

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF HAN YONGUNbyJOHN CHRISTOPHER HOULAHAN.

Thesis submitted for the M.Phil degree

at

The University of London,

School of Oriental and African Studies.

AUTUMN 1977.

ProQuest Number: 10672641

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10672641

Published by ProQuest LLC (2017). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

To

The Memory of My Mother

Claire Houlahan

who introduced me to books.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	4
Chapter 1	6
2	19
3	34
4	79
5	110
6	138
7	185
Conclusion	251
Appendix	254
Bibliography	260
Acknowledgements	268

Abstract

In this thesis I wish to present an ordered account of the life and works of Han Yongun. As a Buddhist priest and philosopher, as a poet and novelist, as an essayist and commentator on his own time the body of his work is many-faceted. This is reflected in the various views of his work. Some critics emphasise his nationalism and the part he played in the independence movements which followed the March 1, 1919 uprising and interpret his work in this light. Others concentrate on his most famous work The Silence of 'Nim' and stress his contribution to the new forms of modern Korean poetry. No modern anthology of Korean poetry is complete without an excerpt from this collection. Han Yongun is a figure who still symbolizes for many Koreans their yearning for a national identity and a national culture which adapts itself to the twentieth century without destroying the sense of a unique past and an enduring intellectual and religious tradition.

I hope to demonstrate in this account of his life and works that the unifying principle of his life was his deep commitment to the reform of Korean society through the social expression of his Buddhist philosophy. I believe that an understanding of his Essay on The Renewal of Korean Buddhism is crucial to the appreciation of his poetry and novels as well as to an understanding of his lifelong

political activism. Han Yongun's own philosophy was essentially secular and strongly influenced by nineteenth century European philosophy. Enlightenment was to be achieved in this world. His work can best be understood as an attempt to bring enlightenment to the mass of people through teaching and social reform.

(6)

CHAPTER ONE

1879 - 1904

My information for this chapter comes from a variety of biographical sketches⁽¹⁾ and from the very limited autobiographical information relating to this period. It will soon become apparent that a great deal of research into the early years of Han Yongun's life remains to be done. Some events are described as fact which are merely conjecture and there are a number of important discrepancies between the biographical and personal accounts, and I will examine these in the following outline.

Manhae Han Yongun 萬海·韓龍雲 (his given name was Pongwan奉浣) was born on August 29th, 1879. He was born in the neighbourhood of Hongsǒng⁽²⁾ in the southern part of Ch'ungch'ōng Province. About his father Han Üngjun 韓應俊 we know very little but he seems to have been a man of some education. In Across Siberia To Seoul⁽³⁾ Manhae writes of him;

"When I was (growing up) in my native place, every day I heard fine words from my father. Often after reading a book he would call me to his side and instruct me about the words and deeds of the great men of history, about the present condition of the world and of our own country's society. So that I would understand everything, he kept on teaching me. Now and again when I was listening to the things he said, a strange burning feeling would rise in my heart and I would think in wonder and admiration 'If only I could become as fine and noble a man as those great ones....'"

We also know that he was able to send his sons to the local school (Sǒdang 書堂) for the study of the Chinese characters and classics.

The area in which Han Yongun grew up was famous for the number of scholars who gathered there, probably because of the large Confucian school in Kyōlsōng county. Hongsōng is also the birthplace of the famous soldier Kim Chwajin 金佐鎮 who was born in 1889 and was killed by the communists in Manchuria in 1929⁽⁴⁾. The people of the area are described as being "on the surface pliable but underneath they are of a strong, obstinate disposition" and are said to have had a long history of resistance to officialdom⁽⁵⁾.

Im Chungbin's account⁽⁶⁾ of Manhae's years at the Sǒdang depicts him as an infant prodigy, a boy of great physical strength for his size and age, who soon outstripped his contemporaries especially in his writing of the characters, his advanced reading and his phenomenal memory. It seems to me that Im's description tends to deduce from Manhae's later works what he must have studied rather than telling us exactly what he did study. Han Yongun himself tells us⁽⁷⁾ that he had read the Hsi Hsiang Chi 西廂記 (a work of thirteenth century Chinese drama) at the age of 9 and that, by the time he came to leave home, he was well versed in Chinese characters.

In his book Korean Works and Days⁽⁸⁾ Richard Rutt describes the one-teacher village school as he experienced

it in the decade before the October revolution of 1960. While these schools did not any longer have the status they had in Manhae's time, having been replaced as a means of advancement by the western style middle and high schools, it is reasonable to assume that the curriculum and teaching method which Rutt describes would not be drastically different from that experienced by Han Yongun. The course would begin with a basic introduction to the writing of Chinese characters learned by rote, followed on by the Tongmong Sonsūp 童蒙先習, a childrens textbook written by the Confucian scholar Kim Anguk 金安國, 1478-1543 and it is reasonable to suppose, with Im, that, if he had studied the Hsi Hsiang Chi when he was 9, he would also have been familiar with the Record of the Three Kingdoms 三國志..⁽⁹⁾

In his novel Heartless Destiny 漢命⁽¹⁰⁾ the father of the heroin Sunyōng 順英 is the teacher in the local Sodang and he lists some of the books the young girl would have studied, among them the Kyōngmong Yogyōl 數蒙要訣 a Chinese character primer written by Yi Yi 李珥 1536-1584 and the Oryun 五倫 by Yi Pyōngmo 李秉模 a depiction of people who had perfectly achieved the fivefold Confucian pattern of human relations, and other books particularly suited to training in the traditional womanly virtues.

There is no reason to doubt that Han Yongun was a gifted child. At the age of 14 (1892) he married Kim Chōngsuk 金貞淑 and went to live at her family home⁽¹¹⁾ and of the next few years we know virtually nothing. In

a very short article,⁽¹²⁾ published in 1930, Manhae says;

"Being a person from Hongsǒng in Ch'ungnam (Southern Ch'ungch'ōng Province) at the time of the old marriage customs, I was married at an early age and when I was 19, because of certain things that happened, I left home and became a monk."

However, it was during this period that Korea began to experience significant social change. In his book The Politics of Korean Nationalism⁽¹³⁾, Lee Chongsik says "The years between 1876 and 1905 are probably the most important period in the history of modern Korea" and the reason he gives for this is "Although the government failed to modernize during this period of 30 years, and the protectorate of 1905 was followed by annexation to Japan in 1910, Korea did undergo almost revolutionary changes in the meanwhile, socially, politically and economically."

In 1876, the treaty of Kanghwa Island, a treaty of amity with Japan, reopened Korea to Western influence. Within 10 years more treaties, with America in 1882, with Britain and Germany in 1883 and with France and Russia in 1886, followed⁽¹⁴⁾. But it would seem that as Western influence increased great pressure was brought to bear on an already imbalanced home economy and popular feeling against the tax system and the system of land tenure became more widespread⁽¹⁵⁾. Lee says:⁽¹⁶⁾

"The Tonghak rebellion of 1894-1895 was both a symptom

and a cause of change. In terms of the area covered and the number of persons involved, this was a rebellion unprecedented in Korean history. It was a mass movement of the oppressed segments of the populace in nearly every part of the kingdom, a movement against the existing philosophical and intellectual mentality of the society, and a movement against corruption in the social system and in the government. Above all, it was a movement to exalt the national identity of the Koreans viz-a-viz the Japanese and other outsiders."

We can assume that Han Yongun was not immune to the great social unrest that was taking place, especially in rural areas like his own. As we shall see in more detail later his own Essay on The Renewal of Korean Buddhism begins from the principle of the equality of all things and also on the idea that Buddhism, if it is true to the teaching of Gautama, should be distinguished by a great compassion for the mass of people.

The basic religious principle of Ch'ondogyo 天道教 (17) the driving force behind Tonghak (東學 Korean or Eastern learning, to distinguish it from Christianity or Western learning 西學, which was still being persecuted in Korea at this time) was the concept of In Nae Ch'ón 人乃天 or 'Man and God are one'. This was not to be understood in the ontological sense as a statement of actual identity but rather as a description of what man is capable of becoming. It is a principle of action, the primary task of In Nae

Ch'ǒn is to achieve the original purpose of man which is to express the Spirit of God.⁽¹⁸⁾ As Weems points out, the Ch'ǒndogyo was distinguished by its strong democratic organisation and its ability to unite people across the barriers of caste. Another principle of this religion was Sōngsin Ssangjōn 性身雙全 the perfection of mind and matter which implied not only spiritual but material reform.

However much he may have been influenced by this movement, the popular theory,⁽¹⁹⁾ that he joined the Tonghak Rebellion at the age of 17 and took part in a raid on the Hongsōng treasury to steal gold for military purposes; that his original reason for going to the mountains was fear of reprisals and rejection by the local people in the wake of the suppression and confiscation of property which followed the defeat of the rebellion, is open to question. Han Woo-Keun⁽²⁰⁾ says that the revolt was effectively over by December 1894. He goes on "The slaughter in the provinces continued until the end of January, and there were sporadic outbreaks throughout 1895, especially in the northern area, until Chǒn⁽²¹⁾ and his associates were put to death ..." It is also supposed that Han Yongun's father and brother had been executed as a result of the Tonghak revolt⁽²²⁾ of 1894 but there is no clear evidence of this.

Han Yongun gives no such romantic reasons for leaving home. In Across Siberia to Seoul he simply says "It was my eighteenth year when I made up my mind to go to Seoul" and gives no special reason for deciding to go other than that

he wanted to see the world, and it seemed that everybody was going to Seoul. There is no mention of crisis. However, this article later specifies the year of his leaving home as the year before the protocol by which Japan established control over Korean foreign policy in 1904.

In 1903 Manhae was 24 years old, not 18. And in the article about his son he says that he left home at the age of 19 (1897 by Korean reckoning) and the clear implication is that he never returned home again. There is a conflict here both within his own writing and with the commonly accepted story⁽²³⁾ that having gone into hiding in Oseam temple (1896-1897) where he worked as a woodcutter or a cook, Han Yongun then left there and went wandering in Siberia. The incident related in One Night In The Northern Continent⁽²⁴⁾ is often attributed to this time⁽²⁵⁾. After this he returned home in the spring of 1903 and his son Poguk 保國 was born March 3rd, 1904. Manhae, pretending he was going out to buy medicine for his wife's afterbirth pain, then ran away to Paekdam monastery where he was received into the noviceship by Kim Yōngok 金蓮谷⁽²⁶⁾. The chronology appended to the Complete Works⁽²⁷⁾ agrees with this account. Another chronology in Kim Yongsong's Han'guk Hyǒndae Munhaksa T'ambang⁽²⁸⁾ places his trip to Oseam in 1903.

Obviously a great deal of research into the primary sources remains to be done. I incline to the view that from the internal evidence of his own writing about this

period, one can make a strong case that both his journeys to the Manchuria - Siberia region took place after he had been accepted into the monkhood (January 1st, 1905).

The second journey, during which he was followed and shot by three Korean youths while wandering among exiled Koreans in Manchuria, is described in an article entitled The Story of My Dying And Coming Back To Life⁽²⁹⁾ and he gives the year of this journey as 1911, the year after the annexation by Japan.

In One Night In The Northern Continent the following passage occurs "春風別故人⁽³⁰⁾" is a line from a poem I gave to a friend who was seeing me off on the boat from Wönsan to Vladivostock some 30 years ago. This happened not many years after I had gone into the mountain temple. Insofar as my reason for entering the temple was not only for the sake of simple faith, and as I had not been in the hidden depths of Sōrak mountain for a very long time, I succumbed to temptation and set out on a vagabond journey (lit. a journey without money) to see the world."

The 30 years ago indicates that the earliest possible date for this journey was 1905. Again he says it was "not many years after" his going into the temple and later on in the article he mentions his shaven head and robes and the book of sutras which he carried with him, indicating a man who was more advanced in the monkhood. In Across Siberia to Seoul he writes that having wandered in Siberia he

returned to Sōgwangsa in Anbyōn to take up the life of Zen practise, and having done this for a time he went to Japan. Im Chungbin says that while he was at Sōgwangsa it came about that he had to go to Japan.⁽³¹⁾ I believe that both articles are about one and the same journey and that this first journey took place after he left home (1903) and before he went to Japan (1908).*

However one finally resolves the puzzle of the years between 1896 and 1903 it is obvious that his total break with his past, especially with his wife, and his turning to the Buddhist priesthood, all of which occurred 1903-1905, mark a significant turning point in his life.⁽³²⁾ As Yom Muwung says⁽³³⁾ "All the developments of his thoughts and deeds after 1905 were circumscribed by the Buddhist monkhood. Therefore, if we are to come to an adequate understanding of Manhae, we ought to know Buddhism and especially the course of Korean Buddhism during his period".

*The second journey took place after the annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910.

Footnotes to Chapter One

- (1) My main source is an extended biography by Im Chungbin 任重彬, entitled Manhae Han Yongun; Vol. 8 in the series Widaehan Han'guk In, Seoul, 1974. Short biographical accounts can be found in the following;

Article by Yi Mungu in Han'guk Inmul Taegye, Seoul 1972, Vol. 8 p.p. 115-130.

Article by Cho Chonghyeon in Han'guk Ūi Sasangga Sibi-In, Seoul 1975 p.p. 402-436.

Kim Yongsong, Han'guk Hyondae Munhak-sa T'ambang, Seoul 1973 p.p. 36-45.

Other sources can be found in the bibliography.

- (2) 洪城 , then Hongju 洪州 .

- (3) Han Yongun, Across Siberia To Seoul; appeared in magazine Samch'ölli 三千里 August 1933. See Complete Works of Han Yongun (Han Yongun Chonjip in six volumes, Seoul 1974). Vol. 1 p.p. 254-255.

- (4) Im, op. cit. p.33. See also Han'guk Tongnip Sa by Kim Sunghak, Seoul 1966, p.265, for a brief biographical note..

- (5) Im, op. cit. p.33.

- (6) Ibid, p.p. 34-38.

- (7) Across Siberia To Seoul.

- (8) Richard Rutt, Korean Works and Days. Tokyo 1964 p.p. 85-89.

- (9) The dramatic sagas based on the period of the Three Kingdoms in China.
- (10) c.f Complete Works, Vol. 6 p.21. I will examine this book and its publishing history in another chapter.
- (11) Im, op. cit., p.38.
- (12) My Son (whom nobody else is aware that I have),
Pyǒlgǒngon 别乾坤 Vol. 5 no. 6 1930.
Complete Works, Vol. 1 p.253.
- (13) University of California Press 1963, p.19.
- (14) Han Woo-Keun, The History of Korea, Seoul, 1970,
 p.p. 384-395.
- (15) Ibid. p.p. 403-415.
- (16) Op. cit. p.p. 19-20.
- (17) Founded in 1860 by Ch'oe Cheu 崔濟愚 1824-1864.
 See Benjamin Weems, Reform, Rebellion and the Heavenly Way, Tucson 1964, especially chapters 1-5.
- (18) Ibid; p.p. 10-11.
- (19) Im, op. cit. p.39. Cho Chonghyǒn op. cit. in Han'guk Ui Sasangga Sibi-In, p.406.
- (20) Op. cit. p.413.
- (21) Chǒn Pongjun 全琫準 1853-1895, one of the rebel leaders.

- (22) Yom Muwung, The Life And Thoughts of Han Yong-Woon
in Buddhist Culture In Korea: Seoul 1974 p.99.
- (23) Im op. cit. p.p. 42-48. See also Yi Mungu,
Han'guk Inmul Taegye, Vol. 8 p.p. 115-119.
- (24) Published in the Chosǒn Ilbo, March 8-13, 1935.
Complete Works, Vol. 1 p.p. 243-250.
- (25) Cho Chonghyǒn; op. cit. p.p. 407-408.
- (26) See Han'guk Pulgyo Sasang Sa. Iri, 1975 p.1140.
- (27) Vol. 6 p.p. 384-391. Compare Im op. cit p.428.
- (28) Seoul, 1973 p.44.
- (29) Pyǒlgǒngon, Vol. 2 no. 6. Complete Works, Vol. 1,
p.p. 251-253.
- (30) "Farewell to my old friend waving hands in the
spring breeze."
- (31) Op. cit. p. 92-93.
- (32) His son is said to have died in the Korean War.
- (33) Op. cit. p.101.

(19)

CHAPTER TWO

1906 - 1913

Western observers of Korea at the close of the Yi dynasty and the turn of the 20th Century seem to concur in the view that contemporary Korean Buddhism was in a state of grave decay. Thus the historian Hulbert;

"In 1902, a very determined attempt to revive the Buddhist cult was made. The Emperor consented to the establishment of a great central monastery for the whole country in Seoul, and in it a Buddhist high priest who was to control the whole church in the land. It was a ludicrous attempt, because Buddhism in Korea is dead".⁽¹⁾

Heinrich Hackmann, a German scholar who travelled extensively in the East observing Buddhism in different countries, wrote,

"The picture of Buddhism which confronts the student is a dull and faded one".⁽²⁾

and he goes on to describe the empty monasteries, monks despised by the people, temples which could no longer afford the expenses of daily worship and small communities of monks living in isolation with

"no trace of any wider organization. Though some monasteries still enjoy a certain reputation, they have no jurisdiction over others".⁽³⁾

Apart from a few large and well-endowed temples such as those visited by Mrs. Bishop,⁽⁴⁾ the Western visitors and scholars were convinced that, while the religion had not been uprooted, it was sunk in apathy and superstition.⁽⁵⁾

A brief look at the general histories of Korea does nothing to dispel this impression. We are told⁽⁶⁾ that Buddhism entered Korea from Chin China late in the fourth century through the northern kingdom of Koguryō and from here it spread throughout the Three Kingdoms. In the early part of the sixth century it was recognised as the official religion of the Silla kingdom.

"The introduction and rapid spread of Buddhism brought new significance and depth to Korean religious thought. The primitive Shamanism of early times did not disappear, but it was now relegated mostly to the lower classes of society, while the new religion was patronized by the government and enthusiastically taken up by the aristocracy"⁽⁷⁾

Under royal patronage the new religion prospered, monasteries came into possession of great tracts of land and were elaborately built and decorated. Buddhism was the dominant influence on the art and culture of Korea for many centuries. In the later years of the Koryō dynasty, however, this influence began to wane and Neo-Confucianism, under the patronage of King Ch'ungnyōl 忠烈 1236-1308, and later King Ch'ungsōn 忠宣 1275-1325, became progressively more established. Neo-Confucianism became the intellectual underpinning of the reforms attempted by the Yi kings⁽⁸⁾ even though Yi T'aejo 李太祖 1335-1408, the founder of the dynasty, was himself a Buddhist.

The French scholar Maurice Courant⁽⁹⁾ lists the main

anti-Buddhist statutes of the various kings;

1419; The suppression of the Ogyo 五教; only the amalgamated Zen sect, Sōnjon 禪宗 and the Chiao of Kyojong 教宗 were tolerated. (10)

1469; In this year the Kyōngguktaejōn 經國大典 laws were promulgated. A register of monks, was held by the Ministry of Rites and a person was only admitted to this register after having passed a special examination and on payment of a fee. He then received a certificate authorising religious practice, called toch'ōp 度牒. The building of new temples was forbidden.

1512; The destruction of Wōngaksa 圓覺寺, a pagoda in Seoul, constructed in 1464. The Pulgyo Sajōn (11) gives the year of construction as 1465 and the year it was destroyed by fire as 1488.

1770; It was forbidden to construct monasteries near royal tombs. (According to Mark Trollope⁽¹²⁾ this law was not strictly followed).

1776; The destruction of all the oratories in the palace. There were numerous other restrictions such as that forbidding monks to enter the capital city, as well as prohibiting young men from becoming monks and it would appear that the monks were used as labourers in various construction projects and in military guard duties. Courant says that monks were used under the direction of the Minister of the

Army to guard the Pukhan 北漢 and Namhan 南漢 fortresses of Seoul. Benjamin Weems says that at that time of the Tonghak Rebellion monks were used by some provincial governors to collect taxes from the people. (13)

Describing his own experience of Korea (1890-1892) Courant says;

"The monks are classed with the ch'ōnin 賤人, the despised class of people (la classe vile) along with sorcerers, butchers and public women" (14)

and one can find many stories where the monks are treated with scant respect and even contempt. (15)

However, this picture of decline and stagnation is too extreme. It seems quite clear that despite its loss of court patronage and its extensive wealth and despite occasionally fierce persecution, Buddhism succeeded in keeping its main outlines intact, and was perhaps able to turn its isolation and loss of influence into an opportunity to re-examine its origins and purify its discipline. (16) It progressed towards the unification of its two major sects Sōn 禪 and Kyo 教 and these were eventually amalgamated into the Chogyechong 曹溪宗 in 1935. Despite the fact that Confucian scholars were unanimously opposed to Buddhism, there is some evidence that the relationship was not so clear cut. Pak Chonghong writes;

"Many Confucian scholars might have felt attracted to

Buddhism, for despite the official favour of Confucianism over Buddhism, they associated themselves with the notable monks of the time"(17)

He goes on to state that one rarely finds a Confucian scholar of note (e.g. Yi Hwang 李滉 1501-1570) who had not studied at a Buddhist temple and it was customary for even the most vociferous anti-Buddhist' to seek out the serenity of the mountain temples from time to time. Unfortunately, Pak does not set out his case in detail and one wonders whether he is writing specifically of the early Yi dynasty or whether this trend continued into modern times.

Japanese scholars such Takahasi Toru (who published Buddhism of the Yi Dynasty in 1944) and Eda Toshio (who has written a survey of Yi Dynasty Buddhism through the publication of Buddhist books) have pointed out that it was during the Yi Dynasty that many Buddhist sutras were translated into Hangul⁽¹⁸⁾ especially in the reign of King Sejong 世宗, but again the scholars dwell on the early and middle periods of the dynasty and in the 18th and 19th centuries one does not find a Buddhist scholar like Pou 普雨 1515-1565,⁽¹⁹⁾ or anyone of the calibre of the great military monks such as Sōsan Taesa 西山大師 1520-1604 and Samyōngdang 四溟堂 1544-1610.

The year 1865 may be taken as the beginning of the Buddhist revival in Korea.⁽²⁰⁾ In that year King Kojong decreed that henceforth monks should be exempt from public works and he discontinued the requirement that all temples

pay taxes to the government. In 1895 he allowed monks to live in the capital city and to build temples there. In 1899 the first headquarters and general business office for the new organization of Buddhist temples was built in Seoul. In 1902 the central office was in the king's palace, the central temple was called Taebōpsan 大法山 and the central office was supposed to control all the temples (whether Sǒn or Kyo) within the country. According to Mark Trollope, writing in 1917⁽²¹⁾ the number of Buddhist temples in the whole country was 1412, monks numbered 6920, women monks 1420, a total of 8340 out of an estimated general population of fifteen million people. Starr's account of the condition of Korean Buddhism⁽²²⁾ describes not only the attempt to set up a strong central organization but also the setting up of a central school and the production under the editorship of the great scholar of Korean Buddhism Yi Nǔnghwa 李能和 1869-1945, of a promotional magazine.⁽²³⁾ Popular books on Buddhism such as the P'alsangnok 拂相錄 (a pictorial account of the life of Gautama which, according to Trollope was popular and easily available reading) were published in greater numbers. Among the contemporary observers both Hackmann and Starr note the increasing influence of Japanese Buddhism in Korea and concur in the view that the assistance of the Japanese would help to restore the vigour of Korean Buddhism. Hackmann writes;

"It would not be impossible for Korean Buddhism, precisely owing to the last change in the history of the country, to take a new lease of life, by means of the help

given to it by the Japanese who have made efforts in this direction. Japanese monasteries have been founded in Korea; Japanese monks have been sent over to instruct and stimulate their Korean brethren in the faith. Likewise, they have transferred Korean monks to Japan for them to be brought up there"(24)

So we can say that the resurgence of Buddhism, to which Han Yongun devoted his life, was already underway when he went to Paekdamsa to begin his life as a monk.

Not long after being received by Kim Yǒngok, Han Yongun received permission from him to travel to Singyesa神溪寺, a temple in the Diamond Mountains金剛山, where he began to study under Sō Chinha徐震河1861-1926, a noted scholar who attracted monks from all over the country.(25) As a student with Sō Manhae again showed his great ability with Chinese and his interest in the scriptures. We do not know exactly how long he spent with this teacher but Im tells us that he advanced two further stages in his training, receiving first the status of Chunggang中講(the person who examines prospective candidates for priesthood on the knowledge of letters). Later he qualified as a Myǒnggangbaek名講伯meaning scholar and teacher of the sutras.

It was some time after this that Manhae returned to Oseam五歲庵and it was here in 1917 that he was said to have achieved enlightenment or Taeo大悟.(26) Shortly thereafter he was in Sōgwangsa釋王寺in Anbyǒn安邊where he was engaged in literary studies and where he met Pak Hanyǒng朴

漢永 1870-1948, who was later to be an ally in the movement to avoid the amalgamation with the Japanese Soto 曹洞 sect in 1910-1911. (27)

In May, 1907, Han Yongun left Anbyon for Japan.⁽²⁸⁾ He returned to Korea before the end of the year but in the course of his travels he was able to observe the technical progress of Japan, he studied briefly at Komazawa University, and he met a Japanese poet named Waasa 和淺 with whom he studied Chinese poetry. The most significant meeting of this journey to Japan, however, was his meeting with Ch'oe Rin 崔麟 (later to be one of the leaders of the March 1 movement and the head of Ch'ondogyo after 1925) who was then studying law in Tokyo.

In 1910, Kakhwangsa 豐皇寺 replaced Taebopsan as the central temple and a conference of all Buddhist monks was held at which Yi Hoegwang 李晦光 was elected head of Korean Buddhists. Yi believed that the future of Korean Buddhism was linked to Japan and he went to that country secretly to confer with the Soto sect. These meetings produced a written document listing seven points of cooperation between the Japanese and Korean sects.⁽²⁹⁾ By the terms of this agreement the Korean sects would accept the policy direction of the Japanese group who would send advisers (1) to direct policy (2) to supervise the education of the young monks and (3) to ensure that the dissemination of Buddhist teaching would be according to the Soto sect. The first clause of the pact stated that through a complete and permanent

unification of all the Korean groups and the Japanese sect Buddhism would be extended.

Han Yongun was one of five leading Buddhists⁽³⁰⁾ who called a conference to oppose this move. The conference was held at Songkwang 松廣* temple in Chōllapukdo and a resolution was passed condemning the amalgamation agreement. According to Sō Kyōngbo;

"There were strong nationalistic feelings at the conference. There was a division of opinion, but most monks were against the document because they thought that the seven points of cooperation would result in the overturning of the traditional way of Korean Buddhism. They emphasised the necessity for the revival of Korean Buddhism and the uncovering of the once bright light of Korean Buddhism after 500 years of darkness during the Yi Dynasty"⁽³¹⁾

Han Yongun toured many temples preaching opposition to the Yi Hoegwang faction but the opposition did not ultimately succeed. On June 3, 1911, the Japanese occupation government took control and in future head monks of temples or the representatives of the 31 primary temples had to be confirmed by the Japanese government. All property was listed, nothing could be sold without Government permission⁽³²⁾. Despite its ultimate lack of success it was obvious that there was a great deal of support especially in the South for the opposition stance which Manahe adopted and he was by now

*There is a monastery of the same name in southern Chōlla province. It is here that Sō Kyōngbo says the opposition group set up their own breakaway organization, later moving to Pusan.

accepted as a figure of some importance within the Buddhist world.

Feeling, perhaps, a sense of defeat at the Japanese takeover, he set off again for Manchuria where he is said to have come in contact with some of the expatriate Korean independence groups and their leaders and to have helped in the organization of their schools.⁽³³⁾ In the story of my dying and coming back to life, Manhae writes;

"Times had changed in Korea, one had no joy in living in his own country and having no pressing work nor anyone calling me back, I set off for Manchuria".

In this article he describes the near fatal shooting incident (he was shot in the head by two young Koreans) which was to trouble him later in life and which caused him to return earlier than he had planned to Korea.

According to Im Chungbin, the Essay on the Renewal of Korean Buddhism had already been completed at Paekdamsa in 1910 when Manhae was 31 years old. It was finally published by the Pulgyo Sogwan 佛教書館 on May 25, 1913, a work which Im describes as "a cannon shot fired into a Buddhist world that was still in a deep sleep."⁽³⁴⁾

The Essay on Renewal must be regarded as his seminal work because the identification he made between a strong and vital Buddhism and the emergence of an independent Korea is the central theme of both his political involvement and his literary work.

Footnotes to Chapter Two.

- (1) Homer B. Hulbert, The Passing of Korea, London 1906, p.174.
- (2) H. Hackmann, Buddhism As A Religion, London 1910, p.257ff.
- (3) Ibid, p.258. In actual fact a basic organization did exist whereby all the monasteries were grouped in a loose federation around the 30 great temples (e.g. the Diamond Mountain temples) according to geographical location.
- (4) Mrs. Bishop, Korea and Her Neighbours, London 1898, p.p.152-172.
- (5) Hackmann, op. cit. p.264. See also Frederick Starr, Korean Buddhism, Boston 1918, p.p.56-57 for a good account of one such monastery he visited.
- (6) Han Woo-Keun, op. cit. p.p.45, 48-49.
- (7) Ibid, p.52. See also A History of Korea by William E. Henthorn, New York 1971, p.p.43, 55-58 and especially p.p.68-73.
- (8) See Martina Deuchler Neo-Confucianism in Early Yi Korea, Korea Journal, Vol. 15, no. 5, p.12ff.
- (9) Sommaire et Historique des Cultes Coréens, 1889. Reprinted in Revue de Corée, Vol. 7, no. 3, 1975, p.p.100-105.

- (10) Courant is not accurate here. The Chiao (Kyo) school was also an amalgamation of seven formerly distinct sects. The doctrinal differences between these schools will be discussed in the next chapter.
- (11) Pulgyo Sajón, a dictionary of Buddhism, Seoul 1962 p.651.
- (12) Mark Napier Trollope, Introduction To The Study of Buddhism In Corea, Takbras, Vol. 8, p.p. 1-41.
- (13) Op. cit. p.
- (14) Op. cit. p.103.
- (15) See Starr's account, op. cit. p.p.56-57. Also Im Chungbin, op. cit. p.p. 58-62 for the story of how Manhae and his teacher Sō Chinha were molested by drunken men in an inn.
- (16) Yi Hisu Han'guk Pulgyo Seoul, 1971 Chapter 3.
- (17) See his review of Korean philosophy in Korean Studies Today, Seoul, 1970 p.p. 49-79, esp. p.58.
- (18) Yi Kiyong on Buddhism, Korean Studies Today p.p. 9-47.
- (19) Takahashi Toru has collected the extant works of Pou in a volume entitled Höungdang-Jip 虚应堂集, published by Tenri University, Japan, 1959.

- (20) See Sō Kyōngbo Characteristics of Korean Zen,
Korea Journal Vol. 12, no. 5. 1972 p.p. 29ff.
This is an abbreviated version of the final
chapter of his A Study of Zen Buddhism.
- (21) Op. cit. p.2, Footnote 2.
- (22) Op. cit. p.p. 32-35.
- (23) A further account of the early Buddhist magazines
can be found in the section dealing with Yusim
惟心, magazine, See below p.p.
- (24) Hackmann, op. cit. p.266.
- (25) Im Chungbin, op. cit. p.52 see also Han'guk Inmyōng
Taesajōn. (Korean Biographical Dictionary).
- (26) Im, op. cit. p.p. 71-75.
- (27) See, Han'guk Inmyōng Taesajōn, p. 860.
- (28) See Across Siberia To Seoul. In his second
interrogation after the March 1, uprising (see
Complete Works, Vol. 1 p.367) he says that he went
to Japan to further his Buddhist studies but for
financial reasons he was only to spend half a year
there.
- (29) Sō Kyōngbo, op. cit. p.p. 31-32.
- (30) The others were Pak Hanyōng 朴漢永, Chin Chinüng 陳震應
Kim Chongnae 金鍾來 and Chang Kumbong 張錦峯

(31) Op. cit. p.31.

(32) Sō Kyōngbo, op. cit. p.32. Im Chungbin op. cit.
p.p.97-102.

(33) Im, op. cit. p.102. For an account of the movements of the Korean population and the development of the more militant faction in Siberia and Manchuria see The Korean Communist Movement (1918-1948) by Dae-Sook Suh, Princeton, 1967, p.p.4-15.

(34) Op. cit. p.94. Also p.p.115ff. for the account of the publication.

(34)

CHAPTER THREE

1913 - 1919

(1)

Essay on the Renewal of Korean Buddhism (Chosǒn Pulgyo Yusinnon 朝鮮佛教維新論⁽¹⁾) was published by the Pulgyo Sōgwan 佛教書館 in May 1913⁽²⁾. Although government control by the Japanese had not been avoided, amalgamation with the Soto sect did not actually take place and the Northern faction under Yi Hoegwang had been successfully challenged. When he came to publish the Renewal Han Yongun had a high reputation in the Buddhist world.

The Essay on Renewal is a radical thesis. Not simply a theological critique, it sets out an explicit programme of reform including the education and life style of the monks, worship and meditation, preaching and proselytizing and the situation of the temples, the relationship that should exist between a reformed Buddhism and Korean society in the new technological age. It is not only a theory but also a manifesto.

Han Yongun introduces his essay as follows;

"I have been thinking about the problem of the revival of our Buddhism for some time now and have cherished the possibility of success. But in a world inimical to this idea it has not been possible to convert this hope into reality. I have tried, therefore, to ease my own feelings of loneliness (and also as a kind of experiment) by making this formless new world of Buddhism visible in small written words.

To assuage ones thirst by concentrating the gaze on a plum tree is a kind of dietary principle⁽³⁾ and this essay is a mere shadow of the plum tree. But the flame of my thirst is so consuming my entire body that out of sheer necessity, I have no choice but to use the shadow as a substitute for the limpid mountain 萬石 stream. It is hard to know just how severe the drought is in the Buddhist world of today. One's fellow monks are feeling the thirst. And if they are, let their thirst be eased by this painting of the plum tree. Almsgiving is said to be the greatest of the Six Pāramitā.⁽⁴⁾ Might it be that I too will escape the world of punishment⁽⁵⁾ if only by the good act of giving this painting of the plum tree as an alms?"

