

Purification Buddhist Movement, 1954-62: The Recovery of Traditional Monasticism from Japanized Buddhism in South Korea

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ABSTRACT

The main theme of this article is to introduce Purification Buddhist Movement (Jeonghwa Bulgyo Undong), without which the readers cannot understand current Korean Buddhism. Even so, the movement has never been introduced to outside of South Korea, so the writer is to inform the readers of visualizing the movement's general picture. There are only several academic articles on the movement even in the Korean language. In 2000, Korean Buddhists held a seminar on the movement in the first time and in 2001 published the first academic book on the subject with the collection of the articles presented at the seminar.¹

Gim Gwangsik, specialist in modern and contemporary Korean Buddhism, leading the research on the subject, along with I Cheolgyo, compiled source materials for Purification Buddhist movement in 1996,² which smoothly paved historians and sociologists in modern and current Korean Buddhism to conduct research on the movement academically and extensively. Based upon the source materials, he also published several papers on it in various journals and recently included them in his two books, published in 2000 and 2006 respectively.³

The Monastic Alumni Association of Dongguk University published a general historical book on modern Korean Buddhism in 1997⁴ and discussed various subjects under five parts, (1) religious orders, (2) propagation, (3) text translation, (4) education, (5) culture, and (6) society. It discusses Purification Buddhist Movement in the first part of the book.⁵ The committee for editing a book on the history of purification Buddhist movement in Korean Buddhism edited and published a book on purification Buddhist movement in 1996.⁶ Seonu Doryang, a progressive Buddhist organization, published the collection of the articles related with Buddhism, included in newspapers, in four volumes in 1995 and 1999.⁷

There have been two major movements in the Buddhist history of South Korea since the liberation of that country from Japan on August 15, 1945. Chronologically, the first to appear was the "Purification Buddhist Movement" (Jeonghwa Bulgyo Undong), the more recent being the Minjung (Liberation) Buddhist Movement in 1980's.

The Purification Buddhist Movement began in 1954 and was largely concluded by 1962. This movement focused on cleansing the influence of Japanese Buddhism and purifying the monastic order in Korean Buddhism. The movement was initiated by executive orders of the first South Korean president, I Seungman, to expel married Buddhist priests from traditional monasteries. Essentially, the Korean monastic orders had kept the precept of non-marriage until the Japanization of them by the Japanese government. This occurred during the colonial period from 1910 to 1945. During that

time, the Japanese Governor-General in Korea forcibly caused Korean Buddhist monks to marry in order to facilitate control over the Korean Buddhist orders.

The unmarried monks obtained the leadership in the order after the national monastic conference on August 12 – 13, 1955. The married monks, who lost the leadership, strongly reacted against the unmarried monks' leadership. The confrontations between two groups continued until to the establishment of the united order between them in April 1962. The married monastic group broke away from the united order because of un-favored and discriminated measures from the unmarried monastic group in September 1962.

The Supreme Court finished the long and tedious legal procedure between the married monastic group and the unmarried monastic group and authorized Purification Buddhism over married Japanized Buddhism in 1969. The married monks established the independent new order entitled Taego Order and the government approved the registration of the new order based on the Law of the Management of Buddhist Properties in 1970.

Purification Buddhism had two major missions.⁸ First, it was to recover the celibate monastic tradition of Korean Buddhism from the marriage priesthood of Japanese Buddhism. The married monks privatized temple properties to support their family financially. To get and keep their higher positions in Buddhism, they were loyal to their appointers, Japanese officials.

Second, it was to revitalize the Seon practice tradition of Korean Buddhism. Seon practitioners lost their temples for practicing Seon Buddhism because married abbots and higher order administrators controlled almost all Korean temples at the time. The movement royally succeeded the celibate monasticism and Korean Seon tradition of the Center for Seon Studies, established in 1920. The Seon practitioners actively participated in the Purification Buddhist Movement in this context.

The characteristics of the Purification Buddhist Movement⁹ can be summarized as follows. First, the movement heavily relied on the state. The movement was supported by the two rulers, Presidents I Seungman and Bak Jeonghui. President I Seungman issued six times his messages between May 21, 1954 and August 5, 1955 and President Bak Jeonghui issued several official statements in support of the Purification Buddhist Movement.

Second, the movement violated the separation policy between religion and state, which is described in the constitution. President I Seungman initiated the Purification Buddhist Movement by issuing his first message on May 21, 1954. Prior to the message, Korean Buddhists tried to purify Korean Buddhism but obtain nearly none of their goals. After the first message by President I Seungman, the government administrative units became actively involved in the religious affairs.

Third, both groups, married monks and celibate monks, defined monkhood in the different ways based on their interests. The celibate monks conservatively defined monkhood based on monastic codes that the traditional Buddhist orders had kept. The married monks suggested that monkhood could be a combination of celibate monks, who might concentrate on cultivation and enlightenment without being distracted to the secular lives, and married monks, who might focus on propagating Buddhism among those living mundane lives.

Fourth, the process of Purification Buddhist Movement was heavily dependent on the court and the state's intervention. Two groups took their cases to court and to the state to back up their own behaviors. The court and the state generally favored the celibate monastic side against the married monastics. Korean Buddhism wasted its properties and money in legal fees. Through the process, Korean Buddhism became a pro-Government religion and automatically voiced support for the government. It ignored the social justices under the undemocratic regimes. The government manipulated the conflict between two Buddhist groups for their purposes.

Fifth, the behaviors of both sides were non-Buddhist. They used violence, and some disemboweled themselves and intruded into the court, and broke the harmony of the Buddhist community. They even employed gangsters to attack the opposition and to take the temples. Even though the goals of Purification Buddhism could be justified, the methods which they adopted could not be authorized under the name of Buddhism. Buddhism strictly prohibited Buddhists from using violence.

Because the aim of the Purification Buddhist Movement was to recover this aspect of monastic order from the Japanese influence, the movement was basically for reformation of Korean Buddhism inside the religious arena. In contrast, the Minjung Buddhist Movement is fundamentally an attempt to construct a type of Pure Land in the society by introducing such universal issues as human rights, justice, peace, labor, democracy, reunification, and so on.

1. The US Military Government, 1945-48

1.1. The Discriminations against Buddhism

Korea was liberated from Japanese occupation on August 15, 1945. On September 7, 1945, the US government established the US military government in South Korea, which was ended with the establishment of the Republic of Korea on August 15, 1948. During the three years between 1945 and 1948, the US military government discriminated against Buddhism and traditional religions in favor of their own religion, Christianity.¹⁰ Based upon the US military government's discriminative policies, Korean Buddhists had difficulty removing Japanese Buddhist influences.

First, the US military government recognized Buddhism, Protestantism and Catholicism and failed to recognize traditional religions, i.e., Cheondo Religion, Jeungsan Religion and other new religions. This policy violated the separation between state and religion, which is clearly included in the US constitution. The measure, imposed by the US military government, discriminated against Korean traditional religions by recognizing and giving political favors to Christianity, even though the number of Christian believers was only around 3 percent of the South Korean population at that time.

Second, the US military government abolished national holidays that Japan had included during its occupation period, recognizing only Christmas as

a national holiday and even excluding the Buddha's birthday.

Third, the US military government gave favor to Christianity. For example, Christians could propagate their teachings through the Seoul Radio Broadcasting Station beginning in March, 1947. The station had actually been the public radio station under Japanese rule. Following the pro-Christianity policy of the US military government, I Seungman's regime approved the establishment of the Christian Radio Broadcasting Station in December 1954. The regime also established the military chaplain system for only Christianity, including two major traditions, Protestantism and Catholicism, which was made under the US military's strong influence in 1951 during the Korean War, 1950-53.

Fourth, the Christians requested the US military government to prohibit official government events and activities on Sundays, i.e., elections, state examinations, and so on. Even the first national election was supposed to be held on Sunday, May 9. However, due to the intervention of Christianity, the election was held on May 10, a Monday. Even Mr. I Seungman, first president of the ROK, took an oath to God at the first presidential inauguration ceremony on August 15, 1948.

Fifth, the South Korean Interim Parliament on August 8, 1947 unanimously passed a resolution that four regulations, including the Regulations of Korean Buddhist Temples, made by Japan's Occupational Forces to control Korean Buddhism, should be abolished and it passed a substitute regulation, the Law of Provisional Protection of Buddhist Temple Properties which states Japanese Buddhist properties should belong to Korean Buddhists.

