

The Religion of the Heavenly Way's Sunday Service in Korea: Its Meaning and Structure*

Ko Byoungchul

The aim of this article is to investigate the meaning and structure of *Cheondogyo's* (Religion of the Heavenly Way) Sunday service (*siilsik*), which is a regular and collective ritual. In particular, I attempt to determine the relationship between a regular collective ritual like Sunday service and a believer/individual's religious identity. Scholars need to pay attention to ritual as a strategy.

To achieve my purpose, I reviewed the structures and meanings of Sunday service, dividing it into time, space, and process. I studied its structures and meanings in relation to believers' and Religion of the Heavenly Way's identity, participating at the Seoul Center Church. I also interviewed people who handled important business for Religion of the Heavenly Way.

Through this research, I was able to confirm that Sunday service is composed of traditional and modern factors, leads believers to emotional and cognitive participation because they recognize it as ritual acting during sacred time and space, and is the strategic ritual for believers' and Religion of the Heavenly Way's identity.

Keywords: *Cheondogyo* (Religion of the Heavenly Way), Sunday service, structure, meaning, identity

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Introduction

This paper investigates the meaning and structure of the Sunday service (*siilsik*) of *Cheondogyo* (Religion of the Heavenly Way), which is a regular and collective ritual. The structure of ritual means a network enclosed to a specific space, specific time, specific process, various believers, things offered in sacrifice, and organization. Its structure makes believers conceive a similar meaning and attitude in the emotional and cognitive dimensions because there are homogeneous stimuli in the ritual structure. The structure and meaning of ritual are linked with collective identification on this account. Analyzing the meaning and structure of Sunday service, I will elucidate that they are closely connected with the self-identity of Religion of the Heavenly Way believers.

The Religion of the Heavenly Way, founded in late 1905, holds a key position in Korean religious traditions because it is a continuation of *Donghak* (Eastern Learning), a religious and social movement formed in Korea in the mid-nineteenth century. Eastern Learning is considered a unique Korean religious movement because its founder Choe Jue (1824-64, Great Master; *Daesinsa*) received a vision in which he was commissioned by Heaven to establish a new religion (Kim Chongsuh 1993: 224).¹ Buddhism and Taoism as well as Confucianism were included in his religious vision, which were connected to Choe Sihyeong (1827-98, Master; *Sinsa*). Son Byeonghi (1861-1922, Revered Teacher; *Seongsa*) changed Eastern Learning's name to Religion of the Heavenly Way and put in good order its organization.

Beginning in the 1900s, Religion of the Heavenly Way emphasized Sunday service as a moral duty of its followers. The Sunday service, a regular collective ritual, was fixed in a specific time and space like Protestant services and the Catholic mass. Religion of the Heavenly Way linked Sunday service with the discourse that emphasizes moral practical duty as compared to private rituals and irregular collective rituals. Because of this, participation in Sunday service was considered a moral practical duty of its believers, and believers should participate in it more than other rituals. Today's believers are expected to participate in Sunday service, pray to Heavenly God (*Hanullim* or *Cheonju*), and train themselves to accomplish their own wishes. Thus, Sunday service is connected to the individual but is also a collective identification.

1. Choe Jue was born the son of an obscure Confucian scholar and was educated under that tradition.

Historically, despite rituals being important elements in understanding religions and cultures, there has been a loathing of rituals in Korea because they are criticized as empty formalities and Confucian vanity. Only in Korean religious studies have rituals been regarded as an expression of doctrine, but recently, cognitive changes have occurred in Korea (Kang Donku 1999: 3-6). Scholars' interest in rituals has increased as evidenced in the publications of *Hanguk jonggyou ui sikkwa yejeol* (Rituals and Etiquettes of Korea Religions, 1996), *Hanguk uiryemunhwa yeongusa mit yeongubangbeop* (Research History and Method of Korea Rituals, 1997), *Hanguk uiryemunhwai gujowa yeoksa* (Structure and History of Korean Rituals, 1999), and *Hanguk uiryemunhwai ihaewa pyeongga* (Comprehension and Evaluation of Korea Rituals, 2000). New ritual research has been a critical examination of existent ritual research and accommodates various methods.

