

SECULARIZATION OF MODERN KOREAN
 BUDDHISM AND METHODS
 FOR DESECULARIZATION
 —FOCUSING ON THE JOGYE ORDER
 OF KOREAN BUDDHISM—

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INTRODUCTION

“Sacred” and “secular” are fundamental themes of religious discourse. Religion is considered sacred, and secular behavior of clergy or Buddhist monk is seen as religious and social taboos. Buddhism regards a Buddhist monk in particular as a renunciant, having transcended the secular world for the sake of enlightenment. However, despite their existence within a sacred territory, clergy and Buddhist monk who live in modern society, which overflows with material civilization and capitalism, are exposed to secularization.

Korean Buddhism is also subject to this secularization, or loss of sanctity. The values of Buddhist monks are slowly losing their differences from those of lay people. The management of the community of monks and nuns (hereafter *samgha*) is becoming politicized and commercialized like an organization in the secular world, and the legal system of the Buddhist order is imitating the legislation of the societal government. This study will examine the secularization of modern Korean Buddhism in terms of the values of

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Buddhist monks, the management of *samgha*, and the legal system of the Buddhist order. The values of Buddhist monks can reflect the secularization of the Buddhist community at an individual level, while the management of *samgha* can reflect it at an organizational level. Moreover, the Buddhist order's legal system can demonstrate the effects of secularization on Buddhist monks and *samgha*, as rules of an individual and an organization.

Out of more than 100 Buddhist orders in Korean Buddhism, this study will examine the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism (hereafter the Jogye Order), which is known to have the longest history and the greatest numbers of adherents. The founder of the Jogye Order was Doui (道義), a national teacher in the Silla (新羅) period. Therefore, the Jogye Order has a history of more than 1,200 years. In 2019, it has over 12,400 Buddhist monks and 3,100 temples.

SECULARIZATION OF MODERN KOREAN BUDDHISM

The Values of Buddhist Monks Turning into Lay Values

A series of actions that have taken place recently in Korean *samgha*, which violate the precepts and moral discipline (戒律), are not “temporary” but “continuous,” and thus must be examined from the perspective of values. Values are internal consciousness but are expressed externally through people's daily lives, such as in people's food, clothing, and shelter. But *samgha* has regulated the daily lives of Buddhist monks through the Pure Rules (清規). Since the Pure Rules set the norms for the lives of Buddhist monks, including food, clothing, and shelter, one can see the periodical changes to the values of the *samgha* by examining the background in which each provision of the Pure Rules has been established. In 2013, the Jogye Order's Committee for Reform of the Order (曹溪宗宗團刷新委員會, hereafter JOCRO) enacted *Samgha* Pure Rules (僧伽清規) for the first time for this Buddhist order.¹ In terms of clothing, these Pure Rules prohibited Buddhist monks from being dressed in expensive, luxurious fabrics and trendy designs (JOCRO, 2013, 67–68). In terms of food, they

1. The Jogye Order's Committee for the Reform of the Order (JOCRO) was founded on June 5, 2012, for the self-purification and reform of the Jogye Order.

prohibited monks from eating meat for reasons other than illness or recuperation, dining at fancy restaurants, entering restaurants that are inappropriate for the dignity of Buddhist monks, and drinking or eating expensive tea and food (JOCRO, 2013, 70). In terms of residence, they prohibited monks from living in big and luxurious residential spaces, furnishing their residence with extravagant facilities, and staying in expensive accommodation (JOCRO, 2013, 71). They also prohibited monks from driving an expensive vehicle, owning private real estate, making investments or speculations using financial institutions such as stocks and funds, enjoying high-cost leisure sports, and making use of extremely expensive daily supplies or foods (JOCRO, 2013, 74–75). The contents of these rules prove that secular materialism is making an appearance in the daily lives of Buddhist monks, including food, clothing, and shelter. In other words, the provisions of these prohibitions are established in *Samgha* Pure Rules because these materialistic lifestyles have begun to appear in amongst the Buddhist monks.

