*Idolatry, Ideology and Nationalism:*

*A Korean Millenarian Sect and the State*

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**The Empire of Mount Sion**

Each year when I lectured on Korean history to our department’s students and students from other departments at the University of Sheffield, it was inevitable that at least one student would comment on the extreme nationalism of the English-language Korean history textbooks which formed part of the reading list for the module. The majority of Korean history textbooks in use or currently available today are written by Korean nationals and reflect the intellectual perspective of a certain generation of scholars.[[1]](#footnote-1) Nationalism has been one of the key concepts for interpreting historical events and movements, particularly in the analysis of the twentieth-century history of Korea. I have commented in earlier articles that this focus on nationalism has skewed our understanding of what was happening in religious groups during the Japanese colonial period, particularly Christian groups which took a stand against participation in state rituals held at Shintō shrines. [[2]](#footnote-2) The work of Kenneth Wells, on the other hand, should remind us that political movements even of a strongly nationalist slant may have strong religious biases or be based on the implementation of religious beliefs.[[3]](#footnote-3)

One Christian group in particular has been subject to considerable misunderstanding, the *Sion-san cheguk* or the Empire of Mount Sion movement which emerged in the late 1930s.[[4]](#footnote-4) Variously seen as a Christian revolutionary group, a Christian nationalist movement, or the first of the Christian-based new religious movements which have come to typify new religions in post-Korean War Korea,[[5]](#footnote-5) the Empire of Mount Sion has been seen to be principally a political movement, ignoring the essentially religious character of the group. In this paper, I will argue that groups such as the Empire of Mount Sion movement have to be understood primarily in terms of their religious beliefs and motivations. The fact that the activities of such groups have a political dimension or a political effect does not mean that their principal motivation for acting was a political or nationalist one.

**Anthropological Views of Millenarian Groups**

The Empire of Mount Sion movement, before its transformation into a Presbyterian denomination after the Pacific War, was a millenarian movement which proclaimed the imminent arrival of the archangels Michael and Gabriel, the defeat of Japan, and the creation of Christ’s one-thousand year kingdom. It was essentially pacifistic, waiting for divine intervention, rather than conducting revolutionary activity which would usher in the millennial kingdom. During the last half of the twentieth century a rich literature on millenarian groups in non-Western societies developed. These groups were typically violent, revolutionary, anti-Western and anti-colonial in character and frequently had no clear association with Christianity. The *Sion-san cheguk* movement is significantly different from many of the movements discussed in the anthropological literature in that it was pacifistic, non-revolutionary and not anti-Western, although it was anti-colonial.

To understand what makes the Empire of Mount Sion different from the other groups described by anthropologists, ethnographers and sociologists, one needs to recall that church historians have referred to *pre-millennial* millenarian groups and *post-millennial* millenarian groups.[[6]](#footnote-6) Pre-millennial groups, typical of the first three to four centuries of Christianity, anticipated divine intervention to create the millennial kingdom and were essentially pacifistic in outlook and activity. Post-millennial groups, characteristic of movements during the Reformation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, believed that direct action was required by the followers of the movement to bring about the reign of Christ, and were essentially violent and revolutionary in outlook. Because non-Western, religiously based political movements described by twentieth century anthropologists were like the post-millennial movements of the Reformation, anthropological scholars have called them millenarian movements.[[7]](#footnote-7) This not only ignores the difference between pre- and post-millennialism, but it also implies that millenarianism refers exclusively to movements which are essentially violent, revolutionary, and political.[[8]](#footnote-8) The *Sion-san cheguk* movement has none of these characteristics because it is a modern-day example of a pre-millennial movement.

