

## Article

# Hoedang and Jingakjong: Esoteric Buddhism in Contemporary Korea

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**Abstract:** This article discusses the emergence, transformation, and transmission of an esoteric Buddhist movement that Hoedang (孫珪祥, Kyu-shang Sohn [or Sohn, Gyu-sang], 1902–1963) began in the 1940s and 1950s. Starting in the middle of the eighth century, the history of Korean Esoteric Buddhism indicates that the tradition continued to exist (albeit marginally) until the Joseon dynasty (1392–1897). However, this case study, which focuses on the new religious sect of Jingak, explores Jingak’s reformist characteristics and its efforts toward the renewal of Korean Buddhism in contemporary society. The article argues that the founder was intellectually receptive to other teachings, including the performance of esoteric healing, the prosocial characters of Pragmatic Buddhism, the doctrine of Japanese Shingon, and permitting priests to marry. This article additionally attempts to identify the innovative philosophy (including *Simin*, 心印, original sinless self) of Korean Esoteric Buddhism, in the combined concepts of *Jinho gukga bulsa* (鎮護國家佛事, Protecting the nation by the teaching of Buddhism), *Iwon Weonri* (二元原理, Relative Principle), *Simin Bulgyo* (心印佛教, Mind-seal Buddhism), and *Silhaengnon* (實行論, The Teachings of Hoedang—Practical Theory).

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## 1. Introduction

The history of Esoteric (Vajrayana) Buddhism in Korea is often depicted as a sect of *Seon* Buddhism because the practice arrived four hundred years after Mahayana Buddhism (Ha and Mintz 2008, pp. 178–79).<sup>1</sup> The narrative account of Korean Esoteric Buddhism contains mystical and supernatural illustrations by Milbon (密本), Hyetong (惠通), and Myeongnang (明郎) (Sørensen 2011, p. 576).<sup>2</sup> Among them, Milbon, a monk in *Samguk Yusa* (三國遺事, Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms: SGYS) and *Haedong Goseungjeon* (海東高僧傳, Histories of Famous Monks in Korea: HKC) was an esoteric healer, thus performing magic. Korea’s national records demonstrate him as being capable of curing people’s sicknesses, including that of Queen Seondeok (善德, 632–647), by chanting the Medicine Buddha sutra (Jingak Order 2011, pp. 89–104).<sup>3</sup>

Queen Seondeok had become terminally ill. The monk Beopcheok from Heungnyunsa Temple was ordered to stop the disease, but after having tried for a long time, there was no result. At that time, the dharma master Milbon, whose virtuous cultivation was known in the land and praised everywhere. The queen ordered that he be invited to enter the palace. However, Milbon remained outside the royal palace, where he recited the Bhaisajyaguru sūtra. Having recited the entire text, he threw a wand with six rings into the queen’s bedchamber, where it penetrated an old fox and Beopcheok. He [then] threw them into the courtyard, whereupon the queen’s disease was cured (SGYS vol. 5, 355a).<sup>4</sup>

The Geumgwang Myeongchoe Seungwang Gyeongso (金光明最勝王經疏, Commentary on the Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sūtra), which was written by Seungjang (勝莊), reflects on the esoteric Buddhist elements described in the three dhāraṇī chapters of the sūtra.<sup>5</sup> This

includes lore surrounding the divine protection of the realm (including the cult of the Four Heavenly Kings) and the two chapters on the raksasa (demons who offer protection) (Sun 1995, pp. 25–26).<sup>6</sup> Although their use did not last, spells and ritual magic of esoteric teachings were performed during the Goryeo Dynasty (918–1392), including “the rites dedicated to various wrathful divinities, the host of spirits and worship of the planets and constellations to prevent natural catastrophes” (Sørensen 2011, p. 576).<sup>7</sup> The mystical narratives of male and female monastics, like Cheogyong (處瓊, 1652–1676), Yeohwan (呂還, 1663–1688), and Wonhyang (遠香, wife of Yeohwan, ?), are comprehensive examples of such healing and supernatural powers (Min 2016, pp. 56–59). Notably, the esoteric movement was less active and even more marginalized due to the *Eokbul* policy (抑佛, anti-Buddhist law) during the late medieval and early modern eras of the Joseon Dynasty (朝鮮, 1392–1897) (Sørensen 2011, p. 624).<sup>8</sup>

The arrival of Japanese Buddhist orders to Korea brought about social phenomena of both unity and conflict within the colonial community (1910–1945) (Kim 2012; Song 2019, pp. 275–99).<sup>9</sup> The main factor leading to external conflict was the ownership of Korean temples and their related properties by Japanese monks or their legal representatives, while the open culture of monks marrying critically challenged the traditional custom of Korean monks practicing celibacy (Park 2019, pp. 275–99).<sup>10</sup> As such, there were three groups within the Buddhist communities: (1) laypeople who followed Japanese Buddhism and Korean Buddhism; (2) Japanese priests and (3) Korean Buddhist monastics (Park, 2010; Song 2019, pp. 275–99).<sup>11</sup> Thus, if Korean Esoteric movement has its historical root from the middle of the eighth century as a minor sect of Buddhism, how was the esoteric group re-emerged after Korea’s independence (1945)? Who was the founder of the Jingak Order? And what were the unique characteristics of the Hoedang new religion and successful in contemporary Korean society?

## 2. Jingak Esoteric Buddhism in Contemporary Korea

Hoedang (孫珪祥, Kyu-shang Sohn<sup>12</sup>, 1902–1963) was born into an ordinary family, and his father operated a local apothecary on Ulleungdo Island<sup>13</sup> (鬱陵島, 120 km east of the Korean Peninsula). Hoedang was raised at a precarious time; the Korean Empire (the end of the Joseon dynasty: 1897–1910) was about to succumb to Japanese imperialism. The boy therefore grew up witnessing political oppression and cultural assimilation. During the transitional environment of the 1920s and 1930s, he saw the religious transformation that Korean Buddhism underwent, as well as the influence of Japanese Buddhism on Korean Buddhism—including esoteric characteristics (Chung 2007; *Tantric and Esoteric Buddhism in Medieval Korea* 2020; Ruswell 2010, pp. 43–55). Living through such a challenging time of political and religious change (as well as the death of his three children), motivated Hoedang to devote his mid-life years to creating a new religious movement. He started the movement after Korea regained its independence in the late 1940s, and his work was continued throughout the 1950s and early 1960s.