Politicization and Commercialization of the Management of *Samgha*

In 1994, the Jogye Order carried out a reform under the banner of its independence and democratization. Since, while it was attached and subordinate to political power, the power of the Jogye order had become corrupt and depraved, independence was demanded in order to prevent this from happening, and the basis of this independence was democratization (Gwak, 2014, 113). In this way, the power of the Central Council of the Order (中央宗會), which is the representative body, was reinforced to manage the Jogye Order democratically by the request of the public.

However, with the growing power of the Central Council of the Order, which is an imitation of the National Assembly and integrates ideas of secular politics, the Buddhist order has become a microcosm of secular politics. As policy groups in the Buddhist order, similar to the political parties of the National Assembly, naturally formed, a distinction began to arise between the ruling party and the opposition party. And the policy groups in the Buddhist order politically intervened in various elections, personnel affairs, and rights and interests of the Buddhist order in order to seek benefits for their members.

The democratization of the Jogye Order in 1994 can be seen as introducing secular democracy and failing to consider the distinctiveness of religion in the way that the Buddhist order is managed. The democratization of the Jogye Order in 1994 can be seen as introducing secular democracy, which fails to consider the distinctiveness of religion in the way that the Buddhist order is managed. The so-called Reform Council (改革會議), which led the reform of the Jogye Order at the time, intended to democratize the management of the order by reinforcing the power of the Central Council of the Order, which is a representative body—a typical democratic system of the secular world. However, as the members of the Central Council of the Order indulged in rights and interests just like the members of the National Assembly in secular society, the parliamentary system instead became a factor that accelerated the secularization of the Buddhist order.

If the faction activities of the Central Council of the Order represent the politicization of *samgha*, the revenue-making businesses of the Buddhist order clearly show the commercialization of *samgha*. Currently, the Administrative Headquarters of the Jogye Order (總務院) carry out official revenue-making businesses in the name of “cultural programs,” including the production of mineral water, food, funeral services, and publications. Furthermore, some frontline temples are carrying out a variety of revenue-making businesses in the name of “Buddhism in production,” including the production of foods like salt and soybean paste, drugs like health food supplements, restaurants selling Buddhist cuisine or noodles, stores selling Buddhist supplies, or tea houses.

The central Administrative Headquarters of the Jogye Order and frontline temples are all pondering over different ways to make revenue, and the amount of revenue that is made has become a major criterion in assessing the capacity of Buddhist monks. However, actions that generate revenue are “businesses” only in name, when in fact they are nothing but “commerce” when buying and selling is involved. A renunciant monk becomes a Buddhist monk through Buddhist practice; if what he does is sell things, he becomes a peddler, even if he has shaved his head and is dressed in a monk’s robe. This is why, if the Buddhist order distorts the teachings

of Buddha and conducts revenue-making businesses in the name of cultural programs or “Buddhism in production,” Buddhist monks merely become peddlers and the *saṃgha* is merely an interest group.

Imitation of Social Laws by the Legal System of the Buddhist Order

Most scholars do not disagree with the fact that harmony is the greatest ideology in the management of the *saṃgha* and the fundamental spirit of the moral disciplines collection (律藏, hereafter *Vinayaṭīka*). However, discord inevitably does occur among the *saṃgha*, which is composed of people from diverse social backgrounds; therefore, since Buddha was alive, many provisions for moral discipline (律, hereafter *vinaya*) have been enacted in order to enable harmony.

But unlike the time when Buddha was alive, *vinaya* no longer acts as a realistic regulation. Currently, the constitution and laws of the order have replaced the *saṃgha* rules of *vinaya*. However, the constitution of the order, which directly imitates the systems and contents of the nation’s constitution, laws, and ordinances, does not provide any content related to the ideology of harmony or to the *Vinayaṭīka*, not even in Chapters 1 through 5, which cover the ideologies of the Buddhist order. Moreover, the current laws of the order simply provide administrative procedures and methods, without reflecting contents that relate to the *Vinayaṭīka*.

The state of harmony that is suggested by to the *Vinayaṭīka* refers to the state in which all members of the same *saṃgha* to be manifested (現前僧伽)² are in attendance to carry out *galma* (*karman* in Sanskrit; “a meeting or ceremony to make decisions among the *saṃgha*,” hereafter *galma*, 羯磨) (Lee, 2008, 11). The resolution method of the *galma* is unanimity.