So far, there has been little research about Religion of the Heavenly Way rituals, and there is no research about Sunday service despite the importance of new religious movement's rituals (Kang Donku 1987: 182-3). Also, existing research ends with the introduction of Sunday service (Im Ungil 1999). Since Religion of the Heavenly Way is regarded as an important historical subject in Korean education, this is an unexpected phenomenon. I expect that this article will provide the impetus for ritual studies including research about Sunday service. I used primary documents, secondary sources, and interviews despite there being insufficient materials about Sunday service.²

Structure of Sunday Service

The term "Sunday services" appeared for the first time in February 1906 after the establishment of Religion of the Heavenly Way on December 1, 1905 (*Daegocheonha*). But its name *siilsik* (Sunday home ritual) implied individual ritual to be done in the home. Current Sunday service originated in February 1906 as a union of *siilsik* and *seonghwahoe* (the collective preaching meeting; Sunday service). Sunday home ritual and Sunday service are kinds of *yeongse uisik* (eternal ritual) (Jongryeong 11, February 22, 1906).³

2. For my research, I interviewed three people-Li Seonyeong, Im Ungil, and Chang Jeongsuk-who handled important business for Religion of the Heavenly Way.

3. In this article, Jongryeong and Gongham refer to the materials of Cho Giju and Li Dongcho.

Religion of the Heavenly Way emphasized Sunday service more than Sunday home ritual because it was essential to building a modern religion. So Sunday service was established in each *bu* (a kind of church polity; covered region is bigger than *gu*) and *gu* (a kind of church polity; covered region is smaller than *bu*) in June 1906 (Jongryeong 29, June 14, 1906). Religion of the Heavenly Way also began to emphasize Pure Water (*cheongsu*), Incantation (*jumun*), Sincerity Rice (*seongmi*), and Right Money (*uigeum*) in February 1909 (Jongryeong 27, February 25, 1909). It means that Sunday service, a new ritual done regularly and collectively, helped establish the self-identity of Religion of the Heavenly Way.

Sunday service was included in *ogwan* (Five Practices) in December 1911 as well as *sagwan* (Four Practices) in August 1911. The Five Practices of Incantation, Pure Water, Service Day (*siil*), Prayer (*gido*), and Sincerity Rice were moral and practical duties for its believers (Jongryeong 88, August 17, 1911; Jongryeong 91, December 18, 1911). The name of Sunday service that was emphasized continuously with Five Practices was called *siilsik* in 1925. Simultaneously, *siilsik* as Sunday home ritual was changed to *siilgido*, and the word *seonghwahoe* disappeared (Gongham, June 30, 1925). After that, Religion of the Heavenly Way made Sunday services the primary and most moral and practical duty among its rituals.

1. Time of Sunday Service

Attempting to modernize, Religion of the Heavenly Way began using the solar calendar in December 1905, and then changed their memorial days using the solar calendar in May 1908 (Jongryeong 6, May 1, 1908).⁴ In this process, Sunday became the day of rest instead of Saturday afternoon. However, Religion of the Heavenly Way changed the name of Sunday to *siil*, and emphasized it not as a day of rest but as *mosineun nal* (a day to believe in Heavenly God) to its believers (Jongryeong 11, February 22, 1906). They experienced another time to remember Heavenly God and Religion of the Heavenly Way teachers. It is important that *seonghwahoe*, or Sunday meeting, was held once a week because it means that Religion of the Heavenly Way took a week as its

4. *Cheonil* (Heaven's Day, April 5th) and *Jiil* (Earth Day, March 10th and June 2nd) were changed from the lunar calendar to the solar calendar at that time.

unit of life (Ko Gun-Ho 2002: 63).

Starting in June 1925, Sunday service was held from 11:00-12:00 (Cheondogyo Jungang Chongbu 2006: 151; Gongham June 30, 1925). Since then all parishes should begin preparations for Sunday service in the morning. Even though there are no official regulations, believers offer pure water and pray for attendance at the Sunday service. Also, believers recite incantations in twenty-one letters 105 times on Sunday at 9 p.m., although they recite Choe Jeu's incantation (*Sinsa jumun*) 105 times on other days. This means that Sunday service has become a special time to Religion of the Heavenly Way believers.

