

Special Feature

The Spectrum of Studies on the History of Joseon Buddhism and a New Understanding of the Korean Buddhist Tradition

KIM Yongtae



The Review of Korean Studies Volume 25 Number 1 (June 2022): 71-108

doi: 10.25024/review.2022.25.1.71

©2022 by the Academy of Korean Studies. All rights reserved.

www.kci.go.kr

Introduction

The study of Buddhism in the Joseon dynasty, which started with the introduction of a modern philological and historical methodology and the collection of material, has achieved much during the past 100 years. Pioneering research on major themes was attempted under Japanese colonial rule between 1910 and 1945, setting the grounds for theories of Buddhism of the Joseon dynasty. Such studies, however, reflecting the colonial circumstances, painted Buddhist tradition in a negative light and defined Buddhism in the Joseon dynasty by the formula of suppression and decline. During the late 20th century after liberation, though, the basis of research has expanded, and a more autonomous perspective towards the tradition of Korean history has been emphasized. A diversification of the areas and topics of research has led to the accumulation of research achievements. Moreover, after the year of 2000, there has been research attempting to view Buddhism in the Joseon dynasty from a new perspective and illuminate its historicity in more detail.

The recent reinvigoration of research on Buddhism during Joseon was possible primarily due to the continuous discovery and reinterpretation of textual material as well as the expansion of the range of researchers. The more fundamental factor, however, was the realization that this was a relatively understudied area considering its vast array of tangible and intangible assets and the perception that historical reality had been obscured by the negative image that had been painted over Buddhism during Joseon. Simply put, the question of what exactly Buddhism during Joseon was served as the driving force for new research.

The present article first introduces the academic achievements under colonial rule from the standpoint that research began and theories were set up during this period, while at the same time pointing out its limits of an inherently negative formulation of tradition. Next, it examines the studies from after liberation up to the present by time period and by theme to understand overall research trends and their characteristics. Finally, the article reexamines the concept of the elevation of Confucianism and suppression of Buddhism

(*sungyu eokbul*), which has come to symbolize Buddhism during Joseon, and asks how we can gain a new understanding of the Buddhist tradition beyond the academically fixed framework.

Buddhism in the Joseon Dynasty: Beginning Research and Setting up Theories

Modern research of Korean Buddhist history is methodologically characterized by its focus on gaining an objective textual understanding through an extensive archive of documents, genealogical categorizations, and positivism as well as criticism. This departs from the more traditional academic research, which has focused on the historical narration of certain religious orders, sects, and individual Buddhist temples or on the annotative exegetics of doctrine. Prior to that, from the late 18th century, historical texts on the transmission of Buddhist dharma lineages, histories of temples containing the chronology and historical achievements of temples, and biographies of venerable monks were written (Kim 2010a, 365-75). During this period, documents were examined based on evidential learning (*kaozheng xue*), which reflected the academic trends back then. This differed from the modern objective and critical research methodology, which is based on a more positivistic historical approach and textual hermeneutics.

Modern research on the history of Buddhism was possible primarily after the gathering and categorization of documents on Buddhism. As Korea fell under Japanese colonial rule in 1910, an academic investigation project was carried out to aid the colonial rule of the Government-General of Joseon. All documents and artifacts on religion and folk traditions were investigated. This collection and compilation of Buddhist textual material was what made it possible to picture the historical reality of Buddhism during Joseon. Moreover, modern historical research methodology was introduced during this period as well. The Buddhist magazine *Korean Buddhism Monthly* (*Joseon bulgyo wolbo* 朝鮮佛教月報) that was founded in 1912 briefly introduced the history of Buddhism of India, China, Korea, and Japan and included an excerpt of the *On the Unification of Buddhism* (*Bukkyō tōitsuron* 佛教統一論) by Murakami Senshō 村上專精, who paved the road for the study of modern Buddhist history in Japan, translated by the Buddhist monk and scholar Gwon Sang-ro 權相老

* This work was supported by the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Korea and the National Research Foundation of Korea (NRF-2021S1A6A3A01097807).

(Gwon 1912).

The article by Furutani Kiyoshi 古谷清 first formed academic discourse on the characteristics of Buddhism during the Joseon dynasty. Mentioning the exclusion of Buddhism and the elevation of Confucianism during Joseon, he characterized Buddhism of Joseon as having barely survived despite such exclusion policies due to the faith of women and ordinary people (Furutani 1911). After being defined as “a story of the decline and fall of Buddhism” in this article, Buddhism of Joseon has largely been negatively viewed during the colonial period.

The full-fledged collection of Buddhist documents and the introduction of modern research methodology enabled the publication of the first survey of Korean Buddhist history, *A Summary of the History of Buddhism of Joseon* (*Joseon bulgyo yaksa* 朝鮮佛教略史) by Gwon Sang-ro in 1917 and Yi Neunghwa's *A Comprehensive History of Buddhism of Joseon* (*Joseon bulgyo tongsa* 朝鮮佛教通史) in 1918, which resembles an extensive source book. Gwon's book is a diachronic history of Korean Buddhism. It is divided into three parts, the Three Kingdoms, Goryeo, and Joseon and focuses on historical events and individuals arranged into 108 items. The part on Buddhism of Joseon covers Buddhist rituals, the renovation of Buddhist temples, the lives and achievements of Buddhist monks, and the changes in related systems. The appendix, “Summary of the Genealogy of Buddhism” (*Buljo yakgye* 佛祖略系) is based on the historical text tracing the transmission of Buddhist dharma during late Joseon, *The Origin of Buddhism from the Western Regions through China to Joseon* (*Seoyeok Junghwa Haedong buljo wollyu* 西域中華海東佛祖源流) (1764) and illustrates the transmission of Seon Buddhist dharma from India through China to Joseon (Gwon 1917).

Yi Neunghwa's book, on the other hand, aims to provide a deeper understanding of Korean Buddhism and includes a large amount of material along with the author's interpretation and assessment. Prior to the publication of the book, he wrote an article lamenting the fact that even Buddhist monks did not properly understand the history of Korean Buddhism and proposed the need for a systematic history. He also made it clear that he had started to collect material to provide reference material for understanding Korean Buddhist history and would publish a book to inform people of Buddhist history as well as propagate Buddhism (Yi 1917). His book is divided into three parts. The first part provides an overview of Korean Buddhist history by period; the second part briefly looks at the history of Buddhism in India and China, which follows the

orders of Korean Buddhism as well as the lineage of Seon Buddhist dharma; and the last part looks at over 200 items including individuals, schools of thought, religious beliefs, systems, and culture from the period of the Three Kingdoms up to Joseon (Yi 1918).

Research on Buddhism of Joseon that began in the 1910s culminated in the late 1920s primarily by the Gyeongseong Imperial University professor Takahashi Tōru's 高橋亨 *Buddhism of the Yi Dynasty* (*Ri chō bukkyō* 李朝佛教) published in 1929. The subject of Takahashi's book is limited to Buddhism of Joseon and reflects the methodology of historical positivism as well as modern philological research in terms of format and narration style and how he handles and interprets the material. It is a masterpiece that defined the direction of research thereafter in terms of the systematic organization of material, the choice of themes, the questions raised, and the proposal of arguments. The book encompasses a wide range of subjects including policies and historical events, figures and thoughts, lineage of Buddhist dharma and religious sects, and socioeconomic as well as cultural aspects. The themes and critical awareness covered in the book greatly impacted later research. However, Takahashi (1929) viewed Korean Buddhism from the framework of passivity and stagnation, which is characteristic of his historical perspective based on colonialism, and defined the period of Joseon as a time that lacked any development due to suppression and decline and that possessed no distinct features except for the faith of women and ordinary people.

In the introduction of his book, Takahashi writes that the characteristics of Korean thought were its dependency and rigidity, evident in how Korean Buddhist thought and faith relied entirely on China. In addition, Buddhism during the Joseon dynasty lost its social nature from being in a Confucian society and was maintained by women only as a religious means to pray for good fortune and drive away evil in the form of custom and superstition. According to Takahashi, Buddhism during the period of Joseon was thus forbidden by the order of the state, and without any religion or thought to counter, Confucianism exclusively dominated the people's minds, thus displaying an unusual history without any precedent throughout Asia (Takahashi 1929, 1-25)

In the following year, the book of Nurikaya Kaiten 忽滑谷快天, a scholar of Chinese Chan Buddhism, *A History of Seon and Doctrinal Buddhism in Joseon* (*Chōsen zenkyōshi* 朝鮮禪教史) was published in 1930. Although the book is

built upon previous research achievements, it is remarkable academically in the author's rigorous criticism and interpretation of historical material. The book traces the flow of Seon Buddhism and Gyo, or Doctrinal, Buddhism throughout Korean Buddhist history and reviews its features, concluding that Korean Buddhism does not possess any individual identity distinct from Chinese Buddhism. Nurikaya's position is not that different from his contemporary Japanese scholars, as he also regards Korean Buddhism to be a subtype of Chinese Buddhism and does not acknowledge its distinctiveness. In Part Four of his book, he defines the period of Joseon as "the decline of Seon and Gyo," during which a type of religion praying only for good fortune in the present life dominated. Nurikaya, who had been a Buddhist monk of the Japanese Sōtō School and a professor of Komazawa University, which was established by the Sōtō School, also expressed his critical view of the Linji School Buddhist dharma lineage and the Seon tradition of Joseon that emphasized *ganhwa seon* 看話禪 practices (Nurikaya 1930, 503-09).

During the 1930s, the themes of research on the Buddhism of Joseon diversified, and academic achievements followed. Eda Toshio 江田俊雄 mainly examined the publication and distribution of Buddhist texts of Joseon, focusing on the compilation of Buddhist scriptures and Korean translations of Buddhist texts by the Directorate of Buddhist Publications (Gan'gyeongdogam 刊經都監) (Eda 1934, 1936). He argued that Korean Buddhism was unique culturally and historically in East Asia and was an important thought as well as tradition of faith in Korean history but had not received the academic attention it deserved. As for Buddhism during the Joseon period, he defined it as being national, state-led, seclusive, and feminine in how it was used by the state and was a prayer-centered, ritualistic form of Buddhism mainly practiced among women and ordinary people. He also evaluated it as being harmonistic and unifying, the evidence of which was the single doctrine and religious order resulting from the unification of Seon and Gyo and its admixture with folk religious beliefs (Eda 1977, 85-99; 463-81).

