JOURNAL OF DAESOON THOUGHT & THE RELIGIONS OF EAST ASIA

THE DAESOON ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
DAEJIN UNIVERSITY

pISSN: 2799-3949
eISSN: 2799-4252

Vol.3 Issue 1, SEPTEMBER 2023

JDTREA
JOURNAL OF DAESOON THOUGHT & THE RELIGIONS OF EAST ASIA

Aims and Scope

The *Journal of Daesoon Thought and the Religions of East Asia (JDTREA)* is the official English language journal of the Daesoon Academy of Sciences, and thus far, it is the only peer-reviewed, English language journal dedicated to not only research on the contemporary relevance of East Asia Religions, but also to research on the relatively new fields of East Asian New Religious Movements (EANRMs) and Daesoon Thought. Although there is a reasonable level of worldwide familiarity with the major religious traditions of East Asia, misunderstandings are still common, and novel research on these movements remains highly beneficial. As for EANRMs and Daesoon Thought, both are profoundly under-researched outside of East Asia. As a remedy to this, the Daesoon Academy of Science (DAOS), aims to publish *JDTREA* twice a year and hold conferences on East Asian religions and Daesoon Thought such as the World SangSaeng Forum and the *JDTREA* Conference. Daesoon Thought refers to a grouping of native Korean religious concepts best characterized by the Resolution of Grievances for Mutual Beneficence (*Haewon Sangsaeng*) and the Grateful Reciprocation of Favors for Mutual Beneficence (*Boeun Sangsaeng*); two concepts that can be traced back to the religious figure, Kang Jeungsan. The editorial board of *JDTREA* consists of active scholars from over a dozen countries including Australia, Bulgaria, Canada, China, France, Japan, Korea, Lithuania, Netherlands, Poland, Russia, Spain, Taiwan, the UK, and the USA. *JDTREA* is published to promote global studies on East Asia religion and Daesoon Thought by encouraging wide-ranging research on these topics. The scope of *JDTREA* includes the following:

- Interpretation and analysis of religious phenomena in all fields of the humanities and social sciences
- Comparative research on the above in relation to another religion, philosophy, ideology, etc.
- Critical reviews of academic trends, mainly in the arts and humanities, that relate to East Asian religions and/or Daesoon Thought
- New interpretations of and approaches to East Asian religions and/or Daesoon Thought

The types of publications featured in *JDTREA* will include original articles, research notes, and book reviews. Other types of contributions are negotiable but subject to the approval of the editorial board. All unsolicited articles will be subject to peer review, and commissioned articles are reviewed by the Editorial Board.

About the Journal

JDTREA debuted on September 30th, 2021 with volume 1, issue 1. The journal is set to be published twice annually and special editions may also be published in the future. The number of copies printed will be 500 per publication. The full texts will be freely available at www.jdre.org. No publishing costs will be incurred by authors who submit to the journal.

Abstracting and Indexing Services

Portions of articles, metadata, or full texts of articles from the *Journal of Daesoon Thought and the Religions of East Asia* are available via CrossRef Metadata (2021-) and Google Scholar (2021-).

Publisher: BAE Kyuhan, The Daesoon Academy of Sciences, Korea
Editor-in-Chief: Carole M. CUSACK, University of Sydney, Australia

The Daesoon Academy of Sciences
Daejin Education Building 403, Daejin University
1007, Hoguk-ro, Pocheon-si, Gyeonggi-do, 11159, South Korea
Tel: +82-31-539-2523 Fax: +82-31-531-2541
E-mail: idaos@daejin.ac.kr
Ⓒ The Daesoon Academy of Sciences (www.daos.or.kr/en/)

Journal of Daesoon Thought & the Religions of East Asia

Volume 3 Issue 1, September 2023

Publisher

BAE Kyuhan

Daejin University, Korea

Editor-in-Chief

Carole M. CUSACK

The University of Sydney, Australia

Review Editor

Holly FOLK

Western Washington University, USA

Associate Editor

LEE Gyungwon

Daejin University, Korea

Managing Editor

Jason GREENBERGER

Daejin University, Korea

Copy Editor

CHOI Wonhyuk

Daejin University, Korea

Office Staff

NA Kwonsoo

PYEON Gyeongil

EOM Hyejin

LEE Suhyun

Daejin University, Korea

Honorary Editors (alphabetical order by nation)

Don BAKER University of British Columbia, Canada

Massimo INTROVIGNE The Center for Studies on New Religions, Italy

Eileen BARKER London School of Economics, UK

J. Gordon MELTON Baylor University, USA

Editorial Board

Christopher HARTNEY The University of Sydney, Australia

David W. KIM The Australian National University, Australia

Mario MARINOV South-West University "Neofit Rilski", Bulgaria

Susan PALMER Concordia University, Canada

LEE Hongjun Yanbian University, China

WANG Zhihe Institute for Postmodern Development of China USA, China

Bernadette RIGAL-CELLARD Bordeaux Montaigne University, France

KAWANISHI Eriko Osaka Professional Institute University, Japan

OBUSE Kieko Kobe University, Japan

AHN Shin Paichai University, Korea

KO Namsik Daejin University, Korea

Milda ALISAUSKIENE Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania

Boudewijn WALRAVEN Leiden University, Netherlands

Irena BOROWIK Jagiellonian University, Poland

Boris FALIKOV Russian State University, Russia

Javier MARTINEZ-TORRON Complutense University, Spain

CHERN Meeihwa Taiwan Association for Religious Studies, Taiwan

HUANG Pochi Huafan Univetrsity, Taiwan

George CHRYSSIDES York St John University, UK

Catherine WESSINGER Loyola University New Orleans, USA

Edward IRONS The Hong Kong Institute for Culture, Commerce and Religion, USA

Patrick LAUDE Georgetown University, USA

Thien-Huong NINH Cosumnes River College, USA

Journal of Daesoon Thought & the Religions of East Asia is a peer-reviewed, academic journal published in English by the Daesoon Academy of Sciences (DAOS). Article submissions, queries and editorial matters should be addressed to the editorial committee. For more information, please contact:

Tel: +82 (0)31 5392523, Fax: +82 (0)31 5312541, E-mail: idaos@daejin.ac.kr

DAOS maintains an executive office in the Daejin Edu. Building 403, Daejin University 1007 Hoguk-ro, Pocheon-si, Gyeonggi-do, 11159, Rep. of Korea

JDTREA
JOURNAL OF DAESOON THOUGHT & THE RELIGIONS OF EAST ASIA

Journal of Daesoon Thought & the Religions of East Asia

Volume 3 Issue 1
September 2023

DAOS
DAESOON ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
The Daesoon Academy of Sciences

CONTENTS

Journal of Daesoon Thought & the Religions of East Asia
Volume 3 Issue 1, September 2023

Editor's Preface

Carole M. CUSACK (The University of Sydney, Australia)
---------- 9

Research Articles

- **Every Picture Tells a Story: The New York Unicorn Tapestries and Daesoon Jinrihoe's Simudo Paintings**
  Massimo INTROVIGNE (The Center for Studies on New Religions, Italy)
  ---------- 13
- **A Study on the Relationship between Kang Jeungsan and Jo Jeongsan Described in Chapter Two of *Progress of the Order***
  KO Namsik and Jason GREENBERGER (Daejin University, Korea)
  ---------- 33
- **The Post-Jeungsan Grassroots Movements: Charismatic Leadership in Bocheongyo and Mugeukdo in Colonial Korea**
  David W. KIM (Harvard University, USA/ Kookmin University, Korea)
  ---------- 57
- **Confucianism in Vietnam: A Hauntology-based Analysis of Political Discourse**
  LINH Trinh Ngoc (Ho Chi Minh National University, Vietnam)
  ---------- 87
- **The Modern White Horse Temple and Online Reconfiguring of a Buddhist Heritage Space**
  Kai SHMUSHKO (University of Amsterdam, Netherlands)
  ---------- 109
- **Sikh and CaoDai Understandings of Interfaith Harmony: Promoting a Culture of Peace and Understanding**
  Mohammad Jahangir ALAM and Injamam Mahbub MOJUMDER (Univesity of Dhaka, Bangladesh)
  ---------- 129

CONTENTS

Journal of Daesoon Thought & the Religions of East Asia
Volume 3 Issue 1, September 2023

Book Reviews

- **Leslie E. Sponsel (ed.), *Religious Environmental Activism in Asia: Case Studies in Spiritual Ecology***
  KAWANISHI Eriko (Osaka Professional Institute University, Japan)
  ---------- 155
- **Andrew David Jackson, Codruța Sîntionean, Remco Breuker, and CedarBough Saeji, *Invented Traditions in North and South Korea***
  LEE Kyungsoo (Rice University, USA)
  ---------- 159
- **Michael L. Mickler, *The Unification Church Movement***
  Steven FOERTSCH (Baylor University, USA)
  ---------- 163
- **Angela R. Burt, *Hare Krishna in the Twenty-First Century***
  Carole M. CUSACK (The University of Sydney, Australia)
  ---------- 167

EDITOR'S PREFACE

Carole M. CUSACK
The University of Sydney, Australia

JDTREA
JOURNAL OF DHARMA THOUGHT & THE RELIGIONS OF EAST ASIA

It is difficult to believe that we have reached the fifth issue of *Journal of Daesoon Thought and the Religions of East Asia*, as it seems only yesterday that we began the journey of producing a new academic journal. Over the past two years *JDTREA* has developed a strong profile for publishing material on Asian religions, chiefly new religious movements and contemporary Asian religious phenomena, and also has become a key channel for disseminating research on the Korean new religion of Daesoon Jinrihoe in the English language. The Editorial Board has been generous with its time and academic expertise, the team has learned a lot about academic publishing and each other's strengths as scholars, and the modest success we are enjoying is a bright spot in today's troubled world.

This issue contains six articles, three of which address research on Daesoon Jinrihoe and three of which explore the contemporary Asian religio-spiritual scene. The opening article is by Massimo Introvigne (The Center for the Study of New Religions, Italy) and is titled "Every Picture Tells a Story: The New York Unicorn Tapestries and Daesoon Jinrihoe's Simudo Paintings." This is a comparative study that brings the medieval Christian unicorn tapestries (which can be interpreted in theological terms with the unicorn as Christ or as an allegory of romantic love) into conversation with the distinctive Daesoon Jinrihoe version of the traditional Buddhist ox-herding paintings, focusing on the motif of a sacred animal that is pursued and tamed.

The second contribution is by Ko Namsik and Jason Greenberger (Daejin University, South Korea) and investigates the relationship between Kang Jeungsan and Jo Jeongsan, the foundational figures in Daesoon Jinrihoe whose relationship has been compared to that of Jesus and Paul in early Christianity. This research goes beyond previous English-language efforts to explain the lineage connections and institutional religious importance of the relationship, which distinguish Daesoon Jinrohoe from other Korean new religions that revere Kang Jeungsan as the Supreme Deity. Next is David W. Kim's (Harvard University, USA) historical examination of groups that revered Kang Jeungsan, "The Post-Jeungsan Grassroots Movements: Charismatic Leaders in Bocheongyo and Mugeukdo in Colonial Korea." This study provides detailed information regarding the differing styles of charismatic leadership in Bocheongyo and Mugeukdo.

The fourth article is "Confucianism in Vietnam: A Hauntology-based Analysis of Political Discourse" by Linh Trinh Ngoc (Ho Chi Minh National University, Vietnam). This research traces Confucianism in Vietnam and the associated political discourse of Sinicization (the introduction of bureaucratic civil service examinations and other forms of cultural dominance), and the struggle of the Viet people to resist Confucianism, such that it was changed and acclimatised to Vietnam. Next is Kai Shmushko's (University of

Amsterdam, Netherlands) "The Modern White Horse Temple and Online Reconfiguring of a Buddhist Heritage Space" which examines White Horse Temple in Henan Province in light of the Chinese Communist Party's recent heritage policy.

The final research contribution is by Mohammad Jahangir Alam and Injamam Mahbub Mojumder (University of Dhaka, Bangladesh), and is titled "Sikh and Cao Dai Understandings of Interfaith Harmony: Promoting a Culture of Peace and Understanding." This research returns to the comparative religion approach that the issue began with, and makes a strong case for commonalities between two very different faiths in the area of human flourishing and religio-spiritual communication.

The journal issue is completed by reviews supplied by the Review Editor, Professor Holly Folk (Western Washington University, USA). As ever, gratitude is due to Bae Kyuhan, Lee Gyungwon, Jason Greenberger, and Choi Wonhyuk from Daejin University, and to the authors and referees who made this issue happen. We are very happy with the progress of *JDTREA*, and hope that this issue will continue to win a diverse and appreciative readership.

Carole M. Cusack
Editor of *JDTREA*
The University of Sydney, Australia

RESEARCH ARTICLES

- Every Picture Tells a Story: The New York Unicorn Tapestries and Daesoon Jinrihoe's Simudo Paintings
  Massimo INTROVIGNE (The Center for Studies on New Religions, Italy)

- A Study on the Relationship between Kang Jeungsan and Jo Jeongsan Described in Chapter Two of *Progress of the Order*
  KO Namsik and Jason GREENBERGER (Daejin University, Korea)

- The Post-Jeungsan Grassroots Movements: Charismatic Leadership in Bocheongyo and Mugeukdo in Colonial Korea
  David W. KIM (Harvard University, USA/ Kookmin University, Korea)

- Confucianism in Vietnam: A Hauntology-based Analysis of Political Discourse
  LINH Trinh Ngoc (Ho Chi Minh National University, Vietnam)

- The Modern White Horse Temple and Online Reconfiguring of a Buddhist Heritage Space
  Kai SHMUSHKO (University of Amsterdam, Netherlands)

- Sikh and CaoDai Understandings of Interfaith Harmony: Promoting a Culture of Peace and Understanding
  Mohammad Jahangir ALAM and Injamam Mahbub MOJUMDER (University of Dhaka, Bangladesh)

Every Picture Tells a Story: The New York Unicorn Tapestries and Daesoon Jinrihoe's Simudo Paintings

Massimo INTROVIGNE

JDTREA 2023,3(1): 13-32

Original Articles

Correspondence to

Massimo INTROVIGNE

The Center for Studies on New Religions, Italy

maxintrovigne@gmail.com

ORCID

https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1336-1409

Massimo Introvigne was born in Rome, Italy, on June 14, 1955. He graduated in philosophy at Pontifical Gregorian University, Vatican City, in 1973, and earned his doctorate in Law at Turin University in 1979. He was Assistant Lecturer at the University of Turin and, until 2016, professor of Sociology of Religion at the Pontifical Salesian University in Torino, Italy. He is the managing director of CESNUR, the Center for Studies on New Religions, and the author of more than 70 books on religious pluralism and new religious movements, including *The Plymouth Brethren* (2018) and *Inside The Church of Almighty God* (2020), both published by Oxford University Press. From 2012 to 2016, he was the chairperson of the Observatory of Religious Liberty, created by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

OPEN ACCESS

Journal of Daesoon Thought and the Religions of East Asia Vol. 3. Issue 1 (September 2023): 13–32
© 2023 by the Daesoon Academy of Sciences, Daejin University, Korea

https://doi.org/10.25050/JDTREA.2023.3.1.13

Day of submission: 2023.07.25.
Completion of review: 2023.08.31.
Final decision for acceptance: 2023.09.20.

P-ISSN: 2799-3949
E-ISSN: 2799-4252

Abstract

Both the late 15th-century Unicorn Tapestries now at the Cloisters Museum in New York and Daesoon Jinrihoe's Simudo Paintings present a religious narrative through the symbol of the search for an animal that is then subdued. This is now the prevailing scholarly interpretation of the New York Unicorn Tapestries, with the unicorn representing Jesus Christ, although a concurrent reading alluding to human love cannot be excluded. The article examines the New York Unicorn Tapestries according to their Christological interpretation, rooted in traditions about the unicorn popularized by the German medieval mystic Hildegard of Bingen, although in fact much older. It then discusses the Buddhist iconographic tradition of ox-herding paintings that represents an antecedent for the Simudo Paintings and notes the latter's differences and similarities with the New York Unicorn Tapestries.

Keywords: Unicorn; New York Unicorn Tapestries; Hildegard of Bingen; Ox Herding Paintings; Simudo Paintings

Introduction

The seven Unicorn Tapestries, dating from the late 15th century, are now at the Cloisters Museum, a unique New York institution, for which parts of abbeys from Catalonia and France were disassembled stone-by-stone, shipped, and rebuilt along the Hudson River between 1927 and 1938. They are regarded by some critics as the best tapestries of all time. The New York Unicorn Tapestries belong to the same genre of Daesoon Jinriho's Simudo Paintings. Beyond their artistic value, they are didascalic works, where (to echo the title of Rod Stewart's song) every picture tells a story. In both cases, a spiritual message is conveyed through a human encounter with an animal, real or mythical: an ox in the Simudo Paintings and a unicorn in the Unicorn Tapestries.

This article first discusses the Unicorn Tapestries and their interpretation as a Christological metaphor. Then, it presents the Simudo Paintings in their historical context, and evidences their differences and similarities with the Unicorn Tapestries.

The Unicorn Tapestries

The seven Unicorn Tapestries of the Cloisters Museum in New York have many mysterious aspects. They were owned by the French La Rochefoucauld family until they were purchased by John D. Rockefeller Jr. (1839–1937), considered the richest man of all time in 1922. However, it is unknown exactly when, where, or for whom they were woven. It has been speculated that the tapestries were produced as Parisian cartoons in Brussels shortly before or shortly after the conventional end of the Middle Ages in 1492 (Freeman 1976, 13).

The French Revolution, neither recognizing in them symbols of the monarchy nor understanding their religious significance, did not destroy the tapestries, but let local peasants appropriate them in the looting of the La Rochefoucauld chateau in Verteuil. They were used for years as blankets or cloths to cover agricultural products before the La Rochefoucaulds found and repurchased them in the 19th century (Cavallo 1998, 13). That, except for one, they have survived in excellent condition testifies to the extraordinary quality of the tapestries, considered by many to be the best of their age if not of the entire history of art.

There is a whole literature on the letters A-E, which are repeated throughout the tapestries, which according to the prevailing interpretation should indicate the initials of the spouses for whose wedding they were created, but who have not been identified exactly (Cavallo 1998, 32–34)[1]. The letters could therefore also have a symbolic meaning, and the E, as it almost always appears reversed, could allude to the Greek letter omega. The pair of letters A-E would thus mean alpha and omega, the first and the last letters of the Greek alphabet. "Alpha and omega" in Greek philosophy identified the whole universe, as all things have a name of which the initial can only be comprised

between "alpha" and "omega." In Christian times, this became also a reference to Jesus Christ who for Christians is precisely "the alpha and the omega," the beginning and the end of all things.

It is also unclear in what sequence the seven tapestries should be read, which only remains in two fragments. The prevailing scholarly hypothesis, although not the only one, is that a totally coherent reading of the whole is not possible. Although produced for the same patron, they would be part of at least two different cycles (Cavallo 1993, 297–327).

The first cycle might have originally included other tapestries that have since been lost. It consists of two scenes and depicts the hunting of the unicorn as an allegory of love. The second cycle of four scenes, on the other hand, depicts the same unicorn hunt as an allegory of the passion of Jesus Christ. The secular interpretation referred to courtly love prevails for another famous series of unicorn tapestries, the one at the Cluny Museum of Paris (Boudet 1999). But the two series are different.

Moreover, a unifying moment comes from the fact that the whole theme of the unicorn and its meanings was explored in depth by Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179), a German Benedictine nun and the author of numerous influential texts widely read throughout the Middle Ages and beyond (Burnett and Dronke 1998; Flanagan 1998). On October 7, 2012, Hildegard was proclaimed by Pope Benedict XVI (1927–2022) a Doctor of the Church, a distinction accorded to theologians the Catholic Church recognizes as particularly authoritative (Benedict XVI 2012).

There is no doubt that Hildegard believed that unicorns really existed, and that the powder taken from their horns had medicinal properties. Although since the Renaissance, and even more so in the nineteenth century, people saw this widespread belief as a typical example of medieval gullibility, many of the ancient accounts of unicorns' horns most likely refer to rhinoceroses, and traditional Chinese medicine still claims that rhino horn powder has therapeutic properties. In addition, the way the Middle Ages described the unicorn's horn leads one to conclude that they were familiar with the Arctic cetacean called the narwhal. Its "horn" (actually a tooth) has the twisting pattern typical of medieval depictions of unicorns, and sailors often called it a "sea unicorn." The "unicorn horns" inventoried among the properties of physicians, who attested to their efficacy, and even Popes of the Middle Ages (and beyond) came in most cases either from the rhinoceros or the narwhal (Giblin 1991; Lavers 2009).

If Hildegard, who was interested in medicine, believed in the medicinal virtues of the horn of the mythical animal, these virtues for her ultimately derived from the circumstance that the unicorn had a mysterious connection with Jesus Christ. She submitted her vision to the great mystical theologian Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) and to the Popes of the time. Both approved them, and they were later collected in the *Liber vitae meritorum* (Boudes 2020).

In one of the visions, Hildegard presents us with a universal judgment where a man rotates together with the four regions of the Earth while a unicorn stands near his left thigh and is "intent on licking his knees." There has been no shortage of those who have interpreted the unicorn in this vision as a kind of minister or lieutenant of Jesus Christ, and certainly Hildegard's visions are open to multiple interpretations. However, the German nun clearly states that "the man you see rotating together with the four regions of the world indicates God who, at the end of the world, showing his power together with the heavenly virtues, will strike the ends of the earth." And so the unicorn is Jesus Christ, who "lapping at the knees of Man, that is, receiving from God the power to judge, proclaims that the whole world must be cleansed by fire and must be renewed in another way, and even the wickedness of men must be subjected to his judgment, and what is holy in the righteous and good works of men must be brought to perfection" (*Liber vitae meritorum* VI, 1–14; see Hildegard of Bingen 2013, 112–113).

Hildegard did not invent the reading of the unicorn as a symbol of Jesus Christ, which had a patristic tradition and went back at least to Basil the Great (ca. 329–375: Gallardo Luque 2019). But she made it immensely popular. With her expertise in medicine and natural remedies, she explicitly linked the fact that the unicorn represents Jesus Christ with the therapeutic properties of his horn, well-known in the Middle Ages. A symbol that pre-existed Christianity thus found itself definitively transformed into a Christian symbol.

Hildegard was probably familiar with the *Physiologus*, a text that was itself popular in the Middle Ages. It was a bestiary, probably composed in Alexandria, Egypt, between the second and fourth centuries CE. From the *Physiologus* the Middle Ages drew the legend that it is almost impossible to catch a unicorn, but the animal will willingly allow itself to be caught and tamed if it encounters a virgin, which it is able to recognize as such by smell. One can hunt and even kill a unicorn, but first a virgin must have tamed it (Gallardo Luque 2019, 87–90).

The Christian interpretation of the legend is obvious, but it acquired considerable iconographic complexity during the Middle Ages (Faidutti 1996). The archangel Gabriel, who brings the announcement to the Virgin Mary, is depicted as a hunter. Gabriel induces the unicorn—that is, Christ—to allow himself to be captured by the Virgin Mary and enclosed in her womb as a "hortus conclusus," a closed garden with a fence. Once the unicorn, or Jesus Christ, came into the world, he became vulnerable and might be killed (García Fernández 1997).

As for the first story, including the unicorn in the Christian narrative of the annunciation to the Virgin Mary, there are numerous representations of it in late medieval art. Some are in tapestries used as tablecloths or altar cloths and preserved in the Swiss National Museum in Zurich. Others in paintings from the circle of the Rhineland painter Martin Schongauer (1450–1491), who had a considerable

influence on contemporary European artists (Lacarra Ducay 1984), one of which is in the Unterlinden Museum in Colmar, France and another in the Pushkin Museum in Moscow. The hunter blowing the horn is the archangel Gabriel, signaling the time for the unicorn, Jesus Christ, to allow himself to be enclosed in a fence and incarnate in the womb of the purest Virgin, Mary.

These precedents are important because they show how it is not entirely possible to separate the erotic and the religious meanings in the symbolic cycle of the unicorn. Hildegard herself dealt extensively with human love, certainly presenting it as an image of divine love but enriching her analysis with surprisingly precise details about male and female sexuality (Flanagan 1998). It is likely, therefore, that the first New York tapestry in a logical sequence is the one of which only two fragments remain, and that it originally depicted the incarnation of God on Earth as Jesus Christ.

In the first fragment we see the hunter standing outside the fence and blowing the horn. In the religious interpretation, it is the archangel Gabriel. He has two dogs with him, and two other dogs are present in the second fragment. These four dogs are Truth, Justice, Peace and Mercy (Cavallo 1998, 30). In earlier tapestries, the dogs even carry cartouches with the names of these virtues. They allude to the sacred medieval representations where the virtues, personified, are the "Four Daughters of God" who intervene in the "trial" of the fallen humans, which leads the Trinity to decide to intervene on their behalf through the Incarnation. Already visible in this first fragment are the red and white roses, a symbol of the Virgin Mary's purity and charity, and we notice how inside the enclosure is a tree, an apple tree, which is the Tree of Knowledge of the Garden of Eden.

These details help us decipher the second fragment. We see the unicorn, Christ, inside the enclosure where Gabriel's dogs pushed him. One bites him, but it is a love bite. We do not see the Virgin Mary, however, who must have been in one of the lost parts of the tapestry. The red-clad woman in the fragment has an ambiguous and allusive air and is certainly not the Virgin Mary. A comparison with other tapestries of the unicorn, and the presence in the enclosure of the Tree of Knowledge, allow us to conclude that the figure is instead Eve. By her guilt in the Garden of Eden, Eve initiates the process that in the Biblical narrative of salvation leads to the Incarnation. It is therefore likely that the lost portions of this first tapestry also featured Adam.

Let us remember, again, that medieval symbols are always open to multiple interpretations. The first tapestry can also be read as an allegory of love, personified by the hunter, who urges the knight to allow himself to be conquered by his lady. It is probable that this reading was not absent among the earliest owners of the New York tapestries, likely woven for a wedding.

The second tapestry is the most famous of the series. Although art historians point out that the tapestries from the third to the seventh are the result of a much more refined technique, almost prodigious in transferring complex lines and colors onto the fabric,

in its simplicity this second tapestry has struck the imagination of many generations and has often been copied and reproduced, right up to the present day. Those familiar with the Harry Potter saga know that the related books and films, where unicorns play a role of some importance, place it within the Hogwarts School of Witchcraft and Wizardry, which is the central location of the story. And today, the tapestry has not escaped the relentless logic of commerce, reproduced on countless T-shirts, mugs, ashtrays, and pillows (Cavallo 1998).

This tapestry is so striking and moving because it tells a universal story. The unicorn is wounded, although love wounds do not seem to hurt too much. It is now inside the enclosure, tied to a pomegranate tree, a traditional symbol since ancient Greece of sexuality and fertility. The collar of his chain symbolizes the bond with the lady. The unicorn lives in happy captivity within the enclosure, which has all the characteristics of a late medieval garden of delights. Hidden in the tapestry are animals such as butterflies and dragonflies. Together with a small frog, almost invisible above the letter A in the monogram at the lower right, these animals reinforce the secular reading of the tapestry (Freeman 1976, 79). The butterfly and the dragonfly in the Middle Ages were symbols of fertility, and an aphrodisiac powder was made from the frog's bones.

However, the flowers cannot be overlooked. They constitute the real wealth of the tapestry. There are about fifty different flowers here, and one hundred and one different plant species have been identified in the series of seven tapestries (Alexander and Woodward 1941), as the study continues with the help of botanical specialists. The majority of flowers in this tapestry have religious significance connected in medieval symbolism to the Virgin Mary: irises, roses, violets, lilies (not coincidentally called "of the Madonna"), and carnations. There are also wild strawberries, which in the Middle Ages were compared to manna and considered the food of the saints in heaven (Freeman 1976, 117).

Ultimately, it makes no sense to consider the secular and religious interpretations as alternatives. Both are present in the polysemantic late Medieval symbolic context. The unicorn is the knight conquered by the lady; and the Middle Ages, unlike later epochs, had no fear of including explicit allusions to sexuality among its symbols. At the same time, the unicorn is Jesus Christ in the "hortus conclusus" that is the Virgin Mary. The idea of voluntary imprisonment can apply to both the secular and the religious meaning.

The key to interpreting the tapestry series according to the Christological meaning of Hildegard is to understand that the unicorn, Jesus Christ, is actually hunted twice. The first hunt is the Incarnation, and it ends with the "imprisonment" of the unicorn within the fence that is the womb of the Virgin Mary. The second hunt is the Passion, and it ends with the death of the unicorn. If we do not divide the seven tapestries into two series, we find it impossible to understand how the unicorn can, at the end of the story, both be captured alive and killed. In fact, they are two different stories.

The tapestry I regard as the third has been differently interpreted as the beginning of

the first hunt or the second hunt (Freeman 1973–74, 25). Discussions cannot be said to be over yet. Here. the unknown artist shows his familiarity with medieval treatises on hunting. The three characters on the left, richly dressed, are noble hunters, while on the right we see three beaters who are servants, although specialized ones. Two lead the hunters while the third, above, calls to the others and signals that the unicorn has been found. Those who think that this tapestry is part of the first series rather than the second insist that its great wealth of vegetation included numerous fruit trees. There are, among others, a cherry tree and a plum tree, while the one the dogs have in front of them is a small date palm tree, all possible symbols of sexuality and fertility. As always, symbols have different meanings. I believe the second hunt should have a beginning, which can only be this one.

Certainly part of a "mystical hunt" for the unicorn, no doubt alluding to the Passion of Christ, are the other four tapestries. In the first of these, the hunters have found the unicorn. In the center of the composition, however, is a fountain with lion-headed mouths, in which several animals are about to drink. And the unicorn, almost unconcerned about the hunters, is engaged in a rather curious activity. He lets his horn be bathed by the water coming out of the fountain.

Hildegard of Bingen teaches us that by immersing a unicorn's horn in a poisonous liquid, the latter is purified and becomes harmless (Hildegard of Bingen 1988, 200). Throughout the Middle Ages there was no shortage of powerful people who took the wise precaution of dipping a "unicorn's" horn (coming, actually, from rhinoceros or narwhal) into the water or wine they were about to drink, lest they be poisoned (Lavers 2009, 119). Here, however, Christological symbolism emerges. The water from the fountain of life has been poisoned by sin. Humans are in danger of falling into this irreparably polluted water driven by their vanity, as shown by the pheasant that mirrors itself in it. Only the unicorn, Jesus Christ, can purify this water. It does not care for the hunters because he is engaged in the work of redemption. The men who argue heatedly do not understand what exactly the unicorn is doing, that is, they do not understand redemption. And the character pointing to the unicorn is probably Judas, the apostle who betrayed Jesus.

As always in these tapestries, plants and animals play a very important role. The red roses behind the unicorn are symbolic of martyrdom and Passion. In the foreground, we find a whole series of animals: a pair of lions, a leopard, an ermine, a deer, and a hyena. The animal that, so to speak, should not be there is the hyena, which is usually a diabolical symbol, representing evil ready to make inroads into creation. The others in medieval bestiaries are all symbols of Jesus Christ. The lion is the king of animals as Christ is the king of cosmos and history. The legend that this royal animal's cubs are born dead, but the lion after three days calls them to life, is an obvious allusion to the Resurrection of Christ three days after he was put into the grave (Freeman 1976, 68).

The leopard is what the Middle Ages called a "panther." Only much later did zoology distinguish between the two animals. This "panther" has all the colors, just as Christ has all the virtues, and the colors give it incomparable beauty, as Christ is beauty itself. The two meanings of the unicorn hunt continue to be both present, as the panther is also a popular symbol of love in the troubadour world.

The ermine represents the purity of Christ, and the Middle Ages believed the legend that it would rather be caught by hunters than hide in the earth or mud staining its white fur. The deer symbolizes the faithfulness and stability of the Lord, the rock on which the world itself is built. Medieval bestiaries also made it an enemy of the serpent, i.e., the devil, whom it goes after and destroys.

The next tapestry (the fourth) is also inspired by the art of hunting. Manuals state that often the animal pursued by dogs hides in the water to make them lose the trail. But the ruse seldom works. Well-trained greyhounds do not lose the animal, and the experienced hunter will arrange the beaters in such a way as to close off to the prey all escape routes from the water from which it will sooner or later have to exit. Here, however, there is something different from the classic hunting scenes with dogs. One gets the impression that the unicorn is fully aware of the hunters' presence and does not try to hide at all. It fiercely goes to meet its fate, just as consciously as Christ faced the Passion.

We also note that the hunters and beaters are not the same characters as in the previous tapestry. The stereotypical hooked nose, which certainly would not be politically correct today, may allude to the role of the Jewish people in the Passion story. Also rather sinister is the presence of a pair of partridges, which hide among the plants beside the water, unlike other more peaceful birds. Partridges are presented in bestiaries as particularly sensual and greedy birds. They steal the eggs of other animals, a figure of devils who want to steal grace from humans (Freeman 1976, 86–87). We note in passing that the FR letters at the top seem to refer to a François de la Rochefoucauld who owned the tapestry; they were added at a later date and have no symbolic meaning.

The drama of the unicorn, that is, the Passion of Jesus Christ, continues in a further tapestry (the fifth). Here the unicorn, close to being killed, seems instead to resist, like Jesus when he asks to be spared the bitter cup of the Passion. The fruit plants, including oranges and apricots, assure us that the sacrifice will not be in vain. It will be "fruitful," and benefit all humanity.

In the sixth tapestry, the attack on the unicorn becomes more frantic and we understand the animal is about to be killed. There is also a very special character in the scene, the hunter on the left playing the horn and from whose spear hangs a sash with an inscription. This inscription reads, "Ave Regina C," meaning "Hail, Queen of H[eaven]." The sash leaves no doubt that the character is the archangel Gabriel, whose insignia is the greeting to Mary in the Annunciation. But what is Gabriel doing

in Passion? The reference is unusual and even unique, but the identification of the hunter with Gabriel is certain. The artist wanted to insert a connection between the first and second series of tapestries, between the first and second unicorn hunts, which as mentioned above should not be entirely separated. The Passion is the ultimate truth of the Incarnation, and it reveals to us why Jesus became incarnate: to save us through his Passion and death, by doing the work of redemption. Hence the reference to the Incarnation and the rather surprising presence of Gabriel, who in the Gospels is mentioned exclusively as the angel of the Incarnation, right in the middle of an allegory of Passion.

Finally, all is consummated. The last dramatic tapestry, the seventh, the only one where the unicorn is depicted twice, shows us the killing of the animal and its transport to the castle. Above, the unicorn is killed, with a final blow reminiscent of the one to Christ's side on the cross. While from one tapestry to the next normally the faces of the hunters change, here the character blowing the horn is the same as in the previous tapestry: thus, it is still archangel Gabriel, coming to announce the Lord's death just as he had announced his birth (a visual equivalent to what Biblical scholars call a chiasmus).

Further down, the unicorn, loaded on a horse, is carried to the castle, that is, to the grave. The scene is a deposition from the cross: behind the dead unicorn is a bramble bush, reminiscent of the crown of thorns. From the castle comes a woman, reciting the Rosary, and a man, followed by three women, all of them not with the satisfied expression of someone who has organized a hunt that went well but with serious and mournful faces. Two interpretations have been advanced of this procession. Some believe it is Eve and Adam, the price of whose sin has now been paid by the immolated unicorn; and in this case the three women and other characters symbolize sinful humanity. Another, more recent interpretation, however, holds that the man and woman in the foreground are the Virgin Mary herself and the apostle John, followed by the three Marys and other disciples (Cavallo 1998, 75).

Here, too, various animals have symbolic meaning. A lesson for the viewer of the tapestry is imparted by the squirrel, hidden in the lower left corner. Animals that are difficult to spot in early tapestries always have a definite meaning. According to the bestiaries, the squirrel escapes hunters and traps by always remaining at the highest part of the trees. It serves as a lesson to humans, that as long as they remain on the high peaks of prayer and meditation, they do not fall into the traps of the devil (Freeman 1976, 88–89). Over the bramble bush hovers discreetly a dove, the Holy Spirit.

Although here the tapestry, which has also undergone mending so that the monogram AE at the bottom has disappeared, is slightly discolored, a swan, whose song is an omen of good fortune, swims around the castle. This good fortune is resurrection, but all medieval iconographic cycles of the unicorn never show it resurrected (Cavallo

1998, 75). However, there is a definite omen of resurrection in the presence of the oak tree. The oak was a symbol of resurrection already for classical antiquity. Oak branches encircle the neck of the dead unicorn and keep the horn tied to the animal. A hunter holds the horn in his hand, indicating the procession that has descended from the castle. In Hildegard's pharmacopoeia, the unicorn's horn both physically liberates from poisons and is a symbol of Christ liberating humans from their sins (Hildegard of Bingen 1988, 198–200).

Thus the symbol of the unicorn acquires its full meaning. Life is full of poisons, strewn in our path by the devil, and without the unicorn, Jesus Christ, we can hardly escape being poisoned.

The Buddhist Tradition of Ox Herding Paintings

According to French Sinologist Catherine Despeux, in China references to ox herding as a metaphor for enlightenment appeared in Chan Buddhism as early as the 7th century CE. There are also parallels in Taoism and Tibetan Buddhism, although the animals tamed there also include horses and elephants. Buddhist ox herding iconography became common throughout East Asia between the 10th and the 12th centuries (Despeux 1981, 7).

Paintings were preceded by poems, which Despeux classifies into "Puming-type," or "gradualists," and "Kuoan-type," or "immediatists." The names refer to poems written by or attributed to Puming, a possibly legendary figure who might have lived around the year 1000, and to 12th century Chan master Kuoan Shiyuan. Puming verses advocated gradual enlightenment. Kuoan's enlightenment was an immediate, sudden experience. This was reflected in their different poems on ox herding, which in turn inspired different cycles of paintings. Despeux insists that the fact that the cycles included six, eight, ten, or twelve paintings is less important than their depiction of a gradual or, alternatively, an immediate enlightenment (Despeux 1981, 52–54).

Both series of paintings feature a boy looking for an ox, finding and herding it, and gaining enlightenment as a consequence. In the Puming version, the ox is originally black and only becomes white gradually, which symbolizes the graduality of the enlightenment. In the end, both the ox and the boy himself disappear, as the enlightenment is complete and the phenomenal world is no longer necessary (Despeux 1981, 12–31).

In the Kuoan version, the ox does not change its color. Its herding is instantaneous. In the most famous series depicting this version, produced in Japan by Zen Buddhist priest and artist Tenshō Shūbun (1414–1463), the empty circle resulting from the disappearance of both boy and ox is the eighth painting in a series of ten. In the last painting, we see a beggar and a monk. According to Taiwanese Chan Master Sheng

Yen (1931–2009), "the beggar represents suffering, the monk a practitioner who has completed his practice. He has left the isolation of the mountain and returned to the world to help all beings. He has no vexations, but because others suffer he spontaneously provides help on the path to all needful beings" (Sheng Yen 1996). While some comments identify the beggar with the boy who appears in the precedent paintings, Despeux suggests that both the beggar and the monk may represent the young man who has herded the ox. He is depicted twice in the same painting, before the enlightenment as the beggar and after he has been enlightened as the monk (Despeux 2014).

Daesoon Jinrihoe's Yeoju Headquarters Temple Complex: A Sacred Space and Its Art

Daesoon Jinrihoe's Simudo Paintings have their antecedents in the ox-herding Buddhist iconography but should also be read in the context of the Yeoju Headquarters Temple Complex, which is both a sacred space and a functional center for a variety of different activities (Šorytė 2018), and its different paintings and sculptures (AADDJ 2018b).

Sacred spaces created by Daesoon Jinrihoe are the result of a collective effort wherein many devotees cooperating with one another. Paintings and sculptures are not signed, and the name of the artists is not considered important. The collective exercise of *haewon sangsaeng*, "the resolution of grievances for mutual beneficence" (Kim 2017), through the creation of beauty is regarded as much more significant than the promotion of any one given devotee as an "artist." This does not mean; however, that Daesoon Jinrihoe did not create its own distinctive style in the visual arts. Although firmly rooted in Korean tradition, it also displays a certain otherworldly character, whose aim is to remind those who look at the buildings, the sculptures, and the paintings that Daesoon Jinrihoe announces the future earthly paradise. While the concept of "symbolism" is now disputed in the West, the movement's works of art can be defined as "symbolist" in the sense that their symbolic significance is more important than their literal meaning.

Visitors to the Yeoju Headquarters Temple Complex enter through the Sungdo Gate, whose name means "Worshipping the Dao," into the most holy area of the Complex, called "Jeong-nae" (sanctuary inner court). The Sungdo Gate conveys an impression of majesty and is reminiscent of the gates in the royal palaces of the kings of Korea. Upon entering, disciples stand facing the Bonjeon, the main building, and bow with their hands together. On the wall of Sungdo gate, there are mural paintings including the pictures of the four guardian deities in charge of the four directions.

The most sacred place of the Yeoju Headquarters Temple Complex is the Bonjeon, a four-storied building that outwardly appears to be only three stories high. On the fourth and the highest floor of the Bonjeon is the Yeongdae, where the founder of the

religious tradition Kang Jeungsan (1871–1909, regarded by devotees as an incarnation of Gucheon Sangje, the Lord of the Ninth Heaven) and other "great deities" are enshrined in fifteen "holy positions." In the second and third floor, only Kang Jeungsan is enshrined in a holy portrait. The fourth floor enshrined the fifteen categories of Great Deities, including Gucheon Sangje, in holy portraits or holy tablets.

The primary godships include Gucheon Sangje (Kang Jeungsan), Okhwang-sangje (the Great Jade Emperor, whom Daesoon Jinrihoe identifies with the divinized Jo Jeongsan, 1895-1958, recognized by the movement as Kang's successor in the orthodox religious authority), and Buddha Sakyamumi, who are surrounded by other deities, in twelve holy positions. These include the Myeongbusiwang (the ten otherworldly spiritual kings who judge human souls in the afterlife), the Oaksanwang (the five earthly spiritual kings in charge of the mountains in five directions of Earth), the Sahaeyongwang (the four spiritual dragon kings in charge of the seas), the Sasitowang (the four earthly spiritual kings in charge of the four seasons), Gwanseongjegun (the Chinese general Guan Yu, who died in 220 CE and was divinized in Korean folk religion as a heavenly king protecting against evil spirits or demons), Chilseongdaeje (the Big Dipper kings who are in charge of human lifespan and fortune), the Jikseonjo (paternal ancestors), the Oeseonjo (maternal ancestors), Chilseongsaja (the Big Dipper messengers, who aids the Chilseongdaeje), Ujiksaja and Jwajiksaja (the other two categories of messengers who aid the Chilseongdaeje), and Myeongbusaja (the psychopomp who guides the newly arrived souls in the afterlife).

Outside the Bonjeon, in Yeoju Headquarters Temple Complex visitors encounter the Cheonggye Pagoda, which represents the cosmological view of Daesoon Jinrihoe and whose sculptures are at the same time one of the movement's main artistic achievements. The Pagoda includes four parts: the pedestal, the lower body, the upper body, and the top. In turn, each part consists of different layers. The pedestal has three layers. The first includes a series of engraved pictures called Simudo, which reproduce the Simudo Paintings. In the second layer, the Sashindo Pictures portray the four symbolic animal deities who represent the four seasons and four directions. In the third layer, there are the twelve deities of the Chinese zodiac (Sibijisindo), who correspond to the twelve months and twelve directions.