He was only 32 when the Renewal was completed, and he is uncertain how it will be received. Therefore, he presents it in a self-deprecating style. He reveals a deep commitment and loyalty to the Buddhist faith. The desire for reform is the dominant idea and explains the intensely practical purpose which was to be a feature of all his work. For Han Yongun, a theory or principle 主義 is always a prelude to action and it is no coincidence that he presents his Essay On Renewal in a metaphor which originated with the advice of a military commander to his soldiers on the move.

He begins by laying down the philosophical base of his reform under four headings.

1. Preface (p.100 + p.34)*

In the past people believed that the failure of an endeavour comes from man and its success from heaven. Man is a creature of fate and under the control of outside forces. Han Yongun rejects this totally because it destroys the freedom of man. Instead he says that if man takes the blame for failure he must also take the credit for success. The implication of this argument is that if man desires something to happen he must act himself, take the responsibility and not sit idly by waiting or hoping for heaven to act. If one looks at the modern world one sees man doing precisely this in every field. While everywhere one hears the call for reform and progress, has the Buddhist world nothing to reform? The responsibility for reform devolves upon everyone. Manhae presents his thesis as a sign of his own acceptance of this responsibility.

2. The Nature of Buddhism (p.101ff + p.35ff)**

This chapter is dominated by the Hegelian notion of progress as an onward going and almost inevitable process. Man and society move inexorably forward and if Korean Buddhism fails to understand and adapt itself to the drastic change implied by this progression it will surely wither away "even were a reformer such as Martin Luther or Cromwell called back from the dead to assist its restoration".

* 緒論

** 論佛教之性質

In order to make a successful accommodation to the emerging world one must first of all understand the true excellence of Buddhism as a religion and try to assess its possible role in a future society.

According to Manhae, the distinguishing feature of Buddhism is that it has never invented a heaven or the idea of eternal life as other religions (especially the Judaeo - Christian tradition) have done. By their emphasis on the future life the other religions have damaged man's ability to face up to the problems of the real world.

At this point he is avoiding discussion of the more popular forms of Korean Buddhism which include an elaborate ritual of intercession to the various Bodhisattva 菩薩 (people who had attained complete enlightenment or Buddhahood but who decided not to go into Nirvāna until other men had been saved). In Korea the most important of these is Amit'a Buddha (Amitāyus or Amitābha 阿彌陀 who was said to inhabit the Western Pure Land 西方淨土).⁽⁵⁾ After him comes Kwanseum Posal (Avalokitesvara 觀世音) usually depicted in female form.⁽⁶⁾ In the case of Amit'a, popular belief held that one had simply to call on his name and he would eventually lead one into the Western Paradise. Manhae will be extremely critical of this particular form of Buddhist practice and I will postpone further discussion of it until it is more relevant. Here Manhae is anxious not to complicate his argument that essentially, Buddhism has nothing to do with the idea of paradise and that the

hope it gives is more realistically founded than that of other religions. Belief in heaven or hell gives man over to the control of the strong and the powerful who manipulate him with threats of punishment and promises of reward.

Buddhism, on the other hand, is a religion of individual enlightenment, a system which 'makes it possible for man to enter the sea of Buddha's truth.' Moral standards 準則 are established from wisdom, "If we look at his (Gautama Buddha's) life, his suffering, his preaching, his words and his silence; everything was for leading man away from and temptations 迷惑 to enlightenment." While Buddhism does use the words heaven 天堂 and hell 地獄 (Naraka) we should not think of these as places but as something built up in the heart of man by his good or bad actions. The Buddhist notion 不生不滅 (that which neither comes into being nor goes out of existence) is not to be confused with the Christian teaching of eternal life 永生.

It is important to notice how emphatic he is about this, even though he is sometimes inconsistent in the application of the idea, and the reason for his insistence on the enlightenment of the individual as the essential purpose of Buddhism soon becomes clear. He states that the aim of Buddhism is identical with that of philosophy; it insists on reason rather than outside causes to enable man to understand and control himself and his world. He quotes the Chinese intellectual Liang Ch'i-Ch'ao 梁啟超 1873-1929, who concluded that the reason why Buddhism rather than

Christianity (both foreign religions) had prevailed in China was the Buddhistic insistence on knowledge and self reliance 自力 as opposed to Christianity's superstition 迷信 and dependence.

It is interesting that Han Yongun should show such familiarity with the writings of Liang, because he most probably came in contact with his work through his journey to Japan in 1909.

According to the Bibliographical Dictionary of Republican China⁽⁷⁾ Liang Ch'i Ch'ao was the most brilliant disciple of the Confucian scholar K'ang Yu-Wei 康有爲 1858-1927 who was the leader of the Hundred Days Reform of 1898. After the failure of this reform and a subsequent coup by the Chinese Empress Dowager the disciple Liang fled to Tokyo where he later published a magazine for expatriate Chinese. From 1902 until he returned to China in 1912 he was living mostly in Yokohama where he published a magazine Hsin min ts'ung pao 新民通報. This magazine was devoted almost entirely to the work of Western philosophers, historical figures and Western political theories. We are told that Han Yongun visited Yokohama while he was in Japan⁽⁸⁾ and in this chapter he says himself that he regrets he has not read the work of Western philosophers for himself but only in selected translations.

In any event, Manhae is anxious to use these philosophers to demonstrate his central thesis that Buddhism has all the features of a modern, rationalist philosophy but with one

distinct advantage. He quotes Kant's definition of the moral sense as something independent of time and space and transitory phenomena. It is not, however, a given absolute, but something which man creates out of a basic rational decision about himself. Moral (good and bad) actions follow this decision, thus in a sense creating the true individual self 自我. The advantage of Buddhism is that it rejects the idea of a distinctive self in favour of the wider concept of Bhūtatathatā 眞如 true or Buddha nature in which we all share. The expression 本體 or original body is also used, taking away the sense of isolation and emphasizing the oneness of reality so that Gautama would say that were there one creature that did not attain Buddhahood 成佛 then it could not be said that he himself had attained it.

In the same way he outlines the theory of perception of Bacon and Descartes on the subjectivity of perception. Bacon's description of human perception as a bumpy mirror is similar to the teaching of the Sūrāngama Sūtra 楞嚴經 (a Tantric text of A.D.705), that the fresh and the tired eye see the same thing differently. Perhaps, he muses, Descartes had read the Enlightenment Sūtra 圓覺經 a lot in his former existence? The emphasis on perception underlines man's freedom while the emphasis on the shared reality of all things emphasizes the relationship man has with all living things. The conclusion to this chapter is that as civilization advances so religion and philosophy advance to even greater heights. Buddhism, which combines the religious and philosophical in one will provide the raw

material of future morality and civilization.

3. Buddhist Principles (p.104f + p.43ff)*

A successful undertaking is impossible without a good theory, he argues. The underlying principle of Buddhism is divided into two; a doctrine of equality 平等主義 and a doctrine of salvation 救世主義.

Manhae concedes that the teaching on equality is in direct contradiction to his experience of life. Washington and Napoleon were both heroic figures but one succeeded while the other failed. But Buddha said "that which has and that which has not Buddha nature together produce Buddhahood." Enlightenment makes us aware that between body and spirit, thing and thing there is no distinction. This is a logical corollary to the propositions laid down in the previous chapter and it is this equality which defines the limits of freedom. My freedom is achieved by not interfering with the privacy of another, a view again which he maintains, accords with modern liberal philosophies.

One should note in passing that he lays down a similar principle on the relationship between nations and outlines briefly the current notion of the brotherhood of nations and the family of man. This will be a feature of his writing with regard to Korean independence.

* 論佛教之主義

In contrast to the individualism and isolation which seem to be a consequence of the Cartesian or Kantian view, Han Yongun stresses the idea of salvation which stems from the compassion of the original Buddha whose purpose was not merely to attain enlightenment for himself but who set out to bring that new understanding to all creatures.

According to the Garland Sūtra 華嚴經 (10) Buddha wished to take upon himself the suffering of all living creatures. The Buddhist religion is not, as some people think, a selfish or inward looking religion.

4. Buddhist Renewal Begins with Destruction (p.105 + p.46)*

Having defined the essential nature of Buddhism as a religion and having explained the two-fold principle of equality and salvation, Han Yongun introduces his intended reforms and justifies them in advance by claiming that all non-essential elements must be eliminated from religious practice. If this seems destructive it should not cause fear;

"Renewal is the offspring of destruction

Destruction is the mother of reform"

The thoroughgoing critique of existing Buddhist practice is then set out under twelve headings. I will give a precis of the argument in each chapter and then assess the work as a whole. (11)

* 論佛教之維新 ① 宜先破壞

(1) The Education of the Monks (p.106f + p.47ff)*

We have no detailed accounts of the precise way in which an aspiring monk received his education. Obviously the various edicts of suppression, especially those forbidding young men of the 'Yangban' class to become monks, and the strictures against building temples within the walls of a city, must have had serious implications with regard to the quality of a person who became a monk.

"How is the population of the monasteries maintained? Whence do new members come today? There is of course, always a supply of orphan children, few of whom ever go back into the world after they have been brought up in monastery surroundings. Other people drift in for many reasons. Men who have lost their relatives and friends by death often go to the monasteries. So do those who fail in business, or who have been disappointed in life enterprises"⁽¹²⁾

This is Starr's description and even though he points out that there were some exceptional and well educated monks the general picture is not encouraging. Han Yongun confirms this picture in a chapter of the Renewal relating to missionary work.⁽¹³⁾

From Im Chungbin's account of Han Yongun's reception and progression in the Buddhist priesthood⁽¹⁴⁾ we are able to see the outline of a formal structure of priestly education. The aspirant monk receives his new name and priestly robes. He

* 論僧侶之教育

attends classes where the scriptures are expounded, and he must also spend some time in private study. It would appear from Starr's account that when Han Yongun entered the temple only the bigger monasteries had resident teachers, the others having to rely on travelling scholars.

"At some of the more important monasteries there is a resident teacher, but most of them depend on a teacher sent from the head temple. The greeting given him when he arrives is beautiful to see"⁽¹³⁾

From the fact that Han Yongun went to Singyesa to study under Sō Chinha, we can appreciate that there was some freedom of movement between the monasteries. Progression in the ranks of the priesthood was based on the mastery of Chinese characters and knowledge of the sūtras and we have seen already that Han Yongun became a teacher in his own right. From Sō Kyōngbo's survey of the revival of Korean Buddhism at this time⁽¹⁴⁾ and especially from his account of the Zen masters of this period we can see that the high point of development was achieved when the monk came to his own enlightenment 大悟 and was able to become sought out by others seeking to find a successful method of meditation.

The fashionable 19th century view of the direct correspondence between education and progress is evident in this chapter but Manhae's criticisms of monastic education are concrete and positive in tone.

In the first place he criticizes the lack of intellectual freedom for the student monk. The student spends long hours in solitary study of the scriptures yet when he sits before the teacher he must put aside his personal questions and accept the explanations of the teacher without demur.

He then develops this theme of the narrowness and irrelevance (not only to the student but to the society) of most of this education and he suggests three remedies which he calls Pot'onghak 普通學, Sabomhak 師範學 and Yuhak 留學 respectively. "What is called Pot'onghak has to do with a person's food and clothing." He develops this idea in a rather pedantic manner but his argument is essentially simple. The basic attribute of the person in the 'struggle for survival' is the ability to forage the necessities of life. He says 'this basic learning is the foundation of all specialisation 專門之基礎.' Since the monks have no experience of working in the world but live in institutions where the necessities are provided by the charity of others they do not have the practical experience needed in order to construct a philosophy relevant to a society where all men must learn to look after themselves. A man should demonstrate his ability in crafts and practical skills before entering into the more specialized study of Buddhism as a monk.

In modern Korean as well as Japanese, "Sabomhak" is usually associated with the training of teachers. In

Han Yongun's usage it might be translated 'source of wisdom' and he divides this into two. In the first place there is nature as teacher 自然師範 and he gives the example of Newton and Columbus being led to their respective discoveries by natural events; the falling apple and grass floating on the water. Then there is accumulated human experience 人事師範, and both of these are especially necessary to the Buddhist student. He advocates the setting up of a school wherein specially selected students would be able to learn the basic crafts and technical skills, study the natural sciences and the secular history of the great men of the past as well as Buddhist philosophy.

Study abroad completes the preparatory education of the young monk. His choice of countries (India, China, Europe and America) clearly reveals the boundaries of his thinking. In India and China the young monk can discover the true nature of Buddhism and its historical progress into Korea, thus purifying his own religious understanding. In Europe or America he can view industrial progress at first hand. A Buddhism shorn of superstition is the ideal philosophy for a progressive nation; this is his constant theme.

He has already travelled to Japan but his interest in the Western world was, as we shall see, sustained throughout his life.

(2) Zen Meditation (p.108f + p.52f)* (15)

According to Han Yongun, the practise of meditation is the key to the Buddhist conception of the world.

"Just as the duality of the everchanging cosmos is founded on the absolute 太極 or the different shades of painting are founded on the colour white, so all phenomena either great or small are born out of Mind and the method for understanding the true nature of Mind is 參禪 (16) even though this is not a very good word for it."

He says that the things we call 'cow', 'animal', 'vegetable' and so on are simply manifestations or false representations of Mind or spirit. Mind is everything and everything is Mind. One can, he agrees, come to a similar conclusion through philosophy but there is an essential difference in method. The way of meditation is a way of direct perception characterised by quiet and a passivity which he calls 頓悟, waiting for the truth to strike, whereas philosophy is an active rational search 漸悟. He explains the expression 寂寂惺惺 (quiet and bright) by saying that in meditation the mind is not active but remains quiet and open to the truth. He goes on;

"Yesterday's men kept their minds quiet, the men of today keep their dwellings quiet; the men of yesterday did not move their minds around, the men of today do not move their bodies. Keeping one's place quiet makes one turn against the world 賦世 and keeping the body still is a

* 參禪

recipe for turning in one oneself 獨善".

This is a recurring theme in all his work. The qualities of stillness and openness are qualities of the person and exist within him wherever he goes. The place (mountain temple, hermitage or crowded city) is irrelevant. To falsely concentrate these qualities in a place or in the body (i.e. in non-activity) is to encourage misanthropy and self righteousness. Buddhism is essentially outgoing and interested in the salvation of the masses.

He criticizes the proliferation of meditation halls where many of the monks gather, unskilled in the art of meditation, but content simply to spend the time playing with words and pretending to meditate for the money they receive from the people.⁽¹⁷⁾ This practise he says, should be discontinued. The genuine seeker of the truth in meditation will be led from his knowledge out to the people in the way Śākyamuni himself was, to guide and to direct them.

(3) Worship (p.109f + p.56ff)*

We have already seen how Han Yongun rejects the notion of paradise or of an afterlife. Now, however, he must confront the fact that Korean Buddhism has a strong tradition of direct prayer or petition centreing on the Buddha Amitābha (Amit'a in Korean) and also on Avalokiteśvara. In particular he must examine the tradition that simply by calling on the name of Amitābha the supplicant will be led

* 論廢念佛堂

to the Pure Land ^{淨土}where Amitābha resides. In an article written in 1965 a Japanese scholar Kaneko Daiei poses the same problem;

"It goes without saying that, for all its profound philosophical systems, Buddhism is essentially a doctrine of liberation. In Buddhism, no salvation is conceivable except the liberation through enlightenment from the bondage of ignorance and suffering. But does this apply equally to the doctrine of Pure Land Buddhism (the Shin and other Pure Land schools of Buddhism) in which faith in Amida* (Amitābha Buddha) has prime importance, or is Pure Land Buddhism virtually a soteriological religion, despite its Buddhist background?"⁽¹⁸⁾

He goes on to say that, although in the sutras relating to Amitābha he appears as an individual Buddha, his name has a more abstract connotation, "which is expressed as infinite compassion and wisdom". Summing up the doctrine relating to Amitabha he quotes one of the sutras.⁽¹⁹⁾

"1) It is vowed that Amida's Name should appear as embodying all the virtues or efficiencies that have any bearing whatever on the salvation or deliverance of all human beings, and, when the Name appears, it should sound throughout the lands in ten directions.

2) It is vowed that anyone who, hearing Amida's name praised, awakens faith in Amida's Sincerity and keeps Amida's Name with him, should be assuredly reborn

* Romanized Japanese uses this spelling.

in the Pure Land.

3) It is vowed that the Pure Land should be completed as the land in which all the reborn ones should attain Nirvana."

He discusses how this doctrine is open to misunderstanding and admits that in the Japanese tradition, "as regards the deteriorated and secularized form of the Pure Land cult which is observable among the masses, this criticism (that faith in the Pure Land is dominantly motivated by the desire for happiness or enjoyment after death) is irrefutable!"⁽²⁰⁾

In Korean Buddhism this form of practice (i.e. the statues of and rituals of worship of Amitābha) dates back at least as far as Wǒnhyo (617-686), and, of course in Korea the distinction between sects or schools was not as carefully preserved as in Japan, especially during the Yi Dynasty.

Although the Pure Land school originated in reaction to the entrenched view that the Buddhist quest was fundamentally directed to the personal liberation of each monk and could only be achieved in the monastery, and while Han Yongun is in full sympathy with its attempt to bring salvation to the wider mass of humanity outside the monastic system, he rejects the popular practices as delusory and superstitious.

Firstly, he opposes the view that the Buddha exists in a particular place. According to the Soothill and Hodous⁽²¹⁾

the expression 佛身 (lit. Buddha body) means, "Buddhakāya, a general term for the Trikāya or threefold embodiment of Buddha. There are numerous categories or forms of the Buddhakāya". According to a footnote to the Hangŭl version⁽²²⁾ this expression arose in the discussion as to the nature of Sakyamuni's existence after physical death and was later extended to other Buddhas. Han Yongun says "Buddha 佛身 is everywhere in the universe 法界⁽²³⁾ is he not? Then there is no such thing as the non-being Buddha far and near inside or out".

This is a logical consequence of his previous statement that everything participates in Buddha nature and that phenomena are simply representations of a single reality.

Therefore, the true practice of the contemplation 念佛 of Amitābha is not to seek him in some (mythical) paradise but within one's own heart and in the truth of one's existence. The heart of his criticism is practical.

"It has been said that if one prays (念佛) sincerely, Buddha will be impressed by a man's sincerity and will lead him in merciful understanding to paradise 极樂淨土 . I say how can this be? This is a saying which fails to understand the doctrine of causality 因果 ". In other words, a man gets what he deserves. A good action will produce a good result and a bad action will have a bad effect.

"The Buddha did not desire that man would commit evil actions and receive a good reward. He wanted man to do only the good".

Man, therefore, must cultivate the spirit of true worship by seeking to uncover the Mind of Buddha within himself and by imitating the actions of Buddha.⁽²⁴⁾ It is not to be found in making only empty sounds.

"It is certainly not going to be possible, gathered together seated on the prayer-hall floor and chanting the name of Buddha like a gramophone".

Kaneko refers to the work of Kiyozawa Manshi (1863-1903) whom he describes as "an eminent Buddhist leader in Japan in the Meiji Era" and says that part of his concern was to purify the notion of the "name" of Amitā.

"According to Manshi Kiyozawa, it is not that we believe in the Tathāgata (title of a Buddha) because of his existence but the Tathāgata exists because of our faith in him. This is basically true of the relationship between the Tathāgata's existence and the practice of nembutsu⁽²⁵⁾; it is not that we practice the nembutsu because of the Tathāgata's existence; the Tathāgata exists because of our practice of the nembutsu"⁽²⁶⁾

We can see, therefore, that the problem posed by Han Yongun in this chapter was already a cause of concern in Japanese Buddhist schools and remains so to this day. In comparing his approach with the Japanese I would describe his standpoint as philosophical and secular, with a distinct tendency to underplay the mystical or religious element⁽²⁷⁾ One simply imitates the mind (心) and action (行) of Buddha.

(4) Propagating the Teaching (p.110f + p.60-63)*

This chapter is crucial to the understanding of Han Yongun's later career, as it illuminates his lifelong attempts to bring Buddhism back to the forefront of Korean social life and explains why even as a Buddhist monk he should cover the whole spectrum of human concern, in theological and moral essays, poetry, novels concerned with revolution and social reform, historical essays, political writings and speeches.

If we see this chapter against the background of the centuries of repression under the Yi Dynasty and immediately in the context of the new freedoms initiated in 1865, it is possible to appreciate the sense of urgency with which he approached his work. The new freedom represents an opportunity which must be grasped with both hands.

He develops the argument that the possession of truth in itself is of no value without power. The success of the foreign missionaries in Korea clearly indicates that there is a direct connection between power and propaganda. The more one carries the message to the people the more impact one has on society and the more impact one has on society the more one's teaching gains in conviction. According to Han Yongun, the reason why Korean Buddhism has been overrun is because its social influence is almost non-existent. He does not stress the historical reasons for this (e.g. the confiscation of land, the regulations forbidding educated men to become monks) but states that this

lack of influence is due to the fact that Buddhist teaching is not turned to missionary purposes. There are, he says, three main reasons for this;

1. Korean Buddhism is trapped by the physical location of its temples and monasteries in remote and inaccessible mountains and it cannot reach out to the people.
2. Even though there are some 3,000 monks, if they are not affected by extreme poverty they are immersed in superstition.

"People in the general society think there are too few monks, I am troubled by there being too many. Today there are some thousands of monks, all with some thousands of minds, and yet, since there is not one single work which is the fruit of their cooperative intelligence, if this is not being too many what can it be?".

He maintains that, generally speaking, the monks are badly educated and among the lay followers there are too few men and many women. The quality of the men who seek the priesthood is poor; "take a deaf man and no matter how hard you try, you will not produce an expert on music".

Han Yongun is just as critical of his fellow monks as any of the foreign commentators I have read and in this chapter they suffer badly in comparison with the foreign missionaries.⁽²⁸⁾ What impresses him about the Christian missionaries is their willingness to suffer great hardship, to travel great distances, to wait patiently for the first convert.

"How many Korean monks are there who, if they went abroad to spread the message and could not win a convert in a few months, would not give into despair and after a time give up their work and return home?"

The qualities necessary for successful preaching are zeal, patience, and an outward looking love.

3. Buddhist teaching is splintered into tens of thousands of fragments and is inaccessible to the masses. In the face of such an expanse of written material "the shoulders sag and the head shrinks". Here we find his own motivation for compiling the Compendium of Buddhism 佛教大典 which is an attempt to organise the various strands of Buddhist teaching into a structured guide to moral behaviour.

Manhae believes that a revitalized and influential Buddhism will be a protector of freedom and he ends this chapter with a short summary of the various kinds of proselytizing which will build up the necessary social influence. These are preaching, newspapers and magazines, translations and dissemination of the Buddhist scriptures and charitable works. These headings would, in fact, provide an adequate summary of his own life's work, but he feels it is not an exhaustive list and invites comment from his readers as he ends the chapter.

(5) The Location of The Temples (p.112f + p.63ff)*

While appreciating the beauty and quiet, the peaceful

* 寺院位置

and contemplative surroundings of the temples he introduces his criticism of their location by alluding to Hegel, who said that while water is a creature friendly to man and opens him out, mountains silence him and make him fall. His criticisms are given under four headings and again one should notice the strong Western influence (via Liang Ch'i-Ch'ao) on his thought.

(1) The person who lives in the mountains can have no spirit of progress *進步*. This spirit arises when men and things are in constant interaction, a process which only occurs in the cities. The monks in their mountain retreats become afraid of any major change.

(2) Neither is there a spirit of adventure. He describes a dream in which he meets Darwin and Napoleon on a boat in the middle of a storm. They are calm while he is terrified. He later asks them why this should be. Darwin says that before he sailed the world he was ignorant not only of the world but of himself. Having once experienced a storm he now knew what a storm was. Napoleon says the same of war. The moral is obvious, 'nothing ventured, nothing gained'. He quotes Liang on the freedom and hardy spirit of adventure of people who live by the sea compared with those who live inland. What then, if one lives in the mountains?

(3) The desire to bring salvation and to care for one's fellow man atrophies in the mountains. Buddha, Confucius or Jesus lived among the people. Only the misanthropic run away from the world and live in the mountains.

How can one save if one does not know the circumstances of those in need?

(4) The spirit of competition disappears in 'a world outside the world, a humanity outside humanity'. This is due to historical reasons but now we see that while the Christian religions flourish Buddhism is not putting up a fight. His answer is to move to the cities, leaving only a few of the larger monasteries in the mountains as memorials of the past and places of retreat. Instead of having hermitages and temples side by side in one place they should be brought together.

"If one can only show the same dedication as Columbus did in discovering the American continent or as Faraday in coming to understand magnetism, anything can be achieved."

He realizes that this particular reform will be extremely difficult.

(6) Objects of Worship (p.114f + p.70ff)*

This chapter is devoted to a discussion of the various religious objects (statuary, paintings etc.) which are objects of veneration in the Buddhist cult. While he agrees that these images can be useful aids to meditation, especially those which deal with the life of Gautama Buddha, the traditions now prevalent whereby these images are venerated because of some power which they possess in themselves is superstitious and should be discontinued.

* 諭佛家崇拜之塑繪

However, if one simply regards them as memorials of the people they represent or uses them to inculcate in one's descendants the virtues of their subjects, then there is no shame.

(7) Ceremonial Forms (p.116f + p.75f)*

The ceremony is something which appeals to the human senses and is therefore a valid means of communicating Buddhist truth. However the proliferation of ceremonies (he lists a great number) is what he calls 'a devils drama' which is obscuring the simple truth under elaborate rituals. He again attacks the view that the ceremony in itself has any mystical power to transmit blessings from the Buddha.

In the Korea Repository Vol. 2, 1893 p.p.321-324 there is an exposition by W.E. Landis, of a chant used by Korean monks before going to bed. This chant reveals the purity of intention of its composers but it does include elements of the prayer of petition on behalf of benefactors of the temple. Although these ceremonials and rituals grew up after the time of Buddha and in opposition to his wishes, they can hardly be described as inessential to Buddhism as a religion. One is again struck by the strongly secular tone of Manhae's criticism. His conclusion is that these rituals should be drastically simplified and purged of their superstitious elements.⁽²⁹⁾ From the accounts of other commentators (notably Clarke) we realize that modern Buddhism

* 言論佛家之各種儀式

cannot be separated easily into a 'pure' Buddhism and a 'popular' Buddhism. "Buddhism, as we get further into it, seems not so much a religion as a whole family of religions".⁽³⁰⁾ The purification which Han Yongun had in mind would be a daunting prospect for any reformer.

(8) The Restoration of the Rights of the Monkhood Through Production; (p.117f + p.78f)*

"For several hundred years monks have suffered great oppression and have not received their due regard as human beings, but it is undeniable that one of the main reasons for this is the fact that even though they were unemployed they were fed, even though idle they were clothed."

Here again he ignores the historical causes of the oppression and downgrades the religious or ceremonial elements attached to the practice of begging 乞食.

"One hardly thinks of begging as a ceremony, but such it was in Buddha's original law. He required even the wealthiest of his followers to practise it..... I have seen in the Japanese quarter of Korean cities, well dressed Japanese men and women going from house to house in winter evenings begging as a religious act of devotion. Possibly they were gathering money for the poor, but they were beating lightly on gongs to call people out."⁽³¹⁾

The great Buddhist scholar, Edward Conze, says

* 論僧侶之克服人權 以 必自生利始

"The begging bowl was the Buddha's badge of sovereignty.... He obtained it as a reward for rejecting the position of world ruler. Teachers often gave their begging bowl to their successor as a sign of the transmission of authority"⁽³²⁾ Manhae admits that in Korean tradition this practice is regarded as a religious exercise and an essential part of the training of the aspiring Bodhisattva 菩薩萬行, and it was normally the duty of the younger monks to forage through the countryside (especially in harvest time) for food and money. But this, he says, is a false conception. People like these he says are 'thieves of production' and he goes on; "It is inevitable that, without of course being able to say a word in their own defence, they will be persecuted by those who do produce".

In a modern society committed to progress no segment of society can be free from the responsibility to produce. He argues that the monasteries and the monks themselves must become producers of their own wealth in order to restore their self respect. They already have, he maintains, two great advantages in seeking to do this. Firstly, they have the land they own and its surrounding forests with lumber in abundance. Secondly, they are already organised on a communal basis which is ideal for a cooperative venture. No one else has such ready-made advantages.

(9) The Future of Buddhism and the Question of the Marriage of Men and Women Monks; (p.119f + p.83f)*

* 論佛教之前道 附關於僧尼嫁娶與否者

"Were I to be asked 'By what means will the restoration of Buddhism take place?' I would reply thus' The lifting of the ban on marriage for monks is one important and urgent method of dealing with this situation."

Not surprisingly, this is the most controversial proposal in the Yusinnon and Han Yongun realizes it quite clearly. He feels that he will be accused of slighting the "greatest commandment of Buddha" and of encouraging men and women monks to behave in a way which would mean automatic expulsion from the ranks of the priesthood. The Brahma-jāla - sūtra 梵網經 clearly states that the follower of Buddha will not himself be unchaste or encourage others to be unchaste. The various rites by which monks and nuns are received into the priesthood state the prohibition against sexual intercourse in the severest terms.

Against this, however, Han Yongun places the weight of the famous Garland Sūtra 華嚴經 (Avatamsaka - sūtra) the text which gave rise to the Hua-yen school (Jap. Kegon, Korean, Hwaum) and which is one of the most popular texts in Korea.⁽³⁴⁾ He claims that the doctrine expressed in this sūtra namely 事事無碍 (between thing and thing there is no obstruction) implies a wider view.⁽³⁵⁾ Han Yongun says 'Truth and falsity are not of a fixed nature'. The implication of these two concepts, if I understand his thought correctly, is that the interaction and interdependence of all things leads to a relativity that precludes absolute

laws. He maintains that one cannot reduce the richness and variety of Buddhism to a single law and neither does one seek for enlightenment (Buddhahood) in a set of commandments. He also maintains that, even were one to accept the law of celibacy as a traditional teaching, one has only to look at the histories of the lives of the famous Buddhas and Bodhisattva to find that many of them produced sons. Towards the end of the chapter he gives a list of some of these.

As we have now come to expect, however, his main objections are not on theological grounds. His four main arguments are as follows.

(1) Celibacy is against the moral teaching which says it is a sin either to fail in filial love or to have no descendants 無後.

(2) Celibacy is a crime against the nation. The theme of expansion and colonization is everywhere current. There is a great emphasis on production and technical skills. Where other countries are encouraging increases in population Korea is falling behind.

(3) Young men will not be attracted to the life of a monk because of this law. Adherence to such a law makes it impossible to convince men that Buddhism is on the side of life and not death. Therefore, in order to keep the religion alive and to stimulate true missionary work, this law must be abandoned.

(4) Celibacy is against the natural development of man, all of whose desires are circumscribed by the need to eat and the sexual instinct. These needs are stronger than any law and grow stronger the more they are inhibited (e.g. the butterfly in winter cannot help yearning for the flower of summer). He concludes by quoting the examples of those men who, despite producing children, attained Buddhahood and he states that fulfilment of the sexual desire is no obstacle to the attainment of enlightenment.

He appends to this chapter two letters which he addressed to the civilian authorities asking them to change this law. The letters were written in 1910 (two years after he went to Japan) and presumably they were included here to show that as yet (1913) no action had been taken. The first letter is addressed to the minister in charge of home affairs⁽³⁶⁾ of the Japanese - controlled interim (i.e. before the formal annexation of 1910) government, Kim Yunsik 金允植. The second letter, dated September of the same year, is addressed to Terauchi Masatake, who became Governor-General of Korea in that year.

In both letters he reiterates the idea that Buddhism is not a religion of prohibition, that Gautama did not intend to make universal rules, but wished each individual to achieve his own personal enlightenment. The rules should be abolished and freedom restored. There is in both letters an appeal to the idea of political colonization 殖民. It is not clear what precisely he means by political colonization but in the letter to Terauchi he says;

"If the ban on monks getting married is not lifted it will do much harm and no good at all to the political colonization and the spread of morality and religion."

I have not been able to discover why an appeal to the civilian authorities in this matter was necessary nor when precisely the marriage of monks was permitted (as it is today although there is a clear distinction between those who marry and those who remain celibate) but in Clarke's account I found the following.

"Until recently their (the monks) marriages were not recognized as legal. They were simply common law arrangements. Now the Japanese government allows them to register their wives just as the Shin sect does in Japan"⁽³⁷⁾ But whether this passage was written in 1921 or later in the revised version of 1929 is not clear. According to the chronologies,⁽³⁸⁾ Han Yongun remarried in 1933, and his daughter Yongsuk 莊淑 was born the following year.

Im Chungbin related how Manhae was campaigning for a change in the celibacy law from 1910 onwards. He expresses some surprise that he should have challenged such a fundamental and traditional feature of Korean Buddhism and gives an account of some of the controversy it aroused. His friend in the opposition to the Sodo sect Pak Hanyǒng turned against him as did Yi Hoegwang who had been the initiator of the move to amalgamate with the Sodo sect. Im says that the man who was to join him in the March 1 movement Paek Yongsōng 白龍城 also argued against his position.⁽³⁹⁾

The historian Yi Hisu 李喜秀 states

"Han Yongun's advocacy of a system of married monks which would facilitate the popular spread and vitality of Buddhism was a natural idea for its time. It did result in some improvements in these areas but as the same time it brought about a lowering of standards and led to corrupt behaviour among the monks. It was different in Japan. In general the Japanese monk was someone who, by his great learning and reasoned behaviour, was fitted for social leadership. So that, even though he lived an ordinary life with his wife he was able to advance the spread of Buddhism by his grasp of the principles of proselytizing and education. In Korea, however, there were many defects in the system; the Korean monk was lacking in education and character and very often he tended to work principally for his wife and children and thought of the priesthood as a job. This brought about a vulgarization of Buddhism"⁽⁴⁰⁾

This criticism clearly represents the way in which the celibate monks regard those who are married up to the present day.