In the late 1930s, Gwon Sang-ro wrote *An Outline of the History of Buddhism of Joseon* (*Joseon bulgyosa gaeseol* 朝鮮佛教史概說), which was published in 1939. He argued that the period of Joseon was the era of decline for Buddhism and that the religious body was barely able to survive through many troubles after the peak of the suppression of Buddhism during early Joseon. He also assessed that during late Joseon, Buddhism was not officially

recognized and did not receive the treatment it deserved from the state or among the people and was instead ostracized. Gwon's interpretation does not differ much from the negative perception of Korean history and the theory that late Joseon was a period of decline, which was widespread during that time. Gwon (1939), however, acknowledged that Buddhist circles had spontaneously practiced Seon meditation, explication of Buddhist scripture, and the chanting of the names of Buddha, thus carrying on the tradition.

Kim Yeongsu 金映遂 (1937a, 1937b), meanwhile, established the system of the history of Korean Buddhist orders, from the five schools of Gyo and the nine mountains schools of Seon, and the five schools of Gyo and the two schools of Seon of Goryeo, to the two Buddhist orders of Seon and Gyo of Joseon. In the part covering the Joseon period in his book *A Manuscript of the History of Buddhism of Joseon* (*Joseon bulgyo sago* 朝鮮佛教史稿), published in 1939, he wrote about the changes in the times as Confucianism replaced Buddhism, the decrease and unification of various Buddhist orders following policies to suppress Buddhism, Buddhism and the faith of the royal household, the Buddhist monks' militia during the Japanese invasion of 1592, the establishment of the lineage of Buddhist dharma and its transmission, the discoursing on learning and the explication of Buddhist scripture, the proliferation of annotative texts such as personal commentaries, and Pure Land Buddhism. Intriguingly, he argues that although the exclusion of Buddhism was pervasive in Joseon, most of the kings, with the exception of a few, were at heart Buddhist-friendly and allowed the worship of Buddhism (Kim 1939).

The achievements in the area of philology and bibliography produced Kuroda Ryō's 黒田亮 *A Study on the Old Books of Joseon* (*Chōsen kyūsho kō* 朝鮮舊書考), which was published in 1940. In this book, Kuroda summarizes the tendencies of Buddhist texts published in Joseon by theme, time period, and area, as well as their characteristics in terms of publication, and seeks to understand their features and specific current status. He writes that the frequency, quantity, and quality of Buddhist texts of the Joseon period are comparable to the Goryeo period. He also highly assesses the potential of Buddhist culture during Joseon in its active doctrinal study and edification of the people (Ryō 1940).

Thus, the outline of the historical reality of Buddhism during the Joseon dynasty was revealed by the compilation of textual material and the research of Korean and Japanese scholars. At the same time, there were limitations in terms of its veracity and specificity due to the constraints of historical material at that

time. What was most problematic, though, was the interference of a derogatory perspective adopted by the Japanese towards the other, namely, Koreans, as well as the negative view of a fallen tradition. As a result, tradition became to imply darkness, and the formulation of oppression and decline became fixed.

The view on the Buddhist tradition during Joseon by Korean and Japanese scholars are not without differences. For instance, Yi Neunghwa looks at Joseon as an important period during which the identity of Korean Buddhism was formed and wrote a serialized feature for a magazine on the historical flow and characteristics of Korean Buddhism. Although he did not deny that Buddhism during Joseon had declined compared to the preceding period, he highly regarded the fact that Buddhism had survived and that the lineage of Buddhist dharma had been transferred through active practice even amid the merging of the Seon and Gyo orders (Yi 1924-1926). Kim Yeongsu also emphasized that despite the exclusion of Buddhism set forth by the state of Joseon, with the exception of King Taejong and Yeonsan'gun, most of the kings approved of the worshipping of Buddhism, both among the royal family as well as the people, and also that King Taejo and King Sejo were rulers that patronized Buddhism. His main publication, *A Manuscript of the History of the Buddhism of Joseon* also devotes a large part to describing the various aspects of Buddhism during late Joseon such as lineage of Buddhist dharma, the discoursing on learning, and the publication of Buddhist texts (Kim 1939).

In contrast, Takahashi Torō defines the Joseon period as a strange time during which religious authority was taken away by the state and the Buddhist community was instead humiliated and pressured, losing its sociality as a religion and only barely managing to survive as the faith of the marginalized. He saw the historical characteristics of Korean Buddhism as dependency and stagnation, denigrating it as merely a transplant of Chinese Buddhism in terms of doctrine (Takahashi 1921; 1936). He also divided the period of Joseon into three stages based on the rise and decline of Buddhist teachings. The first stage was until the 15th century, when Buddhism was suppressed but was officially recognized; the second stage was until the early 17th century, when the Buddhist teachings were maintained and renowned Buddhist monks appeared in spite of the legal abolishment of Buddhism; and the third stage was after the mid-17th century, when the religion had completely fallen, the Buddhist monks were looked upon with contempt, and the Buddhist dharma had disappeared (Takahashi 1929, 1-25). This view is not of development or progress but of

stagnation and decline and strongly reflects the negative view of late Joseon.

In sum, it was under Japanese colonial rule, when the collection of documents and texts as well as the positivistic and objective research methodology was applied, that Buddhist tradition was portrayed through a comprehensive study of Buddhist history, thought, and culture. The many achievements produced by Korean and Japanese scholars shaped the history of Buddhism of Joseon, and arguments were established regarding its characteristics. At the same time, however, there were orientalist approaches as well as derogatory perspectives directed towards the other, which were especially prominent in the work of Japanese scholars. Consequently, the negative perception that Buddhism during Joseon was of suppression and decline took root, not just among academic circles but as commonsense.

Diversification of Research on the History of Buddhism in the Joseon Dynasty: Studies by Period and Theme

Because Buddhism during Joseon was neither sufficiently traditional nor modern, academic circles did not show much interest in this area even after liberation in 1945. Until the 1960s, there are only studies on subjects such as the Confucian scholars' view of Buddhism, the exchange between Confucianism and Buddhism, Buddhist monks' militia and the idea of national defense, and the labor tax imposed on Buddhist monks and Buddhist temple economy (Kim 1959; Yi 1959; U 1959; Yi 1962; U 1963; Yi 1963).

Research on Buddhism during Joseon hit its stride during the 1970s. Around this period, the Seon debates of the 19th century emerged as an important theme, which was related to the surge of studies on the Practical Learning (Silhak 實學) during late Joseon. Merely the fact that Chusa 秋史 Kim Jeonghui 金正喜, the master of Evidential Learning, had corresponded with a Buddhist monk and participated in the Seon debates was enough to garner a great deal of interest, and academic circles learned that there had been debates significant for the intellectual history of Buddhism in Joseon as well (Han 1969, 1975; Go 1975; Jong-ik Yi 1975). Scholars also focused on state-protecting Buddhism and the idea of national defense as if to reflect the mood of the times (D. Kim 1971a, 1971b; Y. Kim 1971, 1975). In addition, studies examined the genealogy and thought of prominent monks of Seon Buddhism such as

Cheongheo Hyujeong 淸虛休靜 and Buhyu Seonsu 浮休善修 as well as the characteristics of Seon and Gyo (I. Kim 1975; H. Kim 1975; J. Yi 1975).

The field of research expanded ever further after the 1980s. The achievements in the area of socioeconomic history were particularly notable. The labor of Buddhist monks was revealed to have been actively deployed for labor tax imposed by the state, and positivistic studies on the role and origin of Commissioner (*chongseop* 總攝), who had directed the Buddhist monks' militia, were published (Bak 1981; Yun 1984; Yeo 1987). Studies also found that there were a variety of Buddhist temple fraternities (*sachalgye* 寺刹契) such as circles formed among Buddhist monks of similar ages (*gapgye* 甲契), which had economic functions including being the basis of Buddhist temple economy, and that the land of individual Buddhist monks were owned and inherited during late Joseon (Kim 1983). Academic attention was also directed towards the lineage of Buddhist dharma that had been established during Joseon, which was related to the perception of tradition and the issue of identity of Korean Buddhism. Because the transmission of Buddhist dharma of the Linji School, which had been passed down from Taego Bou 太古普愚 of late Goryeo to Cheongheo Hyujeong, had been the official Buddhist dharma lineage during late Joseon, the veracity of its genealogy, the background of its establishment, and the perception of Buddhist history emerged as important points of discussion (Yeongtae Kim 1985; Choe 1988; Daeryun bulgyo munhwawon 1998).

Studies on Buddhist thought during Joseon also continued. As for early Joseon, journal articles on Hamheo Giwha 涵虛己和, Seoljam 雪岑 Kim Siseup 金時, and Heoeung Bou 虛應普雨 were published (Kim 1982, 1985, 1986). For late Joseon, interest focused not only on then tendencies of Seon such as *ganhwa seon* but also on the Seon dispute and the leaning towards Gyo in the dual study of both Seon and Gyo (Han 1992; Jeong 1994; Yi 1994). Buddhism in late Joseon in particular was assessed to have a dual structure in which the aspect of thought was influenced by the representative Seon Buddhist monk of Goryeo, Bojo Jinul 普照知訥, while the lineage of Buddhist dharma was mainly of the Linji School (Go 1985). Research on Confucian scholars' view of Buddhism and perception of Buddhist history continued (Kim 1983; Jeong 1983; Choe 1985).

In the 1990s, the topics of research broadened to include Buddhist policies, thought and religious beliefs, and Buddhist history texts. A doctoral

dissertation examining the basic direction of the exclusion of Buddhism and Buddhist policies during early Joseon by using the *Veritable Records of the Joseon Dynasty (Joseon wangjo sillok)* and a book providing a comprehensive overview of the Buddhist policies of late Goryeo to early Joseon were published (Yi 1991; Han 1993). The issue of land owned by Buddhist temples in relation to the royal family during early Joseon was looked into, and an article on Buddhism policies by King Jeongjo during the late 18th century, which had not drawn interest before, was published (Song 1992; Kim 1999). Deeper research into the self-cultivation and thought of the scholarly Seon Buddhist monks of Joseon Cheongheo Hyujeong and Hamheo Giwha was also conducted (Jongbeom 1993; Jongjin 1993; Bak 1996). Other studies looked into the specific development of the faith that chanted the names of Buddha and formation of the religious society to recite Buddha's name for ten thousand days (Jongbeom 1995; Han 1995). Additionally, studies on the perception of Buddhist history such as the Buddhist dharma lineage and relationship between the Buddhist temple Songgwangsa and the line of Buhyu 浮休, the 19th-century Buddhist history text *Essentials of the History of Buddhism (Sansa yakcho 山史略抄)* and the acceptance and influence of *The Origins of Shakyamuni Buddha (Seokssi wolllyu 釋氏源流)* during late Joseon were conducted (Choe 1995; Kim 1995; Choe 1998).