The lower body of the Pagoda includes three octagonal layers, engraved with the twenty-four divinities who oversee the twenty-four seasonal subdivisions (i.e., twenty-four solar terms in the year, spaced roughly fifteen days apart). The upper body includes seven quadrangular layers, engraved with the images of the twenty-eight divinities in charge of the constellations. The top consists of nine round layers, representing the Ninth Heaven, the highest place in the universe and the seat of Sangje, who coordinates from there the whole universe. The Cheonggye Pagoda does have some of its artistic antecedents in the Korean tradition, yet its project is aimed at representing the peculiar cosmology of Daesoon Jinrihoe.

In the Yeoju Headquarters Temple Complex, there are several cycles of paintings and single pictorial works, of which three are particularly important. In addition to the Simudo Paintings there is the mural painting of *haewon sangsaeng*.

The *haewon sangsaeng* painting depicts a woman carrying her baby on her back and walking down a country road, with a snack basket set on her head. The mother's look towards her child is one of unconditional love, and the child can find no other place safer or more comfortable than her mother's back, despite the weight she is carrying. There are no grievances, nor seeds for future grievances, as mother and child are in perfect harmony with each other. *Haewon sangsaeng* implies that all human relationships can be based on trust and love, just like that of the mother and child in the painting. The dignified and harmonious style of the painting evokes Kang Jeungsan's concept of *Injon* (human nobility), wherein humans emerge as the worthiest beings in the Three Realms in the coming era. This is an earthly announcement of the harmony of the future paradise achieved through the practice of *Haewon sangsaeng*.

The Yeoju Headquarters Temple Complex also includes what are known as Sacred Paintings, which illustrate the life of Kang Jeungsan and Jo Jeongsan (AADDJ 2018a). The hall where they are displayed is normally accessible to members of the religion only. Compared to the highly symbolic Simudo Paintings, their style is somewhat simpler, and they serve primarily a didactic purpose.

The Simudo Paintings

The Simudo Paintings at the Yehoju Headquarters Temple Complex should be read in an ideal conversation with the other paintings and sculptures. They form a whole system of references to Daesoon Jinrihoe's worldview and theology.

In Daesoon Jinrihoe, the Ox-Seeking Pictures (Simudo) number six rather than the ten most frequently found in Buddhist versions. However, in Daesoon Jinrihoe's Pocheon temple complex the Simudo paintings come to nine rather than six. The additional pictures rrepresent the difficulties the boy experiences in herding the ox, losing it, then finding it again. According to David Kim, initially "the boy (devotee or disciple) has not fully realized the meaning of the Dao," although another picture indicates that he "has begun to understand the Daesoon Dao" (Kim 2020, 219–220).

Also, in the Pocheon paintings the ox is initially brown, which clarifies that the Daesoon Jinrihoe version is closer to what Despeux calls a "gradualist" approach to enlightenment. However, the Daesoon Simudo paintings have in common with the non-gradualist "Kuoan" version the fact that in the last panel the boy does not disappear but is depicted as converted into an earthly immortal (Kim 2020, 219).

At the Yeoju Headquarters Temple Complex, the Ox-seeking pictures appear twice: first, as mentioned earlier, on the first layer of the pedestal of Blue Rooster Pagoda and then again as a series of wall murals (AADDJ 2017, 59–61; 2018b, 42–45). Also,

at the Museum of Daesoon Jinrihoe at the headquarters, there is a digitally animated version of the Ox-seeking Pictures that is displayed across six screens. Each screen first shows one animated picture to demonstrate how the six appear as a series, but then the progression of the entire story is shown across all of the screens used in unison to form one large screen.

The first Simudo picture is called *Simsim-yuoh* (deep contemplation leading to awakening). The boy, under a pine, contemplates the greatest questions of human existence. The second picture is *Bongdeuk-singyo* (to find and follow Heavenly Teachings). The boy finds the hoof prints left by the white ox. These prints symbolize the guidance of divine beings, who introduce the seeker to the truth. But the truth has not yet been grasped, and in the third picture, *Myeoni-suji* (to keep training and overcome hardships), the boy finally starts seeing the ox. The ox soon disappears behind a rocky peak, while the young seeker should follow a bumpy road under a storm and lightning. This is the stage of the problems and difficulties each seeker of the truth should overcome.

But the boy does not give up, and in the fourth picture, *Seongji-useong* (to keep devoting oneself to the Dao of Daesoon Truth), his efforts are rewarded, and he finds and pets the white ox under a clear sky. The seeker has found the truth, and the truth would carry him into a higher life. This is depicted in the fifth painting, *Dotong-jingyeong* (perfected unification with the Dao of Daesoon Truth), where the boy rides the white ox, which means perfected unification with the Dao. He quietly plays the flute while the season has changed to autumn, which "indicates that his cultivation has come to the full fruition" (AADDJ 2018b, 45).

The sixth painting is called *Doji-tongmyeong* (the Later World of Earthly Paradise). The boy has perfectly unified with the Dao of Daesoon Truth and becomes an earthly immortal. The world is transformed into a land of beauty, where heavenly maids play music, elixir plants are in full bloom, and cranes leisurely enjoy peace in a nearby meadow. This represents the earthly paradise, where Daesoon Truth is fully realized (AADDJ 2017, 59–61; 2018b, 42–45).

The Simudo Paintings and the New York Unicorn Tapestries

There are two immediate differences between the New York Unicorn Tapestries and Daesoon Jinrihoe's Simudo Paintings. First, there are no disputes about the essential meaning of the latter, whether the religious meaning of the Unicorn Tapestries became an accepted scholarly theory only after considerable discussion and dispute. Second, there are no believable alternatives or concurrent meanings of the Simudo Paintings competing with the religious one, while the New York Unicorn Tapestries can also have a secular interpretation as an allegory of courtly love.

As opposite to the New York Unicorn Tapestries, the Simudo Paintings of Daesoon

Jinrihoe have a generally accepted "canonical" interpretation, which is rooted in the Buddhist ox-herding paintings and poems, although with original Daesoon features. They depict the process of spiritual cultivation using the metaphor of a boy finding a white ox. Unlike the Unicorn Tapestries, it is generally accepted that the ox herding iconographic tradition has a clear spiritual meaning, which does not have to compete with another reading as a metaphor of human romantic love. The New York Unicorn Tapestries, however, include the violence of hunting, which is absent in the peaceful Simudo Paintings.

On the other hand, there are also important similarities. Both cycles of paintings tell an important spiritual story through an animal, the unicorn in the New York tapestries and the ox in Daesoon Jinrihoe's pictures. In both series, the animal is initially wild, and needs to be found and subdued. Although the unicorn is hunted while the ox is peacefully herded, in the second New York tapestry, which concludes the first hunt, the mythical animal has been tamed. It is only in the second hunt that the specifically Christian theme of a bloody sacrifice of the unicorn/Christ emerges and makes the New York tapestries ideologically different from the Simudo paintings.

Just as the unicorn is a symbol of Christ, who said of himself "I am the Truth" (John 14:6), in the New York Unicorn Tapestries, in the Simudo Paintings the white ox represents the Dao of Daesoon Truth. In both series, devotees are invited to a self-cultivation process that makes them progressively united with the Truth.

That this is a universal and powerful theme is confirmed by the fact that Canadian singer and songwriter Leonard Cohen (1934–2016) transposed the ox-herding story into his *Ballad of the Absent Mare*, released in 1979. As one critic wrote, in the *Ballad* "Cohen transforms *Ten Bulls* [the East Asian ox painting cycle] into a modern cowboy story, in which the lost ox becomes a horse, a mare" ("Fjodor" 2020) The mare is found "there where the light and the darkness divide." The animal is tamed and enters with the cowboy into a Buddhist netherworld where "there is no space but there's left and right and there is no time but there's day and night" (Cohen 1979).

Just as it happens in the Simudo Paintings, the cowboy "has become one" with the animal. It "has finally unified himself with the Dao" and "has achieved a perfect condition of a quiet mind and a quiet body" (Kim 2020, 218).

Conclusion

This is the final goal of suffering humanity. That we follow a Christian unicorn, Daesoon Jinrihoe's white ox, or the horse pursued by Leonard Cohen as a Jewish-Buddhist cowboy, we continue to cultivate our eternal dreams of enlightenment, liberation, and truth.

Conflict of Interest

Massimo Introvigne has been an Honorary Editor of JDTREA since July 2021 but had no role in the decision to publish this article. No potential conflict of interest relevant to this article was reported.

Note

[1] I rely on Cavallo 1998 and some comments by Freeman 1973–74 and 1976 but the responsibility for the reading presented here is mine

References

The Religious Affairs and Edification Department of Daesoon Jinrihoe (AADDJ) 2017 — *Daesoon Jinrihoe: The Fellowship of Daesoon Truth.* Second Edition. Yeoju: Daesoon Jinrihoe Press.

2018a — *Explanatory Paintings of the Sacred History of Daesoon*. Yeoju: Daesoon Jinrihoe Press.

2018b — *The Temple Complexes of Daesoon Jinrihoe: A Guidebook for Visitors*. Yeoju: Daesoon Jinrihoe Press.

Alexander, Edward J., and Carol H. Woodward 1941 — "The Flora of the Unicorn Tapestries." *Journal of the New York Botanical Garden* 42: 105–122. https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/98366

Benedict XVI 2012 — "Apostolic Letter Proclaiming Saint Hildegard of Bingen, Professed Nun of the Order of Saint Benedict, a Doctor of the Universal Church." October 7, accessed on 12 July 2023. https://www.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/apost_letters/documents/hf_ben-xvi_apl_20121007_ildegarda-bingen.html.

Boudes, Yoan 2020 — "La philosophe à la licorne. Savoir de l'animal et savoir de l'homme dans la *Physica* de Hildegarde de Bingen." *RursuSpicae* [online] 3, accessed on 9 July 2023. http://journals.openedition.org/rursuspicae/1321

Boudet, Jean-Patrice 1999 — "La Dame à la licorne et ses sources médiévales d'inspiration." *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* February 10: 61-78.

Burnett, Charles and Peter Dronke, eds 1998 — *Hildegard of Bingen: The Context of Her Thought and Art* [the Warburg Colloquia]. London: The University of London.

Cavallo, Adolfo Salvatore 1993 — *The Unicorn Tapestries at the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

1998 *The Unicorn Tapestries at the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press.

Cohen, Leonard 1979 "Ballad of the Absent Mare." Accessed on 12 June. https://www.lyrics.com/lyric/24606614/Ballad+of+the+Absent+Mare

Despeux, Catherine 1981 *Le Chemin de l'éveil: Illustré par "Le Dressage du buffle" dans le bouddhisme Chan, "Le Dressage du cheval" dans le taoïsme, "Le Dressage de l'éléphant" dans le bouddhisme tibétain*. Paris: L'Asiathèque.

2015 "Sagesses Bouddhistes. dressage du buffle." Accesssed on 12 June 2023. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T6PTu5HUggU.

García Fernández, Manuel 1997 "La Evolución De La Leyenda Del Unicornio En La Baja Edad Media. Historia De Una Pareja". *Actas del VI Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval:(Alcalá de Henares, 12-16 de septiembre de 1995)*, 2 vol., edited by José Manuel Lucía Megías, vol. I, 639-652, Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá.

Faidutti, Bruno 1996 "Images et connaissance de la licorne. Fin du Moyen-Age – XIXe siècle". PhD Diss. Paris: Université Paris XII.

Fjodor 2020 "Leonard Cohen: Ballad of the Absent Mare. Spiritual Impulses in Rock and Pop Music Lyrics." April 12, accessed on 12 June 2023. https://spirit-rockmusic.eu/2020/04/leonard-cohen-ballad-of-the-absent-mare/.

Flanagan, Sabina 1998 *Hildegard of Bingen: A Visionary Life*. London: Routledge.

Freeman, Margaret B. 1973–74. "The Unicorn Tapestries." *In The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 32: 177-222.

1976 *The Unicorn Tapestries*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Gallardo Luque, Adriana 2019 — *"La Representación Del Unicornio En La Cultura Del Occidente Cristiano Plenomedieval"*. PhD Diss Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid.

Giblin, James Cross 1991 — *The Truth About Unicorns*. New York, N.Y.: HarperCollins.

Hildegard of Bingen [Hildegarde de Bingen] 1988 — *Physica: Livres V-Vi-Vii-Viii.* Translated and Edited by *Ëlisabeth Klein*. Basel: Hildegarde BHG.

Hildegard of Bingen [Ildegarda di Bingen] 2013 — *Liber Vitae Meritorum. Come per lucido specchio: libro dei meriti di vita*. Edited by Luisa Ghiringhelli. Milan: Mimesis.

Kim, David W 2020 — *Daesoon Jinrihoe in Modern Korea: The Emergence, Transformation and Transmission of a New Religion*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Kim, Taesoo 2017 — "A Comparison Between Daesoon Jinrihoe's 'Resolution of Grievances for Mutual Beneficence' and Weixin Shengjiao's 'Resolving Grievances to Make Life Harmonious.'" *The Journal of CESNUR* 1(2):66–95. https://doi.org/10.26338/tjoc.2017.1.2.4

Lacarra Ducay, María del Carmen 1984 — "Influencia de Martin Schongauer en los primitivos aragoneses." *Boletín del Museo e Instituto "Camón Aznar"* XVII:15–39.

Lavers, Chris 2009 — *The Natural History of Unicorns*. New York, NY: HarperCollins.

Sheng, Yen 1996 — "The Ten Px-Herding Pictures." C'han Newsletter 19 November, accessed on 9 June 2023. https://terebess.hu/english/oxherd5.html.

Šorytė, Rosita. 2018 — "The Yeoju Headquarters Temple Complex as a Center for Social Welfare and Humanitarian Aid." *The Journal of CESNUR* 2(5):75–83. https://doi.org/ 10.26338/tjoc.2018.2.5.7

A Study on the Relationship between Kang Jeungsan and Jo Jeongsan Described in Chapter Two of *Progress of the Order*

KO Namsik and Jason GREENBERGER

KO Namsik is a professor at Daejin University's Department of Daesoon Studies and scholar in the field of religious studies. His research covers the academic aspects of scripture, religion and history, culture, and social issues. Professor KO has published research papers in numerous journals both at domestically and internationally.

Jason GREENBERGER is a Ph.D. candidate at Daejin University and a member of the International Affairs Team in the Religious Research and Edification Department at Daesoon Jinrihoe Headquarters. His current research focus is East Asian New Religious Movements.

JDTREA 2023,3(1): 33-56

Original Articles

Correspondence to

KO Namsik

Daejin University, Korea

nsko88@hanmail.net

ORCID

KO Namsik

https://orcid.org/0000- 0002-4574-5191

Jason GREENBERGER

https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4120-5646

OPEN ACCESS

Journal of Daesoon Thought and the Religions of East Asia Vol. 3. Issue 1 (September 2023): 33–56
© 2023 by the Daesoon Academy of Sciences, Daejin University, Korea

https://doi.org/10.25050/JDTREA.2023.3.1.33

Day of submission: 2023.07.30.
Completion of review: 2023.08.31.
Final decision for acceptance: 2023.09.20.

P-ISSN: 2799-3949
E-ISSN: 2799-4252

Abstract

Although English-language academic materials on Kang Jeungsan (강증산/姜甑山 1871–1909) are steadily increasing, the same cannot be said of Jo Jeongsan (조정산/道主 趙鼎山 1895–1958) who remains under-researched as figure of profound significance to the Korean new religion Daesoon Jinrihoe (대순진리회/大巡眞理會). Furthermore, in materials produced by Daesoon Jinrihoe that are later translated into English, the connections that exist between Kang Jeungsan and Jo Jeongsan are often reduced to a few representative examples, when, in fact, many additional examples could be provided for a more comprehensive understanding. Comprehending the basis for the first succession in the three-figure orthodox religious lineage of Daesoon Jinrihoe is crucial to task of properly differentiating Daesoon Jinrihoe from seemingly similar Korean new religions that enshrine Kang Jeungsan as their Supreme God. The research presented in this article, "A Study on the Relationship between Kang Jeungsan and Jo Jeongsan Described in Chapter Two of *Progress of the Order*," will provide readers with a thorough overview of the basis for Jo Jeongsan's successorship in the orthodox religious lineage of Daesoon Jinrihoe, through an in-depth exploration of Chapter Two of *Progress of the Order* from Daesoon Jinrihoe's main scripture, *The Canonical Scripture*. Furthermore, this article will include special explanatory notes to ensure that it can be easily read even by non-specialists.

Keywords: Daesoon Jinrihoe; Kang Jeungsan; Sangje; Jo Jeongsan; Doju; Progress of the Order; *The Canonical Scripture*; religious lineage

Introduction

Over the past decade, there have been numerous significant milestones achieved in promoting Daesoon Thought to the English-speaking world. Some examples include Daejin University hosting the 2016 CESNUR (Center for Studies on New Religions, Turin) Conference, hosting the inaugural World SangSaeng forum in 2017, publishing the Scriptures of Daesoon Jinrihoe in 2020, and the launching the English-language international academic journal, *Journal of Daesoon Thought and the Religions of East Asia*, in 2021. Naturally, the foundation of Daesoon Thought in Korea comes much earlier in history as it was built through the nine-year Reordering Works of Heaven and Earth undertaken by Kang Jeungsan (강증산/姜甑山, 1871–1909), the 50 years of spreading Kang Jeungsan's teachings carried out by Doju Jo Jeongsan (도주 조정산/道主 趙鼎山, 1895–1958), and the establishment of Daesoon Jinrihoe (대순진리회/大巡眞理會 the Fellowship of Daesoon Truth) by Dojeon Park Wudang (도전 박우당/都典 朴牛堂, 1917–1996).

In terms of the academic development of Daesoon Thought, it can be traced back to at least the time of the opening of Daejin University in 1991 and the concurrent establishment of the Daesoon Academy of Sciences that same year. Naturally, one of the greatest breakthroughs in the academic pursuit of Daesoon Thought occurred in 1992 when a collection of research papers were gathered for a compiled release titled *Academic Papers on Daesoon Thought* (대순논집/大巡論集). This project evolved into the domestic Korean-language academic journal, *Journal of the Daesoon Academy of Sciences* (대순사상논총/大巡思想論叢), which released its first issue in 1996, was selected by National Research Foundation of Korea in 2017, and was formally listed by KCI (Korean Citation Index) starting in 2019.

Although English-language academic resources on Daesoon Thought have gained considerable traction in recent years, studies on the second figure in the lineage, Doju Jo Jeongsan, are still quite scarce in terms of what is available to English-speaking readers. With this in mind, the connection between Kang Jeungsan and Doju Jo Jeongsan will be described in this article to reveal how Jo Jeongsan came to be recognized as the bearer and successor of the religious orthodox as recorded in *The Canonical Scripture* (전경/典經, 1974), the main scripture of Daesoon Jinrihoe. To this end, explanatory notes showing how certain verses relate in the original Korean scripture will be provided, as certain connections were accidentally obscured, or even lost entirely in the text, after its translation in English.

The life of the historical figure, Jo Cheol-Je (조철제/趙哲濟), is known in greater detail than is usually discussed when examining his later actions as Doju Jo Jeongsan in a religious studies context. For instance, and with regards to his early life prior to his religious calling, it is known that he showed great patriotism (DIRC 2015). At age 13 (15 in the Korean age-counting system) on June 15 1909 (4/28 via the traditional lunisolar

calendar), Jo Jeongsan and his family fled Korea to Manchuria (*Progress of the Order* 2:4) to continue contributing to Korea's national sovereignty restoration movement. As for the frequently omitted details from his early religious activities, one year after he began his nine-year period of spiritual cultivation, he married Ye Jong-Rin, the eldest daughter of the prominent patriot, Ye Hangi, in 1911 (Kim 2009, 2,515-2,516), and later in life they would go on to have three sons, Jung-Rae, Yeong-Rae, and Seon-Rae (Shin 2010). Tradition holds that after completing his nine-year period of spiritual practice in 1917, he received a divine revelation from the Supreme God of the Ninth Heaven who called upon Doju to return to Korea and retrace the acts of the Supreme God's human avatar, Kang Jeungsan, whose life ended in 1909.

Doju Jo Jeongsan was the first of two figures who succeeded Kang Jeungsan in the lineage of religious orthodoxy recognized and honored in Daesoon Thought. Many numerological references are linked to the life of Jeongsan and chief among those would be that at age fifteen (Korean age-counting system, thirteen using standard counting), he received the 'Bongcheon[1] Myeong (Mandate to Serve Heaven)" which began his 50-year Holy Work (*gongbu* 공부/工夫) which would last the rest of his life. While the main significance of fifty is that it is the number of years needed for the completion of a holy work prophesied by Kang Jeungsan, this particular prophecy will be explored later in this article. Fifteen, on the other hand, has a variety of special meanings in Daesoon Thought and a couple representative examples can be summarized in the following paragraph.

On a 3x3 magic square, typified in the East Asian context by the Luo River Inscription (*nakseo* 낙서/洛書), the numbers 1-9 appear in the segments positioned such that the of each vertical, horizontal, or diagonal combination of numbers equals fifteen in any direction. Hence, the highest number shown by the Luo River Inscription is nine (associated in Daesoon Thought with the Ninth Heaven and the Supreme God of the Ninth Heaven (*gucheonsangje* 구천상제/九天上帝) and the revealed number, in any direction, is fifteen (associated in Daesoon Thought with both the True Lord (*jinju* 진주/眞主 - considered to be Doju Jo Jeongsan) and Yeongdae Shrine (*yeongdae* 영대/靈臺), which enshrines a total of Fifteen Holy Positions (*shinwi* 신위/神位). The origin of the term True Lord and its numerological value of fifteen comes from a the most popular form of gambling during the Late Joseon Dynasty, *Tujeon* (투전/鬪錢). A common variation of this game was True Lord Gambling (*jinjunoreum* 진주노름/眞主노름, also known as *jinjudobak* 진주도박/眞主賭博). In that version of the game, '*jinju* (True Lord)' occurred when a player's pips added up to fifteen. This would end the game as the player who scored fifteen was taken as the victor.

In the Daesoon Jinrihoe context, the life of Doju is recorded in chapter two of *Progress of the Order* in *The Canonical Scripture*. This source asserts that Kang Jeungsan imparted his lineage of religious orthodox to Doju Jo Jeongsan via divine revelation. Which is to say that it is not claimed that the historical figure, Kang Jeungsan, met in

person with Doju Jo Jeongsan. Instead, it is asserted that the lineage was transmitted through a mysterious revelatory interaction. Some scholars have observed that this is quite similar to the connection between Jesus and Paul the Apostle. In his research, Massimo Introvigne wrote, "I believe that the most fruitful parallel for understanding in a perspective of comparative religion the role of Jo Jeongsan (1895–1958), the "second founder" of the tradition leading to Daesoon Jinrihoe, is with Paul of Tarsus, who, as we have seen, is the original model for all discussions about the relationships between a first and a second religious founder." (Introvigne 2021) There is certainly fertile ground to make such a comparison and doing so allows individuals familiar with Christianity to understand Daesoon Jinrihoe more quickly by making inferences. Furthermore, the notion that Jo Jeongsan can be seen as a 'second founder,' in sense first coined by German Lutheran theologian William Wrede (1859–1906), is also of great use to researchers in their exploration of Daesoon Jinrihoe and the figures that make up its 'Fountainhead (*yeonwon* 연원/淵源)' and its lineage of religious orthodoxy (*jongtong* 종통/宗統). While these two connections have considerable merit, this article will not add to that avenue of research because the focus will be on analyzing orthodoxical understanding of the relatedness of Kang Jeungsan and Jo Jeongsan as observable in Daesoon Jinrihoe's main scripture, *The Canonical Scripture*.

Given the significance of Chapter Two of *Progress of the Order in The Canonical Scripture* this article will examine the connection between Jeungsan and Doju based on the records contained therein. In the account from this chapter of *Progress of the Order*, all of Doju's achievements can be understood in Daesoon Thought as the unfolding of Kang Jeungsan's Reordering Works of Heaven and Earth and the Work.

Focused on those records, this article will shed new light on the nature of the position of Doju (Lord of the Dao), in the context of Daesoon Jinrihoe, wherein he is understood to be the figure who succeeded Jeungsan in the lineage of religious orthodoxy. It is through this endeavor, that issues such as specific timing and parallelistic content in verses across different chapters of *The Canonical Scripture* can be highlighted without having to shift attention to other focuses common to English-language research on Jo Jeongsan, such as comparative research into multiple religions or philosophical ideologies. Instead, Jo Jeongsan's significance and function as understood strictly within Daesoon Thought will be analyzed to provide details that have not been covered before in English-language research.

Succession in the Religious Lineage through Revelation and the 50-year Holy Work of Spreading the Teachings

In this section, verses about Kang Jeungsan from *The Canonical Scripture*, will be juxtaposed with verses about Jo Jeongsan taken from chapter two of *Progress of the Order*, a chapter in the same book of scripture. This will be done to define and explain

certain terms and concepts while also showing connections between verses which might not be apparent to non-specialists.

The End of the Fifty-Year Holy Work

> At the temple headquarters from the Hour of Ja (11pm -1am) on the 21st day of the 11th month of the Jeongyu Year (1957) to the third day of the third month of the Musul Year (1958), Doju finished the 100-day Degree Numbers without any sleep or rest. On the fifth day of the third month, he was in terrible pain. A doctor of Oriental medicine and a doctor of Western medicine were brought in. However, Doju said, "That time has passed." The next day, after having all of the officials stand up outside at the Hour of Mi (1-3pm), Doju told Dojeon Park Han-Gyeong to come close and then ordered him to manage the comprehensive affairs of his religious order, with his hand on Dojeon´s head. He added, "This is the year that the Fifty Year Holy Works are completed and the ultimate energy arrives now; in April [五十年工夫終畢至氣今至四月來]. I must leave now. Do not lose heart at all despite my absence. Keep doing as you have been ordered to do up until now." Then he called out towards the outside of the door three times, "Thief!" and finally he passed, aged 64, into Heaven. It was at the Hour of Mi on the sixth day of the third month in the Musul Year, or April 24, 1958 in the solar calendar. (*Progress of the Order* 2:66.)

It is of special interest that the record of Kang Jeungsan writing 'Fifty Year Holy Works for Edification Shall Be Completed at Last [布敎五十年工夫終畢] can be found in the third edition of *The Canonical Scripture of the Great Itineration* (*Daesun Jeongyeong* 대순전경/大巡典經, 1947), a hagiography of Kang Jeungsan that proceeded Daesoon Jinrihoe's *The Canonical Scripture* (1974). Naturally, this record also occurs prior to the passing of Doju Jo Jeongsan in 1957. That is why in Daesoon Thought, the verse above and the exact 50-year period between the passing of Kang Jeungsan and Jo Jeongsan is considered a compelling proof of the connection between these two figures in the Fountainhead.

The year 1958 was when Jo Jeongsan passed into heaven after declaring the completion of his 50-year Holy Work.

> One day in the sixth month, after finishing a Reordering Work of Heaven and Earth, Sangje burned the paper on which He had written "Fifty Year Holy Works for Edification Shall Be Completed at Last [布敎五十年工夫終畢]." (*Reordering Works* 3:37)

This time frame perfectly fits with what Kang Jeungsan had foretold before his own passing when he wrote and then burned a piece of paper which had the following written on it: Fifty Year Holy Works for Edification Shall Be Completed at Last [布教五十年工夫終畢].' (*Reordering Works* 3:37) Jo Jeongsan spent 50 years performing Holy Works in order to spread the teachings of Kang Jeungsan. The statement in the above verse, *Progress of the Order* 2:66, is a record marking the end of that 50-year period. 1958 is shown as the completion year of the 50-year Holy Work,[2] and that would mean that the Holy Work began in 1909, which was the year when Kang Jeungsan passed into heaven. Where 1909 is concerned another verse can be examined:

The Start of the Fifty-Year Holy Work

> On the 28th day of the fourth month in the Giyu Year (1909), 15-year-old Doju and his family fled his homeland for the foreign land of Manchuria (滿洲, Full Continent) and settled down there. (Progress of the Order 2:4)

Although it might be slightly tangential, for the sake of greater clarity, some of the conventions used in the English version of *Jeon-gyeong* (전경/典經 1974), *The Canonical Scripture* (2020), will be provided here to make the rest of this article easier to understand for non-specialists. Dates in *The Canonical Scripture* appear in accordance with the traditional East Asian lunisolar calendar. For the convenience of readers, the years are also glossed with Gregorian Calendar years. However, it should be understood that the months and days do not transfer over directly. For example, the date in the verse above, the 28th day of the fourth lunisolar month of the Giyu Year would have been June 15 1909 according to the Gregorian Calendar. Some English-language research on Korean historical topics treat the lunisolar months as Gregorian months and then write 'lunar' in captions at the end. For example, the 28th day of the fourth lunisolar month of the Giyu Year might be written as "May 28 1909 (lunar)." Since the event actually occurred in mid-June, that could be quite misleading. As another translation convention, the research team that produced the English version of *Jeon-gyeong* opted to include the literal meaning of place names and occasionally other proper nouns because it is known that sometimes the original Korean verses included double meanings (or even numerous meanings), and the provision of brief English glossings was seen as the best way to produce an English translation that would read similarly to the Korean. As for the rest of the verse above, it is fairly straightforward.

The Giyu year corresponds to the year 1909 in the Gregorian Calendar, and adding 50 years to that year would result in the year 1958. This indicates that Jo Jeongsan carried out religious achievements in accordance with what was foretold by Kang Jeungsan. In Daesoon Thought, Jo Jeongsan having carried out the work of spreading the teachings

of Kang Jeungsan for 50 years is taken as one proof of his succession in the lineage of religious orthodoxy.

In the following verse, Jo Jeongsan received a divine revelation from the Supreme God of the Ninth Heaven while Jeongsan was working on a Holy Work on a mountain in Fengtian, Manchuria.

The Realization and Dao-attainment of Doju

> During this time, Doju came to profoundly sense and realize the truth of Sangje's Great Itineration (Daesoon大巡) of the Three Realms in the Jeongsa Year (1917), which was at the end of a nine year-long Holy Work. (*Progress of the Order* 2:6)[3]

The verse above contains the term *gamo* (감오/感悟), rendered above in the official translation as 'profoundly sense and realize.' In the secondary scripture, *Essentials of Daesoon Jinrihoe* (대순진리회요람/大巡眞理會要覽 1969), which predates the publication of the primary scripture by five years, this event is recorded slightly differently, and the term gamo is fleshed out such that it was written *gamo-deukdo* (감오득도/感悟得道), and in the official translation of that scripture, this was indicated as 'awakened to and attained (the Daesoon Truth of Sangje Kang Jeungsan).' In both translations, the research team had been encouraged to avoid phrasing that would sound overly Buddhist because, generally speaking the first instinct of translators familiar with East Asian religious thought would be to treat *gamo* as 'achieved enlightenment (awakening, etc.)' and *deukdo* would typically be taken as 'attain the Dao.' Recently, when the translation of the exhibits for the Museum of Daesoon Jinrihoe was compiled, *gamo-deukdo* was re-translated as 'realization and Dao-attainment.'

With this in mind, as an extra insight or point of nuance, perhaps it is best that researchers who primarily rely on English-language resources while studying Daesoon Thought and Daesoon Jinrihoe know that composing effective rhetoric in scriptural or liturgical Korean often involves the use of traditional religious language; however, new religions, such as Daesoon Jinrihoe, have their own unique identity. Even when terms are borrowed from Buddhism, Daoism, Confucianism, or other sources, researchers should be aware that these terms might be imbued with new meanings as they are being applied to a religious world view with different axiomatic assumptions than the previous context in which those terms were used.

The Incantation of Serving the Lord of Heaven

> One day, while Doju was practicing Holy Works with all his energy in his cultivation chamber, a man of divine power appeared and, showing him

> a sheet of paper on which something was written, said, "If you recite this incantation, you shall save the world from chaos and relieve people of their despair." The moment Doju was about to respectfully bow to him, the man disappeared and was seen no more. The following incantation was written on paper: 侍天主造化定 永世不忘萬事知至氣今至願爲大降 [Si-cheon-ju-jo-hwa-jeong Yeo ng-se-bul-mang-man-sa-ji Ji-gi-geum-ji-won-wi-dae-gang. In serving the Lord of Heaven and being unified with the divine order, I wish to never forget and to know everything. May the ultimate energy descend abundantly now!] (*Progress of the Order* 2:7.)

Doju gained enlightenment to Sangje's Daesoon Truth of the Three Realms, which revealed that the divine avatar of the Supreme God was the historical figure, Kang Jeungsan. For the sake of saving the world and relieving people from suffering, Kang Jeungsan and Jo Jeongsan united their minds in singular intention and the result appeared as an incantation. This particular incantation had also been revealed in Korean history at an earlier period as well; however, at that time, the verses had a different order, and the name of the incantation was likewise not the same. On May 25 1860 (4/5 lunisolar), the founder of the Donghak (동학/東學), Choi Suwun (최수운/崔水雲 1824–1864), received what was known as 'The Three-Seven Incantation (*samchil-ju* 삼칠주/三七呪)' during a religious experience.[4] In the Donghak usage of the incantation, the verses are ordered as follows:

> 至氣今至願爲大降侍天主造化定永世不忘萬事知 [Ji-gi-geum-ji-won-wi-dae-gang Si-cheon-ju-jo-hwa-jeong Yeong-se-bul-mang-man-sa-ji. May the ultimate energy descend abundantly now! In serving the Lord of Heaven and being unified with the divine order, I wish to never forget and to know everything][5]

Even in the early Donghak context, this incantation had other names, such as the Incantation of Serving the Lord of Heaven (*sicheon-ju* 시천주/侍天呪), and the Incantation of Longevity (*jangsaeng-ju* 장생주/長生呪). In fact, although it would be tangential to explain in detail here, in Donghak there were even verses from within this incantation that could be chanted on their own as separate incantations which were given their own respective names.[6]

Shifting back to Daesoon Thought, Kang Jeungsan was known to use this incantation (via the reordered version) since at least 1907, (*Progress of the Order* 1:19-1:20) and the incantation was revealed to Doju in 1917 as recorded in the passage above. This is understood as a holy interaction between the Supreme God and a human, wherein the Supreme God of the Ninth Heaven, who had recently incarnated into the world through his human avatar, Kang Jeungsan, met with the human, Jo Jeongsan.

Divine revelations from the Supreme God Kang Jeungsan continued from that point onward, and the next such revelation was a command for Jo Jeongsan to travel to Taein in Joseon (Korea) and find Kang Jeungsan (i.e., retrace the actions of Jeungsan). This divine revelation was meant to inspire Jo Jeongsan to seek out the sites where Kang Jeungsan performed the Reordering Works of Heaven and Earth.

Doju's Devotional Offering to Sangje

> On an autumn day in the Muoh Year (1918), while Doju was practicing Holy Works in the Singular Universe House (Wuyiljae), he held a devotional offering for Sangje and then went to the Copper Valley clinic via Court-Plain (Wonpyeong) Village, accompanied by Lee Jeong-Ryul and two other men. Doju said, "I have followed Sangje's order to go forth to Court-Plain Village of Golden Embankment (Gimje), and this route has led us to step on the trail of Reordering Works that Sangje achieved after nine years." (*Progress of the Order* 2:10)

In the historical Korean context, a devotional offering, known in Korean as *chiseong* (치성/致誠), indicates a variety of rituals in folk religious practices that center around praying, bowing, and making offerings with utmost sincerity. Popular forms of the ritual include 100-day devotional offerings (*baekilchiseong* 백일치성/百日致誠) and devotional offerings to mountain deities (*san-chiseong* 산치성/山致誠). Although the rituals described as chiseong can vary greatly, typically they include food offerings of purified water, side dishes, and rice. Rice is so central to these offerings that one alternative name for chiseong is '*nogume-seong* (노구메성/노구메誠),' a rice offering (Choi 1991). Later in Daesoon Jinrihoe, a highly specific ritual held on occasions such as sacred remembrances (memorials, birthdays, and achievement days of key figures), seasonal observances (equinoxes, solstices, etc.), anniversary days of shrine installations, and initiations would also come to be known as *chiseong*.

Retracing the Reordering Works of Heaven and Earth

> In the tenth month of that year, Doju went to Great Court Temple (Daewon-sa) in Mount Mother (Moak-san), and led Gwon Tae-Ro and some others. Doju proclaimed, "I am the one who will spread forth the Degree Number of the Later World of Fifty Thousand Years, and you are the ones who will attain the Dao. What could be better?" He had Lee Jeong-Ryul acquire a house at the Stork Hamlet (Hwangsae-maeul, 鞋村) in Court-Plain (Wonpyeong) Village, moved Doju's family there, and he stayed at Great Court Temple for several months. (*Progress of the Order* 2:1)

The verse above shows Jo Jeongsan traveling to Daewon-sa Temple, the site of Kang Jeungsan's opening of the great Dao of Heaven and Earth in 1901. Likewise significant to retracing the Reordering Works of Heaven and Earth and close by Daewon-sa Temple is the location of Donggok Clinic. The verse below details some of the preparation for the opening of the clinic which began in May (the fourth lunisolar month) of 1908.

> One day in the fourth month of the Mushin Year (1908), Sangje brought 1,000 nyang of money from Baek Nam-Shin to open a clinic in Copper Valley (Donggok) Village. To equip the clinic, He called a carpenter, Lee Gyeong-Mun, to provide instruction on how to make an apothecary chest, which instruments would be necessary for the task, and what instrument sizes should be used. Sangje designated the due date for the work and decided to set up the clinic in the house of Jun-Sang, Gap-Chil's elder brother. (*Reordering Works* 2:7)

The verse above introduces readers to the apothecary chest that went on to be empowered by Kang Jeungsan. There was an effort by Jo Jeongsan to recover the apothecary chest (also translated as the apothecary cabinet) in 1919; however, the attempt was ultimately unsuccessful (*Progress of the Order* 2:17). Below is a record of Kang Jeungsan's opening of the great Dao of Heaven and Earth:

> In the fifth month of the Shinchuck Year (1901), Sangje traveled to Great Court Temple (Daewon-sa) at Mount Mother (Moak-san) in Jeonju (Perfected Territory) County and, there, occupied a quiet room that had personally been prepared by Abbot Park Geum-Gok. Sangje asked to be left alone in order to practice a Holy Work uninterrupted, even so far as going without food or rest. Geum-Gok grew increasingly worried as Sangje stayed entirely devoted to His work for 49 days. On the fifth day of the seventh month, Sangje finally opened the great Dao of Heaven and Earth, and as He did so, a great wind was blown by the Five Directional Dragons. (*Acts* 2:12)

The reference to 'great winds being blown by the Five Directional Dragons (*oryong-heopung* 오룡허풍/五龍噓風)' during Kang Jeungsan's religious activities at Daewon-sa Temple can be traced back to the earliest strata of hagiographies on Jeungsan. This phrase can be found in both Records of the Reordering Works of Celestial Master Jeungsan (Lee 1926, 7) and the first edition of *The Canonical Scripture of the Great Itineration* (Lee 1929, 3:1). In the eyes of many, this is a curious phrase that is not easily comprehended; however, since at least 1965 (Taegeukdogyohwabu) and likely prior, Daesoon Thought already made sense of it in a compelling way that eluded many other traditions. The fifth day of the seventh lunisolar month (August 18th) in 1901, was

a *mujin* (무진/戊辰 fifth heavenly stem and fifth earthly branch in the sexagenary cycle used in time-keeping) day. This has correspondences with the five phases (*obaeng* 오행/五行) such that it would correspond with yellow, earth, and center which means it fits the precise correspondences of the directional deity of the yellow dragon, one of five dragon-deities associated with the four cardinal directions, and the additional 'direction' (relative location) of center. Going back from that day in 12-day increments, all of the other dragons can be found. The 22nd day of the 6th lunisolar month was a *byeongjin* (병진/丙辰) day with correspondences to red, fire, and south; the precise qualities of the red dragon. In twelve-day increments, one by one the dragons can be shown via the dates 6/10, 5/28, and 5/16 which respectively have the qualities of the remaining green, black, and white dragons (Cha 2018). In East Asian thought, there are other potential meanings for the 'five dragons'; however, given that the consensus[7] ending day of the Kang Jeungsan's religious experience was the fifth day of the seventh lunisolar month, a mujin day, and thereby, a yellow dragon, this interpretation of the five dragons, first recorded in 1926 but only decoded via Daesoon Thought in 1965, seems highly likely.

Kang Jeungsan once lived in Gimje, Wonpyeong, and that is what originally led Jo Jeongsan to visit there. Once in Gimje, he began religiously interacting with Donggok Clinic and Daewon-sa Temple. Jo Jeongsan also came to meet Kang Jeungsan's sister via an introduction from Lee Chi-Bok. Kang Jeungsan's sister, Yul (율/栗 1880/1881–1942), who was known in scriptures only as the 'Lady of Seondol,' provided Doju with a sealed chest of documents that Kang Jeungsan had set aside for Doju. This was the first case wherein Jo Jeongsan received a revelation from a living person who was part of Kang Jeungsan's bloodline.

Spreading of the Teachings in Relation to the Keepsake from Jeungsan

Here, Yul gives Jo Jeongsan not only a sealed chest of documents but also conveys that the Transformation Chest was an object that Kang Jeungsan empowered for a specific purpose the full potential of which Jo Jeongsan could bring into realization.

> One day, the Lady of Seondol asked Doju, "The Transformation Chest (dun-gwei 遁櫃), which was installed by Sangje in the Copper Valley Clinic, is an agent of re-creation and changes of the universe in which a Degree Number of Heaven and Earth is set. In my opinion, we must find it as soon as possible. What do you think?" (*Progress of the Order* 2:14)

The verse above provides a context for how Jo Jeongsan and his followers understood the Transformation Chest at the time they retrieved it (1919). Below is an additional verse explaining the origination of the chest towards the end of Kang Jeungsan's lifetime in 1908:

> Sangje made two chests: The larger one, which He named the "Creation Chest," was placed in the Copper Valley (Donggok) Clinic and the smaller one, which He named the "Transformation Chest (dun-gwei 遁櫃)," was left in Shin Gyeong-Su's house after He used it as the chest of the Seventy-twofold Art of Transformation (chilsipyi-dun 七十二遁), corresponding to the Seventy-Two Sages, while practicing Holy Works. (*Reordering Works* 3:10)

Jo Jeongsan took the Transformation Chest from Bocheon-gyo and used it for a Holy Work that he saw to completion without any breaks or even sleep. This was meaningful in that Jo Jeongsan received a keepsake, which is related to a previous Heavenly Work that was carried out by Kang Jeungsan. Jo Jeongsan enabled the artifact to continue being used to achieve a series of divine actions. This was different from his previous activities of spreading the teachings in accordance with the revelation he received from the Supreme God, and it was also different from the act of inheriting a keepsake that had been set aside for him. Spreading and serving the teachings of Kang Jeungsan through relic from previous Reordering Works enacted by Kang Jeungsan makes clearer the will of Jo Jeongsan which was to continue realizing the Holy Works that had been set in motion by the Supreme God during the life of his human incarnation, Kang Jeungsan. In addition, Jo Jeongsan succeeded in retrieving the Transformation Chest, a divinely empowered item once used by Kang Jeungsan.

Jo Jeongsan's Explanation of the Dao and the Foundation of a New Religious Order

Later, Jo Jeongsan revealed the contents of the Dao in the context of Daesoon Thought. He preached Daesoon Truth, the Great Dao of Infinite Fortune, and the Resolution of Grievances for Mutual Beneficence. He gained mastery of all of these principles when he awakened to the true nature of the Supreme God Kang Jeungsan and his divine plan for the universe (the Three Realms of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity). The verse below records a teaching that Jo Jeongsan gave in 1919 which explained to his followers the unprecedented nature of the specific Dao found in Daesoon Thought, and he further informed them of the blessings gained from the Resolution of Grievances for Mutual Beneficence (*haewonsangsaeng* 해원상생/解冤相生).