**Shintō Shrine Worship and Colonial Policy**

As part of its policy in the mid to late 1930s to create uniformity within the Japanese empire, the Japanese colonial government of Korea, the Government-General of Chōsen, pursued a policy of enforcing attendance at state Shintō rituals as acts of national patriotism by imperial subjects. For nationalistic reasons, attendance at Shintō rites was offensive to Koreans, but doubly so for Korean Christians because the rites were seen not to be simply memorial rites, but religious ones, and therefore idolatrous because worship was being offered up to deities other than God Himself. Significant numbers of Christians refused to participate in these rites, and possibly as many 50 persons who refused to do so may have died as a result of incarceration and torture by the colonial authorities. In a previous study, I have shown that these martyrs did what they did primarily because of religious motives, even in those cases where the martyr may have been an active nationalist working for Korean independence.[[9]](#footnote-9)

**The *Sion-san cheguk* Movement and Japanese Nationalism**

The Empire of Mount Sion movement started with the charismatic experiences of Pak Tonggi (朴東基, 1907–1991), a Presbyterian evangelist working during the 1930s and 1940s in the remote rural areas to the east of Taegu. In 1926, Pak left his home village of Surak in Ch’ŏngsong County (靑松郡) to attend the Bible training institute in Taegu, which was run by missionaries belonging to the Northern Presbyterian Mission, USA. American Protestantism, particularly the Presbyterian denominations, had been significantly influenced by Dispensationalism,[[10]](#footnote-10) a form of pre-millenarianism, and many of the Presbyterian missionaries in Korea had been trained at Princeton Theological Seminary, which under John Gresham Machen (1881–1937) and others had been at the forefront of promoting pre-millenarian belief. In their theology, pre-millenarian expectations were linked with a literalistic interpretation of the Bible, and a belief in the inerrancy of the biblical text *in toto*,[[11]](#footnote-11) beliefs which became characteristic of Pak Tonggi in his later work. In January 1928, Pak had the first of several charismatic experiences in which he saw a hand writing on the wall all the sins which he had committed up to that point, and then a vision of Christ on the Cross on another wall. He referred to this experience as the *sipcha yŏnggwang* (十字榮光, ‘Glory of the Cross’). The first part of this charismatic experience Pak associated with the record in the Book of Daniel (Daniel 5:5–28) in which the Babylonian king Belshazzar (died 539 BC) received an ominous warning given by a mysterious hand writing his fate on the wall of his palace.[[12]](#footnote-12) Pak would have understood this two-fold vision to be both a warning and a sign of God’s grace. It also provided the stimulus for his later evangelistic work and clearly coloured his understanding of the political events going on around him.

Pak Tonggi began working as a local evangelist in churches in the rural areas to the east and north of the city of Taegu in 1934, shortly afterwards moving to P’ohang where he was formally given the title of *chŏndo-sa*, or evangelist, by the local Presbyterian church.[[13]](#footnote-13) It was at this time that the Japanese authorities began to put pressure on Koreans to participate in Shintō rituals, and Pak, given his strong theological views, began to take part in the anti-Shrine worship movement which was developing at that time. The core issue for Pak and the others was idolatry, the violation of the first three of the Ten Commandments which forbid the worship of any gods but God Himself. Like many others who participated in this movement, Pak was interrogated by the police (for a period of 18 days) and was sent back to his home village. Once home, Pak Tonggi continued his local evangelistic activities and became well known both as a preacher, and as a leader of daybreak prayer services which attracted crowds of people from far and wide. In his work, he continued to denounce participation in or attendance at shrine rituals as being participation in idolatrous practices.[[14]](#footnote-14)

His work changed dramatically when he had his second great charismatic experience on 29 November, 1940. At this point Japan had been engaged in war on the Chinese mainland for at least three years, and was expanding its military activities throughout Southeast Asia. Pak’s vision, received in the study of the minister’s manse in To-dong close to his home village of Surak, was a complex revelation of God’s intervention in history, and the destruction of evil. Pak saw this vision as parallel to the second chapter of the Book of Joel in the Old Testament, and interpreted it to mean that Japan would be defeated through divine intervention. Later he spoke of the coming of the archangels Michael and Gabriel, but these became metaphors for the United States and the United Kingdom which were the agents for God in creating the millennial kingdom.[[15]](#footnote-15)

