

Thesis for the Degree of Master of Arts in Religious Studies

**Tradition and Faith:
The Ordination of Father Boris Mun Ich'un (문이춘) of the
Orthodox Church in Korea**

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The Academy of Korean Studies
Seongnam, Korea

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Robert Erik LIONBERGER

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Abstract

Faith and Tradition: The Ordination of Father Boris Mun Ich'un (문이춘) of the Orthodox Church of Korea

Robert Erik LIONBERGER

The Orthodox Christian Church in Korea has been largely ignored and misrepresented, if not forgotten, in the historiography of Korean Christian history. Because of the current position of the Orthodox Church in Korea, only a fraction of a percent of the Christian population, the Church can be easily overlooked. Also, misunderstandings of Orthodoxy are abundant, associating Orthodoxy with either Russia or Greek political ideologies and cultures. The dominant Protestant Christian presence in Korea overshadows the Orthodox church so much that it can be quickly bypassed as merely the ‘Russian or Greek church.’ However, the place the Orthodox Church holds within the larger frame of Christian history in the world cannot go unnoticed.

The Orthodox Church in Korea struggled to maintain its presence during the Japanese occupation and especially under the Bolshevik revolution. It was almost completely terminated in the shadow of communism and during the division taking place within Korea between the North and the South. It wasn't until after the armistice of the Korean War in 1953 that the remaining Korean

Orthodox believers could begin to rebuild. They chose as their new leader and priest a man named Boris Mun Ich'un (문이춘).

Father Boris was a Korean man of resilient and formidable character who helped pull together and rebuild the small Orthodox Community in Korea after the cease-fire of the Korean War in 1953. Upon the election made by the Orthodox Community in Korea, Father Boris was ordained in 1954 and thereupon embarked the Orthodox Community on a jurisdictional change from the Moscow Patriarchate to the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. The events leading up to his ordination were long in the making and were not only set in the Korean peninsula but were also set on the world stage. Specifically, the intricacies of the Cold War, how the Orthodox Church in Russia dealt with Communism, the United States and the UN involvement in the Korean War, and the Orthodox Community in Korea's reaction to all of these events helped the ordination of Father Boris come to light. The Orthodox Community in Korea, with the help of the Greek Expeditionary Forces' chaplains and volunteers, maintained their faith to the Orthodox tradition without succumbing to the plight of Nationalism nor overzealous political agendas such as communism or democracy. Nevertheless, they were significantly affected by such ideologies.

This thesis analyzes the various research done on the above events and makes the case that Father Boris' Ordination was one founded within the Orthodox Christian Tradition of the Seven Ecumenical Councils while being

influenced by the tumultuous atmosphere created by global and local religiopolitical events. The relationships between Korea, Russia, Japan, and the United States are thoroughly analyzed in order to position Father Boris and the Orthodox Community within this context. The dynamic between the Russian Orthodox Church, the Soviet Regime, and the Orthodox Community in Seoul is also delved into to understand the predicament Father Boris found himself in by the armistice of the Korean War. The decision to ordain Father Boris and make him the new leader of the Orthodox Community leads to a discussion of the Orthodox Tradition.

The central focus of Orthodox Christianity is worship, and this is found within the Eucharistic assembly. The history and theology of the Eucharist is thoroughly surveyed so the Orthodox worship can be properly understood. In addition, Orthodox church-state relations and its methodology of mission work is analyzed. This provides an understanding of exactly what faith and tradition Father Boris received when he was ordained into the Orthodox Church.

Through oral-historical, historiographical, and theological methodologies, Father Boris's behavior as a Korean Orthodox Christian will be established and properly placed within the larger historical context of Korea. Father Boris was a Korean Christian who unyieldingly stuck to the ancient tradition of Christianity and strived diligently for the Church regardless of the surrounding nationalist movements, political ideologies, or insurmountable

odds. Father Boris established the Orthodox Church in Korea's history as a fundamental role in the Korean religious landscape.

Key words: Christianity, Orthodoxy, Korea, Russian Orthodox Church, Soviet Union, communism, Roman Catholicism, Protestantism, Eucharist,

I. Introduction

1. The Problem

The Orthodox Christian Church in Korea has been largely ignored and misrepresented, if not forgotten, in the historiography of Korean Christian history. Because of the current position of the Orthodox Church in Korea, only a fraction of a percent of the Christian population, the Church can be easily overlooked. Also, misunderstandings of Orthodoxy are abundant, associating Orthodoxy with either Russia or Greek political ideologies and cultures. The dominant Protestant Christian presence in Korea overshadows the Orthodox church so much that it can be quickly bypassed as merely the ‘Russian or Greek church.’ However, the place the Orthodox Church holds within the larger frame of Christian history in the world cannot go unnoticed.

Just after the liberation of 1945 and during the Korean War, anything Russian was considered to be communist and, therefore, the Orthodox Church, having been brought to Korea by Russian missionaries, was tainted red with communism. Even though not all Russians became ‘communist’ under the Soviet regime, the Church was still thrown out of South Korea along with the last remaining Russian missionaries by 1949. The remaining members of the Orthodox community in Korea, a small group of Korean families who resided

in and around Seoul, slowly rebuilt the Orthodox Church in Korea while facing this persecution and oppressive political discrimination. They did so by choosing Boris Mun Ich'un (문이춘) to become their leader and priest. He and his wife, Maria Kim Myöngsun (김명순), would live in poverty while striving with the Orthodox community members to rebuild and reestablish the Orthodox Church in Korea. Father Boris's ordination was a pivotal and critical moment in the history of Orthodoxy in Korea and thus within Korean Christian History.

This thesis looks at the events leading up to Father Boris's ordination and how his character as a Korean Christian established the Orthodox Church firmly within Korea and accordingly in the historiography of Korean Christianity. This moment in the history of the Orthodox Church in Korea has gone mostly unaccounted for except for a few passing sentences in other histories of Christianity in Korea. This is understandable since few records are remaining to document this moment. Furthermore, only a handful of surviving members of the Church have firsthand memories of Father Boris.

His eldest daughters, Anna Mun Suncha (문순자, 1934 -) and Natalia Mun Gilcha (문길자, 1944 -), remember the decision to make Father Boris the leader of the Orthodox community and his acceptance of the Orthodox Christian tradition. Other Orthodox community members remember his resolute determination and strong will during the adverse situation they found

themselves. The primary objective of this thesis is to recount this moment as accurately as possible, so it will not be forgotten and to establish this moment truthfully within the broader historiography of Korean Christian History.

Another challenge this thesis will tackle is the complicated issue involving church-state politics. The Russian Orthodox Church had been wrapped up in the autocratic government since the reforms of Peter the Great. When the Bolshevik revolution came about, the Russian Church suffered critically due to its internal discombobulation. This tumultuousness was felt in Korea, and the Orthodox community suffered greatly. The ensuing scarcity and confusion set the stage for Father Boris's ordination. Understanding the convoluted church-state dynamics of the Russian Orthodox Church will uplift Father Boris's ordination as a crucial and significant moment in the history of the Orthodox Church in Korea.

Furthermore, Father Boris's acceptance of the responsibility to lead the Orthodox community also involved the reception, protection, and continuation of a tradition that had been passed down from Christian to Christian beginning with the apostles of Jesus Christ in the first centuries. This tradition is the Eucharistic worship of the early Christian Church that the Orthodox Church today strives to protect and retain. Father Boris's faith in this tradition - more importantly, the trinitarian God that this tradition worships and the long line of

Christians charged with protecting this tradition, is what re-planted the roots of Orthodox Christianity in Korea.

In the context of Korean Christianity, which is mostly Presbyterian, Methodist, and Roman Catholic, Orthodoxy Christianity is easily misunderstood and misrepresented. The Western view of 'religion' that came out of the European enlightenment of the 17-18th centuries influenced by the Protestant Reformation and which in turn affected the advent of Western Christianity in Korea is largely different from the Eastern view of 'religion,' especially within the Tradition of Orthodox Christianity. This divergence is another reason why the Orthodox Church in Korea seems to flounder in the wake of Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. In reality, the Orthodox Tradition is a quiet and introverted tradition relying more on 'witness' than on 'mission.' In other words, whereas the Western forms of Christianity intellectualized 'religion' and attempted to spread their ideas through propagation, Orthodoxy maintained a more modest form of witnessing to foreign populations. For this reason, as well, the Orthodox Church has been understated in Korean historiography.

In sum, Father Boris boldly stepped forward into the most impecunious situation while his country around him was recovering from a tragic civil war and accepted the responsibility of carrying this ancient Christian tradition forward and reestablishing the Orthodox Christian Church in Korea. South

Korea was now staunchly anti-communist, and Father Boris took on the leadership of a church that had fallen under the long cold shadow of communism. Shucking away political ties to any single ideology and focusing on the critical task in front of him, Father Boris boldly accepted the Eucharistic Tradition of the Ancient Christian faith and restored the legitimacy of the Orthodox Christian Church in Korea.

2. Research Methodologies, Scope and Structure of Thesis

Oral Historical

A lot of the remaining members of Father Boris's family¹ still attend St. Nicholas Orthodox Church and I² had the opportunity to meet and talk with them about Father Boris. Most of them do not hold many memories of Father Boris, and many of them were not alive when he was ordained in 1954. However, his eldest daughters still attend the Church regularly, and we sat down twice to discuss at length their memories of Father Boris and his ordination. The first time we met was over coffee at a local café near St. Nicholas and the second time we met was in the St. Nicholas courtyard. With the help of an interpreter, Father Boris's great-granddaughter, we talked for over an hour each time.

¹ See Appendix A: Mun Family Tree

² While in the frame of an oral-history, the first person is used to preserve the feeling of intimacy and human connectedness during the interviews.

Some other friends of Father Boris's daughters who are still attending the church gave their testimony as well. After the Orthodox Divine Liturgy on Sundays, the faithful gather in a cozy 'book café,' a place for the young and old alike to gather and talk, a 'liturgy after the liturgy,' as they say. Here, I was able to talk to a few seniors regarding Father Boris and what kind of man he was.

One of Father Boris's granddaughters is now the resident iconographer at St. Nicholas. She is continuing the ancient Byzantine tradition of Orthodox iconography, and her icons can be found around St. Nicholas and at the Orthodox monastery in Kapyōng. I spoke with her too, about her distant memories of her grandfather. Father Boris's family is now two generations bigger since he was a young priest in 1954, and they are still very much a presence at St. Nicholas Orthodox Church in Seoul.

In the first section of this thesis these oral histories, the story of Father Boris as a man, husband, father, and priest will be told. The voices of his daughters, while maintaining a certain Korean politeness and regard, hold a story of deep struggle that was overcome by a man of resolute and unwavering determination. Those that knew him spoke of Father Boris as soft-spoken, faithful, and steadfast. The task in front of him as he accepted the responsibility of leading the Orthodox community was nearly insurmountable, but he accomplished it, not without the help of his wife, Maria, and the other Orthodox

community members. His story is one about faith, not only to the tradition of the Orthodox Church but also to his family and community.

Historiographical

The existing histories on Korean Christianity do not account accurately for the Orthodox Church in Korea. For example, in Chai-shin Yu's *Korean Christianity*, and Robert E. Buswell Jr. and Timothy S. Lee's *Christianity in Korea*, the Orthodox Church is never mentioned. In Sebastian C.H. Kim and Kirsteen Kim's *A History of Korean Christianity*, information about the Orthodox Church is mostly misrepresented even going so far as getting Father Boris's Korean name wrong, calling him Moon "Yi-han."³ Also, they claim that the Russian Orthodox church "relinquished its jurisdiction over Korea in 1921."⁴ However, according to Moscow Patriarchate records and Russian missionary, Archimandrite Polycarp's journals, while communication was strained with the Moscow Patriarchate, they had a presence in Seoul up until Archimandrite Polycarp's arrest and deposition by the Korean police in 1949. They also claim that "after the end of the Cold War, Seoul became a centre for Russian Orthodox mission to other parts of Asia,"⁵ which is incorrect. The St. Nicholas Orthodox Metropolis is currently a center for Orthodoxy in Korea,

³ Kim and Kim, *A History of Korean Christianity*, 201.

⁴ Ibid. 110.

⁵ Ibid. 289.

regardless of nationality. It represents Orthodoxy universally.⁶ Currently, one can find Korean, Russian, Ukrainian, Romanian, Bulgarian, Uzbek, Belarusian, Georgian, Greek, American, Canadian, and other nationalities represented at the St. Nicholas Orthodox Metropolis in Seoul.

A quick survey of histories of Christianity in Korea written in the Korean language shows Christianity split into either Roman Catholic history or Protestant history. Ki-dok-kyo kyo-hoe (기독교회), which translates to ‘Christian Church’ actually refers to the Protestant church and makes up for the most significant percentage of the Christian population. Ch’ŏnchugyo (천주교) which refers to the Catholic church, was widely viewed as an entirely separate religion even with a different name for God. The Protestants adopted the term Hananim (하나님) while Roman Catholics used Hanŭnim (하느님). This and other subtleties reveal the theological and cultural disparities between these two forms of Christianity. The scope of this thesis cannot handle these differences, but it is important to note that in the discourse of Korean Christianity, the Orthodox Church is mostly absent.

Perevalov’s *The Russian Mission in Korea* accounts for the early years of the mission from 1900 – 1925 as well Volokhova’s *The History of the Russian Mission in Korea*. These histories, while concise, only account for the early

⁶ See, Zographos, *Orthodox Witness in Korea*, 2015.

years of the Orthodox mission in Korea. Various papers and theses have documented the early history of the Orthodox presence in Korea but do not account for what happened to the Orthodox faithful during and after the Korean War. Most of them claim that the Orthodox Mission ended in 1949. According to Min Kyöng Hyön, the ‘Russian’ Orthodox Church ended in 1949, and the ‘Greek age’ began in 1955 with Father Boris.⁷ This view is wholly nationalistic and supports a view that goes against the doctrine of the Orthodox Church itself.

Shkarovsky’s *Russian Orthodox Spiritual Mission in Korea* is one history of the Orthodox Church in Korea accounting for Father Boris’s ordination in 1954 and the jurisdictional change to Constantinople. Shkarovsky uses journals from the early missionaries and documents from the Moscow Patriarchate to piece together the events leading up to Father Boris’s ordination and accounts for activities up through 2007. It is written from the point of view of the Russian Orthodox Church yet maintaining an unbiased view toward the Church in Korea. Shkarovsky’s history is a trusted and balanced resource.

The most intimate recorded evidence of Father Boris’s ordination is an article written by Richard Rutt entitled, *The Orthodox Church in Korea* published in 1957. Richard Rutt was an Anglican priest who served in Korea

⁷ See Min, Könghyön. “Lö-Si-a-Chöng-Kyo-Hoe-Ŭi Pun-Yöl-Kwa Han-Kuk Lö-Si-a-Chöng-Kyo-Hoe [The Division of Russian Orthodox Church and the Russian Orthodox Church in Korea].” *Sa Chong: The Historical Journal* 92 (September 9, 2017).

for almost twenty years beginning in 1954, the year Father Boris was ordained. He had close contact with the Orthodox community and attended their liturgies and events. His history offers a close view into the life of the Orthodox Church at this time but still offers only a slight glimpse into the significance of Father Boris's ordination.

The current Metropolitan of the Orthodox Church in Korea, Ambrosios Zographos wrote a short history of the Orthodox Church in Korea entitled *Orthodox Witness in the Korean Peninsula: A Historical Approach*, and accounts for Father Boris's ordination and the subsequent adoption of the Orthodox Church by the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. This change in jurisdiction is a controversial issue between Moscow and Constantinople. As this thesis's principal objective is to establish the Orthodox Church firmly within the Korean Christian historiography, a brief explanation of this jurisdictional change is needed. There are of course political reasons for this change, but there are deeper ecclesiastical reasons for this as well, which will be discussed further.

As far as broader histories of the Russian Orthodox Church, Pospelovsky's *The Orthodox Church in the History of Russia* and *The Russian Church Under the Soviet Regime: 1917 – 1982* and Henry Davis's *A Long Walk to Church: A Contemporary History of Russian Orthodoxy* are two trusted histories that offer a comprehensive view of the Church in Russia. Using

Pospelovsky and Davis along with Rutt, Shkarovsky and Zographos's histories, this thesis will recount the events leading up to the Korean War when the Orthodox community became 'spiritual orphans,' their decision to ordain Father Boris, and their efforts to rebuild the church. Through a rigorous historiographical approach, this thesis will help claim a legitimate place for the Orthodox Church in Korea within the historiography of Korean Christian history.

Furthermore, to correctly understand how the Orthodox community in Korea became 'spiritual orphans,' a macroscopic view of the international political scene is necessary. A broader contextual analysis of the history from the Russo-Japanese War to the armistice of the Korean War will provide the essential background to the events of the Orthodox Church in Korea. The micro and macroscopic views of history are intertwined and necessary to consider when establishing a singular imperative moment in history. The international political stage along with the inner dealings of the Church all led to the forced abandonment of the Orthodox Community in Korea and Father Boris's subsequent ordination.

The history surrounding and leading up to the Korean War are very controversial and subject to much scrutiny. So, to offer a broad and overarching view of the international atmosphere of the first half of the 20th century, several histories will be used. Powaski's *The Cold War* offers a balanced account of the

dynamics between the United States and the Soviet Union and the ensuing battle between democracy and communism. This tug of war directly affected the Church in Russia which in turn affected the Church in Korea. Also, this ideological fracas was the catalyst that incited the Korean War and the split of the nation. This was the first step toward the need for a jurisdictional change. Caprio's, *Japanese Assimilation Policies in Colonial Korea* and Henry's *Assimilating Seoul* both offer crucial evidence about the landscape and background of Korea during the Japanese occupation which had a direct effect on Father Boris and his family. These analyses offer insight into the strained dynamic between Japan and Korea which provided the final impetus for the following jurisdictional change. Finally, Park Minrŏng (박민령)'s analysis of the years leading up to the Korean war and the dynamics between the North and South offers significant evidence into why communism, and thus the Orthodox Church, was viewed so negatively in the South.

In sum, this thesis will provide a micro and macro historiographical analysis of the events leading up to the abandonment of the Orthodox Church in Korea at the outset of the Korean War and the resulting ordination of Father Boris and the jurisdictional change of the Orthodox Church in Korea. A comprehensive understanding of these events will put Father Boris's ordination in high relief and seen in proper context. Then, the ordination of Father Boris can be appropriately placed within the historiography of Korean Christianity.

Theological

The third and final section of this thesis will deal with the spiritual and theological implications of Orthodoxy in Korea. In Nam Jöngu's study entitled *tong-pang-chöng-kyo-hoe-üi sön-kyo-yök-sa yön-ku* (*The history of missions in the Eastern Orthodox Church, a study*), the Orthodox church is characterized as tied up in caesaropapism and nationalistic provocations. He claims that the mission of the Orthodox Church was in contrast to the mission of Christianity. In other words, it was not in the interest of serving God, but it was primarily in the interest of political and nationalistic motivations. This grossly misrepresents the Orthodox Church and is a complete fabrication of the truth behind its missionary work.

Father Boris, at the end of the Korean War, accepted the responsibility of carrying forward the ancient Christian tradition of the Eucharistic worship which is biblically and traditionally founded in the first centuries of the Christian Church. First, this tradition is biblically found in the Gospel scriptures of Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, and in the epistles of Paul. Secondly, the doctrine of the Trinity was formulated biblically by the Cappadocian Fathers in the first centuries. Thirdly, the theology, doctrine, and canons of the Christian Church were established through the First Seven Ecumenical Councils from 325 – 787.

A thorough understanding of the Christian Church in its beginnings will demonstrate that while the Church did suffer from persecutions coming from within and outside of the Church, there were numerous Christians who gave their lives to protect the Tradition and Faith of the Church. Father Boris was one of these Christians, and in the face of political discrimination and social abandonment, he accepted this immense responsibility.

Due to changes in culture and society throughout the centuries, Christianity dawned new doctrines and theologies which resulted in many different forms of Christianity. The ‘intellectualization’ of ‘religion’ during the Enlightenment and the ‘individualization’ of ‘spirituality’ through the Protestant reformation widened the gap between Western and Eastern Christianity. Eventually, Christian scholars began to believe that too much emphasis on ‘tradition’ leads to a loss of the real ‘message’ of Christianity.

What is Tradition? This thesis will attempt to answer this, however inadequately. The scope of this thesis is to place the Orthodox Church in Korea firmly within the historiography of Korean Christianity, so it is not within its bounds to fully explain the Tradition of the Orthodox Church. Plenty of studies on that are referenced in the bibliography. Nevertheless, it is important to note, as Jaroslav Pelikan has: “Tradition without history has homogenized all the stages of development into one statically defined truth; history without tradition has produced a historicism that relativizes the development of Christian doctrine

in such a way as to make the distinction between authentic growth and cancerous aberration seem completely arbitrary.”⁸

For this thesis, a closer analysis of two aspects of the Orthodox Tradition that directly affected Father Boris the most will be looked at: The Eucharistic Worship and Orthodox Witness. First, a textual analysis of the actual Eucharistic assembly found in Paul’s letter to the Corinthians, and the synoptic Gospels of Mathew, Mark, and Luke will allow a proper understanding of the essential element of Christian worship, the Eucharist. This will show that the Tradition existed even before the New Testament was written and that it was handed down orally between the early Christians. Furthermore, it will demonstrate that even within the early Christian communities there was a need to maintain the Tradition correctly as specific communities were veering away from it. Finally, this analysis will also prove that within the Tradition the core message of Christianity – God’s love for his creation and his ultimate sacrifice for that creation, is “the life of the Church in the Holy Spirit.”⁹

Following this, a rumination on Orthodox ‘witness’ as a means to evangelize will demonstrate the modest nature of Orthodoxy. This particular characteristic is sometimes seen to be a weakness of Orthodoxy because the

⁸ Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine I. The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100 - 600)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), 9.

⁹ Vladimir Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1944), 188.

growth of the Church is, at times, lethargic. However, a closer look reveals an authentic nature of Christian evangelization within the Orthodox Tradition. Furthermore, while the Orthodox Church in Korea is indeed small in stature, the witness of the Church through Father Boris and the Orthodox Community just after the Korean War cannot be ignored.