The Great Destiny of *Mugeuk*

> One day, in the memorial house of Qualified Literatus Hamlet (Tongsa-dong), Doju said, "My Dao has never been heard either now or in the past, so it is hard for you to believe in it and cultivate yourselves." And gathering many followers, he preached to them about the truth of resolution of grievances

> for mutual beneficence, which embraces limitless great fortune, enlightening them to the Dao. (*Progress of the Order* 2:18)

In the following verse, Kang Jeungsan also speaks about how blessings have become available despite the degenerate nature of that day and age:

> "Since it is now the degenerate age, the great destiny of Ultimatelessness shall be opened. Be careful in all matters not to provoke any grudges from other people, and stay away from transgressions. And take part in the court of Heaven and Earth with pure minds." (*Prophetic Elucidations* 17)

In the above verses, Jo Jeongsan not only revealed his Dao, but went further to serve in the Reordering Works of the Supreme God Kang Jeungsan. Although not apparent in the official English translation, both Kang Jeungsan and Jo Jeongsan speak about the great destiny of Ultimatelessness (*mugeuk-daeun* 무극대운/無極大運[8]); because in the first verse it is written as 'limitless great fortune.' There is perhaps a problem or at least room for improvement with the English rendering of *mugeuk* (무극/無極) as 'ultimatelessness.' In East Asian thought, *mugeuk* is meant to describe monism outside of or prior to (depending on metaphysical interpretation[9]) dualism (*taegeuk* 태극/太極 understandable as yin and yang in balanced harmony). The research team that translated *The Canonical Scripture* felt confident that *taegeuk* could be rendered as 'ultimate' or 'ultimateness' and as a consequence, its opposite, *mugeuk*, became 'ultimatelessness.' The problem is that while ultimate and ultimateness sounds like something powerful and useful, ultimatelessness, rather accidentally, sounds weak, and its potential utility is difficult to imagine.

Although it might be difficult for it to be made to fit all intended uses, it would probably be more accurate to think of *mugeuk* as 'limitless potential' and *taegeuk* as 'realized potential.' Limitless potential can be directed at an infinite range of aims, and thereby its utility is immediately evident. Realized potential has clearly achieved something to its complete extent but likely does not apply to all aims so much as it applies to whatever specific aim or aims it has fulfilled.

Returning back to the subject at had, in the next verse that will be highlighted, Jo Jeongsan is recorded as having resolved the energy that lingered in an incomplete state at Daewon-sa Temple where the Supreme God Kang Jeungsan previously carried out a Reordering Work. As a point of theological nuance, Jo Jeongsan is understood as having done this through his own ability.

Recalibrating Degree Numbers

> Doju had the disciples recite the Sutra of the Seven Stars (Chilseong-gyeong 七星經), and then he went to Great Court Temple (Daewon-sa) and finished a 100-day Degree Number. The day he finished was the seventh day of the seventh month of the Shinyu Year (1921). Only then did the disciples realize his intention behind having them recite the Sutra of the Seven Stars. Meeting them, Doju said, "This is the very place where Sangje judged the divine beings of Heaven and Earth. I have released their energy which was still attached to this place." (*Progress of the Order* 2:21)

The above verse shows Doju Jo Jeongsan successfully recalibrating a degree number in a manner reminiscent of his predecessor, Kang Jeungsan. That Jo Jeongsan was able to do this through his own power, is an example of his worthiness of the position of successor within the lineage of religious orthodoxy.

Later, Jo Jeongsan carefully relocated the holy skeletal remains of Kang Jeungsan to his base of operations and performed a ritual ceremony everyday while carrying out a Holy Work. In order to appreciate the relocation of Kang Jeungsan's holy skeletal remains, the following verse regarding Kang Jeungsan's passing can provide useful context:

> Eung-Jong thought it strange that the room in which Sangje was staying was too quiet and looked into it. He found Sangje calmly laying down. When he drew close to Sangje and put his cheek on Sangje's now cold countenance, he realized that He had already passed into Heaven. (*Acts* 5:35)

The above verse informs readers that Kang Jeungsan died while his disciples were out elsewhere, and the quickness of his passing caught many of them by surprise. The next verse reveals details regarding the disciples' actions in the aftermath of their master's passing:

> The disciples finished the funeral with the money stored in the chest and sent the remainder to the house of Sangje's family. (*Acts* 5:36)

In the next verse, Jo Jeongsan moves beyond enshrining Kang Jeungsan's holy skeletal remains and performing ritual ceremonies, by establishing the religious order, Mugeukdo which enshrined and worshiped Kang Jeungsan as the Supreme God of the Ninth Heaven:

Enshring Kang Jeungsan as the Supreme God of the Ninth Heaven

> In the Eulchuk Year (1925), a temple was established at Dao Prosperity Hill Path (Dochang-hyeon) in Great Benevolence (Taein) County. It was then that Doju founded Mugeuk-do (Limitless Dao) Order, enshrined Sangje as Gucheon Eungwon Nwehseong Bohwa Cheonjon Sangje [九天應元雷聲普化 天尊上帝 the Supreme God of the Ninth Heaven, Celestial Worthy of Universal Creation through His Thunderbolt, the Originator with Whom All Beings Resonate]. (*Progress of the Order* 2:32)[10]

The verse above indicates that Doju Jo Jeongsan started the process that transformed the teachings of Kang Jeungsan into formal religious doctrines that could be comprehended and tangibly put into practice by both clergy and laity.

Revealing the Status of Jo Jeongsan

Then, Jo Jeongsan announced in the Declaration of Awakening (*poyumun* 포유문/布喩文) that it was he, himself, who was the successor in the lineage of religious orthodoxy. He was the one qualified to serve the will of the Supreme God Kang Jeungsan and lead humanity to eternal paradise. Also, a mysterious event transpired at Maha-sa Temple in Busan when an icon of the Buddha lowered its head while Jo Jeongsan was carrying out a Holy Work. Jo Jeongsan went on to unfold that Holy Work in accordance with Kang Jeungsan's Reordering Work of transferring the God of the Imperial Ultimate. The two verses below both cover contents related to the God of the Imperial Ultimate, the first verse involving Jo Jeongsan in 1954 and the second verse referring to a Reordering Work performed by Kang Jeungsan in 1908:

The God of the Imperial Ultimate

> Sangje once said to His disciples at Crouching Dragon (Waryong) Village of Primordial Hill (Gobu) County, "The god of the Imperial Ultimate (Hwanggeuk 皇極) should be brought here in order to rectify this chaotic world. The god stays in Emperor Guangxu of the Qing Dynasty. The reason for its transfer to Joseon (Korea) resulted from Song Wuam (Song Si-Yeol) building the Mandong Shrine." Sangje commanded His disciples to recite the Incantation of Serving the Lord of Heaven (Sicheon-ju 侍天呪) every night in a specific rhythm. He said, "This sound is the same as that which people articulate while carrying a bier. The wails that mourners make while carrying a bier is eo-ro; eo (御) can also mean 'king' and ro (路) can mean 'road.' That is, it is a road upon which a king walks. Now, the god of the

> Imperial Ultimate has been moved here." At that time, Emperor Guangxu passed away. (*Reordering Works* 3:22)

The passage above shows Kang Jeungsan's enshrinement of the God of the Imperiral Ultimate, and the passage below records Jo Jeongsan visiting that site over four and half decades later and a mysterious event said to taken place shortly thereafter:

> In the third month of the Gaboh Year (1954), Doju went to Blue Stream (Cheongcheon) Township accompanied by Ahn Sang-Ik and four others, and looked all around the ruins of the Mandong Shrine where the god of the Imperial Ultimate (Hwanggeuk 皇極) had been enshrined by Sangje. The moment he was about to turn around to leave, it started raining, and at night, a great thunderbolt and storm occurred as if the mountains were crashing down. There was a closed stone tablet on the left side of the lower rockwall under the Observatory Crag (Cheomseong-dae), on which Emperor Chongzhen's handwritten calligraphy 非禮不動 (birye-budong, do not act contrary to the rules of propriety) was carved. There was a rumor that the next day the closed stone tablet had been split into two pieces and the characters of 玉藻氷壺 (okjo-bingho, the imperial jade bead-pendants and ice-pot) and 萬曆御筆 (manryeok-eopil, the handwriting of Emperor Wanli) had been found on the backside of the pieces. (*Progress of the Order* 2:50)

The Ocean Seal

In the verse below, Jo Jeongsan explained the meaning of *Haein* (the Ocean Seal) in the context of how it was related to Unification with the Dao, and he interpreted the Godship of Kang Jeungsan. In its original Buddhist context, the Ocean Seal (*haein* 해인/海印) is usually short for the meditative concentration of the ocean seal (*haeinsammae* 해인삼매/海印三昧 and in Sanskrit as *sāgara-mudrā-samādhi*), a concept introduced in the Buddhist scripture, *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* (*hwaoem-gyeong* 화엄경/華嚴經also known in English as *The Flower Garland Sutra*). In Buddhism, the meditative concentration of the ocean seal can be understood as entailing meditative observation of the past, present, and future simultaneously while in a state of profound tranquility (Xingyun 2014). It is clear in Jo Jeongsan's usage that he uses the name 'ocean seal,' but has a different meaning in mind which relates to traditional East Asian cosmology and also to the qualities of Kang Jeungsan as *Gucheon Eungwon Nwehseong Bohwa Cheonjon Gangseong Sangje* (구천응원뇌성보화천존 강성상제/九天應元 雷聲普化天尊姜聖上帝, the Supreme God of the Ninth Heaven, His Holiness Kang, Celestial Worthy of Universal Creation through His Thunderbolt, the Originator with Whom All Beings Resonate) as known through revelation specific to Daesoon Thought but also with certain inputs

from a 12th or 13th century scripture, *The Scripture of the Jade Pivot* (Pregadio 2009) (*okchubogyeong* 옥추보경/玉樞寶經) which describes a deity with nearly the same title.[11] In Kang Jeungsan's usage of the ocean seal, the meaning is explicitly specified.

> On the next day after Doju came back from Haein-sa Temple (Ocean Seal Temple), he gathered many disciples and said, "Even though Sangje defined the Ocean Seal as a seal, it is wrong for you to take it as a tangible object. The Ocean Seal is not far but close at hand. The origin of the principles of all things in the universe lies in the ocean. So, there are sayings of 'the Ocean Seal' and 'a Perfected Being on an ocean island.' Take a look at the sea water. It is all electrified. Water flows down but has the characteristic of ascending. Originally, all things are generated and grow by absorbing the energy of water. There are 36 Heavens in the sky and Sangje governs them. As he presides over electricity, rules, and nurtures all nature in Heaven and Earth, He is, accordingly, Nwehseong Bohwa Cheonjon Sangje [雷聲普化天尊上帝 The Supreme God, the Celestial Worthy of Universal Creation through His Thunderbolt]. Since the electricity of Heaven is in the ocean water, all things are surrounded by electricity." (*Progress of the Order* 2:55)

> According to Sangje's order, Hyeong-Ryeol marked the Sixty-Four Hexagrams and wrote down the names of the Twenty-Four Directions on paper and gave it to Him. Sangje went out of the door with the paper and said, burning it towards the sun, "Stay with me." Turning His face to Hyeong-Ryeol, He said, "I will give the Ocean Seal (haein 海印) to those who believe in Me firmly." (*Progress of the Order* 1:62.)

> "I will send the line of Dao-unification (dotong 道通) to the great head. He will instruct people in the ways of Dao-unification. When it is the right time, all the gods of Dao-unification from Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism shall gather enabling people to achieve unification with the Dao, according to their degree of individual cultivation. Therefore, how could I justly preside over it and carry it out by Myself," asked Sangje. (*Progress of the Order* 1:41)

The verse above contains Kang Jeungsan's explanations about the Ocean Seal (*haein*). In Daesoon Thought, this is understood as being related to Jo Jeongsan's emergence as the Great Leader prophesied by Kang Jeungsan to become the successor in the line of Dao-Unification.

Conclusion

Jo Jeongsan passed away in 1958 after telling his followers that that year marked the completion of his 50-year Holy Work (*Gongbu*). This time frame is consistent with Kang Jeungsan's writing 'Fifty Year Holy Works for Edification Shall Be Completed at Last.' Jo Jeongsan went to areas where Kang Jeungsan previously resided such as Wonpyeong in Gimje, Donggok Clinic, and Daewon-sa Temple. Jo Jeongsan also met Yul, the sister of Kang Jeungsan, through Lee Chi-Bok and from her he received a sealed chest of documents.

Jo Jeongsan went on to use objects previously empowered by Kang Jeungsan such as the Transformation Chest in religious activities that Daesoon Thought honors as a continuation of the divine acts of Kang Jeungsan. With regards to the Transformation Chest it can also be understood as a keepsake that Jo Jeongsan obtained which was related to a Reordering Work performed by his predecessor in the lineage, Kang Jeungsan, and Jo Jeongsan kept the artifact as an instrument that facilitated heavenly achievements. Episodes and connections of this nature demonstrate Jo Jeongsan's ability to continue the salvific actions of Kang Jeungsan.

Jo Jeongsan enshrined Kang Jeungsan's holy skeletal remains, but also went further by performing ritual ceremonies and founding the religious order, Mugeukdo. Jo Jeongsan led this religion which enshrined and worshiped Kang Jeungsan as *Gucheon Eungwon Nwehseong Bohwa Cheonjon Gangseong Sangje*, a divine title that had not previously been associated with Kang Jeungsan although other religions also apotheosized Jeungsan under different titles.

When Jo Jeongsan went to Maha-sa Temple in Busan to further retrace the actions of Kang Jeungsan, a mysterious event transpired- an icon of the Buddha lowered its head while Jeongsan was engaged in a Holy Work. This can be shown to be connected to Kang Jeungsan's previous Reordering Work of transferring the God of the Imperial Ultimate.

Lastly, Jo Jeongsan taught about the Ocean Seal to show its relation to the attainment of Unification with the Dao and the Godship of Kang Jeungsan. In Daesoon Thought, the connections between Kang Jeungsan and Jo Jeongsan's teaching on the Ocean Seal are further support for Jo Jeongsan's emergence as a Great Leader who the Kang Jeungsan foretold would emerge as the first successor in the line of Dao Unification.

Conflict of Interest

Ko Namsik has been on the Editorial Board of *JDTREA* and Jason Greenberger has been the Managing Editor of *JDTREA* since July 2021 but neither had any no role in the decision to publish this article. No potential conflict of interest relevant to this article was reported.

Notes

[1] Bongcheon (봉천/奉天 ch. Fengtian) has multiple meanings here: it is the place name, Fengtian in Manchuria where Jeongsan's family moved to live in exile, and bongcheon, written the same way in Chinese characters, also means to 'serve heaven.' The *myeong* (명/命) at the end means 'mandate' or 'command.'

[2] Understandable as a fifty-year Holy Work that included other Holy Works, or as a fifty-year period of Holy Works (plural). This nuance is an issue created by the English translation, which does not exist in the original Korean wherein either is possible and the difference is insignificant.

[3] In passages from *The Canonical Scripture*, Sangje (상제/上帝), literally meaning 'the Supreme God,' refers both to the Supreme God of the Ninth Heaven and to his human avatar, Kang Jeungsan.

[4] encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Article/E0026906

[5] I have reproduced the translation (and transliteration) from *The Canonical Scripture* here and only swapped the order of the verses to match the order used in Donghak. It is entirely possible, highly likely in fact, that Donghak (now Cheondo-gyo 천도교/天道敎) see a different meaning in the incantation. As such, the English translation here should just be used as a basic reference point. Even in the Daesoon Jinrihoe context, translating the meaning of incantations is considered taboo. Incantations have a broad range of possible meanings, and according to believers, more crucial than the meaning is the sound of the incantation and the power that it holds.

[6] encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Article/E0026906

[7] Agreement on this date is common among Lee Sang-Ho's hagiographies, *Records of the Reordering Works of Celestial Master Jeungsan* (1926) and *The Canonical Scripture of the Great Itineration* (1929) and all scriptures associated with Daesoon Thought. An alternative date, seventh day of the seventh month (August 20th), was first proposed by the religion, Odongjeong-gyodan, in *The Canonical Scripture of the Dragon Flower* (*YonghwaJeongyeong* 용화전경/龍華典經 1972), and this date was also adopted by Jeungsando in their scripture, the Dojeon (도전/道典 'The Dao Canon' 1992).

[8] '*Mu*,' in the context of *mugeuk*, is sometimes provided in Chinese characters in *The Canonical Scripture* as the variant character 无 rather than the character 無 which is more standard. In the original Korean, when *mugeuk-dae*'un in the above two examples has the *mu* as 无 in Progress of the Order 2:18 and as 無 in Prophetic Elucidations 17.

[9] As a tendency, Neo-Confucians take the phrase 無極而太極 from the *Taegeuk Diagram* (太極圖) of Zhou Dunyi (周敦頤 1017–1073) and parse it as '*Mugeuk* and *Taegeuk*,' whereas Daoists parse it as '*Mugeuk* and then *Taegeuk*.' The result is that Neo-Confucians describe both metaphysical principles as phenomena to be examined and juxtaposed. On the other hand, Daoists, due to their assumption of sequence, describe an emanationist creative cycle wherein *Mugeuk* proceeds (and becomes) Taegeuk, which in turn becomes the five phases, which in turn become all myriad phenomena.

[10] *The Canonical Scripture*, Progress of the Order 2:32. In other contexts, this divine epithet is altered slightly to include the family name Kang Jeungsan and appears as *Gucheon Eungwon Noeseong Bohwa Cheonjon Kangseong Sange*: His Holiness the Supreme God Kang of the Ninth Heaven, Celestial Worthy of Universal Creation through His Thunderbolt, the Originator with Whom All Beings Resonate.

[11] In that scripture, the title of the deity is *Gucheon Eungwon Nwehseong Bohwa Cheonjon* (구천응원뇌성보화천존 / 九天應元雷聲普化天尊, the Celestial Worthy of the Ninth Heaven, of Universal Creation through His Thunderbolt, the Originator with Whom All Beings Resonate) and when apotheosizing and enshrining Kang Jeungsan, Jo Jeongsan added *Gangseong Sangje* (강성상제/姜聖上帝) to this name to additionally convey the qualities of the deity being 'the Holy (One) Kang' and 'the Supreme God.'

References

The Religious Affairs and Edification Department of Daesoon (AADDJ) 2015a — "Dojunim(道主任) Tangang(誕降) 120junyeoneul Girimyeo (in Commemoration of the 120th Anniversary of Dojunim (道主任) Birth (誕降)". *Daesoon Bulletin* 166, accessed on 1 May 2023 [Korean Language Text] 교무부, 「도주님(道主任) 탄강(誕降) 120주년을 기리며」, 『대순회보』 166. http://webzine.idaesoon.or.kr/board/index.asp?webzine=183&menu_no=3017&bno=5347&page=1.

2015b — "Dojunimui Bongcheonmyeonggwa Bongcheon Jimyeong Iyagi (Story of Doju's Receiving the Heavenly Mandate and Fengtian 奉天, Serving Heaven Place Name)". *Daesoon Bulletin* 172, accessed on 1 July 2023. [Korean Language Text] 종단역사연구팀, 「도주님의 봉천명과 봉천 지명 이야기」, 『대순 회보』 172. http://webzine.idaesoon.or.kr/board/index.asp?webzine=211&menu_no=3526&bno=6288&page=1

Cha, Seon-keun 2018 — "Oryong-Heopung-E Daehandansang (Passing Thoughts on the Five Dragons Blowing Gales)". *Daesoon Bulletin* 204, accessed on 1 April 2023. [Korean Language Text] 차선근, 「오룡허풍에 대한 단상」, 『대순회보』 204. https://webzine.daesoon.org/m/view.asp?webzine=243&menu_no=4188&bno=7663&page=1

Choi, Kil-Sung 1991 — "The Emergence of National Religions in Korea." *Encyclopedia of Korean Culture*, accessed on 1 June 2023. [Korean Language Text] 최길성, 「치성 (致誠)」, 『한국민족문화대백과 사전』. https://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Article/E0058366

Daesoon Institute for Religion and Culture (DIRC) 2015a — "『*Jeongyeong*』 Dasi Ilgi (Re-Reading 『*The Canonical Scripture*』)", *Daesoon Bulletin* 166, accessed on 1 April 2023.[Korean Language Text] 대순종교문화연구소, 「『전경』 다시 읽기, 『대순회보』 166. http://webzine.idaesoon.or.kr/board/index.asp?webzine=205&menu_no=3397&bno=6042&page=1

2015b — "Dojunimui Seonggwa Jonhwi, Jonho (Doju's Personal Name, Courtesy Name and Honorific Name)", *Daesoon Bulletin* 170, accessed on 1 April 2023. [Korean Language Text] 대순종교문화연구소, 「도주님의 성과 존휘, 존호」, 『대순회보』 170. http://webzine.idaesoon.or.kr/board/index.asp?webzine=209&menu_no=3484&bno=6211&page=1

2015c "Dojunimui Seonjo (Doju's Ancestor)." *Daesoon Bulletin* 172, accessed on 1 April 2023. [Korean Language Text] 대순종교문화연구소, 「도주님의 선조」, 『대순회보』 172. http://webzine.idaesoon.or.kr/board/index.asp?webzine=211&menu_no=3524&bno=6286&page=1

2016a "Dojunimui Bongcheonmyeong Ⅲ (Doju's Receiving the Heavenly Mandate)". *Daesoon Bulletin* 176, accessed on 1 June 2023. [Korean Language Text] 대순종교문화연구소, 「도주님의 봉천명(奉天命) Ⅲ」, 『대순회보』 176. http://webzine.idaesoon.or.kr/board/index.asp?webzine=215&menu_no=3609&bno=6465&page=1

2016b "Dojunimui Gugugundong (Doju's National Rescue Movement)". *Daesoon Bulletin* 177, accessed on 1 April 2023. [Korean Language Text] 대순종교문화연구소, 「도주님의 구국운동」, 『대순회보』 177. http://webzine.idaesoon.or.kr/board/index.asp?webzine=216&menu_no=3631&bno=6528&page=1

2020a[1974] *The Canonical Scripture*. Yeoju: Daesoon Jinrihoe Press. http://dict.dirc.kr/app/e/1/page

2020b *The Guiding Compass of Daesoon*. Yeoju: Daesoon Jinrihoe Press. http://dict.dirc.kr/app/e/2/page

2020c [1969] *Essentials of Daesoon Jinrihoe*, Third edition. Yeoju: Daesoon Jinrihoe Press. http://dict.dirc.kr/app/e/3/page

Introvigne, Massimo 2021 "Jo Jeongsan in Context: "Second Founders" in New Religious Movements." *Journal of Daesoon Thought and the Religions of East Asia* 1(1): 17-37. https://doi.org/10.25050/JDTREA.2021.1.1.17

Kim, Jinu 2009 Korean History. [Korean Language Text] 김진우, 『한국인의 역사』, 대전: 春秋筆法.

Ko, Namsik 1998 "Tenets and Succession of Religious Lineage." *The Journal of Daesoon Academy of Sciences* 6: 657-696. [Korean Language Text] 고남식, 「종지와 종통계승: 교운 2장을 중심으로」, 『대순사상논총』 6. https://doi.org/10.25050/jdaos.1998.6.0.15

Lee, Jungman 2013 "Dojunimui Manju Bongcheonhaeng Gireul Ttaraseo (Following Doju's Path to Bongcheon, Manchuria)". *Daesoon Bulletin* 146, accessed on 1 May 2023. [Korean Language Text] 이정만, 「도주님의 만주 봉천행 길을 따라서」, 『대순회보』 146. http://webzine.idaesoon.or.kr/board/index.asp?webzine=183&menu_no=3017&bno=5347&page=1

2023 "Dojunimui Buchin, Bogu(復宇) Joyongmo(趙鏞模) (Doju's Father Bogu Jo Yong-Mo)". *Daesoon Bulletin* 271, accessed on 1 June 2023. [Korean Language Text] 이정만, 「도주님의 부친, 복우(復宇) 조용모(趙鏞模)」, 『대순회보』 271. http://webzine.idaesoon.or.kr/board/index.asp?webzine=315&menu_no=5261&bno=9721&page=1

Lee, Sang-ho 1926 *Jeungsan Cheonsa Gongsagi(Records of the Reordering Works of Celestial Master Jeungsan)*. Gyeongseong: Sangsaengsa. [Korean Language Text] 이상호, 『甑山 天師公事記』, 경성: 상생사.

1947 *Daesoon Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture of the Great Itineration)* 3rd Edition. Gyeongseong: Donghwagyohoe dojang. [Korean Language Text] 이상호, 『大巡典經』, 三版, 경성: 동화교회도장.

Pregadio, Fabrizio 2009 *Zhonghua Dao Zang Zong Lu(Index of Zhonghua Daozang)*. Mountain View, CA: Golden Elixir Press. [Chinese Language Text] 中華道藏書目總錄.

Shin, Sangmi 2010 "Dojunimsaenggawa Hoeryongjae (Doju's Birthplace and Itinerating Dragon Pavilion, Hoeryong-Jae)". *Daesoon Bulletin* 110, accessed on 1 May 2023. [Korean Language Text] 신상미, 「도주님 생가와 회룡재」, 『대순회보』 110. http://webzine.idaesoon.or.kr/board/index.asp?webzine=141&menu_no=2282&bno=4103&page=1

Taegeukdogyohwabu 1965 *Seondojingyeong (the True Scripture of Preaching the Dao)*. Busan: Cheongmunsa [Korean Language Text] 太極道敎化部, 『宣道眞經』, 釜山: 靑文社.

Wrede, William 1904 *Paulus*. Halle: Gebauer-Schwetschke.

Xingyun 2014 *Fo Guang Da Ci Dian (Fo Guang Dictionary)*. Gaoxiong, Taiwan: Foguang chu ban she. [Chinese Language Text]星雲, "海印三昧"『佛光大辭典』, 台灣 高雄市: 佛光出版社.

The Post-Jeungsan Grassroots Movements: Charismatic Leadership in Bocheongyo and Mugeukdo in Colonial Korea

David W. KIM

David W. Kim (PhD, Sydney) is an Associate Professor of Asian History at the College of General Education, Kookmin University, Seoul and an Honorary Lecturer at the School of History, Australian National University, Canberra. He is a Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society, UK and is the Editor of *Studies in Modern East Asian Religion and Culture* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, UK). Kim's publications include *Sacred Sites and Sacred Stories Across Cultures: Transmission of Oral Tradition, Myth, and Religiosity* (2021), *Daesoon Jinrihoe in Modern Korea: The Emergence, Transformation, and Transmission of a New Religion* (2020), *New Religious Movements in Modern Asian History: Sociocultural Alternatives* (2020).

JDTREA 2023,3(1): 57-85

Original Articles

Correspondence to

David W. KIM

Harvard University, USA/ Kookmin University, Korea

david.kim@anu.edu.au

ORCID

David W. KIM

https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7317-8617

OPEN ACCESS

Journal of Daesoon Thought and the Religions of East Asia Vol. 3. Issue 1 (September 2023): 57–85
© 2023 by the Daesoon Academy of Sciences, Daejin University, Korea

https://doi.org/10.25050/JDTREA.2023.3.1.57

Day of submission: 2023.07.24.
Completion of review: 2023.08.31.
Final decision for acceptance: 2023.09.20.

P-ISSN: 2799-3949
E-ISSN: 2799-4252

Abstract

The politico-economic waives of Western imperialism and colonialism, along with Christianity, affected East Asia's geopolitical landscape in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. While the Korean people (of the Joseon Dynasty) witnessed the incompetence of Buddhism, Confucianism, and folk religions in maintaining social cohesion with a sense of frustration, the new religious movements (NRMs) emerged to provide altrnative teachings of hope through historical figures like Choe Je-u, Kang Il-sun (or Kang Jeungsan), Na Cheol, and Pak Chungbin. In terms of popularity, colonial Korea (1910–1940) was impressed by the native groups of Cheondogyo (=Donghak), Bocheongyo, and Mugeukdo. Son Byong-hee (1861–1922) was the third leader of the first Korean NRM, but both Cha Gyeong-seok (1880–1936) and Jo Cheol-Je (= Jo Jeongsan) (1895–1958) participated in the post-Jeungsan grassroots movements. How, then, did both of these new religions originate? How did they conceptualise their deities and interpret their teachings differently? What was their policy for national independence? The article explores the socio-religious leaders, historical origin, organizational structure, deities, teaching and doctrines, patriotism, and conflicts of both NRMs in a comparative context. As such, this article argues that they both maintained patriotic characteristics, but that Cha's Bocheongyo community with its '60-executives' system (60 bang) failed to manage their internal conflicts effectively. Meanwhile, Jo Cheol-Je of Mugeukdo had the charismatic leadership needed to maintain Mugeukdo, despite being seen as a pseudo-religion under the colonial pressure of Shintoism.

Keywords: Colonial Korea; new religion; leadership; Bocheongyo; Mugeukdo; Cha Gyeong-seok; Jo Cheol-Je

Introduction

During the late-nineteenth century the Korean Peninsula was geopolitically chaotic.[1] The external wave of imperialism impacted the Joseon Dynasty, along with Christianity's modern and Western philosophy. Furthermore, there were domestic issues concerning corruption, conflict, and confusion that caused the lives of ordinary citizens to be plunged into insecurity and uncertainty. While the first Korean new religious movement, Donghak, stood against the depravity of local authorities and the inabilities of the central government, the second new religious movement was ushered in by Kang Il-sun (or Kang Jeungsan: 1871–1909),[2] who grasped the national risk during the transition period of modern Korea. Kang himself taught that the creative characteristics of the self-incarnated God would bring the solution to the problem of human reality, such as suffering and pain. The political and cultural prophecies of this historical figure, along with the performance of healings and miracles, provided an alternative hope and a positive expectation for Kang's religious followers.

However, the abrupt death of Kang Il-sun, with the prophecy that he will return, disappointed his key disciples. The Jeungsan group split without the appointment of a second leader. By the time Kang died, Korea had also lost its sovereignty to Japan, which had won both the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–95) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) in East Asia. The colonial policy of imperial Japan was applied to the Korean Peninsula. Seok Won Song depicted this political transformation process through the perspective that Japan's cultural imperialism of the colony of the Joseon dynasty was revealed in the social forms of "assimilation and dissimilation" (Song 2018, 308). Japan's colonial law introduced new regulations about Shintoism and Japanese religio-cultural elements and demanded that the Korean religious landscape had to change.

When the Meiji reformers transformed the united archipelago government (1868–1912) inherited from the Tokugawa shogunate (1603–1867) into modern-day Japan, the divine ideology of Shintoism came superior to all other Japanese religions (Tipton 2016). Japan's new criminal law (1907) emphasised the majestic nature of the emperor, the royal family, and of Shinto shrines. This Shinto-centred philosophy had been applied to the policy of Korea's religious colonialisation. The cultural policy of Japanisation related to the 1915 announcement of the Pogyogyuchik (布敎規則, the regulations of mission). Shintoism, Buddhism, and Christianity were publicly recognised, while Confucianism was set as the source of the moral and ethical standards of society (Kim 2021, 333–372). The colonial government of Korea then established the Joseon Shrine (朝鮮神宮) in 1925 and, throughout the nation, enforced its worship service until 1945. While the Shinto Shrine was seen as a national memorial, the colonial police demarcated two categories of 'religions' and 'pseudo religions.' The former was protected while the latter was controlled under the monitoring system. The new native

religions, such as Cheondogyo, Daejonggyo, Gaksedo, and Jeungsanism, unfortunately belonged to the latter group (Kim 2016, 371–378). In this regard, Kim Chul Soo maintained the origin of religious persecution was not irrelevant with regard to the narrative of the Japanese NRM, Oomoto-kyo in Japan, which had 1 million followers in the 1920s and the 1930s (Kim 2016, 379–383).[3] The growth of Sect Shinto thus became the subject of government surveillance.

Among Korea's native religions, classified by the Japanese imperial colonial administration as 'pseudo religions', the groups of Cheondogyo and Daejonggyo did not split, but Jeungsanism was divided into five major sects, each with its own leadership. Such examples would be Goh Pan-Lye's Daeheung-ri sect, Jo Cheol-Je (= Jo Jeongsan)'s Mugeukdo sect, Kang Sunim's Jeungsan Hyangwon sect, Jeong Inpyo's Maitreya Buddha sect and Bae Yongdeok's Jeungsan Jinbeophoe (Kim 2020, 44–55). However, the Bocheongyo of Goh Pan-Lye's Daeheung-ri sect and Jo Cheol-Je (= Jo Jeongsan)'s Mugeukdo sect were two of the most influential new religions in colonial Korea, despite Japan's persecution.

Bocheongyo and Mugeukdo in Post-Jeungsan Movements

There were many historical events that occurred in the first two decades of the twentieth century. As the Joseon dynasty changed its national name to the Korean Empire in 1897, the imperial government adopted modern constitutions for domestic reforms of social policy (e.g., the abolition of slavery), its military forces, commerce, and industry. However, the promotion of independence was inadequate. The Protectorate Treaty, signed with Japan, was promulgated in 1905. Korea's political decay continued as Emperor Gojong was forced to abdicate in 1907, despite the Uibyeong rebels (Righteous Army), which numbered 10,000 Korean troops, attempts to liberate Seoul. Korea's former Resident-General, Itō Hirobumi, was then assassinated by an independence activist, An Thomas Jung-geun (1879–1910) in 1909. There were secret movements to assist Gojong enter into exile between 1915 and 1918. The failed exile attempt may have led to the death of the Korean Emperor at only 66 years of age, with rumours of poisoning on 21 January 1919. The March First movement was a nationwide, non-violent, and pro-liberation rally, which was initiated by the indignation of approximately 2 million Koreans.

In the meantime, the new religion of Jeungsanism, or the so-called 'Jeungsan movements', was one of the most diverse NRMs in the history of Korea. Kang's immediate disciples disassembled with feelings of futility and frustration, but the individual movements were launched by the second-generation leaders and gained momentum in the 1920s. Among them, the native Bocheongyo and Mugeukdo were most representative in terms of their reputation and size (Jang 2013, 177–181).

Questions arise; for example, how, exactly, did they emerge? What were the secret elements of their success that one would find if one were to compare the two Jeungsan movements through the critical lens of leadership, historical origin, organisational structure, deities, teaching and doctrines, patriotism, and conflicts?

	Bocheongyo	**Mugeukdo**
Leadership	Cha Gyeong-seok	Jo Cheol-Je
Historical Origin	1911 (1922)	1919 (1924)
Organisational Structure	Bonso and 60-executives system	Bonsojojik and Jibangjojik
Deity	Okhwang Sangje (Great Jade Emperor)	Guchoen Eungwon Nwehseong Bohwa Cheonjon Kangseong Sangje (Great Creative Thunderbolt-Wielding God of the Ninth Heaven)
Teaching and Doctrines	Inui (仁義)	Jin-gyeong (Perfected State)
Patriotism	Indirectly (Finance; motives questioned)	Directly (pre-Mugeukdo)
Conflicts	Cha Gyeong-seok and Lee Sang-ho	Jo Yeongnae and Park Han-Gyeong

Table 1. A Socio-religious Comparison of Bocheongyo and Mugeukdo

Leadership

The leaders of Bocheongyo and Mugeukdo did not know each other as not all second generaton leaders were direct disciples of Kang Il-sun. Cha Gyeong-seok (=Cha Wolgok, 1880–1936), the founder of Bocheongyo, spent two years with his master Kang (1907–1909), while Jo Cheol-Je (1895–1958) of Mugeukdo had a spiritual encounter with Kang through a personal revelation in the vicinity of Daejeon train station. Ingyu Park, in A *Study on Religious Movements Following Jeungsan during the Japanese Colonial Era: Focused on Cha Wolgok's Bocheongyo and Jo Jeongsan's Mugeukdo* (Park I.G. 2019), explores the two native NRM leaders. Park divided the life of Cha into five eras: pre–1907 (young adult life, spent with Donghak during the peasant revolution), 1907–1909 (as Kang's disciple), 1909–1922 (as Bocheongyo's founder), 1922–1924 (a period of internal conflicts), and 1924–1936 (the colonial persecution and decline of

Bocheongyo). The author also approached Mugeukdo's leader, based on the Daesoon Jinrihoe's canonical source of *Progress of the Order* (*Gyoun*) *2*, *Jeon-gyeong*, despite having applied no comparative consideration.

Nevertheless, Cha and Jo were both born into families in which the father held strong leadership skills at either a regional or national level. The influence of their family philosophy was commonly demonstrated when they were ready to create new religious movements. In greater detail, Cha Gyeong-seok's father, Cha Chigu, was a 'Jeopju (接主)', a leader of 30 to 50 people during the Donghak peasant revolution (Ahn H.S. 2000, 58–69). The fifteen-year-old Gyeong-Seok witnessed first-hand the death of his father (1895) and then joined Yeonghakdang (英學黨), which was an extended group of the Donghak peasant revolution, in 1899. Cha supported Son Byong-hi, the third leader of Donghak, through his involvement in Iljinhoe (一進會); however, it eventually turned into a pro-Japan organization, causing him to withdraw. When Korea became a protectorate of Japan in 1905, Cha Gyeong-seok himself withdrew from the position as regional leader of the Jeonbuk group (Introvigne 2021, 5–13). When Cha was in political discord, he encountered Kang Il-sun and became his religious follower in 1907. Cha recommended Goh Pan-Lye, his older stepsister, to Kang. She thus became "Subu (首婦=Head Lady)," which was eventually interpreted as part of a Cheonjigongsa teaching (Virtuous Concordance of Yin and Yang: *Eumyang-hapdeok*). There were already many disciples who had been with Kang Jeungsan for many years. For example, Kim Hyeongnyeol met Kang during his Donghak campaign in 1894 and followed Kang Jeungsan as the senior disciple from 1902 onwards.[4] However, Cha Gyeong-seok was one of the key six disciples who conducted the funeral of his master, who passed away after fasting while consuming alcohol in the summer.

Jo Cheol-Je, Mugeukdo's founder, never encountered Kang Il-sun in person. The origin of Jo's leadership is related to the influence of his father and other family members. Jo Yong gyu, Cheol-Je's grandfather, was a government official at the Hongmungwan (弘文館), which managed the royal library, preserving the king's writings. The official function included responding to the king's personal requests as a classic institute for Confucian philosophy (Park I.G. 2019, 171–175). The family's public behaviour was transmitted to his father, Jo Yeong-mo and two other uncles. Additionally, Jo Cheol-Je went into exile with his father to Northeast China to participate in anti-Japanese campaigns in 1909, the year Kang Jeungsan died (Cui 2016, 215–253). The followers of Mugeukdo and Daesoon Jinrihoe were taught that the young teenage boy had a special religious encounter with an incarnate God, Kang Il-sun (=Kang Jeungsan) and received his honorific name, "Jeongsan" (鼎山). Jo assisted his father's independence campaign in Manchuria. While the leadership skills of Cha Gyeong-seok was developed in following Kang Il-sun, Jo of Mugeukdo opted for the long-term view by practicing meditation for nine years. The style he practiced was called, 'Sudo (修道),' and he did

this from the ages of 15 to 23 (1917) (Park I.G. 2019, 176–183). Jo then met Kang Il-sun's mother and younger sister (Yul, known as the Lady of Seondol) in 1919, a meeting which was seen as the fulfillment of Kang Il-sun's prophecy, namely, that the coming of the one will be Kang's successor. Jo was not one of Kang's direct disciples, but the emergence of Mugeukdo was innovative under Jo Jeongsan's charismatic leadership (Introvigne 2021, 5–13).

Historical Origin

The Korean new religions, Bocheongyo ("religion of the vault of heaven/firmament") and Mugeukdo ("the Dao of Boundlessness"), appeared in the 1910s. However, neither movement was officially announced until after a certain number of years. What is more, they also promoted different socio-religious values of Jeungsanism (Jeungsan movements). Bocheongyo was at one time quite popular, along with Cheondogyo, on the Korean Peninsula; nonetheless, their fate was doomed upon the death of their founders. Because Mugeukdo was established several years after Bocheongyo, members were subjected to less colonial surveillance. Jo Cheol-Je was able to survive, given that he was 15 years younger than Cha. Mugeukdo was forcefully dispersed but Jo reorganised it after national independence.

To discuss this in greater detail, the initial Bocheongyo movement was established by Cha Gyeong-seok (=Cha Wolgok, 1880–1936) with Goh Pan-Lye (Cha's cousin and Kang's Subu (1880–1935), on Ibam Mountain in Jeongeup, Jeollabuk-do, Korea around 1911. The group then went through various personal collisions between Cha Gyeong-seok and other disciples of Kang. The group was known either as Taeeulgyo (太乙敎) or as Humchigyo (吽哆敎) because they chanted the mystical sounds of *Hum-chi-hum-chi* (吽哆吽哆). As the movement spread nationally, they began sending leaders to regional communities in 1917. The colonial authority started to monitor the native religious group, which was not considered an officially recognised religion. They were also thought to be a critical underground group, one that financially supported the independence campaign of Korea (Park I.G. 2019, 78–82). A decree was ordered that the leader of Bocheongyo be arrested in 1918. Many executive supporters were investigated and even died, either in prison or after release because of the aftermath of being tortured. Bocheongyo was in too delicate a state to be involved in the March First movement, which happened after the suspicious death of Korea's Emperor Gojong in 1919. However, the grassroots movement was successful in terms of its number and influence, especially when they re-organised their internal leadership system (Ahn H.S. 2016, 431–476; Jeon K. 2019, 257–270; Park I.G. 2019, 84–87).

The native Korean religion experienced growth and development, despite colonial persecution, including arrests, fines, mistreatment, and imprisonment. The group,

which was financially strong, eventually decided to unveil their organisation to the Japanese authorities in order to avoid suspicion. Afterwards, the name 'Bocheongyo' was used from 1922 onwards. They tried to take over *Sidaeilbo* (時代日報), a national daily newspaper (Kim C.S. 2018, 93–125). Unfortunately, their failure resulted in not only a bad reputation, but also an internal division between Cha Gyeong-seok and Lee Sang-ho (1888–1967) in 1924. Cha was the leader of the Bocheon movement, comprised mainly of farmers, while Lee led the intellectual followers as the new faction.



Figure 1. 'Sibiljeon', Bocheongyo Headquarters, public domain

Together, they built the main temple, called *Sibiljeon* (十一殿), which was both attractive and popular in terms of its size and cost (Jang 2013, 177–181; Kim C.S. 2018, 93–125; Ahn H.S. 2001, 203–225). Nevertheless, a visit to the Japanese Emperor Taishō (1879–1926) in Japan and organising the community seminars of Sigukdaedongdan (時局大同團: a pro-Japanese campaign) resulted in national criticism from the Korean people. Additionally, Cha's death and the 'Decree Dissolving Pseudo–Religions' (類似宗教解散令) further caused Bocheongyo's decline in 1936.

What about Mugeukdo? To date, there is no strong argument pertaining to Mugeukdo's relationship with Bocheongyo, even though it is undeniable that Jo Cheol-Je would have known about Cha's initial Jeungsan movement. When Jo received a special revelation in Manchuria, in China, as the result of a nine year's meditation practice in 1917, he returned to Korea and received the hand written texts of Kang Jeungsan, including the incantations and Hyeonmu Scripture (玄武經) from his family (Kang's mother, Kown; his sister, Yul, known as the Lady of Seondol, and his daughter, Kang Sunim) (Park I.G. 2019, 174–178). A private outreach was launched, and the initial group grew to 20,000–30,000 members in the early 1920s, while Cha was one of the main political targets of the colonial authority. The Mugeukdo movement was officially established around 1924–1926. It was then suspected by the media to be a second Bocheongyo, or a relation of Bocheongyo. The pro-Japanese campaign of Bocheongyo's

Sigukdaedongdan (時局大同團) also negatively affected the reputation of Jo's Jeungsan group because of its similarity as they venerated the same deity. However, they grew continuously into the second biggest group after Bocheongyo. By 1928, their income (garnered by offerings and social work), according to Park, was more than that of Bocheongyo (Park I.G. 2019, 180–182).



