade', 'localize', 'historicize', 'particularize', 'limit' themselves as lower or 'less spiritual phenomena' (Douglas, 1998:82). The Incarnation of God in Jesus Christ is the typical example to show this dialectical process from 'the sacred' to 'the profane'. In other words, the transcendent sacred in mythic time is absorbed into the dimension of the profane in historic time. On this ground, people who live in historic time detached from the archetype of mythic time can surpass their human condition and finally discover the 'total deliverance' and can 'obtain freedom' by encountering *hierophany*, the manifestation of the sacred (Eliade, 1974).

On the other hand, there exists the reverse dialectical process in *hierophany*. Although the transcendental sacred manifests itself in the realm of

¹¹ The significance of *hierophany* is discussed in Chapter 6 in detail. (Footnote 150)

profane in the name of “localization, ethnicization, historicization and degradation of nonhistorical, universal, mythical structures into more specific, conditioned, historical and personal events”, many religious forms try to get as close as possible to its true archetype. This is understood by ‘simplifying’, ‘archetypizing’ function of “returns, repetitions and rebeginnings” (Douglas, 1998:82). In other words, they rid themselves of “historical accretions and deposits.” (Douglas, 1998:82; Eliade, 1976,462) As Eliade states, “every goddess tends to become a Great Goddess, taking to herself all the attributes and functions that belong to the archetypal Great Goddess” (1976:462). Eliade (1961:121) places more value on this reverse dialectical movement from the profane to the sacred. This is because, without this reverse process, the perfect form (archetypal Great Goddess; God in Jesus Christ) disappears in various forms of divinity, myth or rite (every goddess; Jesus Christ as an imperfect human being) and it finally “makes the history of religions impossible.”

Without this, magico-religious experience would be continually creating transitory or evanescent forms of gods, myths, dogmas, etc. and the student would be faced by a proliferation of ever new types impossible to set in order. (Eliade, 1961:121)

In short, through the reverse dialectical movement of *hierophany*, the profane is also simultaneously absorbed into the realm of sacred.

Figuratively, in the Incarnation of God in Jesus Christ, the perfect God (the sacred) in the realm of ‘the sacred’ historicised Himself as an imperfect human being (Jesus Christ). For that reason, imperfect people who lived in historic time could recognise and contact Him. Everybody could recognise Jesus Christ as possessing human flesh. For all that, historicised God cannot be reduced as the constituent of history. Therefore, He needs to restore His original status as perfect God, who is beyond the realm of historic time and space. In this sense, Jesus Christ played the same role of perfect God, such as miraculous healing, prophesying and resurrecting people. He restored God’s original position as soon as He resided in the time and space of history. This shows the dialectical movement of *hierophany* in both directions, from the sacred to the profane and vice versa.

Nonetheless, although God can be described in the Incarnation of God in Jesus Christ, Jesus Christ could strictly be said to be different from the original

God, who is beyond the dimension of time and space in history. Inversely, He cannot be an ordinary imperfect human being. This is because He identified Himself with the perfect God rather than an imperfect human being. In short, paradoxically, in the Incarnation of God, Jesus Christ is both God and human being, but on the other hand He could be neither God nor human being.

Interestingly, both sides of the sacred (God) and the profane (human being) have their reason of 'being' only through *hierophany* (the Incarnation of God in Jesus Christ). If *hierophany* (Incarnation of God in Jesus Christ) did not appear in the dimension of time and space of history, there would no longer be any reason for both sides (God and human being) to exist. This is because if imperfect human beings lost access to the sacred, they would still remain as 'fallen' beings (Eliade, 1976:11,38; Douglas, 1998:77). Douglas (1998) summarises Eliade's viewpoint of human beings as "fallen beings who have lost access to the sacred." Commenting on Eliade's viewpoint, Allen further notes, "even for traditional religious societies, the dialectic of revelation is always at the same time the dialectic of concealment and camouflage" (Allen, 1998:77). Given that Eliade views these fallen beings as possessing their ontological defects, their defects can only be cured on the basis of the existence of *hierophany*. Although Eliade postulates the existence of the dichotomous discriminative structure such as 'the sacred/the profane', 'the archetype/ various forms of divinity, myth or rite', 'the mythic/ historic time', and 'perfect/ imperfect', he emphasises that all phenomena are potentially described as *hierophany*. Eliade remarks, "it is quite certain that anything man has ever handled, felt, come in contact with or loved can become a '*hierophany*'"(1976:11).

Both sides of the sacred and the profane coexist in a paradoxical relationship in the dialectic of *hierophany*. Furthermore, both sides have their reason for their existence only through various phenomena of *hierophany*.

To summarise, Eliade quests for sameness in the name of 'dialectics of *hierophany*' to ease the tension of difference between 'the sacred' and 'the profane'. Eliade regards human beings as fallen beings in the realm of 'the profane', who search for the archetype in the realm of 'the sacred'. Owing to this ontological defect, human beings ontologically search for the sacred, which manifests itself in dialectics of *hierophany*. Through this *hierophany*, both sides have reasons for their existence. Simultaneously, the tension of difference between both sides dissolves in the dialectic of *hierophany*. In the dialectic of *hierophany*, God and human beings could be viewed as the same in the same

category of Jesus Christ.

2.2.2. Critique of Eliade's Quest for Sameness, Cultural Bible Reading in the Principle of Absorption

As previously discussed (Section 2.2.1), Eliade eases the tension of difference between the sacred and the profane in the dialectics of *hierophany*. On the one hand, the sacred is absorbed into the realm of the profane in the name of "localization, ethnicization, historicization and degradation of nonhistorical, universal, mythical structures into more specific, conditioned, historical and personal events" (Douglas, 1998:82; Eliade, 1976: 462). On the other hand, the profane is absorbed into the realm of the sacred by "simplifying", "archetypizing" function of "returns, repetitions and beginnings" (Douglas, 1998:82). In this way, both sides of the dichotomous discriminative structure are classified into the same category in dynamics of dialectics of *hierophany*.

Nonetheless, Eliade presupposes the superiority of the sacred to the profane, mythic time to historic time, and the cosmos to chaos. In particular, Eliade views human beings as fallen beings who are detached from the superior former status into the inferior latter status. Accordingly, Eliade hypothesises that from 'the sacred' centred viewpoint, human being's ontological defect can be cured in the dialectics of *hierophany*, the manifestation of the sacred in the realm of the profane, historic time and the chaos. For that reason, Eliade places much more value on 'the reverse dialectical movement' from the profane into the sacred by "simplifying, archetypizing function of returns, repetitions and beginnings" than the dialectical movement from the sacred into the profane (1961:121).

Eliade's viewpoint on the issue of difference is characterised by the principle of absorption. From 'the sacred' centred viewpoint, the tension of difference between 'the sacred' and 'the profane' melts in dialectics of *hierophany*. In particular, the profane is absorbed into the realm of the sacred so that dichotomous structure falls into the same category. Although Eliade attempted to settle the issue of difference by "questing for sameness," it was implicitly more favourable to the sacred than to the profane. This point is related to 'cultural Bible reading' in Korea and South Africa. The third type of native elite

Bible readers in particular “quested for sameness” between traditional religious beliefs and biblical beliefs. However, their “quest for sameness” could not avoid the violence of the imposition of the meta-narrative of “becoming metaphoric Israelites.” This is a typical example of scholastic idealism in their attempt to dissolve the tension of difference as discussed in Chapter 4.

2.3. Searching for the Alternative to Ease the Tension of Difference (Postmodernism Approaches)

2.3.1. Smith’s Play in the Tension of Difference

Smith (1978, 1986, 1990) criticises Eliade and Girard’s viewpoints, which are compared to homology (genealogy). Smith, adopting 19th century Owen Richard’s distinction between homology and analogy, defines homology and analogy as follows:

A homology is a similarity of form or structure between two species shared from their common ancestor; an analogy is a similarity of form or structure between two species not sharing a common ancestor. (1990:47)

For example, a human hand and a whale’s flipper ostensibly look different. However, their origin is the same. On the other hand, a whale’s flipper and a fish’s fin look similar in appearance, but their origins are different. After Darwin (1809-82), taxonomists emphasised homology more than analogy, in that homology contributes to the building of evolutionary theory, which focuses on the same origin of species.

As noted previously, Girard points out that a fundamental element of ancient myth is violence, which is hidden in the name of ‘the sacred’. Likewise, Eliade asserts that historicised human beings search for the archetype of ‘the sacred’ in mythic (primordial) time to cure their ontological defects as fallen beings. That is, Girard and Eliade apply homology to their comparative research of myth, in the premise that there exist unchangeable universals or archetypes, which can be primary sources of all the variation of myths. However, Smith

focuses on analogy.

Figuratively, whereas homology (genealogy) can be explained in a dyadic formulation such as “x resembles y”, analogy can be expressed in a triadic or multiple formation such as “x resembles y more than z with respect to...,” or “x resembles y more than w resembles z with respect to...,”(Smith, 1990:51). That is, homology implicitly presupposes an ideal type, in which each element in dyadic comparison (x and y) should imitate the ideal. On the other hand, one set of dyadic comparison (x and y) in analogy can be meaningful only if it is applied with other sets of comparison (w and z...) rather than with any pristine ideal type. In addition, it can be reconstructed by scholar’s interest (‘with respect to’).

In short, Smith (1978) asserts that there is no original and primordial myth but all myths are the by-products of historical contexts. He claims, “there is no pristine myth; there is only application”(1978:299). In particular, he criticises apologetics of various European religious studies scholars including Eliade, who regard biblical stories as the primary source of widely spread myths. Eliade’s viewpoint of human beings as fallen beings is the typical example to show his apologetics of Christianity. On this ground, Smith (1978:303) reconstructs the story of Hainuwele,¹² a tale that was first collected from the Wemale tribe of Ceram (one of the Moluccan islands, immediate west of New Guinea) in 1927.

According to Smith (1978:303), Jensen (1963), the chief interpreter of Hainuwele myth, asserts that sexuality or death arose from Hainuwele’s murder and that cultivation of plants began after her death. In other words, Jensen

¹² J.Z. Smith (1978) offers a brief summary as follows: “It begins ‘Nine families of mankind came forth in the beginning from Mount Nunusaku where the people had emerged from clusters of bananas’ and goes on to narrate how an ancestor named Ameta found a coconut spread on a boar’s tusk and, in a dream, was instructed to plant it. In six days a palm had sprung from the nut and flowered. Ameta cut his finger and his blood dripped on the blossom. Nine days later a girl grew from the blossom and in three more days she became adolescent. Ameta cut her from the tree and named her Hainuwele, ‘coconut girl’. ‘But she was not like an ordinary person, for when she would answer the call of nature, her excrement consisted of all sorts of valuable articles, such as Chinese dishes and gongs, so that Ameta became very rich’. During a major religious festival, Hainuwele stood in the middle of the dance grounds and excreted a whole series of valuable articles (Chinese porcelain dishes, metal knives, copper boxes, golden earrings and great brass gongs). After nine days of this activity, ‘the people thought this thing mysterious... they were jealous that Hainuwele could distribute such wealth and decided to kill her’. The ancestors dug a hole in the middle of, the dance ground, threw Hainuwele in and danced the ground firm on top of her. Ameta dug up her corpse, dismembered it and buried the cut pieces. These pieces gave rise to previously unknown plant species, especially tubercous plants which have been, ever since, the principal form of food on Ceram.”(1978:303)

views this myth as one of the variations of the primary biblical story in Genesis. According to biblical stories in Genesis, human being's death results from Adam's original sin. After that event, human beings had to cultivate the vegetation of the field. However, Smith argues that the myth of Hainuwele is not the story of an origin of death or an origin of the tuber's tale. Instead, it is a story of the origin of 'filthy lucre', of 'dirty money', given that Hainuwele's excrement comprised all manufactured trade goods, which were used in Ceram as money (1978:304). Furthermore, Smith emphasises that a myth can be explained only given the historical context of the confrontation between native and European economic systems in the early 20th century. That is, the background of a myth is not in the 'once upon a time' but in the 'painful' post-European 'here and now' (1978:307).

On this basis, Smith criticises Jensen and Eliade, who use the comparative method of homology (genealogy), in that their original latent intention is related to the apologetics of Christianity. In particular, Eliade, from the sacred centred viewpoint, quests for the primordial ideal type through dialectics of *hierophany*, especially through the reverse movement of *hierophany* (from the profane to the sacred). Accordingly, Smith (1990) focuses on analogy, which does not reduce a main theme of mythology to the primary presupposition of Christian apologetics or to uncertain mythical universals such as the sacred or the primordial ideal archetype.

The structure of myth that is applied by analogy, is compared to the structure of a 'joke' or 'riddle' (1978:206). This structural similarity creates a playful dimension of myth. Furthermore, it is correlated with the structure of ritual, and methodology of religious studies. Gill (1998:295) explains Smith's structural similarity of myth, jokes, rituals and religious studies in the following order: 'juxtaposition', 'comparison', 'difference' and 'thought'.

In the Hainuwele myth, the discrepancy between European and Ceramese worlds creates the tension of 'difference', therefore it creates a new story ('thought'). Even in the case of 'hunt ritual', Smith (1978,1982) emphasises a discrepancy between "what the hunters say they do when they hunt and what they actually do"(1978:302). That is, whereas 'hunting ritual' is normative, real hunting is realistic. He inquires, "can we believe that a group which depends on hunting for its food would kill an animal only if it is in a certain posture?"(1982:61) Accordingly, Smith asserts that religious studies scholars must consider 'the complex processes of application and inapplicability, of

congruity and incongruity' when they research myths or rituals (1978:206). Notably, Smith (1978), in comparison to African divination, asserts that this oscillation between 'fit' and 'no fit' gives thoughts of 'delight' and creates a playful dimension.

He (African diviner) suggests a possible 'fit' between the structure he offers and the client's situation and both the diviner and client delight in exploring the adequacy and inadequacy, the implications and applicability of the diviner's proposal. (1978:300)

The point is that Smith emphasises the playful dimension of myth, ritual and methodology of religious studies. That is, faced with the tension of difference, religious studies scholars should enjoy the oscillation between 'fit' and 'no fit', as if they were enjoying jokes and humour instead of reducing the tension between congruity and incongruity to the primary archetype by "questing for sameness." Therefore, Gill (1998) summarises Smith's main point in the following: "No place to stand"¹³: Jonathan Z. Smith as '*Homo Ludens*', the academic study of religion as '*Sub Specie Ludi*'" (1998:283).

Compared with Eliade, Smith places much value on the playful dimension of difference within the realm of profane in historic time, eliminating the realm of the sacred in mythic time. For him, every myth is reconstructed by the historical context so that primary myth does not exist but condenses into numerous secondary myths. Smith stresses, "there is no pristine myth, there is only application...The incongruity of myth is not an error, it is the source of power, or a myth is a strategy for dealing with a situation" (Smith, 1978:299). In addition, Smith asserts that methods of comparison should be based on analogy rather than homology (genealogy). Furthermore, according to Smith, religious studies scholars are required to play in the tension of difference instead of searching for sameness when confronted with the tension of difference.

¹³ Given that Smith denies the existence of primary myth and grand narratives such as Eliade's "sacred and profane" and Girard's "violence", there is no place for Smith to stand to move the world. In other words, Smith asserts the impossibility of Eliade and Girard's hypothesis, which are compared to Archimedes' aphorism: "give me a place to stand on and I will move the world."

2.3.2. Critique of Smith's Play in the Tension of Difference

Contrary to Eliade, who quests for sameness when confronted with the tension of difference, Smith readily accepts the tension of difference. According to Smith, 'difference' between congruity and incongruity naturally causes 'thought' and creates the playful dimension of joke or humour.

Figuratively, Smith's viewpoint can be compared to geneticists' viewpoint of Deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA) in human genome. In the complex of the congruous and incongruous allocation of DNA in human genome, various genetic features are determined such as facial features, skin colour, etc. Geneticists enjoy this playful dimension of congruous and incongruous allocation of DNA in human genome by comparing with real physical features of individuals such as facial features, skin colour etc. However, geneticists do not expand their research into human being's social behaviour from the human genome itself.

Likewise, given Smith's analogous methodology, Smith does not direct his attention to the ontology of human beings or relationships amongst individuals. This is revealed, in that ontology and ethics normally seek universals to get over the tension of difference as in the case of Eliade's scholastic idealism. Furthermore, Smith's (1986) playful dimension of difference does not even deal with the first shift of difference into discrimination (political realism), which is characterised by discrimination, violence and danger. In short, Smith has a microscopic viewpoint of difference just as geneticists focus on human genome rather than the human being him/herself. On this ground, Smith fails to notice another aspect of difference, which can also develop into unity on the basis of the ontology of human beings and relationships.

In addition, given that the theme of difference has been changed into the theme of discrimination,¹⁴ Bible readers could not play in the tension of difference, instead they discriminated against each other (Chapter 3). Furthermore, even if people can play in the tension of difference from now on, they need tools for playing, such as a rugby ball or a baseball bat etc. In this thesis, the essence of 'unity' is compared to the tools for playing in the stream of 'difference to unity'

Smith's criticism of Eliade is, notwithstanding, insightful in that

¹⁴ This is discussed in chapter 3, political biblical interpretation in Korea and South Africa

historicised human beings cannot be reduced to the primordial archetype of the sacred. That is, one element that belongs to the realm of the profane cannot be absorbed congruously or fittingly into the realm of the sacred. It is inevitable that incongruity or 'no fit' arises. For that reason, Smith (1978,1990) argues that Eliade fell into the fallacy of reductionism. Through this criticism, Smith reveals the weak points of scholastic idealism, which quests for sameness. Therefore, this study searches for another stream of difference in the name of 'unity in difference'.

2.3.3. 'No Centre' and 'Many Centres': Celebration of Difference in the Multiple Dimensions of Pluralism

"On naming the present," Tracy locates diverse contemporary streams of difference in philosophical trends of modernism, anti-modernism, and postmodernism.

For some, we are still in the age of modernity and the triumph of the bourgeois subject, for others, we are in a time of the levelling of all traditions and await the return of the repressed traditional and communal subject. For yet others, we are in a postmodern moment where the death of the subject is now upon us as the last receding wave of the death of God. (1994:3)

In the age of modernity, the theme of difference could be explained by the theme of 'discrimination' or 'radical separation'. This study concretises the essence of the theme as 'discrimination', 'violence' and 'danger'. On the other hand, Eliade's scholastic idealism accords to the general trend of 'anti-modernism', which is characterised by 'fundamentalism' or 'neo-conservatism'. Tracy exemplifies 'resurgence of anti-modern, anti-liberal, anti-privatised, aggressive religious movements across the globe as follows: "from the Islamic fundamentalism of Ayatollah Khomeini's movement to the Roman Catholic traditionalism of Archbishop Lefebvre's movement; from Rabbi Kehane's rereading of Judaism, to the emergent Hindu fundamentalism in India and Shinto fundamentalism in Japan, and several of the new religious cults"(1994:11). Just as "the-neoconservative

knows that a present without past memory and tradition is self-illusory and finally self-destructive”, so Eliade’s main concern lies in the sacred mythic time when the historicised self could fulfil one’s true humanity by reuniting with the sacred.

In Smith’s case, his playful dimension pertains to postmodernism. As ‘the guru of postmodernism’ (Sardar, 1998:37), Baudrillard characterises postmodernism as ‘simulation’, the “**generation by models of a real without origin or reality, a hyperreal**” (1983:3). Baudrillard states:

Whereas representation tries to absorb simulation by interpreting it as false representation, simulation envelops the whole edifice of representation as itself a simulacrum. These would be the successive phases of the image: 1. It is the reflection of a basic reality, 2. It masks and perverts a basic reality, 3. It masks the absence of a basic reality, 4. It bears no relation to any reality whatever: it is its own pure simulacrum. In the first case, the image is a good appearance: the representation is the order of sacrament. In the second, it is an evil appearance: of the order maleficence. In the third, it plays at being an appearance: it is the order of sorcery. In the fourth, it is no longer in the order of appearance at all, but of simulation. (1998:170)

Baudrillard’s main point is that people of the postmodern age could not discover the distinction between the real and the artificial since ‘reality’ was a world of ‘pure simulation’.

Sardar contends that Baudrillard’s viewpoint of postmodernism can contribute to demolishing the hierarchy of truth established under colonialism and expanded by modernism. He declares, “postmodernism stands against totalising ‘reason’, against the racist European notion of culture and civilization, and seek to represent all classes and races. It champions **variety, pluralism and eclectic mixing of different traditions and modernism**” (1998:7). Just as Smith rejects the existence of the prime myth and Eliade’s meta-narrative of ‘sacred and profane’, so Baudrillard (1983) denies the existence of ‘Reality’ and ‘Reason’, which represent “European civilisation, culture and society as the universal yardstick against which all other civilisations, societies, cultures and modes of thoughts and behaviour are to be measured” (Sardar, 1998:6). Therefore, in the binary system of ‘the sacred and profane’, ‘cosmos and chaos’, and ‘civilisation and savages’, the essence of the sacred or the cosmos was

subsumed into 'none' and only elements of the profane or the chaos were multiplied. Accordingly, the prime or original centre, which is located in the realm of "the sacred" or "the cosmos" of the binary system is deconstructed and finally disappears. Instead, subsidiary multiple centres arise in the name of variety or pluralism in the periphery, 'the profane' or 'chaos'.

Thus, Smith emphasises the playful dimension of difference on the ground that the original primary centre is deconstructed and finally disappears, while secondary numerous centres are generated as models of the primary myth, also regarded as simulation without reality. In this way, no one type should be privileged in the 'plurality of ethnicities, cultures, genders, truths, realities, sexualities and even reasons' (Sardar, 1998:11). In short, 'difference' becomes the object of 'celebration' in postmodernism (Giroux, 1991:40; Tracy, 1990:71). As Tracy reassures, **"there is no longer a centre with margins. There are many centres"**(1994:4).

2.3.4. Critique of ' No Centre' and 'Many Centres'

Despite postmodernists' demolition of the hierarchy of truth established under colonialism and expanded by modernism, Sardar contends that postmodernism is 'a new form of cultural exploitation', 'a new twist of old narrative' and 'a new theory of imperialism'.

Is it (postmodernism) a new twist to an old narrative? A new form of cultural exploitation? A new theory of imperialism?...while postmodernism is a legitimate protest against the excesses of suffocating modernity, instrumental rationality and authoritarian traditionalism, it has itself become a universal ideology that kills everything that gives meaning and depth to life of non-western individuals and societies. It represents a partial displacement from repression to seduction, from the police to the market, from the army to the bank, from the depth reading of epistemology to a surface reading of hermeneutics. (1998:12-14)

In addition, Pieterse also asserts that the free market system applied by the economic rule of 'efficiency' instead of 'equality' developed rapidly under the

influence of postmodernism. He contends, “the marketing potential and flexible productive capacities of capital has an enormous amount to benefit from theories which emphasize **plurality, diversity, individualism, and the valour of difference**” (1996:54-55).

As Baudrillard writes, in an age of simulacra and simulation, “there is no longer any God to recognise his own, nor any last judgment to separate truth from false, the real from its artificial resurrection, since everything is already dead and risen in advance” (1998:171). In other words, given Smith’s emphasis of playful dimension of multiple differences, there is no standard rule of the game. Individuals have their own centre and Choice but they do not have any necessity to search for harmonious relationship between the rich and the poor, western culture and non-western culture. This is because it is impossible for harmonious relationships to exist in the world of simulation. Furthermore, in the postmodern world of simulation, even war is described as a hyper-reality notwithstanding the deaths and devastation in the war. This is clarified by Baudrillard’s (1995) declaration: ‘The Gulf War did not take place’. For that reason, Sardar (1998) criticises postmodernists’ viewpoints in that “postmodern simulacra serve as an insulation space, which isolates those who live in the world of countless Choices from those whose only Choice is to be their unwilling victims, the Others” (1998:25). Furthermore, Sardar (1998) unveils post-modernist’s conspiracy. He reveals, “unable morally to justify its ceaseless oppression, the western world now postulates that **no moral stance is possible**” (1998:26).

Just as Smith disregards the stream of ‘difference into discrimination’ owing to his microscopic viewpoint of playful dimension of difference, so postmodernist’s approach of ‘no centre’ and ‘many centres’ does not discuss the element of harmonisation in the multiple dimensions of differences. To the contrary, postmodernist’s approach becomes a focus of criticism in various names such as ‘a new form of discrimination’, ‘a new form of cultural exploitation’, ‘a new twist of old narrative’ and ‘a new theory of imperialism’.

2.4. The Significance of Difference toward Unity: the Quest of the Phenomenological and the Ethical Perspective

On this stance, this study searches for the essence of unity, with which relational and personal individuals are connected and embraced in the stream of unity. It can be an alternative to overcome the western notion of self-centred impersonal individualism in the postmodern multiple dimensions, which reflects nothing other than the latent Cartesian psyche, “Cogito ergo sum; I think, therefore I am”

In particular, the first stream of difference into discrimination in political realism or modernism and the second stream of “questing for sameness” in scholastic idealism or anti-modernism converge into the stream of unity in ethical and phenomenological aspects beyond the postmodern multiple dimensions. The stream of unity is different from postmodern playful dimension of simulation. This study does not limit its explanation in unveiling the existence of ‘many centres’ or deconstruction of the original primary centre but it expands the scope to find out the essence of unity in difference.

For this purpose, this study discusses some elements of unity, which arise from three sectors, firstly Eliade’s phenomenological viewpoint of *Homo religiosus*, secondly, African and Korean traditional ethics of *Jeong* (情) and *Ubuntu*, and thirdly, the biblical concept of love. Given that these elements of unity are essentially connected on the dimension of ‘human being’s warm-hearted love’, the task to find the essence of unity in biblical hermeneutics on the basis of political and cultural contexts of Korea and South Africa deserve to be labelled as ‘*Onjeong* biblical hermeneutics’. For that reason, this thesis is entitled: “In search of ‘unity in difference’ in *Onjeong* biblical hermeneutics on the basis of Korean and South African political and cultural contexts.”

This study has significance in that it can contribute to providing Bible readers with the tool of Bible reading in the name of love in Korea and South Africa. Firstly, given the approaching unification of North and South Korea, this study could play a catalytic role in harmonizing North and South Korean Bible readers. Secondly, given the continued phasing out of racial and cultural discrepancy of South African Bible readers, this study could contribute to dissolving the tension amongst different Bible readers. Lastly, given the academic-socio-cultural discrepancy between the elite Bible readers and ordinary Bible readers, this study could provide an effective tool of reading the

Bible for both sides to be communicable.

2.5. Justification of the study: Functional Citizen versus Existential Believer

The standpoint of this study is differentiated from the previous research of South African academia. In particular, the book entitled, "*Sameness and Difference: Problems and Potentials in South African Civil Society (Cochrane and Klein, 2000)*" discusses various approaches to settle the tension of difference on the basis of South African political and cultural context in the theme of civil society. Although authors have different voices from their various perspectives, they generally place much more value on a 'functional citizen' in the public sphere, which includes civil society than on an 'existential believer' in the private sphere, where s/he prays to God in the name of religion.

Given that religion was privatised and secularised in modern times (Casanova, 1994:36), it was excluded from the public sphere which is generally divided into three sectors, namely state (political), market (economic) and voluntary sector (Wuthnow, 1991:6). Similarly, in the period of enlightenment, civil society whose classical notion can be defined by Aristotle's three elements of civil society according to Mclean (1997)¹⁵ was also privatised. This is because civil society was characterised by themes of 'feeling', 'affectivity', and 'emotion' instead of 'reason' (Mclean, 1997:13; Cochrane, 2000:35).

The privatisation of religion, that is, marginalisation of religion from the

¹⁵ Aristotle's three elements of civil society (in Mclean, 1997: 3–13).

The element of civil society

1. Governance (Arche): the beginning of action, the taking of initiative toward an end
2. Communication (Solidarity): with other members of the group
3. Participation (Subsidiarity): from 'within the whole' toward Common Goal (Maximise the participation in governance, the exercise of freedom of members of the community thereby enabling them to live as person as groups so that the extreme society flourishes.)

public sphere caused existential crisis such as immorality and dehumanisation of society in the name of secularisation. Casanova alleges, "by bestowing a sacred quality upon the increasing subjectivity of human existence it supports not only secularisation but also what we call the dehumanisation of the social structure" (Casanova, 1994:37).¹⁶ To overcome this immoral after-effect of privatisation of religion, Cohen and Arato (1992) informed by Habermas (1976) who regards religious institutions and agencies as part of civil society, assert that civil society should shift from a private sphere to a public sphere in the process of 'deprivatisation'. Accordingly, Cohen and Arato (1992) encourage civil society's participation in the political and economic realm such as through religious bodies' campaign in Parliamentary committees, and the engagement of organs of civil society on NEDLAC (National Economic Development and Labour Council).¹⁷

Furthermore, Casanova also opposes the secularisation of religion by emphasising 'the deprivatisation of modern religion'. He insists, "there is no reason...why in principle a theory of moral-practical rationalization should systematically neglect religion" (1994:253). He regards 'Catholic mobilization against abortion' as one of the examples of 'deprivatisation' of religion (Casanova, 1994:228). In addition, he emphasises that religions can nullify inhumane premises of nuclear defence policy by reminding states of 'the human need to subordinate the logic of state formation to the common good.' In this way, Casanova asserts that modern civil societies are not conceptualised as homogeneous societal communities sharing common norms and values but as "a space and a process of public social interaction through which common norms and solidarities may be constructed and reconstructed"(1994:230).¹⁸

Some proposals in "*Sameness and Difference: Problems and Potentials in South African Civil Society (2000)*" address 'unity' of different citizens who belong to the public sphere, which now includes civil society and religion amongst state, market and voluntary sector. In particular, after

¹⁶ Casanova quotes from Niklas Luhmann's thesis of secularization, *The Invisible Religion*.

¹⁷ A new body in South Africa, which embodies the tripartite relationship between the state, business and labor in an attempt to work out policy positions acceptable to all. It is meant to provide a platform for labour in particular. (Cochrane, 2000:51)

¹⁸ Although common norms and solidarities are the objects of continuous construction or reconstruction, Peterson (2000) persists in applying Constitution as a standard norm in the contemporary South African society.

discussing various political dimensions of 'non-racialism' in South African history, Peterson proposes some options to melt the tension of difference by questing for 'sameness in difference' in the name of 'African'.¹⁹ Furthermore, on the basis of the South African Constitution, he emphasises the 'common good' in the name of 'justice', 'freedom' and 'non-racialism' (2000:117). He asserts that these elements can also be regarded as a breakthrough of inter-religious dialogues (2000:115). Similarly, Prozesky (2000) emphasises 'religious pluralism' from a 'process ethical' viewpoint. He regards it as a 'permanent feature of the spiritual dimension of reality and a profound moral good' (2000:189).

"Sameness and Difference: Problems and Potentials in South African Civil Society (2000)" discusses various approaches for building civil society in the public sphere of South Africa. For this purpose, religious people are functionally regarded as 'citizens' who are members of civil society in a public sphere. In modern times, they resided in a private sphere in the name of privatisation and secularisation. As the sacred was reduced to the profane in the process of secularisation, they were blamed for their dehumanisation and immorality. To overcome this after-effect of privatisation and secularisation, authors of the book suggest the shift of functional 'citizens' into public sphere, where state, market and voluntary sector reside. Through these various participations in the public sphere, authors contributed to investigating the essence of unity in difference towards their goal, building a civil society on the basis of religion.

This study, however points out that religious people should not be reduced to 'functional citizens' for building civil society, instead they need to be regarded as 'existential believers' who have faith in God whether they are in the public or private sphere. Once they move to the public sphere, their identities are functionally defined as citizens instead of believers. For that reason, the essence of sameness in Peterson's hypothesis is explained by Constitutional terms such as 'African', 'common good', 'justice', 'non-racialism', 'freedom' rather than by religious principles of 'mercy', 'love', 'respect' etc. On this basis, inter-religious dialogue and religious pluralism in Prozesky's (2000) case have the reason of their existence. Religious people who resided in the private

¹⁹ "Black-African, Colored-African, Indian-African, Euro-African... rethinking the language of difference in sameness... fundamentally breaks with the past and opens up new space for the future." (Peterson, 2000:114)

sphere, are now required to play a functional role in searching for the 'common goodness' of civil society by shifting themselves to the dimension of pluralism in the public sphere. Hence, they find their reason of existence not because of the entity of 'existential believer' but because of the entity of 'functional citizen'.

'African', 'Constitution', 'democracy', 'human rights' and 'common good' are other names of meta-narrative, which might reduce difference to sameness (Section 2.1; 2.2). Furthermore, these meta-narratives are also the object of deconstruction (Section 2.3). The book entitled "*Sameness and Difference: Problems and Potentials in South African Civil Society (2000)*" generally presupposes the goodness of idealistic civil society. For that reason, members of civil society are reduced to functional citizens who can dynamically participate in political, economic and voluntary sectors. Accordingly, inter-religious dialogue amongst functional citizens is possible regardless of their religious convictions. Nonetheless, it disregards their dreams or faith in a spiritual realm whether they reside in the private or public sphere.

This study does not view human beings from the aspect of political functionalism but from humanistic existentialism, not as 'citizens' of civil society but as believers who have dreams in the spiritual realm on the basis of Bible reading. Due to this reason, this study is different from the previous South African academic debates on "sameness and difference."

2.6. Summary

Theories on 'difference' are embodied in three streams, that is "difference toward discrimination," "questing for sameness," and "playing in the tension of difference." Many anthropologists and scholars of religious studies reveal the first stream of difference toward discrimination in the socio-politico-cultural contexts. Individuals who were of passive subjectivity, subjected themselves to the dominant socio-politico-cultural spirit of the world, which was characterised by the theme of 'discrimination', 'violence' and 'danger'. To melt the tension of difference, which was characterised by discrimination, Eliade "quested for sameness" in the name of 'dialectics of *hierophany*'. Given that Eliade presupposed the existence of 'the ideal type' or of 'the sacred', Smith

contends that Eliade could not avoid the violence of the imposition of the meta-narrative, the Christian apologetics. Accordingly, for Smith the theme of difference became the object of celebration in the playful dimension of difference. Similarly, within Smith's framework, many postmodern scholars highly regard the value of 'plurality', 'diversity', 'individualism', and 'the valour of difference'. Counteractively, Sardar contends that the third stream of difference in the playful dimension of difference is nothing other than the first stream of difference toward discrimination in 'a new form of cultural exploitation', 'a new twist of old narrative' and 'a new theory of imperialism'. In the development of the theory of difference, which was embodied in the three streams, the phenomenological and the ethical perspective of difference were, in particular, neglected. Hence, by using the ethical and phenomenological perspectives, this study pursues to find the alternative in the direction toward the 'unity in difference'. Lastly, this chapter points out the questionable modern academic tendency in the research on difference, which regards 'religious man' as a 'functional citizen'.

Given that this chapter theoretically outlines the entire chapters, Chapter 3,4, and 5 discuss the three streams of difference in the Korean and South African political, cultural and postmodern Bible reading. Chapter 6 highlights the alternative regarding the issue of difference in the stream of unity in the name of *Onjeong* Bible reading. In the process, 'religious man' is defined not as a functional citizen but as an existential believer, and, further, Chapter 7 exemplifies the existential believers' religious practices in modern times.

3. POLITICAL BIBLE READING IN THE STREAM OF DIFFERENCE TOWARD DISCRIMINATION: METAPHORIC ISRAELITES VERSUS NON-ISRAELITES

3.0. Introduction

The theme of difference was understood by the principle of 'radical separation' or 'discrimination' in the Bible reading in Korean and South African political contexts.

In the case of political Bible reading in Korea, the principle of 'radical separation' and 'discrimination' was clearly concretised within bilateral antagonistic relationships such as Japanese imperialists versus Korean nationalists during the Japanese colonial era (1910-1945) and the ruling classes versus '*Minjung*'²⁰ classes during the dictatorship period of president Park (1970s). For example, both sides of Korean and Japanese Bible readers ironically compared themselves to the metaphoric Israelites, who suffered from Ancient Egyptian tyranny and became pilgrims to the Promised Land. Accordingly, 'radical separation' and 'discrimination' were characterised in their Bible reading within bilateral antagonistic relationships such as Israelites versus Canaanites and God versus Satan.

Similarly, political Bible reading in South Africa was also characterised by the principle of 'radical separation' and 'discrimination' within bilateral antagonistic relationships such as conservative white Christian colonialists versus black Christian African liberation adherents. Just like the political Bible reading in Korea, both sides of Bible readers regarded themselves as the metaphoric Israelites rather than non-Israelites. Within this context, the theme of difference was explained within the stream of discrimination in their political Bible reading. Theories on difference in Section 2.1 were embodied in the political Bible reading, in which the tension of difference was directed to the stream of 'discrimination' and 'radical separation'.

²⁰ The definition of '*Minjung*' means the body of common people or people of low socio-politico-economic status; namely, the crowds, '*ochloi*' or the masses. They are classified as the *proletariat* in opposition to the *bourgeoisie* in Marx's (1888) framework of class struggle.

3.1. Political Bible Reading in Korea

3.1.1. Japanese Imperialists' Bible Reading during the Colonial Era

In the Meiji Era (1868-1912), Christianity was reintroduced to Japan by Western missionaries.²¹ In the process of the restoration of the rulership from the Tokugawa Shogunate back to the Emperor, the special privileges of the samurai classes were removed and, therefore, they were left in financial destitute without any of their former social status. Jennings (1997) points out that these underprivileged samurai classes and many of the rural elite comprised the first generation of Bible readers.

As Brown contends, the strong social influence of the first generation of Bible readers played a significant role in the formation of political ideology, despite small numbers of Christians in Japan. Although the statistical figures of Christians was approximately one person in every thousand of the population, one in every one hundred of the educated classes was a Christian (1919:634). Furthermore, given the strong influence of 'Christianity outside of the Churches', Christianity was slowly but steadily taking the place of Confucianism as the family religion of the Japanese (1919:638). This was shown by the existence of a small number of Christians, namely 14 out of 380 members of the House of Representatives were Christian political leaders in 1908 (Best, 1966:163). In addition, according to Brown, YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association) gained strong public favour from the governmental and military authorities during the Russia-Japan War (1904 February -1905 October), and has been highly favoured ever since. The attendance of soldiers at the eleven YMCA branches in Korea and Manchuria aggregated numbered a million and a half in eighteen months.²² Hence, even Prince Ito attended the opening of YMCA

²¹ Christianity was first introduced in Japan in the middle of the 16th century by Roman Catholic missionaries. After the establishment of the Tokugawa shogunate, Christianity was totally banned in 1637 owing to Tokugawa's closed-door policy. Afterwards, in the name of Meiji Restoration, the Emperor restored his ruling power back from the Tokugawa shogunate in 1868. Accordingly, dispossessed former samurai accepted Christianity for 'their self-cultivation' and 'social reform'. "Christian samurai lent their strength to associate themselves with a value system that seemed to offer structural similarities to their past order, gave a meaningful order to the new world, and promised future success for the believer."(Jennings, 1997: 8; Scheiner, 1970: 4-5; EOB, "Japan" 1998: 294)

²² Brown reasoned that the war lasted 18 months from 1904 March to 1905 September.

building in Seoul, December 4, 1908 (Brown, 1919:638).

Considering contemporary Bible reader's criticism about patriotic Japanese Christianity, Jennings (1997) asserts that the first generation of Bible readers 'unwillingly and unwittingly' sided with Japanese Imperialism. According to Jennings, Japanese Christianity was privatised so that it did not play a dominant role in the public sphere of imperial politics. He reports, "most Japanese intellectuals...retreated from direct critical inquiries into the specifics of the political, social and economic structure embodied in the state under the Imperial Constitution" (Jennings, 1997:17; Nolte, 1979:7). Furthermore, it was inevitable that Japanese Christianity was subjected to the imperialistic government authority for the purpose of sustaining its existence as Japanese church. This is because those who dared to criticise or oppose the national orthodoxy were guilty of heresy against the state and they could not be pardoned (Jennings, 1997:10; Kiyoko, 1978:94-95). Thus, Jennings characterises the first generation of Bible reading as 'unwilling silence' given the strong pressure of political discourses at that time.

However, as discussed in Section 2.1.1, whether racists or humanists, they were assumed to be whole and coherent subjects with a unified sense of identity instead of being regarded as passive subjects under the pressure of dominant political discourses. In other words, it is appropriate to say that the first generation of Bible readers 'willingly' read the Bible from a Japanese imperialist centred viewpoint under the influence of imperial ideology. This is clearly revealed in that most of the first generation Bible readers were from the former samurai (warriors who served the emperor) class (Choe, 2002:3).

In addition, Brown points out that Japanese Christianity was characterised by the existence of conflicting double standards. That is, a Japanese "can be a Christian as a private person and at the same time a pagan as a citizen" (1919:579). For Japanese Christians, "religion has nothing to do with politics or business" (1919:579). Thus, Japanese Bible readers read the Bible for the Kingdom of the Japanese Emperor. This is clearly shown by an arrest case of a pastor in Korea. Brown records, "one pastor was arrested because he preached about the **Kingdom of Heaven**; he was told that there was 'only one Kingdom out here and this is the **Kingdom of Japan**'" (1919:569).

Toshio summarises the nationalistic features of Japanese Christianity in the following points:

1. Since *Mikuni* (kingdom of the emperor) and *Mikuni* (kingdom of God) are pronounced in the same way, serving the emperor and cooperating in Japan's advance into China (and Korea) serves the advancement of the kingdom of God.
2. The emperor and Christ are identical, otherwise the Japanese would not believe in Christianity.
3. For the Japanese, if not for Westerners, *Shintoist* ancient writings such as *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki* are the Old Testament.
4. Yahweh, the God of the Old Testament, and the god Amenominakanushinokami of *Kojiki* are identical.
5. As it is written in the Old Testament, especially in the Book of Isaiah, the mission of the Japanese is to restore Israel, and the war against China (and Korea) was part of that mission. (1997:57)

Juji Nakada (1869-1939), one of the co-founders of the Oriental Missionary Society and its first president, the third son of a samurai family, also insisted on 'the extreme Japanese centred Zionism'. Nakada (1933) regarded Japan as one of the lost tribes of Israel (in Choe, 2002). It meant that if it were not for Japan, restoration of Israel would not be completed, therefore Christ's second coming would also be impossible (Yamamori, 1974:118; in Choe, 2002:10). On this ground, Nakada interpreted "another angel ascending from the rising of the sun" (Revelation 7:2) as Japan, since Japan was called "the Land of the Sunrising." Furthermore, Hiromichi Kozaki (1856-1928), a Christian theologian and son of a samurai of the Kumanoto clan who underwent Confucian education, also applied the Confucian order of a feudal society in Christianity (Dohi, 1997:16). That is, he asserted that subjects of Korea and China should be led by Christians of the emperor nation, Japan. Hence, Koreans and the Chinese became the object of evangelism. As Dohi (1997:16) points out, however, Nakada and Kozaki's idea laid the biblical foundation for engaging in 'the invasion and conquest of other Asian nations' by "another angel ascending from the rising sun", Japan. Thereby, Japanese Bible readers were assured that the Japanese Emperor's declaration of war would contribute to the independence of Korea and the peace of the Orientals (Dohi, 1993).

In 1907, Japanese Methodist missionaries introduced a new Methodist church doctrine as follows:

We are obedient to whatever authorities on earth. This is because all

authorities in the world are established by God. Accordingly, we serve the Japanese Emperor; we respect the Japanese Constitution; and we abide by the law. (Dohi, 1993:211)

This doctrine was inferred from Romans 13: 1-2 of the New Testament.²³ This doctrine concretised the loyalty of the Japanese Bible readers to Japanese Imperialism. In addition, Yoitsu Honda, the first Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Japan, justified his proclamation that the outbreak of the Russia-Japan war was absolutely righteous and necessary for all Asians, at an international Christian meeting in 1905. Similarly, Choe (2002) also points out, quoting from Cowman and Kilbourne (1904:9), that during the war Russia was described to Japanese Bible readers as Satan, who closed her doors to the orthodox messengers of Christ, Japan.

When Japan invaded Korea in 1910, the theory of *Ilseondongjo* (日鮮同祖) was widely spread by the Japanese. The theory stated that Korea and Japan originated from the same ancestor. Therefore, Masahisa Uemura (1858-1925), a theologian, editor and preacher of Tokyo, asserted that the land of Korea should have been given back to the Japanese forefathers. He quoted from Deuteronomy 31:7-8 of the Old Testament.

Then Moses summoned Joshua and said to him in the presence of all Israel, “Be strong and courageous, for you must go with the people into the land that the Lord swore to **their forefathers** to give them, and you must divide it among them as their inheritance. The lord himself goes before you and will be with you; he will never leave you nor forsake you. Do not be afraid; do not discouraged.”

Uemura (in Dohi, 1993:52) asserted that the Japanese authorities rightfully annexed Korea as the Korean forefathers. Furthermore, he supported this theory by using the Japanese Emperor’s edict. For Uemura, the Japanese received the land of Korea as an imperial ‘gift’, therefore the Japanese had the task of ruling over it.

²³ “Everyone must submit himself to the governing authorities, for there is no authority except that which God has established. Consequently, he who rebels against the authority is rebelling against what God has instituted, and those who do so will bring judgment on themselves.”

When the March First Independence Movement broke out in 1919, Wadase (in Dohi, 1993:69), a Japanese Methodist resident in Korea, criticised Korean Christians. He blamed Korean Christians for participating in the resistance movement. He reasoned that Christianity should focus on universalism or worldwide brotherhood. In other words, Christianity should be based on the principle of non-resistance. However, Korean Christians participated in the independence movement, resisting Japanese Imperialism. For that reason, Wadase criticised the Korean Christians who led the March First Independence Movement. Wadase underrated the March First Independence Movement as a riot, which was led by Koreans obsessed with Judaic Patriotism (in Dohi, 1993:64). In addition, Wadase regarded the *Cheondo-gyo* (天道教: Korean indigenous religion, which had been upheld by Korean farmers in the late Joseon dynasty) as superstitious people's political gathering.

After the March First Independence Movement, imperialistic policy of *Hwangguksinmin* (皇國臣民: subjects of the Japanese Emperor) was highly regarded in colonial education in Korea. As Dohi (1993) writes,²⁴ Koreans were principally expected to become the same '*Hwangguksinmin*' as the Japanese during the Japanese colonial era. However, history shows that the Koreans were discriminated by the Japanese.

Throughout the Japanese colonial period in Korea, Japanese Bible readers regarded Koreans as Canaanites, who had unjustly possessed their Promised Land. Furthermore, Japanese Bible readers viewed Koreans as objects of enlightenment so as to subject them to the authority of the Japanese Emperor's kingdom. Whereas the Japanese are likened to Christ and the Light, the Koreans are likened to Satan and Darkness. As discussed in Section 2.1, during the Japanese colonial period (1910-1945), Japanese Bible readers became passive subjects to dominant political ideology of Japanese Imperialism, which characterised 'discrimination' against other Asian countries. In short, the theme of difference between the Japanese and Koreans was characterised by the theme of 'radical separation', 'discrimination' in Japanese political Bible reading.