(10) The Election of Abbots; (p.121f + p.89f)*

He argues that a system of election of abbots should replace the traditional methods by which they were chosen in Korea. In the larger monasteries the system was based on seniority, either seniority according to the date of reception into the priesthood or seniority as to the time of being

* 論寺院住職選舉法

allotted one's private room 居室 in the temple. This system is defensible, he says, but due to the failure of the monkhood to establish a universal system in the past, one could also find other more corrupt methods, for example the practice of seeking the aid of a wealthy landowner to force the acceptance of someone, or simply taking the leadership by force as could happen in more isolated temples or monasteries.

He argues too that the office should be salaried. Because it is unpaid it has very often been refused by men of talent ("Who will spend all his energy in an office for no reward?") or it has become a temptation to corrupt practice. For strong leadership and organization there should be elections and the post should carry a salary.

(11) Unity of The Monks; (p.122f + p.p.91f)*

In this chapter he does not discuss the particular question of the reunification of the Son and Kyo schools, nor the reorganization of the monastic system. This chapter is an exhortation to unity of mind and a sense of common purpose in facing the tasks ahead. He lists the various groups (e.g. the selfish, the clockwatchers, the cynics) whom one finds in every temple and who oppose any movement for reform and he upbraids them for their failure to understand the nature of their task.

* 諭僧侶之團體

(12) Organization of The Temples (p.124f + p.97)*

In the final section he presents a strong plea for the national reorganization of Buddhism and discusses two alternatives.

(1) There would be a central national organization with ultimate responsibility for personnel and property. The advantage of this system is that strong central authority can introduce change more rapidly by seeking the democratic support of the whole group. It can eliminate competition and conflict of interest between different temples and encourage united action towards a common goal.

(2) This would be a looser federation recognizing the real differences which exist between the different schools and moving at a slower pace towards reunification. It is not precisely clear what he envisages here because we have seen already that such a federation (around the 36 major temples) was already in existence in Korea. It is probable that he is suggesting a stronger organization on a geographical basis. A federation would, he argues, take account of the fact that in an undeveloped society there is a definite antipathy towards unity. In Korea, Buddhism is historically divided and there are no outstanding monks with the wider view. The smaller groupings would provide checks

* 論寺院統轄

on each other and would be easier to establish.

There is always the danger of factionalism in this kind of system.

He does not decide in favour of either alternative but ends the chapter on a rather wistful note, wishing that Korean Buddhism possessed an outstanding figure like Martin Luther.

(13) Conclusion; (p.125 + p.p.98f)*

"The desires of the heart always manifest themselves outwardly".

Thus he defends his decision to write. Some things one can achieve alone other tasks demand the help of others. He is not worried about the rightness or wrongness of his position, if only people will give him a hearing. Where there is disagreement he hopes alternatives will be proposed. The modern priesthood has a heavy duty to Buddha, to the people and to the future.

Han Yongun is often referred to as the great modern exponent of popular Buddhism (Taejung Pulgyo 大衆佛教)⁽⁴¹⁾ In this context the name of Wonhyo is often mentioned (Wónhyo is said⁽⁴²⁾ to have walked through the streets of the capital preaching the doctrines of the Pure Land school to the ordinary people). It is a reflection of the oppressed state of Korean Buddhism that the commentators must go back so far in time to find a Buddhist monk of

* 統告論

comparable public stature, and even then the comparison is dangerous. When one speaks of Han Yongun and 'popular' Buddhism it is necessary to make perfectly clear that he was opposed to all the 'popular' practices and rituals which he thought superstitious. His Buddhism is a highly rational and secularized philosophy which lays heavy emphasis on the freedom of the individual, the equality of men and nations and personal responsibility. To develop this personal responsibility in the individual and to unite the individual to a society/nation with a common goal (progress) is the motivation for all his work.

It is, however, his interest in and concern for the masses (大眾) which is a particular feature of his work. As his views on the location of the temples clearly show, he insisted that Buddhism was uniquely a doctrine of salvation. The religion stems from Gautama's own compassion for the masses and it must continue to find its justification by bringing the truth to the ordinary person. This enlightenment, which is the goal of all Buddhist schools, is a quality of the person, not of the place.

One might describe the Yusinnon as an elaboration of the practical implications of his two-fold theme; the doctrine of "equality" and the doctrine of "salvation". The destruction of which he speaks in the introductory chapters is the removal of those features of Buddhism (the mountain temples, celibacy, elaborate ritual, the great volume of inaccessible sacred writings etc.) which tend to make the religion esoteric, aloof and imimical to the real needs of

society. Reform, which is "the son of destruction" should lead Buddhism back to the heart of society with a doctrine (made available to the people by translation and preaching) which is at the same time rational and compassionate. His vision of Buddhism is of a religion which partakes of and encourages human progress. I hope to demonstrate that this 'popular' programme was his lifelong preoccupation and the dominant motivation for all his subsequent work.

Another feature of the Renewal is the interest it shows, not only in Western philosophy, but in the political, social and technological development of the industrialized countries. This too is a constant factor in his later work and is, perhaps, most strikingly expressed in his famous Essay on the Independence of Korea⁽⁴³⁾ which he wrote during his imprisonment in answer to the questions posed by the magistrate during his trial, while he was serving three years for his part in the March 1, 1919, Independence Movement. In the Yusinnon he makes it clear that the doctrine of the equality of all things has implications for the relationship between nations. Together with the Wilson doctrine on the sovereignty and interdependence of nation-states, this basic philosophy gives the essay on independence a strong moral authority as I shall show in detail in the appropriate place. His later journalistic writings reveal a deep interest in both the developed countries (especially Germany, Russia and America) and in the smaller, emerging nations, like Mexico or India.

The argumentation of the Essay on Renewal is often pedantic and repetitious and while he uses many Western ideas the fact that he has no first hand knowledge of the people he quotes is often apparent (e.g. he once described Martin Luther as the person who united the whole of Europe). It remains, however, an important work for two reasons.

- (1) It is essential to the understanding of Han Yongun's motivation as a priest writer, a political activist and popular preacher of the Buddhist religion.
- (2) It gives us a first-hand account of the impoverished condition of Korean Buddhism at the end of the Yi Dynasty and enables us to appreciate the internal debate (on propaganda, organization, the question of sects) which took place as Buddhism began its attempt to re-establish itself in Korean society. That debate and the slogan Yusin 維新 is still a feature of Buddhism at the present time.

"What was the major characteristic of the Buddhist renewal? More than anything it was bringing back (insofar as possible) the recluses, who had been living in remote mountain places, to where the mass of the people were."⁽⁴⁴⁾

Footnotes to Chapter Three

- (1) The original text is Sino-Korean and can be found in the Complete Works, Vol. 2, p.p.100-125. This text has been corrected and amended by its translator (into Hangŭl) Yi Wŏnsöp 李元燮. Page references to the Essay on Renewal will refer the reader first to the original text. The second page reference will be to the translation p.p.33-99, also Vol.2.
- (2) Im Chungbin, op.cit. p.p.115-125.
- (3) This metaphor is said to originate from the instruction of Tsao Tsao 曹操 154-220, a Chinese general, to his marching soldiers. The thought of the plum tree orchard just a little further ahead moistened their lips and they kept on marching.
- (4) The 六波羅蜜多 or six perfections have according to Trollope, (op. cit. p.26) received particular emphasis in Korean Buddhism. They are Dāna 布施 giving, Shīla 持戒 good conduct, Kshānti 忍辱 patience, Virya 精進 bravery, Dhyāna 禪定 contemplation, Prājñā 智慧 essential wisdom.
- (5) Complete Works Vol. 2 p.100 + p.33.
- (6) See The story of my dying and coming back to life for Manhae's story of how this Bodhisattva appeared to him while he was lying in the road wounded and helped him to recover enough to find help.

- (7) New York, 1968 Vol. 2 p.346ff.
- (8) Im Cungbin, op.cit. p
- (9) Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms, p.387.
- (10) Starr, op. cit. p.61.
- (11) The chapter entitled 佛教, p.110f + p.60-63.
- (12) Im, op. cit. p.p.49-50.
- (13) Starr, op. cit. p.48.
- (14) Sō Kyōngbo A Study of Zen Buddhism, Seoul 1973,
p.p.384-411.
- (15) Soothill and Hodous op. cit. p.343, translates this
as to inquire, discuss, seek religious instruction.
"In Buddhism the character 禪 can also have the
connotation of "assembly or gathering!"
- (16) Ch'amsōn in Korean.
- (17) This practice is described in Hackmann, op. cit.
p.264; "They (the laity) bring offerings; they
fill the brass dishes on the altar with rice, cake,
nuts, apples and pears; they light candles before
the images and burn incense; they hire the monks
to recite sacred passages to the sound of drums,
bells and cymbals....."
See also Clarke, Religions of Old Korea, Seoul 1961,
p.52-53.

- (18) Kaneko Daiei, The meaning of salvation in the doctrine of Pure Land Buddhism, in The Eastern Buddhist, Vol. 1, No. 4, 1965, p.48.
 See also D.T. Suzuki, The development of the Pure Land doctrine in Buddhism, The Eastern Buddhist, (1st series) Vol. 3, No. 4, 1925. The introduction of this school to Korea is attributed to Wǒnhyo 元曉 617-686.
- (19) Ibid, p.55-56.
- (20) Ibid, p.54.
- (21) Op. cit. p.229.
- (22) Complete Works, Vol. 2, footnote (2) on page 56,
- (23) Soothill and Hodous give as one of the many meanings of this expression, "A name for 'things' in general, noumenal or phenomenal; for the physical universe, or any portion or phase of it". Op. cit. p.271.
- (24) In his later novel Death, the uneducated heroine finds peace through simple meditation before the statue of Buddha.
- (25) 'Nembutsu' means "calling on the name of Buddha".
- (26) Kaneko, op. cit. p.58-59.

- (27) In the Korea Repository of 1893 we find an article and translation of the so-called "Rosary Classic" said to be very popular in modern Korea. The beads of this "Rosary" were assigned to different Buddhist Truths. There were beads for Sākyamuni, for the Buddhas (like Amit'a), for the Bodhisattva and for the Pāramitās etc. Part of the translation reads:

"If you wish all your doubts and perplexities to be destroyed string up suitably one hundred and eight beads. Keep them continually with you and with your heart and mind reverently chant Hail Buddha, Hail Dharma, Hail Saṅgha. Then slowly take the beads one by one until you have counted ten and twenty. After you have been able to count twenty myriads you will be tranquil, not disturbed in either mind or body and there will be complete destruction of all the evil desires of your heart."

The hoped for efficacy of chanting the name of Amit'a cannot have been too distinct from this. See W.E. Landis, "Translation of the Rosary Classic", Korea Repository, Vol. 2, 1893, p.p. 23-26.

- (28) The names he mentions of Christian missionaries do not include anyone who worked in Korea.

- (29) Charles Allen Clarke, in Religions of Old Korea, Seoul, 1961, p.p.44-76, gives a very full account of the buildings, the statuary and paintings, the elaborate rituals and their meaning. It is not necessary for our purpose here to give detailed examples since the essential point is the rationalism of Han Yongun. However, Clarke's account clearly shows how strongly these features of Buddhism were fundamental to its existence in Korea in Han Yongun's time. The lectures were delivered in 1921 and (partly re-written) in 1929.
- (30) Clarke, Ibid. p.60.
- (31) Clarke, op. cit. p.77. Clarke goes on to give a good description of the begging as performed by Korean monks which makes it clear that the people found the practice repugnant and often gave only reluctantly.
- (32) E. Conze; Buddhism: its essence and development, Harper 1959, p.55.
- (33) Translated by Kumarajiva A.D. 406. See Soothill and Hodous, op. cit. p.354, who say that this sutra inspired many commentaries.
- (34) See Clarke op. cit. p.80. Also Soothill and Hodous, op. cit. p.387.

- (35) In his article entitled Thought and Life of Wǒnhyo 元曉 in Buddhist Culture in Korea, Seoul 1974, p.29 Hong Chungsik relates how this expression 'no obstacle' became a catchword of the famous monk and was the inspiration for his attempts to bring Buddhism to the common people.
- (36) The 中樞院 .
- (37) Op. cit. p.71.
- (38) See Complete Works, Vol. 6, p.388: Im Chungbin, op. cit. p.432.
- (39) Im Chungbin, op. cit. p.p. 150-152.
- (40) Yi Hisu, T'och'ok kwa Kwajong esō pon Hanguk Pulgyo (a survey of Korean Buddhism and its reaction to philosophical trends) Seoul, 1971 p.171.
- (41) Im Chungbin, op. cit. p.p.118. Cho Chonghyǒn 趙宗玄 Manhae the Buddhist in Complete Works of Han Yongun Vol. 2, p.p.12-30. Cho Chihun 趙芝蘊, Essay on Han Yongun in the Complete Works of Cho Chihun, Seoul, 1973, Vol. 3, p.p.262-263.
- (42) See Buddhist Culture in Korea.
- (43) 朝鮮獨立 口書 , See Complete Works Vol. 1, p.p.346-360. The article is presented firstly in a Hangul version and is followed by the original Sino-Korean Text.
- (44) Im Chungbin, op. cit. p.118.

(79)

CHAPTER FOUR

1913 - 1919

(2)

The Compendium of Buddhism

The Pulgyo Taejón⁽¹⁾ (Compendium of Buddhism) was published in May 1914 by Pōmōsa 梵魚寺 a temple in Pusan. According to the preface⁽²⁾ Han Yongun consulted approximately a thousand volumes of Buddhist texts in order to compile the Pulgyo Taejón and it asserts that he did all the work by compilation (notetaking, writing, proofreading) without assistance. Granted that he completed the Essay on Renewal in 1910, this still leaves less than four years from the beginning to the completion of the work, a remarkable achievement.

In the introductory article, entitled The Writing and Thought of Manhae Han Yongun⁽³⁾ Cho Myōnggi 趙明基 says that because the complete Buddhist scriptures involve such an enormous collection, their classification had always been a great problem. The oldest classification was threefold, the books being divided into (1) sutras 經 (2) precepts 律 . (3) discourses 論 . As further translations 譯經 and various works were imported from China they were classified in chronological order or according to the names of the translators. After the printing of the Tripitaka a more elaborate system, extending these three basic divisions, became possible. He goes on to say:-

* 佛教大典

"No matter how detailed this kind of classification may be, it remains simply an ordered catalogue of the titles of the sacred books and provides no information as to their content. Master Yongun was aware of this. Having picked out the essential and important themes from the Buddhist canon, he further selected the writing of special appeal both to the sensibilities of modern man and to the needs of his proposed reform of Buddhism. The resultant reclassification is the Pulgyo Taejon."⁽⁴⁾

The method of classification adopted by Han Yongun was new to Korea. One can find similar classifications in Japan. They began to appear in the late nineteenth century as a result of Western influence, but one does not find in Japan anything as exhaustive as that attempted here. In Japan, the thematic classification or concordance system was used to provide a basic survey of Buddhist truth for the educated lay believer. This was also Han Yongun's intention.

"The study of Buddhist dogma in general has been neglected since the Yi dynasty. This was mainly because of the prevalent assertion that Buddhahood cannot be attained through learning but through direct guidance or through the discovery of the true ego".⁽⁵⁾

This was certainly not true of Han Yongun, who was clearly convinced of the usefulness of the sacred texts as aids to meditation and for providing guidelines and

principles for the moral life. The articles on Han Yongun, apart from noting the fact that his compilation was a notable scholarly achievement, tend to pass over the Pulgyo Taejōn. If, however, we place it in the context of the strong chapter on spreading the faith 布教 in the Renewal then we can appreciate it as Manhae's first significant attempt to make accessible to the educated reader, the vast bulk ('the shoulders sag and the head shrinks')⁽⁶⁾ of the sacred writings reduced to manageable proportions, in thematic groupings relevant to the contemporary Korean reader. Secondly, he is demonstrating his conviction that Buddhism has something meaningful to say to every human situation.

The Pulgyo Taejōn consists of quotations and references to the sacred books (including the Pali canon) arranged under headings which move from the general doctrines and moral principles of Buddhism, to their application in everyday life, in terms of personal, family and social morality. The first chapter, entitled "Titles of sutras, laws and teaching cited in the Compendium", lists 369 sacred texts.⁽⁷⁾ There are nine major themes or divisions (章) of the text and these are further divided according to the importance of the subject.

There is no need to examine the philosophical arguments of the Taejōn but a brief, schematic presentation of its contents will illustrate his attempts to find authoritative support for the arguments of the Yusinnon. One also notices that, while the general theory is strictly

Buddhist the organization of the section on practical morality reveals a neo-Confucianist emphasis. Finally, I should point out that the selection from the sacred canon shows no bias to any particular school of Buddhism but is a syncretism of many strands of thought. The Schema shows the nine headings and underneath these are placed examples of the topics discussed. The translations of the headings or topics are not literal but are intended to convey some idea of the content. (8)

Schema of the Pulgyo Taejon

(1) Introduction 序品; p.p.28-33.

- (a) Reason for explaining the scriptures.
- (b) Benefit of scriptural study.
- (c) Benefit of following the Way.
- (d) Bad result of not following the Way.

(2) Principles of Doctrine 教理細品; p.p.33-64.

- (a) The breadth and complexity of Buddhist doctrine.
- (b) The Human mind; its composition; original purity; equality. The cause of mind; the cause of perception.
- (c) Nature: and the void; the equality of Buddha nature; causality of everything; everything is caused by mind.

(3) On Buddha 佛陀品; p.p.46-64.

- (a) General explanation and definition of Buddha; Buddha is everywhere.
- (b) Salvific design of Buddha, and the Bodhisattvas.

(3) On Buddha (continued).

- (c) The wisdom of Buddha and the Bodhisattvas.
- (d) The compassion of Buddha.
- (e) The enlightened teaching of Buddha.
- (f) Buddha body 佛身 ; original cause of Universal presence of; capacity of; invisibility of Buddha body.

(4) On Faith 信仰品; p.p.66-90.

- (a) The mind that seeks after Buddha's wisdom (發心).
- (b) Purity of mind affects other people.
- (c) Thought of the Buddha (念佛).
- (d) The three treasures; embracing Buddha and his teaching; the Buddhist priesthood.

(5) Action and Causation 葉緣品 ; p.p.91-118.

- (a) The human body; its frailty and suffering; its original quality.
- (b) The transience of everything; the body and its passions; the cause of passion; its effects.
- (c) Evil actions.
- (d) Good and evil and its cause; the cycle of existence; transmigration.

(6) Self Discipline 自治品 ; p.p.118-188.

- (a) General; study and learning with its skills and discipline; the need for and effects of acquiring wisdom; the dangers of ignorance.

(6) Self Discipline (continued).

- (b) Buddhist rules of asceticism; the need for and effects of; control of passions; the good effects of restraint.
- (c) Drinking and temperance; means of disciplining the mind; the mind of Buddha; discipline of ascetic and religious practice.
- (d) The virtues; patience, perseverance, honesty, the moral struggle, wrongdoing, shame, repentance.

(7) The Moral Life 對治品; p.p.189-236.

- (a) The family; its peace and mutual reliance; relationship of children to parents; honour of parents and the beautiful effects of this service; love of parents for children.
- (b) Husband and wife; the wifely virtues; master and servant; teacher and pupil; the duties of the pupil.
- (c) Friendship; kindness; giving and receiving; almsgiving.
- (d) The care of disease and the need for charitable works; the need for compassionate love; the bad effects of cruelty.
- (e) Courtesy and the civil virtues extending outwards from the family. Public spirit; class harmony; war and peace.
- (f) The role of the monarch; the effects of good and bad rule.

(8) Propaganda Work 布教品; p.p.238-242.

- (a) Need for missionary work.
- (b) Methods of propagating the teaching.

(9) Buddhist Salvation 究竟品; p.p.243-249.

- (a) Deliverance.
 - (b) Nirvana.
-

The Pulgyo Taejón should be seen as a significant work in itself and this for the following reasons;

(1) It is the first attempt in this century to synthesize the various schools of Korean Buddhist thought into a coherent philosophy capable of meeting the needs of a new society.

(2) It is an important work of scholarship, in that it supplements the title catalogue by giving a guide to the major themes of the Tripitaka and where they can be found.

In the article 'Manhae the Buddhist' Cho Chonghyón 趙宗玄 says that Manhae sought the unity of the Sōn and Kyo schools by "describing with precision the traditional Buddhism of the original intention (本意) of Buddha."⁽⁹⁾ He quotes the article Principles of the Reform of Korean Buddhism 朝鮮佛教의改革案 ⁽¹⁰⁾ where Han Yongun says "Sōngyo 卍單教 (combined meditation and study of the written tradition) is Buddhism, Buddhism is Sōngyo". "Sōn" is the name of the

pure metaphysical essence of Buddhism, while Kyo describes Buddhist writing and teaching⁽¹¹⁾, so that through Kyo we arrive at knowledge and through Sōn we achieve the proper focus of the mind. Later in the same article he says "Sōn and Kyo are like the two Wings of a bird." And it was through the work of people like Manhae that these two schools were officially amalgamated into the Chogyechong in 1935.

Im Chungbin relates that shortly before the publication of the Yusinnon, Han Yongun became very friendly with a rich woman, a Buddhist whose father had been killed in the Tonghak rebellion.⁽¹²⁾ He tells us that she encouraged his work and 'never left his side'. They lived together for a time near Sinhūngsa 神興寺, a temple in Yangyang county, Kangwondo, and Im maintains that without her financial support neither the Pulgyo Taejón nor the magazine Yusim 惟心, would have been published. It is unfortunate that Im does not identify this woman because she seems to have been a great influence on Manhae. He tells us that she died suddenly and he is sure that she must have provided the inspiration for his love poetry, especially the Silence of 'Nim'.

Commentary on the 'Ts'ai-ken t'an'

Cho Chonghyǒn relates that after the publication of the Essay on The Renewal of Korean Buddhism and the Compendium of Buddhism the prestige of Han Yongun increased rapidly within the Buddhist world.⁽¹³⁾ Im Chungbin says⁽¹⁴⁾ that after his return from Japan he spent most of his time in Seoul where he helped to found the Pulgyo Hangmuwòn⁽¹⁵⁾. He says that Manhae was qualified to teach both the Kyo and Sōn disciplines.⁽¹⁶⁾

In 1915 he set out on a journey around the Southern (North and South Chǒlla) regions where he visited the major temples and preached the reform.⁽¹⁷⁾ He also visited Pōmōsa in Pusan, where the Pulgyo Taejōn was printed. One remembers it was in the Southern provinces that the opposition to Yi Hoegwang's proposed amalgamation with the Soto sect was strongest. As a central figure in the opposition movement Manhae's popularity was high. The pattern of the journey was that at each temple he visited a general meeting was called and he also engaged in individual discussion with the leading men of the temple. At Naejangsa 内藏寺 (North Chǒlla) he met Paek Hangmyǒng 白鶴鳴 1869-1929; at Paegyangsa 白羊寺 (South Chǒlla) Kim Hwanǔng 金幻應 1847-1929; at Sōnamsa 仙岩寺 (18) Kim Kyǒngun 金擎雲 1852-1936; and at Hwaǒmsa 華嚴寺 (19) he spent some time with Chin Chinǔng 陳震應 1882-1941, who had also been a member of the opposition to the Yi Hoegwang faction.

His next published work dates from April 1917 when the Tongyang 東洋 publishing company issued Selected Discourses from the Ts'ai-ken t'an⁽²⁰⁾. The introduction to this volume⁽²¹⁾ tells us that it was "a 256 page pocket edition with a light green cover." Im Chungbin relates a story from a certain Kim Kwanho 金觀鵠⁽²²⁾ concerning his first encounter with Manhae, who was said to be extremely aloof on these occasions. The young man wanted to engage the great teacher in philosophical conversation but Han Yongun said nothing in reply to his questions. He simply handed him the original text of the Ch'aegündam and said "When you have read all of this come back and see me".^{(23)*}

In the introduction to his Complete Works, Vol. 4, p.2 we are told that in a report (on the reprinting of the Ch'aegündam) which appeared in the first issue of Yusim 惟心 magazine, the following passage occurs:-

"The cultivation of the intellect and the elevation of our literary culture is a truly urgent requirement in Korea today. To the few masterpieces in the world, this book adds a transcendent teaching, and despite its being just a small work it speaks to and stimulates the universal sentiments 共感 of men. Should the reader truly desire to become an outstanding human being let him read this valuable work and he will be second to no man."

According to Frits Vos the Ts'ai-ken t'an is the best known work of Hung Ying-Ming 洪應明⁽²⁴⁾ who lived in the

Wan-li (1573-1627) era of the Ming period. He was the author of various religious works on Buddhism and Taoism.⁽²⁵⁾ About the Ts'ai-ken t'an (Vegetable root discourses) itself, Vos writes;

"A free translation of the title would be 'Discourses on a simple life'. It is divided into two parts of 222 and 134 paragraphs respectively. Each paragraph is actually an aphorism or maxim written in the so-called parallel style. For example; 'People understand how to read a book with characters, but they do not understand how to read a book without characters. They know how to play a dulcimer with strings, but they do not know how to play a dulcimer without strings. They use the material but do not avail themselves of the spirit. How can they grasp the essence of a dulcimer or a book'?"

Vos further points out that the unique feature of the Ts'ai-ken t'an is the way in which it draws freely on the ideas Confucianism, Taoism and the Ch'an (Zen) school of Buddhism.

"Generally speaking we may say that the first part of his work counsels integrity in office, whereas the second part describes the joys of living in retirement. Its general spirit is that of the Golden Mean."⁽²⁶⁾

The famous Korean writer Cho Chihun 趙芝蕙 1920-1968, also produced a Korean version of this work. He says that

it falls distinctly into two sections but that taken together one finds four distinct topics. These are
 1) nature 自然 : 2) the moral sense 道心 :
 3) the cultivation of the mind 修省 : 4) instructions
 on social behaviour 涉世)⁽²⁷⁾

Vos tells us that the original edition seems to be no longer available in China, but that two editions preserved in the Sonkeikaku Bunko and the Naikaku Bunko, are said to date from the Ming period.⁽²⁸⁾ It should be pointed out that the Chinese editors of the existing editions used pen names which make it exceedingly difficult to discover any biographical details about them. Vos writes;

"In China there exist two other editions; one printed in 1968 has a preface by San-shan Ping-fu Tungli 三山病夫通理 and a second has a colophon by Huan-ch'u-t'ang chu-jen 還初堂主人, dated 1794. The best modern Chinese edition, based on the Wan-li text is the one by Sheng-yin printed for the first time in 1958."⁽²⁹⁾

There do in fact appear to be more editions than those mentioned by Frits Vos. In the School of Oriental and African Studies (London University) library I have found an 1810 reprint of a 1775 edition by Wang T'ien-ning and a catalogue entry under Hung Ying-ming describes a Chinese text edited by the Buddhist Ch'ing Yungin in 1768, but this volume appears to be missing.⁽³⁰⁾

Vos tells us that the Ts'ai-ken t'an was probably introduced into Japan around the middle of the Tokugawa period (1603-1867) and goes on;

"The first Japanese edition appeared in 1822. Under its Sino-Japanese title Saikontan Hung Ying-ming's work has enjoyed a tremendous popularity until the present day. More than two score annotated editions have been published in Japan since the beginning of this century. Because of the antagonistic attitude of the Yi 李 government in Korea towards Buddhism, the Ts'ai-ken t'an (Sino-Korean: Ch'aegündam) was considered to be 'undesirable reading'. Four or five annotated editions, however, have been published in Seoul since 1920."

According to the introduction to the text (p.12 of the Complete Works) Han Yongun used two texts as a basis for his own Sino-Korean selected translation, one being that of a Ch'ing dynasty monk named Lai Lin 來琳 and the other being a modern-day Japanese abbreviated version. His presentation of the Ts'ai-ken t'an is probably the first version to appear in modern Korea. The Ts'ai-ken t'an remains a popular book in Korea and in very recent times Seoulites preparing to go to work could hear selections from it on the national radio station.

"Before the wild goose flies near, you have drawn your bow; and after the rabbit has fled, you call for an arrow. You take no advantage of an opportunity. When the gale stops, the waves no longer surge; and when the boat

lies at anchor, the passengers disembark. They know the secret of ending the event."(31)

The aphorisms of the Ts'ai-ken t'an are filled with references to nature and the obliquities of their construction lends itself naturally to meditation.(32)

"The Chinese meaning of "vegetable roots" in the title is derived from a saying of Wang Hsin-min, a scholar of the Sung dynasty. He says that only those who can appreciate the least palatable of vegetable roots know the meaning of life. The tenor of the book is thus indicated in its title: simple, homely symbols of spiritual truths, as they have come to an unpretentious man."(33)

From the fact that the Ts'ai-ken t'an was always of the Buddhist tradition and from the way in which the simplicity of its appeal to natural things attracts the ordinary person, it is clear that the motivation for Han Yongun's producing an adapted Sino-Korean version is the same as all his work of this period; namely, to present the basic Buddhist truths to the lay reader in a way which would help him with his daily living. However, it is again interesting that he picks a work which is secular in tone and deeply rooted in the natural world, a sign, perhaps, of the way he rejected an "other-worldly" religion and strove to relate Buddhism to everyday reality.

"When a man regards wealth and power as fleeting as a cloud, it is not necessary for him to be a recluse living in a cliff or a grotto."(34)

Yusim 慈心 Magazine

Although government control of Buddhism from the kings palace ceased in 1904 and "it was the official end of centuries of government suppression of Buddhism"⁽³⁵⁾ it was not until 1913, two years after the Japanese government in Seoul issued its seven laws⁽³⁶⁾ regarding the reorganization of Korean Buddhism, that Buddhist magazines began to appear regularly. The early magazines were published by the central governing body (財團教務院)⁽³⁷⁾ and it seems reasonable to assume that this central body was strongly influenced by the Japanese Soto sect.

The first of these magazines was Chosǒn Pulgyo 朝鮮佛教. It began to appear monthly on February 25, 1912 and its editor was Kwǒn Sangno 權相老 1879-1965. It ran for a total of 19 issues, ending with the issue of August 1913, and was replaced by the Haedong Pulgyo 海東佛教, also a monthly, which first appeared on November 20, 1913 under the editorship of Pak Hanyǒng 朴漢永. This magazine ran until June 20, 1914.

From 1915-1921, Yi Nǔnghwa was editor of the magazines produced by the central authorities. The three magazines were as follows:-

- (1) Pulgyo Chinhǔng Wǒlbo 佛教振興月報; 26 July 1915 - 26 July, 1917; 9 numbers.
- (2) Chosǒn Pulgyo Kye 朝鮮佛教界 ; 15 April 1916 - 5 June, 1917; 3 numbers.

(3) Chosǒn Pulgyo Ch'ongbo 朝鮮佛教叢報; 20 March 1917-
20 January, 1921; 22 numbers.

The publisher of the Choson Pulgyo Chongbo⁽³⁸⁾ was the Society of the Thirty Head Temples 三十本山聯合. This refers to the reorganization which came into effect on July 8, 1911, whereby there were thirty-one primary temples who voted for a head priest, who was then confirmed by license from the Japanese governor-general.

Han Yongun's name does not appear in the list of contents of those magazines which are published by the central authority.⁽³⁹⁾ It seems clear that his views were not acceptable to the central administration. Im Chungbin says "The Yusinnon (Essay on Renewal) was so excessively revolutionary that it could not avoid criticism"⁽⁴⁰⁾ and he also said that because of his views on the marriage of monks, many leading monks, including Pak Hanyong, the editor of Haedong Pulgyo turned against him. We know also, from Sō Kyǒngbo⁽⁴¹⁾ that a clear north-south division of Korean Buddhism had grown up over the vexed question of amalgamation with the Soto sect. In the autumn of 1910, the headquarters of the opposition group was Pōmōsa in Pusan and it was in this southern section that Han Yongun was most popular. However, this again is not conclusive since Pak Hanyōng was also a member of the group which opposed Yi Hoegwang's proposed amalgamation with the Japanese Soto sect in 1911.

As to the question of celibacy, the situation is not clear. Sō Kyōngbo discussing the eventual unification of Korean Buddhism into the single Chogye sect in 1935, says;

"There was one serious conflict which was the result of a break from Korean traditional Buddhism by certain monks who married, and wore different robes according to Japanese Buddhist custom. Many of these monks became abbots of large temples during the Japanese occupation, and there was a strong reaction against them by many monks, especially those who fought against Japanese influence in Korean Buddhism. In 1954, this reaction reached its climax when the President of the Republic, Yi Sungman 李承晚, stimulated especially by Zen monks who continued in the spirit of the 1934 Buddhist conferences, ordered all married abbots to leave the temples because they had gone against the traditional Korean Buddhist system. This conflict between married and unmarried monks has since been resolved, and today there is a harmony between married and unmarried monks with the condition that a married monk who follows the Buddhist rule may hold any position except that of archbishop"⁽⁴²⁾.

Han Yongun married for the second time in 1933 and always advocated that monks should be married, but by the same token he was totally committed to the ending of the Japanese presence in Korea and despite his controversial views was able to marshall a great deal of Buddhist support behind the independence movement of 1919. It was

probably due to his radical opinions on such things as the location of temples and celibacy, that his name does not appear in any of the official publications before he took up editorship of Pulgyo in 1931. I have found no articles in his Complete Works dated earlier than 1918.

In September of 1918, while he living in a small room at 43, Chongbo, Seoul, he began to publish the magazine Yusim 惟心. (Thinking Spirit) of which he was also the editor. According to Im⁽⁴³⁾ the money for this publications came from the wealthy Buddhist lady who had also assisted in the publication of the Pulgyo Taejón. The magazine ran for three issues, the last of which came out on December 1, 1918. It was a Buddhist magazine with largely Buddhist contributors,⁽⁴⁴⁾ but it also tried to stimulate interest in the new literature and reflected the practical concerns of its editor and publisher.⁽⁴⁵⁾ His essays for Yusim are steeped in Buddhist terminology and would not be easily understood by anyone unfamiliar with their definitions, but the common thread running through all the articles is the development of the person through the understanding of Buddhist truth. This is expressed in his first editorial.⁽⁴⁶⁾

"The source of the flowing stream which carries the boat is far away. The flowering tree with clusters of blossoms has deep roots."