Figure 2. Mugeukdo Headquarters © Daesoon Jinrihoe

There was a division in Bocheongyo, but Mugeukdo coped without any major separation. Korean media outlets, such as *The Chosun Ilbo* and *The Dong-A Ilbo* (*Daily News*), often announced the membership numbers (approx. 60,000–70,000), while an internal source claimed as many as 100,000 people in 1929 (Park I.G. 2019, 180–182). There was also a socio-religious phenomenon, that is a horizontal move towards Mugeukdo, by the followers of Bocheongyo who had been disappointed by Cha's pro-Japanese behaviour. The political work of Bocheongyo, such as establishing a national media outlet (*Sidaeilbo*) and promoting a specific colonial policy (時局大同團, Sigukdaedongdan), actually caused their collapse. On the other hand, Jo Cheol-Je (=Jo Jeongsan) launched vital social work, such as promoting follower's welfare by means of projects like an irrigation association, deforestation, the mining industry, and land development projects (Jang 2013, 197–199). Establishing Jineopdan (眞業團, reclamation projects) represented Mugeukdo's labour policy, which brought a positive perspective for developing Jo's movement in the 1930s (Ko B.C. 2020, 53–61). They insisted that the purpose of various projects related to the members' social sustainability through food, clothing, and education. These economic enterprises were not conducted in Seoul or in other major cities, yet still affected the sense of social exuberance regarding the Mugeukdo movement in Korea's central regions. Nonetheless, the reinforcement of Peace Preservation Law (治安維持法, 1941) contributed to Mugeukdo's having to close down because Japan, along with Germany and Italy, was already involved in World War II and there was a surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, USA, at that time.

Organisational Structure

Korean society became aware of the social impact of the Jeungsan grassroots movements. The salient question, however, is, how did they grow so rapidly? Both Bocheongyo and Mugeukdo really began to prosper when they systematically reformed their organisational structures. Notably, the details of their leadership reflect a principle of private relationships rather than a public system of open recruitment. The followers of Jo Jeongsan initially gathered at Anmyeon Island. As the group developed, Jo created two different leadership streams: Bonsojojik (本所組織, headquarters organisation) and Jibangjojik (地方組織, regional organisation) (Lee J.N. 2019). Bonsojojik operated by means of two different executive leaders. Juseonwon (周旋員) was the movement's main executive manager, while Juseonwonbo (周旋元補) provided executive assistance. As they also had three sub-managers, the role Challi (察理) held was that of being responsible for the administration. Sundong (巡動) visited and supervised regional groups. Jongni (從理) was also an executive board member but was sent to a regional origanisation (Jibangjojik) to cooperate with the local leader, Yeollak (連絡) to oversee management:

> "Afterward, Doju made two positions: the Juseonwon (周旋元, Chief Secretary) and the Juseonwonbo (周旋元補, Assistant Secretary). He then had them assume the responsibility for transmitting a decree" (*Progress of the Order* 2: 26).

According to the official account of Mugeukdaedogyo gaehwang (無極大道教概況, *The General Conditions of the Religion Mugeuk-do*), written in 1925, Jibangjojik (地方組織, regional headquarters) was managed by the Yeollak (連絡) (Park S.K. 2022, 27–40). As already mentioned, Jongni (從理) was dispatched from the main headquarters (本所組織, Bonsojojik) to support the regional leader. Chayeollak (次聯絡) assisted Yeollak (連絡) in overseeing the regional organisation (between 2 to 250 people). As sub-leaders, they appointed Bubun (府分), who looked after 120 people. At the lowest leadership level, Podeok (布德) was in charge of religious outreach (Lee J.N. 2019). Thus, Jo Jeongsan led the Mugeukdo movement through the interrelated harmony of Bonsojojik (本所組織, main headquarters) with Jibangjojik (地方組織, regional headquarters). The Bonsojojik sub-leaders, Sundong (巡動) and Jongni (從理), had a good connection based on strong communication with Yeollak (連絡) who was in charge of Jibangjojik (地方組織, regional headquarters) (Park S.K. 2022, 41–61; Lee J.N. 2019).

Somewhat earlier than Mugeukdo, Bocheongyo formed their leadership structure in 1916. Cha Gyeong-seok (=Cha Wolgok) uniquely adopted the astronomical principle of feng shui, wherein the airt system corresponds to the space-time dimension of the

cosmic order. The 24-executive system was created based on the 24 solar terms of the traditional East Asian lunisolar calendar.[5] Cha appointed 24 leaders and sent them throughout the nation to conduct private outreach.[6] For the effective operation of the organisation, especially under colonial observation, the 24-executives system (24 方主制) was reformed into the 60-executives system (60 方主制) (Kim C.S. 2021, 333–372). The grassroots evangelism of each disciple was effective, but it was also limited because it lacked official permission from the government. Cha's organisation was formed based on the principles of Yeonwonje (淵源制) and Yeonbije (聯臂制). As for the Yeonwonje system, as indicated by Park Sangkyu, it was about the personal and permanent relationship between the transmitter and recipient of the teaching or between a master and a disciple. It was a common religious phenomenon among the Korean native NRMs, such as Cheondoism, Bocheonism, and Mugeukdo (Park S.G. 2022; Kwon 2021, 50–57). On the other hand, the Yeonbije system of Bocheongyo was a distinctive fellowship of colleagues who had the same master or senior leader. This sacred friendship of colleagues encouraged and supported each individual, and created community.

While Cha himself was titled as 'Tobang' (土方), the Jungang Bonso (Central Headquarters) had two divisions. First, the Chongjeongwon (總正院) supported the four senior leaders, called Sajeongbangwi (四正方位), who supervised 60 Bangs (15 Bangs for each senior leader). Second, Chongnyeongwon (總領院) was the religion's head administration office, which cooperated with regional administration offices (Jang 2013, 165–173). Each 'Bang' (方, leader) of the executives' system had their sub-representatives as Gyojeong (教正), Gyoryeong (教領), Poju (胞主), and Unju (運主). The organisational structure was progressively developed in 1920 (Kim C.S. 2021, 343–358). This organisational structure was predicted locally to have 557,760 leaders with approximately 6 million followers, even though the Japanese colonial authorities had presumed a different number (35,895 in 1928) (Jang 2013, 10–17). The organisation's size exceeded Mugeukdo's, but there were tensions among the sub-leaders, replete with misunderstanding and miscommunication. Therefore, a new system of Seonhwasa (宣化師) was introduced for those who had contributed excellently to the religious movement was devised. The total number of the Seonhwasa group was about 260,000 people.[7]

Deity

The post-Jeungsan grassroots movements revered Kang as the deity; but how was their interpretation of the God-Man distinctive in the context of East Asian traditional religions? The researcher, Jin Jung-Ae, argued that followers respected Kang Jeungsan as Daeseonsaeng (the grand master) until 1919. The appellation was then changed to Cheonsa (天師, Celestial Master). However, due to the personal religious experience of Cha Gyeong-seok (=Cha Wolgok), he officially led Bocheongyo to claim Kang

as Okhwang Sangje (玉皇上帝, The Great Jade Emperor), based on the asserted narratives of Kang's reconstruction work: "I am Okhwang Sangje" (Jin J.A. 2011, 167–171). The figure of Okhwang Sangje used to be preserved as the supreme deity in both China and Korea, exercising authority over longevity and human problems.



Figure 3. A Painting of Samgwangyeong (The Three Sacred Lights: Sun, Moon, And Stars), public domain

Bocheongyo taught the fundamental formation of the universe through the concept of Samgwangyeong (三光影, the three sacred lights), which is comprised of Ilgwangyeong (日光影, sun), Wolgwangyeong (月光影, moon), and Seonggwangyeong (星光影, stars) (Jin J.A. 2011, 172–181). For the followers, Ilgwangyeong (日光影, sun) is the Ninth Heaven. Wolgwangyeong indicates their deity, Okhwang Sangje Kang, while the left side's Seonggwangyeong is the constellation of the Big Dipper or the Plough. Here, Okhwang Sangje is interpreted as the supreme God of the universe, who was once incarnated into a human being to reorder the earthly domain. Due to the organisation's internal management, Cha altered the divine structure in line with the Confucian duality of yin and yang, namely that the universe is comprised of heaven and God (Jin J.A. 2011, 182–197). Heaven is regarded as a form of universe, while Sangje is the supreme superintendent being.

In contrast to Bocheongyo, the interpretation of Kang Jeungsan in Mugeukdo was effectively transmitted in the teaching of Daesoon Jinrihoe, for whom Jo Cheol-Je (= Jo Jeongsan) was the second successor. The object of the Mugeukdo movement was enshrined as 'Guchoen Eungwon Nwehseong Bohwa Cheonjon Kangseong Sangje' (the Supreme God of the Ninth Heaven, Celestial Worthy of Universal Creation through His Thunderbolt and the Originator with Whom All Beings Resonate, 九天應元雷聲普化

天尊姜聖上帝). Like Bocheongyo, their deity was depicted as an absolute God, who himself had descended into the material realm as a human being, not as an immaterial entity. One reason for this was that the human domain is interconnected with the spirit world by means of either good or bad circumstances.

In the true meaning connoted by the whole name, the concept of Gucheon (九天, Ninth Heaven) is the highest heaven, and it is where their God orchestrates human affairs with all the other deities (Kim D.W. 2021, 169–182). Eungwon (應元, Response to the Supreme Being) denotes the relationship between Gucheon Sangje and all the other creatures of the universe, for no creature cannot exist independently. Here, Ko Nam-sik argued that Guchen Sangje's character indicates Mugeukdo within the teaching of Daoism, especially if one sees the terms of 'Jisang Sinseon (Earthly Immortality)' and 'Jisang Cheonkug (Earthly Paradise)' (Ko N.S. 2004, 1–33). Nwehseong (雷聲, Lightning and Thunderbolt) implies the all-mighty power of harmony that Kang possesses. Bohwa (普化, Vast Becoming) relates to the fact that the universe is comprised of both intangible and tangible things, based on the influence of the Heavenly One (天尊). The concept of Cheonjon (天尊, Majesty of Heaven) is that their god is the holiest and greatest deity throughout the three realms of heaven, the earth, and all the people. Furthermore, all the deities respect Cheonjon's authority. Kangseong Sangje (姜聖上帝, the Supreme Being Kang) is the honoured name of the omniscient and omnipotent supreme being. Thus, Kang is imagined as normally dwelling in the heavenly realm, but in special cases, he can make himself visible in time and space. The characteristics of Kang Jeungsan, for Mugeukdo, is more specific than for Bocheongyo. This, in a way, reflects the social perspective that, while Cha focused on the practical dimension of growth, the later founder, Jo, was more interested in establishing a theological foundation for the movement.

Teaching and Doctrines

How, then, do they promote their foundational teachings differently? Kang Jeungsan's mystical activities and statements, made during 1901–1909, were interpreted as meaningful heavenly works among the first followers. The so-called 'Cheonjigongsa' (天地公事, the Reordering Works of Heaven and Earth) became the sacred narratives for the doctrinal formation of both colonial Jeungsan movements. Among them, Cha Gyeong-seok created his unique doctrines in a human-centered, Confucian concept of Inui (仁義, benevolence and righteousness). The major teachings instructed that humans to build a righteous world through moral behaviours, such as loving and respecting others. The Bocheon group taught that the social implementation of Inui (仁義) was both the beginning and the end of humanity's ethical standard, as the Hucheon era (後天, Post-World) of 50,000 years will come.

To this end, he had four practical creeds in order to prepare the ideal world of Daedongsegye (大同世界), which is a fair world where everybody is treated equally without socio-political differences (Kim D.W. 2021a, 207). Gyeongcheon (敬天) philosophy contains the teaching of respecting heaven, which is seen as the parent and humans as the children. These creeds encourage followers to keep the attitude of Myeongdeok (明德, the pure nature in the human heart), which can correct individuals towards having right behaviours before heaven and earth (Lim B.H. 2016, 59–84). Jeongnyun (正倫) connotes the meaning of rectification for the principles of the five moral disciplines in human relationships, such as the affection or relationship between a father and son (父子有親), between a sovereign and subject (君臣有義), between a husband and wife (夫婦有別), between adults and children (長幼有序), and among friends (朋友有信). The Aein (愛人) creed reminds adherents of the importance of other people, that just as one loves oneself he or she should love others as part of world peace (Lim B.H. 2016, 59–67). Bocheongyo, one of the initial Jeungsan movements, applied traditional Confucian teachings in the context of coexistence and equality, which attracted many locals. For such teachings, they (i.e., both the old and new sects) had a few sacred canons, including Jeungsan Cheonsa Gongsagi (甑山天師公事記, 1924, Records of the Holy Works of Celestial Master Jeungsan), Daesoon Jeongyeong (大巡典經 1929, The Canonical Scripture of the Great Itineration), Gyojoyaksa (敎祖略史, 1935, A Brief History of the Patriarchs), Isajeonseo (二師全書, 1946, The Complete Book of the Two Masters), and Dadaozhinan (大道指南, 1952, [Narrative Life of Cha Wolgok]) (Lim B.H. 2016, 68–84).

On the other hand, Mugeukdo, a later Jeungsan grassroots movement, was established with more creative and systematic doctrines. The main teaching of Jo Cheol-Je, an educated intellectual, was that the devotee of the movement through guided training courses could experience the Jin-gyeong world (Earthly Paradise) on earth before their death (Kim D.W. 2021b, 127–151). For that, the founder set tenets (宗旨) in the movement's four ideological mottos: 'Virtuous Concordance of Yin and Yang' (陰陽合德, harmony between male and female), 'Harmonious Union between Divine Beings and Human Beings' (神人造化), 'Resolution of Grievance for Mutual Beneficence' (解寃相生, generous behaviour towards others) and 'Perfected Unification with Dao' (道通眞境, self-cultivation training). Daesoon Jinrihoe carries on the legacy of Jo Cheol-Je's teaching in that Sagangnyeong (四綱領, Four Cardinal Mottos) is the method of self-discipline. They believe that followers should practice Anshim (安心, Quieting the Mind) to restore one's innate conscience. Anshin (安身, Quieting the Body) is to conduct the body in accordance with righteousness and propriety. The teaching of Gyeongcheon (敬天, Reverence for Heaven) is the same as Bocheongyo's. When the above behaviours were internally established, Sudo (修道, Spiritual Cultivation) was performed in giving "their respect towards their god Sangje

Kang without losing reverence and sincerity. They recite[d] spells with all their heart to achieve the goal of integration with the deities" (Kim D.W. 2021a, 222).

Additionally, Jo taught the importance of Samyoche (三要諦, the Three Essential Attitudes) to progress in the stages of spiritual cultivation (修養, Suyang). Seong (誠, Sincerity) is understood as the attitude of being in either a state of honesty towards him- or her-self or acting appropriately, without any concern for personal benefit. Gyeong (敬, Respectfulness) is the second attitude, which denotes a state of quiet mindfulness or an attitude of respect. It could be applied either to people or to their God, Kang, in worship. Shin (信, Faithfulness) is the third attitude, and it refers to a state of trustworthiness, of being faithful to what one is supposed to do; or, it can also be seen as trusting in some external person or practice (Kim D.W. 2021a, 222–225). The purpose of Jo Cheol-Je's teachings is most fully demonstrated in the notion that such mental trainings would lead to the condition of Mujagi (無自欺, guarding against self-deception), in which the human spirit is transformed. Additionally, consciousness, the essence of the human mind, would be pure without greed. Jisang Sinseon Silhyeon (地上神仙實現) means that human beings can then be renewed to become earthly-immortals, keeping harmonious relations with others and interacting with divine beings. Ultimately, the world would transform into an earthly paradise (Jisang Cheonguk Geonseol, 地上天國建設), a world in which everyone would live by the principle of mutual beneficence (Kim D.W. 2021a, 226–228). Even under colonial persecution, Mugeukdo completed the doctrinal system with practical details of self-cultivation. In fact, it may even be one of the secret elements by which the followers were empowered to sustain the movement without any major divisions. In particular, the Samyoche of Seong, Gyeong and Shin would be key to trusting each other. Meanwhile, Jo Cheol-Je did not launch any specific canonical project, except ensured that the Hyeonmu-gyeong (玄武經, The Scripture of the Black Tortoise), spells, and talismans would be indirectly handed down by Kang's family.

Patriotism

Under colonial rule, both Jeungsan movements were involved in the anti-Japanese campaign for independence. While Jo Jeongsan of Mugeukdo himself participated in the national independence movement, Cha Wolgok was more indirect, through financially supporting military protesters and the provisional government. Cha played a somewhat passive role in the anti-Japanese movement. His actions included preventing participation in the March 1st Movement and the anti-Japanese movement. It seems he followed the optimistic doctrine of Jeungsan that Japan would stay only temproarily and then retreat. (Jang 2013, 20) Nevertheless, many believe that his many anti-Japanese activities that appeared in newspaper articles and interrogations were fabricated to rally

the people. This caused some to question the purity of his anti-Japanese actions. (Ahn H.S.2016, 470-471)

When Bocheongyo's size became a concern to the colonial government, they began to communicate secretly with the overseas independent organisations (Ahn H.S. 2012, 147–181). For this, they used their cash and rice offerings. As a result, the Korean military agency of North Manchuria (Northeast China), Sinminbu (新民府), which was led by General Kim Chwa-jin, created a special operation unit. Jeonguibu (正義府), the temporary military Korean government, was another recipient of Bocheongyo's support for their anti-colonial campaign in the South Manchuria religion (Ahn H.S. 2016, 431–476). Additionally, they sent a substantial independent fund (approximately 60 thousand) to the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea (大韓民國臨時政府) in Shanghai, China. When the Korean Provisional Government organised the Diplomatic Supporters' Association for Pacific Conference (對太平洋會 議外交後援會), Cha dispatched two representatives to a domestic independence preparation committee accordingly (Park S.S. 2018, 175–196).

As a cultural movement, they interested in helping institutions of higher education, including 'the Minrip University'and sending students to Japan to receive a modern education. Bocheongyo also organised classes that taught new knowledge and traditional Chinese classics for young men's associations and girls' night schools and libraries (Kim J.Y. 2016, 279–236). By providing a kindergarten, women were given the opportunity to be recruited into the organisation. For instance, there was the Joseon Mulsan Jangnyeo Undong (朝鮮物産奬勵運動, 1920s–1930s), a Korean national campaign to promote using domestic products rather than Japanese or other foreign goods (Kim M.Y. 2019, 5–41). Jae Young Kim maintained that Bocheongyo, in terms of gender equality, supported the social status discrimination campaign of Hyeongpyeongsa (衡平社, a grasssroots networking group for the social improvement of the vulgar commoners (Cheonmin, 賤民)) (Kim J.Y. 2009, 267–288). The publication of *Bo Kwang* (普光, a cultural magazine) and the establishment of the Bo Kwang Press, were part of the social enlightenment campaigns for the suppressed peoples of colonial Korea. The native religious organisation also published *Saneopgye* (産業界, a regular industrial magazine). Furthermore, Bocheongyo's four leaders, including Im Gyeongho, participated in the organisation's board, and three (Bae Honggil, Kim Jongcheol, and Kang Il) attended the 1923 council of the Korean representatives (國民代表會議) in Shanghai, China. Unfortunately, there was an incident in which the plan to deliver independent funding confidentially, without it being discovered by the colonial authority (Kim M.Y. 2019, 5–41), failed. However, Cha's efforts regarding the independence campaign have been criticised because he, as noted earlier, operated the citizen seminar series of Sigukdaedongdan (時局大同團: a pro-Japanese campaign). Such socio-neutral characteristics of Cha Gyeong-seok are not irrelevant to the personal

ambition of becoming the new king of Korea, otherwise called Cha Cheonja (車天子, Cha the son of heaven). In alignment with the rumour, he held a worship service for the heavenly god (告天祭) (Ahn H.S. 2012, 147–181; Ahn H.S, 2016, 431–476).

Unlike Cha, Jo himself had a strong patriotic spirit, which he inherited from his grandfather and father. His grandfather, a public servant of the Joseon Dynasty, committed suicide because of the 1905 Japan–Korea annexation treaty. His father participated in anti-Japanese campaigns in Northeast China. The independent activities of Jo Jeongsan as a young man were comprised of assisting his father and relatives (Cui, 2016, 215–232). Jo, according to *Cao Đài and Gucheon Sangje: New Ethnical Grassroots Religions in Colonial Vietnam and Korea*, personally involved in four major events of the anti-Japan campaign (Kim D.W. 2021c, 83–85). The first was the legal matter of a land controversy between the Korean diaspora and the local Chinese people (1910). He defended the legal rights of the Korean diaspora against the misunderstanding and misconduct of the local landowners. When his father's colleagues were accused, Jo appealed their case before the President of the Republic of China in Peking (北京, 1912) (Kim D.W. 2021c, 83–85). Another important event was when the Japanese authorities accused his uncle (Seo Sangong), his father and Jo Jeongsan struck a compromise with the colonial authorities to secure a positive outcome (1915). The future leader of Mugeukdo also played a part as a secret deliverer of military funding to Shanghai, at a time when independent movement leaders were struggling with a lack of funds (1916) (Kim D.W. 2021c, 83–85).

Although there is lack of evidence regarding the Mugeukdo group's patriotism, various official documents (pertaining to security law and punishments implemented on key followers) do substantiate the devastating setbacks faced by the independent movement results. For example, Jo Jeongsan was charged for violating the colonial security law in 1923 (Ko B.C, 2020, 39–71). The headquarters of the Mugeukdo group was forcefully investigated by police in 1925; it had fallen under suspicion for having helped Jo's uncle. Some of the most prominent followers were sentenced to eight months of imprisonment and were arrested for having transgressed the security law in the late-1920 and early-1930s (Ko B.C. 2020, 52–53). Another example was that about 350 Mugeuk believers were escorted to the police station on Jeju Island in 1937 (Kwon 2021, 41–78). They had denied that the Japanese Emperor had legal power on the Korean Peninsula; they also refused to be conscripted to fight for for Japan.[8] In summation, this section reflects the different patriotic figures between the two Jeungsan movements. For Bocheongyo's leader, the patriotic spirit was a political tool, used to promote Cha himself as the son of heaven. As for Jo and his supporters, they consistently carried on the family legacy of anti-colonial behaviour (Ko B.C 2020, 39–71).

Conflicts

At this juncture, it would be profitable to ask: Were there any internal conflicts in either of the two Jeungsan movements? What were the problems, and what were the results? The leaders of Bocheongyo and Mugeukdo had a spiritually charismatic character, one that was effective in leading the people of each group. However, neither could ensure the smooth transition of leadership to the next generation, as they encountered various disputes. The sub-leadership challenged either the founder or the new second leader. In the case of Bocheongyo, when Cha launched a pro-Japan policy, there were leaders who opposed him. Among them, Lee Sang-ho, who was an intellectual, was the second person in charge (總領院長) after Cha (Park I.G. 2019). Lee managed the secular newspapers (時代日報社) on behalf of Bochengyo in Seoul. However, his mismanagement of the newspapers created a negative impact on the religious group, after which he was expelled by Cha. Lee Sang-ho, along with 15 other leaders, then attempted to launch a 'Bocheongyo innovation campaign' between 1924 and 1928 (Park I.G. 2019, 100–104). They criticised the traditional policy of the Bocheongyo headquarters on the grounds of hereditary customs and superstitions; instead, they suggested that they should modernize to be relevant to contemporary society. Lee Sang-ho and his supporters, in particular, disagreed with the idea of using the Confucian teaching of the Five Elements (陰陽五行), telling the secret methods of becoming deities (祕訣), and Burok (符錄, incantations) as the practical methods of outreach (Park I.G. 2019, 105–108).

Some other issues included the closed operation pattern, the 60-exclusive organisational structure, the lack of promotion of the philosophy of one heart (一心), mutual beneficence (相生), healing (去病), Haewon (解冤, the resolution of grievance), and compelling people to give extra offerings (Lee K.Y. 2012, 149–181). The relationship between Cha of the Bocheongyo headquarters and Lee Sang-ho of the Seoul supporters even devolved into a psychic collision, which was an external cause of the beginning of its historical decline. Cha's death, under the suspicion of colonial assassination, was another difficult moment in 1936. Here, there was another separation at the Bocheongyo headquarters. The internal conflict between the old sect and the new sects became externalised until 1940 and then they eventually divided. The old sect continued to worship Kang Jeungsan, while Cha Wolgok was idolised by the new group that had been formed by Cha's son. Meanwhile, when Korea won its independence (1945), Lee Sang-ho started a new Jeungsan group, that would eventually be called, Jeungsangyo (甑山敎) – which is often confused with the same term that indicates all the sects following Kang Jeungsan. Cha Wolgok was traditional and conservative in Jeongeup (located in the middle of Korea), while Lee Sang-ho was scrupulous and innovative, especially within the spirit of modernity in Seoul, the capital of the Joseon Dynasty.



Figure 4. Jo's Taegeukdo headquarters in Busan © Taegeukdo

Although Cha personally experienced a leadership challenge, Jo did not struggle with any objections. Instead, the name of Mugeukdo was changed to Taegeukdo (太極道) and they relocated from Jeongeup to Busan (the nation's second biggest city) after Korean independence in 1948. The founder systematically set up programmes to cultivate the mind, such as through meditation, for followers in 1957. The public cultivation programmes, for the members of the movement (修班, suban), were divided into the Sihak Gongbu (侍學工夫) and the Sibeop Gongbu (時法工夫), which are two different ways to chant the incantations (Kim D.W. 2021a, 245–247). The internal disagreement occurred when Jo Jeongsan passed away, but not between founder and the later leader, but between the one whom the founder appointed as Taegeukdo's successor and other senior followers of the founder. Before his death, Jo announced that Park Han-Gyeong (朴漢慶, 1917–1996) would be his successor, but the opposite group (Jo Jeongsan's elderly disciples) supported Jo's son; notably, this was the same case as with Bocheongyo. The problem was the method of transiting leadership, either as a family inheritance or as a spiritual inheritance. In 1947, Park Han-Gyeong became one of Jo's followers when he was 31 years, and was a member for ten years before he was appointed leader. The group supporting Jo Yeongnae (Jo's son) was of the older sect, while Park Han-Gyeong (=Park Wudang: 1917–1996) and his followers were seen as the new sect of the late 1950s and the 1960s. The controversy ended when Park relocated and established a new Jeungsan movement, called 'Daesoon Jinrihoe' in Seoul in 1969.

Taegeukdo maintained the traditional teachings of Jo's Mugeukdo in Busan. Meanwhile, the adventurous leadership of Park Wudang can be demonstrated by the development and prosperity of Daesoon Jinrihoe in the 1970s and the 1980s (Kim D.W.

2021a, 239–242). They systematically promoted three basic works, those of propagation (布德), edification (敎化), and cultivation (修道). Their Educational Foundation built an institution of higher education and six high schools in South Korea. The Daesoon charity aid additionally supported the victims of natural disasters and helped people in need. DIVA (Daejin International Volunteers Association) was an example of providing overseas aid. What is more, the spirit of social welfare was applied to three areas of the public sphere: community, medicine, and welfare (Cha 2018). Thus, the era of Park Wudang could be compared to the colonial growth of Mugeukdo in the 1920s. The relocation of their headquarters from Seoul to Yeoju was another achievement of Park's charismatic leadership. Unfortunately, they experienced internal strife when Park died in 1996, but Park's social achievements were nonetheless seen as fulfilling the foundational teachings of his master Jo Jeongsan, including the ideologies of Injon (人尊, where human beings become the central figures of Hucheon [the Post-World] and of Jisangcheonguk (地上天國, earthly paradise).



Figure 5 and 6. Regular Chiseong (devout prayer) queues © Daesoon Jinrihoe

Conclusion

Colonial Korea in the early twentieth century was in a state of massive socio-political transformation. The emergence of native NRMs was challenged by the religious persecution of the Shinto preferential policy. Most of the NRMs retained their anti-Japanese attitudes, which in turn attracted many locals who had lost hope in the traditional beliefs of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Daoism, and in the folk religions. Yet, the size of most NRMs was not sufficient throughout the nation, except for a few who offered strong leadership. Among them, this article has analysed the post-Jeungsan movements of Bocheongyo and Mugeukdo, both based in Jeongup (in the middle of Korea) (Kim J.Y. 2022, 70–83). They originated from the same teachings of Kang Jeungsan. Their rapid growth, politically and religiously, threated the colonial authorities under suspicion of helping independent protesters.

However, the argument that they operated their own Jeungsan groups individually is proved to be valid in the unique perspective that Cha Gyeong-seok was one of Kang Jeungsan's senior disciples. Although Jo Jeongsan had never seen his deity first-hand, he nonetheless received a special prophecy and revelation for establishing of Mugeukdo. In terms of popularity and membership, the Bocheongyo movement reached 6 million members with a substantial number of people in sub-leadership roles (550,000). However, Cha's leadership was challenged by the involvement of pro-Japan campaigns, while Mugeukdo's economic independence consistently supported Jo's anti-colonial will. The interpretation of their god, Kang Jeungsan, was also distinctive to each of the different groups. For Cha, Kang was depicted as Jade Emperor in a Confucian, Chinese manner. Jo taught that his deity was the "Great Creative God and Lord of the Ninth Heaven," which has an earlier precedent in the Chinese Daoist scripture known as the Scripture of the Jade Pivot (玉樞寶經). Jo's version of this deity's title only slightly augments the earlier Daoist usage. Nevertheless, the human-centred concept of Inui (仁義), which teaches that one can help create a righteous world by one's moral behaviour of loving and respecting others, was the Bocheongyo movement's core teaching. This was, indeed, quite similar to Jo's earthly paradise doctrine. The potentiality of humanity has been generally promoted in both post-Jeungsan grassroots movements.

Another commonality had been demonstrated in their spirit of patriotism, even though each group's motivations differed. The indirect support of the independent protesters was a political investment in Cha for becoming the new, ideal king of Korea. This could be reflected in his behaviour, namely that of his friendly relationship with the colonial authorities. Mugeukdo did not fall under such a suspicion from secular Koreans. Like the rest of the religions in colonial Korea, the era of the late-1930s and the 1940s was a moment in time in which both the Jeungsan grassroots movements had declined and were dismissed by the colonial authorities. At that time, Bocheongyo's

internal conflict occurred between the founder and the movement's second-in-command, Lee Sang-ho. In contrast, Jo Jeongsan did not have any divisions occurring during his leadership. The antagonism arose when Jo passed away, and was between Jo's son (Jo Yeongnae) and Jo's official successor (Park Han-Gyeong). This phenomenon is reminiscent of the internal division among Kang's disciples when the master died. Many of them argued over the authentic legacy that Kang Jeungsan had given to them, disavowing others' authenticity and religiosity. Thus, this article proves the key insight it had sought to offer; that the charismatic leadership styles of Jo Cheol-Je and Cha Gyeong-seok provided hope for colonised Korea, but the transition of sacred leadership onto the next generation was neither inspirational nor exemplary, as they struggled between the methods of family and spiritual inheritance.

Conflict of Interest

David Kim has been on the Editorial Board of *JDTREA* since July 2021 but had no role in the decision to publish this article. No potential conflict of interest relevant to this article was reported.

Notes

[1] The revised Romanisation of the Korean language has been applied in this article unless otherwise indicated. Korean names have been written in the order of surname followed by given name, as is customary among Koreans.

[2] In this article, the figure best known as Kang Jeungsan, his honorific name, will be refered to as Kang Il-sun, his common name. This will also be done for Jo Jeongsan who will be refered to as Jo Cheol-Je, Cha Wolgok who will refered to as Cha Gyeong-seok, and Park Wudang who will be refered to as Park Han-Gyeong.

[3] The Japanese new religion, which was the only one that stood againt Japan's war in East and Southeast Asia. As such, Oomoto encountered two political incidents. The behaviour of insufficent imperial loyalty and the violation of the Newspaper Law caused the first incident where Onisaburo Deguchi and his followers were arrested in 1921. The death of the Emperor Taisho positively affected amnesty for the leadership. The second Oomoto incident likewise occurred as the Japanese military government confiscated and destroyed their property including Oomoto's spiritual centers in 1935. The relio-political persecution caused the membership to shrink by 3,000 followers. 16 of them endured torture and other forms of suffering. The defendants were ultimately found not guilty of violating the ACT regarding the Maintenance of Public Order. This and other local precedents carried out by the Japanese government would afftect the pseudo religion policy of colonial Korea during nearly that same time period.

[4] His daughter was also appointed as a "Subu" by Kang.

[5] The rough dates (± 1 day) for the Solar Terms via the Gregorian Calendar are as follows: Sohan (January 6), Daehan (January 20), Ipchun (February 4), Woosoo (February 19), Gyeongchip (March 6), Chunbun (March 21), Cheongmyeong (April 5), Gokwu (April 20), Ip-ha (May 6), Soman (May 21), Mangjong (June 6), Haji (June 21), Soseo (July 7), Daeseo (July 23), Ipchu (August 8), Cheoseo (August 23), Baekro (September 8), Chubun (September 23), Hanro (October 8), Sanggang (October 23), Ipdong (November 7), Soseol (November 22), Daeseol (December 7), and Dongji (December 22).

[6] Each of them had positions named after the Solar Terms: Sohan (小寒), Daehan (大寒), Ipchun (立春), Wusu (雨水), Gyeongchip (驚蟄), Chunbun (春分), Cheongngmyeong (清明), Gokwu (穀雨), Ipha (立夏), Soman (小滿), Mangjong (芒種), Haji (夏至), Soseo (小暑), Daeseo (大暑), Ipchu (立秋), Cheoseo (處暑), Baekro (白露), Chubun (秋分), Hanro (寒露), Sanggang (霜降), Ipdong (立冬), Soseol (小雪), Daeseol (大雪), and Dongji (冬至).

[7] Unfortunately, Bocheongyo underwent an alternation of its leadership system many times afterward because of both colonial persecution and internal decomposition.

References

An, Hu Sang 2000 "Consideration About the Birth of Cha Gyeongseok." *Journal of the Korean Academy of New Religions* 2: 58-69. [Korean Language Text] 안후상, 「보천교 ; 차월곡(車月谷) 출생에 관한 소고」, 『신종교연구』. 2

2001 "Bocheongyo's Sibiljeon and Jogyesa's Daeungjeon. " *Journal of the Korean Academy of New Religions* 4: 203-225. [Korean Language Text] 안후상, 「보천교 십일전과 조계사 대웅전」, 『신종교연구』 4.

2012 "The Opening of Poch'on'Gyo During the Colonial Period and the Opening Background." *Journal of the Korean Academy of New Religions* 26: 145-181. [Korean Language Text] 안후상, 「식민지시기 보천교의 공개와 공개 배경」, 『신종교연구』 26. https://doi.org/10.22245/jkanr.2012.26.26.145

2016 "The Independence Movement of Bochongyo During the Japanese Colonial Period." *Won-Buddhist Thought & Religious Culture* 70: 431-476. [Korean Language Text] 안후상, 「일제강점기 보천교의 독립운동」, 『원불교 사상과 종교문화』. 70
http://www.riss.kr/link?id=A102652621

Cha, Seon-keun 2018 "The Transformation Process of Daesoon Jinrihoe and Its Relationship with Mugeukdo." *Daesoon Bulletin* 94, accessed on 1 April 2023. [Korean Language Text] 차선근, 「종단 대순진리회의 변천 과정과 무극 태극의 관계」, 『대순회보』 94.
https://webzine.daesoon.org/board/index.asp?webzine=125&menu_no=1960&bno=3372&page=1.

Cui, Feng Long 2016 "A Reconsideration on the Records on Doju Cho Jeongsan and His Family in Manchuria, China." *Journal of the Daesoon Academy of Sciences* 26: 215-253. [Korean Language Text] 최봉룡, 「조정산 도주 일가의 만주행록에 관한 재고찰」, 『대순사상논총』 26.
https://doi.org/10.25050/jdaos.2016.26.0.215

Hwang, Seongjo 2019 "Founding Source of Independence Movement 'Bocheongyo' Kim Gu 'I Am Debited to Jeongup'." Jeolla Daily News 24 October 2019, accessed on 1 April 2023. [Korean Language Text] 황성조, "독립운동자금 산실 '보천교'… 김구 '정읍에 빚진 게 많다' " 전라일보. http://www.jeollailbo.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=582194.

Introvigne, Massimo 2021 "The Flourishing of New Religions In korea." *Nova Religio* 25(1): 5-13. https://doi.org/10.1525/nr.2021.25.1.5

Jang, Wona 2013 "Activities of Bocheongyo in 1920s and Response of Korean Society." Master Thesis, Seoul: Seoul National University. [Korean Language Text] 장원아, 「1920년대 普天敎의 활동과 조선사회의 대응」, 서울대학교 대학원 석사학위논문.

Jeon, Kwangsu 2019 "A Role of National Religion and Independence Movement of Bocheongyo During the Japanese Colonial Era." *Korean Journal of Religious Education* 60: 257-270. [Korean Language Text] 전광수, 「일제강점기 민족종교의 역할과 보천교의 독립운동」, 『종교교육학연구』 60.

Jin, Jung-Ae. 2011 "A Review on the Object of Belief of Bocheon-Gyo and Mugeuk-Do." *Journal of the Korean Academy of New Religions* 25 [Korean Language Text] 진정애, 「보천교와 무극도의 신앙대상에 대한 고찰」, 『신종교연구』 25. https://doi.org/10.22245/jkanr.2011.25.25.167

Kim, Chul-Soo 2016 "The Japanese Colonial Power and the Destiny of Bocheongyo in the Japanese Colonial Period." *Sundo Culture* 20: 371–403. [Korean Language Text] 김철수, 「일제하 식민권력의 종교정책과 普天敎의 운명」, 『仙道 文化』 20. http://dx.doi.org/10.35573/JKSC.20.10

2018 "A Study on the Way and Way out of Bocheongyou in the 1920s – Centered on Official Document of Japanese Colonial Power." *Journal of the Korean Academy of New Religions* 38: 93-125. [Korean Language Text] 김철수, 「1920년대 보천교의 고민과 활로모색 - 식민권력의 보고서를 중심으로」, 『신종교연구』 38. https://doi.org/10.22245/jkanr.2018.38.38.93

2021 "A Study on the Organizational Formation of Korea-Occurred Religion and Modernity During the Period of Japanese Colonial Rule in Korea - Centered on Bocheonkyou." *Sundo Culture* 30: 333-372. [Korean Language Text] 김철수, 「일제시대 민족 종교의 조직구성과 근대성 - 보천교를 중심 으로」, 『仙道文化』 30. https://doi.org/10.35573/jksc.30.9

Kim, David W 2020 *Daesoon Jinrihoe in Modern Korea: The Emergence, Transformation and Transmission of a New Religion*. Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing

2021a "Cao Đài" and "Gucheon Sangje": New Ethnical Grassroots Religions in Colonial Vietnam and Korea." *The International Journal of Religion and Spirituality in Society* 11(2): 81. https://doi.org/10.18848/2154-8633/CGP/v11i02/81-101

2021b "Jin-Gyeong and Sin-Ingan: The Prophecy of the Later World in the Canonical Scripture of Daesoon Jinrihoe." *Journal of Daesoon Thought and the Religions of East Asia* 1(1): 127-151. https://doi.org/10.25050/JDTREA.2021.1.1.127

Kim, Jae-Young 2000 "Bochengyo: The Religious Symbolism of Jeongup in the Eye of Feng Shui and Land." *Journal of the Korean Academy of New Religions* 2: 70-83. [Korean Language Text] 김재영, 「보천교; 풍수와 땅 이름으로 본 정읍의 종교적 상징성 -보천교를 중심으로」, 『신종교연구』 2.

2006 "Educational Practices of Bocheonkyo." *Journal of the Korean Academy of New Religions* 14: 279-306. [Korean Language Text] 김재영, 「보천교의 교육활동」, 『신종교연구』 14.

2009 "Hyeongpyeongsa and Bochongyo." *Journal of the Korean Academy of New Religions* 21: 267-288. [Korean Language Text] 김재영, 「형평사와 보천교」, 『신종교연구』 21. https://doi.org/10.22245/jkanr.2009.21.21.267

Kim, Min-Young 2019 "Progress of Korean Production Movement in 1920s and 1930s and Religious Circle." Journal of Korean-Japanese National Studies 36 [Korean Language Text] 김민영, 「1920·30년대 물산장려운동의 경과와 종교계」, 『韓日民族問題研究』 36. https://doi.org/10.35647/kjna.2019.36.5

Ko, Byoung-chul 2020 "Issues Involving the Relationship between Religion and the Anti-Japanese Independence Movement: A Case Study of Mugeukdo." *The Journal of Daesoon Academy of Sciences* 35: 39-71. [Korean Language Text] 고병철, 「종교와 항일독립운동, 그리고 쟁점 - 무극도 사례를 중심으로」, 『대순사상논총』 35. https://doi.org/10.25050/jdaos.2020.35.0.39

Ko, Nam-Sik 2004 "Jeungsan's Taoistic Tendency and the Daoism Element of Mugeugto." *The Journal of Daesoon Academy of Sciences* 17: 1-33. [Korean Language Text] 고남식, 「증산의 도가적 경향과 《무극도》의 도교적 요소」, 『대순사상논총』 17. https://doi.org/10.25050/jdaos.2004.17.0.1

Kwon, Dong–woo 2021 "A Study on the Truth of 'Dissolution Decrees of Pseudo–Religions': Focusing on the Cases of 'Mugeukdo(無極道)'." *Korean Studies Quarterly* 44(4): 41-77. [Korean Language Text] 권동우, 「'유사종교해산령'의 실체에 관한 연구: '무극도(無極道)' 사례를 중심으로」, 『한국학』 44(4). https://doi.org/10.25024/ksq.44.4.202112.41

Lee, Jeongman 2019 "Doju and the Organisation of Mugeukdo." *Daesoon Bulletin* 219, accessed on 01 April 2023. [Korean Language Text] 이정만, 「무극도의 조직체계」, 『대순회보』 219. https://webzine.daesoon.org/m/view.asp?webzine=260&menu_no=4535&bno=8404&page=

2020 "The Influence of Mugeukdo in the Beginning – Membership and Outreach Regions." *Daesoon Bulletin* 233, accessed on 01 April 2023. [Korean Language Text] 이정만, 「무극도 창도 시기의 도세 - 신도 규모와 지역 분포를 중심으로」, 『대순회보』 233. https://webzine.daesoon.org/m/view.asp?webzine=277&menu_no=4772&bno=8859&page=1

Lee, Kil-Yong 2012 "A Study of the Structural Character of the Korean New Religions from the Viewpoint of Self-Cultivation: Focusing on Donghak and Jeungsan-Gyo." *The Korea Journal of Donghak Studies* 25: 149-181. [Korean Language Text] 이길용, 「수양론으로 본 한국 신종교의 구조적 특징 - 동학과 증산교를 중심으로」, 『동학학보』 25.

Lim, Byeong Hak 2016 "Bocheon-Gyo'S Doctrine and Zhengyi(正易) Thought -Focusing on Eight Trigram." *Journal of the Korean Academy of New Religions* 34: 59-84. [Korean Language Text] 「보천교의 교리와 『정역(正易)』 사상- 팔괘도(八卦圖)를 중심으로」, 『신종교연구』 34. https://doi.org/10.22245/jkanr.2016.34.34.59

Park, Ingyu 2013 "*Activities of Bocheongyo in 1920s and Response of Korean Society*." Doctral Thesis Seoul: Seoul National University. [Korean Language Text] 박인규, 「일제강점기 증산계 종교운동 연구 - 차월곡의 보천교와 조정산의 무극도를 중심으로」, 서울대학교 대학원 박사학위논문.