Beginning in the 2000s, the research on the Buddhism of Joseon leaped forward as the horizon of research broadened with the excavation of various themes and material as well as the acceptance of new perspectives. In particular, studies started to reexamine conventional views as the characteristics and historical reality of Buddhism during Joseon were reinterpreted and assessed. Many significant academic achievements have been made in various areas, including the changes of Buddhism policies seen in relation to the basic direction of state policy, the organization of the Buddhist Order and the succession of personnel, the recovery and maintenance of Buddhist temple economy, the proliferation of the discoursing of learning and doctrinal study, and the relevance of Buddhism with the society and the times. Such achievements, in turn, has allowed scholars to break free from the purely negative view of Buddhism in Joseon, which defined it as suppression and decline, and instead specifically clarify and approach the historical reality from a multifaceted perspective. The following are some of the recent achievements made in research divided by theme.

First, there are the studies on specific individuals and their thoughts. A book reviewing the life, activities, thought, and Buddhist dharma lineage of venerable monks in Buddhist history from late Goryeo to early Joseon was published (Hwang 2003, 2005). As for doctoral dissertations, a study looking at the Seon debates of the 19th century as a debate surrounding the status of the Linji Seon Buddhism, an article of the Buddhist dharma lineage of the Linji line and the tradition of doctrinal study of late Joseon, and a study overviewing the discipline of the three gates 三門 of Gyeongjeolmun 徑截門—the gate of the shortcut, Wondonmun 圓頓門, the gate of complete and spontaneous enlightenment, and Yeombulmun 念佛門, the gate of reciting the name of Buddha—have provoked interest (Bak 2005; Kim 2008; Yi 2010). In addition, studies analyzing Unbong Daeji's 雲峰大智 *On the Human Nature and Mind* (*Simseongnon* 心性論) or reviewing the Buddhist perception and arguments of the innate nature and focusing on its intellectual significance, as well as a study looking at the relationship between Buddhism and Confucianism to examine the specific perception of Buddhism during Joseon and its pursuit to be relevant during the times have been published (Yi 2008a; Kim 2009a, 2009b).

Second, there are the studies on religious belief. The most important academic achievement is without doubt the research on the Buddhist shrines that enshrine the ancestral tablets of the royal family (*wondang* 願堂), which were emblematic of the royal families' religious belief in Buddhism. Detailed findings include the fact that these Buddhist shrines built to guard the royal tombs, to pray for the fulfillment of one's wishes, and to pray for the protection of the country could be in essence characterized by the wish to fulfill their filial duty by praying for good fortune. The basis and socioeconomic aspects of the 250 Buddhist shrines of the royal family of Joseon were also revealed (Bak 2001; Tak 2012). An article tracing the historical changes of the Buddhist nunneries of the royal family including the Jeong'eopwon 淨業院, Jasuwon 慈壽院, and Insuwon 仁壽院, as well as a comprehensive study on eminent monks of early Joseon, the temples for Buddhist nuns, and the Buddhist nuns related to the royal family were published (Yi 2003; Hwang 2011). There was also a study reviewing the influence of Confucianism on a Buddhist funeral manuals and its background as well as a study that looked at the coexistence of Buddhism and folk religion through mountain spirits and the belief in the Seven Stars (*chilseong*) (Kim 2016b, 2019).

Third, studies on the publication of Buddhist texts and the compilation of

Buddhist history texts have garnered a lot of interest. The inauthentic Buddhist scripture of late Joseon, *Sang beop myeol ui gyeong* 像法滅義經, which was found to have been completed during abnormal climate conditions and reflects the theory of an ideal society that inherited the faith that Maitreya would descend upon the world to save all living beings. A study on the compilation of the biographies of Buddhist monks and Buddhist temple histories reviewed *History of Daedunsa* (*Daedun saji* 大菴寺志) and *Biographies of Great Masters of the East* (*Dongsa yeoljeon* 東師列傳) and elucidated the perception of Buddhist history. In addition, a doctoral dissertation that showed how the public basis for Buddhism was expanded through the publication of Buddhist texts during late Joseon including *Sanskrit mantra* (*Darani* 陀羅尼), *Collection of Mantra* (*Jineonjip* 眞言集), and *Collection of Rites and Rituals* (*Usikjip* 儀式集) also influenced later studies (Nam 2001; O 2002; Nam 2004).

Meanwhile, the incidental transmission of the Chinese *Tripitaka Jiaxing* (*Jiaxing dazang jing* 嘉興大藏經) during the late 17th century and the large-scale work of engraving by Baegam Seongchong 栢庵性聰 along with the circulation of Buddhist texts were studied. It was also discovered that the discoursing on learning including Hwaem 華嚴 was actively practiced (Yi 2008b; Kim 2012). A notable doctoral dissertation looked at Buddhism policies and the trends of Buddhism circles during the 16th and 17th centuries by reviewing a wide span of material including official historical texts published by the state, legal codes, household registrations, annotated Buddhist texts and published Buddhist sutra, compiled writings of Buddhist monks, and the stele of venerable monks. This dissertation found that the Buddhist tradition established during the 16th century continued on to the 17th century and that high-ranking Buddhist monks were able to maintain a high status in a society led by families of scholar-officials (Son 2013b).

Fourth, the studies on Buddhist policies and Buddhist temple economy have shown many achievements. The implementation of the monk-official administrative system (*seungjeong* 僧政) system and the reality of Buddhist temples and their management were particularly focused on. A study analyzed the changes of the suppression of Buddhism, the replacement of Jaboksa 資福寺 with famous temples, and the form and characteristics of the land and slaves owned by Buddhist temples (Ha 2000; Yu 2002; Yun 2007; Yi 2011; Kim 2011). Another study on the temple fraternities, which was formed to promote Buddhist faith as well as help the temples, looked at over 200 of these

fraternities and analyzed and categorized them by form, including the club to recite Buddha's name (*yeombulgye* 念佛契), the club made among those of similar age (*gapgye* 甲契), and a club to help out the temple (*bullyanggye* 佛糧契) (Han 2006).

Several recent studies are worth noting. Research on the monk-official administrative system, the position of *doseung* 度僧, which officially recognized the qualifications as a Buddhist monk, and the state examination for Buddhist monks to become a high-ranking monk-official during early Joseon has been conducted. Interestingly, the studies found that the so-called eradication of temples (*hyeokgeo*) conducted on all temples in early Joseon, with the exception of 242 temples and 36 designated temples, was not part of the abolition of the temples but an exclusion from the monk-official administrative system that was protected and managed by the state. In other words, the merging of the monk-official administrative system was a downsizing and reorganization of a state system that supported, managed, and controlled Buddhist monks and temples, not a measure to get rid of all the remaining temples (Son 2019a, 2019b). Studies clarifying the official certification system of Buddhist monks (*docheopje* 度牒制) of early Joseon categorized Buddhist monks into those who had received the official certification by the state, who were exempt from labor tax, and the lower-ranking Buddhist monks who were required to serve the labor tax. The research saw that limiting the distribution of official certification of Buddhist Monks, which had been an institutionalized path of becoming a Buddhist monk, was the goal of the state's policy. Another study also found by looking at the *Veritable Records of the Joseon Dynasty* of the 15th century and legal codes that the state examinations for Buddhist monks consisted of two levels, regardless of whether one belonged to Seon or Gyo, and those who passed obtained a rank and a position and led the Buddhist order. (Yang 2013, 2017, 2019a, 2019b).

Fifth, the particularities of Buddhism during the Joseon dynasty, particularly on the labor tax levied on Buddhist monks has become one of the main subjects of research. The labor of Buddhist monks was deployed during late Joseon to fill in the deficiencies in state finances caused by natural disasters and war and was carried out in relation to state policies. Studies found that as labor tax by Buddhist monks was included in the state labor mobilization system, Buddhist monk households were included in the household registration of their original hometowns starting from the late 17th century, thus managing

Buddhist monks as one of the so-called occupational labor (*jigyelok*) that could always be deployed (O 2005; Jang 2006; Yun 2013). Another notable study found and analyzed official documents showing how in the mid-17th century, the state divided Buddhist monks into those who should be encouraged and those who should be looked out for and then managed them accordingly. There were also studies that viewed Buddhist monks' militia activities as the conflict between loyalty and religious precepts and found how monks obtained official recognition of their status as monks as well as their activities in exchange for performing labor tax, but that this also left behind the negative legacy of economic burden as well as subordination to the state power (Yi 2013; Kim Yongtae 2015, 2016a).

Sixth, as articles on Buddhism in Joseon have been featured in English-language journals, the unique characteristics of Korean Buddhism distinct from their Chinese and Japanese counterparts have been made known internationally. A variety of studies have been published. Studies have focused on the mind-to-mind transmission from Buddha to Mahakasyapa at three sites (*samcheo jeonsim* 三處傳心) as one of the main features of Korean Seon Buddhism; have reviewed the Confucianization of Seon Buddhism through a literary approach; and have searched for the point at which Buddhism and folk religion meet in the Kitchen-God Cult (S. Kim 2013, 2019, 2020). There was also a study that looked at how Buddhist faith guided the path to the afterlife in a Confucian society and the form of Christian challenge in that context (Y. Yongtae 2020). Recently a special feature titled "Reformulating the Historiography of Late Chosŏn Buddhism" was published. In it were articles on the sponsoring of Buddhism by scholar-official families via offerings, on the political and cultural significance of the publication of Buddhist texts by Buddhist temples in the 16th and 17th centuries, and on a synchronic and diachronic approach to the Buddhist dharma lineage and Buddhist monk education curricula, which were established in the 17th century (S. Kim 2020; Son 2020; Y. Kim 2020).