Meanwhile, Shin Bae, Hoedang’s wife grew up in a wealthy (Confucian) family in the same hometown, which enabled her to support husband’s education and business in Daegu and Japan. She raised seven children, although three passed away from illness, which indirectly affected Hoedang’s relationship with Buddhism (his mother’s religion). Shin Bae (Rev. Weonjeonggak), who was submissive and supportive, was deeply involved in, and vital to, establishing the Jingak movement. Indeed, she was as both Hoedang’s key fellow practitioner and helpmate. When the founder passed away in 1963, she carried on the legacy of the Korean esoteric movement, acting as the chair of the supreme patriarch for over three decades (until 1994) (Koo 2016, p. 162; Beop 2017, pp. 178–79).

The Jingak Order (眞覺宗) was created during the social transition between colonial Korea (1910–1945) and the Republic of Korea (1945–present) (Kim 2019, pp. 341–42). Hoedang (孫珪祥, Kyu-shang Sohn, 1902–1963, hereinafter referred to simply as Hoedang) merged empirical values with the ingenious elements of *Milgyo* (密教, Esoteric Buddhism), including esoteric healing, Pragmatic Buddhism, Japanese Shingon, and innovative phi-

losophy, thus ushering in a reformist wave of Korean Buddhism to the wounded lives of post-war Koreans (Kim 2021; Park 2009; Starr 2015). Jingak Esoteric Buddhism<sup>14</sup> also promoted bringing a fresh wave of mental and spiritual awakening to the depressed state of Buddhism.

### 2.1. Esoteric Healing

The Jingak new religious movement (眞覺宗, “Awakening of Genuine Mind”) emerged via Hoedang’s post-colonial enlightenment (Song 2007, pp. 200–7; Tikhonov 2010, pp. 163–88).<sup>15</sup> His hagiographical characteristics—a sharp mind, precocious ability, and farsightedness—led to the renewal of Esoteric Buddhism in contemporary Korea (Koo 2016, pp. 116–40; Jingak Order 2011, pp. 43–47).<sup>16</sup> According to Hoedang (Figure 1), who was influenced by Yongseong Baek (白龍城, 1864–1940) and his Korean version of the Buddhist Tripitaka (Kim 2001, pp. 104–43),<sup>17</sup> enlightenment is deeply rooted in a personal experience of mystical and healing powers. For example, when Hoedang was ten years old, he described a poetic concept about the word *mind* (心): “Mind makes all the things, painted every picture on the pure mind (心—當千萬質白畫丹青) (Koo 2016, p. 121).” The prophetic statement was promoted in an ideological context of spiritual purity and sagacity.<sup>18</sup> When he sought truth, Hoedang tried to practice a life of *Saengsik* (生食, only eating raw grass, pine needles, or bark). He then began instructing on the principle of bringing healing to the suffering of people in poverty; he taught that “these incurable diseases by medication or medical care, cause them to squander their family fortune ... therefore, the realization of self-nature of Buddha, through ‘a religion of enlightened nature,’ has all diseases becoming cured and all suffering beings liberated as well (Koo 2016, p. 131).” At the time, people, whether seeking healing for themselves or for their family members, would gather around Hoedang in great interest of watching his physical and mental healing performances.



**Figure 1.** Kyu-shang Sohn, founder © Jingak Buddhism Order (jingak.or.kr).

In 1946, after a decade of dharma-seeking practice, Hoedang opened up a sacred training center near Daegu (southwestern of Seoul) for curing diseases (Kwon 2008, pp. 327–57).<sup>19</sup> He adopted the name Avalokiteśvara-bodhisattva, which means ‘Lord who looks down with compassion, for chanting because the virtues and miracles are accounted for by many Buddhist sūtras pertain to a compassionate and merciful bodhisattva who works for the good of humanity (Cheong 2014, pp. 31–48). As it is written in *The Jingak Gyosa*; “Rev. So(h)n Hoedang preached his first sermon in Seongseo district of Dalseong county (present Daegu city) with the realization of a skillful means that could cure any patient, which was the result of his practice . . . ” (*The Jingak Gyosa*, 1947) (Jingak Order 1947; also see Kim 2013, pp. 168–206). Yong-chul Chang affirmed the performance of Hoedang’s miracles through his testimony that “when he (Hoedang) attained divine enlightenment, various miracles occurred. The sick people praying around him were healed as extravasated blood poured out” (Chang 1999, p. 60).

The Jingak religion teaches that human nature has become hardened through social malaise, in part because contemporary society is defined by an era of materialism that is centered on science. The Jingak Gyojeon (眞覺教典, scripture), therefore, encourages

followers to meditate on Buddhist teachings and then apply them in their lives with the spiritual hope of overcoming diseases of the mind (Jingak Order 2011, pp. 166–69). Hoedang also maintained the proper order of life priorities, namely that when one keeps the mind well, material well-being follows, but when one prioritizes material goods, the mind will not conform to material goods (Kim 2012). In this regard, Jingak teaches that one ought to practice the principles of Yukaeng (六行, Six Paramitas) and Samilhaeng (三密行, Three-secret Contemplation). The Six Paramitas (“Six Perfections”) can refer either to saving all sentient beings or to the virtues of mercy (Ponlop 2010, pp. 124–32; Son 2017, pp. 133–68). The aim of Three-secret Contemplation (三密行) lies in the worldly benefits of accomplishing Buddhahood as the stage of liberation from all suffering (Ahn 2013). The new Buddhist religion believes that practitioners obtain Nirvana by realizing one’s innate mind (the pure self-nature) (Ji 2010, pp. 44–85).<sup>20</sup>

Furthermore, Hoedang advocated the method of the Six-Syllable Mantra to restore Esoteric Buddhism in contemporary Korea (Sørensen 2011, pp. 616–23).<sup>21</sup> The mantra of “Aum(Oṃ) Maṇi Padme Hūṃ” (“innermost heart” of Avalokiteshvara) was ensured to be transliterated into Korean as “Aum (으) Ma (마) Ni (니) Bhan (반) Me (메) Hum (흙).” Jingak religion, in association with the secret teachings of Tantra (Barrett 2008, p. 12)<sup>22</sup> and Mantrayana,<sup>23</sup> offer practitioners the opportunity to seriously consider the teachings of Vairocana (a “celestial Buddha”) rather than Śākyamuni Buddha. The local teachings of the less well-known Buddha (Vairocana), who introduced distinctive rituals, directed attention to the Trikāya doctrine of reality, which reflects a (Tantra) Vajrayana Buddhist worldview (Song 2007, pp. 202–7; Ven 2013).