²⁴ "We know that the Japanese and Koreans are equal in front of Jesus Christ. All human beings are sons of God. On this ground, Japanese Emperor will treat all Koreans and Japanese equally." (Dohi, 1993)

3.1.2. Korean Nationalists' Bible Reading during the Colonial Era

Just like Christianity in Japan, Christianity was reintroduced to Korea during the period of western imperialism.²⁵ Many missionaries officially entered Korea mainly from the United States, Canada and Australia after 1885. As a missionary Brown observed that Korean Christians showed great zeal in church activity compared with Japanese Christians.

A Japanese town of 8,000 inhabitants probably has 100 or 200 Christians. The church edifice is a comparatively small building and the congregations are largely outnumbered by Buddhist or secular gatherings. But of the 8,000 inhabitants of the Korean town of Syenchyun, where the trouble first became acute, about half of them are the Christians, while the adjacent villages are also large Christian...Congregations of Christians, however, throng the church with 1,200 or 1,500 Koreans several times on Sundays, and the mid-week prayer meetings are attended by from 700 to 1000. Similar conditions prevail in many other towns and villages. (Brown, 1919:568)

Given that Christianity had already been well known to scholar class as an alternative for social reform since the late 16th century, Christianity could give hope to many Korean Christians faced with a national crisis. In particular, after the two wars (the China-Japan war in 1894 and the Russia-Japan war in 1904), Korean churches became the places of refuge for Koreans who had lost their country and provided political space for planning of social and political movements (McCully, 1903:137,155).

When the Japanese imperialists deprived the Koreans of their diplomatic

²⁵ The introduction of Christianity to Korea was dated from the late 16th century. After Japanese (Hideyosi's) invasion of Joseon Dynasty in 1592, advanced scholar class accepted Catholicism from China as an object of acquiring western knowledge. Lee Sugwang summarised the book entitled *Debate on the will of the Lord of Heaven* (Cheonjusirui 天主實意) written by Matteo Ricci in 1595 and introduced it from China to Korea in the early 17th century. Given that Catholicism was understood to demolish the distinction of social classes and to disrespect the natural order of man, the Joseon government had a persistent ban on Catholicism. It was not until many Catholics were persecuted during four distinctive periods between 1801 and 1866 that Joseon government opened the door to Christian missionaries under the control of western imperialism (Kim, 2003:18).

rights in 1905, the Korean Christians held prayer meetings for national salvation. They prayed for Gojong (r.1863-1907), the 26th king of the Joseon Dynasty and for their nation. Secondly, some Christian soldiers and officials, including Min Yeunghwan, killed themselves patriotically to resist Japanese governance at around 1907. In addition, Jang Inhwan, a Christian from Pyeongyang attacked D.W. Stevens, the pro-Japanese American diplomatic adviser in San Francisco in March 1908. Thirdly, after 1907, Christians, particularly women established many institutions for redeeming national debts such as the Rice Gathering Association. These political independence movements continued and culminated in the 'March First Independence Movement' in 1919. Many reverends and elders of churches, including Gil Seonju and Lee Seunghun, played major roles in organising demonstrators and connecting other religious leaders (Lee, 2001; Park, 1997).

During that period, Christians sang hymns of battle in churches such as 'Onward, Christian Soldiers, Marching as to war!' and "Stand up, stand up for Jesus, Ye soldiers of the Cross" (Brown, 1919:569). In view of biblical hermeneutics, Korean Christians found encouragement from reading the following Bible stories.

In the Old Testament, firstly the theme of Exodus was mainly discussed, which dealt with Israelite's liberation from Egyptian troops. Secondly, the theme of Babylonian captivity was disputed, which promised Israelites' escape from the destruction of Babylon. Thirdly, Israelites' surroundings were considered, in which Israelites were threatened by strong neighbours such as the Philistines and other foreign tribes. In the New Testament, the book of 'Revelation' was particularly regarded as being very important. It dealt with believers' hope that they would behold new heavens and the new earth (Park, 1997:189).

According to Park (1997), Swallen (1907) quotes a headline from a textbook in a Sunday school at that time as follows:

Just as Japan was an evil force to Koreans, so Egypt was an evil force to Israelites. Just as Israelites realised Egyptians' barbarity of evil forces, so Koreans gradually realised the essence of evil forces. (Swallen, 1907:4; Park, 1997:189)

This reveals that Koreans regarded themselves as Israelites. Besides, Japanese Imperialism was described as an evil force, just as Egypt was the evil

force to Israelites. Furthermore, Park (1997:190) asserts that Korean Christians thought of Jesus as the captain of the battle. In addition, they regarded the Holy Spirit as a sword, and their belief as a shield.

According to Brown (1919:569), McCunn compared Koreans to David and the Japanese to Goliath (the Philistine champion from Gath). In other words, McCunn encouraged Koreans to be strong when they were faced with a national crisis. Japanese police authorities regarded Korean Christian communities as a den of leaders of anti-Japanese independence movement. To the contrary, March First Independence Movement arose countrywide and lasted for one year in which Koreans protested against Japanese Imperialism in the principle of nonresistance and nonviolence. However, Japanese government authorities used military force against Koreans, therefore 3,804 Korean Christians were arrested (KCHRCII, 1997: 37).

Gil Seonju, as a Christian leader of independence movement, justified Korean Christian leaders' participation in the March First Independence Movement on the basis of his biblical interpretation. He argued that the Japanese forced the Koreans to be obedient to the governance of the Japanese Emperor by emphasising the feature of loyalty in Confucian philosophy, which is summarised by the imperialistic aphorism, "the country exists, therefore, I am." However, Gil reasoned the other way on the basis of the biblical principle. As he stated, "because of one man, Achan (Joshua 7:18), the Israelites were defeated in the war against Ai, and because of one man, Moses, all the Israelites were liberated from the oppression of Egyptians. Although very old, Caleb had the strength of youth and could expel the heathens from the land of Canaan" (Gil, 1926: 10-11), Gil concluded, "I exist, therefore, the country exists, and I exist, therefore, the world exists." On this ground, Gil encouraged Christian individuals to work willingly for their families, church and people toward the final goal of national independence. Gil asserted that there existed only one Kingdom of God, which was in opposition to the Kingdom of Satan. Hence, Gil stressed that a Christian should come out of the Kingdom of Satan, which was regarded as Japanese Imperialism, and should move into the Kingdom of God, "where people enjoy liberty, freedom, equality and justice, a country emancipated from foreign domination" (in Kim Insu, 1993: 175-6).

Even with regard to the Christian life style of drinking and smoking, Gil insisted that 'the most iniquitous habits ever invented by Satan were drinking and cigarette-smoking and these two were the curse of Korea.' He was inferring

from Proverb 23:29-35: “who has woe...those staying a long time with the wine...at its end it bites just like a serpent, and it secretes poison just like a viper...” He reasoned that the Japanese introduced tobacco and alcohol to Korea and built many tobacco factories not only for the purpose of economic exploitation but also for intoxicating the sound spirit of Korean people. Accordingly, he strongly campaigned for non-smoking and non-drinking even after March First Independence Movement (Cooke, 1915:108; Kim Insu, 1993:172-4).

Similarly, through the interpretation of the Revelation of John, he urged Korean Christians not to abandon their native land because someday they would regain it.²⁶ He preached to Christians that they should prepare for the Lord's coming and be ready to fight the wicked power, which oppressed one's nation. Gil asserted that Christians lived in two worlds, the world of this age and the world which is to come (Ephesians 1:21). On this ground, Gil's biblical interpretation played a catalytic role for Christians in leading the March First Independence Movement.

In summary, the Korean Christians read the Bible in the principle of radical separation or discrimination during the period of Japanese Imperialism just as the Japanese Christians did. Both sides of Bible readers read the Bible politically from their nationalistic centred viewpoint. For Korean Bible readers, Koreans were symbolically David, subjects of Kingdom of God and Israelites whereas the Japanese were Goliath, subjects of Kingdom of Satan and barbaric Egyptians. Brown characterises this conflicting and ironical situation from the missionaries' viewpoint at that time.

If the missionaries show sympathy with the Koreans, they arouse the resentment of the Japanese; and if they show sympathy with the Japanese, they arouse the resentment of the Koreans and lose their influence on them. It is a case of walking a tight rope between the devil and the deep sea (Brown, 1919:576).

Just as the Japanese Bible readers became the passive subjects of dominant discourses of Japanese Imperialism, so did the Korean Bible readers subject themselves to the dominant political ideology of national independence. On this ground, the theme of difference between Korean Bible readers and the

²⁶ “The earth on which Jesus walked will become a new land and will exist forever.”(in Gil, 1980: 135-141)

Japanese Bible readers was characterised by 'radical separation' and 'discrimination' in their political biblical interpretation.

3.1.3. Korean *Minjung*'s Bible Reading in the 1970s

During president Park's military dictatorship in Korea, *Minjung* theology played a catalytic role in the 1970s anti-government demonstration movement of the masses.²⁷ Given the dichotomous discriminative socio-political structure between the oppressors and the oppressed, the rich and the poor at that time, Ahn (1991), one of the prominent *Minjung* theologians, asserted that God was on the side of the oppressed and the poor classes, namely the *Minjung* class. According to Ahn (1991), during the days of the Old Testament, Yahweh was on the side of Israelites, who were oppressed by Egyptians. After Jesus Christ came to earth, God was on the side of Galileans who were discriminated against by people of Jerusalem. Given that the word 'Hebrew' does not etymologically connote a racial or tribal concept but a class, God can be explained as God of *Minjung* class (Ahn, 1991:139). In other words, Ahn emphasised that God did not choose Israelites as His chosen people but Hebrews, *Minjung* class, who espoused 'Mono-Yawhism'.

Ahn (1991:139) asserts that the tribe of Israel was not the sole conqueror of Canaan. On the contrary, peasants and underprivileged people in Syria and Palestine revolted against the monarchy in Palestine (Canaan). In other words, Hebrews, whose concept did not only imply oppressed Israelites but also oppressed Canaanites, together revolted against the monarchy in Canaan and founded ancient Israel in the name of 'Mono-Yawhism'.²⁸ Thereby, 'Mono-

²⁷ After Korea's liberation from Japanese Imperialism in 1945, Korea was divided into North and South Korea by two foreign countries: Russia in North Korea and the United States in South Korea. After the Korean War that lasted for 3 years from 1950 to 1953, South Koreans were faced with political unrest in society. Taking advantage of this unrest, military authority was established in 1961 through a military coup which lasted until 1987. Particularly during the period of president Park Jeonghui's dictatorship in the 1970s, thousands of demonstrators were killed in anti-government demonstrations. For example, Jeon Taeil (1948-1970), a tailor, burnt himself to death in 1970 in order to demand human rights for workers.

²⁸ "The oppressed people who lived under the rule of monarchy in Palestine were united

Yawhism' became a universal cause to unite the oppressed people, who suffered from class distinction. Irrespective of races, the oppressed could believe in God through tribal alliances.

However, this 'Mono-Yawhism' lasted for only 200 years until David's Kingdom was set up in 1070 B.C.E. Ahn (1993a) further explained that this was because King David and King Solomon confined this universal God, who was worshiped by all the oppressed class, in the temple. King David built the kingdom of Israel by unifying northern ancient Israel and southern Judea. Afterwards, his illegitimate son, King Solomon built the 'Temple of God' in Jerusalem which previously belonged to the land of Judea rather than the land of ancient Israel. Consequently, people who lived in the ancient Israel had to make pilgrimages to the Holy Land (Jerusalem). Besides, whenever they wanted to worship God, they had to bring burnt offerings to priests. To make matters worse, the priestly class in Jerusalem excluded poor people and workers by using sanitation rules. People who wore dirty clothes could not enter the temple in Jerusalem. Therefore, a universal God of the oppressed was reduced to a local god that existed only inside the Temple in Jerusalem (Ahn, 1993a: 167).

In response, using the biblical text of Amos, Ahn (1993a) stated that the prophet Amos resisted this despotism of high classes in Israel to restore 'Mono-Yawhism'.²⁹ Similarly, various resistance movements continued to be held from a strategic foothold of ancient Israel. According to Ahn, these were led by 'Chasidim', 'Essenes', John the Baptist and even Jesus Christ (Ahn, 1993a: 66). In the 'event' of Jesus Christ, in particular, Ahn (1991) focuses on Mark 1:14, which says, "after John was put in prison, Jesus went into **Galilee** proclaiming the good news of God." Galilee belonged to ancient Israel (not Judea), where the *Minjung* had strong belief in 'Mono-Yawhism'. On the contrary, Jerusalem was the place where the priestly class treated the *Minjung* cruelly. Jesus intended to restore a universal "Mono-Yawhism," therefore Jesus placed much more value on Galilee than on Jerusalem. For example, in Galilee Jesus first proclaimed that 'the Kingdom of God is near' (Mark 1:15). Contrary to Luke, Mark wrote that Jesus would show himself in Galilee to his disciples and the

in spirit with Israelites who escaped from Egypt in the name of 'Mono-Yawhism'." (Ahn, 1993a: 64)

²⁹ "Even though you bring me burnt offerings and grain offerings, I (Jehovah) will not accept them." (Amos, 5:21; Mark, 12:33)

Minjung of Galilee after resurrection rather than in Jerusalem.³⁰ In addition, Jesus condemned the monarchy as inferred from Mark 10:42.³¹

Ahn asserts that Jesus demolished the 'Temple of Jerusalem', which had been built by King David and Solomon (1993a: 67). In this way, Jesus could restore 'Mono-Yawhism'. Although the slogan 'Mono-Yawhism' was changed afterward into 'Through Jesus Christ', the resistance movement continued to develop in close connection to '*Minjung*'. In short, the Old and New Testament focus on "God of the oppressed, '*Minjung*' class" whether His name is Yahweh (in Mono-Yawhism) or Jesus Christ.

Ahn (1991) bases his biblical interpretation on a political 'event' of Korean *Minjung's* demonstration in the 1970s. He contends that European biblical hermeneutics focuses on a literal meaning of the Bible as the Word of God. For example, European Bible readers energetically dispute the day of the second coming of Jesus. On the contrary, Ahn (1991, 1993b) states that Jesus was present at the *Minjung's* demonstration, where numerous demonstrators were laid down on the ground with faces covered in blood while fighting against the unjust regime (Ahn, 1993b: 5). In particular, confronted with an urgent situation of "to be or not to be", they had no time to spare to think of the abstract meaning of God's word. For them, God had the reason of His existence only because Yahweh and Jesus were on the *Minjung* side to protest against the unjust monarchy. Thereby, Ahn highlights the importance of the 'event' rather than 'words' of the Bible.

'*Minjung*' Bible readers also read the Bible in the principle of 'radical separation'. The difference between the oppressor and the oppressed, the rich and the poor, Jerusalem and Galilee, could not be sublimated in unity, given that God was always on the side of the latter. On the contrary, God was reduced to the level of collaborator with a dichotomous discriminative structure, which was characterised by 'discrimination', 'violence' and 'danger'. In the etymological notion of Hebrew as *Minjung*, God could be called as an impartial and universal God for all oppressed people beyond the tribal and national barrier. However, God could not be the universal God in a true sense in that He was subsumed again into another name of dichotomous discriminative structure of class, *Minjung* and *Anti-Minjung*.

³⁰ "But go, tell his disciples and Peter, 'He is going ahead of you into Galilee. There you will see him, just as he told you.'"(Mark, 16:7)

³¹ "...those who are regarded as rulers of the Gentiles lord it over them..."

3.1.4. Political Bible Reading in Korea

In retrospect, Korean political Bible reading was characterised by the principle of 'radical separation' and 'discrimination'. Just as Foucault, Girard and Douglas in Section 2.1 theoretically characterised the theme of difference in the name of 'discrimination', 'violence' and 'danger', so Japanese and Korean political Bible readers practically understood the theme of difference from the viewpoint of radical separation and discrimination.

Firstly, the theme of difference between the Korean and the Japanese Bible readers was explained as discrimination against both sides (Section 3.1.1 and 3.1.2). Both sides became passive subjects of dominant political ideologies whether Japanese Imperialism or national spirit of Korean Independence. This discrimination and radical separation arose from the difference of nationality.

Secondly, the theme of difference between the oppressor and the oppressed, the rich and the poor, 'Jerusalem' and 'Galilee' was also explained by the principle of discrimination and radical separation (Section 3.1.3). For the oppressed, liberation was the foremost task to attain, even if they were subsumed into another dichotomous discriminative structure. Although discrimination that arose from different nationalism was overcome, another layer of discrimination inevitably arose from the class distinction by God's unilateral support of the '*Minjung*'.

Similarly, the South African Bible readers read the Bible politically. Therefore, the theme of difference was also characterised by 'discrimination' and 'radical separation'. Just as the principle of discrimination arose from the difference of nation or class in the Korean political Bible reading, so difference of race laid a foundation for discrimination in the South African political Bible reading.

3.2. Political Bible Reading in South Africa

3.2.1. Afrikaner's Schizophrenic and Bifocal Bible Reading during the Apartheid Era

Whereas the Japanese and Koreans accepted Christianity from European missionaries, European colonialists (white South Africans) identified themselves as Christian Bible readers.³²

From the period of black slavery, the biblical idea of "the curse of Ham" inferred from texts of Gen 9:18-27, namely Ham's descendants were cursed to be slaves of Shem and Japheth, was generally accepted by white colonialists. Despite the fact that "**Ham sinned and Canaan was cursed**"³³, the theme, "the curse affected not just Canaan but Ham and all of Ham's descendants", was common from the seventh century onward in Near Eastern sources (Arabic Muslim and Christian Syriac), then in the Christian West, and most perniciously in America (Goldenberg, 2003). Given that the etymological meaning of the word, 'Ham' is generally known as 'heat', 'darkness' or 'blackness', Ham, as the ancestor of black people, needed to be cursed for the justification of the black slavery. Furthermore, Cain who killed his brother Abel was also regarded as the ancestor of black Africans, as recorded by Phyllis Wheatley, the African American poet in 1773, "remember Christians, Negroes black as Cain/ May be refined, and join the angelic train" (in Goldenberg, 2003:178). The idea that Cain became black was introduced even in one of the Armenian 'Adam-book' dated approximately to the fifth or sixth century. It states, "The Lord was worth with Cain... He beat Cain's face with **hail**, which blackened like **coal**, and thus

³² The Bible found its way to South Africa through European missionaries and colonialists. Missionaries from LMS (London Missionary Society) engaged in missionary work to the Nguni people on the eastern coast from Xhosa to Zulu and Swazi in the 1800s (Sundkler and Steed, 2000: 344-5). Afterward, Anglicans came to South Africa in 1848 and did missionary work from Cape Town. In addition, the American Board of Commissioners functioned as a pioneering catalytic body in Natal in 1834, similar to the Congregational LMS in the Cape. Given that missionaries used colonialists' trading post as missionary centers, Africans could not differentiate the religious intentions of white missionaries from the economic intentions of white colonialists (Beetham, 1967:11; Kim, 2003: 47).

³³ According to the Biblical chronology, Ham had four sons; 'Egypt', 'Put', 'Kush' who were regarded as the ancestor of black people in Africa, and 'Cannan', the ancestor of lighter-skinned peoples living to the east of the Medditerian Sea.

he remained with a **black face** "(in Goldenberg, 2003:180).³⁴ The idea of 'the curse of Ham' and 'the cursed Cain became black' was in line with European polygenists' racial statement about the original colour of creation during the 18th and 19th centuries. That is, whereas monogenists agreed that all humankind were descendants of Adam, polygenists asserted that blacks had been created on the sixth day, the same day as the animals, so that they were excluded from the Garden of Eden (Haasbroek, 1981:3). Wade and Gossett further note, "not all kinds of human beings are indeed Adam's descendants. The biblical narrative of the descendants of Adam through Noah was the story of but one of several human species. **White alone are true descendants of Adam**"(Wade, 2000: 30; Gossett, 1965). Since the church council of Drakenstein first made mention of this passage on the curse of Ham's descendants in 1703, this idea was as alive as ever until the first quarter of the 20th century (Loubser, 1987:7).

During the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902),³⁵ Afrikaners, figuratively compared themselves to Israelites, the British imperialists to the Egyptian rulers, and native Blacks to Canaanites.

The Voortrekkers identified themselves with the people of Israel, who trekked out of Egypt (the Cape Colony and British oppression) to the

³⁴ According to Goldenberg (2003), however, firstly, with regard to "the curse of Ham", etymologically, the word 'Ham' has nothing to do with 'heat', 'burnt', 'darkness' or 'blackness'; secondly, with regard to "the curse of Cain", some Syriac Christians misunderstood the Syriac translation (Peshitta) of the verse to Genesis 4:5, "And Cain was greatly saddened (or distressed) and his face **fell (sad)**." They mistook "his face **fell ('tkmr=sad)**" for "Cain became **black ('kmr= the root of 'tkmr**, which commonly means "to be black" and then, in a transferred sense "to be sad")"; hereupon, the idea of Cain's permanent change of skin color was introduced (2003:157-182).

³⁵ In a number of conflicts between the British imperialists and the Dutch-descended Boers (Afrikaners) in the 1830s and the 1840s, several thousand Boer families left the Cape Colony in flight from intrusive British rule and in search of new land. "Nationalist historians dubbed this exodus the 'Great Trek'" (EOA, 1999:147). In the process, Boers annexed the Ndebele in the western Transvaal in 1837 and the Zulu in Natal in 1838. In addition, through four wars against the Xhosa in 1819, 1834-35, 1846 and 1850-1852; Boers annexed Xhosa territory and turned it into their farms. However, Boers' regime was threatened by the British military power. Finally, in Boer War (1899-1902), the British defeated the Boers. As a result, Boers gave in the world's great gold reserves to the demand of the British. In the aftermath of the war, some twenty thousand Afrikaner (Boer) women and children died in concentration camps, whose death toll was 344 per 1000 compared with the great flu epidemic of 1918 whose death toll was only 17 per 1000 (EOA, 1999:149; Loubser, 1987:20).

Promised Land (the interior, Canaan), where they were harassed by the children of Ham (of whom the Blacks were believed to be descendants). (Loubser, 1987:18)

Although the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) outwardly refuted the argument about the curse on Canaan in 1974,³⁶ Afrikaner Bible readers' pivotal racial viewpoints were never changed in essence. Instead, they were sophisticated and finally culminated into an Apartheid theology. The book entitled '*Human Relations and the South African Scene in the Light of Scripture* (1974)³⁷ is a typical example that shows 'the most sophisticated phase of the Apartheid Bible' (Loubser, 1987:100).

Bax (1981:37), thereby, criticises the book entitled HR (1974) arguing that it was based on a bifocal and schizophrenic theology. Just as the Japanese read the Bible from the viewpoint of conflicting double standards,³⁸ Afrikaners read the Bible with a 'bifocal' view of 'God and Volk'.³⁹ For Japanese Bible readers, the Emperor of Japan was another name of God so that they subjected themselves to imperial authority. Accordingly, the state was highly regarded comparing with God. Similarly, for Afrikaner Bible readers, they had a bifocal standard of Bible reading, which kept one eye on God and the other on the *volk*.

During the period of the Reformation in the 16th century, John Calvin (1509-64) focused on God in the name of 'Sola Scriptura', 'Sola Fide', 'Sola Gratia' by rejecting a corrupted bureaucratic Catholicism which was closely related with 'a papal indulgence' (EOB, 1998; in Bax, 1981:36). In Calvin's generation, the dominant ideology in European societies was characterised by romanticism which placed much more value on human being's 'love' or 'reason' than on the Supreme God. For that reason, science and technology were

³⁶ "There is no Scriptural basis for relating the subordinate position of some present day peoples to the curse on Canaan." (HR, 1974:19)

³⁷ The book entitled '*Human Relations and the South African Scene in the Light of Scripture* (1974) is abbreviated as HR, since authorship is not by individuals but by authorities of the Dutch Reformed Church.

³⁸ "The Japanese can be a Christian as a private person and at the same time a pagan as a citizen." (Brown, 1919:579)

³⁹ The concept of *Volk* (people, nation, or race) has been an underlying idea in Afrikaner history since the early nineteenth century. Inherent in the name was a feeling of superiority of Afrikaner culture and the idea of a universal mission for the Afrikaners.

conspicuously developed on the strong foothold of human being's reason, and numerous artists wrote various kinds of novels and poetry in the theme of love in the era of romanticism.⁴⁰ Resisting this strong pressure of secularism, Calvin emphasised 'Sola Scriptura'. He put God first instead of secular human being's 'desire of fame or money', 'love' and 'reason'.

Irrespective of Calvin's fundamental religious pietism, the general trend of romanticism continuously laid a cornerstone in building the ideology of nationalism until the early 20th century. In other words, as inferred from Nietzsche's declaration of God's death, the intensity of God weakened slowly and finally shrank into none. Instead, nation (*Volk*) surged as the new centre of object of worship. As Hegel (1982) asserts, the Absolute Spirit revealed itself through the nation.⁴¹ This was also inferred from the popularity of dominant socio-political ideology in the early 20th century such as 'Max Muller and De Gobineau's myth of the eminence of the Aryan race', 'the German romantic idea of the people as an organism', and 'Darwin's evolutionary theory' (Loubser, 1987:48). The point is that *volk* (state, nation) was regarded as a living organism substituting for God's position. This point could be clarified through the main theme of natural theology.

Natural theology was developed under the influence of romanticism focusing on human reason, which was exemplified in evolutionary theory, scientific development and so on. Its main argument could be simplified as follows: even if there was no biblical proof or God's grace, the existence of nature itself could reveal God's creative purposes on the basis of human being's reasoning⁴² (Hick, 1973). This is because nature is regarded as possessing God's divine attributes. On this ground, in the early 20th century, many German nationalists interpreted the *volk* as a living organism or nature (God's creature).

⁴⁰ Numerous writers such as Shakespeare, Keats, and Shelly etc. in English literature understood the great shift from the theme of God into the theme of love or reason.

⁴¹ Bax further states, "Hegel regarded the Absolute Spirit Itself as coming to its supreme expression in the form of the nation and its *Volksgeist*, and so providing the nation with its own *Gesetz* or fundamental law" (Bax, 1981:29).

⁴² Philosophically, the infinite and perfect being cannot be recognised by finite and imperfect beings. If finite and imperfect beings recognised the infinite and perfect being, He could not be infinite and perfect. This is because the infinite and perfect being should be transcendental above the realm of reasoning of imperfect beings. The moment when finite and imperfect beings recognise Him, He cannot remain as the infinite and perfect being any more. Therefore, finite and imperfect beings could recognise Him indirectly only through creatures into which God had allotted His supreme power.

This idea played a dominant role in generating the political ideology of nationalism as another name of God, *Volk* (Nazism). Similarly, Afrikaners read the Bible by identifying the *volk* as a living organism to sustain the Apartheid system.

Leading Afrikaans intellectuals began to develop a new ideology of Afrikaner nationalism in the 1930s and 1940s..., the hothouse...was the Afrikaner Broederbond..., Daniel F. Malan himself was influenced by Romantic ideas from Europe about the *volk* and especially, as his dominee son, Danie Malan, has recently testified, by the philosophy of Hegel. (Bax, 1981:31)

Hence, contrary to Calvin's fundamental pietism, 'Sola Scriptura', the Afrikaner Bible readers outwardly had a bifocal viewpoint of 'God and *Volk*'. However, they laid disproportionate emphasis on the *volk* in essence instead of God just as Japanese Bible readers put the emphasis on the Japanese Emperor. Given that the emphasis of the *volk* was another way of searching for God, Afrikaner Bible readers regarded themselves as 'Israelites' and non-Afrikaners as 'heathens' (Loubser, 1987:5). Therefore, the theme of difference between Afrikaners (normally white South Africans) and non-Afrikaners (normally black South Africans) characterised 'radical separation' and 'discrimination' in the name of 'schizophrenic' and 'bifocal' Apartheid theology.

In addition to a bifocal view of 'God and *Volk*', the book *HR* (1974) shows various cases of schizophrenic and bifocal features. For example, on the one hand, it emphasised the significance of 'contextual theology' by asserting a diversity of black African indigenous culture.

In Europe and the American Christianity has been westernised and in the Orthodox Churches it has been Orientalised; by the same token the Christian faith must be Africanised in Africa. (HR, 1974:87)

That is, Afrikaners intended to justify Apartheid⁴³ by emphasising the

⁴³ Apartheid is defined as an ideology, a closed, totalitarian system of ideas, which has in mind the **total separation of the Black and White races in South Africa** and which endeavors to make its influence felt over the whole spectrum of human activities (Loubser, 1987).

feature of diversity. However, on the other hand, it clearly refuted the essence of African indigenous culture which was characterised by polygamy, ancestor worship, witchcraft and so on. It is stated, "*lobola*⁴⁴... cannot be reconciled with the gospel... polygamy, ancestor worship, witchcraft must be condemned" (HR, 1974:88). This clearly shows a schizophrenic and bifocal feature of Afrikaner's viewpoint of Bible reading. Without these crucial African customs, it is rather appropriate to say that Christian faith must be 'westernised' instead of 'Africanised'.

Furthermore, the think-tank of HR (1974) basically fell into the fallacy by identifying 'factual proposition' with 'normative proposition' in logic. For example, they emphasised 'the fact of the existence of disparate people' in Scriptures (HR, 1974:87; Matthew 28:19; Acts 2:5; Romans 1:16). In addition, they intended to read the Bible in the theme of diversity (Gen 1:28; Gen 11:1-9; Acts 2:5-11; Rev 7:9) and boundary (Deuteronomy 32: 8-9; Acts 17:26) (Kim, 2003). After the event of the Tower of Babel, the existence of a great multitude of all nations, tribes, peoples and tongues was a historical fact until the Judgement Day. Nobody would dare to deny this historical fact of the existence of 'diversity and boundary' amongst nations, tribes, peoples and languages. On this ground, the think-tank of HR concluded that Apartheid was God's providence so that separate development was normative.

After all, we accept that ethnic diversity is the will of God...to preserve order in society and when it decides for certain reasons that in a multiracial and multinational society public order is best preserved by the separate existence of the various population groups. (HR, 1974:94,96)

However, in logic, factual proposition is one thing and normative proposition is another. For example, the factual proposition (A is B) could not ensure the validity of normative proposition (A ought to be B). The factual proposition (man dies) could not become an unchangeable norm (man ought to die). If that were the case, religion would lose the reason of its existence. This is because the Supreme God in Christianity could not perform any miracle to change the historical fact of death of humans. However, He, via Jesus Christ demonstrated the example of resurrection through Lazarus and Christian Bible readers would have no doubt that there would be no more tears and no more

⁴⁴ Bride price or bride wealth (Section 6.2.2.)

death when God's Kingdom is established in new heavens and on a new earth (John 11:11,14-44; Revelation 20:4; Isaiah 65:17).

The think-tank of HR (1974) fell into the fallacy by identifying the factual proposition of the existence of various nations, tribes, peoples and languages with normative proposition of God's will on them. As a result, they showed various schizophrenic and bifocal aspects in their Bible reading without careful consideration of basic difference of 'proposition' in logic. The naivety of their biblical reasoning was clearly revealed in Bax's (1983) criticism that argues that, even if God willingly set boundaries of nations so that this would be God's providence, it does not stand for man's 'presumptuous control' under the banner of Apartheid (1983:133).

Nonetheless, as discussed in Section 2.1.1, the Afrikaner Bible readers assumed themselves to be whole and coherent subjects with a unified sense of identity instead of being regarded as passive subjects under the pressure of dominant discriminative racial discourses. Just as the Japanese Bible readers 'willingly' accepted their conflicting double standards as natural (Section 3.1.1), so Afrikaner Bible readers had no doubt about the supremacy of their bifocal and schizophrenic Bible reading. This is clearly revealed in the historical fact that about 45% of DRC ministers were members of the Broederbond.⁴⁵

In summary, Afrikaner Bible readers justified their racial discrimination on the basis of the schizophrenic and bifocal understanding of the Bible. Just as the Japanese read the Bible with another name for God (Japanese Emperor), Afrikaner Bible readers focused on another name for God (*Volk*) whose members were strictly restricted to Afrikaners. In this way, both sides of Bible readers discriminated against others (Koreans and black South Africans) who were regarded as heathens by subjecting themselves to the political discriminative ideology of their time. Hence, even in political Bible reading in South Africa, the theme of difference between white South Africans and black South Africans was characterised by 'discrimination' and 'radical separation' in the name of 'schizophrenic' and 'bifocal' Apartheid Bible reading.

⁴⁵ "Some 848 DRC ministers out of a total of about 2000 are members of the Broederbond" (Bax, 1981:41; Wilkins and Strydom, 1978:284). The Broederbond is a secret society that was formed in 1918 to mobilise Afrikaners in their rivalry with the English-speaking South Africans (Maccann, 2001:11). According to Ngcokovane (1989:59), the Broederbond played a decisive role in shaping the history of Afrikaner nationalism.

3.2.2. Black South African Bible Reading in the 1970s

If the Afrikaner Bible readers understood racial difference in the theme of radical separation of Apartheid, then black South African Bible readers understood it in another name of separation between the oppressed and the oppressor, the 'have-nots' and the 'haves' (Boesak, 1984:12). As a counterattack to Afrikaner Bible reading, black South African Bible readers were on the side of blacks with regard to 'racial difference' and were on the side of the oppressed with regard to 'class difference'. If Afrikaner Bible reading caused a radical separation by emphasising the 'Volk', then black South African Bible readers could not escape from the basic premises of separation between the oppressed and the oppressor by stressing the value of the oppressed. Figuratively, if the former could be in the direction of the positive, then the latter could be in the direction of the negative as a counter force on a straight line in mathematics. That is, both sides of the Bible readers understood the Bible on the dimension of separation under the influence of dominant discriminative political discourses.

As Boesak (1984:17) observes, given the fact that a 'black person' was translated into '*swartnerf*' ('black hide') or '*swartslang*' ('black snake', a collective noun that translates the term 'natives') while 'gentleman' was translated into 'white-man' in the standard Afrikaans-English dictionary (*Die Groot Engels/Afrikaans Woordeboek*), black South Africans fatefully resisted white Afrikaner's oppressive political regime and liberated themselves from the discriminative discourses on the basis of biblical interpretation. Thus, 'liberation' became the theme of the Bible for black South African Bible readers.

With regard to the event of Exodus, black South African Bible readers compared themselves to Israelites as Afrikaner Bible readers did. Whereas Afrikaner Bible reading focused on Israelites on the basis of race (white Afrikaner), black South African Bible reading focused on Israelites on the basis of class (the oppressed). That is, just like Korean '*Minjung* theology', the reason why God supported Israelites was not that they were a chosen race or people but that they were oppressed by Egyptian Pharaoh's tyranny, the white Western imperialism in modern days (Mosala, 1991). Given that black people were oppressed by white colonialists, black South African Bible readers identified themselves as Israelites.

Cone (1973), the father of contemporary black theology in African

Methodist Episcopal church in North America who greatly influenced the formation of South African black theology (Hopkins, 1990:41), also emphasised the oppressed socio-economic-political situation and the oppressed people's real life experiences instead of a future-oriented eschatological individual salvation. Cone (1973) criticised that white people's Bible reading was for continuing the existing discriminative status quo. This is because they asserted that 'individual salvation' could be achieved by obedience to the authority of the state. Cone proclaims, "men are called upon to act out salvation not only through silent prayer but by faithfully protecting the existing laws" (Cone, 1973:53).

However, Cone (1973) asserted that man's salvation could be achieved by divine activity which intervenes in human history for the oppressed. For example, in the event of Exodus, God was revealed by means of his acts particularly on behalf of the weak and defenceless people. Yahweh heard "their groaning, and remembered his covenant with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; he saw the plight of Israel, he took heed of it" (Ex. 2:24-25). He delivered Israelites from the Egyptian tyranny across the Red Sea "with arm outstretched and with mighty acts of judgments" (Ex. 6:6). He was the God of power and of strength, able to destroy the enslaving power of the mighty Pharaoh.

Furthermore, Cone (1993) explains that, when Israelites went into exile - the fall of the Northern Kingdom in 722 B.C. and the fall of the Southern Kingdom of Judah in 587 B.C., they faced socio-economic-political and spiritual crisis given the surroundings where other gods were in control (Cone, 1993:166). In the midst of Israel's despair, Jeremiah spoke of the new covenant (31:31-34) and Ezekiel spoke of a new heart and a new spirit (36:26). Finally, Yahweh revealed himself as the deliverer of the weak and defenceless Israel again.⁴⁶

Cone (1993) also explains that Yahweh's attention to the oppressed people continued through Jesus' preaching activities in the New Testament. In the Nazareth synagogue, Jesus quoted from the Book of Isaiah for the oppressed as follows: "The spirit of the Lord... has sent me to announce good news to the poor, to proclaim release for prisoners and recovery of sight for the blind; to let

⁴⁶ "Comfort, comfort my people... She (Jerusalem) has fulfilled her term of bondage... She has received at the Lord's hand double measure for all her sins." (Isaiah 40:1-2)

the broken victims go free...” (Luke 4:18-19; Isaiah 61:1-2) In contrast, for the oppressors, Jesus said that they could not inherit the kingdom of God. He said, “truly I say to you (Pharisees: the religious oppressors of his days), tax collectors and harlots go into the kingdom, but not you (Pharisees)” (Matt. 21:31).

In short, Cone (1973) asserted that Christ’s salvation was neither ‘an eschatological longing for escape to a transcendent reality’ nor was it ‘an inward serenity which eased unbearable suffering.’ Rather, it was ‘God in Christ encountering man in the depths of his existence in oppression, and setting him free from all human evils, like racism, which held him captive’ (Cone, 1973:55). Cone understood that the main thread of the Bible was based on ‘liberation’.

To this classic approach of liberation theology, Mosala (1989) adds criticism. That is, Cone’s exegetical starting point did not include black experiences given that he wore the same lens as white Bible readers, ‘Bible as Word of God’. Once the Bible readers accepted the Bible as the ‘Word of God’, Jesus Christ was described as ‘a-political’ and ‘non-ideological being’ (1989:16). Accordingly, it was hardly imaginable that Jesus Christ could intervene in an unjust political oppression for the oppressed.

Nonetheless, if necessary, white Bible readers made a biblical ideology for justifying the oppression. Mosala states, “they maintain a view of Scripture as the absolute, non-ideological Word of God that can be made ideological only by being applied to the situation of oppression” (Mosala, 1989:16). On this ground, Mosala (1991) asserted that **the Bible was “a product and a record of struggle” (1991:115)**. Given that the Bible was constructed through a class struggle in a historical and economic context, he asserted that the Bible in modern day should be read in the centre of black experiences and black experiences should not be in subjection to the interpretation of the Bible.

Just as in the case of *Minjung* theology, Mosala denounced the Davidic covenant tradition, which supported the status quo. Instead, he emphasised revolutionary Mosaic covenant tradition, which was characterised by ‘liberation’, whose God intervened in the oppressive Pharaoh’s ruling to deliver the oppressed (Mosala, 1991:115). In addition, Mosala (1991) asserted that chapters 4 to 7 of Micah were inserted later into the Bible for the sake of supporting the interest of the landlord class in those times, given the logical discrepancy between ‘the liberation oriented ideologies’ in chapters 1 to 3 and ‘the status quo oriented ideologies’ in chapters 4 to 7. Whereas chapters 1 to 3

were characterised by 'liberation oriented ideologies' such as justice, solidarity, struggle and vigilance, chapters 4 to 7 were characterised by 'status quo oriented ideologies' such as stability, grace, restoration, universal peace, compassion and salvation.

In essence, whether the classic approach of reading the Bible as Word of God or materialist-hermeneutical viewpoint of the Bible as a product of struggle, liberation was the main theme in the black South African Bible reading. In short, God was always on the side of the oppressed for their liberation against the oppressors. In this sense, Jesus Christ was defined as the liberator (Prior, 1995) and, therefore, his skin colour was described as black, given that the oppressed were the black people under the Apartheid regime. The various arguments on Jesus' black skin colour can be summarised in the following three main points (Kim, 2002).

Firstly, in the event of baby Jesus' hiding in Africa, King Herod could not find the baby Jesus. If the holy family were indeed persons who looked like typical Europeans, they would not have successfully hidden themselves in Africa.

Secondly, in the event of the Last Supper, Judas kissed Jesus to show Roman soldiers 'who Jesus was' before Jesus was arrested. If Jesus had been a white Caucasian, he would have been recognised among the disciples without any sign from Judas. Therefore, considering Judas' kiss of Jesus, Jesus must have been the same colour as his disciples were (Matthew: 26).

Thirdly, although Revelation 1:14⁴⁷ literally shows that Jesus was white, Snowden (1979:23) asserts that Ethiopians in antiquity were characterised as having "woolly" hair; in which case the word "white" (*leukos*) could be seen as purely as informed by the apocalyptic nature of the passage. In other words, if it was directly interpreted in verse 14 to 15,⁴⁸ Jesus' eyes would have melted in a fiery flame.

In short, black South African Bible readers focused on the oppressed black people since God was on the side of the oppressed instead of the

⁴⁷ "His head and his hair were white as white wool, as snow, and his eyes as a fiery flame."

⁴⁸ "His eyes as a fiery flame, his feet were like fine copper..."

oppressors. However, this could be another name of separation between black people and white people. Tutu (1983) remarks, "yesterday's victim quite rapidly became today's dictator" (1983:167). Considering this counteractive criticism, Buthelezi (1973) also asserted that liberation could be achieved for both black people and white people in the name of Jesus Christ when he stated, "it is now time for the black man to evangelise and humanize the white man. The realization of this will not depend on the white man's approval but solely on **the black man's love for the white man**"(1973:55-56). Nonetheless, Buthelezi's viewpoint also presupposed the superiority of black people, which regarded white people as the object of evangelisation and humanisation from the black people centred viewpoint. Counteractively, it could lead to another radical separation between black people and white people.

In addition, if Mosala's (1989) materialist-hermeneutical viewpoint is applied to the Bible reading, believers would not necessarily have to believe in God. This is because the Supreme God would finally be reduced to the one side of dichotomous discriminative structure between the oppressor and the oppressed, so that God's supremacy would disappear within materialist-socio-economic-political discriminative structure. Furthermore, given Jesus Christ's death, Jesus Christ as the liberator could not be resurrected and, therefore He would lose His divinity, if the Bible were strictly viewed as the product of political and economic struggle.

Given Tutu's (1983:42) argument that the legitimate separation in the Bible reading should be based on the spiritual distinction between believers and pagans on an individual dimension, the separation between white people and black people, between the oppressors and the oppressed, between 'haves' and 'have-nots' on a group dimension deserve to be criticised. Nonetheless, both sides of Bible readers, willingly or unwillingly, read the Bible by the principle of 'discrimination' and 'radical separation' on the basis of race and class. Given Foucault's hypothesis it can be agreed that, whether they were racists, humanists, or liberationists, their subjectivity must have been assumed to be whole and coherent subjects with a unified sense of identity instead of being regarded as passive subjects under the pressure of dominant discriminative racial discourses (Section 2.1.1). In other words, just as Afrikaner Bible readers served God or *Volk* for their secular political interest under the influence of dominant racial discourses, so black South African Bible readers assumed that God was always on their side in their political quest for liberation. Accordingly,

both sides of the Bible readers interpreted the Bible for their political purposes under the banner of Apartheid and liberation. Therefore, the tension of difference of race and class was immediately directed to the stream of 'radical separation' and 'discrimination'.

3.2.3. Political Bible Reading in South Africa

In retrospect, South African political Bible reading was characterised by the principle of 'radical separation' and 'discrimination'. Just as Foucault, Girard, Douglas characterise the theme of difference in the name of 'discrimination', 'violence' and 'danger', so South African political Bible readers understood the theme of difference in the stream of radical separation and discrimination.

Just as Afrikaner Bible readers understood racial difference in the theme of radical separation of Apartheid, so black South African Bible readers understood it in another name of separation between the oppressed and the oppressor, 'have-nots' and 'haves' (Boesak, 1984:12). As a counteraction to Afrikaner Bible reading, black South African Bible readers were on the side of blacks with regard to 'race difference' and were on the side of the oppressed with regard to 'class difference'. Just as Afrikaner Bible reading caused a radical separation by emphasising '*Volk*', so black South African Bible readers presupposed the separation between the oppressed and the oppressor by searching for liberation for the oppressed. That is, both sides of Bible readers understood the Bible on the dimension of separation under the influence of dominant discriminative political discourses.

Hence, the theme of difference between Afrikaner Bible readers and black South African Bible readers was explained as radical separation and discrimination against both sides. They became passive subjects of dominant political ideologies in their times whether in the name of 'Apartheid' or 'liberation'. The principle of discrimination and radical separation arose from the difference of race or class on both sides of political Bible reading.

3.3. Conclusion

The tension of difference of nation, race and class was immediately directed to the trend of discrimination and radical separation in the Korean and South African political Bible reading. The principle of discrimination and radical separation was the main key in reading the Bible for both sides.

In particular, both sides of Bible readers, whether the Japanese, Koreans, white or black South Africans, identified themselves as Israelites in response to the tension of difference of nation, race and class. Accordingly, non-Israelites were automatically disregarded in the name of radical separation. Ironically, they were no other than the Japanese, Koreans, white or black South Africans themselves, who were regarded as heathens from their opponent group's viewpoint. Given that these political Bible readings led to violence, danger and discrimination amongst them, a new way of Bible reading had to be found.

For this, the next chapter discusses how native Bible readers overcame the tension of difference between metaphoric Israelites in Christianity and non-Israelites in indigenous religion on the basis of cultural contexts in Korea and South Africa. Since Christianity was introduced into Korea and South Africa, the tension of difference was inevitable, which arose from the cosmic interface between indigenous religion and Christianity. On the basis of political context, the tension of difference was directed to the stream of discrimination under the dominant influence of dichotomous discriminative political ideologies in political Bible reading. Inversely, from a cultural aspect, native Bible readers intended to dissolve the tension of difference between Israelites in Christianity and non-Israelites in indigenous religion in the stream of "quest for sameness." Although the majority of Korean and South African Bible readers read the Bible in a cultural aspect from an Eurocentric missionary viewpoint, which was characterised by the principle of 'radical separation' between Israelites and non-Israelites, God and Satan, orthodox and heathen, just like their political Bible reading (HR, 1974:88; Kim, 2003), many native Korean and South African Bible readers endeavoured to overcome this essential tension of difference between metaphoric Israelites in Christianity and non-Israelites in indigenous religion on the basis of their cultural and traditional religious contexts. Accordingly, the next chapter discusses the native Korean and South African's cultural Bible reading given the tension of difference between Christianity and indigenous religion. This will be clarified by the principle of absorption in the stream of "quest for

sameness.”