Park, Sang-kyu 2022a "A Study on the Documentation Related to Mugeuk-Do: Focusing on Its Comparison and Historical Evidence." *The Journal of Daesoon Academy of Sciences* 41: 27-61. [Korean Language Text] 박상규, 「무극도 관련 문헌 연구- 비교 및 고증을 중심으로」, 『대순사상논총』 41 https://doi.org/10.25050/jdaos.2022.41.0.27

2022b "Organisational Research of Modern Korean New Religions in the System of Yeonwun (Relation Link)". Doctral Thesis: The Academy of Korean Studies. [Korean Language Text] 박상규, 「근대 한국 신종교의 조직 연구 - 연원제를 중심으로」, 한국학중앙연구원 한국학대학원, 국내박사학위논문.

Park, Sung Soon 2018 "A Study of Working Student's Club in the Peninsula(半島苦學生親睦會) in Early 1920s." Soong Sil Sahak(*The Historical Review of Soong Sil University*) 41: 175-196. [Korean Language Text] 박성순, 「1920년대 초반 반도고학생 친목회 연구」, 『숭실사학』 41.

Shin, Sang Gu 2010 "Necessity of Appointing a Sacred Site for the First Outreach Place of Taegeukdo, the Place of Anmyeon-Eups Uiljae (1)". Chungcheong Newspapers 11 November. 2010, accessed on 1 April 2023 [Korean Language Text] 신상구, "태극도의 최초 포교지인 안면읍 우일재터 성역화 필요성 (1)", 충청신문. http://www.dailycc.net/news/articleView.html?idxno=50909.

Song, Seok Won 2018 "The Japanese Imperial Mentality: Cultural Imperialism as Colonial Control – Chosun as Exemplar." *Pacific Focus: Inha Journal of International Studies* 33(2): 308-329. https://doi.org/10.1111/pafo.12120

Tipton, Elise 2016 *Modern Japan: A Social and Political History*. London: Routledge.

Confucianism in Vietnam: A Hauntology-based Analysis of Political Discourse

LINH Trinh Ngoc

LINH Trinh Ngoc is a doctoral candidate in cultural studies at the University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Ho Chi Minh National University. Her research focuses on Confucianism, contemporary Confucian discourse, invented tradition, and Vietnamese patriotism. Linh's work is dedicated to exploring the relevance of Confucianism in modern society and its impact on Vietnamese culture, identity, and patriotism, examining both its negative and positive aspects.

JDTREA 2023,3(1): 87–108

Original Articles

Correspondence to
LINH Trinh Ngoc
Ho Chi Minh National University, Vietnam
baolinhkidiamond@gmail.com

ORCID
https://orcid.org/0009-0002-6608-5732

OPEN ACCESS

Journal of Daesoon Thought and the Religions of East Asia Vol. 3. Issue 1 (September 2023): 87–108
© 2023 by the Daesoon Academy of Sciences, Daejin University, Korea

https://doi.org/10.25050/JDTREA.2023.3.1.85

Day of submission: 2023.06.15.
Completion of review: 2023.08.31.
Final decision for acceptance: 2023.09.20.

P-ISSN: 2799-3949
E-ISSN: 2799-4252

Abstract

From the time it was propagated to Vietnam until it was forced to relinquish its leadership position in both politics and philosophy, Confucianism in Vietnam was never orthodox Confucianism. This study employs the theory of invented tradition to examine how Confucianism penetrated the ethnic Vietnamese community at the turn of the first millennium and points out its vital requirement: the construction of a Chinese-style centralized administrative government based on Neo-Confucianism. This requirement unfolded during the Le So Dynasty in the fifteenth century. Moreover, the theory of invented tradition can also be applied to discover the motivation behind Neo-Confucianism's process of manufacturing orthodoxy to speed up the goal of Sinicization. Somehow, the launching of the imperial examination system, meant to fulfill a system of bureaucracy, ended up resolving one of the greatest challenges of medieval times. It is to seek the ruler's uncritical submission to the ruled. This article applies hauntology to analyze two forms of Confucianism discourse in Vietnam. In doing so, this study determined that Confucianism evolved into its own unique system of thought in Vietnam and in the end, was not even recognizable as Confucianism. Throughout Vietnam's turbulent history, Confucianism shifted from a symbol of progress to one of backwardness. This culminated Vietnam's preoccupation with the de-Sinicization during the early twenty-first century.

Keywords: : Confucianism; Neo-Confucianism; Hauntology; Sinicization; De-Sinicization; Chinalization; de-Chinalization; Vietnamese Confucianism; Vietnamese invented tradition

Introduction

In the early years of the twentieth century, Confucianism in general received a torrent of criticism after Western civilization made many great achievements which led many to deny or minimize the previous achievements of Confucian knowledge during the over the prior 2000 year-period. Confucian knowledge in Vietnam also suffered the same fate. It was not until the rise of the "East Asian dragons" that Confucian thought and traditions or traditions of Confucian origin became the main driving force promoting Confucianism. After that, Confucianism was once again revived and assured of its status. It has even been succinctly paraphrased that "the rise of Asia has its roots in Confucian values" (Kaplan 2015). In 2002, the edited volume, *Rethinking Confucianism, Past and Present in China, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam*, by Benjamin A. Elman, John B. Duncan, and Herman Ooms raised the question of a new research direction for discovering Confucian values when openly pro-Confucian rhetoric was revived in the 1980s and 1990s. It is currently recognized that Confucianism provided the cultural foundations of Asian nations, as well as the source of social and political stability, which paved the way for Hong Kong, Japan, Korea, Taiwan, and Singapore's tremendous economic expansion in the 1960s and 1970s. As Shawn McHale noted, "The chapters focus on how an apparently common Confucian idiom in Asia was appropriated differently in various regions and among various social group as the consequence of divergent and historically contigent social, economic, and political circumstances" (McHale 2002, 3).

These arguments have inspired the re-examination of Vietnamese Confucianism which will be conducted in this study. The prospects for this nation in its attempts to recover Confucianist values is quite gloomy as low to high socioeconomic formations can be expected as a result of the adoption of Marxism's deterministic history. In this context, historical patterns are viewed as predestined and unalterable. This view has caused Confucianism and other state-sponsored philosophical ideologies connected with feudalism to immediately be preceived as part of an obsolete social paradigm. The complex forms of discourse postulated by contemporary Confucianism in Vietnam reflect a spirit of de-Chinalization (a resistence against the modern-day, i.e. post-dynastic, expansion of China); the aspiration for a future in Vietnam untouched by China. However, that aspiration is conveyed in forms of discourse which come from a supposedly outdated Confucianism, which has no place in modern society. But on the other hand, such discourse also forces itself into the hearts and minds of the people ; thus support of that discourse is the undeniable role of patriotic Confucians. Somehow, a part of the invented tradition in Vietnam revolves around Confucianism. That background has created an environment wherein discourse on Confucianism in Vietnam ocillates from one mental complex to another. Vietnamese thinkers continue to discuss Confucianism and even become obsessed with it. Some concepts appear to no longer

exert any influence, whereas other concepts were fundamental to a certain extent in forming Vietnamese culture. Vietnam's future is lost in a territory that has never been invaded or Chinalized. All of these can be considered manifestations of Vietnamese hauntology.

The concept of "Hauntology" was first presented by the philosopher Jacques Derrida in his essay, *Specters of Marx*. Thereafter, philosopher cultural critic Mark Fisher frequently mentioned and applied this concept. Hauntology can be defined as a collection of ideas and philosophical musings on modern cultural, political, social, and identity goods that continue to be 'haunted' and dominated in terms of structure and discourse by phenomena that were considered to be deceased. The phenomenon of hauntology is value-neutral as it can apply to both positive and negative phenomena and the results of the phenomena can likewise be postive or negative.

In terms of this study's hypothesis, hauntology provides a framework for examining the complex relationship between past, present, and future, and it also challenges the idea of a linear and progressive understanding of history. It encourages us to recognize the haunting presence of the past and its impact on our collective and individual experiences. Hauntology will be the most common explanation for the complex forms of discourse on Confucianism in Vietnam, but this study also aims to review the process of Confucianism's importation into Vietnam. Therefore, in addition to hauntology, the theory of invented tradition will also be uitlized to provide a reasonable explanation for the movements of Confucianism in Vietnam, especially during the Le So Dynasty. Since the 1960s, there have been heated debates about the authenticity of the tradition. By 1983, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger's work, *The Invention of Tradition*, became regarded as the first study to present this as a complete concept. In it, Eric Hobsbawm distinguishes an invented tradition as "something" different from prior customs, and he additionally detailed the qualities of genuine traditions in order to juxtapose it against invented tradition. Cultural practices that are displayed or "deemed" as traditions touted as having their origins in the distant past while actually having more recent origins are illustrations of invented traditions. Invented tradition is also stressed as a tradition formed during periods of social transition at a time when "old" traditions and their propagandists became less effective or were disregarded. It is also observed when some groups attempt to break with the past by consciously abandoning old methods. Invented traditions are often created rapidly. They are intriguing and suggest continuity with the past and are characterized by "The use of ancient materials to construct invented traditions of a novel type for quite novel purposes" (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983, 6). In the first pages of his work, Hobsbawm observes that "Nothing appears more ancient and linked to an immemorial past than the pageantry which surrounds British monarchy in its public ceremonial manifestations" (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983, 1), and in assertion, Hobsbawm and his associates also proved that those rituals were just

products, in modern form, that popped up at the end of the early XX century. All of this lends credence to the claim that "tradition" that emerges or alleges to be old at the time of its emergence is frequently of recent origin and, in some cases, invented. In East Asia, it is believed that imperial examination is also a product invented from the need to recruit "personnel" to perfect the apparatus to serve the 'Son of Heaven' (the emperor). This exam is closely associated with the process of "standardization" or "orthodoxy".

This article is organized utilizing a post-structural framework of cognition, hauntology, and invented tradition theory. Additionally, this article takes a qualitative approach to the subject via historical methodology and a comparative approach. This study will examine the path of Confucianism's penetration and development in Vietnam, highlighting that as soon as Vietnamese intellectuals attempted to dismiss Confucianism as a product of Chinese philosophy, the Vietnamese become increasingly preoccupied with Confucianism. In practical terms, the article provides an overview of Confucianism in Vietnam. Theoretically, this study provides scientific arguments for the need to officially confirm the role of Confucianism in Vietnam.

The Period of Moderated Confucianism in Vietnam

Since Confucianism was introduced into Vietnam through local Chinese officials who represented the "Celestial Empire" (Thiên triều/天朝) in the land occupied by China until it became a state-sponsored ideology in the Lê dynasty[1] (Hậu Lê triều/後黎朝), Confucianism in Vietnam was not genuine Confucianism. Instead, it was something that was moderated and invented.

In 179 B.C., Zhao Tuo (Triệu Đà/趙佗) captured the polity, Ou Luo[2] (Âu Lạc/甌雒) and divided it into two commanderies, Jiaozhi[3] (Giao Chỉ /交趾) and Jiuzhen[4] (Cửu Chân/九真), through deft political maneuvers. After that, those commanderies were merged into Nanyue[5] (Nam Việt/南越). In 111 BC, the Han Dynasty conquered Nam Viet and transformed it into Han territory. Ou Luo was subsequently divided into three commanderies Jiaozhi, Jiuzhen, and Rinan[6] (Nhật Nam/日南). It was also at this time that Confucianism was supposedly introduced into Vietnam

Initially, it should be evident that this indoctrination process involved two significant forces. The first was the system of mandarins who participated in the Chinese government's ruling apparatus. According to *The Complete Annals of Đại Việt*[7] the two prefects, Tích Quang and Nhâm Diên, of the Jiaozhi and Jiuzhen commanderies, set up the very first school to teach etiquette and propagate Han customs. These mandarins can be considered the incubators of Confucianism. Shi Xie (Sĩ Nhiếp/士燮), a Chinese military general, politician, and warlord who lived during the Eastern Han dynasty and early Three Kingdoms period of China was sent to be administrator of Jiaozhi Commandery. Although he was never proclaimed king, *The Complete Annals*

of Đại Việt (*Đại Việt or Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư*/大越史記全書) attached many legends to him, and historians referred to him as King *Si* (Sĩ Vương/士王) for his contributions to the background of Viet people which were foundational in Confucian thought and education. Lê Văn Hưu and Ngô Sĩ Liên,[8] two of the most renowned historians of medieval Vietnam, noted the importance of King Si. King Si was said to have been knowledgable in the ways of being lenient and humble to respect scholars, loved by locals, and able to achieve a period of wealth and prosperity (Liên 2017: 102). Ngô Sĩ Liên also asserted, "Our country, as a civilized country, is a nation of Poetry (Thi/詩) , Documents (Thư/書), Rites (Lễ/禮), and Music (Nhạc/樂), and this began with King Si, whose great merit was not only present during his times but has also passed on to the present" (Liên 2017, 102).

Secondly, there are also Confucian intellectuals who went to Vietnam for a variety of reasons, in addition to the mandarin force active in the ruling apparatus. Due to Wang Mang's insurrection, the Han court witnessed numerous political events between the years 8 and 25 CE. The force of Han people who migrated and sought safety in Jiaozhi. The majority of them were dissatisfied Confucianists, and this force grew from the Han through the Tang dyansties. *According to Traditional Spiritual Values of the Vietnamese Nation* by Giau (1993), during the reign of King Si and during the period of Giao Chau, scholars were encouraged to open schools to teach Confucianism. In addition, there are notable Confucians (such as Yu Fan)[9] who were exiles to Jiaozhou (also Jiao Province) due to political issues, thereby contributing to the propagation of Confucianism. They "taught without tiring, and disciples frequently numbered in the hundreds" (Giau 1993, 61). There are schools that promoted Confucianism and Sinology in the centers of provinces or districts like Lei Lou (Luy Lâu/ 羸婁), Longbian (Long Biên), Tu Pho, and Cu Phong. "Jiaozhou is a land of civilization, mountains, and rivers, many resources, good literature, and outstanding skills" said Emperor Xian of Han at the time (Giau 1993, 87). It is not difficult to recognize that the Chinese were primarily responsible for the spread of Confucianism in Vietnam at that time.

The goal of propagation during this time period was such that only Chinese people propagated Confucianism. Confucianism was still a result of the invaders' horses, whether for personal reasons or because of the hegemonic national assimilation policies of the Celestial Empire. The goal of spreading Sinology and Confucianism was not unrelated to the desire to subjugate the " barbarians groups." Those involved aimed to instill an East Asian order - an order that they themselves created, preserved and maintained by establishing a system of knowledge teams tasked with maintaining that order.

The extent of distribution was restricted to a small number of locals and indviduals from the higher classes of society during that period. Propaganda mostly focused on two issues: respect for the military and men and contempt for women.This time period also saw the birth of teachers and students. A brand-new institution, the school, emerged from there.

Despite indisputably significant contributions, Confucianism during this time was received with extreme caution by the Vietnamese. It is vital to understand the inherent power of the indigenous culture in order to comprehend this "reservation." These reactions are all considered to be part of the anti-Sinicization trend (resistence against the expansion of dynastic China), according to researcher Them Tran Ngoc. Vietnamese modern intellectuals contend that before Chinese dominance, the Viet people's territory was a "country" with customs and habits. Many feel conflicted about what to do with these cultural items brought by the invaders and propagated by a layer of Chinese class. On the other side, one could argue that from the viewpoint of the Celestial Empire to the Viet people at the time, that the latter was a barbaric land suitable for Chinese cultural domination. Hence, they had a choice between providing barbarians with the most advanced scholarship of the time, Confucianism, or leaving them uneducated and thereby easier to manage. The Celestial Empire could have selected the second as it would have been a more straightforward option. What they found; however, was even though they sent over a so-called great Confucian scholarly force to educate a team of henchmen, that same team and eventually their descendants, as well as the vital Viet people, it did not come to pass that people only studied and practiced a Confucianism compliant to the will of the local Chinese mandarin. What emerged instead was nothing more than a crude form of Confucianism. For the same reason, it would be reasonable to say that Confucianism was no longer genuine after it arrived in Jiaozhou, the homeland of the Viet people.

In 931 and 938, the Southern Han (Nam Hán/南漢) fought two unsuccessful campaigns against the Vietnamese in an attempt to incorporate these Vietnamese territories into their realm (Taylor 1983, 269) Ngo Quyen's victory over the Southern Han army on the Bach Dang River in 938 ushered in a new era of independence and self-reliance for the Viet people. Nonetheless, the Viet's defense and construction were conducted in a rigorous and demanding manner. This distinct beginning is related to a brief succesion of dynasties: Wu (939–968), Dinh (968–981), and Early Le (981–1009). These dynasties encountered a number of internal and external issues, the most prominent of which was the rebellion and launch of wars by the domestic military (Anarchy of the 12 Warlords). In addition, the fight against the hegemonic conspiracy of the Celestial Empire, particularly the Song army of Emperor Taizong, prevented the fledgling state apparatus from becoming organized.

The Ngo Dynasty and Dinh Dynasty through to the Early Le Dynasty was the first period of the construction of a centralized feudal state system. As indicated previously, aspects of the Confucian political worldview began to develop at this stage.

The land of Viet people that Ngo Quyen was declared king of was the result of a millennium of Northern dominance, and the social mechanism that the colonial powers utilized to survive - the Confucian political mechanism - obviously existed. Even within the context of the anti-sinicization campaign, Vietnam's history documents the effect of

the Sinicization spirit: King Ngo's dictum to "install a hundred mandarins, regulate the court, and dress" is a prime example. *The Complete Anuals of Dai Viet* also recorded Ngo[10] Xuong Van's remark: "Our forefathers' virtue permeated the hearts of the people; no one disobeyed any political instructions; unlucky our forefather passed away, Binh Vuong conducting wicked labor by ourselves, usurping the throne from our brothers and sisters, there is no greater sin" (Lien 2017, 126). These are the initial symptoms of imbibing the spirit of Confucianism. By the time Dinh, Dinh Bo Linh proclaimed himself emperor, the court had the mandarin Nguyen Bac and Le Hoan as a general to lead the army, and there was a system of Buddhist intellectuals who helped strengthen the effectiveness of the ruling apparatus with the goal of improving the quality of governmental centralization. During the Early Le Dynasty, Le Hoan divided the land among his sons, and the act of setting the era name as Thien Phuc/天福 (936–944) also partly speaks to the study of the Chinese Confucian organizational model during this Dynasty.

However, Confucianism did not yet have a firm foothold in the ideology of the new dynasties during this time. In the meantime, the path of peace and the benefits of a human-centered perspective strengthened Buddhism's ability to take root in the social and spiritual life of Viet people. Buddhism, due to its capacity to incorporate local folk beliefs and eliminate nihilistic teachings, quickly and deeply penetrated not only real life (outside of theory) but also the newly formed government (Linh 2021). Do Phap Thuan (915–990), Ngo Chan Luu (933–1011; also known by the name Khuong Viet Dai Su), Van Hanh (?–1018) and other prominent monks of the period wielded great political influence during this time. Consequently, under the Ngo, Dinh, and Tien Le dynasties, Buddhism rose to prominence as the ideological backbone of the emerging Dai Co Viet community and nation.

Following the Ngo-Dinh-Tien Le dynasty period, Confucianism saw relative progress stages during the Ly - Tran dynasty period underwent notable modifications. In general, though, this was still a time when Buddhism was the state religion.

The most typical event can be mentioned is that in 1070, the Ly Dynasty led by Ly Thanh Tong established the Temple of Literature (Văn Miếu/文廟) in the capital Thang Long, worshiping Duke of Zhou and Confucius. This can be seen as the official reception of Neo-Confucianism by the Viet people. *Complete Annals of Đại Việt* recorded the following: "Canh Tuat, [Than Vu] 2nd year [1070], (Tong Hy Ninh, 3rd year) ... In the autumn, 8th lunar month, the Temple of Literature was built, and a statue of Confucius was built. Stautes were built for the Duke of Zhou and four succeeding generations of Confucius's disciples, and 72 other Confucian scholars (Thất thập nhi hiền/七十二賢 in Sino-Vietnamese). Ceremonies were dedicated to them in each of the four seasons. The crown prince came to study there" (Lien 2017, 170). During the reign of King Ly Nhan Tong (李仁宗), the *The Three Round Examination*

(Tam Trường/三場 in Sino-Vietnamese) was held, and Le Van Thinh (黎文盛) won first place. King Nhan Tong opened Temple of Literature to train talented individuals. Nhan Tong also established the *Imperial Academy* with the Confucian Mac Hien Tich serving at the Academy of Scholars (Hàn lâm viện học sĩ/翰林院學士 in Sino-Vietnamese).

The Ly Dynasty held examinations infrequently rather than on a regular basis, and the exams had no set format. The examinations were spaced quite far apart, and there was even a gap wherein no exams were recorded for 66 years (from 1086 to 1152).

During the Tran Dynasty, King Tran Thai Tong (1225–1258) who opened an examination for the Three Teachings (三教, Tam giáo), Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism. King Tran Thai Tong again opened an examination Thái học sinh (太學生, Students of Supreme Learning) to select "three awardees" (三魁, Tam Khôi) which was composed of three candidates who ranked first, second, and third in the examination with the names respectively of Trạng nguyên (狀元) meaning the first place and best scholar, Bảng nhãn (榜眼), the second place examinee, and Thám hoa (探花), the third place examinee. The rank of Tiến sĩ (進士) was awarded to all the other examinees who successfully passed. In addition, the National Academy (Quốc học viện) instructed students in *The Four Books* (四書) and *The Five Classics* (五經). During the Three reign of King Tran Thuan Tong (1388–1398), a bachelor's examination (舉人, senior bachelor) was held. Candidates began by taking the Interprovincial Examinations[11] (Hương examination). Those who passed could take the Pre-court Examinations[12] (Hội examination) the next year, and then the Court examinations[13] (Đình Examination) were the final step in selecting the three ranks.

During its 175 years of existence, the Tran Dynasty organized 14 examination courses (10 official and 4 sub-faculties) producing 283 Laureates. There were two examinations 1256 and 1266 that took two types Principal Graduates: the Trai Principal Graduates and Kinh Principal Graduates.[14] A total of 12 individuals attained the top rank.

State-sponsored Period of Confucianism in Vietnam

After Lê Lợi drove the Ming army out of Vietnam, the Later Le dynasty was formally established in 1428 after his ascension to the throne. This was also the time that Confucianism advanced through state-sponsorship.

In her research articles, the historian Hue Tam Ho Tai pointed out the close relationship between Joseon and Le So, and noted an especially apparent relationship with China, which made the explanation of historical relationships much easier. Indeed, due to the geopolitical influences, with the nature of "ordination" and "tribute" revolving around the strong Chinese culture of East Asia, the socio-cultural history between Le So dynasty and Joseon (Korea) before and after the fifteenth century both recorded common denominators of philosophy and philosophical foundations.

Accordingly, social institutions were also shaped and developed, forming a culture of Sino-civilization. Also, from those postulates, in the 15th century, the Le So and Joseon dynasties had creative movements in thought and social management policy towards the mainstream of Neo-Confucianism. In *The Construction of Orthodoxy and Heresy: Neo-Confucian, Islamic, Jewish and Early Christian Patterns*, John. B. Henderson (1997) provides an overview of the models of orthodoxy and "heresy," in which Neo-Confucianism was placed in relation to early Christianity. Neo-Confucianism defines heresy in the same way that early Christianity did. The author's survey of religions includes Islam, Judaism, and early Christianity, but Neo-Confucianism views of "heretics" was broader. Neo-Confucianism even has names for these "heresies," such as Buddhism, Taoism, Mohism (founded by Mozi 墨子), and Legalism (Henderson 1997, 23). In the Le So dynasty, in addition, the disadvantages and risks associated with the Tran dynasty's dispersal of power prompted the Le So to seek solutions to occupy important gaps in the constitutional framework. Such solutions would assist Le So is not focusing exclusively on having power in the hands of the royal family, and would also ensure that the Le dynasty did not follow in the footsteps of its predecessors. The need for an attempt to curb the royal family's vocation and put more emphasis on authority in the hands of the Son of Heaven (emperor) became even more urgent.

The majority of the research referenced thus far focused on the manner in which the Vietnamese dynasties "theorized political legitimacy" via Confucianism as a means of addressing endemic disobedience (Taylor 2002, 337) as a significant trait and a hypothesis that has been consistently demonstrated through multiple approaches. This characteristic is exemplified by the secularization of moral issues that "strengthen and regulate the rural economy" (Whitmore 1997, 665) in both Confucianism and radical Confucian intellectuals. Vietnamese Confucianism reached its zenith during the early Le Dynasty, whose prosperity was heavily supported and propagated by the Le So government for the sole purpose of constructing a model Chinese centralized state. The mechanism of formalizing Confucianism by promoting academic activities strengthened the centralized monarchy while simultaneously making Vietnamese Confucianism more rigorous and pragmatic (Linh 2022b).

Whitmore stated that, the 15th through the 19th centuries were marked by administrative centralization, territorial expansion, population growth, economic development, an emphasis on orthodoxy, and cultural standardization. The emergence of a new class, the intelligentsia, was contingent on the rise of Neo-Confucianism and its goals, which are directed by the state. According to the author's analysis, intellectuals believed that state intervention in the rural would result in a material welfare of the populace, a goal that was both broader and narrower than a purely Confucian moral order. In fact, a substantial portion of their accumulated knowledge was used to strengthen and regulate the rural economy (Whitmore 1997, 665)

Woodside observed that this complexity was explained by Vietnam's territorial expansion southward and westward into areas with long-established Hindu states. Buddhism makes Confucian notions of political identity controversial and creates a crisis in the formation of political order. In addition to establishing stability, the incorporation of these regions necessitated the strengthening of the political center's legitimacy and the official abolition of the hereditary bureaucracy (Woodside 1998, 202).

In *Complete Annals of Đại Việt*, there is a record of Le Thai Tong asserting, "If you want to have talent, you must choose to be a scholar, but if you choose to be a scholar, you must take the Imperial examination first" (Lien 2017, 396). Therefore, as an inevitable effect; the Imperial examination and regulations surrounding it showed signs of extreme zeal. Consequently, the next most obvious manifestation that can be considered is the expansion of "infrastructures" serving the purpose of conveying the Confucian spirit.

All of these movements led to a state of "entering the world" and "practicing" — the most effective ideological product of the authorities. It was also the most essential product of the standardization process. According to those guidelines, subconsciously, a male child was forced from birth to death to study hard, take examinations, become a mandarin, and dedicate himself to serving the Son of Heaven. To put it another way, Neo-Confucian orthodoxy was an invention to standardize State Ideology, and the Imperial examination was the result of that invention.

During the Le So dynasty, 26 doctoral examinations were held, 989 doctorate degree candidates passed and 20 passed in the position of the top rank. Particularly during the reign of King Le Thanh Tong (1460–1497), 12 doctoral examinations were held, and this produced 501 doctorates and 9 paragons. The table below is number of national rank-holders in the imperial examinations by times:

Observing the graphs representing the precise statistics, it is evident that the prior dynasty exhibited little change in the number of examinations and passing rates. The tradition of conducting imperial examinations had only recently been established during the Le So period. Consequently, the quick expansion in the number of examinations and laureates throughout the Le So period demonstrates that the Imperial examination should be viewed as a social-cultural phenomenon that was created. All of the above analysis is intended to demonstrate that Confucianism in Vietnam was invented and developed with very definite purposes and techniques. Since then, the approach of examination preparation has progressively become a trend-setter, leaving no actual place for self-cultivation, the supposedly ultimate and highest objective of Confucianism.

It is possible to discuss the system of Imperial examination alongside the recruitment of mandarins and the institutions associated with it as a typical "invention" to perfect that path of standardization. In an article Nguyen Ngoc Tho stated, "Orthodoxization" of culture is a political mechanism - ideology - culture that the feudal dynasties in China,

Korea, and Vietnam implemented at different levels in order to "standardize" and unify the cultural mores of the different regions. On the other hand, it is also to ensure the smooth flow of mainstream culture throughout the country, as well as to strengthen the central government's management power" (Nguyen 2020, 93).

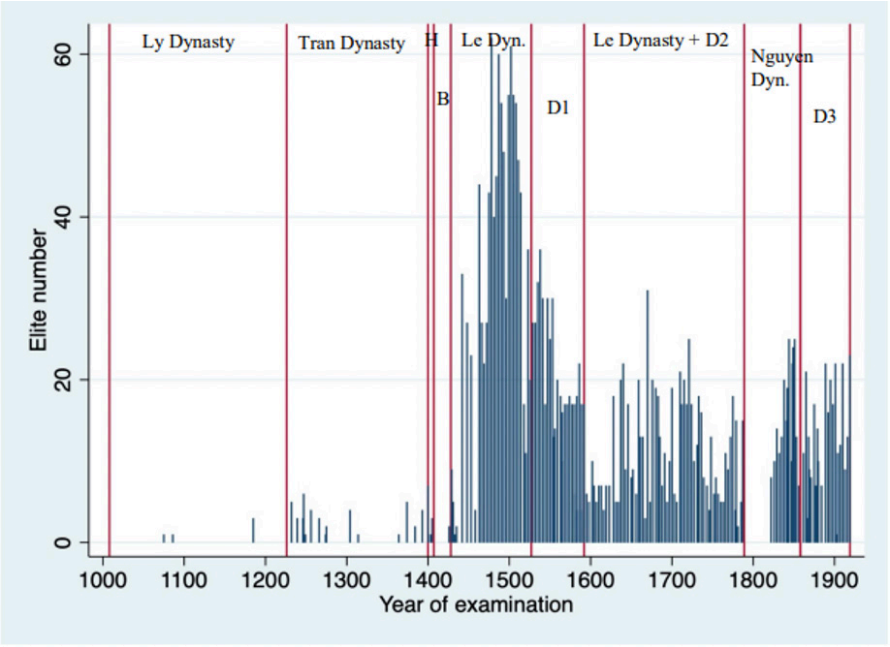


Figure 1. Number of national rank-holders in the imperial examinations by time (VU TienManh and YAMADA Hiroyuki, 2020)

That movement was an inevitable requirement of each dynasty, but above all the changes and accretion of ideology, all together, it also aimed to erase boundaries and even merge military power with theocracy. And in fact, the Eastern feudal dynasties gained the loyalty of both from that very wise merger. Neo-Confucianism established itself in a privileged position and nonchalantly became true essence of the commander of the times.

Recall that Confucianism is predicated on the belief that humans are fundamentally decent, teachable, improvable, and perfectible through personal and communal endeavors; particularly through self-cultivation and self-creation. This self-centeredness is predicated on the importance of establishing one's personality as an independent, autonomous being, and with dignity. Therefore, this philosophy of self-cultivation is at the core of Confucian education. This philosophy seeks to create a harmonious society and is based on personal moral development. The pursuit of moral perfection and knowledge is part of that process.

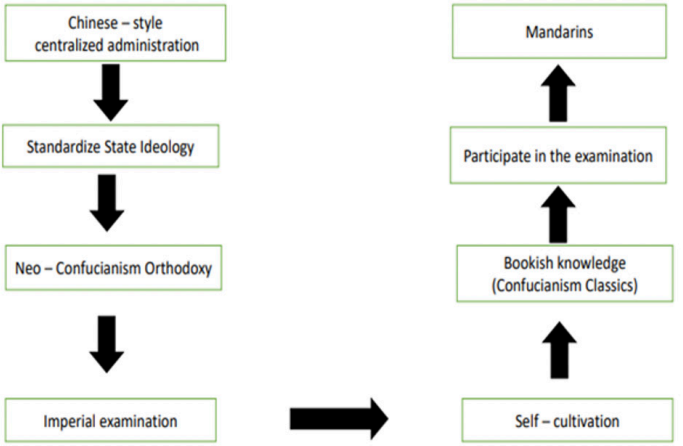


Figure 2. Neo-Confucianism Orthodoxization's Paradigm in the Le So Dynasty (Linh 2022b)

However, based on the preceding paradigm's analysis, it is clear that the Le So dynasty's campaign was not synchronized with that ideal form of Confucianism. This was obviously not a hindrance at the time, as it served the purpose that the 'Son of Heaven' expected. The long-term consequences, however, were disastrous,[15] as history has shown.

Complicated Forms of Confucian Discourse in Vietnam

The inconsistent forms of discourse generated by Vietnamese scholars on Confucianism can be viewed from McHale's analysis of two typical Confucian studies in Vietnam, namely, *Confucianism* (1929–1930), by Tran Trong Kim and *Vietnam's Historical Culture* (1938) by Dao Duy Anh. McHale summed up that both Tran Trong Kim and Dao Duy Anh, despite their opposing ideas, believed that Confucianism was central to Vietnamese history. The author at the same time emphasized the paradoxes in both practice and Confucian research in Vietnam wheerein the modern Vietnamese, on the one hand, emphasize the precious heritage of the past while also completely drawing attention to how strongly Confucianism shaped premodern society. And all of McHale's arguments show that "the influence of Confucianism in Vietnam has been exaggerated and misperceived" (McHale 2002, 397). When discussing Tran Trong Kim - a researcher in the early twentieth century, McHale said that Tran Trong Kim himself displayed contradictions while recognizing the role of Confucianism in Vietnamese history and culture. According to Tran Trong Kim, Confucianism is the core of

everything within Vietnamese culture, including being the origin point of customs and politics. Elsewhere, Tran Trong Kim concedes that such a core may not exist. McHale also stated that the Vietnamese have embraced shallow versions of Confucianism rather than localizing it. Meanwhile, Phan (2004)-one of the Vietnamese contemporary polyhistors, said that the Vietnamese have localized Confucianism in his famous work, *Vietnamese Cultural Identity*. Phan Ngoc specifically analyzed and evaluated the "refraction" of Confucianism when it penetrated Vietnam. He proposed the concept of selective types, from spiritualism to manipulative theory, through which he affirmed that Vietnam had received Chinese Confucianism through four determined concerns: Conditions, the Fatherland, Family, and Face.

Consequently, according to Phan Ngoc, when entering Vietnam Confucianism was subject to considerable refraction, since Vietnamese people perceived Confucianism through four significant lenses: Fatherland, Village, Southeast Asian culture, and historical status and standing. Therein: "From the perspective of the lens of the Fatherland, monarchical loyalty and patriotism emerged. The culture of Folk-Aristocractic Dualism, which had an emphasis on folk culture, was the result of the lens of Vietnamese villagers. The tendency of "Feminization and respect for women" was a product of the cultural lens of Southeast Asia. The culture of Southeast Asia is a wet rice culture in which the yin role, understood as the female role, was emphasized through the worship of fertility symbols, deities, and polytheistic beliefs. Approaching "harmony" was the result of viewing ideological and social phenomena through the lens of historical status and standing.

This study concurs that Vietnamese intellectuals of the 20th century had little knowledge of the history of Confucianism in Vietnam and further concurs with McHale's assertion that Marxist nationalists have been modifing the Confucian framework since 1945 as they keep deliberating about Vietnamese national identity. One aspect of this is that they formulated a Marxist interpretation of Vietnamese history in which Confucianism served as the ideological foundation of the feudal system. The aim of their research was not Confucianism or its place in a larger material and symbolic economy, but rather how it contributed to the tragedy of feudalism and/or the downfall of the French at the hands of the Vietnamese resistance (McHale 2002, 401). Yet, this study holds there is no contradiction in Kim Tran Trong's thesis since he earlier conceded that "Vietnamese people emulate authentic Confucianism." In other words, it is perfectly plausible that ancient Vietnamese only studied Confucianism superficially, and that over time, "what was false came to be true" and became a "genuine Confucianism" by Vietnamese definitions. And this "Vietnamese Confucianism" gradually fused with other cultural symbols and rituals to become a shabby chic cloak, thereby bringing the Viet dynasties closer to the Celestial Empire. Or it might be argued that the Southeast Asian indigenous tradition in Vietnam hampered the state and the people's ability to accept and adapt to China's Confucian orthodoxy in its entirety (Nguyen 2020, 25).

Due to the influence of Marxism on historical thinking in Vietnam, with socioeconomic formations going from low to high, the idea of deterministic history suggested that historical trends were fixed and could not be changed. This forced Vietnamese Confucianism, the philosophy associated with feudalism, to be understood as an outdated social model. It thereby suffer the same fate as other "outdated" phenomena and lost both its novelty and capacity to contribute to modern society.

Perhaps because of this, those who do not support the "return" of Confucianism are quite common. The article, "Confucian Influences in Vietnamese Culture", is a typical example. In it, the author, Ly Tung Hieu, a lecturer at Ho Chi Minh National University, said that Confucianism had shaped the spiritual culture of Vietnam in the Middle Ages such that it became sinicized to a significant extent. Confucianism influences both the spiritual culture and the material culture of Vietnam. Confucianism has a negative side, which is harmful to Vietnamese culture. The author firmly asserts that Vietnamese culture today does not need Confucianism (Hieu 2015). Meanwhile, Confucianism in Vietnam continues to be influenced by patriotism and nationalism. Contemporary Vietnamese history highlights Confucian scholars such as Mac Dinh Chi, Chu Van An, Nguyen Trai, Nguyen Binh Khiem, Luong Van Can, Phan Boi Chau, Ngo Duc Ke, Phan Chau Trinh, and Huynh Thuc Khang. These Confucianists, whether in times of peace or turmoil, still showed their temper and virtue. The attitudes they embodied and the actions they took for their nation and the community still resonate with modern people. Their names are used to name the roads in large and small cities throughout Vietnam.

Thus, on the one hand, Vietnamese are rejecting Confucianism as a product of outdated feudalism, while on the other hand, Vietnamese still highly appreciate Confucianism because most of the elites who contributed to Vietnamese society before the 20th century were from Confucian backgrounds. Since Confucianism's flaws outweighed its virtues, Vietnamese intellectuals lost interest in it and began attempting to construct or invent new symbols in which Confucianism's imprints were as faint as possible. It was hard to do that without invoking Confucianism or Confucian materials. The following examples of doubts about the authenticity of Vietnamese traditions will partly illustrate that complexity.

In a 2015 research article, "From Moral Exemplar to National Hero: The Transformations of Tran Hung Dao and the Emergence of Vietnamese Nationalism," Liam Kelley argues that his evaluation as a historical figure was carried out in various ways in the past, and it is evident that he only became a national hero in the twentieth century because all examples of this appraisal were "produced" in recent decades. However, the field of Vietnamese history is slow to adopt these ideas on topics such as traditional creation and the modernity of nationalism. Liam Kelley assesses that while many scholars today may be aware that much of what has been written about Vietnamese history is presented through a nationalist lens, very little work has been done to determine exactly how and when that prism was created (Kelley 2015a: 1964).

Kelley in later studies acknowledged that academic scholarship in Vietnam was heavily influenced and politicized by the ideology of Vietnamese nationalism — what he calls "academic politics". Besides, the evidence that Liam Kelley gave when discussing the national hero, Tran Hung Dao, as one of the invented traditions of the Vietnamese people. Kelley quickly concludes that nationalism and "the emergence of Vietnamese nationalism" are the engines of invented tradition.

According to Kelley, the customs established by historians of Imperial Vietnam have become deeply ingrained over time. He further contends that these invented traditions, referred to as "Medieval Vietnamese invented traditions" (như một truyền thống được kiến tạo của người Việt Nam thời trung đại) have solidified as irreversible truths, particularly during the latter half of the 20th century due to the influence of nationalism (Kelley 2012, 122)

Kelley has also conducted a comprehensive analysis of *The Arrayed Tales of Collected Oddities from South of the Passes* (Lĩnh Nam chích quái liệt truyệt/嶺南摭怪列傳)[16] and posited that a significant amount of the historical content included therein lacked veracity. It is evident and unequivocal that a substantial portion of the information is fabricated or derived from preexisting sources. The author posits that the upper class in Vietnam during the 15th century demonstrated cultural superiority in comparison to the barbarians, thereby establishing ancient and divine characteristics for their territory. According to Kelley (2015b), his conclusion suggests that the creation and preservation of traditions are primarily orchestrated by those in positions of power, rather than being organically developed and upheld by the common people (p. 188). The author highlights the involvement of elites in shaping the current perception of "Vietnamese tradition" and underscores the impact of twentieth-century scholars in advocating and popularising folk literature (Kelley 2015b, 118).

In "From Confucianism to Nationalism: Fictive Kinship and the Making of the Vietnamese" Duong (2020) studied key forms of discourse. The author indicated that evolution of values can be observed in the endeavors of scholars who are engaged in the pursuit of knowledge regarding the genesis of the Vietnamese populace. The author conjectures that during the period spanning the 15th to 19th centuries, Confucian intellectuals who self-identified as progeny of the Han ethnic group, aligned themselves with the legacy of Han culture. During the period spanning from 1860 to 1945, scholars of colonialism employed ideas of race, anthropology, and social evolution to assert that the Annamites were a population characterized by hybridity. Furthermore, these scholars argued that the Annamites were in a state of ongoing evolution, necessitating the intervention of civilized enlightenment. According to Tran Trong Duong, native intellectuals in Vietnam synthesized elements of Confucian Chinese thought and French thought to posit the ancestral lineage of the Vietnamese people as being traceable to the Hung Kings. The study's conclusion reveals that the primary objective of this ideological transformation is to promote patriotism, resist French influence, and safeguard the

nation against colonial subjugation. Consequently, the advent of colonialism in Confucian philosophy spurred a transformative shift in paradigms, resulting in the emergence of fabricated kinship and the proliferation of nationalism within the context of Vietnam (Duong 2020, 165).

Forkan Ali elucidates the enduring functionality of Confucianism in the face of Marxist influence and the indispensable role played by Ho Chi Minh's nationalism (Ali 2020). The author claims that the evolution of modern Vietnamese society has been affected by Confucianism. The author posits that within modern popular thinking, there exists a perception that Confucian ideals are antiquated and absurd. In the context of Vietnam, it is noteworthy that Confucian principles and traditions persist and are disseminated through several religious, institutional, and personal means. According to Ali (2020), the author postualtes the necessity of reevaluating and advocating for the principles and doctrines of Confucianism within a society grappling with a growing array of difficulties stemming from the process of industrialization.

The discourse around Confucianism in early twenty-first-century Vietnam is characterized by its complexity, as seen by the arguments and supporting evidence pertaining to the creation of traditional activities in the country. The aforementioned intricacy not only exemplifies the intricate nature of the philosophical worldview in Vietnam but also reflects the enduring aspiration of the Vietnamese people to emancipate themselves from the constraints imposed by Confucianism through countless centuries. As mentioned earlier, the increasing efforts of Vietnamese individuals to disavow Confucianism in the contemporary day inadvertently serve as a testament to its enduring impact.

Conclusion

This article provides a concise overview of the introduction of Confucianism into Vietnam, highlighting that during this period, the dissemination of Confucian ideas mostly encompassed philosophical fragments pertaining to worldview and education. These fragments served as a crucial instrument for the colonial governance of imperial China. Subsequently, during the zenith of the 15th century, the King Le once again employed this strategy as a means to enlist mandarins and curtail the proliferation of familial military forces within the royal establishment. This decision was informed by a costly lesson learned by the imperial court in preceding times. Subsequently, the Le dynasty forfeited the chance to establish a nation characterized by profound adherence to the invaluable principles and fundamental tenets of Confucianism.

Vietnam, a nation with a rich historical legacy spanning millennia, has witnessed the emergence of two distinct socio-political formations, both deeply influenced by the principles of Confucianism. The initial instance took place during the 15th century

when the Kings and officials of the Le So Dynasty implemented Imperial examinations to promote adherence to Neo-Confucianism. The second occurrence took place during the transition to the twentieth century, when Marxist intellectuals, burdened by the de-Chinalization designation and envisioning a Vietnam with a promising future free from Chinese colonization, formulated the concept of "patriotic Confucianists" in an effort to diminish the influence of Confucianism.