The *Vinayaṭīka* regards harmony as being based on complete attendance and unanimity in making decisions. In this sense, harmony cannot be fulfilled by the order having a constitution and laws that adopt majority attendance and majority votes as the

2. *Samgha* to be manifested (*sammukhībhūtasamgha* in Sanskrit) refers to determining the indicators of the four cardinal points and setting the boundaries, and seeing *bhikṣus* within the boundaries as members of a single community.

basic decision-making methods. Majority attendance and majority votes are more efficient than full attendance and unanimity, but this inevitably produces a neglected group.

According to the constitution and laws of the order, following the principle of majority vote, there is no legalistic issue in neglecting a few opposing views, but in reality this leads to various conflicts and disunity. A typical example of a majority vote that brings conflicts and disunity into the *saṃgha* is the election system of the Jogye Order. There may be a variety of systems that hinders the harmony of the *saṃgha* in the Jogye Order, but the election system is one of the most serious things resulting in disunity among the *saṃgha*.

The Jogye Order elects the Executive Director of Administration, the chief monks at the head temple (本寺住持), and the members of the Central Council of the Order by vote, but these elections are stained with bribery and false propaganda and bring disunity to the *saṃgha*. This is because the parties that are divided in the election process are labeled as winners and losers after the election. This shows the need to adopt unanimity by *kalma* in Buddhism, in which all members are in harmony, instead of the secular election system based on majority vote, which neglects the minority.

METHODS FOR THE DESECULARIZATION OF MODERN KOREAN BUDDHISM

Desecularization of the Values of Buddhist Monks

The values of Buddhist monks are formed in an organic combination of education of *saṃgha*, daily living environment, and the guidance of teachers. In other words, when education of *saṃgha* is organized for Buddhist monks to learn the complete teachings of Buddha, when the daily living environment is created to be suitable for Buddhist practice, and when the teacher, also known as a preceptor (和尚), can provide guidance and inspection for education of *saṃgha* and monks' daily living environments, Buddhist monks can form suitable values as the disciples of Buddha.

Saṃgha education in the Jogye Order is currently organized into the beginners' program for postulants, the basic program for

śrāmaṇera and *śrāmaṇerī*, and the specialized program for *bhikṣu* and *bhikṣuṇī*, but it is questionable whether each program builds values that are suitable for Buddhist monks as Buddha's disciples. The beginners' program, through which postulants strengthen the basis of their values of renunciation, is filled not with the teachings of Buddha but with all kinds of chores. The basic program, which consists of a study curriculum and daily Buddhist practice, is focused more on the study curriculum where postulants read and translate the textbooks while neglecting daily Buddhist practice. While the beginners' and the basic programs are obligatory, the specialized program is optional. The specialized program, in which *bhikṣu* and *bhikṣuṇī* select and study meditation (禪), textual teaching (教), or *vinaya* (律), aims to develop education experts in each field of Buddhism.

To improve the contents of *saṃgha* education, it is first necessary to enrich the contents of the beginners' program so that postulants can be enlightened and reinforce their source of desire to become Buddha. This is possible only when the people in the temples can perceive postulants not as odd-jobbers, but as beings who have renounced the world for enlightenment, and treat them accordingly. Moreover, the contents of the basic program must create an environment for Buddhist practice in daily life, beyond the current dependence on reading and translating textbooks. This is because enlightenment in Buddhism comes not from learning textbooks, but from a life where Buddhist practice is a daily routine. This is because enlightenment in Buddhism comes not from learning textbooks, but from a life where Buddhist practice is a daily routine. Furthermore, since the specialized program aims to nurture education experts in Buddhism, the contents must be organized to foster expertise in each field, along with the qualifications to become preceptors of Buddhist monks.

If education of *saṃgha* artificially establishes the values of Buddhist monks, the daily living environment of *saṃgha* naturally affects their values. If the daily life of *saṃgha* is carried out according to the teachings of Buddha, Buddhist monks will adopt values that are appropriate for Buddha's disciples without even knowing it. On the contrary, if the daily life of *saṃgha* is not free from greed for

meaningless things like money and power, Buddhist monks will obtain the values of secular people in spite of themselves.