As such research achievements spanning a wide range of themes accumulated, a general overview on Buddhism during late Joseon has been published. *A Study on the Buddhist History of Late Joseon: The Linji Buddhist Dharma Lineage and the Doctrinal Study Tradition* (Joseon hugi bulgyosa yeongu: Imje beoptong gwa gyohak jeontong) emphasizes that the dual structure of Seon and the Buddhist dharma lineage of the Linji School on the one hand and of the doctrinal study tradition and Hwaom on the other hand was in fact

the identity of Buddhism of late Joseon. Following this, the book *A Study on the History of the Trends of Buddhism during Late Joseon (Joseon hugi bulgyo donghyangsa yeongu)* and *A Historiography of Buddhism during Late Joseon (Joseon hugi bulgyo sahaksa)* are the outcomes of analyzing Buddhism policies, labor tax imposed on Buddhist monks, temple history texts and temple history texts, Buddhist history texts, and biographies of venerable monks. Meanwhile, *A Study of the History of Buddhism during Joseon (Joseon sidae bulgyosa yeongu)* overviews the trend of policies of early Joseon from the previous framework of the transition from Buddhism to Confucianism as well as the exclusion of Buddhism and covers various aspects such as the worshiping of Buddhism by the kings, Buddhism of the royal family, Buddhist temple economy, and other sides of Buddhist faith. Finally, *The History of Buddhist Thought during Joseon (Joseon bulgyo sasangsa)* deals with the inheritance and passing on of Buddhist thought, the merging of Seon and Gyo, the pedigree of thoughts and practices that have illuminated Buddhism of Joseon, and religious landscape and its relevance with the times, thereby comprehensively reviewing the role of Buddhism as well as its status (Kim 2010a, 2021; O 2015, 2018; Yi 2015).

Rethinking the Term Elevating Confucianism and Suppressing Buddhism and a New Understanding of the Korean Buddhist Tradition

To make a clean sweep of the conventional understanding that the history of Buddhism of Joseon was dotted with suppression and decline and instead gain a new understanding of the tradition of Buddhism requires new perspectives and approaches. Such efforts should be made to restore and interpret the historical truth from many different angles. Based on the previous summary of research that has been conducted during the colonial period and after liberation up until the present, this chapter will rethink the term of elevating Confucianism and suppressing Buddhism and critically review some of the inaccurate perceptions of Buddhist tradition.

The term, elevation of Confucianism and suppression of Buddhism has been used as the representative term characterizing the 500 years of Joseon. When Neo-Confucianism was accepted from the Yuan dynasty in the 14th century and Joseon was founded in 1392 based on its ruling ideology of

Confucianism, changes in the influence and status of Buddhism were inevitable. The transition from Buddhism to Confucianism, that is, a paradigm shift from Buddhism to Confucianism took place in terms of politics and thought from top down during the period from late Goryeo to early Joseon. This has led to the general perception that Buddhism rapidly declined during Joseon and was relegated to the margins.

However, can we truly say that the entire society changed all at once to a Neo-Confucianist system and that Confucianism became predominant simultaneously with the founding of Joseon? Although King Taejong and King Sejong enforced strict policies suppressing Buddhism during the early 15th century including reducing the number of Buddhist religious orders and officially expropriating a large portion of the land owned by temples to the state, this was to decrease the size of the monastic office system and confiscate excessive temple economic power, not part of an abolition of Buddhism that forced Buddhist monks to return to the secular world or eradicated Buddhist temples. Even in the late 15th century, 100 years since the founding of Joseon, the Buddhist legacy of Goryeo still had a strong foundation. After the 17th century, in late Joseon, it is true that a Confucian society had been formed somewhat, but practices of Buddhist faith were still ongoing in the royal family and among the people. The formula that the 500 years of Joseon equaled a Confucianist society, therefore, is too simplistic. Although the establishment of the Joseon dynasty was a symbolic and proclamatory event of a transition from Buddhism to Confucianism, we should remember that the two axes of continuation and change coexisted in the arena encompassing both the space and time of 14th-century Goryeo and 15th-century Joseon (Kim 2018).

Investigation of the terminology of the elevation of Confucianism and the suppression of Buddhism, which has always followed any discussion of a paradigm shift from Goryeo to Joseon and the characteristics of Buddhism of Joseon, show that this term or similar formations do not appear in the *Veritable Records of the Joseon Dynasty* or other documents of the Joseon period. This term, which almost seems like a political ideological propaganda slogan that contrasts Confucianism and Buddhism, is in fact a coinage made by the perception of future generations, who projected their own times onto that period. As of the present, the first time this phrase appeared seems to be in the October 16 editorial of the *DaeHan mail sinbo* newspaper in 1906. The sentence goes as follows: "In Korea, during the 500 years of Joseon, they 'elevated Confucianism

and suppressed Buddhism,' causing Buddhism to greatly decline, while in Japan, they worshiped Buddhism, thus placing Buddhist statues in each house and reciting Buddhist mantra, and Buddhism became the state religion." The sentence compares the elevation of Buddhism of Japan with the elevation of Confucianism and suppression of Buddhism of Joseon.

In the 1911 article written by the Japanese scholar Furutani Kiyoshi in 1911, he also uses the similar term the exclusion of Buddhism and the elevation of Confucianism. Furutani states that because of this policy, the period of Joseon became a story of the decline of Buddhism. He saw that the corruption of Buddhist monks and the social harm they caused, along with the political confusion, brought about the collision between Confucianism and Buddhism, and the latter eventually followed a path of decline as a result of the relentless pressure by Confucian scholars (Furutani 1911). Afterwards, with Takahashi Tōru's *Buddhism of the Yi Dynasty* (1929), the transition between Confucianism and Buddhism, the elevation of the former and the suppression of the latter, and the latter's decline and stagnation has become the typical image of Buddhism during Joseon. The phrase is still the most used term when mentioning Buddhism of Joseon. Putting the issue of whether it is even valid aside, we should remember that it was a coinage reflecting the perception of Buddhist history during the modern period. Regarding the 500 years of Joseon to have consistently elevated Confucianism and suppressed Buddhism is an ahistorical position, and it should be remembered that different situations and conditions were taking place during different periods.

The argument that Buddhism declined as a result and practically collapsed towards the end and that the status of Buddhist monks fell to the level of the low-born, who were at the bottom of the hereditary social status system, was proposed during colonial rule under Japan. Such perceptions were uncritically accepted until recent attempts of refutation. The latter argument, that the status of monks fell to the low-born, has been controversial ever since it was made, and differences exist in the view of Korean and Japanese scholars. Yi Neunghwa argued that although many say that the Buddhist monks of Joseon were the same as the seven categories of the low-born, this is an argument lacking evidence made by those ignorant of history. He emphasized that nowhere in legal texts of late Joseon such as the *Comprehensive Compendium of the National Code* (*Daejeon hoetong* 大典會通) were there any examples of defining Buddhist monks as the low-born. The argument had stemmed from the image of a few

inferior and vulgar monks who were lacking in learning, discipline, and practice and went around begging for food. From a legal standpoint, Buddhist monks were not equal to the low-born. In addition, although the state was hostile to Buddhism and at times levied excessively heavy labor tax on the temples, this was not because of their low social status, nor did it cause the status of monks to fall to the low-born (Yi 1920).

In response, Takahashi Tōru (1929, 548-49) wrote that based on the words of old Buddhist monks and elderly Gentry (*yangban* 兩班), the social status of Buddhist monks during Joseon were no different from the low-born and that during late Joseon, they were part of the eight occupations of the low-born and were thus banned from even entering the city walls. Of course, it is undeniable that the status of Buddhist monks fell compared to that in Goryeo. In addition, during the socioeconomic confusion of the 19th century, the perception of Buddhist monks seems to have fallen even more. However, no evidence has been found in any official historical record such as the *Veritable Records of the Joseon Dynasty* or legal texts in which Buddhist monks are designated as one of the eight occupations of the low-born (Son 2013b). Rather, this derogatory equation based on the theory that Buddhism declined and late Joseon was nothing but negative shows a typical perspective of an Orientalist gaze towards the other.

Such differences in perspective are replicated in the assessment of the Seon debates during the 19th century. Yi Neunghwa (1918, 2:876-97) saw them as the Buddhist counterpart of the Confucian arguments of the principle and material force of human nature. In contrast, Takahashi Tōru, who assumed a negative stance towards the thoughts and tradition of Korea in general, saw that the Seon debates were inconsistent, confusing, and not thorough. He also wrote that the differential categorization of Seon Buddhism was an error stemming from the traditionalism of the Linji School of Korean Buddhism (Takahashi 1929, 816-17).

If all preconceptions and prejudices were to be put aside, we may be able to see the history of Buddhism of Joseon differently from previous assessments. The Buddhist community poured much effort into becoming self-sufficient and making practical improvements in late Joseon and was in general more active than early Joseon. Most of the existing traditional Buddhist temples, statues, and paintings were rebuilt and repaired after the 17th century. A number of Buddhist texts were published as well. The monk education curricula and self-cultivation

practices as well as the Buddhist dharma lineage were established, while Buddhist tradition was wholly passed down in various aspects including Seon and Gyo, recitation of Buddha's names, and rituals and religious beliefs. It is thus necessary to reexamine the way expressions such as "decline" or "extinction" are almost exclusively applied to late Joseon.

Furthermore, a more macroscopic perspective that approaches Buddhism during Joseon from a more universal historical standpoint without being bound by the particularities of Joseon is needed. For instance, what problems can defining Buddhism during Joseon as lacking any thought or showing a decline in doctrinal study have? It may seem unproblematic that Buddhism lost its status as a mainstream ideology and showed no advancements in theoretically or in doctrinal studies considering that it was a Confucian era. However, such criticism only points the arrow at the Joseon dynasty. In East Asia as a whole, Chan Buddhism became mainstream after the Sui and Tang dynasties, when doctrinal study was at its peak, and there were barely any groundbreaking developments in doctrinal study after that. In addition, the tendency of annotative study of doctrine appeared in Goryeo as well. It is thus unfair to only blame Buddhism during Joseon for the decline in doctrinal study. From the historical view that the Cheng-Zhu school and the Wang Yangming School led the intellectual realm since the Song dynasty, the fact that Buddhism failed to keep up with the mainstream trends of the times was not simply a unique event occurring only in Joseon. Above all, regarding only the theoretical development of doctrinal study as the development of Buddhism is a schematic interpretation stemming from an Orientalist view as well as the modern philological research tendency, which focused only on the text itself rather than the historical context of the times. Research on early modern Buddhism of East Asia including Joseon must envision a new picture from a more diverse perspective.

Meanwhile, the Buddhist tradition during Joseon has been mainly perceived as being led by Seon Buddhism. The stagnation of doctrinal study and the deterioration of Buddhism has been taken as a matter of fact in understanding Joseon. Seon Buddhism was introduced during the latter years of Unified Silla, while during the Goryeo period, Seon and Gyo coexisted, with Gyo being dominant during the earlier period and Seon becoming mainstream during late Goryeo. But in the case of Joseon, Seon and Gyo formed a dual-order system during early Joseon, and in late Joseon, the traditions of both Seon and Gyo were passed down together as there was no officially recognized

Buddhist order. In other words, the Buddhism of late Joseon, which formed the direct prototype of the tradition of Korean Buddhism, consisted of the coexistence of the two flows of Seon and Gyo. Of course, Seon Buddhism proclaimed the inheritance of the Buddhist dharma lineage of the Linji School and recognized *ganhwa seon* 看話禪 as the highest practice. However, during the early 17th century, the monk education curricula, which was essentially based on the dual study of Seon and Gyo together along with *ganhwa seon*, was completed, and the discipline of the Three Gates, which was the addition of the recitation of Buddha's name to Seon and Gyo, was established. This in turn served as the basis for the reinvigoration of doctrinal research during the 18th century including Hwaeom studies through the discoursing on learning, which is also an important feature of Buddhism during late Joseon (Kim 2021).