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4. CULTURAL BIBLE READING IN THE DIMENSION OF QUESTING FOR SAMENESS: BECOMING METAPHORIC ISRAELITES

4.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses how native Bible readers overcame the tension of difference between metaphoric Israelites in Christianity and non-Israelites in indigenous religion on the basis of cultural contexts in Korea and South Africa. Given the history of Korean Christianity and black African Christianity, it will be clarified by the principle of absorption. Since Christianity was introduced in Korea and South Africa by western missionaries, native Christian converts (Korean and black South African Christians) existentially were faced with the tension of difference between the gospel (the Bible text, theology, Christianity), in which the Cartesian western psyche was embedded, and the traditional indigenous religion in which the primordial mind of 'undifferentiation' was embedded (Eliade, 1959, 1974; Hayward, 1963:9; Kim Yongok, 1997; Menkiti, 1979:165-7; Pobee, 1979:88; Russell, 1982; Shutte, 1993:46; Witvliet, 1985:92).

Briefly, the Cartesian western psyche is represented by the philosophical aphorism, "*Cogito, ergo sum* or I think, therefore I am." It presupposes the significance of unequivocal human reason and logic which implicitly disregards human emotion and logically inexplicable human mystical and religious experiences. Furthermore, it engenders a 'self-centred' cosmic viewpoint which is characterised by the philosophical division between 'self' and 'others'. Given that Descartes' dichotomy is no other than an extension of Platonic and Aristotelian classical western philosophical concept of dichotomy between 'form' ('idea') and 'material', 'soul' and 'body', 'spirit' and 'matter', 'sacred' and 'secular', and so on, it is also structurally correlated with the biblical concept of dichotomy between God and Satan, Light and Darkness, Israelites and non-Israelites, orthodox and heathen, and so on.⁴⁹ On the other hand, the

⁴⁹ The Western psyche which is revealed in the history of Western philosophy cannot be totally reduced to the Hellenistic and Cartesian psyche, given the various philosophical streams during the 1000-year-lasting Middle Ages, such as Neo-Platonism in the late Hellenistic era, Patristic philosophy from the 4th to 12th century, Scholastic philosophy in the 12th and 13th century, and M.Eckerhart's (1260-1327) mysticism in the 14th century. Nonetheless, since the Enlightenment Age in the 17th and 18th century, the western psyche has been clearly clarified by the 'reason' centred Cartesian Dictum: "I think, therefore I am." Western Christianity, which was introduced to South Africa and

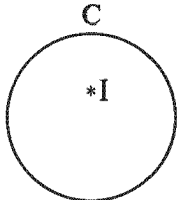
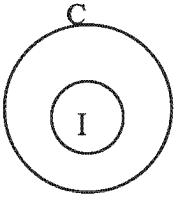
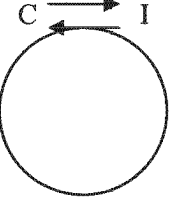
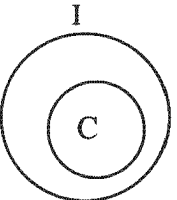
primordial mind of undifferentiation is far fetched from the western philosophical division between 'self' and 'others', 'reason' and 'emotion', 'logic' and 'mystery', and 'time' and 'space'. For example, in African traditional religion, although the Supreme God was diffused into many ancestors and spirits, they were regarded as 'one' (mono) God (Kim, 2003:53-56; Mulago, 1991:120).⁵⁰

Confronting the ideological tension of difference between Christianity and indigenous religion, native Christian converts (Bible readers) basically "quested for sameness" in their cultural Bible reading. Despite native Christian Bible reader's various and diverse Bible reading, the grand narrative or meta-narrative of "becoming metaphoric Israelites" was found in the dimension of "questing for sameness." To clarify this issue, this chapter illustrates the representative four types of cultural Bible reading.

Korea in the 18th and 19th century, characterises the modernistic Cartesian psyche, which was in line with the Hellenistic philosophy.

⁵⁰ The issue of psyche is discussed throughout this study.

4.1. Native Korean and South African Types of Cultural Bible Reading

Table 1	Types of cultural Bible reading			
	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4
Text (Theology)	The Bible text	The Bible text	The Bible text and traditional religious text	Contextualised biblical text (Oral text).
Context (The standpoint of Native Bible Readers)	Western philosophical context (Cartesian way of thought)	Traditional religious context (Traditional religious communal experiences)	Western philosophical epistemology based Cartesian interpretation of traditional religious context	Traditional religious Context
Korea	Conservative cultural Bible reading (Presbyterian church)	Traditional religious context based Bible reading (Methodist Episcopal church)	Liberal Biblical Scholars' Inculturation and Contextual Theology	Unification Church members' (Moonies) Contextualised biblical text reading
Africa	<i>Amakaholwa's</i> Eurocentric missionary Bible reading	Ethiopian Church members and modern Xhosa speaking African Christian's Bible reading	African Theologians' African theology	Zionists' and Nazarites' contextualised biblical (oral) text reading
Illustration of absorption between Christianity (C) and Indigenous religion (I)				
Christian beliefs & culture vs. Indigenous beliefs & culture	Christian beliefs & practices	Christian beliefs ← Indigenous practices	Christian beliefs = Indigenous beliefs & practices	Christian beliefs ⇒ Indigenous beliefs & practices
<p>C: Christianity I: Indigenous religion ○ : realm of religion ⇄ : dialectical process or movement of religion</p> <p>*I : indigenous religion melts into 'none' = : same A ⇨ B: A is absorbed in B</p>				

The native Bible readers' "quest for sameness" was structurally similar to Eliade's dialectical process of "questing for sameness" which was concretised in the 'dialectical and reverse-dialectical process' in *hierophany* (Section 2.2.1). That is, for Eliade, the tension of difference between the sacred and the profane, the Supreme God and imperfect human beings, could melt in the premise that the two sides could be viewed as the same in both directions of 'dialectical and reverse-dialectical movement' in *hierophany*, the Incarnation of God in Jesus Christ. If the 'reverse-dialectical process' in *hierophany* pertains to the first and second type of native Bible readers' "quest for sameness," then the 'dialectical process' in *hierophany* pertains to the third and fourth type of native Bible readers' "quest for sameness."

In the case of 'reverse-dialectical process' in *hierophany* (from the profane to the sacred), it is structurally compared to the process of the first and second types of native Korean and South African converts' (Bible readers') "quest for sameness" toward the gospel (the Bible text, theology, Christianity) from the traditional indigenous religion. They "quested for sameness" confronted with the tension of difference between the gospel, which was normally symbolised by Israelites, and traditional indigenous religion, which was concretised in the metaphor of non-Israelites.

The first type of native Bible readers identified themselves with the Israelites and disregarded their metaphoric non-Israelites' traditional religious beliefs and practices from the western missionary's Cartesian viewpoint, so that their traditional religious beliefs and practices melted into nothing in the realm of the gospel. That is, not only did they read the Bible as being taught by western missionaries but also accepted their latent Cartesian western psyche. Therefore, they did not only discriminate against adherents of traditional religion, but also against other Christians (the second type of native Bible readers) who read the Bible from a missionary centred viewpoint and partly adopted traditional religious practices in their Christian worship services. The first mode of cultural Bible reading is no other than the same way of political Bible reading, which is characterised by the principle of 'radical separation'. In the dialectical process toward Christianity from indigenous religion, the latter totally dissolved in the sea of Christianity.

The second type of native Bible readers also identified themselves with the Israelites, but they highly regarded their traditional religious practices. On the one hand, they rationally identified themselves with Israelites whilst on the

other hand, they empirically adopted traditional religious practices in their Christian worship services. Although they read the Bible from the western missionary centred viewpoint, they assumed that continuation of traditional religious practices was not contradictory to the gospel (theology, the Bible text). From the conservative missionaries' and the first type of native Bible readers' viewpoint, traditional religion-based idolatrous practices ought to become the object of eradication. However, instead of following the western missionary's Cartesian logic of Bible reading, they read the Bible without disregarding their own traditional religious experiences. In other words, they endeavoured to harmonise the gospel (theology, the Bible text), in which the Cartesian psyche was embedded, with the traditional religious culture, which was based on communal religious experiences.

Nonetheless, given the strong influence of Cartesian psyche, which was embedded in the Bible text, they still regarded traditional religion adherents as metaphoric non-Israelites whilst they regarded other Christians as brethren. Hence, their traditional religious practices could partly be absorbed into the realm of the gospel (the Bible text, theology), in the dialectical process toward Christianity from traditional religion. These two types of readers showed the reverse dialectical process from traditional religion to Christianity (the Bible text, theology) in the name of "quest for sameness" by the principle of absorption.

In the case of the 'dialectical process' in *hierophany* (from the sacred to the profane), it is structurally compared to the process of the third and fourth type of native Korean and South African converts' (Bible readers') "quest for sameness" toward traditional indigenous religion from Christianity.

The third type of native Bible readers attempted to interpret traditional indigenous religious texts (contexts)⁵¹ from the Cartesian logical viewpoint of Christian theology (the Bible text). After identifying themselves with the metaphorical Israelites, they scholastically sought to discover the same elements, which could correspond to various doctrines of Christian theology within the traditional religious context. It was for revealing the fact that all native

⁵¹ Contrary to Cartesian logical division between context and the Bible text, Christian culture and Christian theology, practices and beliefs; traditional indigenous religion is hardly classified as the object of differentiation between its text (theology; beliefs) and its context (culture; practices). In the traditional indigenous religion, religious practices (context; culture) become beliefs (text; theology) and vice-versa. Particularly, oral-culture based society hardly represents its members' religious experiences through a written form of the specific sacred text.

Koreans and South Africans had been originally metaphoric Israelites or that they had already prepared to become Israelites before the western missionaries came to Korea and South Africa, '*praeparatio evangelica*' (Witvliet, 1985: 95). They presupposed that the Supreme God had already been incarnated in the Korean and African traditional religious cultures through the Holy Spirit. Witvliet writes, "how much the true knowledge of God was and is already present in African (Korean) history and culture" (Witvliet, 1985: 95). The third type of native Bible readers showed the dialectical process of the "quest for sameness" toward the indigenous religion from Christianity, in that they endeavoured to investigate various elements of Christian theology in traditional religious contexts (texts).

In addition, given that the third type of native Bible readers were mainly composed of native elite theologians who were taught by western missionaries, they scholastically endeavoured to absorb not only traditional religious practices but also traditional religious beliefs within the realm of the gospel (the Bible text, theology, Christianity) from the missionaries' Cartesian viewpoint. Nonetheless, they fell into the fallacy by assuming that traditional religious beliefs could best be explained by the logic of western theology. They disregarded the fact that traditional religious beliefs could best be understood in their culture and native people's active religious practices. In other words, they did not appreciate the significance of a rarely divisible symbiotic relationship between traditional religious beliefs and practices. As Setiloane (1979) argues, they did not realise that the African (Korean) theologian's 'prophetic calling' of '*praeparatio evangelica*' was nothing other than a 'western Christian *cliché*' (Setiloane, 1979; in Witvliet, 1985: 98).

The fourth type of native Bible readers also "quested for sameness" in the dialectical process toward indigenous religion from Christianity. They attempted to find the visible and active God in the traditional indigenous religious context as a substitute for the Supreme God in Christianity. They placed much value on psychologically tangible, visible and active God, whose role was concretised in a form of prophesying or healing. Accordingly, the Christian notion of the Supreme God and the detached God (*Deus Otiosus*) was barely recognisable to them. As a result, they rejected the western missionary centred Bible reading and instead, they contextualised its notion of the Supreme God by putting much more emphasis on traditional indigenous religion.

Nevertheless, the fourth type of Bible readers' viewpoint was also an

extension of the “quest for sameness” toward indigenous religion from Christianity in that they also read a contextualised biblical text in their own way and had the conviction that they were Christian believers (metaphoric Israelites). Given that the Bible text itself was also transformed into the ‘contextualised biblical text’ (oral text) under the strong influence of traditional religious culture, it can be inferred that Christianity was absorbed into the realm of indigenous religion.

In synthesis, although native Korean and South African Christians diversely, variously and intricately read the Bible given their cultural contexts (Table 1),⁵² the main point of their cultural Bible reading was that native Korean and South African Bible readers clung to the thread of ‘becoming Israelites’ metaphorically, encountering the tension of difference between Israelites in Christianity and non-Israelites in indigenous religion.

On the one hand, the existence of the thread of ‘becoming Israelites’ itself showed the essence of the “quest for sameness.” Confronted with the tension of difference between Christianity and indigenous religion, native Bible readers wished to become Israelites through both directions of dialectical movements from Christianity to indigenous religion and vice-versa. In the process, the principle of absorption arose in their cultural Bible reading. This is discussed in Section 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4.

On the other hand, the existence of the thread of ‘becoming Israelites’ itself also revealed the powerful influence of the Cartesian psyche throughout native Korean and South African Bible readers’ various modes of cultural Bible reading. As long as people read the biblical text, it was rarely expected of them to overcome the latent Cartesian psyche which was embedded in it. Rather, they were, consciously or unconsciously, subjected to the Cartesian psyche, which was characterised by the epistemological and philosophical division between ‘self’ and ‘others’, ‘Israelites’ and ‘non-Israelites’, ‘text’ and ‘context’,

⁵² Inferring from Table 1,

- Type 1: the Bible text + Cartesian context \Rightarrow Christian belief and culture
 - Type 2: the Bible text + traditional religious context \Rightarrow
Christian belief \supset Indigenous practices
 - Type 3: the Bible text + traditional religious text (context) \Rightarrow
Christian belief = Indigenous belief and practices
 - Type 4: the contextualised biblical text + traditional religious context \Rightarrow
Christian belief \subset Indigenous belief and practices
- + : meeting \Rightarrow : resulting $A \subset B$: A is included in B = : same

'time' and 'space'. This issue is discussed in Chapters 5, 6, and 7.

4.2. Cultural Bible Reading in Korea

Since Christianity was reintroduced in Korea in the early 20th century,⁵³ Korean Bible readers attempted to overcome the tension of difference between metaphoric Israelites in Christianity and non-Israelites in indigenous religion. As discussed in Section 4.1, four types of cultural Bible reading will be discussed in this section.

Firstly, the majority of Korean Christian Bible readers, who were categorised by the name of conservative mainline Church members,⁵³ read the Bible through the principle of 'radical separation' just as in the political Bible reading (Type 1). They rejected their traditional religious beliefs and practices after identifying themselves with Christians (metaphoric Israelites). Secondly, some grassroots Korean churchgoers, who mostly belonged to liberal churches, read the Bible as taught by western missionaries but partly inherited their religious practices (Type 2). Thirdly, some elite liberalist Korean theologians endeavoured to overcome the tension of difference between indigenous religion and Christianity. They theoretically analysed traditional religious texts (context) from the viewpoint of Christian theology to find the same western theological elements (Type 3). Fourthly, some messianic Korean Bible readers absorbed Christianity in the realm of indigenous religion by interpreting and transforming the Bible text given their traditional religious context (Type 4).

The essence of these various types of cultural Bible reading are revealed in the process of the "quest for sameness" in the direction of 'Israelites' from 'non-Israelites'. The following sections discuss this issue given the history of Korean Christianity.

⁵³ The term, "mainstream (mainline)" generally refers to Christian organisations with substantial membership that have adapted to the conditions of the prevailing social order (Chidester, 1997:6).

4.2.1. Type 1: Conservative Cultural Bible Reading

Since conservative western missionaries introduced European Calvinism and Anglo-American Puritanism in Korea in the early 20th century, Korean Christianity has been characterised by its conservative theology to date (Palmer, 1967:26; Lee, 2001: 67; Park, 1976:11). A Presbyterian missionary, Brown, observed this situation as follows:

In most of the evangelical churches of America and Great Britain, conservatives and liberals have learned to live and work together in peace; but in Korea the few men who hold 'the modern view' have a rough road to travel, particularly in the Presbyterian group of missions. (Brown, 1919:540)

In this sense, as Presbyterian churches clearly indicated in 1907,⁵⁴ the Korean Presbyterian Church regarded the Bible as 'the Word of God' from the early missionary era. Therefore, they believed the Bible as God's Word by respecting the literal meaning of Scripture as well as the unequivocal and absolute authority. Hence, the majority of the first generation Bible readers had the conservative standpoint of reading the Bible irrespective of their denominations⁵⁵ (Lee, 2001). For example, they placed much value on the Ten Commandments in Exodus 20:3-5 and 2 Corinthians 6:14-15, which clearly indicate the prohibition of idolatry (Lee, 2001: 306).⁵⁶ Consequently, they regarded traditional ancestral beliefs and practices as idolatry.

One of the first generation of Christian converts, Wu Byeonggil criticised traditional religious Koreans who held ancestral rituals as follows:

⁵⁴ (MRKPC) *Daehan Yeesugyo Zangrohui Dogrohui Huierock: Minutes and Reports of Korean Presbyterian Church (1907)*, Seoul: Presbyterian Church. p.25

⁵⁵ Given the history of Korean Christianity, Presbyterian Church members, generally, pertained to conservatism whilst Methodist Episcopal Church members pertained to liberalism. Nonetheless, the demarcation between conservatism and liberalism was vague particularly for the first generation Bible readers.

⁵⁶ "Thou shalt have no other gods before me" (Exodus 20:3); "Do not make cast idols" (Exodus 34:17); "For what do righteousness and wickedness have in common? What fellowship can light have with darkness? What harmony is there between Christ and Belial? What does a believer have in common with an unbeliever?" (2 Corinthian 6:14-5)

All people who serve idols should be classified as traitors and unfilial children... How could they serve Satan by betraying our Lord of kings, Jesus Christ and disrespect our Heavenly God? (1904:388)

That is, from the viewpoint of Christian converts, traditional religious beliefs and practices were the object of abolishment in the name of idolatry. However, from a non-Christian traditional religious adherents' viewpoint, Christian converts were the object of criticism or persecution.

Moore's (1905) testimony clearly showed their serious responses to Christian converts' removal of their ancestral shrines. According to Moore (1905:138), a Christian convert, who had removed his ancestral shrine was persecuted by his village and was forced to rebuild the shrine. This was because the village blamed him for the fire, which broke out after he removed an ancestral shrine. The fire burnt down seven houses in the village. They believed that the wrath of ancestral ghost spread to the whole village in the form of a fire. Given the introduction of Christianity in Korea in the late 16th century,²⁵ this type of persecution was not new for Christian converts at that time. This is because Christians were well known as victims of persecution on charges of disloyalty and impiety, starting the four periods of the historic persecution of Catholicism by the government between 1801 and 1866. Ironically, from the Christians' viewpoint, traditional religious people served Satan, which led to disloyalty and impiety to God whereas traditional religious people viewed Christians as people who disregarded ancestors, objects of respect and filial duty.

Reverend Oh Gisun also revealed the first generation Christian converts' antagonism against traditional religion in his book entitled "*Sipgyeyohae: Understanding of the Ten Commandments (1911)*." Given the literal interpretation of the Ten Commandments, people were required not to talk about the King of Heaven in Taoism, not to consult a fortuneteller, and not to search for a propitious site for a grave. Similarly, setting up of an ancestor tablet or a mortuary tablet during memorial services, concubinage, and choosing an auspicious day were classified as a violation of the Ten Commandments.

Lee pointed out that the first generation Christian converts prohibited 'outside marriage'. Given the persecution of Christians by traditional religious people, missionaries encouraged Christians to marry 'within a Christian

congregation' (Kim, 1906:43-44; in Lee, 2001:314).⁵⁷

This type of conservative cultural Bible reading has continued to date in Korea. A typical example of this type of Bible reading is clearly revealed in the recent numerous cases of 'cutting off the head of Dangun (the founding father of the Korean nation) statues in Korea. Some radical conservative Bible readers were compelled to damage the Dangun statue, by cutting off its nose and head. Reasoning from Judges 6:25, 28 and 7:1, they threw down the Dangun statue and cast down its altar in the same manner that a Hebrew judge Gideon did before the altar of Baal (Song, 2002).⁵⁸ This was a religious demonstration against traditional religious leaders' movement toward construction of Dangun statues in elementary schools for inculcating national consciousness into young elementary school students. With the conviction that Dangun was no other than the symbol of Baal (idolatry) in traditional indigenous religion, conservative Bible readers damaged hundreds of Dangun statues located nationwide in tourist resorts as well as elementary schools, and publicly rejected the establishment of Dangun statues in elementary schools (Kim, 1999; Choe, 2001).

The majority of Korean conservative Bible readers have overcome the tension of difference between Israelites in Christianity and non-Israelites in indigenous religion by identifying themselves with metaphoric Israelites (Christians). Consequently, they disregarded their traditional religious beliefs and practices. This led to a radical separation between the first type of conservative Bible readers and the adherents of traditional religion. They showed their antipathy even toward Christian liberals who embraced traditional religious practices. For the first type of conservative cultural Bible readers, traditional religion dissolved into the sea of Christianity, therefore its religious element could barely be found in the latter. This first type of cultural Bible reading was no other than political Bible reading.

⁵⁷ "A baptised spinster should not marry an unbaptised bachelor."

⁵⁸ "Jehovah went on to say to him (Gideon), Take the young bull, the bull that belongs to your farther, that is, the second young bull of seven years, and you must **tear down the altar of Baal** that is your father's, and the sacred pole that is by it you should **cut down...** look! **the altar of Baal had been pulled down, and the sacred pole** that was beside it **had been cut down**" (Judges 6:25,28 NWT).

4.2.2. Type 2: Traditional Religious Context Based Cultural Bible Reading

As Kwon (1996:18) states, conservative cultural Bible readers totally disrespected traditional religious beliefs and practices in the name of idolatry. They removed a pile of stones around the altar for a tutelary deity, broke *Seongjudanji* (sacred ghost pot) or *Yongdanji* (harvest ghost pot) into pieces. Neither did they hold memorial services for ancestors nor made libations for thirsty ghosts prior to eating food in the rice paddies and dry fields. They did not celebrate traditional festivals, instead they celebrated Christian festivals such as Christmas. Nonetheless, without realising it, they also highly regarded early morning prayers and audible prayers, which were influenced by a traditional religious ethos (Kim, 2003). This shows that even conservative cultural Bible readers did not totally abandon their traditional religious practices and beliefs. As an extension of this trend, traditional religious ordinary Bible readers (Type 2) attempted to understand the gospel (the Bible text, Christianity) on the basis of their traditional religious experiences rather than on the basis of the western concept of theology. Therefore, they absorbed many traditional religious practices into the realm of Christianity. In other words, they tended to read the Bible not on the basis of the Cartesian western logic, but on the basis of traditional religious experiences.

Firstly, Korean Christians absorbed a form of Buddhist worship with clasped hands and practices of Zen meditation into their Christian worship services (Lee, 2001:285). A missionary, Peerman (1907: 103) observed this distinctive feature of the first generation Korean Christian's worship services. That is, whereas American church members left the church or had conversation with each other immediately after the closing prayer (benediction), Korean church members prayed in contemplation bowing their heads down even after the benediction. This feature is still present in various Korean church worship services to date.

Secondly, many Korean evangelists became substitutes for a shaman or a Buddhist monk, whose major role was to expel demons from possessed people. According to Lee (2001), a Christian convert Gu Yunyeung expelled demons from a possessed woman at Icheon city, George province in 1902.⁵⁹In

⁵⁹ Repeating after his loud shouting, "Please Father, Son and Holy Spirit come inside me," she all of a sudden rolled herself on the ground. Afterward, she was cured. (Lee,

addition, Scranton (1907:53) also observed Korean women evangelists' exorcising work burning up amulets in possessed people's houses. She reported that women evangelists sometimes cured patients just like a shaman.

Thirdly, early Christian women used traditional contribution pots for gathering rice to help lady evangelists (Lee, 2001:357). Traditionally, Korean women collected rice in a '*Seongjudanji*' (a sacred ghost pot). Each time they prepared meals, they saved rice and put it in the sacred pot in the kitchen. With this rice, contributions were made for the day of memorial service (Collyer, 1905:36). Koreans believed that ancestral spirits came and ate the rice on the table during the memorial service. However, after Korean women became Christians, God or the Lord replaced ancestral spirits (Lee, 2001:359). In addition, the name of the pot was changed from *Seongjudanji* (the sacred ghost pot) to *Judanji* (Lord pot). A missionary, Cram, reports that many female church members gathered rice for contribution in 1905 (in Lee, 2001:358). The rice had monetary value, given that rice was the main food in Korea. In short, in contrast to the first type of Bible readers' removing traditional contribution pots such as *Seongjudanji* (a sacred ghost pot) or *Yongdanji* (a harvest ghost pot), some of the first generation women converts still used them without any distinctive cosmological conflict between ancestral sacred ghost and Lord or God of Christianity.

Kwon describes the interface between the Bible text and traditional religious context in comparison. He states,

Just as Jacob prayed to Yahweh after making the altar with a pile of stones on his way to Harran, so our ancestors held rites for a tutelary deity (*Seonangsin*) around a pile of stones. In the Bible, the angel Gabriel blessed Mary with a baby but we had 'Grandmother *Samsin*', a slang, which means 'the three gods governing childbirth'. As meat-eaters, Jews spill the blood of sheep for expelling demons; as grain-eaters, Koreans spill the red water of '*Patjuk*: rice and adzuki bean porridge'. (Kwon, 1996:19)

According to Kwon (1996:20-21), it was not contradictory to Christian theology (the Bible text) that farmers made a libation to thirsty ghosts prior to eating food on the rice paddies and dry fields, and that descendants ate food with neighbours, which was offered to ancestor ghosts in memorial services.

2001:286; Swearer, 1902:47)

This is because distributing food to insects and animals in rice paddies and dry fields as well as sharing food with neighbours were regarded as showing 'love' not only to human beings but also to nature. For Kwon (1996), the commandment of 'love' was much more important than the issue of 'faith' on idolatry.⁶⁰ In this way, Kwon (1996) shows the typical example of ordinary Bible reader's "traditional religious context based cultural Bible reading." That is, they tended to understand the Bible not on the basis of the Cartesian logic of western missionaries but on the basis of traditional communal religious experiences.

The interface between the Bible text and traditional religious context continued to be revealed in a traditional form of worship services even in the 1970s. In 1974, Reverend Gang Wonryong of Gyengdong Church in Seoul, held a 'Thanksgiving Day Worship' not on Sunday in the third week of November but on the 'Korean Thanksgiving Day', celebrated on the 15th day of the eighth lunar month. He performed traditional mask drama as a substitute for the western style of ordinary worship services on '*Chuseok*, Korean Thanksgiving Day' (DKS, 2003). Similarly, the Hyangrin Church has used traditional musical instruments for playing hymns and furthermore, some *Minjung* Churches have used '*Sultteok*' (traditional rice cake) and '*Makgeoll*' (traditional raw rice wine) for the Communion service instead of *Castella* (sponge cake) and red wine since the late 1970s (DKS. 2003).

A recent event of 'Kim Gye-hwa's Halleluya Prayer House' shows the continuity of the existence of Christian church's shaman tradition. One of the Korean nationwide broadcasting systems, SBS (Seoul Broadcasting System)⁶¹ reported numerous shaman tradition of healing cases in addition to church leader's moral corruption, which was related with church leader's sexual molestation of female believers and blackmail in the 'Kim Gye-hwa's Halleluya Prayer house'.

The second type of cultural Bible readers attempted to understand the Bible text (Christian theology, gospel) as an extension of their traditional religious experiences. They did not totally follow western missionaries' Cartesian logic of reading the Bible. In other words, they outwardly and

⁶⁰ "Now, however, there remain 'faith', hope, love, these three; but the greatest of these is 'love'." (1 Corinthians 13:13)

⁶¹ Mun, Seonggeun (2000), 'I want to know it: Halleluya Prayer House', December 16th, 2000. broadcasted by SBS.

rationally identified themselves with Christians (metaphoric Israelites), but inwardly and empirically they continued traditional religious practices particularly in their Christian worship services. Accordingly, traditional indigenous religion could partly be absorbed in the realm of Christianity. Nonetheless, given the strong influence of the Cartesian psyche, which was deeply embedded in the Bible text, they outwardly “quested for sameness” toward ‘becoming Israelites (Christians)’ while confronting the tension of difference between indigenous religious context (Indigenous religion) and the Bible text (Christianity). This showed the presence of the meta-narrative, “becoming metaphoric Israelites,” which was still alive even to their cultural Bible reading. Going beyond the second type of understanding the Bible by ordinary Christian believers, the third type of cultural Bible readers scholastically intended to “quest for sameness” between Christianity and traditional indigenous religion from the western logical viewpoint of theology. They attempted to search for the same elements out of a traditional religious text (context)⁵¹ from the viewpoint of western theology.

4.2.3. Type 3: Liberal Biblical Scholars’ Cultural Bible Reading

The third type of native Bible readers attempted to find the same elements out of traditional texts (contexts) from the viewpoint of western theology (Christianity). These readers were composed of elite theologians, who were educated by western missionaries as well as had a thorough knowledge of traditional religion. Their main point was that native Korean traditional religious people had been prepared to become Christians (metaphoric Israelites) before Christianity was introduced into Korea, ‘*praeparatio evangelica*’ (Witvliet, 1985:95). This was the conclusion of native elite theologians’ scholastic “quest for sameness” to be faced with the tension of difference between traditional religion and Christianity. They regarded traditional religion not as the object of eradication but as a catalyst to accept Christianity (Lee, 2001:364; Jones, 1908:26).

The first generation of the third type of cultural Bible readers emphasised that the previous Korean traditional religion such as Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism played a catalytic role in accepting Christianity. Kim Juryeon (1904),

a member of the Sangri church in Wonsan city, regarded Confucius and Mencius of Confucianism, Lao-tzu of Taoism and Buddha of Buddhism as God's messengers before Jesus Christ. Kim argues,

God firstly sent Buddha and Lao-tzu into Korea to teach Koreans the doctrine of Heaven and Hell and perpetual youth and longevity; afterward, He sent Confucius and Mencius to teach them 'Samgangoryun: the three bonds and the five moral disciplines in human relations 三綱五倫' and 'Susinchipyong: moral culture and statesmanship 修身治平'. God achieved His Divine will by harmonising the primary three elements of cosmology: Heaven, Earth and Humankind 天地人. (Kim Juryeon, 1904: 7-8)

Furthermore, one of the first generation of Christian theologians, Gil Seonju (1923:49), asserted that Buddha and Confucius also entered the Temple (Mountain) of God in Heaven.

According to *Kwonjunghoegae: Exhorting the masses to repent (1891)*,⁶² the Supreme God's presence was found in Korean traditional religion in ancient times. That is, Korean religious people originally believed in the Christian Supreme God from a long time ago in the name of *Sangjae* (上帝). Even though they lost faith in God for a while before the arrival of Christianity into Korea, they regained their belief in God immediately after interfacing with Christianity. Choe Byeongheon (1858-1926), the first liberal theologian and a reverend of Korean Methodist Episcopal Church, also supported this idea by identifying *Sangjae* (上帝) in books of Confucianism with the Christian God (Choe, 1911:14).

Lee (2001:345) gave a good example to show that traditional religious thought culminated in Christianity for the first generation of cultural Bible readers. Kim Samrim, the first generation Christian convert in Ganghwa Island as well as the previous Confucian scholar who was also well versed in the theory of divination based on topography, identified Christianity as the safest religion that he could rely on during the end of the world. In the book of *Jeonggamnok* (鄭鑑錄: the representative book of prophecy in Joseon dynasty), it was prophesied that *Sipseungjiji* (十勝之地: the safest ten places during the end of the world) would be the only safe places during the end of the world. Kim

⁶² A missionary booklet in Korean published by 'GeuriseudoSeongseo: Christ Bible' in 1891, whose authorship is unknown.

Samrim interpreted the meaning of *Sipseungjiji* (十勝之地) as *Sipjagajido* (十字架之道: the way to the Cross) by analysing Chinese characters. Hence, Christianity became the last resort for his belief. Furthermore, in 1906, a Christian Lee Seongnyun also extracted the word of *Sipseungjiji* (十勝之地) and *Gungungeuleul* (弓弓乙乙: the primal root providing a vital energy for *Sipseungjiji*) from the first initial ideograph 'Aha' (亞)⁶³ in 'A'braham, which was the first word of the New Testament written in classical Chinese. In short, Korean traditional religious people were already prepared to become Christians according to their traditional beliefs.

The third type of cultural Bible reading continued and culminated in the 1960s and 1970s. Yoon (1964) and Yoo (1978; 1997) were typical liberal theologians in Korea. Yoon (1964) asserted that the mythology of Dangun, the founding father of the Korean nation, showed nothing other than the doctrine of trinity in Christianity. In addition, Yoo (1997) emphasised a Trinitarian cosmological similarity between traditional religion and Christianity. The Dangun mythology is included in *Samgugyusa*, written by Iryeon in the late 13th century.

The summary of Dangun Mythology: 'Once upon a time, Hwan-wung, a son of Hwan-in (the supreme God in heaven), wished to govern the world. With the permission of Hwan-in, Hwan-wung descended from heaven through a sandalwood tree (神檀樹)⁶⁴ on Mt. Taebaek with three gods: Wind, Rain and Clouds. Hwan-in supervised 360 things about human life, such as good and evil, span of life etc. One day, a bear and a tiger came to him and expressed their wish to become human. To become human, they had to pass a test, which required them to stay in a dark cave for 100 days and survive by eating garlic and mugwort only. The bear passed the test but the tiger did not. Therefore, the bear became a woman. Afterward, the bear that had transformed into a woman wished to have a baby. Therefore, Hwan-wung in the form of a human married the bear and gave birth to a son, whose name was Dangun, the first father of Korea... Dangun established Go-Joseon Kingdom in Pyeongyang Castle and ruled for 1500 years. After abdicating his Kingship in favour of Gija, he went to

⁶³ In the middle of the ideograph(亞), the shape of the cross (✚) is found. In addition, if the shape of the ideograph(亞) is vertically cut, the shape (弓弓乙乙) is found. This way of analysing a Chinese character was crucial to understand the book of prophecy based on the theory of geomancy.

⁶⁴ This tree is a familiar symbol for the "world tree" or "cosmic pillar" which can be found in many ancient shaman cultures (Kim Chongsun, 1990:209).

Asadal on Mt. Taebaek and became the Mountain God at the age of 1908 years.’

Yoon (1964) found the same theological elements of Christianity in Dangun myth. Structurally, Hwan-in, Hwan-wung and Dangun corresponded to the Father, the Holy Spirit and the Son in Christianity. For example, the Holy Spirit caused Mary to give birth to Jesus Christ.⁶⁵ Similarly, in the Dangun myth, Hwan-wung caused the bear to give birth to Dangun. Just as Jesus Christ established the Kingdom of Israel and resurrected to become God, so Dangun established the Kingdom of Go-Joseon and became the Mountain God. In another aspect, Na Gyeongju (1993) expanded the realm of the application of the Trinitarian idea into a cosmological dimension, the world of Divinity (Hwan-wung), animals (the bear) and humankind (Dangun). That is, although the world was divided into three, namely the world of Divinity, animals and humankind, they were unified and regarded as one by the Mountain God, Dangun (Na Gyeongju, 1993:42).

Liberal theologians attempted to find the same elements of Christian theology in the traditional religious texts. As Kim Eunggi argues, they attempted to prove that traditional religious people were already prepared to become Christians. Kim asserts, “the similarity between Dangun myth and the Bible story made it easier for Koreans to accept Christianity” (1997:89).

For Yoo (1997), in confronting the tension of difference between traditional religion and Christianity, he concentrated on finding the essence of Korean people’s fundamental spirituality in the traditional religious texts. He reasoned that the essence of Korean people’s fundamental spirituality was nothing other than the cosmic archetype of Christianity, Trinity. In other words, for Yoo, Christianity and traditional religion could fundamentally be viewed as sameness without any division in the symbol of Trinity.

First of all, he rejected a monarchical understanding of the Bible, which was outwardly embodied in a monarchical relationship between God and human, human and nature, and a creator and a creature. The Bible portrayed a monarchical relationship, but he reasoned that the relationship could not be monarchical but organic: “In the beginning was the Word (*Logos*)...Through him all things were made (*‘egeneto’*)” (John 1: 3,4,14). Yoo (1997) emphasised that

⁶⁵ “The Holy Spirit will come upon you...So the holy one to be born will be called the Son of God.” (Luke 1:35)

'egeneto' was not 'poieo' (to make) but 'ginoma' (to become). Accordingly, all creatures were not created but 'became who/what they were'. This was also clearly explained in Korean traditional religious texts.

According to *Cheonbugyeong* (天符鏡), the scriptures on Dangun, whose 81 characters were carved in the walls of the Myohyang Mountain, showed the cosmic principle of 'Creation'. For example, the phrase, "there is neither the beginning nor the end...The first one is Heaven, the second one is Earth and the third one is Humankind...(一始無始一...天一一地一二人一三)" shows the inseparable true nature of the three elements. Given the fact that there is neither a beginning nor an end, the sequent order cannot exist, therefore all these elements are regarded as 'one' (*Han*). Thereby, he coined the term, '*Punglyu* (風流)' adopting from Choe Chiwon's (857-) *Nanlangbimun* (an epitaph of elite youth corps of Silla Dynasty (BC 57-AD 935)) which states, "We (Koreans) have the mystic traditional religious truth (*Do*: 道), which embraces Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism. We call it *Punglyudo* (風流道)." He reasoned that *Punglyu* represented the essence of Korean people's fundamental spirituality, which embraced Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism as 'one' (*Han*) (Yoo, 1984:12). Yoo (1984; 1997) asserted that *Punglyu* was concretised by three Korean traditional spiritual elements, namely *Han* (oneness; greatness; sorrowfulness), *Meot* (zest; taste), and *Salm* (life).

Yoo (1997), in particular, emphasised the role of the element *Han* (Oneness) quoting Ephesians 4:6 and Colossian 1:15-16.⁶⁶ In short, according to Yoo, '*Han*' symbolises the crucial essence of *Punglyu* where "one becomes all and all become one" and *Punglyu* (Korean people's fundamental spirituality, the mystic traditional religious truth) is nothing other than the cosmic archetype of Christianity, Trinity.

The point is that Yoo searched for sameness confronting the tension of difference between traditional religion and Christianity. He scholastically sought to find the Trinitarian cosmic archetype of Christianity in traditional religious texts. This proved the validity of the hypotheses where the first hypothesis states that native traditional religious Koreans were already prepared to become Christians before Christianity was introduced into Korea. The second

⁶⁶ "One God and Father of all, who is over all and through all and in all."... "He is the image of the invisible God, the first born over all creation. For by him all things were created: things in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible...all things were created by him and for him."

hypothesis states, they were already Christians given that they originally had the Trinitarian cosmic archetype of Christianity in the name of *Punglyu*. The hypotheses were also confirmed by Yoo's (1984:10) well-known declaration, "God revealed Himself in Korean traditional religious culture through the Holy Spirit long before the introduction of Christianity." In short, the third type of cultural Bible readers, who were mainly composed of elite liberalist theologians, scholastically sought to find the same elements of western theology in traditional religious texts. In this way, they "quested for sameness" confronting the tension of difference between Christian theology and the traditional religious texts.

Strictly, they also had an eye of the Cartesian logical division between traditional religious context and the text under the strong educational influence of western missionaries. Hence, going a step further of the second type of cultural Bible reading, liberal theologians did not only endeavour to absorb traditional religious practices, namely culture and context, but also traditional religious beliefs, namely theology and text, within the realm of Christianity. In fact, their research solely depended upon traditional religious text, in which Christian theology could be found. However, they did not realise the fact that traditional religious text (belief) could best be understood solely on the ground of traditional religious context (native people's religious practices and experiences). After extracting traditional religious texts from their context, they intended to interpret them on the basis of the Cartesian logic of western theology. Therefore, even though they scholastically identified the same elements of Christian theology within traditional religious texts, they inevitably became the target of criticism.

They scholastically intend to search for 'a deep truth' (the same elements of Christian theology), 'which has been **purposefully** hidden' in the realm of traditional religion, by picking up the matching traditional religious text, of which ordinary traditional religious people are '**only dimly aware**'.
(Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982:xix-xx)

They did not realise that a symbiotic relationship between traditional religious text (beliefs, theology) and context (practices, culture) was barely divisible. Even though they found profound truth, it could not reflect the ordinary people's religious experiences in real life, instead it was mainly used for their

artificial academic justification (Choe, 2001).⁶⁷

4.2.4. Type 4: Unification Church Members' Cultural Bible Reading

The tension of difference between traditional indigenous religion (context) and Christianity (the Bible text) could thaw in dialectical movement toward Christianity from traditional indigenous religion in Unification church members' cultural Bible reading. Vividly, Christianity was contextualised and was finally absorbed into the realm of traditional indigenous religion. Moon Seonmyeong (1920-), the founder of the Unification Church (the Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity), played a key role in the Unification church members' cultural Bible reading in Korea. In particular, *Divine Principle* (1974), Moon's representative Holy Scriptures, reveal how the Bible text was contextualised according to the Korean traditional religious context. In fact, the Unification Church members (Moonies) regarded *Divine Principle* (the official doctrinal text of the Unification church) as the Word of God. (Cunningham, 1979:103)

Divine Principle (1974) contains three major traditional religious elements arising from the traditional religious ethos (beliefs and practices). The three elements include Shamanism, *yin-yang* (陰陽) an oriental philosophy, and prophecies of *Jeonggamnok* (Chun, 1990:15; Cunningham, 1979; Kim, Chongsun, 1990). For clarification of these traditional religious elements in the sacred text of *Divine Principle* (1974), this section summarises its main idea as follows:

The summary of *Divine Principle* (1974): In the beginning of the world, Adam and Eve could have been in triune unity on the basis of a 'fourfold position foundation' both spiritually and physically in the centre of God⁶⁸. However, Eve

⁶⁷ Choe (2001) agreed on Jeong Jinhong's criticism on Dangun debate, which recently became a hot issue in Korean universities.

⁶⁸ Given that God has the dual nature of internal-external characteristics composed of the essentialities of positive-negative poles, which interact in reciprocal relationships, the God centred triune unity on the basis of 'fourfold position foundation' can be exemplified as follows: ■- Jesus Christ (male)- Holy Spirit (female) - ■

was seduced by Satan and committed adultery so that a spiritual unity based on God was broken (1974:75). Afterward, Eve seduced Adam and therefore even Adam's pure blood was polluted by Eve, whose sinful blood originated from Satan. Accordingly, a unity in the earthly side was also dismembered. Ironically, a triune unity was achieved with Satan not with God to the contrary, Satan-Adam-Eve.

To restore the original triune unity based on God, God gave a mission of restoration to Jewish people (the first Israelites) through Abraham. However, the Israelites were devoid and empty of any genuine faith and spiritual quality (1974:532). Furthermore, when the second Adam, Jesus Christ, came to earth to restore the broken relationship between God and humankind (male-female), Jewish people crucified and murdered him (1974:480). For that reason, the triune unity was done only in a spiritual realm in the name of the Father, the Son (male) and the Holy Spirit (female) after Jesus Christ's Ascension whilst on earth its unity was not yet accomplished because of Jesus' absence (death). Owing to the Jewish people's guilt of the blood of Jesus Christ, they were deservedly persecuted in history (1974:145). They failed in carrying out God's mission toward the unity of humankind based on Jesus Christ. Instead, they killed Jesus Christ, who could have played a key role as a new centre, in which both the heavenly (spiritual) and the earthly (physical) side of the universe could have been unified.

Accordingly, the Lord of the Second Advent (the third Adam) on earth would not come from the Jewish people, who went to the side of Satan (1974: 430,431,518). In the aspect of biblical chronology, the time of Adam to the Second Advent should be calculated as 6000 years, 2000 years from Adam to Abraham, 2000 years from Abraham to Jesus, and 2000 years from Jesus to the Second Advent. With respect to location, the Second Advent would be realised where counteracting forces between God's side and Satan's side exist. Given Moon's birth year of 1920 after World War I, and the Satanic North and Angelic South Korea's political and military tension, the second Israelites (who must soon be replaced by the third Israelites)⁶⁹ should be South Korean on God's

Eve (female) (Cunningham, 1979:105; Barker, 1985:78). If the triune unity of 'God-Jesus Christ-Holy Spirit' pertains to the heavenly side, then the triune unity of 'God-Adam-Eve' pertains to the earthly side. Just as the heavenly parent is composed of 'male-female' in the name of God, so the earthly parent is composed of 'male-female' in the name of Adam and Eve. This illustrates an example of 'fourfold position foundation'.

⁶⁹ Rudin (1976: 271)

side among whom the third Adam would be born on earth to complete God's mission (1974:520). Just as Jesus was the second Adam, Moon Seonmyeong would become the third Adam, who could regain the Paradise Lost. Furthermore, Moonies (Unification church members: the followers of Rev. Moon) could restore the lost unity on earth as the third Israelites, whose influence would reach heaven (1974:62).

The members of the Unification Church characteristically practised rites, namely, sharing of blood known as *Pigarim*, which were concretised by sexual intercourse between men and women.⁷⁰ Given that Moon was no other than Jesus Christ, the former blood of Moonies needed to be purified. This was because their former blood was polluted in relation with the Satan centred triune unity. Kim remarks, "Eve fell by having sexual relations with the Archangel (Satan) and later with Adam" (Kim Byungsoh, 1990:357). A new centre of the triune unity was present in the name of the Second Advent, Moon Seonmyeong. Thus, Moonies cleansed their blood by sex in front of Moon Seonmyeong (Jesus Christ). Therefore, mass wedding ceremonies, the most widely publicised event of the Unification Church, were conducted in the presence of Moon.

Since their holy marriage⁷¹ in 1960, the True Parents, Rev. Moon and his

⁷⁰ Chun (1990) points out that Moon was influenced by a Methodist pastor, Lee Youngdo's ecstatic and messianic movements in 1920s and 1930s in Korea. During the meetings, Lee used to roll up a newspaper and go around saying, "**Satan, get out! Satan, get out!**" while the congregation was praying in a state of **ecstatic shaking**. In addition, the process of 'restoration of the original state before the fall of Adam and Eve' was embodied in rituals. Chun notes, "**The congregation was dancing around and crying for the return of Eden. And when the pastor cried, 'Adam and Eve were naked before the fall! Take off your clothes!' the men turned to the women and stripped off their clothes, and they danced around naked.**" Moon's '*Pigarim*' was also performed as an extension of Lee's ritual. However, owing to its 'violation of established social morals and good manners', Moon was arrested in 1948 and sentenced to five years of imprisonment (Chun, 1990:15-16).

⁷¹ In 1960 Moon remarried, and called it "The Wedding of the Lamb." That year was proclaimed as the beginning of the new age, "*Cheon Ki Won Nyeon* (天紀元年): The First Year of the Heavenly Era"(Chun, 1990:17). Given that God also has dual nature of 'male-female' poles such as 'Jesus Christ-Holy Spirit' and 'Moon-Moon's Heavenly Bride'; Moon, even in the earthly side, completed a triune unity on the basis of 'fourfold position foundation' by his remarriage: God (Moon-Moon's Heavenly Bride)-Adam

Heavenly Bride, have successively conducted mass weddings for 3,36,72,124,430,790 and 1800 couples in Korea, the motherland of the New Messiah. (Kim Byungsoh, 1990:356)

Interestingly, the ritual of 'blood sharing' clearly reveals the influence of shaman tradition. Given that blood sharing was based on 'the fantasy that a divine being with pure blood could pass his sanctity on to another through an act of intercourse', it was nothing other than an old Korean fertility ritual (Kim Chongsun, 1990:174). The Dangun myth further shows the origin of fertility rituals. That is, Hwan-wung (a divine being) with pure blood passed his sanctity on to another (the bear) through an act of intercourse.⁷² The ceremony of *Pigarim* shows various forms of shaman incantation particularly in the state of spirit-possession, such as revivalist's singing,⁷³ weeping, and handclapping to bring his/her devotees into a similar trance-like state.⁷⁴ Therefore, Moon was described as a modern shaman as Thelle and Kim report, "Moon has presided at official Unification Church ceremonies in white robes and miniature versions of the Silla shaman headdress" (Thelle, 1990:10; Kim Chongsun, 1990:210).