In another key teaching, the pañcatathāgata (or Five Buddhas) indicate the five “self-born” celestial buddhas that have existed since the beginning. The Jingak group follows the teachings of Vairocana (one of the Five Wisdom Buddhas), along with Akshobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, and Amoghasiddhi. Each Buddha presides over his own pure land. For instance, Vairocana (the embodiment of Dharmakaya or the ‘Embodiment of Truth’) is in the central pure land of Akanistha Ghanavyuha; Akshobhya (a product of Adhi Buddha; consciousness) is at the eastern pure land of Abhirati; Ratnasambhava (‘Origin of Jewels’; equality) resides at the southern pure land of Śrīmat; Amitābha (the principal buddha; ‘Infinite Light’) is in the western pure land of Sukhavati; and Amoghasiddhi (the conceptual mind, promotes the Buddhist path) is in the northern pure land of Prakūṭā. The metaphysical space that the Pañcatathāgata inhabit is known as the Diamond Realm (vajradhātu), which depicts the Buddha’s unchanging cosmic principle. In other words, according to the Trikāya doctrine, the bodies of the Pañcatathāgata (and their pure lands) exist on the plane of reality called Sambhogakaya (Enjoyment Body), which is beyond Saṃsāra (i.e., the cycle of rebirth and suffering) (Habito 1986, pp. 52–62).<sup>24</sup> Meanwhile, the Womb Realm, which is protected by the Five Wisdom Kings who act as the guardians of Buddhism, represents the active, Buddha’s physical manifestation in the natural world (Payne 2005, pp. 76–82).

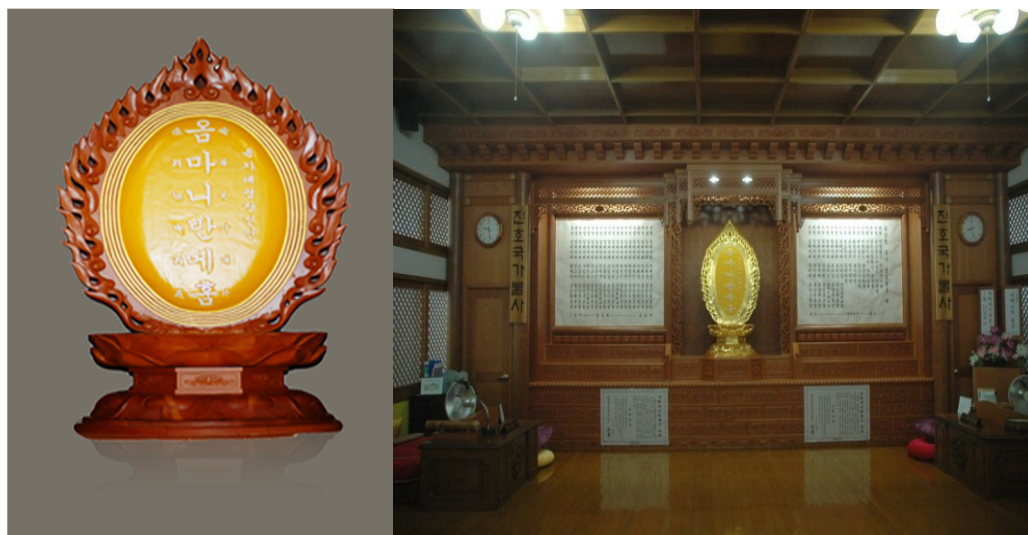
Jingak practitioners claim that the Six-Syllable Mantra confers the virtuous qualities that have already been achieved by the Five Buddhas and all the bodhisattvas.<sup>25</sup> In fact, all syllables of the mantra are depicted as the gateway to enlightenment. The key mantra (Aum(Oṃ) Maṇi Padme Hūṃ) conveys that the main object of worship is the inner most-bright mind of the Mahāvairocana Buddha, the Dharmakaya, and the historical Buddha Shakyamuni (Hye-Jund 2001, pp. 360–64). This concept has been adopted and transformed differently among distinct Asian Buddhist cultures, such as Tibet, China, Mongol, Korea, and Japan (Hye-Jund 2001, pp. 365–69). In particular, in the Jingak tradition, “Aum (으)” for Jingak symbolizes Mahāvairocana (=Vairocana) Buddha; “Ma (마)” is used for Aksobhya Buddha; “Ni (니)” refers to Ratnasambhava Buddha; “Bhan (반)” is for Amitābha Buddha; “Me (메)” is used for Amoghasiddhi Buddha; and “Hum (흙)” is for Vajrasattva Bodhisattva. The Vairocana Buddha’s hand position symbolizes Dharmakaya Buddha’s wisdom and, according to Bajracharya, is applied different from culture to culture. Specifically, “the index finger of the left hand is erected and held by the right hand among the Jingak, but



in Nepal, the left hand is pointed down toward the ground” (Bajracharya 2001, p. 143).<sup>26</sup> The Jingak group promotes practicing the mantra based on the teaching that if one recites this mantra daily and regularly, then one is open to receiving the virtues, such as the enlightenment of wisdom, a noble-mind, a charming and clear voice, and freedom from life-harming diseases.<sup>27</sup>

## 2.2. Pragmatic Buddhism

The Jingak group pursues the prosocial characters of Pragmatic Buddhism with the aim of embodying genuine enlightenment and true belief.<sup>28</sup> As part of the internal policy of the reform efforts, the followers of Jingak prefer the convenience of a ritualized life (Park 2009; Song 2000, pp. 157–83). In particular, they have neither a Buddha statue nor a moktak (木鐸, wooden percussion instrument the Buddhist clergy use for chanting) in the temple. Instead, the wooden plate of the flaming figure mantra of “Aum(Oṃ) Maṇi Padme Hūm” is located at the center of the Buddhist shrine (left of Figure 2). The names of the Thirty-Seven Deities of Vajra-dhatu Mandala (the collective names of Five Buddhas and 32 Vajra-Bodhisattvas) (right of Figure 2) are inscribed on each side of the altar (Kim and Kim 2015, pp. 1241–250).<sup>29</sup>



**Figure 2.** The main objects of worship © Jingak Buddhism Order (jingak.or.kr).

The meditation temple was not built according to the design of traditional Korean Buddhist temple, but according to a new, more pragmatic arrangement (Kim 2013, pp. 197–202; Kim 2012). At the behest of the founder, the new style of temple faced in a Southwest direction,<sup>30</sup> often without a roof or with a hipped roof tile. The Jingak priests (male and female (mainly wives of married priests)) were allowed to keep their hair and suits (e.g., Western formal dresses for Jeon-su), which was another enlightened idea applied in their practice. They also performed the four simplified occasional ceremonies: birthdays, weddings, funerals, and ancestral rites. In contrast to the Sanjung Buddhism (山中佛教, temples located in mountain) of the Jogye, Cheontae, and Taego Orders, the Jingak movement retains a policy similar to that of Won Buddhism (圓佛教), namely that the Simindang (心印堂, Jingak Esoteric temples) should be located within, rather than outside, society.

