Theology Update

The Lutheran Church and Lutheran Theology in Korea[1]

By Hans Schwarz

Abstract: Lutheranism came to Korea with the American military chaplaincy of The Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod in conjunction with the Korean War. The initial aim of these chaplains was to help the Koreans to improve their living conditions and to further their acquaintance with the Christian message. The main proponent of Lutheranism was Won Yong Ji, who for many years held a dual appointment at Concordia Seminary in St. Louis, Missouri, and at the Luther Seminary in Korea. His brother, Won-Sang Ji, was the first president of the Lutheran Church in Korea. Though the church has fewer than fifty congregations—most Protestant Christians are Presbyterians—its theological influence is significant.

Key Terms: Won Yong Ji, Maynard Dorow, Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod, Lutheran Church in Korea, Luther Study Institute

Early Seeds

"In 1984 the Roman Catholic Church in Korea observed its bicentennial. The Baptism of a 27-year-old Korean in February 1784, a well-educated person of royal descent named Lee Seung-Hoon, marked the birth of the Korean Catholic Church."[2] The history of Protestantism in Korea is of more recent vintage. The first Protestant missionary to put his feet on Korean soil was Karl Friedrich August Gützlaff (1803–1851).[3] He had travelled to Bangkok in 1828 and, journeying along the Chinese coast, stopped on some of the islands off the western coast of Korea in July 1832. There he stayed for a month and used the opportunity to converse with the people and local officials. He also distributed presents, among them Bibles and Protestant literature in the Chinese language. Through the help of a military officer he also gave some of these presents to the king. Yet after negotiations over several days, these presents were refused. In August 1832 Gützlaff left Korea without having noticed rudiments or even interest in the Christian faith. This was not surprising, since the early history of the Korean Catholic Church was also a story of persecution and martyrdom: "By 1870 it was estimated that two Korean priests, seven

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missionaries and about 8,000 laypeople had been martyred."[4] The situation changed when Korea finally opened its doors to the outside world in the 1870s and 1880s.

The Rise of Christianity

Korea had been a "forbidden land," and no foreigner was permitted to enter the country. In 1866, Rev. Robert J. Thomas, a Scotsman, had spent two and a half months in the Hwang-Hae Province before joining a trading vessel to sail up the Tai-Tong River to a point below the city of Pyong-Yang. There the boat stranded. After futile negotiations with the local Koreans, the people set fire to the ship and massacred Thomas and the sailors. Thomas was connected with the National Bible Society of Scotland and carried with him a supply of Bibles written in English and Chinese, which he had distributed to the people along the banks on his way up the river. He carried an armful of Bibles with him as he jumped into the water from the burning boat and before dying tossed some of them to the mob. Thomas was the first Protestant martyr in Korea and in later years inspired many Koreans to follow his footsteps.

Serious Protestant mission to Korea began in 1884 when the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions in the United States appointed Rev. John W. Heron (1856–90) and Horace N. Allen (1858–1932) as medical missionaries to Korea. In an attempted coup in the same year, scores of counselors to the king were murdered, and the queen's nephew, Prince Min Yong-Ik, was critically wounded. In their desperation the royal couple summoned Allen, a physician, for help. For three months Allen struggled to save the prince's life and finally succeeded. A failure would have meant the end of his work in Korea and perhaps also the end of his life. But the grateful king immediately appointed Allen as physician to the royal court and allowed him to open a hospital in Seoul sponsored by the government. This "House of Extended Grace" was later named Severance Union Medical School, and together with Chosun Christian College, later called Yonhi College, became present-day Yonsei University, one of the premier universities in Korea. As Won Yong Ji relates, "this occasion was more or less the first official approval by the Korean government of missionary work in Korea."[5]

Horace Allen was followed in 1885 by resident clergy missionaries Horace G. Underwood (1859–1916), a Presbyterian, and Henry G. Appenzeller (1858–1902), a Methodist. Underwood taught physics and chemistry at the hospital established by Allen, and together with Appenzeller and others had translated the New Testament in Korean by 1900 and the Old Testament ten years later. He also was the co-founder of the YMCA in Seoul and became the first president of Chosun Christian College.