Yin-yang (陰陽) philosophy and a prophesy of *Jeonggamnok* were also applied in the main thread of *Divine Principle* (1974). In the case of *yin-yang* (陰陽) philosophy, it doubtlessly was one of the most influential Korean traditional religious elements (Chun, 1990:14). Even the Korean national flag has the traditional symbol of the 'Great Origin', *yin-yang* which expresses the dual nature of the universe. In this sense, in the *Divine Principle* (1974), a triune unity on the 'four-fold position foundation' could be accomplished on the basis of *yin-yang* (陰陽) philosophy both in heaven and on earth. For example, God

(male Moonies)–Eve (female Moonies).

⁷² "Hwan-wung in the form of a human married the bear and gave birth to a son, whose name was Dangun."

⁷³ Interestingly, the Holy Song of the Unification Church includes two traditional Korean songs, '*Tan Shim Ga* (Ode of Single-heartedness)' and '*Urie Sowonun Tongil* (Our Wish is to unify Korea)'. '*Tan Shim Ga*' is one of the most widely recited '*shijo* (a three-verse Korean ode)' written by Chong Mong Ju in the late 14 century to pledge his loyalty to the king Gongyang, the last king of Gorye Dynasty (918-1392). '*Urie Sowonun Tongil*' is one of the most popular national folk songs, which is included in the public elementary school songbook (Kim Byungsoh, 1990:355).

⁷⁴ "He (Lee Yeongdo, Moon Seonmyeong, a revivalist) used to roll up a newspaper and go around saying, '**Satan, get out! Satan, get out!**' while the congregation was praying in a state of **ecstatic shaking**." (Chun, 1990:15-16; see footnote 70)

could not be perfect without the inclusion of God's male–female nature namely, Jesus Christ–Holy Spirit and Moon–Moon's Heavenly Bride. Similarly, Adam (male Moonies) could not sustain himself alone without Eve (female Moonies). In other words, the ultimate unification could only be achieved by the unification of the dual nature of the universe, that is, *yin-yang*, female–male, physical Kingdom of earth–spiritual Kingdom of heaven and so on.

In *Jeonggamnok* (鄭鑑錄), there is a prophecy that says that at the end of the world “the King of Righteousness, the true man” would appear from the “Southern Ocean”, which is nothing but Korea itself (in UC, 1974:520-28; Chun, Youngbok; 1990:15). On this basis, Moon was described as the third Adam and the Second Advent of Jesus Christ who was born in Korea in the *Divine Principle* (based on Revelation 7:2-4). The New York Times (1/1/1976) also reported on God's revelation to Moon as recorded by Kim, “the answer came on Easter when he was 16 years old. While he (Moon) was praying on a mountainside, Jesus Christ appeared to him and told him that he was called to be a **Prophet**” (in Kim Byungsoh, 1990:331).

Confronting the tension of difference between Christianity and indigenous religion, the members of Unification Church (Moonies) read the Bible from the centre of indigenous religion, such as Shamanism, *yin-yang* (陰陽) philosophy, and the prophesy of *Jeonggamnok* (鄭鑑錄). Christianity was absorbed into the realm of traditional indigenous context. They highly regarded their context based religious practices (experiences) as well as traditional religious beliefs (text). Far from the western mode of Bible reading based on the Cartesian logical analysis of the Bible text, they read the Bible on the basis of their traditional religious text/context (beliefs and practices) and finally made a new contextualised Bible, *Divine Principle*.

They regarded themselves as the third Israelites and Moon was regarded as the third Adam, and the Second Advent of Jesus Christ. This was an extension of the “quest for sameness”: ‘becoming Israelites’. This reveals the existence of the meta-narrative, “becoming Israelites” even in their cultural Bible reading, which was closely connected to the western Cartesian psyche that slipped in the Bible text. Ironically, it was clearly revealed in historical fact that quite a number of young Jewish people converted to Moonies where “nearly 30 percent of the Moonies today are Jewish young men and women” (Rudin, 1979:76). That is, they, as members of new Israelites (the third Israelites), intended to accomplish the uncompleted and failed divine mission of ‘unification

of universe based on God', which had been given to their ancestors (the first Israelites).

In addition, Moonies' political involvement inevitably caused the main feature of their Bible reading to be characterised by discrimination under the banner of 'becoming Israelites'. They clearly regarded North Korea (Socialism, Communism) as a Satanic force (metaphoric non-Israelites) in their Bible reading.

"Communism is the enemy of mankind and the enemy of God." "Cain, who represented Satan, slaughtered Abel, who represented Heaven. Therefore, according to the law of indemnity and separation, God is going to conclude the evil history by separating good and evil worldwide. God (Abel) will subjugate evil (Cain). **Communism** appeared in this sense **the Cain ideology**...The Unification Church is playing the leading role in the fight against communism in the free world." "We must love Richard Nixon. The office of the President of the United State is, therefore, sacred...God has chosen Richard Nixon to be President of the United States of America." (Moon, 1990:86; HS, 1975:6; Lee, 1973:233; Kang, 1990:22-23)

Furthermore, this discriminatory trend was also bolstered by their unique application of *yin-yang* (陰陽) philosophy to their cultural Bible reading.⁷⁵

Ostensibly, the tension of difference between Christianity and traditional indigenous religion could disappear in the "quest for sameness" toward

⁷⁵ If they idealistically applied oriental *yin-yang* (陰陽) philosophy in their Bible reading, the division between Israelites and non-Israelites would hardly arise in general. This is because the concept of duality in eastern philosophy is basically different from the western epistemological division between self and others, which normally causes radical separation or discrimination (see Chapter 6). Despite Moon's profound philosophical analysis of the Bible text on the basis of traditional religious context, Moonies discriminated against North Koreans (Communism) as well as Jews in the name of Satan (non-Israelites) in their Bible reading. Just like the general trend of political Bible reading in Chapter 3, they, knowingly or unknowingly, were influenced by dominant discriminative political ideology: democracy versus socialism. Accordingly, they could not expand the application of the religious motto, 'Unification' into the realm of non-Israelites. Hence, the dual relationship in the oriental philosophy of *yin-yang* (陰陽) such as female-male and earth-heaven could not develop into unity. Instead, it developed into dichotomous discriminative relationships such as God versus Satan, Israelites versus non-Israelites, and North Korea (socialism) versus South Korea (democracy), just as in political Bible reading.

Christianity ('metaphoric Israelites') from traditional indigenous religion ('metaphoric non-Israelites'). Despite the fact that Christianity was contextualised and was absorbed into the realm of traditional religion, the Cartesian psyche was, however, still influential in their cultural Bible reading.

4.2.5. Cultural Bible Reading in Korea: Quest for Sameness in the Principle of Absorption

Since Christianity was reintroduced in Korea in the late 19th and early 20th century, native traditional religious people were inevitably confronted with the tension of difference between traditional indigenous religion and Christianity. This tension melted in the process of the "quest for sameness" in their cultural Bible reading in both directions of dialectical movement from Christianity to Indigenous religion and vice versa. In the process, the principle of absorption was applied to their diverse, various and complex cultural Bible readings in Korea. For clarification, this thesis discusses four types of cultural Bible reading in Korea.

The first type of Korean Bible readers, mainly composed of Presbyterian Church members, totally disregarded traditional religious beliefs and practices and identified themselves with metaphoric Israelites (Christians) in the dialectical movement toward the Bible text (Christianity) from the traditional indigenous context (traditional indigenous religion). Accordingly, most of their traditional religious beliefs and practices dissolved into the sea of Christianity in the name of pagan's or metaphoric non-Israelite's idolatry.

The second type of Korean Bible readers who mainly belonged to the liberal Methodist Episcopal Church regarded traditional religious practices as well as the Bible text (Christian belief). Accordingly, whilst they identified themselves as Christians (metaphoric Israelites), they continued with some traditional religious practices in Christian worship services. That is, traditional religious practices were partly absorbed into the realm of Christianity, in the dialectical movement toward the gospel (the Bible text) from traditional indigenous religion.

The third type of Korean Bible readers, mainly composed of elite

theologians, scholastically found western theological elements in traditional religious text/context. In the dialectical movement toward traditional indigenous religion from Christianity, they attempted to absorb traditional religious beliefs and practices into the realm of Christianity beyond the second type of Bible reader's absorption of traditional religious practices.

The fourth type of Korean Bible readers, who belonged to the Unification Church, absorbed Christianity into the realm of traditional religion. Therefore, the Bible text was contextualised as a new Scripture and a new messiah appeared in the dialectical movement toward indigenous religion (traditional religious context) from Christianity (the Bible text).

The main thread of their cultural Bible reading was the theme, "becoming metaphoric Israelites." The theme was deeply connected to the western Cartesian psyche, which presupposes epistemological division between self and others, Israelites and non-Israelites etc. In particular, the third mode of cultural Bible readers, elite theologians fell into a fallacy by separating traditional religious text (beliefs) from the traditional religious context (practices, experiences and culture) under the strong influence of the western Cartesian epistemology. Despite the fact that the second and the fourth type of Bible readers endeavoured to overcome the deeply embedded Cartesian psyche by respecting traditional religious practices, in which a primordial mind of 'undifferentiation' was embedded, their cultural Bible reading was also nothing other than an extension of "becoming metaphoric Israelites," which inevitably discriminated against metaphoric non-Israelites. In the Korean cultural Bible reading, the tension of difference between Christianity and indigenous religion dissolved in the same dimension of the "quest for sameness", which was concretised by the unchangeable norm of "becoming metaphoric Israelites."

4.3. Cultural Bible Reading in South Africa

Since European missionaries engaged in missionary work on a full scale from the 19th century in South Africa,³² native South African Bible readers have variously attempted to overcome the tension of difference between metaphoric Israelites in Christianity and non-Israelites in African traditional religion. Just as in the Korean cultural Bible reading, four types of cultural Bible reading are discussed in this section.

Firstly, a small number⁷⁶ of *amakaholwa* (mission-educated, school Africans, derogatively called mission-station Kaffir) communities followed Eurocentric missionary Bible reading, which was characterised by the principle of 'radical separation' just as in the political Bible reading. They rejected their traditional religious beliefs and practices after identifying themselves with Christians, namely metaphoric Israelites (Type 1). Secondly, the Ethiopian type of church Bible readers accepted crucial biblical doctrines as being taught by western missionaries but continued their indigenous religious practices. This trend is also found among Xhosa Bible readers of conventional forms of European churches in modern times (Type 2). Thirdly, some elite African theologians endeavoured to overcome the tension of difference between African traditional religion and Christianity. They theoretically analysed traditional religious context from the viewpoint of Christian theology to find the same western theological elements (Type 3). Fourthly, Zionists and Nazarites absorbed Christianity into the realm of traditional indigenous religion by

⁷⁶ Interestingly, in Korean cultural Bible reading, Type 1 Bible readers were the mainstream given their zeal for the acceptance of the Bible (footnote 3). In contrast, Type 2,3 and 4 Bible readers were the mainstream in native South African cultural Bible reading. Given a political trend of apartheid in the history of South Africa, Type 2,3 and 4 native Bible readers, who have displayed sectarian characteristics, became the numerical mainstream in relation to 'black nationalism' and 'modernisation'. Roy, Claasen and Pauw remark, "in South Africa some 10,000,000 people, representing approximately 36% of the black population, have found their spiritual homes in about 6000 African Independent Churches which span a wide theological spectrum" (Roy, 2000:125; Claasen, 1995:15; Pauw, 1995:4). Inversely, a small number of Type 1 Bible readers who were under the guidance of white missionary churches acted like members of 'established churches' (Chidester, 1997:7).

interpreting and transforming the Bible text on the basis of their traditional religious context (Type 4).

The essence of these various types of cultural Bible reading reveals in the dialectical process of the “quest for sameness” to the direction of “Israelites” from “non-Israelites” and vice-versa. The following sections discuss this issue given the history of South African Christianity.

4.3.1. Type 1: *Amakholwa*'s Eurocentric Missionary Bible Reading

As inferred from the Nigerian Kalu's (1975) criticism on African Church as the church of a Peter Pan⁷⁷ (the boy who never grew up), the first type of cultural Bible readers read the Bible from Eurocentric missionary viewpoint, which is characterised by the principle of 'radical separation'⁷⁸ (Chidester, 1992:39; Pobee, 1979:64). The first type of cultural Bible readers rejected their African traditional religious beliefs and practices immediately after their conversion to Christianity. After identifying themselves as European missionary's metaphoric Israelites, they deserted their metaphoric non-Israelite identity. As Hayward states, “their faith in Christ was such that they also turned back and looked upon their fellow people as heathen” (Hayward, 1963:8). That is, according to the missionary's expectation and their enforcement, they principally shed all traditional beliefs and rituals relating to ancestors, witchcraft and sorcery, divinity, and medicines, as well as many customs, like traditional dancing and singing, giving and receiving '*ikhazi*' (marriage goods), and polygamy (Pauw, 1975:21). This section introduces three topics of typical Eurocentric missionary biblical interpretation, namely ancestral worship, polygamy, and dancing & singing.

With regard to African ancestral worship, it was directly against articles 1

⁷⁷ Peter Pan is a fictional character created by J. M. Barrie, and the name of a stage play, a children's book, and various adaptations of them. The character is a little boy who refuses to grow up, and spends his time having magical adventures.

⁷⁸ This is exemplified in the dichotomous relationships such as Israelites versus non-Israelites, orthodox versus heathen, God versus Devil, the sacred and pure Bible text versus the superstitious, barbarous and filthy African traditional beliefs and practices, and so on.

and 2 of the Ten Commandments.⁷⁹ As Oleka (1998:131) asserted, worship of idols was forbidden and God would not give His praise to idols. The revelation from Sinai did not involve a form (Deuteronomy 4:15-18) and He was the only one to be worshipped (Isaiah 42:8).

According to Shorter, theology manuals in general defined idolatry as 'giving divine worship to a creature' (1973:147). Although categories of idolatry were confined by the nature of the idolater's intention and belief, ancestral sacrifices were without doubt regarded idolatrous.

Whereas, they say, other ritual actions such as bowing, genuflecting, prostrating, derive their character from the worshipper's intention, this is not true of sacrifice, the character of which is objectively determined. (Shorter, 1973:147)

Thus, European missionaries also blamed Africans for killing animals for ancestors, which could have introduced a heathen aspect. That is, the killing of an animal was a means of contact with ancestors (Mills, 2001:158, 166).

With regard to African polygamy, as inferred from the decision of Lambeth Conference of 1888, a missionary officially proclaimed that polygamists should not be accepted into the church (in Pobee, 1979:137). Shorter (1973:174) also states, "there was no doubt that monogamy, and not polygamy, was the Christian ideal", reasoning from Gen. 2:24.⁸⁰ Shorter states, "the ideal was one of a profoundly personal union with some degree of autonomy" (Shorter, 1973:175).

Shorter (1973:175) states that in the books of Judith, Job and Tobit, fidelity to one partner was the ideal.⁸¹ Furthermore, even though polygamous cases were introduced in the Old Testament, they were for the temporary purpose of fertility. For example, firstly, Sarah the wife of Abraham, had no child

⁷⁹ "Do not make cast idols (Ex 34:17); You shall not make yourself a carved image or any likeness of anything in heaven or on earth beneath or in the waters under the earth; you shall not bow down before them or worship them" (Ex 20:4-5 in New American Bible).

⁸⁰ "A man will leave his father and his mother and he must stick to his wife and they must become one flesh."

⁸¹ "In the image of God's redemptive love, Samaria and the other cities were no longer rival suitors or co-wives, but daughters of Jerusalem, the unique bride of Yahweh" (Shorter, 1973:175).

that is why she gave Hagar to her husband. Secondly, Jacob took Rachel for his second wife after Leah had proven barren for some time. Thirdly, Elkanah only took another wife because Hannah had been barren, although he loved her. Fourthly, David's wife Michal, younger daughter of Saul, never bore her husband any children (2 Sam. 6. 23). Parrinder (1950) asserts that this was the major reason why David took other wives who were fertile.

Therefore, these polygamous cases in the Old Testament did not change the ideal Christian principle of monogamy. On this stance, "the Catholic Church always strongly affirmed the practice of monogamy and never considered modifying her teaching on the point" (Shorter, 1973:175). In addition, Parrinder (1950) emphasised the ideal of monogamy as follows: "If Christianity is to conquer any part of the world today, it must seek to strengthen marital fidelity and monogamic ideal."(1950:63) On this basis, when chief Sechele of the Kwena decided to be baptised on 8 August 1848, he had to dismiss four of his five wives. Therefore, when one of his dismissed wives, Molokon, was pregnant, her baby did not have an official father (Sechele). In this way, Protestant Church discipline was stern and intractable about the issue of polygamy (Sundkler and Steed, 2000:436-8).

With regard to dancing & drumming, they played a crucial role in communication among homestead members, the living and the dead during ancestor rituals. Therefore, they were also related to the heathen or evil in the name of idolatry. Pobee reports, "the earliest missionaries assumed that drumming had heathen associations, and therefore, was un-Christian, if not sinful" (Pobee, 1979:66). Accordingly, the standing order No. 548, Section 2, of the Methodist Conference of Ghana (1st edition, 1964) stated the following, "There shall be no drumming at a Member's wake-keeping" (Pobee, 1979:66). In fact, as Pobee (1979:66) stated, disciplinary action was taken by individual clergymen against the families of a deceased at whose funeral there was drumming.

Despite the missionary's classical and typical Bible reading, which was characterised by the principle of radical separation, the majority of native South Africans converted to Christianity. Generally, the major reasons of native Bible readers' conversion have been functionally explained by various scholars given the political, medical, social and economic factors (Sundkler and Steed, 2000; Chidester, 1992; Etherington, 1977). From a political aspect, some African chiefs accepted Christianity for the purpose of sustaining their chieftdom in

contact with the European government. Particularly, missionaries' material goods and technological resources including weapons laid a foundation for sustaining their military power, as inferred from a rumour widely spread in Tswana communities as early as 1823.⁸² Missionaries were symbols of firearms.⁸³

From a medical aspect, western medicines that missionaries administered were effective. Accordingly, the missionaries were regarded as a new kind of 'medicine-man'. When King Mpande was hit by an attack of gout in 1849, Schreuder, Norwegian Lutheran, gave him medication and was cured. Schreuder preached that a people who accepted the gospel from the 'medicine-man' would live happily and healthily in the land.

So much impressed was Mpande by Schreuder's medical care of one of his royal ailments that he at once gave the Lutheran Missionary land at Empangeni (Zululand) and permission to build a mission station there. Thus was Zululand opened to the Gospel – by the medicine bottle. (Sundkler and Steed, 2000:364; Sundkler, 1976:25-26)

From a social aspect, a mission station, whose principle had been publicly declared as the prohibition of buying and selling baptised slaves since 1770 in the Cape, became a refuge particularly for slaves and women (Sundkler and Steed, 2000:345; Chidester, 1992:36). Converts were mainly marginalised people in society (Cope, 1979). From an economic aspect, influenced by the Industrial Revolution as well as the evangelical revival, missionaries emphasised 'Christian civilization' that identified signs of salvation in certain types of moral discipline and productive labour (Chidester, 1992:37). Therefore, missionary's promises of 'literacy' and 'employment' appealed to the majority of converts to survive colonial capitalist economy system in the late 19th century (Etherington, 1977; 1978).

On the basis of these functional explanations of native's conversion to Christianity, Chidester (1989,1992) comprehensively describes the dynamic process of native's conversion as 'negotiation' in power relations given all the

⁸² "Any community having accepted a missionary in their midst could not be defeated in war" (Sundkler and Steed, 2000:326).

⁸³ "The advent of the missionary had deterred the chief's enemies from attacking him out of a dread of being resisted by firearms" (Chidester, 1992:42).

preceding factors. Chidester (1989) regards conversion as the native Africans' ongoing process of 'appropriation', 'negotiation', and 'alienation'. Nonetheless, Chidester presupposes that "native Africans appropriated Christian beliefs and practices to serve their own interests" (1992:44; 1989), which connotes that people would efficiently and appropriately act according to their self-interest by choosing to be on the strong and favourable side in the structure of power dynamics in the name of 'negotiation'. Furthermore, he also subjects himself to the main trend of academic functional explanation without concrete existential consideration of native convert's episteme. Hence, he falls into the fallacy by disregarding native believers' various and diverse 'inexplicable', 'mystic' and 'pious' existential beliefs and practices, which could be revealed unexpectedly, inexplicably and mystically beyond the western mechanical logic of 'negotiation'. He does not heed the criticism towards functionalists, who willingly reduce themselves to an existentially empty voiced academic functional explanation, 'negotiation'.

To analyse the first type of Bible reading, which disregarded and eliminated their own traditional religious belief and practices in favour of Christian belief (theology) and culture, ideological and existential consideration are required. In the tragic event of "Cattle killing" of 1856-57 in the Xhosa community, 40, 000 people died of starvation and at least 40,000 were forced to leave their homes in search of food or work in the colonial labour market. This was because they killed their 400,000 cattle and destroyed their crops in expectation of the imminent return of ancestors. After going through debilitating wars between native black people and Europeans in 1819, 1834-1835, 1846, and 1850-52, natives desperately followed the instruction of Mhlakaza, who drew on the authority of his young niece (Nongqawuse)'s vision,⁸⁴ as a counsellor of the Xhosa chief Sarhili. Chidester remarks, "they had to sacrifice all their cattle in anticipation of the resurrection of their ancestors and the overthrow of white domination" (Chidester, 1992:51; EOA, 1999:147). However,

⁸⁴ Many Xhosas believed that Russians were black people like themselves, and they were coming to assist them to drive the English into the sea. On this ground, Nongqawuse had seen a vision of strange people - some Russians, some Xhosa ancestors - who appeared with many cattle and promised to return to drive away the white invaders and restore land, cattle, and prosperity to the people. Before the ancestors could return, however, the living had to put away witchcraft, those evil practices that divided the unity and disrupted the harmony of the social order (Chidester, 1992:51).

the ancestors and cattle did not return. Instead, 20,000 Xhosas died in the ensuing famine arising from the polluted land by sacrificed cattle (EOA, 1999:147).

After the event in 1857, Tiyo Soga, the first ordained black South African minister under the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland and the Glasgow African Missionary Society, established the Mgwali mission station among the people of chief Ngqika in a region recently devastated by cattle killing. Tiyo Soga attacked traditional religious practices and used the tragic event as the best opportunity for gathering Christian converts. He was a loyal Presbyterian until his death and considered Christianity the handmaid of civilization. On the contrary, he regarded African ritual and belief a profound and degenerated form of heathenism (Chidester, 1992:52-53; Williams, 1978).

Given the Xhosas' devastated grief and disappointment on the prophecy, which was based on African traditional religious belief and Messianic Millenarian biblical thought,⁸⁵ the missionary's 'pure' orthodox cultural Bible reading⁸⁶ could undoubtedly be sustained for not less than 20 years after the event particularly among the *Mfengu*⁸⁷ part of the population (Mills, 1975:183; Pauw, 1975:25; Roy, 2000:83). Given that the *Mfengu*'s ethnic position in the Xhosa territory was located around the frontier owing to their vagrant political identity of *AmaMfengu* – 'the destitute wanderers', they existentially were on the side of White missionaries and regarded themselves as metaphoric Israelites (Christians).

In short, ideologically and existentially, failed traditional religion based

⁸⁵ Given the fact that Mhlakaza was a Christian convert, who was engrossed in the prophecy of the imminent advent of the messiah, Sifuba-Sibanzi, the Broad-Breasted One of whom the prophet Ntsikana had spoken, after serving Archdeacon Nathaniel J. Merriman of Grahamstown from 1849 to 1852, he, undoubtedly, was influenced by Christian millenarian thought as well (Chidester, 1992: 52). The Christian millenarian thought was embodied into Isaiah Shembe's African messianism in Section 4.3.4.

⁸⁶ Inferring from Table 1, "• Type 1: the Bible text + Cartesian context ⇒ Christian beliefs and culture", it is inevitable for missionaries to disregard traditional indigenous beliefs and culture. Since missionaries read the Bible text from the western Cartesian viewpoint, only Christian beliefs and culture remain valid.

⁸⁷ *Amamfengu* are the descendants of fragments of tribes or chiefdoms, who fled from the Zulu king Shaka and settled in the present Transkei and Ciskei during the third decade of the nineteenth century (Pauw, 1975:2-3). In 1828, the Zulu King, Shaka, sent his armies to the south, to the land of the Xhosa and Thembu. The havoc caused among various Xhosa speaking tribes resulted in numerous migrations and clashes (Pretorius, 1993:7)

prophecy that was mixed with biblical millenarianism, directed ideologically disappointed and politically marginalised natives to the side of orthodox Christianity in the dialectical movement from traditional indigenous religion to Christianity. Hence, their religious beliefs and practices were totally replaced by missionary's Christian doctrine and culture in the name of heathenism. On this ground, Tiyo Soga engaged in evangelical work on a large scale from the missionary centred viewpoint.

In the case of Tiyo Soga, the first type of Bible readers generally came from *amakholwa*⁸⁸ (mission-educated, school Africans, station Kaffir) community whose members were composed of a small elite group of educated Africans (Kock, 1992:131). Despite the fact that the practice of consulting diviners to discover the causes of disease was common even among the most respected of *amakholwa* families, *amakholwa* community in Edendale near Pietermaritzburg, voluntarily⁸⁹ and loyally sent their sons and husbands to the Zulu War to fight for England (Etherington, 1978:136,165). This is a typical example to show how zealously they wished to become metaphoric Israelites (Christians) by rejecting their traditional cultural identity. As an extension of *amakholwa*'s abandonment of cultural identity, Mpengula Mbande, the newly ordained minister from Springvale had a sermon in '*Kholwa*' meetings at Byrnetown in Natal. Etherington comments, "if they did not abandon their old customs and imitate our industrial habits, they will soon cease as a people to exist" (Etherington, 1978:164).

In the eastern Cape, although *amakholwa* communities of Cape Nguni were generally criticised by the majority of fellow Africans (non-believing traditionalists) such as '*amagqoboka*',⁹⁰ *amakholwa* community members, inversely, regarded them as '*amaqaba*'⁹¹ and heathens who were illiterate, uncivilised and poor from the same viewpoint of European missionaries

⁸⁸ The term, '*amakholwa*', refers to African Christian communities in the Nguni area (Pretorius, 1993:12; Etherington, 1978).

⁸⁹ In contrast with their fellow black natives (slaves), they were allowed to have horses and guns: "They were different to other natives, in the fact that they were mounted and all had guns" (Etherington, 1978:165)

⁹⁰ Pierced people, people having a hole – indicating that the school people had opened a hole in the nation through which white enemy forces had entered

⁹¹ *Amaqaba* are the ones who smear or paint their bodies with a mixture of fat and red ochre, namely Red people. They are also known as 'blanket people', self-consciously tried to adhere to what they regarded as older, traditional ways of life (Chidester, 1992:53).

(Chidester, 1992:53; Kock, 1992:136; Pauw, 1974:428). In brief, the distinction between metaphoric Israelites (Christians) and non-Israelites (pagans) was commonly found amongst Nguni⁹² in the eastern Cape as well as in Natal, Pondoland and Zululand (Pauw, 1974:428; Vilakazi, 1962; Etherington, 1978).

To date, according to Anderson's (1993) case study of African Pentecostalism research in Pretoria conducted between 1990 and 1992, 97% of Bible readers of African Pentecostal Church were opposed to the practice of ritual killing. Furthermore, most of them regarded traditional African religious beliefs and practices as wicked culture. Anderson remarks, "they (African Traditional Religion adherents) are bound by the devil they are still in darkness" (1993:30-31). The main tendency of *amakaholwa's* cultural Bible reading, which was characterised by the principle of radical separation, was determined by native Bible reader's colonial education at segregated mission stations under "the close supervision of white missionaries." Likewise, Pentecostal church members' cultural Bible reading was a cultural product of highly established Christian civilisation in modern days, for which western education (literacy) and commercialism (productive labour) laid a foundation (Mills, 1975:183-4; Chidester, 1992:37; Anderson, 1993).

In both cases of western missionary centred natives' cultural Bible reading, African traditional religious ethos of 'orality' was completely disregarded and finally replaced by European culture based 'textuality' (literacy, missionary theology), into which the Cartesian dichotomous psyche permeated. Giving priority to textuality, the majority of native elite biblical scholars (Type 3)⁹³ unwittingly quested for the same textual based missionary style of African theology to escape from the well-known criticisms on African Independent Church. Mbiti states, "the church in Africa is a Church without a theology, without theologians and without theological concern" (Mbiti, 1972:51). Maluleke further states, "the problem here is... one of lack of clarity and creativity in interpretative theory and framework" (Maluleke, 2001:375). As an extension of the criticisms, Sundkler (1961) also regarded the first type of cultural Bible

⁹² The tribes belonging to Nguni live mainly below the high plateau of the interior, between the escarpment of the Drakensberg and the sea, and stretch, in a long broad belt of hundreds of tribes, from Swaziland right through Natal far down into the Cape Province. The Nguni are classified into five language groups: Xhosa, Zulu, Swazi, Southern Ndebele and Northern Ndebele, whose speakers constituted 66% of the whole population of Republic of South Africa in 1970 (Van Warmelo, 1974:59-60).

⁹³ This is discussed in detail in the section 4.3.3 (the 3rd type of cultural Bible reading).

reading as an ideal model on a continuum stretching from the sound Cartesian missionary centred natives' cultural Bible reading to the heathenish Bible reading.

The syncretistic sect becomes the bridge over which **African are brought back to heathenism**...individuals and groups have passed step by step from a **Mission Church** to an **Ethiopian church**, and from the Ethiopians to **the Zionists**, and how at last via the bridge of **nativistic Zionism** they have returned to the **African animism** from where they once started. (1961:297)

The first type of Bible readers overcame the tension of difference between African traditional religion and Christianity by rejecting and eliminating their traditional beliefs and practices in their "quest for sameness" toward metaphoric Israelites (Eurocentric missionaries' ideal model of Christian⁹⁴). Hence, African traditional religion disappeared in the realm of missionary centred Bible reading. Interestingly, in contrast with the first type of Korean cultural Bible reading, the first type of South African cultural Bible reading numerically were not a mainstream despite the fact that it outwardly smacks of the feature of established churches' Bible reading (Chidester, 1997; Pauw, 1975; Oosthuizen, 1993:ii). This is because the Bible text was not always possible for native South Africans to read according to the missionary's Cartesian logic. This is gradually discussed further on the continuum from the 2nd to the 4th type of cultural Bible reading via 3rd type of cultural Bible reading in the proceeding sections.

⁹⁴ An ideal model of a Christian was expected to shed all traditional beliefs and rituals relating to ancestors, witchcraft and sorcery, divining, and medicines, as well as many customs, like traditional dancing, giving and receiving '*ikhazi*' (marriage goods), and polygyny. (Pauw, 1975:21)

4.3.2. Type 2: Ethiopian Church Members' Cultural Bible Reading

The second type of church members read the Bible without disregarding African traditional cultural practices in the context of Christianity. As Pauw (1975), Etherington (1978), and Pretorius (1993) indicate, they normally belonged to the 2nd or 3rd generation of Bible readers.

First generation Christians, particularly in the earlier stages of christianisation, made a more radical break with Xhosa tradition than their descendants. (Pauw, 1975:207) Contrary to missionary expectations, the second generation of believers did not surpass the first in piety and purity. (Etherington, 1978:140) By the 1870s, there was a general trend in mission communities which saw patterns of dependency gradually replaced by patterns in independent action. (Pretorius, 1993:13)

From the viewpoint of first type of Bible readers, their ancestors were all pagans with values distinctly different from Christian values, whereas from the second or third generation Bible readers (their descendants) viewpoint, their ancestors were thought of as Christians (Pauw, 1975:208). For that reason, the second or third generation Bible readers could continue to adhere to their tradition within the context of Christianity.

As indicated in Section 4.3.1, most of the Mfengu of the Nguni became the first type of Eurocentric Bible readers after the cattle-killing event. Notwithstanding, "this orthodoxy was represented by a distinct minority" (Pato, 1990:27). That is, the event of conversion did not make a real breakthrough to the Xhosa proper, the Thembu or the Mpondo at the time. The Mfengu part of Nguni's conversion led by Tiyo Soga after the cattle-killing event, did not last a full twenty years (Pauw, 1975:25). In other words, the majority of Xhosa speaking people converted to Christianity adhering to their tradition despite the missionary's enforcement of eradication of African rituals. Similarly, the majority of *amakaholwa* community members in Natal, Pondoland and Zululand also continued to adhere to '*lobola* (bride price)' custom, despite the first generation *amakaholwa* communities' loyalty to European missionaries. Black pastor Ira Nembula described hardships of extrication of *lobola* from *amakaholwa* to the Natal Native Commission of 1881 as Etherington remarks, "there is one thing which is a hindrance to all school Kaffirs. It is that a daughter for whom no

'*ukulobola*' has been paid has not the same status as girls who have it paid for them" (Etherington, 1978: 139). The tendency of adhering to African traditional beliefs and practices by the majority of African converts led to the formation of 2nd and 4th type of Bible readers afterward. This trend culminated in the foundation of African Independent Churches (AIC).

Attempts at explaining the AIC movement were mostly done in terms of looking at causative factors such as racial discrimination against black church leaders, unequal payment, unequal financial support for their church activity and so on.

Black clergymen did most of the work, but as they were not ordained, they could not celebrate marriages, baptize, or dispense the Lord's Supper. They had also a lower salary and status than the White missionary. They felt much more isolated both from the blacks and whites. The concept of 'no equality' between black and white in church or state has, in fact and in everyday practice, been accepted by many other white churches. (Pretorius, 1993:12; Pauw, 1995; Sundkler, 1976:37)

In addition, Sundkler (1961) asserts that Protestant denominationalism created an impression that AIC movements could also pertain to a universal separatism commonly founded in the western church history. However, these political, economic, historical explanations only reflected a functional aspect of religious separatism. Hence, their explanations did not unveil African converts' existential spiritual dimension.

Since Christianity was introduced to Africa through colonialism, which was backed by the spirit of capitalism and individualism (Weber, 1965), missionaries did not stick to the most important biblical norm, 'love' (Barrett, 1968:156). For example, although they knew about a God who commanded them to do to others what they wished others to do to them (Luke 6:31; Matt 7:12), they politically and economically suppressed the native people and discriminated against them for their self-interests. Maboea and Makhubu report, "some white missionaries, instead of teaching Christianity, promoted and taught white civilization" (Maboea, 1994:131; Makhubu, 1988:24). In other words, they failed in the realisation of love, which was against the biblical principle. Makhubu, Pauw, and Maboea state:

The uncharitable behaviour, which was not in keeping with the love of God they proclaimed, confused the people...where western culture was being introduced as the gospel, and the culture of blacks condemned as evil and heathen, problems arose which couldn't be solved except by **separation**. (Makhubu, 1988:28) The missionaries' **failure to live up to the Biblical standards** created a **platform for secession**. Although the Bible would still remain their springboard, Africans could no longer cope with the Christianity of the white man, which wounded so much. (Pauw, 1995; Maboea, 1994:130)

Their medical approach did not consider the existential realities of patients owing to its impersonal and mechanical approach of illness. Maboea argues, "western medical practitioners cannot adequately explain the patient's real illness involving ill relationships with ancestors, evil power or witchcraft. Since these are considered to be the root causes of a patient's unhealthy situation, what may appear to a Western doctor to be a successful medical treatment is invariably interpreted by the African patient as merely temporary and partial solution" (Maboea, 1994:125). The newly developed African Independent Church (AIC), to the contrary, could provide a place for African converts to feel at home and a sense of belonging, which was in accord with the biblical principle of love (Welbourne & Ogot, 1966; Pauw, 1995). For Africans, Christianity was not only meant for Sundays but daily cultural, social, economic and political life around the centre of AIC (Maboea, 1994:128).

The first African Independent Church, the Thembu Church, hereby, was founded in 1882 by Nehemiah Tile, a Methodist minister (Pauw, 1975:25; Pretorius, 1993). Nehemiah Tile, as Ngangelizwe's⁹⁵ closest adviser, donated an ox for the circumcision of Ngangelizwe's son, Dalindyebo. After the donation, Tile was summoned by his superior, Rev. T. Chubb of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa, but he left the Church without any refutation of the charges. This is a typical example to show Tile's adherence to the African traditional religious practices in the Christian context on the one hand. On the other hand, Tile was described as the father of black nationalism in Southern Africa since the Thembu Church was recognised as the Church of the Chiefdom (Pretorius, 1993:17; 1990:3). In particular, in a prayer written by Tile, "*Umtandazo waba Tembu*", Tile used "*kunye neNkosazana U-Vitoriya (together*

⁹⁵ The paramount chief of the large Thembu tribe

with Queen Victoria)” instead of the standard formula of the mission church prayer, “*pantsi neNkosazana U-Vitoriya (under Queen Victoria).*” The prayer concluded with the threefold entreaty as Pretorius records, “*Sindisa Tixo U-Ngangelizwe (God save Ngangelizwe). Sindisa Tixo nomtwana wake (God save his son). Sindisa Tixo isiswe saba-Thembu (God save the Thembu)* (Pretorius, 1993:23; 1990:13).”

Oosthuizen summarises Tile's role in the first AIC movement as follows: “Tile accepted African cultural traditions within the Christian context, and emphasised nationalism (as apposed to tribalism) and black nationalism.” (1997:17) Hodgson regarded these two elements, ‘religious separatism’ and ‘African nationalism’, as complementary to each other (1984:25).⁹⁶ Hence, the Thembu Church became the first Ethiopian church, independent from white missionaries. Afterwards, Ethiopian churches were divided and re-divided owing to their successive leadership crisis. In doctrine, however, they tended to resemble the European and American denomination from where they emerged (Etherington, 1978: 154-155).

Under the slogan of Psalm 68:31,⁹⁷ Ethiopian church Bible readers adopted the symbolism of Ethiopia, which signified ‘the unlimited extent of God's sovereignty’ (Pretorius, 1993:1). They set the Church of Ethiopia, an ancient black church for the prototype, which had for centuries survived the onslaughts of Islam and the isolation from the rest of Christianity. Ethiopia was a symbol of African ‘pride’, ‘independence’ and ‘initiative’. Pretorius and Shutte confirm, “Ethiopian troops were able to dispel their white Italian enemies in 1896 (the Italians lost 6000 killed and 1700 prisoners)” (Pretorius, 1993:3; Shutte, 1974:17). Given the fact that pre-Christian Africans were accepted and baptised as it were by the Church of Ethiopia, cherishing their traditional religious symbols and signs, the Ethiopian Church Bible readers could directly link with original Christianity not via European culture (Shutte, 1974). For that reason, the Old Testament was frequently read compared with the New Testament. That is, Tile's donation of ox for the circumcision of Ngangelizwe's son could also be understood in this context. As an extension of this viewpoint, Pato (1990) states, “Abraham (the father of faith), the Judaeo-Christian tradition tells us, was circumcised at the age of eighty. At the time of Jesus it was already customary

⁹⁶ “Religious separatism and African nationalism were two perfectly rational and complementary ways of trying to achieve integration.”

⁹⁷ “Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God.”

for Jewish boys to be circumcised eight days after the date of birth. What can be the basis of objecting to the Xhosa people who circumcise their boys at the age of eighteen?"(1990:26).

As Pauw points out, even in modern practices among the Xhosa speaking African Christians, ancestors play a vital role in their lives. For example, tombstone unveiling, which is commonly found amongst all Xhosa speaking African Christian, shows the continuation of an African rite of '*ukubuyisa*', which means reincorporation of the living-dead.

The phenomenon of unveiling tombstone is widespread as a particular way of appropriating certain Christian beliefs not only among the Zionists, but also among members of the **conventional forms of European Christianity** that have become traditional among South African blacks (Pato, 1990:30).

In addition, other traditional rituals like '*imbeleko*' (incorporation of the baby into the community), '*ukwaluka*' (rite of passage into adulthood) and '*lobola*' (the traditional process followed in customary marriage by isiXhosa speaking people) found their way into 'conventional forms of the European church' by being adopted as Christian practices. Pauw and Njeza assert, "as practiced by African Christians these ceremonies would include an opening church hymn or prayer and also would be expressed in a way that shows the influence of baptism, confirmation or other Christian rituals" (Pauw, 1975; Njeza, 1998). In particular, '*idini*' (ancestor sacrifice) has been held continuously by renaming it as '*idina*' (dinner).⁹⁸ In other words, school people ('*amagqoboka*'), who normally had been classified as the first type of Bible reader in conventional forms of European Christian church, continued to hold ancestor sacrifice in disguise just by changing the name of ancestor sacrifice from '*idini*' to '*idina*'(dinner) (Pauw, 1975:177). Therefore, within conventional forms of the European church, the 2nd type of cultural Bible readers emerged.

For the 2nd type of Xhosa Bible readers, the ancestors were the object of 'honour' ('*beka*') like their living parents and 'respect' ('*hlonelwe*') as their dead elders.⁹⁹ They were neither demons nor other gods, but objects to be avoided in the first article of the Ten Commandments. They were considered as

⁹⁸ "Red people call it *idini*; but we School people call it *idina*." (Pauw, 1975:177)

⁹⁹ "Honour your father and your mother..." (Ex. 20:12)

respected elders who were waiting for the resurrection.

The Old Testament says the ancestors should be respected because they do not die, but live on in the place of waiting. The Bible says we must remember the ancestors and submit to ('*lulamela*') them. The Bible and the Church teach people to respect their ancestors. (Pauw, 1975:211)

Even in Jesus' words, African customs were not the object of eradication. He (Jesus) did not come to destroy the law, or the prophets, but to fulfil the law (Mat. 5:17).

Jesus said He did not come to destroy their affairs, that is, their customs, but...in fact He came to fulfil them...They teach that God loves people that adhere to their customs ...The Church speaks very highly (*kakuhle*) of the ancestors, to such an extent that they are referred to even in prayers. (Pauw, 1975:211)

The 2nd type of cultural Bible reading could be found in both cases, that is in Ethiopian church member's cultural Bible reading and cultural Bible reading of Xhosa speaking African Christians in conventional forms of European churches. They continued traditional religious practices while they expressed their religious identity as orthodox Christians cherishing the great tradition of ancient Ethiopian Christianity or European forms of conventional orthodox Christians.

In the case of the Ethiopian Church, they declared the separation from European missionary churches, which failed in love. Spurred by the ancient original Ethiopian Christianity, they adhered to their culture as well as to the biblical doctrine. Nonetheless, in doctrine, they tended to resemble European and American denominations from where they sprang. Undoubtedly, it was an undeniable fact that the European missionaries preached the gospel (the biblical doctrine) to them first (Etherington, 1978: 154-155).

In the case of European forms of conventional Xhosa speaking African Christians, they continued their indigenous religious practices in 'hiding' and 'in disguise' (Pauw, 1975:175; Pato, 1990). In contrast with the 4th type of cultural Bible readers, the 2nd type of Bible readers partly absorbed traditional indigenous culture in the realm of Christianity. This is because the western

missionary's imposition of grand narrative (Heathen, Barbaric and illiterate Kaffir Africa) was widely and strongly spread even amongst black Christians under the influence of the highly established Christian civilisation (Mills, 1975: 183-4; Chidester, 1992:37; Anderson, 1993). This fact was further validated by Sundkler (1961), who regarded AIC as 'the African Christian's return to their heathen past' (1961:297). For that reason, their traditional rituals were performed in disguise and in hiding (Pauw, 1975:175).

These two cases of 2nd type of Bible readers clearly show the thread of "becoming metaphoric Israelites" faced with the tension of difference between traditional Indigenous religion and Christianity. European forms of conventional church Xhosa members officially revealed the thread of becoming Israelites by identifying themselves with conventional orthodox Christians under the western epistemological pressure, whilst they performed ancestor rituals in disguise. Similarly, the thread of 'becoming Israelites' was also clearly found amongst Ethiopian church Bible readers, given that they regarded themselves as genuine orthodox Christians on the basis of biblical standard whilst cherishing the great tradition of the ancient Ethiopian church. They set up a new church and identified themselves as metaphoric Israelites without disregarding their culture. In this way, the tension between African traditional religion and Christianity could melt in the "quest for sameness" toward Christianity (metaphoric Israelites).

With regard to the western epistemology, there is one feature that is noteworthy in the Ethiopian movement. For example, in the Church of Chiefdom (Thembu Church founded by Tile), only black ministers of the mission churches were allowed to hold services (Pretorius, 1993:17). Furthermore, the Ethiopian church Bible reading (African theology) was closely connected to black theology (liberation theology) so that it was politically inseparable from the black consciousness movement (Pretorius, 1990:13). It was another name of political reaction against the native commissioner, James Steward's condemnation¹⁰⁰ of Ethiopianism. The point is that Ethiopian church Bible readers failed in love to embrace white people just as European missionaries discriminated against them. They expanded their concern on African tribalism into the African Black

¹⁰⁰ "It is a cave of Adullam (seceder) for the ruthless and dissatisfied, which sooner or later... must... come into collision with English or Imperial views or policy" (Cuthbertson, 1991:59).

Nationalism but they could not extend their concern to all people.¹⁰¹ They embraced their own culture by interpreting Matthew 5:17,¹⁰² however they could not overcome the deep-rooted western epistemological **separatism**, which permeated the western church history and its theology (the Bible text) (Sundkler, 1961).

They only expressed their African cultural identity within the framework of European epistemology.¹⁰³ This is because their cultural Bible reading was nothing other than political Bible reading under the influence of European colonialism. Similarly, Hodgson's (1984) argument¹⁰⁴ on the integration, spurred by the Ethiopian church movement, was only meaningful within the framework of European epistemology, which was characterised by 'radical separation'. That is, the scope of its integration was limited only within Black African Nationalism, but could not extend beyond it.

Under the strong influence of western epistemology, the third type of African Bible readers searched for sameness scholastically within the episteme of western theology. On the other hand, the fourth type of African Bible readers searched for sameness within the episteme of African religious tradition, oral theology.

¹⁰¹ "They learned from the Bible to discover God as God for all people, not as one who associates himself with a certain group of people alone" (Maboea, 1994:134).