What is more, the concept of ‘Simin’ (心印), which is included in the name of the temple, is metaphysically related to Hoedang’s personal experience of enlightenment, which later became a key teaching of Jingak (Koo 2017, pp. 299–309).<sup>31</sup> The Jingak founder also preferred to use the Korean language for their teachings for Korean audiences, instead of Chinese or Sanskrit (the original language of Buddhism) (Jang 2011b, pp. 131–35). Additionally, the Simindang signboard is written in the local language to popularize Buddhism and encourage patriotic motivation.<sup>32</sup> Previously, the Buddhist reformist campaigns had been

launched by the collective activities of Yong-wun Han (韓龍雲, 1879–1944), Neung-hwa Lee (李能和, 1869–1943), Yong-sung Back (白龍城, 1864–1940), and Sang-no Kwon (權相老, 1879–1965) during early twentieth-century colonization. At that time, Hoedang would have been engrossed in his search for dharma through visiting and seeking advice from key leaders of Korea (Jingak Order 2011, pp. 44–49). However, the ideas of Buddhist ritual (simplified, as in Christianity), ethnicity, and music were unique strategies, even to other Buddhist communities.

New members of the Jingak are recognized by their involvement of “the Buddhist Rituals for Initiation (入道).” After initiation, members then commit to practicing the Bosal Sipseongye (菩薩十善戒, Ten Precepts of Bodhisattva) and devote themselves to attaining Buddhahood and purifying this world. The Ten Precepts for Jingak are: not killing (不殺生), not stealing (不偷盜), not committing obscene behaviour (不婬), not lying (不妄語), not slandering others (不酷酒), not using harsh language (不說四衆過), not speaking frivolously (不自讚毀他), not being greedy or covetous (不慳惜加毀), not being jealous or having malice (不瞋心不受悔), and not entertaining false or wayward views (不謗三寶). Undergoing the ascetic practice of Bulgong for self-cultivation (Buddhist prayer and meditation), which applies to both Singyodo (新教徒, registered members: Gakja (覺子, males) and Bosal (菩薩, females)), is also a creative characteristic of Jingak (Song 2007, pp. 214–16). The teachings of Sisi Bulgong (時時佛供, meditation without a time limit) and Cheocheo Bulgong (處處佛供, meditation with no stipulation of place) indicate the flexibility of time and place (Heo 2014, pp. 447–70).

In searching one’s nature, however, followers practice meditation daily and are encouraged to attend Suyo Bulgong (水曜佛供, Wednesday prayer and meditation) on Wednesdays and Jaseongil Bulgong (自省日佛供, Sunday prayer and meditation for introspection), on Sundays. This pattern of regular Buddhist services is similar to Christianity, which indicates that Hoedang and his disciples are receptive to other religions, especially within the context of being pragmatic. Although indirect, this influence is demonstrated by the fact that Hoedang studied at the Gyesung High School (계성고등학교), a Christian mission school in Daegu in the 1920s (Jingak Order 2011, pp. 44–49). In contrast to inter-religious borrowing, the three Bulgong prayers of New Year Great Vow Bulgong (新年大誓願佛供, Prayer with a deep obeisance for New Year), New Year 49 days Bulgong (新年49日佛供, Prayer after 49 days of New Year), and Wolcho Bulgong (月初佛供, Prayer for the beginning of a month) are unique and were practiced for the sake of family peace and prosperity, the restoration of Buddhism, and national peace (Song 2007, pp. 206–10).<sup>33</sup>

Another key distinction of Jingak in terms of prosocial characters is that followers were encouraged to make cash donations to the temple (which could be used for both the upkeep of the temple and the salaries of the priests), instead of offering food to monks and nuns. This offering practice also resembles the practice of tithing in the Christian tradition. In Jingak, the offerings were classified into three different kinds of donations (these donations were called “Joyful Giving,” not “almsgiving” or “charity”): (1) Dansi (檀施, an offering to Buddha); (2) Gyeongssi (經施, an offering to Dharma); and (3) Jesi (濟施, an offering to Sangha) (Heo 2014, pp. 460–70; Song 2020, pp. 68–72). Even the offering ritual is mandatory, and is part of self-cultivation. Kyung Jung, author of *the Sociality of Jingak in the Ideology of Enlightenment* argues that Hoedang considers reality as important, but that the Jingak leader’s realistic disposition is actually a practical method for pursuing one’s natural essence (Jung 2001, pp. 170–95).

### 2.3. Japanese Shingon

The Jingak movement applies the culture of Japanese Shingon Buddhism (真言宗, Shingon-shū). The connection of Jingak’s teaching, with the liberal character of Japanese Shingon, is depicted socio-historically in Hoedang’s background in that he witnessed the sociality of Japanese monks with secular people. When he was about twenty-one years old, he left home and went to Japan to study at a preliminary class for admission to a regular school (Kim 1999, pp. 25–32). Although scholars claim that he was not only indifferent

to Buddhism at that time but was also pessimistic about the practice of Buddhist faith for the sake of good fortune in the early days, this opinion is countered by Jang. The eyewitness disciple of Hoedang testified that Hoedang visited Japanese temples, including Mount Kōya's (高野山, Kōya-san) Kongōbuji temple (金剛峯寺: the head temple of Shingon Buddhism), and Tōdaiji Temple in Nara (東大寺, "Great Eastern Temple"), the latter of which houses the world's largest statue of Vairocana Buddha (Daibutsu, 大仏) (Kim 2002, pp. 178–80).

The relationship between Korean Buddhism and Japanese Buddhist orders was not special within the context of colonization (Kim 2021; Silong 2016, pp. 35–53). Instead, it was considered as an aspect of cultural exchange between the two ethnic groups (Kim 2012, pp. 39–42). Likewise, when Jingak's founder was in his forties and was seeking the Dharma before his enlightenment, he also took a pilgrimage, during which he revisited important Buddhist sites in Japan, studying Buddhist texts, and cultivating himself day and night (Kim 2002, pp. 236–39; Heo 2000, pp. 18–24). In this regard, one sees evidence of transmission in that the Jingak adopted the Diamond Realm Mandala (one of the two Shingon mandalas [with the Mandala of the Womb Realm] for central ritual) as their basic source for the practice of meditation. The two esoteric orders also considered both the Mahāvairocana Sūtra (大日經) and Vajraśekhara Sūtra (金剛頂經) as canonical texts.