The progress of mission work since then has been amazing. Instead of depending on foreign aid, the national churches quickly became self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating. The Christian ethic along Calvinistic and pietistic lines was conducive to the native Confucian spirituality. Moreover, Christianity promoted a respectable status for women, and through the royal favor there was a support for the West and its teachings.

Syngman Rhee

Instructive here is the biography of Syngman Rhee (1875–1965), the first president of Korea.[6] He was the son of a Confucian father and a grandson of the king.[7] To improve his English he attended in 1895 the *Bae Jae Hadang*, a high school founded by Henry Appenzeller. While studying there he became acquainted with the Protestant faith and Christian educational ideas. Especially appealing to him was the idea that all people are equal regardless of the stratum of society to which they belong. Rhee was so enamored of this Christian conviction that he decided to cut off his hair, which was tied into a knot, or *Sang Tu*, as was customary for men at that time. Korean men believed that if they cut off their *Sang Tu* they lost their dignity and their faith in Confucianism. But in the presence of his father and a close friend, an American missionary, Rhee cut off his *Sang Tu,* which he had worn for thirty years.

While he had not yet joined a Christian church, he started to read Christian literature eagerly. Though Rhee came from a high-class family, social classes were unimportant to him, and when he became president both men and women were allowed to vote in elections.

Rhee was imprisoned in 1897 because of his resistance against the Japanese hegemony, and his frequent prayers helped him to maintain an inner peace during his six-year imprisonment. This solitary time also enabled him to deepen his faith, and he became a Methodist. When he was released from prison he went to the United States to obtain help from President Theodore Roosevelt in gaining Korean independence from Japan. His attempts were futile, however, because the U.S. wanted to cooperate with Japan. Rhee pursued graduate studies in America and eventually obtained a doctoral degree in political science from Princeton University. The university had waived the fees for his studies, and Princeton Seminary arranged for him to receive free room and board on the promise that he would return to Korea and spread the gospel.

In 1910 Rhee returned to his native country, which by this time had been annexed by the Japanese. He stayed at the YMCA in Seoul, where he also taught and worked as a Methodist missionary. In 1919 a group of independence leaders elected him in absentia as president of the provisional government of the Republic of Korea. The provisional government was subsequently located in Shanghai, and Rhee continued to lead the independence movement mostly from the United States, where he was best known. From 1924 onward Rhee's relations with his colleagues in the provisional government became increasingly strained, in no small part because he "was totally unsympathetic with any approach except his own."[8] This was a thoroughgoing mark of his life: although a Christian, Rhee was extremely authoritarian, even to the point of being brutal. Nevertheless he was convinced that his "whole life [was] dedicated to the realization of freedom and democracy."[9]

After Japanese rule ended in Korea, Rhee returned to Seoul, where the Korean people celebrated his return like that of a hero.[10] Since he was backed by the United States, he was appointed head of the Korean government in 1945. He was subsequently re-elected several times, but finally had to resign in 1960 because his autocratic dictatorship had not only vehemently resisted Communism, but had also quenched all political opposition.[11] For Rhee, Confucian obedience to superiors and Christian obedience to God belonged together. Though a problematic person, Rhee truly was dedicated to the Christian faith. In 1948 he made Christmas a public holiday, though at that time Korea had few Christians; and he annually gave a Christmas address to the Korean people.

The Korean War had made a difference for the people with regard to religion. Even common citizens recognized the religious aspects of the conflict. American forces were regularly accompanied by chaplains, and many openly participated in worship. American soldiers seemed naturally drawn to civic action projects and charitable causes. The Communist forces, however, took pride in denouncing such acts, publicly persecuting missionaries and degrading houses of worship. Of course, not all American soldiers led saintly lives, but many of them made concerted efforts to impress Koreans with what they considered important. Therefore President Rhee consulted two American missionaries, Methodist William E. Shaw and Roman Catholic George M. Carroll, attached to the Eighth Army as auxiliary chaplains, on how to establish a Korean military chaplaincy. Rhee's goal was to bring the Korean military closer to Christianity and in this way show more clearly its difference from the Communist forces. Today there are Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Buddhist chaplains in the military forces. Rhee also opened the prisons for Christian pastors and decided that Christian music should be broadcast through radio programs. Korea seemed to be ripe for embracing the Christian faith on a larger scale.