Against this backdrop of active discussion of learning and the advancements of the research on doctrinal study, a theoretical debate on the categorization of Seon took place in the 19th century. The stance of Baekpa Geungseon 白坡巨璇, who divided Seon into three lines of Patriarchal Seon 祖師禪, Tathagata Seon 如來禪, and Semantic Seon 義理禪, was that Seon was superior and the Linji School was legitimate. In contrast, Choui Uisun 草衣意恂, who criticized him, supported the traditional view that Beyond-all-Conventions Seon 格外禪 was Patriarchal Seon and that Semantic Seon was Tathagata Zen, which was premised upon the fundamental accordance of Seon and Gyo. This had been derived from the dual structure of practice after the 17th century of learning both Seon and Gyo together while prioritizing *ganhwa seon* (Kim 2010a).

Interestingly, Yi Neunghwa, who wrote *A Comprehensive History of Buddhism of Joseon* (1918) saw that the majority of the 80 or so venerable monks that led the Buddhist community in the 1910s were doctrinal-study monks, with only 3 or 4 being Seon Buddhist monks such as Gyeongheo Seong'u 鏡虛惺牛. He wrote that out of 7,000 Buddhist monks, 80 to 90% were monks of Gyo. Moreover, he acknowledged that although Korean Buddhism appeared to be Seon Buddhism on the surface, it had continued the tradition of doctrinal study due to the tendency to study both Seon and Gyo together (Yi 1918, 2:962). This leads to the question of whether the true form of Buddhism of late Joseon really was a tradition centered on Seon Buddhism. Based on the research achievements until now, it appears that doctrinal study at least had a status and importance equivalent to Seon Buddhism. Although the Buddhist dharma

lineage of Seon Buddhism and the practice of *ganhwa seon* was promoted, many commentaries and texts were published through research of doctrinal studies and systematic education at Buddhist seminaries, and various traditions including the recitation of Buddha's name, religious belief, and rituals have been passed on without being discontinued.

Why then has the Buddhist tradition of Joseon been understood as mainly Seon Buddhism? Under Japanese colonial rule, the Government-General of Joseon began the 30 Head-Branch temple system and called the Buddhist order "Joseon bulgyo Seon Gyo yangjong" 朝鮮佛教 禪教兩宗, or the Two Orders of Seon and Gyo Buddhism of Joseon. The title "The Two Orders of Seon and Gyo" was an official name of the religious order since King Sejong, and the Government-General of Joseon claimed that it had gotten the title from the *National Code* (*Gyeongguk daejeon* 經國大典). In resistance against the 1911 Temple Ordinance, which gave the Government-General the right to appoint personnel at both the head and branch temples as well as dispose of the assets of the temples, a movement to revive Seon Buddhism arose in order to restore the independent tradition of Korean Buddhism. This resulted in the founding of the Buddhist institution of the Seon Training Institute (Seonhakwon 禪學院) in 1921 and the encouragement of Seon practice. In the 1930s, controversies arose surrounding the names of the orders as well as their patriarchs in relation to the issue of the legitimacy of Korean Seon Buddhism. In 1941, when the headquarters system was established, the official order became the Jogye Order 曹溪宗, and the name of the general headquarters temple became Taegosa, which derived from Taego Bou 太古普愚, the patriarch of the Buddhist dharma lineage.

In the 1950s after liberation, there was a purification movement to eliminate all remnants of pro-Japanese elements. Married Buddhist monks, who had led Buddhist circles until then, were pushed aside, and the non-married, practicing monks became in charge of running the Buddhist order, thus emphasizing the legitimacy and distinctness of the Seon Buddhism. As a result, the Unified Buddhist Order of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism was born in 1962, putting forth the founder of Korean Seon Buddhism as Doui 道義, Bojo Jinul 普照 知訥, who represented the Jogye Order during Goryeo, and Taego Bou of the Linji Taego Buddhist dharma lineage made in the 17th century, as patriarchs. The prioritization of Seon Buddhism was also clarified in the agenda of the constitution of the Jogye Order as well as in the fundamental Buddhist texts of

Jogye Order (Y. Kim 2013).

In sum, throughout the turbulence of modern and contemporary history, a distinct identity of Korean Buddhism was sought in the Seon Buddhist tradition, and the tendency to emphasize the legitimacy of Seon Buddhism grew stronger. Seon Buddhism was not only prioritized but regarded as superior, which is evident in the way Buddhist history is perceived. However, various documents on Buddhism of Joseon show that the long tradition of doctrinal study has continued as well, and its importance or status were by no means lesser than Seon Buddhism. Only when we expand the boundary of Seon and Gyo and shift our glance to religious faith, rites and rituals, and the tangible as well as intangible cultural assets of Buddhism can we understand the complexity of the tradition of Joseon.

Conclusion

The research on Buddhism of Joseon, which began with the introduction of the modern philological and historical methodology along with the collection of material, has produced many achievements over the past 100 years. While pioneering research on a variety of themes have been attempted during the colonial period, to the extent that books provided general overviews on Buddhism of the Joseon period were published, the denial of tradition and the otherness projected onto the Buddhism of Joseon has equated it with suppression and decline, a formula which has become fixed as commonsense. In the late 20th century, the expansion of the base of research as well as the formation of an autonomous perspective of Korean history and tradition has led to the excavation of research areas, themes, and the spread of academic achievements. The traditional view as a negative other, however, has not yet been completely eliminated, and within the perception of the history of Korean Buddhism, nationalistic tendencies as well as biases towards certain orders have not been overcome. Fortunately, studies attempting to newly investigate the historical reality of Buddhism during Joseon from the very beginning and reinterpret its characteristics have been emerging for the past 10 years or so, and we can anticipate more achievements in the future.

There are still many issues to resolve in order to be able to imagine an overall view of Buddhism during Joseon. Many areas remain uncharted

territory, such as the social status and treatment of Buddhist monks in relation to state policies, hierarchical divisions and roles within the organization of Buddhist monks, temple economy and law, the religiosity of Buddhism within a Confucian society, the Buddhist thought in books and commentaries, the intersection between Buddhism and Confucianism, and Buddhism in literature and cultural arts. This ultimately is closely related to the critical awareness of what exactly Buddhism was like during the Joseon dynasty.

Meanwhile, another possible direction for research on Buddhism in Joseon is to look outward. Although Korean Buddhism is unique in many ways, it shares commonalities with East Asia. As part of the Sinographic sphere, East Asia has formed a similar Buddhist cultural sphere for over 1,500 years, which is still the case now. There has always been a competitive other such as Confucianism, Daoism, and Christianity, but it is a historical truth that Buddhism has served as the link through which human exchange was made, thoughts and culture were disseminated, and a common identity was formed. Therefore, there needs to be a shift in perspective to look at Korea from the framework of East Asia and look at East Asia through the lens of Korean Buddhism.

Comparing the Buddhism during Joseon with the early modern Buddhism of China and Japan will make it possible to understand the differences and find commonalities from a more universal historical perspective. Early modern Buddhism in East Asia can be characterized by its coexistence with other mainstream thoughts or other different religions, the philological research trends based on annotation and positivism, the link between tradition and modernity, and the encounter with Western civilization and new pursuits. Research on Buddhism during the early modern period of Korea, China, and Japan are still behind other periods. This is largely because despite this being a period with the most remaining historical material, the period itself has not been given the importance or value it deserves within the history of Buddhism or in the intellectual history of East Asia. In this sense, research on Buddhism during Joseon can contribute to reading the early modern period of East Asia through a new lens and producing a common discourse of the times.

Translated by Jong Woo PARK and Boram SEO

References

- Bak, Byeongseon. 2001. "Joseon hugi wondang yeongu" [A Study on the Buddhist Shrines in the Royal Palaces of Late Joseon]. PhD diss., Yeungnam University.
- Bak, Haedang. 1996. "Gihwa ui bulgyo sasang yeongu" [A Study of the Buddhist Thought of Gihwa]. PhD diss., Seoul National University.
- Bak, Jaehyeon. 2005. "Hanguk bulgyo ui ganhwa seon jeontong gwa jeongtongseong hyeongseong e gwanhan yeongu" [A Study on the Tradition of Ganhwa Seon and the Formation of Orthodoxy in Korean Buddhism]. PhD diss., Seoul National University.
- Bak, Yongsuk. 1981. "Joseonjo hugi ui seungyeok e gwanhan gochal" [A Study on the Services of the Buddhist Priests in the Late Yi Dynasty]. *Busandae nonmunjip* 31: 123-43.
- Choe, Byeongheon. 1985. "Dasan Jeong Yakyong ui Hanguk bulgyosa yeongu" [The Study of the History of Korean Buddhism of Dasan Jeong Yakyong]. In *Jeong Dasan ui Hyeonhwang* [The Current Status of Studies of Jeong Dasan], edited by U-geun Han et al., 318-41. Seoul: Mineumsa.
- . 1988. "Joseon sidae bulgyo beoptongseol ui munje" [The Issue of the Arguments of Buddhist Dharma Lineage of Joseon]. *Hanguksaron* 19: 281-93.
- . 1995. "Joseon hugi Buhyu seonsugye wa Songgwangsa: Bojo beoptongseol gwa Taego beoptongseol galdeung ui han sarye" [The Lineage of Buhyu Seonsu and Songgwangsa: A Case of the Conflict between the Bojo Buddhist Dharma Lineage Theory and the Taego Buddhist Dharma Lineage Theory]. *Dongdae sahak* [The Daedong Historical Journal] 1: 133-56.
- Choe, Yeonsik. 1998. "Joseon hugi Seokssi wollyu ui suyong gwa bulgyogye e michin yeonghyang" [The Acceptance of *The Origins of Shakyamuni Buddha* and its Influence on the Buddhist Community]. *Bojo sasang* 11: 109-72.
- Daeryun bulgyo munhwawon, ed. 1998. *Taego Bou guksa* [National Preceptor Taego Bou]. Seoul: Bulgyochunchusa.
- Eda, Toshio 江田俊雄. 1934. "Chōsen goyaku butsudan ni tsuite" [On the Korean Language Translation of Buddhist Scriptures]. *Seikyū gakusō* 15.
- . 1936. "Richō kankeitokan to sono kankō butsuten" [The Directorate of Buddhist Publications of the Yi Dynasty and Its Publication of Buddhist