Before June 1925, Sunday service was held from 13:00-16:00 or from 10:00-12:00 (Gongham 1, April 30, 1906; Jongryeong 29, June 14, 1906). There was no staid special meaning to the time of Sunday service. That time was related to the previous life rhythm in which believers began work at daybreak and rested for a while after breakfast. Of course, Sunday service was not a holy time to believers at that time. However, since 1925 the time for Sunday service has been special to the believers because it provides an opportunity for believers to interact with each other, to collectively pray to Heavenly God, and to gain modern knowledge. Believers now consider Sunday service as a special thing in which they should participate.

2. Space of Sunday Service

Sunday service had been held in a house in the past. Now, it is not held in a house but at a church. Among many churches, Seoul Center Church, which became Seoul Tangible Cultural Properties No. 36 in 1978, has been the most important Religion of the Heavenly Way church. It can seat up to one hundred thousand people. Its cornerstone was laid in October 1906, and it was completed in February 1921.

The description of the interior space of Center Church is as follows. There are chairs on the left side and the right side. There is a large and small desk at the front. Behind the desks, there is the Religion of the Heavenly Way flag. There are choir seats and a piano at the front left. The windows have the same pattern as Catholic church windows. Therefore, the exterior of the Religion of the Heavenly Way church cannot be differentiated from a Catholic church.

There have been many events historically held at the Center Church. For example, movies were screened at the Center Church in 1924 ("Cheondogyo-dange gakkeum sangyeong," *Maeil sinbo*, December 1, 1924). Also there were

various meetings including social meetings of believers and lectures. However, Center Church is primarily used for Sunday service now. Of course, various lectures are still held after Sunday service.

Usually the church space is divided into three for Sunday service: space for the preacher, believers, and the chorus. The preacher, wearing ceremonial dress, and the reader sit in the highest location. The next highest location is the chorus, and the believers' location is the lowest. In some cases, there are churches that don't have a choir, and there are churches where the space for the preacher and believers is not divided. However, in most cases, the space for the preacher and believers is divided. All participants have their appointed space for the Sunday service.

The important point is that these spaces are not based on a hierarchy like many other religions. For example, when Sunday service ends, all believers can enter the preacher's space. Also, since there is no pastoral system in Religion of the Heavenly Way, all believers can be a preacher at Sunday service with the parish's recommendation. The position of all preachers is temporary in the course of Sunday service. For example, preachers at the Center Church are selected temporarily and return to the believer's position after Sunday service.⁵

Because there isn't a pastoral system that believers recognize, the space of Sunday service is temporary. Among believers, past preachers and future preachers are mixed. Only the choir space is fixed because choir members have some training. Believers can also be preachers during Sunday service, and there is no definitive hierarchy in the structure of Sunday service.

3. Process of Sunday Service

The early process of Sunday service (*seonghwahoe*) has had the following changes: Prayer (*simgo*) - Offering clear water (*cheongsu bongjeon*) - Incantation (*jumun*) - Sermon (June 1906); Fuming the altar with incense - Offering clear water - Prayer - Sermon (*sillihak*) - Prayer - Sermon (*ingyehak*) - Prayer - Declaring close (December 1906); Declaring the start of the ritual - Offering clear water - Prayer - Reading the Incantation three times (21 *jumun*) - Sermon - chorus (*cheondeok song*) - Prayer - Declaring close (end of June 1925) (Jongryeong 11, February 22, 1906; Jongryeong 60, December 26, 1906; Gongham, June 30, 1925).

The last process was used until early 1946. From 1946 onward, the process

5. From interview materials.

of Sunday service has changed three times. The change in the process is as follows: Offering clear water - Prayer - Incantation three times (13 *jumun*) - Reading scripture - chorus - sermon - chorus - Prayer - Declaring close (March 1946); Offering clear water - Prayer - Incantation three times (13 *jumun*) - Reading scripture - chorus -sermon - chorus - Prayer - Declaring close (March 1968); Declaring the start of the ritual - Offering clear water - prayer - Incantation three times (13 *jumun*) - Reading scripture - chorus - sermon - chorus -Prayer - Declaring close (September 2000) (Cheondogyo Jungang Chongbu 1946: 6; Cheondogyo Jungang Chongbu 1968: 18-9; Cheondogyo Jungang Chongbu 2000: 30-1). The process begun in 1946 was different from previous ritual processes because it included the “13 *jumun*,” offering clear water, and a sermon. The process begun in 1968 was the same as 1946 except that ceremonial dress was added. The process begun in 2000 was similar to 1968. However, declaring the start of the ritual was added to the process. The current Sunday service follows the process begun in 2000.