South Korea Today

Today South Korea has the largest congregations in the world, with the Full Gospel Church

(Assemblies of God) in Seoul alone comprising a reported 750,000 members. It also has some ten thousand missionaries all over the world. Committed, self-sacrificing Christians attend church each Sunday morning, Sunday evening, and Wednesday evening, as well as attending daily early dawn prayer meetings and other special worship gatherings. Nearly 30 percent of the population is Christian (10.9 percent Roman Catholic and 18.3 percent Protestant). Of the Protestants, 60 percent are Presbyterians in the tradition of Calvin, and 25 percent follow the tradition of John Wesley. Christianity's influence through universities, media, and educational efforts is considerable. Next to scores of Christian universities, there are only two Buddhist universities in the country. Moreover on top of each church steeple there is a white neon cross. This means at night there are crosses all over a city, leading one to think one is in a totally Christian country.

But the increase of Christians among the population is slowing down considerably, and recently the church has come under severe criticism. There are scandals, financial and otherwise, and there is the matter of divisions within denominations. According to a 2009 survey, there are 395 Protestant denominations, and the Presbyterians alone are divided into one hundred groups. This also is evidenced in the number of Protestant seminaries, which numbered more than one hundred until the government closed many that were not officially licensed. Perhaps Christianity grew too fast to provide coherence and a consistently positive image to the outside. As in many parts of the world, the Korean churches are exhibiting more charismatic tendencies, characterized by speaking in tongues and prayer healings. While in seminary classrooms Calvinism is still taught, the reality in the congregations shows a different picture. But where are the Lutherans in all this?

The Beginnings of a Lutheran Church

Though Karl Gützlaff was the first Lutheran missionary to set foot on Korean soil—and a stone monument at Wonsan Island still attests to that—the modern history of Lutheranism in Korea starts with Won Yong Ji (approx. 1924), or "Mr. Luther," as he is often called. As a young displaced person in South Korea, a refugee from the Communist-occupied North, he received a scholarship from a United States Air Force Unit stationed at Kimpo Air Base near Seoul to study in the U.S. Though initially supported by a military chaplain of the Church of Christ, through a Missouri Synod family he drew closer to the Lutheran church. After obtaining a college degree in California he was accepted at Concordia Seminary in St. Louis, and in 1951 he officially joined the Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod (LCMS).

During the Korean War (1950–53) seventy Lutheran chaplains served in Korea, 34 of them from the LCMS alone. These chaplains and the Lutheran servicemen provided a strong mission impetus for the Lutherans back home. They urged Lutheran Christians at home to do something for Korea, and at the Houston Convention in 1953 the LCMS resolved "that permission be granted to the Board for Mission in Foreign Countries to begin mission work in Korea when time and opportunity for that undertaking are at hand."[12] Before that, Lutheran funds and relief materials were sent to Korea through Lutheran World Relief and administered by Church World Service in Korea to help the country by assisting children in orphanages, maintaining tuberculosis treatment programs and clinics, and providing clothing and medicine to poor people. The executive secretary of the Board for Foreign Mission reported in 1957 that,

> . . . no other Lutheran body seems inclined to undertake work in Korea in the proximate future. . . . The Government of the Republic of Korea is friendly to any effort we might make along the line of establishing our Church in Korea. . . . Discussions with leaders of other church bodies working in Korea have also assured us of a cordial welcome. . . . In addition to the American staff, Mr. Won Young Ji is to serve from the outset as a leader in establishing the Korean Lutheran Church on an indigenous basis.[13]

With this positive report the synod's Board of Directors approved entry into Korea at its April

meeting in 1957. The following year three American missionaries—L. Paul Bartling, Maynard W. Dorow, and Kurt E. Voss—and their families, plus Won Young Ji and his family, arrived in Korea, and the Lutheran mission work could get started. Since Christianity had been firmly established in Korea before the Lutherans arrived, the Lutheran church never became large. Yet it reaches a widely diversified audience and its impact is much larger than its membership would suggest.