¹⁰² "I (Jesus Christ) came, not to destroy, but to fulfill." (Matthew, 5:17) (Pauw, 1975:211; Maboea, 1994)

¹⁰³ Ntsikana, the Xhosa writer of the Great Hymn in the early 19th century, also revealed his epistemological limitation. Although he preached the biblical message to the Xhosa people by using an oral hymnal, in which traditional African psyche is deeply embedded, he did not fully contextualise the biblical text (Christian belief) within the realm of traditional indigenous religion (Compare with Isaiah Shembe's cultural Bible reading in Section 4.3.4). For example, in the first line of his Great Hymn ("*Ulo Tixo omkulu, ngosezulwini/ He, is the Great God, Who is in Heaven*"), the Supreme God was described as an unapproachable 'Deus Otiosus', Who is in heaven, a concept which is an exact 'radical departure from (African) tradition' (Hodgson, 1980:28) In addition, "Ntsikana's hymn was their national anthem but the proceedings closed with 'God Save the King' for colonialism continued to be **the framework within which they expressed their Africanness**" (Hodgson, 1984:27).

¹⁰⁴ "Religious separatism and African nationalism were two perfectly rational and complimentary ways of trying to achieve integration" (Hodgson, 1984:25).

4.3.3. Type 3: Inculturated Biblical Scholars' Cultural Bible Reading

The third type of cultural Bible readers was mainly composed of elite biblical scholars whilst most ordinary Bible readers pertained to the 2nd and 4th types. The third type of cultural Bible readers searched for western theological elements within the African traditional religious context in the dialectical process of the "quest for sameness" toward Christianity. Firstly, within an African traditional religious context, they found western theological elements such as the existence of the Supreme God, and the story of Creation in Genesis. Secondly, in addition to discovered theological elements in an African traditional religious context, African theologians interpreted the Bible as a counteraction to western missionaries' theological attack, which regarded most African belief and practices as 'idolatry' and 'barbarous filthy customs' in the cases of 'ancestor worship', 'polygamy', 'music and dance'. In other words, they scholastically interpreted the Bible on African traditional religious beliefs and practices when confronted with a theological attack from the western missionary scholarship. This was for the sake of proclaiming the fact that Africans were already Christians or that they were already prepared to become Christians prior to western missionary's introduction of Christianity. Bosch asserts, "the Gospel had found African traditional religion already to be in orbit, and merely had to help it along" (Bosch, 1984:22). They were well versed in western theological thought as well as homestead ('land') centred communal value of African traditional religion. To overcome the tension arising from their bifurcated mentality, the third type of native elite Bible readers, under the strong influence of western episteme, intended to 'completely' absorb traditional religious beliefs and practices within the realm of the gospel (the Bible text, theology, Christianity).

Just as the concept of '*Sangjae*' (上帝)¹⁰⁵ in the long history of Korean traditional religious ethos was embodied in the new name of God in Christianity, God whom the missionaries introduced to native Africans was regarded as

¹⁰⁵ From the viewpoint of Bible translation in modern days, the Chinese term, 'shangdi(上帝)/ sangjae' in Korean, was reintroduced by Christian missionaries to China in the 16th century as a Chinese translation of the Christian God, and this name has been used in the Chinese Bible. For the Koreans, however, the early Christian missionaries and the Koreans who translated the Bible into Korean adapted the Korean name, "Haneunim (하느님)" or "Hananim(하나님)", a popular name for god in the Korean indigenous traditions, for Christian God.

having the same entity with the traditional African Supreme God.

The Xhosa name for God is '*u-Dali*', i.e. the Creator or Supreme Being, and it is from the same root as '*um-Dali*', the Creator. The other name by which He is known are '*Tixo*' and '*Qamata*'...Tixo has almost submerged the original Xhosa term 'Dali' – the author of all existent life, the creator of man, the animals, and all forms of living things. (Smith, 1950:100-1)

William Ngidi, a Zulu translator and comparativist, informed Colenso, Bishop of Natal in the 1850s, that the Zulu had the same name for God in Christianity, '*uNkulunkulu*' and '*uMvelinqangi*'. Colenso's Zulu-English dictionary defines the concept of the Zulu God as follows: "*Nkulunkulu (U)* a Great-Great-One, Supreme Being, traditional Creator of all things, called also *um-Velinqangi*..." (in Smith, 1950:103). Ngidi further convinced Colenso that the Old Testament was not superior to the myths and folk tales of the Zulu (Hinchliff, 1964; Chidester, 1997:163). In comparison with the name of God in Christianity, Kunene (1981) also recited in Zulu, "*uMvelinqangi umdali wezulu nomhlaba* which means only God who is the source of all life is superior to all things" (1981: xv). The indigenous terms for the Supreme God were also found in Sotho-Tswana as '*Modimo*' and in Venda as '*Raluvhimba*'.¹⁰⁶

In the creation myth of various provinces in South Africa, Christian elements were found. For example, according to the myth of northern Sotho tradition, the Supreme God '*Kgobe*' created the world, while his son, '*Kgobeane*', created humans like a potter molding a vessel from clay (Monnig, 1967; Chidester, 1992:7).¹⁰⁷ Another wide spread origin myth of 'chameleon and lizard'¹⁰⁸ introduced that the origin of death was attributed to the primordial

¹⁰⁶ "The African God, whose name is '*Modimo*' in Sotho-Tswana, could never die because it has no human limitations and is so immense, incomprehensible, wide, tremendous and unique" (Setiloane, 1976, 1979:60; Schutte, 1978).

¹⁰⁷ Let us make man in our image, according to our likeness. (Genesis 1:26) All these other created things were not only created "through him" but also "for him," as God's Firstborn and the "heir of all things." (Colossians 1:16; Hebrews 1:2) God...formed man out of dust from the ground. (Genesis 2:7)

¹⁰⁸ "The high god sent a message of immortality to human beings, a message carried by the chameleon. The Chameleon, however, was slow, stopping along the way, so that the message of life was delayed. Displeased, the high god sent a second message, a message of death, carried by the swifter lizard, who quickly and directly reached the human world with the message that human beings would have to die" (Chidester, 1992:7).

breakdown in communication between the spiritual world and the human world. Interestingly, the lizard (a sort of serpent) was described as the cause of death, which brought the message of death into the human world (Zahan, 1979: 36-52; Chidester, 1992:7). A similar account is recorded in Genesis 3:3, 13.¹⁰⁹

Going beyond the emphasis on the existence of God's name in South Africa and the focus on similar Christian symbols found in traditional myths, most African biblical scholars, such as Idowu (1962), Setiloane (1979), Muzorewa (1985), Mbiti (1970), Nyamiti (1994; 1984), assume that God revealed Himself in African traditional culture and religion before the arrival of missionaries (Parratt, 1987:154). For Idowu, the concept of God in African religion was essentially the same as that in Christianity. Setiloane goes a step further when he argues that the traditional African concept of God was, in some respects, higher than that of the idea of God in Christian theology. Muzorewa emphasises the theological continuity between 'African Traditional (non-Christian) Theology' and 'African Theology (cultural theology)'. Mbiti and Nyamiti regard African traditional religion as a 'preparation for the gospel', whose spiritual need would be answered in Christ. Nyamiti records, "it is an undeniable fact that even before the advent of Christian missionaries in black Africa, Christ was already at work among the Africans" (Nyamiti, 1994:63). Thus, elite African Bible readers responded to missionaries' and the first type of Bible readers' theological criticisms on African traditional religious belief and practices in connection with 'idolatrous' ancestor worship, dancing and drumming, 'barbarous' polygamy and so on.

With regard to 'ancestor worship', missionaries and the first type of cultural Bible readers regarded ancestors as other gods or demons, which pertained to idols in the articles 1 and 2 of the Ten Commandments. On the contrary, the 3rd type of Bible readers regarded ancestors as 'Jesus Christ' or 'living saints' in that they were neither other gods nor demons.

Outwardly, the African elite Bible readers emphasised the non-existence of visible symbols (idols) in African traditional religion. As inferred from J.C. Warner's (a Wesleyan Methodist missionary) observation on the issue of idolatry in African traditional religion, Africans did not have any visible symbols (idols) contrary to the superstitions of European.

¹⁰⁹ "The serpent- it deceived me and so I ate.", "you must not touch it that you do not die."

Missionaries were in error to compare Africans to isolated superstitions of Europe, such as nailing a horseshoe over the door and should not be misled by the fact that Africans had 'no visible symbols' of their supernatural beings. (Mills, 2001:158)

Inwardly, Mbiti (1970) gives a possible example of ancestors' convergence into 'One' Africa's God by discovering the existence of African Trinity in Shona and Ndebele's beliefs. According to Mbiti, the Father, the Son (Jesus Christ) and the Holy Spirit were regarded as 'One' (mono) God, Christian Trinity. Similarly, in Shona and Ndebele belief, God was conceived of as 'Father, Son, and Mother'.¹¹⁰ Despite God's diffusion into the Father, the Mother and the Son, they were regarded as inseparable just as in the Christian trinity. With regard to God's diffusion in the African traditional religion, Idowu (1962) coined the term, 'diffused monotheism' for describing the nature of Africa's God. If God in Christianity was diffused into three in one in the name of trinity, the Father, the Son (Jesus Christ) and the Holy Spirit, then Africa's God was diffused into many in one in the name of 'diffused monotheism'.

Mbiti (1990) generally classifies Africa's God into four entities, namely 'The Supreme God', 'divinities', 'spirits' and 'the living-dead' ('ancestors' or 'ancestor spirits'). Firstly, 'The Supreme God' is transcendental so that He is never worshiped directly. He is worshiped through mediums, ancestors/ancestor spirits. Theoretically, He could become a universally defined '*Deus Otiosus*', who is remote from African's daily affairs in the physical world. However, 'The Supreme God' is also immanent in the physical world.¹¹¹ The Zulu term, '*U-zivelele*', which means, "He who came of himself of being; He who is of himself" clearly shows The Supreme God's immanency in the physical world (Smith, 1950:109). Secondly, divinities stand for The Supreme God's activities or manifestations either as personifications or as the spiritual beings (Mbiti, 1990:75). On the one hand, they are in charge of natural phenomena and objects. In Yoruba, the divinity '*Orisa-nla*' acts as 'God's earthly deputy' and '*Orunmila*' as one who understands every language spoken on earth and

¹¹⁰ "In one area of the Shona country, God is conceived as 'Father, Son, and Mother.' Among the neighboring Ndebele, there is a similar belief 'in a Trinity of spirits, the Father, the Mother and the Son' " (Mbiti, 1970:30).

¹¹¹ "He is immanent, being manifested in natural objects and phenomena, and they (Africans) can turn to Him in acts of worship, at any place and any time." (Mbiti, 1990:33).

represents God's omniscience and knowledge. On the other hand, they are occasionally associated with human activities and experiences (Mbiti, 1990:75). Whereas 'divinities' were created as spiritual beings like angels in Christianity, the third entity, 'spirits' and the fourth, 'the living dead' (ancestors/ancestor spirits) were the destiny of human beings after their physical death (Mbiti, 1990:78).

The categorical division between 'spirits' and 'the living dead' can be understood given the African concept of time. Mbiti particularly focuses on two types of time, *Sasa* (Micro time-region) and *Zamani* (Macro time-region).

Sasa is an experiential extension of the Now moment stretched into the short future and into the unlimited past (*Zamani*)...*Sasa* is the time region in which people are conscious of their existence... On the other hand, *Zamani* is the period of myth, giving a sense of foundation or security to the *Sasa* period; and binding together all created things, so that all things are embraced within the *Zamani* (Macrotime) (1990:21-22).

If 'spirits' belong to '*Zamani*' (Macro time-region), then 'the living dead' (ancestors/ancestor spirits) pertain to '*Sasa*' (Micro time-region), in which descendants or homestead members are still conscious of their existence. Interestingly, even though a dead person's physical body decayed, s/he, through sacrifices held by his/her descendents, was still regarded as a living homestead member associating with his/her descendents at the centre of the homestead (particularly at the centre of the 'land'). In short, s/he became the 'living' dead (ancestors/ ancestor spirits) despite physical death. After generations and generations, when s/he was forgotten, s/he entered into the time-region of *Zamani* (Macro-time) with the title of 'spirits'. Mbiti explains that the living dead, generally, entered the realm of 'spirits' after five generations (1990:82). In some cases, spirits who lost a personal link with homestead members were regarded harmful and evil to people (Mbiti, 1990:199).

Ostensibly, 'the Supreme God', 'divinities', 'spirits' and 'the living dead' (ancestor spirits or ancestors) vertically resided in hierarchy in the spiritual realm (Mbiti, 1990). Nonetheless, the nature of the Supreme God, which has both transcendence and immanence is seen in divinities' occasional involvement in human activities and experiences, and in indivisible African's concept of time as an extended time-region of '*Sasa*' and '*Zamani*'. This clearly

shows the possibility of convergence of Africa's myriads of 'divinities', 'spirits' and 'the living dead' into the 'one' Supreme God and vice-versa. That is, four entities of Africa's God were inseparable at the centre of homestead, in which the living and the dead were associated with each other. As Mulago asserts, they were regarded as 'one' (mono) God in 'vital union' in a symbol of a circle on a horizontal plane (Mulago, 1991:120; Kunene, 1981). According to Kunene (1981), the symbol of the circle represents the universe, in which the spirit world and the physical world become 'one' universe without any division. Africa's God, contrary to '*Deus Otiosus*', did not only remain in the spiritual realm but was also actively involved in the physical world.

On the basis of the knowledge on God of Africa, African elite Bible readers compared the functional and spiritual position of ancestors (the living dead, ancestor spirits) in the African traditional religion to that of Jesus Christ in Christianity. In fact, as Pobee (1979:94), Bujo (1981) and Nyamiti (1984) point out, Jesus Christ was no other than the Greatest Ancestor ('*Nana*' in Akan tribe) or 'proto-ancestor' to connect the physical world with the spirit world.¹¹²

In the direction toward 'human being' from 'God', Jesus Christ was an immanent being that came to earth for redemption of humankind's sin. Without Jesus Christ, humankind would not get salvation. He was a mediator to link humankind to the Supreme God. In African traditional religion, 'the living dead' (ancestors, ancestor spirits) played the same mediator role in connecting two worlds. In other words, it was only via ancestors that the continuum stretching from living homestead members to the Supreme God could be sustained. In the direction toward 'God' from 'human being', Jesus Christ was a transcendental being as a resurrected God who became the Supreme God in the trinity. Similarly, the Supreme God and ancestors in African traditional religion were not thought to be divisible but one. Mulago states, "it is impossible to separate belief in the Supreme Being from belief in survival and in the interaction between the living and the dead, or from para-religious beliefs" (Mulago, 1991:130).

Structurally and functionally, Jesus Christ played exactly the same role as ancestors in the African traditional religion. Pobee (1979), Shorter (1975), and Ukpong (1994) using Matthew 5:17-18, Romans 1:19-20, and 1 Corinthians

¹¹² "As *Nana Jesus* has authority over not only the world of men but also of all spirit beings, namely the cosmic powers and the ancestors" (Pobee, 1979:94). "The **ancestralship of Christ** makes us His brother-descendants also by instilling into us the responsibility of regular sacred communication with Him in His spirit" (Nyamiti, 1984).

9:22 emphasise that Jesus did not come to abolish them (Jewish/African traditional religious belief and practices) but to fulfil them and that God revealed Himself in diverse ways and forms in the context of Judaism/African traditional religion. Shorter and Ukpong assert, "Jesus evangelised Jewish people within Jewish culture ('incarnation to Jewish culture'), whose influence would reach 'all things to all people' ('resurrection to all cultures')" (Shorter, 1975; Ukpong, 1994:58). As an extension of the evangelisation, Pobee (1979), from the viewpoint of 'progression of divine revelation', also argues that African religion would progress to Christianity, just as Judaism progressed to Christianity.

It is noteworthy that the diffusion of Africa's God as well as its convergence into 'one' God was made at the centre of the homestead, particularly at the centre of land. The African elite cultural Bible readers emphasised the Old Testament, according to which Israelites set up their group consciousness and group interrelatedness on the basis of 'homestead' and 'land' (Mbiti, 1994:38; Dickson, 1984:166). Abraham's 'house' that God blessed, was nothing other than the homestead of African traditional religion. Furthermore, the land of Canaan (the Promised Land flowing with milk and honey) was the centre of spirituality of Abraham's homestead members (embracing generations yet to be born) (Genesis 17:7; 2 Samuel 7:1). As an extension of the emphasis on land, Dickson (1984:173) pointed out that a proper burial in the homestead (land) was considered most essential for Israelites just like the modern day Africans.

The ancient Israelites desired to be buried in **the family grave (homestead)**; it was a **terrible disgrace** when Uriah the prophet's body was cast 'into **the burial place of the common people.**' (Judges 8:32; 2 Samuel 17:23; Jeremiah 26:32)

In addition, Dickson (1984) inferred from the proverb quoted by both Jeremiah and Ezekiel¹¹³ that, "even if the evidence is not overwhelming, in ancient Israel **the dead were part of the community in the consciousness of the living**" (1984:174).

At the communal centre of the homestead (land), African ancestors could be viewed the same as Jesus Christ on the continuum stretching from human

¹¹³ "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge" (Jeremiah 31:29; Ezekiel 18:2).

being to the Supreme God. Furthermore, African's communal culture could be viewed the same as the culture of ancient Israelites in the Old Testament. Just as God in Christianity becomes three in one in the name of trinity, Africa's God was diffused into many in one in the name of 'diffused monotheism' around the centre of the homestead.

With regard to the issue of idolatry, Pobee (1979) argues another possibility, that ancestors could be viewed as the Christian 'living saints', who were not classified into idols, other gods or demons. In Christianity, Jesus shared in the kingship of God and held his kingship under God (1 Cor. 15:24, 25,28). However, the kingship of Christ could not be sustained without the '*communio sanctorum*,¹¹⁴ communion of saints', Jesus Christ's followers who executed his will (1979:88). Similarly, the Supreme God in Africa was such a great king that he could not be approached directly. Indeed He delegated authority to numerous ancestors and gods to deal with the relatively trivial human affairs (1979:65). From a functional aspect, Christian saints who were alive in the spirituality of Christians and African ancestors who were still alive in the spirituality of Africans were the pillars of the kingdom of Jesus Christ and the kingdom of the Great King (the Supreme God) of Africa. On this basis, Mbiti describes the celebration of the Eucharist, "the Christ-centred feast, fellowship, and communion, thus extending the circle of the Christian community" as the feast of making offerings in memory of and fellowship with the departed, "the living dead" (1994:36). That is, ancestors could be viewed as King Jesus Christ's followers, the communion of living saints. As long as ancestors were regarded as living saints, they could not be the object of worship but the object of honour (respect).¹¹⁵

Therefore, for both cases of ancestors' functional and spiritual position either as Jesus Christ or as His followers (saints), ancestors could not be either idols or other gods or demons, which were the target of criticism by European missionaries and the first type of cultural Bible readers. Just as in the idolatry case of ancestor worship, elite African cultural Bible readers defended their beliefs and practices against western missionaries' other theological charges on dancing and drumming, polygamy, various customs and taboos in connection with childbirth, puberty, marriage and death.

¹¹⁴ The Third Article in the Apostles' Creed

¹¹⁵ "The Fifth Commandment, Honour your father and mother" (Mbiti, 1994:36).

In the case of dancing and drumming, the precedent of David dancing before the Ark of the Covenant strongly backed up the theological position of elite African cultural Bible readers (Appiah-Kubi, 1983:125). That is, Psalm 149 verses 3 and 4 and Psalm 150 proved that dancing and drumming were biblical elements.

Let them praise his name with dancing, making melody to him with timbrel (translated as drums) and lyre (translated as the African piano); Praise him with trumpet sound, praise him with timbrel and dance. (Olowola, 1998:298; Appiah-Kubi, 1983:125)

As an extension of this theological position, Olowola (1998:294) regarded 'sweet songs' and 'drums' as 'relished goods of the Holy Spirit'.

In the case of polygamy, some African cultural Bible readers concentrated on giving examples of polygamy in the Old Testament, such as polygamous cases of Abraham, Jacob, David, and Solomon. Particularly, the existence of Solomon's numerous wives clearly showed that polygamy was biblical. Confronting these polygamous cases in the Old Testament, the missionaries and the first type of Bible readers normally justified their monogamous position by raising the issue of fertility as explained in Section 4.3.1.

As an extension of missionaries' theological justification of polygamy by the fertility reason, Parrinder (1950) regards Hebrew traditional concubinage as being positioned in the middle of the continuum stretching from barbarous polygamy to idealistic monogamy. That is, the existence of a chief wife amongst numerous concubines shows that Hebrew polygamy in the Old Testament was the first form in the direction toward the Christian ideal of monogamy. For example, even though a scribe of the Bible wrote Hagar as Abraham's **wife**, Hagar in practice was just a **concubine**. Given the Babylonian Code of Hammurabi, a man could take a woman as a concubine when she was captured in warfare or bought from slave-dealers. Therefore, Parrinder asserts that Hagar was an Egyptian, probably captured in warfare, or bought from slave-dealers (Parrinder, 1950:14). Kanyoro (1992:98) also witnessed that the English and French were inconsistent in their translation of 'wife' and 'concubine'. Parrinder, thereby, applies his hypothesis on the existence of a

chief wife among numerous wives even to the case of David and Solomon's numerous wives. He asserts, "Adam, Noah, Isaac and Joseph were perhaps monogamists, while Abraham, Jacob, and David had several wives, **of whom one seems to have been the chief wife**" (1950:23).

Nonetheless, in the case of Moses' new marriage in Numbers 12:1-16, God punished Miriam and Aaron who complained about Moses' new (polygamous) marriage. Furthermore, God declared that Moses was "faithful in all my house", instead of punishing Moses who practiced polygamy. Even in the case of Miriam's complaint on Moses' new marriage, she did not complain about polygamy itself, but Moses' marriage to a foreign woman.¹¹⁶ That is, given the fact that Moses' first wife Zippo'rah (Sephora) was 'not barren'¹¹⁷ and that Moses' polygamous Choice of an Ethiopian (Cush'ite) woman was 'not' seen as a simple matter of picking up a 'concubine' captured in warfare or bought from slave-dealers,¹¹⁸ African elite cultural Bible readers biblically supported African polygamy practices. For example, Sindima also asserts that Jesus did not forbid either polygamy or monogamy, instead he focused on teaching against divorce. Sindima states, "Jesus did not come to monogamize the polygamists... The role of the Church is to construct, rather than destroy, as was often the case with marriage" (1999:179; Matt. 19:16).

William Ngidi, who convinced Colenso, Bishop of Natal, that the Old Testament was not superior to the myths and folk tales of the Zulu, took a second wife after conversion (Chidester, 1996:140; Mills, 2001; Hinchliff, 1964). Under his influence, Colenso also maintained that it was right for polygamists to be baptised (Sundkler and Steed, 2000:372). Rev. W.A. Goodwin (Anglican) restated Colenso's argument in 1904 arguing, "polygyny was a sin of the missionaries' own making as it was prohibited nowhere in the Bible" (in Mills, 2001:160).

Similarly, elite African cultural Bible readers used similar examples from

¹¹⁶ "The point of Miriam and Aaron's complaint was that Moses had taken a non-Israelite wife" (Goldenberg, 2003:29).

¹¹⁷ Exodus 2:22: "Later, she (Zippo'rah) bore a son and he called his name Ger'shom..."

¹¹⁸ Owing to the dispute on Moses' polygamy, Miriam was punished by Jehovah and finally was struck with leprosy (Numbers 12:10). It was not the simple matter of picking up a 'concubine' but the serious matter of accepting 'a new wife' or the second 'wife' from a foreign tribe. Contrary to the Hebrew traditional concubinage, which puts the priority on the first wife disregarding the rest of the wives to concubines, African traditional polygamy focuses on the equality among multiple wives (Kanyoro, 1992:98).

the Bible, especially from the Old Testament, to justify various African religious practices, customs and taboos in connection with childbirth, puberty, marriage and death. Adogbo (1994) uses examples of 'spirit possession' in 1 Samuel 10:6-10, 2 Kings 9:11, and Jeremiah 23:9. The ecstatic experiences transformed the prophet Saul into **'another man'** and Je'hu's military chiefs called the Prophet Eli'sha's attendant as **'a madman'**. Jeremiah also described himself, "my heart is broken within me, all my bones shake; I am like a **drunken man... because of the Lord**" (1994:16). Adogbo found divination objects for 'oracle-giving' in 1Sam 23:6-12. Adogbo identifies, "Abiathar, the priest of Nob, brought with him **the ephod, a divining instrument**, by which David obtained yes-or-no answers to such questions as 'Will Saul come down?' and 'Will the men of Keilah surrender me to Saul?'"(1994:18)

With regard to African taboos in connection with childbirth and sexual relations, Dickson (1984) uses the example from Leviticus 12:2 and Ezekiel 18:6.¹¹⁹ According to Dickson, most postnatal African mothers among the Gu and the Peda of Ouida in West Africa were forbidden to eat salt and to leave the house for several days, and should they be forced by circumstances to go out, they would not respond to greetings from the public. In addition, many African people place a ban on sexual relations during the period of woman's menstruation because of taboos surrounding blood, the mysterious life force that both cleanses and contaminates, as inferred from Leviticus 17:11 and 15:19.¹²⁰ Among the Kono of Sierra Leone, they considered the sexual intercourse during menstruation as the cause for a woman to become leprous (Dickson, 1984:154).

As inferred from these exemplary cultural Bible readings, elite African Bible readers basically "quested for sameness" toward Christianity to find the same biblical elements confronting the tension of difference between African traditional religion and Christianity. They endeavoured to escape from the well-known criticism: "The church in Africa is a Church without a theology, without theologians and without theological concern." (Mbiti, 1972:51) In some cases such as 'the concept of Africa's God' and 'polygamy', they argued that African

¹¹⁹ "A woman who gets a male child shall be unclean for seven days, of if the child is female the period of uncleanness lasts a fortnight."; "A righteous man should not approach a woman in her time of impurity" (1984:154).

¹²⁰ "For the soul of the flesh is in the blood, and I myself have put it upon the altar for you to make atonement for your souls...; she should continue seven days in her menstrual impurity, and anyone touching her will be unclean until the evening."

traditional religious beliefs and practices were in some respect more biblical than those of Europeans. Nonetheless, they tended to read the Bible by using the western logic as being taught by western missionaries, one of which was characterised by the superiority of textual theology over oral theology. Therefore, while they read the Bible by using western logic as a counteraction to western missionaries' and the first type of cultural Bible reading, they did not develop their own creative insight that could arise from their religious cultural context, instead they disregarded ordinary African church members' Bible reading (Type 4).¹²¹ Their cultural Bible reading applied by the same logic of western missionaries, was ironically criticised even by western modern scholars as "selective appropriation of elements of African culture" (Chidester, 1997:9). As Tutu (1987) points out, they did not recognise the violence of the imposition of meta-narrative, "becoming metaphoric Israelites," into which the western dichotomous discriminative assumptions are deeply embedded. Tutu states, "We (elite African cultural Bible readers) are still too much concerned to play the game according to the white man's rules when he often is the referee as well" (1987:55). The discussion of the next section can be insightful, in that ordinary Africans could read the Bible independently within the indigenous context of African traditional religion.

¹²¹ Parratt (1987) notes, "(the western style of textual) Biblical scholarship is an urgent task in Africa today, which has been too much neglected by the African church" (Parratt, 1987:148). He argues that most Protestant theologians, particularly for Dickson and Fashole-Luke, pertained to this group.

4.3.4. Type 4: Zionists' and Nazarites' Cultural Bible Reading

This section discusses how ordinary African Bible readers overcame the tension of difference between traditional indigenous religion and Christianity by absorbing Christianity into the realm of African traditional religion. Religious symbols in Zionists' rituals and Isaiah Shembe's hymnal are regarded as a contextualised biblical text (oral text)¹²² for their cultural Bible reading. For Sundkler (1961:54-55), the Zionists ideologically claimed to emanate from the Mount of Zion in Jerusalem. Theologically, they were a 'syncretistic Bantu movement' with 'healing', 'speaking with tongues', 'purification rites', and 'taboos' as the main expressions of their faith. According to Sundkler, Isaiah Shembe's Nazarites were also classified as a wide scope of Zionists.

Contrary to the first and third types of cultural Bible reading, the Zionists seldom read the Bible, instead they partly used the Bible for exorcism or healing purposes. Only in the last part of healing session was the Bible read, often several times, and the sections read contemplated upon (Oosthuizen, 1992:48). Zionists, who normally came to church for healing purposes,¹²³ could not be satisfied with the study of the Bible and prayers of the churches established by missionaries. The missionaries' remedy to their illness was considered too weak to counteract the strong force of witchcraft and sorcery, the primal cause of illness of patients/ victims. Therefore, Zionist prophets/diviners as modern witchfinder¹²⁴ were required to make diagnosis and perform rituals of healing (Oosthuizen, 1992:186; Ephesians 4:11). For the Zionists, the ritual of healing performed by a prophet/diviner was more highly regarded than the Bible reading.

¹²² An oral text is different from 'a written text as an alphabetic or printed symbol'. As being inferred from Wittig's (1978) definition of reading as "the active process of making meaning out of signs and symbols- not just alphabetic symbols, but anything that can be interpreted: any natural event or any cultural artifact", the concept of oral text includes any religious symbol, and particularly 'listening and retelling stories' (Mazamisa, 1995:2). In this thesis, it was illustrated by symbols of Zionist ritual and Isaiah Shembe's hymnal in Section 4.3.4.

¹²³ Healing for Zionist church people does not only mean physical cure for disease but also a restoration of harmonious relationship of the whole community. Whereas in the established mission churches, healing was a kind of appendix to their church activities, in most of the indigenous churches it was central (Oosthuizen, 1992:41; 192).

¹²⁴ Oosthuizen (1992:186) agrees with Schlosser (1958:205-6): "the process of diagnosis and of healing in the Zionist Churches, as executed by the Prophet, is nothing less than a Christian form of traditional exorcism."

In other words, their biblical text was nothing other than the ritual itself,¹²⁵ in which God revealed Himself directly through prophets/diviners (Dube, 1994:105).

Although the first type of Bible readers criticised prophets/diviners of Zionist churches as 'agents of the devil', prophets/diviners played a pivotal role in gathering ordinary African people to the Zionist church.¹²⁶ For Zionists, 'the pie in the sky when you die' cannot be an attractive theological element. Instead, prophets/diviners, who gave ordinary African people 'what is needed in the here and now', were the centre of their beliefs and practices (1992:193). Prophets/diviners were no other than visible, tangible and living mediators, who performed healing miracle/rituals through direct spiritual contact with ancestors or the Holy Spirit.

Thereby, the categorical division between African traditional diviners and Christian prophets was fruitless.¹²⁷ According to Oosthuizen (1992:180), 80% of diviners/prophets in the Zionist church did not sense the possible spiritual tension of difference between traditional ancestors and the Holy Spirit, who gave them spiritual visions. Oosthuizen explains, "I (a prophet of the Zionist church) have a double engine at my disposal, namely, one engine from the Holy Spirit and one from the ancestors" (1992:167). For some prophets/diviners of the Zionist church, the Holy Spirit sent them His messengers (ancestors).¹²⁸ In other words, for Zionists, a western logical and terminological explanation about

¹²⁵ Although Dube (1994:108) limited the scope of a possible text within symbolic ritual objects, e.g. water, coloured vestments and candles, all the activities in Zionist Churches relating to purification, healing- including immersion in a dam, river or the sea- the driving out of evil spirits through "thrashing" them out, laying on of hands and holy staves to give 'the Spirit' to a person and many other activities could be classified into text in the premise that prophets/ diviners were involved.

¹²⁶ "The Church with the largest African membership in South Africa is the Zion Christian Church, an independent church with more than two million African members" (Oosthuizen, 1992:71, 184).

¹²⁷ According to Oosthuizen (1992:169), the prophets consulted in the Durban metropolitan area stated that diviners could become Christian diviners if they were prayed for, and instances of such conversions mentioned. They then changed their diviner's outfit for a church uniform when accepted into the church, after having been immersed in the river or sea (preferably moving water). After prayers had been said for them, they became prophets and ceased to be diviners, although they did not have to discard all their divination practices.

¹²⁸ "The Holy Spirit called me but he sends my ancestors as messengers...; one prophet works only under the Holy Spirit because "the Spirit and the ancestors quarrel" (1992:68).

the division between prophets and diviners was regarded as a scholastic language game, which did not provide them with 'what is needed in the here and now.' Ong states, "the oral mind is uninterested in definitions" (Ong, 1982: 47). Accordingly, when it came to healing, they could disregard Jesus Christ in favour of the Holy Spirit.

Jesus, (who) is seen within the context of the western doctor... had not stepped into the depth of the African cosmology; (whereas) the (Holy) Spirit, the source of mystical power, as is the case with ancestors, fits into the African cosmology in which ancestors (African holy spirits) play a decisive role. (Oosthuizen, 1992:69)

In other words, they tended not to serve '*Deus Otiosus*' who was far from their daily lives but to serve a tangible, visible, and living God who was actively involved in their daily lives.¹²⁹ As long as God revealed Himself dynamically and actively in the physical world through prophets or diviners, the terminology itself, whether Christian prophets or African traditional religious diviners, did not cause any cosmological conflicts.

On the basis of African cosmology, which is characterised by a primordial mind of undifferentiation,¹³⁰ Dube (1994) regarded rituals themselves as a contextualised biblical text, in that God revealed Himself through prophets who presided over the rituals. For Dube, African traditional religious symbolism that permeated in Zionist healing rituals was nothing other than biblical text.¹³¹

As an extension of symbols or contextualised texts in Zionist rituals, Isaiah Shembe, who was regarded as a messiah amongst *amaNazaretha*,¹³² contextualised the biblical text in the name of oral theology¹³³ (Oosthuizen,

¹²⁹ "In an oral culture, the presence of Christ or the Spirit... would be portrayed much more tangible than in a highly literate culture" (Loubser, 1993:75).

¹³⁰ See Section 4.0.

¹³¹ "The symbols which are used in Zionist ritual are a text which cannot be ignored in the process of interpreting and understanding Zionism" (Dube, 1994:105).

¹³² The term *amaNazaretha* indicates Nazarites, who can widely be classified as the Zionist church group by Sundkler (1961). They are the followers of Isaiah Shembe, who lived from 1860s to 1935 and who began his own ministry in 1911 in Natal. The number of Nazarites today is about 600,000 (Loubser, 1993:71).

¹³³ As Parratt (1987:143) summarises, the oral theology consists of theological reflection, which takes place in sermons, addresses and hymns, and in the personal discussions and reflections of Christian believers.

1994:xxviii). That is, a prophet's words and hymnal, as an oral text, could also be regarded the same as biblical text. Isaiah Shembe's oral text, which was transmitted by his son and grandson, Johannes Galilee and Londa Shembe, clearly reveal how the Bible text was absorbed into the realm of traditional African beliefs and practices (Shembe, 1994; Oosthuizen, 1967:1).¹³⁴

As a symbolic Zulu king mediating between God (*uMvelinqqangi*) and his followers, Isaiah Shembe emphasised David's kingship, in that the King of Judah, David, relied entirely upon calling God instead of physical descent (2 Samuel 7:11; Isaiah 9:5; Psalm 2:7 and 110:1). Given that Isaiah Shembe was not a member of the Zulu royal family, 'a divine calling' from Jehovah was an absolute important element to make Isaiah Shembe a symbolic Zulu king as in the case of King David. He endeavoured to link the Zulu tradition to the ancient Israelite's, as inferred from his emphasis of the fact that "the Biblical prophet Jeremiah referred to the Zulu people, whom he believed were descended from the Jews" (Oosthuizen, 1994:xxiv). For consolidating a closer relationship with Zulu royal ancestors, he gave one of his daughters as a wife to Solomon KaDinuZulu (1994:xl). In Hymn 68 (in Oosthuizen, 1992:xli), after naming the great kings of the Zulu nation, namely Sendznagakhona, Dingaana, Shaka, Mpande, Cetshwayo and DinuZulu, in Hymn 67, Isaiah Shembe asked Jehovah to forgive their sins. On the basis of the strong bond with the Zulu royal ancestors and kings, he, eventually, could be praised as a Zulu legitimate king upholding the Great tradition of King David by the church members.

You are being called Nkosi Solomon, the child of DinuZulu, Here is the glory of Jehovah, it is at *EkuphaKameni*...;Come ye Zulu, we have seen our Lord, we come from the hereafter, we have seen our king. (Hymn, 116:1 in Oosthuizen 1992:xli; 218:1 in Oosthuizen, 1967:190)

Furthermore, in Hymn 220:3, Johannes Galilee, his son and successor, referred to his father, Isaiah Shembe as "the King of Kings, '*Nkosi Yamakhosi*'" (Oosthuizen, 1992:xli).

In addition to the title of the Zulu King, Isaiah Shembe was also called a

¹³⁴ The '*Izihlabelelo*' (hymns, songs) composed by Isaiah Shembe were published in 1940 in Zulu, entitled *Izihlabelelo zaManzaretha*. Oosthuizen's (1967) analysis on Isaiah Shembe is based on this book. This thesis is dependent upon Oosthuizen's collection of Isaiah Shembe's hymnal.

diviner or a prophet (Oosthuizen,1994: xl). Compared with Moses who led people of Israel to the Promised Land, Isaiah Shembe was expected to lead the Zulu nation to the Promised Land (*EkuphaKameni*, the Holy City, the New Jerusalem, the place of symbolic displacement out of a disastrous situation) (Oosthuizen, 1994: xli). Whereas God was incarnated in Jesus Christ amongst the white people, God came among the Zulu people in the person of Isaiah Shembe.¹³⁵ Isaiah Shembe, further, terminated the celebration of Christmas, the festival celebrating the birth of Jesus Christ and instead introduced his own version of the First Fruits Festival. It was held for maintaining the cosmic order by invoking ancestors, who would be in harmony with the Zulu king and his followers at the centre of the holy mountain of '*Nhlangakazi*' (the Nazareth Church's Mount Sinai) and also at '*EkuphaKameni*' (the Holy City, the New Jerusalem).¹³⁶

Isaiah Shembe could simultaneously become a messiah, a Zulu king, a diviner and a prophet, who would lead the Zulu into the Promised Land ('*EkuphaKameni*'), the centre of Zulu Nazarites' spirituality. Isaiah Shembe's diverse transformation into several spiritual beings was understandable without any cosmological conflicts amongst Nazarites. Loubser (1993:76) remarks that "within this (oral) frame of mind the historical distance between Christ and Shembe/holy men, is suspended." As inferred from the African traditional religious ethos, which was explained in Section 4.3.3, many gods or ancestors that vertically resided in the spiritual realm were regarded as 'one' Africa's God on a horizontal plane and in the physical realm at the centre of homestead. From the aspect of time as 'a-historicity', Shembe's narrated events of the past are immediately part of the present. For example, Shembe was described as God who called upon Abraham and Moses.

Abraham set out from Ur of the Chaldeans (a present-day Southeast Iraq, the birth place of Abraham) because he was called by the God of *Ekuphakameni*, the present religious centre of the Nazarites. When Moses saw the burning bush, I (Shembe) was there. (Hymn 2:2; 15:1 in Loubser, 1993:76,72)

¹³⁵ "The focus is never on Jesus or God, but on Shembe as exponent of divinity" (Loubser, 1993:75; Oosthuizen, 1994: xxxvi; xliii).

¹³⁶ "They have been called out of the grave, They are already out, we have seen them, They have entered the holy city, May Jehova be praised" (Hymn 148:4 in Oosthuizen, 1992:xxxv).

As Loubser (1993:76) states, by Shembe's proclamation, the salvation events were also experienced as present events controlling the present and the future: "This is also the reason why oral cultures sometimes express the future in the past tense." (Loubser, 1993: 76)

Similarly, without any cosmological conflicts, the text of healing ritual itself in the Zionist church was contextualised into the realm of African traditional religion by absorbing the Christian element of the Holy Spirit into the spiritual realm of ancestors. The categorical division between the Holy Spirit, Jesus Christ and ancestors was inadequate, given that it did not cause ordinary Zionists cosmological conflicts in the process of healing rituals.

The Bible text was, thereby, contextualised within the realm of African traditional beliefs and practices, which were embodied into Zionists' rituals themselves and Isaiah Shembe's oral text. When Isaiah Shembe was asked by the Native Economic Commission in 1931 whether he could read or write, his comment on creative mix of orality and literacy clearly shows an aspect of African cosmology, which was characterised by the primordial mind of undifferentiation. He replied, "No, I have not been taught to read and write, but I am able to read the Bible a little bit, and that came to me by revelation and not by learning. It came to me by miracle" (Gunner, 1986; Chidester, 1997: 407).

Zionists and Nazarites read the contextualised biblical text such as Zionists' ritual itself and Isaiah Shembe's oral text for Nazarites within the realm of African traditional religion. Accordingly, the tension of difference between Christianity and African traditional religion could melt in the "quest for sameness" toward African traditional religion from Christianity. That is, the Bible text was absorbed into the realm of African traditional beliefs and practices. Nonetheless, just as in the Korean unification church member's cultural Bible reading in Section 4.2.4, Isaiah Shembe's cultural Bible reading was also governed by the political ideology of Zulu nationalism, arising against the 'destructive influence of British colonialism' and 'western civilisation on Zulu culture' (Vilakazi, 1986:116; Loubser, 1993:71). Accordingly, white people were regarded as Egyptians who had suppressed Israelites, and Jesus Christ Himself was also described as 'White Christ of the White man (*Mlungu*)' (Oosthuizen, 1994:xxxvi). On the other hand, Isaiah Shembe became renowned as the 'Black Messiah' and 'saviour of the Zulu nation', who inevitably classified white people as enemies. Shembe recited, "the enemies of Jehova rise up against thee,

wake up, wake up ye Africans.” (Hymn 17:3 in Oosthuizen, 1967:159) Therefore, the violence of the imposition of the meta-narrative, “becoming metaphoric Israelites” was still alive even in their cultural Bible reading, despite the fact that they attempted to read the Bible from the viewpoint of primordial mind of ‘undifferentiation’ in the name of African symbolism, ‘orality’, ‘oral text’ or ‘oral theology’.

4.3.5. Cultural Bible Reading in South Africa: Quest for Sameness in the Principle of Absorption

Since western missionaries engaged in missionary work on a large scale since the 19th century in South Africa, native black South African Bible readers variously attempted to overcome the tension of difference between metaphoric Israelites in Christianity and non-Israelites in African traditional religion.

The first type of cultural Bible readers read the Bible from Eurocentric missionary viewpoint. After identifying themselves with Christians (metaphoric Israelites), they disregarded African traditional religious beliefs and practices in the name of ‘idolatry’ or ‘superstition’. A small number of *amakaholwa* community members pertained to the first type. The second type of cultural Bible readers followed essential Biblical doctrine as being taught by western missionaries but they continued their African indigenous religious practices. This section is explained by two cases, that is, first, Ethiopian church people in the late 19th century and the early 20th century and second, Xhosa speaking Bible readers, who are members of missionary based modern day churches. The third type of cultural Bible readers scholastically attempted to overcome the tension of difference between African traditional religion and Christianity. According to the influence of western education, they (elite African theologians) found Christian theological elements within the context of African traditional religion. Accordingly, African traditional beliefs and practices could be viewed the same as Christianity. The fourth type of cultural Bible readers read the contextualised biblical text, such as rituals in Zionist church and oral text of

Isaiah Shembe. They absorbed the western logical and divisive concept of Christianity into the realm of primordial mind of undifferentiation. Accordingly, Christianity could be absorbed into the realm of African traditional religion.

Despite various native cultural Bible readings, they could not avoid the violence of the imposition of the grand narrative of “becoming metaphorical Israelites” on the dimension of the “quest for sameness.” In particular, the third type of elite cultural Bible readers searched for exactly the same western theological elements from traditional religious context to view African traditional religion as Christianity. They tended to read the Bible by using the western logic as being taught by western missionaries, however it inevitably disregarded African traditional religious ethos, such as orality, the primordial mind of undifferentiation and so on. The fourth type of Bible readers attempted to read the Bible independently from the western dichotomous discriminative epistemology within their own traditional religious context but they also had a limitation. They did not also recognise the violence of the imposition of the grand narrative under the pressure of dominant political ideology.

In the South African cultural Bible reading, the tension of difference between Christianity and indigenous religion dissolved on the dimension of the “quest for sameness,” which was concretised by the grand narrative, “becoming metaphoric Israelites.”

4.4. Conclusion

As Maluleke points out, the imposition of a grand narrative of “becoming metaphoric Israelites (questing for sameness)” inevitably leads to another violence with which “non-Israelites group (different group)” could be victimised.¹³⁷ Given that this grand narrative of “becoming metaphoric Israelites” deeply penetrated into the biblical text, into which a bipolar concept was embedded such as God/Satan, light/darkness, Israelites/non-Israelites, orthodox/heathen and so on, various types of cultural Bible readers inevitably presupposed the grand narrative of “becoming Israelites.”

In the meantime, the first and the third type of Bible readers took no note of possible violence, arising from the imposition of the grand narrative under the strong influence of western Cartesian psyche. It was characterised by the epistemological and philosophical division between ‘self’ and ‘others’, ‘Israelites’ and ‘non-Israelites’, ‘text’ and ‘context’, ‘time’ and ‘space’. Accordingly, they disregarded traditional religious beliefs and practices, which could not be understood by the western epistemological grid. Particularly, the first type of cultural Bible reading was characterised by nothing other than the principle of radical separation as in the political Bible reading. On the other hand, the third type of cultural Bible reading was criticised as a ‘scholastic idealism’, which was far from ordinary people’s religious beliefs and practices.

In the case of the second and the fourth type of Bible readers who were under the influence of primordial mind of ‘undifferentiation’, they could have overcome the violence of the imposition of the grand narrative. However, the second type of Bible readers were also influenced by a strong Cartesian logic as well as by dominant political ideologies so that they could not enhance their ability, with which they continued traditional religious practices within the realm of their cultural Bible reading (theology, belief). Similarly, the fourth type of Bible readers also could not avoid the violence of the grand narrative of “becoming metaphoric Israelites” under the influence of political ideology as in the case of the Unification church in Korea and the Nazarites church in South Africa.

Nonetheless, particularly the fourth type of Bible readers give a possible example to overcome the violence of the grand narrative of “becoming

¹³⁷ “The violence of the imposition of grand narratives- which is but one more way of dismissing, ignoring and silencing the voices of the poor and marginalized” (Maluleke, 2001:369).

metaphoric Israelites” by exemplifying the traditional religious epistemology such as ‘orality’ and primordial mind of undifferentiation. Given that discussed cultural Bible readings are based on the principle of absorption without a mediator/catalyst in the dialectical movement toward both directions (Christianity/African Traditional Religion, metaphoric Israelites/non-Israelites), the element of a mediator/catalyst is discussed in Chapters 6 and 7. Prior to the discussion on the element of a mediator, the next chapter discusses how postmodern biblical scholars attempted to overcome the violence of the imposition of the grand narrative, “becoming metaphoric Israelites” within the western philosophical context in modern day.