Conflict of Interest

No potential conflict of interest relevant to this article was reported

Notes

[1] The Lê dynasty was the longest-ruling Vietnamese dynasty as it ruled Đại Việt from 1428 to 1789. The Lê dynasty is divided into two historical periods: Lê Sơ (黎初朝); and the restored period or Revival Lê (Lê Trung hưng triều / 黎中興朝).

[2] Ou Luo was a supposed polity that covered parts of modern-day Guangxi and Northern Vietnam.

[3] his location corresponds to present-day Northern Vietnam.

[4] It is located in present-day Thanh Hóa Province, Vietnam.

[5] The border region corresponds to a section of contemporary China and Vietnam.

[6] It was located in the central area of modern Vietnam between the provinces of Quảng Bình and Bình Định.

[7] *The Complete Annals of Đại Việt* is a national historical series of books compiled in the form of chronicles recording the history of Vietnam from the the time of King Duong Vuong's reign (2879 BC) to Le Gia Tong reign of the Later Le Dynasty (1675).

[8] According to contemporary scholars, Le Van Huu and Ngo Si Lien are the two most esteemed and well-known historians who specialize on medieval Vietnam.

[9] Ngu Phiên/ 虞翻 (164–233) was a Chinese essayist, politician, and writer of the state of Eastern Wu during the Three Kingdoms period of China

[10] Ngô Xương Văn / 吳昌文 (935–965), second son of Ngô Quyền, the dynastic founder.

[11] Provincial examinations

[12] National examinations

[13] Oral examinations (the emperor would directly interview the shortlisted candidates and select the best examinees)

[14] The division of Kinh and Trai in the examination of the Tran Dynasty, just like the Qing Dynasty, divided the Hans and Manchus to distinguish them clearly. However, this assessment is less approved. Instead, researchers agree that the Kinh is the capital, the area near the capital or the plain around the city. And, the Trai was a mountainous area or border area far from the capital.

[15] Trần Ngoc Them, a Vietnamese cultural researcher, emphasizes very precisely the bad habits of Vietnamese people in his works on education. For more information on this topic, read *Discovering the Identity of Vietnamese Culture*.

[16] This literary work is alternatively referred to as the *Selection of Strange Tales in Lĩnh Nam*. The work in question is believed to be a semi-fictional piece originating from 14th-century Vietnam, authored by Trần Thế Pháp and written in the Han script.

References

Anh, Đào Duy 1992 — *Vietnam History and Culture*. Ho Chi Minh: Publishing House. [Vietnamese Language Text] D. A. Đào, Việt Nam văn hóa sử cương.

Ali, Forkan 2020 — "The Origins of Contemporary Moral Education and Political Ideology in Confucian-Marxist Hồ Chí Minh's Vietnam." Special issue, Nguyen Ngoc Tho & Jana Rosker (eds) *Asian Studies* 8(2): 115-134. https://doi.org/10.4312/as.2020.8.2.115-134

Derrida, Jacques, et al. 2006 — *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International*. New York, NY: Routledge New York.

Duong, Tran Trong 2020 — "From Confucianism to Nationalism: Fictive Kinship and the Making of the Vietnamese." edited by Nguyen Ngoc Tho & Jana Rosker, *Asian studies, Special issue* 8(2): 165-183. https://doi.org/10.4312/as.2020.8.2.165-183

Giàu, Trần Văn 1993 — *Traditional Spiritual Values of the Vietnamese Nation*. Ho Chi Minh: HCM Publishing House. [Vietnamese Language Text] V. n. G. u. Trần, Giá trị tinh thần truyền thống của dân tộc Việt Nam.

Elman, Benjamin A. et al. 2002 — *Rethinking Confucianism : Past and Present in China, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam*. Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Asian Pacific Monograph Series Los Angeles.

Henderson, John B 1998 — *The Construction of Orthodoxy and Heresy: Neo-Confucian, Islamic, Jewish, and Early Christian Patterns*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Hieu, Ly Tung 2015 — "Confucian Influences on Vietnamese Culture." *Vietnam Social Sciences* 5(169): 71-82.

Ho Tai, Hue-Tam Ho 1983 — *Millenarianism and Peasant Politics in Vietnam*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger 1983 — *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kaplan. Robert D. 2015 "Asia's Rise Is Rooted in Confucian Values." *Wall Street Journal*, February 6. https://www.wsj.com/articles/asias-rise-is-rooted-in-confucian-values-1423254759

Kelley, Liam C 2012 "The Biography of the Hồng Bàng Clan as a Medieval Vietnamese Invented Tradition." *Journal of Vietnamese Studies* 7(2): 87-130.

2015a "From Moral Exemplar to National Hero: The Transformations of Trần Hưng Đạo and the Emergence of Vietnamese Nationalism." *Modern Asian Studies* 49(6): 1963-1993.

2015b "Inventing Traditions in Fifteenth-Century Vietnam." In V. H. M. a. L. C. Kelley (eds.), *Imperial China and Its Southern Neighbours*, 161-193. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Kim, Trần Trọng 2012 *Confucianism*. Hanoi: Times Publishing House. [Vietnamese Language Text] T. n. K. Trần, Nho giáo: đại cương triết học Trung Quốc.

Liên, Ngô Sĩ 2017 *Complete Annals of Đại Việt*, Translated by Ngo Duc Tho & Hoang Van Lau. Hanoi: Dong A Literature Publishing House. [Vietnamese Language Text] S. L. Ngô, V. H. Lê and P. T. Phan, Đại Việt Sử Ký Toàn Thư.

Linh, Trinh Ngoc 2021 "The Establishment of Neo-Confucianism in Literature of Early Period of Le Dynasty." In *East – West Cultural Exchange* 2021. Hochimin: VNU– HCM Press.

2022a "Discuss Invented Tradition and Invented Tradition within the Context of Vietnamese Culture." *Culture and Resources Journal* 32(4).

2022b "Invented Tradition in Vietnam During the Le So Dynasty from the Standpoint of Mainstream Culture: The Significance of the Spread of Imperial Examinations." In *Social Sciences and Humanities*. Ho Chi Minh: VNU– HCM Press.

2023 "Identifying "Traditions" from Hobsbawm and Constructivism in Vietnam." *Vietnamese studies: Vietnam in the Contemporary World: Transformation and Adaptation* VI(2).

Manh, Tien and Hiroyuki Vu 2020 "Persistent Legacy of the 1075–1919 Vietnamese Imperial Examinations in Contemporary Quantity and Quality of Education." In *Agi Working Paper Series* 2020, 1-40. Fukuoka Asian Growth Research Institute, Kyushu University, and Keio Gijuku Academic Development Funds.

McHale, Shawn 2002 "Mapping a Vietnamese Confucian Past and Its Transition to Modernity." In J. B. D. Benjamin A. Elman, & Herman Ooms (eds.), *Rethinking Confucianism: Past and Present in China, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam*, 397-430. Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Asian Pacific Monograph Series.

Nguyễn, Ngọc Thơ 2019 "New Confucianism in Vietnam Today." In *The Fourth International Conference on Vietnamese Studies*. Ho Chi Minh: National University Publishing House. [Vietnamese Language Text] N. T. Nguyễn, Nhân vũ luận, Nho giáo mới và thực tiễn ở Việt Nam.

2020 "The Mechanism of 'Orthodoxization' in Traditional Culture East Asian System from a Confucian Perspective." *Vietnam Cultural Research Journal* 190(4): [Vietnamese Language Text] N. T. Nguyễn, Cơ Chế "Chính Thống Hóa" Trong Văn Hóa Truyền Thống Đông Á Dưới Nhãn Quan Nho Giáo.

Ngoc, Phan, 2004 *Vietnamese Cultural Identity*. Hanoi: Vietnamese Culture Publishing House. [Vietnamese Language Text] Bản sắc văn hóa VietNam.

Taylor, Keith Weller 1983 *The Birth of Vietnam*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press Berkeley

2002 "Vietnamese Confucian Narratives." In J. B. D. Benjamin A. Elman, & Herman Ooms (eds.), *Rethinking Confucianism: Past and Present in China, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam*, 337–369. Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Asian Pacific Monograph Series.

Trần, Ngọc Thêm 2004 Finding About Vietnamese Cultural Identity - a Systematic and Typological View. Ho Chi Minh: HCM General Publishing House. [Vietnamese Language Text] N. c. T. m. Trần, Tìm về bản sắc văn hóa Việt Nam : Cái nhìn hệ thống - loại hình.

Whitmore, John K. 1997 "Literati Culture and Integration in Dai Viet, C. 1430–C. 1840." *Modern Asian Studies* 31(3): 665-687. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X00017108

Woodside, Alexander 1998 "Territorial Order and Collective-Identity Tensions in Confucian Asia: China, Vietnam, Korea." *Daedalus* 127(3): 191-220

The Modern White Horse Temple and Online Reconfiguring of a Buddhist Heritage Space

Kai SHMUSHKO

Kai Shmushko is a Post-Doctoral researcher at the Sociology Department of the University of Amsterdam. Her work deals with facets of religion, society and material culture, with a focus on China and Chinese communities. She is currently involved in the project RECOGNITION, working on the role of religion within immigrant Chinese communities. She is working on a monograph: *Multiple Liminalities: Materials, Modalities and Politics of Lay Buddhist Groups in 21st Century China* (LUP, forthcoming).

JDTREA 2023,3(1): 109–128

Original Articles

Correspondence to
Kai SHMUSHKO
University of Amsterdam, Netherlands
k.shmushko@uva.nl

ORCID
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9832-8156

OPEN ACCESS

Journal of Daesoon Thought and the Religions of East Asia Vol. 3. Issue 1 (September 2023): 109–128
© 2023 by the Daesoon Academy of Sciences, Daejin University, Korea

https://doi.org/10.25050/JDTREA.2023.3.1.109

Day of submission: 2023.07.22.
Completion of review: 2023.08.31.
Final decision for acceptance: 2023.09.20.

P-ISSN: 2799-3949
E-ISSN: 2799-4252

Abstract

Recent research shows that since the early 2000s, the Chinese Communist Party has increasingly used various cultural heritage sites, including Buddhist sites, as soft power agents. Furthermore, in the context of the Belt and Road Initiative, launched by the People's Republic of China, Buddhist temples, representatives, and practices have been harnessed to play a role in the state's agenda. In this context, White Horse Temple, as a feature of cultural tourism in Henan Province, is facing new opportunities and challenges. The article examines the material particularities of reconstructing the temple in light of this trajectory, building on materials retrieved at the site, and online representations of the temple. The author explores how the temple's unique spatiality and characteristics stress the use of soft power which harnesses online and offline cultural and popular trends for state agenda.

Keywords: Online Buddhism; Cultural Heritage; China; White Horse Temple

Introduction

According to a broadly accepted Chinese tradition, White Horse Temple (白马寺, *Bai ma si*) was the first Buddhist temple in China. The establishment of the temple in Luoyang, Henan Province, has a pivotal place in the historical nerrative of Buddhism's introduction to China (Chih, 2014 [1984]). The temple is traditionally recognized as China's first Buddhist temple, with its origins dating back to the year 68 CE during the Eastern Han Dynasty, under the patronage of Emperor Ming (58–75 CE). The construction of the temple took place in the 11th year of the Yongping (永平) era.

Echoing this narrative, a decision to build the temple was percieved to have been an undertaking carried out in accordance with a dream the emperor had. The story says he dreamed of a sixteen-year-old boy, sixteen Chinese feet tall, with the aureole of the sun and moon radiating from his head and neck.[1] This "golden god", in fact, referred to the Buddha. According to tradition, the emperor dispatched envoys to the Western Regions in search of the god and, as a result, acquired Buddhist scriptures and images. At the time, because the scriptures were carried into China on the backs of white horses, White Horse was adopted as the name of the temple (Chih, 2014 [1984], 173).[2]

This prevailing narrative about the temple's early astablishment and role in the spread of Buddhism described here above, may sound rather convincing; however, it is not at all accurate. Regardless though, in China and outside, this origin story still prevails as a lived tradition. It is widely circulated by local people as well as by scholars and diplomats (Sen 2012). At the same time, in the past century scholars have repeatedly problematized this narrative by pointing to significant misconceptions. The famous story about the dream of Emperor Ming of Han, the subsequent arrival of the first two Buddhist monks from India, and the building of the 'first' Chinese Buddhist temple, is no more than a fable. It has been discredited by various scholars (Maspero 1901; Zürcher 2007 [1959], 22; Sen 2012). In fact, the story of Emperor Ming's dream related to the Buddha dates from the fourth century and does not reflect the historical introduction of Buddhist ideas into China.

According to Tansen Sen, the reason that the story of Emperor Ming's dream was adopted was because it linked the introduction of Buddhism with the Chinese court in an attempt to give legitimacy to the foreign doctrine (Sen 2012). The story was adopted, nevertheless, and many later Buddhist texts attest to its status as the first documented translation site for Buddhist texts in China. During this time, numerous Buddhists from the Western regions collaborated with local believers in translating a multitude of renowned Buddhist scriptures. This collaborative effort laid a sturdy foundation for the propagation of Buddhism across China (Guo, 2019). For these reasons, the temple was thereby referred to as "the source of Buddhism" (释源, ***shiyuan***) and "the ancestral court"(祖庭, ***zuting***). It signalled that Buddhism had an orthodox and legitimate

place in China, and that the rulers agreed with and even advocated the widespread dissemination of Buddhism in China.

In this article, I wish to add to the discussion about the creation of a conception about Buddhism in China, by looking into the contemporary state of the temple. I argue that the modern re-configuration of the site is an attempt to emphasis particular narratives in regards to Buddhism in China through a control of material and digital spaces.

The Silk Road, Luoyang, and Buddhism

Besides its central role in history as the Chinese capital, Luoyang (洛阳) is also the eastern starting point of the ancient Silk Road (丝绸之路, *Sichou zhi lu*), and, as I have elaborated above, a locus for Buddhism in the Middle Ages. During the Eastern Han Dynasty, the domestic economic centre of the Silk Road shifted from Chang'an (长安) to Luoyang. In contemporary times, even though Luoyang is far from being an economic or cultural locus, it is perceived, as I will explore further, as having the ability to strengthen diplomatic interactions and exchanges with Buddhist groups across East Asia through Buddhist heritage and culture.

The temple also has a significant role in the tourism industry of Luoyang; it is considered one of Luoyang's three ancient tourist sites (洛阳旅游 "老三篇", *Luoyang luyou lao san pian*). The recent renovations of the temple, which I discuss in the following sections, should also be viewed in the context of an effort to maximize the cultural heritage of Luoyang for the tourist economy. More generally, viewing the temple in the greater context of religious tourism in the modern PRC is essential.



Figure 1. White Horse Temple (photograph courtesy of Yasmin Koppen [2011]) (Kai 2022b)

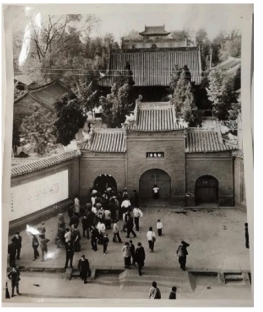


Figure 2. White Horse Temple 1973 (photograph by author, taken in the White Horse Temple Archive [2018])(Kai 2022b)

The Modern White Horse Temple

The existing ruins and historic sites that exist today in the temple complex are from the Yuan, Ming, and Qing Dynasties.[3] The main temple buildings, large and complex,

were reconstructed during the Ming and Qing dynasties, refurbished in the 1950s, and again in March 1973. However, the current temple complex, the one I visited in 2018, has been significantly expanded beyond these refurbishments. It contains numerous halls, divided by courtyards and landscaped gardens, covering an area of 200 acres. This was a gradual process of renovation that began in the early 1990s and 2000s and was completed in 2008. Uniquely, apart from the 32 acres of the old temple, which includes the great Buddha Hall and the Mahavira hall.

Later, an additional 170 acres were gradually added to the site. Uniquely, the rest of the site includes temples designed by and dedicated to other Buddhist countries besides China, such as Myanmar, Thailand, and Burma. As I will elaborate, the temples' design, inspiration, and aesthetics are drawn from and dedicated to expressing the traditional Buddhist elements of these countries. Additionally, the Myanmar, Thailand, and India temples were donations that symbolize the cultural collaboration between these countries and the PRC in the early 2000s.

The first notable addition was the Thai temple – known as Wat Hame Assavaram in the Thai language – marking the first introduction of a temple based on Theravada doctrine in China. This temple stands as an overseas branch of the Maha Nikaya Sangha, operating under the esteemed oversight of Wat Saket Ratcha Woramahavihara in Thailand. The impetus for constructing this temple emerged through the initiative of His Holiness Somdej Phra Buddhacharya. Inaugurated in 1997, it boasts a Thai-style marble vihara that houses a replica of the revered Chinnarat Buddha statue. This statue, with dimensions of 109 inches in circumference, and 7.2 inches in height, and weighing 8 tons, was blessed by a gold-pouring ceremony at Wat Bowonniwet Vihara, in Bangkok (UTO). Notably, the restoration endeavours were made possible through the patronage of Wattana Asavahame, a prominent Thai politician.



Figure 3. White Horse Temple Visitor Map (photograph by author [2018])



Figure 4. The Thai Hall (photograph by author [2018])

Another striking addition to the landscape of White Horse Temple complex is the India Buddha Hall. A visual testament to enduring cultural connections, this hall

boasts a captivating exterior shaped like a dome, adorned with intricate decorations and resplendent with statues. The inception of this temple stems from a proposal made by the Chinese in 2003, during visit by the then Indian Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, to Luoyang. Swiftly embracing the concept, Prime Minister Vajpayee recognized the profound potential of a Buddhist shrine as a conduit for fostering "people-to-people contact." This endeavour coincided with the commemoration of sixty years of diplomatic ties, enhancing the cultural exchange between the two nations. To manifest this vision, the design took inspiration from the iconic Sanchi Stupa in Madhya Pradesh, India. Notably, the materialization of this architectural marvel involved the transportation of marble and granite in a staggering 200 shipping containers from India to China (*Deccan Herald*, 2010).

The last foreign temple to be built in the complex was the Burmese-style Buddha Hall (缅甸风格佛殿, *Miandian fengge fodian*), donated by the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, and built between 2012 and 2014, following a diplomatic visit by the Prime Minister of Myanmar to The White Horse Temple. Its main building, the Shwedagon Pagoda, is based on the Shwedagon Pagoda in Yangon, Myanmar. The four main gates and walls of the Pagoda were directly transplanted from the Mandalay Palace in Myanmar (njdaily.cn 2014).



Figure 5. The Indian Hall
(photograph by author [2018])



Figure 6. The Indian Hall wall murals
(photograph by author [2018])



Figure 7. The Myanmar Hall
(photograph by author [2018])

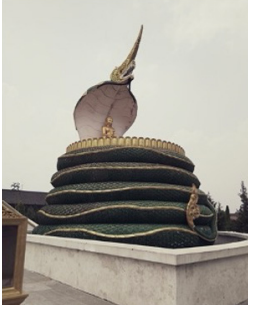


Figure 8. Sculpture in the Garden of
The Thai Hall (photograph by author [2018])

BRI and Buddhism

The context of these three foreign temples is seemingly straightforward. The combination of the old temple with the newer additions can be interpreted as symbolizing the impact of Luoyang as an important historical site for Buddhism, which China's neighbours acknowledge and choose to cherish as a sign of good cultural relations. However, in light of the PRC's political sphere of the past decade under Xi Jinping, the status, activities, and developments of White Horse Temple merit deeper inquiry.

In 2013 President Xi Jinping visited Central Asian and Southeast Asian countries and proposed the primary initiative of the "One Belt, One Road" (一带一路, Yidaiyilu; hereafter, BRI). In short, the BRI is a global infrastructure development strategy to invest in more than 150 countries and international organizations. It is central to the Chinese leader Xi Jinping's foreign policy. The plan calls for China to assume a more significant leadership role in global affairs commensurate with its rising power and status, based on building a new or revitalized Silk Road (Belt and Road Portal 2023).

Under this grand plan, Buddhist temples, representatives, and practices have been harnessed to participate in the PRC's agendas. This is, in fact, not at all surprising, since the Silk Road even bears another name, being recognized as the "Buddhist Road" (Dan and Qu 2022, 10). The Silk Road provided a network for the spread of the teachings of the Buddha, enabling Buddhism to become a world religion and to develop into a sophisticated and diverse system of beliefs and practices.

As mentioned previously, White Horse Temple is part of a network of tourist economy heritage sites. More particularly, its status has become even more central because of its potential role within the BRI. Since the early 2000s, the Chinese Communist Party has increasingly used various cultural heritage sites, including Buddhist sites, as soft power agents. Based on this context, this article will explore the impact of these developments on the temple. I have been led by questions such as, What happens to an important religious site once it has been used, redesigned, and renovated for the past three decades under the steady influence of diplomatic and political motives? How is the cultural heritage of the temple preserved? How do these developments affect the nature and manner in which people visit and spend time in the temple?

Tourism and Cultural Heritage

Beginning with the question of heritage preservation, some studies are worth mentioning. A study in the field of tourism, published in 2022 by Lin Dan and Xiuwei Qu, conducted a SWOT analysis (a model to assess the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats in a business model). Using this tool, they characterized the

development of the temple as a weakness, referring to the lack of content in the recently constructed halls dedicated to Buddhism in foreign countries. The authors stated, "The international Buddhist temple exhibition area in the temple; Thai, Burmese Indian and other's fail to fully reflect the culture and art of Buddhism in these countries" (Dan and Qu 2022, 10). I resonate with this reflection based on my visit to the halls and would add that the halls are literally empty of the array of statues, ornaments, and shrines one often finds in Buddhist spaces. The buildings resemble museum spaces rather than religious spaces.

Another study from 2019, by Guo Xiaotao was also published after the renovation and addition of the new foreign temples (Guo 2019). In the study, Guo stresses that the temple's protection and the site's development should focus on the relationship between Luoyang as a city and its relevance in the Han Dynasty. The author describes the additional buildings as demonstrating inclusiveness (包容性, *baorong xing*) by looking at other Buddhist traditions.

However, this research also criticized the new development as failing to fully consider the fit with Luoyang's surrounding historical and cultural sites. According to the publication, the White Horse Temple's unique cultural and context are misunderstood. The study of White Horse Temple and the history of Chinese Buddhism cannot be separated from the study of the Han and Wei Dynasties. The author argues that the new monuments added are causing some degree of damage to the fundamental cultural and historical core of the temple, which is being "held hostage." The rich spiritual and historical connections are being lost (Guo 2019).

As previously noted, the new renovation and addition of the foreign Buddha halls preceded the BRI and was officially designated to mark the symbolic importance of the ancient cultural relations between these countries and China. Yet, since the BRI was introduced, the state's attention to the potential of the temple has grown. The foreign halls are not solely intended for Chinese Buddhists to learn about other Buddhist countries, but are also aimed at Chinese and foreign tourists. In 2017, Luoyang was designated as a pilot zone of the Henan Free Trade Zone (河南自贸区, *Henan zimaoqu*).

A plan for a China-Europe rail service was issued, emphasizing the strategic location of Luoyang on the Silk Road. Luoyang Airport was further expanded in 2021, adding routes from Japan, Thailand, and Vietnam for direct flights to the city. Furthermore, a comprehensive discussion on the future of Metro Line 1 aims to make it more accessible for international arrivals, with a direct metro line from the city centre to the temple (Guo 2019).

The profound significance of this temple for researchers delving into the realms of cultural heritage and tourism comes into full focus when placed within the sweeping vista of the broader tourism industry. Recent transformations echoing across South, Southeast, and East Asia have spearheaded a resounding resurgence: the dawn of Buddhist tourism. This cultural evolution entails a profound reimagining of the essence and importance of sites interwoven with the tapestry of Buddhism. Governments within

these regions are embarking on a trajectory in which Buddhism's embrace extends to encompass a tapestry woven with threads of nation-state ideologies, engendering an all-encompassing interpretation of this venerable tradition (Bruntz and Shedneck 2020, 1).

Remarkably, White Horse Temple asserts an active presence within the sacred nexus of the religious economy that pulsates through the vibrant tapestry of the tourism sector (Wang 2018, 43). This participation is emblematic of its role as a cultural nexus, interwoven with the socio-economic fabric that shapes and sustains the multifaceted domain of tourism. Within this synergy, the temple not only preserves its historical and spiritual heritage, but also traverses a dynamic trajectory in fostering meaningful interactions between culture, heritage, and the intrepid footfalls of curious travellers. As I have explored above, scholars are grappling with the question of how White Horse Temple can leverage its "ancestral court" advantage, preserving its traditional and Buddhist essence, while simultaneously embracing a market-oriented approach in the context of the current economic era.

Additionally, I would contend that beyond the realms of tourism and preservation, other agendas have also influenced this process. The White Horse Temple's new additions convey an explicit message. Namely, a connecting cultural line between Myanmar, Thailand, and India, and the PRC. This symbolic gesture of cultural ties appears in the official plans for the BRI. Buddhism, in this context, is portrayed as a shared Asian tradition among the PRC's potential allies and, therefore, a fruitful cultural common ground which can also strengthen economic and political collaboration.

Aside from this explicit message, I would suggest that there is also an implicit message that should also be considered. The focus on Luoyang as the historical locus of the spread of Buddhism in China also stresses the role and centrality of China in spreading Buddhism across East and South Asia. The construction of these Thai, Myanmar, and Indian temples surrounding the first Chinese Buddhist temple within the territory of the PRC suggests a claim on Buddhism as a cultural and religious tradition. This message is part of a broader endeavour for the sinicization of Buddhism (佛教中国化进程, *fojiao zhongguo hua jincheng*), which has been underway in the PRC in recent years, in which China has begun to describe Buddhism as an "Ancient Chinese Religion" (Ranade 2017). The modern reconstruction of the temple resonates with the notion of China as the locus of Buddhism, despite recognizing India as the original birthplace of Buddhism. This is, in fact, an underlining message, a part of the soft power strategy, which is a part of the BRI mechanism, as I will explore in the following section.

Soft Power and Buddhism

In politics, soft power is the ability to co-opt rather than coerce (in contrast to hard power). Using soft power entails shaping the preferences of others (the public or individuals) through appeal and attraction. The currency of soft power includes culture,

political values, and foreign policies. In the Chinese context, soft power aims to make the country positive and attractive as a nation. While this is largely acknowledged in foreign relations, this process is also aimed inwardly, namely at Chinese citizens and how they perceive their own country (Lai and Lu 2013, 17).

However, how is this trajectory of cultural soft power relevant to the Buddhist religion? With its rich tapestry of traditions, beliefs, material expressions, and sects, Buddhism has had a profound and far-reaching impact on Chinese culture since its introduction. Over the past decade, Buddhism in China has undergone a process of harnessing, directing, and redefining within the cultural and political sphere of the country. The religion's rich material and cultural history is increasingly being used for various political agendas. Scholars have also highlighted a noticeable increase in the use of soft power strategies directed at Buddhist actors and institutions to regulate and control the influence of the religion in China (Ashiwa and Wank 2020, 3–4).

While Xi Jinping's treatment of religion incorporates harsh restrictions overall, its strategy regarding Buddhism is more complex than merely attacking it directly as a religion. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has not openly opposed the expansion of Buddhism, and has even initiated what it calls a "passive form of support". However, state policies are intended to control the influence of Buddhism and use it for the state's objectives (Laliberté 2011, 109; Shmushko 2022b).

Since Xi Jinping became leader of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 2012, the Chinese state has been globally promoting Chinese Buddhism. The aim is not to spread belief in Buddhism as a religion but rather to further the aspirations of the Communist Party of China (CPC) for China to be recognized as a country that has inherited a civilization in the modern world (Ashiwa and Wank 2020, 3–4).

Buddhism can also be perceived as an element of "soft power" used by the state in internal affairs, and as a cultural resource used in external politics. The CCP's current approach is to use religion for its means and agenda, and to give Buddhism a more strategic role in society. People's responses to the attitude, regulations, and demands of the BAC (中国佛教协会, *Zhongguo fo jiao xiehui*, Buddhist Association of China,), which the CCP monopolizes, is not necessarily rejection or disgruntled obedience (Ashiwa and Wank 2009).

In 2015, the BAC Ninth National Congress formally recognized the global promotion of Chinese Buddhism as a critical activity. It called for Chinese Buddhism to "go out" (走出去, *zou chuqii*) of China to other countries in order to "tell the Chinese story well" to their people so they could realize China's accomplishments and peaceful intentions. These efforts were referred to as "soft power" (软实力, *ruan shili*), "public diplomacy" (公共外交, *gonggong waijiao*), and "person-to-person diplomacy" (人间外交, *renjian waijiao*), and were linked to the BRI (Ashiwa and Wank 2020, 3–4).

These endeavours are not exclusive to China. For India, Buddhism is a useful enhancer of cultural soft power. The religion has, over the past decade, increased

in importance for India as New Delhi tries to re-energize the religious tradition and integrate it into the country's cultural strength (Ranade 2023). India, which has been home to Buddhism since its birth, sees Buddhism as a way of strengthening its relationship with Southeast Asian nations, and as a means of preserving the religious and cultural practices of the Tibetan Buddhist people who have sought refuge in India.

Buddhism as Culture

One example of the state's use of religion is Xi Jinping's ongoing emphasis on framing Buddhism as a part of the cultural heritage of the Chinese people. The CCP now considers Buddhism to be part of Chinese civilization's core (Xi 2014). The party's current line is to flatten Buddhism into cultural activities and expressions in Chinese society, often disconnecting it from its religious and spiritual aspects (Shmushko 2022a). In recent years, several arguments have been made by Xi Jinping regarding Buddhism being a tradition (文化, *wenhua*), not a religion (Dubois 2015, 56). In his speeches, he expresses a will to blend religion into culture:

> [...] we must continue to walk the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics; actively practice the core values of socialism, promote Chinese culture, strive to fuse the religious teachings and Chinese culture (Xi 2016).

We also see that the BAC is promoting discursive forms of Buddhism. One of them is "Buddhist culture." This refers to Chinese Buddhist-inspired values and practices that people can pursue as lifestyles and hobbies without questioning beliefs or understanding Buddhist teachings (Ashiwa and Wank 2020, 6). The way that Buddhism is approached in this manner reflects a broader discourse prevalent in contemporary globalized societies. Religion is often utilized as a cultural resource, or what Pierre Bourdieu referred to as "symbolic capital" (Bourdieu 1986, 26). Nevertheless, the utilization of such resources differs across nation-states and social groups (Geoffroy 2004, 35). In China, culture has not only become an integral part of the entrepreneurial vision of the state, but consumer citizenship and leisure culture are also officially promoted. This highlights the evolving relationship between religion, cultural dynamics, and the state's efforts to encourage certain forms of cultural expression and consumption within the society.

The White Horse Temple Goes Online

Relevant to this paradigm of Buddhism as a cultural phenomenon, it is useful to inquire to how Chinese visitors respond to the temple's renovation. In recent years, Chinese temple visits are highly documented on social media, which incapsulates

various aspects of Chinese Buddhism, including temples creating online sanghas, conducting online rituals, and documenting pilgrimages and worship (Zhang 2017; Shmushko 2023). Concerning one aspect of these responses, I began researching social media representations of users sharing their visits to The White Horse Temple.

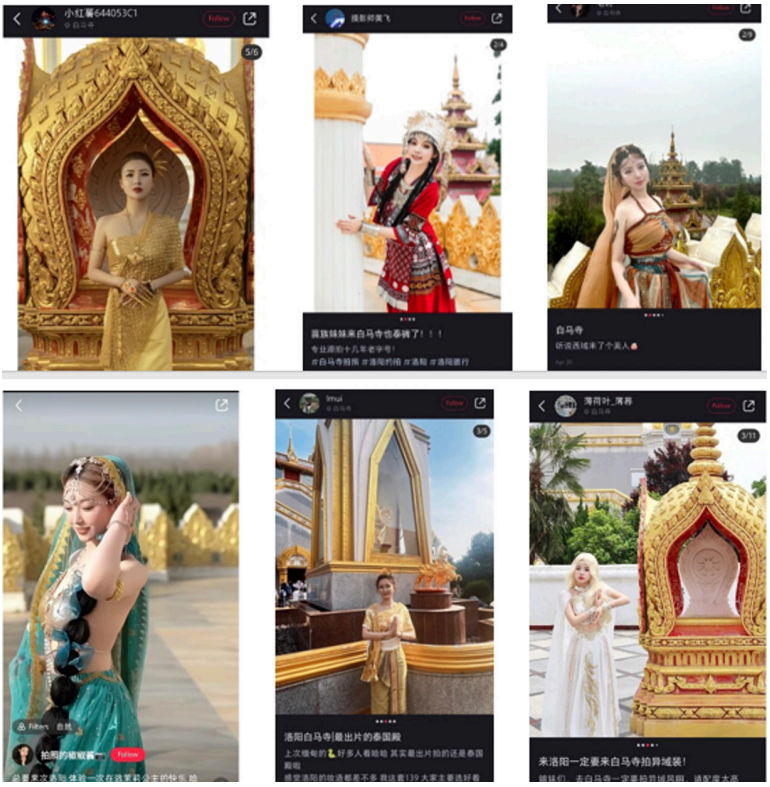
As part of my research on social media and religious participation, I studied Buddhist online activity on an app called the Little Red Book (小红书, *xiao hong shu*), which has been described as the Chinese answer to Instagram, an app highly centred on visual content.[4] Entering "Baima si" into the search line of the social media app, I was not surprised to see hundreds of results tagging the temple in its renovated form. Yet what caught my eye were dozens of users who had uploaded photos with content and aesthetics as presented in the screenshots in Figures 9–14. These posts, which were uploaded to the Little Red Book in the past five years, portray Chinese women dressed in traditional ethnic and cultural garments related to the aforementioned countries. One image presents a woman dressed in Miao clothing and posing in the Thai Buddha Hall (see Figure 10). Another example shows a Chinese woman dressed in an Indian sari, also photographed in the area of the foreign temples.

The other examples are less specific yet present the siilar visual representation of fashionable poses and clothing. The examples presented here are only a few of several hundrends of such posts, which pop up when one searches for the temple on the social media app. Hundreds of women dressed in thin traditional garments associated with these foreign countries take fashionable, almost professional-looking photos to post on their social media accounts. Many of the posts are tagged with keywords, among them: # 白马寺 (*Baimasi*, White Horse Temple) # 旅拍 (*lupai* – travel photography) and # 洛阳旅游 (*Luoyang luyou* – Luoyang travels). Many of them have rented their costumes from a shop in the old city of Luoyang, that also activates a user account on Xiaohongshu, attracting visitors of the city to come and rent trendy exotic outfits for photos sessions at the city's heritage sites.

In this article, I will not delve into the psychological or deep perceptions of these individual account holders regarding the countries whose garments they wear. I would like to focus on the aesthetic environment formed through this trend in the temple, which is an authorized religious site. As mentioned above, we are witnessing how the Chinese state is intentionally reducing Buddhism to aesthetic cultural activities, encouraging consumerism more than religious practice or faith. I would suggest that the particular result of refurbishing the temple into a display park for multi-cultural Buddhism also plays into the same scheme of re-framing Buddhism in Chinese society.

Through emphasizing the touristic aspects of the temple, and implementing the new elements in the temple complex, the temple does not serve as a place of worship for Buddhists, but predominantly caters to leisure tourism. As in many newly built tourist sites across the PRC, the aesthetics of the temple, as well as commercial goods offered around the temple determine the visitor's experience and even the spiritual content of

their visit. It seems that a large part of the visitors to the modern White Horse Temple take on ways of engagement with the place that are far from standard temple practices (e.g., prayer, lighting incense, making offerings at altars, etc.)



Figures 9.–14. (Clockwise from the top right): Screenshots of User Posts on The Little Red Book (screenshots by author [2022])

Besides sharing these images with their followers and gaining new followers to their user page, the users depicted in Figures 9–14 are also reproducing the temple's space in another spatial sphere. It is useful to look at these posts as, what has been referred to by Amy Y. Zhang et al., as an "urban-digital spectacle" (Zhang et al., 2022). In the context of a digitized China Zhang et al ask what happens to urban spaces in their representation on social media? Since the early 2010s, a dramatic increase in the sharing of images, videos, and place-based information through social media platforms (Instagram, TikTok, Xiaohongshu, etc.) has produced a new landscape of interactions between user-generated content, online influence, urban infrastructures, and imaginaries. In this context, Zhang et al. describe the capturing of "Wanhong (网红) urbanism". Wanghong is the Chinese colloquial term for an internet celebrity. They show that by operating through a human-generated cycle supported by algorithms, a spectacle is produced through interlinked digital and urban spaces, which affects these spaces in return (Zhang et al., 2022).

I would suggest that the trend I have witnessed in the temple and on social media, fits this framework. The atmosphere in the temple, with its particular aesthetic, which is palatable to young netizens, encourages a cultural and aesthetic activity which is then posted online. These visual representations then appear in searches, with the help of relevant hashtags, and so appear when other potential visitors look for information on the temple or about Luoyang. There is therefore a circular trend that is being created where the temple as a physical space is duplicated in the internet space, with aesthetics attached to it created by the app users. Furthermore, as can be seen in Figure 15, commercial interests are also at play. In the case of The White Horse Temple, these are actors such as the temple administration, and the nearby shop that rents the costumes, but also the local government that wishes to maximize tourism at the temple. Having visitors in the temple demonstrating Wanghong on the Chinese media space works in favour of the interests of these various actors. The gain the PRC state is acquiring is online attention to the temple and potential profit for the Buddhist tourist economy of the temples.

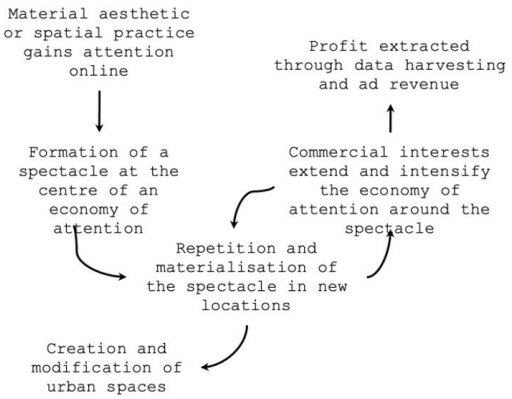


Figure 15. The urban–digital spectacle cycle (from Zhang et al. 2022)

Another vital aspect of the "urban-digital spectacle cycle," which should be discussed in relation to The White Horse Temple, is what is referred to as the "creation and modification of the urban space" (Zhang et al. 2022). The particular activity that is captured in the temple – dressing up in the traditional clothing of foreign nationals – has contributed a creation of meaning and character to the urban space, through its proxy online representation. Based on its representation on The Little Red Book, the temple is therefore less recognized as a religious or sacred space, and more as a hip, fashionable space, which serves as a good background for photoshoots. This engagement with the temple is barely connected to religiosity or worship, or even Buddhist cultural values, playing into the hands of the PRC, who wish to limit the power of Buddhism as a religion.

Conclusion

This article began with a narrative about the temple, which had played a significant role for centuries despite its historical inaccuracy. In modern times, the story of White Horse Temple continues to be shaped by policymakers who determine architectural changes, as well as by the harnessing of popular trends to achieve various political goals. These goals go beyond religious advocacy or the preservation of the Buddhist tradition.

In the wake of the BRI inauguration, a discernible trend has emerged wherein strategic cultural heritage sites or belief systems, capable of exerting a positive influence on the Chinese state, have increasingly become recipients of resource allocation. Remarkably, even within the intricate tapestry of religion's relationship with the Communist Chinese state, Buddhist sites have found their place within this ambit.

While the aspiration to integrate Buddhist sites into the BRI's expansive blueprint may be a recent development, the inception of "BRI Buddhism" draws from antecedent processes, some dating as far back as 1990 and 2000. This unfolding phenomenon is illustrated in the context of White Horse Temple. Here, the interplay of historical processes unveils a narrative wherein the threads of ancient heritage seamlessly intertwine with the visionary tenets of a modern diplomatic initiative.

As a case-in-point, the discourse surrounding the temple's restoration resonates with the aspiration to foster "mutual communication and mutual trust" between China and the diverse countries traversing the BRI in East Asia and Southeast Asia – a pivotal objective within the BRI's overarching framework. Intriguingly, a reminiscent terminology surfaced in the early 2000s, notably during the donation of the Indian temple to the White Horse Temple complex. This linguistic parallel underscore a continuity of rhetoric, revealing how historical threads weave into the contemporary narrative.

Moreover, as this article suggests, the endeavour to position the White Horse Temple at the vanguard of BRI Buddhism underscores a duality of agendas, both explicit and implicit. The explicit facet is manifest in the concerted endeavour to forge cultural bonds between East Asian countries and the PRC, underpinned by a pronounced pursuit of soft power diplomacy. In tandem, the implicit dimension weaves a narrative of China's central position and cultural eminence, accentuating the historical significance of the Silk Road's role in disseminating Buddhism across the expanse of East and South Asia.

In the realm of cultural heritage preservation, a deeper examination of both scholarly discourse and the unfolding events within the temple's precincts reveals a tapestry of frictions and inconsistencies that reverberate around its management and operation. A nuanced exploration exposes a confluence of factors wherein attempts to align with the BRI aspirations for projecting soft cultural power appear to intersect with, and sometimes collide with, other pivotal objectives.

Prominent experts in the field underscore a notable discordance. The endeavour to harness the temple's potential as an emblematic exponent of soft cultural influence within the BRI narrative appears, at times, to stand at odds with parallel imperatives. These encompass the sustained pursuit of historical research and the delicate art of archaeological preservation. It is as if the temple's evolution straddles a dichotomy, caught between its roles as a reservoir of historical knowledge and a vehicle for contemporary diplomatic overtures.

Moreover, concerns extend beyond the preservation of physical artifacts to encompass the spiritual and religious essence that the temple encapsulates. A discerning gaze reveals the emergence of diplomatic propaganda attributes, which, while perhaps bolstering diplomatic narratives, risk diluting the spiritual and religious authenticity that has defined the temple through the ages. This shift, emblematic of the modern era, risks overshadowing the intrinsic sanctity and auspiciousness that the temple inherently emanates within the realm of Buddhist cultural heritage. The popular activities documented in the online sphere showcase this change in the perception of the temple, where a new identity, meaning, and relevancy is created for the temple. Thus, the narrative of White Horse Temple epitomizes a multifaceted struggle. It embodies the intricate balancing act required to harmonize divergent aspirations, spanning diplomatic projection, historical reverence, and popular cultural activities.

Acknowledgments

This research was partially carried out with the help of Collaborative Research Fund of the Hong Kong Research Grants Council (C7052–18G).

Conflict of Interest

No potential conflict of interest relevant to this article was reported.

Notes

[1] "as bright as the sun and the moon around the neck and on the back." (项背日月光明, *Xiang bei ri yue guangming*)

[2] The text is a loose translation from Foru *zhongguo zhishi* (佛入中国之始, the beginning of Buddha's entry into China).

[3] More about the archaeological and historical details of the temples can be found in: Guo Xiaotao (2019).

[4] *The Little Red Book* application offers its users, including influencers, the ability to post, discover, and share product reviews, with a particular emphasis on beauty and health-related content. Additionally, the platform serves as a hub for travel bloggers who frequently share posts about tourism and leisure destinations. Notably, Little Red Book operates RED Mall, an e-commerce section of the platform that caters to Chinese users, providing them access to a wide range of international products for purchase.