The daily living environment of *saṃgha* is a combination of autonomy and heteronomy. Buddhist monks obey *Śaṃgha Pure Rules* (僧伽清規), which are autonomous; and the Buddhist order operates under its constitution in order to ensure that monks are faithful to Buddhist practice: this is the fundamental goal of the *saṃgha*. To this end, it is necessary to revise the qualifications for Buddhist monks in the constitution of the order, which provides that Buddhist practice is optional for Buddhist monks.³ In other words, the qualification for Buddhist monks, which is currently “those devoted to Buddhist practice (修行) ‘or’ missionary work (教化),” must be amended to “those devoted to Buddhist practice ‘and’ missionary work,” so that Buddhist practice becomes mandatory instead of optional.⁴

However, preceptors are absolutely necessary in order to provide education for *saṃgha*, and to guide and inspect the daily lives of Buddhist monks. A preceptor is a *bhikṣu* in charge of educating Buddhist monks throughout their lives as *saṃgha*. Preceptors are teachers who supervise the *śrāmaṇera*’s renunciation ceremony or the ceremony to receive the precepts (授戒), and guide them for a certain period of time so that they can adjust to their life in the *saṃgha* (RIBS, 2011a, 51–52). So what kind of *bhikṣu* should preceptors be? Preceptors must have spent at least ten years as

3. The constitution of the Jogye Order 2013, Article 9, Section ①: Buddhist monks must be unmarried renunciant monks who take and obey the full precepts (具足戒) and *bodhisattva* precepts (菩薩戒), and are devoted to Buddhist practice or missionary work.

4. In the qualification of “unmarried renunciant monks who are devoted to Buddhist practice or missionary work,” missionary work includes not only propagation (布教), but all other activities related to the administration of the order’s affairs and the management of temples. Buddhist practice has become an optional part of the qualification, along with missionary work, in order to embrace both the monastic Buddhist monks and the married Buddhist monks within the single Buddhist order, in the case of disputes between the two parties in modern Korean Buddhism. At the time, the monastic Buddhist monks were to take charge of Buddhist practice, while the married Buddhist monks were to take charge of missionary work. However, according to this standard, those who have already learned the full precepts and *bodhisattva* precepts are qualified to maintain their position as monks by only taking care of administration and management affairs, without having to be engaged in Buddhist practice at all in their lifetime.

Buddhist monks; obtained precepts (戒), concentration (定), transcendental wisdom (慧); be knowledgeable about many things; be familiar with *vinaya* (律); observe *vinaya* very well; and be ashamed of themselves and repent. They must also be able to resolve the doubts of their disciples by answering their questions, look after them well, and determine whether the deeds of their disciples have violated *vinaya* (Lee, 2011, 243–244).⁵

Desecularization of the Management of Saṃgha

1) Depoliticization

The Central Council of the Jogye Order is where those who represent the members of the order make decisions about its direction and content through legislative procedures. The opinions of the members of the Jogye order are delivered to the Central Council of the Order via elections, and the Central Council of the Order implements legislation or makes decisions according to these opinions of the members of the Jogye order (RIBS, 2011b, 71). Here, the members of the Jogye order include not only Buddhist monks such as *bhikṣu* and *bhikṣuṇī*, but also lay Buddhists such as *upāsaka*⁶ and *upāsika*.⁷ However, by limiting the membership qualifications of the Central Council of the Order, which is the representative body of the Jogye order, to only including Buddhist monks according to the laws of the order, it becomes fundamentally impossible for lay Buddhists to participate.

There are methods for enabling lay Buddhists to participate in the Central Council of the Order: the unicameral system and the bicameral system. The unicameral system would guarantee a certain ratio of seats for lay Buddhists while sustaining the current method of the Central Council of the Order. The bicameral system would mean reforming the Central Council of the Order into an upper

5. There are slight variations of virtues that preceptors must have among *vinaya*, but the details provided in the main text are generally consistent.