In sum, a deeper understanding of the theological significance of Father Boris's ordination will reveal the true and correct nature of the Orthodox Church in Korea. It is not the 'antithesis' to Christian mission, but it is in indeed a witness to the very foundations of Christian tradition that was handed down first orally and then scripturally by the apostles of Jesus Christ. Father Boris's ordination and his faith in the Tradition of the Orthodox Church shucked away nationalistic ideologies, brought forth the message of Christianity, and reestablished the Orthodox Church in Korea.

In total, through oral-historical, historiographical, and theological methodologies, Father Boris's compartment as a Korean Orthodox Christian will be established and properly placed within the larger historical context of Korea. Father Boris is an integral figure in the timeline of Korean history and his influence is not based on the number of faithful he brought to conversion or the churches he established throughout the peninsula. His is a quieter and easily overlooked influence in the wake of Korean Protestantism or the Roman Catholic Church in Korea. Nevertheless, the impact he has had does not go

unnoticed. Father Boris was a Korean Christian who unyieldingly stuck to the ancient tradition of Christianity and strived diligently for the Church regardless of the surrounding nationalist movement, political ideologies, or insurmountable odds. Father Boris established the Orthodox Church in Korea's history as a fundamental role in the Korean religious landscape.

II. The Ordination of Father Boris Mun Ich'un: An Oral History

I first sat down with Grandma Anna and Grandma Natalia in the fall of 2017 to talk about Father Boris.¹⁰ Father Boris's great-granddaughter, Vasilia joined us to help with translation and communication. Grandma Anna's Korean name¹¹ is Mun Suncha (문순자), and Natalia's is Mun Gilcha (문길자). Vasilia's Korean name is Sŏ Chaeün (서재은). At first, Anna could not remember much, and it was hard for her to start talking, but as she eased into her story, she began in Pusan. In 1950, when she was nineteen and Natalia was nine years old, they escaped the war with their baby brother, Daniel. He was only six. Father Boris was about forty years old and his wife, Maria was maybe around the same age. Her birth year is unknown. The five of them left Seoul and settled in Pusan for the next three years like thousands of other Koreans.

The group of Orthodox believers in Pusan gathered together, Anna recounts, and since there were no leaders and no clergy left in the country, they all looked to Father Boris. "Why?" I asked. "Why did they choose Father Boris?" She goes on to say that Father Boris was born into an Orthodox family. His mother and father met in the church, and he was brought up within the existing

¹⁰ Interviewed by Robert Erik Lionberger, September 24, 2017.

¹¹ In the Orthodox Tradition, it is customary for the faithful to adopt a Christian name upon receiving baptism. In Korea, the Orthodox faithful have both their Christian name and a Korean name given to them at birth.

Russian Orthodox community of Seoul. Since he grew up in the church and he was very faithful, the community chose him. As soon as the community recommended him to lead the church, he took his family to Seoul, “and started to live at the church.”

According to other interviews with current members of the St. Nicholas Orthodox community in Seoul, Father Boris was diligent, faithful, kind, and hard working.¹² Grandma Anna says he was very kind (“인자하시고”) and soft-spoken (“한 말씀을 잘 안하세요”). Archimandrite Andreas Halkiopolous writes in his journal that Father Boris was “humble, zealous,” and “pious.”¹³ According to His Eminence and Most Reverend Sotirios Trambas of Pisidia, the first Metropolitan of Korea who knew Father Boris from 1975 until his passing away in 1977, Father Boris was “all the time smiling, peaceful, and friendly.” Everything came easy to Father Boris, and he was always at the church on time, even though his family lived about an hour or more outside of the central city.¹⁴

When he traveled to Japan for his ordination, he was not scared at all, according to Anna. “A-ni ha-na-do(아니 하나도),” she said, which means “not a bit.” Everybody supported him and loved him so much, he was proud and

¹² Park, Sunhae “Georgi” and Sin, Pilnam “Anna”, interviewed by Robert Erik Lionberger, February 11, 2018.

¹³ Andreas Halkiopoulos, “On Orthodoxy in Korea,” *Ékthesis prós tίν Thriskeftikín Ypiresían G.E.S.*, 1954.

¹⁴ Metropolitan Sotirios of Pisidia Trambas, interviewed by Robert Erik Lionberger, December 6, 2016.

humbled to receive such an honor. The passing of the Orthodox Christian tradition into Father Boris's hands was something of a prideful moment for Anna as well. She says, "from my childhood to adulthood, I always enjoyed being in the church." When Father Boris became a priest, she remembers, she respected him so much, and she watched her behavior as well. "I couldn't be mischievous at all." Anna was twenty when her father was ordained. Both Father Boris and Presbytera Maria worked hard for the church every day, and everybody respected them greatly.

Grandma Natalia was only ten at this time. She doesn't remember very much, but she does recount the struggles. Because of the war, the situation was so bad, and everybody was worried. There was no money. "So, life was very tight. We didn't even have a chance to think about life being good or bad. We didn't have room for that."

The property of St. Nicholas in the Chōngdong (정동, 貞洞) district of Seoul was seized by the Korean government just after the war and Father Boris went to court frequently to claim it back. Since they had no money, it was challenging. A choir member, Jacob, and Father Boris went to court frequently, and the mood among the church members was growing a bit restless, she remembers. Anna does not remember very well why people were upset, but it must have been about the money, she reckons. Eventually, through some financial help of a local Anglican priest, Father Boris was able to claim the land

back through the courts. This situation showed his resiliency and determination. Anna says, “As a grown-up these things are normal. Whatever the believers thought, Father Boris and Jacob unyieldingly went to court. In their minds there was only one thing to do, get back the property. So, they got it back.”

Father Boris’s granddaughter, Tatiana, recalls that Father Boris was a bit ‘scary.’ He was so stern with the children and tended to favor the boys over the girls she remembers. Her Korean name is Sŏ Migyŏng (서미경). She said this with a smile and laughter. Tatiana was so young at that time, the image of her grandfather as a priest seemed to be intimidating. However, as she told a story about how “Grandfather” favored the boys, she laughed to herself. Currently, Tatiana is the resident trained iconographer of the Orthodox Church in Korea. Her icons can be seen throughout St. Nicholas, and she conducts workshops in the spring to teach others how to create traditional Byzantine Orthodox icons. Tatiana was trained under Professor Sozos of Greece who painted the icons in most all of the existing Orthodox churches in Korea.

Father Boris’s family is a long line of Orthodox Christians that start with, as far as we know today, his parents. Family records have all been lost, so the current known genealogy goes as far back as Father Boris and his wife, Maria. He grew up under the care of Russian missionaries and was trained as a priest under a Greek chaplain. To this day, Anna and Natalia are regularly at church attending Divine Liturgies and various other prayers and church activities.

Father Boris's granddaughters and grandsons are seen as well at St. Nicholas along with his great-granddaughter and great-grandson.

Father Daniel Na Ch'anggyu (나창규) of St. Paul's Orthodox Church in Inchön, Korea served as an altar boy under the guidance of Father Boris. Father Daniel was ordained as a priest in 1980 and Father Boris was a "main factor" in Father Daniel's ordination. Father Daniel's family history, much like Father Boris's family, stretches back to the beginnings of the Orthodox Church in Korea. His mother's side of the family is closely related to the last King of Chosŏn, Kojong. When the first Orthodox Missionaries came to Korea from Russia, King Kojong gave land to the missionaries to build the church. The property was given to the Russians and put in Father Daniel's great-uncle's name, as only Koreans could own land at this time. Father Daniel's relatives were living at the Russian compound and helped with the construction of St. Nicholas Church. One of them was also a Russian translator for the King and another a vice-mayor of Seoul.¹⁵

Father Daniel's family, on his mother's side, was steeped in the Russian Orthodox community in Seoul and was integral in the formation of Orthodoxy in Korea. His mother was baptized into the Orthodox Church and later, when she met a successful businessman in Seoul, was married. Father Daniel's father

¹⁵ Reverend Protopresbyter Daniel Na (나창규). Interview by Robert Erik Lionberger, July 1, 2018.

was baptized into the Orthodox Church and was married at St. Nicholas in the early 1930's. By the time Father Daniel came along his family was a part of the Orthodox community in Seoul just as Father Boris's family was. Just before the war, Father Daniel was baptized into the Orthodox Church as an infant.

He, too, remembers escaping Seoul because of the war, but unlike Grandma Anna who was in her late teens at the time, Father Daniel was only about 4 or 5 years old. In his re-telling of his experience, he recalls a time when they were on their way to Pusan and the conditions were so severe that a thief grabbed the rice right out of his hands just as he was to take a bite – a memory he says, “he remembers to this day.” Like so many other Koreans and Father Boris's family, Father Daniel's family stayed in Pusan during the War. Not until 1959 did Father Daniel's family return to Seoul. “There was no church life” at that time, he recalls, “everybody was scattered around.” In 1959 when his family returned to Seoul is when he “started to go to church” regularly, when he was in the 5th grade of elementary school.

He recalls the time when Father Boris was elected to become the next Priest just after the armistice of the war. He remembers that there were “two candidates” and a “big struggle” ensued among the church members as to who was to be elected. This differs somewhat from Grandma Anna's recollection who recalled that “everybody” wanted Father Boris to become their next leader. Father Daniel claims that “by one vote” Father Boris was elected. However,

when I questioned Father Daniel on this inconsistency, he replied, “Ok, so the story is different. Always different. People say this and that, who knows? ... Even in the Gospel, Gospels pose different stories. One person saw two angels, one person says, ‘Oh I saw one angel.’ But, this is good because different stories become truth.”

Nevertheless, the bottom line of both Father Daniel’s and Grandma Anna’s recollection of the election of Father Boris to become the next priest is that he was chosen and was ordained. Whether it was unanimous or a “big struggle” is beside the point. Grandma Anna, being Father Boris’s eldest daughter is, of course, intimately connected to the story, so it is understandable that she remembers ‘everybody’ wanted him to become the next priest. Father Daniel’s memory holds a bit more reality to it, based on fundamental human behaviors. Humans are always in conflict with each other. This type of behavior can be seen throughout human history and even within the history of the Christian Church.

Soon after Father Daniel and his family returned to Seoul, Father Boris approached Father Daniel when he was a middle school student. Father Daniel remembers, “One day, he says to me, ‘Daniel, why don’t you become an altar boy?’ So, I said, ‘oh, why not?’ ... So, I became an altar boy.” He continues his story:

From then on, I was working as an altar boy. And then what happened? The American diocese asked our community, 'please send seminarians' – candidate seminarians to America to study theology. ... So, Father Boris Mun was looking for who can be a candidate. The first time he asked my brother, Nicholas – he has passed away - ... but he was not ready at that time because our family was not rich. So, he has to work for my father, to make a living and so on, and he couldn't go. So, then what happened? He came to me.

Father Daniel was a high school student by this time, so he began studying English. "I'm going to become a priest," he remembers happily. Before going to America, Father Daniel had to finish high school and complete his three years of mandatory military service. By 1969, he was able to go to America and attend Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology in Brookline, Massachusetts. Father Daniel's story of becoming a priest is impressive enough, but his full story is beyond the scope of this thesis.

What is important to note about Father Daniel's recollection is his memory of Father Boris. He states:

...[he] was very gentle... warm and gentle. This is what I remember... He had a very good voice. Of course, I remember he suffered a lot. He didn't have anything to eat, at that time. There was no income. So, the Anglican church supported a little bit. There was no rice, no food... Presbytera Maria [Father Boris's wife], I remember her. She was also very kind, supportive... [They were living in] poverty.

Father Daniel learned the basics of the Orthodox life from Father Boris “through actions, not words.” Because of Father Boris, Father Daniel was able to go to America and study Orthodox theology. Now, as the priest of St. Paul’s Orthodox Church in Incheon, Father Daniel “always calls young people to become an altar boy.” He says this is the best way to learn how to serve the Church. Thanks to Father Boris and his tutelage, Father Daniel’s parish is thriving and an integral part of the Orthodox Church in Korea.

Father Boris touched many lives during his twenty-three years as a priest. Too many to account for in this thesis. Suffice it to say, however, that Father Boris’s ordination was the first step for the Orthodox Church in Korea after the Korean war to start rebuilding and reestablishing itself as a vital and integral part to the Korean Christian landscape. His work to reclaim the land that was originally placed in the name of Father Daniel’s family was his temporal duty,

and one he successfully achieved under great stress. Spiritually, he looked to the young people, and under his warm and caring tutelage, he was able to raise the next generation of Orthodox believers in Korea.

The Orthodox Church in Korea is home to numerous Koreans, Russians, Bulgarians, Ukrainians, Romanians, Americans, Greeks, and many other various nationalities. I have spoken to many of them multiple times, and one thing rings true though out all of my conversations: Christian community. While it is predominately Korean, many nationalities are represented. Even Orthodox faithful from differing jurisdictions come together and worship within the Orthodox tradition. The liturgy and prayers are conducted in Korean with services also held in Russian. English and Greek can be heard at times during the liturgy. The clergy of the Orthodox Church in Korea do the best they can to include everybody present.

The clergy are predominately Korean, with the current Metropolitan coming from Greece. A Ukrainian priest serves the Slavic speaking populations. Korean priests also serve the Orthodox communities in Pusan (부산), Chŏnju (전주), Ch'unch'ŏn (춘천), and Ulsan (울산). The monastery located in Kap'yŏng (가평) is home to the first Metropolitan of the Orthodox Church in Korea, a Greek man named Sotirios Trambas and a Korean nun, Agathi. Throughout the year, during liturgies and especially on the feasts of Pascha

(Easter) and the Nativity (Christmas), I have witnessed all these nationalities and languages coming together in harmony, placing the Korean language at the forefront, and worshipping together as one Eucharistic community of Orthodox Christian believers. This all-embracing Orthodox community owes its beginnings to the Russian missionaries who painstakingly worked under daunting conditions during the Japanese Occupation, and to Father Boris Mun, who helped lift the community out of the rubble of war and put it back together.

III. Historiographical

1. The events leading up to Father Boris's ordination: a survey of the various histories.

On December 12, 1948, after their Sunday liturgy, some parishioners of the St. Nicholas Orthodox Mission Community in Seoul read aloud a letter claiming that the current Head of the Korean Mission, Archimandrite¹⁶ Polycarp (Georgy Kondratyevich Priymak, Георгия Кондратьевича Приймака, 1912-1989), should no longer remain in charge of the mission. Rather, Korean native, Father Alexei Kim Ihan (김이한, 1895 – 1950),¹⁷ should take over the responsibilities. Archimandrite Polycarp tore the letter up in front of the parishioners which caused them to physically confront the Archimandrite and his own mother who was trying to protect several Russian women from the brawl. Archimandrite Polycarp destroyed the letter on the grounds that it came from an illegal (as he saw it) church authority out of the Japanese Orthodox

¹⁶ An archimandrite is monk-priest. The word literally means “chief of a sheepfold.”

¹⁷ Father Alexei was not without his own struggles with the Japanese authorities. He was forced to live outside of Seoul in seclusion under constant threat from the Japanese through the 1930's, and later was arrested in 1938 because his brother had tried to escape to Russia. He stayed in prison for a year and a half. See A. Lankov, “Christianstvo v Koree [Christianity in Korea]”, *Problemi Dalnogo Vostoka [The Problems of Far East]* 2 (1999), 131.; Tatiana M Simbirtseva, “The Orthodox Church in Korea: Pages of Modern History” (an unpublished study, 2000). Alexei Kim Ihan was ordained earlier as deacon under the Moscow patriarchate. See Metropolitan Ambrose-Aristotle Zographos, “Orthodox Witness in the Korean Peninsula: A Historical Approach,” in *Korean Church, God's Mission, Global Christianity*, ed. Wonsuk Ma and Kyo Seong Ahn, vol. 26, *Regnum Edinburgh Centenary Series* (Oxford, UK: Regnum Book International in Partnership with Diakonoi, Korea, 2015), 106, http://www.ocms.ac.uk/regnum/downloads/Korean_Church_Gods_Mission_Global_Christianity-Final-WM.pdf.

Church in association with the American Russian Orthodox Metropolitan District, “The Metropolia,”¹⁸ which was under the direction of Bishop Benjamin (Basalyga, 1887 – 1963).¹⁹ The ordination of Fr. Alexei was supposedly done surreptitiously in collusion with Bishop Benjamin.²⁰ However, Archimandrite Polycarp only recognized the authority of the Moscow Patriarchate who had delegated Metropolitan Sergius Tikhomirov of Tokyo to be overseer of the Mission in Korea. The situation here is complicated and needs a brief explanation.

Since the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, the Russian Orthodox Church was in disarray.²¹ As Pospelovsky asserts:

Lacking canonical administration (a patriarch) and the traditional conciliar system, which would have fed the center with information from the periphery, the Church as an institution

¹⁸ The Metropolia was a schism born after the 1917 Bolshevik revolution in response to the Moscow Patriarchate retaining its association with the Soviet State. For the American Russian Orthodox Metropolitan District’s relation to the Moscow Patriarchate, see Pospelovsky, Dimitry. *The Orthodox Church in the History of Russia*. Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1998, p. 297

¹⁹ In 1933, then hieromonk (priest-monk) Benjamin was elected to become the first Bishop of the Orthodox Church born in America. Later in 1946, he was assigned to lead the Church in Japan which had come to be under the Metropolia after the Japanese surrender in World War II.

²⁰ According to Zographos, Alexei Kim Ihan was ordained earlier as deacon under the Moscow patriarchate. See Zographos, “Orthodox Witness in the Korean Peninsula.”

²¹ The situation of the Russian Orthodox Church from the reforms of Peter the Great until the Bolshevik Revolution was critical and a large number of schisms and reformations happened that will be looked at in depth later.

*entered the revolution divided and uninformed about the ideas and feelings of her own clergy and parishioners. She also lost her temporal head of two hundred years, once Nicholas II had abdicated. In short, at such a decisive moment of general collapse the Church lacked the organizational structure mechanism of a self-ruling institution. And it was common knowledge to every responsible churchman that the old monarchic establishment was to blame for this sorry state of affairs.*²²

The disorder of the Church was felt throughout Russia and even where they had established missions in Korea, Japan and the Americas. In 1923, the Soviet State demanded that all Russian Orthodox believers pledge their allegiance. For Russians with an American citizenship living in the United States this was “absurd.” When Bishop Platon (Rozhdestvensky, 1866 – 1934) of America was removed by the Patriarchate for not collecting any “loyalty pledges,” he did not recognize this deposition and continued to run the Metropolia “as de facto a temporarily autocephalous Church.”²³

²² Dimitry Pospelovsky, *The Russian Church Under the Soviet Regime: 1917 - 1982*, vol. 1 (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1984), 25.

²³ Dimitry Pospelovsky, *The Orthodox Church in the History of Russia* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1998), 297.

In 1923, the Moscow Patriarchate transferred authority of the Korean Mission to the Japanese Diocese, while still remaining under Moscow. Later, after the Japanese surrender which ended World War II, the Japanese Diocese was placed under the Metropolia due to the American presence in Japan. Herein lies the controversy. The Metropolia was a group of Russian Americans that claimed autocephaly from the Moscow Patriarchate. The Patriarchate, in turn, did not recognize the autocephaly of the Metropolia. Needless to say, in 1948 in Seoul, these two jurisdictions came head to head and the pot was boiling over.

The same day of the ripped letter, Archimandrite Polycarp and his mother were arrested and taken to the Seoul jail on the pretext that he was working for the Soviet Union. However, Archimandrite Polycarp and the Orthodox Community had previously gone to efforts to distance themselves from the Soviet Government. They even built a fence between the Russian Legation and the Church to physically show they were not in agreement with the Soviets.²⁴ Nevertheless, since Archimandrite Polycarp refused to deny the Moscow Patriarchate, which remained under the control of the Soviets, South Korean authorities automatically assumed him to be associated with the Soviet State. After Archimandrite Polycarp's arrest, the property of St. Nicholas was

²⁴ George Baranoff, Baptised at St. Nicholas Church in Jongdong in 1947. Interviewed by Robert Erik Lionberger, May 26, 2018.

seized. Remember, the property was under Father Daniel's great-uncle's name, so, legally, it belonged to the Korean government.

Archimandrite Polycarp “for the sake of public peace,”²⁵ forfeited his position of the mission and he and his mother stayed in jail until December 23. His mother was released, but he was transferred to a different facility where he was further interrogated. Rumors and suspicions that he was in league with the Soviet Union and a spy were unfounded and he was released on December 29. He would later write to the Moscow Patriarch Alexei I (Simansky, 1877 – 1970),²⁶ “I am forced to surrender the Mission and to leave the Mission. I pray in my cell.²⁷ («Меня всячески принуждают сдать Миссию и уйти из Миссии. Молюсь в своей келии»)²⁸

Other histories of the Orthodox Mission in Korea are fairly vague about exactly what happened during this time. Most skip over the events due to scant sources that accurately depict what happened. Shkarovsky applies painstaking effort in recapturing a lot of the events through Archimandrite Polycarp's personal journal and public records of the Moscow Patriarchate. He states that

²⁵ Mikhail Vitalyevich Shkarovsky, “Russkaya Pravoslavnaya Dukhovnaya Missiya v Koreye [Russian Orthodox Spiritual Mission in Korea],” *Khristianskoye Chteniye [Christian Reading]* 2, no. 33 (2010), <http://www.bogoslov.ru/greek/text/465367.html>.

²⁶ Patriarch Alexei was the 14th Patriarch of Moscow and all of Russia, head of the Russian Orthodox Church between 1945 – 1970).

²⁷ In this case, ‘cell’ refers to his own living quarters rather than a jail cell. He had been released from the jail at this time and wrote this letter from his personal living quarters.

²⁸ Shkarovsky, “Russkaya Pravoslavnaya Dukhovnaya Missiya v Koreye.”

the Archimandrite was released from jail in December of 1948. He and his mother had accepted Soviet citizenship in January and he lived on alms throughout the rest of the winter and into the spring. With the help of the exarch to the Moscow Patriarchate in America, he almost succeeded in gaining the mission back through the court system in Seoul, but ultimately failed in doing so. He was arrested again on June 18th since he had accepted Soviet citizenship and had ‘Asian tortures applied to [him] me (...Ко мне были применены азиатские пытки...).’ Eleven days later with all of their personal belongings confiscated, he and his mother were taken to the 38th parallel by South Korean police officers. He walked to the North Korean border along with his mother and arrived in Pyongyang where they received much needed medical assistance from the Soviet Embassy. In a short correspondence with the Patriarchate of Moscow, he concedes that under the current political situation, the mission in South Korea could not be restored until “legitimate authority in South Korea is restored (Думаю, что восстановить деятельность Миссии можно будет только после того, как будет восстановлена законная власть в Южной Кореи).” Shkarovsky states that Archimandrite Polycarp left Korea in August of 1949.²⁹

²⁹ Ibid.