However, on October 29, 1947, the US military government rejected the Korean Buddhist demand that Japanese Buddhist properties should belong to Korean Buddhism after independence. It did not abolish the Regulations of Korean Buddhist Temples, and it also did not approve the Law of Provisional Protection of Buddhist Temple Properties.

Sixth, the US military government gave great favor to the Christians in its administrative posts. Even though the ratio of Christians in the South Korean population was 3 percent, the percentage of Christians among Korean chief ministers of the administration was 54 percent and the percentage of Christians in the first cabinet of I Seungman was 42 percent.

1.2. Activities to Remove Japanese Buddhist Influences

Immediately after getting independence from Japan on August 15, 1945, Secretary-General I Jonguk resigned his post with his cabinet members of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism on August 17, 1945. Progressive Buddhist leaders visited Taego-sa Temple, the order's headquarter temple, modern

Jogye-sa Temple, discussed how to take over its administration on August 19. The thirty-five monks organized the Preparatory Committee for the Reform of Korean Buddhism on August 21. They took over its administration and issued a statement with retiring executives on August 22.¹¹

The preparatory committee members were elected as follows. The chair was Gim Beomnin; the members of the subcommittee of general affairs were Yu Yeop, O Sigwon, Jeong Duseok and Bak Yunjin; the chair of the sub-committee of planning was Gim Jeokeum; and the advisors were Song Mangong, Song Manam, Seol Seoku, Gim Guha, Gim Gyeongsan, Baek Gyeongha, Jang Seoksang, Gang Dobong and Gim Sangwol. The key figures of the committee were the chair, the members of the subcommittee of general affairs, and the chair of the subcommittee of planning and the committee politically arranged the advisors to promote its organization's position.

Gim Beomnin was the actual leader of progressive Buddhists. He belonged to Beomeo-sa Temple in Busan and after distributing the declaration manifestoes for independence from Japan on March 1, 1919 in Seoul, he led the demonstration march for independence at Beomeo-sa Temple. He actively participated in exiled Korean government in Shanghai, China. He studied Buddhism in France and came back to Korea in which he made endeavors to reform Korean Buddhism in the order's central administrative units and to be independent from Japanese occupation. He was a member of the secret underground political party entitled "Mandang," the leader of which was Han Yongun, the famous independence movement leader. He also educated monks at monastic seminaries, affiliated with Dasol-sa Temple and Beomeo-sa Temple.

The preparatory committee dispatched their representatives to the parish temples for them to distribute the purport of the national monastic conference and to encourage the each parish's monastic representatives to attend the conference actively. It elected the twenty-four members of the subcommittee of planning and let them prepare the conference and its agendas. It thoroughly prepared to pass the reformative measures at the conference.

The preparatory committee held the national monastic conference on September 22 – 23 at Taego-sa Temple. Below were the 79 representatives from the 27 parish headquarter temples among the 31 parish headquarter temples except the 4 parish headquarter temples.¹² Of the 79 delegates, the 60 representatives attended and the 19 delegates did not attend the conference. The 4 parish headquarter temples which did not send their own delegates were Paeyeop-sa Temple and Seongbul-sa Temple in Hwanghae Province and Yeongmyeong-sa Temple and Beopheung-sa Temple in South Pyeongan Province, all of which are located in North Korea. It might have some problems for the conference organizers to communicate with some parish headquarter temples in North Korea because of possibly some political and transportation reasons.¹³ The Soviet Union and the United States divided Korean Peninsular

into two Koreas, South Korea and North Korea along the 38th north parallel
line on August 15, 1945.

Bongeun-sa Temple:	Gim Yeoneung, Na Byeonggi, I Dongjo, Bak Junghyeon, I Beobun, Cheon Duwon, Gim Eullyeong
Jeondeung-sa Temple:	Jang Dosik, Gwak Munchang
Yongju-sa Temple:	Yun Hosun, Jo Manhae
Beopju-sa Temple:	Jeong Gihwan, Bak Dongil
Magok-sa Temple:	Han Bosun, Gim Mangi, Hong Jeongsik, Jin Sangil, Hwang Taeho
Wibong-sa Temple:	Yu Jaehwan, Gim Jaesu, Gim Huiseok, Seo Sanggi
Boseok-sa Temple:	Gim Seongnong
Daeheung-sa Temple:	Bak Yeonghui, I Jijun
Baegyang-sa Temple:	Bak Jangjo, I Sangsun, Gim Seonghwan
Songgwang-sa Temple:	I Sunhong, Jeong Nagyeong, Gim Yeongchan
Hwaeom-sa Temple:	Gim Jeongwon, Gim Suil
Donghwa-sa Temple:	Gim Yongtaek, Bak Haksi
Eunhae-sa Temple:	Cha Eungjun, Ha Yunsil
Goun-sa Temple:	Gim Gwangmun, Seo Jaegyun
Gimyong-sa Temple:	Choe Munseok, Yu Seokgyu, Gwon Gyehan
Girim-sa Temple:	Gim Gyosang
Haerin-sa Temple:	Gim Osan, I Deokjin, Choe Yeonghwan, Choe Bosan, Bak Geunseop, Bak Daljun, Byeon Wolju
Tondo-sa Temple:	O Chungo, Gim Jinheo, Gim Samdo, Baek Unjeok, Gu Yeonun, Gim Jeongha, I Dongha
Beomeo-sa Temple:	I Donggwang, Song Dohan, Gim Yonghae
Geonbong-sa Tempe:	Gim Gyeonggyu, Jang Wongyu
Yujeom-sa Temple:	Hong Yeongjin, I Namchae, Seo Sanggyu, Seong Nakhun, An Heungdeok, Gim Daljin
Woljeong-sa Temple:	Sin Giseong, Gang Sangjun
Seokwang-sa Temple:	Choe Eungwan, Han Yeonggyu
Gwiju-sa Temple:	Yang Yeongbok, Jang Sangbong, Jeong Heungchang
Seonam-sa Temple:	I Donghun
Bohyeon-sa Temple:	I Seokgang

They selected in the conference the committee of twelve members to examine the conference agendas, those of whom were I Dongjo, Yun Hosun, Jeong Heungchang, Han Bosun, Cha Eungjun, I Deokjin, Hong Yeongjin, Gim Sanggi, Choe Eungwan, I Sunhong, Yu Jaehwan, and Gu Yeonun and the chair of which was I Deokjin.

They passed a resolution to abolish the Regulations of Korean Buddhist Temples and its enforcement ordinances, furthermore the parish system of Korean Buddhism prescribing relations between the 31 headquarter temples and their respective branch temples, and the articles and bylaws of Taego-sa Temple, the central headquarter temple of Korean Buddhism, all of which were devised under the Japan's occupation period. As a substitute measure, they made two levels in its order's administration, i.e., the central administration and the 12 provincial administrations. Abandoning the old constitution devised during Japanese occupation period, they passed the order's new constitution.

They suggested the order to manage all of the temples directly across the nation and its central administration to manage Buddhist properties under its direct control. The order can shut down and open up the temples based on the order's necessity. They diagnosed that the order's education, social welfare, finance, management, industry and others should be based on its order's central management of the properties.

They discussed the rights and characters of monks and laypersons and how to assign married priests to either monks or laypersons. The issue became controversial throughout Purification Buddhist Movement. They argued that the established order did not develop because of the big gaps between believers and monks and they decided to accept the statement that the practitioners were monks and the ordinary (maybe married) monks and laypersons were believers. At the time, they did not strongly indicate that the ordinary monks were married because over ninety percents of the number of monks were married monks. The later theorists and activists of Purification Buddhist Movement definitely categorized married monks into the group of believers.

They passed a resolution to establish a monastic praxis complex in the conference. They argued in the conference that (married) monastic administrators managed the temples and did not support celibate monastic Seon practitioners. They asked the order to appoint a temple as the complex and to establish the complex at which they let unmarried monastic practitioners manage it by themselves. The order implemented the resolution by establishing the praxis complex at Haein-sa Temple in November 1946.

They recommended Bak Hanyeong, a monk of Naejang-sa Temple, to the spiritual patriarch and elected Gim Beomnin to the Secretary-General, Choe Geumbong (Choe Beomsul) to the Secretary of General Affairs, Yu Yeop to the Secretary of Education Affairs, Bak Yunjin to the Secretary of Finance, Bak Yeonghui to the Inspector General, and Gim Samdo and Jang Sangbong to the

Inspectors.