University of Cape Town

5. POSTMODERN BIBLE READING: PLAYFUL AND MULTIPLE DIMENSIONS OF MANY ISRAELITES

From the reader oriented postmodern hermeneutic exegesis, which was outlined in Section 1.4, Chapters 3 and 4 discussed how the Bible has been interpreted according to Korean and South African Bible readers' political and cultural contexts. From a political aspect, under the dominant dichotomous discriminative political ideology, the theme of difference of race, class and nation was reconstructed in the direction toward the theme of discrimination. The shift of the theme of difference into discrimination happened, unknowingly and unwittingly, immediately after the process of "questing for sameness," each group's identification with 'metaphoric Israelites'. From a cultural aspect, the tension of difference between Christianity and indigenous religion dissolved in the dialectical "quest for sameness" toward "becoming metaphoric Israelites." In a nutshell, the tension of difference historically melted in the direction toward "questing for sameness" on the modern firm ground of the meta-narrative, "becoming metaphoric Israelites."

Nonetheless, the Bible reader's hermeneutical insistence on meta-narratives inevitably pushed 'others' (metaphoric non-Israelites) to the margin. Accordingly, others (metaphoric non-Israelites) became the victims of violence by the imposition of meta-narrative, "becoming metaphoric Israelites." In the political Bible reading, from the privileged people's viewpoint, the oppressed, the poor, the '*Minjung*', and colonised natives deserve to be regarded as metaphoric non-Israelites, the object of political conquest, economic exploitation and enslavement, and in simpler terms, an enemy. Counteractively, native underprivileged people regarded the oppressor, the coloniser and the privileged people as metaphoric non-Israelites in the same manner. Even from a cultural aspect, metaphoric non-Israelites groups were disregarded irrespective of various types of cultural Bible reading, in the dialectical process of "questing for sameness" toward 'true' Christianity ("becoming metaphoric Israelites").

The Bible was constructed, deconstructed and reconstructed according to diverse Bible readers' political and cultural contexts. On the dimension of "questing for sameness," the full-scale modern imposition of meta-narrative ("becoming metaphoric Israelites") on others turned out to be unattainable in Bible reading, since there always existed metaphoric non-Israelites. Therefore,

the meta-narrative of “questing for sameness” was finally deconstructed as Villa-Vicencio asserts, “the effects of the chosen people syndrome in various parts of the world, ought to be enough to convince thoughtful people of the folly of such illusions” (Villa-Vicencio, 1994:124). This was nothing other than postmodernist Lyotard’s (1984) observance of postmodern condition as ‘deconstruction of meta-narratives’.

Postmodernism can mean incredulity toward the legitimising of ‘meta-narratives’ (metadiscourse/ grand narrative) that we have inherited from the Enlightenment; let us wage war on totality. (Lyotard, 1984:xxiii; Aichele, 1995:8; Lakeland, 1997:101)

Going a step further, the deconstruction of the modern meta-narratives generated numerous ‘stories’ and ‘narratives’ on the multiple dimension of difference in the periphery, therefore the theme of ‘difference’ or ‘otherness’ finally became the object of ‘celebration’ in postmodern Bible reading (Section, 2.3).

The other is different (which is the exact opposite of the dogma extended by modernity that **the other is (ought to be) the same**). Not only is the other now accepted as different, but that otherness is **celebrated** (Tracy, 1994:108; Hartin, 1997); The postmodern critique of the Enlightenment legacy seeks to make us **more sensitive to differences**, better able to think about incommensurability and change, and aware of the socially constructed character of knowledge and the various means of its production. (Aichele, 1995:10)

Hence, on the playful and multiple dimension of difference, many oppressed people’s hermeneutical voice, which had been the object of modern imposition of “questing for sameness,” surged up in the postmodern Bible reading. This is because there existed no more violence of imposition of “questing for sameness” on others in the postmodern world.

With regard to biblical exegesis, the previous exegetical starting point of premodern biblical hermeneutics, “the Bible as unequivocally, absolutely and universally applied ‘Word of God’ beyond any political and cultural context” (within the text mode of Bible reading) had been shifted to historically, politically

and culturally reconstructed and re-defined 'truth'/Bible (behind the text). Further, a new mode of postmodern Bible reading became the major concern of biblical hermeneutics in the name of 'reader oriented in front of text mode of Bible reading'.

An approach to the study or appropriation of the Bible that begins with the theological notion of the Bible as the Word of God, therefore, presupposes a hermeneutical epistemology for which truth is not historical, cultural, or economic. (Mosala, 1989:19; Section 1.4)

Many liberation and '*Minjung*' theologians showed this hermeneutical shift in their political Bible reading as exemplified in Chapter 3. In the cultural Bible reading in Chapter 4, type 2 and particularly type 4 cultural Bible readers vividly revealed a postmodern dimension of difference. For example, historically marginalised ordinary people's hermeneutical voice was raised with the motto of 'celebration of difference'.

Ordinary traditional religious adherents were generally uneducated, illiterate and still held a traditional psyche, which was exemplified by 'orality', the primordial mind of 'undifferentiation' and so on. They generally read the Bible not on the basis of western dichotomous discriminative logic but on the basis of their traditional religious beliefs and practices. Given that their epistemology was based on a primordial mind of 'undifferentiation' and not on the western Cartesian psyche of individualism, it was possible that they did not face any cosmological and epistemological conflict of difference. Accordingly, they distinctively contextualised the biblical text within the context of their traditional religious belief and continued their traditional religious practices, as discussed in Chapter 4. From the first type of Bible readers' modernistic viewpoint, the 4th type of cultural Bible reading did not even pertain to authentic Bible reading. However given the plural dimension of postmodern hermeneutical territory, the 4th type of cultural Bible reading was also highly regarded just like the 1st type.

With regard to the reasons as to why Africans rarely had cosmological and epistemological conflict, that could have arisen from the tension of difference between Christianity and indigenous religion, Kwenda points out that Africans naturalised 'doubleness of consciousness' in their minds given their historical and religious context. Kwenda notes, "doubleness of consciousness may be offensive to Western sensibilities, but to ex-slaves (victims of slavery

and colonialism) this may very well be a permanent condition” (2002:168). For example, for the first type of Bible readers (westerners), ‘spirit possession’ was an inexplicable, abominable, psychologically uncomfortable religious practice, which ought to have been logically classified as religious experience that pertains either to the physical world or to the spirit world (Section 2.1.3). However, for African people, ‘doubleness’ of spirit and human in spirit possession was accepted as natural within their long-standing traditional religious beliefs and practices. In particular, ‘spirit possession’ was nothing but a part of healing rituals. Association with ‘a variety of otherness, including the spirit world, other people, non-clan ancestors, other species (animal, vegetation)’ played an essential and crucial role in healing. The African concept of healing implies ‘increasing and sustaining vital energy for the harmony of the entire community, which even extends to the spiritual world, in addition to the physical curing of the patient’s illness’ (Kwenda, 2000:257). Therefore, ‘Doubleness of consciousness’ in African minds did not cause any possible tension of difference, which was normally shifted in the direction toward the trend of discrimination. Hence, contrary to the first type of modern cultural Bible readers’ expectation, Africans, willingly or unhesitatingly, expressed their religious identity as Christians on the plural and playful dimension of difference, as discussed in Chapter 4. Politically and culturally, the reader oriented diverse and plural biblical interpretations from the margin, are surging up on the postmodern playful dimension of difference.¹³⁸

Recently, a biblical dispute on the existence of Jesus Christ as God in Korea and a debate on biblical justification of ‘homosexuality’ in South Africa showed the typical example of postmodern trend of Bible reading (Oh, Gangnam, 2001; Offord, 2000, Mthombothi, 2003). Considering the hermeneutical shift from pre-modernism via modernism to postmodernism, many postmodern theorists strengthen their argument in favour of the non-existence of Jesus Christ who inevitably regarded others (non-believers) as heathen (metaphoric non-Israelites), and in favour of historically marginalised homosexuals’ and lesbians’ religious biblical justification (Wink, 2004; Nordin, 2003; Sanders, 1997).

The biblical issue of ‘homosexuality’, in particular, became the centre of

¹³⁸ “When previously held meta-narratives are deprived of their authority, what follows is a plurality of values” (Adams: 1997).

global debate after the ordainment of the first 'gay bishop' in the Episcopal Church history.¹³⁹ Although many scriptures Genesis 2:24, 19:1-29, Leviticus 18:22, 20:13, and Romans 1:26-27, obviously imply that 'homosexuality' is a sin, postmodern Bible readers reject this conservative Bible reading. From the typical viewpoint of postmodern Bible reading, they reject the premodern uncritical biblical exegesis, the Bible as the literal, inerrant, unequivocal and infallible 'Word of God', instead they emphasise 'behind the text' or 'in front of the text' mode of the Bible reading. That is, the few texts cannot control the entire Bible but the other way around (Nordin, 2003:69). For example, 'prohibition of having sex with a woman during the menstrual period' (Leviticus 15:16-24), 'prohibition of divorce except on the grounds of fornication' (Matthew 5:32; 19:9; Mark 10:1-12), 'permitting multiple wives' (Exodus 21:10) and 'permitting slavery' (Exodus 21:20-26; Leviticus 25:44-46) are clearly contradictory to the modern Christian's ordinary life style. Most Christians do not think of menstrual blood as unclean, Christian divorcees are ordained, and most of the Christian women hate being treated as property or slaves (Wink, 2004; Nordin, 2003). Accordingly, the postmodern Bible readers do not literally emphasise a few texts without considering the context of the entire Bible from the 'behind' or 'in front of' the Bible hermeneutical viewpoint.

For instance, although many people tend to read the text literally against homosexual union in Gen. 2:24,¹⁴⁰ Nordin (2003) asserts that the text can be applied to the relationship between Christ and the church (Ephesians 5:31-2; Nordin, 2003:23). Even in the case of the famous Sodom and Gomorrah text in Genesis 19:1-29, Nissinen (1998) and Nordin (2003) state that "if the attackers are homosexual, then the tacit of offering them a woman will not likely be effective" (Nissinen, 1998:48,51; Nordin, 2003:23). According to Nordin (2003:23), the ruin of Sodom and Gomorrah was not mainly caused by homosexuality.¹⁴¹ Despite the fact that Jude verse 7 specifies sexual sins of Sodom and Gomorrah, it is not clear whether it indicates 'homosexuality' or 'gang rape'. In Leviticus 18:22 and 20:13 specifics of the Levitical code do not

¹³⁹ "The House of Bishops voted Tuesday evening (Aug. 6, 2003) to confirm the Rev. Gene Robinson as bishop of New Hampshire, making him the first openly gay bishop in the Episcopal Church's history" (CNN, 2003).

¹⁴⁰ "A man leaves his father and his mother and clings to his wife, and they become one flesh."

¹⁴¹ "This was the guilt of your sister Sodom: she and her daughters had price, excess of food, and prosperous ease, but did not aid the poor and needy..."(Ezekiel, 16:49).

bind the modern Bible readers, as proved in the example of woman's menstrual blood (Leviticus 15:16-24). In Romans 1:26-27, Paul condemned heterosexual people who changed the nature of their sexual orientation into homosexuality, however Paul did not consider the sexual orientation of people who are born with homosexuality, and therefore whose nature is homosexual (Wink, 2004).

In this way, postmodern Bible readers biblically justify homosexuality. Nordin argues, "the question of sin occurs **within** the lifestyle, not **about** the lifestyle" (Nordin, 2003:72). However, some of the most effective major arguments are concretised in that firstly, "being and living gay is not a behaviour in and of itself that produces pain to the neighbour and leads one away from God"¹⁴² and secondly, homosexuals are the new 'Gentile Christians' (Nordin, 2003:68). Given the universally acknowledged significance of Jesus Christ's New Commandment, 'love your God' and 'love your neighbour as yourself' (Luke 10:27), all biblical issues on Levitical code and Judaic religious practices become trivial. For example, the Levitical code of prohibition of eating food consecrated to idols did not bind Christians in the Corinthian congregation (1 Cor. 8:1-6). They could eat food consecrated to idols however, for the sake of love for spiritually weak Christians who had the conviction that the food consecrated to idols should not be eaten, they were advised not to eat the food. In short, the 'knowledge' of sin was less important than Jesus' Commandment of 'love'. Thereby, gentiles could be admitted into the Christian congregation without circumcision (1 Corinthians 7:18). This shows that the gentile practices could be accepted for the sake of the much more important ministry of Jesus Christ. Given that homosexuals are not aliens but Gentile neighbours whom Christians should love and preach the gospel message to, many postmodern Bible readers strongly stress that it is time to embrace this new 'Gentile homosexual Christians' as they are (Wink, 2004; Nordin, 2003; Sanders, 1997). Thus, the few biblical texts (Genesis 2:24, 19:1-29, Leviticus 18:22, 20:13, and Romans 1:26-27), which clearly imply that homosexuality is a sin, are 'deconstructed' within the entire context of the Bible.

As long as the Bible is regarded as text or scripture, whose meaning is determined and confined according to Bible readers' political and cultural contexts or the intention of readers on the postmodern playful dimension, any modernistic assertion on biblical 'truth' can be reduced to another grand

¹⁴² Nordin (2003) clearly strengthens this argument on the dimension of western individualism. This is discussed in the proceeding paragraphs.

narrative, which inevitably excludes and violates other's religious freedom and right. For that reason, individuals are required to respect each other without intervening in the other's private Bible reading.¹⁴³ On the postmodern hermeneutical territory, there is no more the 'self', the absolute standard, the grand narrative, the absolute God and Jesus Christ. Instead, there only exist numerous others, relative moralities, 'stories' and 'narratives', and gods in the playful dimension of difference (Section 2.3). In this sense, a new postmodern aphorism emerges.

It is none of your business. **I serve my own god and I have my own church.** Don't preach to me the word of your god in your church; "we are what we are...and they are what they are. And this is just perfectly fine."
(Lakeland, 1997:113)

This shows nothing but the typical philosophical impact of western individualism.

Ostensibly, the concept of dichotomy was deconstructed into 'multi-chotomy', and the concept of 'one chosen Israelites' disappeared and was multiplied into 'many Israelites' in the periphery. As Tracy (1994) stated, "there is no longer a centre with margins, they are many centres (1994:4; Section 2.3.3)" For all that, the Cartesian western psyche is still embedded in a form of 'multi-', 'many', 'variety', 'diversity' and 'pluralism', despite its transformation from the previous dichotomous structure between Israelites versus non-Israelites. That is, despite the fact that a centre with margins was deconstructed, newly generated many centres played a vivid role in sustaining the stronghold of western individualism. As Lategan (1984) contends, "the doctrine of relativism ('no longer a centre with margins') offers no escape from our (hermeneutical) problem. The end result is more likely to be isolation and silence in **our own encapsulated worlds**" (1984:13).

With the valour of difference, plurality, diversity and individualism, it is a fact that postmodern theorists contributed to the acquisition of various kinds of democratic liberty and right for the historically marginalised people in the name of 'feminism, multiculturalism and anti-dogmatism'. However, 'openness without restraint of reason, and tolerance without moral appraisal became the new postmodern mandates' (Leffel, 2004). According to Villa-Vicencio (1994:118),

¹⁴³ "Being and living gay is not a behaviour in and of itself that produces pain to the neighbour and leads one away from God" (Norman, 2003:70).

the New York State Social Studies Committee report stressed the need for education to “protect, celebrate, and perpetuate cultural difference” in the United States. Nonetheless, in the South African context, this can mean nothing other than the ‘effective perpetuation of apartheid’ (Villa-Vicencio, 1994:118). Furthermore, as discussed in Section 2.3.4, the postmodern motto of “plurality, diversity, individualism, and the valour of difference” can be nothing other than ‘a new form of cultural exploitation’, ‘a new twist of old narrative’ and ‘a new theory of imperialism’ under the imperialistic and ‘impersonal’ power of the ‘invisible hand’¹⁴⁴ of the globally spread free market system.

As an extension of the anti-postmodern viewpoint, the Zimbabwean president, President Mugabe expressed his antipathy on homosexuality at the Global Coalition for Africa meeting held at Maastricht the Netherlands in 1995. He announced, “**Homosexuality has no home in Zimbabwe.** Let it be known that our tradition and culture in Africa does not allow that” (in Sanders, 1997:10). Similarly, given that the majority of Korean Bible readers still align themselves with conservative modernist biblical approach,⁷⁶ postmodern theorists’ idea that Jesus did not exist, who inevitably regarded others (non-believers) as heathen (metaphoric non-Israelites), cannot easily fit to Korean and South African political and cultural contexts without any serious socio-psychological friction (Heo, Hoik, 2001).

Postmodern biblical methodology or viewpoint can be applied in a positive sense, in that it diverts modern scholar’s hermeneutical attention to the historically marginalised voiceless ordinary Bible readers. However, the negative impact of postmodernism on human relationship, which was deeply rooted in Cartesian psyche of western individualism, needs to be critically examined.

One of the common complaints brought against postmodernist...is that they are **politically and ethically neutral.** (Aichele, 1995:10-11) Also, the deposition of universal reason did not reinstate a universal God. Instead, **morality has been privatised; ethics has become a matter of individual**

¹⁴⁴ ‘The invisible hand (price)’ is the major economic concept of Adam Smith (1723-90), the father of modern economics, in his book entitled *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations (1776)*. He points out that free market system can only be idealistically, efficiently and profitably operated by ‘the invisible hand’ (impersonal price) without any intervention from the government sector, where the government is ethically required to have interest in the equal distribution of wealth.

discretion, risk-taking, chronic uncertainty and never-placated qualms.
(Bauman, 1992:xxiii)

As Bauman (1992) states, it is not an easy task to find the golden mean without directing the theme of difference either into the trend of discrimination on the dimension of “questing for sameness” or into the encapsulated individualistic tendency in the plural, playful and multiple dimension of difference.

It will not be easy to find the golden mean between colonizing temptations (the trend of discrimination on the dimension of “questing for sameness”) **and the selfishness of tribal self-closure** (the encapsulated individualistic tendency in the plural, playful and multiple dimension of difference). (Bauman, 1992:xxiv)

Even if postmodernists found the golden mean, the only possible result might be “**existential insecurity – ontological contingency of being**” (Bauman, 1992:xxiv). For instance, a postmodernist, Lakeland’s (1997) endeavour to find the alternative, namely, a postmodern apologetics, ultimately resulted in the so-called ‘existential insecurity’.

Christian faith in the postmodern world is a salutary challenge to postmodernity’s insouciance, that among the great variety of options, **it is important to choose one**; ...the one who is committed to Christianity needs to **stop there and not to proceed** to extravagant claims about the **exclusive superiority** of the tradition...we should not try to convert it to what it is not. But we should simultaneously rejoice in who we are. **We are what we are, in a posture of deep commitment, and ‘they’ are what they are. And this is just perfectly fine.** (Lakeland, 1997:113)

According to Lakeland, various types of Bible readers evangelically have nothing to do after choosing one specific mode of reading or after choosing to become a member of one specific church. They can just enjoy their own and private Bible reading in their own church regardless of others’ diverse and pluralistic biblical view points. Once they have chosen one, they should stop there and should not proceed to others (“choose one and forget others”). Hence, even if they had a chance of discussing some biblical issues in some places for

dialogue,¹⁴⁵ they are psychologically forbidden to talk about God but only about non-theological subjects, such as 'African', 'Constitution', 'democracy', 'human right' and 'common good'. This could be possible, if the Bible readers were only regarded as a functional citizen not as an existential believer. However, as Section 2.5 clearly showed, the various types of Bible readers cannot be regarded as functional citizens unless they totally lose their religious identity as existential believers.¹⁴⁶

Lakeland's (1997) **golden mean**, 'choose one and forget others' could be a solution to harmonising modern imperialistic temptations of "questing for sameness" with postmodern individualistic tendency on the issue of difference, if various types of Bible readers were just functional citizens. However, the Bible readers are, in fact, existentially sincere religious people ('existential believer') irrespective of their various modes or types of Bible reading. Lakeland's (1997) postmodern apologetics could be justified academically on the basis of the Cartesian logic, but it, empirically and existentially, is just an empty voiced academic justification particularly from the eye of sincere existential believers, who serve God with all their heart and soul. **Postmodern thinkers missed the Bible readers' existential hermeneutical voices arising from their indescribable 'religiosity', 'mysticism' or 'pietism'**. The Bible readers are not functionally moving religious puppets. In this sense, Baumann's anticipation on the result of postmodernist's endeavour to find the golden mean is paradoxically correct: **"Existential insecurity- ontological contingency of being- is the result."**(Bauman, 1992:xxiv)

Regarding the Bible readers as an 'existential believer', the next chapter discusses how the theme of difference can be directed into the theme of unity,

¹⁴⁵ Given that there is no official or unofficial meeting place for a theological dialogue between various types of Bible readers in Chapter 4, Ackermann (1998:24) illustrates that Truth and Reconciliation Commission's (TRC) hearings can be a meeting place for a dialogue amongst different types of Bible readers. However, TRC pertains to a political realm, in which functional citizens discuss political subjects not religious biblical subjects. (Compare with Luke 8:1; Acts 17:17: "He(Jesus) went journeying **from city to city and from village to village**, preaching and declaring **the good news of the kingdom of God**" "he(Paul) began to reason in **the synagogue** with the Jews and the other people who worshiped God and **everyday in the market place** with those who happened to be on hand") The issue of the place for dialogue will be discussed in the following chapters.

¹⁴⁶ As indirectly discussed in Chapter 4, no Bible reader would say, "I believe in the imperfect, relative, functional and deconstructed God, playfully" on the existential level.

neither into the trend of discrimination on the dimension of “questing for sameness” nor into the encapsulated individualistic tendency in the plural, playful and multiple dimension of difference.

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6. SEARCHING FOR THE ALTERNATIVE IN THE STREAM OF DIFFERENCE TOWARD UNITY: LOVING YOUR NEIGHBOUR IN ONJEONG BIBLE READING

6.0. Introduction

“You must love your God...and
your neighbour as yourself;
God is love,
and he that remains in love
remains in union with God and
God remains in union with him”
(Luke,10:27; 1 John 4:16)

As inferred from Alexander’s episode,¹⁴⁷ this chapter discusses the possible harmonious golden mean, which neither directs the theme of difference into the discriminatory mode on the one hand nor into the functional, irreligious, non-mystical and unholy individualistic mode on the other. On the plural dimension of different political groups and cultural types of Bible readers, the thread of “questing for sameness” was universally found in the name of “becoming metaphoric Israelites.” That is, the goal of “questing for sameness”

¹⁴⁷ There is a famous episode about Alexander the Great (356-323 B.C.E). While conquering many African nations, he one day met one of the African chiefs who held a court proceeding. The case was about the right of gold possession, which was found in the backyard of someone’s house. The gold was found immediately after the ownership was shifted from the previous owner to the new owner. The previous owner argued that he did not sell the house including the gold that had been buried under the ground of the backyard, whereas the new owner argued that he found the gold in the backyard after buying the house so that he should have the gold. According to the justice system of Alexander’s country, the gold would belong to the nation whilst the two arguing persons would be executed. However, according to the African Chief, the result was quite unexpected. The African chief made a judgment that the son of the new owner and the daughter of the previous owner should marry each other. After observing the case, Alexander the Great learnt a great lesson that **the goal of African justice system was not for winning the ‘gold’ but for the restoration of the harmonious relationship (*Ubuntu*) amongst all community members. In short, the ‘Gold’ winning is not the goal of African justice system but ‘Ubuntu’ is the goal. (Min, 2001:34-56, Goldenberg, 2003; Compare with Kwenda, 1997:60-61)**

was absolutely “becoming metaphoric Israelites,” **who inevitably disregarded metaphoric non-Israelites**, despite the numerous denominations of the metaphoric Israelites such as authentic Christians (the third Israelites) in the New Jerusalem, the Holy City, the Zion, The Promised Land, Heaven or God’s Kingdom. When counterattacking the violence of the imposition of the meta-narrative, “becoming metaphoric Israelites,” many postmodern thinkers/Bible readers deconstructed the meta-narrative, and newly made many narratives and stories on the playful dimension of difference. Now “there is no longer a centre (one chosen Israelites) with margins (multiple non-Israelites). There are many centres (multiple chosen Israelites).” Nonetheless, it just reveals deeply embedded, twisted form of Cartesian imperialistic, impersonal power of western individualism.

Therefore, this chapter strongly stresses that the theme of difference should be directed into the trend of unity, by diverting the goal (essence) of “questing for sameness” **from “becoming metaphoric Israelites” into “loving your neighbour.”**¹⁴⁸ This is consolidated from Eliade’s concept of ‘*Homo Religiosus*’, Korean ethics of ‘*JeongHan* (情恨: love and sorrowfulness)’, African ethics of ‘*Ubuntu*’ and the biblical concept of ‘love’ (*agape*). In the process, the essence of *Onjeong* (溫情: human being’s warm hearted love) biblical hermeneutics is concretised.

The essence of *Onjeong* will break the established western Cartesian psyche, that is, “I think, therefore I am,” whose logic can be extendedly applied to the logical sequence of “a goal is achieved by a means.” For example, the first type of Bible readers logically reasoned that the commandment of ‘love’ is a means to achieve the final goal of “becoming metaphoric Israelites.” It is said, ‘**unless** you love your God and neighbour, you **cannot** inherit the Kingdom of God’.

Unless you are (culturally) circumcised, you **cannot** inherit the Kingdom of God; **unless** they became culturally westernised, and the Lutheranized, Methodistized, Anglicanized, Roman Catholicized, Prebysterianized, Africans **could not** inherit one centimetre of the Christian faith. (Mbiti, 1973:82; Musopole, 1994:32)

¹⁴⁸ “You must love your God...and your neighbour as yourself; **God is love**, and he that remains in love remains in union with God and God remains in union with him” (Luke, 10:27; 1 John 4:16).

However, this chapter emphasises that **the commandment of love itself can be the ultimate goal on the existential level** without being concerned about the interest of the goal, “becoming metaphoric Israelites,” that is, the chosen Christians (the third Israelites) in the New Jerusalem, the Holy City, the Zion, The Promised Land, Heaven or God’s Kingdom. This is because **“God is love (agape)” (1 John 4:16).**

6.1. *Homo Religiosus*: “The Centre” (the Cosmic Principle of Love) with Many Centres (Individuals’ Existential Bible Reading).

Eliade (1959) laid the great humane foundation for each different Bible reader to be able to love each other through his concept of ‘*Homo Religiosus*, religious human’. Comparing with ‘*Homo Sapience*’, which signifies one of the most important characters of human being as a ‘thinker’, Eliade reveals the religious aspect of human being as a ‘dreamer’.¹⁴⁹ Radically, people who do not have a dream cannot be defined as humans, just as people who do not think may lose their meaning of existence as in the aphorism, “I think, therefore I am.” In short, according to Eliade’s framework, human being is described as an existential believer, “I believe/dream, therefore I am” (Cave, 1993:92-93; Saliba, 1976: 45-65).

Generally, Eliade’s classification of human being was introduced in a dualistic way, such as archaic (‘prehistoric’ or ‘primitive’) human versus historicised human (Eliade, 1959). An archaic human lives in mythic time, in which s/he existentially experiences the manifestation of the various supernatural beings, such as ancestors, gods, heroes, and the Supreme God. Adopting from Rudolf Otto’s book entitled *Das Heilige, The Idea of the Holy* (1917), Eliade stresses that archaic humans can only live by the experience of “awe-inspiring mystery (*mysterium tremendum*)” in a sacred world. He notes, “religious man can live only in a sacred world, because it is only in such a world

¹⁴⁹ “*Homo religiosus* manifests itself through the secularised person’s nostalgias, dreams, ambitions, fictions, political movements, New Years festivals etc.” (Cave, 1993:92).

that he participates in being, that he has a real existence” (Eliade, 1959:8-10; 64). On the contrary, historicised, demythologised and secularised humans live in a profane world, in which they may lose contact with the supernatural gods or sacred power and forget the perfect beginnings in which their ancestors would have experienced the ‘*mysterium tremendum*’ (Eliade, 1959:12-13). To prove the hypothesis that people can be authentically human only if they have the experience of ‘the holy, the *mysterium tremendum*’, Eliade (1974) asserts that all humankind, intentionally or unintentionally, wittingly or unwittingly, consciously or unconsciously, have been yearning to experience the *hierophany* (the manifestation of the sacred within them)¹⁵⁰ by returning to the Paradise and to the beginnings in the archaic, primordial and mythic time, which can give the real (authentic) meaning of life to them.

Particularly for the modern historicised human, the nostalgia for Paradise where s/he can find the real (authentic) meaning of life through experiencing *hierophany*, is revealed variously in historic time in disguised and camouflaged

¹⁵⁰ ‘*Hierophany*’ is the major concept in Eliade’s phenomenology. Figuratively, the self cannot have any meaning of life before s/he meets or experiences the sacred (supernatural beings, such as ancestors, heroes, gods and the Supreme God). Inversely, the sacred may lose its meaning of existence without people who have faith in it. That is, the meaning of existence for both sides (the self and the sacred) is solely dependent upon the existence of *hierophany*, **the manifestation of the sacred within the self**. Eliade’s phenomenology is based on the explanation of various religious phenomena, in which the sacred (supernatural beings) and the profane (human beings) meet together and find the meaning of existence for both sides (Jeong, 1997; Section 2.2.1).

For Eliade, **the content of the sacred is much more important than the definition of the sacred**: “It is left to theology to supply the content of the sacred” (Cave, 1993:37). This is because, as soon as someone asks about the definition of the sacred, s/he already presupposes in his/her mind the fact that the sacred should be defined as ‘something’. Furthermore, the presupposition may reduce ‘the irreducibility of the sacred’ to the internal logic of language or of the western psyche: “every concept of ‘something’ can/should be defined by using a specific logic of language.” Accordingly, for the explanation of irreducible religious phenomena, **the question should be changed from “what is the sacred?” to “what can be called as the sacred?”** On this ground, despite various scholars’ definition of the sacred as “**the sphere of order or perfection, the home of the ancestors, heroes, and gods**” or “**simply, but fundamentally, a qualitative and limiting distinction from the profane, involving distinctions of orientation in time and space and in the human’s self-understanding in relation to the two orientations**”, this section simplifies that the sacred is embodied in supernatural beings, such as ancestors, heroes, gods, and the Supreme God for the sake of the further analysis of the Bible reading (Jeong, 1997; Pals, 1996:164; Cave, 1993:37).

forms, such as performing symbolic rituals ('initiation'), holding annual ceremonies (New Year's Day, Jesus Christ Memorial, Easter and Christmas), writing poems, watching movies, painting pictures and so on. This nostalgia for Paradise has continued to exist despite two historical revolts against the archaic religion, namely Judeo-Christian religion and modern historicism (Pals, 1996:181-185).

Yahweh in Judaism is an active god who split the Red Sea and saved the Jews. Similarly, Jesus Christ in Christianity revealed Himself not in mythic time but in historic time. Therefore, the Jews and Christians did not have to return to the beginnings where 'archaic', 'prehistoric' and 'primitive' people could experience *hierophany* and find the meaning of life. Just like the archaic people in mythic time, they could experience *hierophany* and immediately find the meaning of life in historical time, since their God, whether His name is Yahweh or Jesus Christ, was with them. Furthermore, even after Jesus Christ's disappearance from history, they did not have to return to the beginnings, the primordial mythic time, given the linear cosmic cycle of Judaeo-Christianity, from the Paradise Created via the Paradise Lost to the Paradise Regained. That is, they could encounter the sacred repeatedly not in the beginnings but at the end of history. The Jews are still waiting for the Messiah and the Christian Book of 'Revelation' in the Bible is compiled at the end among 66 books in the Bible. The point is that, for Judeo-Christian believers, the nostalgia for Paradise appeared in a different form not in the direction toward beginnings but toward the end despite the Judeo-Christian revolt against the archaic religion (Eliade, 1974).

The nostalgia for Paradise still continues to date in the modern and postmodern times. Since the Enlightenment Age, supernatural beings disappeared from history¹⁵¹ and the task of finding the meaning of life has been up to individuals without any assistance from the realm of the sacred.¹⁵² Nonetheless, in psychoanalysis, Lacan (1989) found the aspect of human being's yearning for the perfection and eternity as inferred from his view of human being as 'lack of being' ('absence' or 'deficiency'). Figuratively, a baby boy at birth before separation from his mother's body was in a perfect union

¹⁵¹ It is inferred from Friedrich Nietzsche's (1844-1900) well-known aphorism, "God is dead"

¹⁵² "They must create it entirely on their own in the profane realm of history without assistance from the realm of the sacred" (Pals, 1996:184).

with her (Eliade's mysterious and holy experience in *hierophany*), however immediately after he is born into the world, he feels the 'deficiency' or 'absence' of something. This is because the desire to merge with her toward perfect unity is the fundamental and basic human instinct, as in Eliade's premises. After realising the impossibility of returning to his mother's womb, he desires to erase the deficient himself by identifying with the symbolic father ('language' or 'culture'), who can be in the perfect union (be communicated) with his mother. This is the typical psychoanalytic explanation of a baby's learning of culture and language at the first stage (Lacan, 1989:167). Namely, human beings cannot stand alone without others (mother or the symbolic father), which is exactly contrary to the Cartesian dictum, 'I think, therefore I am'.

Lacan's insight on human being as 'lack of being' is used in other areas of social sciences in the name of 'deconstruction of the self', the major doctrine of postmodernism. For Lacan (1989), the Cartesian psyche, 'I think, therefore I am' must be regenerated into a new dictum, "I may think, but I do not exist without 'the Other'." The point is that, in the example of the relationship between a baby boy and his mother, the mother (the Other) symbolises the place of returning, the time of beginnings and the archetype of life itself. This reflects that human beings have a primordial yearning for the perfection and eternity, namely the *hierophany* in mythic time, the encounter with the sacred that is embodied in various kinds of supernatural beings, such as ancestors, heroes, legendary warriors, and even the Supreme God.

Even in Marx's (1888) well-known theory of socialism, god is hidden in the class struggle between 'Good' *Proletariats* and 'Evil' *Bourgeoisie* on the side of 'Good' *Proletariats*. That is, the desire to experience *hierophany* is still invisibly expressed even in the 'godless form of socialism' given its clear intention to achieve the goal of a utopian dream of communism, in which everybody can be politically, socially and economically equal. Furthermore, Hollywood movies such as *Superman*¹⁵³ also invoke nothing other than the spirit of the 'hero' in mythic time. Although the bridge that connects modern historicised and desacralised people with gods or heroes in mythic time seems to be invisible, it still plays a great mediator role in the different name of modern

¹⁵³ A 1978 Warner Bros. sci-fi fantasy action movie based on the popular Comics character of the same name Superman, often nicknamed The Man of Steel, who is a fictional character and superhero that first appeared in Action Comics #1 in 1938 and eventually became the most popular comic book hero of all time.

ritual, movie watching. While participating in the ritual of 'movie-watching', historicised audiences can have the temporary pseudo-experience of *hierophany*, in which 'Superman', 'legendary heroes', 'gods' and 'Jesus Christ' are the main actors. In the area of art, some avant-garde art that are characterised by the image of chaos, death, destruction, also reflect the motivation for a 'new creation', a 'new order' and 'resurrection'. This is because the status of the extreme chaos heralds a new creation. Even when people feel happy by reading novels, that happiness is fundamentally the same as the experience of *hierophany* in mythic time. That is, modern desacralised and historicised people just forget the blessed and holy state of encountering the sacred without realising the fact that the sacred, unconsciously and unknowingly, is revealed in various ways and in different forms to highlight the primordial holy moment, *mysterium tremendum*. In this way, desacralised, demythologised, and historicised people disguise and camouflage their strong nostalgia for Paradise (Eliade, 1974).

Whether s/he is an archaic human or a historicised human, the point is that, every human is *Homo Religiosus*, who has nostalgia for Paradise, in which they can experience the *hierophany*. The desacralised and historicised profane people who have been detached from the state of a primordial perfection can only regain their meaning of life by returning to the beginnings for the primordial awesome moment, an encounter with the sacred that is embodied in supernatural beings, such as ancestors, gods, heroes, and the Supreme God (Eliade, 1976:29).

With regard to the dialectical relationship between the sacred and the profane or the cosmos and the chaos, the cosmic order paradoxically can only occur when the extreme chaos culminates. Therefore, religious human's wish of the return to the beginnings is revealed most intensely in the culmination of chaos. Accordingly, at the moment of the extreme chaos, killing activities are occasionally found in such rituals as 'God killing', 'a killing of the firstborn' and even 'cannibalism'. Jesus' death, King Herod's order for 'killing the firstborn' in Jesus' time and Abraham's trial for the sacrifice of his first-born son, and Jesus Christ's last supper are representative examples. After these killing activities, historicised human beings can finally return to the beginnings and renew the sacred power of life in the new gods. The mechanism of this myth analysis is exactly the same as in Girard's hypothesis discussed in Section 2.1.2. But the difference between Girard's and Eliade's hypothesis is that Eliade views human

being as an 'existential believer' who has a dream of returning to the eternal archetypal perfect state in mythic time, whereas Girard emphasises the layer of human being's basic instinct of violence. According to Eliade's framework, there is no religious phenomenon that a human cannot understand, as long as it is related to human activities.

Eliade, here, becomes the target of criticism, namely, 'co-author' of Nazism. This is not only because of his political involvement in the Iron Guard¹⁵⁴ but also because of his emphasis of new gods replacing old gods (Eliade, 1976:25-26; Bellow, 2001). That is, the Jewish god could be regarded as the object of killing for reinstating the German god of Aryanism/nationalism.¹⁵⁵

Given the movement of symbols from 'the part' to 'the whole' on the dimension of *hierophany*, the political use of a particular or elementary religious symbol or myth (a specific ethnic based Arian nationalism) could be theoretically justified in the direction toward the universal or prime symbol (the universalisation of Arian nationalism over the world). Figuratively, if someone venerated a tree, his/her religious phenomenon can be called an elementary *hierophany*. If others continued to venerate the supernatural being in the same tree experiencing *hierophany* afterward, the elementary *hierophany* can move to being primal *hierophany*, and finally the tree becomes the universal symbol, the *axis mundi*,¹⁵⁶ through which God is able to ascend to the Heaven. This aspect of movement from 'the part' to 'the whole' on the dimension of *hierophany*, can clearly reveal the possibility of the political use of the religious symbol, in the name of Nazism (Eliade, 1976:25-26).

However, there is a reverse or opposite direction of movement of symbol from 'the whole' to 'the part' on the dimension of *hierophany*. The primal *hierophany* descends from above through numerous forms of elementary *hierophany*. Eliade asserts, "one might even say that all hierophanies are simply prefigurations of the miracle of the Incarnation, that every *hierophany* is an abortive attempt to reveal the mystery of the coming together of God and man" (Eliade, 1976:29). Generally, critics of Eliade did not appreciate the movement of *hierophany* from 'the whole' to 'the part'. From the viewpoint of this reverse movement of *hierophany*, all elementary *hierophanies* can be regarded as equal.

¹⁵⁴ Romanian nationalistic, anti-Semitic, and antiparliamentary group

¹⁵⁵ "Eliade contends that Nazism replaced the Judeo-Christian eschatology with Nordic paganism" (Muthuraji, 2001).

¹⁵⁶ The central pivot of the earth or the entire cosmos

Therefore, the discriminatory mode of universalisation of a specific symbol or myth cannot be sustained.

All hierophany as being part of a whole; Hitler's totality included only a single cultural group to the exclusion of others. Within Eliade's framework, Hitler failed to recognise or accept the dialectical nature of a symbol as it moves between the part and the whole; Hitler prioritised and ranked the part over the whole. (Eliade, 1976:25-26; Cave, 1993:24-25)

Furthermore, the concept of the prime *hierophany* itself does not mean the universalisation of a certain specific symbol or myth but it means the universal pattern, principle or the cosmic law, such as the same 'pattern', 'structure' or 'principle' found in numerous individual based desire of returning to the beginnings or eternity. The cosmic principle, which is embodied in the nostalgia for Paradise in the dialectical movement of cosmos and chaos, is nothing other than a prime *hierophany* (Eliade, 1974).

Within this framework, the political and cultural Bible readings in Chapters 3 and 4 can also be explained. Under the symbol or myth of 'nationalism', 'liberation', 'conservatism' or 'liberalism', each group or type of political and cultural Bible readers experienced *hierophany* by experiencing/reading the Word of God in the Bible.¹⁵⁷ For example, imperialistic political Bible readers and the first type of cultural Bible readers discarded their former gods in the name of idols and pagans, regarding them as the barbaric, inferior, filthy tradition and custom. The so-called entire traditional political and cultural system was the object of killing or destruction where "the savage has no religion" (Chidester, 1995). They endeavoured to escape from the culmination of political and cultural chaos by removing old traditional religious symbols and reinstating new nationalistic and imperialistic Christian symbols. They genuinely had a dream to reach the perfect utopia by regaining the Paradise Lost by killing the old gods. Just as in the case of Nazism, they did not appreciate the movement from 'the whole' to 'the part' on the dimension of *hierophany*. On the other hand, other group or type of political and cultural Bible readers stuck to their old gods. This is because God revealed Himself to all Bible readers in different types and forms. On this egalitarian humanistic

¹⁵⁷ In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. (John 1:1)

ideological plane, the oppressed, the poor, the colonised, the marginalised, the traditional religious context based Bible readers experienced *hierophany* through reading the Word of God, the Bible, while embracing traditional symbols and myths of premodern society in the name of 'contextualisation', 'liberation', 'liberalism' and 'inculturation'.

If God revealed Himself through numerous channels,¹⁵⁸ no group or type of Bible readers could universalise their elementary, localised, historicized, and specific *hierophany* (the Bible reading) by disregarding their opponents' Bible reading (*hierophany*). No group or type of Bible readers could say that 'we are the Centre (Axis Mundi) and you are the margin.' This is because Eliade did not deal with the content or essence of the Centre in detail. Accordingly, the universalisation of a *hierophany* toward the primary centre just reflects the 'principle' or 'pattern' not the specific *hierophany's* totalisation such as the enforcement of the specific mode of the Bible reading. Figuratively, it can be summarised that "there is a Centre (a primary *hierophany*) with many centres (elementary hierophanies)." For Eliade, it is noteworthy that the space for 'a Centre' cannot be monopolised by any specific personal God, who inevitably excludes other gods. It can rather be replaced by 'the pattern', 'the principle', 'the structure' or 'the cosmic law' (e.g. Brahman in Upanishad, Dharma in Buddhism, Tao in Taoism) (Eliade, 1959,1974; Pals, 1996:165).

As discussed in the preceding chapters, individuals' mode of reading have the specificity of their Bible reading given their unique political and cultural contexts while at the same time the same pattern or the principle is universally found in the name of "the principle of discrimination", "the principle of absorption" and "the principle of unity." This pattern or principle is the one which can be placed in the position of 'a Centre'. The rest of the detailed biblical examples pertain to many centres.

Eliade's creative hermeneutical insight is highly commendable in this regard. Once someone places a specific personal God in the position of 'a Centre', it inevitably disregards other centres. However, if someone puts some specific patterns or principles or power, other centres have their reason of existence. Eliade did not disregard individuals' existential voices irrespective of their own way of Bible reading. According to Eliade's framework, even Cannibalism can also be condoned, in that it is a part of rituals for restoring the

¹⁵⁸ Such as the oppressors/oppressed, colonisers/colonised, the first type of cultural Bible readers/the fourth type of cultural Bible readers

new cosmic order (Jeong, 1997:215). Accordingly, each group or type of political and cultural Bible readers is respected and regarded, in that s/he is experiencing a *hierophany* by meeting the Word of God whilst interpreting the Bible. Notwithstanding, a Centre is not deconstructed but its position can be occupied by the universal and cosmic pattern, principle, power and structure. This insight contributes to establishing the principle of 'love' in this study.

Each and every individual Bible reader is an existential believer, and experiences the Word of God through his/her Bible reading. Furthermore, s/he can experience the primary *hierophany* in the name of 'love'. Thus, a new aphorism can be generated, **"there is the Centre (the cosmic principle of love) with many centres (each individual's awe-inspiring biblical interpretation)."** Hence, the concept of "*Homo Religiosus*" can be embodied in the fact that all individuals existentially have their dreams, the wish to experience a *hierophany*, whose sacred intensity can be enhanced by the principle of 'love' as a whole.

Eliade's concept of *Homo Religiosus* is significant in that it does not discard an existential believer's mystic, sacred, and inexplicable religious experiences that are normally described as '*numinous*' (from Latin '*numen*', god), for they are induced by the revelation of an aspect of divine power. (Eliade, 1959:9). It is, particularly, different from the postmodern basic assumption of Bible reading as individualism on a multiple and playful dimension, in that it contains the dialectical movement from an elementary *hierophany* (each individual's own way of interpretation/experience/meeting of the Word of God, the Bible) toward the prime *hierophany*, the union with 'God of Love'. Thus, the Cartesian western epistemology and philosophy, '*Homo Sapience*' as a thinker, "I think, therefore I am" can be finally replaced by "I believe/dream, therefore I am."

6.2. Jeong (情): Korean Counter-Ethics of Agape and 'Ubuntu': African Ethics of Agape

Jesus Christ's commandments to his disciples are clarified by 'the love of God' and 'the love of your neighbour'.¹⁵⁹ The majority of Korean and South African political and cultural Bible readers may have obeyed the first commandment in their own way, through reading the Bible and experiencing the *hierophany* of the Word of God depending on their political and cultural contexts. Nonetheless, the second commandment has been neglected by each group or type of Bible readers under the strong influence of dominant political ideology, which was characterised by the principle of 'radical separation' or 'discrimination' (Chapter 3 and 4). Each group or type of Bible readers could not find an opportunity, time or place to love each other. Instead, under the influence of dominant postmodern ideology, every Bible reader was requested not to intervene in his/her neighbour's private Bible reading (Chapter 5). Given that this postmodern approach of the Bible reading reflects nothing other than the dominant postmodern spirit of individualism and a new twist of western imperialism, this section discusses how a different group or type of people could be in unity and love each other through the mediator of traditional ontological element of love (*Jeong* (情) and *Ubuntu*) in the indigenous religious context. This is, in particular, concretised through the process of marriage ceremonies in the Korean and South African traditional religious contexts. The traditional example of unity amongst different groups or people can give insight to concretise the '*Onjeong*' Bible reading, harmonising with Eliade's insight on '*Homo Religiosus*'. Given that a traditional religious psyche is deeply embedded in most native Bible readers' mind, particularly the fourth type of cultural Bible readers, it is significant to discuss an example of unity amongst different groups or people in the traditional religious context.