The current process of Sunday service at the Center Church is as follows (April 2006). Its process agrees with a revised bill from 2000.

The process of the Sunday service is as follows: After the believers, the cho-

process	note	minutes
① Declaring the start of the ritual	Master of ritual (education conductor Hyeam Choe Yonggeun)	2
② Offering clear water	Woman Offering clear water (Women's Meeting Jaindang Li Yeongrim)	5
③ Prayer for beginning of ritual	All together	3
④ Incantation 3 times (13 <i>Jumun</i>)	All together: following the piano's melody	5
⑤ Reading scripture	Man reading scripture (Cheoram Ji Gwangcheol)	5
⑥ Chorus (<i>Cheondeok song</i>)	All together (led by the chorus): contents such as reading scripture	5
⑦ Sermon	Preacher (Hwaam Kim Hoseong): “I meet you and succeed”	30
⑧ Chorus (<i>Cheondeok song</i>)	All together (led by chorus)	5
⑨ Prayer	All together	3
⑩ Declaring close	Master of ritual	2

rus, and the preachers are situated, ① the master of ritual declares that Sunday service has begun. ② A woman picks up a vessel containing clean water from the church entrance and walks slowly toward the preacher; the choir sings. She puts the vessel on the small desk in front of the preacher and greets the master of ritual. Then she leaves for the right side. The master of ritual opens the vessel's lid. ③ The master of ritual says "Let's pray" to the believers. After that, ④ all believers pray and sing the incantation three times according to the melody of the piano. ⑤ a man, standing behind the desk, reads the scripture. ⑥ All believers praise *cheondeok song* based on the contents of the scripture. The choir sings the first verse. ⑦ The master of rituals preaches for 30 minutes based on scripture. ⑧ All believers join in singing with the chorus after the first verse. ⑨ Using the master of ritual's sermon, the believers pray together. Last, ⑩ the master of ritual declares the conclusion of the service, and then shuts the lid of the clean water vessel.

Among these, offering clear water, prayer, and the incantation were used as ritual elements before December 1905. The symbolic meaning of offering clear water, which had been used by Eastern Learning, is understood to be an object of faith, the martyrdom of Choe Jeu, and the root of all things (Pak Inho 1921: 21; Lyu Byeongdeok 1987: 391; Im Ungil 1992: 137). But it is also a symbol of great enlightenment with the incantation (Cheondogyo Jungang Chongbu 2001: 36-7, 62). The symbolic meaning of prayer that originated in *sikko* (said for taking meals), *chulgo* (said for going out), and *ipgo* (said for coming in) is the gratitude and rethinking for Heavenly God and Choe Jeu (The Institute for Korean Historical Studies 1996: 14; Im Ungil 1992: 127-30).

The reading of scripture and the choir are elements that appeared after December 1905. The reading of scripture, which began in 1946, is an accessory to the sermon because it is read aloud before and after the sermon. The choir is an element that appeared at the end of June 1925 (Chang Jeongsuk 2006: 214). It is also an accessory to the sermon because it chants in unison before and after the sermon. And the song's content is selected based upon the scripture. It is apparent that the reading of scripture and the choir are accessory factors that assist in the sermon.

The sermon appeared after December 1905 along with the reading of scripture and the choir. The sermon presupposed a division between the preacher and the audience. The purpose of the preacher was to educate believers about doctrine and modernistic knowledge. It is similar in the current Sunday service. For instance, beginning in 1968 Religion of the Heavenly Way emphasized Sunday

as 'the day to educate all believers', and Sunday service as 'the ritual for collective prayer and education' beginning in 2000 (Cheondogyo Jungang Chongbu 2000: 30-1). In this, 'education' meant believers' cognitive change through sermon. Therefore, teaching doctrine and knowledge to its believers is the point of the Sunday service's sermon.

The sermon is the core of the Sunday service, and the Sunday service consists of three steps. The first step informs the beginning of the ritual and drives participation of the believers (①-④); declaring the start of the ritual, offering clear water, prayer for beginning of ritual, and incantation 3 times). The second step passes doctrine and social knowledge to the believers (⑤-⑧); reading of scripture, chorus, sermon, and chorus). The third step informs the close of the ritual to its believers (⑨-⑩); prayer and declaring close).