On October 9, 1945, the education department of the US military government issued new education directives in which the religious discrimination should be removed. On November 2, 1945, the US military government promulgated its ordinance # 21 in which all of laws and ordinances made under Japan's rule should be effective unless it did not abolish them. The US military government wanted to use the Regulations of Buddhist Temples and other laws, made by the Japan's colonial government, in order to control Korean Buddhism and Korean citizens effectively.

The order requested the chief minister of the US military government to abolish the Regulations of Korean Buddhist Temples on July 22 and August 27, 1946. However, the education minister of the office of the US military government ordered the provincial governors to supervise Buddhist temples in their respective jurisdictions based on the existing Regulations of Korean Buddhist Temples when the temples sell their own properties.

On March 3, 1947, the order administration submitted its request to the Interim Parliament with the sponsorship of the 25 (parliament) representatives to abolish four regulations, i.e., the Regulations of Korean Buddhist Temples, its enforcement ordinances, the propagation rules and the temple rules. At the 126th general meeting on August 8, 1947, the parliament unanimously passed a resolution to abolish the four regulations and substituted them with the Law of Provisional Protection of Buddhist Temple Properties. The main points of the law were to abolish the bad regulations and to protect Buddhist temple properties. It let the Buddhist order have responsibility to independently control its properties from the government intervention.

The authority of the US military government did not approve it on October 29, 1947. The order's central administration took over the 43 Japanese temples in Seoul and assigned the local administration offices to take the local Japanese temples in their respective areas. The US military government prevented many Japanese Buddhist properties from belonging to the Buddhist order.

The Buddhist order and progressive leaders criticized the US military government's measure as a violation of religious freedom and submitted their letter of complaint to the head of the US military government, its chief minister, its congressional chairman and its Chief Justice. They also declared manifestos and properly voiced their request that the US military government should approve the substitute law.

However, the Regulations of Korean Temples were preserved to control the Buddhist order under the US military government and the first South Korean president I Seungman's regime. It was revised to another similar law entitled the Law of the Management of Buddhist Properties in 1962 under the

hands of the dictator Bak Jeonghui.

The US military government persecuted the progressive Buddhist organizations since 1947 because it gave favor to the right-wing organizations. The government considered progressive Buddhists as the socialists and communists, so they lost the momentum to reform Korean Buddhism.

However, unlike progressive Buddhists, because the Seon practitioners centered on the individual praxis and cultivation, not the social and structural reform, only a few of them participated in the reformative activities. They concentrated on the practice of Seon Buddhism and focused on purifying Korean Buddhism in the level of individuals and local temples, not the level of the order's central administration.

2. Purification Buddhist Movement, 1954-62

2.1. The Sprout of Purification Buddhist Movement

Immediately after liberation from Japan on August 15, 1945, Abbot Hong Taeuk of Bongeun-sa Temple, one of the parish headquarter temples, convened the branch temple abbots on August 28, 1945 in order to discuss how to reform Buddhism. I Jongik, instructor of Traditional Monastic Seminary, affiliated with the headquarter temple, proposed Buddhist reformative measures in the meeting. He announced that because he married, he is a lay Buddhist. He became one of key figures in defending Purification Buddhist Movement academically.

They passed a resolution with five items in the meeting. The items are (1) the abolishment of the current parish system and the establishment of the providential parish system; (2) the inclusion of celibate and married monks under the category of Buddhists with special notes for celibate monks; (3) the re-construction of praxis Buddhism in Buddhist order and the propagation of Buddhism to the society; (4) the unification of temple properties for mind cultivation, propagation and social welfare; and (5) the emphasis of five activities, i.e., mind cultivation, education, propagation, religious services and social welfare in a temple.

Progressive Korean Buddhist leaders held the national monastic conference on September 22-23, 1945, at which they proposed four priority projects, (1) the establishment of the monastic praxis complex; (2) the translation of Buddhist texts into Korean vernacular language; (3) the re-opening of the Buddhist mission school, Hyehwa Junior College, modern Dongguk University¹⁴; and (4) the purification of Korean Buddhism from Japanese Buddhist influences.

The conservative Seon practitioners also tried to recover the traditional Korean Buddhist praxis tradition. For example, I Hyobong initiated the three-year retreat with some Seon practitioners at Songgwang-sa Temple, considered the fountain temple of Korean Buddhism, on July 15, 1946. They promised not to go out of the temple territory, not to eat meals after noon, not to sleep and not to talk during the retreat.

The order accepted the first proposal of the national monastic conference and established the monastic praxis complex at Haein-sa Temple, presumably the biggest Korean temple in November 1946.¹⁵ The monastic complex is traditionally composed of four major praxis centers, i.e., (1) a Seon center, (2) a doctrinal seminary, (3) a discipline center and (4) a center for the Pure Land practice. The unmarried Seon practitioners urgently needed the complex in which they could concentrate in their own practices. During the Japanese occupation period, many Seon centers were closed because married abbots were not concerned about unmarried Seon practitioners.

The monastic complex was established as a direct organ of the order's central administrative office. It was supposed to train Seon practitioners for three years and limited the number of practitioners to 50 monks. The applicants should be over 20 years old with a good educational background. The order's chief administrator could select some qualified monks whom the Seon centers recommended. There should be an abbot, a Dharmic master, a teaching instructor, a chanting master, a secretary and a secretary assistant according to its regulation.

The complex established a Seon center in the beginning and planned to open a doctrinal seminary and a discipline center consecutively. The latter two centers had never been established at the time. I Hyobong, resident senior monk of Songgwang-sa Temple, was appointed to the first spiritual leader of the complex on November 6, 1946, his disciple So Gusan as the general manager and I Cheongdam as the discipliner of the Seon center. More than 100 Seon practitioners practiced in the center.

Some Seon leaders, for example, I Seongcheol, discussed how to secure financial support from the order's central administration and from the Haein-sa Temple with the order's representative Choe Beomsul and the temple's abbot Im Hwangyeong. He did not participate in the order's project because of his disappointment at the order's and the temple's poor support. Later, practitioners gradually began to leave the monastic complex because of financial difficulties threatening their very survival.

The complex was naturally closed when the Communist North Korean military began the Korean War on June 25, 1950 and later occupied the Haein-sa Temple area. Around 30 Seon practitioners were forcibly drafted into the Communist North Korean military service and the remaining Seon practitioners took refuge in the southern part of the Korean peninsula. I

Hyobong, the spiritual leader, established a Seon Center at Yonghwa-sa Temple in Chungmu in April, 1951 with some participants in the monastic complex at the Haein-sa Temple.

Song Manam (1876-1956) established the monastic praxis complex entitled Gobul (Original Buddha) at his resident temple, Baekyang-sa Temple, in commemoration of the Buddha's Enlightenment Day in February 1947. The meaning of the title "Original Buddha" is to recover the original Buddhist teaching from Japanese married Buddhism. The complex became defunct after the beginning of the Korean War on June 25, 1950.

He tried to reform Korean Buddhism through the official order administration. The order administration and the radical group of the opposition camp were fighting over the order hegemony at the time. The order could not get involved in the reformative measures. He declared to separate him with the order administration and to reform Korean Buddhism by himself. His main mission was influential in the Baekyang-sa Temple and its branch temples and propagation centers under his guide.

The Gobul complex established the monastic codes, comprising a compendium and 22 detailed items. The codes can be summarized as follows.¹⁶ First, Korean Buddhism should follow Taego Bou's (1301-82) Seon tradition, which transmitted the lineage of Linji Yixuan (d. 867) from China, considered the orthodox Seon Buddhism among Sino-Korean Buddhists.

Second, the codes defined Korean Buddhist monastic order as being composed of two monastic groups, i.e., the celibate monastic one and the married monastic one. They suggested that each group should have their own duties based on their own roles. The Gobul complex kept the moderate and realistic position to reform Korean Buddhism. Song Manam tried to include the prevalent married monks in his reformative movement. He gave the monastic privileges only to married monks who had already been ordained and he strongly prohibited the inheritance of temple properties by their sons. Accordingly, the number of married monks should decrease gradually and the purification of Korean Buddhism would thus be obtained over time.

Third, the codes favored unmarried monastics over married ones. Song Manam understood that the married monastic order could not be justified at all, based on traditional Buddhist monastic discipline codes. He suggested monks keep Buddhist monastic rules and study the fundamental spirit of Buddhism very seriously.

Fourth, the codes suggested that monastics secularize Buddhism in their everyday lives. They should study Buddhist texts, cultivate their minds, work everyday, live without relying on the believers, propagate Buddhism and so forth. To accomplish this mission, Song Manam suggested the monastics educate their disciples and save the temple properties and money. If the

children of monks inherited properties and money, the codes required them to donate twenty percent to the complex.