By regulating the marital status of monks, modernized Japanese Buddhism remained distinctive, including the culture of Shingon Buddhism, Pure Land schools, and other Zen schools (Faure 2000). It is within this context, then, that Hoedang married Shin Bae (背信, 1905–1994). The ministry of married priests was a fresh development before Taego (established in 1970) in Korean Buddhist society. Because the Jingak encouraged married priests to be in charge of temples, male and female priests were called Jeong-sa (正師, male) and Jeon-su (傳授, female), and both are designated as Seuseung (스승, upādhyāya or ācārya). Hoedang's teaching, like Shingon Esoteric Buddhism, encouraged the harmonious ministry of married priests. Although some were often skeptical about equal leadership, nonetheless the Jingak officially promoted gender equality. Jeong-sa (a married, male priest) looks after external affairs, and Jeon-su (a married, female priest) attends to the internal affairs of their appointed temple (Mee 2013, pp. 269–317).<sup>34</sup> This religious policy is related to the philosophy of family edification, which was a key teaching principle. Unlike the Jogye, Taego, and Cheontae of other Korean Buddhist sects, marriage is compulsory for male priests, but female priests are not obligated to marry. In fact, the majority of Seuseung is composed of Jeon-su (female priests).

#### 2.4. Innovative Philosophy

Meanwhile, the personal teachings of *Jinho gukga bulsa* (鎮護國家佛事, Protecting the nation by the teaching of Buddhism), *Iwon Weonri* (二元原理, Relative Principle), *Simin Bulgyo* (心印佛教, Mind-seal Buddhism), and *Silhaengnon* (實行論, *The Teachings of Hoedang*) represent the innovation of Jingak philosophy, through which the new religious sect successfully attracted people's attention and garnered their interest. The concept of the innovative philosophy implies that the Korean Esoteric Order contains the receptive characteristic of patriotic spirit like other Buddhist Orders but they creatively promote the positive (and equal) perspective of dual principles (black and white, plus and minus, and yin and yang). The Simin (心印, the innate enlightened mind = original sinless self = *bodhicitta*) that is hidden beyond human mind is introduced as a method of self-cultivation, while the personal teaching of *Silhaengnon* cannot be seen in any Buddhist Orders in Korea.

##### 2.4.1. Jinho Gukga Bulsa

In particular, in *Jinho gukga bulsa*, Hoedang fundamentally promoted a spirit of autonomy in contrast to the traditional Korean Buddhist characteristic of patriotism. For example, the Jingak Gyojeon (its canonical text) promotes the view that along with a nation's independence should come religious autonomy (the mental sphere) before science (the material sphere): "the autonomy of citizens should be first prior to establishing an

autonomous nation ... Rather than external religions, the teaching of an indigenous religion should be a basic foundation for an independent nation" (Jingak Order 2008a). For this purpose, the Jingak installed two big wooden plates, on which were written the words *Jinho gukga balsa* (진호 국가 불사, Protecting the nation by the teaching of Buddhism). Beside the wooden plate was a flaming shape of the mantra ("Aum(Oṃ) Maṇi Padme Hūm") in front of the main hall of each Simindang (Jingak temple).

For Jingak adherents, the country that the Thirty-Seven Deities (five Buddhas and thirty-two Bodhisattvas) govern is called *Jinho gukga balsa*. The government of the Thirty-Seven Deities first considers the country's internal affairs (economics, public welfare, and its democratic institutions) before it considers the external affairs (military, diplomacy, and security) (Chang 2010, pp. 362–79). The founder defined the idea as such "the Jinho guksa is to lead one to help all sentient beings accomplish Buddhahood along with oneself. By purifying this world, ... one turns it into Pure Land of Mysterious Adornment" (Koo 2016, p. 89; and see Ven 2015, pp. 151–56). The Jingak enhanced the spirit of autonomy through its educational activities (Jang 2011a, pp. 131–35). The Simin middle and high school (1955),<sup>35</sup> Jinseon girls' middle and high school (1977), and Uiduk University (1996) were among the movement's greatest social achievements, in addition to establishing thirty kindergarten and nursery school facilities. The Jingak Social Welfare Foundation (1998) also publicizes the core concept of *Jinho gukga balsa* in that anyone can participate in the foundation's programs: international relief activities (JGO Srilanka), social enlightenment campaigns (vocational training programs), free health clinics, scholarships, computer training, and care for the homeless and elderly. Notably, Jingak teaching also promotes the reunification of South and North Korea, in part because Hoedang personally experienced the socio-political hardships rampant during the 1950s and Korean War. The esoteric group therefore launched a unification campaign in 1998, through which it first partnered with the National Association of North Korean Buddhism (朝鮮佛教徒聯盟), among other Buddhist orders (Ven 2015, pp. 156–66; Starr 2015).

#### 2.4.2. Iwon Weonri

One also sees Jingak philosophy in the teaching of *Iwon Weonri* (二元原理, Relative Principle). The Relative Principle often symbolizes two irreducible principles, or antagonistic forces, like good and evil or nature and the supernatural (Jingak Gyojeon 2001, pp. 166–69). In contrast, Hoedang's theory of *Iwon Weonri* proposes a positive and harmonious perspective of unity between two different identities. *Iwon Weonri* was initially taught in tandem with the non-duality theory of the mental and physical spheres: "Esoteric Buddhism considers all (physical) things in the universe as true and realizable as thusness (*tathātā*). Thus, it does not enclose them (as being unreal or false) in the arms of the mental and regards them as a principle whereby the physical and the mental become equalized" (Koo 2016, p. 79; Choe 2020, pp. 98–100).

*Iwon Weonri* is itself integrated as a "relative principle"; in this approach, religious pluralism and sectarian specialization are co-operatively recognized as necessary partners for local and world peace (Jingak Gyojeon 2001, pp. 166–69). The Jingak Gyojeon demonstrates both the freedom and equality of *Iwon Weonri* with the words: "free economy externally looks turbid and venal, while free religion internally becomes an agency of purification (表面自由經濟 裏面自由宗教 淨化機關)" (Jingak Order 2008b, p. 166). Just as electricity generates power via the reciprocal action of anode and cathode, so too does Hoedang's pluralistic thought create a lay practitioner-centered meditating system alongside the monastery. The Jingak sect also encourages recognizing social differentiation by ability and skills and publicizes collaboration leading toward a social harmony or a society's common purpose (Jang 2011b, pp. 56–59). Therefore, some argue that the complementary principle is another result of *Iwon Weonri*, and that it creates an ideal balance and brings maturity to the community. For example, there is a balance between rationality and irrationalism, the Western and Eastern worlds, religion and politics, and the public and private spheres (Lee 2017, pp. 77–80).