For approximately two years, from January 1941 to December 1942, Pak worked as an evangelist in Ŭisŏng, even more strongly opposing Shrine worship, for which he was again sent back to his home village. Then, in October, 1943, he created the *Sion-san cheguk kongdong-ch’e ponpu* (시온山共同體本部, Headquarters of the Community of the Empire of Mount Sion), commanding his followers to destroy any Shintō ritual objects which they had along with any images of the Japanese emperor Hirohito. He also announced the creation of a cabinet to govern the world under its new dispensation, including the creation of a governor-general to rule Japan. It is important to note that even though Pak went so far as to destroy Shintō objects and to set up a framework for the government of the millennial kingdom, neither he nor any of his followers participated in any violent or revolutionary activity in order to usher in the new age. That was to be the work of the divinely appointed agents of God.[[16]](#footnote-16)

It is interesting to examine the name chosen for the group. *Sion-san* refers to Mount Zion, located in Jerusalem, the City of David viewed as the heart of the Promised Land, the fountainhead of belief in the one and only God. *Cheguk*, empire, is a clear comparative reference to the Japanese Empire. Thus the group formed as a result of Pak Tonggi’s vision was a new empire, not formed by human politics as was Japan’s empire, but founded on the Word and Law of God. It was also an explicit rejection of the alleged divine nature of the Japanese Empire, which to Pak and his followers in its very claims would have been seen to be idolatrous. Consequently, the name of this group succinctly encapsulates the key issue for Pak’s followers: idolatry. The Empire of Mount Sion was not essentially a political or nationalist movement but a theological and religious one.

**The Sion-san Presbyterian Church and Korean Nationalism**

On 20 June, 1945, Pak Tonggi and thirty-three of his followers were incarcerated and tortured by the Japanese police for apocalyptic talk tending to undermine belief in Japan’s ultimate victory in the war with the allied forces. They were released on 17 August, two days after Japan’s surrender.[[17]](#footnote-17)

Shortly thereafter, on 20 August, 1945, Pak announced the creation of a new denomination, the *Sion-san Yesu-gyo changno-hoe* (Sion-san Presbyterian Church).[[18]](#footnote-18) Examination of this name, which is the name by which the group still is known, reveals the continued emphasis on millenarian and eschatological beliefs. The Presbyterian Church which was re-established in Korea after the end of the Pacific War was styled *Han’guk Yesu-gyo changno-hoe* (literally, the Korean Christianity Presbyterian Church).[[19]](#footnote-19) This title places the name of the state, *Han’guk*, forthrightly at the beginning of the formal name of the denomination, indicating an element of nationalism. The denomination formed by Pak Tonggi, however, uses the name of the millennial kingdom in its title, *Sion-san* or Mount Zion, indicating their expectation of the imminent coming of Christ’s kingdom, and their religious and psychological separation from the powers of this world. Although this group held strong millenarian views, it had the moral support of the most senior Presbyterian missionary in North Kyŏngsang Province, Edward Adams (1895–1965) who visited the group on 13 November, 1946 and continued to give them moral support.[[20]](#footnote-20) Latterly, when they held a service of dedication for a new church building in Kyŏngju in 1987, the bulletin stated ten characteristic features of the church, the first of which was that it was maintaining the orthodox Christian faith as it had been transmitted to them by the first generation of missionaries.[[21]](#footnote-21) Thus, Sion-san Presbyterian Church was seen to be, and perceived themselves to be, orthodox Christians who had maintained “the true faith” in spite of suffering and hardship.

For religious reasons this group came to reject the establishment of the Republic of Korea. The new state was seen as an idolatrous political entity because the Yin-Yang (Kor. *Ŭmyang*), which was the symbol of the state and appeared prominently on the national flag was understood to be an idolatrous symbol. This view led the group to take four actions: 1) the refusal to place their names on the national register of citizens; 2) the printing of registration cards showing that instead they were citizens of Heaven; 3) the refusal to send their children to state schools; and 4) the refusal to allow their sons to be conscripted into the ROK Army. In the Cold War climate of the latter half of the twentieth century, these actions led to suspicion by both the police and government authorities that the Sion-san Presbyterian Church was in fact some sort of crypto-communist movement. As a consequence, the leadership of the church was incarcerated, interrogated and tortured for the next twenty years.