L. Anisimov as well as the current Metropolitan of the Orthodox Church in Korea, Ambrosios Zographos state that the Archimandrite leaves Korea in June of 1949.³⁰ Metropolitan Zographos writes:

He served until 29 June 1949,³¹ when he was arrested by the Korean Police with the accusation that he was a Soviet agent and was expelled together with his mother. Thus, the first period of Orthodox Mission in Korea under the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate came to an end.³²

The jurisdiction of the mission was passed over to the Metropolia under Metropolitan Theodore Nicholaevich Pashkovsky (Фёдор Николаевич Пашковский, 1874 – 1950) and all ties to the Moscow Patriarchate ended. Fr. Alexei became the Head of the Mission and just seven weeks after the war broke out in June of 1950, was arrested on July 9. He was taken to the North by North Korean police never to be seen again. Metropolitan Zographos states:

³⁰ L. Anisimov, “The Orthodox MIssion in Korea,” *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*, no. 3 (1991): 59.

³¹ This account lines up with Shkarovsky’s as he states that Archimandrite Polycarp was arrested on June 18th, subjected to torture, and released eleven days later.

³² Zographos, “Orthodox Witness in the Korean Peninsula,” 106.

Ever since then, his family never heard (from) him. His destiny, the place of his death and burial are still unknown to this day. The soldiers who arrested him did not allow him to change clothes. A possible reason for his arrest may have been his unwillingness to cooperate with the soviet army, after Korea's liberation from the Japanese occupation in 1945.... The new military administration, which had settled there [in Cham-won, where Fr. Alexei resided], asked Fr. Alexei to work for them as interpreter, since he was fluent in the Russian language. Fr. Alexei took his family and fled in the middle of the night and headed for Seoul, leaving behind all his belongings.³³

Richard Rutt, an Anglican Priest who served in Korea from 1954 for almost twenty years, was in close contact with the St. Nicholas Orthodox Mission after the armistice of the Korean War. He writes in his short history about the Orthodox Mission about the time of Archimandrite Polycarp's arrest:

³³ From Simbirtseva, Tatiana M. "The orthodox Church in Korea: pages of Modern History", 2000 (unpublished study) as mentioned by Zographos, "Orthodox Witness in the Korean Peninsula."

Whatever the truth of the matter may be, whether or not there was any jurisdictional squabble involved, the church in Seoul had fallen under the shadow of communism. Fr. Polycarp disappeared, and it was remarkable that Fr. Kim Alexei was able to keep the church together at all now, but he did, until 1950.³⁴

All hope of a mission in Korea was lost for the next three years. The Orthodox faithful were scattered. Most of them fled to Pusan where the rest of the country was escaping. Among these refugees was a man by the name of Boris Mun Ich'un (문이춘, 1910 – 1977). He and his two daughters, Anna Mun Suncha (문순자, 1934 -) and Natalia Mun Gilcha (문길자, 1944 -); his son, Daniel Mun Junsik (문준식, 1947 -); and his wife Maria Kim Myöngsun (김명순, ? – 1977) all fled to Pusan where they would remain until the cease fire in 1953. Father Boris was born into an Orthodox family and raised among the Orthodox community³⁵ and the community respected and revered him so much that in 1954, while they were rebuilding their fractured and damaged community, they chose him to be their new priest.

³⁴ Richard Rutt, "The Orthodox Church in Korea," *Sobornost*, 3 No. 21, 1957, 487.

³⁵ Anna(문순자) Mun and Natalia(문길자) Mun, Interviewed by Robert Erik Lionberger, May 20, 2018. Interview about Father Boris's early years.

The Greek Expeditionary Forces, a part of the UN Allied Forces, had come into contact with the Orthodox Community. Archimandrite Andreas Halkiopoulos, a chaplain serving with the Greek Army, helped Father Boris leave the country, which was difficult for any Korean at the time, and enter Japan where they were able to meet with the bishop of Tokyo, Ireney (Bekish, 1892 – 1981), under the Metropolia.³⁶ Father Boris was ordained as a deacon on January 9 and then as a priest on January 10, 1954. Zographos states:

With the help of the US Army, Fr. Andreas managed to obtain authorization for Father Boris Moon to travel to Japan for his ordination. Disguised as an African-American soldier, he was included in a dynamic group of American marines going to Japan. After his ordination, he returned to Korea in the same manner and served the church with total dedication for 23 years and eight months until his death.³⁷

³⁶ Bishop Ireney (Bekish), would later work closely with the Moscow Patriarchate to resolve their differences that had been brewing since the Bolshevik revolution. This led to the Moscow Patriarchate granting autocephaly to the American Russian Orthodox Metropolitan District which now is the Orthodox Church of America (OCA). See *Orthodox America 1794-1976 Development of the Orthodox Church in America*, C. J. Tarasar, Gen. Ed. 1975, The Orthodox Church in America, Syosett, New York.

³⁷ Zographos, "Orthodox Witness in the Korean Peninsula," 108.

Fr. Andreas Halkiopoulos writes about Fr. Father Boris:

Father Boris has a deep conscience of his sacred Mission. He is humble, zealous, and a pious priest. Every Sunday he celebrates the Divine Liturgy and never skips preaching the holy Gospel. He has created a beautiful church choir consisting of 23 young Korean members. He visits the Christians in their homes, he is always willing to help and support them and to strengthen their faith. Every Sunday he holds Sunday School classes for children and prepares catechumens for the Sacrament of Baptism. Also, once a week he speaks to the students of the High School about the Christian Religion.³⁸

The Orthodox Community in Korea, due to the turbulent political strife within the peninsula and abroad in Japan and Russia, was “cut off from the rest of the Orthodox Church; that is, the community did not belong to any ecclesiastical jurisdiction.”³⁹ Therefore, the following year after Father Boris’ ordination, on December 25, 1955, the community unanimously decided to send a letter to the

³⁸ Andreas Halkiopoulos, “On Orthodoxy in Korea,” *Ékthesis prós tîn Thriskeftikîn Ypiresían G.E.S*, 1954, as quoted by Zographos, 108.

³⁹ Zographos, “Orthodox Witness in the Korean Peninsula,” 108.

Patriarch of Constantinople Athenagoras I (1886 – 1972).⁴⁰ This letter requested the Patriarch to accept the Orthodox Community in Korea and to take the community under its leadership and guidance. Patriarch Athenagoras I accepted the request.

This is quite extraordinary. The Orthodox Mission in Korea had been completely torn apart by politics and jurisdictional disputes and then nearly obliterated by a war. Upon coming back to Seoul and finding the small St. Nicholas church damaged in the aftermath, Father Boris and the few remaining Orthodox faithful began rebuilding. Fr. Andreas was there to help with a lot of support from the Greek soldiers. In the same neighborhood as the St. Nicholas Orthodox Mission, a foreigner dense district of Seoul known as Chŏngdong, there was also the Anglican church, of which Richard Rutt became a part of in 1954 and became close with the Orthodox Community. There was also the first Methodist Church, which Henry Appenzeller, one of the first Protestant Missionaries to Korea, started in 1885, and is considered to be the ‘birthplace’⁴¹

⁴⁰ His All-Holiness Patriarch Athenagoras I, born Aristokles Spyrou, was the 268th Successor to the Apostle Andrew and Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople from 1948 – 1972.

⁴¹ As stated on the website: “Chungdong First Methodist Church, English Ministry,” Chungdong First Methodist Church, English Ministry, accessed May 23, 2018, <http://www.chungdongem.com/>. In all actuality, the ‘birthplace’ of Protestantism in Korea is highly contested. For a full study on Protestantism in Korea see Sung Deuk Oak. *The Making of Korean Christianity: Protestant Encounters with Korean Religions, 1876 - 1915*. Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press, 2013.

of Korean Protestantism. And not too far away in the neighborhood of Myöng-dong was a large Roman Catholic community.

Here were other Christians in the same neighborhood and they all had suffered from the war. A religious revival was just beginning after the cease-fire and pious believers all over the peninsula were rebuilding their churches and putting the pieces of their lives back together. The Orthodox faithful could have easily joined together with any one of these Christian communities. Liturgically, the Anglican and Catholic churches resemble the Orthodox church in many ways and biblically, the Protestants are advocates of scriptural study just as the Orthodox. All believed in the Trinitarian God and the story of Jesus the Christ, son of God, who died for the sins of the world and saved the world through his death. What was stopping Father Boris and the Orthodox community from walking down the street just a few blocks to the Methodist mission, the Anglican mission, or the Catholic mission and work together in a spirit of Christian love to rebuild the lives they had so nearly lost in the war? Why was one of the first objectives of the Orthodox community to choose a man to become priest and ordain him as soon as possible? Furthermore, why did they choose Father Boris and then subject him to a precarious trip out of the country for his ordination? Surely there were more important matters to attend to at home. The rebuilding of St. Nicholas, the gathering of resources, the children's needs, and plenty of other necessities were obviously prevalent. The

cost it took to send Fr. Andreas and Father Boris to Japan could have been used for much needed supplies right there at home.

In 1953 Father Boris stood at a pivot in the history of the Orthodox church in Korea. Around him everything was in shambles. The church he grew up in and worshipped in was in rubble. The city around him was completely torn apart and stained with the blood of his own countrymen. Also, Father Boris and the remaining Orthodox Community witnessed their own community come close to complete termination. The dispute between Archimandrite Polycarp and Father Alexei, their arrests, deportation, and abduction would have been fair warning signs that something was not quite stable within the Church itself. As Father Boris looked around trying to find some semblance of stability, he leaned upon his faith. And his faith was the ancient Christian faith found in Orthodoxy. Why was he so loyal to an institution that was wrapped up in politics and nationalism? What was his *deep conscience of his sacred Mission*?

This question will be answered later, but first the overarching political situation surrounding the Orthodox Church at this time is important to understand. The events leading up to this pivotal moment in the history of the Orthodox Church in Korea are integral in the creation of such a fragile and burdensome situation that Father Boris found himself in. The next section will tackle the political histories and elucidate how such a precarious situation came to be.

2. Politics: Korea, Russia, Japan, and the United States (1875 – 1950)

To have a clear understanding of the political conditions in which Father Boris was born, we must briefly understand the state in which Korea was in by 1953. This will provide an appreciative stance to watch as the young Father Boris grows up and matures into an Orthodox Christian in South Korea. It will also provide a clear understanding of the situation the Orthodox community found itself in by 1950, which was split apart by jurisdictional disputes and animosities between the Moscow Patriarchate and the Metropolia.

Father Boris was born in Seoul into an Orthodox family. Accounts from his daughter, Grandma Anna, help to place him within an Orthodox community at birth. The robust Russian presence in Seoul at the time of his birth also gives evidence in claiming this. Also, the fact that he was well revered and respected as a pious Orthodox Christian and later ordained as a priest in his adulthood leads one to say that faithful Orthodox people in his childhood must have surrounded him.

Korea was in a perilous geopolitical position at the time of Father Boris's birth. Understanding how it came to be in such a crux, it is necessary to witness how the Kingdom of Chosŏn, an isolated hermit kingdom began to be penetrated by outside influences: politically and religiously. These swarming

influences that surrounded the small Orthodox Community in Seoul would have a significant impact on their decisions just after the civil armistice of 1953.

Japanese and Russian influence in Chosŏn (1875 – 1910)

Father Boris was born into a Japanese occupied Korea surrounded by Russia and China and Western powers all vying for the geographically unique peninsula. Beginning in the 1860's the modern era was impacting Asia and reform was abundant. Thirty-five years before Father Boris was born, in 1875, the Meiji government of Japan, with their goal set on Japanese expansion, sent their naval vessel, the *Unyō*, into Korean waters. The *Unyō* incident would incite a scene that resulted in the Treaty of Kangwha of 1876 which stipulated, “the way for Japanese aggression without interference from China, whose claims to suzerainty over Korea the treaty thus had rejected,” and to “block Russia’s southward advance.”⁴² Essentially, Japan was shadowing America’s gunboat policy to coerce Korea over the next few decades into a submissive position.⁴³

Five years before Father Boris was born, in November of 1905, Ito Hirobumi, Japan’s Meiji leader, along with Japanese troops, walked into King

⁴² Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea* (Harvard University Press, 1984), 269.

⁴³ Mark E. Caprio, *Japanese Assimilation Policies in Colonial Korea: 1910 - 1945* (Seattle, Washington, USA: University of Washington, 2009), 14.

Kojong's palace and forced Korea into a protectorate. The following years were filled with political distress; suicides of high ranking Korean officials, an international recognition of Korea's loss of sovereignty, and the formation of the ũibyōng (의병, righteous armies) by the Korean military all illustrate the chaotic state in which Korea found itself in. The ũibyōng soldiers attempted to overcome the Japanese in Seoul but failed, retreating to the countryside where they assembled larger guerilla forces that would continue to resist the Japanese. "Korea became a mere puppet, an empty shell of a nation."⁴⁴

In May 1910, General Terauchi Masatake, as the new Resident-General, enlarged the Japanese forces in Korea, and with the help of Korean Prime Minister Yi Wan-young, formally annexed Korea on August 22. On August 29, King Sunjong surrendered the throne and forfeited his country. Under the guise of friendship, Japan claimed to "promote the common weal of the two nations and to assure a permanent peace" in Asia.⁴⁵ The following day, August 30, on the front page of the *Tokyo Asahi* newspaper, the new boundaries of the Japanese Empire were drawn out, reaching far west into Manchuria and the Pacific Ocean of the East. Korea was right there in the midst of it, and the article accompanying it made the case that "Koreans had the potential to become

⁴⁴ Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 312.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 313.

Japanese over time.”⁴⁶ Koreans were seen as not being able to govern themselves; as a sickly patient in need of a doctor and Japan was the doctor.⁴⁷ This is the Korea in which Father Boris was born.

All of this added to the civil unrest inside the Korean peninsula, as well. The Treaty of Kangwha had opened Korea up to the rest of the world after a substantial time spent in isolation. The closed-door policy (쇄국정책, 鎖國政策) of the Taewŏn’gun, had long been anti-Japanese and anti-Western.⁴⁸ However, new ideologies were beginning to infiltrate into the peninsula. Korea began to see Western influence in Japan and the effects of such progress, and felt that they, too, should adopt some changes. This is the beginning of the ‘enlightenment’ period. Koreans such as, Kim Hong-jip (김홍집 1842-1896), formed an enlightenment party that influenced even King Kojong in implementing a more westernized infrastructure. On the other hand, the Confucian literati, that is, the conservatives who were wholly against the opening of the ports and the Treaty of Kanghwa, all believed that the Japanese were just the same as the Western ‘barbarians’ and were concerned of being attacked by them. Tensions were high within the Chosŏn government and

⁴⁶ Caprio, *Japanese Assimilation Policies in Colonial Korea: 1910 - 1945*, 81.

⁴⁷ Caprio, 14–15.

⁴⁸ The Taewŏn’gun had taken power in 1864 and was a ‘determined reformer on the classical pattern of rectifying state and society.’ See, Cumings, *Korea’s Place in the Sun: A Modern History*, 108, and James B. Palais, *Politics and Polity in Traditional Korea*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975, 3.

resultantly led to the Military Mutiny of 1882 and the end of the enlightenment party. The conservatives had won, and the Taewŏn'gun was back in power, but this could not last for long because now, China and Japan were meddling in Korea's affairs, and vying for a position of supremacy. Qing China (청국, 淸國) even went as far as kidnapping the Taewŏn'gun which forced Japan's hand into signing the Treaty of Chemulp'o giving China the upper hand. Subsequently, through a series of treaties, China helped push massive trade into Korea, not only with China but with several other Western countries including the U.S. in 1882 and Russia in 1884.

With anti-Chinese and anti-Western sentiment running through the peninsula and a resurgence of Enlightenment thought, civil unrest was yet again underway. Within the Enlightenment faction, a more radical form emerged that wanted to eradicate all of China's influence in Korea. They were known as the Progressive Party(개화당, 開化黨) and they would end up inciting a coup d'état, with the help of the local Japanese in 1884 that ultimately failed. Qing China remained in power and Japan took a back seat. King Kojong's government was in disarray, lacked any sound policy, and leaned on foreign states for power rather than its own people. This would result in the uprising of the Tonghak (동학, 東學, Eastern Learning).

The Tonghak arose out of the 1850s under Ch'oe Che-u (최제우, 1824-1864),⁴⁹ and Ch'oe Si-hyŏng (최시형, 1829–1898) as a new indigenous religion of Korea among the peasantry that promoted equality for all people and unity of God to humanity. Tonghak believers became spiritually motivated and politically involved and by 1884, they were well organized and donned the slogan, “Drive out the Japanese dwarfs and the Western Barbarians, and praise righteousness.”⁵⁰ In the early 1890s up until 1894, the Tonghak were demonstrating around southern Korea in total defiance of the King proclaiming “The people are the root of the nation. If the root withers, the nation will be enfeebled.”⁵¹

The Tonghak rebellion became unmanageable for King Kojong and he requested assistance from Qing China who assisted forthrightly. However, under the Japan-China agreement, China needed to notify Japan if they were to interfere in any way in Korea's affairs. China did not do this, and Japan reacted in its own way. By July 23, 1894, Japanese soldiers had commandeered the royal palace, sequestered the King, and demanded that the Taewŏng'gun be

⁴⁹ Ch'oe Che-u was executed in 1864. Tonghak is Korea's oldest indigenous organized religion founded by Ch'oe that incorporated basic Confucian, Buddhist, and Taoist precepts. It also had elements of Catholicism and popular shamanistic beliefs. See Don Baker, “The Great Transformation: Religious Practice in Ch'ŏndogyo” in *Religious Practices of Korea*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007.

⁵⁰ Takashi Hatada as quoted by Bruce Cumings, *Korea's Place in the Sun: A Modern History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2005), 115.

⁵¹ Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 284.

brought back to power.⁵² The Japanese expelled King Kojong's wife, Queen Min and two days later a Japanese man-of-war attacked Chinese naval ships near Asan. The Sino-Japanese war had begun.

Usurping China's long reign of suzerainty over Korea, Japan came out of the war victorious and signed the Treaty of Shimonoseki with China in 1895. Within the first article of the treaty, China acknowledged Korea's full independence. But, as Lee states, "the purpose of this clause was not in fact to guarantee Korea's independence but rather to repudiate China's claim to suzerainty over Korea."⁵³ Japan now had its reach into Korea and as far as the Liaotung Peninsula, Manchuria and Taiwan.

The reforms of 1894, pushed by the Japanese and headed by Kim Hong-jip (김홍집), excluded the Taewŏn'gun and the King altogether, restructured the government internally, reorganized the judicial system, rationalized the fiscal administration, and legislated a number of social changes. The Taewŏng'gun, obviously, was not pleased with these sorts of changes, so attempted a coup to overthrow King Kojong. The Taewŏn'gun tried to rally the Chinese once again and even contacted the Tonghak peasant army, but he failed. Inoue Kaoru, the Japanese minister in Seoul, forced the Taewŏn'gun into retirement.

⁵² Cumings, *Korea's Place in the Sun: A Modern History*, 119.

⁵³ Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 290.

With a newly formed progressive government under the leadership of Kim Hong-jip(김홍집), Pak Yǒng-hyo(박영효, 1861-1939), and Sǒ Kwang-bǒm (서광범, 1859 – 1897)⁵⁴ King Kojong publicly announced his endorsement of the reform even with the Taewǒn'gun standing at his side. China was overturned, and Japan was surprisingly the premier power in Asia.

However, Japan was forced to forfeit the Liaotung Peninsula under a tripartite intervention of Russia, France, and Germany which uncovered Japan's weakness. The idea that Korea needed to shuck off Japan's influence and align with Russia was growing among the Korean politicians. Japan was not keen on this turn of the tide in the Korean government so aimed to put a stop to it. Pak Yǒng-hyo, wanted the Queen out, but the Queen banished him from the government and he ran to Japan. A pro-Russian faction came into power and the government now sat with its gaze towards a Russian alliance.

Because of the treaty signed with Russia in 1884, Karl Waeber, a Russian minister, lived in Seoul and was anti-China. He promoted pro-Russian ideals. Along with the German P. G. Möllendorff, a special advisor on foreign affairs, the two diplomats pushed for the addition of a third power in the mix besides Japan and China. As Lee writes, "Möllendorff believed that Chinese and Japanese influence in Korea needed to be counterbalanced by that of a third

⁵⁴ Pak Yǒng-hyo and Sǒ Kwang-bǒm were a part of the original 'enlightenment' party of the 1880's along with Kim Hong-jip. See Lee, 275.

power, and to that end he worked to create a Russian presence.” King Kojong and the Queen began to abide by this stance and “it even was believed that they reached a secret agreement with Russia.”⁵⁵ Russian began to make its move into the Korean peninsula and by 1888 establishing an extraterritorial settlement in Kyŏnghŭng, in Northern Korea near the border with Russia.⁵⁶

By 1895, Russia had already established control over Manchuria, connecting Port Arthur and Talien to the Trans-Siberian Railroad. While in 1898, Russia and Japan agreed that neither would attempt to meddle in Korea’s internal affairs, Russia was encroaching in on Korea by attempting to construct a naval base in Masan, a plan blocked by the Japanese.

Just after the government had turned pro-Russian in 1895, and Pak Yŏng-hyo had fled to Japan, the Queen was murdered by Korean and Japanese soldiers conspired by Miura Guro, the new Japanese minister, and witnessed by Russian and American advisers. Following this, Japan continued with their reforms and enacted that all Korean men should remove their top-knot and don a Western-style short haircut. The people rebelled and on February 11, 1896, Russian sailors and Korean officials helped King Kojong escape the palace. Kojong and the crown prince hid themselves in the Russian legation for a year. This incident is known as the *Agwanp’ach’ŏn* (아관파천, 俄館播遷). Russia

⁵⁵ Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 280.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 280.

promptly overpowered the Korean government. Negotiations between Russian and Japan split Korea into two, separated by a demilitarized zone.