Lutherans and the Media

One year after the arrival of the missionaries an agreement was reached between the Christian Broadcasting System in Korea and the Korea Lutheran Hour, stating that its program could be sent daily in the evening throughout the country and beyond. Listeners to the radio program were invited to request Christian Correspondence Course materials presenting the basic teachings of the Christian faith. In 1996 it had 740,000 registered enrollees.[14] The Lutherans were also the first Christian denomination to use the television network. Since there were not enough programs for television, in 1965 the Korea Lutheran Hour started an annual "training institute for Christian authors." Moreover, there was a shortage of items to show on television and the Lutherans gladly filled the gap with films and programs they thought appropriate. In 1959 the publishing house *Concordia Sa* was founded to publish and disseminate all kinds of educational and theological materials, from Bible study materials to periodicals—and the twelve volumes of *Luther's Collected Works*, a project funded by the Lutheran Church of Bavaria. Though the Board for World Missions expected that soon congregations would be founded that emphasized the Lutheran confessional teachings, the U.S. missionaries in Korea did not want to be accused of sheep stealing and proceeded rather slowly, emphasizing more mass media and also Christian education. For the missionaries it was more important to impact society through spiritual and social programs than to build a church.

Finally in 1959 Immanuel Lutheran Church was founded, followed in 1963 by St. John's. In 1987 there were twenty Lutheran congregations, seven in Seoul and the rest in other cities, and in 2003 there were thirty-four congregations, most of them with rather small membership. When the Lutheran Church in Korea (LCK) celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 2009 it announced that within the next fifty years it wanted to start five hundred new congregations, a rather ambitious plan. Much more realistic and important has been its educational mission.

However, this church is still capable of surprising observers. In October of 2010 the church dedicated Luther Tower in central Seoul. It was the result of four years of hard work by Dr. Hyun Sub Um, president of the LCK since 2005, his staff, and LCK members. It is a twenty-four-story building with five underground levels. While most of the space will be rented out, it will provide considerable income, in addition to housing church headquarters.

The "Ji" Factor

Lutheran theology in Korea is usually connected with Won Yong Ji, who for many years held a dual appointment at Concordia Seminary in St. Louis and in Korea at the Lutheran Theological Institute (which has had different names at different periods of time). He was behind most of the theological enterprises, including the translation of Luther's works and the Luther Study Institute. His brother Won-Sang Ji (1927–98) was posthumously called one of the most important Korean church leaders—not the least because of the impact of the Christian mass media promulgated by his church.[15] Won-Sang Ji spent forty years helping develop the Lutheran faith in Korea, serving as executive director of the Christian Correspondence Course (1960–68), and as the first president of the Lutheran Church in Korea for almost twenty-three years, until 1993. He also served as pastor of Central Lutheran Church in Seoul (1965–79), until his post as president became full time.

Such a dynamic team of brothers virtually creating a church and the theology that went along with it certainly at times generated envy, jealousy, and misunderstanding.[16] Yet their leadership was straightforward, and the occasional allegations that the Jis were getting rich and that they virtually owned the LCK never found credence either with overseas supporters or most church members in Korea. The brothers had many more friends than enemies. Some even wondered how the two got along so well with each other. Won Yong wrote: "Won-Sang has what I don't have; I have something he may not possess. Since we both recognize these gifts, we can appreciate each other, and enjoy life and work together as brothers and colleagues. Also, there is a special bond between us because we are the only ones from our family in the communist-occupied North who fled to the South."[17] Won Yong came to the South in 1946 and Won-Sang a year later. Since that time they had not had contact with their families back home, and this tied them together in a special way. Yet there was also a deep piety and a genuine appreciation for Luther and the Lutheran church in both of them. What Won Yong writes about himself is also true of his brother: "My becoming a Christian by the grace of God is the sole cause of all my life. If I hadn't come to know my personal Savior Jesus Christ, I would not be what I am now. Had I not found Luther and the Lutheran Church, the course of my life would have been entirely different."[18] What they had found they wanted to share with others.

In 1969 Harley Swiggum, the founder of the Bethel Bible Studies program, was invited to Korea to discuss the inception of such a program for Korea. In 1973 the program was translated and printed, and a year later the first fifty-six pastors participated in the program. From 1974 until 2004, 9,815 people, mostly congregational leaders, participated in 129 training seminars, and today twenty different denominations use the Bethel Bible Series. Presently more than 7,000 pastors and 400,000 laypeople have undergone this training. This series helped the people understand the biblical message better and supported in an amazing way the study of the Bible and the missionary work of the LCK.