The following is the contents listing of Han Yongun's writings from Kim Künsu's book (p.p.163-164). The place where one might find these articles in the Complete Works is given in the right-hand column.

Yusim (Issue 1) September 1, 1918

Complete Works

Editorial: Written at the beginning. Vol. 2, p.349

朝鮮青年
修養 Korean youth and their personal development. Vol. 1
p.p.266-268.

苦痛
快樂 Pain and pleasure. Vol. 2,
p.p.270-271.

苦学生 The working student. Vol. 2,
p.p.271-274.

前路是擇하야 Advance by using tradition. Vol. 2,
p.p.268-270

, u. Mind (a poem) Vol.1, p.90

修養叢話 Collected discourses on personal development. Vol. 4,
p.p.356-359(47)

Yusim (Issue 2) October 20, 1918Complete Works

- Editorial: Life of a blade of grass.* Vol. 2, p.349.
- 魔의 The devil of one's own Vol. 1,
自造物이라 making. p.p.274-275.

Yusim (Issue 3) December 1, 1918

- Editorial: Untitled Vol. 2, p.350.
- 自我是解脫하라 Set the self free. Vol. 1,
p.p.275-278.
- 遷延의害 The danger of delay. Vol. 1,
p.p.278-280.
- 毀譽 Good and bad comment. Vol. 1,
p.p.280-282.
- 無用의勞心 Useless effort. Vol. 1,
p.p.282-284.
- 前家の梧桐 The Paulownia tree Vol. 1,
outside my last home. p.p.237-238.

In fact a number of these articles, attributed to him by the editors of the Complete Works, appeared without the name of the author in Yusim.

* 一莖草의 生命

His articles for Yusim do not easily fall into any category, but it is safe to say that they reflect above all else his interest in the individual, his personal responsibility and development. In the very first of these articles on Korean youth and their personal development 朝鮮青年と修養, he expresses his concern that contemporary Korean young men and women are confused and undecided because they are enmeshed in material concerns and have lost sight of the world of the mind. The remedy for them which will be sought by all who have their concerns at heart is "suyang" 修養, which I translate as "personal development" but which includes both the idea of education and of moral training.

"Effective action is surely the new born child (産兒) of individual training and discipline (修養). As regards the future of a person with this profound personal training, the evil in him is changed and he becomes a truly good man (聖者).

In another article on the question of pleasure and pain (苦痛と快樂) he advances the thesis that pleasure without pain does not exist. Pleasure is the room and pain is the door. Unless one passes through the door one cannot enter the room. Similarly, one cannot receive the benefits of education without being prepared to undergo the painful reality of study, nor can one enjoy the harvest without first having toiled to plant the seed. By contrast with this, however, he examines the case of the poor student

who undertakes all sorts of work in order to pay for his education (苦學生). He has great sympathy for the many young men in this position, but he says that in his experience he has seen only a few succeed. Very often they are overcome by their circumstances. They are promised a reward for the work which they undertake and are finally cheated. They are often forced to do things that are wrong. For this sort of person, he says, it is better to stop studying than to become involved in a bad situation, or to become so overtaxed that it is impossible to do the necessary study. Education is good and the enlightened person will seek the good no matter how difficult the circumstances. But it is never right to do wrong in order to achieve a good result.

In the articles Free the self; Danger of delay; Good and bad comment; he diagnoses obstacles to individual progress as the failure to understand the true nature of deliverance (解脱), the danger of prevarication, and the immobility produced by the fear of adverse comment, respectively. The Buddhist notion of deliverance means the freedom from the round of birth, disease and death. Manhae attacks the view that this deliverance can be achieved simply by physical escape, e.g., retreating to a mountain hermitage. The individual himself, seeks deliverance through enlightenment and personal training within himself. The only way to deliverance is through the cultivation of knowledge and self-discipline. Conversely, in the article entitled 魔之自造物의학 (the devil is of ones own making)

he concludes, that while evil is real enough, it is not something which comes from outside the person, a kind of malevolent force, but rather it springs up inside the person as a result of his own evil actions.

The second of the three articles uses the example of the person who lives in the Diamond Mountains but who never gets to see as much of them as the tourist does, as an exhortation not to delay setting out on a course of action and the third cites the British politician Balfour (who was reputed not to read the newspapers) as an example of getting on with what one believes to be right despite the possibility of adverse criticism. If one is in the right, history will eventually prove it. (48)

His stress on the individual does not lead him to neglect the other great strand of Buddhist thought, which is the close relationship between man and nature. The short essay entitled 前家の梧桐 (The paulownia tree at my former house) (49), is an eloquent description of how nature works for the benefit of man. He describes how he lived in a small, stuffy room which was only saved from being oppressive by the fact that it was on high ground so it received plenty of light and was open to the cool breezes. But man is not only oppressed by the heat of the sun but by the worries and turmoil which come from within himself. But on a moonlit night, looking out at the paulownia tree as it reflected the light from the moon, he found that even his inner fears were quieted.

"Is it that this paulownia tree had some magical properties by which it could paralyse a man's thoughts? Or is it that it had some sacred power by which it could deliver a man from his worries? No, it is empty. The paulownia tree has neither magical nor sacred power, but simply because it is a part of nature the person looking at it thinks of good and beautiful things and almost becomes the paulownia tree, so closely are man and nature related to each other. The paulownia is me, I am the paulownia"

If one thinks of the person who owns the paulownia and its simple value as a tree, then it is not worth much. But if one takes into account the way in which it aids man in his search for peace of soul then its value is inestimable. Just as the great Chinese poet Po Chu-i 白居易 772-846, (50) said that the value of the paulownia was greatly increased on a night when the moon shone brightly, so Manhae regards his essay as contributing to the value of this typically Korean tree.

The articles in Yusim are important, not only because they show how he began to put into practice the principles relating to prosyletizing which he had developed in the Yusinnon, but also, while still retaining a good deal of strictly Buddhist terminology, they are of more interest to the general reader. They contain an abundance of concrete detail (e.g. the poor student wandering the streets looking for work) and striking imagery (pain is the door and pleasure is the room), and, in the

shorter format of the magazine article, he curtails the tendency he showed in the Essay on Renewal to be repetitive and banal.

After Yusim ceased to be published he himself published very little until after he came out of prison in 1922. The last issue of Yusim would seem, therefore, to be a fitting place to suspend discussion of his development as a writer and to concentrate on his involvement with politics, his Essay on The Reasons for the Independence of Korea, and the social implications of his conception of Buddhist renewal.

Footnotes to Chapter Four

- (1) Complete Works of Han Yongun, Vol. 3, p.p.21-249.
The notes to text are written by Yun Chaeyong 尹在瑛.
- (2) Ibid, p.p.2-3.
- (3) Ibid, p.p.10-18.
- (4) Ibid, p.11.
- (5) Lee Kiyong, Religion in Korean Studies Today, p.34.
- (6) See Allen Clarke, op.cit. p.80. Speaking of the Korean Tripitaka he says "No Buddhist ever seriously tries to master any large portion of this vast library."
- (7) Complete Works, Vol. 3, p.p.22-27.
- (8) The page references are to Vol. 3 of the Complete Works of Han Yongun.
- (9) Cho Chongyón Manhae the Buddhist, Nara Sarang, Vol. 2, 1971, p.45. This article can also be found in the Complete Works of Han Yongun, Vol. 2, p.p.12-30. (This quotation on p.23).
- (10) Complete Works, p.160ff. This article first appeared in the magazine Pulgyo (佛教) in October, 1931.
- (11) 佛教的文 is the expression used.

- (12) Im Chungbin, op.cit. p.p.125-126.
- (13) Cho Chonghyǒn, op.cit. p.39.
- (14) Op.cit. p.142.
- (15) With Pak Hanyǒng, Pak Yǒngho 朴映湖 and Chang Kǔmbong 張錦峯 (who later went to North Korea).
- (16) Cho Chonghyǒn, op.cit. p.44.
- (17) Cho Chonghyǒn and Im Chungbin's accounts of this journey are almost identical.
- (18) The Pulgyo Sajǒn, Seoul, 1962, lists a South Chǒlla temple called Sǒnamsa 仙富寺.
- (19) There are many temples with this name. This is most likely the temple in Masan county, South Chǒlla province.
- (20) See Complete Works of Han Yongun, Vol. 4, p.p.12-232. The full title is Chǒngsǒn Kangǔi Ch'aegǔndam 精選講義榮根譚 .
- (21) Ibid, p.2. A photograph of the original title page precedes the introduction.
- (22) 1854-?. An artist and art historian who was born in Pyǒngyang.

- (23) Im Chungbin op.cit. p.156-157.

*Since he received permission to publish his commentary on Ch'aegundam from the Japanese authorities in 1915, we can presume that it was already written at this time.

- (24) He was also named 自誠 Tzu-ch'eng.

- (25) See the Dictionary of Ming Biography, 1368-1641; Columbia University, 1976, Vol. 1, p.p.678-679. This article by Fritz Vos is my main source for the following section.

- (26) Vos, op.cit. p.678.

- (27) See Cho Chihun Chonjip (Complete Works of Cho Chihun), Seoul, 1973, p.244.

- (28) Ku Hsiem-ch'eng / Yu Kung-chien wrote the preface.

- (29) Op.cit. p.679.

- (30) See also the introduction to A Chinese Garden of Serenity by Chao Tze-chiang, New York, 1959. Chao says "The Discourses on Vegetable Roots must have held strong interest for Chinese scholars, because three of them wrote books after the style and way of thinking of Hung Tzu-ch'eng. These three books are the Sweeping with the Sword by Lu Shao-heng of the Ming dynasty, A Continuation of the Discourses on Vegetable Roots by Shin Hsing-chai of the Ch'ing dynasty, and the Discourses on

Vegetable Roots for My Family by Liu Tzu-Kai
also of the Ch'ing dynasty."

- (32) Ibid, p.17, for an excellent example of this.
- (33) Chao Tze-chiang, op.cit.p.56.
- (34) So Kyongbo, op.cit. p.388.
- (35) Ibid, p.390.
- (36) See Kim Kŭnsu, p.115 & p.144, Hanguk chapchi kaegwan mit hobyǒl mokcha chip, Seoul, 1973, p.144 & p.115. This book is a chronologically arranged, contents-listing of Korean periodicals in the humanities and social sciences, published 1896-1945. See also Hanguk chapchi Ch'ongnam (a survey of Korean magazines) produced by the association of Korean magazine publishers, Seoul, 1973. See also Complete Works, Vol. 2, p.p.229-234, for Han Yongun's own account of the early Buddhist magazines and his relationship with Pulgyo. This will be discussed more fully in Chapter Six.
- (37) Sō Kyōngbo, op.cit. p.390.
- (38) Kim Kŭnsu, op.cit.p.115.
- (39) Op.cit. p.156.
- (40) Op.cit. p.389.

- (41) Ibid, p.389.
- (42) Op.cit. p.p.408-409. The dispute between celibate and married sects of Buddhism has sprung up again, centering on the ownership of land.
- (43) Op.cit. p.125. See also p.166.
- (44) Kim Kŭnsu, op.cit. p.115.
- (45) His editorials 卷頭言 are collected together in the Complete Works, Vol. 2, p.p.349-368.
- (46) Complete Works, Vol. 2, p.349.
- (47) Kim Kŭnsu's contents listing for Yusim (op.cit. p.p.163-164), this title is in the first two issues but not in the third. The Complete Works presents it as a single article and says it appears in all three issues.
- (48) In this essay it is interesting to note that the speed of world-wide communication is already being noticed. He speaks of events happening in Seoul in the morning and being known in London and Paris by evening.
- (49) See Appendix.
- (50) Also known as 白樂天. According to A Chinese Biographical Dictionary, London, 1898, p.630, he became governor of Hangchow in 821 and was responsible for building one of the great embankments on the Western Lake.

(110)

CHAPTER FIVE

1919 - 1922

Han Yongun And The Independence Movement.

The March 1, 1919, uprising remains today a focus for patriotic fervour in both North and South Korea. This is partly due to the fact that the fundamental ideal (that Korea should be recognised as a unified and self-sufficient nation state) as expressed in the Declaration of Independence proclaimed on that day,⁽¹⁾ has not yet been achieved.

It is not part of my purpose in this dissertation to present a critique of the independence movement in political terms, nor to examine in detail the origins and course of the movement and its subsequent political effects.⁽²⁾ My purpose is to describe Han Yongun's participation in the independence movement beginning from the Samil 三一 uprising, and to examine his motivation in taking part in it especially where this is expressed in his interrogations before the Japanese authorities and in his essay The Reasons for Korean Independence written in prison while he was serving a three year sentence for his part in the uprising. I hope to demonstrate the importance of the independence movement in his life both as a logical outcome of his desire to involve Buddhism in a developing Korean society, and as an important influence on his later literary development.

Because he was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence and also because he died in 1944, a year

before the liberation, Han Yongun has suffered as much as anybody from the eulogistic treatment Korea accords her national heroes. We have already seen that the majority of his commentators readily accepted that he was an active participant in the Tonghak rebellion even though this is not consistent either with his age or with the meagre amount of autobiographical information which remains to us. It is as if, in order to account for his political activism from 1919 onwards, the commentators were bound to prove some revolutionary antecedents.⁽³⁾

In the same way the overemphasis on his role as an independence activist has led to some misunderstanding of his poetry (especially The Silence of 'Nim') and to the serious neglect of his Buddhist writing, his prose novels (with the exception of Black Wind) and his fine prose journalism. As a background to a discussion of the March 1 movement I would like to quote at length Andrew C. Nahm's summary of the Japanese colonial period (1910-1944).⁽⁴⁾.

"Under Japanese colonial rule, Korea of course, underwent political as well as economic, social and cultural change. Despite the Japanese policy of repression and discrimination, the Korean people made significant advances in the fields of literacy and education and entrepreneurship - prerequisites for building a modern nation. Korea in 1945 was vastly different from the period during which she was known as a 'hermit kingdom'. New economic systems and practices along with modern

industrial establishments replaced old economic patterns and modes of production. Modern transportation and communication networks made distance of little importance. The cumbersome Yi dynasty political structure was replaced by a highly effective political bureaucracy. Directly or indirectly the Korean people were exposed to new ideas and new practices. Age-old customs gave way to what might be called a 'Japanized' Western way of life. The stark realities of colonial life gave way to a new type of literary movement and modern journalism, as well as educational and religious movements. New breeds of poets, novelists, journalists and educators became the champions of freedom and the disciples of enlightenment, arousing a spirit of 'risorgimento', foreign missionaries kindled not only fervent religious zeal, but also nationalism among their converts."

The thirty-three representatives who signed the Declaration of Independence represented three religious groups; Ch'ondogyo 天道教, Christianity and Buddhism⁽⁵⁾ and this is one of the unique features of the movement. Yi Kibaek explains⁽⁶⁾;

"There had been many active social and political groups around the turn of the century, when the Yi dynasty was fast approaching its end. After the Japanese annexation of 1910, however, only religious groups were permitted to continue. Thus, it was a natural development that the March 1 movement was organized through religious groups. These groups provided the organization that is

necessary for the success of any social movement. Particularly in a country like Korea, composed of isolated villages, the problem of organization was crucial."

There is some debate as to whether the religious leaders were the most effective agents of the movement since they advocated non-violence, whereas it was the action of the students, who made the actual promulgation and who were very active in other parts of the country, which initiated the widespread popular support for the declaration.⁽⁷⁾ However, there is no doubting the heroic status of the thirty-three signers both in the popular mind and in much of the subsequent writing on the subject.

The proximate reason why Han Yongun became part of the Samil was because of his connection with Ch'oe Rin.⁽⁸⁾ We have seen (above p.27.) that the two had first become acquainted when Han Yongun travelled to Japan. At that time Ch'oe was a student of law at Meiji University in Tokyo. After he graduated he returned to Seoul where he became a teacher at Posong College - later Korea University. It was after he returned to Korea that he became a member of the Ch'ondogyo. In fact he became the fourth leader of this church after he was released from prison and in succession to Son Pyōnghŭi 孫秉熙 1861-1922, who died in prison for his part in the March 1, movement.

Han Yongun's own account of his motives for joining the movement and his reconstruction of the events leading up to the arrest of the leaders at the Myǒngwǒlgwan restaurant is clearly expressed in the answers given to the various official interrogations which followed the arrest, and in the account of his trial published in the Tong'a Ilbo, 25 July, 1920.⁽⁹⁾ The first two interrogations took place on the same day, March 2, 1919, the first before a Korean policeman and the second in the presence of a Japanese official. The third is the preliminary trial hearing which took place on May 7, 1919. It becomes clear on reading these accounts that he and Ch'oe Rin were the initial moving force behind the Samil independence movement.

In the preliminary hearing⁽¹⁰⁾ he gives as his reason for coming to Seoul his intention to publish Yusim magazine. He relates how he continued to be friendly with Ch'oe Rin after their return to Korea. His acquaintanceship with Ch'oe Namson 崔南善 1890-1957, who was the author of the actual declaration, dates from 1913. He then describes his connection with the Chungang school.⁽¹¹⁾

In reply to the question how he became involved with Son Pyǒnghǔi and the others, he describes how in the previous year he became aware of the European peace conferences which followed World War 1, through accounts in the Maeil Sinmun (Daily News). He accepted the idea expressed at these conferences, that the self-determination

of colonial peoples was a necessary precondition for world peace, and he decided to work for Korean independence. He and Ch'oe Rin discussed this on many occasions but it wasn't until January 27-28, 1919 that they both decided to take positive action. The idea of a declaration appealed because the peace conference was in session and it was an opportunity to bring Korea to its notice. (12)

In the second of the interrogations (13) he describes this occasion and its aftermath as follows;

"Since it was a good thing that Korea too should seek independence in order to achieve racial self-determination, we discussed how this could be done. I said to my associate (Ch'oe Rin) that it would be completely impossible to agitate for independence with only a small group. Unless we formed a large organization it would not work. I also said that even though the Ch'ondogyo was a large body of people there was no one in it with a strong intention to achieve independence. He replied that if there was even one person of that mind he would enter into discussions with Ch'ondogyo members with a view to initiating independence action. We met and discussed the matter a number of times after that. Ch'oe Rin told me there were a number of like-minded people in the Ch'ondogyo and he said we should unite forces. On February 15, I visited the home of a highly placed Ch'ondogyo member Oh Sech'ang. (14) I told him what I had already said to Ch'oe Rin. He too was in agreement and promised to take action. After this we mustered our comrades in every district and the negotiations connected with this and the planning and

execution of our campaign were completely entrusted to Ch'oe Rin."

Later in this statement he describes how the other Buddhist monk Paek Yongsōng 白龍城 was introduced to the movement. It was after Manhae had learned from Ch'oe Rin that the Protestant churches had agreed to join the movement and he had met their chief representative Yi Sunghun; (15)

"I think it was two days after that I went looking for Paek Yongsōng, a monk of Haein temple in Kyōngsang province presently living at 1 Pongikdong, Seoul. He was a person I had known for a long time. I explained to him that every religious group had recently agreed to join together in an independence crusade and asked him what he thought about joining it. He was in agreement and having joined the movement informed Ch'oe Rin that he would be among the representative signers of the declaration when it was printed." (16)

Apart from organizing the campaign from the beginning, his statements here reveal other aspects of his role. Im has told us that Manhae was not happy with Ch'oe Namsōn's version of the declaration and wanted to rewrite it. Ch'oe Rin, however, would only allow him to modify a few sentences. (17) In these statements he denies all knowledge of the authorship and of the people who printed the declaration and states simply that he was responsible for the distribution of 3,000 copies. (18)

On March 1, he was present with the others in the Myǒngwǒlgwan restaurant and he gave a short congratulatory speech at the dinner. He explains;

"There was no need to recite the declaration aloud and we omitted it. When the food was brought out I said a few introductory words; that I was truly glad we were proclaiming the independence of Korea and that from this moment on it was essential that we kept on struggling until complete independence was achieved. After I had spoken we were proclaiming as one man 'Independence forever' when we were arrested by the police."⁽¹⁹⁾

Along with Yi Sǔnghun, Son Pyǒnghǔi and Ch'oe Rin, Han Yongun was sentenced to three years imprisonment. These four received the longest sentences of any of the leaders of the Samil uprising. The commentators⁽²⁰⁾ tell us that Han Yongun maintained a very stubborn attitude to the Japanese authorities throughout his trial and later imprisonment. He refused a defence counsel, would not consider seeking bail and refused to have his own food brought in from outside. The final question and answer of the preliminary hearing reveals this attitude.

Question: Will the accused continue to agitate for Korean independence from now on?

Answer: Of course. My mind can never be changed. Even if my body comes to nothing that spirit alone will persist to eternity."

Apart from what he has revealed about his own background in the independence movement Im Chungbin⁽²¹⁾ and Cho Chonghyǒn⁽²²⁾ among others maintain that we must consider his second journey to Manchuria (1910- ?) as another source of his strong feeling for independence.

Manchuria after 1910; Yi Siyong 李始榮 1868-1953,⁽²³⁾
 Yun Seyong 尹世眞 1868-1941, Pak Ūnsik 朴殷植 1859-1926⁽²⁴⁾
 Manchuria after 1910; Yi Siyong 李始榮 1868-1953,⁽²³⁾
 Yun Seyong 尹世眞 1868-1941, Pak Ūnsik 朴殷植 1859-1926⁽²⁴⁾
 and Yi Tongyǒng 李東寧 1869-1940 who had been involved in uprisings against the Japanese annexation since 1904. To these Im Chungbin adds Kim Tongsam 金東三 1878-1937 who dies in prison in Manchuria. Both Im and Cho maintain that Han Yongun assisted these men in their organization of military schools among Korean emigres. Hong Yi-sōp writes;

"When Korea was annexed to Japan ending the Yi dynasty in 1910, Han Yongun went to Vladivostock and, in collaboration with his colleagues, founded an academy for the 'righteous' (independence) army in Huaijen Prefecture in Manchuria, training Korean Corps. In the meantime, he visited many independence army training centre scattered all over Manchuria exhorting Korean army corps to dedicate themselves to the cause of restoring national independence."⁽²⁵⁾

However there is no mention of such an extensive collaboration with the Korean independence movements in The Story of My Dying and Coming Back to Life⁽²⁶⁾ which is

the only autobiographical piece relating to this second journey. He does not refer to any particular activity and he regards his being shot as an act for which he has no explanation. If one compares his own account with the anecdote which appears in the collection of the same in the Complete Works⁽²⁷⁾ one can appreciate how much these incidents have been elaborated on by people who were anxious to stress his revolutionary credentials. In the absence of autobiographical evidence one must, therefore, treat these accounts with some caution.

The Reasons for Korean Independence,⁽²⁸⁾ taken together with his court statements provide a logical and reasoned argument for his participation in the independence movement. I hope to demonstrate that the arguments for racial self-determination expressed in the essay on independence are not only inspired by the Wilson doctrine and the growing spread of national movements world-wide, but that they spring also from the particular understanding of Buddhism which had already elucidated in the Essay on The Renewal of Korean Buddhism.

The argument of Reasons For Korean Independence⁽²⁹⁾ is developed in five headings. (As with the Yusinnon, the page references will refer first to the Hanmun text and secondly to the Hangul translation.) He begins his survey of the present situation (p.354+p.346) as follows;

"As for freedom, it is the very life of creation while peace is the happiness of human existence. For this reason the person without freedom is like a dead body and the one who has lost peace is a person who has endured the worst possible suffering."

He goes on to discuss the rise of nationalism in the nineteenth century and the development of militaristic expansionism as one of the grosser expressions of national pride. Germany in Europe and Japan in Asia are examples of the stronger nation swallowing up the weak. Not only does he attack the reality of imperialism but he attacks the kind of propaganda which accompanies it e.g. the Japanese rationalization that the annexation of Korea would benefit the cause of Asian peace and bring stability and harmony to Korea herself ("How can there be a war to promote peace?").

It is obvious from the rest of his argument in the introductory survey that he has a highly optimistic view of the mass of people and of their ultimate ability to withstand and eventually overthrow tyranny. He regards the last war as not only a defeat but also a victory for Germany, in that the militarism of the Kaiser was defeated as much by the social revolution which sprang up within Germany in the later stages of the war, as by the military success of the allied forces. He notes also that as the twentieth century begins the worldwide emphasis is on a future of justice, humanity and peace.

"Wilson's clause in the League of Nations charter has made the spring breezes blow on the parched earth of every country".

He ends this section with the statement that independent self-determination is a basic instinct of every race, a divine right, and no one should hinder it.

The following two sections discuss (1) the immediate reasons for declaring independence* (p.p.356ff+p.p.348ff) and (2) the deeper philosophical grounds for Korean independence** (p.p.357ff+p.p.350ff).

(1) Ever since the annexation, the Korean people, who have a strong sense of their own identity, have never ceased thinking about achieving independence. However, the proximate cause of the recent (March 1, 1919) events was threefold.

(a) The Japanese underestimated the ability of Koreans to govern themselves. Despite the fact that they are behind in terms of material civilization they fully possess the spiritual capacity to develop independently and in accordance with their own tradition.

* 朝鮮獨立宣言의 動機

**朝鮮獨立宣言의 理由

(b) From the beginning of the twentieth century there had taken place a great change in the general world-wide thought, a turning against war and aggression and a yearning for peace, expressed in the attempts to set up a world court to settle disputes between nations. The three main causes of change have been the World War and the Russian and German revolutions.

".... in one word, from this moment on the general trend of the future will be the defeat of aggressive nationalism and the victory of the doctrine of peace based on the independent co-existence (of nations)".

(c) Since the Wilson principle of racial self-determination is now an accepted precondition of world peace and since the League of Nations has recognised the independence of Poland and Czechoslovakia one hopes that the great powers will continue to strive for the independence of the weaker peoples.

(2) "Ah! Ten years have passed since we lost our country and I cannot restrain the sadness and the shame that, having just declared our independence it comes about that we must explain why we declared it!"

(a) His first argument is a rather behaviourist explanation of the instinct whereby human beings as well as different species of animals or insects

"stick to their own kind". This in itself is a potentially racist position but Han Yongun's emphasis is on the nations awareness of its own unique existence (自存性) which despite alien incursions can never be lost (e.g. Ireland, India, Poland and Tibet).

(b) A country like Korea with a 5,000 year history may be overrun in the military sense but her sense of history will not allow her to be patient with subjugation. The impulse to independence cannot be suppressed.

(c) "What interest or what joy is there in a life without freedom?" He argues that the search for freedom is the prime motive of human life and that where it is absent movements to restore it are inviolable. "If one person loses his freedom the harmony of heaven and earth suffers a wound; then I say how much more severe is it when the freedom of 20 million is obliterated?".

(d) This section is an elaboration of his belief that the independence of Korea is essential to world peace. He believes that Japanese expansionism does not intend to stop with Korea. Korea is only a stepping stone to Manchuria, Mongolia and eventually China. To avoid this, Korea must be independent.

The fourth section of his declaration (p.p.357f+ p.352) is a criticism of the military government both for its oppressive actions and its repression of Korean culture in education. He draws special attention to the lack of freedom of religion. In the final section on the confidence that Korean independence will finally be achieved (p.p.359f+p.p.352ff), he maintains that independence is inevitable even though it may entail another war and he says that Korea's freedom will not be the setting up of a new nation but the restoration of a native-born independence. The only problem is whether Japan will be ready to recognise it. He does express the hope that if Japan relinquished its hold on Korea the two countries could eventually cooperate with each other.

"Even though Japan should at this time veto Korea's independence and the present situation remains unchanged, the popular feeling (for independence) is like water flowing where it will (飄流) and Korean independence, like a rock rolling down from the top of a mountain, cannot be halted until it reaches its destination" (p.360+p.354).

Writing about this article in his Essay 'Han Yongun and Nationalism',⁽³⁰⁾ Hong Yi-sop says;

"Many assertions and proclamations of Korean independence were made public to advance the cause of national struggle in 1919, and each of them has

significance as a historical document. Nevertheless, Han's 'Essay on Independence' is most realistic in asserting Korean independence, broadest in scope, most logical and most intensive."

However, in another article, The March 1 Independence Movement (1), he qualifies this by saying;

Han's declaration of independence is smooth in terms of syntax, but it is euphemistic concerning resistance methods as it was written for the purpose of submission to the court". (31)

He makes this comment in contrasting the attitude expressed in Han Yongun's work with that produced by the Korean students in Japan (which spoke of a 'bloody war' if other methods failed). Yi Ki-Baek believes that there was a severe rupture between the thirty-three signers of the declaration and their student supporters. (32)

"Angered that the thirty-three representatives of the people had abandoned Pagoda Park in favour of a private reading of the declaration in a restaurant called the Myǒngwǒlgwan, the students assembled at Pagoda Park, where they read the declaration aloud and marched into the streets."

However, the non-violent stance of the representatives was far from being euphemistic but quite deliberate and clearly thought out. This is quite clear from the interrogations of Han Yongun where the reversal of the

decision to make a public proclamation in Pagoda Park was precisely due to the fear that violence would break out among the large crowds of people already assembled in Seoul and it was thought better to avoid any violent confrontation with the Japanese authorities.⁽³³⁾ Han Yongun's rejection of violent means may stem from his deterministic view of man's progress from barbarianism to enlightenment which we have already seen developed in the Yusinnon and is expressed here also in his view that the achievement of independence is an inevitable implication of the world-wide movement towards peaceful coexistence among nations.

In a very interesting article entitled Political Thought behind Korean Nationalism⁽³⁴⁾ Ch'a Kibyōk develops the following line of argument;

"Growing recognition of economic imperialism coupled with the influence of Communism had led the non-communist branch of the nationalist movement to a more explicit allegiance to the equality and importance of the role of the people.... This tendency further contributed to the emergence of an entirely new stream of thought in Korean nationalist ideology. Characteristic of this tradition was an attempt to synthesize the idea of liberal democracy with selective theses of Communism into the traditional stream of Korean thought."⁽³⁵⁾

He discusses Han Yongun as a representative of this school of thought.

Since communism did not really begin to take hold in Korea until the formation of the Labour Fraternal Association under Ch'a Kumbong (who later became a leader of the Communist Party)⁽³⁶⁾, and since the leaders of the March 1 movement had not really thought further than the declaration in political terms,⁽³⁷⁾ it is hardly correct to see the presence of 'selective theses of Communism' in the Essay on Korean Independence but I do believe it is true to say that Han Yongun's emphasis on equality as the basic starting point for a social philosophy (and, by implication, of a philosophy of the relationship between nations) and his concern that Buddhism should show its compassion for the masses in practical terms in the social sphere, are ideas which would have made him sympathetic to the Communist cause.

Dae-sook Suh tells us⁽³⁸⁾ that a certain Han Wigon was active in establishing communist cells within the Singanhoe (Han Yongun was chairman of the Seoul chapter) and that Han Wigon "persuaded an influential Buddhist leader, Han Yongun" to endorse the Communist cause in the organization.

An Pyøngjik⁽³⁹⁾ maintains that the core of Han Yongun's thought on independence is a Buddhist socialism⁽⁴⁰⁾ based on a theory of equality. And in an interview with Samch'olli 三千里 magazine⁽⁴¹⁾ in 1931 Han Yongun used the expression "Buddhist Socialism" 佛教社會主義 in answer to the question "How would you express the economic thought of Buddha in modern times?". And at the end of another

statement about Buddha truth⁽⁴²⁾ he speaks of the "class struggle" and says "Were Buddha to appear 2,400 years later in today's Korea it would probably be easy for him to become the sort of person we hear about all the time, namely, a communist." However, it is hardly likely that his ideas were so clearly formulated in the period 1919-1922, although he was obviously aware of the importance of the revolutions that had just begun in Russia and in Germany. It was to be a feature of his later journalism that he kept a close watch on developments in these two countries and especially in their relations with religious groups.

What is, I believe, important about Ch'a Kibyōk and An Pyōnjik's articles is that they see a linear development between the Essay on the Renewal of Korean Buddhism and the Essay on Korean Independence and they give due weight to the importance of his Buddhist background.

"As his system of thought dictates that no individual members of a nation can be fully free unless the nation sets itself completely free from colonialism, it is no wonder that he stresses that each individual should be ready to sacrifice his life to attain the freedom of his nation. By the same reason, he saw it was not merely the policy of the Japanese governor-general but the very colonial policy itself that was suppressing national freedom in Korea. This was the reason why he demanded the abolition of the colonial rule itself and warned Koreans not to be cajoled by such offers as 'domestic

independence', self-autonomy or the right to vote, etc."⁽⁴³⁾

Kim Yǒlgyu⁽⁴⁴⁾ sums up the unity of his Buddhist yet secular approach;

"He was a monk but not a mere explorer of the Way; he could better be called a Buddhist campaigner; he was not an ecclesiastic in seclusion, but an ecclesiastic in action.

Han achieved a dimension where the holy and mundane, religion and society, no longer conflicted with each other... In Buddhist terms, it was 'The holy and mundane are not separate'.⁽⁴⁵⁾

Im Chungbin's biography contains many anecdotes relating both to the Samil itself and to the time spent in prison (op.cit. p.p.294-308). In this latter section he relates that Manhae, because of his stubborn attitude, received rough treatment at the hands of the Japanese and Korean guards. He fell out with Ch'oe Rin while in prison and his attitude to the Japanese hardened still more. The final trial began 3 July 1920 and sentences were handed down on 30 October of the same year. Han Yongun left prison in March 1922.

On January 8, 1932, a short piece entitled A wound I will not forget for the rest of my life⁽⁴⁶⁾ appeared in the Chosón Ilbo;

"I am going back to what seems even now a story of long ago but at the time that the Kimi (己未, 1919)

uprising erupted, the whole of Seoul was clamorous with the sound of (Independence forever!) we had just delivered the (Independence) declaration in a place called Myǒngwǒlgwan now known as T'aehwagwan when we were surrounded (by the Japanese police). On one side some were continuing the oration on the other some were being arrested and being escorted to cars. I too was taken bodily and having been taken to a car and passing through small lane I was taken to Map'o (prison).