Except for ① and ⑩, the Sunday service is begun with traditional elements (②-③-④) and it returns to a traditional element (⑨) via modern elements (⑤-⑥-⑦-⑧). This means that the process of the Sunday service has the structure of 'tradition-modernity-tradition'. Believers accommodate doctrine and new knowledge through the modern sermon, and return to the tradition after that. The traditional elements provide an emotional immersion and active participation to the believers, while the modern sermon demands a cognitive immersion of the believers during Sunday service. Sunday service is a ritual that mixes tradition with modernity. Simultaneously, it is a ritual that connects the past and the present for its believers.

Meaning of Sunday Services

1. Time of Sunday Service

In the beginning, the service day (*siil*) of Sunday which originated from the Gabo Reform of 1894 was not recognized as a holy time by believers. However, the service day gradually began to be emphasized as "other time" and not an ordinary day by church leaders. It, along with Incantation, Pure Water, Prayer, and Sincerity Rice, became something important because teachers were inspired to Heavenly God (*Hanullim*) (Jongryeong 91, December 18, 1911). Also it was understood as *Sanghag-il* (day for the beginning of school) and *Gangdo-il* (day for explaining doctrines). Sunday service (*siilsik*) was similar to the case of the service day. Church leaders made believers recognize Sunday service as a lec-

ture for seeking the development of modern knowledge and a time to remember Heavenly God and teachers. Sunday service became a time for believers to gather at the church and to create new images of a modern religion (Religion of the Heavenly Way) (Pak Sijik 1916a: 511-4). Furthermore, it was emphasized as a time to attend Sunday service (*seonghwahoe*) (Won Myeongjik 1917: 444). Church leaders made Sunday service core to service day for these reasons.

Religion of the Heavenly Way emphasized more and more that believers have an obligation to attend Sunday service because it, including service day, is a time originated with Heavenly God (*Hanullim*) and teachers. Also, Sunday service was understood as the time to outwardly express one's faith (Jongryeong 10, June 10, 1908; Jongryeong 38, October 20, 1909).⁶ All believers should receive modern knowledge and news about Religion of the Heavenly Way by attending Sunday service. They should express Religion of the Heavenly Way's collective authority to outsiders through their inner intercourse. The present situation is similar to the past in that service day and Sunday service is recognized as a meaningful time for believers to gather at their church and pray to Heavenly God and teachers. Now Sunday service is a time for believers to foster their faith through collective prayer and education (Cheondogyo Jungang Chongbu 2000: 30-1). In this situation, Religion of the Heavenly Way achieves their religious purpose of "sustaining and/or expanding their religious community, especially through social intercourse of its believers."

Existent investigators insist that the time of Sunday service (11 a.m.) originated in 'the time that Choe Jiu obtained or perceived the truth' (Cho Giju 1979: 282). But the service began at 10 a.m. or 1 p.m. until June 1925 (Gongham 1, April 30, 1906; Jongryeong 29, June 14, 1906). This means that the time of Sunday service has no connection with Choe Jiu's religious awakening. Nevertheless, many believers regard the start time as 'that which originated in Heavenly God and teacher.' Also Religion of the Heavenly Way emphasized that the time of Sunday service is related to Heavenly God and teacher (Cheondogyo Jungang Chongbu 2000: 30). Now the time of Sunday service is considered a holy time because of this belief.

This belief is unrelated to historical facts. However, believers consider it important to attend Sunday service because it is their moral duty. Of course,

6. Religion of the Heavenly Way emphasized that *seonghwahoe*, lecturing doctrines, is the core of the church and the method to practice Incantation, Pure Water, and Sincerity Rice.

there are cases in which believers can't attend Sunday service for personal reasons, but absentees remember Sunday service and pray to Heavenly God (Cheondogyo Jungang Chongbu 2000: 30).⁷ That is, Sunday service became time that should be remembered even when believers are absent from the service. This means that the time of Sunday service is related to creating a self-identity for believers and a collective identity for Religion of the Heavenly Way.