### 2.4.3. Simin Bulgyo

The key teaching of Hoedang's ideas pertaining to self-cultivation is in *Simin Bulgyo* (心印佛教, Mind-seal Buddhism). The Jingak Gyojeon defines the concept as: "Simin indicates *Sammaewang* (三昧王, the King of Samadhis), the (true) mind of Buddha which has been imprinted in the thought of the Dhāraṇī Sūtra (or Uṣṇīṣa Vijaya Dhāraṇī Sūtra)" (Sohn 2008b, p. 65).<sup>36</sup> The ultimate purpose of the devotees (regardless of gender) is to seek and realize Simin (心印, the innate enlightened mind = original sinless self = *bodhicitta*), which is hidden beyond human nature, and to practice the (true) mind of Buddha in the world (Jang 2020, pp. 69–84; Jeongsa 2016).<sup>37</sup> In fact, the Jingak claims that Hoedang himself accomplished this very same level of enlightenment, and that his followers can achieve the stage of Simin through chanting the mantra of "Aum(Oṃ) Maṇi Padme Hūṃ." The process of Jingak's *Simin Bulgyo* is then proposed as one recovers the mind of Buddha and after one repents of his or her faults through Chamhoe (懺悔, penitence). This supports the view that the Jingak founder pursued the purification of the world from sins (Jeongsa 2020, pp. 26–30; Koo 2015, pp. 43–92).

The various *Seon* (*Chan*: China or *Zen*: Japan) schools use the term Simin to refer to the mind of "one's true nature," which transmits the (true) mind of Buddha from mind to mind, rather than by relying on verbal or literary communication (Jeongsa 2016). The objective of enlightenment is for the (true) mind of Buddha but it is "neither transmitted from a patriarch nor transferred to a disciple" (Koo 2016, p. 191). Nevertheless, the "Three-secret Contemplation" of Esoteric Buddhism, within the framework of the "three mysteries of the body, speech and mind," is ceremonially composed of three types of mystery: (1) mudra: making physical forms with the hands (mystery of the Buddha's body); (2) mantra or dhāraṇī: chanting (mystery of speech); and (3) meditation: mentally contemplating esoteric deities or symbols (mystery of the mind) (Kim 2013, pp. 183–86). The Jingak maintains that attaining these three mysteries can lead to an experience of Buddhahood; this is achieved by the empowerment of the three mysteries of the Buddha Vairocana's body, speech, and mind (Koo 2016, pp. 192–239; Heo 2000, pp. 153–61). Jingak adherents also believe in Simin for missionary works (Kim 2010, pp. 99–135): "Simin designates as the seal of the Buddha-mind, namely, the King of Samadhis, which engraves dhāraṇī (Buddhist incantations or chants consisted by Sanskrit or Pali phrases) on one's own heart" (Sohn 2008a, p. 65). Thus, Hoedang taught on the interchangeable relationship between the terms of Simin and the mantra, claiming that "a mantric devotee sincerely repents all one's negative behaviors and activities and becomes enlightened to Simin, while illuminating one's mind by reciting a mantra" (Koo 2016, p. 198).

### 2.4.4. Silhaengnon

The basic canonical sūtras (the so-called "Soui Gyeongjeon, 所依經典") of the Jingak religious sect are the Mahāvairocana Sūtra (大日經), the Vajraśekhara Sūtra (金剛頂經), the Kāraṇḍavyūha Sūtra (大乘莊嚴寶王經), the Bodhicitta-Śāstra (菩提心論), and the Silhaengnon (實行論, *The Teachings of Hoedang*) (Heo 2013, pp. 79–111).<sup>38</sup> From among these texts, the Kāraṇḍavyūha Sūtra most reflects the origin of the Six-syllable Mantra, while the Mahāvairocana Sūtra and the Vajraśekhara Sūtra deliver the nucleus of Esoteric Buddhism's doctrinal system. The Bodhicitta-Śāstra, according to Donghyeon Koo and Namjin Heo, demonstrates the role of esoteric and exoteric Buddhism in the doctrinal taxonomy of the Jingak, even though the way Korean scholars approach the Bodhicitta insight may not correspond to the approaches of South Asian and Tibetan Buddhists (Koo 2016, pp. 201–3; Sohn 2008b, pp. 81–92).

In particular, Hoedang designed the Silhaengnon (Teachings of Haedang—Practical Theory) as a synopsis of practice. The primary doctrine of the Silhaengnon is based on the combination of the three teachings of the *Seon*, Esoteric Buddhist, and Hoedang philosophies (Ven 2013). Notably, the absence of a required Buddhārūpa (Buddha statue) is explained by the Jingak strategy of local evangelism and global mission, which they employed in the belief that because Mahāvairocana fully exists in the universe, his presence

dwells in everyone's hearts (Sohn 2008b, p. 65; Heo 2013, pp. 90–91). Hoedang, therefore, freshly taught that practitioners can request happiness and enjoy it; furthermore, he instructed that followers could find comfort in the present moment. This contrasts with the traditional (Pure Land) concept of happiness, which teaches rebirth in paradise in the next life (Sohn 2008b, pp. 81–92). Hoedang's Silhaengnon teaching helped establish the third-largest organization of Korean Buddhism (Chung 2007; Silong 2016, pp. 35–53), which is comprised of over 120 Simindang (regional temples), including headquarters-Chonginwon in Seoul, Gyeonggi, Daejeon, Jeolla, Daegu, Gumi, Gyeongsan, Gyeongju, Pohang, Busan, and Gyeongnam. Starting in the 1990s on, the religious order also accelerated its pioneering work overseas in the United States, China, India, Nepal, and Sri Lanka.

### 3. Current Issues and New Leadership within Jingak

Regarding the development and prosperity of the *Hoedang* esoteric new religious movement, the canonical work of the *Jingak Gyojeon* theologically affected the systematization and popularization of its organization in Korean society. The size of membership was approximately 700,000; that, along with its international network, demonstrates the potential for globalization. The Jingak religion, which is currently under the leadership of Chongin (總印, paramount leader of the movement), is operated by the three central agencies: Jungang Jipaeng Tongniwon (중앙집행통리원, Head Administration Division), Sagamwon (사감원, Inspection Division); and Jonguihoe (종의회, the Highest Jingak Order Council) (Kim et al. 2019). The movement's higher-level leadership is officially elected from among the candidates who have been recommended by regional leaders or key Seuseungs (스승, upādhyāya or ācārya) based on their spiritual maturity and missionary achievement (Kim 2010, pp. 99–135). The policy of gender equality is also applied for election.<sup>39</sup> However, after the death of founder's wife, Shin Bae, the personal behavior of members of the second-generation leadership became the topic of discussion revolving around social issues, morality, and ethics in the 2010s.<sup>40</sup> The misconduct among leadership ranged from of sexual molestation, mysterious suicides, and unidentified corruption; such issues cannot be disregarded, especially in the context of the sect's lack of growth and problematic depopulation. In particular, the so-called, "the Prince of the Jingak order (34 years old)," who was the first son of the twelfth Chongin (總印, the supreme leader) and was in charge of the welfare foundation, was involved in a scandal concerning sexual molestation in which the victims (two female staff) accused him publicly and brought a legal case against him as part of the Me-Too movement (an international phenomenon of disclosing sexual misconduct or abuse in public) (Byeon 2019).<sup>41</sup>