Theological Education in Korea

Another important aspect of mission work has been theological education. In 1964 the Korean Lutheran Mission appointed Won Yong Ji as director of the Lutheran Theological Academy, which began operation the following year. This academy was regarded as an interim program to develop a fully recognized theological institution in Korea.[19] This theological training program was undertaken in cooperation with the Theological College of Yonsei University in Seoul and its United Graduate School of Theology. "The basic function was the training of workers for the church by providing theological training for full-time clergy, lay evangelists and other church workers."[20] Won Yong Ji's assignment to the United Graduate School as professor meant a wider sharing of Lutheran theological heritage with Yonsei. When I visited Yonsei in 1974 I was amazed that students talked to me for two hours about Martin Luther's theology even though none of the students was Lutheran.

Apart from taking courses at Yonsei, the Lutheran students received additional training in a building that the Lutheran Theological Academy had acquired, which later became part of LCK headquarters. This dual education ended in 1980 when the government required all theological schools and seminaries to meet certain standard requirements. The Lutheran Theological Academy was one of the 180 "unrecognized" institutions, though it received permission to establish a theological seminary under the government's prescribed requirements. Since the city was too crowded, the new institution had to move outside the city. With an intense fundraising drive by the Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod and an intensive search, a location was found south of Seoul, on a twenty-five acre lot in Yongin near the Seoul-Pusan expressway and the Korean Folk Village, a major tourist attraction. A hundred-student dormitory, seven faculty apartments, and a main building were constructed including classrooms, library, chapel-auditorium, and administrative offices.

In 1984 instruction began there on two tracks, one a four-year "theological college" open for both

men and women who wanted to pursue the pastoral ministry or some other career, or become evangelists or parish workers. Most of these students were non-Lutherans. Then there was a two-year graduate program for students who wished to prepare for the pastoral ministry in the LCK. Only two years later Luther Seminary, as it was called, received academic recognition of its college-level program from the Ministry of Education, and its graduates then could enroll in graduate school upon passing the entrance exam. In 1998 Luther Seminary was recognized as a university and now is called Luther University and Seminary. It has started an ambitious building program since it was allowed to admit two hundred new students every year. Next to the theological faculty it has added a faculty for social work. This expansion shows the interest of Korean Lutherans to bring the Lutheran heritage in its theological and social dimension into the Korean society.

While the main outside support for the LCK comes from the Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod, the church is involved in many intra-Korean ecumenical endeavors and is a member of both the Lutheran World Federation and the International Lutheran Council. The Lutheran Church in Bavaria, Germany, also has supported several ventures of this church. The Lutheran Church in Korea is careful in its theological stance; it does not want to alienate itself from the Missouri Synod because of the historical connections between the two churches. However, being a small minority church in a country where barely 25 percent of the population is Christian, it cannot withdraw from ecumenical cooperation without becoming sectarian. While it is a small church, its influence in both theology and mission is far-reaching.

The Lutheran Study Society

In 1965 a journal with the title *Luther Yeongu* (Luther Research) had been started, although it only existed for three years. This journal was restarted in 1997. Though the main interest in Korea is given to Calvin, there are scholars from all kinds of denominations, from Seventh-Day Adventists to Methodists, and of course Lutherans, who devote themselves to Luther research. In 2008 the Luther Study Society was founded in conjunction with the Luther Study Institute at Luther University. Its inaugural session was held at Central Lutheran Church in Seoul with some 130 Korean Luther scholars in attendance. Dr. Jin-Seop Eom, director of the Luther Study Institute at Luther University and Seminary in Korea, convened the meeting and was elected president of the new society. Other officers elected were from institutions of various denominations, such as the Presbyterian Honan Seminary in Gwangju, the Jung-Ang University owned by the Doosan Corporation, and Seoul Theological University, which is affiliated with the Holiness Church.