2. Space of Sunday Service

There are many historical meanings given to the space of Sunday service. For instance, Religion of the Heavenly Way has tried to make its authority as a modern religion through the space of its churches. Because of this, Religion of the Heavenly Way always emphasized that building churches is important to show its true character (Jongryeong 4, February 7, 1906; Gongham 1, March 26, 1906; Jongryeong 25, May 1, 1906; Jongryeong 36, August 3, 1906; Jongryeong 39, August 31, 1906). Also, Religion of the Heavenly Way has made space for learning new knowledge, informing about church news, and forming self-identity through sermon. Believers have utilized its space to train in what they lack. Sunday service was space that believers associate collectively, and learn the moral language (Park Sijik 1916b: 597-601). Today's space of the Sunday service functions similarly to the past. The space offers a modernistic sermon and traditional elements to believers and allows them to participate in an emotional and cognitive union during the Sunday service. The emotional and cognitive dimension that believers share is connected with forming their identity.

In the case of the Center Church, the space of Sunday service is divided into three: space for the preacher, choir, and the believers. Each space has a different function. For example, the space for the preacher is that for intellectuals who have a deep faith and rich knowledge. This is similar to the past. The openness of its space is related to the strategy for educating believers.

The space for the choir is offered to specific believers who are trained in Religion of the Heavenly Way. Of course, everyone supports the choir. The space for the believers is offered to ordinary people. Its space is divided into the left side and right side based on the tradition of separating males and females. Looking back to the 1930s, we can confirm a similar division based upon sex.

7. From interview materials.

Pictures taken of the Sunday service of Pyongyang Jongniwon in the 1930s shows females on the left side and males on the right side (Murayama Chijun 1991).⁸ It means that Religion of the Heavenly Way, even though asserting the equality of the sexes in the name of Heavenly God, maintains Confucian influences (Jongryeong 58, July 16, 1910).

While it is important to note that there is no definite hierarchy in the church's space, the arrangement of the space achieves an invisible hierarchy among believers. They cannot perceive it but can recognize their own positions in that hierarchy. Of course, it is not fixed and clarified. However, the space for the preacher can be offered to an intellectual and religious person in Religion of the Heavenly Way. They can use the moral languages and actions differentiated from other believers. The space for believers offers a more passive location than the preacher's location at Sunday service. It means that Sunday service, in spite of the chances of believers' locative change, has the space that offers prescribed languages and actions to believers. Also, it means that believers should participate in languages and actions that are repeated in an invisible hierarchy.

3. Process of Sunday Service

If the sermon is the core of the Sunday service, the process of the Sunday service has structure of "tradition-modernity-tradition." Religion of the Heavenly Way can be considered a modern religion because of its Sunday service. We can conjecture that Sunday service and Sunday worship of Christianity are connected. In this viewpoint, because of the affection of Christianity, which was considered a modern religion after the opening of Joseon's ports in 1876, Religion of the Heavenly Way intended a modern religion and emphasized more modernistic than traditional factors (Li Yongbeom 2003: 15; Young 2005: 56). However, the relationship between Sunday service and Christianity is still vague. Religion of the Heavenly Way also emphasized traditional elements and a modern sermon together. In the meantime, all believers do not have the same internal experiences during Sunday service because many elements, including space arrangement, the sermon's content, and believers' motives, affect the formation of their

8. Refer to the picture materials in Murayama Chijun's 1991 book. There are desks for the sermon and for offering clear water, and an organ in the interior of Pyeongyang Jongniwon in the 1930s.

meaning. Then, what are the meanings that the process of Sunday service keeps?

First, the traditional elements of the Sunday service, like offering clear water, prayer, and incantation that have been continued from Choe Jeu, drive an emotional participation through various memories to believers. For instance, believers pay attention to the actions of the female who is armed with the vessel holding clear water, and to the action of *Jimnyeja* (officiant) who opens the vessel's lid. That is, believers participate in tradition by remembering Heavenly God and Choe Jeu through offering clear water. Also, prayer and incantation supply memories about traditional actions relating to Heavenly God and Choe Jeu to the believers (Jongryeong 49, April 2, 1910; Jongryeong 54, April 20, 1910; Jongryeong 70, February 9, 1911). The use of a chorus was begun in December 1911 but became a symbol of Religion of the Heavenly Way in the 1920s. Then it became a traditional element in ritual revision at the end of June 1925 ("Cheonjong sinak," *Cheondogyohoe wolbo* 1, 1910: 181-2). Because of these elements, believers can emotionally participate in tradition.