More than 10 Seon practitioners, represented by I Seongcheol and I Cheongdam, began the Seon retreat at Bongam-sa Temple on October 26, 1947.¹⁷ In fall, I Cheongdam and I Seongcheol obtained Buddhist texts and canons, donated by layman Gim Beomnyong. They moved the books to Bongam-sa Temple, where they decided to begin the retreat. They established the Seon Center and began to live their monastic lives based on the traditional Seon monastic codes.

They made self-governing rules in 17 items. They suggested the abolition of some superstitious rituals and the farming of agricultural lands for self-sufficiency, without reliance on donations from lay believers. They standardized Korean Buddhist rituals, monastic robes, eating rituals, and other monastic rules in their own monastic community by removing the Japanese Buddhist influences. They agreed to meet regularly to confess and to correct their wrong doings. Some left Bongam-sa Temple because of the strict application of its self-governing monastic rules. Others came to the temple to cultivate their practice based on strict monastic codes. In 1948, the number of resident monks increased to around 20 – 30.

Many neighboring laymen came to the temple to ask Seon leaders to teach Buddhism. The practitioners standardized the rituals for laymen based on Korean Buddhist tradition and began to purify Korean Buddhism from Japanese Buddhist influences. They simplified the lengthy ceremonies and eliminated many superstitious elements in Korean Buddhist rituals. They clarified the relations between the monastics and laypersons.

The retreat became problematic in 1949 when the South Korean government tried to militarily expel the Communists residing in the nearby mountains. The leftist and rightist groups were fighting each other near the temple so that they could not concentrate in Seon practice. In this atmosphere, I Seongcheol and his followers moved the Buddhist texts to Myogwaneum-sa Temple in Busan and left the Bongam-sa Temple in September, 1949 and the remaining Seon master, I Cheongdam and his followers moved to Okcheon-sa Temple in Goseong. Both cities are located in the southern part of the Korean peninsula. In this way, it was the external forces which led to the dissolution of the retreat group, not the internal problems.

The retreat at Bongam-sa Temple has several important meanings for the history of Buddhism in South Korea.¹⁸ First, it was to recover Korean Buddhist celibate tradition from Japanese married Buddhism. Second, it had a fundamental direction to return to the celibate monastic community prescribed by the traditional monastic codes of Buddhism. Third, the standardization of monastic rules and of lay rules by them became the model in the later Purification Buddhism and present Korean Buddhism. Fourth, the retreat

participants became the leaders of Purification Buddhist Movement and established the identity of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism. Fifth, unlike Song Manam, spiritual leader of the Gobul complex, who suggested the moderate, gradual and realistic measures to cleanse Japanese Buddhism, the retreat participants at Bongam-sa Temple advocated a radical position. The retreat group became the main force during the Purification Buddhist Movement period.

The revitalization of Korean celibate Seon tradition by the above-mentioned major Seon leaders, represented by three retreat groups, i.e., the Haein-sa Temple's praxis complex and the Gobul complex and the Bongam-sa Temple's Seon Center, later led into the early form of the Purification Buddhist Movement.

The land reform became a very controversial issue in politics, economy and society since getting liberation from Japan's occupation in 1945.¹⁹ On April 27, 1949, the South Korean national assembly passed the bill of land reform, having the principle that the government buys the agricultural lands from the landowners and sells it to the farmers. On June 21, 1949, the government promulgated the law, being consisted of the preamble, 6 chapters and 29 articles. On October 25, 1949, with a difficulty to implement the law, the revised version of the law was submitted to the national assembly. On March 25, 1950, its enforcement ordinance; on April 28, its detailed enforcement regulations; and on June 23, the regulations on distributing agricultural lands to the farmers were promulgated. Because the civil war broke out on June 25, 1950, the enforcement of the law of the land reform was postponed temporarily. On October 19, 1950, the government implemented the agricultural land's reform.²⁰

The reform impacted on the temple economy very seriously.²¹ Most of agricultural lands that temples do not cultivate were taken over to tenant farmers. The temple economy was heavily based on agricultural lands and mountain forests at the time. Because the temples lost one of two major financial sources, the temple activities were shrunk, the monks had a serious struggle to survive economically, many Seon centers and monastic seminaries were closed, and the maintenance of the temples was difficult. In this situation, Seon practitioners could not have the centers to practice Seon Buddhism because they could not get the financial support from the temples. After the land reform, they emergently had to secure the temples to survive economically and to support themselves to practice the Seon meditation. The financial problem might push Seon practitioners to take the hegemony in the order's politics and economy.

2.2. Early Purification Buddhist Movement

Less than one tenth of the monastic population was unmarried when Korea was liberated from Japan.²² In this situation, in April, 1952, during the Korean War between June 25, 1950 and July 27, 1953, I Daeui, resident monk at the Center for Seon Studies, submitted a proposal to the current patriarch Song Manam in which he explained many problems which originated from the Japanese occupation of the Korean peninsula. He requested that the patriarch give several large monasteries for unmarried monks to live in and practice Seon.

Song Manam accepted I Daeui's proposal and referred to his experimental model of the Gobul monastic praxis complex. He accepted that there were two monastic groups, unmarried and married, as a realistic measure. He suggested that all of temple management should be carried out under the leadership of unmarried monks. He also proposed to keep intact the established privileges of the current married monks but not to authorize newly married monks.

In November, 1952, the order's central administration held an official cabinet meeting and examined Patriarch Song Manam's directives to revitalize Korean Buddhism at the Tongdo-sa Temple, presumably the second largest temple after the Haein-sa Temple in Korea. The administration decided to accept his suggestion.

In April, 1953, the order's Regulations Committee held its general meeting at Bulguk-sa Temple in order to concretize the determination which the order made in the cabinet meeting at Tongdo-sa Temple. The committee designated 18 temples for unmarried monastics by excluding the major Buddhist temples, for instance, three major Korean Buddhist temples, Tongdo-sa Temple, Haein-sa Temple and Songgwang-sa Temple.

The unmarried Seon practitioners were disappointed at the measure. Even the 18 temples were not given to the unmarried monastic group. In May, 1954, some resident monks at the Center for Seon Studies requested the order administration to implement the promise immediately.

On May 20, 1954, President I Seungman issued his first presidential message to cleanse Korean Buddhism. At that time, he demanded married monks be removed and that unmarried monks take over the management of the order and its temples. His message made a very serious impact on both sides, that is, the married monastic group of the order's central administration and the unmarried monastic one of Seon practitioners.

Immediately after the presidential message, on May 21 to 23, some Seon practitioners began to organize the group for the Purification Buddhist Movement.

On June 20, the order's central administration held the cabinet meeting and revised the order's constitution based on the proposal by I Daeui and the directives by Song Manam. The order mentioned that it should be the combination between the celibate monks and the married monks. The order extended the number of temples promised to the unmarried monastic group from 18 to 48.

On June 21, the unmarried monks established the Preparatory Committee to Initiate Purification Buddhist Movement at the Center for Seon Studies and elected Jeong Geumo as the committee chairman. On June 24, they initiated the Committee to Purify Buddhist Order.

On August 24 – 25, 65 Seon leaders attended the national conference for unmarried monastic representatives at the Center for Seon Studies, passed a resolution, resolved to establish the praxis complex, decided to revise the order's constitution and elected nine committee members to revise it and fifteen committee members to enforce the Purification Buddhist Movement. The resolution can be summarized as follows. First, the monks should live separately from the nuns. Second, even though some monks became monastics after divorce, they did not clear the married status on the government's census registration record. It requested the monks to clear it. Third, it determined to make the monastic registration record. Fourth, it requested some unmarried monks to change their masters if their masters were married and disrobed.

On September 28 – 29, 146 Seon practitioners, including Patriarch Song Manam, attended the national conference for celibate monks in order to pass the order's constitution, revised by the nine committee members at the Center for Seon Studies. Based on the revised constitution, they elected 50 representatives for the order's central assembly. The 50 representatives held the order's provisional assembly meeting during which they appointed the order's spiritual leader and cabinet members among the unmarried monks.

The characteristics of the revised constitution can be summarized in the following two points. First, it defined the monastic order as being composed of only unmarried monastics and it categorized married monks as part of the lay group.