References

Ashiwa, Yoshiko and David L. Wank 2020 — "Making Religion, Making the State in Modern China: An Introductory Essay." In *Making Religion, Making the State : The Politics of Religion in Modern China*, 1-21. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.1515/9780804771139-002

2009 — "The Chinese State Global Promotion of Buddhism". *Geopolitics of Religious Soft Power Policy Brie*f 4, Georgetown, DC: Berkeley Center for Religion Peace & World, Affairs/Brookings Institution, accessed on 4 July 2023. https://berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/publications/the-chinese-state-s-global-promotion-of-buddhism

Baimasi.org. 2014 — "Myanmar Pagoda Court." [Chinese Language Text]. 白马寺缅甸佛塔苑 (Baimasi Miandian fo ta yuan), accessed on 1 July, 2023. https://web.archive.org/web/20160218065519/http://www.chinabaimasi.org/bms-main.asp?BigClass=%B9%FA%BC%CA%B7%F0%B5%EE%D4%B7&SmallClass=%C3%E5%B5%E9%B7%F0%CB%FE%D4%B7.

Belt and Road Portal 2023 — "Belt and Road." accessed on 3 June 2023. https://eng.yidaiyilu.gov.cn/

Bourdieu, Pierre 1984 — *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press

Bruntz, Courtney and Brooke Schedneck 2021 — *Buddhist Tourism in Asia*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press

Chih, Yang Hsuan 2014. (1984) — *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-Yang*. Y.-T. Wang. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

Dan, Lin and Qu, Xiuwei 2022 — "Yidai Yilu Jianshe Shijiao Xia Luoyang Baima Si Wenhua Luyou Swot Fēnxī." *Tourism Today* 20(09): 10–12. [Chinese Language Text] 单琳, 屈秀伟, "一带一路" 建设视角下洛阳白马寺文化旅游 SWOT 分析. 当代旅游.

Deccan Herald 2010 — "India to Gift Buddhist Temple to China". 06 May 2010, accessed on 4 July 2023. https://www.deccanherald.com/content/67860/india-gift-buddhist-temple-china.html

DuBois, David T. 2018 "Religious Freedom in East Asia: Historical Norms and the Limits of Advocacy." *Journal of Religious and Political Practice* 4(1): 46–60. https://doi.org/10.1080/20566093.2017.1390655

Geoffroy, Martin 2004 "Theorizing Religion in the Global Age: A Typological Analysis." *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 18(1–2): 33–46. https://doi.org/10.1023/B:IJPS.0000048106.75054.97

Guo, Xiaotao 2019 "Historical and Archaeological Research on the White Horse Temple from the Perspective of Luoyang During the Han and Wei Dynasties." *Relics from South* 6: 18–23. [Chinese Language Text] 郭晓涛, 汉魏洛阳视野下白马寺的历史 考古研究 (Han wei Luoyang shiye xia baimasi de lishi kao gu yanjiu), 南方文物.

Lai Hongyi and Yiyi Lu 2013 *China's Soft Power and International Relations*. London: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group

Laliberté, André 2011 "Buddhist Revival under State Watch." Journal of Current Chinese Affairs 40(2): 107–134. https://doi.org/10.1177/186810261104000205

Maspero, Henri. 1901 Le songe et l'ambassade de le'empereur Ming', *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 10: 95–130.

Njdaily.cn 2014 "luoynag baimasi miandian fengge fodian chengquanbu you miandian chuzi" *Njdaily.cn*. accessed on 11 June 2023 [Chinese Language Text] 洛阳白马寺缅甸风格佛殿落成全部由缅甸出资". https://web.archive.org/web/20150322063904/http://www.njdaily.cn/2014/0715/890578.shtml

Ranade, Jayadeva 2017 "Buddhism: A New Frontier in China- India Rivalry." *Carnegie India*, 17 March 2017, accessed on 14 June 2023. https://carnegieindia.org/2017/03/17/buddhism-new-frontier-in-china-india-rivalry-pub-68326

Sen, Tansen 2012 "The Spread of Buddhism to China: A Re-examination of the Buddhist Interactions between Ancient India and China." *China Report* 48 (1–2):11–27. https://doi.org/10.1177/000944551104800202

Shmushko, Kai 2022a "Enchanted Commodities or Cultural Elements? Lay Han Practitioners of Tibetan Buddhism and the 'Living Hall' Model (生活館, Shenghuo guan)." *Review of Religion in Chinese Society* 9: 101–36. https://doi.org/10.1163/22143955-08020015

2022b "Buddhism, an Urban Village and Cultural Soft Power: An Ethnography of Buddhist Practitioners in Wutong." *Entangled Religions* 13(1): https://doi.org/10.46586/er.13.2022.9709

2023 "Digital Footprints of Buddhism in Chinese-Speaking Cyberspace: Ethnography, Developments, and Challenges." *Asiascape: Digital Asia* 10(1–2): 53–73. https://doi.org/10.1163/22142312-bja10042

UTO (The Union of Thai Sanghas in Ocieania) 2023 "Connecting Theravada Mahayana and Thai Chinese Culture." accessed on 6 July 2023, https://www.sanghaoceania.org/en/wathem..

Wang, Xue 2018 "Religious Tourism Development Strategy of Luoyang Baima Temple under the Background of Economic Times." *Mangzhong Literature* 06: 43–44. [Chinese Language Text] 王雪, 经济时代背景下 洛阳白马寺宗教旅游开发策略 (Jingji shidai beijing xia luoyang bama si zongjiao luyou kaifa celue), 芒种文學.

Xi, Jinping 2014 "Speech by Xi Jinping President of the People's Republic of China at Unesco Headquarters." Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 28 March 2014, accessed on 14 July 2023, https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/wjdt_665385/zyjh_665391/201403/t20140331_678150.html

2016 "Comprehensively Improving the Level of Religious Work According to the New Situation". Xinhua net 23 April 2016, accessed on 20 July 2020 [Chinese Language Text] 习近平, 全面提高新形势下宗教工作水平 (Quanmian tigao xinxing shixia zongjiao gongzuo shuiping). http://www.xinhuanet.com/politics/2016-04/23/c_1118716540.htm.

Zhang, Amy Yueming, et al. 2022 "Wanghong Urbanism: Towards a New Urban-Digital Spectacle." *Mediapolis* 7(4). https://www.mediapolisjournal.com/2022/11/wanghong-urbanism/

Zhang, Yanshuang 2017 "Digital Religion in China: A Comparative Perspective on Buddhism and Christianity's Online Publics in Sina Weibo." *Journal of Religion, Media and Digital Culture* 6(1): 44–67.

Zürcher, Erik. 2007 [1959] *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China*. Third edition with Foreword by Stephen F. Teiser. Leiden: Brill.

Sikh and CaoDai Understandings of Interfaith Harmony: Promoting a Culture of Peace and Understanding

Mohammad Jahangir ALAM and Injamam Mahbub MOJUMDER

JDTREA 2023,3(1): 129–151

Original Articles

Correspondence to

Mohammad Jahangir ALAM
University of Dhaka, Bangladesh

mja77@du.ac.bd

ORCID

Mohammad Jahangir ALAM
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2442-3943

Injamam Mahbub MOJUMDER
https://orcid.org/ 0009-0005-7929-5220

Mohammad Jahangir Alam, PhD, presently holds the position of Professor and Chair of the Department of World Religions and Culture at University of Dhaka, Bangladesh. Dr Alam specializes in religious studies, with a notable expertise in the Baha'i and Cao Dai faiths. Injamam Mahbub Mojumder is a Lecturer in the Department of World Religions and Culture at the University of Dhaka, Bangladesh where he completed his undergraduate, postgraduate, and M.Phil. degrees. Additionally, he is an alumnus of the King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz International Centre for Interreligious and Intercultural Dialogue (KAICIID) in Portugal.

Journal of Daesoon Thought and the Religions of East Asia Vol. 3. Issue 1 (September 2023): 129–151
© 2023 by the Daesoon Academy of Sciences, Daejin University, Korea

https://doi.org/10.25050/JDTREA.2023.3.1.129

Day of submission: 2023.07.25.
Completion of review: 2023.08.31.
Final decision for acceptance: 2023.09.20.

P-ISSN: 2799-3949
E-ISSN: 2799-4252

Abstract

The concept of interfaith harmony is one of the key issues for discussion in this contemporary world. It has multifaceted implications that range from pedagogical realms to global policy making. Here we focus on the basic concepts of interfaith harmony from Sikh and Cao Dai perspectives in order to address their viewpoints in regard to promoting culture of Peace and Understanding. Although these religions are new as compared to the existing living religions of the world, they found their new identity in the history of world religions for their unique concepts of interfaith harmony. In this article, the concept of interfaith harmony has been analyzed from two perspectives such as theological and socio-historical. For a systematic understanding of the subject matter, it has been categorized into three subpoints; unity of God, unity of religions and unity of humanity. Methodologically, the qualitative methodological framework of the proposed research is descriptive in nature. Thus, the present research has been primarily conducted by using secondary sources, although the crucial information is collected from primary sources such as the sacred texts of Sikhism and Caodaism. Since this study is done considering the social, political and religious contexts of India and Vietnam, it can contribute to the understanding of the nature of interfaith harmony in South and South-East Asia.

Keywords: Interfaith Harmony; Interreligious Harmony Sikhism; Caodaism; India; Vietnam; Unity; Pluralism; Unity of Religion; Unity of Humanity

Introduction

The academic study of religions is one of the most important additions to the continuous growth of human consciousness. The study of religions from different perspectives and disciplines has shifted religion from theological and personal boundaries and posited it as a multi-dimensional, life-oriented factor. Religions have now become an important part of the cognitive realm that deals with almost everything connected to human life (Giddens 2006). From socio-historical and psychological perspectives, religion has proven itself an integral part of individual and collective human life, which is natural to individuals, and it is not a fixed or finished function but a changing and growing one (Coe 1904). In the field of the study of religions, the concept of interfaith harmony is gaining impetus at the global policy level, and it has been considered as one of the most influential factors to meet the challenges of intolerance, extremism, and religious militancy of the world (Wang 2013). This research work lays out the concept of interfaith harmony in Sikhism and Caodaism following the methodology of the comparative study of religion.

Sikhism and Caodaism are comparatively new religions in the world. Sikhism originated around 1500 CE with the teachings of its founder Guru Nanak in India (Chatterji 1971). Caodaism emerged in the early twentieth century in South Vietnam with Ngo Minh Chieu's (1878–1932) acceptance of the religion of God, Duc Cao Dai (Alam 2010). Despite almost all the religions of the world including the notion of harmony in their doctrines, Caodaism and Sikhism are unique in that sense that they have had added the notion of "interfaith harmony" as a core belief and acknowledge the existence of the truths in almost all religions and call for a unity based on harmony. Sikhism and Caodaism both posited the need for harmonious existence in an unprecedented manner (Islam and Islam 2016; Alam 2010; Farid 2010). This research work, therefore, analyzes and explains interfaith harmony from the perspectives of unity of God, unity of humanity, unity of religion, and provides examples of freedom of religions in Sikhism and Caodaism.

Research Methodology

To conduct this research work, the researchers have adopted a qualitative methodology appropriate to the subject matter. Following the qualitative method, the researchers have utilized secondary sources as a method of data collection. It is important to mention that, since this research work mostly depends on secondary sources, the collected data and sources have been used after analyses, assessments, rechecks, cross-checks, and careful evaluation to avoid any errors.

Conceptual Framework

Sikhism

The Sikh religion originated at the end of the fifteenth century in the area of north-west India and Pakistan, called the Punjab. Both Hinduism and Islam were the predominant religions in this area. Popularly it is said that Sikhism was born out of a union between Hinduism and Islam. It is said that a number of people were asking themselves whether a ritual or formal way of life would bring them near to God, and Sikhism offered them an alternative way of life (Davies 1982). Guru Nanak (1469–1539) is the founder of Sikhism, and it is based on the teachings of nine successive Gurus. Notably, Guru Nanak was not previously called *Guru* by his early followers. He was addressed by the respectful title *Baba* (Father). To later generations of Sikhs; however, Guru Nanak was the one who had revealed the truth and enshrined it in works of great beauty. That is why he and his nine successors were considered as Gurus (McLeod 2009). This religion has been commonly known as *Gurmat* or the *Sikh Dharma*. The word "Sikh" derives from the Sanskrit word *sishya* meaning 'disciple' or 'learner' and or *sikhsha* meaning "teaching" (Singh 2010).

Caodaism

Caodaism is a native religion of Vietnam (Gobron 2001). It is also popularly known as the monotheistic and syncretic indigenous religion of Vietnam. The official name of the Cao Dai religion is "Dai Dao Tam Ky Pho Do" meaning The Great Way of the Third Universal Salvation (Blagov 1999). Caodaism officially began its journey in 1926, in Tay Ninh Province in the south of Vietnam. The followers of Caodaism are called the "Caodaists", and the term "Cao Dai" literally means "a roofless high tower or palace" (Oliver 1976) or the super highness of the position of God where God reigns over the universe. The ambiguity of the meanings might be the outcome of Caodaism's secret tendency that was maintained during its formative period. As per *Dai Thua Chon Giao*, one of the Cao Dai sacred texts, followers are forbidden from clarifying the terms "Cao Dai" (Blagov 1999). However, it is now a universally accepted concept in the Cao Dai world that the "High Palace or High Tower" refers to God's absolute transcendence. It is also considered as the "Kingdom of Heaven" or "The Center of the Universe" which holds and directs the energy in order to control and keep the universe in absolute balance (Trinh 2014).

Pluralism in Sikhism

The Sikh concept of religious pluralism is a milestone in the practice of interfaith harmony. All the Gurus of Sikhism followed and propagated the notion of religious harmony and established the belief that all the religions of this world are true. Thus, to be argued that the precondition for being a *sishya* (Sikh) in Sikhism requires practice of empathy and tolerance towards others' faiths so that adherents of different religions can observe and follow their religions without any fear and oppression (Islam and Islam 2016). It was Guru Nanak who dreamt of an egalitarian society devoid of the caste system and forms of religious antagonism. That is why he intended to form a universal religious text which contains spirituality, a philosophy of love, and harmony. It is important to note that Nanak's dream was accomplished by his follower and the fifth Guru, Arjan Dev (1563–1606) in 1603 who compiled the *Adi Granth* that literally signifies "the first book". The *Adi Granth* was the compilation of the Sikh scriptures. Later, Adi Granth was supplemented by the compositions of the ninth Guru, which took on its full form in the days of Guru Govind Singh (1666–1708), and renamed the book as the *Guru Granth Sahib*. The Sikh sacred scripture (i.e., the *Adi Granth* and later the *Guru Granth Sahib*) portrays Guru Nanak's philosophy of religious pluralism and harmony. The scripture was installed in the central shrine of Amritsar known as Harimandir Sahib, which eventually became renowned as the Golden Temple (Mcleod 2009). Notably, the *Guru Granth Sahib* is not considered a revealed text like the *Qur'an* and the *Bible*, nor are its words considered to be actual words of God. Rather, the materials in this scripture are treated as divinely inspired. The prime reason is that it has absorbed the essences of the divine words both from Hinduism and Islam and incorporated them into it. For example, all the Hindu names, as well as "Allah", are used when mentioning God (Singh 2010). The *Guru Granth Sahib* is also not written by any single author nor even its writers are only the Sikhs. It is undoubtedly perceptible by the identities of the writers of the *Guru Granth Sahib* that this holy scripture appeals to all the *varnas*, and religions of India harmoniously, religiously, spiritually, and emotionally.

The writers were from various backgrounds such as Jaidev of Bengal, Surdas of Awadh, Namadev, Pipa, Sain, Kabir, Ravidas and Bhikhan of Uttar Pradesh, Dhannu of Rajasthan, and Farid of Multan. Kabir was a weaver, Sadhna was a butcher, Namdev a tailor, Dhana a farmer, Sain a barber, Ravidas a cobbler, and Farid a Muslim Sufi (Islam 2011). Despite the diversity of the authors, there is a coherence and harmony to the message that a person should aim to become a perfect human being (Menon 2011).

Furthermore, Guru Nanak is an example of a unique religious figure who never claimed himself as a prophet or redeemer but his fascinating teachings, life examples, and his charismatic influence on humanity made him a divine personality. He tried

throughout his life to eradicate the mutual hatred and violence from the minds of the Hindus and Muslims. Guru Nanak was equally respected by both Hindus and Muslims. Both Hindus and Muslims claimed him to be one of their own. A very popular proverb says: '*Guru Nanak Shah Fakir*, *Hindoovon ka guru*, *Masalmano ka peer*' (Nishter 2018). This proverb hails Guru Nanak as a 'guru of Hindus' and 'peer of Muslims.' He to some extent is widely accepted by people of different faiths in Punjab. For example, his Hindu disciples called him "Satguru Nanak Dev" while his Muslim followers considered him "Hazrat Nanak Shah", to the yogis he was "Nanak Nath", while to the Buddhists he was "Nanak Lama" (Dhillon 2013).

Unity of God

Sikhism is unique in defining its concept of 'Ultimate Truth or Reality' or God. The fact is, it rejects the finality of revelation and opens the way for accepting and reaching the "Truth" through different ways (Singh 1980). Sikhism has the extraordinary principle of accepting the truths from all the existing religions and rejects the monopoly, the authority of any certain holy book or religious personality.

In defining the concept of God, Sikhism follows uncompromising monotheism as Judaism and Islam strictly maintain the same. Thus understood, there is no ambiguity in Sikhism in relation with the concept of the oneness of God. In this regard, the very opening hymn of the *Guru Granth Sahib* addresses: "*Ek onkar satnam karata purakh nirbhaw nirvair akal murat ajuni saibhang gur prasad*" (Guru Granth Sahib, 1). This is called the *Mool Mantra* (essential or root teaching) of Sikhism that portrays Sikh God as a singular spirit who is absolutely and indivisibly one; and responsible for His own manifestation (Tiwari 2009; Singh 2010). Now the question is: How to attain the essence of God? As per Sikh theology, paths of attaining the essence of God are open to all. The proper method of attaining the essence of God suggests meditation and a virtuous life (Singh 1980). However, the Sikhs recognize the same God as the Hindus and Muslims worship. In the *Adi Granth*, as it is mentioned:

> There is but one God. But Hindus and Muslims think that their God is different from the God of other religions. The one God whom I worship is both Allah and Rama; to the formless one, I bow in my heart. Thus, I have settled the dispute between Hindus and Muslims (*Adi Granth*, 1136).

Now it is obvious that the unity of God in Sikhism presupposes the unity of humanity as all stemmed from a single source. At this point, the *Adi Granth* makes it clear: "The One God is the Father of all, we are all his children; O Guru, O friend, I dedicated my heart to thee; let me have a glimpse of God" (*Adi Granth*, 611). In Sikh scriptures,

the doctrine of the oneness of God has been described with utmost clarity where the freedom of worship for all without any barrier is confirmed. The following verse of the *Adi Granth* attests to this reality as, "God of the Hindus, God of the Muslims is the same. What can the *mullah* and *sheikh* do if they want to prove them to be different" (*Adi Granth*, 1215).

God in Sikh theology is the ultimate symbol of justness and loving-kindness. God does not discriminate between the sinners and saints and treats both justly based on each person's actions, words and thoughts. *Karama upar hoe tapavas*, on man's deeds, are judgments proclaimed (Singh 1980). God is one and to Him, humanity is equal irrespective of religion, color, and nationality. Sikhism rejects the concept of any chosen land and chosen people who are destined to receive superior preferences to God (Islam 2019). God is beyond any kind of external influence and He acts kindly to those who act righteously. In the human sense, God is not a dominating master who always controls His creation, rather God is like a parent, who tries to correct His beloved children. The Gurus have repeatedly compared God's love with the love of a mother who controls, wields her children to guide them, and even if her children make her angry by straying away from her, mothers cannot but love their children (Singh 1980). Thus, in the love of God, all other loves are rooted. God's love, in reality, shows the path that God wants unity among humanity and the ultimate condition of love is the profound fraternity and harmony.

Unity of Humanity and Religions

Sikhism did not follow a traditional way. Rather, Sikhism, from its very inception, followed a different path which was one of humility, harmony, justice, and peace. Sikhism was not concerned about the very concepts of conversion, ritualism and was not egoistic to develop distinct norms and rules. As it has been found that from the very beginning Sikhism practiced harmony and unity and that is why Sikhism accepted the good essence of all faiths without any discrimination. In the words of Guru Nanak, the spirit of Sikhism can be understood precisely: "The essence of religion is humility, service, and sympathy" (Bigger 1990, 5). This attests to Guru Nanak's tough stand against the caste system and social stratifications.

As Nanak had an enlightened heart he stood against the false formalisms and imposed barriers on the way of humanity and equity. With a view to establishing a sustainable casteless society, he initiated *guru ka langar* (free community kitchen) for all irrespective of caste and religion to eat together. In *guru ka langar* or shortly *langar*, everyone prepares food together, eats together sitting on the floor, and wash the used utensils together, thus it testifies the unity and equality of humanity and family. The food that is served in the *langar* is pure vegetarian so that everyone can consume it

and it does not offend anyone's belief and practice (Singh 2009). *Guru ka langar* is associated with *Pangat*, the central concept of Sikhism that means 'straight line' or 'long row.' Following *Pangat* is very essential because this straight line signifies the notion of anti-caste or pro equality (McLeod 2009), and thereby, *Pangat* demolishes the barriers of race, color, religion, and class. One of the cardinal principles of the Sikh faith is *Sangat* that denotes being together. It is the gathering of the Sikh local community or congregation with others. According to Sikhism, *Sangat* is essential for both spiritual and moral inspiration. Guru Nanak gave utmost importance to *Sangat*. In connection with *Sangat*, a popular Sikh saying runs as, "One disciple is a single Sikh, two form a holy association, but where there are five, there is the Ultimate Reality (God) Itself" (Singh 2009, 33)

Next to *Pangat*, *Sangat* is also open for all. With a view to listening to the readings from the holy texts, Sikhs sit on the floor together. Thus, the way *Sangat* functions as if it portrays an inclusive harmonious session for all (Singh 2009). The main purpose of the establishment of *Sangat* was to remove the false barriers of the so-called higher and lower classes. Guru Nanak envisioned harmony and egalitarianism as an institutional structure by establishing *Sangat* and *Pangat* that is called a revolution without shedding blood (Islam 2016).

Unity of religion has been affirmed by Sikhism in many ways. Sikh *Mul-mantra* signifies "One" Supreme being for all and opens the rooms for reaching the singular reality for all. To be spiritual and religious, Sikhism does not allow anyone to renounce their own faith to accept Sikhism. Guru Nanak never asked anyone to become Sikh and to give up their own faith. On the contrary, Guru Nanak advised them to acknowledge their own faith as well as follow their faith both ethically and spiritually. He advised both the Hindus and Muslims to be authentic in their deeds and thoughts in view of the fact that the "One" or "Ultimate" reality is common to all (Singh 2009).

According to the *Janamsakhis*, when Guru Nanak was young, he had his first vision of enlightenment. Guru Nanak went missing for three days and after three days he came back and pronounced the words that formed the basis of Sikhism. He said: "*Nah ko Hindu*, *Nah Mussalman*" meaning "there is no Hindu, there is no Muslim" (Nesbitt 2005; Menon 2011) This statement has intense significance. In a society that was downtrodden with religious fanaticism, casteism, and rivalry between the religions, especially between Hinduism and Islam regarding the superiority, authenticity, and power, Guru Nanak's statement "*Nah ko Hindu*, *Nah Mussalman*" was not only bold but also blasphemous.

Through this statement, Guru Nanak neither rejected these two religions, nor vanquished the variety of religions, rather he pointed out the false distinctions among the religions including Hinduism, Islam, Buddhism, Jainism, and so on. The rationale behind that statement was to unite the people of all sects and religions eliminating

hatred and enmity among the people of the different faiths. Guru Nanak stressed the beauty and richness of the varieties of the different faiths and focused on the spirituality and depth of the philosophies of different faiths (Singh 2009).

Guru Nanak had an inquisitive mind to know the different religions and understand the inner philosophies of each religion. His in-depth realization of the truth in religions suggests to him that a true believer in the "oneness" of God can never approve of any division between the followers of different religions. For him, as there is no division of religion before God, neither creed nor a caste is superior before God. As he argues, these differences are artificial and exist in the minds of people. Thus, what he explains is that God created everyone without division, and that before him everyone is equal (Menon 2011).

As Guru Nanak envisioned social unity, he started it with the mission of establishing harmonious relationships among people from different faiths. His stances were clear, he denied the categorization of religions and opposed the hoarding of the valuable philosophies within the upper class and priestly class of each religion. That is why he collected the meaningful philosophies, verses, and examples from the existing religions and incorporated them into the *Guru Granth Sahib* so that everyone comes to know about the commonness and beauty of each other's religions and follows it overcoming caste, religion, and gender prejudices.

Once Guru Nanak was asked, "Which is the greater religion – Hinduism or Islam?" Nanak answered: "Without good deeds, both lead only to suffering, neither Hindu nor Muslim finds refuge in (God's court)" (McLeod 2000, 43). That means only good deeds are countable to God, and this will ensure the reunion with God. That should be the common good of life. As Majumdar (1967) states about Guru Nanak, "From all associations with prevailing sectarian religions. His was the first and also the last successful attempt to bring together the Hindus and Muslims in a common fold of spiritual and social brotherhood" (Majumdar 1967, 569).

The fifth, Guru Arjan, stated that the essence of the all-true religions is the same, some call it Rama, some call it Khuda; some worship it as Vishnu; some pray to Allah. Guru Gobind Singh echoed Guru Arjan's words by saying: "…Hindus and Muslims are one! The same reality is the creator and preserver of all; know no distinctions between them. The monastery and the mosque are the same; so is the Hindu form of worship (*puja*) and the Muslim prayer (*namaz*). Humans are all one" (*Guru Granth Sahib*, as cited in Singh 2009). He further says that "*Sarab dharm meh serast dharm*, *Har ko naam jap*, *nirmal karam*," which means: of all the religions, the best religion is to remember the name of God and to do the good deeds (*Guru Granth Sahib*, 266).

No Sikh Guru has ever said that their religion is only true or acceptable to God. They strictly forbade dishonoring others' faiths and scriptures. Sheikh Kabir, who has profound contribution and impact on Sikhism states that: "Do not say the scriptures

of the Semitic religions are false, do not say the religions of India are false, false is he, who does not act according to these scriptures and who does not reflect upon them correctly" (Nishter 2010). The Sikh Gurus had profound respect for the religions and the holy persons of the different faiths. For example, Guru Nanak's respect towards the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) was known to all. He said: *Dikha Nur Mohammadi*, *Dikha Nabi Rasul*, *Nanak Qudrat Dekhke Khudi Gaye Saab bhool*, which means: "I have seen the divine aura of Muhammad (with inner eyes), I have seen the prophets and the messengers of God. After contemplating the glory of God and his messages, my ego has been eliminated" (Khan 1967; Islam 2019). The third Guru Amar Das in his words showed how to respect all the religions and through his prayers, he requested God to save humanity from the ongoing vices. Guru Arjan says: "*Jagat jalanda rakh laye apni kirpa dhar*. *Jit dwarai ubrai thithai lahu uba'r*," which means, "O God, the world is now tormented and burning, be merciful and save all those whoever come from any passage, through different religions and faiths" (*Guru Granth Sahib*, 853).

Sikh Gurus did not confine their harmonious zeal to the concept, rather they had implemented it in their actions. Guru Arjan had profound respect for Hazrat Mian Mir, a celebrated Sufi. Mian Mir laid the foundation stone of the Shri Harmandir Sahib, popularly known as the Golden Temple (Islam 2016; Nishter 2010). In reality, it is unprecedented that a Muslim was invited to lay the foundation stone of the major temple of another religion. At the same time, it is understood that Sikhism had reached the hearts of people of that time and that is why people like Hazrat Mian Mir did not hesitate to contribute to lay the foundation stone of the Sikh temple. Islam (2016) opines that this is enough instance to prove and understand the magnanimity and universality of Sikhism. It is also important to note that Sikh temples and institutions are named after some non-Sikhs such as Gurdwara Moulavi Patti Likhi also known as Gurdwara Patti Sahib, Gurdwara Majnu Tilla, a Sufi saint, Gurdwara Farid Tilla, Gurdwara Haji Rattan, and Gurdwara Mata Kaulan (a Muslim woman). The name of the university guest house of Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar is named "Sheikh Sajjan Guest House", the guest house of Punjabi University, Patiala, is named as "Waris Bhavan" in the name of Waris Shah, a Punjabi Sufi poet (Nishter 2010).

Pluralism in Caodaism

Vietnam is a country with rich cultural elements and religious diversities. It is noteworthy to mention that Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism along with other indigenous Vietnamese traditions flourished together without confronting or challenging each other. The reason behind this phenomenon was the assimilative approach of the Vietnamese people to welcome and accept foreign cultural elements by blending them into their native culture (Trinh 2014). That is why it was natural for the

Vietnamese cultures as a whole to reflect the effects of different historical elements of colonialism alongside different religious vibes. This socio-cultural milieu of the South of Vietnam had a significant impact on the origin of Caodaism to be developed in the form of syncretism (Blagov 1999), which linked to other Asian religions including Western philosophical thoughts that existed in Vietnam (Oliver 1976). Thus, many of these elements are found to have been adopted from Buddhism, especially from Mahayana Buddhism, mixed with elements from Confucianism and Taoism. The Buddhist idea of "the good man", for example, played the role in forming the basis of Cao Dai ethics. Vietnamese taboos and sanctions have been incorporated into the ideal behavioral scheme of the disciples of Caodaism (Hickey 1964). The syncretic nature of this religion is identified through its organizational structure, theology, philosophy, and ritual practices (Oliver 1976).

Unity of God

Although the concept of God in Caodaism is monotheistic, Cao Dai theology complicates this monotheism by allowing the followers to worship a Mother Goddess. However, the unity of God, in Caodaism, presupposes the unity of humanity. Caodaism, thus, emerged to unite humanity, and the God of Caodaism stands by all to prevent further conflict (Gobron 1950; Oliver 1976). The Supreme Being has explained the rationale of His "Oneness" in one of His messages:

> After creating the universe, I divided My spirit and with it made all creatures, plants, and materials. Everything in this universe comes from My spirit, and therefore has a life. Where there is life, there is Me even in materials and plants. I am each of you and you are Me (*Thanh Ngon Hiep Tuen- Selection of Selected Holy Messages*, 1972, as cited in Bui & Beck 2000, 19).

Through this message it has been implied that all the things in this universe have shared basic principles and a similar conscience that suggests the oneness of God's creation. It is explained in Vietnamese as *Nhut Bon Tan Van Thu* meaning from one, emanates many, and *Van Thu Qui Nhut Bon* meaning from many, emanates one (Bui and Beck 2000). In Cao Dai theology, God is considered to be the only cause of the unity of microcosm and macrocosm. As it is explained, "God is you and you are God" (Blagov 1999; Thanh 1970; Oliver 1976). The most prolific sign of unity in Caodaism is the symbol of the "Celestial Eye". This is not just a symbol for the Caodaists, rather it is the most respectful and venerable object to the believers of Caodaism. This Celestial Eye symbolizes the "Universal Unity" and the "Unique Truth". It is a symbol of "One Eye" most accurately the left eye which reflects the Positive Yang-Duong Principle (Blagov 1999).

Unity of Humanity and Religions

In Cao Dai theology, it has been reaffirmed that the goal of Caodaism is to unite humanity, and it is the ultimate will of God. The emergence of Caodaism brings salvation which will ensure the perfectionism of the harmony of humanity including all religions, and even the animal and plant kingdom based on tolerance, love, justice, and peace. This is the third era of salvation and this is the high time all should unite for greater peace. Caodaism emphasizes the unity of humanity and religions. According to Caodaism, all religions are for truth. Unfortunately, people failed to be truly religious, and they adopted the way of separatism, denied eternal, universal diversity, and developed personal arrogance and racism. The approach of Caodaism towards this disharmonious situation is a universal one. The universality of Caodaism can be explained through its philosophy of "oneness" based on the fundamental concept of one principle that all the religions are from the same God, and there is no scope for discord.

Caodaism has widely been marked as a religion that is "fundamentally, deliberately syncretic" (Smith 1970, 574). It is also perceived that Caodaism, both a social movement and religion, follows syncretistic features in its organizational structures, philosophy, theology, and ritual practices (Oliver 1976, 1). Syncretism can be tentatively defined as the borrowing, affirmation or integration of concepts, symbols, or practices of any one or more religious traditions by another religion through a process of selection and reconciliation (Berling 1980, 10). These tendencies are common or perhaps central to Vietnamese religious life. Importantly, syncretic borrowing may not be entirely conscious, but it is understood that syncretism is not a (Blagov 1999, 21).

Religious amalgamation is universal in Vietnamese life, and in some cases, its content varies from place to place. For example, to some Vietnamese, any place which is sacred was appropriate for worship. Phạm Công Tắc identifies "another consequence of that tendency of Vietnamese that, paradoxically, because of possessing too many religions in Vietnamese religious life, they became atheistic" (Tắc 1970, 85–86). For Caodaism, it is said that this religion is not the overt outcome of "syncretism". The syncretism was natural and most perfectly can be identified as the "grassroots" syncretism of Vietnam. The advent of Caodaism enriched that traditional grassroots Vietnamese syncretism, and this new religious doctrine contains numerous elements of the preexisting syncretic amalgamation that became an integral part of this religion (Hickey 1964).

According to the followers of Caodaism, the Cao Dai doctrine brings forth the synthesis of five great teachings of the past: Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, ancestor cult, and Western religions. It is believed that synthesis of the teachings will show new teaching to overcome the intolerance of the past salvations. Some parts of Caodaist prayer signify the concept of the harmony of five great teachings. One such example is as follows:

My Brethren, My Sisters, I ask you to pray
and sing the praises of Him who gives life.
I bring flowers of five colors.
As all colors are found in the white of the
faith, so all beliefs are of one.(Blagov 1999, 44).

Although there is a paucity of details, it is assumed that Caodaism has been documented as a syncretism of the Vietnamese "Three-Religion" (Tam Giao) system (Blagov 1999). This three-religion system denotes the amalgamation of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism. Despite Caodaism organizationally affirming that it has taken a departure from the ancient Vietnamese practices, its ideology is highly derived from the three-religion tradition along with the existing Vietnamese belief systems at large (Werner 1980).

It is believed that these three religions are the three branches of a common stem that existed from prehistoric periods. These three religions grew from the common stem, and that stem is the religion of the Universe, its parts, and phenomena. De Groot (1912) describes it as the teachings seemed to be a doctrine of Universalism, actually being "the one religion." These three religions are the core of Caodaism and the colors of the Cao Dai religious banner: yellow, blue, and red are viewed as the symbolization of these three great teachings and stand for the unity of "Three Religions". The red color symbolizes Confucianism, yellow is associated with Buddhism, and blue emblematizes Taoism (Blagov 1999). This symbolization theory was revealed in the early stage of the movement (Tan, 1974). These three colors have deeper meanings which explain the goals of Caodaism. The red color implies the symbol of authority, yellow stands for morality, and the blue represents tolerance. It is understood that there is no association between the three colors and three periods of revelations (Tan 1974; Blagov 1999).

Cao Dai philosophy explains the manifestation of this new religion: All the pre-existing religions and their adherents had submitted the authority of those religions to the human founders, and that was opposed to the Universality. This is because the human founders and the prophets rose up, declining the truths of other religions, showing obvious intolerance (Gobron 1950). Cao Dai doctrine includes the concept of Karmic law which holds that incarnation and life after death depend on the present deeds (Hum and Beck 2000).

In a spiritist message it has been affirmed that the emergence of Caodaism is meant for humanity and harmony: "Out of Love and Mercy, out of respect for life, I have founded the Great Way´s Third Revelation to save the earthly human, to help the virtuous attain a world of peace and avoid reincarnation to the earthly world of suffering" (Hum and Beck 2000). The essence of interreligious harmony of Caodaism is rooted in its concept of universal love and this universal love extends towards love and kindness for animals and plants. Caodaism emphasizes the formation of a universal

family, based on brotherhood and sisterhood. Caodaism gives importance to the duties towards animals considering them as their brethren behind them in the process of evolution. That is why, they must be treated with gentleness in any services so that they should not suffer needlessly. All animal's lives must be respected and harming them will delay the evolution of the victim. Consequently, all the Caodaists are conscious about their duties, and for this reason, they prefer a vegetarian diet to avoid further transgressions. They realize that humans frequently commit transgressions in their daily lives. As Schopenhauer connects a link between pity towards animals and kindness of soul, "there is a close link: we may say without hesitating, that when an individual is cruel toward beasts, he will not be a just man" (Blagov 1999).

Caodaism heightens the service to one's neighbor and affirms that it completes the goal of the human fraternity (Blagov 1999). Caodaism urges humanity to find happiness in living together because living a secluded life is not worth living. As noted, the goal of Caodaism is to establish global harmony, including interreligious, intra-religious, and intercultural harmony. Indeed, a universal family should be formed consisting of humanity, animals, and plants with varieties of varieties of cultures, languages, religions, colors, and species. In searching for the way to God, one can find that the origin of all the species is the same. All are from the same God, and this realization is very needed for establishing harmony in this world. This is the principle of humanity and Caodaism gives stress on humanity, services to one's neighbor as the fundamentals of religions. Services, not necessarily always to be physical, and economic, that can be readiness to help his or her fellowmen in every circumstance either by his acts or even by his good thoughts, wishes, and sweet words (Blagov 1950).

Caodaism firmly holds the principle of equality and harmonious unity between men and women. Women are equally granted to take part in both administrative and religious affairs including the priesthood. Caodaism preaches, the world of unity has been offered by God through the Third Alliance and it is meant for peace (Oliver 1976). Caodaism offers this world a great opportunity for peace, tolerance and empathy gleaned from unity and harmony. Mutual understanding and empathy are inevitable for the harmony between the great cultures of East and West. This religion offers sensitive solutions meant to spiritual heal the troubled world. Caodaism believes that ongoing world problems notably racism, intolerance, and ignorance can be solved through a spiritual solution.

Analysis of Interfaith Harmony: Sikh and Cao Dai Perspectives

Sikhism and Caodaism do not force or influence anyone to convert into Sikhism and Caodaism. Both of the religions give emphasis to interfaith harmony and bringing back primordial harmony with God. Guru Nanak's approach was different from other

religious founders. To promote harmony and recompilation, he urged the Hindus to be good Hindus and Muslims to be good Muslims. His philosophy was kept simple to lead to interreligious harmony and brotherhood. Unlike Caodaism, Sikh theology does not propagate any "combination of religions" nor was it founded upon the basis of any one or more particular religions. For Caodaism, the basic tenet, i.e., monotheism corresponds to the Jewish, Christian, Muslim, and Bahá'í conviction, and on the other hand, the "spiritist" sources and its doctrinal character are in agreement with Buddhism, Taoism, and Hinduism. As religions, society, culture, and ideologies work as an integrated complex, similarities between a new religion and the old ones are natural. No religion in an absolute sense can be regarded as a pure distinct type of religion without having a single similarity with the previous religions and existing cultural values. Caodaism followed a syncretic approach without uprooting its "spiritist" origin and indigenous elements. Importantly, Caodaism invariably assimilated into a homogenous tradition that can be called a synthesis of great teachings.

On the other hand, the Sikh concept of absolute monotheism has a deep connection with Islam; however, the concept of reincarnation and rebirth seems to be the adoption from Hinduism. For Sikhism, those similarities are not blind imitations. This ideology is greatly influenced by the personal experiences and contemplations of Guru Nanak that he realized from a very young age. It is important to note that although Sikhism followed the same way in collecting and synthesizing the great teachings of the world, the Sikhs refuse to claim their religion as a "synthesis of different faiths." There is a dilemma associated with Sikhism that the religion is often regarded as one of the sects of Hinduism. But this claim has no actual grounds of justification. Theologically and popularly, Hinduism stands on the three most important pillars, such as the Vedas, the caste system (not the caste system of grading people based on their birth and race, but on their work), and the concept of God that includes a large pantheon of deities. With regard to Sikhism, the religion is not based on any of these three elements, and there is no such concept in it that resembles any of these three pillars. Thus, both of the religions are rich in unique terms of their philosophies and doctrines that fill certain vacuums. Likewise, both provide faith and shelter for their followers and fulfill all the criteria to be noted as "independent" religions of the world (Myhre 2009).

Caodaism and Sikhism were much ahead of their times and endorsed the most systematic approaches in reducing social, religious, and psychological gaps that existed among the people. As it has been found, the fundamental concept of Sikhism and Caodaism is the "unity of God," and that unity of God in its pure form rejects the hierarchy of social status and any other pseudo differences regarding the social status, race, gender, and religions.

Sikhism has witnessed the deterioration of human dignity in the name of caste and gender. Guru Nanak's first prophetic message was "there is no Hindu, no Muslim." This

message is short but emphasized and pointed towards the very basic and innate concept of unity, equity, equality, human dignity, and humanity. This message itself alone stood for the voice of the oppressed and the realization of the falsity of gender and caste biases. Sikhism promoted the world to be with a single race in the name of humanity, free from all kinds of racial, national, gender, religious, and caste-based biases. Guru Nanak and the other nine influential Gurus were determined to the fact that this world should be a just one, and there should be a perfect balance of emotions, desires, and thoughts among humanity. Making a certain group elite and keeping others submerged in superstition and illiteracy, is regressive and the opposite of development and integrity thus chaos is bound to happen in any society like this.

Comparative analysis shows that the Cao Dai concept of the unity of humanity has its footing on the fundamental principles confirmed in 1946 that is "the adoration of God"; "the Father of all" (Gobron 1950). This doctrine foregrounds the universalistic attitude of Caodaism that views that all humanity is the members of a single universal family. Both Caodaism and Sikhism promote the way to divinize humanity by breaking away the parochial illusion of caste, creed, nationality, color, race, language, gender, and religion. An ecumenical and universal fraternity, according to Caodaism and Sikhism, is essential for uniting the Ultimate Reality that God is One with diverse names. Consequently, this ultimate reality rejects the misconceptions of God and monopoly of religions.

Both Sikhism and Caodaism have addressed the social problems more pragmatically and eliminated the cocoon of individualistic or anthropocentric patterns. Both of them have formulated an effective structure of understanding the importance of the environment including animals, plants, and other non-organic elements of the environment. The Sikh concept of *Sarbat Da Bhala* denotes a corporate character that suggests selfless service to all including the environment. The *Sarbat Da Bhala* is a deep philosophical thought that should not be confined to only humanity. It is holistic in approach and suggests the dynamic, progressive attitude of Sikhism towards nature.

Historically, Caodaism witnessed the twentieth-century problems from the beginning; and for the Vietnamese, wars and their disastrous consequences are part of their history, and this resulted in the growth of environmental consciousness simultaneously to the consciousness of humanity and brotherhood. This consciousness is the principal part of the Cao Dai faith, and its emphasis is placed in a prayer to Duc Cao Dai:

> The life of the heart to love all human beings, all beings, to love all life, all divine life, angelic, human, animal, vegetable, mineral, and atomic life. I ask you to love the earth, water, fire, air, the pebbles of the road, and the stars of the heavens. Position of order in repose. That of rest which must be an act of grace (Blagov 1999, 43).

Both Sikhism and Caodaism agree on the point that the "unity of humanity" paves the way for interfaith harmony leading to social stability. Caodaism and Sikhism stemmed from the very concept of tolerance and interfaith harmony that make these two religions unique. Caodaism is "millenarian" in its outlook as it professes that the "Third Universal Era of Salvation" was an event that was fated to occur. This is because people have distorted the unity of God by misinterpreting and exploiting the words and guidance of God. Besides, according to Caodaism, the previous two salvations faced linguistic, cultural, spatial, and racial barriers, in this third era, God chose to connect with the people to ensure the primordial unity of the divine Supreme Being and dismiss the doctrine of any fourth era of salvation. Caodaism explains that the need for a third amnesty is the consequence of the limitations of the previous faiths, but this does not reject the previous faiths at all. Caodaism is about bridging the gaps caused by the nature of human frailty and evil motives of some people. It is the Caodaist hope that through this new amnesty of salvation, the unity of the Great Ways will be formed.