Before the onset of the Korean War (1950–1953), three crucial events came to shape the history of the new denomination. First of all was the emergence of institutional structures showing a move away from the charismatic leadership typical of the early years of the *Sion-san cheguk* movement. Seventeen elders and one minister were ordained in 1947 and 1948 to lead the church, but Pak Tonggi was not ordained as a minister at this time because he lacked formal clerical theological training. His lieutenant Hwang Yuha, who had been trained at the Presbyterian seminary in P’yŏngyang, was ordained instead. The deep divisions between the charismatic and institutional features of the movement/church emerged at this time.

The new church was weakened by two incidents, the Nudity Incident of 1948 and the South Taegu Police Station Incident of 1950. In the first instance, on 5 December, 1948 a group of followers removed their clothing in the mistaken belief that when they would meet the returning Messiah they could not do so wearing the clothes of this world.[[22]](#footnote-22) This led to the expulsion of 82 members of the movement and a lasting negative view of the group amongst the general public.[[23]](#footnote-23) The second incident was the arrest and interrogation of Pak Tonggi and three of his lieutenants by the police at the South Taegu Police Station. They were held for a period of two weeks and were released on 17 January, 1950, just before the onset of the Korean War. The leaders of the church were released because under intense interrogation they had conceded that their view on the Yin-Yang symbols was wrong. Because Pak Tonggi was seen to have been “defeated,” the first formal split in the church occurred when one of Pak’s lieutenants and a group of his followers left the movement and began meeting on their own.[[24]](#footnote-24) Thus in the period just before the Korean War, the Sion-san Church was suspected by the police and political authorities of being a secret communist group, had a negative image amongst the general populace for moral reasons, and had experienced a formal split in its leadership.

For twenty years after the end of hostilities on the Korean peninsula in 1953, Pak Tonggi and his associates continued to be suspected of having communist sympathies and were arrested and intensively interrogated by the police on numerous occasions. During the 1960s, some of the leaders of the church tried on several occasions to contact the President of the Republic of Korea, Pak Chŏnghŭi (朴正熙, 1917–1979), to explain their theological position. These actions were called *chŏndo* or evangelism, but had no positive effect.[[25]](#footnote-25) Consequently, Pak Tonggi’s sons decided that they would keep their father out of jail by attending state schools and by being conscripted into the South Korean army. One son, Pak Kŏnhan (born 1947), went even further by joining the police force. He used his position in the police to examine the documents on his father’s arrests and interrogations, and subsequently to explain to the authorities why his father’s views were not communist or political, but essentially religious. When Pak Kŏnhan left the police in 1974 his father’s name had been cleared of any association with communism, and for the final two decades of his life Pak Tonggi was able to pursue his life’s work without any interference from the South Korean state.[[26]](#footnote-26) However, his father’s strong religious views had a continued impact on the life of his family. One son initially was prevented from going to the United States for post-graduate study and as a result has ceased to be a Christian believer.[[27]](#footnote-27) Likewise, Pak’s youngest daughter, now a committed Christian, said that for a long time she could not accept Christian belief if it meant the kind of continued suffering which her father had experienced.[[28]](#footnote-28) The suffering and problems faced by Pak Tonggi’s family is not unique but is mirrored by the histories of many of the families of the membership of the Sion-san Presbyterian Church.

**Millenarianism as Politics and Religious Belief**

The *Sion-san Yesu-gyo changno-hoe* still exists as a separate denomination, with a single church in Kyŏngju under the leadership of Pak Tonggi’s fourth son, Pak Kŏnhan. The history of the denomination since the 1960s has been one of a certain growth in numbers, the building of places of worship, followed by a series of splits in the leadership leading to the decamping of significant numbers of followers to other conservative Presbyterian groups.[[29]](#footnote-29) I have discussed these developments in the institutional character of the church elsewhere, and they do not form our principal concern here.[[30]](#footnote-30) Rather, our concern is with the issue of whether millenarian groups such as the Sion-san Presbyterian Church are essentially political movements or religious ones.