It was just that time, two primary school children who looked about 12 years old came near the car in which I was riding calling out (Mansei) and waving their arms. As they called again they were restrained by the (police) and even as they stumbled into the roadside ditch they kept on calling out, until finally they were taken into custody. And even though he saw the first student being arrested I could see through the window of the car, the other one still calling out. At that time I had no way of knowing who those students were nor why they kept on chanting to that extreme, but when I saw that incident and heard that sound the tears came like falling rain unbidden to my eyes. The picture and the sound of those young children that caused the tears to flow from my eyes, is a hurt that I will never forget in all my life."

Footnotes to Chapter Five

- (1) An English translation of the full text of the Declaration and a list of its signatories can be found in Source Materials on Korean Politics and Ideologies by Donald G. Tewsbury.
- (2) For this see Korea under Japanese Colonial Rule, ed. Andrew C. Nahm, W. Michigan University, 1973. Not only does this collection of papers offer a broad survey of the period but it also provides the reader with a substantial bibliography on the subject.
- (3) A good example of the eulogistic approach to his works is the article by Cho Chonghyǒn 趙宗玄 in Han'guk ui Sasangga sibi-in ed. Sin Ilch'ǒl, Seoul, 1975. Chu makes even his being a Buddhist monk subservient to the fact he is primarily an independence leader and anti-Japanese fighter, and he interprets the 'Nim' of The Silence of 'Nim' as a figure for oppressed Korea, which is a valid but incomplete interpretation.
- (4) Op.cit. p.10.
- (5) The absence of Confucian representatives in explained by Wi Chogang in Japanese rule and Korean Confucianism; article in Korea under Japanese colonial rule p.71. "The Japanese policy towards Korean Confucianism was in general conciliatory and protective. Therefore, the

response of Korean Confucianism to this Japanese administration was not as antagonistic as that of other elements in Korean society. Furthermore, Korean Confucianism traditionally lacked social concern for the welfare of the masses.... Korean literati avoided conflict or tension with Japanese officials and so did not play any important role in the independence movements against Japan." Im Chungbin relates a story (op.cit. p.177) that Han Yongun intended to approach the Confucian Scholar Kwak Chongsok 郭鍾錫 with an invitation to join the movement but the scholar died before he could do this.

- (6) Yi Ki-Baek, The March 1 Movement, translated by James B. Palais in Listening to Korea ed. Marshall Pihl, New York, 1973, p.11.
- (7) Yi Ki-Baek op.cit. p.p.11-14.
- (8) Apart from direct use of the interrogations my main source of biographical information for this chapter is Im Chungbin, op.cit. especially ch's. 8-10, p.p.166-244.
- (9) The Tong'a Ilbo account appears in the Complete Works, Vol. 1, p.p.372-373. The two interrogations and the transcript of the pre-trial hearing appear in the same volume, p.p.361-372.

- (10) Ibid, p.p.367ff.
- (11) The students he used to distribute the 3,000 copies of the declaration for which he was responsible were students of this school. It is more likely that he knew them as members of some other student group, either Buddhist or otherwise. See Ibid, p.362. Also p.366, where he denies inciting the students. Im, op. cit. p.237; it was the central Buddhist school, later Tongguk University.
- (12) Ibid, p.368.
- (13) Ibid, p.p.364-365. The bracket in the quotation is mine.
- (14) Oh Sech'ang 吳世昌 1864-1953. He was one of the thirty-three signers of the 1919 declaration and after the liberation he became proprietor of the Maeil Sinbo 每日新報 and the Seoul Sinmun and was an influential figure politically. He became a refugee during the Korean war and died in Taegu.
- (15) Yi Sunghun 李昇薰 1864-1930. He became the proprietor of the Tonga Ilbo in 1923.
- (16) Complete Works, Vol. 1, p.364.
- (17) Im, op.cit. p.276.
- (18) The second interrogation, See Complete Works, Vol. 1, p.366.

- (19) Ibid, p.366.
- (20) Cf. Im, op.cit. p.298.
- (21) Op.cit. p.102.
- (22) Op.cit. p.410.
- (23) There is another Yi Siyong 1882-1919 whose name has the same characters and who was also in Manchuria post 1910. However, Cho's mention of the Sinhung 新興 military school identifies the person mentioned above.
- (24) Pak Ūnsik was the author of the Bloody History of Korean Independence Movement published in 1920 in Shanghai. It was translated from Chinese to Korean in 1973.
- (25) Hong Yi-söp 洪以燮 Han Yongun And Nationalism; article in Korea Journal, Vol. 13, No.4, p.p.24-25. The Korean version of this article is in the Complete Works of Han Yongun, Vol. 4, p.p.367-373.
- (26) See above p.9 and p.21.
- (27) Vol. 6, p.p.356-381. For this anecdote see p.357.
- (28) See Complete Works, Vol. 1, Hanmun version p.p.354-260; Hangŭl version p.p.346-364. The Hangŭl version is by Yi Kiljin 李吉鎮.

- (29) According to An Pyōngjik in The Independence Thought of Manhae Han Yongun, it was first published in Shanghai with the title The Awakening of a Korean Independence Consciousness. See Complete Works, Vol.4, p.376.
- (30) Op.cit. p.25.
- (31) Hong Yi-sop, Korea's Self-Identity, p.218.
- (32) Op.cit. p.12.
- (33) Note especially the second interrogation, Complete Works, Vol. 1, p.369, where it becomes clear that they also instructed the students to avoid the park during the day.
- (34) Korea Journal, April 1976, p.p.4-20.
- (35) Ibid, p.10.
- (36) See Dae-sook Suh, History of Korean Communism, p.p.58-60.
- (37) Ibid, p.57. "The sacrifice and casualties suffered by the people gave persistence to the revolutionary movement, but the revolutionaries, who failed to inspire and lead the people in the uprising, also failed to transform the anti-Japanese sentiment and sacrifices of the people into any tangible political force."

(38) Ibid, p.99.

(39) Op.cit. p.374.

(40) Han Yongun.

(41) Samch'ŏlli, Feb. 1931. See Complete Works,
Vol.2, p.p.291-295.

(42) Ibid, p.293.

(43) Ch'a Kibyōk, op.cit. p.11.

(44) Han Yongun; his life, religion, poetry;
Korea Journal, April, 1973, p.30.

(45) 聖凡不二

(46) 平生吳文已傷處. See Complete Works,
Vol. 1, p.253. The piece was published with
offending phrases like "Independence" as in
Declaration of Independence, removed.
I place these words within brackets.

(138)

CHAPTER SIX

1922 - 1944

(1)

In August, 1922, the magazine Kaebyǒk 開闢 (1) published Han Yongun's sijo poem Plant the Hibiscus, (2) which he had written while serving his prison sentence.

PLANT THE HIBISCUS*

Moon moon, bright moon

Moon that has shone down on my country,
That came climbing over the iron window
And shone in my heart
I will cut away the cinnamon tree
And plant the hibiscus.

Moon moon, bright moon

Moon that has brightened my love's mirror,
That came climbing over the iron window
And been held in my breast
If love should start to wane
I will go to her aid.

Moon moon, bright moon

Moon that has shone without favour
That came climbing over the iron window
And drove deep into my soul.
When you go climbing over the hill of the clouds
I will follow after your light.

* 無窮花 俗名자

The cinnamon tree referred to is Cinnammonum cassia (桂樹) a Chinese strain. In contrast to the hibiscus the symbolism refers to his exhortation to uproot foreign influence and cultivate the native Korean culture. This provides us with a fitting metaphor within which we may bring together the various strands of his work 1922-1940. It was during this period that he was to produce the greater bulk of his writing which is striking in the wide range of interests and abilities which it reveals.

His dedication to the reform of Korean Buddhism continued unchanged, as is reflected in his work with the Buddhist Young Men's Society, his later editorship of the ^{magazine}~~Buddhist Young Men's Society~~, his later editorship of the Buddhist scriptures to a more general reading public. His opposition to the Japanese presence continued to find expression in his association with the Ch'ondogyo, the Singanhoe, and the various groups (especially student groups) which continued to give voice, however muted, to national sentiment and independence aspirations.

He called his political philosophy 'Buddhist Socialism' and his interest in the socialist countries is reflected in many articles throughout this period. He was especially aware of Russia and Germany and followed their relationship with religious groups closely. In 1926, his most famous work 'The Silence of 'Nim'' was published, this poetry established his reputation as a literary figure. He did not belong to any literary school⁽³⁾ but

he produced four novels of which only one, Black Wind, serialized in the Chosón Ilbo, April 9, 1935 - February 4, 1936, has received any critical attention.

In this final section of the thesis, I wish to pay particular attention to his literary work and especially to reconsider his position as a novelist. I will present firstly a brief summary of his political and nationalist activity 1922-1944. This will be followed by an account of his philosophical writing, translations and commentaries on Buddhist texts, etc. This account will centre around the period of his association with Pulgyo magazine. Finally, I will deal with the poetry, novels and literary essays in Chapter Seven.

This threefold division has all the drawbacks of any artificial division but I believe it will help to highlight the scope of his interest and his achievement without losing sight of the unity and integrity of his personality.

(1) Politics And The Singanhoe

Manhae was no sooner released from prison than he began to take every opportunity to address public meetings and spread the cause of nationalism.⁽⁴⁾ Im describes at some length his ability as a public speaker. This is an aspect of his personality about which we know nothing from the Complete Works⁽⁵⁾ and none of his speeches has been recorded. It would seem, however, that despite his lack of size he was a strong and aggressive public speaker and a man of quick temper. He was exceedingly popular with the student groups, not only Buddhist but Ch'ondogyo and Christian groups as well.

On March 24, the same month in which he was released from prison he initiated the Pöpböhoe 法寶會⁽⁶⁾ a society devoted to the publication and translation of the scriptures into Korean. In 1924, he became president of the Buddhist Young Men's Society and in October of the same year, he completed the novel Death, which was never published until its inclusion in the Complete Works.

The period after 1919 was a time when a great number of groups and associations sprang up within Korea. Under the pressure of world opinion the Japanese had relaxed some of the restrictions on the use of the Korean language and permitted the formation of associations for cultural purposes and the establishment of Korean newspapers and periodicals. While having stated aims such as, the restoration of the native language or the formation of youth etc., these associations continued to be the focus

for the independence aspirations of many Koreans and were centres of silent resistance to the colonial power.

In an article entitled Korea and the anguish of Koreans,* published in the Tong'a Ilbo, January 9, 1923, Han Yongun clearly expressed the dilemma of the Korean in the colonial situation. Compared to his Essay on Independence, the writing is oblique but the message is very clearly stated. His argument is that since Koreans cannot change their situation they must find some spiritual way of dealing with it. I quote the article in full, firstly because it must have given the censor severe doubts, and secondly because it will be important to our later understanding of The Silence of 'Nim'.

"I will speak first about the sense of suffering and anguish. We can divide our ordinary experience of suffering into two; mental anguish and suffering in the material sense.

All suffering comes in from outside. As one receives it and then, when one becomes aware of it in the mind, pain grows for the first time. If perchance, one does not suffer nor experience it in the mind, then 'pain' will not exist. Putting it another way that very mental experience i.e., thinking of pain as pain, is in itself pain. To refuse the pain, to ignore it in the mind and set out to act with deep and heartfelt joy in the spirit (靈的) is to make suffering non-existent.

* 朝鮮乃朝鮮人の煩悶。 Complete Works Vol.1, p.378.

But, someone will say, to speak in this way is to deny the reality of the present condition of the world. Even if we try to ignore our suffering, is it not true that incoming suffering remains in existence? So the problem takes on a wider aspect.

Firstly (my argument)⁽⁷⁾ does not deny the reality of the present situation. It simply says that pain arises from the very thought of pain and even if one tries to destroy the outside source of the pain or demands as of right the happiness of that anguish being removed, suffering will not easily disappear. The more pain there is, the more pain will grow.

Being without clothes is suffering, Being without food is suffering. Suffering is to lose one's freedom. So we beg for food and wait for someone to give us clothes. We deeply resent the one who has borne away our freedom. We resist the source of our pain, we oppose it while at the same time we plead with it (for our release). But because this thing, the pain which causes pain is outside, because it is other (彼) it makes demands on me (我). It is fighting with me. If this is the case how can the suffering go away. If this is the case how can there be no anguish?

The truth is that at the present time our Korean people are enduring a shameful anguish in both the material and the spiritual sense. They mourn because of an exceedingly great sorrow. Clad in rags, without enough to

eat, as they struggle to endure, every kind of trouble arises. Having eyes and mouths makes no difference, because they have no freedom. So they struggle on with a deep sense of persecution⁽⁸⁾. If they strive and plan to drive out the pain it only becomes more severe.

The fundamental answer is to run out from beneath the centre of this mask of suffering (which covers us) and then joyfully and in peace to advance our spiritual cause. If we do this, then the suffering will naturally (of itself) disappear. It will not be able to affect us."

The way to cope with the occupation is to push forward with the work of building up the character of the nation and develop its spiritual strength. Han Yongun clearly believed that a return to the Buddhist way was the answer and this perhaps explains why he was so concerned with the young.

His argument to ignore (in the positive sense, by concentrating on something else) the occupation problem did not hinder him from taking part in and supporting independence action groups. In 1930, shortly before he became editor of Pulgyo, he formed a secret society called Mandang 凡黨 with a number of young monks from the southern region, but we have little information about the activities of this group.

He did, however, help to establish the Singanhoe
新幹會 (9) in January 1927 and he became a member
of its Seoul executive council in May of the same year. Han
Woo-keun describes the background to the establishment;

"In Korea itself meanwhile the Korean Communist
Party founded at Shanghai was making its influence felt.
The increasing number of labour disputes after 1925 quite
probably arose under its influence and a number of
Communist leaders were arrested by the Japanese. There
were other anti-Japanese movements as well, which
attempted to boycott Japanese manufactured goods, and to
encourage temperance. The Japanese countered this
resistance by allowing the organization of a nationalist
group called Sinkanhoe in 1927, through which they hoped to
keep watch over and render innocuous the resistance
to their rule. By 1929 it had 18 branches and about
37,000 members."(10)

Scalapino and Lee would not entirely agree with that
assessment;

"From the outset it was clear that the Shingan-hoe
was intended as an 'uncompromising' nationalist
organization that would accommodate all elements of the
left. The published programme had to be kept vague in
order to avoid suppression but even here a militant intent
could be discerned;

1. We shall promote political and economic awareness.
2. We shall consolidate unity.
3. We shall deny all opportunism.

Spokesmen for the group, moreover, did not attempt to hide the fact that the Shingan-hoe, having been formed to combat rightist tendencies within the nationalist movement, aimed at the formation of a leftist front."⁽¹¹⁾

We have already seen⁽¹²⁾ that a leading communist, Han Wigon, had persuaded Han Yongun to endorse the communist presence in the association, and although the first president and vice-president were both nationalists, the communist faction became stronger as time went on.

"In its opening years, the Shingan-hoe hewed strongly to a leftist course. Communists occupied a number of important posts, and Marxist themes were prominent in both Shingan-hoe tactics and programmes."⁽¹³⁾

During its existence the association was the only organization which could claim to represent such nationalist voices as existed. However, its effectiveness was open to question;

"The platforms of the Shingan-hoe show that the radical nationalists and communists did not propose any positive formula except that of the consolidation of the people. No articulate social, political, and economic programmes were proposed."⁽¹⁴⁾

The factionalism within the society grew steadily and there was a serious division within the various communist groups as to the value of participating in a united front with the nationalists. After the attempt to turn public feeling regarding the Kwangju student incident of 1929⁽¹⁵⁾ into a national protest along the lines of the Samil uprising was aborted by the authorities and many of the leaders arrested, the left-wing members withdrew from the association. Scalapino and Lee describe the dissolution;

"On May 15, 1931, a Shingan-hoe national conference was opened. It was the first to be allowed by the police since the founding of the organization. Probabilities are very strong that the conference was permitted specifically to allow the proponents of dissolution to administer the coup de grace, thus saving the police the trouble..... Shingan-hoe headquarters' officials fought vigourously to save the organization even attempting to withhold credentials from some of the delegates who favoured dissolution. This failed, however, and on the second day dissolution was approved by a large majority."⁽¹⁶⁾

Han Yongun was one of those who strongly disapproved of the dissolution. An article entitled The movement to disband the Shingan-hoe, *published in Samch'ölli,⁽¹⁷⁾ says;

"I am opposed to the dissolution of the Singanhoe. Since the person who put forward the argument in favour of dissolution has not given a clear and precise explanation
*新幹會解消運動

of the reasons, it is not possible to make a concrete criticism. But, on the other hand if we had at one time clearly recognised the idea of corporate action it would be a better thing if the argument in favour of dissolving the association had not issued from his mouth.

Accepting the hypothesis that some members wish to leave the New Korea Society and carry on the class struggle on their own, even so the truth is they will not be able to achieve on their own what is (after all) one of the very aims of the Singanhoe itself. Because they will not be able to achieve anything at all.

People today have differing views about the association, either they are happy enough about it or they are dissatisfied with it. Those who are dissatisfied with it should strive hard to improve it and not, I believe, do away with it altogether. I will speak at length on this subject when another opportunity arises."

There is no other extended piece of writing on the subject contained in the Complete Works but in an article entitled Prophet after the event⁽¹⁸⁾ he refers to the matter again. He criticizes those who said they knew all along the association would fail. Their non-participation disqualifies them from criticizing those who worked cheerfully for their country without regard to their own personal safety.

His political activity might then be summed up by saying; that while being prepared to fulfil his own mission (of salvation) within the limits imposed by the occupation, he actively supported all independence activity. As part of his spiritual mission he wished to prepare the people for a Korea which would be dominated by an egalitarian through traditional religious philosophy, and would be socialist in organization.

(2)

Later Buddhist Writings.A. The Shih Hsuan Tan;* Discourse on the Ten Mysteries,

dates from Tang dynasty (618-907).⁽¹⁹⁾ It was composed by a monk of the T'ong An 同安 temple in Hungchow 洪州, whose name was Ch'ang Ch'a 常察.

According to Cho Myōnggi 趙明基, in his introduction to the text, "although not a very voluminous work its meaning is profound and abstruse and it has come down to us from olden times, without a great deal of commentary having been done." This seems to be true for I have found it very difficult to discover any information about the original text other than its name and author and the fact that it was commented on by another Tang dynasty monk.⁽²⁰⁾ Ch'ang Ch'a was a Zen disciple and the work is an explanation of the Ten mysteries in the Zen style of question and answer.

In Korea, the original text with the explanation by Ch'ing Liang, was further explained by the famous monk Kim Sisŭp, 1435-1493, in a work entitled Siphyōndam Yohae 十玄談要解, an explanation of the important features of the Discourse on the Ten Mysteries.⁽²¹⁾ The fact that the next commentary on this text was that of Han Yongun almost six hundred years later is testimony to the difficulty of the work and to its relative obscurity.

In his own foreword to his explanation of the text Han Yongun says;

* 十玄談

"In 1925 when I was spending the summer at Oseam temple I happened to read the Discourse on the Ten Mysteries. In the Discourse on the Ten Mysteries, which was written by the Zen Master T'ongan Ch'angch'a, one finds that although the writing is simple and plain the teaching is sometimes abstruse and the person who studies it for the first time finds it difficult to see into its deeper meaning. It is impossible to know who wrote the original explanation that goes with the text⁽²²⁾ but there is also an explanation by Yǒlgyōng 悅卿, which is the given name of Maewǒl Kim Sisǔp 梅月·金時習. This commentary was written when Maewǒl, having turned away from the world and gone into the mountains to become a monk, came to stay at Oseam. Using both of these commentaries one can sufficiently explain the original text but I find that there are some differences between their explanation of the inner meaning, the meaning beyond the words, and my own point of view.

Generally speaking, Maewǒl's philosophical stance is one of rejection of the world, he disappears into the obscurity of the woods and of the clouds. At one moment like a monkey, at another like a crane, he goes his own way undaunted, in defiance of the times, keeping itself undefiled by, and in isolation from, the whole universe. The content (of his philosophy) is sorrow and pain, the feeling of it is one of rejection.

Maewǒl wrote his commentary in Oseam and I read Yǒngyǒl's commentary in Oseam. Since it is some hundreds of years since anybody has come in contact with it I feel that it requires a new explanation. So I myself will make a commentary on the Discourse on the Ten Mysteries."(23)

Han Yongun's commentary was published by the Pōpbohoe 法寶會, the association he had helped to form for the translation and popularization of Buddhist texts, on May 15, 1926.

The format of the text is as follows; there are ten chapters each with eight subsections. Each separate section begins with a statement, this is followed by a question 比 and this in turn by an explanation 註. The whole text is basically an explanation of the concept 心印, literally 'mental impression', which is a term used to describe the intuitive method of the Ch'an (Zen 禪) school for reaching enlightenment independently of the written or spoken word. The first of the ten chapters discusses this concept and the other nine are an explanation of the way in which this method works resulting in enlightenment or a unified understanding. In Han Yongun's version the question and answer system is expressed in the style of Chinese poetry. The following are the ten main chapter headings or statements from the original version which require explanation. The simplicity of the language does conceal a deeper philosophical thought.

- (1) 心印 ; Mind impression. This expression fundamentally refers to the truth (Buddha truth or enlightenment) as it is passed from person to person beginning with the original Buddha.
- (2) 祖意 ; The intention of the patriarchs (particularly Bodhidharma).
- (3) 玄機 ; Lit:the mysterious key. In Buddhist philosophy the character 機 refers to the potential of all things for the attainment of Buddhahood.
- (4) 塵異 ; The dust is (a) different (thing). 'Dust', in Buddhist terms, refers to the world of experience or the objects of perception.
- (5) 演教 ; Exposition of the teaching.
- (6) 達本 ; Reach the origin. Being too attached to external objects we forget our original mind. Discovering this original mind is another Zen way of expressing the search for enlightenment.
- (7) 石皮還錦 ; Balancing (6), this explains that though we have reached Buddhahood this state should not become itself an object of attachment. We go out into the world.
- (8) 轉位 ; Moving one's position or moving on to another stage of perfection.
- (9) 迴機 ; Turning the key. In this chapter the expression refers to the work of preaching. 'Turning the key' means developing the potentiality of others.

(10) 一色 ; One colour. In Buddhist thought this expression refers to the idea that from the point of view of the absolute there is no difference.

In the light of the fact that this is a Zen text, the concept 'shih hsüan 十玄' should be seen more in the light of a method (ten ways of attaining enlightenment 十玄門) and Han Yongun's commentary is really a theory of perception or way of looking on the world. For example, the chapter entitled 破還繩 opens; (24)

批 "Is there not a place that is one's homeland?"

註 Since we say that the end is already an empty thing and that there is no such thing as an essence or root, so to say that we have arrived at the fundamentum or to say that we have come back home is the same as saying last night's dream again."

This example is typical of the Zen question and answer method and the ambiguity of meaning is deliberate.

In fact the concept 'shih hsüan' is an important feature of the Hua-yen 華嚴 (Japanese Kegon) (25) school and the Ten Mysteries are ten principles of metaphysics, the mastering of which is essential to the attainment of Buddhahood. In Garma Chang's account (26) we read;

"The fifth; if we look at the lion (as a lion) there is only lion and no gold. This is the disclosure of the lion but the concealment of the gold. If we look at the gold (as gold), there is only gold and no lion.

This is the disclosure of the gold but the concealment of the lion. If we look at both simultaneously, they are both manifest or hidden. Being hidden they are secret, being manifest they are revealed. This is called the simultaneous establishment of disclosure and concealment in secrecy."

But, like the Zen school, great stress is laid on the importance of Mind , and this is clearly expressed in the tenth mystery;

"The gold and the lion may be manifest or hidden, one or many, but they are both devoid of a self-being (Svabhāva). They manifest in various forms in accordance with the turning and transforming of the Mind This is called the universal accomplishment through the projection of Mind-Only."

The Treatise on the Discourse on the Ten Mysteries, does not fit in to the general pattern of his Buddhist work in that he is dealing with an obscure and unpopular text, Cho Myōnggi poses the question as to why he took on this work in his introduction to Vol. 3 (p.13) and he believes firstly that the very abstruseness and difficulty of the work appealed to Han Yongun and also that he was in sympathy with the feelings of Kim Sisüp, who like himself, had turned his back on the world as a young man. Cho also maintains that Manhae's explanation is easier to understand than either of the two earlier ones but it remains a difficult and inaccessible work.

B. Pulgyo Magazine.

We have already seen when dealing with Yusim magazine, that Han Yongun's name was conspicuously absent from the list of contributors to the various Buddhist magazines controlled by the central authority in Seoul.

Pulgyo 佛教 magazine was the immediate successor to the Chosǒn Pulgyo Ch'ongbo. It began publication in the year 1924, and, according to Im Chungbin⁽²⁷⁾, the magazine was about 84-85 issues old when, in late 1931, Han Yongun took over the editorship and became the director of the Buddhist printing company. The publisher of the magazine was Kwǒn Sangno 權相老 and Manhae's editorship continued for three years until the magazine was withdrawn from publication by the central Buddhist authority.

The period of his editorship of Pulgyo provides a suitable focal point around which to group his later Buddhist writings, because it comes in the middle of the period 1922-1940 and because this magazine was the major outlet for his philosophical essays and his editorship encouraged him to produce a greater amount of social comment (時論) and prose essays than he did at any other time. It is also the time when he was clearly regarded as the representative Buddhist of his generation. In the Complete Works⁽²⁸⁾ we read that in 1932 an election was held to choose a Buddhist representative. In this election (朝鮮佛教代表人物投票) Han Yongun

received 422 votes and the next highest candidate a mere 18. Just what this election was for and who comprised the electorate is not specified.

One should not assume from this, however, that Manhae was now acceptable to the central Buddhist authority. Im Chungbin writes;

"Manhae was director of publication. With his untiring efforts he kept production going for three years and then handed over control to Hō Yǒngho 許永鎬. After Hō, Kim Samdo 金三道 came to be in charge of publication. There were a number of reasons why Pulgyo magazine ran into difficulties, but one obvious reason was the misgivings felt by the central (Buddhist) executive about the way Manhae operated the magazine. Through the medium of this magazine Manhae campaigned for the reform of Buddhism and the development of the people. This resulted in the authorities becoming very uneasy. Their worry was 'Surely the dangerous content of its style of argument will hinder our cause?' the fear that the civil authority would interfere drove the Buddhist administrators into a state of great concern."⁽²⁹⁾

The central authority eventually suspended publication and Im goes on to state that when it came back into publication⁽³⁰⁾ it adopted a pro-colonial stance, so much so that Han Yongun ceased to contribute to it after a short time. This impression is not accurate. In point

of fact, Han Yongun was editor of the new publication until 1938, and according to the chronology in the Complete Works, Vol. 6,⁽³¹⁾ he was still writing for the magazine in February, 1940.

However, Im's criticism of the central authority is essentially correct and confirms the inference I made in the last chapter concerning the absence of his work from the early Buddhist magazines. Despite his popularity within the Buddhist community and in the country at large, his views (either on the reform of Buddhism or on political and social matters) were not acceptable to the central authority.

Han Yongun's own account of the suspension and republication of the magazine (as Pulgyo Sin 佛教新) is contained in two articles, the first entitled On the publication of 'Pulgyo',⁽³²⁾ and the second 'Pulgyo' Past and Future.⁽³³⁾ These accounts are not only interesting from the historical point of view but they give us a very clear idea of his attitude to the central Buddhist authority and the importance he attached to the magazine as a vehicle for the reform of Korean Buddhism and a means of reaching a wider audience.

In the first article he begins with a brief history of the magazines before Pulgyo. The very first of these was the Wonjong Chapchi 圓宗雜誌 but it only ran for two numbers. Coming to Pulgyo itself he says that while its value as an organ of the whole Korean

Buddhist world was clear and should not be undervalued, the fact that a religion with 1500 years of history about 1000 temples, nearly 10,000 monks tens of thousands in property, and hundreds of thousands of followers, should have only one representative magazine was a clear sign of the poor faith and the lack of drive of contemporary Korean Buddhism.

With regard to the suspension of publication he says;

"When people generally discuss the reasons why Pulgyo ceased publication, they say that the one and only reason was financial trouble. While the so-called financial problems were a major cause, the underlying reason, which most people cannot see, was the uneasiness the authorities felt about the content of Pulgyo. The reasons for its being withdrawn were, therefore, twofold; the financial problems and the misgivings of the authorities.

What, first of all, was this so-called 'financial crisis'? From its inception Pulgyo magazine was run by the official Buddhist bureau for religious affairs and was entirely their responsibility. Then in 2908 (1931)* according to the Buddhist calendar, again because of financial problems the religious affairs bureau decided to make the Buddhist Publishing Company (佛教社), which they had managed until then, independent, promising

* 辛未

some small monetary subsidy. Because of this, Kwǒn Sangno, director of the Buddhist Publishing Company for many years, resigned and the management of the company was entrusted to the present writer. After it had been under a form of independent control for one year, it again came under the direct control of the bureau for religious affairs and in the following year* it was entrusted to the management of the central bureau of religious affairs (not the original bureau), which was set up as an organ of the newly formed alliance (of the Sōn and Kyo sects 禪教兩宗).

Although the amalgamated central bureau of religious affairs had been set up as a representative body by the consent of the whole Korean Buddhist world, it was unable to fulfil its original promise, and, due to a lack of any real effectiveness, it was not able to handle the management of even this one magazine. However, Pulgyo's suspension of publication is not the responsibility of this central bureau. Rather was it the fact, that due to the circumstances of the time, the official Buddhist bureau for religious affairs rejected the responsibility for managing Pulgyo, and as a result of their central council wishing to separate itself from anything to do with Pulgyo, they tragically entrusted its control to the new Sōn-Kyo central bureau. So, although they may protest about a "financial crisis" due to the circumstances of that

*This was 1933 two years before the actual formation of the amalgamated Chogyechong. See above p. 23.

time, the Korean Buddhist world certainly did not lack the material means for publishing one magazine, nor did the official authority have any reason at all for discontinuing publication. The simple fact about the demise of Pulgyo is that it was sacrificed to the miscalculated negative policy of reducing existing commitments."(34)

I find this passage interesting for two reasons; firstly, the fact that he was able to express his views so freely and so critically in an official Buddhist magazine would seem to indicate that his personal status (he was, of course, by now a senior figure at the age of 58) was very high; and secondly, for the insight it gives into the state of the organization of Buddhism at this time. The spirit of a common purpose which Han Yongun had advocated so strongly in the Essay on Renewal, had clearly not materialized. It is interesting also to read in this essay that the newly published Pulgyo Sin was produced by the three major temples of the region of Kyōngnam in the south, T'ongdosa 通度寺, Haeinsa 海印寺 and Pōmōsa 梵魚寺 .(35)

With regard to the opposition of the central authority to the content of the magazine he says;

"From its inception the content of Pulgyo consisted mainly of news reflecting the viewpoint of the General Buddhist world and its aim was to spread religious teaching. Then in 1931 when the Buddhist Publishing

Company took on a form of independence and the editorship changed (Han Yongun became editor), from this time on the content of the magazine became reformist, campaigned for the separation of religion from the state and carried items which did not reflect credit on the general Buddhist world."(36)

He accepts full responsibility for the content of the magazine and therefore for its ceasing to be published, but it is obvious from his remarks about the new magazine and the fact that its sponsors were the southern temples that he regarded the unity of the Buddhist world as an urgent need and he also thought it essential that the Buddhist world should have more than one journal of communication with the general society. He ends this article by saying;

"That the writer who wrote the closing words at the time of the suspension of publication, should now be writing about the republication of Pulgyo magazine as a deep and emotional event."(37)

The second article goes over much the same ground but in it he reveals that even after its republication it only ran for twenty issues before having to cease publication again. This time reasons were neither financial nor the absence of a suitable person to manage it. How it came to cease publication is "incomprehensible".(38)

So, he concludes, the story of its past cannot make one hopeful for the future and the situation whereby one cannot be sure of being able to publish makes for great uncertainty. The heart of the problem is the way in which the financial arrangements for the magazine are made. A budget is assigned to it on a yearly basis. The remedy for this is for the temples to make the magazine completely independent by giving it an endowment. He ends with the hope that this will happen. (39)

From all this we see that he was intensely interested in Pulgyo and this is reflected in the great volume of writing he contributed to it.

His writing for Pulgyo can best be examined under two categories; (1) Essays and articles on Buddhism; (2) Commentaries on the times 时論。 He also contributed poems and other miscellaneous essays to Pulgyo but these are better examined in a separate section because this kind of writing appeared in other magazines as well and also because it is better considered in a literary context than in the context of Buddhist philosophy.

(1) Essays and Articles on Buddhism.

Having already discussed at some length Han Yongun's philosophical views, it is unnecessary at this point to examine the content of these articles in detail. It will suffice to give a brief review of their subject matter and

I will single out those which have a special relevance to the viewpoint of this thesis and which show the development of his thinking since the Essay on Renewal.

These articles are collected together in the Complete Works (40) with the general title Buddhist Essay Collection and they are further grouped under three headings. The collection totals 51 articles written over a period of ten years (1931-1940).

(a) The Way Forward For Korean Buddhism*.

In this category there are 26 articles, including the two we have just examined relating to the magazine itself. These articles fully bear out Han Yongun's claim that under his editorship the magazine took on a reformist tone. The titles; e.g., On the society for the renewal of Buddhism (p.132); Separate religion from the State (p.134); Unite Korean Buddhism (p.145); Essay on the Reform of Korean Buddhism (p.150); Destroy the present system (p.169); Establish the authority of the religion (p.183); Buddhist youth action (p.206); On the Buddhist Youth Society (p.200); reveal clearly that he continued striving to implement the reforms he had suggested in the Yusinnon.

In this section his article, Separate religion from the state** is particularly interesting in the light of Buddhism's past .. under the Yi dynasty and even into

*朝鮮佛教의進路. Vol.2, p.p.130-234.