Second, it changed the founder of the order from National Master Taego Bou to National Master Bojo Jinul in order to differentiate their founder from the married group.²³ The change of the order's founder can be seen as completely political and not based on doctrine. Taego Bou was a pure Seon advocate and Bojo Jinul was a scholar who advocated syncretism between doctrinal aspects and practical Seon ones. The current monastic education curriculum was formed under the influence of Bojo Jinul. However, the Seon masters traditionally asserted that they were successors of the Linji Chan lineage of Taego Bou, not the syncretic lineage of Bojo Jinul.

On October 10, both sides, the unmarried monastic group and the married monastic one, discussed the order's urgent cases at Taego-sa Temple, the order's headquarter temple. On the issue of the definition of the monastic order, the two groups differed completely. The married monastic group considered the order to be the combination of married monks and unmarried ones, based on the order's previous constitution and did not accept the new one, revised by only the unmarried monks. However, the unmarried monastic camp degraded the married monks to the laypersons based on the traditional monastic discipline texts and the order's revised constitution. The meeting was broken off.

On October 10 and October 11, the unmarried group visited the presidential office two times to get support from President I Seungman.

On October 15, Patriarch Song Manam declared a manifesto in that he agreed with the main ideas of the Purification Buddhist Movement and seriously criticized the change of the order's patriarch.

On November 3, because Song Manam was the current patriarch of both sides, the unmarried monastic side held the order's second assembly meeting at the Center for Seon Studies and recommended the new patriarch and elected the order's some new cabinet members.

2.3. The Development of Purification Buddhist Movement

On November 4, 1954, President I Seungman issued the second presidential message in which he requested Korean Buddhism to cleanse Japanese Buddhist elements in it.

On November 5, with the strong support from President I Seungman, 80 unmarried monks marched in the street from the Center for Seon Studies to Taego-sa Temple, the headquarter temple of Korean Buddhism. They occupied the headquarter temple and changed the temple title from Taego-sa Temple, related with Taego Bou to Jogye-sa Temple, related with Bojo Jinul who was active on Mt. Jogye on which his resident Songgwang-sa Temple is located. They changed the order's title board to the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism.

After the unmarried monastic group's occupation of the Taego-sa Temple, the Purification Buddhist Movement became violent. For instance, on November 10, the unmarried monastic group expelled the married monks from Taego-sa Temple and the married monastic one removed the unmarried monks from several big temples such as Tongdo-sa Temple, Beomeo-sa Temple and others on the same day. On November 17, the married monastic group intruded in Taego-sa Temple.

Both sides began to take cases to court and the national assembly. On November 10, the married monastic group took their case to the court and on November 18, to the national assembly. On November 24, the unmarried monastic group took their case to the court.

On November 18, President I Seungman issued the third presidential message to back up the celibate monastic group and urged to organize the Committee for Purification Buddhism.

The violence became more serious. Because of the strong support from the president's office and the celibate monastic group's aggressive actions, the married monastic one got defensive.

On December 1, the unmarried monastic group held the second national conference for unmarried monks and nuns; on December 7 – 8, the third one; and on December 11, the fourth one. On December 3, the unmarried monastic group visited the presidential office for the third time. On December 13, 600 unmarried monks visited the presidential office and marched in the street to propagate their purification movement.

I Seongcheol, a strong advocate of Purification Buddhism, denounced the movement's serious dependence on external government support and argued that the Purification Buddhist Movement could not be justified. He declared he would not attend the second national conference and entered individual intensive retreat at the Seongjeon-am Hermitage of Pagye-sa Temple for eight years.

On December 18, President I Seungman issued the fourth presidential message and urged that the married monks should be removed from the temples.

On December 25, the celibate monastic group held the fifth national conference for unmarried monastics. And next day, on December 26, they pushed out the married monastics from Taego-sa Temple and changed the temple's name from Taego-sa Temple to Jogye-sa Temple. The married monastic group adopted Beomnyun-sa Temple as its headquarter temple.

In January 1955, scholars of the two groups argued against one other about who was the order's founder. I Jaeyeol and I Jongik represented the unmarried monastic group's argument that Bojo Jinul was the founder. Gim Yeongsu and Gwon Sangno of the married monastics argued that Taeogo Bou was the founder.

On February 4, five representatives of each group reached eight agreements on the definition of the monkhood under the negotiation of the government's education minister. The eight definitions on the monk are as follows. First, monks should be unmarried; second, they should shave their

heads and wear gray monastic robes; third, they should not be handicapped; fourth, they should practice Buddhism; fifth, they should live with more than three monks; sixth, they should not kill sentient beings, not steal belongings from others, not have sexual intercourses, and not lie; seventh, they should not drink alcohol, not smoke cigarettes and not eat meat; and eighth, they should be over 20 years old.

The majority of the married monastic group could not accept the agreements and they suggested married monks be included in the monastic order. The unmarried monastic group rejected this and urged the government to investigate which monastics fit the definition of the monkhood agreed upon by the representatives. After examination, the government declared that the number of celibate monastics was 1189.

On May 18, the two ministers of the education department and the internal affairs department issued an official document to the attention of the Secretary-General of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism. It can be summarized as follows. First, each temple should elect its abbot based on the eight agreements until June 30, 1955; second, the married monks should move from the temple territory; and third, the order should submit two copies of the list of newly elected abbots and each temple's major post executives to the two ministers respectively until to July 31, 1955.

The married monastic group took the case to the national assembly, more sympathetic to their stance than the government administration. Some married monks and some sons of married monks were congressmen and they were supportive of the married monastic group's request to check the government's strong favoritism of the unmarried monastic one.

On June 15, President I Seungman issued the fifth presidential message and on August 5, the sixth one. The conflict and violence between the two groups became serious.

On August 2 – 5, the unmarried monastic group held a national monastic conference. On August 5, the Department of Education suggested that the 30 temples of the major 60 temples should be conceded to the unmarried monastic group and President I Seungman issued the 6th presidential message in which the Pro-Japanese monastics should be removed from Korean Buddhism.

On August 12, the 800 unmarried monks held a successive national monastic conference in which they fired the order's Patriarch Song Manam, its administrative cabinet members and all of the administrative executives. They appointed Patriarch Seol Seoku, Secretary-General I Cheongdam and the order's administrative cabinet members, elected the order's 56 central assembly representatives, and revised the order's constitution. On August 13, they elected the order's provincial assembly representatives and appointed the provincial administrators and the abbots of 623 temples across the nation.

The minister of the department of education authorized the legitimacy of the national monastic conference, held in August 12 – 13.

On September 28, the celibate monastic group appointed the abbots of the 19 major temples through whom they could manage the temples and the group secured the management of the provincial offices.

On November 23, the married monastic group conceded the order's administration to the celibate monastics and on November 25, changed their own administration and elected new cabinet members.

The national monastic conferences held in August 1955 made the Purification Buddhist Movement a great turning point since May 20, 1954, when President I Seungman issued his first presidential message. The celibate monastic group made their own administration and obtained management of the major temples and of the provincial offices across the nation. They also secured their order's authorization over the married monastic group from the government. Both sides began to split one major Korean Buddhist order into two separate orders, the married monastic order and the unmarried monastic one.

2.4. The April 19, 1960 Movement and the Purification Buddhist Movement

President I Seungman resigned his presidential position due to a national massive demonstration on April 19, 1960. He had gained office through a corrupted national election. The resignation of President I Seungman, strong supporter to the celibate monastic group, made the married monastic group take aggressive actions.

On April 27, more than 80 married monks attempted to take back the Jogye-sa Temple, the order's headquarter temple and in May, the married monastic group occupied more than 10 major temples across the nation. On May 3, after the Buddha's Birthday celebration ceremony, the married monastic group held a street demonstration, carrying a placard saying the celibate monks should be removed.

On June 9 – 11, the married monastic group held their own order's regular central assembly meeting at Cheongnyeon-sa Temple. At that time, they declared that six presidential messages issued by President I Seungman were illegal and they defined the celibate monastic group's order as a pro-Government institution. They declared that they would return Korean Buddhism to the status it had before the beginning of the Purification Buddhism.

On June 16, the unmarried monastic group changed the system of the

order's central assembly in order to accept married monastics' demand in the changed political situation. They proposed that the order's central assembly has two levels, that is, the upper house of celibate monks and the lower house of lay Buddhist representatives.

On July 15, 1960, the married monastic group applied to the district court in Seoul for an injunction to stop the duties of the major officials in the unmarried monastic order's administration and to prohibit unmarried monks from entering Jogye-sa Temple. On August 7, however, the court declined the married monastic group's request.

Before April 19, 1960, the married monastic group questioned in court the legitimacy of the national monastic conference, held by only the unmarried monastic one in August, 1955, which paved a road for the unmarried monastic one to accomplish their goal of the Purification Buddhist Movement. On November 24, the final decision by the Supreme Court on the legitimacy of the national monastic conference was supposed to be ruled.