6. The Sanskrit word *upāsaka* is transliterated in Korean as *ubasae*, meaning “an adult male lay disciple.”

7. The Sanskrit word *upāsika* is transliterated in Korean as *ubai*, meaning “an adult female lay disciple.” The constitution of the Jogye Order, Article 8: The members of the order consist of Buddhist monks (*bhikṣu*·*bhikṣuṇī*) and Buddhists (*upāsaka*·*upāsika*).

house and a lower house, with the former consisting of Buddhist monks and the latter consisting of lay Buddhists. Both systems would be significant in that they would allow the participation of lay Buddhists in the representative body. However, from the perspective of the depoliticization of *saṃgha*, the bicameral system would have a relatively more positive effect than the unicameral system. Since there is a very low composition ratio of *bhikṣuṇī* in the Central Council of the Order, which is the current unicameral system that consists only of Buddhist monks,⁸ it would be difficult in the context of Korean Buddhism for lay Buddhists to be assigned more seats than that. Therefore, the unicameral system only has a symbolic meaning for lay Buddhists' participation, with little chance to contribute to the depoliticization of the *saṃgha*.

On the other hand, the bicameral system, in which the lower house would carry out a preliminary deliberation before passing matters to the upper house, could, for the most part, restrain Buddhist monks from intervening with their rights and interests. Since the unicameral system of the current Central Council of the Order consists only of Buddhist monks, there is no specific group that restrains them from conducting political schemes around their own rights and interests. Some may express concern about the lower house intervening in rights and interests, but the agenda items for deliberation in the Central Council of the Order are mostly matters regarding the administration of temple affairs and the management of *saṃgha*, which are not related to the rights and interests of lay Buddhists.

2) Decommmercialization

The Korean *saṃgha* currently carries out revenue-making businesses. In the Korean social context, in which the culture of giving (布施) to *saṃgha* is not generalized, there is a need for another way to cover the costs of the management of the Buddhist order and temples. However, this situation in Korean Buddhism does not make it legitimate for *saṃgha* to take part in commercial activities. It is a rule for Buddhist monks to stop all production

8. The current Central Council of the Order consists of 71 *bhikṣus* and 10 *bhikṣuṇīs*, indicating that *bhikṣuṇīs* are assigned 12.34% of the seats.

activities and gain subsistence only by living on aid given by society, including lay Buddhists (Sasaki, 1999, 18–20).

Over 2,500 years have passed since Buddha died, and in Korea, where the climate and culture are different, it is impossible to fully adopt the operational system of the early Buddhist community. However, it has been proved by the long history of Buddhism, especially *Goryeo* Dynasty Buddhism in Korea, that the *samgha* becoming involved in active economic activities results in tremendous corruption and depravity. If the Korean *samgha* ignores this historical experience and continues to focus on economic activities for revenue and profit as it does today, the Buddhist community will be overflowing, not with Buddhist monks in Buddhist practice, but with occupational Buddhist monks, locking Korean Buddhism in the fetters of corruption and depravity.

Although it is not easy to fully adopt the operation system of the early Buddhist community, there is a way to improve the current custom in which the *samgha* carries out economic activities itself: using the pure humans (淨人), who still exist in Southern Buddhism. Pure humans are Buddhists who have not received the full precepts, and they take and deal with everything that is restricted for Buddhist monks by *vinaya* in daily life. They manage money, cook, and farm on behalf of Buddhist monks (Won, 2011, 162). In other words, pure humans help Buddhist monks not to violate the precepts and *vinaya*.

Lay Buddhists that can act as pure humans in Korean Buddhism are employees of the temple or lay Buddhist executives. In terms of their relationship with Buddhist monks, pure humans have quite a different status from employees of the temple or lay Buddhist executives. If Buddhist monks and pure humans are in a complementary relationship,⁹ Buddhist monks and employees of the temple or lay Buddhist executives are in a subordinate and vertical relationship. To improve this matter, it is necessary to first improve the awareness of Buddhist monks.

9. Buddhist monks live without violating the precepts and *vinaya* with the help of the pure humans, while the pure humans can directly experience the sublimity of dharma by staying near the Buddhist monks.

Desecularization of the Legal System of the Buddhist Order

Since there is precepts for faults that require special restraint (遮戒) in precepts and nonessential parts of *vinaya*, the view that “all precepts and *vinaya* must be strictly respected and obeyed regardless of the context” cannot be true (Mok, 2001, 315). The immutable part of the precepts and *vinaya* is their fundamental ideology of harmony, which is shared by the precepts and *vinaya*.