**政·敎是 分立하라

modern times (i.e., post liberation Korea) its relationship with successive governments has never been adequately defined. Han Yongun sees the role of religion and government as entirely separate. Government deals with the running of society, with the outward behaviour and practical affairs, while religion, transcending space and relationships deals with the spiritual world. The two can assist each other but when they interfere with each other or are forcibly interrelated nothing but trouble results.⁽⁴¹⁾ He gives as evidence for his argument a series of references to the constitutions of 23 countries (e.g. America, France, Sweden, Norway, Italy, Mexico, Austria, Japan, Russia and China) and he ends by suggesting a possible method for separating religion and state in Korea.⁽⁴²⁾

(b) Religion in Modern Times*

In this section there are ten articles dealing with; Indian Buddhism (p.236); The present state of Chinese Buddhism (p.237); Thai Buddhism (p.204); Modern American Religion (p.261); Religious activity in the new Russia (p.265); The religion of Nazi Germany (p.267); The anti-religious movements (p.276); Reflections on the state of religion in the world (p.272). One striking difference in these articles from the way in which he wrote about Western philosophy in the Essay on Renewal is that his knowledge of the western world has greatly increased and there seem to be more direct sources of information available to him.

* 現代宗教。 Vol.2, p.p.235-285.

A good example of this is the article Modern American Religion, which is an account of the development of America based on a French sociologist named Siegfried. In this article Han Yongun reveals a far more subtle understanding of the differing points of view of the various Christian groups (e.g., Calvinism, Lutheranism) and their social philosophies, than he did in the Essay on Renewal. Similarly, in the article The religion of Nazi-Germany, he reveals a deep interest in and knowledge of the religious controversy which followed on Hitler's takeover of power.

"The victory of Hitler who was a nationalist and of his Nazi party, looked at from the standpoint of their view of the world, was a victory for nationalism. From the day Hitler seized power, January 30, 1933, government, economic administration, education, law, in every single aspect of society, an inevitable reconstruction is going on with nationalism as its base." (43)

He discusses at some length the divisions within the Christian churches and their resistance to the new religion and also how the Jewish religion is regarded by the proponents of the new religion as "anti-Aryan". He then sets out in detail the 25 definitions of the new national religion according to Bergman.

"The religious point of view, which we see expressed in these 25 definitions is this-worldly, realistic and rational, and it challenges religion inspired by foreign

culture which stresses the salvation of the individual."⁽⁴⁴⁾

He is interested in the corporate notion of the race and the prosperity of the 'whole people', the stress on heroism and the fact that this religion rejects the idea, which is not only held by Christianity of a divine revelation which 'runs contrary to the truth of natural science'. He also finds interesting the elements of mysticism and Zen which he finds expressed in Bergman's view.

However, his attitude to the growing persecution of religion world-wide is best expressed in two articles; On the anti-religious movements (no record of publication); and Communism and its anti-religious mentality; (Pulgyo Sin, March, 1938). In both these articles he attacks especially the communist point of view, while it is clear that he is in sympathy with the ideals of communism in the social sphere.

His central argument⁽⁴⁵⁾ is that religious belief is one of man's basic instincts and that ultimately it cannot be suppressed. Just as water spreads out when it is obstructed⁽⁴⁶⁾ so, even though it may be temporarily suppressed, religion goes deeper into the mind if it is persecuted. Even in Russia religion remains and there are signs that it is reviving. "Religion is eternal and never-ending. For the movement to eradicate religion to succeed it would have to leave the world of living things."⁽⁴⁷⁾ The second article examines the religious history of Russia and the aftermath of the October

revolution, concluding again that there is still a significant number of religious groups and "countless thousands" of religious believers. In his opinion its future is secure.

(c) The Truth of Buddhism*

This consists of fifteen articles from various sources including Pulgyo and the articles are all concerned with different aspects of Buddhist doctrine. From the point of view of his personal life the article The Buddhism I believe in (p.288) and The Mind of Buddha (p.291) (an interview with Samch'ölli magazine). We have already examined this interview in connection with his later political views and seen how in it he expresses his social philosophy as 'Buddhist Socialism'. In The Buddhism I believe in,⁽⁴⁸⁾ he gives three reasons for his adherence to the Buddhist faith; (i) the Buddhist concept of the 'self' 自我 , which defines the individual not as a unique, isolated and independent identity but in relation to all things (物) which together strive to reach Buddhahood; (ii) the doctrine of equality which is the fundamental inference from this definition; and (iii) Buddhism resolves the contradiction in the burning question of the times between idealism and materialism through the concept of Buddha nature and leads to the kind of social action which is described as altrusim and mutual care.

* 佛教의眞理 . Vol.2, p.p.287-348.

These three divisions of his Buddhist writing give us a clear idea of his continuing philosophical development along the lines expressed in the Yusinnon and provide the framework for understanding the Siron which are another aspect of his contribution to Pulgyo.

(2) Commentaries on the Times.*

"Commentaries" is a rather extravagant title for what really amounts to jottings. They represent a miscellany of news items, short comments on current events, humour etc., and they have no unifying theme. Taken together they cover the period from 1931-1937.

The first series⁽⁴⁹⁾ entitled 開葛藤 Hangaltung, ** first began to appear in October 1931 and ended in September, 1932. The series did not run continuously in every issue. There is a large gap from December, 1931 to April, 1932, but whether this was deliberate or whether the intervening pieces have been lost I have not been able to discover.

This series begins with an item regarding the flooding of the Yangste river (an estimated million dead) which would seem to justify the title of the series, but in the same grouping (there are eight items in this October issue) there is a story about women monks in Japan and its possible implications for Korea, a story concerning the punishment of children by making them chant prayers to the accompaniment of the wooden block used to beat time,

* 時論

** The meaning of this title is unclear.

and a story about the Tripitaka collection at Haeinsa temple. The rest of the series is in this vein, continuing reports on the persecution of religion in Russia, Spain, Mexico, India; stories of developments in Buddhism or of interesting pieces of news to the ordinary believer (e.g., from the item in the May, 1932 issue regarding a plan to print Buddhist sutras or the discovery of a third century Sanskrit Buddhist text in Kashmir (April, 1932).

The second Siron is entitled 漫話 or Sketches and this appeared in only two issues, August and September 1931. It is in a somewhat different format from Hangaltung in that its separate items are untitled⁽⁵⁰⁾ but the content is just as varied. One of the items (no.12) refers to the foundation of a Buddhist association in London (1924) and Paris (1928). He specifies the aims of these associations as the study of Buddhism with a special emphasis on science and philosophy, and he ends with the ironic comment "I don't know, perhaps the Korean Buddhist world will take as its special field of study some aspect of Buddhism."⁽⁵¹⁾

The third series 山莊寸墨 Occasional writing from a mountain retreat, first appeared in October, 1937. This series consists of slightly longer articles than in the others, with a heavy emphasis on the anti-religious movement, the question of atheism, the rise of movements for peace (e.g., May 16, World Peace Day - July 1932, issue (p.299). His special interest in Russia, America

and Germany is apparent in all three series and nowhere more than in Occasional writing.

In conclusion then one can say that the period of his connection with Pulgyo magazine is the time when he produced the greatest volume of prose essays. His dominant interest is clearly his religious beliefs and their propagation and we have seen clearly how his reformist stance remained unchanged. His interest in the western world is one he shared with many of his contemporaries but one is struck by the variety of his interests.

(3)

Other Buddhist Works.

- (a) The History of Kōnbongsa and its associated subordinate temples.*

Kōnbongsa was one of the oldest temples in Korea dating from the year 520, which is only seven years before the time when Buddhism was recognised as the official religion of the Silla kingdom. It was built in the southern area of the Diamond Mountains, in Kosōng county, Kangwōn province, by the Chinese monk A-Tao , who was said to be responsible for the building of many temples during this period in Korea. It was originally called Wōngaksa 圓覺寺 . In 937 (Koryō times) while it was being repaired by a certain Tosōnpōpsa 道詵 法師, he renamed it Sōbongsa 西鳳寺 , and it finally came to be called Kōnbongsa in the year 1358, by the monk Na'ong 懶翁 . King Sejo 世祖 1417-1468, built his own special places of worship there. In 1878, it was partly burned in a mountain fire and in 1929, Yi Taeryōn became its chief priest. He commissioned Han Yongun to collate the archives and the books in its collection. He did this because, as he says in his introduction to the work;

"The incompleteness of the history of Korean temples is a common failing. There are some fragmentary records but these are not systematic and since these are not unified, rather than saying the history is incomplete, we

* 乾鳳寺 及 乾鳳寺末寺 史蹟 . See introduction to Complete Works, Vol.4, p.p.2-3.

should say that there simply is no history of Korean temples. Since, for the most part, the history of the temples is the history of Buddhism itself, then any shortcomings in the history of temples is a shortcoming in the history of Buddhism."(52)

Han Yongun's account consists of a year by year account of the history and the collection of texts of both the main temple and its subordinate temples, according to the Buddhist calendar (based on the birthday of Sākyamuni), and using the original archive material of each temple. Appended to the text is a supplement giving an up-to-date account of each temple and its property.

As the introduction⁽⁵³⁾ points out, since Kōnbongsa was completely destroyed in the Korean War his record of the temples history and its collection of books has become an invaluable source for the historian of Korean Buddhism. It was first published as a free guide to the temple in 1928.

(b) The Historic Find at Ansim Temple.⁽⁵⁴⁾

According to Han Yongun,⁽⁵⁵⁾ in 1931 the only extant text out of the many Buddhist works in Hangeul which King Sejong had made as part of his introduction of the new alphabet, was his own collection of songs, the Wörinch'ōngangok 月印千江曲, from various T'ang sources celebrating the great deeds of Buddha.

He was discussing the matter with some of his colleagues, particularly a certain Han Sangun 韓相芸 who was interested in the subject and who had travelled far and wide in search of these Hangŭl wood blocks, and in the course of the conversation learned that there was a constant tradition that some of these blocks were in Ansimsa 安心寺, in Chonju province. Han Yongun went there to look for them in July, 1931, and he describes how he found them after searching through some two thousand wood blocks, which he found under the floor behind an altar in the altar room of the temple, and which were simply piled up in no particular order. He describes how he sorted through the wood blocks one by one, hardly conscious of the laboriousness of the task. He continued searching until late the following evening until he found the Hangŭl wood blocks. He calls this the 'greatest moment of his life.' (56)

What he discovered was three separate plates as follows;

- 1) 圓覺經 The Enlightenment Sutra, a Zen text; one plate containing twelve pages.
- 2) 金剛經 The Famous 'Diamond Sutra'; one plate containing four pages.
- 3) 恩重經 A sutra on the 'heavy indebtedness to parents'; one plate containing eleven pages.

The Diamond sūtra belongs to the Prajñāpāramitā category - the Sūtras of Transcendental Wisdom.⁽⁵⁷⁾ It is the most famous of the wisdom books.⁽⁵⁸⁾ The wisdom (enlightenment) books go back as far as the first century B.C. and all schools of Mahayana Buddhism are based on them. It is from here that the concept of the 'Void 空 (śūnya)' comes, and the perception of this reality by wisdom (prajñā), the organ of intuitive knowledge, is the cause of enlightenment (bodhi).

Han Yongun clearly felt that the discovery of these blocks was an important moment not only from the point of view of Buddhist history, but in the national context they were invaluable as a record of the work of the great Sejong. He called them a 'national treasure' and felt that they should be removed from Ansimsa where they could not be adequately protected.⁽⁵⁹⁾ In the later article he describes their printing in 1932.

(c) The Vimalakīrti Sūtra*.

According to the chronology appended to the Complete Works⁽⁶⁰⁾ Han Yongun began work on a translation of the Vimalakīrti Sūtra in 1933. It was intended as a translation and a commentary in mixed script as the title of his own work implies.⁽⁶¹⁾ The work was never completed so there is no preface to explain his own interest in this sutra. However, despite the fact that it was never completed or published in his own time, a brief look at the sutra is warranted because it confirms his interest in a

* 維摩詰所說經； Korean; Yumahil sosölgylóng.

Buddhism which speaks to the ordinary man living in a complex world.

Heinrich Dumoulin⁽⁶²⁾ says;

"Nowhere are the spirit and doctrine of Mahayana expressed more attractively than in the Vimalakirti Sūtra.

..... The central figure is the pious householder, Vimalakirti, who, without having been ordained a monk, attained a high degree of enlightenment as a layman, and throughout his career consistently lived the Bodhisattva life. Whether this person is historical or fictitious or only fictitious we do not know. This sūtra ministers to lay Buddhism as developed in Mahayana and demonstrates the universal character of the Buddhist way of salvation.⁽⁶³⁾

Its doctrinal content differs very little from the other Mahayana sūtras. Because of its strong emphasis on enlightenment, Zen devotees have always been attracted to it."

Dumoulin also points out⁽⁶⁴⁾ that;

"The language of this sutra is concrete and impressive. Spiced with analogies and examples, it is particularly impressive to the layman, who learns that the way of enlightenment can be pursued in ordinary, everyday life. Everything depends on the proper spiritual state."

Han Yongun's method was to quote the original Chinese version of the sūtra, then give a translation followed by an explanation of difficult terms and concepts. In the

selection of photographs which form the frontispiece for Volume 3, there is an illustration of his original work which shows the very first page of the translation and commentary.

I will end this section by quoting from the English version of this sūtra⁽⁶⁵⁾ in order to give some idea of the flavour and the earthiness of the original. The following is part of a description of Vimalakīrti;

"..... though living at home, yet never desirous of anything; though possessing a wife and children, always exercising pure virtues; though surrounded by his family, holding aloof from worldly pleasures; though using the jewelled ornaments of the world, yet adorned with spiritual splendour; though eating and drinking, yet enjoying the flavour of the rapture of meditation; though frequenting the gambling house⁽⁶⁶⁾ yet leading the gamblers to the right path; though coming into contact with heresy never letting his true faith be impaired; though having a profound knowledge of worldly learning, yet never finding pleasure in things of the spirit as taught by Buddha."

We have no idea how long Manhae spent on this translation and commentary nor what circumstances led to his not completing it but it seems rather a pity that his first attempt at rendering a sūtra into Hangŭl translation (perhaps inspired by his find at Ansimsa?) was never concluded.

Footnotes to Chapter Six.

- (1) Meaning 'the creation'. This magazine was produced by the Ch'ondogyo and appeared monthly from June 25, 1920. The publisher was Yi Tusǒng 李斗星 and the editor was Yi Tonhwa 李敦化, 1884-?. See Han Yongun's congratulatory article on its tenth anniversary, Complete Works, Vol. 2, p.365.
- (2) Complete Works, Vol. 1, p.100.
- (3) Kim Pyongik, Han'guk Mundansa, a history of Korean literary circles, Seoul, 1973, p.p.113-119.
- (4) Im Chungbin, op.cit. (Manhae, Han Yongun) p.p.309-318.
- (5) Except for the anecdotes collected in Vol.6, p.p.
- (6) 法寶; a Buddhist term which means the store-house of all truth i.e., the sutras. See Soothill & Hodous, p.269.
- (7) Words in brackets my insertion.
- (8) One of the difficulties in translating this essay is that the author uses the word 'kot'ong' throughout. In this sentence I think the rendering 'persecution' is justified.

- (9) See Han Woo-keun, p.p.485-488; Scalapino and Lee, Vol. 1, p.p.100-136; Dae-Sook Suh, chapters 4-5 passim; Lee Changsik, chapter 13.
- (10) Op.cit. p.485.
- (11) Op.cit. p.101.
- (12) Above, p.147.
- (13) Scalapino & Lee, op.cit. p.114.
- (14) Ibid, p.255. Lee, (footnote 30 to ch.13) says; "Literally Shinganhoe means 'New Trunk Society' ('trunk' as of a tree). Cho Pyōn-ok says that the intention was to call the organization Shinhanhoe (New Korea Society) but it was decided that 'han' (Korea) would be too obvious..... Shinganhoe & Shinhanhoe are pronounced the same way in Japanese 'Shinkankai'.
- (15) Han Woo-keun, op.cit. p.487. Scalapino & Lee, op.cit. p.116.
- (16) Op.cit. p.119.
- (17) Complete Works, Vol. 1, p.380.
- (18) 事後の先見 . Vol. 1, p.p.218ff.
- (19) See Dictionary of Buddhism (Chinese text); compiled by Ting Fu-Pao, in 16 volumes, Shanghai 1921, Vol. 1, p.222. See also the introduction to the Complete Works, Vol. 3, p.p.12-13.

- (20) See the Ch'eng-kuan 澄觀 p.733-839. The monks' name was Ching Liang. 清涼
- (21) See Maewǒl, Kim Sisǔp Yǒngu by Chǒng Chudong 鄭鉉東, Seoul 1965, p.396. Kim Sisǔp is most famous for his Hanmun novel Kumō Sinhwa 金鰲新話 which has been translated into Korean by Yi Kawǒn 李家源, Seoul, 1965. See also the Han'guk Inmyǒng Taesajǒn, Seoul, 1967, p.127, for a biographical sketch of Kim Sisǔp.
- (22) Presumably it is that of Ching Liang 清涼.
- (23) See Complete Works, Vol. 3, p.335. His commentary is written in Chinese and translated into Hangǔl. The translator's name is not given. The title of Han Yongun's work is An Explanation of The Discourse on The Ten Mysteries 十玄談註解, Vol. 3, p.p.335-364.
- (24) Complete Works, Vol. 3, p.354.
- (25) See The Buddhist Teaching of Totality (the philosophy of Hwa-Yen Buddhism) by Garma C.C. Chang, Pennsylvania, 1971, esp. p.p.228-230 where the Ten Mysteries are given in full.
- (26) Ibid, p.p.228-229; This is a translation of On the Golden Lion by Fa Tsang 法藏 643-712.
- (27) Op.cit. p.354.

- (28) Vol. 6, p.388.
- (29) Op.cit. p.354.
- (30) March 1, 1937. See Kim Künsu, Han'guk chapchi kaegwan mit hobyol mokcha chip; the contents listing for Pulgyo.
- (31) See p.390.
- (32) Pulgyo-Sin, No.3, May 1937. See the Complete Works, Vol. 2, p.p.229-232; <佛教> 繼刊에 대하여
- (33) Ibid, No. 21, February, 1940. Complete Works, Vol. 2, p.p.232-234; <佛教>의 過去와 未來
- (34) Vol. 2, p.239.
- (35) Ibid, p.231.
- (36) Ibid, p.230.
- (37) Ibid, p.232.
- (38) Ibid, p.233.
- (39) Ibid, p.234.
- (40) Vol. 2, p.p.127-348.
- (41) Ibid, p.134.
- (42) Ibid, p.p.143-144.
- (43) Ibid, p.267. This article appeared in Pulgyo, May 1, 1937.

- (44) Ibid, p.271.
- (45) Ibid, p.p.278-280.
- (46) Ibid, p.285.
- (47) Ibid, p.281; the concluding sentence of the first article.
- (48) First sppeared in Kaebyǒk magazine, March 1924.
- (49) Complete Works, Vol. 1, p.p.288-307.
- (50) In Hangaltung also, not all the items originally had titles. Some of these were added by the editors of the Complete Works. See note p.290.
- (51) Complete Works, Vol. 1, p.311.
- (52) Vol. 4, p.235. Han Yongun's authors introduction is on page 236.
- (53) Ibid, p.3.
- (54) The two articles relating to this are grouped together in the Complete Works, Vol. 4, p.p.336-343. The first, the story of and description of the find appeared in both Pulgyo (Sept. 1931) and Samch'õlli (Oct. 1935); and the second regarding the printing of the wood blocks appeared in Pulgyo (Jan. 1933).
- (55) Ibid, p.336 & p.340.

- (56) Ibid, p.338. This article is very well written. I will discuss it again in the context of his literary work. The blocks and their contents are described in detail on the same page.
- (57) See Heinrich Dumoulin, A History of Zen Buddhism. London, 1963, p.p.33-38.
- (58) Ibid, p.p.93-94. See also Garma Chang, op.cit. esp. p.254.
- (59) Vol. 4, p.339.
- (60) See Vol. 6, p.389.
- (61) Yumahil Sosölgyöng Kangüi (講義). Complete Works, Vol. 3, p.p.251-331.
- (62) Op.cit. p.p.42-43.
- (63) My emphasis.
- (64) Ibid, p.44. My emphasis.
- (65) Translation by Hohei Idzumi, The Eastern Buddhist, Vol. 3, (1924-1925), p.38. There is also a more recent English translation by Charles Luk, London, 1972.
- (66) Han Yongun's translation (Vol. 3, p.270). 'Even though he gambled at 'paduk' and 'changgi'"

CHAPTER SEVEN

1922 - 1944

(2)

The literary output of Han Yongun falls into three categories;

(1) Poetry

- (a) Chinese poetry
- (b) Sijo
- (c) Modern verse

(2) Novels

(3) Essays.

In an unpublished thesis entitled The Nimui Ch'immuk
(Your Silence) of Han Yongun, A Korean Poet⁽¹⁾ Sammy Solberg
 remarks on the difficulty of forming a clear theory of the
 poet's development due to the inadequate dating of his
 poetry.

"The chronology of his poetry is confused, while there
 has been some speculation on the dating of manuscript poems
 not included in Your Silence, it would be impossible at
 this point to even suggest the development of the poet on
 the basis of the texts available. The new manuscript
 poems published in Wolgan Munhak over the past year,⁽²⁾
 some of which are claimed to be mainly from the period
 following the appearance of Your Silence, would on the face
 of it appear either to have preceded it or been discarded
 which the poet found inconsistent with the general
 development of his work. His sijo present another problem
 which is not considered here."⁽³⁾

This was written four years before the Complete Works of Han Yongun appeared in 1974. However, the Complete Works does not give us an adequate chronological arrangement of his poetic work, nor do any of the introductory remarks try to trace this development. There are photographs of the original manuscript⁽⁴⁾ of his Chinese verse but no date is given for these. Another example is the section entitled Scattered Poems from the Simujang⁽⁵⁾ which contains 19 poems in the modern idiom. The last poem in this collection is the poem Mind 心 (p.90) which was first published in Yusim magazine in the first issue, September, 1918, and it is preceded by the poem Rain and Wind which appeared in the "August, 1932" number of Pulgyo. So the title of this collection (referring to the name of the house he built after his remarriage in 1933) does not reveal anything about the chronological sequence of his writing. Similarly, the collection of 32 sijo with the general title 'State of Reflection' 禪境 begins with a poem entitled Simujang 牛莊 (the villa where I search for the ox)⁽⁶⁾, which was presumably written after he came to live there. But again the final poem in this collection, Plant the Hibiscus is attributed to the time when he was in prison and the second poem in the collection, Dream on an autumn night 秋夜夢 (p.92) seems to me to be the poetry of a young man.

When it comes to the novels, most people begin from the publication of the novel Black Wind, 1935-36, and little attention is paid to the short, unpublished novel Death which he completed on October 24, 1924, two years before

the publication of The Silence of 'Nim'.⁽⁷⁾ This questions the theory advanced by Paek Ch'ol 白鐵⁽⁸⁾ that Han Yongun turned from the writing of poetry to novels after a lapse of almost ten years (i.e., between the publication of The Silence of 'Nim' and the publication of Black Wind in 1935).

The Chinese poems are collected under the title Daybreak in a Mountain Cottage and contain 163 poems. These too are not dated but we can assume from the fact that Chinese poetry is such a characteristic accomplishment of Zen monks, and that he studied Chinese classical poetry when he was in Japan (above p.27), that he was writing this kind of poetry from the very beginning of his life as a monk. However, it is possible to date some of the poems, either from their previous publication in either Yusim or Pulgyo, from the dates the author himself supplies, or from internal evidence. I have divided this final chapter into three sections representing the threefold classification of his literary work. Since The Silence of 'Nim' has already received extensive critical attention, this classification will enable me to pay particular attention to the sijo and the novels.

(1)

Poetrya) Chinese Verse

The 163 Chinese poems in the collection Daybreak in
李元燮·Cottage⁽⁹⁾ have been translated by Yi Wonsöp
李元燮. In this collection the subject matter ranges from commemorative pieces (death, a significant event) to the expression of one's moment of enlightenment (大悟) and the celebration of nature. The use of this particular form (lines are made up of groups of either 5 or 7 characters) is characteristic of Buddhism and he has written his explanation of the Shih Hsüan Tan in this form. Since I am not expert in the structure or syntax of classical verse nor fluent in reading it, I must content myself here with presenting two of the poems, relying heavily on the Korean translation. The first poem is the one which gives the anthology its title.

DAYBREAK IN A MOUNTAIN COTTAGE⁽¹⁰⁾

As I awake,
Lo, outside my window
The flying snow has
Covered in the whole mountain.
As day begins to dawn
The little village house is
Snug,
Like a picture.
In the beauty of the scene
Rushing on me like a stream in spate,
Might I forget even my illness

The second poem refers to the moment when he received his enlightenment. Sō Kyōngbo has described this moment in the lives of other Zen masters who were contemporaries of Han Yongun. A striking feature of many of these poems is the way in which the subject matter of the poem does not bear any relation to the incident which triggered off the ultimate moment of perception. Speaking of the enlightenment of the Zen master, Man-gong (this was the Buddhist name of Paek Yongsōng (above p.117), Sō Kyōngbo says;

"Kyōngbo gave him the following ko-an to practice on;
 'The ten thousand dharmas return to the
 One,
 Where does the one return.'

Man-gong meditated on this ko-an day and night for many years. At last, when he was in Pong-oh-sa Temple in Onyang-gun, South Ch'ungch'ōng Province, he sat facing the wall meditating on this ko-an for several days, forgetting to eat and sleep. Then one night when he opened his eyes the wall had disappeared, and there was only a single bright circle of light like moonlight. Early that morning he heard the monk chanting as he rang the temple bells: 'The triple world, all Buddhas, everything is created by only One Mind'. On hearing this chant Man-gong was abruptly enlightened. He clapped his hands and laughed and sang the following song of enlightenment;

'The true nature of empty mountains is
beyond the millions of years of past and future

White cloud, cool wind come and go by
themselves endlessly.

Why did Bodhidharma come to China?

The rooster cries before dawn and then
The sun rises over the horizon.'⁽¹¹⁾

In Han Yongun's case, he was living at Oseam and in
the introduction to the poem he is careful to note not
only the year (1917) the day(third), the month (twelfth)
but also the time (about ten o'clock at night). He says
the sound of something falling in the wind caused his
"doubtful heart" to become purified and clear and he
wrote a poem.⁽¹²⁾

If you call yourself a man
No matter where you go, you are at home.
Why then are you entangled in
The homesickness of those few people?

One great roar,
And the whole world shudders.

Here and there in the snow
The peach-blossom grows red.

This poem consists of four 'lines', each of seven characters and only in the third line do we find anything suggestive of the moment of his enlightenment when the sound of something falling in the wind startled his mind into clarity. The poem is full of Buddhist conceptions. The first line is reminiscent of the Shih Hsüan Tan; achieving enlightenment is like returning to one's native place but even that homeland is 'destroyed' in the very moment of possessing it. The enlightened one is not content with his own awareness but must 'turn the key' for the people still sunk in ignorance and the cycle of birth and death. The enlightened one is at home everywhere, an idea which echoes the strong plea he has made in the Yusinnon for the monkhood to abandon the silent vastnesses of the mountains and come like Buddha or Jesus into the middle of the human throng to save. Again, nothing is permanent, everything changes. Already in the midst of the blanket of snow the peach-blossom begins to redden, a sign that spring will soon make the snow disappear.

There are many examples in English literature of poets who, like Wordsworth or Gerald Manley Hopkins, have perceived in nature a divine or mystical presence.

"A single field which I have looked upon
Both of them speak of something that is gone.

The pansy at my feet
Doth the same tale repeat;

Whither is fled the visionary gleam
Where is it now, the glory and the dream."(13)

But the Buddhist conception is entirely different from this. For Wordsworth or Hopkins, no matter how splendid and redolent with mystery the natural world is, man remains at the centre of the picture, the crown of creation. Man's history is all important. Garma Chang stresses what he calls the 'trans-historical' nature of Buddhism;

".... the Buddhist view on history is extremely flexible and all-inclusive. Since its outlook is neither god-centred nor man-centred nor earth-centred, but rather oriented upon a basis of an infinite variety of universes and sentient beings, it does not and cannot set a definite pattern which history must follow. The Buddhist view of history is, therefore, entirely fluid and open to all possibilities."(14)

Enlightenment or Buddhahood is not, then, the exclusive right of man but is the goal of every sentient being and this is the basis of the theory of the transmigration of souls and the view that from the point

of view of the absolute or void there is "no difference", or as expressed more poetically in the Shih Hsüan Tan, there is "one colour". The events of the natural would take on an even greater significance. In one of the poems in The Silence of 'Nim', Han Yongun stated this idea clearly. (15)

"A single blade of grass becomes a golden Buddha
sixteen feet tall," (16)

And a golden Buddha sixteen feet tall becomes

A single blade of grass.

The whole universe is one nest,

Its myriad creatures the same 'small bird.'

I have seen the life of man reflected

In the mirror of nature."

Chinese verse would seem to be the perfect vehicle for expressing the mysterious paradox of the Zen practice where the unity of opposites must be resolved not by the writer but by the perception of the reader. The writer's vision is expressed in the words but the words are unable to carry it. As we shall see, the use of paradox and striking contrast (e.g., the poem The Touch of Your Hand 'nimüi songil' p.57), is a special feature of The Silence of 'Nim', and for this reason one feels that the Chinese poetry deserves greater attention than it has received, or that I am able to give it. For it reveals how practised the poet had already become in the.

use of contrast and metaphors from the world of nature and it helps us also to understand that while being a radical reformist (both in religious and social terms) his thoughts and vision remain rooted in a tradition which stretches back through several centuries.

b) Sijo

We have seen that the collection of sijo 時調, State of Reflection⁽¹⁷⁾ is not arranged in chronological sequence, which makes it impossible to see clear lines of poetic development, but which does not hinder us from recognising his mastery of this form.

The sijo is a uniquely Korean form which dates from the fifteenth century.⁽¹⁸⁾ They were originally sung or recited but have been written down since the invention of the Korean alphabet by King Sejong the Great. The structure of the poems is fixed, each poem consisting of three lines, each line having a major pause in the middle. Longer poems are created by linking one sijo to another but in this case each section or 'verse' should be complete in itself.

Bishop Rutt provides us with tables which show a certain flexibility in structure.⁽¹⁹⁾

SYLLABLE COUNT OF THE SIJO(i) The basic standard;

First line	3	4	4(or 3)	4
Middle line	3	4	4(or 3)	4
Last line	3	5	4	3

(ii) Variants which occur;

First line	2 - 5	3 - 6	2 - 5	4 - 6
Middle line	1 - 5	3 - 6	2 - 5	4 - 6
Last line	3	5 - 9	4 - 5	3 - 4

These tables show that a certain flexibility is possible without damaging the rhythmic structure of the whole. If we take the title poem of Han Yongun's anthology as an example⁽²⁰⁾ we can see the variant pattern at work.

Ggamagui	ˇ	kőmta	malgo /
Hae'oragi	ˇ	hŭida	malla /

Kőmündul	ˇ	mojaramyō /
Huidago	ˇ	namǔlsonya /

Irǒmmnǔn	ˇ	saramdǔl /	
Olt'a	ˇ	Kǔrǔda	hadǒra

The syllable count here is;

First line	3	4	4	4
Middle line	3	4	3	4
Last line	3	4	5	3

The second part of the last line is an example of the way in which the subsidiary pause tends to disappear, although a natural way of reading this phrase would be 2, 3, 3, i.e., "Olt'a Kűrűda hadőra," thereby stressing the words "right (olt'a)" and "wrong (kűrűda)". I translate the poem as follows stressing the sense rather than the structure.

STATE OF REFLECTION

Don't say the raven is black
And don't call the night-heron white

If blacks were scarce
Whites would be overabundant

People with nothing to do
Say 'that's right', 'that's wrong'.

One of the best poems in this collection is called Fishing in the Stream 溪漁. (21) It describes an old man fishing in an inlet. (22) It is beautifully observed, the first 'link' or verse capturing the scene with a light humourous touch, the second tinged with the melancholy of age and a life spent in hard and unrewarded labour.

FISHING IN THE STREAM

1.

As he fished by the blue mountain
and the clear crystal water

What dream did that old man dream
under his old reed hat.

Funny, how he snatched his rod out of the water
startled by the sound of a bird.

2.

Old fisherman,
You thought to avoid the cares of the world
with your fishing.

Yet even then was there something on your mind
as you sat with your chin on your hand, and sighed?

The sight of his gray hair reflected in the wave (滄波)
has made him sad.

The poem is good because it is firmly based on the real human event yet it is suggestive of a universal question. When this quality is absent from his poetry it reflects even in the style;

COSMOS (23)

Cosmos, waving to and fro
 In the light autumn breeze
 Is the petal a wing?
 Is the wing a petal?
 I wonder can your inner spirit
 Be a butterfly.

In the original the Koreanized form of the word 'cosmos', 'kōsūmosū' has to provide the last four syllables of the first line. Stretching a two syllable word to one of four not only weakens the rhythm but also destroys the contrast or sense of surprise at the idea that this massive universe could flutter like the petal of a flower in an autumn breeze. The Buddhist concept of the impermanence of things and the fragility of the universe and of Mind underlying all things is expressed, but its expression is banal and lacking in mystery which one cannot say about his many poems, especially in The Silence of 'Nim', which keep a strong grip on the reality of his own experience and observations. Compare the last lines of the poem "?" (24)

"In the window weighted over by the unwavering moonlight
the shadow of

A cat smoothing its coat bobs up and down
Ah, is it Buddha? Devil? Is life dust, dream, gold?

Little bird:

little bird sleeping on a frail twig that sways in
the wind, little bird."

This is not exceptional poetry yet it is much more true than Cosmos, there is a heightened sense of the mystical precisely because of the presence of well-observed realities, like the cat washing itself in the moonlight or the bird 'sleeping on a frail twig'.