At the beginning of this article, I discussed the commonly held view amongst anthropologists, sociologists and ethnographers that non-Western, religiously-based political movements were essentially violent, revolutionary, anti-Western, and anti-colonial in character. Called variously millenarian movements, millenarian cults or other terms, such groups were seen to be typical of millenarianism as a whole, and to be essentially political movements with interesting religious aspects. This indiscriminate use of the term millenarianism to describe such movements ignores both the Judaeo-Christian roots of the term, and the fact that religious beliefs may be the chief motivation for actions which in turn may have a political effect. That is, some of the millenarian groups described by social scientists may be essentially religious and not political movements.

This is clearly the case of the Sion-san Presbyterian Church, which does not fit the general pattern described by anthropologists. The movement was neither violent nor revolutionary, although its actions during the Japanese colonial era were certainly anti-colonial in effect. However, the movement was not anti-Western in that its theology derived from the teachings of Western missionaries with whom Pak Tonggi and his followers kept in close contact. If the theological views of the *Sion-san cheguk* movement in the colonial era clashed with Japanese nationalism over the issue of Shintō shrines, these same views which were held by the members of the Sion-san Presbyterian Church clashed with Korean nationalism in the refusal to be associated with a state which used symbols seen to be idolatrous. Thus, the principal motivation for the followers of Pak Tonggi was not Korean nationalism in the colonial period, or anti-capitalism (i.e., communism) in the era of a liberated Korea. Rather, in both periods it was the strong desire to avoid any action which was idolatrous or which would appear to condone idolatry. The fact that the religious motivations of the members of the Sion-san movement/church had political ramifications does not mean that Pak’s followers were involved in a political movement.

In the broader perspective of anthropological studies, when researching millenarian movements it is important first to determine the core values of the group in order to understand the motivations of the actors in a movement. Were these values religious, or political? Secondly, analysis of such millenarian groups should also consider the difference between pre- and post-millennial beliefs. Pre-millennial thought inclines believers towards a pacifist waiting for divine forces to usher in the new age, whereas post-millennial thought encourages the believer to be involved in violent activity which will bring in the millennial kingdom. The primary reason for the character, sufferings and problems of the Sion-san movement/church throughout its history was the expectation of the imminent arrival of Christ. The movement was essentially a conservative, pre-millenarian group which was quietly waiting for the Lord and his angels. Suffering was accepted as part of the waiting for the Lord.