There were also two incidents of mysterious suicide; one was a teacher at a high school and the other was a professor at a university (both institutions were run by the Jingak). Both the teacher and professor, who had individually committed suicide, were previously involved the administration process of the high school teacher's promotion for a full-time position. However, there was a problem of bribery and embezzlement (\$180,000), issues with which the organization did not deal wisely; the scandals led to depression and, eventually, the death of the two people (Kim 2019). MBC news, one of Korea's major national broadcasts, further criticized an unidentified irregularity within the Jingak religion. As the narrative goes, the situation began when a Seoul City Council audit committee dispatched three special investigators to monitor the internal bullying reportedly happening within the religion. As a result of the investigation, the investigators recommended a punishment for the Jingak leadership. However, the recommendation was rejected. Rather, the investigators sent by the audit committee were denounced by the reason of mishandling the issue. Although the five managers of the Jingak were eventually charged, the supreme leadership's reputation and honor were retained without incurring any social damage (Jang 2020).

#### 4. Conclusions

In the late 1940s, the Jingak order, native to Korea, was created to usher in a social revival of *Milgyo* (Esoteric Buddhism) by the realistic approach and teaching of Hoedang. Although adherents of the new religious sect did not want to stand out from the Jogye, Taego, and Cheontae orders, they were highly receptive to the characteristics of the new movement. Indeed, many of these characteristics uniquely addressed the psychological and spiritual needs of post-war Korea. Jingak Esoteric Buddhism, which teaches that the salvation of humanity is prior to the next life, offers the most community-based (or secular) teaching in Korea. Additionally, the founder penetrated the gradual extinction of the esoteric tradition during the Joseon era and the period of colonization; he also embraced the basic teachings of Japanese Shingon in tandem with a priesthood allowed to marry. What is more, his religious philosophy articulated a truly distinctive characteristic, especially when juxtaposing it with other orders of Korean Buddhism. Specially, Hoedang's performance of healing and curing the sick by esoteric spells and ritual magic, aligned with both the Six Paramitas and the "Three-secret Contemplation" practices of "Aum Ma Ni Bhan Me Hum." Finally, both the new marriage policy and the canonical texts (Mahāvairocana Sūtra [大日經] and the Vajraśekhara Sūtra [金剛頂經]) are familiar to Shingon Esoteric Buddhism, either through the colonial exchange or the influence of Japanese culture.

The unique aspects of the Jingak religion include the policies of no Buddha statues and moktaks (wooden percussion instruments the Buddhist clergy use for chanting) in temples. Other prosocial distinctions of the sect are placing the flaming figure mantra of the Six-Syllable Mantra as the object of worship; wearing Western formal dress; granting permission for priest to keep their hair; simplified occasional ceremonies; communicating in the Korean language, both verbally and in written form; the Christian pattern of weekly Bulgongs; and accepting cash donations; all these distinctions are realistic. Furthermore, the founder's innovative philosophy is demonstrated in its fresh approach toward women's role in the temple, as well as its promotion of four new teachings. First, the concept of *Jinho gukga bursa* marks the Jingak as singular, while it also retains the patriotic character of Korean Buddhism. Next, the theories of *Iwon Weonri* and *Simin Bulgyo* employ advanced concepts of the external and internal teachings of the universe and mind. Meanwhile, the notion of Simin, within Jingak philosophy, was applied equally to women and men, and with the aim of gaining personal enlightenment and for ensuring the movement's leadership. Lastly, the social campaign of *Silhaengnon* promotes an alternative hope that devotional believers can experience what they wish now, in the *present*—not only in the next life, a result of their rebirth. The canonical project of Hoedang's thoughts (Jingak Gyojeon) and the systematization of the organization through the devotional works of Shin Bae (Hoedang's wife) from the 1970s through the 1990s garnered truly successful results in contemporary Korean society from outreach and mission work. The Jingak movement inventively created all of this despite how the controversial behavior of recent leadership has resulted in the sect's lack of growth and declining membership.

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#### Notes

- Indian and Chinese monks introduced Buddhism during the Three Kingdoms of Goguryeo (37BC–668AD), Baekje (18BC–660AD), and Silla (57BC–935AD), beginning in the second half of the fourth century. The meditation-based practice of *Chan* Buddhism was developed as *Seon* (禪), along with the schools of the *Gyo* (教, "learning" or "study"). The national records of *Samguk Yusa* (三國遺事, Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms) and *Samguk Sagi* (三國史記, History of the Three Kingdoms) support the direct

involvement of three missionaries: Sundo (順道=善導大師) for King Sosurim of Goguryeo (37 BC–668 CE) in 372 CE; Malananta (摩羅難陀, मेघनंद) for the royal family of Baekje (King Asin (阿莘王); Preceptor Adohwasang (阿道和尚) for Silla (418 CE).

2 There are three groups of Esoteric Buddhism in contemporary Korea: Jingak (眞覺宗, 1947), Jineonjong (眞言宗, 1963), and Buddhist Chongji (佛教總指宗, 1974). Two are derived from the Jingak movement.

3 See, *The Haedong Kosŭng Chŏn* (海東高僧傳, Histories of Famous Monks in Korea: HKC) vol. 6, 355ab. Milbon (密本) also healed Yangdo Kim, in *Samguk Yusa* vol. 5, 6: “須臾卒至不待開經, 其疾乃治語通身解具說件事 . . . ”

4 *Samguk Yusa* (三國遺事, Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms: SGYS).

5 The mysterious stories of Hyetong (惠通) and Myeongnang (明郎) were, likewise, transmitted in national records. The former was credited as practicing “Munduru secret service” for conjuring up a storm that capsized the invading Chinese; the latter defeated demon enemies and healed diseases by practicing the ritual for averting calamities. Esoteric Buddhism became more prevalent in Unified Silla (668–935) as a protector of the nation. See Sørensen (2011, p. 591).

6 See HKC vol. 2, 181b–232a. The two tantric schools of the Chongji sect of dhāraṇī (initiated by Hyetong) and Sinin (initiated by Myeongnang) were rooted in the Goryeo dynasty (918–1392).

7 The four kinds of Altar-Worship of Esoteric Buddhism were established to overcome the national disaster and to gain peace for people: for averting calamities; exorcising demons; increasing good fortune; and seeking love.

8 Nonetheless, there are traces of the sect thriving, as Henrik H. Sørensen demonstrates in *Esoteric Buddhism under the Choson* that Korean Esoteric Buddhism was absorbed within the practices and doctrines of the more dominant sect of *Seon* Buddhism.