The poem Simujang 爭牛莊 (25) is more successful, remembering that the 'cow' also stands for enlightenment.

尋牛莊

There is no lost cow
So looking for it is foolish

But if it did become obvious it was gone
I couldn't keep it even if I found it, could I?

Better that I don't look for it
Then I won't lose it again.

The idea he is striving for here is the foolishness of regarding enlightenment as a possession like any other. Because enlightenment consists precisely in the liberation of the person from samsara, the web of desire and pain, ambition and frustration. So while we seek wisdom we do not seek it as a thing in itself nor regard it as an ultimate stage. If this happens then that carefully nurtured enlightenment can also be lost.

"Better that I don't look for it
Then I won't lose it again."

I have mentioned already that the linked sijo Dream on an Autumn Night⁽²⁶⁾ seems to be a young man's poem. It is, in my opinion, the best poem in the collection. It begins from an immediate personal experience and a sense of loss that is almost tangible. The 'Nim' or 'Beloved' of this poem is not a symbol but a real person. It abounds with closely observed detail that bring the room and the solitary man immediately alive to the reader and, like all great poetry, it fills him with questions; 'Who was the woman?' 'Is she dead or has she left him?' 'Will she return?' 'Are they his or her tears on the pillow?'

This too, is a feature of the best poetry in The Silence of 'Nim'; although capable of many layers of interpretation the poems work as straightforward love poetry and are without doubt the work of a man who has experienced human love fully.

DREAM ON AN AUTUMN NIGHT

1.

Startled awake by the sound of rain
On an autumn night, it is a dream.

My love came but she has gone
There is only the candle, flickering.

Dream that dream again you say?
But I cannot get sleep to come.

2.

Ah, why did that rain sound
Shatter my dream for no reason?

Her outstretched hand is gone, I
grasped, only the edge of the heavy quilt.

There are traces of tears on the pillow
Useless to wash them away.

3.

If its a dream, should they try even a hundred times
I won't let them disturb it

Disperse the dream and send her away?
It would be utter despair.

From now on even if the dream is broken
I will never let go of that hand I have held.

4.

I awoke with a start at
the sound of your footsteps, and looked out.

A single paulownia leaf fell
In the garden where the moonlight slanted

Ah wind! where are you gone that you cannot blow
Do you blow in the house that is empty of her?

Compare the poem Remorse (後悔) from the
Nimui Ch'immuk (p.p.65-66)

REMORSE

'When you were alive I didn't love you enough
More than love I had great trust in you
and I was careful rather than joyful.
Then being cold by nature and poverty stricken
I neglected you when you were lying ill.
So when you were gone I had more tears of
remorse than distress at your going.

When I read this poem I thought immediately of the woman mentioned by Im Chungbin (see above p.97) who had helped finance the publication of Yusim and the Compendium of Buddhism. Im is the only person I have read who mentions her and since he does not name her or tell us anything about her except that her father had been a patriot and died in the Tonghak rebellion and that she died young, perhaps on such slender information it is going too far to suggest that she is the person to whom this poem is written. But the mention of the 'sick bed' his being 'poverty stricken' and his 'coldness of nature' lead one to think of the period when he was in Seoul struggling to get Yusim into print and having no outlet in the official publications for his work. He was 54 when he remarried in 1933 and I believe the poem Dream On An Autumn Night must predate this period considerably.

At anyrate it is the reality of his experience of love which gives the poetry its strength and the poem Dream On An Autumn Night makes more sense if the person he loves is only attainable in a dream and the haunting image of the single paulownia leaf falling 'In a garden where the moonlight slanted' takes on a particular poignancy.

I would like to end this chapter on the sijo with his simple poem "Love".⁽²⁷⁾

LOVE

Spring is deeper than water
Autumn higher than a mountain.

If anyone asks you about love
Just tell them,

It's brighter than the moon
and harder than a stone.

The Silence of 'Nim', (28)

The Nimui Ch'immuk or Silence of 'Nim' is undoubtedly Han Yongun's greatest work, and has deservedly attracted the greatest critical attention, not only because it ranks alongside and often surpasses the work of Ch'oe Namsǒn in terms of inventiveness and especially in its deep mystical quality, but also because it so successfully captures the darkness or 'silence' of the long period of occupation, the yearning for freedom and the vision of 'reunion', of a better future.

"But if you love the one you love more than your own life
There is no separation.

Even if moss should settle on the wheel of time
That spins eternity." (29)

Han Yongun, however, did not see the poem as a lasting work nor did he regard himself as a great poet. In his preface to the book he states clearly how he understands his work.

"The word 'Nim' is not just the lover, everything one yearns for is the loved one. If all living things (眾生) are the beloved of Sākyamuni philosophy is the beloved of Kant. If the rose loves the spring rain, Italy is the beloved of Mazzini. 'Nim' is not only the one I love but also the one who loves me. If love is freedom the beloved is also freedom. But are you not in chains to the nice-sounding word 'freedom'? Have you too got a beloved? If you say you have it is not 'Nim' but your own shadow." (30)

As for me I write these poems as nourishment for
the lamb who has lost its way wandering the plain in the
gathering dusk." (31)

And in his final address to the readers⁽³²⁾ he says;

'Reader, appearing before you as a poet embarrasses me.
When you read these poems I know you will sorrow for
me and also for yourselves.

I have no desire that these poems be read by even the
reader's descendants.

Reading my poems at that time would, I suppose
be like sitting in a flower grove in late spring
kneading a dry chrysanthemum, and holding it up
to your nose.

I don't know how far the night has gone.
The heavy shadows of Sōrak mountain are thinning out.
While I wait for the bell that announces daybreak
I put my pen aside.

(The night of the 29th day, eight
month of Ūlch'uk (1925). The End.)

The poems of Nimui Ch'immuk, which should be read and understood as a many-faceted expression of a single idea which I will shortly explain, are therefore defined by the author as an answer to a particular need at a particular time. In order to comfort and encourage the people, he draws together in the concept of 'Nim' all the aspirations of his life, as a Buddhist monk, as a patriot and as a man.

It is essentially a spiritual work intended to heal and uplift and lead to a strong vision.

I am reminded of John Steinbeck's Journal of a Novel (The East of Eden Letters)⁽³³⁾ where the author conceived of this novel as a kind of letter to his two sons so that when they came to manhood they would find there 'what they came from through me',⁽³⁴⁾ and he says of it;

"This book will be the most difficult of all I have attempted. Whether I am good enough or gifted enough remains to be seen. I do have a good background. I have love and I have had pain. I still have anger but I can find no bitterness in myself. There may be some bitterness but if there is I don't know where it can be. I do not have the kind of selfness any more that nourishes it.

And so I will start my book addressed to my boys. I think perhaps it is the only book I have ever written. I think there is only one book to a man. It is true that a man may change or be so warped that he becomes another man and has another book but I do not know that is so with me."⁽³⁵⁾

For Han Yongun also he had a definite audience and a definite aim in mind. He was speaking to a particular situation but so successful was his attempt that he has created a work that transcends time and in the Silence of 'Nim', he has produced levels of descriptive writing and

imagination which he has never himself surpassed.. The poem Dream on An Autumn Night, the recollective pieces, One Night on the Northern Continent or The Paulownia tree at my former Home contain some exceptional descriptive writing and I hope to show that, in particular, the novel Death deserves greater consideration than it has received but there is no doubt that the Silence of 'Nim' is Han Yongun's 'one book'.

The Silence of 'Nim' was completed at Paekdamsa on August 29, 1925. It was published May 20, 1926 by the Hoedongsōgwan 滙東書館 . The first English translation of the complete work was published in 1970 and was made by Younghill Kang (author of The Grass Roof) and Frances Keeley. The title of their translation is Meditations of The Lover⁽³⁶⁾ and in their introduction they say;

"Meditations of The Lover was published in Seoul in 1925, and I got a copy of it before it was forced underground by the Japanese military government. I was even then greatly impressed by this revolutionary but highly eastern work. It was couched in the form of love poems, a bold stroke in a country at this time still ruled by families and clans and family-arranged marriages."⁽³⁷⁾

The reason for making this translation is also stated;
"Han Yong Woon was well in advance of his time, whereas I believe T.S. Eliot was exactly contemporaneous."

As far as these translations are concerned, both have been moving forces. But it is the Easterner, Han Yong Woon, who should now disclose himself as a worldwide figure.

If he was for Koreans a modern revolutionary poet and a great patriot, it still should not be lost sight of that he was of that small body of mystics with the same message throughout the ages; immortality, fraternity, love. It is time that he should travel an international path like his friend, Tagore." (38)

The doctoral thesis by Sammy Solberg which I have mentioned above also contains a complete translation of the poems with the originals on facing pages. Solberg claims that the text he is using is a 1936 printing from the plates of the original 1926 edition and for those who come to his poetry first through the edition published in the Complete Works there are two things to notice. The first is that in the original text the poems were individually numbered, using Roman numerals, and secondly, that the editors of the Complete Works have translated all the Chinese characters in the text into their Hangŭl sounds, leaving in only those which are needed to clarify the sense.

In my opinion, Solberg provides much the better translation. The Kang-Keeley translation strives too much for an English version which reads as poetry in its own right, resulting very often in a loss of the simplicity which is so striking in the originals and also to an obscurity of thought which is not always present in the Korean. There are also a number of inaccuracies in the

translated as for example in the poem Remorse just quoted,

Solberg translates the penultimate line;

'Moreover, being rather cold by nature - and poverty stricken,
I neglected you/on your sickbed.'⁽³⁹⁾

The Kang-Keeley version of the same line is;

"My temper cool moreover
and withdrawn
Set time and space between
when you lay stretched upon your bed
of pain and poverty"⁽⁴⁰⁾

thus making the poverty a part of her condition rather than one of his reasons for neglecting her. The Korean clearly states the latter view. His poverty stricken condition was a definite reason for his failure. Nor is there any mention of 'time and space'. Solberg's English version of the poems are much more literal and by not striving for metrical patterns are more true to the spirit and style of the originals.

As well as his translation of the poems Solberg has provided a commentary on the poems⁽⁴¹⁾ under the headings "Poetry as Protection"; "Aspects of the Beloved"; "Han Yongun and Tradition"; "Han Yongun and Tagore"; and "Out of the Night". Although completed before the appearance of the Complete Works of Han Yongun and without access to the quite extensive amount of writing which appeared between 1970 - 1974 on Han Yongun, Solberg's

commentary of the poems of Nimui Ch'immuk is the best I have read. His thesis is that one should view the poems as an impression of one night of meditation beginning as the poet watches his love depart in silence down the narrow path that leads away from the temple and conscious of the 'lambs' wandering in the gathering dusk, and ending with the note to the reader as he waits for the temple bell to announce the dawn.

"From sunset to a predawn stirring, the poems are the experience of one night; from the departure of the loved one to the promised act of reunion, not return, of going out to her from darkness to promise of light. They represent the poet priest's effort to communicate the depth of his spiritual experience, his doubts, his sorrows, and reconciliations, to his wandering 'lambs', not in the conventional phrases of religion, for the master who uses these is characterized as 'quite a fool' but in the vivid representation of his experience across the two landscapes of the poetry, the 'real' and the 'visionary'."(42)

Since there is this emphasis on the unknown or striving to achieve union with the absolute, the limits of language are stretched and Solberg says, the poet 'has condemned himself to a poetry of oxymoron, a poetry of that which cannot be named or expressed . . . but which must be demonstrated by the reconciliation of opposites in the very texture of the poetry.'(43)

Solberg analyses the various possible meanings of 'nim' and arrives at three categories within which to express its layers of meaning. These are 'The Beloved as Korea' (op.cit. p.p.176-182); 'The Beloved as Absolute' (p.p.182-188); and 'The Beloved as Love'(p.p.188-192). These elements are to be found in other critical appraisals of the Silence of'Nim' notably that of Song Uk⁽⁴⁴⁾ but Solberg has brought them together in a way which emphasises the mystical elements of the poetry, and which gives due weight to the fact that Han Yongun was essentially reworking a tradition, striving to bring the insights of the past to bear on the present.

"Your Silence has its roots in tradition and a firm base in Buddhist philosophy (or metaphysics). Superficially, what modernisms do creep in - loan words such as 'ink', 'kiss', 'page' or things like button-shoes - suggest a dated diction, a sense of the Korean twenties much more evident in the original than in the translation. The landscape is idyllically rural; the wheel does not appear in the poems, nor does the modern city, the railroad, the electric light, the telephone - all things that had come to be in the Korea of Han Yongun's lifetime." (45)

We have seen in this survey of his life and work that despite his desire to bring the truths of Buddhism to the mass of men that Han Yongun never compromised with the difficulty of the message. The Essay on the Renewal of Korean Buddhism, The Compendium of Buddhism,

The Selected Discourses on the 'Ts'ai-ken T'an, the Commentary on the Discourse on the Ten Mysteries, are by no means accessible books. This is not simply due to the use of Chinese characters but also to the nature of the material. Both the Ts'ai-ken T'an and the Shih Hsüan Tan are works which require a great deal of concentration.

"Purity can tolerate the unclean; benevolence can make sound judgements; cleverness does not pry so as to offend; straightness does not unbend what is crooked. These, like the unsweetness of the sweetened meat and the unsaltiness of the salted sea-delicacy, are said to be admirable virtues." (46)

Paradox is not always forced upon us by the difficulty of defining what is ultimate or intrinsically indefinable, but can be a way of leading us on to a deeper perception of the truth. One must appreciate that Buddhism is not a historical religion i.e., it does not point a beginning or end to either the world of phenomena or to human history,

"The original spirit of Buddhism was reflected in its emphasis upon achieving liberation and upon abolishing all philosophical speculation. This spirit was vividly expressed by the Buddha's famous silence when a set of philosophical questions were put to him." (47)

Similarly with the idea of enlightenment which consists partly in coming to recognise the illusory nature

of sensory perception. This doctrine of māya ~~迷~~
 (delusion) is not a monistic (all reality is one) doctrine
 saying that all facts and events of the world are illusory.
 According to Alan Walts, both Hindus and Buddhists prefer
 to speak of reality as 'non-dual' rather than 'one'.

"The doctrine of māya is therefore a doctrine of
 relativity. It is saying that things, facts and events
 are delineated, not by nature but by human description,
 and that the way in which we describe (or divide) them is
 relative to our varying points of view." (48)

In this understanding of reality, paradox is
 inescapable since the truth is a kind of harmony of opposites.

"The solid and the space, the sound and the silence,
 the existent and the non-existent, the figure and the
 ground are inseparable, interdependent, or 'mutually arising'
 and it is only by māya or conventional division that they
 may be considered apart from one another." (49)

I stress this point only to show that the particular
 style adopted in The Silence of 'Nim' is essentially Zen
 Buddhist, and it came naturally to a Zen priest who loved
 the earthy classics like the Ts'ai-ken-T'an.

PARTING IS THE CREATION OF BEAUTY⁽⁵⁰⁾

Parting is the creation of beauty.

The beauty of parting is not
 In the intangible gold of morning,
 Nor in the unwoven black fabric of the night.
 It is not in eternal, deathless life
 Nor in the blue flower of heaven that never fades.
 My love,
 If it were not for parting
 I, having once died in tears
 Would not rise to life again in your smile.
 Ah, parting!
 Beauty is the creation of parting.

The success of Han Yongun's use of the balance of opposites is due to the fact that his ideas help to illuminate complex human situations rather than obscuring them. As one reads through the poems the person who speaks is sometimes a woman (e.g., Free Chastity 自由貞操 p.48; Pearl 真珠 p.51; Don't doubt me, p.52.) The object 'Nim' becomes a figure of authority, the absolute which becomes personalized as a controlling though only partially glimpsed figure, but once one accepts the conception of the whole work as a message of consolation, this becomes true of all the poems. So that in the poem Artist 藝術家 (p.46) where he is mourning his inability to capture the beauty of his love, one is conscious of the wider meaning of 'Nim' and the difficulty of describing the 'one' who gives meaning to life.

Solberg's translation of this poem is particularly good and I present it here.⁽⁵¹⁾

ARTIST

I am a clumsy painter.
 Lying on my bed, sleep not coming,
 finger tracing across my chest,
 I limned your nose, your lips, even the dimples
 that spring in your cheeks.
 Then trying to limn the slight smile
 that ever hovers round your eyes
 I rub it out a hundred times over.

I am not a sure singer,
 After the neighbours had all come home
 and the crying of the insects was stilled,
 I was about to sing the song you taught me
 when I became shy of the dozing cat,
 and I dared not.
 And so, as the passing wind fluttered the paper
 of the door, I joined quietly in.

I don't seem to have the makings of a lyric poet.
 'Joy' 'sorrow', 'love',
 I don't want to write about such things.
 Your face, your voice, your carriage,
 I want to write about those as they are.
 I also will write about your house, your bed
 even the little pebbles in your flower garden.

The eternal 'something' or aspect of the beloved that always evades description is expressed here and yet, in the simple pictures ('I became shy of the dozing cat', 'the little

pebbles in your flower garden') the poet contrives to bring home to the reader the warmth of his vision and the ultimate accessibility of 'Nim' to the person who keeps striving, even in the most difficult times, to reach that ultimate truth which, in his opinion, only Buddhism can offer.

And yet, his vision is not simply traditional. In the poem The Zen Master's Sermon⁽⁵²⁾ he rejects as "extremely simple minded" the view that one must cut away the chains of love in order to be happy. Although love causes pain, cutting the ties of love produces a pain worse than death. Rather the "great liberation (大解脱)" which is the goal of Buddhism "is achieved in the very loss of freedom." He states clearly what has been his message ever since the Essay on Renewal, that one does not seek enlightenment by cutting oneself off from the world and its pain, but in the very midst of human reality.

In conclusion then, The Silence of 'Nim' is directly addressed to the people who suffer the 'silence' of foreign occupation. The references to the occupation abound from "the dream of a bright future that plunges into the dark ocean" (Please don't go p.44) to the eulogies of the heroines of Korean tradition Non'gae (p.54) and Kyeworyang (p.68), and these have been sufficiently detailed elsewhere.

But rather than sit back passively and endure, or to give in to despair (an alternative adopted by many authors and artists at this time) he proposes a positive solution

which he had already hinted at (see above p.144).

Koreans must transcend the situation by continuing to find their own way, as in the poem Dreaming Without Sleep (p.50) a dialogue between the poet and Kom (a traditional Korean name for a divinity) where the poet is told that 'every man has his own path' and must follow it with no guarantee of meeting 'the beloved' with whom he has parted. In the very chains of a broken love and in the silence where the beloved has gone each man must find his own liberation. As Han Yongun's 'one book' it stands as a testimony to the unity of his ideas and it is his most successful attempt to bring his Buddhist philosophy to bear on the real situation.

Another 18 poems in the same style are collected in the Complete Works, Vol. 1, p.p.83-90. The title Scattered Poems from the Simujang 素牛莊 散詩 is misleading because the final poem in the collection, Mind, is in fact the first poem in the modern idiom which he published, in 1917. It is not a good poem, but it is important because it shows that he was already using a free form style eight years before The Silence of 'Nim' was completed. It consists of a meditation on the meaning of 'mind'. Just as revealing of the development of his style are the series of editorials which are collected in Vol. 12, p.p.349-368. One notices that the first editorial for Yusim (September 9, 1917) entitled Written at the Beginning is poetic in style rather than a simple prose statement. Apart from

revealing that he did use the free form style from a very early period, however, none of this work is particularly noteworthy in terms of content.

(2)

Novels

Turning to the novels we find that the modern world which is noticeably absent from The Silence of 'Nim' is very much the subject of the author's concern. Between 1924 and 1939, Han Yongun completed three novels Death (Chugǔm), Black Wind (黑風), and Heartless Destiny (薄命). Death was completed on October 24, 1924 but was never published in his own lifetime. Black Wind was serialized in the Chosón Ilbo (April 1935 - February 1936) and Heartless Destiny in the same newspaper (May 1938 - March 1939). In 1937 he began work on the novel Regret (後悔) and it began to appear in the southern edition, the Chosón Chungang Ilbo, but due to the paper going out of business this work was never completed and the unfinished work that is reproduced in the Complete Works Vol. 5, p.p.310-371 consists of only six chapters. He began yet another novel, based on a true incident which he had previously written about in an unpublished article entitled Frailty is your name Woman?,⁽⁵³⁾ where a woman walks into a Buddhist temple and shoots dead a local official. The novel was called The Iron Beauty (鐵血美人) and appeared in Pulgyo Sin for two numbers beginning March 1, 1937. This too is unfinished.⁽⁵⁴⁾

In an article entitled The Novels of the poet Han Yongun⁽⁵⁵⁾ Paek Ch'ol suggests that the reason why Han Yongun turned to the novel was that the more compressed form of the poem with its demands of metre and conciseness hindered him from giving full rein to the development of

his ideas and to the preaching of his 'popular' Buddhism. Paek sees the purpose of the novels as not simply to entertain but to teach. However, the novels do not lend themselves easily to this interpretation, and in fact the hypothesis of religious teaching suits The Silence of 'Nim' much more than the novels. The answer to the question why he turned to novel writing might be easier to seek.

In 1936, two interviews with Han Yongun were published by Samch'ölli magazine. The first of these was the June edition.⁽⁵⁶⁾ The second is a reproduction of an interview with the chairman of a writer's meeting sponsored by the magazine.⁽⁵⁷⁾

The first interview with Ch'un took place at the author's home and it contains a good description of the house itself and Manhae's study. But what is most interesting about it is the attitude he reveals towards literature and art. He says that many people would probably reject his statement that 'Art is one of the luxuries of life' (p.409). We cannot, he says, live without salt, water or trees, but, even though they certainly make our food more tasty, we can do without oil, pepper or sesame seeds. Clearly he would not subscribe to the philosophy of 'art for arts sake'. Again he is clearly more interested in popular literature than in work which is too classical or stylistic. If art goes beyond 'amusement' and strives to be too intellectual it loses its particular appeal as art. He clarifies his position

in the second interview which took place when the novel Regret was running in the Chosǒn Chungang Ilbo. Ideally, he maintains, a good work should combine many elements (realism, naturalism, romanticism and so on) and should be directed towards the wider audience. When an author does not achieve this it is better to be popular than to be excessively intellectual or psychological.

About his own work, and he only discusses the novel Regret, he says that if he must describe it in terms of a particular category, it would be 'realism' and his interest is very much in the everyday world within which he lives rather than in history or satirical writing. About his method he has very little to say except that he writes more or less as the inspiration takes him, leaving his pen aside for anything up to four or five days. In the particular case of Regret he says that the 'model' for the story was a scene he had witnessed many times in the park, of a woman with two men, one of whom was blind and obviously her husband. Both men were clearly opium addicts and yet the woman begged in the park with them to help them. He wanted to paint a picture of true marital love.

This article concludes with his saying that he is not really interested in critical success or in being regarded as a great literary figure. Being aloof from the literary schools probably meant that he did not, in his turn, receive much attention from them.

From these two interviews it is possible to draw two conclusions. Firstly, he was interested in the novel form, because it was there. He had written in every other literary form and this was yet another to experiment with. Secondly, it is important to notice the stress he places on realism. We will find on examining his three completed novels that there is an explicitly religious and philosophical message contained there but it is not expressed in particularly Buddhist terms. Rather is it implicit in the description of the society as he sees it and in the characters (especially of the women) of those who people his work, the traditional people and the westernized and their different standards of behaviour. Finally, his attitude to art as a luxury, strengthens the position of those who see The Silence of 'Nim' as essentially a religious work.

a) Death⁽⁵⁸⁾

The setting for Death is the province of Kangwondo in the east of Korea and the final denouement takes place in Seoul. It is a short novel and from the style and inner coherence of the story one can assume that it was not intended to be serialized in a newspaper or magazine. In essence it is a story of love and revenge and the central character is a woman, Yongok, a woman who is well educated and yet possesses all the traditional womanly virtues. She marries for love but her husband is murdered while studying in America, due to the jealousy

of a parasitic member of the yangban (noble) class, Sōngyōl. The girl eventually discovers the truth about her husband Chongch'ol's murder and, leaving her son in the care of a friend, she follows Sōngyōl to Seoul where, under the pretense of seduction, she murders him, plants the evidence of his complicity in the previous murder, and commits suicide. It is a dark, violent tale that never fails to grip the reader's attention. There are not too many characters and one becomes interested in all of them. The time of the story is the period before and after the Samil uprising and there are direct references to this event (Chs. 7 & 8) and also to the political developments that followed it. In the story, Yongok's father is arrested because of his secret connection with the Korean provisional government in Shanghai and he hangs himself in prison with his daughter's scarf rather than betray his comrades. The girl herself is interrogated by the police (Ch. 8) and her loyalty and bravery in refusing to discuss her father's affairs are not only filial piety, but spring from her certain knowledge that this 'grave matter' affects not only her father but the future of Korea (p.313).

After the death of her father, Yongok is increasingly mistreated by her stepmother. At this point she is 19 years old and she comes to believe in Buddhism (Ch. 10). She joins the Buddhist Young Womens Association, and also the Korean Young Womens Association. At this point (Ch. 11) the character Sōngyōl is introduced. He is on the editorial board of the Kyōngsōng Simmun and Han Yongun's prejudice

against what he calls scandal mongering in the press is clearly revealed in his attitude to this character. He has none of the traditional virtues, he is brutal in his approach to the girl, he quotes modern love poetry which Manhae sees as being in very bad taste. In contrast to him, Kim Chongch'ol, the man who is to become her husband, is shy and reserved (Ch. 12). 'And there was neither talk of love nor amorous behaviour between them'. This puzzles the girl. How can she speak of love to someone she dislikes and not to the one she cares about? Rebuffed by the girl, Sōngyol spreads rumours about her in his paper and this leads to the scene, which in fact opens the novel, in which Chongch'ol throws a bomb into the newspaper building.

The story moves along at a brisk pace, but there are occasional, long and reflective passages as the one noted in Ch. 8. Another of these occurs in Ch. 14 (see p.328) when Yongok is reflecting on the new generation of educated Korean women.

"Looked at from the point of view of Korean women's education, they are pioneers, from the point of view of woman's social role, they are in advance of their time and looking to the future (of Korea) they are mothers."

Her attitude of concern and responsibility has already been contrasted with that of other girl students who affect a modern style and are loose in their behaviour (Ch. 5). However, Han Yongun's attitude to women is not

repressive, and his comments on the life of a kisaeng (Ch. 6) are quite sympathetic.

"That women should be given both economic and political freedom is, without doubt, a fundamental principle of human equality." (p.370).

After his release from prison on probation Chongch'ol + Tongok are married in a Buddhist temple (p.336).

Their life is poor but happy until he receives a scholarship to go to America through the agency of a certain Yi Sanghun who is in fact acting on behalf of Sōngyōl (Ch. 17). He consoles his wife with the statement that they must be in the forefront of building a new Korea. This quickly turns to sorrow (Ch. 19) when she receives the news of his death and goes to the port of Yangyang to receive his body. There is a moving description of the girl (p.341) waiting at the port and the glimpse she gets of the body as the ship slowly steams into harbour. "How would she feel, waiting at the harbour, if it was a newly graduated and still alive Ch'ongch'ol who was coming on that boat?"

The story breaks down at this point because it needs a rather unbelievable chance for her to intercept a letter which reveals the plot to kill her husband. Again (in Ch. 22) she just happens to be on a boat when the body of Yi Sanghun, the actual murderer is washed up on the shore. Her feelings of desperation, however, and the sense of outrage and injustice that she feels are well expressed and her decision to kill Sōngyōl (Chs. 23 & 24) is completely believable.

The final chapter in which she murders Sǒngyǒl and commits suicide is stark and effective in its brevity, and the only happiness in the ending is that she succeeds totally in what she had set out to do. His death (by poison) is assumed to be suicide and the letter revealing his part in the murder is discovered with him.

The most probable reason why this novel was never published is simply because it would never have passed the Japanese censor. It directly mentions the independence movement and revolutionary groups. The atmosphere of the novel is totally Korean and clearly looks forward to a new society made up of people like Yongok, who draw their inspiration from their education and commitment to a society which draws inspiration and standards from tradition but looks forward to a more equal society. In the character of the rich and influential Sǒngyǒl, Han Yongun finds a foil for his social criticism and for criticism of many aspects of the new Korea which he finds distasteful e.g., a too ready acceptance of Western (or Japanese) manners and a lax moral code.

The novel works because it is short and tightly put together. It begins well with the explosion in the newspaper office and the flashback technique used to explain the incident is not overly long. The characterization particularly of the girl, her father and his second wife Ch'angsuk, is strong. In this novel, as in Heartless Destiny, are many Buddhist items, the girl's

conversion to Buddhism, her marriage, her reflections on the master's sermon when she recognises the body of Sanghun (p.348) and the Buddhist belief expressed here that every good or bad action merits its own reward. The current moral problems are well stated, the problem of love and freedom, tradition and the new morality. In my belief this is his best work of fiction and can stand comparison with the work of any of his contemporaries.

b) Black Wind⁽⁵⁹⁾

In his brief 'Authors Introduction' to Black Wind (p.18) Han Yongun introduces himself;

"I am not a person skilled in the writing of novels, nor have I striven to become a novelist. You may well wonder why in that case I have written a novel but even that impulse I am not going to explain at this point. My novel's structure is not fluent, the description and setting is not perfect, nor has it any other special features. Is it just that there has been something I wanted to communicate to you for a long time and now I am doing it. The story is set in China at the end of the Ch'ing Dynasty⁽⁶⁰⁾ which was quite an eventful time and it is about an obscure adventurer Wanghan (王漢) and his lover, who is a patriotic woman, and also about the various developments in Chinese society at that time. It is a story of foreign people and of a foreign society; some of the things I have written are clumsy and some you yourselves will find strange, but no matter where a person

comes from or what society, laughter and tears are exactly the same and in these events as well as it is not impossible to discover our own life. Although I apologise for my poor style, I am overjoyed at this opportunity of getting close to you. If you will be pleased to overlook my many faults and failings and read my heart which is revealed beneath the words, that is the only happiness I desire."

The 'black wind' of the title does not refer to any particular incident in the novel but rather to the turbulence of what he himself calls the 'eventful time' when, at the turn of the century, traditional Chinese society is confronted with the industrial revolution. The action of the novel takes place both in the countryside and in the cities of Shanghai and Canton, with a large middle section devoted to the experience of the hero, Wanghan, in America, and, like Death, the climax of the novel turns on a sacrificial suicide, in this case the hero's wife Ch'angsun.

The first eight chapters are set in the countryside bordering the city of Hangchao 杭州 and they concern the selling into concubinage to the landlord of Wanghan's sister, Yōngae. Her father travels to the city in answer to a summons from the landlord. He must give up his land or allow his daughter to become the master's fourth concubine. He resists as much as he can (Chs. 3 - 5) but realizes that he has no choice. His living from the land is barely above subsistence level but it is all he has,

and he gives in. The opening chapters set a contrast which is the recurring theme of the book; either on the land or in the cities, the gulf between the people with money and power and the poor is immeasurable. But the situation is not only described, it is posed as a moral problem. At the end of chapter 6 (p.49) a discussion takes place on the fate of Yǒngae and another neighbour's son who is sold to the same landlord as a serving boy. Some accept the inevitability of what has happened. Of course the landlord is an evil man but if the alternative is starvation, what can one do? Others say no, even starvation as a consequence is no excuse for an evil act. At this point another voice speaks up;

"What you have said has reason on its side. But I can't see that you have spoken about the basic problem. It is not the fault of Sunbo (the girl's father) or of Hansuk (the boy's father) and even though Wang Unsok is a low creature worthy of death, it is not entirely his fault either. It is the fault of society. In China today our social structure gives too much favouritism to the monied class and despises the poor."

This person is later identified as a 'socialist', a new phenomenon to the farmers. The same contrast arises in the next section, generally titled Seeking Work (求職 p.p.57-71), when we first meet the hero Wanghan looking for work. His experience of the loneliness of the city, the hopeless feeling of being out of work is well described. Again there is strong social criticism

expressed, especially in the final chapter, where the iron foundry is described and the wealth of the owner contrasted with the poverty and grinding labour of the workers.

The rest of the book deals with how the young man finds his sister sold into concubinage when he returns home in failure from Shanghai, and how he then proceeds to attack his 'fate' firstly by forcibly releasing the girl and then by returning to Shanghai where he kills and robs the rich factory owner and goes into hiding among the shanty town dwellers at the edge of the city. He becomes a member of the revolutionary party after his adventures take him to America and he returns to Canton where he works in conditions of great poverty to further the revolution. He marries Ch'angsun but soon the party falls into factionalism and squabbling over a large donation of money (p.268ff). The movement is betrayed to the police, many members are captured and killed. Weary and disillusioned Wanghan leaves the revolution to live in seclusion with his wife. Eventually a woman member of the revolution, Pongsuk, who is also a friend of he and his wife, brings the news that the party is reorganizing and desperately needs his help. He refuses. Ch'angsun commits suicide and leaves him a note urging him to go ahead and think only of the revolution.

"I am only a small woman, but I know how to love my country and my husband." (p.306)

The novel suffers a great deal from being too long and lacking in surprise. This is partly due to the strictures of writing a long running serial for a newspaper, but it is also due to the unreality of the settings. In Death the author's familiarity with the scene rooted the story firmly in reality but here the inability to make China and especially America (p.p.105-129) come to life leads to an overemphasis on psychological motivation. Even the climax of the story is spoiled by repetition, Ch'angsun first of all going through all the reasons for suicide in her own mind, so that the impact of her letter is lost.

In the introduction Paek Ch'ol remarks that the Chinese setting is merely a 'stage', a ploy used by the author to avoid the dangers of censorship. While there was probably a genuine interest in China which had similar problems to Korea at this time, I believe the author's own introduction to the novel bears out Paek's argument; "laughter and tears are exactly the same and in these events as well it is not impossible to discover our own life". Also, when he says that he hopes the reader will be able to discover his own heart "beneath the words", this surely is a veiled implication that for him the novel has a more immediate significance.