Second, the sermon at the Sunday service is a way to analyze social issues through the reading of scripture. This resembles the *seonghwahoe* period. Believers don't always understand the sermon's content or the preacher's intention. Nevertheless, believers to some degree share similar knowledge and value through the sermon. Sunday service is not a ritual for emotional experience, in terms of this, but for cognitive participation. Believers share similar worldviews through the union of cognitive experiences. Of course, it is important to give emotional experiences to believers at Sunday service. But it is the various programs of prayer house, not Sunday service, which give most believers the emotional and religious experiences.

After Sunday service ends, believers recite incantation 21 times or 105 times in church. Religion of the Heavenly Way and each of its parishes promote these programs relating to religious practice or doctrine (Cheondogyo Jungang Chongbu 2000: 30-1). These programs have been linked to the Sunday service's purpose of collective education and solidarity. For instance, the Center Church supplies primarily programs relating to doctrine and lecture while small churches supply programs relating to incantation.⁹

In conclusion, believers experience cognitive and emotional changes in the

9. From interview materials. In most cases, various programs occur after Sunday service. But there are instances where programs do not take place especially in the case of small churches.

process of Sunday service. These changes in collective prayer and education are connected to their inner solidarity. The process of the Sunday service that combines traditional and modern elements offers this worldly view based on memories about tradition to believers. Believers consider Sunday service as a moral practical duty in this worldly view, and they experience uneasiness if they do not attend Sunday service. Therefore, Sunday service is a ritual connected with the identity of Religion of the Heavenly Way.

Conclusion

Most religions have regular collective rituals to expand religious influence and to manage believers. And these rituals are recognized as a moral and practical duty. Believers consider these rituals as the past itself, not as histories. Considering participation for these rituals as a moral and practical duty, participation in these rituals by believers is compulsorily. Rituals seem to bring believers together. In this process, religious-nationalistic personality comes out in the activities of religions (Kang Donku 1992: 119-29).

Religions create these rituals through the mixing of traditional and contemporary factors like in the Religion of the Heavenly Way's case. As remembering the past to believers, religions accommodate contemporary culture. This is similar to the reason structure of human beings who acquire current meanings from various memories. Religions appeal for believers' solidarity and create cognitive borders between believers and non-believers through regular collective rituals. These rituals are useful in extending religious influence as well as managing believers and running their organization.

Religion of the Heavenly Way's believers think that Sunday service originated from Heavenly God and Choe Jeu, and that it should be practiced in a sacred time and space. It became a moral and practical duty to them. They experience homogeneous cognitions and feelings at Sunday service while mixing tradition with modernity. That is, they strengthen their own cognitive (sermon) and emotional (offering clear water, prayer, incantation) identities through this ritual. Religion of the Heavenly Way, through these processes, continues to exist in contemporary Korea. This means that regular collective ritual, at least, is not secondary even if it is related to doctrine.

Today, there are many rituals in Religion of the Heavenly Way including Heaven's Day (*Cheon-il*), Earth Day (*Ji-il*), People's Day (*In-il*), Church Day

(*Gyo-il*), First Great Prayer Day (*Je-il dae gido-il*), and Second Great Prayer Day (*Je-i dae gido-il*). Religion of the Heavenly Way divides its rituals into *ipgyo* (entering the faith rituals), *suhaeng* (self-discipline rituals), *ginyeomsik* (commemorative rituals), and *haengsa* (observances or events rituals) (Cheondogyo Jungang Chongbu 2000).¹⁰ Among these, Sunday service is included in self-discipline rituals. However, compared to all the Religion of the Heavenly Way rituals, Sunday service, as one of the Five Practices (*ogwan*) that is a believers' moral duty, is a regular collective ritual that is held once a week. Furthermore, among the Five Practices, the major function of Sunday service is to regularly offer self-identity to believers. Today's believers maintain their identity by participating in Sunday service even though moral discourses relating to attendance of Sunday service exercise great influence on believers less than in the past. This means that Sunday service is a strategic ritual to continue and strengthens the identities of believers and Religion of the Heavenly Way.

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Ko Byoungchul received his Ph.D. in Philosophy and Religion from the Graduate School of Korean Studies at the Academy of Korean Studies. He is a researcher in the Academy of Korean Studies' Institute of Culture and Religion. His major research areas are history of Korean religions, religious thought, religious ritual, new religious movements (NRMs), and reflexive education about religion.