6.2.1. Jeong (情): Korean Counter-Ethics of Agape

Just as the concept of 'the sacred' in Eliade can only be embodied by

¹⁵⁹ "You must love your God...and your neighbour as yourself; God is love, and he that remains in love remains in union with God and God remains in union with him" (Luke,10:27; 1 John 4:16).

numerous cases, stories or narratives, the concept of '*Jeong*' can only be embodied by numerous examples and cases based on ordinary people's real life experiences.¹⁵⁰ This is because the concept of '*Jeong*' cannot be explained by the western philosophical, logical and reasonable presupposition of 'everything should be laid on a firm foundation (definition) before engaging in discussion'. It leads Descartes (1596-1650) to conclude his methodological skepticism as follows: "I think, therefore I am." Accordingly, the proceeding sections discuss numerous narratives, stories and proverbs based on ordinary people's daily lives. This is methodologically differentiated from liberalist theologians' endeavour to find the hidden truth by researching the ancient text, which is rarely recognised by ordinary people in modern times.¹⁶⁰ Accordingly, the daily context of ordinary people's life experiences concretises the concept of '*Jeong*', in that the traditional text and its context have continued to be in a barely divisible symbiotic relationship amongst ordinary people who inculcate the traditional psyche in their mind.

Before the arrival of Christian missionaries in the late 19th century in Korea, Koreans lived in religious pluralism, as inferred from the Methodist missionary Jones' observation. He states, "Koreans were Confucians in the aspect of society, Buddhists in a philosophical aspect, and worshipers who indulged in Shamanism when they prayed to gods to avert suffering" (Kim, 2003:17; Jones, 1910:14). In the Korean history of religion, Korean Shamanism, in particular, laid a cornerstone in embracing the established oriental classical religions, such as Buddhism, Taoism and Neo-Confucianism (Kim, 2003: 12-20; Hwang, 1997). Accordingly, Korean traditional religious ethos was basically characterised by the diverse oriental religious philosophy and thoughts, but there was a general agreement that *JeongHan* (情恨: whole hearted love and sorrowfulness) was the most representative element characterising Koreans.

Oriental philosophy is based on the primordial mind of indivisible dualism, *YinYang* (陰陽) philosophy, contrary to the biblical Judeo-Christian-Islamic religion's emphasis on the discriminatory mode of dichotomy between God and Satan, Christ and Anti-Christ (Satan), Israelites and non-Israelites, and Goodness and Wickedness. Oriental philosophy focuses on the symbiotic relationship between each element in dualism, such as heaven and earth, man

¹⁶⁰ "The hermeneutic unearthing of a different and deeper meaning of which social actors are only dimly aware" (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982:xx) (Compare with Section 4.2.3).

and woman, good and evil, reason and emotion, the present world and the next world, day and night, the sun and moon, soul and body, etc. Accordingly, both elements have their reason of existence owing to the existence of the opponent elements. Both sides should be balanced, otherwise it causes one side's totalisation. For example, too much daylight would make plants wither without a period of darkness of night. 'Goodness' would lose its significance of being if 'badness' disappeared in the world. The perfect 'God' would lose His significance of being if the imperfect 'human' did not worship Him any more. The 'life' or 'youth' is only meaningful because of the existence of 'death' or 'old age'. Symbiotically, both sides of the elements are regarded as 'oneness' and indivisible.

In the case of Korean Shamanism, the aspect of oneness from the centre of 'the present life' is revealed. The next world in Korean Shamanism is regarded as an extension of this world. In the story of 'Bari princess',¹⁶¹ a legendary hermit in the next world asked 'Bari princess' to marry him and give birth to his children. That is, gods in the next world were described as having the same physical desire as human beings in this world. Even in modern burial services amongst most of Koreans, favourite possessions of the dead are buried with them such as warm clothes, nice shoes, and favourite meals. Even traditional rice wine is poured over the grave (GP, 2004). These reveal, implicitly or explicitly, the descendants' shamanic wish of the dead's safe journey to the next world. In a memorial service, descendants wholeheartedly arrange their ancestor's favourite food on the table in belief that their ancestors will visit and eat the food during the night.¹⁶² In short, in Korean Shamanism, the Hellenistic

¹⁶¹ An old Korean shaman story or song. The summary of the story of 'Bari princess': there was the great king, whose last name was Lee, who wanted to succeed his kingship through his son. He did not have a son, when the seventh princess was born. With disappointment, he put her in a 'jade box' and threw it into a river. Miraculously, under the protection of Buddha, she was saved and raised by a Bari old couple. One day, the great king was very sick and he heard from a young boy in his dream that only the seventh princess could save his life. Accordingly, the Bari princess was brought to the kingdom and was asked to find the medicine water for her father, the king. She went to the next world, to the enchanted world where legendary hermits lived. After marrying the legendary hermit, the Bari princess gave birth to seven sons. Owing to Bari princess' sacrifice, she got the medicine water from the legendary hermit and brought it to her father. She saved her father's life with the medicine water, and the resurrected father made the Bari princess the queen of all gods. The seven sons of the Bari princess and the legendary hermit became ten great kings in the next world (EOB, 1998).

¹⁶² Despite the removal of ancestor tablet, the first type of Korean Christian Bible

and Cartesian division between body and soul, self and the other, and Judeo-Christian-Islamic dichotomy between this world and the next world are rarely found. Both elements exist together symbiotically as 'one' without any discriminatory mode of dualism, the self and the other, text and context, soul and body, life and death, this world and the next world and so on.

Similarly, the ontological meaning of *Jeong* (情: whole hearted love) has its significance on the foundation of the meaning of *Han* (恨: sorrowfulness). If a young unmarried woman died without fulfilling her desire to love a man in this world, she would definitely become a virgin-ghost full of '*Han*'. She could not go to the next world, therefore she wandered in between this world and the next world and sometimes appeared in this world to fulfil her desire. There are many episodes reported in which young men sleep with beautiful virgin-ghosts wearing white dresses during the night on rainy days under the full moon.¹⁶³ It is sometimes believed that men who have slept with the virgin-ghost would lose their lives. Accordingly, horror movies based on the western character Dracula (the quintessential vampire and symbol of romanticism, immortality, and horror) are less popular than the virgin-ghost movies in Korea. This is because Dracula does not fit into the Korean psyche.

'*Han*' in woman's heart is sometimes expressed in a different way. It is said, "when a woman holds '*Han*' in her heart, snow falls or there is frost even in May or June."¹⁶⁴ Given the numerous historical invasions from the strong neighbouring countries, such as Russia, China, and Japan, Koreans have kept a painful and sorrowful memory in their minds. The existence of the notorious *Jeongsindae* ("comfort women" 挺身隊), a special women army unit whose aim was to sexually console Japanese soldiers in World War II, is the typical example to show the essence of '*Han*' amongst Koreans. Japanese imperialists randomly and forcefully took numerous Korean women and violated their basic human rights as women.¹⁶⁵ The point is that '*Han*' is deeply embedded in the

readers also keeps their ancestor's memorial day by offering a prayer and singing a hymn. On the same day, descendants normally share a meal together around a big table in remembrance of their ancestors (GP, 2004).

¹⁶³ A virgin-ghost pertains to a spirit of '*Yin* (陰)', which is embodied in the symbol of woman, night, water (rain) and moon.

¹⁶⁴ Given that May and June are the beginning of the summer season in Korea, it is a rare phenomenon to find snow (frost).

¹⁶⁵ Accordingly, Koreans proudly learn from elementary school that Koreans never invaded other countries during their 5000 years history. From a political aspect, this might be the justification of their weakness as a nation.

Korean psyche, especially for the oppressed women.

Within the long standing Confucianism based patriarchal system during the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910), a woman was generally oppressed by a man, particularly from a modern day feminist's viewpoint. In whatever case, a married woman was required to be obedient to all family members on her husband's side, particularly before her mother-in-law, as inferred from the well-known Korean saying:

When a woman goes to her husband's homestead/family (When a woman marries a man), she must be blind for three years, deaf for three years and dumb for three years. After passing through the nine-year hardship, she can eventually become a real member of her husband's homestead/family.

Even in the most representative national folk song, *Arirang*, a woman is described as a highly virtuous woman who wishes to be with her husband despite his lack of love for her.

Arirang, Arirang, Araariyo; climbing¹⁶⁶ over the head of *Arirang* slope; the lord (husband or lover) who deserts me; would have some foot trouble within 4 km (10 *Li*: the distance that an ordinary man can walk in a day).

The foot trouble has nothing to do with the woman's curse on her husband, rather she humbly wishes that her love toward the lord could be deeper so that she could embrace her husband's lack of love. This is because she knows how she feels in his absence, namely 'full of *Han*' in her heart.

The Korean ontological element of love (*agape*),¹⁶⁷ '*Jeong*' arises from

¹⁶⁶ According to the Korean language system, the subject is generally omitted in the sentence. However, readers/listeners can guess the subject depending on each context of the speech act. That is, 'emotion or feeling based ambiguity or non-clarity' is one of the most dominant features in the Korean language system. In the song of *Arirang*, explicitly, the lord seems to be climbing over the head of the *Arirang* slope; however, emotionally, the woman who misses the lord can be said either to climb with him, or she may have already arrived at the head of the *Arirang* slope to join in her lord's journey prior to the lord.

¹⁶⁷ The word '*Jeong*' was also found in the early Japanese biblical translation of love (*agape*): "they found the word '*agape*' difficult to translate and, instead of using the word '愛: ai', the usual Japanese word which has many of the same difficulties as does our word 'love', they used the Chinese word '情: Jeng/ Jin' or benevolence and thus

the basis of '*Han*'. Only one who understands the essence of '*Han*' is eligible to know what real love is. It is said, "the more deeply you love someone, the deeper the pain is." On this ground, Koreans who felt the deep pain (*Han*) of their parents' death, went to the tomb where their parents were buried and set up a small tent and lived there for two years without any contact with other family members.¹⁶⁸ They wore rough funeral clothes to share the pain with their dead parents. It is said, "if sadness is shared by someone, it reduces by half; if happiness is shared by someone, it doubles." Furthermore, when Koreans give presents or gifts to someone, they normally prefer giving two instead of one. This is because, if someone receives only one present/gift (e.g. chocolate, apple etc.), the receiver might not be satisfied. Therefore, the giver wants to please the receiver fully with one's '*Jeong*' satisfying both parties.

Traditional Korean marriage ceremonies reveal this indivisible dual relationship of '*Jeong*' and '*Han*'. Further, it showed how it culminated into the marriage festival. The happy ending of the marriage ceremony is embodied in the form of 'laughter', 'play', 'amusement', 'humour', or 'joke'. Two different families, who preferably have different surnames and different family origin,¹⁶⁹ meet together in the name of marriage ceremony. The main thread of the whole process of the marriage ceremony for both parties is '*Jeong*', which enhances the level of '*Han*' to the level of 'happiness, pleasure and laughter'.

Coinciding with the oriental philosophy of *Yin* and *Yang*, the word, *Honin* (婚姻: marriage) means 'marriage of man and woman'. Nonetheless, from the bride centred viewpoint, the word *Sijip*, another name of marriage, clearly means 'a bride's journey to the bridegroom's family'. This notion of marriage as 'a bride's journey' is also found in the Zulu term '*enda*' (Ngubane, 1981:84). Given the expected '*Han*' whilst the bride is living in the groom's family,¹⁷⁰ the

sought to overcome the difficulty" (Best, 1966:96).

¹⁶⁸ The one who carried food to him was an exception. Nonetheless, certain food was restricted. For example, meat and wine were not permitted. In addition, music and intercourse were not permitted. This well-known Confucian practice is called "the three year mourning ritual." It is based on the Confucian idea of "filial piety" (*hyo*, 孝). This practice, however, no longer exists in the contemporary Korea.

¹⁶⁹ In the Korean marriage system, people who have the same family origin are generally prohibited to marry each other. People, who have the same surname but different family origin, are generally acceptable in society to marry each other (GP, 2004:32). The point is that the marriage plays a role of mediator in which two different families are united.

¹⁷⁰ It is said, "a married woman must be blind for three years, deaf for three years and

bride's family is extremely cautious in choosing the groom's family. Accordingly, a bride normally needed a matchmaker for the careful Choice of a bridegroom, whereas a bridegroom could find a bride without a matchmaker.¹⁷¹ For both side's welfare, five types of families were generally regarded as taboo for marriage partners, namely a family which rebelled against the government's authority, a family which was unmannered, a family which committed crime, a family which had serious illness, and one which had lost its head, the father (GP, 2004:32). The marriage ceremony proceeded as follows:

The preceding step –

Gunghap: comparing the horoscopes of a young couple; 2. *Saju*: the four pillars, consulting a fortune-teller for the bride and groom's future; 3. *Taegil*: choosing an auspicious day; 4. *Uyangdanja*: sending the information on the size of clothing of the groom to the bride's family; 5. *Gosadang*: reporting the marriage to ancestors in an ancestral shrine; 6. *Nappye*: sending the blue and red silk to the bride's family.

The main marriage ceremony consists of the following steps – 1. *Hollyehaengcha*: the groom's going by a sedan chair to the marriage ceremony; 2. *Jeonan*: the groom's bowing to the bride after putting wooden wild geese on the table; 3. *Chorye*: the bride and groom's bowing and drinking the traditional wine by turns; 4. *Almyo*: reporting a new member of family (bride) to ancestors in the ancestral shrine; 5. *Pyebaek*: the bride's making a deep bow and offering a gift to her parent-in-law 6. *Yemul*: the mother-in-law's offering a gift to the bride.

The first night ceremony –

1. *Sinbanyeotbogi*: wedding participants' peeping into the bride's room.

The final ceremony –

1. *Dongsanglye*: a play in which the bride's male friends beat the groom when he revisits the bride's family (GP, 2004:30-43).

Of these outlined procedures of marriage, this section discusses *Pyebaek* (bride's making a deep bow and offering a gift to her parent-in-law), *Sinbanyeotbogi* (wedding participants' peeping into the bride's room), and

dumb for three years.”

¹⁷¹ In the word, *HonIn* (婚姻: marriage), etymologically, *Hon* means 'man meets woman at night'; *In* means 'through a matchmaker, woman meets man' (APC, 2004)

Dongsanglye (a play in which bride's male friends beat the groom when he revisits the bride's family). These three traditional practices have continued to date. Despite the fact that the bride also receives a gift from her mother-in-law, normally the bride's gift is very important to be accepted as a daughter by the mother-in-law. Therefore, the bride's family endeavours to send valuable gifts for their daughter's well being in the new family. In this way, the love (*Jeong*) from the bride's family was transferred via the bride to the groom's family. Practically, the custom of giving gifts leads the bride's family to economic hardship. However, in the process of exchanging gifts, two different families could be united. From the bride's family's viewpoint, a daughter finds a new family to settle down in and give birth to children by consolidating her position in the family. From the groom's family's viewpoint, the bride is definitely a new potential manager of the household, who can sustain the life of the family through her procreative power. Despite the potential hardship of the bride who may have a deep '*Han*', both sides of the families try to remove the aspect of '*Han*' by uniting on the basis of '*Jeong*', embodied in gift exchanging activities during the marriage process.

Interestingly, the tradition of *Sinbangyeotbogi* (wedding participants' peeping into the bride's room) clearly shows the essence of unity in marriage ceremony amongst the whole family members, which even extends to the whole of village. While the bridegroom removes the bride's wedding clothes on the first wedding night in the privacy of their bridal room, the candle is blown out and the wedding participants start to peep into the room. By the next morning, the paper door to the room would almost be torn apart, owing to the wedding participants' peeping during the whole night. That is, the most private time or space of the first night was revealed in public. Therefore, there exists no more privacy, individualism, tension of different families, and the tension of different class amongst participants in the wedding ceremony. The practice of '*Sinbangyeotbog*' was generally found even up to 1960s in most of the rural areas (Kim, 2000:16). Figuratively, within Eliade's framework, people who participated in the marriage festival experienced *hierophany*, in which there was no division between the bride's family and the groom's family, the self and the other, the rich and the poor, oppressive male and oppressed female, and reason and emotion. The thread of unity is *Jeong*, whose influence extends to both families and even their villages beyond the bride and groom.

Dongsanglye (a play in which bride's male friends beat the groom when

he revisits the bride's family) makes the bridegroom realise how precious his new wife is through its distinctive feature of laughter, humour, joke or entertainment. When the bridegroom visits his new wife's family for the first time after the marriage ceremony, the bride's village young men play the game of *Dongsanglye*. Firstly, word is spread that a thief has taken a beautiful virgin away from the bride's village. Secondly, the village young men catch one of the brothers of the bride and tie his legs and beat him on the feet. Finally, he confesses that the thief is the bridegroom. Thirdly, the groom is tied and is beaten on his feet as well. Then the young men ask the groom's mother-in-law to serve them nice food and rice wine. Lastly, the mother-in-law saves her son-in-law by promising them to do what they have asked for. In the process, traditional music and dance amuse all participants. The point is that, the groom cannot help but love the bride's family through this game. This game paradoxically shows the wish of the bride's family that their daughter should not feel 'Han' but be loved by her husband and be happy. In a nutshell, 'Jeong' sublimates 'Han' in the game of 'laughter', 'pleasure' and 'entertainment', *Dongsanglye*.

In the example of the marriage ceremony, this section emphasises that the tension of different blood group, different family, and different class could dissolve in the indivisible symbiotic dynamics of 'Han', 'Jeong' and 'laughter'. Out of the three elements, the Korean concept of love, *Jeong* is the main thread to unite different groups or types of people. The counter-ethics of *Jeong*¹⁷² is deeply embedded in the Korean traditional religious psyche, which could embrace Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism and even Christianity on the soil of Korean Shamanism.

¹⁷² Korean Shamanism is not based on the classical religions' stereotyped ethics, which is characterised by the dichotomous discriminative relationship such as good and evil, sin and judgment and so on. Instead, it points out that 'disorder' or 'chaos' could be the corner stone to establish the unifying 'order' or 'cosmos', as inferred from *Sinbangyeotbogi* (wedding participants' peeping into the bride's room). On this ground, to highlight the nuance, this section entitles the term 'ethics of *Jeong*' as 'counter-ethics of *Jeong*', comparing with the classical notion of 'ethics'.

6.2.2. *Ubuntu*: African Ethics of *Agape*

The preceding section introduced 'the present life' centred Korean Shamanism that concretised the Korean traditional religious psyche, which is based on the primordial mind of undifferentiation or the indivisible oriental dualism of *Yin* and *Yang*. In the example of the Korean marriage ceremony, the thread of unity between different blood groups or different families was found. It was the Korean concept of love, *Jeong*, which could be understood in the dynamics of the structure of '*Han*' and 'laughter'. Comparatively, this section introduces the African community (homestead) centred African Traditional Religion that concretises African primordial mind of undifferentiation, an African indivisible dualism and African traditional oral mind. In the example of the African marriage ceremony, the thread of unity of different tribes is found. It is the African ethics of *agape*, *Ubuntu*, which is revealed in the African ritual characterised by 'laughter', singing and dancing.¹⁷³

The well known African ontology of *Ubuntu* can be embodied in the following aphorisms: "a person is a person through persons: *umuntu ngumuntu nagbantu*", "I am because we are; and since we are, therefore I am" and "I belong by blood relationship, therefore I am" (Shutte, 1993:46; Okolo, 1992:483; Pobee, 1979:165-7). It is not differentiated only from Cartesian ontology of "I think, therefore I am", but also the postmodern dictum of 'the deconstruction of the self' or Lacan's "I may think, but I do not exist without 'the Other'"

Confronting the strong philosophical impact of the Hellenistic and Cartesian dichotomy between soul and body, the Self and the Other, and Judeo-Christian-Islamic dichotomy between this world and the next world, God and Satan, Christ and Anti-Christ (Satan), Israelites and non-Israelites, and Goodness and Wickedness, many African scholars have emphasised the significance of 'community' or 'homestead' rather than 'individual' or 'the self'.

In the African cosmic view, there exists a division between the spiritual realm and the physical realm, the next world and this world. There even exists the hierarchical order between the creator and creatures. The Supreme God, Divinities, Spirits and the living dead (ancestors) reside in the spirit realm whilst

¹⁷³ "The Hebrew term '*hesed*' or the Greek term '*agape*' are closer to '*Ubuntu-botho*'; "*Ubuntu* allows for the coming-together of people in a relaxed sharing of 'good company', something which should get glad recognition from Christians, concerned as they should be with *agape*" (Mazamisa, 1995:18; Shutte, 1974:16; Wilson, 1963:66).

human beings, animals, plants and inanimate things reside in the physical realm. The difference in each element is in the quality of vital force ('*Seriti*') (Shutte, 1993:57). Figuratively, compared to a great pyramid, Okolo states, "at the apex is God, the Supreme Being, on the two sides are the great spiritual powers manifested in gods (Divinities, Spirits) and the living dead (ancestors), and at the base are the lower power of magic (animals, plants and inanimate things). In the middle is man under the influence of many different kinds of powers" (Okolo, 1992:480). On this basis, human beings, as 'the Centre of the universe', are required to protect or increase '*Seriti*' (vital force/power) by meeting the sacred (the Supreme God, Divinities, Spirits and the living dead/ancestors) through communal rituals. Tempels and Okolo remark, "the activating and final aim of all *Bantu* effort is only the intensification of vital force. To protect or to increase vital force, that is the motive and the profound meaning in all their practices"(Tempels, 1959: 175; Okolo, 1992:480). In other words, human beings' goal in life is to become ancestors by practicing good (Kwenda, 1999:1).

Ostensibly, there is a vertical hierarchy on the dimension of vital force from the strong God to the weak inanimate things. However, the identity of each element has its significance only if it accords to the entire union of vital forces, whose influence reaches not only the spiritual realm but also the physical realm. Therefore, many gods in the spiritual realm were regarded as One (mono) God, the union of vital forces on the horizontal plane (Mulago, 1991:120). Furthermore, once individuals in the physical realm are connected in the union of vital forces, even physical death could not diminish their vital forces. This is because they could continue to have vital forces in the relationship with other spiritual beings, which hold strong vital forces. On this ground, Mbiti (1978) asserts that a dead person does not leave his/her homestead/community but continues to live as the living dead and furthermore even domestic animals continue to live with him/her (1978:157).

Contrary to the western Cartesian definition of man who can stand alone before the throne of God, the African man cannot and does not have to stand alone. Instead, s/he can just focus on achieving the goal of life, increasing or protecting the vital force in a "relationship in being and life of each person with descendants, family, brothers and sisters in the clan, with ancestors, and with God who is the ultimate source of all life" (Mulago, 1991:120; Shutte, 1974:9). In the process, interaction and interconnectedness between human beings in the physical realm and ancestors or gods in the spiritual realm dynamically unfold

around the centre of their homestead (Okolo, 1992:481). Hence, the 'homestead' (community) centred African traditional psyche, the African indivisible dualism or African oral mind, can lay a foundation of unity in difference in diverting the stream of discriminatory mode of the Hellenistic and Cartesian dichotomy.

Emphasising the communal well being of the homestead (community) or family rather than that of individual, many anthropologists discuss the African marriage system. Despite the diverse forms of marriages in Southern Africa, they exhibit a certain cultural unity (Okolo, 1992:478; EOA, 1999:119). Firstly, the majority of African people are exogamous.¹⁷⁴ Secondly, procedures of marriage are summarised by three steps as Krige summarises, "(1) formal agreement to the marriage by the two sets of parents or guardians and their kin; (2) bride-removal; and (3) the passing of bridewealth" (Krige, 1981:184). Given that Africans find their meaning of life through the interconnectedness and interactions within the family or tribe which extends to the spiritual realm and even to descendents yet to be born, exogamous marriage is definitely a major event to both homesteads, which inevitably connotes the tension of difference between both families. According to the African marriage system, the tension of difference of family could dissolve through the system of '*lobola*' (bridewealth).

However, the earlier generations of missionaries interpreted the bride price as a transaction, which involved the 'purchase' of a woman (Phillips, 1953:xxvi). Given the long-standing history of black slavery and distorted image of black culture, their linguistic use of 'purchase' for a black woman, whose linguistic nuance is definitely involved in impersonal goods rather than human being, is not surprising. To date, in a different name of "paying the bride price", whose linguistic nuance is definitely involved in an impersonal market economy, the bride is interpreted as 'an impersonal thing' rather than 'a personal being' (Chigwedere, 1982:3; Jeffereys, 1951:2). That is, most modern anthropological approaches of the African marriage system focus on the bride's procreative power identified with *lobola*.

Karp (1987:131-2) defines marriage "in terms of **the exchange of women for stock** such as cattle and this exchange will have **social and physical reproduction** as its purpose and uxorial activities will be subordinated

¹⁷⁴ "Nguni marriage is characterised by the dominating influence of clan exogamy" (Kwenda, 2000:256; Krige, 1981:175).

to reproduction.” In other words, the bride is compared to the ‘*lobola*’ cattle, which are a symbol of reproduction. Interestingly, Karp introduces Iteso’s¹⁷⁵ ritual/game/play of ‘beating the bride’. That is, the bridewealth cattle need to be herded to go to the bride’s natal house by whipping. Similarly, the bride also needs to be driven to her mother-in-law’s house through the ritual of beating the bride. The whip that drives the cattle to the bride’s natal house is made of the same material as the whip that drives the bride into her mother-in-law’s house. In the process, participants laugh at the bride during this ritual. Given that giving birth is solely a woman’s activity, men are not allowed to participate in the ritual of beating the bride.

As an extension of a woman’s procreative power of *lobola*, Ngubane (1981) says,

Lobolo, consisting today of ten heads of cattle and one special cow for the bride’s mother, is given to her family for the right to **her reproductive powers**; and, in turn, **her father performs various rituals** to his ancestors to guarantee **the fertility** of his daughter. Most rituals during the wedding ceremonies are connected with **the bride and her mother-in-law**, while the bridegroom plays a rather insignificant part. (1981:84)

In fact, even in the modern day ‘kitchen party’,¹⁷⁶ the bride’s family symbolically holds a ritual for the bride’s fertility. Traditionally they believe that, if the bride’s family did not hold a ritual to seek protection from their ancestors, the bride could be infertile.¹⁷⁷ Therefore, in the structure of ‘laughter’, an elderly woman from the bride’s family performs a dance during the kitchen party satirically imitating sexual activities.

Moreover, *lobola* creates an unlimited series of connections between members of the same family, and between different families. This is because *lobola* is re-invested for a wife for the brother or cousin of the young bride (Levi-Strauss, 1969:467). Considering the existence of ancestors in the spiritual realm and children yet to be born, the level and scale of interaction and

¹⁷⁵ A para-Nilotic speaking people who live across the Kenya-Uganda border

¹⁷⁶ The first ceremony before the wedding ceremony, in which only women are allowed to participate. Normally, the bride’s friends, relatives, families give presents to the bride, such as household appliances.

¹⁷⁷ “Without the ritual actions of the women the physical actions of men during intercourse will have no effect” (Ngubane, 1981:86-89; Karp, 1987:149).

interconnections are dynamic and large for both families and other related families via *lobola*. The dynamic varieties arising from the interface between different families invariably evoke laughter.

An African woman as a procreative power identified with *lobola* (bride price or bridewealth) clearly shows that it counteracts the Cartesian dictum¹⁷⁸ in that "I belong to the family (kinship, bloodline), therefore I am." The question is whether or not this approach is nothing other than postmodern dictum, "the deconstruction of the self" or "I may think, but I do not exist without 'the Other.'" In other words, given that the bride is identified with the *lobola* cattle, the bride is easily reduced to the procreative power, which increases the bondage of both homesteads. As soon as she is regarded as an impersonal power, she may lose her identity or may deconstruct her self. On this ground, anthropological research focusing on African marriage for increasing reproductive power needs to be examined (Okolo, 1992:482).

To date, numerous anthropologists researching on African marriage systems in relation to *lobola* have focused on the functional aspect (EOA, 1999:110-123; Jubber, 1994).¹⁷⁹ In some aspects, they focus on African ontology as a counterattack to the Cartesian psyche but they cannot differentiate African ontology from the postmodern deconstruction of the self. In this sense, the African marriage system needs to be reexamined.

Just like Korean Yemul (mother-in-law's offering a gift to the bride), the groom's family delivers a gift to the bride's family, a special cow for the bride's mother.

Khomo ea thari Kapa letsoele is the cow that is given to the mother in recognition of her role the person who breastfed and nurtured the woman to marriageable age. (Wlsa, 2002:15)

'*Insuulamnyembeti* beast' in Swaziland is the one that wipes away tears and is the mother's gift to acknowledge her nurturing role (Wlsa, 2002:16). It definitely shows that there exists a delicate emotional sadness between the bride's family members and the bride. Not only functionally but also existentially, both families fully acknowledge the significance of 'the bride's journey to the

¹⁷⁸ "I think, therefore I am."

¹⁷⁹ With regard to divorce problems, *lobola* serves to preserve families and marriage because of the social ties and commitments it creates (Jubber, 1994).

groom's family' (Ngubane, 1981:84). Accordingly, the groom's mother delivers the special cow to the bride's mother as a gift to console her heart, which could be full of '*Han*'. In addition, the father receiving *lobola* for his daughter could not sell the cattle and build himself a bigger house but it was kept only as *lobola* (Wisa, 2002:13).

The point is that the element of '*Han*' exists in the African marriage system, whose functional role is embodied in the unification of different families (Section 6.2.1). Comparatively, the Korean traditional psyche is understood in dynamics of '*Han*', '*Jeong*' and 'laughter'. Out of these, '*Han*' is highlighted much more than 'laughter'. On the contrary, in the African traditional psyche, the element of '*Han*' is hidden and the element of 'laughter' is embodied in 'music and dance'. The element of '*Han*' is definitely residing in the African latent psyche, given the long-standing African history of black slavery and racism, which goes way back to the Islamic conquest of Africa in the 7th century (Goldenberg, 2003). As Kwenda (2003:154) states, if "the African ontology of *Ubuntu* is not the ontological endowment but rather by-products of historical struggle for survival and well-being", then the latent element of '*Han*' may beget African love of *Ubuntu*, which is embodied in laughter, singing and dancing. Furthermore, when the focus of research is shifted from a functional aspect of reproductive power to the ontological aspect of human being, the term 'purchasing the bride' or 'paying the bride price' disappears and instead 'delivering the gift for the bride's family' would be the adequate translation for '*lobola*'. Thus, African ontology of "I belong to family/homestead; therefore I am" can have special meaning not only to the bride's old and new families but also to the bride herself.

As inferred from Eliade's essence of *Homo Religiosus*, everyone deserves to be treated as a human being who has a dream. She cannot be regarded as an impersonal thing or goods that are easily converted to monetary value in the modern free market system. Even though *lobola* obviously signifies the bride's symbolic reproductive power, which enhances the interconnection of both families, it does not reduce the bride to 'impersonal' things, goods or prices. This is because, the bride finds her purpose of life within the relationship of her entire connected family, which even includes ancestors in the spiritual realm as well as children yet to be born. The bride, as *homo religiosus*, is the one who has a dream to be a good daughter to her natal parents, a good wife to her husband, a good mother to her children and finally a good ancestor to her

descendants. Once she has a dream, her ontological identity cannot be reduced to the postmodern dictum of 'deconstruction of the self'.

Through the Korean ontological element of *Jeong* and the African ontological element of *Ubuntu*, traditional religious people, who have the traditional primordial mind of undifferentiation, indivisible dualism, and oral mind, could be in unity in difference. In particular, in the example of marriage festival, Korean different blood groups could enhance the element of '*Han*' to 'pleasure', 'laughter' and 'happiness' via Korean ontological essence of *Jeong*. Africans could be in unity in different families and tribes, in the process of the bride's journey to the groom's family (the definition of marriage in Zulu). The traditional man, who can be called '*Homo Religiosus*', is not only differentiated from the modern Cartesian man, *Homo Sapience*, but also differentiated from the postmodern deconstructed self of "ontological insecurity." Through the marriage festival and the various types of marriage rituals, the traditional man could experience the *hierophany*, the primordial state of undifferentiation and the unity between 'the self' and 'the Other'. Through participating in the marriage festival, all homestead members could find their meaning of life. Therefore, they could love each other while dancing, singing and laughing.

6.3. *Agape*: Biblical Ethics of Love

This section discusses Biblical ethics of love, *agape*. Despite the fact that there are two major commandments of love from Jesus Christ, "love your God and love your neighbour"(Matt. 22:36-40), Chapters 3, 4, and 5 prove that each group or type of the Bible readers were satisfied with the 'self' or 'group' centred love.¹⁸⁰ The principle of love could not be applied beyond the political and cultural interest and context of each group or type of the Bible readers. Just as the Jewish scribes and Pharisees adhered to traditional thoughts, "eye for eye and tooth for tooth" and "you must love your neighbour (metaphorical Jewish neighbour) and hate your enemy (metaphorical non-Jews)" (Matthew, 5:38, 43), each opponent group or type of the Bible readers was not regarded as neighbours (the object of love) but enemies (the object of hatred).

¹⁸⁰ Self-love is classified as *Eros* in Nygren (1982: 219)

Counteractively, Jesus, however, said, “whoever slaps you on your right cheek, turn the other also to him” and “continue to **love your enemies** and to pray for those persecuting you.” (Matthew, 5:38,44). As inferred from the well-known aphorism, “when the white men came to Africa, the black men had the land and the white man had the Bible, but now the black man has the Bible and the white men the land” (Zulu, 1972:5), western missionaries who came with imperialists and colonialists did not keep the basic Christian commandments, particularly the second commandment, “love your neighbour.” Instead, they planted the discriminative mode of the Bible reading to the Korean and South African religious ethos (Chapter 3 and the first type of the Bible readers in Chapter 4).

Nygren (1982:219) vertically introduces four dimensions of love (*agape*) from the high level to the low level, that is, God’s love for human beings, human being’s love for neighbour, human being’s love for God, and human being’s self-love. The self-love does not pertain to the realm of *agape* but to the realm of *Eros*.¹⁸¹ On the contrary, God’s love pertains to the authentic concept of *agape*, the Divine *agape*. God’s great love is embodied in Jesus Christ’s self-sacrificing love: “This is my commandment, that you love one another just as I have loved you. **No one has love greater than this**, that someone should surrender his soul in behalf of his friends (John 15:12-13)” Despite the fact that the Greek word, ‘*agape*’ is commonly found in the Bible indicating three dimensions of love, namely God’s love, neighbourly love, and love for God, human beings’ love for neighbour and for God are incomparable to God’s love that was revealed in the death of Jesus Christ (Nygren, 1982:128). Accordingly, for Paul, the Divine *agape* (God’s love) is nothing other than the “archetype of all that can rightly be called *Agape*” (Romans 8:39; Nygren, 1982:130). This coincides with the explanation of the noun *a-ga’pe* and the verb *a-ga’pa’o*, in the Vine’s (1981) *Expository Dictionary of Old and New Testament Words*.

Love can be known only from the **actions** it prompts. God’s love is seen in the gift of **His Son**, (I John 4:9, 10). But obviously this is **not the love of complacency, or affection**, that is, it was not drawn out by any excellency in its objects, (Romans 5:8). It was **an exercise of the Divine will** in deliberate Choice, made without assignable cause save that which lies in

¹⁸¹ *Eros*, romantic love between the sexes, is not used in the Christian Greek Scriptures (the New Testament), although that type of love is discussed in the Bible (Proverbs 5:15-20).

the nature of God Himself (Deuteronomy 7:7, 8). (1981: 21)

That is, the notion of *agape* is defined as the love guided or governed by principle from the centre of the utterly unselfish Divine love for human beings.

Conversely, there is another type of love, *phi-le'o*. The Greek verb *phi-le'o* is translated as 'have affection', 'like', 'be fond of', and 'kiss' (Matthew. 10:37; 23:6; John 12:25; Mark 14:44).

'To have affection' expresses a very close bond, of the kind that exists in close families between parents and children. Jesus felt such a deep affection for his friend Lazarus, so that he "gave way to tears" in connection with the death of Lazarus (John 11:35, 36). The same expression is used to show the strong, warm, personal attachment Jehovah has for his Son and for his Son's followers, as well as the warm feeling of the disciples for God's Son (John 5:20; 16:27; 1Co 16:22.). (Insight, 1988)

Regarding the verb *phi-le'o*, Vine (1981) comments: "(it) is to be distinguished from *agapao* in this, that ***phileo*** more nearly represents **tender affection...**"(1981:21-22). Despite its ostensible distinction of love, many translators do not differentiate between *agape* and *phileo*, as inferred from the same connotation in John 3:35 and 5:20: "The father **loves (*agapao*) /has affection for (*phileo*)** the Son; and has given all things into his hand/shows him all the things he himself does." On the other hand, in John 21, a different nuance still exists in the conversation between Jesus and Peter. Jesus asked Peter twice if he loved him, using the verb *a-ga-pa'o*. Both times Peter earnestly affirmed that he had affection for Jesus, using the more intimate word *phi-le'o* (John 21:15, 16). Finally, Jesus asked, "do you have affection for me?" And Peter again asserted that he did (John 21:17). Thus, Peter affirmed his warm, personal attachment for Jesus (Insight, 1988).

Agape carries the meaning of love guided or governed by principle from the centre of the utterly unselfish Divine love for human beings, which may or may not include tender affection and fondness (*phi-le'o*). John 3:35 and 5:20 read, "the father **loves/has affection for** the Son." Figuratively, the nuance of Korean ethics of *Jeong* is much closer to human beings' tender affection (*phi-le'o*) and African ethics of *Ubuntu* is compared to love guided by principle in

the direction of enhancing the entire vital force (*Seriti*) of the homestead. However, the distinction between the two types of love is logical and academic on the level of the Cartesian mind. Therefore, this section regards *agape* and/or *phileo* as one love (*agape*) on the existential level.

Strictly applying the notion of *agape* as the archetypal unselfish Divine *agape* excluding tender affection, Outka (1972) argues, “loving your neighbour” and “loving your God” can be contradictory in the name of idolatry.

One is free to worship and obey God; but to worship the neighbor is an act of idolatry. And one may suffer and forgive the neighbor, but to presume to forgive God would constitute blasphemy. (Outka, 1972:46)

Outka (1972), literally and principally, applies the notion of the Divine *agape* both to the love for God and the love for the neighbour and then he points out the tension of difference between “loving your neighbour” and “loving your God.” However, there exists a dynamic movement of *agape* from the high level of God’s love to the low level of human beings’ love via neighbourly love (Nygren, 1982:219). In addition, the concept of *agape* sometimes includes the warm hearted tender affection depending on the context.¹⁸² Therefore, the logical and principled application of *agape* does not always fit for explaining or understanding biblical concept of love. Nonetheless, as discussed in Chapters 3,4 and 5, it is the crucial question of how Christians, without conflicting with the love for God, should love their neighbours including those who may have a different political and cultural (idolatrous) system.

Jesus Christ demonstrated the biblical essence of love through his word and actions, particularly during his 3-year preaching period.

Christ suffered for you, leaving you a model for you to follow his steps closely. (1Peter 2:21) Love can be known only from the actions it prompts. (Vine, 1981:21)

As inferred from the well-known Lord’s Prayer, “let thy Kingdom come,” Jesus, after his baptism by John the Baptist, embarked on the journey of teaching and preaching about the kingdom of God to the Jews and the non-Jews, to the

¹⁸² “The father loves (*agapeo*) the son” (John 3:35; 5:20).

captives and the blind, from city to city and from village to village (Matthew 6:9; Luke 11:2; 4:18; 8:1). On one of his journeys, Jesus cured a leper by **'touching'** him, who was regarded as 'dangerous', 'contaminated', 'filthy', and 'unclean' (Mark 1:40-42; Numbers 5:1-4).¹⁸³ Jesus found the element of '*Han*' (sorrowfulness) from the leper and was moved with pity and then made him clean. Jesus showed his love for the leper and performed a healing miracle. Similarly, Jesus resurrected the son of a bereaved mother full of '*Han*' in a funeral procession (Luke 7:11-15). Furthermore, Jesus forgave Roman soldiers and religious leaders, who subjected Jesus to a shameful death, with nails piercing his hands and feet. He said, "Father, forgive them, for they do not know what they are doing" (Luke 23:34; John 11:45-53). Finally, Jesus Christ showed the idealistic archetypal love, the self-sacrifice love, through his death on the Cross/ torture stake¹⁸⁴ (John 3:35; 14:30, 31; 15:12, 13; Philippians 2:5-11). After resurrection, Jesus made a personal visit to Peter, who earlier disowned him three times. As inferred from the fact that Jesus gave Peter a prominent role in the activity of the disciples afterward, Jesus must have forgiven Peter for denying him (Luke 22:61; Luke 24: 34; 1 Cor. 15:4-8; Acts 2:1-41).

Through these actions of Jesus Christ, such as healing, forgiving and self-sacrificing, Jesus revealed the Divine *agape*, the first dimension of love. Jesus' self-sacrificing death, in particular, removed the Mosaic and Jewish Law, which had separated the Jews (metaphoric Israelites) from the non-Jews (metaphoric non-Israelites). Hence, both Jews and non-Jews could become 'one body to God' by accepting the reconciliation made possible by Jesus' death (Eph 2:11-16; Col 1:20; 2:13, 14). Figuratively, just as the confined God in the Temple of Jerusalem built by King David and Solomon was liberated in the

¹⁸³ According to Douglas (1996)' framework, a leperous body, which is hardly classified as the normal body, was the object of danger and taboo. Therefore, in the Old Testament Times, lepers were quarantined and they had to dwell in outside the camp (Leviticus 13:43-46). Even in Jesus' time, Rabbinic rules stated that no one should come within four cubits (about six feet) of a leper. But if wind was blowing, the leper had to be kept at least 100 (about 150 feet) away (DCJ, 2002:295).

¹⁸⁴ The Greek word rendered "cross" in many modern Bible versions is '*stauros*'. In classical Greek, this word meant an upright stake, or pale. Later it also came to be used for an execution stake having a crosspiece. *The Imperial Bible-Dictionary* (1874) puts it: "The Greek word for cross, '*stauros*', properly signified a *stake*, an upright pole, or piece of paling, on which anything might be hung, or which might be used in impaling [fencing in] a piece of ground. . . . Even amongst the Romans the *crux* (from which the *cross* is derived) appears to have been originally an upright pole." (1874:376).

name of 'Mono-Yawhism' in *Minjung* theology, so the confined or localised God in Judaism was liberated in the name of universalised Christianity by Jesus Christ (Section 3.1.3). The significance of Jesus Christ's death is in the universalisation of God into everybody, not only to the Jews but also to the non-Jews, which leads all people to spiritual unity despite the political and cultural difference:

He might fully **reconcile both peoples in one body to God** through the Cross/torture stake, because he had killed off the enmity by means of himself;... through him to **reconcile again to himself all (other) things** by making peace through the blood (he shed) on the Cross/torture stake, **no matter whether they are the things upon the earth or the things in the heavens.** (Ephesians 2:16; Colossians 1:20)

The unity is based on Jesus Christ's Divine love, *agape*. For the realisation of Jesus' Divine love in the practical life of humankind, Jesus gave two commandments, "love for God and love for neighbour" (Matthew 22:36-40).

Given the self-centred political and cultural Bible reading, in which the Bible readers' love (*eros*) for God for their political and cultural interest, Nygren (1982: 219) regards neighbourly love (the 2nd dimension of love) higher than love for God (the 3rd dimension of love) in the reciprocal relationship between *Eros* and *Agape*. Jesus illustrates the neighbourly love with the parable of the good Samaritan (Luke 10:29-37). Regarding the issue which pertains to a neighbour, Jesus pointed out that a Samaritan was a true neighbour to a robbed and half dead person, in contrast to the priest and the Levite. Regardless of regionalism, blood relationship, or kinship, the oppressed, robbed, and half dead person was no other than the object of love or neighbour to the Samaritan. Figuratively, "friends" or "brothers," which often the former South African president, Nelson Mandela uses as the opening words in national or international public addresses, could pertain to the realm of a neighbour. Although they are not connected by blood relationship, regionalism, and kinship, they can be emotionally connected as neighbours on the plane of *agape*. Afterwards, Paul concretised the neighbourly love in the well-known scripture of 1 Cor. 13:4-8.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁵ "Love is long-suffering and kind; love rejoices with truth; love bears, believes, hopes, and endures all things; love is not jealous; love does not brag, does not get puffed up,

With regard to the third dimension of love, love for God, it is clearly recorded in 1John 5:3: “what **the love of God means, that we observe his commandments**; and yet his commandments are not burdensome” (1John 5:3). Given that Jesus is the model of Christian life, even though human beings do not have the power of Jesus’ healing miracle, they could forgive their enemies.¹⁸⁶ Even though human beings do not perform self-sacrifice, they could love their neighbours according to Paul’s guidance in 1 Cor. 13:4-8. In this sense, the love for God and love for neighbours are not contradictory but harmonious.

Jesus Christ did not totally reject the Hellenistic and Cartesian philosophical logic of reasoning, because he, fundamentally or latently, acknowledged the division between followers of God and non-followers of God, good and evil, God and Satan, and so on.¹⁸⁷ In addition, although ‘the Centre’ was different from the political and cultural Bible readers, who placed it within the political and cultural contexts of their own group or type, Jesus Christ also had ‘the Centre’, which lay in the God’s Kingdom beyond political and cultural contexts. Nonetheless, Jesus Christ apparently counterattacked the one side’s or ‘the self’ centred dichotomous discriminative Cartesian psyche between metaphoric Israelites and non-Israelites by universalising the confined God into all humankind. In addition, Jesus discarded the traditional self-centred discriminative mode of law “eye for eye, tooth for tooth; love your neighbour and hate your enemy” and instead, emphasised the contrary when he said, “whoever slaps you on your **right cheek, turn the other** also to him” and “continue to **love your enemies** and to pray for those persecuting you” (Matthew, 5:38,44). For Jesus Christ, the matter of ‘justice’ was in God’s charge not human beings’, so that the discriminatory and arbitrary political Bible reading in Chapter 3 could not be condoned.¹⁸⁸ On this basis, Jesus clearly gave the **golden rule, the Commandment of love** to disciples and followers of

does not behave indecently, does not look for its own interests, does not become provoked, does not keep account of the injury; does not rejoice over unrighteousness.”

¹⁸⁶ “If your enemy is hungry, feed him; if he is thirsty, give him something to drink”; “continue to love your enemies and to pray for those persecuting you.” (Rom 12:20; Matt. 5:44)

¹⁸⁷ “Wherever anyone does not take you in or listen to your words, on going out of that house . . . shake the dust off your feet.” (Matthew 10:14)

¹⁸⁸ “**Vengeance is mine, and retribution**” (Deuteronomy 32:35; Psalms 94:1; Leviticus 19:18 Romans 12:19; Hebrews 10:30) “Let God take vengeance” (The Contemporary English Version Romans 12:19).

God.

Given that God is not the metaphoric meaning of love but the very personification of love, 'love' can be both the commandment and the goal of human beings.¹⁸⁹ Therefore, the theme of "becoming metaphoric Israelites" on the plane of "questing for sameness" in the political and cultural Bible reading can be diverted into "loving your neighbour" in *Onjeong* Bible reading on the plane of "questing for sameness." It is, of course, differentiated from the 'ethically neutral' postmodern Bible reading on the playful dimension of difference (Aichele, 1995:10-11). Jesus' followers, Christians, believe in God on the existential level not because they want to go to Heaven but because they love God.¹⁹⁰ The Cartesian western logic or psyche based theological ethics on a simple means-end pattern¹⁹¹ does not fit on the soil of love (*agape*) in the existential dimension (Outka, 1972:51).