On November 19, 800 celibate monastics hosted the national monastic conference to propagate the legitimacy of the national monastic conference, held in August, 1955 and to lead the Supreme Court to rule the case in favor of their side. They marched in the streets to advertise their demand to be right and proper. On November 22, 700 unmarried monastics as well as 200 lay Buddhists demonstrated to encourage the unmarried monastic atmosphere at Jogye-sa Temple. On November 23, 500 unmarried monastics began a hunger strike to voice their demand to the court.

On November 24, the Supreme Court returned the case for the higher court in Seoul to review and did not confirm the positive ruling to the unmarried monastic group, which won the case in the higher court. On the same day, 400 celibate monks protested against the ruling and intruded into the Supreme Court and 6 monks attempted to disembowel themselves in the Secretariat Office of the Chief Justice. On November 26, the Prosecutor Office issued a warrant for 133 monks which the police took to the police station with the case of intruding the Supreme Court. On December 21, the Prosecutor Office indicted the 24 monks among them.

On March 25 – 26, the National Association of Lay Buddhists held a national conference for its representatives. It urged the completion of the Purification Buddhist Movement and the reconstruction of a pure monastic order. They also requested the order to implement the two level system of its central assembly, that is, the upper house of the celibate monks and the lower house of the lay Buddhist representatives.

2.5. The May 16, 1961 Coup and the Purification Buddhist Movement

General Bak Jeonghui obtained power through the May 16, 1961 coup. The

military government treated both groups equally in the beginning. The government measure was supposed to recognize the married monastic group in the order. On September 16, 1961, the unmarried monastic group held the 19th extraordinary meeting at its order's central assembly and decided not to accept the government's policy. They did not recognize the married monastics.

On November 9, military ruler Bak Jeonghui issued the first official statement in which he strongly urged the two groups to solve the conflict by themselves. On December 8, the military government stopped legal cases in the Supreme Court regarding the Purification Buddhist Movement and passed a government ordinance to organize the Committee to Rebuild Buddhism in the cabinet meeting. According to the ordinance, the committee was supposed to have five respective representatives from both sides and three representatives of high reputation in the society appointed by the Minister of Education and in one month after the committee was initiated, all of conflicts in the Buddhist order should be resolved. On December 9, General Bak Jeonghui issued the second official statement in which he urged that the conflicts between two groups be solved out as soon as possible. On December 19, the Department of Education presented the government ordinance to both sides and asked them to submit their own committee candidate members by December 25.

On January 12, 1962, General Bak Jeonghui issued the third official statement in which he declared that if the conflicts continued, he would punish those responsible very severely because the government's request that the two groups organize the committee was not successfully implemented. On January 17, the Department of Education again urged both sides to organize the committee.

On January 18, both sides agreed to organize the committee in the Minister's Office of the Department of Education and made the committee's rules. They passed a resolution that the committee be comprised of eleven members, i.e., five representatives respectively from each side and one representative from the Department of Education. They also determined that the committee should resolve all issues regarding Purification Buddhism.

On January 20, based on article # 3 of the Special Law to Reorganize Old Laws and Regulations, the government abolished the Regulations of Korean Buddhist Temples, devised under Japanese Occupation in 1911, except article # 5 among its seven articles. The Regulations of Korean Buddhist Temples had not been removed even after Korea's liberation from Japan. Instead, they were very tactically used to control Korean Buddhism by the US military government and the I Seungman regime.

Article # 5 of the Regulations of Korean Buddhist Temples is as follows: "One cannot sell any temple properties such as land, forest, buildings, Buddha images, stone architects, old manuscripts, old calligraphies and paintings and other precious materials without permission from the Governor-General."

Thus, the new Bak Jeonghui regime did not abolish the regulations completely, keeping the most important article for the government to effectively control Korean Buddhism in its hands. By keeping the article, the Korean government replaced the Regulations of Korean Buddhist Temples with the Law of the Management of Buddhist Properties in 1962. The government completely removed the article in the Law of the Preservation of Traditional Temples in 1987.

On January 20, based on the suggestion by the Education Minister, Ha Dongsan, patriarch of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism of the unmarried monastic group and Guk Mukdam, patriarch of the same order of the married monastics, signed a written oath to organize the Committee to Rebuild Buddhism to establish the united Korean Buddhist order in the Office of the Department of Education. This event paved the road for the united Korean Buddhist order. As shown above, the completion of the Purification Buddhist Movement was completely dependent on the government's intervention.

2.6. The Completion of the Purification Buddhist Movement

The two groups had four committee meetings and set the cornerstones for the establishment of the united Korean Buddhist order. On January 22, the two groups, respectively represented by five representatives, held the first committee meeting in the Office of Public Information with the Education Minister in attendance. They made detailed operational rules for the committee in 14 items. They organized subcommittees, elected the chairman for each subcommittee and assigned members to it.

On January 25, 1962, they declared a public pledge with six articles and made an operation plan in the second committee meeting.

On January 29, they passed the rules for the order's Emergency Central Assembly with a preamble, seven chapters and twenty articles in the third committee meeting.

On January 31, they elected the fifteen representatives of the order's emergency central assembly respectively from each side in the fourth committee meeting.

On February 12, the first meeting of the order's emergency assembly was held. They assigned an assembly to rebuild Buddhism in six months. They elected I Cheongdam of the unmarried monastic group as chairman and Jo Yongmyeong of the married monastic one to vice chairman.

On February 20, they reviewed the order's constitution. They adopted the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism as the title of the united Korean Buddhist order and outlined the order's tenets. They also unanimously established Doui of the United Silla Dynasty as the order's founder and Bojo and Bou of Goryeo Dynasty

as its successors. Doui transmitted the Linji lineage of Chan Buddhism for the first time. They solved the issue regarding the order's founder by making Doui its founder and equally accepting Jinul and Bou as two transmitters in its order. However, both sides argued over the definition of the monastic order very vehemently.

On February 28, the emergency assembly agreed on the order's constitution with the condition that it would accept the interpretation of the monastic order by the government's Education Department. The constitution was composed of the preamble, nineteen chapters and one hundred sixteen articles.

Both sides argued over the definition of the monastic order and on March 6, the representatives of the unmarried monastic group passed a constitution. The constitution could not be effective because of the resistance from the married monastic group.

On March 20, the Department of Education revised the rules of the order's emergency assembly, based on which it fired 30 representatives and appointed fifteen representatives, five from each group, and the five of high reputation in society.

On March 22, the emergency assembly passed the revised constitution without the representatives of the married monastic group in which the monastic order is defined as that of the unmarried monastics.

On March 23, Military Ruler Bak Jeonghui issued a directive to the Department of Education stating conflicts between the two groups should be settled as soon as possible.

On March 25, the revised constitution was promulgated. On March 27, based on the constitution, the Law of the Order's Central Administration was made.

On April 1, the emergency assembly elected I Hyobong as the order's patriarch and Im Seokjin as its Secretary-General. The patriarch came from the unmarried monastic group and the secretary-general from the married monastic one. The assembly also elected the main posts in the cabinet. The united Korean Buddhist order between the married monastic group and the unmarried monastic one was historically organized.

On April 11, the order held an inauguration ceremony for the united Korean Buddhist order and implemented the 25 parish system. The newly elected patriarch and secretary-general were inaugurated.

On April 13, both sides conceded their own administrative rights to the united order and on April 14, the united order registered with the Department of Education. This made Purification Buddhism be complete.

3. The Aftereffects of the Purification Buddhist Movement

On August 20, 1962, by the invitation of the Department of Education, an emergency assembly meeting was held. The government suggested that the number of the members of the first central assembly in the united order should be 50, assigning 32 representatives for the unmarried monastic group and 18 for the married monastic group. The five representatives of the married monastic group walked out of the meeting in protest of the government's favor to the unmarried monastics.

On August 22, the five representatives of the married monastic group criticized the government's favor. On September 18, due to the ratio of the representatives between the married monastic group and the unmarried monastic one, the united order was broken off. All of the major figures of the married monastic group in the united order, including the Secretary-General, resigned and resolved to fight against the unmarried monastic one.

On August 25, the unmarried monastic group opened the united order's first assembly meeting at the Jogye-sa Temple in which they elected Bak Byeokan as the chairman and Son Gyeongsan and (Seok) Seogak as the vice chairmen. On August 26, the order promulgated the Law of Monastic Ordination and on August 30, the Law of the Order's Central Assembly.