- Texts]. *Chōsen no toshokan* 5 (5).
- . 1977. *Chōsen bukkyōshi no kenkyū* [A Study on the History of Buddhism of Joseon]. Reprinted edition. Tōkyō : Nihon kokusho kankōkai.
- Furutani, Kiyoshi 古谷清. 1911. “Richō bukkyōshi kōgai” [On Outline of the History of Buddhism of the Yi Dynasty]. *Bukkyōshigaku* 1 (3): 51-54.
- Go, Hyeonggon. 1975. “Chusa ui *Baekpa mangjeung* 15-jo e daehayeo” [The 15 Articles of the *Baekpa mangjeung* of Chusa]. *Haksulwon nonmunjip* 14: 173-222.
- Go, Ikjin. 1985. “Byeoksong Jieom ui sinjaryo wa beoptong munje” [Ji-wom’s Zen Thoughts and Doctrinal Lineage Viewed from New Materials]. *Bulgyo hakbo* 22: 203-12.
- Gwon, Sang-ro 權相老. 1912. “*Bulgyo tongilron* je 1-pyeon daegangnon yakyeok” [A Brief Translation of Part 1 of *On the Unification of Buddhism*]. *Joseon byugyo wolbo* 5.
- . 1917. *Joseon bulgyo yaksa* [A Summary of the History of Buddhism of Joseon]. Gyeongseong: Sinmungwan.
- . 1939. *Joseon bulgyosa gaeseol* [An Outline of the History of Buddhism of Joseon]. Gyeongseong: Bulgyosibosa.
- Ha, Jong mok. 2000. “Joseon chogi ui sawon gyeongje: gukga mit wangsil gwallyeon sawon eul jungsim euro” [With Emphasis on Temples Tied with the Nation and the Royal Household—The Temple Economy in the Early Cho Son Period]. *Daegu sahak* 60: 1-105.
- Han, Bogwang. 1995. “Joseon sidae ui Manil yeombul gyeolsa” [The Fraternity of Chanting Buddha during Ten Thousand Days in Chosun Dynasty]. *Bulgyo hakbo* 32: 165-93.
- Han, Gidu. 1969. “Baekpa ui *Sonmun sugyeong*” [An Examination of the Hand Mirror of Dhyana Study by Master Baik Pa]. *Wongwangdae nonmunjip* 4: 305-42.
- . 1975. “Baekpa wa Choui sidae seon ui nonjaengjeom” [The Debates of Seon between Baekpa and Choui]. In *Sungsan Bak Giljin baksa hwagap ginyeom bulgyo sasangsa* [The History of Korean Buddhist Thought in Commemoration of Sungsan Bak Giljin’s 60th Birthday], 1013-44. Iri: Bulgyo sasang yeonguwon.
- . 1992. “Joseon hugi seon nonjaeng gwa geu sasangeok uimi” [The Seon Controversy of Late Joseon and its Intellectual Significance]. In vol. 1 of *Gasan Yi Jigwan hwagap ginyeom nonchong bulgyo sasangsa sang* [The Intellectual History of Korean Buddhism in Commemoration of the 60th Birthday of Gasan Yi Jigwan], 1307-28. Seoul: Gasan bulgyo munhwa jinheungwon.
- Han, Sanggil. 2006. *Joseon hugi bulgyo wa sachalgye* [Buddhism and the Temple Community of Late Joseon]. Seoul: Gyeongin munhwasa.
- Han, U-geun. 1993. *Yugyo jeongchi wa bulgyo: Yeomal Seoncho daebulgyo sichaek* [Confucian Governance and Buddhism: Policies of Buddhism during Late Goryeo and Early Joseon]. Seoul: Iljogak.
- Hwang, In-gyu. 2003. *Goryeo hugi Joseon cho bulgyosa yeongu* [A Study on the History of Buddhism between Late Goryeo and Early Joseon]. Seoul: Hyeon.
- . 2005. *Goryeo mal Joseon jeon’gi bulgyogyo wa goseung yeongu* [A Study on the Buddhism Community and Venerable Monks during Late Goryeo and Early Joseon]. Seoul: Hyeon.
- . 2011. *Joseon sidae bulgyogyo goseung gwa biguni* [Venerable Monks and Buddhist Nuns of the Buddhism Community in Joseon]. Seoul: Hyeon.
- Jang, Gyeongjun. 2006. “Joseon hugi hojeok daejang ui seungnyeodeungjae baegyeong gwa geu yangsang” [The Background Behind Including Buddhist Monks in the Family Register in Late Joseon and its Form]. *Daedong munhwa yeongu* [Journal of Eastern Studies] 54: 255-302.
- Jeong, Byeongsam. 1983. “Chusa ui bulgyohak” [Buddhist Studies of Chusa]. *Gansong munhwa* [Journal of Kansong Culture] 24: 43-60.
- Jeong, Seongbon. 1994. “Joseon hugi ui Seon nonjaeng” [The Seon Debates of Late Joseon]. In *Hanguk bulgyosa ui jaejomyeong* [A Reexamination of the History of Korean Buddhism], edited by Bulgyo sinmunsa, 334-44. Seoul: Bulgyo sidaesa.
- Jongbeom. 1993. “Imje seonpung gwa Sesan seonpung” [The Features of Imje Seon and Seosan Seon]. *Jungang seungga daehak nonmunjip* 2: 121-49.
- . 1995. “Joseon hugi ui yeombulgwan” [The Chanting of Buddha during Late Joseon]. *Jungang seungga daehak nonmunjip* 4: 7-36.
- Jongjin. 1993. “Cheongheo Hyujeong ui Seon sasang” [The Seon Thoughts of Cheongheo Hyujeong]. *Baengnyeom bulgyo nonmunjip* [Journal of Buddhist Studies White Lotus] 3: 45-72.
- Kim, Donghwa. 1971a. “Hoguk daeseong Samyeong daesa yeongu: sasang” [A Study on Venerable Samyeong, the Great Patriotic Monk: Thoughts]. *Bulgyo hakbo* 8: 104-71.

- . 1971b. “Hoguk daeseong Samyeong daesa yeongu: seoron” [A Study on Venerable Samyeong, the Great Patriotic Monk: Introduction]. *Bulgyo hakbo* 8:15-20.
- Kim, Gapju. 1983. *Joseon sidae sawon gyeongje yeongu* [A Study on the Temple Economy during Joseon]. Seoul: Donghwa.
- Kim, Hangbae. 1975. “Seosan Mundo ui sasang: Pyeonyang seonsa wa Soyo seonsa reul jungsimg euro” [The Thoughts of Seosan Mundo: Focusing on the Seon Master Pyeonyang and the Seon Master Soyo]. In *Sungsan Bak Giljin baksa hwagap ginyeom bulgyo sasangsa* [The History of Korean Buddhist Thought in Commemoration of Sungsan Bak Giljin’s 60th Birthday], 907-24. Iri: Bulgyo sasang yeonguwon.
- Kim, Indeok. 1975. “Buhyu Seonsu ui Seon sasang, Buhyu ui mullyu” [Buhyu Seonsu’s Seon Thoughts, Buhyu’s Literary Compendium]. In *Sungsan Bak Giljin baksa hwagap ginyeom bulgyo sasangsa* [The History of Korean Buddhist Thought in Commemoration of Sungsan Bak Giljin’s 60th Birthday], 925-36. Iri: Bulgyo sasang yeonguwon.
- Kim, Junhyeok. 1999. “Joseon hugi Jeongjo ui bulgyo insik gwa jeongchaek” [The Perception of Buddhism and Policies of King Jeongjo]. *Jungang sanon* 12/13: 35-58.
- Kim, Nam-yun. 1995. “Joseon hugi ui bulgyosaseo Sansa yakcho” [The Buddhist History Book of Late Joseon]. *Essentials of the History of Buddhism*. *Dongdae sahak* 1: 83-110.
- Kim, Seong-Uk. 2013. “Three Places of Mind-Transmission: The Polemical Application of Mind-Transmission Stories in Korean Sŏn Buddhism.” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 133 (4): 635-50.
- . 2016. “Korean Confucianization of Zen: Ch’oŭi Ŭisun’s affirmation of Confucian literati approach to Buddhism in late Chosŏn.” *Acta Koreana* 19 (1): 217-40.
- . 2020. “The Intersections Between Buddhism and Folk Religions in the Late Chosŏn: The Case Study of the Kitchen-God Cult.” *International Journal of Buddhist Thought & Culture* 30-31: 77-101.
- Kim, Sung-Eun Thomas. 2020. “The Chosŏn Gentry Sponsorship of Buddhist Temple Works: Insights from the Records of Late-Chosŏn DonorLedgers.” *Journal of Korean Religions* 11 (2): 45-73.
- Kim, Yakseul. 1959. “Chusa ui seonhakbyeon” [Chusa’s Examination on Studies on Seon]. In *Baek Seong-uk baksa songsu ginyeom bulgyohak nonmunjip* [Collection of Buddhist Study Articles in Commemoration of the 60th Birthday of Baek Seong-uk], 69-120. Seoul: Dongguk University Press.
- Kim, Yeongsu 金映遂. 1937a. “5-gyo yangjong e daehaya” [On the Five Denominations and Two Orders of Buddhism]. *Jindan hakbo* [The Chin-Tan Society] 8: 74-101.
- . 1937b. “Joseon bulgyo ui jongmyeong gwa jeondeung geup jongji e daehaya” [On the Name of the Order of Buddhism of Joseon and the Transmission of Buddhist Dharma and Aims]. *Bulgyo sibo* 29.
- . 1939. *Joseon bulgyosago* [A Manuscript of the History of Buddhism of Joseon]. Gyeongseong: Jungang bulgyo jeonmun hakgyo.
- Kim, Yeongtae. 1971. “Hoguk daeseong Samyeong daesa yeongu: saengae” [A Study on Venerable Samyeong, the Great Patriotic Monk: Life]. *Bulgyo hakbo* 8: 21-103.
- . 1975. *Seosan daesa ui saengae wa sasang* [The Life and Thoughts of Great Preceptor Seosan]. Seoul: Bakyongsang.
- . 1985. “Joseon Seon-ga ui beoptong go” [A Study on the Zen Lineage of Yi Dynasty]. *Bulgyo hakbo* 22: 11-44.
- Kim, Yongjo. 1982. “Gihwa wa geu ui Hyeonjeongnon” [Giwa and his *Treatise on Elucidating Orthodoxy*]. *Gyeongsangdae nonmunjip* [Journal of Gyeongsang National University] 21: 239-49.
- . 1983. “Joseon hugi yuja ui bulgyogwan: Bangye, Seongho, Dasan ui gyeong’u” [Confucianists’ Views of Buddhism in the Later Joseon Dynasty]. *Gyeongsangdae nonmunjip* [Journal of Gyeongsang National University] 22 (2): 229-40.
- . 1985. “Seoljam Kim Siseup ui Hanguk bulgyo sasangsajeok wichi” [Si-Seop Kim and His Position in the History of Korean Buddhist Thoughts]. *Gyeongsangdae nonmunjip* [Journal of Gyeongsang National University]. 24 (1): 71-82.
- . 1986. “Heoeungdang Bou ui bulgyo buheung undong” [The Reformation of Buddhist: Monch, Heo-Ueng-Dang Bo-U]. *Gyeongsangdae nonmunjip* [Journal of Gyeongsang National University]. 25 (2): 71-81.
- Kim Yongtae, 2008. “Joseon hugi bulgyo ui Imje beoptong gwa gyohak jeontong” [The Buddhist Dharma Lineage of the Imje Order and the Tradition of Doctrinal Study]. PhD diss., Seoul National University.
- . 2009a. “Joseon hugi bulgyo ui simseong insik gwa geu sasangsajeok uimi”