¹⁸⁹ "God is love" (1 John 4:8).

¹⁹⁰ "As for us, we love, because he first loved us" (1 John 4:19).

¹⁹¹ Doing X for the sake of A such as, 'Unless you love your God and neighbour, you cannot inherit the Kingdom of God', "**Unless** you are (culturally) circumcised, you **cannot** inherit the Kingdom of God;...**Unless** they became culturally westernised, and the Lutheranized, Methodistized, Anglicanized, Roman Catholicized, Prebysterianized, Africans **could not** inherit **one centimeter of the Christian faith**"(Mbiti, 1973:82; Musopole, 1994:32).

6.4. Conclusion

Love is the goal and the essence of *Onjeong* (溫情: human being's warm hearted love) Bible reading. All humankind as *Homo Religiosus* has a dream and the nostalgia for Paradise. Whether they are archaic or modern people, whether they have a traditional indivisible dualistic mind-set or a modern dichotomous discriminative dualistic mind-set, the meaning of their existential life lies in meeting with the sacred, experiencing the *hierophany*. For Christians, whether politically they are colonisers (oppressors) or colonised (oppressed), culturally the first type of the Bible readers or the fourth type of the Bible readers, the Bible reading itself could give the meaning of their lives in that reading the Bible is another form of *hierophany*.

The meaning of life was found in the stream of discrimination in the political Bible reading. In addition, cultural Bible readers localised God within their cultural contexts and found the meaning of life. In the process, the main thread of "questing for sameness" was found in the name of "becoming metaphoric Israelites." Postmodern Bible readers deconstructed the universal and the only True God and then reduced the theme of "becoming metaphoric Israelites" into "playful and multiple dimension of metaphoric Israelites" in the name of individualism devoid of the religious and mystical voice. Nonetheless, they could not enhance the tension of difference into unity. Instead, they directed the stream of difference either into discrimination or into individualism under the strong influence of dichotomous discriminative Cartesian psyche, 'the Self' and 'the Other' or 'no the Self (the Centre)' and 'numerous others (centres)', the camouflaged form of individualism.

Before the arrival of Christianity, traditional religious Koreans and native South Africans, who had the primordial mind of undifferentiation or the indivisible dualism experienced the unity in difference and found their meaning of life through various festivals or rituals (e.g. marriage). In the dynamics of 'Han' (sorrowfulness), 'Jeong' (whole hearted love) and 'laughter', the essence of unity was revealed in the name of *Jeong* and *Ubuntu*, through which different blood groups and tribes were united. As soon as western Christianity came with the imperial or colonial weapon of the Cartesian mind-set, the traditional psyche was disregarded and then the mediator of unification slowly disappeared particularly amongst westernised educated natives. Further, the postmodern weapon of unmythical individualism has lately become so dominant and

influential that any endeavour of “questing for sameness” is not practical.

However, the biblical ethics of love, “love your God and love your neighbour,” which was not genuinely applied in the Korean and South African political and cultural contexts, can be applied in a symbiotic relationship with ‘*Jeong*’ and ‘*Ubuntu*’. Although the nuance and name of love is different depending on each political and cultural context, the essence of love cannot be differentiated from one another but is regarded as one love. Otherwise, it cannot be called love, whose traditional and biblical meaning imply the spirit of unity in which the tension of difference harmoniously thaws.

The biblical concept of love arising from Jesus’ self-sacrificial act, in particular, can universalise the application of the traditional concept of *Jeong* and *Ubuntu* into the realm of all humankind beyond the realm of tribalism, regionalism or nationalism. Therefore, the traditional religious psyche of the indivisible dualism can be a cornerstone in building the spiritual unity amongst different Bible readers by breaking the dichotomous discriminative Cartesian mind-set, whether it is embodied in the stream of inhumane discrimination or unmystical individualism. Dialectically, the traditional concept of *Jeong* and *Ubuntu* can contribute to adding the aspect of human being’s ‘existential’, ‘emotional’, ‘mystical’, ‘affectionate’, ‘not ego-centred’ and ‘communal’ side to the universalised and principled biblical love of *agape*.

In essence, *Onjeong* Bible reading is based on human being’s warm-hearted love, which is not reduced to the Cartesian dichotomous discriminative logic, whether in the stream of ‘inhumane’ discrimination or in the stream of ‘unmystical’ and ‘private (ego-centred)’ individualism. It is characterised by the motto, “loving your neighbour” on the dimension of “questing for sameness” in the symbiotic relationship between the biblical ethics of love (*agape*) and the traditional counter-ethics/ethics of love, *Jeong* and *Ubuntu*.

7. ONJEONG BIBLE READING: TOWARDS UNITY IN THE STREAM OF DIFFERENCE

7.0. Introduction

This chapter discusses one of the possible examples of *Onjeong* Bible reading. It is concretised by religious actions or practices, in accordance with the biblical counsel of James 2:26, “faith without works is dead.” In the Medieval Ages, there existed numerous cases of Church Fathers’ pre-Cartesian biblical interpretations and their monastic religious life. In modern times, there are many Christian denominations, worshipers and their religious practices in the world. Therefore, it is not easy to exemplify the case of one person or one group among numerous cases in the history of Christianity. However, on the basis of Korean and South African political and cultural contexts, this chapter introduces the modern day Bible based religious organisation of Jehovah’s Witnesses (JWs). Among the JWs’ exemplary biblical interpretations and their religious practices, this chapter concretises *Onjeong* Bible reading, which can direct the theme of difference into the stream of unity. It will concretise the essence of *Onjeong* Bible reading, “loving your neighbour,” on the plane of “questing for sameness.” The following points of biblical interpretation and accompanying religious practices of JWs can be the best example to embody the essence of *Onjeong* Bible reading. However, this chapter does not discuss all JWs’ biblical interpretations and religious practices, which may cause another stream of invisible and metaphoric discrimination.

7.1. Korean and South African Jehovah’s Witnesses’ Religious Practices

7.1.1. House to House Preaching

In 1998, the village of Stratton, Ohio, passed an ordinance designed to regulate canvassing and soliciting of its residents at their homes. The ordinance required would-be canvassers to obtain a permit at no cost from the village. The ordinance required canvassers to carry their permits when they go door-to-door and show their identification when asked by either the police or a resident. The ordinance imposed criminal penalties on those who failed to comply... In August 1999, U.S. District Judge Edmund A.

Sargus Jr. ruled that the ordinance validly applied to the Jehovah's Witnesses, who were 'canvassers' who went to homes for the purpose of 'explaining their cause'. (EPIC, 2001)

The main issue of the case is summarised in the following legal points, namely the protection of the right of privacy of Stratton village people¹⁹² versus the protection of the First Amendment, JW's' freedom of speech.¹⁹³ The Supreme Court finally reversed the previous decisions of Six Circuit Court and District Court that were favourable to the side of Stratton village people and finalised the issue on June 17th, 2002.

The ordinance's provisions making it a misdemeanour to engage in door-to-door advocacy without first registering with the mayor and **receiving a permit violate the First Amendment** as it applies to religious proselytising, anonymous political speech, and the distribution of handbills. (Supreme Court, 2002)

This section introduced a legal case not for weighing the right of both parties between the freedom of speech and the right of privacy but for revealing the dominant influence of modern or postmodern spirit of individualism, the Cartesian psyche in the western society. As inferred from the legislation of the ordinance in the Stratton village, under the legal protection of the privacy right, the majority of western people and westernised native people are reluctant to engage in discussion with anonymous people, who visit their houses for the political or religious "cause" without appointment. Given that people's homes are the last fortresses to protect their privacy, 'home visiting' must be informed in advance.

In the South African context, many black Africans have difficulty in finding accommodation in suburbs where conservative white South Africans dominate (Mutume, 1998). One of the major reasons is that black Africans are generally seen as noisy.¹⁹⁴ Some black Africans play loud music without concern for their

¹⁹² "Should soliciators, like the Jehovah's Witnesses, be required to have a government permit before knocking on your door?"

¹⁹³ "Does the Constitution afford them free and anonymous access to your doorstep?"

¹⁹⁴ "It started with groups of students from countries such as Ghana, Zaire and Nigeria who caused havoc in the flats, making a noise and throwing parties. The owners now insist on interviewing every new, prospective tenant"(Mutume, 1998:1). Given that the

neighbours' right of privacy. Due to this, conservative white South African landlords are generally reluctant to rent their houses to black African tenants, even though they are financially secure. In the conservative white South African community, black African's singing and dancing with loud music causes them "an undue annoyance" as if their private space is intimidated by noise. In the Korean context, some westernised elite people denigrate traditional rural people's behaviour. For example, when an 'old' and 'smelly' village woman, who belongs to the age-group of "*Ajumma*,"¹⁹⁵ rushes into the crowded subway and jostles through the passengers, she rarely says, "excuse me". Rather, she just keeps quiet as if nothing has happened. Most young passengers under the influence of the western education generally think that she has no sense of propriety and is unmannered and primitive. As inferred from the phrase of "excuse me", in the western Cartesian philosophical framework, a person who, accidentally or intentionally, breaks into other people's metaphoric private space/territory is required to say, "excuse (forgive/ pardon) me (for the interruption of your territory/space)." Otherwise, s/he becomes an object to cause "an undue annoyance" to others.

Given the influence of the Cartesian psyche as the western self-centred individualism, the right of privacy is crucial, and home, the fortress of privacy, is the most sacred and private place where anonymous people should not intervene. If anonymous people press the doorbell of someone's house in the name of religion, their act itself causes 'undue annoyance'.¹⁹⁶

Counteracting the current dominant trend of postmodern camouflaged individualism, "choose one forget others" (Chapter 5), JWs emphasise the significance of preaching work in their Bible reading. Inferring from 2 Timothy 3: 1-4,¹⁹⁷ JWs reason that people are now living in the last days.¹⁹⁸ JWs believe

expression of '*Ubuntu*' is embodied in a form of 'laughter', namely dance and music, 'the noise' is part of black African's daily life (Section 6.2.2).

¹⁹⁵ 'Woman' and '*Ajumma*' are different in the Korean context. *Ajumma* indicates a married woman who has little sense of manner, etiquette or shame, particularly for the protection of her family members' wellbeing. They generally uphold the traditional religious psyche of primordial undifferentiation.

¹⁹⁶ "There can be little doubt that the governmental interests the Village seeks to promote – protecting its residents from fraud and **undue annoyance in their homes**—are sufficiently significant" (Six Circuit, 2001).

¹⁹⁷ "In the last days...for men will be lovers of themselves (individualism), lovers of money (materialism/capitalism), self-assuming...not open to any agreement (postmodernism)...lovers of pleasure rather than lovers of God."

that Jehovah God through Christ will come to destroy undeserved people at any time while people are busy with their daily lives activities (Knowledge, 1995).¹⁹⁹ Therefore, it is very important to JWs to inform people of the advent of God's Kingdom, the metaphoric new Noah's ark in modern times. It is the critical time for people to move to the new ark. For instance, if someone did not do something despite seeing a child walking toward the edge of a precipice, s/he would be considered blood guilty.²⁰⁰ On this basis, from JWs' viewpoint, 'preaching work' is compared to 'life-saving work'.

During his ministry on earth, Jesus Christ preached and taught about God's Kingdom ('let thy Kingdom come') not about an earthly government, such as the Roman Empire and so on (Luke 8:1). In the account recorded at Matthew

¹⁹⁸ The last days are evident in JW theology, given some important events related to God's Kingdom.

1. Jehovah announces his purpose to produce a "seed" that would crush the head of the Serpent, Satan the Devil (Genesis 3:15).
2. In 1943 B.C.E., Jehovah indicates that this "seed" would be a human descendant of Abraham (Genesis 12:1-3, 7; 22:18).
3. The Law covenant given to Israel in 1513 B.C.E. provides "a shadow of the good things to come" (Ex. 24:6-8; Hebrews 10:1).
4. The earthly kingdom of Israel commences in 1117 B.C.E., and it continues later in the line of David. (1 Samuel 11:1; 2 Samuel 7:8, 16).
5. Jerusalem is destroyed in 607 B.C.E., and "the appointed times of the nations" begin (2 King 25:8-10, 25, 26; Luke 21:24).
6. In 29 C.E. Jesus is anointed as King-Designate and proceeds with his earthly ministry (Matthew 3:16, 17; 4:17; 21:9-11).
7. In 33 C.E., Jesus ascends to heaven, there to wait at God's right hand until his rule begins (Acts 5:30, 31; Hebrews 10:12, 13).
8. Jesus is enthroned in the heavenly Kingdom in 1914 C.E. as "the appointed times of the nations" end. (Revelation 11:15)
9. Satan and his demons are cast down to the vicinity of the earth and bring increased woe to mankind (Revelation 12:9-12).
10. Jesus oversees the worldwide preaching of the good news of God's Kingdom (Matthew 24:14; 28:19, 20) (Knowledge, 1995:94)

¹⁹⁹ Although nobody knows that day and hour, neither the angels of the heavens nor the son, but only the Father, the signs of the last days exists (Matt. 24:36, 34). In Noah's time, people were doing their own business such as eating, drinking, marrying until the day that Noah entered into the ark. People took no note about the warning of the flood. Eventually, the flood swept them away. In the same way, Jesus Christ will come in last days and sweep undeserved people away (Matt. 24:37-39).

²⁰⁰ "In case you build a new house, you must also make a parapet for your roof, that you may not place bloodguilt upon your house because someone falling might fall from it" (De. 22:8).

4:1, 8-10 and 2 Corinthians 4:4,²⁰¹ when Satan the god of this system of things tempted Jesus by offering him all the governments/kingdoms in the world, Jesus replied, “go away, Satan!” In another instance, when Pilate questioned Jesus, “your own nation and the chief priests delivered you up to me, what did you do?” Jesus answered, “**my kingdom is no part of this world.** If my kingdom were part of this world, my attendants would have fought that I should not be delivered up to the Jews” (John 18:35-36). In short, during Jesus’ earthly ministry, he taught his disciples that God’s kingdom would come and it would put an end to Satan’s rulership over the world (Rev. 20: 3; John 12:31).

Due to the fact that preaching and teaching about God’s kingdom was crucial, Jesus, after resurrection, ordered his disciples to do preaching work of God’s kingdom. He emphasised the importance of the preaching work in relation to the end of the world.²⁰² In fact, Jesus provided a model for preaching God’s Kingdom while journeying ‘from city to city’ and ‘from village to village’. He sent his disciples to every city and place in pairs giving them authority over the unclean spirits and the disciples reported back to Jesus all the things they had done and taught (Luke 8:1; Mark 6:7,30; Luke 10:1). Following Jesus’ model, the Apostle Paul preached daily in the market place and defended the ministry.²⁰³

Similarly, both Korean and South African JWs preach the news of God’s Kingdom everywhere on a daily basis following the preaching model of Jesus and the early Christians.²⁰⁴ Even if JWs caused ‘unduly annoyance’ to residents who have the self-centred Cartesian psyche of individualism, JWs, to the

²⁰¹ Satan said to Jesus: “All these things I will give you if you fall down and do an act of worship to me.” Then Jesus said to him: “Go away, Satan! For it is written, ‘It is Jehovah you God you must worship, ...’”

²⁰² “Go therefore and make disciples of people of all the nations, baptizing them...”; “This good new of the Kingdom will be preached in all the inhabited earth for a witness to all the nations; and then the end will come” (Matt. 28:19,20; 24:14).

²⁰³ “I did not hold **back from telling you any of the things that were profitable nor from teaching you publicly from house to house.** But I thoroughly bore witness both to Jews and to Greeks about repentance toward God and faith in the Lord Jesus” (Acts. 17:17; 20:18,20,21).

²⁰⁴ In 2003, JWs spent about fifty million hours in the preaching work (36,502,112 hours in Korea and 14,821,464 hours in South Africa) (Yearbook, 2004: 31-42). It comes to an average of 8 hours a week per person in Korea and 4 hours a week per person in South Africa, excluding 5 hours spent on attending the 5 regular weekly meetings—Public talk, Watchtower study, Book study, Theocratic Ministry school, and Service meetings.

contrary, pressed their doorbells in imitation of Jesus and the early Christians to accomplish their ministry.

For conservative white South Africans who do not want to be disturbed by black Africans' loud music and for young Koreans who are irritated by *Ajumma's* 'brave' act of jostling in the subway, they need to realize that loud music and jostling can philosophically be the cornerstone in breaking into the encapsulated impersonal western individualism. As discussed in the example of the traditional marriage in Section 6.2.1, Korean *Sinbanyeotbogi* (wedding participants' peeping into the bride's room) revealed the self-centred private life in public in the name of *Jeong*. Similarly, African 'music' and 'laughter' which are major cultural elements of African marriage practices united different tribes in the name of *Ubuntu*. These harmonizing Korean and African elements of love can play a catalytic role in the unity of difference. In a nutshell, JW's practice of visiting door to door in the name of "God's Kingdom" can be compared to Korean *Ajumma's* 'jostling' and African's loud 'music' that can **destroy the wall of individualism**.

Jesus Christ is our peace, he who made the two parties one and **destroyed the wall in between that fenced them off. (Eph 2:14)**

Contrary to the postmodern apologetics, "choose one forget others" in Chapter 5, JW's choose one and then "quest for sameness" toward "becoming metaphoric Israelites" in the name of the new Noah's ark, God's Kingdom. Nonetheless, their essence of "becoming metaphoric Israelites" is no other than "loving your neighbours." This is because, the theme of "becoming metaphoric Israelites" is not governed by the dominant dichotomous discriminative political ideologies (Section 7.1.2). That is, the new Noah's ark is not built on the visible mountain in the political context but in God's Kingdom beyond the political context. Hence, JW's "questing for sameness" is far from political interests such as racism, classism, sexism, tribalism, nationalism and imperialism, which direct the theme of difference into the stream of 'discrimination' on the dimension of "questing for sameness." (Chapters 3 and 4) Rather, JW's "questing for sameness" is related to religious interest. Accordingly, they internationally universalise their preaching activities by visiting their neighbours.²⁰⁵ They

²⁰⁵ JW's regard everybody as neighbour. This includes different political groups and cultural types of people discussed in this thesis from the oppressor to the oppressed, the

voluntarily help neighbours to understand the Bible. They neither receive any service fee with regard to preaching or teaching the Bible nor is there a priest class that receives a monthly salary. All preaching and teaching activities, inside or outside the Kingdom Hall,²⁰⁶ are solely dependent upon their voluntary service.

As discussed in Section 6.3, the love for God means the observance of His commandments. Further, faith without **action** is dead (James 2:17; 18:26). Therefore, JWs endeavour to observe the commandment of preaching not only by faith but also by action as an extension of “loving your neighbour” on the dimension of “quest for sameness” from the centre of God’s Kingdom.

Within the framework of Cartesian reasoning, any modern JW might know that it is impossible to preach, teach and baptize all neighbours (Awake, 2002:12).²⁰⁷ Further, s/he might know that the existence of the imposition of the grand narrative of “loving your neighbour” itself could also implicitly reveal another dimension of discrimination or violence (Proclaimers, 1993:69).²⁰⁸ However, to any *homo religiosus*, what is important is not in the statistical possibility of universalisation or realization of the God’s Kingdom but in the confessional religious experiences and action itself by which s/he could sustain to exist, dream, believe, and eventually love. Within the framework of *Jeong*, *Ubuntu* and *agape*, *homo religiosus* is not accustomed to the Cartesian means-end pattern of reasoning but just experience *hierophany* and do religious practices where body, heart and mind become unseparated and where Cartesian logic is not applied. Likewise, JWs also endeavour to follow Jesus’ model of love by performing religious practices, namely doing preaching activities to all neighbours.

first to the fourth type of the Bible readers, the elite to the grassroots, the Cartesian minded people to primordial minded people and so on.

²⁰⁶ JWs’ places of worship are called Kingdom Halls.

²⁰⁷ “Not all will receive you in a kindly way. But Jesus gave this practical advice: ‘Wherever anyone does not take you in or listen to your words, on going out of that house . . . shake the dust off your feet.’ (Matthew 10:14) In other words, you don’t have to take the rejection personally. Simply leave peacefully and look for someone more willing to listen” (Awake, 2002:12).

²⁰⁸ “To expose this clergy-inspired pressure, on March 15, 1918, the Watch Tower Society released the tract *Kingdom News* No. 1...The tract pulled no punches in pointing to the clergy, who were described as ‘a bigoted class of men who have systematically endeavored to prevent the people from understanding the Bible and to throttle all Bible teaching unless it comes through them.’ What a hard-hitting message!”

Postmodern Christians may first think of the impracticality and absurdity of preaching to all neighbours and further they may reason that the ambition to preach to all neighbours is another form of invisible and metaphoric violence arising from the imposition of the meta-narrative. As a result, they would rather “choose one and forget others” (Chapter 5). However, for JWs, even though they may also reason that they could cause ‘undue annoyance’ to neighbours whilst they approach them from house to house, they are firstly prompted to act in the direction of their inner *Onjeong* voice arising from their ‘body’ and ‘heart’ instead of ‘mind’.²⁰⁹ Therefore, they preach everywhere to anybody by expanding the realm of *hierophany* to all *homo religiosus* in the motto of “loving your neighbour.” Further, JWs perform religious practices and do religious action in a form of self-sacrifice whilst observing God’s Commandments with all their ‘heart’ and ‘body’.²⁰⁹ This aspect will be further discussed in the following section of JWs’ religious practice of political neutrality.

Just like various Bible readers in Chapters 3 and 4, JWs clearly “quest for sameness” toward “becoming metaphoric Israelites” (the new Noah’s ark in God’s Kingdom beyond the political context). Nonetheless, contrary to various political and cultural Bible readers who were governed by the dominant discriminative political ideology, JWs have not succumbed to the dominant discriminative political ideology as well as to the dominant postmodern spirit of individualism. In short, JWs’ “quest for sameness” of “becoming metaphoric Israelites” is in the direction of “loving your neighbour.” On this ground, the theme of difference neither diverts to the stream of discrimination nor to the stream of encapsulated self-centred individualism, instead it flows to the stream of unity.

²⁰⁹ As discussed in Chapter 6, *Homo Sapiens* in modern day is accustomed to mind-reasoning first. However, any *homo religiosus* believes, dreams, and experiences first. Thereby, s/he finds the reason of his/her existence. Religious men’s religious practices are mainly based on their mysterious religious experiences of *hierophany* arising from their ‘body’ and ‘heart’ instead of ‘mind’. It is ‘body’ and ‘heart’ where the essence of *Onjeong* is embodied to *homo religiosus*.

7.1.2. Political Neutrality

The definition of JW's political neutrality is as follows:

The position of those who do not take sides with or give support to either of two or more contending parties. It is a fact of ancient and modern-day history that in every nation and under all circumstances true Christians have endeavored to maintain complete neutrality as to conflicts between factions of the world. They do not interfere with what others do about sharing in patriotic ceremonies, serving in the armed forces, joining a political party, running for a political office, or voting. But they themselves worship only Jehovah, the God of the Bible: they have dedicated their lives unreservedly to him and give their full support to his Kingdom. (Reasoning book, 1989:269-70)

In the Korean political context, during the period of Japanese Imperialism (1910-1945), all Koreans including Japanese were coerced to worship the Japanese emperor at Shinto shrines in the late 1930s. Since the 1910s, a small number of JW's both in Korea and in Japan had been printing and translating work for JW's Society. In the meantime, Korean JW's were faced with the pressure of worshipping the Japanese emperor. JW's refused to worship at the Shinto shrine and for that reason, they were imprisoned and some of them died whilst in prison.²¹⁰ Even in Japan, members of the *Todaisha* (燈臺社: "Lighthouse Association", as the local organisation of JW's was then called) were arrested and imprisoned because of their uncompromising attitude toward Japanese Imperialism. They refused to worship the emperor or support Japan's militarism, although few of them succumbed to the pressure.²¹¹ Likewise, Dohi, in his book entitled "*Understanding of Japanese Christian History*"(1993), also

²¹⁰ 38 JW's refused to worship at the Shinto Shrine in 1939. For that reason, they were imprisoned and 5 of the 38 imprisoned died faithful while in prison. (Yearbook, 1988:137-97)

²¹¹ On June 21, 1939, 130 members of the *Todaisha* were arrested and imprisoned. 30 of them apostatised under pressure and rest of them remained faithful. One of the faithful JW's, Matsue, testifies, "most of those from before the war who excelled in ability and intellect left God's organization when subjected to great pressure... those who remained faithful had no special abilities and were inconspicuous"(Yearbook, 1998:68-73).

attested that JW's testimony in Japanese Court was praise-worthy in that JW's, as one of model Christians, did not bend their faith in God despite great pressures.

Similarly, during the Korean War (1950-1953), No Pyeong-il, as a JW testified for religious reasons why he had to refuse to go to the People's Volunteer Army of North Korea despite the death sentence.

“He was put with a number of other young men who had been rounded up. They were questioned, one by one. Those who were unable to satisfy their interrogators (soldiers of North Korean army) were taken aside and shot.” No Pyeong-il declared, “I can serve only God's Kingdom. At Armageddon both sides in this political struggle will be destroyed by God, and I do not wish to be on either side. I cannot violate God's law for any man-made law contrary to his. I am not afraid to die because I believe in the resurrection.”(Yearbook, 1988)

After the war, the North and South Korean government authorities constitutionalised a clause of obligatory military service for every adult male. Accordingly, liability of military service still remains as one of the most important legal obligations in Korea. As their members did before, JW's still decline to go to military service in South Korea.²¹²

Likewise, in the South African political context, white male adults were imposed on the obligatory military service during some period of Apartheid (1950-1989) (Hodges, 1982:12). In 1972, every young white male of JW's, who refused to undergo military training, was invariably sentenced.²¹³ Later, as Hodges (1982) reports, in *Jehovah's Witnesses in Africa: Minority Right Group Report No. 29(1982:12)*, “in January 1982, 66 JW's were sentenced to three years imprisonment each for refusing conscription.”

The point is that the JW's did not succumb to the power of dominant

²¹² One of the Korean nationwide broadcasting companies, MBC, even broadcasted on the issue of JW's conscientious rejection of military services several times in 2002.

²¹³ In 1972, the young white male JW's were invariably sentenced to 90 days' detention in the barracks. They were locked up there in their underwear because they refused to put on military uniforms. However, before the ninety-day sentence was up, they would again be asked to don the uniform and, if they refused, they would be given another sentence of 90 days. In the meantime of this vicious circle, JW's were sentenced to detention barracks for one year in the end (Yearbook, 1976:236).

dichotomous discriminative political ideologies, whether in the Korean or South African political contexts. By rejecting militarism and military services, JWs maintained political neutrality. They were differentiated from other Korean and South African political Bible readers, who participated in the stream of 'discrimination' or 'radical separation' on the dimension of "questing for sameness." (Chapter 3)

As inferred from Machiavelli's (1469-1527) classical book of politics entitled "*Il Principe (The Prince)*(1988)", an individual's moral code of conduct in the private sphere is barely applied in the public sphere of politics. Killing the neighbour/enemy is generally bad according to the individual moral conduct but it can be good on the national dimension in the name of 'Holy War' or 'nationalism'. Therefore, Machiavelli asserts that politicians could have seized power by hook or crook if only the unity of thousands of principality could be realised in Italy. In short, what is good for the nation does not have to be always good for individuals. The logic, which originated in the classical politics, has also been applied to the Korean and South African political Bible reading (Chapter 3). Although the majority of Korean and South African Bible readers were acquainted with the Commandment of Jesus, "love your neighbour and love your enemy", the application of love was limited to the realm of individuals (the self: individualism), families (familism), tribes (tribalism), villages (regionalism) or nations (nationalism). It was not expanded universally to the global or international level. In fact, given the strong influence of the dichotomous discriminative political ideologies, Jesus' Commandment of "loving your neighbour" was nullified at the national level (Chapter 2 and 3).

As discussed in Chapter 3, political Bible readers in Korea and South Africa justified their imperialism, colonialism, and discrimination by interpreting various biblical texts. With regard to the issue of JWs' political neutrality, the biblical texts of Romans 13:1 and Titus 3:1 (subjection to the government's authority) in particular is worthy of note. This is because these biblical texts are still frequently used for supporting government policy (e.g. obligatory military service, participating in wars) in many Korean and South African churches, just as Japanese imperialists did for their militarism (Section 3.1.1).

For JWs, they highly regard government authority²¹⁴ as inferred from Romans 13:1 and Titus 3:1, as long as it is not contradictory to God's

²¹⁴ "Caesar's things to Caesar, but God's things to God" (Rom. 13:7; Luke 20:21-25; Mark 12:17).

commandments. Adopting from Acts 5:29,²¹⁵ JW's opt to obey God's law rather than man's law. One of JW's' elders during one of the Sunday Bible symposiums, which was held in 2004, Rondebosch, Cape Town, South Africa, exemplified this issue of conflict between God's law and man's law.

Shiphrah, a Hebrew woman, rejected Pharaoh's law, which legitimated the clause, "every newborn baby should be put to death. (Exodus 1:15-20) Owing to her brave act, baby Moses' life was preserved. In addition, despite the threat and order from the Jewish high court with regard to teaching about Jesus Christ, Peter and other apostles did not stop preaching and teaching, but continued to witness about Jesus' resurrection to people. (Acts 5:28, 29; 4:18-20)

Furthermore, JW's highlight Jesus as the role model to show political neutrality. Citing the Bible text of John 17:16 which says, "they are no part of the world, just as **I (Jesus) am no part of the world,**" JW's explain that Jesus did not belong to any worldly government since the government (kingdom) he represented was no part of this world. They believe Jesus could not belong to any man-made government and would not take part in any political activity such as any government military activity and rulership because all governments in the world belong to Satan (Jas. 4:4; 1John 5:19; John 14:30; Matt. 4:1, 8-10; 2Cor. 4:4).

JW's further stress the issue of political neutrality by using the Bible text of John 18:36 which states, "(Jesus told the Roman governor): if my kingdom were part of this world, my attendants would have fought that I should not be delivered up to the Jews." On the basis of this text, Jesus' disciples did not resist his arrest led by the Roman soldiers accompanied by Jews. JW's further infer that Jesus disciples heeded Jesus' commandment of "love your neighbour and enemies" and therefore sought peace rather than drew a sword or waged war.²¹⁶ In addition, they assert that it is only God who has the right to wage wars and not any human being.²¹⁷

²¹⁵ "We must obey God as ruler rather than man."

²¹⁶ Luke 6:27, 28; 1 Peter 3:11; Matt. 26:52 "those who take the sword will perish by the sword."

²¹⁷ 2 Cor. 10:3,4; "**Vengeance is mine**, and retribution" (De. 32:35; Ps 94:1; Le 19:18 Rom. 12:19; Heb. 10:30), "Let God take vengeance" (The Contemporary English Version Rom. 12:19)

In short, for Jews, 'political neutrality' is one of the outstanding commandments of God as an extension of the Commandment, "loving your neighbour and enemy." Therefore, for them, obeying God's commandment is their prime most religious practice despite any violation of man-made government's law.²¹⁵ Even if the dichotomous discriminative political ideologies, consciously or unconsciously, forced them to kill the neighbour or the enemy in the name of Machavellism, nationalism, and the justice of Holy war, they would rather violate the government's law in the name of "loving your neighbour and enemy." Thus they reject military service and do not participate in any national or liberation political movement. On the other hand, they willingly obey and submit to any punishment from the local government authority such as imprisonment²¹⁸ for the sake of upholding God's commandments. They embody the spirit of peace recorded at Isaiah 2:2-4.

It must occur in the final part of the days...they will have to beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning shears. Nation will not lift up sword against nation, neither will they learn war anymore.

By upholding the practice of 'political neutrality', Jews differentiate themselves from Korean and South African imperialists, colonialists, nationalists and liberationists, who led the theme of difference into discrimination (Chapter 3). In addition, they play a key role in diverting the stream of discrimination, in which political and cultural Bible readers "quested for sameness" toward "becoming metaphoric Israelites" by disregarding enemy or neighbours, into the stream of unity embracing the enemy or neighbour by maintaining 'political neutrality' from the centre of God's kingdom.

²¹⁸ In Korea, the law on "conscientious objectors of military service" is currently changed, so that 3 years imprisonment is reduced to 18 months imprisonment.

7.2. Conclusion

This chapter introduced the Korean and South African JW's biblical interpretation and their religious practices, namely 'house to house preaching' and 'political neutrality' as an endeavour to find an example of *Onjeong* Bible reading in modern times. Although it may not be perfectly harmonious to the ideal *Onjeong* Bible reading based on *Onjeong* (human being's warm hearted love) for God and neighbour, these two religious practices can be the model of *Onjeong* Bible reading. Given the significance of the meaning of *Onjeong*, it is worthy to note that *Onjeong* Bible readers cannot be regarded as an unmythical, and disenchanting 'functional citizen' but as a mystical and religious 'existential believer' (*Homo Religiosus*) (Section 2.5).

In the history of political, cultural and postmodern Bible reading in Korea and South Africa, the Bible readers generally subjected themselves to the spirit (dominant ideology) of the world, which characterised either "dichotomous discriminative political ideologies" or "camouflaged postmodern form of individualism." Therefore, they lost their religious, enchanted, pious and mystical voices, by subjecting themselves to the spirit of the world and instead they became secularised functional citizens. On this ground, the endeavour to build the civil society seemed practical to the realisation of the civil society in the public sphere or in the political realm by regarding a religious man as a functional citizen (Section 2.5).

However, as inferred from JW's religious practice of 'political neutrality', *Onjeong* Bible readers did not participate in the stream of discrimination, in which the spirit of the world was characterised by 'racism', 'sexism', 'classism', 'nationalism', 'imperialism', 'colonialism', 'liberation movement', 'regionalism', and 'tribalism'. Furthermore, as inferred from the religious practice of the JW's, namely house-to-house preaching, *Onjeong* Bible readers did not participate in the stream of 'camouflaged postmodern form of individualism' in which the spirit of the world is characterised by 'plurality', 'diversity' and 'individualism' on the playful dimension of difference, "choose one forget others."

Whereas political and cultural Bible readers directed the stream of difference into 'discrimination' or 'radical separation' in the process of "questing for sameness" toward "becoming metaphoric Israelites" in the political realm under the strong influence of dichotomous discriminative ideology, *Onjeong* Bible readers postmodernistically maintained the political neutrality under the

motto of “loving your neighbour” despite the pressure of the discriminative political ideology. In addition, whereas postmodern Bible readers are satisfied by celebrating differences in the religious and cultural realm, *Onjeong* Bible readers modernistically “quest for sameness” by approaching other people from house to house in the name of “loving your neighbour” from the centre of God’s Kingdom despite the pressure of the camouflaged spirit of individualism.

Onjeong Bible readers are walking toward the narrow gate.²¹⁹ Contrary to the political, cultural, and postmodern Bible readers, *Onjeong* Bible readers neither direct the theme of difference into discrimination nor into individualism. They have maintained ‘political neutrality’ under the motto of “loving your neighbour” in the political realm and have continued to do preaching work in the cultural and religious realm. Furthermore, whilst performing these two religious practices, they have not lost their ‘enchanted’, ‘pious’, ‘mystic’, and ‘religious’ voices, by not subjecting themselves to the dominant political, cultural or postmodern ideology/spirit of the world. On this ground, under the motto of “loving your neighbour,” *Onjeong* Bible readers search for ‘unity in difference’ not only in the public (political) sphere but also in the private (religious) sphere on the dimension of “questing for sameness.”

Onjeong Bible readers experience *hierophany* by directing the theme of difference into the stream of unity, and not either into the stream of discrimination or into the stream of individualism. In Jesus’ final commandment after resurrection, as an extension of “love for God and love for your neighbour,” he stated:

Go therefore and make disciples of people of all the nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all the things I have commanded you. And look! **I am with you all the days** until the conclusion of the system of things. (Matt. 28:19-20)

Jesus promised his disciples that he (the sacred) would be with them (the profane), who observe the commandment of ‘love’. For *Onjeong* Bible readers, the meaning of their lives is affirmed by meeting the sacred (Jesus) while doing the preaching work, namely observing the commandment of Jesus to love God

²¹⁹ “Go in through the narrow gate;... whereas narrow is the gate and cramped the road leading off into life, and few are the ones finding it” (Matt. 7:13-14).

and neighbour. In the process, the smile²²⁰ naturally arises from *Onjeong* Bible reader's heart, the last phase of the *Onjeong* ethics in the dynamics of *Han* (sorrowfulness), *Jeong* (whole hearted love) and laughter (Section 6.2.1).

University of Cape Town

²²⁰ Interestingly, many people on the street observe that most JW's preach about God's Kingdom with a **smile** on their face.

8. CONCLUSION: UNITY IN DIFFERENCE IN ONJEONG BIBLE READING

This study searched for “unity in difference” in *Onjeong* (human being's warm-hearted love) Bible reading on the basis of Korean and South African political and cultural context.

Firstly, this thesis diverted the premise of the classical modernistic biblical hermeneutics, “the Bible as text” into “the Bible as scripture” and redefined biblical hermeneutics as:

Biblical hermeneutics: Interpretation of the Bible on the basis of diverse political and cultural contexts of Bible readers. It contains grassroots' general understanding of the Bible as 'scripture' and historical and critical interpretation of the Bible as 'text', which is based on theologians' scholastic biblical insight.

Thus, this study includes many marginalised or grassroots Bible readers' hermeneutical voices, in addition to various religious studies scholars', anthropologists', theologians' and biblical scholars' hermeneutical voices. Secondly, it points out the methodological limitation. This study juxtaposed both sides of biblical hermeneutics and compared each one on the basis of Korean and South African political and cultural contexts from the historical viewpoint after the European Christianity was introduced to the native indigenous religious contexts. Both sides of biblical hermeneutics in Korea and South Africa cannot be the same, namely, the nuance is different depending on each side's historical, political and cultural context. Nonetheless, to achieve the goal of this study on the basis of human beings' ontological concern amongst individuals, Eliade's unnuanced homology was generally used.

In Chapter 2, this thesis introduced various theories on 'difference' from various backgrounds, such as historians, mythologists, anthropologists and religious studies scholars. Firstly, the theme of difference was directed to the stream of discrimination in the political realm. Secondly, the tension of difference could melt on the dimension of “questing for sameness” in the cultural or religious dimension. Thirdly, the tension of difference became the object of entertainment on the playful postmodern dimension of difference. Given that the endeavour to find unity in difference was theoretically neglected,

this thesis introduced a new framework by linking academic insights from Eliade's phenomenology to Korean and African traditional ethics of *Jeong* and *Ubuntu*.

In Chapters 3, 4 and 5, following the discussion of the theoretical framework in Chapter 2, Korean and South African political, cultural and postmodern Bible reading was discussed. In Chapter 3, the theme of difference was directed to the stream of 'discrimination' or 'radical separation' in Korean and South African political Bible reading. Each group of political Bible readers, such as Japanese imperialists, Korean nationalists, Korean masses (*Minjung*), Afrikaners, and native black South Africans, identified themselves as metaphoric Israelites, who inevitably regarded non-metaphoric Israelites as 'enemies'. Accordingly, the tension of difference dissolved in the name of "becoming metaphoric Israelites" by the principle of discrimination.

In Chapter 4, the tension of difference could thaw on the dimension of "questing for sameness" in Korean and South African cultural Bible reading. In the dialectical and reverse-dialectical movement on the dimension of "questing for sameness," each type of the Bible readers²²¹ "quested for sameness" in the direction toward 'becoming Christians (metaphoric Israelites)'. However, under the strong influence of dichotomous discriminative Cartesian psyche, which was deeply permeated in the Bible text and under the pressure of the discriminative political ideology, cultural Bible readers could not avoid the violence of the imposition of the grand narrative of "becoming metaphoric Israelites" as well. In particular, the third type of the Bible readers inevitably disregarded African traditional religious ethos (the element of metaphoric non-Israelites), such as orality, the primordial mind of undifferentiation. Furthermore, the fourth type of the Bible readers did not recognise the violence of the imposition of the grand

²²¹ Firstly, westernised native Bible readers (Korean conservative cultural Bible readers, South African *amakholwa*) who stuck to the westernised Christian beliefs and practices with the dichotomous discriminative Cartesian psyche; secondly, traditional religious context based Bible readers (Korean Methodist church members, South African Ethiopian Church members and modern Xhosa speaking Christians) who stuck to the westernised Christian belief but continued their traditional religious practices; thirdly, liberal mode of Bible readers (Korean inculturated theologians and African theologians) who "quested for sameness" between 'Christian belief' and 'Indigenous belief and practices'; lastly, contextualised indigenous Bible readers (Unification church members and Zionists and Nazarites) who completely contextualised Christian belief in the realm of 'indigenous belief and practices' with the primordial mind of 'indivisible dualism' or 'undifferentiation'.

narrative under the pressure of the dominant political ideology.

In Chapter 5, the tension of difference became the object of celebration in postmodern Bible reading. Once the imposition of the grand narrative of “becoming metaphoric Israelites” was deconstructed, there existed no more the Centre with margins but many centres. However, this thesis pointed out that postmodern Bible reading could not avoid the imposition of the Cartesian psyche and it further revealed the ‘camouflaged’, ‘unmystical’, ‘unreligious’ form of western individualism.

In Chapter 6, the golden mean for the unity in difference, which neither directs the theme of difference into the stream of discrimination nor into the stream of ‘unmystical’ and ‘unreligious’ form of individualism, was found in the name of “loving your neighbour” on the dimension of “questing for sameness.” Eliade’s *Homo Religiosus* plays a catalytic role in reversing the stream of ‘disenchanted’, ‘unreligious’ form of individualism, by confirming that Bible readers are originally existential believers who have the religious, enchanted, pious dream of ‘experiencing the *hierophany*’. From the centre of traditional religious psyche, namely, the primordial mind of undifferentiation or indivisible dualism, African and Korean ethics/counter-ethics of *Ubuntu* and *Jeong* lay a foundation for unity in difference and they could be enhanced by the biblical ethics of love (*agape*). Hence, the essence of *Onjeong* Bible reading was revealed.

Onjeong Bible reading is based on human being’s warm-hearted love, which is not reduced to the Cartesian dichotomous discriminative logic, whether in the stream of ‘inhumane’ discrimination or in the stream of ‘unmystical’ and ‘private (ego-centred)’ individualism. It is characterised by the motto, “loving your neighbour” on the dimension of “questing for sameness” in the symbiotic relationship between the biblical ethics of love (*agape*) and the traditional counter-ethics/ethics of love, *Jeong* and *Ubuntu*.

In Chapter 7, by introducing Korean and South African Jews’ religious practice of ‘house to house preaching’ and ‘political neutrality’, this thesis emphasised that the ideal model of *Onjeong* Bible reading can be realised in practice in modern times.

If researchers adhered to the western Cartesian epistemology, the idealistic solution to the issue of difference, whose tension was directed toward

discrimination, could only be found on the postmodern playful and deconstructive ground of Bible reading. If researchers viewed the Bible readers as 'functional citizen' and '*Homo Sapience*', who regarded the unequivocal human reason, logic and mind, rather than the inexplicable, mystical, human emotion, religious experiences and heart, the violence of the imposition of the meta-narrative of "becoming metaphoric Israelites" could only be deconstructed by the postmodern solution of the Bible reading, "choose one, forget others" or "there is no longer one group or type of chosen metaphoric Israelites, there are many Israelites." To avoid falling into the fallacy of reductionism, the modernistic Christian apologetics needs to be deconstructed in the plural and playful dimension of difference. Thus, Smith's major attack on Eliade is nothing other than the 'reductionism' of Eliade's framework. The existing modern academics are in general satisfied with Smith's postmodern solution to the tension of difference in the name of "plurality", "diversity" and "individualism", in that their researches are mainly based on the Cartesian mind or the western logic centred academic and functional approaches.

However, this study attacks the presupposition of modern academics, which represents the Bible readers as '*Homo Sapience*' and 'functional citizen', because it ignores the Bible readers' existential hermeneutical voices arising from their 'religiosity', 'mysticism' and 'pietism'. Further, the postmodern solution to the issue of difference reflects nothing other than the twist narrative of discrimination. If researchers viewed the Bible readers as '*Homo Religiosus*' and 'existential believer', the theme of difference, whose tension was directed into the stream of the 'inhumane discrimination' or the 'unmystical ego-centred individualism', could be directed into the stream of unity.

In the cosmic principle of love, *Onjeong* biblical hermeneutics demonstrates that Bible reading should not only be based on human reason, but also on human feeling and emotion. Moreover, the principle of love should be embodied in 'action', namely, 'religious practices'. Within the episteme of the Cartesian psyche, the Bible readers of JWs definitely would fall into the fallacy of reductionism in the name of Christian apologetics and the Christian modernistic violence of universalisation, in that their goal is eventually to proselytise neighbours and enemies. However, within the episteme of *Onjeong*, the Cartesian logic of 'means-end pattern' ¹⁹¹ does not match the explanation of the existential Bible readers' religious action of "love your neighbour and enemies." *Onjeong* Bible readers love their God, meet the sacred, and read the

Bible without losing their hermeneutical voice of religiosity, mysticism and pietism, therefore they concretise the Commandment of Jesus by their religious practices (action).

Destroying the wall: Go therefore and make disciples of people of all the nations, baptizing them... I am with you all the days until the conclusion of the system of things. (Eph. 2:14; Matt. 28:19-20)

Beyond the academic scope, *Onjeong* Bible reading, which is based on the warm-hearted love of human beings, is significant for both Korean and South African Bible reading. Firstly, given the pending issue of unification of North and South Korea, *Onjeong* Bible reading can play a catalytic role in harmonizing North and South Korean Bible readers. Secondly, given the gradual phasing out of racial and cultural discrepancies amongst South African Bible readers, *Onjeong* Bible reading can contribute to dissolving the tension of the different Bible readers. Lastly, given the academic-socio-cultural discrepancy between the elite Bible readers and ordinary Bible readers, *Onjeong* Bible reading can provide an effective tool of reading the Bible for both sides to be communicable.

God, lovingly “makes his sun rise upon wicked people and good and makes it rain upon righteous people and unrighteous” (Matt. 5:43-45; Acts 14:16, 17). Jesus gave the commandment, “love your neighbour and love your enemy” (Luke 10:27). The Apostle Paul expresses his hope, “there is going to be a resurrection of both the righteous and unrighteous” (Acts 24:15). On the existential level, “loving your neighbour” is the only one possible golden rule and religious practice which can embody *Onjeong* for all existential believers (the Bible readers), given that the matter of ‘justice’ is in God’s hand.²¹⁷ Regardless of various groups or types of different Bible readers in political, cultural and postmodern biblical hermeneutics in Korean and South African contexts, ‘*Onjeong*’ is a universal principle for the realisation of “unity in difference” in Bible reading. It is far from the influence of the spirit of the world, whether it is ‘discrimination’ or ‘camouflaged and unmystical form of individualism’.

**“For he (Jesus Christ) is our peace, he who made the two parties one and destroyed the wall
in between that fenced them off”
(Eph 2:14)**

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