In conclusion then, one finds in Black Wind, that Buddhist references are almost entirely lacking and the hero draws his inspiration from no religious source.

However, one might see the novel as giving expression to Han Yongun's idea of 'Buddhist Socialism'. And as one noticed in Death, there is quite a noticeable emphasis on the role of women, not only in the person of Ch'angsun and her dramatic suicide, but also in Pongsuk, the revolutionary heroine and champion of womens' rights (p.p.205-217).

c) Heartless Destiny (61)

In the second interview published in Samch'ölli, Han Yongun had said that he drew his inspiration for Regret from seeing a woman helping her blind, and addicted (to opium) husband beg in the park. It is precisely just such a scene which provides the penultimate scene of Heartless Destiny which again is the story of a young woman, Chang Sunyöng, and the movement of her life from the countryside of Kangwöndo to the bars of the port of Inch'ön, to a lonely marriage in Seoul and finally to the gates of a womens' temple where she becomes a Buddhist disciple. Manhae introduces his story (p.6) as an attempt to describe the life and times of a person who gives her heart singlemindedly to another and maintains that dedication unchanged 'to the end'.

It is a story where the religious dimension is predominant and it is divided into five sections.

i. The Lure (誘惑); p.p.7-71.

The novel opens with a long and rather tedious introduction to the heroine Sunyǒng, whom we first meet working in the fields. She meets a woman from Seoul, a former kisaeng called Song, who tries to persuade her away from her unhappy life with her stepmother with promises of luxury in Seoul. At first she is reluctant but is finally persuaded through the intervention of an old friend Unok (Ch. 6). Chapter 7 is a long descriptive piece on how, as she prepares to leave, the house she has hated so much seems now to welcome her and the sounds of the children coming from the stream call up her own childhood. There follows the description of her boat trip to Wǒnsan and her first sight of the sea and a train. In Wǒnsan she falls into the water (Ch. 9) and is saved by a young man. She is given a 10 yen note by a woman monk. Then she arrives in Seoul (Ch. 10). This section is very descriptive of the way the city frightens her and how she begins slowly to become aware that the dream future promised her is to be none other than life as a bar girl.

ii. Life In the Bar (色酒家); p.p.72-143.

This section is particularly good and is packed with dramatic incidents. Sunyǒng and her friend Ch'aeran (who has been sold into prostitution by her parents) are duped by a fortune teller in the pay of Song and her male sponsor, to accept their fate. At any rate they are

trapped by the debt they owe for their clothes and their tuition (in traditional Korean music). Sunyōng becomes aware (Ch. 7) that while she left home in freedom now she must go where she is sent. The madame in charge of the bar in Inch'ōn is a Buddhist. This is a particularly good characterization. In the middle of instructing the girls on how to look after the customers, or flaring into a temper she is forever calling on the name of Amit'a, and she has a small Buddhist altar in her room, which becomes a place of retreat for the young girl. Sunyōng is too popular and the other girls become jealous. They spread stories that she has incurable syphilis and that she is a thief. She is beaten and tries to commit suicide but the madame discovers the truth when she meets a regular customer (Chs. 15 & 16) on the way to the local Buddhist prayer hall where she hears a sermon on the evils of listening to gossip and rash judgement. Sunyōng is restored to favour and the other girls chastised.

iii. Marriage (結婚); p.p.143-205.

She accidentally meets the young man, Kim Taech'ōl, who saved her life in Wōnsan. She is not sure whether she loves him or whether she simply wants to pay back the debt she owes. Eventually (Ch. 10) they decide to marry and the problem arises of trying to raise both the money to buy her freedom and to help him go mining for gold in Hamgyōng province. He goes first (Ch. 12), then

the old Seoul madame, . Song, dies (Ch. 13). The Inch'on woman tries to persuade her to stay, promising her charge of the business. Taech'ol returns from his mining expedition and they get married in the Buddhist prayer hall. (Ch. 16).

iv. Divorce (離婚); p.p.205-232.

It is five years on and she is living in Seoul with her child. Her husband stays away increasingly but he is a failure. She skimps and saves to send him money occasionally (Ch. 4) pleading with him to return to family life. He returns home unexpectedly (Ch. 5) but he is drunk and speaks of a separation. They argue and he storms out of the house to return in a much worse state later (Ch. 7) and frightens his child into shock. The child dies (Ch. 8) and Taech'ol has gone off to the other woman.

v. The End of The Road (末路); p.p.232-290.

Four years later she thinks she sees Taech'ol walking in the street (Ch. 2). There have been mysterious calls. Eventually he writes to her (Ch. 4) and tells her that he is ill. She takes him back but only to help him get better (Ch. 6). His addiction to opium is acute and gets worse. He shows no gratitude for what she is doing but becomes increasingly demanding (Chs. 7 & 8) until eventually (Ch. 9) she is forced to give up her house and they wander like beggars in the city park. She keeps praying for

assistance but is now in desperate straits. She is observed by some emancipated women in the park (Ch. 10) one of whom feels that she is an example to them all. She is doing what she is doing out of her freedom. The story moves rapidly to its conclusion as the rain begins to fall in the park and Taech'ol collapses in the last extremities of his illness. A strange figure appears (Ch. 12) hardly recognizable as a woman and crawling on all fours. It is none other than her old friend Unok, who confesses that she was the other woman in Taech'ol's life. Taech'ol too confesses that he only saved her life in Wonsan because the woman monk had given him money. He had never gone mining. Sunyong is absolutely shattered that she gave her life to such a man (Ch. 13). Unok and Taech'ol die (Ch. 14) but Sunyong has no strength to take away the bodies which are found by the police and the park keepers. She moves away from Seoul and eventually manages to reach Hwanhoe temple in Chongnyong where the woman monk she met in Wonsan had come from. The priestess remembers the story and she is received into the monastery. She takes the name Sohnaeng 善行 which means 'virtuous action'. The novel closes with a sermon (Ch. 16) which specifically states that her virtue did not consist simply in following her husband but in her compassion for those in need.

I have given an extended account of the plot of Heartless Destiny for two reasons. Firstly, to show that in contrast with Black Wind which is of similar length,

this story contains much more incident and is peopled with more interesting characters. But more importantly, the complexity of the plot is needed to explain the five dominant religious ideas around which the novel is built, which are;

1. The purity of the girl's motivation is the thing that ultimately carries her through. Her dedication to her saviour in Wönsan enables her to preserve her chastity while living the life of the bar girl, and the dedication to Amit'a, even though simple and uninformed leads her by a natural progression to the temple.

2. The intertwining of fates which is a common feature of Korean novels and is very often simply a 'deus ex machina' technique to resolve a plot difficulty, is here explained as a result of conscious decision as the final confessions of Unok and Taech'ol reveal.

3. It is a strong conclusion of the novel that people get what they deserve but the compassionate (like the Bodhisattva) must suffer for the salvation of others.

4. The danger of desire (Unok and Taech'ol) and the beauty of self-sacrifice (Sunyöng).

5. The idea of paying back a grace received.

Sunyöng believes her benefactor to be Taech'ol but when

she finds out that in reality it was the old priestess, she, in turn, dedicates herself to the priesthood.

The novels Death and Heartless Destiny justify Han Yongun's claim that his fictional work was based on realism. In Heartless Destiny especially he captured the atmosphere of the bar girl's life and the quiet desperation of her existence very well. The final description of the death of Unok and Taech'ol in the park and the ultimate feeling of defeat coupled with relief that it is all over, that Sunyōng experiences, is quite memorable and equals, in my opinion, that of the murder and suicide which ends Death.

However the didactic element is not lacking. There is in all the novels a strong vein of social criticism based on the ideas of equality and personal freedom already advanced in the Essay on Renewal. Equally there is sympathy and understanding for the unfortunate. He is extremely critical of imported morality and imported styles of music, dress, social behaviour but at the same time his love for tradition is not repressive but based on principle. He supports totally the emancipation of women, but not at the loss of their ability to devote themselves to a husband and family.

Ultimately, it is not possible to finally classify Han Yongun as a novelist belonging to any particular school, but one sees his work as arising naturally from

his basic conviction expressed in so many different ways throughout his work; that to the compassionate Buddhist nothing human was alien, but all living things must be encouraged to develop in their own way and according to their own needs.

(3)

Essays

The essays are collected together in the Complete Works, Vol. 1, p.p.192-287 under the general title Jottings From The Simujang. Once again the collection of the articles is not arranged according to sequence but according to various categories, jottings, recollections, travels, culture 修養 and comment. I have already discussed many of the articles in detail and I have translated two of them which can be found in the appendices. The range of essays is wide, from Frailty, is thy name woman, to Conversation in the Tub,⁽⁶²⁾ a humourous piece about the change in public bathing habits with the coming of the Japanese. There is the essay A Half is ninety Ri⁽⁶³⁾ inferring a criticism of the proverb 'just begun is half done' for which he substitutes the idea that if one wants to go a hundred ri one has truly begun the journey when one has travelled ninety, which is critical of the way Korea lags behind the western countries in terms of invention. Or the essay on Public Interest⁽⁶⁴⁾ which is interesting to anyone who has travelled in Korea and knows how difficult many Koreans have found it to extend their sense of social responsibility beyond the family.

While many of the essays are dated (like Prophet after the Event) others stand the test of time, especially the recollective pieces like Pilgrimage to Haeinsa⁽⁶⁵⁾ or the The Story of My Dying and Coming back to life, or the Sermon from the Simujang⁽⁶⁶⁾ which contains reflections

and poems inspired by the name of his house, or again the article on the finding of the Hangul woodblocks at Ansima.

The picture of the author that one forms from reading these essays is of an inquisitive, restless person. He has an appetite for information and his interests are wide ranging. He is at times humourous (e.g., the description of how he falls asleep on the train on the way to Ansima and misses his stop) at other times severe (Prophet after the event, The working student); but always human and concerned.

It is not possible in a short space to do full justice to these essays but I hope that the translations appended to this work will give some idea of their style and flavour. It seems to me that the author's religious belief gave him a stability and objectivity so that he never became dominated by events. At a time of great social and technological change it gave him a hold on tradition which enabled him to look forward dispassionately. He was not without prejudice (e.g., the famous story of how he finally rebuffed his old friend Ch'oe Rin, or his sudden rages, especially in the last years of his life, with anyone who so much as used a Japanese word in his presence).⁽⁶⁷⁾ There can be no doubt that his radical views, especially on celibacy, alienated him from the official Buddhist world, but that he was able to transcend that and become editor of Pulgyo, is a tribute to the strength of his personality. There are many glimpses of the man

to be found in his essays but in the end, he remains to some degree unknown.

Han Yongun died June, 29, 1944, survived by his wife and daughter and his estranged son. He never lived to see the liberation for which he had tried to prepare himself and his society.

Footnotes to Chapter Seven

- (1) Doctoral thesis submitted to the University of Washington, 1971. University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
- (2) 1970 - 71.
- (3) Ibid, preface p.p.IX-X.
- (4) See frontispiece to Vol. 1.
- (5) Vol. 1, p.p.83-90
- (6) The bull or cow is a Buddhist symbol meaning Buddha nature. One of the names of Sakyamuni was 'King of the Bulls.'
- (7) See the chronology to the Complete Works, Vol. 6, p.387.
- (8) The Novels of Han Yongun, the introductory article to Complete Works, Vol. 5, p.p.6-16. Paek also mentions (p.6) a story that a posthumous collection of poetry was in existence, but that he has never been able to find clear evidence for this.
- (9) 山家의 서역 ; Complete Works, Vol. , p.p.101-187. Mr. Yi has also written an explanation of the difficult Chinese references.
- (10) Ibid, p.107.
- (11) So Kyōngbo, A Study of Korean Zen Buddhism, p.p.396-397.

- (12) Vol. 1, p.172.
- (13) William Wordsworth, Ode (Intimations of Immortality), see The Oxford Book of English Verse, any edition.
- (14) Garma C. Chang; The Buddhist Teaching of Totality, p.xxiii.
- (15) Pleasure Garden from a Bramble Patch, Complete Works, Vol. 1, p.p.62-63.
- (16) 文六金身; "The normal height of a Buddha in his 'transformation body' 化身 (nirmāna-kāya); said to be the height of the Buddha when he was on earth.....; also a metal or golden image of the Buddha mentioned in the 北史 Northern History." Soothill and Hodous, Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms, p.54.
- (17) Complete Works, Vol. 1, p.p.91-100.
- (18) I have based this account on Richard Rutt, The Bamboo Grove, University of California Press, 1971, which gives a general survey of the history of the form, describes the various anthologies which are available in Korea and presents a large selection of sijo from various historical periods according to themes i.e., political songs, love songs, drinking songs etc.

- (19) Ibid, p.p.9-11. The reason for the four-fold division of a line is because each half line is often divided by a pause but these pauses are not always obvious. These tables are to be found on p.10.
- (20) 褪境 ; Vol. 1, p.94.
- (21) Ibid, p.95.
- (22) He uses the word Ch'angp'a 滄波 in the last line. The word conjures up big waves breaking on the shore. While the literal meaning is that the old man sees his own grey hair reflected in the big wave, this might be taken to mean he is reminded of his grey hair by the white caps on the waves. However, the poem's title and the imagery of the first verse suggest an inland scene. And his use of the popular poetic word Ch'angp'a may be just a weakness in the poem.
- (23) Vol. 1, p.95.
- (24) Ibid, p.p.56-57. This is Solberg's translation; op.cit. p.96.
- (25) Ibid, p.92.
- (26) 秋夜夢 ; Ibid, p.92.
- (27) Ibid, p.93.

- (28) Nimui Ch'immuk(沉默). Complete Works, Vol. 1, p.p.42-82. It consists of 88 poems with an introduction and a final address to the reader.
- (29) The poem 'Parting' 离别, p.p.46-47.
- (30) He seems to be criticizing specifically the philosophy of free love as escapist or unreal. His idea of love is deeper and more sure while remaining expressible in physical terms.
- (31) Vol. 1, p.42.
- (32) Ibid, p.82.
- (33) Pan Books, London, 1972.
- (34) Ibid, p.14.
- (35) Ibid, p.15. My emphasis.
- (36) Yonsei University Press, Seoul, 1970.
- (37) Ibid, p.6. My emphasis.
- (38) Ibid, p.8. My emphasis.
- (39) Op.cit. p.32.
- (40) Op.cit. p.127..
- (41) Op.cit. p.p.161-222.
- (42) Op.cit. p.214.
- (43) Ibid, p.162.

- (44) The World of Han Yongun the Poet;
Complete Works, Vol. 1, p.p.20-37.
- (45) Op.cit. p.193.
- (46) Chao Tze-chiang, A Chinese Garden of Serenity,
p.48.
- (47) Garma Chang, op.cit. p.XVI.
- (48) Alan Watts, The Way of Zen, p.40.
- (49) Ibid, p.40.
- (50) 離別之美的創造 . Vol. 1, p.43.
- (51) Sammy Solberg, op.cit. p.70.
- (52) 禪師의說法 . Vol. 1, p.61.
- (53) A pun on the quotation from Shakespeare, Hamlet,
Act 1, Scene 2, "Frailty, thy name is woman".
See Complete Works, Vol. 1, p.p.197-204.
- (54) See Complete Works, Vol. 5, p.p.374-384.
- (55) See Complete Works, Vol. 5, p.p.6-16.
- (56) See Complete Works, Vol. 4, p.p.407-409.
The reporter was Ch'un Ch'uhakin. 春秋學人.
- (57) See Complete Works, Vol. 5, p.p.385-387.
- (58) Complete Works, Vol. 6, p.p.292-354.

- (59) Complete Works, Vol. 5, p.p.18-307.
- (60) Circa 1912. Proper names are left in Korean.
- (61) Complete Works, Vol. 6, p.p.6-290.
- (62) p.p.218-221. This article was never published.
- (63) p.p.221-226.
- (64) p.p.212-214.
- (65) p.p.256-261; an article for the 100th edition
of Pulgyo, October 1931.
- (66) p.p.228-236; first published in Pulgyo Sin,
June 1937.
- (67) Recollections of My Father, by Han Yongsuk,
Nara Sarang, Vol. 2, 1971, p.p.90-92.

CONCLUSION

If one reflects on the weakened state of Korean Buddhism at the turn of the century and on the fact the great mass of Korean people were no longer interested in its message, the task which Han Yongun set himself and his religious organization in the Essay on Renewal seems impossibly idealistic. And yet, by 1922, he was not only a national figure but had become the outstanding spokesman for the reform of Buddhism and of Korean society, a man whose popular stature has never been equalled by any other Buddhist leader in modern times.

It is my hope that this thesis has been successful in presenting his life and works as a unified mission. His belief that a Buddhism, stripped of superstitious and archaic practices, and open to the new age of progress, was the religion (perhaps philosophy is a better word) ideally equipped to prepare Korean society for the future, was totally sincere. The two greatest Buddhist concepts, enlightenment and compassion (the Bodhisattva ideal), provided the intellectual and social matrices of his life's work. This is symbolized most clearly in the name he chose for his home. It was an ordinary house in an ordinary street close to the centre of the city and yet he called it 'the villa where I seek for wisdom'. From the early years when he called on those who believed in the salvation of the masses to abandon the mountain temples and live among the people, until his final days he himself remained very much in and in touch with the world.

His strictly Buddhist works, the Essay on Renewal; the Compendium of Buddhism; Selected Commentary on the Ts'ai-ken t'an; Discourse on the Shih Hsuan Tan are a testimony to his love of scholarship and at the same time to his need to bring Buddhist doctrine back within range of the people. His search for the Hangul wood-blocks, the history of Kǒnbong temple, his travels throughout the Korean Buddhist world preaching and discussing the renewal also reveal his deep affection for his own faith.

But, like Vimalakirti, who 'though having a profound knowledge of worldly learning, yet ever finding pleasure in things of the spirit as taught by Buddha', it is his ability to combine a priestly search for mystical truth to a compassionate regard for the human world within which he immersed himself that I personally have found most striking. The simple sijo Fising in the Stream; or the beautiful Dream on an Autumn Night; or the many poems of lost love and yearning in The Silence of 'Nim' are the work of a man who has experienced love and pain and survived without bitterness. In his novels one reads of the outcasts of society described with compassion.

There is no doubt that his love for tradition was very deep. As early as the Essay on Renewal his suspicion of the rapid advance of the Christian churches was pronounced. In his novels and essays he reveals a dislike for the increasing Westernization of Korea and he is outspoken (Death, Heartless Destiny) in his contempt for

the new morality. All this is tempered, however, by his concern for the equality of all living things and this is most striking in the frequency with which he returns to the theme of the emancipation of women and in the care he takes in depicting the principal female characters in his novels.

I have tried, in explaining Manhae's motivation, to present it in his own words as much as possible. In the end, however, nothing is completely explained.

APPENDIXExcerpts from selected articles.a. The Story of My Dying and Coming Back to Life.

The story of my dying and coming back to life! It is already twenty years ago since it happened and my memory of it is clouded and vague. It was probably the autumn of 1911, the year after the great storm had swept over the whole land of Korea and the annexation of Korea by Japan had taken place. The excessive heat had disappeared and autumn's energy was spreading through the world again. The autumnal breeze was stirring the leaves, the insects were buzzing under the window, and it was a time for warm thoughts of a lover who was far away.

That was the time when I, with my bamboo hat and my priest's bag on my back, with a short cane stick as my companion, took off on the road to Manchuria. Perhaps because times had changed in Korea and a Korean had no joy in living in his own beloved country, or perhaps for some other reason, but as I approached Manchuria, where no one was expecting or seeking me, there were a great many people crossing the vast Manchurian plain, with everything they owned on their backs. There were some among them who were going because they couldn't make a living at home, others were going for reasons of their own.

As for me, I was already a Buddhist disciple at that time so I intended to traverse the length and breadth of Manchuria, where many of my brother religious had come to live, to meet them and share our melancholy feelings and try to work out the endless way that was before us.

Wherever I met Koreans there, we talked about this and that, I asked about living in a foreign country and gave news of home. With my colleagues I discussed a way of gathering together our people who were wandering like sheep who had lost their shepherd and together we discussed ways in which we could assist them.

Although I had not been to see those parts before, at that time there was a strange kind of uneasiness and emotion hidden underneath the joyful spirits. The people came into Changsan and the days were filled with people cutting the corn and winnowing the millet and, in the long autumn days, they reaped and gathered the millet into the little cottages like the humped backs of a crab and ate their fill of gruel; they would light fires from pine husks and argue about all the affairs of the world and it was a time when some people turned to drilling with the gun. And so it was that at first they felt uneasy about people who came from inside Korea, then they became suspicious and in the end, when the suspicion was strong enough, there were even occasional killings.

The almost fatal misfortune that I myself suffered was due to just such an atmosphere. Although then I had absolutely no idea why it happened and even now I am still

in doubt, others say that I came under suspicion as some strange kind of spy from Korea.

One autumn day. In Manchuria too they have some fearfully high mountainous places, and having slept in a mountain village I was making my way along when I was joined by two or three young Korean men who were following me. They were about 20 years of age but I have forgotten just what they looked like or even their names. Little by little the road turned deeper into the mountains and as we crossed a hill called 'Kullajae', the trees seemed to pierce the sky and even though it was broad daylight the sky was not visible. I call it a road but it was really only a fieldworker or woodcutter's path and it was dim and dark. Here and there where the sun dissapeared the wood suddenly became as dark as if night had fallen.

Then! One of the youths following behind suddenly produced a gun! No! Then I didn't know whether it was a gun or what it was that he took out. Only ... the sound 'bang' and then the light sensation at my earlobe. 'Bang!' a second time, and I began to feel the pain. This was followed immediately by another shot and then I turned to them to scream their mistake at them. I wanted to rebuke them at the top of my voice. But what was this? Whether my vocal cords were cut or my tongue was swollen hard, I seemed to have said what was in my heart to say, but not a word came out. No, I couldn't even manage to produce a mosquito's buzzing. The blood ran like sap. At that moment I knew I was seriously hurt.....

b. The son whom nobody knows I have.

Since I originally belong to the olden times - namely, to the ranks of monks for whom meat-eating and taking a wife is strictly forbidden, no one has even asked me and I, for my part, have deliberately avoided telling anybody that I do have a wife. To say all of a sudden, at this time, that I have a son might lead some people to wonder whether I have broken the commandment during this time. It is not that at all. The truth is that when I was an ordinary person in the world, before I became a monk, I had a son. I am a man of Hongsǒng in Ch'ungnam and according to the old marriage customs I had (an arranged) marriage. Then, when I was 19, because of certain things that happened, I left home and became a monk. Having once left home and because my priestly life made me so removed from everything, I was unable to hear precise news from there. There was just a letter to say that my wife, who was pregnant when I left home, had given birth to a son.

Some years ago, in the Kimi (Samil) time, when my name became very well known, my son, who was living in the country, came to know that I was his real father. He came looking for me to Seoul and so it transpired that 'father and son' came to set eyes on each other for the first time. Afterwards, however, it was not possible, for various reasons, for me to care for him and keep him by my side. So, like Seoul and its outlying countryside, we lived apart.

Because of this people did not even know that I had a son. For my part, I have seldom mentioned it to anybody. This is the first time that I have made it public.

c. The Paulownia Tree Outside my Former Home.

My dwelling quarters at the corner of Kyedong were like a little bean and the building was so small it should have been very stuffy. But the reason I didn't find it so oppressive was because the area was high up and received a fair amount of sunlight, the air was fresh and a cool breeze came and went. There were trees nearby and their coolness and shade were sufficient to cast away all worldly cares. Even though I spent mid-summer in that small house, I did not experience the discomfort of the high summer heat.

But for man the greatest suffering is the heat that boils up inside rather than that which comes from without. As I passed that summer, however, I suffered neither the inner nor the outer stress and that is due to the paulownia outside that house I used to live in. At that dwelling there was one paulownia which leaned over the back wall. It was higher than the house itself and one could see it from the middle section of the house. On a moonlight night the shadow of the tree moved to and fro giving greater refreshment, were there a shower of rain the sound of its falling carried in 'bushels' of coolness; the

morning fog and evening smoke, the shady day and the shadow of night made one's energy grow and I, who was constantly looking at the paulownia, came to forget my inner worries without even realising it.

Does this mean that the paulownia tree has some kind of magical power that it casts a spell on a man's mind? If not that, then perhaps, it has some kind of spiritual power which can release a man from his cares? It is not that at all. The paulownia tree has neither magical power nor spiritual properties. It is just a part of nature and it depends on the person who sees it and feels the beauty and goodness of the tree to the point of identifying himself with the tree. The paulownia is me and I am the paulownia.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. General Works of Reference arranged according to title.

A Chinese Biographical Dictionary; by Herbert A. Giles; London, Bernard Quaritch, 1898.

Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms; with Sanskrit and English equivalents and a Sanskrit-Pali index; compiled by W.E. Soothill and L. Hodous; Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. Ltd., London. This edition by the Ch'eng Wen Publishing Company, Taipei, 1970.

Dictionary of Ming Biography; alphabetically arranged series of short biographical monographs in two volumes, Columbia University, 1976.

Han'guk Chapchi Ch'ongnam; a survey of Korean magazines since 1903 with an index; Seoul, Han'guk chapchi hyōphoe (Association of Korean magazine publishers) 1973.

Han'guk Chapchi Kaegwan mit Hobyǒl Mokcha Chip; a chronologically arranged contents listing of Korean periodicals in the humanities and social sciences, 1896-1945. Compiled by Kim Künsu; Seoul, Yonsin Academy, 1973.

Han'guk Hakdae Paekgwa Sajón; a three-volume encyclopaedia of Korean Studies, Seoul, Ulyu Munhwasa, 1972.

Han'guk Inmyǒng Taesajǒn P'yǒnch'ansil; a Korean biographical dictionary, Seoul, Singu Munhwasa, 1967.

Korean Studies Guide; University of California, Institute of East Asiatic Studies, 1954.

Korean Studies Today; Seoul National University, Institute of Asian Studies, 1970. I found especially useful the article Religion, by Lee Kiyong.

Pulgyo Sajǒn; Dictionary of Buddhism. Short but comprehensive guide to theological terms, names and brief histories of temples, famous Buddhist texts, and distinguished monks. Seoul, Pobt'ong Temple, 1962.

Source Materials on Korean Politics and Ideologies; by Donald G. Tewksbury; New York, International Secretariat of the Institute of Pacific Relations, 1950.

2. Buddhist, Historical and Social Background;
listed according to author.

Mrs. Bishop, Korea and Her Neighbours; London, John Murray, 1898.

Buddhist Culture in Korea; historico-cultural symposium. General editor, Chun Shin-Yong. Seoul, International Cultural Foundation, 1974.

Garma C.C. Chang, The Buddhist Teaching of Totality;
an account of the philosophy of the Hwa-yen school.
Pennslyvania State University Press, 1971.

Charles Allen Clarke, Religions of Old Korea;
Seoul, Christian Literary Society of Korea, 1961.

Heinrich Dumoulin S.J., A History of Zen Buddhism;
translated from the German by Paul Peachey; London,
Faber & Faber, 1963.

H. Hackmann, Buddhism As A Religion; London,
Probsthain, 1910.

William E. Henthorn, A History of Korea; New York,
The Free Press, 1971.

Homer B. Hulbert, The Passing of Korea; London,
William Heinemann, 1906.

Lee Chongsik, The Politics of Korean Nationalism;
University of California Press, 1965.

Andrew C. Nahm (ed.), Korea under Japanese Colonial
Rule; a symposium on the period containing an
excellent bibliography, Western Mitchigan University,
1973.

Marshall R. Pihl (ed.), Listening to Korea; a Korean
anthology, New York, Praeger Publishers, 1973.

Bishop Richard Rutt, Korean Works and Days;
Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo, Charles E. Tuttle Company,
1964.

Robert Scalapino and Chong-sik Lee, Communism in Korea; 2 Vols., Berkeley, University of California Press, 1972, Vol. 1.

Sō Kyōngbo, A Study of Zen Buddhism; approached through the Chodangjip, Seoul, Association for Zen Buddhist Research, 1973.

Frederick Starr, Korean Buddhism; Boston, Marshall Jones Company, 1918.

Dae-Sook Suh, History of Korean Communism; Studies of the East Asia Institute, Princeton University Press, Columbia University, 1967.

Alan Watts, The Way of Zen; London, Thames and Hudson, 1957.

Benjamin Weems, Reform, Rebellion and the Heavenly Way; a history of the Ch'ondogyo, Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 1964.

Wǒn sect of Buddhism; Han'guk Pulgyo Sasangsa; a history of Korean Buddhist thought, it includes an account of Han Yongun, p.p.1140-1154, plus the lives of many of his contemporaries. Iri, Wǒnpulgyo sasang yǒnguwǒn, 1975.

Yi Hisu, Han'guk Pulgyo; Seoul, Pulsō Pogupsa, 1971.

3. On Han Yongun and specific points relating to the text.

a) Han Yongun Ch'ōnjip; The Complete Works of Han Yongun; in six volumes; with an index, a chronology of Han Yongun's life, and a bibliography on the poet which is comprehensive up to the time of publication i.e., 1973. Most of the articles which I have quoted in the text are to be found elsewhere in the Complete Works, itself, either as an introduction to a volume (e.g., Paek Ch'ōl, Song Uk) or gathered together in Vol. 4, p.p.361-422, under the title Han Yongunul marhanda, Speaking of Han Yongun. In some cases I have quoted from these articles as they appeared somewhere else, e.g., Korea Journal and I list these with page references to the Complete Works, Vol. 4;

Cho Chihun, Minjok Chu'üija Han Yongun (Han Yongun the nationalist) p.p.362-365. Hong Isöp, Manhae-üi minjok chöngsin (nationalism of) p.p.336-373. An Pyöngjik, Manhae, Han Yongun-üi tongnip sasang (independence thought of) p.p.374-385. Yom Mu'ung, Manhae, Han Yongunnon (life and thought of) p.p.336-405.

In every other case I have referred to the article as it appears in the Complete Works in the notes to

each chapter. The production of the Complete Works is the work of many scholars who are named in the frontispiece of each volume. The history of this compilation is given in the foreword to Vol. 1. Seoul, Singu munhwasa, 1974.

Nara Sarang, (love of one's country) is a magazine series to commemorate Choe Hyǒnbae 1894--1970. The 1972, Vol. 2, edition is entirely devoted to articles about Han Yongun and selections from his work. In the bibliography in Vol. 6, of the Complete Works, this issue is wrongly given as number 4. Chǒnggūmsa, Seoul.

Im Chungbin, Manhae, Han Yongun; a biography, Vol. 8, in the series Widaehan Han'guk In (Distinguished Koreans); Seoul, T'aeguk Ch'ulp'ansa, 1974.

Yonghill Kang and Frances Keeley, Meditations of the Lover; a translation of Nim'ui Ch'immuk; Seoul, Yonsei University Press, 1970.

Sammy Edward Solberg, The Nim'ui Ch'immuk (Your Silence) of Han Yongun, a Korean poet. A doctoral thesis submitted to the University of Washington, 1971. University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

b) Other sources by author.

Cha Ki'pyǒk, Political Thought behind Korean Nationalism; paper originally presented to the Centre for Korean Studies at the University of Hawaii, September, 1975. Reprinted in Korea Journal, Vol. 16, No. 4, 1976.

Chao Tze-chiang, A Chinese Garden of Serenity; New York, Peter Pauper Press, 1959.

Cho Chihun Chǒnjip, (Complete Works of Cho Chihun), Seoul, Ilchisa, 1973, Vol.5, p.p.243-419.

Cho Chonghyǒn, Manhae, Han Yongun; an article in Han'guk ūi sasangga sibi-in; accounts of twelve Korean thinkers, edited by Sin Il'ch'ǒl; Seoul, Hyonamsa, 1975, p.p.403-436.

Martina Deuchler, Neo Confucianism in Early Yi Korea; article in Korea Journal (published monthly by the Korean National Commission for Unesco); Seoul, Vol. 15, No.5, 1975.

Kaneko Daiei, The meaning of salvation in the doctrine of Pure Land Buddhism; in The Eastern Buddhist, 2nd Series, Eastern Buddhist Society, Otani University, Kyoto, 1965, p.48ff.

Kim Haesǒng, Han'guk hyǒndae siin-non (on modern Korean poets); Seoul, Kumgang ch'ulp'ansa, 1973, p.p.559-572.

Kim Pyongik, Han'guk mundansa, a history of Korean literary circles; Seoul, Ilchisa, 1973, p.p.113-119.

Kim Yongsong, Han'guk hyǒndae munhaksa t'ambang; (relevant facts about 45 modern Korean writers and their works); Seoul, Kungmin Sōgwan, 1973.

Kim Yunsik, Han'guk munhaksa nongo (a treatise on Korean literary history); Seoul, Pommunsa, 1973, p.p.131-139.

Richard Rutt, The Bamboo Grove; and introduction to sijo; Berkley, Los Angeles, London, University of California Press, 1971.

Mark Napier Trollope, Introduction to the study of Buddhism in Corea; Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, Vol. 8, 1917, p.p.1-41.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks are due first of all to my parish priest of the last four years, Fr. Gerald A. Strain, without whose assistance I could not have taken up this study. Then to my supervisor, Dr. W.E. Skilland, who led me to Han Yongun, was always patient with my ignorance, and directed and corrected my work with unfailing kindness.

My thanks also go to my friend, Mr. Kim Changch'un, who supplied for my clumsy hand in writing the characters, and to his wife and family for their many kindnesses.

Then there are Mr. Yun Kuho, Mr. & Mrs. Chón, Susan Pak and all my Korean friends; Fr. Peter Nolan, Fr. Gerard French, Sr. Mary Murray, Judy Coleman, Cecilia Mallon, Carmel McGill, Kevin, Anne and Mark Jordan, Charles and Pauline Keppler, who kept me believing I would be able to complete this work, and the Columban Fathers who gave me space to do so.

Finally, I wish to express my deepest thanks to my family and to Miss Margo Kenny who did all the typing in her free time. I owe her much more than words can say. In the end, the mistakes are all my own and I will never forget her patience and encouragement.

John Houlahan

Autumn 1977.