Kojong, returning to his palace in February of 1897, claimed himself as emperor of, what was now, the Great Han Empire(대한제국, 大韓帝國), a move the king hoped would lift Korea to total independence. Still though, Japan had a big hand in commercial enterprise in Korea as well as the United States, Russia, and Britain. Foreign influence on the peninsula was prominent in helping to establish railroads, electrical systems, banks, mining, a timber industry and so forth. One of the more noticeable figures was Horace Allen, the first Protestant Christian missionary (American Presbyterian) in Korea who helped establish a gold mine, Seoul's waterworks, telephone network and the first Western hospital and medical school, which was opened as early as 1885.

Japan, as well, was hard at work helping the Korean peninsula to modernize. Some of its major businesses such as, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, and the Daiichi Ginkō (first bank of Japan), were located in Wōnsan, an east coast port, by 1883. There, a multicultural town of Japanese business men, Russian and Chinese traders, and Englishmen existed that helped bolster the Korean growing trade economy. James Gale, a British Presbyterian missionary would later be appointed there.

The Koreans themselves, too, helped the wave of modernity take its stride. Influenced by American and British Protestant missionaries, they started

newspapers such as the *Tongnip Sinmun* (독립신문, 獨立新聞, Independent Newspaper) that included English and the Korean vernacular, Han'gŭl (한글). This in turn promoted more political involvement by younger Koreans coming of age at this time, most notably Yi Sŭngman (Syngman Rhee, 1875 – 1965), the first president of the Republic of Korea. These young Korean progressives attempted to bring democracy to Korea, but their efforts were consistently stomped out by the government police.

In addition, Korean administrators in an effort to safe-guard Seoul⁵⁷ and bolster the Emperor began a series of infrastructure reforms called the Kwangmu Reforms. “Old foundations, new participation(*kubon sinch'am*, 구본신참)” was their slogan and they aimed at protecting the Empire during such a volatile time of outside imperialist disturbances. Todd A. Henry states, “the leaders of the Great Han Empire were engaged in a globalized process of nation-state building, the native and nonnative elements of which cannot be easily disaggregated because of the city’s (and the nation’s) position in an overlapping network of semicolonial structures.” They also endeavored to promote Korea’s cultural superiority in the wake of a fading Qing China. However, these reforms “were carried out with and against imperial powers

⁵⁷ At the time, Seoul was known as Hwangŏng(황성), a name given to the city by Yi Sŏng-gye (T’aejo, 1335 – 1408), the first King of Chosŏn.

after the Sino-Japanese War, particularly Russia and Japan, but also the United States.” Henry goes on, “Indeed, the very space of Hwangsŏng [Seoul] came to reflect the precarious geopolitical position in which the Great Han Empire found itself during this period.” These reforms caused a series of disturbances among the locals who were anti-Western and “viewed this technology, managed by American engineers and operated by Japanese conductors, as both a geomantic intrusion onto their communal living space and a public threat to property-holding patterns.”⁵⁸

Nevertheless, Russia was still attempting to maintain influence in Korea. The Russian Legation was opened in 1890 and more and more Russian emigrants, mostly diplomats and businessmen began settling in Seoul. In the January 6, 1898 edition of the *Tongnip Sinmun* (see figure 1) it announced the fact that the Russia Orthodox Church will build a church in Seoul. It charges a Russian ambassador to not only work to establish a church but also strengthen commercial ties with Russia “as Japan and England.” The following year Deacon Nicholas (1869 – 1952), the very first Russian Orthodox Missionary to set foot in Seoul, arrived

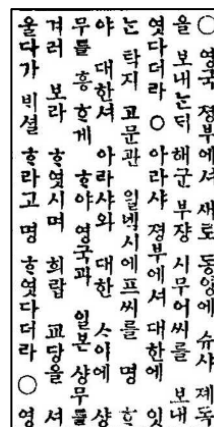


Figure 1. article found in the *Tongnip Sinmun* (독립신문) January 6, 1898

⁵⁸ Todd A. Henry, *Assimilating Seoul: Japanese Rule and the Politics of Public Space: 1910 - 1945* (Los Angeles, California USA: University of California Press, 2014), 25–27.

“bringing vestments, liturgical books, icons, and other sacred items.”⁵⁹ Later in 1900, Archimandrite Chysanf Shchetkovsky (1869 – 1906), as the new head of the mission arrived in Seoul.

On the world stage, Japan attempted to contain the Russian advance by aligning with England and signed the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1902, just after the Boxer-Rebellion in China. England was interested in China as was Russia, so England and Japan together could possibly help sway Russia out of China and consequently out of Korea. A war between Japan and Russia was imminent and in February of 1904, Japan attacked Russia at Port Arthur and subsequently sent troops into Seoul. “By threat of force, Japan compelled Korea to sign a protocol agreement,” which would result in Korea declaring “all its agreements with Russia to be void,”⁶⁰ and thus, the Russo-Japanese war had begun and Japan vehemently constructed railroads through Korea to help with its war efforts.

Through the secretive Taft-Katsura agreement, U.S. President Roosevelt negotiated a treaty between Japan and Russia and in turn agreed to let Japan

⁵⁹ Zographos, “Orthodox Witness in the Korean Peninsula,” 101. In fact, a year before Deacon Nicholas’s arrival, he was stuck in the Vladivostok region along with Archimandrite Ambrosios. Because of some difficulties involving the military personnel on the border, the Archimandrite was forced to give up his appointment as Head of the Mission. See Perevalov, ‘Rossiiskaja Eukhovnaja Missija v Koree, 1900 – 1925 [The Russian Mission in Korea, 1900 – 1925]’, *Istoriya Rossiskoi Dukhovnoi Missii v Koree [the History of the Russian Mission in Korea]* (1999), 185-87.

⁶⁰ Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 308.

have Korea while the U.S. had stake in the Philippines. Russia was defeated and Japan annexed Korea in 1905 making it a protectorate. This was the time Hirobumi walked into Kojong's palace and took the Foreign Ministry's seal and forced Korea into surrender. Five years later in 1910 Korea was without a King and found itself a colony of Japan with anti-Russian sentiments within the government. This is the year Father Boris Mun Ich'un was born.

The political situation in Korea at the time of Father Boris's birth as one can see, was extremely unstable. A throne had just been lost, an entire country had been annexed and now colonized under the ideology of racial superiority of the Japanese. Father Boris was born a subject of the Japanese empire. The preceding decades leading up to his birth was a tug of war between Japan and Russia with Japan giving the final winning tug – not without outside help it goes unnoticed.

The Soviet Regime, the Russian Orthodox Church, and the United States: 1904 - 1941

The outside help for Japan during the war was, most importantly, the United States of America. The relationship between Russia and the U.S. was decidedly volatile, and they had become sworn enemies by the end of the Russo-Japanese War. A close survey of the relationship between the Soviet Regime and the Orthodox Church along with the dynamics between the Soviets and

America will allow one to see the precarious position the Orthodox Community came to be in by the time of the Korean War. This will also shed light on those Russian Orthodox Christians residing in America, namely the Metropolia mentioned above, and why they decided to split from the Moscow Patriarchate after the Bolshevik Revolution which in turn affected the Orthodox Community in Korea. The tripartite relationship between the Soviets, the Russian Orthodox Church, and the U.S. created a destructive wave that Father Boris would soon find himself standing in the wake of.

According to Powaski, Russia resented America's support of Japan during the Russia-Japanese War and, "ironically" joined forces with Japan to block American ventures in Manchuria under the Taft Administration (1909 – 1913).

Thus, by the eve of World War I, the geopolitical ties that had linked Russian and U.S. interests for over a century had almost totally disappeared. ...

Russo-American relations deteriorated not only because of commercial or geopolitical factors but because of increasing

*American emphasis on the ideological differences between the two countries.*⁶¹

The ideological differences between the two countries could not be further apart. America promoted a free society based on an individualistic ‘pursuit of happiness’ which instilled a capitalistic view of economy and a democratic process of government. Freedom of speech and religion were two of the founding principles that the American government fought to uphold, while indeed Protestant Christianity was the predominant religion. In fact, all of the presidents of the U.S. from 1776 to the present day were, and are, mostly Protestant.⁶²

On the other hand, Russia’s government and the Orthodox Church were intertwined legalistically, and the Czar was highly influenced by Church decisions. Russia promoted an autocratic form of government and enforced

⁶¹ Ronald E. Powaski, *The Cold War: The United States and the Soviet Union, 1917 - 1991* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1998), 3.

⁶² With the exception of John F. Kennedy, who was a Roman Catholic, all the presidents from Washington to Trump, were predominately Protestant. Howard Taft was a Nontrinitarian Christian which was a form of Protestantism that rejected the trinitarian belief of God. The Bush Family are Episcopalians, the American branch of the Anglican Church. See, Steiner, Franklin, *The Religious Beliefs of Our Presidents: From Washington to F.D.R.*, Prometheus Books/The Freethought Library, July 1995, David L. Holmes, *The Faiths of the Founding Fathers*, Oxford University Press, May 2006, and "God in the White House: From Washington to Obama", *The American Experience / Frontline*, PBS, October 11, 2010.

nationalistic propensities. While the Russian government and the Orthodox Church were firmly and legally attached, the Protestant Movements, while not legally bound to the government in America, definitely had its influence in American politics. Both countries were extremely imperialistic and constantly pushed their particular ideologies and by default, their religions, onto neighboring countries. By the end of the 19th century and into the 20th century, Korea was right at the center of these two countries' imperialistic motivations. On the heels of diplomats, traders, and business men, Russian Orthodox and American Protestant missionaries were making their way into Korea.

By the end of the 19th century, America had grown to despise Russian autocracy and Russia's efforts to 'Russify,' all non-Russian minorities. The Russian Orthodox Church, as it was connected to the Russian government, was seen to be a part of this 'Russification,' therefore demonstrating that the Orthodox Church was just another arm of the state, and Orthodox Christianity as a completely erroneous form of Christianity, in the eyes of American Protestants. Indeed, one can say that the church and its missions were a pawn of the government in its imperialistic endeavors, but to claim that the missionaries themselves or the Church is totally corrupted lacking any attachment to an idea of the sacred or God, is to simplify and reduce the historically complex problem. Humans are multi-layered creatures, and if the Christian, Protestant or Orthodox, belief holds true, all are made in the image of God. To add to this, the Orthodox

Church after the Bolshevik revolution was under attack by its own government and was nearly obliterated and shattered into pieces. Because of the revolution, the Church suffered schisms within itself and criticisms from other Christian groups that still exist to this day.

America felt the direct consequences of this ‘Russification’ as more and more Russian immigrants, mostly Jews, poured into America for religious freedom. President Theodore Roosevelt (1858 – 1919) signed a petition that reprimanded Czar Nicholas II for apparently allowing a pogrom to take place that killed forty-five Jews and left hundreds more wounded and homeless. However, the Russian government did not stop further pogroms and President Taft (1857 – 1930) later repealed the Russo-American Commercial Treaty of 1832.⁶³ Eventually, the monarchy of Russia was overthrown in 1917 by the Bolsheviks, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with Vladimir Lenin (1870 – 1924) as its leader. President Woodrow Wilson (1856 – 1924) considered the communists as a “demonic conspiracy” and “found particularly offensive its doctrine of class warfare, the dictatorship of the proletariat, its suppression of civil liberties, and its hostilities toward private property.”⁶⁴

Wilson attempted to stay out of the civil war erupting on Russian soil, but ultimately brought the U.S. into the conflict against the Bolsheviks. Wilson,

⁶³ Powaski, *The Cold War: The United States and the Soviet Union, 1917 - 1991*, 4.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 8.

later in 1918 delivered his famous Fourteen Points peace plan to Congress in hopes to create “a world characterized by greater economic interdependence, that is, one open to unrestricted flows of trade and investment.” Furthermore, he “recognized the right of the Russian people to determine their own government,”⁶⁵ and he did not consider the Soviet government as legitimately embodying the Russian people’s spirit. Wilson distrusted and thought the Bolsheviks to be entirely imprudent.

The Orthodox Church in Russia at this time was also suffering greatly. The Bolsheviks adopted the Marxist view of religion. In their view, religion is a drug used to escape the harsh realities of a materialistic life. Lenin took it a step further and wanted to erase it from the land. The Soviet government seized large portions of Church property in an attempt to suffocate it. Lenin also decreed a separation of church and state and stripped away its legal status thus giving the Soviet government the right to do what they wished with Church properties and human resources. “Some six thousand church and monastic buildings” were seized and any building needed for religious use was to be leased from the government.⁶⁶ Some churches were converted into clubs and dancing halls. To add to this miserable state of affairs, all religious teachings were banned from schools. Needless to say, many Christians in Russia were

⁶⁵ Ibid, 10.

⁶⁶ Pospelovsky, *The Russian Church Under the Soviet Regime: 1917 - 1982*, 1:31.

trying to find other ways to practice their religion. Some escaped and left the country, finding their way to other countries where Orthodox Christianity was practiced, namely Eastern Europe. Several schisms would form out of this unrest, for example the Karlovicians in Serbia, which is now known as the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia (ROCOR). Some even found their way to Korea⁶⁷ and others fled to America where they would go on to form the Metropolia.

All of this is to say that Russia in the early twentieth century was in turmoil and the U.S. was absolutely its enemy. This will later cause a major eruption between communism and democracy on the Korean peninsula which had direct effect on the Orthodox Community in Korea. The Church in a temporal and spiritual sense, under the Soviets, struggled to stay alive. While many Orthodox Christians, and people of other religious persuasions, fled the country, many stayed in Russia and tried to maintain some semblance of canonical unity under the Soviet government while not claiming any solidarity with communism or the Marxist government. Archimandrite Polycarp of the Mission in Korea, was among those Russians.

⁶⁷ George Baranoff's family was one of the Russian families who had escaped the revolution and found themselves in Seoul. Baranoff, Baptised at St. Nicholas Church in Jongdong in 1947.

The sobor, the Russian Orthodox Church's synodal committee,⁶⁸ stayed functioning although it was shut down for a short time in 1918 due to lack of funds caused by the Soviet's measures. Eventually it was able to meet again and passed some legislative measures to keep the church active during the civil war, though this proved to be almost impossible.

*... the sobor passed a number of decrees directly bearing on Church-state relationships that were quite unrealistic in the light of the new Soviet conditions and Lenin's aforementioned legislation. ... It prescribed no violence against the state, but, in cases of seizure of a church, instructed the parish communities not to disband but to keep the priest and hold services privately. This decree obviously prepared the Orthodox people for the so-called catacomb existence and continuation of the Church during and after the holocausts of the 1930s and again in the 1960s.*⁶⁹

Even though the central church administration was nearly eradicated by the Soviet's and by schismatic groups that were increasing in number, the Russian

⁶⁸ Sometimes referred to as a synod or synaxis (Greek: σύναξις - "gathering together"; Slavonic: sobor)

⁶⁹ Pospelovsky, *The Russian Church Under the Soviet Regime: 1917 - 1982*, 1:36–37.

Orthodox Church at the parish level survived and continued in its canonical unity. Many Russians remained loyal to Patriarch Tikhon (1865 – 1925),⁷⁰ who was elected just as the revolution was getting underway.⁷¹ Patriarch Tikhon rebuked the Soviets for their anti-Church legislation, and for the “persecutions and terror.” His stern admonishment of Lenin and the Soviets provoked more bloodshed. “... in the course of 1918 – 1920 at least twenty-eight bishops were murdered, thousands of clerics were imprisoned or killed, and twelve thousand laymen were reported to have been killed for religious activities alone.” The Patriarch was not arrested but was considered as a “bourgeois parasite.”⁷²

Thousands more arrests and banishments of Orthodox Christians to prison camps ensued which forced the Patriarch to bend to the Soviet regime. On September 25, 1919, he demanded all clergy to distance themselves from political involvement supporting Lenin’s separation of church and state. From this point forward, the Russian Orthodox Church would become ‘loyal’ to the Soviet government “as long as its orders did not contradict their religious conscience.”⁷³ In result of this decision, many Orthodox faithful by default

⁷⁰ Patriarch Tikhon, who served the Church under such great duress and dire straits, was later canonized by the church in 1989. St. Tikhon of Moscow served as Patriarch from 1917 – 1925.

⁷¹ This was the first time the Church had elected a Patriarch since the time of Peter the Great. Since the monarchy had crumbled, all the faithful, conservatives and modernists alike, agreed that a strong, unifying leader was needed. See Davis, Nathaniel. *A Long Walk to Church: A Contemporary History of Russian Orthodoxy*. 2nd ed. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2003, 1.

⁷² Pospelovsky, *The Russian Church Under the Soviet Regime: 1917 - 1982*, 1:38.

⁷³ Pospelovsky, 1:39.

became 'loyal' to the Soviet Union, thusly labeling them as 'communists' when in reality they were forced into this situation through coercion and terror. At this time in Korea, the Orthodox Community began to suffer from this discrimination.

Throughout Russia peasant revolts arose and the civil war soon turned to a peasant war. The conditions in the country were so dire that family members turned to cannibalism.⁷⁴ Lenin demanded the churches give up their valuables to help for relief which resulted in more bloodshed. However, this wasn't the only reason for ransacking church treasures. Davis writes:

Lenin had sent a secret memorandum to his Politburo colleagues on March 19, 1922 in which he wrote in brutal candor that the campaign to seize church treasures was intended to break the power of the clergy, not simply to obtain resources with which to buy food. Lenin called the opportunity 'exceptionally beneficial,' the only moment 'when we are given ninety-nine out of 100 chances to gain a full and crushing victory' over the clerical

⁷⁴ Nathaniel Davis, *A Long Walk to Church: A Contemporary History of Russian Orthodoxy*, p. 3.

*enemy and assure ourselves the necessary positions for decades ahead.*⁷⁵

After this, Patriarch Tikhon was placed under house arrest for not abiding by the government's mandate and the Church was split into three factions called the 'Renovationists'⁷⁶ who wished to reform the church. The Renovationists, however, would lose their control over a majority of the churches in 1924, the year Lenin died. Shortly thereafter, in 1925, Patriarch Tikhon would also pass away which "plunged the church into a rolling crisis of leadership."⁷⁷

While the Church was struggling to stay afloat in the tumultuous storm of communism, Allied forces along with the Japanese military were meddling in the Russian civil war. By mid-1918 American forces were already in Vladivostok and Archangel. Japanese troops were holding the Manchurian border and moving forward into Siberia. Allied forces began pushing southward from Murmansk in September. The Allied forces were anti-Bolshevik and were fighting with the Czechoslovaks and the 'White' (anti-Bolshevik) Russians to stop the spread of communism which Lenin and his cohorts were working hard

⁷⁵ Ibid, 3.

⁷⁶ Ibid, 4.

⁷⁷ Ibid, 4.

to spread worldwide. The Japanese were interested in their own imperialistic agenda and the alliance with America was growing thin. While President Wilson approved of Japan's marginal presence in Manchuria and Siberia, he did not like how Viscount Ishii Kikujiro (1866 – 1945) had underhandedly placed over 62,000 troops there.⁷⁸ Japan was becoming more and more of a threat.

The First World War came to an end with Germany agreeing to an armistice on November 11, 1918, but Russia remained at war with itself. Lenin was in distress knowing that capitalism, the Allied forces, was advancing towards him. The same day Germany signed the armistice, American troops fought a bloody battle against the Communist (Red) Army at Tulgas, on the North Dvina River. Allied and American motivation declined as the Red Army's hostility increased.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, President Wilson was not about to give Japan the upper hand in Siberia and he did not want to desert the Czechoslovaks nor the White Army.

Lenin, looking for a way to avoid total obliteration by the Allied forces arranged a peace initiative just before the end of World War I. However, it was not received well by the British and French who wanted to wipe out Bolshevism once and for all. Wilson, on the other hand, was seeking a diplomatic end to the civil war and at the Paris Peace Conference his voice was heard loudest. Wilson,

⁷⁸ Pospelovsky, *The Russian Church Under the Soviet Regime: 1917 - 1982*, 1:21.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 1:23.

through the Prinkipo proposal, invited Lenin to attend a conference on the island of Prinkipo to discuss further peace proposals. This encouraged Lenin into thinking that the Soviet Regime was going to be recognized by America and he established the international communist movement, the Comintern. They held a meeting in Moscow in the spring of 1919 “where it began to plan the intensification of revolutionary propaganda and agitation around the world.” Hungary and Bavaria soon had their own communist governments “reinforcing Lenin’s belief that the rest of Europe soon would rise in revolution.”⁸⁰

Peace between the Soviets and the Allies would never work even though a series of diplomatic efforts involving Herbert Hoover (1874 – 1933) of America and Winston Churchill (1874 – 1965) of Britain were tried with Lenin. Lenin wasn’t prepared to negotiate on Allied terms, therefore the “Allies would continue their struggle to strangle Soviet Russia economically.”⁸¹ Soon, all American forces left northern Russia.

Communism was spreading in to the U.S. during 1919 as well. The Communist Labor Party of the United States was established and by that summer the country was in the grip of its first Red Scare. Meanwhile, in Japanese occupied Korea the people had just enjoyed the March First Independence Movement and associations with the Soviets were growing. The

⁸⁰ Ibid, 1:25.

⁸¹ Ibid, 1:27.

Koryŏ Communist Party in Shanghai was established in 1920 and later the Chosŏn Communist party would be formed in 1925. Communism as an ideology had gained a foothold outside of the Soviet Union.

As mentioned above, Lenin died in 1924, nevertheless communism and its anti-religion, socialist agenda was spreading quickly. By 1928, Josef Stalin (1878 – 1953) had gained power of the Soviet government, and a shift from a global view to a more domestic view ensued. The U.S., thinking it was helping Stalin build a more capitalistic economy, began a short span of cooperation and U.S. industries such as, General Electric and the Ford Motor Company offered considerable support. “But Stalin accepted Western aid only to help Russia to become a self-sufficient industrial power, not to learn how to become a capitalist nation. After the Soviets had received the know-how they needed to make their own automobiles and tractors, they terminated their working relationship with Ford in 1934.”⁸² Stalin used American resources to improve his industrialization. U.S. ignorance helped build Soviet socialism.