In October, the married monastic group established their own headquarter in Chungjeongno, Seoul. They asserted that the revised constitution of the united order should be nullified and the inauguration of Patriarch I Hyobong should not be authorized. They also took the cases to court.

The Law of the Management of Buddhist Properties frustrated the married monastic group. On May 31, the government promulgated the law with a preamble, three chapters, nineteen articles and an appendix and on August 22, its enforcement ordinance with the preamble, 102 articles and the appendix.

On October 17, the Minister of the Department of Education issued a directive for the government units to register the temples based on the law. He guided the government units to accept the registration of temples based on the documents issued by Patriarch I Hyobong of the unmarried monastic group.

On the one hand, on December 14, the government accepted the registration from the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism of the unmarried monastic group based on the Law of the Management of Buddhist Properties. On the other hand, on December 22, the government issued a warning notice for the married monastic group to remove the sign board of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism at their headquarter temple.

On February 27, 1963, the married monastic group separated their group

from the united order. They held their own independent central assembly in which they elected Guk Mukdam as their own patriarch, revised the order's constitution and passed a resolution that they would submit their own independent proposal to the government in order to solve conflicts.

On May 29, the unmarried monastic group held the national monastic conference in which they resolved to keep the constitution of the united order.

On July 16, the married monastic group planned to hold a large service for a massive number of participants. However, the government blocked this, considering it an illegal meeting. The married monastics and laypersons began a hunger strike, held a massive street demonstration and undertook other actions.

On July 19, the government intervened to solve the conflicts between the two groups. The government recognized the existing rights for the married monastics with the condition that they should not accept new married monastics to the order. On November 19, the Department of Education tentatively authorized the married monastics in the order. On the same day, the unmarried monastic group protested against the government's measure.

On February 5, 1964, Bak Daeryun, secretary-general of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism and belonging to the married monastic side, made a petition to the National Assembly to abolish the Law of the Management of Buddhist Properties. On August 21, the married monastic group submitted the legal case to assert that the constitution revised by the united Korean Buddhist order should be nullified. On September 6, the government's Department of Education defined the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism of the married group as an illegal organization.

On March 16, 1965, both sides, represented by Son Gyeongsan from the unmarried monastic group and by Sin Jongwon from the married monastic one, signed an agreement to establish a committee for harmonizing the two groups. They agreed to try not to take legal cases to the court, which had led to the loss of many Buddhist properties.

On June 11, the district civil court in Seoul ruled on the case concerning the nullification of the revised constitution of the united Korean Buddhist order and the patriarch inaugurated based on it, in favor of the married monastic group. On June 22, the order of the unmarried monastic group appealed this decision to the higher court. On September 7, 1966, the higher civil court ruled the case in favor of the unmarried monastic group. The married monastic side appealed the case to the Supreme Court.

On August 11 – 13, 1966, the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism held the 13th central assembly meeting and passed a resolution to open up its assembly to the monastics who broke away from the order. The order elected 37 representatives among 50 and left the 13 vacant seats for the married monastic

side. In September, a preparation committee to establish harmony between the two groups was established.

On February 6, 1967, 30 monastic leaders from both sides signed an agreement in which they confirmed the constitution of the united Korean Buddhist order. They also assigned 29 seats in the central assembly to the unmarried monastic group, assigned 21 seats to the married monastic group and allocated 8 parish headquarter temples of 23 to the married monastic one.

On February 27, the married monastic side held a national conference for monastic representatives in which they denounced the agreement and asserted that unauthorized persons signed it. They declared in a manifesto that the two sides should be separated with two independent orders and the Law of the Management of Buddhist Properties to authorize the united order of the unmarried group should be abolished.

On November 18, 1968, the married monastic group held the central assembly's thirtieth meeting in which they declared that the united order should be nullified. They also criticized the corrupted events of the unmarried monastic group and re-declared that they should establish their own independent order.

On March 26, 1969, the married monastic group held the national conference for Buddhists in which they also declared the nullification of the united order and demanded the government to recognize the separation of the married monastic group and the unmarried monastic one into two independent orders.

On October 23, 1969, the Supreme Court ruled on the case of the constitution and the inauguration of the first patriarch in the united order in favor of the unmarried monastic group. This completed the long history of the legal processes of Purification Buddhism between the married monastic group and the unmarried monastic group. The final ruling completely authorized the legitimacy of Purification Buddhism over married monastic Buddhism.

On April 16, 1970, the married monastic group held the 9th national conference for representatives in which they declared that they would establish the new order entitled the Taego Order of Korean Buddhism. On May 8, they established the Taego Order of Korean Buddhism. The government accepted the registration of the new order based on the Law of the Management of Buddhist Properties. They elected Bak Daeryun as the patriarch, Bak Gapdeuk as the secretary-general, An Byeongsu as the secretary of the general affairs, Yun Jonggeun as the secretary of the educational affairs and appointed other officers.

After the complete separation of the married monastic group under the new order entitled the Taego Order, the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism actually completed Purification Buddhism. Monastic conflicts in the Jogye Order changed from those between the married monastic group and the unmarried

monastic one to those between unmarried monastics.

4. Concluding Remarks

The Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, the leading and biggest order in Korean Buddhism, and the Taego Order of Korean Buddhism, the second biggest order, completely differently see the movement between 1954 and 1962. While the Jogye Order explains it with the positive term “Purification Buddhist Movement,” the Taego Order describes it with the negative words “dispute,” “persecution,” and “conflict.” Korean Buddhists have conventionally used the term “Purification Buddhist Movement” because they could not ignore the influence from the Jogye Order, so we need to re-examine the term’s validity and authenticity from a neutral view for now. Because we cannot negate the fact that married monastic system of Korean Buddhism was made under the influence of Japanese Buddhism during Japan’s occupation period, 1910-45, the arguments of the Taego Order should also be investigated closely.

If the movement is reviewed from the perspectives of the Jogye Order, it is to recover Korean Buddhist celibate monastic tradition from married Japanized monasticism and to revitalize Korean Seon praxis tradition from deteriorated married priesthood. The founders of current Jogye Order proudly consider themselves as the purifiers of wrong and perverted marriage priesthood in Korean Buddhist monastic tradition. They argue that they succeeded to cleanse Japanized colonial Buddhism and ended up with establishing the Jogye Order based on traditional monasticism of Korean Buddhism. In order to back up their arguments, they should give us more evidences. One could not deny how much seriously the movement activists were involved in taking temple properties and ownerships by using violent measures and being dependent on the external powers such as the government and the court from the beginning and to the end throughout the movement. Even though the Jogye Order states that the movement activists tried to recover traditional Korean Buddhist monasticism, we also should not justify non-Buddhist methods in the movement such as the use of violent actions and the dependence on the external forces.

Conversely, if the movement is seen from the view of the Taego Order, the movement is a dispute, a fight, a struggle, a conflict, a confrontation between Korean Buddhists, mostly monks, not laypersons. The Taego Order argues that the movement does not have a solid ideology to be actualized from the beginning but a strong desire to get the hegemony in the order’s political power and as the result, to monopolize the ownership of the temple properties and the management of them. Even though one cannot decline the movement’s negative aspects, one also cannot negate a fact that it purified the monastic order in Korean Buddhism. Even though one accepts the Taego Order’s arguments, one should not justify the current status quo of the Korean Buddhist order prior to the movement in which the majority of Korean Buddhist monks were married. One cannot ignore the fact that the marriage monastic system, along with the regulations of Korean Buddhist

temples and the bureaucratic parish system, which were originated from Japan's occupation, facilitated Korean Buddhism to be pro-Japanese government.

The later researchers and scholars need to discuss the marriage monastic system comprehensively. It is pretty difficult for one to generalize that married monks are pro-Japanese government and unmarried ones keep traditional Korean Buddhist monasticism. The participants in Purification Buddhist Movement used to dichotomize between married monastics and celibate monastics and to polarize two groups into the evil one and the good one. They assigned married priests to the symbol of pro-Japanese colonialism and celibate monastics to the model of keeping true Korean monasticism. However, the majority of the unmarried monastic Seon practitioners were not engaged in the independence movement but dedicated themselves to practice Seon Buddhism for themselves, not for the nation during the Japanese occupation period. One, furthermore, can easily find out many married monks who supported the independence movement. I think that the dichotomization between pro-Japanese monks and independent monks, invented by the activists and theorists of the Purification Buddhist Movement, should be discarded.