Buddha achieved harmony among the *samgha* through *galma*. In *galma*, harmony is fulfilled by unanimity. Unanimity may be fulfilled immediately, but in most cases it undergoes the process of mediating different views. This may sometimes be extremely tough, but harmony is achieved in a process in which not a single opinion is ignored. Even though the spirit of *galma* is in harmony, the Korean *samgha* today regards unanimity as a decision-making process that is impossible from the start, without even making an attempt.

Today, the Korean *samgha* makes decisions based on the majority vote. The majority vote allows one to make decisions quickly, but the opinions of the minority are inevitably excluded. This study discusses the secularization and desecularization of the legal system of the Buddhist order by focusing on the current election system, alongside various issues relating to the majority vote. The Jogye Order is currently in a fierce battle over whether to adopt a direct or indirect election system for the Executive Director of Administration. However, it seems that the key to solving these election issues is to decentralize the power.

This study discusses the secularization and desecularization of the legal system of the Buddhist order by focusing on the current election system, alongside various issues relating to the majority vote. The Jogye Order is currently in a fierce battle over whether to adopt a direct or indirect election system for the Executive Director of Administration. However, it seems that the key to solving these election issues is to decentralize the power.

With regard to the decentralization of power, the election method and customs of the Supreme Patriarch (宗正), who has the highest authority and status in the Jogye Order, has implications. The Supreme Patriarch is selected by the members of Board of Elders

(元老會議議員), the Executive Director of Administration, the Executive Director of the Precepts Adjudication Council (護戒院長), and the chairman of the Central Council of the Order (中央宗會議長) (The constitution of the Jogye Order 2013, Article 21, section 1). The constitution of the order states that the Supreme Patriarch should be selected with the majority approval of the members who are present (The constitution of the Jogye Order 2013, Article 21, section 2), but the actual management selects the Supreme Patriarch unanimously. The members mutually collect the minority opinions until the end in order to lead to unanimity. One of the main reasons why unanimity is possible here is because the Supreme Patriarch does not have powers related to rights and interests. Although he is given the highest authority and status in the order, he symbolizes not actual power but divinity (The constitution of the Jogye Order 2013, Article 19). On the other hand, the Executive Director of Administration actually has the power to represent the Jogye order and direct the administration of the order's affairs (The constitution of the Jogye Order 2013, Article 54, section 1). Moreover, the chief monks at the head temple have the power to represent the district, directing the affairs of the order within the district (The constitution of the Jogye Order 2013, Article 91 section 1). Members of the Central Council of the Order have voting rights relating to major personnel affairs and finance in the Jogye Order (The constitution of the Jogye Order 2013, Article 36). Contrary to the fact that the Supreme Patriarch has a symbolic existence, the positions of these Buddhist monks elected by the majority vote may exert direct or indirect rights and interests. As long as the power related to these rights and interests is concentrated on these monks, it will not be possible to avoid disunity among the *samgha* caused by overheated elections, whether in the direct or indirect election system. Therefore, the fundamental solution is not to adopt a different election method but to decentralize the power that is concentrated on these monks.

Unanimous decisions on all matters relating to the *samgha* unanimously conform to the teachings of Buddha. However, not all matters can be decided by *galma*, because there are time restraints on the execution of the administration of the order's affairs. However, it is necessary to come up with a way to reflect

unanimity, that is, the rule of Buddhism, instead of majority vote, that is, the rule of secular society, in the current election system, which leads to serious conflicts and disunity among the *saṃgha*. In other words, in order to resolve the disunity that is caused by the Buddhist order's adoption of the secular election system based on the majority vote, it is necessary to reflect *galma*, part of the moral disciplines collection that brings together the harmony of *saṃgha* with the constitution and the laws of the order.

CONCLUSION

A secularized religious organization cannot be respected by society. Lay people respect Buddhist practitioners because they believe that these people live a life that is different from their own. In this aspect, the secularization of the Korean *saṃgha* today is casting a shadow over the future of Korean Buddhism. The values of Buddhist monks are accepting the materialism and epicureanism of lay people, the management of the *saṃgha* is following the political and commercial logic of the secular society, and the legal system of the Buddhist order is imitating secular laws.