- [The Perception of Human Nature in Buddhism During Late Joseon and its Significance in Intellectual History]. *Hanguk sasangshak* 32: 403-34.
- . 2009b. “Joseon sidae yubul gongjon moseak gwa sidaeseong ui chugu” [Joseon Buddhism’s Pursuit of Coexistence with Confucianism, and its Pursuit to Remain Relevant]. *Joseon sidae sabakbo* 49: 5-34.
- . 2010a. *Joseon hugi byulgyosa yeongu: imje beoptong gwa gyohak jeontong* [The Study of the History of Buddhism during Late Joseon: Imje Dharma Lineage and the Doctrinal Tradition]. Seongnam: Singu munhwasa.
- . 2010b. “Joseon hugi, geundae ui jongmyeong gwa jongjo insik ui yeoksajeok gochal: Jogyejong gwa taego beoptong ui gyeolyeon” [A Historical Consideration on Buddhist School Name and Founder in the Late Joseon Dynasty and Modern Age—The Affiliation between Jogye School and Taego Legitimate Origin]. *Seon munhwa yeongu* [Studies of Seon Culture] 8: 43-81.
- . 2011. “Joseon jeongi eokbul jeongchaek gui jeongae wa sawon gyeongje ui byeonhwasang” [Policy of Oppressing Buddhist Practices in the Early Half of the Joseon Dynasty Period, and Changes that Happened in the Overall Temple (Monastery) Economy]. *Joseon sidae sabakbo* 58: 5-33.
- . 2012. “Dong Asia ui Jinggwan Hwaecom gyeseung gwa geu yeoksajeok jeongae: Song dae wa Joseon hugi Hwaecom gyohak eul jungsim euro” [The Legacy of Jing’gwan’s Teaching of Hwa’ecom Buddhism throughout East Asia, and its Historical Meaning—Examination of the Hwa’ecom-based Academic Buddhism of the Chinese Sung Dynasty, and also of the Latter Half Period of the Joseon Dynasty]. *Bulgyo hakbo* 61: 267-96.
- . 2013. “Jogyejong jongtong ui yeoksajeok ihae: geunhyeondae jongmyeong, jongjo, jongji nonui reul jungsim euro” [Historical Understanding of the Jogye Order: Examination of the Name, Founder, and Aim of the Order]. *Hanguk seonhak* [Journal of Seon Studies] 35: 144-68.
- . 2015. “Joseon hugi Namhan sanseong ui joyeong gwa seunggun ui hwalyong” [Construction of the Namhansanseong Fortress, and the Role of the Buddhist Army in the Latter Half Period of the Joseon Dynasty]. *Hanguk sasang gwa munhwa* [Korean Thought and Culture] 78: 183-205.
- . 2016a. “Joseon junggi uiseunggun jeongtong e daehan jaego: hoguk bulgyo ui Joseonjeok balhyeon” [Rethinking the Tradition of Monks’ Militia in Mid-Joseon: the Joseon Expression of State-protection Buddhism]. *Dongguk sahak* [The Dongguk Historical Society] 61: 87-120.
- . 2016b. “Yugyo sahoe ui bulgyo uirye: 17-segi bulgyo sangnyejip ui obokje suyong eul jungsim euro” [Buddhist Rites in the Confucian Joseon Society: Focusing on the Acceptance of Obokje in the Seventeenth-century Buddhist Funeral Manuals]. *Hanguk munhwa* 76: 169-96.
- . 2018. “Joseon bulgyo, Goryeo bulgyo ui danjeol inga yeonsok inga?” [Was Buddhism of Joseon the Continuation or Discontinuation of Buddhism of Goryeo?]. *Yeoksa bipyeong* [Critical Review of History] 123: 234-64.
- . 2019. “Joseon hugi bulgyo wa mingan sinang ui gongjon yangsang: sansin, chilseong sinang ui bulgyohwa” [The Modes of the Co-Existence between Buddhism and Folk Religions in the late Joseon Period: The Buddhicization of the Mountain God and the Seven-Star Cults]. *Bulgyohak yeongu* [Korean Journal of Buddhist Studies] 61: 75-104.
- . 2020a. “Buddhism and the Afterlife in the Late Joseon Dynasty: Leading Souls to the Afterlife in a Confucian Society.” *Korea Journal* 60 (4): 267-939.
- . 2020b. “Formation of a Chosŏn Buddhist Tradition: Dharma Lineage and the Monastic Curriculum from a Synchronic and Diachronic Perspective.” *Journal of Korean Religions* 11 (2): 103-33.
- . 2021. *Joseon bulgyo sasangsa: yogyo sahoe reul garojireun bulgyojeok sayu ui jihyeong* [The History of Buddhist Thought of Joseon: The Landscape of Buddhist Thought that Traversed a Confucian Society]. Seoul: Sunkgyunkwan University Press.
- Kuroda, Ryō 黒田亮. 1940. *Chōsen kyūsho kō* [A Study on the Old Books of Joseon]. Tōkyō: Iwanamishoten.
- Nam, Dongsin. 2001. “Joseon hugi bulgyogye donghyang gwa *Sang beop myeol ui gyeong* ui seongnip” [A Study on the Buddhist Trends in the Late Joseon Dynasty and the Formation of *Sang beop myeol ui gyeong*]. *Hanguksa yeongu* [The Journal of the Korean History] 113: 113-38.
- Nam, Hui-suk. 2004. “Joseon hugi bulseo ganhaeng yeongu: jineonjip gwa bulgyo uisikjip eul jungsim euro” [A Study on the Publication of Buddhist Tests during Late Joseon: Focusing on the Compilation of Mantras and Buddhist Rituals]. PhD diss., Seoul National University.
- Nurikaya, Kaiten 忽滑谷快天. 1930. *Chōsen zenkyōshi* [A History of Seon and Doctrinal Buddhism in Joseon]. Tōkyō: Shunjūsha.
- O, Gyeonghu. 2002. “Joseon hugi ui seungjeon gwa saji ui pyeonchan yeongu”

- [A Study on the Compilation of Monk Biographies and Buddhist Temple Histories during Late Joseon]. PhD diss., Dongguk University.
- . 2005. “Joseon hugi seungyeok ui yuhyeong gwa pyedan” [The Forms and Harms of Labor Tax Imposed on Buddhist Monks during Late Joseon]. *Guksagwan nonchong* 107: 63-98.
- . 2015. *Joseon hugi bulgyo donghyangsa yeongu* [A Study on the History of the Trends of Buddhism during Late Joseon]. Seoul: Munyeon.
- . 2018. *Joseon hugi bulgyo sahaksa* [The Historiography of Buddhism during Late Joseon]. Seoul: Munhyeon.
- Son, Seongpil. 2013a. “16, 17-segi bulgyo jeongchaek gwa bulgyogye ui donghyang” [State Policies of Buddhism during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries and the Trends of the Buddhist Community]. PhD diss., Dongguk University.
- . 2013b. “Joseon sidae seungnyeo cheonin sinbunseol ui jaegeomto: Takahashi Torū ui jujang e daehan bipan eul jungsim euro” [Criticism on the Argument that Buddhist Monks in the Joseon Dynasty were from the Lowest Classes]. *Bojo sasang* 40: 52-81.
- . 2019a. “Joseon Taejong, Sejong de ‘hyeokgeo’ sachal ui jollip gwa mangpye: 1406-nyeon gwa 1424-nyeon seungjeong cheje gaehyeok ui ihae bangyang gwa gwallyoen hayeo” [Maintenance and Ruins of Buddhist Temples Abolished from the Seungjeong System in the Early Joseon Dynasty]. *Hanguksa yeongu* [The Journal of Korean History] 186: 237-97.
- . 2019b. “Sachal uil hyeokgeo, cheolhwe, mangpye: Joseon Taejong, Sejong dae seungjeong cheje gaehyeok e daehan ohae” [Abolition, Demolition, and Ruin of Buddhist Temples: Understanding the Seungjeong System Reform in Early Joseon]. *Jindan hakbo* [The Chin-Tan Society] 132: 57-94.
- . 2020. “Increased Temple Publication of Buddhist Texts in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: Reading the Political and Cultural Significance of the Monastic Community.” *Journal of Korean Religions* 11 (2): 17-43.
- Song, Suhwan. 1992. “Joseon jeongi ui sawonjeon: teukhi wangsil gwallyeon sawon eul jungsim euro” [The Land owned by the Temples during Early Joseon: Focusing on the Temples Related to the Royal Family]. *Hanguksa yeongu* [The Journal of Korean History] 79: 25-57.
- Tak, Hyojoeng. 2012. “Joseon sidae wangsil wondang yeongu” [A Study of Royal Buddhist Shrines in the Joseon Dynasty]. PhD diss., The Academy of Korean Studies
- Takahashi, Tōru 高橋亨. 1921. *Chōsen shūkyōshi ni arawareru shinkō no tokushoku* [Distinct Features of Religious Belief Seen in the Religious History of Joseon]. Tōkyō: Chōsen Sōtokufu gakumukyoku.
- . 1929. *Richō bukkyō* [Buddhism of the Yi Dynasty]. Ōsaka: Hōbunkan.
- . 1936. “Chōsen bukkyō no rekishi teki itasei” [The Historical Dependency of the Buddhism of Joseon]. *Chōsen* 250.
- U, Jeongsang. 1959. “Yijo bulgyo ui hoguk sasang e daehayeo: teukhi uiseonggun eul jungsim euro” [On the Idea of National Defense of Buddhism during the Yi Dynasty: Focusing on the Monks’ Militia]. In *Baek Seong-uk baksa Songsu ginyeom bulgyohak nonmunjip* [Collection of Buddhist Study Articles in Commemoration of the 60th Birthday of Baek Seong-uk], 567-604. Seoul: Dongguk University Press.
- . 1963. “Nambukhansanseong uiseung bandgbeomjeon e daehayeo” [On the Financial Contribution of Monks for the Defense of the Capital during the Yi Dynasty]. *Bulgyo hakbo* 1: 199-228.
- Yang, Hyewon. 2013. “Goryeo hugi-Joseon jeongi myeonyeokseung jeungga wa docheophe sihaeng ui seonggyeok” [The Population Increase of the Corvee-exempted Monks & Characteristics of the Enforcement of Dochubje during the Period from Late Koryo to Early Chosun Dynasty]. *Hanguk sasangshak* [The Society for Study of Korean History of Thoughts] 44: 1-37.
- . 2017. “Gyeongje yukjeon doseung, docheop gyujeong euro bon Joseon cho doseungje ui uimi” [Making Sense of the Legal Provisions about Doseung and Docheup in Gyeongjeyukjeon of Early Joseon Korea]. *Hanguk sasangshak* [The Society for Study of Korean History of Thoughts] 57: 125-59.
- . 2019a. “15-segi seunggwa yeongu” [A Study on Seungkwa of the 15th Century Joseon]. *Hanguk sasangshak* [The Society for Study of Korean History of Thoughts] 62: 59-88.
- . 2019b. “Doseungje ganghwa ui yeoksaejeok uiui” [The Historical Significance of the Reinforcement of the Doseung Law in Early Joseon]. In *Goryeo eseo Joseon euro: Yeomal Seoncho danjeol inga gyeseung inga* [From Goryeo to Joseon: Late Goryeo to Early Joseon, Continuation or Rupture], edited by Yo-geun Jeong et al., 407-29. Seoul: Yeoksa