On the other hand, Sikhism is not a millenarian religion and does not have any such concept of a salvific era. According to Sikhism, all religions are intact in their own positions. It is the fault of the people, especially those who attempt to materially profit from religions, and it is because of such people that the faithful have difficulty maintaining their convictions. Guru Nanak repeatedly said: "Do not call the Muslims that their religion is false, do not call the Hindus that their religion is not true, those who do so are nothing but the liars and traders of falsity" (Islam 2019, 9). In both religions, it has been ensured that none of the religions are false, but were rather misunderstood or distorted by misguided individuals in the past or at present. That is what causes the problems of intolerance and bloodshed.

The confusing part of studying interfaith harmony and unity of humanity is the assumption that "unity" implies "uniformity." While uniformity is turning all into one, unity is for becoming united for a common goal. If we perceive the common goal as "peace", then it is the obligatory responsibility to be united for peace. In the domain of theoretical and practical approaches to interfaith dialogue, a search for identifying the commonality and common ground is inevitable. Without finding and reaching the common goal, the appeal and necessity of interfaith dialogue vanishes. The common goals may be global peace, social cohesion, and inclusive harmony. In brief, the motive of dialogue is to reach a solution, based on understanding and genuine empathy. This solution could be related to any certain problem not necessarily always directly connected to inter or intra-faith harmony.

Both Caodaism and Sikhism are clear in their position on the concept of "unity." Caodaism and Sikhism believe in freedom of religion and reject the concept of *extra ecclesiam nulla salus* which means "outside the Church no salvation" (Hartney 2008). Both religions are universal in nature and outspoken about their syncretic nature.

Caodaism affirms that Cao Dai (the path being taught) without being Cao Dai is the true Cao Dai; more elaborately, various religions contain the one primordial truth that is Cao Dai (God). If the Cao Dai religion defines Dao Cao Dai (the path of God) as a separate entity and as the only true path, it would not be true Cao Dai. It would be truly Cao Dai if it embraces all the paths towards God (Bui & Beck 2000). Sikhism is identical with this view. God, in Sikhism, is not a separate entity. As it has been mentioned before, Guru Nanak called the God "True Name" (Satnam) and avoided any particular name (Nesbett 2005).

Conclusion

Relative to their size and influence, Sikhism and Caodaism are among the lesser understood religions of the world, and there are plenty of contexts wherein the two remain deeply misunderstood. Sikhism, although one of the world religions, has been miscoded from its very inception as a blend of Hinduism and Islam. Unfortunately, still to a large section of people and even to some scholars, Sikhism is a sect of Hinduism. Thus, Sikhism is still brawling for its recognition as an independent religion (Islam and Islam, 2016). Caodaism is another independent religion of the world that had its origin in Vietnam, but to the majority of the world, this religion is unknown. In the academic field of religions, Eastern religions have gained late introduction compared to Western ones. For Caodaism, some have challenged that Caodaists themselves share some responsibility for the religion being misunderstood by the West. This is because, in the early stages, it was the deliberate intention of the Caodaists to conceal their activities from others and especially from the French. It has also been claimed that it is a traditional tendency of Vietnamese religious sects to maintain secrecy about their innermost belief system and that has resulted in a small amount of literature on Caodaism in French and English (Smith 1970).

To meet this gap, Sikhism and Caodaism have been explored from religious and academic perspectives to comply with the standard of the academic study of religion as well as to give a better understanding of research themes. As the fundamental rule of the comparative study of religion, neutrality and empathy have been followed in identifying similarities and differences between the religions. Unnecessary criticisms and discussions on the weak and strong points of these two religions have been avoided to make the current study consistent with the research problem.

Through this study it can be ascertained that Sikh and Cao Dai concepts of interfaith harmony and unity have been accepted by a number of people as being of great value. Not necessarily that all of them had converted to Sikhism and Caodaism, but the philosophy of harmony of these religions attracted the attention of people of irrespective religions. Today, their appeal is still relevant to the common people. If

their concepts were vague and irrelevant, they would surely have been lost in the abyss of time. In this highly competitive global era, both Caodaism and Sikhism are attaining prominence throughout the world, and that suggests that to many people, teachings and philosophies of Sikhism and Caodaism matter significantly.

The research issues discussed in this article are pertinent to the contemporary academic domain. Interfaith harmony is arising to a status of utmost significance in world affairs in dealing with multiple global problems. Today, religion, religious harmony, and other religion-related affairs are no longer considered as personal convictions, but rather they are considered to have pragmatic significance, indispensable to cope with problems like intolerance, extremism, and global terrorism. The necessity of studying religions could be finely understood by Kung's words: "No peace among the nations without peace among the religions. No peace among the religions without dialogue between the religions. No dialogue between the religions without investigation of the foundation of the religions" (Boase 2005, 16). This research is relevant to both academic and non-academic pursuits. Thus, this article opens up significant scope for further intensive, analytical, and explorative research on interfaith harmony.

Conflict of Interest

No potential conflict of interest relevant to this article was reported.

References

Alam, Mohammad Jahangir 2010 — *The Concept of Unity in Bahai Faith and Caodaism: A Comparative Study*. Washington, DC: Cao Dai Overseas Missionary.

Bigger, Stephen 2004 — "Introduction to Sikhism." Teaching Materials for MA in the Religious Education, unpublished, India. Available at https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/49786.pdf

Berling, Judith A. 1980 — *The Syncretic Religion of Lin Chao-En*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Blagov, Sergei 1999 — *The Cao Dai : A New Religious Movement*. Moscow: Institute of Oriental Studies Moscow.

Boase, Roger 2005 — *Islam and Global Dialogue: Religious Pluralism and the Pursuit of Peace*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Bui Hum Dac & Ngasha Beck 2000 — *Cao Dai, Out of Many, One A Religion of Unity*. H&L eBooker. USA.

Chatterji, Pritibhushan 1971 — *Studies in Comparative Religion*. Calcutta: Das Gupta & CO. Private Ltd.

Coe, George Albert 1904 — "Religion as a Factor in Individual and Social Development." *The Biblical World* 23(1): 37–47, accessed on 15 Jun 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3141052

Davies, Douglas 1982 — "Religion of the Gurus: The Sikh Faith." In J. B. R.P. Beaver, M.S. Langley, T.W. Metz, A. Romarheim, A. Walls, R. Withycombe, C.R.W.F. Wootton (eds.), *A Lion Handbook : The World's Religions Part One*, 197-206. Herts: Lion Publishing.

Dhillon, Harish 2013 — *Spiritual Master Guru Nanak. Mumbai*: Indus Source Books.

Dutton, Thomas E 1970 — "*Caodaism as History, Philosophy and Religion*". B.A.Diseertion. Claremont College, California.

Farid, M Shaikh 2010 — *Caodaism : A Syncretistic Religion of Vietnam*. Washington, DC: Caodai Overseas Missionary.

Field, Dorothy 1914 — *The Religion of the Sikhs*. London: John Murray.

Giddens, Anthony 2006 — *Sociology.* Cambridge: Polity.

Gobron, Gabriel 2001 — *History and Philosophy of Caodaism*. Washington, DC: Cao Dai Overseas Missionary.

Gordon, John James Hood 1904 — *The Sikhs*. London: William Blackwood and Sons.

Groot, J. J. M. de 1912 — *Religion in China : Universism, a Key to the Study of Taoism and Confucianism*. New York, NY: G.P. Putnam's Sons New York.

Guru Grath Sahib (n.d.) — Guru Granth Sahib Online. Sri Granth, accessed on 15 June 2023. https://www.srigranth.org/servlet/gurbani.gurbani?Action=Page&Param=1

Hartney, Christopher 2008 — "Syncretism and the End of Religion". *Sydney Studies in Religion. Available at* https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/229401803.pdf

Hickey, Gerald Cannon 1964 — *Village in Vietnam*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Islam, Azizunnahar & Islam, Kazi Nurul 2016 — *Comparative Religion, Morality and Welfare of Humanity*. Dhaka: Sangveda Prokashon. [Bengali Language Text] A. I. Islam, Kazi Nurul, Tulanamulak Dharma, Naitikata O Manavkalyan.

Islam, K.N 2019 — "Guru Nanak's Philosophy of Harmony." Paper Presented at an International Seminar, organized by International Association for Religious Freedom (IARF), Bangladesh Chapter, R.C Mazumder Auditorium Hall, Dhaka University, Bangladesh 30–31 August, 2019.

Majumder, Ramesh Chandra 1967 — *An Advanced History of India*. New York, NY: Macmillan.

McLeod, William Hewat. 2009 — *The a to Z of Sikhism*. Plymouth, UK: The Scarecrow Press.

Menon, Sreelata 2011 — *Guru Nanak: The Enlightened Master*. New Dehli: Penguin Random House India Pvt. Ltd.

Myhre, Paul O. 2009 — "What Is Religion." In P. O. Myhre (eds.), *Introduction to Religious Studies*, 3–14. Terrace Heights, Winona, MN: Anselm Academic.

Nesbitt, Eleanor 2005 — *Sikhism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford University Press.

Ngon, Thanh 1964 — *Sacred Sayings*. Saigon: Toa Thanh Tay Ninh, Tuet Van.

Nishter, Nanak Singh 2010 — "Interfaith Promotion by Sikhism" Paper Presented at The. International Seminar on Interfaith Understanding and World Peace, Punjabi University, Patiala 2–4 March 2010.

2019 — *Sikhism & Other Religions*. Hyderabad, India: International Sikh Centre for Interfaith Relations.

Oliver, Victor L. 1976 — *Caodai Spiritism: A Study of Religion in Vietnamese Society*. Leiden: Brill

Singh, Khushwant 2001 — *A History of the Sikh* (6th ed). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Singh, Nikky Gurinder Kaur 2009 — *World Religions Sikhism*. New York, NY: Chelsea House Publishers.

Singh, Sardar Harjeet 2010 — *Faith & Philosophy of Sikhism*. Delhi: Kalpaz Publications.

Singh, Trilochan 1980 — "Theological Concepts of *Sikhism*." In *Sikhism*, edited by L.M. Joshi, 49–85. Patiala: Punjabi University.

Smith, Ralph. B. 19720 "An Introduction to Caodaism. I. Origins and Early History." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 33(2): 335–349. http://www.jstor.org/stable/613010

Tac. P.C. 1970 *Sermons of Ho Phap* [Vietnamese Language Text] *Loi thuet Dao cua Duc Ho Phap*. 1945–1947. Tay Ninh.

Tan, D. 1974 *Studying Caodaism or Answering Questions of International Scholars about Caodaism*. Saigon.

Tiwari, Kedar Nath 2009 *Comparative Religion*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Trinh, Túy Ngọc 2014 *A Brief Introduction to Caodaism*. Oakbridge Dr. San Jose: Lay Dignitaries Cao Dai International.

Thanh, Nguyen Long 1971 *The Path of a Cao Dai Disciple.* Sydney: The Sydney Centre for Studies in Caodais.

Wang, Zuo'an 2013 "Religious Harmony: A Fresh Concept in the Age of Globalization." *The Journal of Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*. 77: 210 – 213, accessed on 13 Oct 2020. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2013.03.080

Werner, Jayne Susan. 1981 *Peasant Politics and Religious Sectarianism: Peasant and Priest in the Cao Dai in Vietnam*. Monograph series No. 23. New Haven, CN: Yale University Press.

BOOK REVIEWS

- Leslie E. Sponsel (ed.), *Religious Environmental Activism in Asia: Case Studies in Spiritual Ecology*
  KAWANISHI Eriko (Osaka Professional Institute University, Japan)

- Andrew David Jackson, Codruța Sîntionean, Remco Breuker, and CedarBough Saeji, *Invented Traditions in North and South Korea*
  LEE Kyungsoo (Baylor University, USA)

- Michael L. Mickler, *The Unification Church Movement*
  Steven FOERTSCH (Baylor University, USA)

- Angela R. Burt, *Hare Krishna in the Twenty-First Century*
  Carole M. CUSACK (The University of Sydney, Australia)

https://doi.org/10.25050/JDTREA.2023.3.1.155

Leslie E. Sponsel (ed.): *Religious Environmental Activism in Asia: Case Studies in Spiritual Ecology*. Basel, Switzerland: MDPI, 2020, 194 pp. ISBN: 978-3-03928-646-1, $ 58.99 (pbk)

KAWANISHI Eriko
Osaka Professional Institute University, Japan

In 2015, the United Nations adopted the Sustainable Goals (SDGs). Since then, there has been an upsurge in research on environmental activism and, with it, a general interest in this issue by people, businesses, and governments. However, much of the research has focused on the situation in Europe and the North America from an economic perspective. In this context, the anthology *Religious Environmental Activism in Asia: Case Studies in Spiritual Ecology* is unique in two ways: 1) its focus on Asia; and 2) its focus on religion.

The editor, Dr. Leslie Sponsel, specializes in ecological anthropology and is one of the pioneers in the development of spiritual ecology. The anthology is a reprint of a special issue of *Religion*. It contains 11 articles, 10 of which were reprinted from *Religion* 10 in 2019 and the introduction, which appeared in *Religion* 11 in 2020. Let me introduce each article.

The first article is "Introduction to "Religious Environmental Activism in Asia: Case Studies in Spiritual Ecology" by Leslie E. Sponsel. He says that "Religious environmental activism in Asia is a relatively neglected subject (…)", thus the articles in this anthology help "explore a strategic gap" (Sponsel 2022, 3). He also mentions the growing interest in spiritual ecology. Its core principles are "(1) It is necessary, and potentially pivotal, in engaging many environmental problems and issues from local to global levels. (2) It recognizes the unity, interconnectedness, and interdependence of all things, beings, and forces (…). (3) Spiritual ecology relates to the *spiritual, moral, and intrinsic values of nature*. (4) It cultivates respect, affection, and reverence for nature with caring stewardship and benevolent coexistence." (Sponsel 2020, 4)

The second article is written by Radhika Borde, titled "New Roles for Indigenous Women in an Indian Eco-Religious Movement." The author studies "how a movement aimed at the assertion of indigenous religiosity in India has resulted in the empowerment of the women" (Borde 2020, 7). Those indigenous women of east-central India are devotees of the indigenous Earth Goddess and channel Her via possession trance.

The third article is "River Goddesses, Personhood and Rights of Nature: Implications for Spiritual Ecology." Kelly D. Alley "takes two specific legal cases in India and examines the recent high-profile rulings designating the rivers Ganga, Yamuna, and their tributaries and glaciers as juristic persons," and consider "whether legal interventions giving rights to nature can become effective avenues for environmental activism and spiritual ecology" (Alley 2020, 19).

The fourth article, "The Anuvrat Movement: A Case Study of Jain-inspired Ethical and Eco-conscious Living," is written by Michael Reading. He focuses on the Jain-inspired Anuvrat Movement, founded in 1949, which "today offers some arguably vital relevance for the urgent modern task to live eco-consciously." The article analyzes its potential for ensuring ethical (and eco-conscious) behavior, "presenting some of the basic history and philosophy behind Anuvrat" and "providing a brief inventory of Jain ecological practice in general" (Reading 2020, 37).

Jennifer Lemche and James Miller write the fifth article, titled "Global Capital, Local Conservation, and Ecological Civilization: The Tiejia Ecology Temple and the Chinese Daoist Association's Green Agenda." According to them, "since 1995, the Chinese Daoist Association (CDA) has pursued a green agenda," and "the CDA built its first "ecology temple" in Shaanxi Province and convened its first ecological conference there" (Lemche and Miller 2020, 57).

"Daoism and the Project of an Ecological Civilization or *Shengtai Wenming* 生态文明" is the sixth article by Martin Schönfeld and Xia Chen. In contemporary China, environmentalism is central. "This creates unprecedented opportunities for Daoist practitioners to engage in state-coordinated activism," and the authors "show how the science of the planetary crisis resonates with Daoist values, how these values integrate in national policy goals, and how this religious environmental activism plays out in case studies" (Schönfeld and Chen 2020, 67).

The seventh article is titled "Dai Identity in the Chinese Ecological Civilization: Negotiating Culture, Environment, and Development in Xishuangbanna, Southwest China," and written by Lily Zeng. Dai is an ethnic minority in Yunnan province. "This article explores the relationship between Dai cultural identity and the Chinese state in the context of environmental concerns and development goals" (Zeng 2022, 83).

The eighth article, written by Chris Coggins, is titled "Sacred Watersheds and the Fate of the Village Body Politic in Tibetan and Han Communities Under China's *Ecological Civilization*." He reports "on "animate landscapes," associated with gods and spirits in Tibetan communities, and "vital landscapes" associated with *fengshui* in Han Villages" (Coggins 2020, 103).

"The Reincarnation of Waste: A Case Study of Spiritual Ecology Activism for Household Solid Waste Management: The Samdrup Jongkhar Initiative of Rural Bhutan" is the ninth article, written by Elizabeth Allison. "Spiritual ecology approaches to waste and pollution

can provide deeper insight into the attitudes and practices that create a "throw away" society" (Allison 2020, 135). She says that the Samdrup Jongkhar Initiative's Zero Waste project is an example of spiritual ecology activism for household waste management and waste reduction.

The tenth article, "Buddhist Integration of Forest and Farm in Northern Thailand," is written by Susan M. Darlington. "Forests and farms are integrated by Buddhist environmental activists in Thailand" and she examines the work of a monk in Thailand, "who promotes dhammic agriculture and engages a new interpretation of Right Livelihood, a basic Buddhist principle, to support and protect the well-being of both the forest and farmers." (Darlington 2020, 155)

The eleventh, final, article is written by Fachruddin Majeri Mangunjaya and Gugah Praharawati, titled "Fatwas on Boosting Environmental Conservation in Indonesia." "This paper will highlight environmental movements by the Muslim community in Indonesia, and describe how the implementation of the MUI fatāwa can contribute to addressing the massive increase in environmental challenges and increase the involvement and understanding of the Muslim communities in tackling biodiversity conservation as well as climate change" (Mangunjaya and Praharawati 2020, 169).

This anthology is challenging, because it focuses on Asia and religion. However, I would like to say the countries and the religions covered are unbalanced. Although the title says "Asia," there are three articles on India, four on China, and only one for each on Bhutan, Thailand, and Indonesia. That is it. And the only religions covered are Animism, Buddhism, Daoism, Hinduism, Islam, and Jainism. The editor regretted "authors were not available for important religions such as Shintoism and countries such as Mongolia" (Sponsel 2022, 2). Although Christianity is important in South Korea and the Philippines, it is not included. Even with this fact, the anthology is a significant contribution to the field of environmental activism.

https://doi.org/10.25050/JDTREA.2023.3.1.159

Andrew David Jackson, Codruța Sîntionean, Remco Breuker, and CedarBough Saeji, *Invented Traditions in North and South Korea*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2021, 297 pp. ISBN: 978-0-8248-9033-9, $28.00 (pbk)

LEE Kyungsoo
Rice University, USA

Invented Traditions in North and South Korea, edited by Andrew D. Jackson et al., delivers a collection of essays that reveal the elite use of invented traditions in Korea and provide case studies of both South and North Korea, which allows comparison between the two.

The basic notion this book is built upon, an "invention of tradition," comes from the 1983 volume by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*. Hobsbawm noted that some traditions "that appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented" (Hobsbawm, 1983, as cited in this volume).

According to Andrew D. Jackson, one of the editors who opens the book with his introduction, Hobsbawm's theory received harsh criticism in two regards: 1) his naive distinction between genuine custom and invented tradition; and 2) his claim of the universal applicability of his theory. Still, his notion can be a powerful tool to explain the ideological use of the past. With this useful tool for cultural analysis, the book joins the growing body of work investigating the invention of tradition in recent Korean history. Especially important among them are the work of Laurel Kendall and Kim Kwang-ŏk, from both of whose approaches to the revival of culture this book draws on notions of tradition.

This book also aims to fill the lack of comparative cultural analysis between South and North Korea. The volume aspires to demonstrate that meaningful comparison is possible and even vital, not least concerning the elite use of invented traditions.

The chapters in this volume, according to Jackson, are best understood in the context of the two Koreas' struggle to form distinct, national cultural identities for both internal and external consumption. One aspect of invented traditions is that they are used as sources of and tools for contention. Here contention refers to "the expropriation of cultural revival by opposing groups within state and society to contend political legitimacy." Using these ideas about culture as a site for contention, and Laurel Kendall's ideas of the commodification, consumption, and performativity of invented traditions, the book attempts to move forward into a comparative international perspective, given that both Koreas have produced invented traditions for consumption across and beyond their national borders.

This book's comparison of the two Koreas shows that there are both significant commonalities and differences in the two Koreas' use of invented tradition. A series of case studies show that in North Korea, the active inventors of traditions often openly admit their change and re-invention of traditional forms. This stands in some contrast to the revival of heritage by the South Korean Park Chung Hee government, for whom the pretense of continuity was important for the formation of its cultural identity. The comparison reveals some underlying assumptions common to both regimes behind their respective cultural inventions: "Here, culture is not seen as a blend of indigenous and external forms that have been negotiated and reformulated over the years, but instead as something that can be cleansed of its individual or politically undesirable parts."

Another point this work highlights is that as Koreans formulated the cultural identity of modern Korea, its process was complicated by several problems, and the invention of tradition has been a way of overcoming these. First, the invention of tradition has been a way to re-establish cultural agency by political leaders in two nations that lost their historical agency due to foreign intervention and colonial rule. Second, Korean political leaders saw the re-establishment of a "lost" national cultural identity – against foreign involvement, which felt like a full-scale foreign assault upon Korean cultural identity – as a duty. The invention of tradition was a tool that could help achieve this. Finally, the re-creation of the Korean heritage was complicated by inter-Korean competition. Both Koreas attempted to establish a cultural identity superior to their competitor.

Hence invented tradition is a key to understanding "how the two Koreas remember the past, shape their divergent modernities, and present themselves to the world."

The book's first section investigates how Korea invented its cultural identity in historical and mythical terms. The second part examines invented traditions related to the history of the Korean language. The third section focuses on cultural transformation with an emphasis on the role of human agency and performativity. The final section center on space and show the political use of space the in two Koreas, North and South.

Applying Hobsbawm and Ranger's framework of invented tradition is very suitable for cultural analysis of the history of the Korean peninsula since 1945, because it was a time of immense social and demographic change and also a time of nation-building. The comparison of invented traditions between the two Koreas in their formation of identity allows much more profound study as well. An inquisitive reader might still be left with the question "aren't most if not all traditions invented at some point?" but it can also lead the reader to ask profound questions about what constitutes tradition, which a good book does. For readers who are interested in the recent Korean history, the book helps to see its identity formation process with the means of invented tradition. It also gives a good comprehensive view that includes both Koreas in their dynamic relations.

https://doi.org/10.25050/JDTREA.2023.3.1.161

Michael L. Mickler, *The Unification Church Movement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022, 82 pp. ISBN: 978-1-0092-4146-5 $37.52(pbk)

Steven FOERTSCH
Baylor University, USA

"In fact, the UCM's founding generation has set its sights on significant global expansion…Whether the post-Sun Myung Moon/post-Hak Ja Han Moon UCM will seek a denominational niche within which it might perpetuate, or whether it will maintain its world-transforming religious fervor, will be pivotal questions during the next stage of its development" (64). In the most recent monograph to be released in the *Cambridge Elements* series by Cambridge University Press on New Religious Movements (NRMs), Michael L. Mickler covers the generation and continuance of the Unification movement (known as the UCM, HSA-UWC, or FFWPU) of Reverend Sun Myung Moon. For the past few decades Mickler, Distinguished Professor of Historical Studies at the Unification Theology Seminary and Director of the SunHak Institute of History USA, has been chronicling the Unification movement's past. This makes his recent work a brief but helpful and insightful tool for anyone trying to understand the overall history and trajectory of the religious movement.

Using a variety of primary and secondary sources, Mickler paints an overarching picture of Unification movement history broken up into six chapters. The first four chapters are chronological. The first chapter analyzes the prehistory of the Unification movement, and the second focuses on Reverend Sun Myung Moon's biographical background, his struggles during interwar and World War II Korea, and his pre-Unificationist ministry. Mickler's third chapter discusses the foundation of the Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity (HSA-UWC), or Unification Church, and its history from the 1950s to the 1990s. Finally, his fourth chapter covers the historical transition from HSA-UWC to the contemporary Family Federation for World Peace and Unification (FFWPU), the establishment of the nation of *Cheon Il Guk*, internal fissures within the movement, and Reverend Moon's death.

Chapters 5 and 6 are comprised of a non-chronological assessment of the current state of the Unification movement, summarized in an analysis of the breakaway groups of the Unification movement, and an evaluation of the Unification movement's future. These sections cover the development of three major religious organizations generated after the death of Rev. Moon: The Family Federation for World Peace and Unification led by Rev. Moon's widow, Hak Ja Han, the Global Peace Foundation led by his eldest

surviving son Hyun Jin (Preston) Moon, and the World Peace and Unification Sanctuary Church, led by his son Hyung Jin (Sean) Moon. Mickler deliberately notes that this coverage is not sociological or theological, but a historical representation of "the UCM's mainstream development centered primarily on Sun Myung Moon and his family" (4).

Mickler succeeds in covering these topics succinctly but meaningfully, utilizing skilled narrative form and usage of historical documentation. His monograph is concise and easy to read, with a delivery reminiscent of an updated version of New Religious Movement scholar Massimo Introvigne's *The Unification Church* (2000). Mickler's longtime familiarity with the source material, discussion of growing tension between various groups within the movement (43), and engagement with controversial topics such as the "Six Marys" (36), the personal troubles of his son Hyo Jin Moon, and Reverend Sun Myung Moon's extramarital affairs and potential illegitimate child (37), lend legitimacy to his overall project and intent. His willingness to discuss these issues candidly is undoubtedly a strength in his work.

Where Mickler's analysis may have issues is an overreliance on Reverend Sun Myung Moon's personal accounts of his own background in the first two chapters. The dependence on Reverend Moon's own perspective to reformulate his early history could be considered hagiographic, which is understandable given Mickler's background as a believer and historian of the movement. To his credit, Mickler does cross-check this background using alternative sources, one example being NRM scholar George Chryssides. Overall, the conclusion can be made that Mickler is writing from a confessional perspective but is not to blame for this shortcoming. This is something readers should keep in mind when reading, though.

An issue with the *Cambridge Elements* format that impacts Mickler's work is the amount of room he has to discuss recent innovations, the schismatic organizations that have broken away from the Unification movement over its roughly seventy-year history, and why the most recent breakaways are of a different nature. For example, the Family Federation led by Hak Ja Han has undergone several changes after the death of Rev. Moon. Some of these innovations include revisions to the *Cheong Seong Gyeong* (*Divine Principle*) (46), the adoption of the "Only Begotten Daughter" theological innovation (which suggests that Hak Ja Han is the "Only Begotten Eve" sent to restore the Blood Lineage, downplaying Rev. Moon's role), and a rumored reintroduction of Korean paganistic ritual practices.

Many of these topics are seen as controversial within schismatic perspectives, and likely due to space considerations, Mickler glosses over or does not mention some of them. This comes through particularly when discussing Hyung Jin's (Sean, the founder of the schismatic Sanctuary Church) claim to heir apparent over the movement (58). A lengthier discussion on the earlier schisms (50-52) such as Jesus Morning Star (Providence) would have also been helpful.

This being said, Mickler does provide a wealth of information on the ongoing and recently resolved legal disputes surrounding the most recent schisms with Hyun Jin (Preston) and Hyung Jin (Sean). In these sections, Mickler discusses recent Family Federation lawsuits to remove Hyun Jin (Preston) Moon from the controlling board of an asset holding company called Unification Church International (56), a Family Federation lawsuit over trademarks involving Hyung Jin (Sean) Moon and the Sanctuary Church (61), and Hyung Jin (Sean)'s attempts to attain legal recognition as the legitimate heir of the Unification Movement (61-62). These recent legal disputes are undoubtedly crucial to understanding the continued development of the Unification movement and its schismatic organizations.

We cannot possibly expect Mickler to cover the whole historiographic background of Reverend Moon's accounts. Nor can we expect a full discussion of the recent schisms in the Unification movement at length within the *Cambridge Elements* form—to do so would be unjust. With these minor issues aside, Mickler has aptly managed to cover a wide amount of material in only sixty-four pages. He formulates a very condensed but narratively rich package; therefore, I wholeheartedly recommend this monograph, especially to scholars of New Religious Movements. Outside of this niche, however, Mickler's book would easily be of interest to students, sociologists, historians, and theologians who study international or high-tension religious groups and are looking for a quick but skillful introduction to the Unification case.

https://doi.org/10.25050/JDTREA.2023.3.1.165

Angela R. Burt, *Hare Krishna in the Twenty-First Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023, 96 pp. ISSN 2635-232X, $22.00 (online)

Carole M. CUSACK
The University of Sydney, Australia

The Elements in New Religious Movements (NRMs) series published by Cambridge University Press are useful for researchers and students alike, as they are compact, well-researched and clearly written, and have a contemporary focus. Angela Burt's study of the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON) has five chapters (including an Introduction and Conclusion); this review will address each chapter in turn.

"Introduction and Historical Origins of the Hare Krishna Movement" opens the book with a historical sketch of the Gaudiya Vaishnava tradition from Chaitanya in the early sixteenth century to A. C. Bhaktivedanta Swami (1896–1977), who brought devotion to Krishna to the United States in 1965. The issue of whether to classify ISKCON as a NRM, as opposed to a part of "Hinduism" (a problematic Western-originated term that nevertheless designates a "world religion" in the twenty-first century) and the essentially transnational nature of its development, are briefly touched upon. Burt also provides a short review of scholarship on the group and methodological lenses that may be applied fruitfully, including Rodney Stark on conditions required for a religious movement to succeed, and David Bromley and Gordon Melton's ideas about alignment processes.

Chapter 2, "Beliefs and Practices" covers living in temple environs, taking guidance from a guru, studying Srila Praphupada's books, mission, diet, marriage and family, pilgrimage, retreats, and festivals. Chapter 3, "Institutional and Community Dynamics," discusses the structure of ISKCON, with its Governing Body Commission (GBC), the Bhaktivedanta Book Trust which issues ISKCON publications, and temple presidents at each temple. The ebb and flow of devotees between the West and India is noted and temples in Vrindavan and Mayapura remain focal points for ISKCON in India, and international pilgrims. ISKCON was initially Western in membership, but has over the decades increasingly acquired Indian members and come closer to mainstream Hinduism in orientation. Burt is careful to explain that ISKCON membership is a formal status and a larger community that identifies as Gaudiya Vaishnava exists, with the assemblage of all being "the Hare Krishna movement" (30). This section also discusses of the exit of members from the mid-1980s onwards to other Gaudiya Vaishnava groups, mostly, and the scandals concerning Kirtanananda Swami (b. Keith Ham, 1937-2011) or Bhaktipāda, who was expelled from ISKCON in 1987 and avoided a conspiracy to

murder charge, but "was convicted of racketeering and mail fraud violations in 1993" (31). Schisms are covered, and the fascinating ISKCON Revival Movement, which aims to replace ISKCON's management with a new structure that acknowledges only Srila Prabhupada as initiating guru, is especially interesting. Multiple shifts from monastic to congregational life and from Western to Indian congregants, the development of an online presence and from street proselytization to varied modes of outreach, through restaurants, retreats, yoga centres, and festivals are canvassed. Today, there is less emphasis on wearing robes and having shaven heads, yet some things are constants: literature "remains a core proselytization practice" (42) and a range of teaching and research institutions contribute to members' education.

Chapter 4, "Issues, Controversies, and Challenges," is a study of various things that have made ISKCON controversial since its inception in the 1960s, such as the 'cult controversy' accusations of brainwashing and mind control in the 1970s, especially in America, and state persecution in the Soviet Union from around 1980. The contemporary Russian Federation is determinedly against ISKCON, too, claiming that members are religious extremists and that the group itself is a "demonically oriented religion" and a "totalitarian cult" (50). Burt discusses a range of legal disputes, from cases restricting book distribution as an activity in the United States, through the successful United Kingdom campaign to keep Bhaktivedanta Manor open as a worship space, to cases concerning child abuse in ISKCON. These are outward-facing disputes with host societies. There are also internal disputes, importantly about succession and "institutionalized child abuse," which she terms "one of [ISKCON's] darkest secrets" (55). Attention is also devoted to the theological question of the origin of the soul; in 1995 the GBC pronounced in favour of Prabhupada's expressed view that the soul "falls down into the material world" after rejecting a personal relationship with Krishna in the spiritual realm (56). A controversial book, *In Vaikuntha Not Even the Leaves Fall* (2019) was banned and one of its authors, Satyanarayana Dasa, left ISKCON to found the Jiva Institute in Vrindavan. This controversy feeds a current of thought that Prabhupada often expressed views that were "offensive to various groups including women, people of various nations and races, members of the LGBTQI community, scholars, scientists, and other Gaudiya Vaishnava groups" (57). Controversy still exists over the editing of Prabhupada's books and the moves since the 1990s to allow women to take prominent roles in ISKCON are similarly polarising. ISKCON in India is usually the strongest conservative voice, so a new group, Krishna West, was established in 2014 by Hridayananda das Goswami; this group operates within ISKCON and strongly pushes a Western identity for the movement, opposing the Hinduisatn and Indianisation of the religion. Burt covers debates about LGBTQ+ members, the rise of veganism, and the Covid-19 pandemic, contrasting the conservatism of early ISKCON with attempts to be more inclusive and in line with changes in host societies.

Chapter 5 provides a short conclusion to the book, which has a summary of contents, a reiteration of the value of frame alignment and resource mobilization theory as lenses through which to analyse ISKCON, and stresses again Burke Rochford's view that the success of ISKCON depends on the path it commits to in "a rapidly changing world" (69). There is a comprehensive list of references at the end, which will be of great use to students studying the history and sociology of Krishna Consciousness. Angela Burt has produced a pithy, wide-ranging, and relevant book on ISKCON for this series, and is to be congratulated. I recommend it to all interested in NRMs, Indian religion, transnational movements, and the sociology of the contemporary world. It is a must for the libraries of educational institutions.

Call for Papers

The Journal of Daesoon Thought and the Religions of East Asia

Daesoon Academy of Sciences (DAOS) was established at Daejin University in 1992. DAOS publishes research papers on Daesoon Thought multiple times each year. The Journal of Daesoon Thought and the Religions of East Asia (JDTREA) is an international collaboration, supported by the Daesoon Academy of Sciences, but with a global outlook. The journal has an international advisory board of senior scholars, who have different academic backgrounds but share a research focus on religions. JDTREA publishes research on the philosophical thought within Daesoon Jinrihoe and other Korean religions, and more generally, the journal also examines the religions of East Asia from various academic perspectives. The type of papers sought by our call for papers is listed below. We look forward to your interest and participation.

JDTREA
JOURNAL OF DAESOON THOUGHT & THE RELIGIONS OF EAST ASIA

PAPER TOPICS

All topics related to Daesoon Thought are potentially eligible, and this is also true of all topics related to East Asian philosophies and religions.

CALL FOR PAPERS AND ACADEMIC SCHEDULE

Publication Releases:
Late March and Late September

For a more detailed schedule, please refer to our website.

CONTACT INFORMATION

82-31-539-2523
idaos@daejin.ac.kr
www.jdre.org

DAOS
DAESOON ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

About JDRE.ORG

The Journal of Daesoon Thought & the Religions of East Asia (JDTREA) launched on September 30th, 2021 with volume 1, issue 1. *JDTREA* is published twice annually and special editions may also be released in the future. *JDTREA* is available via Open Access website with the following features:

Homepage www. jdre.org



- Full text searches of whole articles
- XML archives
- Free PDF downloads
- Advanced searches of articles by keywords, titles, or authors
- E-submission
- Up-to-date announcements

Subscriptions: Daesoon Academy of Science (DAOS) will send *Journal of Daesoon Thought and the Religions of East Asia (JDTREA)* for free to a selection of relevant individuals and institutions. Full-text PDF files are also available at the official website (www.jdre.org). The circulation number of print copies is 500. To order a subscription to *JDTREA*, please contact our editorial office.

Contact Information: Daesoon Academy of Sciences Department of Administrative, Room 403, Daejin Education Building, Daejin University, 1007, Hoguk-ro, Pocheon-si, Gyeonggi-do, 11159, South Korea. E-mail: idaos@daejin.ac.kr. Tel: +82-31-539-2523

Method of Payment: Bank transfer (Contact us for banking details)

Postal Information: *Journal of Daesoon Thought and the Religions of East Asia* (eISSN: 2799-4252, pISSN: 2799-3949) is published in English twice a year on March 30 and September 30 by Daesoon Academy of Science (DAOS), Room 403, Daejin Education Building, Daejin University, 1007, Hoguk-ro, Pocheon-si, Gyeonggi-do, 11159, South Korea

Postmaster: Daesoon Academy of Sciences Department of Administrative, Room 403, Daejin Education Building, Daejin University, 1007, Hoguk-ro, Pocheon-si, Gyeonggi-do, 11159, South Korea

Digital Object Identifiers: For information on doi, please visit www.doi.org

Permissions: For information on how to request permissions co-reproduce articles or information from this journal, please contact us at idaos@daejin.ac.kr

Advertising: *JDTREA* does not currently accept any commercial product advertisements.

Disclaimer: Articles published in *Journal of Daesoon Thought and the Religions of East Asia* do not represent the views of *JDTREA* or those of its editorial board. Individual authors are solely responsible for opinions expressed and the accuracy of facts published in the articles and reviews.

Daesoon Academy of Sciences (DAOS, Chairman: Bae Kyuhan; www.daos.or.kr/en/) is the research institute that best exemplifies the founding principles of Daejin University. DAOS has supervised numerous research activities for the purpose of promoting and developing studies on Daesoon Thought for the past 30 years. *JDTREA* (www.jdre.org) is the official English language journal of the Daesoon Academy of Sciences.

JDTREA is an open access journal distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution license (www.creative-commons.org/licenses/by/4.0/), which permits unrestricted non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

Part of articles, metadata, or full text in *Journal of Daesoon Thought and the Religions of East Asia* is available from CrossRef metadata (2021-), Google Scholar (2021-).

Its website and XML files are produced and maintained by Guhmock, the Republic of Korea (www.guhmok.com). This paper meets the requirement of KS X ISO 9706, ISO 9706-1994 & ANSI/NISOZ39.48_1992 (Permanence of Paper)

Submission Guidelines for *Journal of Daesoon Thought and the Religions of East Asia*

Journal of Daesoon Thought and the Religions of East Asia (JDTREA) is a peer-reviewed, academic journal published in English by the Daesoon Academy of Sciences. In 1992, The Daesoon Academy of Sciences was established at Daejin University. The goal of the academy is to stimulate dialogue and exchange ideas, theories, and perspectives among scholars in both Asia and the West, by publishing cutting-edge articles in all subfields of Daesoon Studies and the Religions of East Asia. *JDTREA* was first published in 2021. *JDTREA* is widely recognized by scholars as one of the leading English-language journals in the field of Daesoon Studies.

CALL FOR PAPERS

All topics related to Daesoon Thought are potentially eligible, and this is also true of all topics related to East Asian philosophies and religions. The journal's call for papers is on-going, and the journal is published on March 30 and September 30 each year.

MANUSCRIPT SUBMISSION

The Daesoon Academy of Sciences welcomes the submission of papers in any field of Daesoon Thought and/or East Asian philosophies and religions. The paper should be an unpublished original work and not under consideration to be published elsewhere. All manuscripts will be reviewed by at least two [2] blind reviewers. Book reviews and research notes relevant to Daesoon Thought and East Asian philosophies and religions may also be submitted. In the preparation of manuscripts, authors are requested to observe the standards specified below.

In general, the style guidelines that authors are expected to follow consist of *JDTREA*'s own style guideline, and in the case of issues not covered in *JDTREA*'s style guideline, the 17th Edition of the Chicago Manual of Style can be referred to as a supplement. The length of manuscripts should be no more than 8,000 words, with references up to no more than 10,000 words. Endnotes should be used in manuscripts. In the case of book reviews or research notes, the length should be up to 1,000 words. For the transliteration of Korean words, follow the new romanization conventions put forth by the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism in 2000 (www.mcct.go.kr).

Additional instructions for authors can be obtained via our website (www.jdre.org). Manuscripts should be submitted via e-mail as MS Word documents accompanied by an abstract of 200 words with five to ten keywords and a 100-word introduction to the author(s). In case the manuscript is written by more than one author, all of the names have to be clearly indicated: the order of the names depends on the degree of the individual's contribution to the article.

Articles will be edited to conform to the style of *JDTREA* in terms of layout and the romanization of Korean names and words. Other changes may be made in the interest of clarity. The editors are the final arbiters of length, grammar, and format. Submissions can be sent in either through the following link: www.jdre.org/author/submission or the following email address: idaos@daejin.ac.kr

Article Processing Charges: No page charge or article processing charge applies. There is also no submission fee. *JDTREA* is a platinum open access journal which means there are no author-side fees.

Copyright: The copyrights of all published materials are owned by the Daesoon Academy of Sciences (DAOS). All authors must sign a Transfer of Copyright Agreement when submitting their manuscripts.

Contact Point: Jason GREENBERGER, Managing Editor. Further information can be obtained via our website (www.jdre.org), e-mail (idaos@daejin.ac.kr) or via telephone (+82-31-539-2523). Books for review should also be sent to the same address. *JDTREA* does not guarantee review of unsolicited books. All papers featured in *JDTREA* are also accessible in PDF format at: www.jdre.org

JDTREA
Journal of Daesoon Thought & the Religions of East Asia

RESEARCH ARTICLES

MASSIMO INTROVIGNE	EVERY PICTURE TELLS A STORY: THE NEW YORK UNICORN TAPESTRIES AND DAESOON JINRIHOE'S SIMUDO PAINTINGS
KO NAMSIK & JASON GREENBERGER	A STUDY ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN KANG JEUNGSAN AND JO JEONGSAN DESCRIBED IN CHAPTER TWO OF PROGRESS OF THE ORDER
DAVID W. KIM	THE POST-JEUNGSAN GRASSROOTS MOVEMENTS: CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP IN BOCHEONGYO AND MUGEUKDO IN COLONIAL KOREA
LINH TRINH NGOC	CONFUCIANISM IN VIETNAM: A HAUNTOLOGY-BASED ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL DISCOURSE
KAI SHMUSHKO	THE MODERN WHITE HORSE TEMPLE AND ONLINE RECONFIGURING OF A BUDDHIST HERITAGE SPACE
MOHAMMAD JAHANGIR ALAM & INJAMAM MAHBUB MOJUMDER	SIKH AND CAODAI UNDERSTANDINGS OF INTERFAITH HARMONY: PROMOTING A CULTURE OF PEACE AND UNDERSTANDING

BOOK REVIEWS

KAWANISHI ERIKO	LESLIE E. SPONSEL (ED.), RELIGIOUS ENVIRONMENTAL ACTIVISM IN ASIA: CASE STUDIES IN SPIRITUAL ECOLOGY
LEE KYUNGSOO	ANDREW DAVID JACKSON, CODRUȚA SÎNTIONEAN, REMCO BREUKER, AND CEDARBOUGH SAEJI, INVENTED TRADITIONS IN NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA
STEVEN FOERTSCH	MICHAEL L. MICKLER, THE UNIFICATION CHURCH MOVEMENT
CAROLE M. CUSACK	ANGELA R. BURT, HARE KRISHNA IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

DAOS
THE DAESOON ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, DAEJIN UNIVERSITY