It is difficult for Buddhist monks who have the values of lay people to properly preach Buddha's dharma to lay Buddhists. The *saṃgha* cannot effectively use Buddha's dharma to solve social problems if it is stained with politics and profits. Furthermore, secular legal systems that disregard Buddha's dharma cannot be proper rules for the Buddhist order. In other words, since secularized values, management, and legal systems cannot form a *saṃgha* that can be respected by the society, the future of Korean Buddhism depends on desecularization.

First, in order to desecularize the values of Buddhist monks, the *saṃgha* education, daily living environment and guidance of the preceptors must abide by Buddha's dharma. The current *saṃgha* education, which is focused on curriculums, must be reformed to provide teachings on seeing one's true nature (見性) and awakening to the way (悟道). The daily living environment must be improved by managing the autonomous rules and the compulsory rules (Buddhist monk law) harmoniously, in order to suit Buddhist practice. Moreover, preceptors must provide guidance so that the

saṃgha education and daily lives of Buddhist monks conform to Buddha's dharma.

Furthermore, to desecularize the management of the *saṃgha*, it is necessary to guarantee the participation and rights of lay Buddhists in managing the Buddhist community. Ironically, the secularization of the management of *saṃgha* in Korean Buddhism chiefly originates from the exclusion of lay Buddhists. Even though Buddhist monks can only be devoted to Buddhist practice when lay Buddhists take full charge of managing the Buddhist community, the Korean *saṃgha* carries out secular political actions and revenue-making businesses that are outside of Buddha's dharma. Accordingly, to desecularize the management of *saṃgha*, lay Buddhists must be able to participate in the political actions and revenue-making businesses of the Buddhist community. In terms of political actions, the Central Council of the Order, which is the essence of politics in the Buddhist order, must be changed to the bicameral system in order to guarantee the participation of lay Buddhists. In terms of revenue-making businesses, lay Buddhists as pure humans must take full charge of all kinds of businesses. However, since all of the goods of the Buddhist community are pure goods that are donated to the *saṃgha*, it is appropriate for *saṃgha* to have ownership for them while lay Buddhists take charge of managing them.¹⁰ Furthermore, it is a rule that pure goods should be used in sustaining the *saṃgha*. However, in the modern and broad view, the *saṃgha* as owner may use the pure goods to aid and liberate. The use of these pure goods will create a virtuous cycle, in which society donates pure goods to the *saṃgha*, which then returns them back to society, which then donates them to the *saṃgha* again.

Finally, to desecularize the legal system of the Buddhist order, it is necessary to reflect the ideology of the *Vinayaṭīka* in the constitution and laws of the order. The biggest problem with the secularized legal system of the current Buddhist order is the conflict and disunity caused by elections. Therefore, to enable harmony, which is the greatest ideology in the *Vinayaṭīka*, it is necessary

10. The negative perception of Buddhist monks regarding the lay Buddhists' management of the Buddhist community originates from the concern that lay Buddhists may also benefit from the ownership of pure goods.

to adopt *galma* and abolish the current election system. Elections cause discord among the *saṃgha* when rights and interests become involved in electing the positions of Buddhist monks, while *galma* guarantees the harmony of *saṃgha* in the process of reaching full attendance and unanimity.

Saṃgha consists of *bhikṣu* and *bhikṣuṇī*, while the Buddhist community consists of *bhikṣu* and *bhikṣuṇī*, and also *upāsaka* and *upāsika*. To prevent the secularization of the Korean Buddhist community, *bhikṣu* and *bhikṣuṇī* must be able to devote themselves to Buddhist practice and leave the management of the Buddhist community to *upāsaka* and *upāsika*. This is the teaching of Buddha. As one must not give up on future possibilities by only focusing on the practicality of the present, Korean Buddhists today must not give up on creating the Buddhist community with the participation of the fourfold community (四部大衆), just because of the reality of the current Buddhist community, in which roles are concentrated on *bhikṣu*. The desecularization of Korean Buddhism is dependent on a division of roles between Buddhist monks and lay Buddhists. In the reality of Korean society, in which secular society is concerned about the Buddhist community, *bhikṣu* and *bhikṣuṇī* must redeem mankind and society through living the pure lives of Buddhist practitioners, while *upāsaka* and *upāsika* must help *saṃgha* from the outside by managing the Buddhist community rightly.

Abbreviations

T *Taishō shinshū daizō kyō* 大正新修大藏經

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