9 The Japanese monks had been in the regions of Southern Korea where many Japanese people dwelled unofficially because of diplomacy and maritime trade from the time of the 1876 Japan–Korea Treaty (江華島條約 or にっしょうしゅうこうじょうき).

10 The pro-Buddhist Japanese authorities politically enforced these practices of fusion and assimilation. Then, in 1911 the Japanese colonial government issued the Main Regulation No. 7 Temple Ordinance (寺刹令, appointing [married] head monks [Juji, 住持, or priest]), making Korean Buddhist monasteries subject to the central colonial government system. Meanwhile, a new Buddhist organization was established “to build a bridge between the Korean and Japanese Buddhist communities. The colonial government supported the nationwide network of the lay-led association, called Joseon Bulgyodan (朝鮮佛教團, the Association of Korean Buddhism).” The term ‘monk’ in the marriage case is often expressed as ‘priest’ in this paper. Korean Buddhism had many problems with married monks as head monks in 1927.

11 The colonial government gradually grew less interested in them when Shinto worship was legalized on the Korean peninsula.

12 This name can be ‘Sohn, Gyu-sang,’ but the religious organization officially uses as the name ‘Kyu-shang Sohn.’

13 The Korean terms and names are described using the Revised Romanization of Korea, except those which are in direct quotes, or in the inevitable cases of McCune-Reischauer Romanization.

14 Regarding the terms applied in this paper, Esoteric Buddhism is interpreted as *Milgyo* on the Korean peninsula. Vajrayana Buddhism (=Tibetan Buddhism) is comprehensive form, comprised of both Esoteric Buddhism and Mahayana Buddhism (Japanese *Zen* Buddhism, Chinese *Chan* Buddhism, or Korean *Seon* Buddhism).

15 As of 2003, the Jingak Buddhist religion, the third largest sect of contemporary Korean Buddhism, had 700,000 followers with 120 temples.

16 Hoedang had witnessed colonial persecution of Buddhism, but he did not commit his life to being a monk until he was forty-five years old, in 1947.

17 He also would have consulted with some leaders of Won-Buddhism, which had a significant impact on colonized Korea.

18 His intelligence and wisdom were also expressed as extraordinariness.

19 Many of his family members had previously passed away from sickness and disease. Three of his own children (a total of seven children: four sons and three daughters) also died.

20 The nucleus of the practices is promoted as the “practical method of Joyful Giving,” placing matter and mind on an equal plane and the “Three-secret Contemplation” with the Six-syllable Mantra.

21 The influx of Tibetan Buddhism through Mongolia introduced the practical method of the Six-Syllable Mantra in the early fifteenth century, which was derived from the doctrine of medieval Esoteric Buddhism in India.

22 This means any systematic text, theory, system, method, instrument, technique, or practice.

23 In Sanskrit, Mantrayana means a sound-vehicle. A *mantra* is a sound, while the Sanskrit word *yana* means a vehicle, vessel, or journey (among other things).

24 Bodhisattvas (beings who are becoming Buddhas) live in Pure Lands.

25 According to the new religion, this mantra represents the inner natural bright mind of all kinds of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and human beings.

26 Bajracharya argues that the Nepalese style of the hand posture is the authentic Bodhagrimudra.

27 Please see the Avalokitesvara Six-Syllable Mantra Sūtra for the one the Jingak order uses.



- 28 The concept of Pragmatic Buddhism in this paper is less relevant to the socio-environmental approach of the West (Engaged Buddhism), which often involves various forms of social justice, animal welfare, environment, and other social causes. The prosocial character of the Jingak Buddhist religion has a different approach from followers of Thích Nhất Hạnh (1926–) or Master Cheng Yen (1937–).
- 29 They additionally have the Gyori Chamhoe (懺悔, penitence) Statement, the Hoehyang Chamhoe Statement, the Silcheon Chamhoe Statement, the Pledges of five Buddhas (五大誓願: Vairochana (=the Buddha of Cosmic Energy), Ashobhya, Rotnasambhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi), the Constituting Principles of Samil (三密, Three secrets), and the Saman (四蔓) and Hoehyang Statement (廻向門) in the temple.
- 30 The direction Hoedang would have considered for their temples indicates the birthplace of the historical Buddha in northern India, which differs from the perspective in Korea.
- 31 Heodang titled all the Jingak temples Simindang (心印堂). The motivation for this was that his followers also experience the same unique pattern of enlightenment that he had. Please see the section “Creative Philosophy” for more details.
- 32 In the movement, they used large Korean font for senior readers (over forty years old).
- 33 They keep eight memorial days: Buddha’s Birthday (April 8), the Great Awakening day of Buddha (December 8), the Deathday of Buddha (February 15), Birthday of Hoedang (May 10), Birthday of Jingak (June 14), Haetaljeol (July 15, 解脫節, day delivering mother from hell), Great Awakening day of Hoedang (May 15), and Deathday of Hoedang (October 16).
- 34 They had 173 Jeon-sus (female priests) and 139 Jeong-sas (female priests) in 2012. They receive a regular salary from the movement.
- 35 Like Simindang (心印堂, Jingak temple), Heodang established the private educational institutions, such as the Simin middle and high school, to reflect the key teaching of the Jingak sect. See the following section of *Simin Bulgyo*.
- 36 “심인은 곧 다라니를 내마음에 새겨 있는 불심인인 삼매왕을 가리켜서 말함ियो [Simineun gon daranireul naemaume saegyeo inneun bulsiminin sammaewangeul garikyeseo malhamiyo].”
- 37 The term has been interpreted by Catherine Wessinger as “Buddha Nature,” deriving ultimately from the Yogacare school, which is also called Vijñānavada (Consciousness-Only teaching), of Mahayana Buddhism. It is likewise known to be within all sentient beings. It is often controversial, but in this paper it is treated as a case of East Asian culture. The concept of mind (정신, 精神) is perceived differently from the meaning of ‘heart (마음, 心)’ which, in a broad way, embraces the narrow concept of mind.
- 38 The Jogye order retains the Diamond Sūtra (金剛經) and Jeondeung Beopeo (傳燈法語). The Taego also uses the Diamond Sūtra (金剛經), while the Lotus Sūtra (法華經) is for Cheontae Order (天台宗).
- 39 They often have more male leaders than female leaders filling the movement’s higher-leadership positions.
- 40 The second generation of leadership was criticized by the media in 2019–2020.
- 41 The Korean court sentenced him with ten months imprisonment with two years’ probation period. However, he compensated the victims after official apology; through a trial of appeal, he received the suspension of a sentence in May 2021.

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