This new Luther Study Society in Korea will have monthly research and study meetings. In December 2008 the topic was *Confessio Augustana*, and in May 2009, interpretations of Luther and Calvin on the Sermon on the Mount were presented—a recognition of the large Presbyterian presence in Korea as they celebrated Calvin's five hundredth anniversary. Each October an overseas guest lecturer and a local Korean lecturer will present major papers continuing the pattern of the inaugural meeting. The founding of the Luther Study Society cannot be underestimated. While the Luther Study Institute is part of Luther University and therefore strictly Lutheran, the Society provides a platform where one can learn about Luther and research aspects of his theology independent of one's denominational affiliation. Furthermore, as Joo-Hoon Choi points out: "Luther is the starting point of Protestant theology therefore he remains the obligatory gauge since studying the history and theology of the Reformation is essential for knowing one's ecclesial and theological identity."[21]

But even apart from the Lutheran Church in Korea, Martin Luther has had a decided influence on Korean Christianity, especially through his hymns. For instance, the alma mater song of Hankuk Theological Seminary, now part of Hashin University, is "A Mighty Fortress." This hymn was also popular among Korean Christians in their resistance to the Japanese occupation during World War II and the oppression of Christianity. While

there is only a small numerical presence of Lutherans in Korea—forty-two congregations and a little more than 5,000 Lutherans—both Lutheran theology and its central tenets are widely present.

Looking Forward

Two items are very important for the future of the Lutheran church and Lutheran theology in Korea. First, Luther University is no longer just a denominational seminary but a university—albeit of just two faculties. But with the government permission to admit two hundred new students every year it will soon reach the critical mass to be financially self-supporting. This means that any overseas gifts, though certainly helpful and welcome, are no longer vital for the survival of this institution. The long-term future of this Lutheran university with its impact on society seems assured.

Second, the Luther Tower in the Central District of Seoul will be paid off within four years if the vacant space can be rented out. In addition to the visible Lutheran presence in the heart of Seoul, this will provide income that will make the Lutheran church financially independent. The LCK plans to use the profits for planting new churches, supporting Luther University, creating a new pension fund for its pastors, and sending missionaries to overseas mission fields. While the LCK certainly will not sever its ties with the LCMS or with the Bavarian church, it finally will be able to stand on its own feet by its own strength and become truly indigenous, as the founding of the Luther Study Society indicates. This means the future of the Lutheran church and of Lutheran theology in Korea looks bright.

Endnotes

1. This paper was presented at the 2010 Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Religion in the Consultation on "Martin Luther and Global Lutheran Traditions."

2. Won Yong Ji, *A History of Lutheranism in Korea. A Personal Account* (St. Louis: Concordia Seminary, 1988), 40f.

3. Cheol-Ryun Kim, *Die Bedeutung Martin Luthers, insbesondere seiner Lieder für das protestantische Christentum Koreas* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2005), 9.

4. Won Yong Ji, *A History of Lutheranism in Korea,* 42.

5. Ibid., 44.

6. Cheol Ryun Kim, "Die Entwicklung des Christentums in Korea," in Andrea König, ed., *Glaube und Denken. Christliche Existenz in einer überwiegend nicht-christlichen Umgebung* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2008), 335–350, esp. 336–342.

7. Neung-Soo Han, *Gesellschaft und Herrschaft Syngman Rhees. Ein Beitrag zum liberalen Denken in Asien* (Dissertation, Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, 1986), 101; Han also states there that being of royal descent had great significance for the development of his personality.

8. Richard C. Allen, *Korea's Syngman Rhee: An Unauthorized Portrait* (Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle, 1960), 55.

9. Sygman Rhee as quoted by Neung-Soo Han, *Gesellschaft und Herrschaft Syngman Rhees*, 113.

10. For details of his enthusiastic reception by the people cf. Neung-Soo Han, *Gesellschaft und Herrschaft Syngman Rhees*, 162f.

11. For a fairly objective but also critical assessment of Rhee see Allen, *Korea's Syngman Rhee*, esp. 235–242.

12. As quoted in Won Yong Ji, *A History of Lutheranism in Korea*, 78.

13. Ibid., 95f.

14. According to Cheol-Ryun Kim, *Die Bedeutung Martin Luthers*, 110.

15. *Lutheran World Information Service* 12/2004.

16. Won Yong Ji, *A History of Lutheranism in Korea*, 240.

17. Ibid., 245.

18. Ibid., 249.

19. Ibid., 209.

20. Ibid., 210.

21. Joo-Hoon Choi, "Lutherische Kirche in Korea und Luther-Studien. Ein geschichtlicher Überblick," in Andrea König, ed., *Glaube und Denken. Mission, Dialogue, and Peaceful Co-Existence* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2010), 262.