The U.S. government once again refused recognition of the Soviet regime and became the only major nation not to own embassy grounds in Moscow. Also, with the lack of recognition toward the Soviets by the U.S., Japan was growing ever more present militarily in East Asia. However,

⁸² Ibid, 1:31.

President Herbert Hoover was unequivocally adamant against recognizing the Soviets as a legitimate nation. He believed the spread of communism had to be stopped.

However, Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882 – 1945) became president of the United States in 1933 and believed that nonrecognition of the Soviet Union was not working. While cautious, Roosevelt maintained the policy that in order to keep Germany and Japan in check, the Soviet Union was a necessary ally. The Soviets were also keeping an eye on Japanese expansionism in the East that was encroaching closer and closer to Russia. Finally, in 1933, diplomatic relations were reestablished between the U.S. and Russia, only to fail again. Ambassador to the Soviet Union, William C. Bullitt (1891 – 1967) believed that any “‘normal relations’ between the Soviet Union and any other country is to speak of something which does not and cannot exist.”⁸³ Anti-Soviet sentiments were still running hot in the American government.

Anti-Soviet views were also prominent in the Orthodox Church at this time. As mentioned, Patriarch Tikhon had passed away in 1925 and for two years the church was in a state of crisis. By 1927, the new leader of the church, Metropolitan Sergi (Stragorodski) of Nizhni-Novgorod (1867 – 1944), otherwise known as Patriarch Sergius of Moscow, declared loyalty to the Soviet

⁸³ Ibid, 1:38.

Union. In his loyalty declaration he claimed “the Soviet Union as our civil motherland” which caused an uproar among the Orthodox faithful in Russia and abroad. A group of schismatic Russian Orthodox clergy in Sremski Karlovci, Serbia vehemently opposed this declaration of loyalty and claimed that their synod, the True Orthodox Church and True Orthodox Christians, which is now referred to as the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia (ROCOR), as the only legitimate Orthodox Church in Soviet Russia.⁸⁴ To this day, they are still separated from the Moscow Patriarchate.

From 1929 – 1933, under Stalin’s forced industrialization and collectivization, churches across the country were forced to close and famine swept the land.

Farmers posted guards and defended their churches and priests with scythes and pitchforks, but many priests and peasants were swept away in the general violence. The campaign changed the face of the countryside, which was thereafter dotted with the shells of churches serving as granaries, overcrowded dwellings, storehouses, and workshops, their rusting and disintegrating cupolas standing hollow against the sky.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Davis, *A Long Walk to Church: A Contemporary History of Russian Orthodoxy*, 5.

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, 5.

From 1935 – 1936, Hitler and Mussolini’s fascism was growing more and more pervasive throughout Germany, and in Northern Africa, namely Ethiopia. The Spanish Civil War broke out in ’36 between communists on one side and fascists on the other. Hitler and Mussolini came together in agreement to stamp out communism and spread their fascist ideals, a friendship that would not last long. During this time, countries started picking sides. Japan aligned itself with Germany and Italy in the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis. The U.S. was trying to stay neutral while maintaining an anti-communist/anti-fascist policy.

Roosevelt still felt that cooperation with the Soviets was necessary, especially now in the light of the impending fascist regimes of Hitler, Mussolini, and now Japan. By 1937, Japan was at war with China, pushing into Russia and the Soviets were now ready to block Japanese expansionism. “The Soviets, apparently, were not making idle inquiries. They had potent military power in the Far East, and they had demonstrated a willingness to use it. ... These incidents were not mere skirmishes between border guards but full-scale battles involving whole divisions, tanks, artillery, and aircraft.”⁸⁶

By 1938, Hitler’s Army had occupied Austria and was encroaching upon Czechoslovakia who begged Roosevelt for assistance. Roosevelt insisted on his

⁸⁶ Pospelovsky, *The Russian Church Under the Soviet Regime: 1917 - 1982*, 1:42.

neutrality. By 1939 Hitler took Czechoslovakia and set his next target on Poland, which he attacked on September 1 sparking the Second World War. Mussolini was still dominating in Southern Europe and Northern Africa. A 'Pact of Steel' was established between Hitler and Mussolini flexing their muscles towards Britain and the other Allied countries, but that pact quickly came to not by 1941.

In 1940, Stalin was looking to expand and declared that most of Eastern Europe including Greece and Finland were all within his sights. Hitler responded by occupying Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Greece. It is important to note here that all of these countries were predominately filled with Orthodox Christians. Stalin's Marxist-Leninist ideology wished to stamp out religion all together and communize the world. Hitler was spreading his Nazi ideology of a superior race and preparing for ethnic cleansing through genocide. In 1941, Hitler invaded the Soviet Union. Through all of this, the U.S. was trying to remain neutral. That lasted until the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941.

The Orthodox Church in Russia from the end of the famines of the 1930's to the start of World War II was dangerously close to falling completely apart. Some 42,000 Orthodox clergy members had been killed by the end of the 1930's.⁸⁷ By 1937, nearly every church and related church establishment

⁸⁷ "While no solid statistics exist to either confirm or refute this figure, circumstantial evidence tends to corroborate this estimate." Pospelovsky, 1:174.

throughout Russia were closed, with only about 200 – 300 remaining open. Compare this to before the Bolshevik revolution when there were over “80,000 functioning church establishments if one counted chapels, convent churches, and institutional prayer houses.”⁸⁸

Just before Hitler’s invasion in 1941, Stalin ordered all church leaders to vacate in fear of their defection or capture by the Nazis by which they could “turn the Soviet churchmen to their own political purposes.” Metropolitan Sergi and other leaders of the Church, including some Protestant Christians, were herded into train cars and shipped off 705 kilometers east of Moscow, to Ulyanovsk which would become the “religious capital” of the country.⁸⁹ Metropolitan Sergi was not greeted by anyone there and lived in the train car for some time. A. Krasnov, of the Renovationists, describes the scene in Ulyanovsk:

There was one little cemetery church, hardly more than a chapel, at which a young monastic priest of doubtful reputation and uncertain ecclesiastical loyalty was serving. It became the first ‘pitiful outpost’ of

⁸⁸ Davis, *A Long Walk to Church: A Contemporary History of Russian Orthodoxy*, 12.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 13.

*the Moscow Patriarchate in the region. Sergi did not even have a place to stay.*⁹⁰

The world was at war. Genocide, famine, and terror were prevalent. The United States aligned with Britain and France and tried to hold back the Nazis in Europe while simultaneously attempting to stop Japanese imperialism in the East. During all of this, the Orthodox Church in Russia was split and fractured until its last canonical leader lay in a train car with no money to his name. Canonicity is integral to the Orthodox Church as it is established on apostolic succession. The Patriarchate of Moscow was under this canonicity and to break it would mean the end of this succession. This theological element of the Orthodox doctrine was highly contested over and used in so many ways to justify the schisms of the Karlovcians in Serbia and the Metropolia in America. This element will be discussed in detail in the next chapter. For now, it is important to note one very crucial detail.

The Metropolitan who found himself homeless in a train car at the outset of a World War, did not abandon his canonical duties and still strived to keep the Patriarchate together even under such dire straits. In other words, the Russian Orthodox Church remained alive with this man. Furthermore, this

⁹⁰ Ibid, 14.

homeless and penniless Patriarch was the leader to which Archimandrite Polycarp of the Orthodox Community in Korea remained loyal.

It was from here that Sergi would right “Progressive humanity has declared a holy war against Hitler in the name of Christian civilization, for freedom of conscience and religion.”⁹¹ It was probably through this that Sergi wanted to oblige Stalin to adopt a new policy toward the church and, in fact after the German attack, anti-Church propaganda was taken out of Soviet media. It would not be until 1943 that Stalin totally loosened his grip on the church, however. Nevertheless, in the wake of the German invasion Stalin was beginning to realize that he could not completely wipe out the Church no matter how hard, or how terribly he tried.

Sergi continued to strive to build the church back to legal status and on September 3, 1943 he arrived back in Moscow from his semi-exile in Ulyanovsk. Surprisingly, he was taken to the Kremlin where he met with Stalin and Foreign Minister Molotov directly in Stalin’s own study along with Metropolitan Nikolai (Yarushevich) and Metropolitan Aleksei (Simansky) “do discuss and arrange the conditions for a controlled but more solid existence of the Moscow Patriarchate.”⁹² According to Anatoli Levitin-Krasnov (1918 – 1991):⁹³

⁹¹ Mark Popovsky, *Zhizn' i Zhitie Voino-Yasenetskogo, Arkhiepiskop i Khirurg*. (Paris: YMCA Press, 1979), 361.

⁹² Pospelovsky, *The Russian Church Under the Soviet Regime: 1917 - 1982*, 1:201.

⁹³ “Anatoli Levitin-Krasnov died in a drowning accident in Lake Geneva, Switzerland, early in April 1991. He was 75. He had been influential from the late 1950s onwards in bringing many

It was Molotov who began the conversation. He said that the Soviet government and Stalin personally would like to know the needs of the Church.

While the other two metropolitans remained silent, Metropolitan Sergii suddenly spoke up ... The Metropolitan spoke calmly ... in a businesslike manner ...

The metropolitan pointed out the need for the mass reopening of churches ... for the convocation of a church council and the election of a patriarch ... for the general opening of seminaries, because there was a complete lack of clergy.

young people in Moscow into the Russian Orthodox Church. He was the first to speak out in samizdat about the church's problems and was also the first Orthodox Christian to become involved in the human rights movement. He became a friend not only of prominent dissenters but also of many young people seeking after faith. His tiny Moscow flat was well known, in the early 1960s, as a centre for discussion lasting late into the night where any topic could be aired." From Levitin's Obituary. See Philip Walters, "Anatoli Levitin-Krasnov 1915–1991," *Religion in Communist Lands* 19, no. 3–4 (December 1991): 264–70, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09637499108431520>.

Her Stalin suddenly broke the [ensuing] silence: “And why don’t you have cadres? Where have they disappeared?” he asked ... looking at the bishops point blank ...

... everybody knew that “the cadres” had perished in the camps. But Metropolitan Sergii ... replied: “There are all sorts of reasons why we have no cadres. One of the reason is that we train a person for the priesthood, and he becomes the Marshal of the Soviet Union.”

Stalin smiled with satisfaction: “Yes, of course. I am a seminarian ...” Stalin began to reminisce about his years at the seminary ... the chat lasted on until 3 a.m. ... It was during this chat that the future Statute of the Russian Orthodox Church and the conditions in which she would operate were [orally] drafted.

...

The old Metropolitan Sergii was absolutely exhausted. Stalin took him under the arm like a proper acolyte, led him carefully

*down the stairs and said the following on his parting: “Your Grace, this is all I can do for you at the present time.”*⁹⁴

Shortly thereafter, a sobor was arranged and Metropolitan Sergi was elected the next Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church. Under Stalin’s new-found leniency with the Church that a regrowth happened within the Church. During this time, a lot of Russians abroad returned to Russia. Sergi passed away on May 15, 1944 unable to see his dream of a flourishing theological education system in Russia.

No matter the burgeoning growth of the Church at this time, it still suffered a contradictory duality both attempting to be a Church of God and serving a theomachist regime. Newly elected Patriarch Aleksei (Simansky, 1877 – 1970) would go on to promote the Church and the State showing his “love and devotion to Stalin.”⁹⁵ Stalin approved and encouraged him in these endeavors, so the rest of the world could see that the Russian Church was genuinely free, and that the Soviet Union changed its theomachist views. This was not entirely true, however.

⁹⁴ A. Levitin-Krasnov, *Vospominaniya. Ruk Tvoikh Zhar*, vol. 2 (Tel Aviv, 1979), 105–7.

⁹⁵ Pospelovsky, *The Russian Church Under the Soviet Regime: 1917 - 1982*, 1:218.

The Soviet government continued to treat religion as an enemy to be combated through all forms of propaganda, while the Church was not allowed to answer back. The secret police interfered in every aspect of the Church's inner life. Moreover, in return for restricted toleration, the Church leaders were expected to be 'loyal' to the government. This meant not only that they had to refrain from any criticism of the Soviet authorities, but they were also required to support Communist policies actively at home and more particularly abroad. None of the legislation against religion was repealed, and it was open to the authorities to resume active persecution at any time, whenever they should judge it expedient.⁹⁶

Not long after Stalin's death in 1953 would Khrushchev begin another assault on the Church arresting clergy, closing churches, the banning of communion for children, and the closing of seminaries and monasteries. It was yet another holocaust in the Church's history, largely unheard of in the west.

⁹⁶ Timothy (Bishop Kallistos of Diokleia) Ware, *The Orthodox Church* (Penguin Books, 1997), 156.

Japanese Occupied Korea, Liberation, and the Orthodox Church: 1930 – 1949

At the beginning of the Second World War, the Orthodox Mission in Korea was placed under the jurisdiction of the Tokyo Archdiocese which was still under the Moscow Patriarchate and Patriarch Sergi. However, conditions in Korea were becoming more and more dire. Also, the Japanese government became desperate in trying to assimilate the Korean people. Throughout the 1930's local newspapers such as the *Tongnip Sinmun* were banned from publication and a lot of the Koreans who were involved in the Independence Movement were imprisoned or banished from the country. The *Naisen ittai* (Japan-Korea, one body) policy of the Japanese government was increased in 1938. "This acceleration of Japanese assimilation in Korea during the final seven years of its rule witnessed the colonial administration adopting hitherto unprecedented measures to eradicate Korean culture and identity."⁹⁷ In 1939, Father Boris fled with his family to Shanghai, China to escape the heavy persecutions of Japanese officials. He stayed in China until the liberation in 1945. His first daughter, Anna was five years old when she moved to China and attended a Japanese elementary school in Shanghai. His second daughter, Natalia was born there.⁹⁸ The Orthodox community began to fall apart during

⁹⁷ Caprio, *Japanese Assimilation Policies in Colonial Korea: 1910 - 1945*, 142.

⁹⁸ Mun and Mun, Interview, 2018.

these difficult years. It was in 1936 that Archimandrite Polycarp was assigned as the head of the Mission in Korea.

Polycarp graduated from high school in Manchuria in 1930 and the following year studied at the Tokyo Theological Seminary in Tokyo. In the early spring of 1936 he was ordained deacon, received his monastic tonsure, and was ordained as a priest. By April he arrived in Korea as the head of the Orthodox mission.

He did not greet a very healthy mission. Because the Japanese government's insistence to minimize the use of the Korean language, the liturgy was only performed in Church Slavonic and Russian and a small portion in Korean. Later, the Korean language would be completely banned. By 1940, the Japanese authorities forced all communication with Moscow to cease and deposed the Metropolitan of the Tokyo Archdiocese, Sergius. By October 1941, all responsibility of the Orthodox Mission in Korea was given to Archimandrite Polycarp. At this time the Japanese government restricted the Mission's activities to Russians only and other foreign missionaries were expelled from Korea altogether. Polycarp writes in his autobiography, "Because of the impossibility of missionary work in the political situation, Metropolitan Sergius limited my activities to the spiritual nourishment of only Russians in Korea with

the safeguarding of the Mission's property.”⁹⁹ He was furthermore restricted to stay at the Mission in Seoul and not allowed to travel to other Orthodox sites. Korean nationals were not allowed to visit any of the Orthodox mission sites, either. During the war, the Archimandrite may have served all of thirty Orthodox faithful.¹⁰⁰

Nevertheless, the predominant attitude throughout the peninsula was somewhat positive toward the Japanese. The *ch'in-il-üi* (친일의), pro-Japanese Koreans were growing in number after the Manchurian Incident of 1931, and the later Marco Polo Bridge Incident of 1937, which provoked the Sino-Japanese War. Manchukuo, the Japanese puppet state established after the Manchurian incident helped to establish Korea's economic base more firmly. It also helped the Japanese assimilation policies establish deeper roots within the Korean population. General Ugaki Kazushige (1868 – 1956), in a speech he gave at Keijō Imperial University, praised Korea for its industrialization.

He provided a list of telling signs that demonstrated this success: more Koreans were donning colorful clothing, choosing modern hairstyles, and displaying the Japanese flag on holidays. He also complemented their spiritual attitudinal change that

⁹⁹ Shkarovsky, “Russkaya Pravoslavnaya Dukhovnaya Missiya v Koreye.”

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

incorporated many of the characteristics emphasized in Korean education: sacrificial service; a love of labor, frugality, and savings; and a socially cooperative lifestyle.¹⁰¹

Korea was beginning to flourish economically throughout the thirties with such institutions like the Korean Industrial Bank (Chōsen Shokusan Ginkō) of which over half of its employees by 1945 were Korean. Also, Korea's first *chaebōl* (재벌, 財閥, conglomerate) grew out of the Honam (호남, 湖南) area in the south Chōlla (전라, 全羅) provinces, where rice was its major export. Kim Sōngsu (김성수, 金性洙 1891 – 1955), the leader out of the Honam group went on to start the *Tonga ilbo* (East Asia Daily) and Korea University among other schools. The 1930s during the colonial period in Korea saw economic growth and a small urban class develop.

Along with cultural and political tactics, the Japanese also used religion to assimilate its subjects. In Todd A. Henry's thorough study entitled, *Assimilating Seoul: Japanese Rule and the Politics of Public Space in Colonial Korea, 1910 – 1945* (2014), Henry takes painstaking effort to establish Japan's monumental attempt in altering the geography of Korea's landscape, most specifically in Seoul, to proliferate the spirit of Kokutai (in Korean, Kugche,

¹⁰¹ Caprio, *Japanese Assimilation Policies in Colonial Korea: 1910 - 1945*, 143.

국체, 國體, national polity) the word that carried the Japanese spirit and with which its leaders strived for. This spirit was held within the Shintō religion, which was invented¹⁰² in the late nineteenth century by the Meiji government as a means to promote a spiritual nationalism amongst its people.

A year before the bombing of Pearl Harbor was the twenty-sixth-hundredth birthday of the Japanese Empire dating back to 660 BCE when Emperor Jimmu, descendant of Amaterasu, the Sun Goddess, began to rule. The succession of emperors ran straight through the 2600 years to the current emperor, Hirohito (裕仁, 1901 – 1989). All Japanese peoples living on the main island of Japan had grown accustomed to this story “that had been propagated through compulsory education and frequent spectacles.”¹⁰³ In Korea, this story was taught to the colonized population through coercive shrine worship, expositions displaying Japan’s sacred geography, school field trips to shrines for students, classroom lessons, the encouragement of building a shrine in one’s home for personal worship, and so on.

The Great Keijō Exposition held in the fall of 1940 near Wangshilli (왕신리, 旺信里) that was seen by over 1.3 million visitors “encouraged

¹⁰² See: Jason Ānanda Josephson, *The Invention of Religion in Japan* (Chicago, Illinois USA: The University of Chicago Press, 2012).

¹⁰³ Henry, *Assimilating Seoul: Japanese Rule and the Politics of Public Space: 1910 - 1945*, 170.

colonized subjects to forge closer relations with the imperial house.”¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, the Namsan Shintō shrines were the spiritual totemic center of Seoul. In the latter days of colonialization, the shrines witnessed a militarization of its ceremonies and festivals. The Governor-General

*replaced forms of entertainment that might lead to unruly behavior with new, austere forms of Shintō reverence that conformed more closely to state goals. In this way, they transformed a long-standing urban spectacle into another expression of the military battles already enveloping nearby China and that would soon extend into the Pacific.*¹⁰⁵

Throughout Korea, Shintō shrines were unified into a collective effort to support the “holy war”¹⁰⁶ that was being waged abroad. The Korean natives were just beginning to witness this in its grandeur as the Japanese government became more and more desperate to prove itself as a super power against the U.S., Russia, and China. Unlike the Soviets, however, they did not want to

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, 171.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, 182.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, 171.

stamp out religion, they were using it to homogenize and coerce its subjects, both native and colonized.

However, all around the peninsula there were stirrings of communism that was streaming down from the Soviet Union while democracy was being discussed amongst progressives and Protestant Christians, and a growing yearning for independence from Japan amongst all of the Koreans was gaining weight.

While a small upper class enjoyed development, at the same time there was overall stunted growth around the peninsula. An industrial revolution was beginning from 1935 – 1945 and the Korean population witnessed a large migration. Nearly ten to twenty percent of the population were leaving their hometowns for work elsewhere, a lot of the time to different countries as Father Boris and his family did in 1939. According to Japan's industrial and military demands, the population of Korea became conscripted and *naisen ittai* was simply being forced upon both Japanese and Koreans. The Japanese government was trying to smash Korea into its culture to make 'one body.'

The Korean League for the General Mobilization of the National Spirit (Kokumin Seishin Sōdōin Undō, 국민정신총동원운동, 國民精神總動員運動), a Japanese organization to enforce civilian control, was established throughout the country at local and provincial levels by 1937. Also,

the Korean Anti-Communist Association made anti-communist discussions obligatory in factories and schools throughout the peninsula. Anyone with thoughts against these Japanese formed groups were tortured until they were ready to conform. The most important element for the Japanese government in this time of desperation, just after the Second World War, was the need for Korean workers to fill the gaps in industry. Some 1.4 million Koreans were in Japan working in construction, manufacturing, mining, and agriculture. In Korea, quotas were set to fill for the mobilization of workers which were severe. Japanese guards supervised while Koreans forced their own relatives and neighbors into labor jobs including comfort girl positions.¹⁰⁷

In the final moments of the Japanese occupation as the Allied Forces finally made their bloody crawl into the Japanese Empire, Japan felt its impending doom. The government began to push rigorous dictatorial politics. Japanese leaders governed with Kokutai and demanded its people to hold Kokutai as their principle in daily life. Everyone must work together for the “national polity.” Koreans were forced to don Japanese names. The Korean language was banned. Worship at Japanese Shinto shrines was enforced. The culture held deeply by Koreans that stretches back centuries was being torn from its roots. It is no wonder Father Boris took his family away from this oppression.

¹⁰⁷ Cumings, *Korea's Place in the Sun: A Modern History*, 178–80.