Ironically, Han Yongun, progressive activist and theorist, who actively participated in the movement for independence from Japan's occupation, strongly suggested that Korean Buddhism should allow the monastics to marry for the modernization and secularization of Korean Buddhism in his *Bulgyo yusin-non* (Essays on Korean Buddhism's Restoration) even in 1910.²⁴ He argued that it would facilitate married monks to propagate Buddhism more easily than unmarried monks. He might be the most famous Buddhist leader for independence and the practitioner who seriously advocated the Seon practice. Even if his arguments on marriage monasticism in Korean Buddhism should be discussed based on the vinaya rules of traditional Buddhism, which do not allow marriage monasticism, one could not ignore that Japanese Buddhism helped Korean Buddhism modernized.

Korean Buddhism learned a lot from Japanese Buddhism in terms of advanced scholarship in Buddhist Studies, well-organized management of Buddhist temples and participation in social activities. Korean Buddhist organizations dispatched their monks and lay students to Japan in which they learned advanced Buddhist Studies at Buddhist mission universities and/or public ones. They incorporated Japanese Buddhism's scholarship in Buddhist Studies and its experience to propagate Buddhism to the public and modernized Korean Buddhism based on the model of Japanese Buddhism. Japanese Buddhists elevated the lowest position to the higher and respectable position of Korean Buddhist monastics in the society. Regardless of Japanese Buddhism's contributions to the development of Korean Buddhism during Japan's occupation period and even during post-colonial period, the participants of Purification Buddhist Movement very much utilized nationalistic sentiment to accomplish their own missions.

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Notes

¹ Bulgyo Sinmun-sa (The Biweekly Official Newspaper Company of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism) and Hanguk bulgyo geunhyeondae-sa yeongu-hoe (Association of Research in Modern Korean Buddhism), affiliated with Seonu Doryang, held a joint seminar on the issue entitled “Purification Buddhist Movement and Jogye Order’s Identity” and publicized the subject in the first time on September 19, 2000. Song Wolju, former president of Jogye Order, presented the keynote speech on the subject. Four participants, i.e., two historians in modern Korean Buddhism, Bak Pori and Gim Gwangsik and two sociologists in religion, Bak Seunggil and Yun Seungyong, presented the articles on Purification Buddhist Movement with the respective reflection papers from four discussants, Jeong Gwangho, Seok Jihong, Gang Incheol and Seok Yeoyeon. They edited and published the articles presented at the seminar in *Gyodan jeonghwa undong gwa jogyejong ui oneul* (Purification Buddhist Movement and Current Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism) (Seoul: Seonu Doryang Press, 2001).

² See I Cheolgyo and Gim Gwangsik, comps., *Hanguk geunhyeondae bulgyo jaryo jeonjip*. vol. 68: *Bulgyo jeonghwa bunjaeng jaryo* (The Collection of Source Materials of Modern and Contemporary Buddhism, vol. 68: Source Materials of Purification Buddhist Movement) (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1996).

³ See “Je 5 bu jeonghwa gonggan ui bulgyo” (Part 5 Purification Buddhist Movement) in *Geunhyeondae bulgyo ui jaejomyeong* (Re-examination of Modern and Current Korean Buddhism), 379-587 (Seoul: Minjok-sa, 2000) and the *Hanguk hyeondae bulgyo-sa yeongu* (Research in the History of Current Korean Buddhism) (Seoul: Bulgyo sidaesa, 2006) for Purification Buddhist Movement.

⁴ See the Monastic Alumni Association of Dongguk University, *Hanguk bulgyo hyeondae-sa* (The History of Modern Korean Buddhism) (Seoul: Sigon-sa, 1997).

⁵ *Ibid.*, 15-37.

⁶ See Hanguk bulgyo seungdan jeonghwa-sa pyeonchan wiwon-hoe (The committee for editing the history of purification Buddhist movement in Korean Buddhist monastic order), *Hanguk bulgyo seongdan jeonghwa-sa* (The History of Purification Buddhist Movement in Korean Buddhist Monastic Order) (Gyeongju: Hanguk bulgyo seungdan jeonghwa-sa pyeonchan wiwon-hoe, 1996).

⁷ See Seonu Doryang, *Simmun euro bon hanguk bulgyo geunhyeondae-sa* (The History of Modern Korean Buddhism through the Newspaper Articles), 4 volumes (Seoul: Seonu Doryang Press, 1995 & 1999). It published two volumes in 1995 and other two volumes in 1999.

⁸ See the Education Board of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, ed., *Jogyongsa: Geun-hyeondae pyeon* (The History of Korean Buddhist Jogye Order: Modern and Present Periods) (Seoul: Jogyong chulpan-sa, 2001), 191-2.

⁹ See Dongguk daehakgyo seongnim-hoe, ed., *Hanguk bulgyo hyeondae-sa* (The History of Modern Korean Buddhism) (Seoul: Sigongsa, 1997), 33.

¹⁰ See Education Board of Korean Buddhist Jogye Order, ed., *op. cit.*, 172-4.

¹¹ Gim Gwangsik extensively discusses the activities of the Preparatory Committee for the Reform of Korean Buddhism in his articles, “8. 15 haebang gwa jeonguk seungnyeo daehoe” (The Liberation from Japan on August 15, 1945 and National Monastic Conference), in *Hanguk hyeondae bulgo-sa yeongu*, 15-35; and “8.15 undong gwa bulgyo-gye ui donghyang” (The Liberation from Japan on August 15, 1945 and Buddhist Reactions), in *Bulgyo-sa yeongu* 1 (Dec. 1996): 131-161.

¹² See Gim Gwangsik, “8.15 haebang gwa jeonguk seungnyeo daehoe,” 22-3.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 23-4.

¹⁴ The Japanese Governor-General Office closed the Hye-hwa Junior College on September 30, 1944. The Hwahwa Junior College was reopened on November 30, 1945.

¹⁵ See Education Board of Korean Buddhist Jogye Order, ed., *op. cit.*, 174-7.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 180-2.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 177-80.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 179.

¹⁹ See Gim Seongho, *Nongji gaehyeok-sa yeongu* (Research on the History of Land Reform) (Seoul: Research Institute of Korean Rural Economy, 1989); and Hong Seongchan, *Nongji gaehyeok yeongu* (Research on Land Reform) (Seoul: Yeonsei University Press, 2001).

²⁰ Refer to the Department of Agriculture and Fishing, ed., *Nongji gaehyeok-sa gwangae jaryojip* (Source Materials for the History of Land Reform), 3 vols (Seoul: Department of Agriculture and Fishing, 1984).

²¹ Gim Gwangsik extensively discusses the land reform and its impact on Buddhism in his article, “Nonji gaehyeok gwa bulgyo-gye ui daeeung” (Land Reform and Buddhist Reaction), in *Hanguk hyeondae bulgyo-sa yeongu* (Research in the History of Current Korean Buddhism), 113-146.

²² See Jeong Gwangho, *Hanguk bulgyo choegeun baengnyeon-sa pyeonnyeon* (The History of Korean Buddhism during Recent 100 Years, 1865-1965) (Incheon: Inha University Press, 1999), 261-72.

²³ When Purification Buddhist Movement was completed, even Patriarch I Seongcheol of the Jogye Order, also spiritual leader of Haein-sa Temple, vehemently criticized the change of its founder from Taego Bou to Bojo Jinul and strongly asserted that the Jogye Order should transmit the Linji Chan lineage from Taego Bou. He is a strong Chan sectarian unlike the ecumenist scholar/practitioner Bojo Jinul. The argument by I Seongcheol caused political and theoretical tension between the monastic group of the Haein-sa Temple and the group of the Songwang-sa Temple at which Bojo Jinul resided.

²⁴ See Han Yongun, “Bulgyo yusin-non” (Essays on Korean Buddhism’s Restoration), in *Hyeondae hanguk ui bulgyo sasang*, edited by Han Jongman (Current Korean Buddhist Thoughts) (Seoul: Hangil-sa, 1980), 81-91.

This author appreciates Dr. Ronald S. Green, specialist in Japanese Buddhism, for his suggestions and comments on this article. This author heavily resorted to the Buddhology Institute of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, ed., *Hanguk geunhyeondae bulgyo-sa yeonpyo* (A Chronological Table for Modern and Present Korean Buddhism) (Seoul: Education Board of Korean Buddhist Jogye Order, 2000) in introducing major historical events throughout this article. This author adopts the Pinyin System for Chinese terms, the Korean Government Romanization System revised in 2000 for Korean ones, and the Hepburn System for Japanese ones.