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1. Examples would be Woo-keun Han, *The History of Korea* (Seoul: Eul-yoo, 1970); Wanne J. Joe, *Traditional Korea, A Cultural History* (Seoul: Chung’ang UP, 1972); Djun Kil Kim, *A History of Korea* (Westport, Conn. and London: Greenwood, 2005); Pow-key Sohn, et al, *The History of Korea* (Seoul: UNESCO, 1970); and Ki-baek Yi, *A New History of Korea* (Seoul: Ilchokak, 1984). Exceptions to this in English are William E. Henthorn, *A History of Korea* (New York and London: Free Press/Collier Macmillan, 1971) and Roger Tennant, *A History of Korea* (London: Kegan Paul, 1996). [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. James H. Grayson, “The Shintō Shrine Conflict and Protestant Martyrs in Korea, 1938–1945,” *Missiology: An International Review*, v. 29 (2001), no. 3, pp. 287-305. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Kenneth M. Wells, *New God, New Nation: Protestants and Self-Reconstruction Nationalism in Korea, 1896-1937* (Honolulu: Hawai’i UP, c.1990). [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. I conducted field work and textual research on the Sion-san Presbyterian Church during the spring of 2010. I interviewed older members of the church, and extensively interviewed the current leader of the group, the Revd. Pak Kŏnhan, as well as some of the members of his extended family. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. See for example Chŏng Chungho et al, *Ilche malgi Yŏngnam chiyŏk Kidokkyo-in hang-Il undong* [The Christian Anti-Japanese Movement in the Yŏngnam Region at the End of the Japanese Colonial Period] (Taegu: Taewŏn kihoek ch’ulpan-sa, 2008) and Yi Manyŏl, *Han’guk kidokkyo-wa minjok t’ongil undong* [Christianity and Movements for National Unification] (Seoul: Han’guk kidokkyo yŏksa yŏn’gu-so, 2001). [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church: Second Edition* (London: Oxford UP, 1974), p. 916. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Typical works of this type are Michael Adas, *Prophets of Rebellion: Millenarian Protest Movements against the European Colonial Order* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979); Kenelm Burridge, *New Heaven, New Earth: A Study of Millenarian Activities* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1969); Bryan R. Wilson, *Magic and the Millennium: A Sociological Study of Religious Movements of Protest Among Tribal and Third World Peoples* (London: Heinemann, 1973); and Peter Worsley, *The Trumpet Shall Sound: A Study of ‘Cargo’ Cults in Melanesia* (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1957). The interesting point about these works is the extent to which they use Christian theological terminology without being aware (seemingly) with the way in which these terms have been used by theologians and church historians. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Indeed, Bryan Wilson bizarrely wants to detach the use of the term “millenarianism” from its historical association with Christianity and Judaism so that it cAN become a more general term. I prefer a term such as “crisis cult” to describe both the twentieth-century groups which anthropologists describe and the historic Jewish and Christian groups. See Wilson, op.cit., pp. 4 and 28. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Grayson, “The Shintō Shrine Conflict,” op.cit. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Keith Crim, ed., *Abingdon Dictionary of Living Religions* (Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 1982), p. 224. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. For a history of millenarian thought in American Protestant theology, see Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930* (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1970), Chapter 2. For a discussion of the role of Princeton Theological Seminary in the promotion of these ideas, see Chapter 5. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Chŏng Chungho et al, op. cit., p. 36. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Ibid., pp. 36–38. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Ibid., pp. 38–40. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Ibid., pp. 44–89. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Chŏng Unhun, *Sion-san Yesu-gyo changno kyohoe-sa* [History of the Sion-san Presbyterian Church], (Hayang: Sion-san Yesu-gyo changono-hoe sŏn’gyo-bu, 1997), p. 118. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. During the final years of the Japanese colonial administration, the various Korean Protestant denominations were formally merged with their Japanese equivalents, and then these denominations were all merged into a single Japanese Protestant church. See James H. Grayson, *Korea: A Religious History, Revised Edition* (RoutledgeCurzon, 2002), pp. 161-162. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Chŏng Unhun, op. cit., p. 205. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. T’ak Ki’il, ed., *Saryo Han’gug-ŭi sinhŭng chonggyo* [Resources for Korean New Religions] (Seoul: Hyŏndae chonggyo, 2009), p. 294. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. The encounter of Christian believers with the returning Messiah is called the Rapture and is based upon the phrase in the Latin translation of St. Paul’s “First Letter to the Thessalonians” (Chapter 4, verse 17) *simul rapiemur* (“we shall be caught up together”). See Keith Crim, ed., *Abingdon Dictionary of Living Religions* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1981), p. 600. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Chŏng Unhun, op. cit., pp. 150–152. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Ibid, pp. 158–162. Field notes of an interview with Pak Kŏnhan on 27 April 2010, items 3 and 4. Hereinafter, quotes from field notes will be identified as FN followed by the date and the item(s) indicated. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Chŏng Unhun, op. cit., pp. 205–209. See especially p. 209. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. FN 27 April, 2010, item 5; FN 11 May, 2010, items 3 and 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. FN 11 May, 2010, item 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. FN, 25 June, 2010, items 1 and 2, interview with Pak Yuhŭi, Pak Tonggi’s youngest child and daughter. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. FN 6 April, 2010, items 11 and 12; FN 27 April, 2010, items 12, 14, and 15. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. See “The Empire of Mt. Sion: A Korean Millenarian Group Born in a Time of Crisis,” forthcoming in *Transaction: The International Journal of Holistic Mission Studies*, v. 28 (2010), no. 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)