The political ground in Korea from 1943 – 1950 was fertile for uprisings. There was communism, socialism, and atheism springing up in the North and, in the South, democracy, capitalism, and Protestant Christianity. There were the Soviets in the North, and after Japan's defeat, the United States in the South. With the U.S. came progress and the promise that a belief in a Protestant Christian God would bring success. On the other hand, the Soviets and communism promised prosperity through shared work and materialism. By the time the Korean War broke out, the country was thoroughly divided against itself with Russia and communism on one side, and the United States of America and democracy on the other.

According to Park Myōngrim (박명립), this decisive split had been long in the making. From the 1945 division of the peninsula between the Soviets and America, the erosion in the trusteeship, and the rupture of the Joint Soviet-American Commission in 1946, fodder was being laid for a civil war.¹⁰⁸ From then on it was a strong and violent competition between the North who sided with the Soviet communists and the South, which was now being managed by the Americans. The Orthodox Community was associated with Russia, the Russia of Orthodoxy and a deep history of Christian Tradition, not Soviet

¹⁰⁸ Myōngrim Park, *Han-Kuk-Chōn-Chaeng-Ŭi Pal-Pal-Kwa Ki-Wōn (The Korean War: The Outbreak and Its Origins, Vol II: The Origins and Causes of the Conflict, vol. 2* (Seoul: Nanam Publishing House, 1996), 135.

communism. While it tried to distance itself from communism and the Soviet regime, it couldn't help but fall into a shadow of discrimination and social ostracism by the South Korean government.

Park's multi-layered attempt to deconstruct the dynamics that split apart the peninsula views the origins of the civil war through the lens of the post-colonial social revolution. The North was decidedly communist, and the Soviets had a large sway over the region which is why Christians, Orthodox, Protestant, and Catholic alike, all fled to the South. In the South, the constant dispute between which form of government was best for the Korean people caused so much strife and conflict that trust between politicians dwindled into a catastrophic consequence. Even though Korea was liberated from Japan, conflict was abundant.¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, anything 'Russian' was considered 'communist.' This included the St. Nicholas Orthodox Mission in Seoul.

Father Boris came back from China in 1945 with his wife and two daughters to a liberated, yet divided Korea. According to his oldest daughters Anna and Natalia, Father Boris did not attend St. Nicholas services because he was "focusing on his family."¹¹⁰ However, it is evident that the Orthodox mission was now in an extremely perilous situation. Tied to the Soviet government, yet not wanting to be associated with communism, they tried to

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 167.

¹¹⁰ Mun and Mun, Interview, 2018.

distance themselves from the Russian legation and politics in Seoul. This was impossible. According to George Baranoff who was born in Korea in 1946 and baptized in '47 at St. Nicholas, the clergy of the mission had built a fence between the legation and St. Nicholas to establish that they did not want to be associated with the Soviets.¹¹¹ Mr. Baranoff's family moved to Korea in 1932 to escape the Bolshevik's.

St. Nicholas Orthodox Church, was situated by the Russian Legation, which was now the Soviet Consulate, in a corner of the neighborhood called Chŏngdong. The Consulate was the center for communist activities in Seoul. At times, Russian diplomats and other immigrants came to visit Archimandrite Polycarp and the church. In result of this, the surrounding Protestants, Roman Catholic Christians, and other Koreans came to view the Orthodox Church in a negative light. The communists in the north began a severe oppression against religious people and an exodus of Christians came to the South, some "White" Russian Orthodox among them who stayed at the Orthodox Mission in Chŏngdong.

By 1946 the Soviet Consulate in Seoul was closed by the Americans and by 1947 most of all the Russians had left Korea to go back to Russia under

¹¹¹ In my interview with Mr. Baranoff, he also mentioned that Archimandrite Polycarp's signature is on his sister's baptismal certificate. His family lived in Seoul from 1932 – 1950. Two of his family members are buried at Yangwhajin Foreign Missionary Cemetery (양화진순교자기념관, 楊花津殉教者紀念館). Baranoff, Baptised at St. Nicholas Church in Jongdong in 1947, interviewed by Robert Erik Lionberger, May 26, 2018.

Stalin's new Church-State reform measures. The Soviet Consulate had helped the Archimandrite retain communication with the Moscow Patriarch Alexei, who was elected after the death of Patriarch Sergi. The Soviets wanted to retain connection with the mission as it was still a part of the Patriarchate. This was an attempt to hold influence over the people, not for any ecclesiological reasons. There was possibly twenty Russians remaining in Korea by 1947.¹¹²

During the post-war time of 1945 – 1947, Polycarp attempted to expand the mission's premises by refurbishing the chapel, library, and meeting spaces. To accomplish this, according to Shkarovsky, he refused to rent some of the space of the Mission to certain people while renting already occupied apartments to others for an extra profit. Some Koreans spread rumors that the property of the Mission was Japanese property and "slandered" Polycarp. This particular claim would cause some trouble for Father Boris and the Orthodox community after the armistice in 1953 when they tried to reclaim the property. The property was originally placed under the name of one of Father Daniel's relatives, so was always 'Korean Property' and legally belonged to the Koreans of the Orthodox Church. However, the complexities that ensued during the Japanese occupation made this one fact almost impossible to prove. In result of

¹¹² Shkarovsky, "Russkaya Pravoslavnaya Dukhovnaya Missiya v Koreye."

this aberrant situation, the Mission Property was transferred to the Americans.

Polycarp wrote in a letter to the Archbishop of Harbin:

In Korea, in our Mission, there are some “well-wishers” (доброжелатели, dobrozhelatieli) among the Russian refugees who have some reasons to slander the Mission and lie to the Americans that the Mission is really the property of the Japanese (because they seem to want to live comfortably in the Missionary apartments) and this is based on the fact that some property is registered in the name of the Japanese Orthodox Church Property Association. This is why the property now should be transferred to the Americans.¹¹³

Further troubles for Polycarp arose out of suspicions of his ties to the Soviets and therefore a communist. Some people claimed that the flag of the Soviet Union flew above the gate to the church and that Polycarp kept a bust of Stalin inside the church. Rumors of parties and commotions coming from the mission involving Soviet commissioners flew amongst the people which assuredly reached the other residents in Chōngdong. However, Archimandrite

¹¹³ Ibid.

Polycarp never had any communistic ideologies and never claimed to be a communist and the Russian community who attended the liturgies at St. Nicholas during this time were “deeply anti-Soviet.”¹¹⁴

Following these events, The Metropolia now had rightful claim to the Mission property. It was only a matter of time before Deacon Alexei Kim Ihan would be ordained as a priest in Tokyo under Bishop Benjamin of the Metropolia and sent back to Korea with a letter claiming the leadership of the Mission. Polycarp tore that letter up in front of the church members just after the liturgy which provoked the worst side of humanity. Like Korea divided into two and the Orthodox Church torn apart, the shredded letter lay on the floor of a sanctuary as people fought each other over who deserved to be in charge.

As was seen from the situation in Russia involving the Soviets and the Church, clergy could not escape the cold grip of Stalin’s Soviet Union, even though he pretended now to be a ‘friend’ of the church. They were caught within a catch-22 of either denying their faith in the Church or suffering from the slander and mis-guided discriminations of those that surrounded them. For these reasons it is not difficult to understand why the Karlovicians in Serbia, or the Russians in America decided to split from the Patriarchate, so they could spare themselves being labeled communist. Nevertheless, was this the appropriate

¹¹⁴ Baranoff, Baptised at St. Nicholas Church in Jongdong in 1947.

response? Leaving the Patriarchate to suffer in the cold shadow of communism seems hardly fair. On the other hand, why did the Patriarch not secede from the Soviet Union and align with the Karlovicians or the Metropolia? There were numerous faithful within the Russia without the luxury of emigrating to a different country, so to secede would be to abandon the Church's own people. However, did there have to be so much hostility and animosity between these factions within the Orthodox Church? There is something to say here about the temporal and spiritual. Humans make up the Church on Earth and, according to Christian tradition, humans are a fallen creature destined to a life of sin, but not without hope.

In the Christian tradition, there is a story of James and John, disciples of Jesus, when they confront him and say, "Grant us that we may sit, one on Your right hand and the other on Your left, in Your glory." Jesus responded to them in a most peculiar way. He said, "You do not know what you ask. Are you able to drink the cup that I drink, and be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with?" James and John said, "We are able." Then Jesus replied, "You will indeed drink the cup that I drink, and with the baptism I am baptized with you will be baptized; but to sit on My right hand and on My left is not Mine to give, but *it is for those* for whom it is prepared."¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵ Mark 10: 35-40. Also, the story is found in Matt. 20: 20-23 where James and John's mother asks the same question on behalf of her sons and receives the same reply from Jesus.

The two young disciples wanted to be at Jesus' side in his glory on this Earth. They thought he was a revolutionary about to overthrow the Roman government. This wasn't the case, however. The need for temporal power and glory is unbecoming of these two disciples and Jesus shares with them what is central to his 'glory' - the cup and baptism. In other words, crucifixion (cup) and his death (baptism). The cup is crucifixion because Jesus accepts it willingly, and baptism is his death because it purifies the world. Herein lies the mystery of the religion that Father Boris confessed. Temporally, the church was fractured, and communism was attempting to destroy it, but it is within death that spiritual life springs forth.

In the next Chapter this religion that Father Boris confessed and held as his 'sacred mission' will be looked at closely. How does this faith interact with the temporal and how does it behave spiritually? The Orthodox Church sits at the cross-section of the spiritual and temporal. After the torn letter; Polycarp's arrest, torture, and banishment; Father Alexei's abduction; and a civil War, the Orthodox Church in Korea sat with no one to protect it. The Orthodox faithful, those of Korean descent who had fled to Pusan for refuge gathered together as the war was coming to its long pause. They discussed together understanding the deep responsibility they carried as baptized Christians. They had the responsibility to protect the tradition that was handed down to them; a tradition that stems back temporally and spiritually to those first disciples of Jesus. The

Orthodox Community in Korea looked to the soft spoken, kind hearted, and the faithfully steadfast Boris. Father Boris inherited the sacred tradition of Christianity and became the protector of the faith of the Church.

IV. Tradition and Faith: Orthodox Theology in Korea

Surrounding the Orthodox community in Seoul were various forms of Christianity. The Chŏngdong district where the St. Nicholas Orthodox community existed from the beginning of the nineteenth century until after the Korean War, contained a large number of foreign Protestant missionaries. Very close to Chŏngdong was the district of Myŏngdong (명동) where the first Korean Catholics established their community. While they do contain many similarities, the differences between them are important to note to understand Father Boris's position as a Korean Orthodox Christian. A clear understanding of Orthodox theology and mission practices as compared to Protestantism and Catholicism will allow one to understand the position of Orthodoxy in the historiography of Korean Christian History. It will also shed light on why the Orthodox community found it necessary to choose Father Boris as their new leader after the war.

The Orthodox community in Seoul in 1953 was left without any clergy and without any leadership. Just before the war, while Polycarp was the Head of the Mission, they were under the Moscow Patriarchate. Once Polycarp was arrested and exiled and Father Alexei Kim Ihan was ordained and became the leader, the jurisdiction switched to the Metropolia. Father Alexei was then abducted and taken north never to be seen again. These jurisdictional

differences will be discussed further, but for now it is important to note that the small group of Orthodox Christians left after the Korean War were disconnected from the larger Orthodox community. They had no ties to Moscow and communication with the archdiocese in Japan was nil as relations between Korean and Japan were strained.

The appearance of the Greek Expeditionary Forces during the Korean war helped the Orthodox community in many ways. In 1952, a Greek Orthodox chaplain, Archimandrite Chariton Simeonides, arrived in Seoul and came into contact with approximately fifty Orthodox families still residing in the city. Later, in 1953, the second Greek Orthodox chaplain, Archimandrite Andreas Halkiopoulos came into the war and significantly began helping the community just after the armistice. Upon his efforts together with Father Boris and the rest of the community, the St. Nicolas Church was restored, and the Divine Liturgy was held on November 29, 1953, where the Deputy Minister of Education of Korea and various other civil and military authorities attended.¹¹⁶

Just after the armistice, while Father Boris and his family were in Pusan, the Orthodox Koreans who were staying there all came together and discussed the future of their community. They knew that they needed a leader and they looked to Father Boris for that leadership. Through an election process, Father

¹¹⁶ Zographos, "Orthodox Witness in the Korean Peninsula," 108.

Boris was chosen to become their next priest.¹¹⁷ Upon hearing this from his friends and family, Father Boris took his family to Seoul and began devoting his entire life to the Orthodox Church.¹¹⁸ Archimandrite Andreas helped Father Boris travel to Japan where he was ordained as a deacon and then as a priest under Bishop Ireney of the Metropolia. Upon his arrival back in Korea, Father Boris was faced with a monumental problem involving the jurisdiction of the Church.

Zographos states:

World War II, the suffering of the Korean people from Japanese occupation ... and the political upheavals in Korea adversely affected the relations between the Orthodox community in Seoul and the Church of Japan. The same was the case with the Patriarchate of Moscow. After the Korean War, South Koreans were unfavourably disposed towards Russia because of its alliance with North Korea, and thus Orthodox Koreans did not want to have any relations with the Church of Russia. As a result, the Orthodox Community of Seoul found itself cut off from the

¹¹⁷ Reverend Protopresbyter Daniel Na (나창규), interview by Robert Erik Lionberger, July 1, 2018.

¹¹⁸ Mun and Mun, interview. 2017

*rest of the Orthodox Church; that is, the community did not belong to any ecclesiastical jurisdiction.*¹¹⁹

The Orthodox community, with Father Boris as its new leader, had a decision to make about their “ecclesiastical jurisdiction.” This question of jurisdiction brings the temporal/spiritual issue to the forefront. To begin the unraveling of this issue, it is important here to specify exactly what the Orthodox Church claims to be.

Harakas states:

Eastern Orthodoxy claims to be the fulness of the true Christian Faith. ... Whether understood as “True Faith” or “True Worship,” the exposition, proclamation, defense and affirmation of Orthodox Christianity before all is an essential mark of its identity. The foundation of Holy Tradition, Holy Scripture, the patristic mind, liturgical practice, monastic and spiritual life, architecture and art make statements that affirm a unique and unwavering consciousness of the identity of Orthodox Christianity with the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church.

¹¹⁹ Zographos, “Orthodox Witness in the Korean Peninsula,” 108.

As Orthodox Christians we hold this perspective as a precious treasure, a parakatatheke,¹²⁰ which may not be compromised, abandoned or distorted.¹²¹

Ware expands the definition:

The Orthodox Church is thus a family of self-governing Churches. It is held together, not by a centralized organization, not by a single prelate wielding power over the whole body, but by the double bond of unity in the faith and communion in the sacraments. Each Patriarchate or autocephalous Church, while independent, is in full agreement with the rest on all matters of doctrine, and between them all there is in principle full sacramental communion. (There are in fact certain breaches in communion, particularly among the Russian and Ukrainian Orthodox, but the situation here is exceptional and, one hopes,

¹²⁰ παρακαταθήκη - a deposit, a trust or thing consigned to one's faithful keeping used of the correct knowledge and pure doctrine of the gospel, to be held firmly and faithfully, and to be conscientiously delivered unto others. See, "Παρακαταθήκη | Billmounce.Com."

¹²¹ Stanley Samuel Harakas, "Ecclesial and Ethnic Identities Within the American Religious Scene," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 48, no. 48 (2003): 46.

*temporary in character.) There is in Orthodoxy no one with an equivalent position to the Pope in the Roman Catholic Church.*¹²²

The physical connectedness of churches is imperative to the Orthodox church. Temporally, the church represents the body of Christ and there should not be any substantial break. Spiritually, they are connected through the sacraments of the church, the liturgy, prayers, iconography, and mystical life of the church. In result, for Father Boris and the Orthodox community in Seoul, the first order of business was to connect itself to this body temporally in order to fully be alive spiritually.

As Ware points out in the above quote, the problems that arose in the Russian Orthodox Church were exceptional. Due to the Bolshevik revolution and communism, the attack upon the Church was severe, yet it was not able to completely extinguish it. In 1923, while Korea was under Japanese occupation and the world was reeling from the First World War, a Pan-Orthodox Congress was held in Constantinople. The Ecumenical Patriarch Meletios IV Metaxakes (1871 – 1935) invited representatives of the Orthodox Churches of Russia, Romania, Greece, Serbia, and Cyprus to meet and discuss some pressing issues effecting the Orthodox Church in light of the recent World War.

¹²² Ware, *The Orthodox Church*, 7.

Not only the rise of communism in Russia, but also in the Middle East, Orthodox people were under persecution through systematic extermination and warfare.¹²³ The internal life of the Orthodox Church was in an uproar due to revolts and political rebellions around the globe. The Congress was a way to deal with these problems and search for unity. The failure to remain unified, from an Orthodox perspective, is erroneous. The Church must remain ecclesiastically joined, physically and canonically. As in the case of Russia in the 20th century, this was not always realized, but the Orthodox church has always endured in constant struggle to maintain communion. It is the temporal struggle of the Church since the Apostles of Jesus.

Jesus Christ commanded his apostle to “Go forth therefore and make all nations My disciples.”¹²⁴ Following this, the apostles began traveling to distant lands and small Christian communities were beginning to establish themselves throughout the Roman Empire. It was in these early days that the jurisdictional structure of the Church was formed and that the Orthodox Church strives to maintain today. It is within this community that the most important act of a Christian is performed which is worship. The worship of the early Christians was centered around the Eucharist and the sacramental life of the Church. The

¹²³ Patrick Viscuso, *A Quest for Reform of the Orthodox Church: The 1923 Pan-Orthodox Congress* (Berkeley, California: InterOrthodox Press, 2006), xi.

¹²⁴ Matt. 28: 19

church was situated both temporally and spiritually uniting the assembly of the believers around the Eucharist. “Thus, from the very beginning we can see an obvious, undoubted triunity of the *assembly*, the *eucharist* and the *Church*, to which the whole early tradition of the Church following St. Paul, unanimously testifies.”¹²⁵

In a letter composed around 107 AD, by the Bishop of Antioch, St. Ignatius, he writes: “The bishop of the Church presides in place of God.” “Let no one do any of the things which concern the Church without the bishop ... Wherever the bishop appears, there let the people be, just as wherever Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholic Church.” The bishop’s principal and unique task is to celebrate the Eucharist, ‘the medicine of immortality’.¹²⁶

The Church is a Eucharistic society which realizes its full nature when it celebrates the Liturgy of the Eucharist. This celebration happens locally within the parish community with its bishop, priests, and deacons. In the Orthodox faith, when the Eucharist is celebrated, the *whole* of Christ is present both physically and spiritually. The temporal and spiritual are joined through the Church’s communal worship. This worship is the primary concern of the

¹²⁵ Alexander Schmemmann, *The Eucharist* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1987), 11.

¹²⁶ To the Magnesians, vi, 1; To the Smyrnaeans, viii, 1 and 2; To the Ephesians, xx2, as quoted in Ware, *The Orthodox Church*, 13.

community. The secondary concern is the wider connection to other Eucharistic communities around the world.

St. Cyprian of Carthage (died 258) saw all the bishops together as one episcopate, sharing it in such a way that each holds not a part but the entirety of the larger community. “The episcopate is a single whole, in which each bishop enjoys full possession. So is the Church a single whole, though it spreads far and wide into a multitude of churches as its fertility increases.”¹²⁷ Hence, the Church is a worshipping community focused on the real presence of Christ through the Eucharist that is joined, communally and temporally, to other Eucharistic communities around the world.

Therefore, even before Father Boris was ordained, Archimandrite Andreas saw that the first need of the Orthodox Community was to worship. He and Father Boris along with the rest of the community restored the Church of St. Nicholas in Chōngdong, and celebrated the Eucharistic liturgy on November 29, 1954, just after the armistice. Next, after Father Boris’s ordination, Father Boris and the Orthodox community needed to become connected to the larger Eucharistic community of the Orthodox Church, so they could continue to be a thriving Eucharistic community in Seoul. They decided to compose a letter to the Patriarch of Constantinople, Athenagoras I, requesting that they be taken in

¹²⁷ As quoted in Ware, 14.

to his care and leadership. The Patriarch agreed, and the Orthodox Church in Korea has been under the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople ever since.

1. Eucharist

The Eucharist is the focus of the entire Orthodox Church. All other sacraments lead to this one sacrament. The *ordo* of the Eucharist, the “fundamental structure of the eucharist, its *shape*, ... can be traced back to the fundamental, apostolic principle of Christian worship.”¹²⁸ While the apostles of Jesus were traveling, many of them were composing letters to teach and instruct the various communities springing up around the Roman Empire. During this time, the New Testament as it is known now, did not exist. So, the Protestant *sola scriptura* was never a part of the Early Christian communities.

The core Protestant teaching, *sola scriptura* (scripture alone)¹²⁹ played a significant role in the rise of Protestant Christianity in Korea. According to this belief, any attitude, concept, or dogma can and should be ‘proven’ by referring to and offering an interpretation of verses from the Bible. Martin Luther, the Father of the Reformation and Protestantism, states:

¹²⁸ Schmemmann, *The Eucharist*, 13.

¹²⁹ Also, *sola fide*, *sola gratia*, *sola Christus*, *sola Deo Gloria* make up the ‘Five Solas’ of Protestantism.

*I have the right to believe freely, to be a slave to no man's authority, to confess what appears to be true whether it is proved or disproved, whether it is spoken by Catholic or by heretic. . . . In matters of faith I think that neither counsel nor Pope nor any man has the power over my conscience. And where they disagree with Scripture, I deny Pope and council and all. A simple layman armed with Scripture is greater than the mightiest Pope without it.*¹³⁰

As is seen here, Luther transferred the power of the Pope, the power of Rome, into the Scripture. He quite simply stated that any person with a bible could thus read it, understand it, and come to proper belief. This was a massive trauma in Christian history. He claimed that truth, as long as it seems to be true, and felt by the individual, whether or not it is verified or refuted, can be considered true. No longer was Church tradition or the Vatican in charge of defining Christian doctrine and practice. All Christian doctrine and practice were to be comprehensively found in the Bible. "All idea of authoritative tradition was

¹³⁰ From his defense at the Diet of worms, 1521. See Oberman, Heiko, *Luther: Man Between God and the Devil*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.

rejected,”¹³¹ and all authority was placed on the individual with a Bible. The Bible became sacred along with the individual and a ‘personal relationship’ with God.