- bipyongsu.
- Yeo, Eun-gyeong. 1987. "Joseon hugi sanseong ui seunggun chongseop" [On the Chongseop System of the Monk-troops at Hill-Forts in the Late Choson Dynasty]. *Daegu sahak* 32: 49-87.
- Yi, Beopsan. 1994. "Joseon hugi bulgyo ui gyohakjeok gyeonghyaong" [The Doctrinal-study Tendency of Buddhism of Late Joseon]. In *Hanguk bulgyosa ui jaejomyeong* [A Reexamination of the History of Korean Buddhism], edited by Bulgyo sinmunsa, 345-56. Seoul: Bulgyo sidaesa.
- Yi, Bongchun. 1991. "Joseon chogi baebulsa yeongu: Wangjo sillok eul jungsim euro" [A Study on the History of Anti-Buddhism during Early Joseon: Focusing on the *Veritable Records*]. PhD diss., Dongguk University.
- . 2015. *Joseon sidae bulgyosa yeongu* [A Study on the History of Buddhism during Joseon]. Seoul: Minjoksa.
- Yi, Byeonghui. 2011. "Joseon jeongi sachal ui mangpyeo wa yumul ui sosil" [A Study on the Collapse of Buddhist Temples and the Loss of their Artifacts in the Former Half of Joseon]. *Bulgyo hakbo* 59: 175-205.
- . 2016. "Joseon chogi bulgyogyo ui bo unyeong gwa geu uimi" [The Management and Meanings of Bo by the Buddhist Community in Early Joseon]. *Dongguk sahak* [The Dongguk Historical Society] 61: 1-42.
- Yi, Eulho. 1959. "Yubul sanggyo ui myeon eseo bon Jeongdasan" [Jeong Dasan as Seen Through the Exchange between Confucianism and Buddhism]. In *Baek Seong-uk baksa Songsu ginyeom bulgyohak nonmunjip* [Collection of Buddhist Study Articles in Commemoration of the 60th Birthday of Baek Seong-uk], 705-30. Seoul: Dongguk University Press.
- Yi, Giun. 2003. "Joseon sidae wangsil ui biguniwon seolchi wa sinhaeng" [The Establishment of Buddhist Nunneries of the Royal family and Belief in Buddhism during Joseon]. *Yeoksa hakbo* [The Journal of the Korean Historical Association] 178: 29-58.
- Yi, Gwang-rin. 1962. "Yijo hubangi ui sachal jejieop" [Paper Manufacture in Buddhist Temples during Late Joseon]. *Yeoksa hakbo* 17/18: 201-19.
- Yi, Ji-gwan. 1975. "Yeondam mit Inak ui sagi wa geu ui Seongyogwan" [The Records of Yeondam and Inak and their Thoughts on Seon]. In *Sungsan Bak Giljin baksa hwagap ginyeom bulgyo sasangsa* [The History of Korean Buddhist Thought in Commemoration of Sungsan Bak Giljin's 60th Birthday], 999-1012. Iri: Bulgyo sasang yeonguwon.
- Yi, Jong-ik. 1975. "Jeungdap Baekpaseo reul tonghae bon Kim Chusa ui bulgyogwan" [Kim Choo-sa's Buddhist Thoughts Viewed from his Answer to Ven Baek-pa]. *Bulgyo hakbo* 12: 11-32.
- Yi, Jongsu. 2008a. "Joseon hugi bulgyogyo ui simseong nonjaeng: Unbong ui simseongnon eul jungsim euro" [An Argument Concerning the Nature of the Mind within the Buddhist Community in the Late Joseon Dynasty— Focused on Woonbong's Simseongnon]. *Bojo sasang* 29: 261-93.
- . 2008b. "Sukjong 7-nyeon Jungguk seonbak ui pyochak gwa Baegam Seongchong ui bulseo ganhaeng" [The Drifting Ashore of a Chinese Ship in the 7th Year of King Sukjong's Era and the Publication of Buddhist Books by Baegam Seongchong]. *Bulgyohak yeongu* [Korea Journal of Buddhist Studies] 21: 259-95.
- . 2010. "Joseon hugi bulgyo ui suhaeng chegye yeon'gu" [A Study of Buddhist Practices in Late Joseon]. PhD diss., Dongguk University.
- . 2013. "1652-nyeon Gwanbu munseo reul tonghae bon Hyojong dae bulgyo jeongjaek yeongu" [State Policy toward Buddhism during the Reign of King Hyojong as Seen through an Examination of the Official Document Issued in 1652]. *Hanguk bulgyohak* [The Journal of the Korean Association for Buddhist Studies] 67: 397-425.
- Yi, Jong-yeong. 1963. "Seungin hopae go" [Certificates of Monkhood]. *Dongbankhakji* 6: 189-217.
- Yi, Neunghwa 李能和. 1917. "*Joseon bulgyo tongsa e chwihayeo*" [On A Comprehensive History of Buddhism of Joseon]. *Joseon bulgyo chongbo* 6.
- . 1918. *Joseon bulgyo tongsa* [A Comprehensive History of Buddhism of Joseon]. 2 vols. Gyeongseong: Sinmungwan.
- . 1920. "Joseon seungnyeo wa sahoejeok jiji" [Buddhist Monks in Joseon and their Social Status]. *Joseon bulgyo chongbo* 20.
- . 1924-1926. "Ijo bulgyosa" [The History of Buddhism of the Yi Dynasty]. *Bulgyo* 1-28.
- Yu, Gijeong. 2002. "Joseon jeongi ui seungjeong ui jeongbi wa unyeong" [The Organization and Management of the Seungjeong System in Early Joseon]. *Cheongnam sahak* 5: 23-73.
- Yun, Giyeop. 2007. "Joseon cho sawon ui siltae wa geu gineung: sawon sichaek e uihan gongin sawon eul jungsim euro" [The Realities and Functions of Temples in Early Chosun: Focusing on the Official Temples by Temple Policies]. *Bulgyo hakbo* 46: 85-115.
- Yun, Yongchul. 1984. "Joseon hugi ui buyeon seunggun" [On the Buddhist

Monks as Compulsory Workers in the latter Period of Choson]. *Busan daehakgyo inmun nonchong* [Journal of Humanities Studies] 26: 453-75.

- . 2013. "Joseon hugi sanneungyeok ui seunggun buyeok nodong" [The Labor Tax of the Buddhist Monks Defending the Mountains during Late Joseon]. In vol. 2 of *Hanguk hoguk bulgyo ui jaejomyeong* [The Reexamination of State-protection Korean Buddhism], 167-210. Seoul: Jogyejong chulpansa.

KIM Yongtae (yotai@dongguk.edu) is currently a HK Professor at Dongguk University. He received his PhD from the Department of Korean History at Seoul National University with a focus on the history of Joseon Buddhism. Some of his major works include *Joseon bulgyo sasangsa* (2021) and *Glocal History of Korean Buddhism* (2014).

Abstract

Research on Buddhism in the Joseon dynasty has seen many achievements during the past 100 years. Under Japanese colonial rule, the introduction of the modern academic research methodology and the collection of historical material allowed the pioneering research on various topics and formed the main theories. However, a negative image was layered onto tradition, reflecting the reality of being colonized, and the formula of suppression and decline was set in place. In the late 20th century, as the base of research broadened and a more autonomous perspective towards the tradition of Korean history was emphasized, the areas and topics of research diversified, leading to the accumulation of research achievements. From 2000 on, research that looks at Buddhism in the Joseon dynasty from a new perspective and attempts to clarify the historical reality in detail have been attempted. While the Joseon dynasty has been known as a period of elevating Confucianism and suppressing Buddhism (*sungyu eokbul*), this is a neologism created during the modern period, and its contents and characteristics should be understood depending on the time period. It is also necessary to reexamine the Buddhist traditions that have become academically formulized such as the theory that Buddhist monks were equal to the low-born, the theory of the doctrinal study, and the Seon-oriented perception.

Keywords: Buddhism in the Joseon dynasty, negative image, suppression and decline, elevation of Confucianism and suppression of Buddhism, theory that Buddhist monks had the status of the low-born, theory of the decline of doctrinal study, Seon-oriented perception