Understanding *sola scriptura* sheds light on why Protestant missionaries in China and Korea during the 19th and 20th centuries set their main goal of translating the Bible and distributing it to as many people as possible. To them, the Christian faith was contained in the book of the Bible and anybody who could read it can come to an understanding of the Christian faith. This explains John Ross’s (1842 – 1915) work in Manchuria and why he sent colporteurs to deliver Bibles. Also, within this framework, anybody who reads the bible and believes in it could be considered a Christian.

However, it was through the faith and tradition handed down between the apostles, orally and written, that the early Christian Church used to create the New Testament which is now used, in various forms, by the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches. It is important to note, however, that the Bible forms a part of Tradition; that is, the scriptures exist within Tradition. “To separate and contrast the two is to impoverish the idea of both alike.”¹³² Through this

¹³¹ Damick, *Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy: Exploring Belief Systems through the Lens of the Ancient Christian Faith*, location 1101.

¹³² Ware, *The Orthodox Church*, 197. For a more in-depth discussion of the Orthodox perception of *sola scriptura* see Fr. John Whiteford, “Sola Scriptura.” Accessed July 18, 2018. http://orthodoxinfo.com/inquirers/tca_solascriptura.aspx.

tradition the *ordo* of the Eucharist was formed. The first act in this *ordo* is the gathering of the believers.¹³³

In the Eucharist is the visible presence of Christ among the life of the believers and, in turn, by their life in the world.¹³⁴ In I Corinthians 11: 23-26, the earliest recorded evidence of this Eucharistic assembly is written by St. Paul. He says:

For I received from the Lord that which I also delivered to you: that the Lord Jesus on the same night in which He was betrayed took bread; and when He had given thanks, He broke it and said, "Take, eat; this is my Body which is broken for you; do this in remembrance of Me" In the same manner He also took the cup after supper, saying, "This cup is the new covenant in My blood. This do, as often as you drink it, in remembrance of Me."

What is written here is not a direct experience that Paul himself 'receives', but the already established tradition that was being handed down between the existing Christian communities. Paul "received the eucharistic formulations

¹³³ Schmemann, *The Eucharist*, 15.

¹³⁴ Veselin Kesich, *Formation and Struggles: The Birth of the Church AD 33 - 200*, vol. 1, The Church in History (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2007), 93.

from the Christian community after his conversion, either in Jerusalem or in Antioch, not at the time of the revelation to him on the road to Damascus or in any other “visions and revelations” (2 Cor 12) he experienced. What he received and delivered was already in use in the worship of the early church.”¹³⁵

A textual and historical analysis of the Eucharistic passages found in the New Testament will help shed light on the importance of the Eucharist within the early Church and how the *ordo* was passed down between the early Christian communities. While there are several Eucharistic passages throughout the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, John and in Paul’s first letter to the Corinthians, there are only four distinct accounts of the Last Supper. These are found in the Synoptic Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke and in Paul’s letter. These Eucharistic passages help to enlighten the Last Supper accounts in the context of the communities for whom they are written.

The Last Supper Accounts can be grouped into pairs based on textual analysis. The pairs are Paul/Luke and Mark/Matthew. Closely related to Paul’s account is Luke’s Gospel, the lengthiest passage. Then, Mark’s Last Supper provides a platform for which Matthew writes his account, the latest of the four. All of these accounts differ in tone and objectives for each community, but all together hold the core of the Christian faith, the Eucharist. “They [Paul, Luke,

¹³⁵ Ibid.

Mark, Matthew] had interiorized his gospel as spirit and life rather than just words and actions and ideas; and they felt free to portray Jesus out of the depth of their faith experience in ways that could best communicate the reality of Jesus and his message”¹³⁶

In First Corinthians, Paul begins his criticism of the Corinthian community by immediately pointing out to them that their Eucharistic meal has become a “sacrament of division.” Because of social and economic divisions, the Christian community had lost sight of the original intention of the Last Supper. Therefore, Paul reminds them of the Last Supper by using their own liturgical terminology, which they are already familiar with. Here, the similarities to the Synoptic Gospels are noticeable.¹³⁷

Betrayal is a very important part of all the Last Supper accounts and speaks to the particular community’s sins and persecutions. In Paul’s account, the betrayal speaks to the Corinthians and their heretical behaviors. Also, the similarity between Paul and Luke is present in the passage, “This cup is the *new* covenant in my blood”. This echoes back to the prophecy of Jeremiah fulfilling the old covenant made at Mt. Sinai (Jer. 31: 31-34).¹³⁸

¹³⁶ Jerome Kodell, *The Eucharist in the New Testament* (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1988), 131.

¹³⁷ Ibid, 75.

¹³⁸ “The adjective ‘new’ emphasizes the reference to the covenant promised by Jeremiah, though the theme of the Sinai covenant is also present. . . . in Mark/Matthew, “covenant” is a definition of “blood,” while in Paul/Luke, “blood” is a definition of “covenant.” Ibid.

Paul splits from the Synoptic Gospels by furthering his commentary on the Last Supper adding, “For as often as you eat this bread and drink this cup you proclaim the Lord’s death until he comes” (v26). Also, Paul adds a second “do this ... in remembrance of me”. These additions are integral in understanding Paul’s objective in correcting the Corinthians’ behavior. He needed to make Jesus’ death the focus. “Paul is emphasizing both reverence for the eucharistic body and blood and what they mean, and reverence for the community as a necessary consequence.”

In Luke’s Gospel, the same narrative tradition of Paul is used. Also, Luke’s Acts of the Apostles speaks to the post-resurrection Eucharist as Paul does. In these ways, Luke’s account of the Last Supper is textually close to Paul’s. Luke gives his readers several food references that depict Jesus as “God’s messenger of justice who is put to death because of his openness in sharing food with everyone without exception”¹³⁹. The Last Supper is the final meal where Jesus’ fully affirms his identity and purpose.

The Last Supper of Luke is double the length of the other two Synoptic Gospels and is articulated as a farewell speech reminiscent of Jacob (Gen. 47-50) and Paul (Acts 20: 17-35). A leader who is about to leave his community gathers them together in an assembly, tells them what is going to happen, and

¹³⁹ Ibid, 106.

encourages them to maintain their faith after his leaving.¹⁴⁰ The preparation for the Supper coincides with Mark except for that the two disciples assisting Jesus have names in Luke's account, Peter and John.

Of course, as mentioned above, we have the betrayal but, in Luke's Gospel, mention of this comes after the sharing of the bread and wine. This is done as a way for Luke to speak to his community by warning them against complacency. But, at the same time, this movement of the betrayal to the end shines light on the fact that Jesus is forever open and hospitable to anyone and everyone at the table. This reveals the servant-hood identity of Jesus.

Luke also switches Jesus eschatological promise. In the other Synoptic Gospels, this comes after the Supper but, here, Jesus begins the Supper with an emotional response to sharing in what will be his last meal with his disciples. Right at the beginning, Jesus pronounces his coming death and the coming of the Kingdom of God. The interpretation of this has two possibilities: first, the kingdom is already realized in the Last Supper, or, Jesus is intimately sharing this meal before he shares again with them after his resurrection.¹⁴¹

Other differences in Luke's account lay in the Institution narrative. The addition of "given for you" in the bread-word and "poured out for you" in the cup-word both point to the atonement. Also, the use of particular prepositions

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, 114.

¹⁴¹ Ibid, 115.

and pronouns denote a strong feeling of fellowship and service that point to Jesus' identity. One example of this is in verse 15, "I have earnestly desired to eat this Passover *with you*." Also, in the preparation for the supper, Jesus says, "Go and prepare the Passover for *us*, that *we* may eat it." (v8).¹⁴²

Then, there is the quarrel amongst the disciples about who will be the greatest of them. While Mark includes this dialogue earlier in his Gospel, Luke places it at the end of the supper just after the mention of the betrayal. Luke is all inclusive of the Gospels whereas Mark is limited to the sons of Zebedee. Here, Jesus is given another opportunity to reveal more of his servant-hood and says, "Let the leader be as one who serves" (v26). Jesus goes on to foretell great persecution and strife all beginning with his death, but through community, service, and sharing in his life through the Eucharist, he will never leave them.¹⁴³

The second earliest writing of the Last Supper, following Paul's, is Mark's Gospel. It was during this time, just after the great Fathers of the Church, Peter, Paul, and James, among others, had fallen asleep, that Christians were realizing that the Church would need to be around for a long time. In result of this, Mark set out to write about the mission and message of Jesus' life within the context of his given community. Mark wanted to help his community retain

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Ibid, 116-17.

the historicity of Jesus as well as apply his teachings and example to their lives.¹⁴⁴

In Mark's Gospel, the disciples are particularly senseless and slow to comprehend just what it is that Jesus is saying and doing. In result of this, the Last Supper is filled with betrayal, denial, and the fleeing of the disciples away from Jesus. In spite of this, Jesus claims his unity with them, even Judas, the betrayer. Right after the betrayal scene, the words of institution appear. Earlier in the Gospel, Mark tells the story of the loaves and fishes and how Jesus told the disciples to give the bread to the people. Now, at the Supper, Jesus gives himself to his disciples. And, in turn, like the feeding of the multitudes, the disciples will set this bread "before the people."¹⁴⁵

A difference that Mark holds from the other Supper accounts is the phrase "they all drank of it" (the cup) which echoes back to James and John and their "cup" conversation with Jesus. Jesus proclaims that they, too, will drink of the cup which is symbolic of Jesus' passion. And, it should be noted, that Mark's Gospel was written well after the martyrdom of James. So, this was a way for Mark to point to the Christian concept that following Christ means the willingness to drink from the cup. This cup holds the "blood of the covenant." Different from Luke and Paul's "new covenant", it still rings back to Sinai and

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, 84.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, 91-92.

the relationship between God and his people. Of course, this covenant, for Christians, “promises reconciliation in spite of the betrayal.”¹⁴⁶ For those in Mark’s community that had backslid, this passage would give them a sense of hope and forgiveness. In spite of betrayal, denial, and fleeing, Mark’s Last Supper “is a scene of unity, openness, and reconciliation.”¹⁴⁷

Finally, Matthew’s Last Supper account stems from a tradition the same as Mark’s. During the upheaval of the Jewish Zealots, Matthew aimed to bring obedience and unity amongst the Christians during a time of “uncertainty, alienation, and loss.”¹⁴⁸ In order to bring this obedience and unity, Matthew contradicts Mark in that the disciples of Matthew’s Gospel comprehend both Jesus’ teaching and who he is. While preparing for the Supper, all the disciples simply obey Jesus’ command. Jesus does not ask permission but tells the householder that he will spend the Passover at his house. Jesus speaks with authority.

The betrayal scene in Matthew is the same as Mark’s but is amplified to highlight the reconciliation of the Eucharist. Matthew includes the question, “Is it I?” which points to Matthew’s community for self-reflection. Also, all the disciples, except for Judas the betrayer, call Jesus “Lord” which demonstrates

¹⁴⁶ Mk 14:28

¹⁴⁷ Kodell, *The Eucharist in the New Testament*, 92.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid, 94.

their knowledge that he is the Son of God. Judas calls him “Rabbi” which, in Matthew’s time, was not a very popular title due to the adverse relations with the synagogue.¹⁴⁹

The institution again coincides with Mark but with the addition of the repeated “disciples” and the imperative, “eat”. Both of these supported Matthew’s objective of demonstrating obedience within the Christian community. Another slight difference is the proximity of the Bread and Cup actions. In this, Jesus interprets the cup before the drinking of it takes place. Also, the phrase, “Drink of it, all of you”, puts the responsibility of obedience on the reader or listener. Matthew includes “for the forgiveness of sins” after the cup-word which supports Matthew’s ongoing themes of healing and forgiveness that run throughout his Gospel.

In the Greek translation of Matthew, the word “for” in “Poured out for many” is changed from “ὕπερ (*hyper*)” to “περί (*peri*)”. “ὕπερ” is used in the other Supper accounts. The Greek word, “περί”, is found in Isaiah 53:4, “He suffers for (περί) us”. Matthew must have chosen this particular word to bring about a closer feeling of the atonement in Jesus’ death. And while, Matthew does not include the word “new” when speaking of the covenant, these slight

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, 99.

additions put his Supper account in the reflection of Jeremiah's covenant prophecy.¹⁵⁰

Another striking difference in Matthew's account is the changing of "I shall drink *no more ...*" to "I shall not drink *from now on* of this fruit of the vine until the day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom".¹⁵¹ This eschatological shift focuses on the Church in the post-resurrection time and, again, brings to light Matthew's Eucharistic community. This change, along with the others of Matthew, all uphold his objective of bringing obedience and unity to his community in a time of persecution. This unity is found in the God-with-us (*Emmanuel*) tone that ties together the forgiveness, healing, and obedience themes in the Gospel. Beginning with the fulfillment of the prophecy of Isaiah and ending with the promise of Jesus that he is with us forever, the "covenant is renewed and embodied in Jesus himself, who becomes the living blood bond between God and God's people."¹⁵²

All four Last Supper accounts hold the themes of forgiveness, healing, sacrifice, and unity and speak specifically to the given community the author is writing for. None of these accounts are an accurate historical 'snapshot' of what happened during the Supper. The apostles wrote within the tradition that was

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, 101.

¹⁵¹ Matt 26:29

¹⁵² Kodell, *The Eucharist in the New Testament*, 103.

handed to them through the Church. Never were they attempting to write something that could stand alone. “The Bible does not interpret itself. The Church, though guided and corrected by the word, is the divinely appointed interpreter of the word.”¹⁵³ The Last Supper accounts speak to the communities for which they are written as well as to today’s communities. Amidst betrayal, denial, and arguing for who is the “best”, we find Jesus: a servant, sharing his life, forgiving and healing, sacrificing himself for the salvation of the world.

Father Boris, in 1954, was now a leader, in the long line from those apostles previously mentioned, of a Eucharistic community in Seoul, South Korea. He had the support of Archimandrite Andreas of the Greek Expeditionary Forces, but Archimandrite Andreas needed to leave. After helping the community in its forming stages, much like Paul helping the Corinthians, or the other apostles lending a helping hand and word to their communities, Archimandrite Andreas helped Father Boris do learn the *ordo* of the Eucharistic assembly. Once that was established, and the community had sent their request to the Ecumenical Patriarch, the Archimandrite went back to his home in Greece on December 30, 1955.¹⁵⁴

Father Boris’s main responsibility at this point was to learn and continue the Eucharistic worship of the Orthodox Church. Along with the guidance and

¹⁵³ Ibid, 130-31

¹⁵⁴ Zographos, “Orthodox Witness in the Korean Peninsula,” 108.

teaching of his community, he worked alongside them to rebuild and establish this community in Seoul. He struggled with the court system over the ownership of the property, as was illustrated with Polycarp and the rumors that were spread of the property belonging to the Japanese. This actually caused some conflict within the community, but Father Boris persisted.¹⁵⁵ Establishing the property legally within the city of Seoul and coming under the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate would allow him to perform the Eucharist with integrity. This was the most important task with which he was charged.

The Eucharist is the mystery of the true and real communion with Christ.

By dispensation of His grace, He disseminates Himself in every believer through that flesh, whose existence comes from bread and wine, blending Himself with the bodies of a believers, to secure that, by this union with the Immortal, man, too, may be a sharer in incorruption. He gives these gifts by virtue of the benediction through which He “trans-elements” [metastoicheiōsis] the natural quality of these visible things to that immortal thing.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ Mun and Mun, interview, 2018.

¹⁵⁶ Catechetical oration, 37, ed. Strawley, p. 152.

In the Eucharist, Christ is present both physically and spiritually. The assembly of the people gather around the Eucharist. This is the Church. It is this triune relationship that establishes the Orthodox Church at the crux of the temporal and the spiritual. Later, when Western Christianity began to differentiate itself from Eastern Christianity, the sacrament of the assembly, the Eucharist, began to lose its significance within Christian communities until it was taken out from some Christian communities altogether.

But theology constructed on western scholastic models is completely uninterested in worship as it is performed by the Church and in the logic and 'order'[ordo] proper to it. Proceeding from its own abstract presuppositions, this theology decides a priori what is 'important' and what is 'secondary.' And it turns out, in the final analysis, that what is deemed 'secondary,' as having no theological interest, is precisely worship itself, the very activity by which the Church actually lives, in all its complexity and diversity. The theologian directs his entire attention to the important 'moments' that he artificially singles out: in the eucharist, the 'moment' of the change of the holy gifts and then the partaking of communion; ... It has never occurred to the theologian who thinks in these categories that the

'importance' of these moments cannot be isolated from their liturgical context.¹⁵⁷

Analyzing the Eucharist through the Western lens of scholasticism has reduced it down to mere superstition and folklore that most Protestants find difficult to believe. That Orthodox Christians believe Christ is truly found within the Eucharist is preposterous, in their eyes. While some Protestants practice some form of communion involving bread and wine, they see it as a mere symbol or a memorial.

The last word on the Eucharist, ... is thus an anthropological and soteriological understanding of the mystery. ... Bread and wine are offered only because the Logos has assumed humanity, and they are being changed and deified by the operation of the Spirit because Christ's humanity has been transformed into glory through the Resurrection. ... As a manifestation of the Church's unity and wholeness, the Eucharist served also as the ultimate theological norm for ecclesiastical structure: the local church where the Eucharist is celebrated was always considered to be

¹⁵⁷ Schmemmann, *The Eucharist*, 14.

*not merely a “part” of a universal organization, but the whole Body of Christ manifested sacramentally and including the entire “communion of saints,” living or departed.*¹⁵⁸

The geographic expansion of the church is connected to this manifestation through the jurisdictional organization of the Church. The sacrament of the Eucharist is the symbol and reality of the “eschatological anticipation of the Kingdom of God.”¹⁵⁹ The clergy, formed in the episcopate of bishop-priest-deacon and within the larger jurisdictional organization of the Orthodox church are given the responsibility of teaching and guiding the assembly to the sacrament. The Eucharist is the locus where the temporal and the spiritual meet at the cross of the Orthodox Church, where the faithful are gathered. This meeting of the temporal and spiritual is found repeatedly throughout the Orthodox Church’s doctrine, most importantly in the hypostatic union of the God-man, Jesus Christ, both God and Man without confusion. Also, within the concept of *theosis*, whereby a faithful Christian, through an ascetic life and frequent celebration of the Eucharistic liturgy, transforms his physical life into a spiritual life, thereby becoming closer to God and “working out with

¹⁵⁸ John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1979), 209.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

fear and trembling his salvation.”¹⁶⁰ It is in these mysteries that the root of Orthodox theology and doctrine are discovered.

2. Caesaropapism

The Orthodox Church, having its place in the temporal, is subject to faults and cracks just as physical reality is subject to. Throughout history, the Orthodox church is filled with saints that challenged the authorities of bishops and priests and have protected the theology and doctrine of the Church. Examples of this can be seen throughout the Ecumenical councils where varying beliefs on the nature of Christ, the role of Mary, Jesus’ Mother within the church, and iconoclasm were debated and disputed over. These conflicts, however, helped the Church grow stronger. It is this discussion and debating process that is also a part of the Tradition.

Caesaropapism was a very immense problem that the Russian Orthodox Church fell into that caused the problems throughout its history and especially in the 20th century under communism. Again, as the Orthodox Church always prescribes, a look to the early Church and the teachings of the Church fathers and saints, an answer to this problem can be found.

The Byzantine Empire, through Emperor Constantine, accepted Christianity as its religion in the fourth century. In the beginning of the century,

¹⁶⁰ Phil 2:12

there was a lot of debate circling among the Christians about how to deal with imperial interventions. Consequently, it is at this time that monasticism as a spiritual practice began, as some Christians were wanting to distance themselves from the Empire.¹⁶¹ During these days, the secular arm of the state began to interfere with church activities “though no one was ready to grant the emperor the privilege of infallibility, still no one objected to the principle of his expressing theological views which *de facto* acquired greater, and sometimes decisive, weight because they were pronounced by the *Autokrator*.”¹⁶² The unfortunate predicament the Russian Church found herself in is due primarily because of this “Constantinian legacy” and later to the Justinian’s sixth-century doctrine of Church-State symphony.¹⁶³

Constantine was not the ideal Christian by any means. He killed his own son and most of his family, claimed to have frequent visions, one of which caused him to fight in the name of the Christian God. Constantine even convened the first Ecumenical council yet supported the Arians who were claimed to be heretical. The postponement of his baptism until just before his death raises the question of his sincerity as a Christian. There was a double standard in him and he claimed himself exempt from normal Christian practices

¹⁶¹ Williston Walker et al., *A History of the Christian Church*, 4th ed. (Scribner, 1985).

¹⁶² Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes*, 5.

¹⁶³ Dimitry Pospelovsky, *The Orthodox Church in the History of Russia* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1998), 1.

which “placed the emperor above the Church and introduced into Christianity the pagan deification of emperors, leading to the heresy of caesaro-papism.”¹⁶⁴

This notion became famously attached to the Orthodox Church, and rightly so. The near-deification of emperors was true of the entire Roman Empire, both in the East and the West. During these days, Christians believed the second coming of Christ was eminent, stirring up thoughts of millennialism and other heresies. The emperor was perceived to be god-anointed “and those very Christians who had only recently preferred martyrdom to the God-like adulation of pagan emperors were now ready to adulate the Christian emperors as temporal heads anointed by God to lead their flock to salvation.”¹⁶⁵

In the sixth century, the doctrine of Church-State Symphony asserted the idea that the emperors were responsible for the temporal needs of the faithful whereas the clergy were the spiritual advisors to the Emperor. The emperor became subject to the moral authority of the Church. In result, the Church succumbed to a secular structure and formed a Christian state and began a bloody persecution of other religions to further its nationalistic “champion of Orthodox statehood.”¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, 2.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

It was at this time the word “patriarch” was coined and applied to bishops of capital cities and thusly, started a more hierarchical structure to the clergy. However, it is important to keep in mind that the Church is both a temporal and spiritual institution. Temporally, it is subject to the same failings and sins humans are subject to. It was precisely during this time that some of the greatest saints and teachers of Christianity came forth.

Caesaropapism, however, never became an accepted principle in Byzantium. Innumerable heroes of the faith were constantly exalted precisely because they had opposed heretical emperors; hymns sung in church praised Basil for having disobeyed Valens, Maximus for his martyrdom under Constans, and numerous monks for having opposed the iconoclastic emperors of the eighth century. These liturgical praises alone were sufficient to safeguard the principle that the emperor was to preserve, not to define, the Christian faith.¹⁶⁷

Monks during these days rejected doctrinal compromises and they guarded the original Eucharistic assembly found in the Tradition of the Christian Church.

¹⁶⁷ Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes*, 6.

They suffered at the hands of the state sometimes, and were exiled, as in the case of St. John Chrysostom. “It is no wonder that emperors who endeavored to strengthen iconoclasm first had to sponsor an anti-monastic movement in the Church, for monasticism was, of necessity, hostile to the caesaropapistic system for which some emperors showed a predisposition.”¹⁶⁸

Throughout the history of the Orthodox church, there is countless stories of these confrontations. Importantly, they are from *within* the Church. Some groups such as the Metropolia or the Karlovcians may be seen as in Schism from the ‘Patriarchate’, but the most important element to recognize is they never left the Orthodox Church; that is, they continued to safeguard and keep the *ordo* of the Eucharistic assembly found within the Church as the mystical union of God to man through the holy sacrament.

It was precisely this motivation that Father Boris had in mind when he was charged with keeping the faith and tradition of the Orthodox Church in Korea. He did not look to where his loyalty lay nationalistically or ideologically. For an Orthodox Christian, there is only one direction to look and that is to Christ, found in the assembly, in the worship, where God meets man in the holiest of sacraments, the Eucharist.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

3. Orthodox Mission

The current Orthodox archbishop, Metropolitan Ambrose of Korea, states, “The term ‘mission,’ which derives from Western theology, does not exist in Holy Scripture, while the corresponding term, ‘witness,’ is found many times. The teaching of the Gospel does not mean to say beautiful words about Christ but to give a daily witness of Christ with one’s words and with one’s silence, with works and by example.”¹⁶⁹ Here, he draws a line between two terms: mission and witness. Mission is a word conceived out of Western theology and carries with it a sense of obligation that Christians are to “go out” and “convert” the world to Christianity. It denotes a sense of having to “save” the world from barbaric or non-Christian beliefs, and it carries paternalistic overtones.

The Orthodox do feel this sense of obligation but believe that sharing the faith is best achieved through authentic “witness.” Metropolitan Ambrose clearly delineates the difference here by defining proselytism. He states, “In the Orthodox Church we consider proselytism a great sin because it does not honor human dignity. It tramples upon the precious divine gift of freedom and debases man’s personality. Proselytism means to impose on someone else your beliefs

¹⁶⁹ Metropolitan Ambrose of Korea speaking to Protestants on Missions and Liturgy, September 5, 2011, <http://www.omhksea.org/2012/07/metropolitan-ambrose-of-korea-speaking-to-protestants-on-missions-and-liturgy/>. 2011

by lawful and unlawful means, while confessing Christ means to struggle, to live according to Christ and to repeat by one's words and life, the perennial "come and see" of the Apostle Philip to any well-intentioned "Nathanael" – your neighbor. The disastrous results of proselytism of the so-called missionary countries by Western Christianity, which we face to this day, I believe, does not leave any margin for the indefinite condemnation of the proselytizing process."¹⁷⁰

The Orthodox Church very strongly disagrees with the Protestant Evangelical form of Christianity. Instead of translating the Bible and trying to distribute as many as possible, the Orthodox Church's first concern in missionary work is the translation of the Divine Liturgy, their worship, which is ultimately derived from the apostolic tradition that gave birth to New Testament scriptures. The Orthodox Missionaries put worship of God as central to the witnessing for Christ. The Divine Liturgy, as composed by the Early Church Fathers, namely St. John Chrysostom and St. Basil the Great, holds the Eucharist as the most important and defining element of Christianity. Translating this worship and celebrating it as often as possible was the primary objective of the Orthodox missionary.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

Metropolitan Ambrose goes on to state, “The one doing the missionary work of the Church must first have Christ as their prototype and all those who followed the steps of Christ, namely the saints. The missionary must, without doubt, be a person of many virtues, the main one being that of a person struggling against his passions. The cleansing for the acquisition of the Holy Spirit is the first step. From cleansing one then progresses to enlightenment and theosis (deification). You cannot transfer to somebody something that you do not have. To give a witness of Christ you yourself must necessarily have tasted the presence of Christ in your life.”¹⁷¹

The emphasis of Orthodox Christianity is worship, and within this worship, one can see three ways that the Orthodox missionaries teach people about Christ. First, through the reading of scripture. The Scripture has always been regarded as divinely inspired and written, through the hands of man, by God. It is a gift to humanity and is cherished and regarded with profound veneration by the Orthodox Church. In contrast to sola scriptura, the Orthodox Church teaches that a person who reads the Bible alone is likely to misinterpret it and fall into false beliefs. It is thus best for the faithful to turn to the experienced voices of the Tradition—the saints and Church Fathers—as guides in the interpretation of the Bible.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

*Orthodoxy, by contrast, holds the Scripture in extremely high regard, but holds it to be a book written by the Church, for the Church, and within the Church. As such, reading it correctly requires the light of Holy Tradition, the faith given to the Apostles by Christ via oral teaching and preserved within the Church.*¹⁷²

Second, through the liturgy people can learn more about Orthodox Christianity. The entire liturgy, taken from scripture, is mostly sung and chanted. Through this, the Orthodox Church teaches people to have a great reverence for the stories and teaching contained in Scripture. These stories and lessons can be meditated upon, and people can learn to pray through them. Once believers learn the liturgy it becomes a form of prayer and worship, and for those people who become baptized, it is a means to partake of the Eucharist.

A third way the Orthodox Church teaches about Christ is through the visual form of icons. The icons are the illustrated version of the Scriptures. Anyone can look at the beautiful iconography of an Orthodox Church and see

¹⁷² Damick, *Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy: Exploring Belief Systems through the Lens of the Ancient Christian Faith*.

the stories of Scripture. The Orthodox Church teaches a great reverence for Scripture through reading, singing, and seeing it throughout the entire Divine Liturgy. It is a perfect “audiovisual” system of Gospel teaching.

Through this threefold way of worship, the Orthodox Church worships the Trinitarian God and takes part in the greatest sacrament, the Eucharist. Metropolitan Ambrose states, “In the Orthodox Church we believe that the greatest work that is performed on earth is the Divine Liturgy. The Apostles received the tradition of the celebration of the “Last Supper” from the Lord. They passed it onto their disciples, and the Orthodox Church continues this tradition to this day without interruption.”¹⁷³ Through the Eucharist, the sacrifice of God for his children that is then given back to God, is a symbiotic thanksgiving. The Orthodox Church celebrates this every Sunday and sometimes throughout the week for various occasions. It is through this Divine Liturgy that Father Boris, growing up in the Orthodox Mission in Korea, learned about Christ and his Church. And it is this witness that Father Boris carried with him quietly as he rebuilt the Church in Korea and prepared the next generation of Orthodox Christian believers.

¹⁷³ Metropolitan Ambrose of Korea speaking to Protestants on Missions and Liturgy, 2011.

V. Conclusion

This thesis has placed the Orthodox Church in Korea properly within the historiography of Korean History by using oral historical, historiographical, and theological methods. It has taken a thorough look into all the surrounding elements that led up to the Ordination of Father Boris Mun Ich'un that took place in 1954. The political milieu from 1876 and the beginning of Western influence on Korea, through the Japanese Occupation, and to the armistice of the Korean War, was comprehensively analyzed to illustrate the precarious position Father Boris and the Orthodox Community found themselves in by 1953. The tug of war between Japan and Russia over supremacy of the Korean peninsula left Korea in the hands of the Japanese. The larger global situation of the superpowers and their ideologies that led to two World Wars and many other smaller wars between countries and within countries effected Korea to the point where not only was Korea divided, but two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, were vying for dominance on the peninsula.

The Russian Orthodox Church trapped within a church-state system was almost obliterated by the Bolshevik revolution and the ensuing rise of communism and their attempt to eradicate religion. In result of this predicament, the Orthodox Church in Korea, of which Father Boris grew up in, suffered an extreme division while Korea was also going through a disunion. The Independence of the Korean people left the country still divided. This caused

further difficulties for the Orthodox mission as loyalty to a Soviet controlled Patriarchate or to a schismatic group from America, the Metropolia, finally ripped the community apart. Polycarp of the Moscow Patriarchate was banished and Alexei, ordained by the Metropolia was abducted. As the civil war began, the Orthodox community in Korea was left with no leadership and no jurisdictional claim.

After the armistice, the remaining members of the Orthodox community staying in Pusan as refugees all decided that they needed a new leader and they looked to Father Boris, a soft spoken, hardworking man that had grown up in the Orthodox community. Along with the help from the Greek Expeditionary soldiers and the chaplain, Archimandrite Andreas, they restored the church in Seoul, St. Nicholas, held their first liturgy since the war had started, and sent Father Boris to Japan to be ordained. Shortly, thereafter, solving the jurisdictional dilemma, they wrote a letter to the Ecumenical Patriarch, Athenagoras I, and requested his guidance and support.

Father Boris understood, even as a Korean who had lived through an occupation, and witnessed his own community and country torn apart, that when he was charged with the responsibility of leading the Orthodox mission, the number one priority was to focus on the worship of the church. As a newly ordained Orthodox Priest he was given the task, as hundreds of Orthodox Christians before him stretching back to the apostles of Jesus, to defend and

uphold the sacredness of the Eucharistic assembly, the Church. The Eucharist, as demonstrated within the pages of the New Testament, was handed down from the apostles to the following Christians through the triune relationship of the episcopate - bishop, priest, and deacon. Within this sacrament the temporal and spiritual meet and the assembly of the church gather around it to form the Church. It is here that Christ is present symbolically and in reality, temporally and spiritually, physically and mystically. The whole of the liturgical life of the church cannot be stripped away from the spirituality of the sacrament. Even in the face of ideological and religiopolitical conflict that threatened to uproot and divide, Father Boris was the protector of the Orthodox faith and Tradition in Korea.

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<국문초록>

한국정교회 보리스 문이춘 신부의 서품과 그 의의

로버트 에릭 라이언버거
한국학중앙연구원 한국학대학원
문화예술학부 종교학 전공

한국 정교회(Orthodox Church in Korea)는 한국 기독교 역사기록에서 크게 무시 당하고 잊혀져 있었다. 한국 정교회는 현 기독교 인구의 약 1%에 불과하기 때문에 쉽게 간과되어 왔다. 또한 정교회가 러시아 정교회와 그리스 정교 이데올로기 및 문화와 결부되었다는 등 그에 대한 오해도 팽배하였다. 정교회는 한국에서 지배적인 개신교에 가려져 ‘러시아 또는 그리스 교회’로 여겨져 왔다. 그러나 정교회가 세계 기독교 역사의 큰 틀 안에서 차지하는 위치는 결코 간과될 수 없다.

한국의 정교회는 일제강점기 동안, 특히 볼셰비키 혁명 하에서 그 명맥을 유지하기 위해 애썼다. 하지만 이러한 노력에도 불구하고 공산주의 그늘과 한반도 내 남과 북의 분열 속에서 존재 자체가 거의 불가능하였다. 남한의 정교회는 1953년 한국전쟁이 휴전된 후에야 비로소 재건을 시작할 수 있었다. 이를 위해 그들은 새로운 지도자와 사제로 보리스(Boris) 문이춘이라는 사람을 선택하였다.

보리스 신부는 1953년 한국전쟁이 휴전된 이후에 남한에 있었던 소규모의 정교회 공동체를 모아 재건하는 데 일조했던 한국인이었다. 보리스는 1954년에 신부로 서품되었다. 그 때부터 한국의 정교회는 모스크바 총대주교청의 관할 교구로부터 콘스탄티노플 총대주교청의 관할 교구로 옮겨 새출발을 하게 되었다. 그가 서품되기까지의 과정은 긴 여정이었다. 특히 한반도에서 뿐 아니라 국제 무대에서도 함께 이루어진 일이었다. 냉전 상황의 복잡함, 러시아 정교회의 공산주의 대응 방식, 미국과 유엔의 한국전쟁 관여, 이 모든 사건들에 대한 한국의 정교회 공동체의 반응은 보리스의 서품을 촉진시켰다. 정치적 사건들 이외에도, 한국의 정교회 공동체는 그리스 원정군의 군종사제와 지원단원들의 도움으로 민족주의나 공산주의 또는 민주주의와 같은 이데올로기에 과도하게 경도되지 않고 그들의 전통적인 정교회 신앙을 유지할 수 있었다. 그럼에도 불구하고 그러한 이데올로기에 적지 않은 영향을 받은 것도 사실이다.

이 논문은 위에서 언급한 사건들에 대한 여러 연구 결과들을 분석하고, 보리스 신부의 서품식이 7차례에 걸친 고대교회의 에큐메니칼 공의회와 정교회 신앙 전통 내에서 이루어졌음을 주장한다. 또한 위의 맥락 안에 보리스 신부와 정교회 공동체에 대한 논의를 포함시키기 위해 한국, 러시아, 일본 및 미국 간의 관계를 집중적으로 분석하였다. 러시아 정교회와 구소련 정권, 서울 정교회 사이의 역동적인 관계는 보리스 신부가 정전 협정에 의해 처하게 된 곤경을

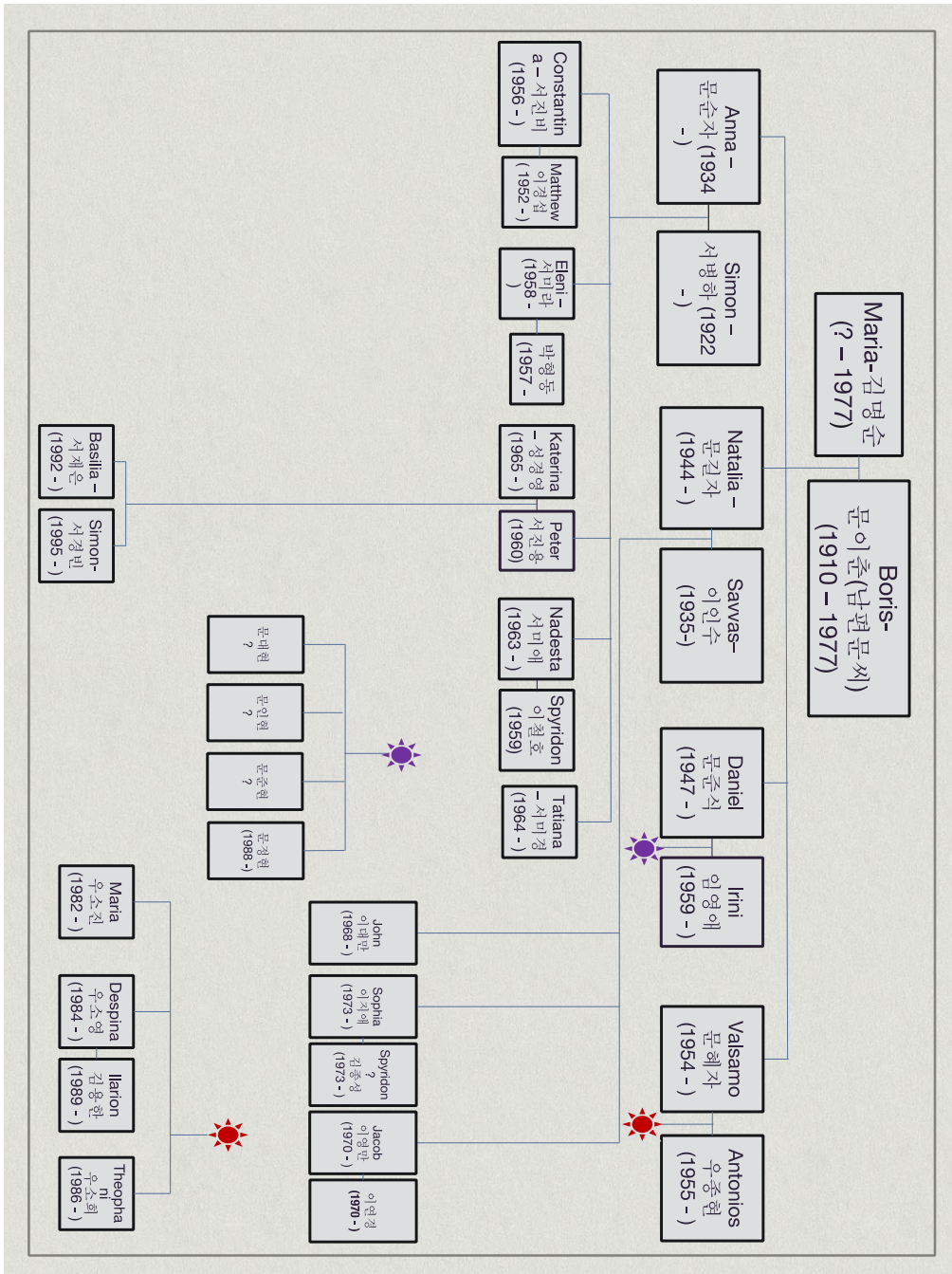
이해하는 데 도움이 된다. 이후 보리스 신부를 서품하고 정교회 공동체의 새로운 지도자로 만들기로 한 결정은 정교회 전통(Tradition)에 대한 논의로 이어진다.

정교회 중심점은 예배이며 이것은 성만찬 예전(Eucharistic assembly)에서 찾아 볼 수 있다. 정교회 예배가 제대로 이해될 수 있도록 성만찬의 역사와 신학을 철저히 조사하였다. 또한 정교회와 교회-국가(Church-State) 간의 관계와 선교 사역의 방법론을 분석하였다. 이를 통해 보리스 신부가 정교회에서 안수 받았을 때 받은 믿음과 전통에 대한 정확한 이해를 제공한다.

구술 역사적, 역사 기록학적, 신학적 방법론을 통해, 한국 정교회 기독교인으로서 보리스 신부의 업적은 한국의 보다 더 큰 역사적 맥락에서 적절히 평가될 것이다. 보리스 신부는 고대 기독교 전통을 고수하면서 주변의 민족주의 운동, 정치 이데올로기 등으로 대처할 수 없는 불확실성에도 불구하고 교회를 위해 부지런히 투쟁한 한국 기독교인이었다. 이로써 보리스 신부는 한국의 종교적 지형에서 한국의 정교회가 중요한 자리매김을 하도록 공헌하였다.

키워드: 한국 정교회, 기독교, 정교회, 한국, 러시아 정교회, 구소련, 공산주의, 민주주의

Appendix A - Mun Family Tree



Appendix B: English-Korean-Russian-Greek Glossary

English	한국어	патриархия	патриархия
Archimandrite	대수도원장; 수도사의 명예 칭초	Архимандрит	Αρχιμανδρίτης
Deacon	보(補)제 ¹⁷⁴	дьякон	Διάκονος
Divine Liturgy	성찬 예배	Божественная литургия	Θεία Λειτουργία
Eucharist	성만찬	евхаристия	ευχαριστία
Metropolis	대주교	метрополия	Μητρόπολη
Ordination	서품	Божественная литургия	Χειροτονία
Patriarchate	총대주교	патриархия	Πατριαρχείο
Priest	사제; 신부	священник	Παπάς

¹⁷⁴ 부(副)제 (천주교)

Appendix C: Interview Consent

The author received consent and agreement from all interviewees either in written or oral form. Below are the Interview Release forms of the more formal interviews conducted by the author from 2017-2018. Other interviews were conducted either in a group discussion format or through email. All interviewees gave consent and verbally agreed to have their testimonies used in this study. A copy of all interviews are available in audible form upon request from the author. – erik.lionberger@gmail.com

Interview Release Form (인터뷰 동의서)

Project name: *Tradition and Faith: The Ordination of Boreum Min Ich'un of the Orthodox Church in Korea*

Date: September 24, 2017 / May 20, 2018

Interviewer: Robert Erik Lioberger

Name of person(s) interviewed: Atou Min Sungha (문순하) and Natja Min Gilcha (문길차)

Location: St. Nicholas Orthodox Church, Seoul, South Korea

By signing the form below, you give your permission for any audio/video recordings and/or photographs made during this project to be used by researchers and the public for educational purposes including publications, exhibitions, World Wide Web, and presentations. By giving your permission, you do not give up any copyright or performance rights that you may hold.

이리 양식에 서명함으로써 출판물, 전시회, 월드 와이드 웹 및 발표를 포함하여 교육 목적으로 연구자 및 대중이 프로젝트 동안 작성한 오디오/비디오 녹음 및 사진에 대한 귀하의 허락을 얻습니다. 귀하의 허락을 통해 귀하는 모든 할 수 있는 저작권이나 공연 권리를 포기하지 않습니다.

I agree to the uses of these materials described above.

본인은 위에 기술된 자료의 사용에 동의합니다.

Name 성명: 문길차 (문길차)
Signature 서명: 문순하 문순하 (문순하)
Date 날짜: 2018. 7. 15 2018. 7. 15
Researcher's signature: [Handwritten Signature]

Interview Release Form (인디뷰 동의서)

Project name: *Tradition and Faith: The Ordination of Boris Man Ich'yon of the Orthodox Church in Korea*

Date: May 20, 2018

Interviewer: Robert Link Lionberger

Name of person(s) interviewed: Jatiana S6 Mikiyong (서미경)

Location: St. Nicholas Orthodox Church, Seoul, South Korea

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I agree to the uses of these materials described above.

본인은 위에 기술된 자료의 사용에 동의합니다.

Name 성명: 서미경

Signature 사인: [Handwritten Signature]

Date 날짜: 2018년 5월 20일

Researcher's signature: [Handwritten Signature]

Interview Release Form (인터뷰 동의서)

Project name: *Tradition and Faith: The Ordination of Boris Moiseikhin of the Orthodox Church in Korea*

Date: July 14, 2018

Interviewer: Robert Erik Limberger

Name of person(s) interviewed: Reverend Protomartyr Daniel No (나동근 신부님)

Location: St. Paul's Orthodox Church, Incheon, South Korea

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I agree to the uses of these materials described above.

본인은 위에 기술된 것들의 사용에 동의합니다.

Name 성명: 나 동 근

Signature 사인: Daniel No

Date 날짜: July 14th, 2018

Researcher's signature: [Handwritten Signature]