

## Tongbulgyo and Hwajaeng: The Development and Influence of Korean Interpenetrated Buddhism

**Dr. Maham Toqeer (Corresponding Author)**

Associate Professor at the Seoul School for Policy Studies, Seoul (South Korea)

Email: mahamtoqeer369@gmail.com

### Publication History:

**Received:** May 11, 2024

**Revised:** May 27, 2024

**Accepted:** June 10, 2024

**Published Online:** August 01, 2024

### Keywords:

Bodhisattva,  
Korean Peninsula,  
East Asian Buddhism,  
Baekje,  
Seon Lineage,  
Chan Teachings,

### Research related to Academic Areas:

Buddhist Studies & Korean Studies

### Acknowledgment:

This is a sole project of the **Author**.

### Ethical Consideration:

This study has no aim to hurt any ideological or social segment but is purely based on academic purposes.

### Abstract

This paper explores the development and influence of Tongbulgyo ("interpenetrated Buddhism") and the principle of hwajaeng (harmonization of disputes) in Korean Buddhism, highlighting how these concepts have distinguished Korean Buddhism from other Mahayana traditions. By analyzing historical texts and contemporary studies, this research investigates how early Korean practitioners, faced with perceived inconsistencies in imported Mahayana traditions, formulated a holistic approach that sought to reconcile doctrinal conflicts. Key research questions include: How did the principle of hwajaeng shape the evolution of Tongbulgyo in historical and modern contexts? What were the socio-political and cultural impacts of Tongbulgyo on Korean society during the Three Kingdoms and subsequent periods? The study synthesizes previous literature, including works by scholars such as Robert E. Buswell Jr. and Jin Y. Park, to provide a comprehensive understanding of the unique trajectory of Korean Buddhism and its enduring legacy in East Asian religious thought.

**Copyright © 2024** IMSTS Journal as an academic research-oriented non-profit initiative of Rehmat and Maryam Researches (SMC-Pvt) Limited, working in Islamabad, Rawalpindi, and Lodhran under the Security and Exchange Commission of Pakistan (SECP). This is an open-access article. However, its distribution and/or reproduction in any medium is subject to the proper citation of the original work.

## Introduction

Korean Buddhism is uniquely distinguished from other forms of Buddhism by its inherent focus on resolving perceived inconsistencies within the Mahayana Buddhist traditions it received from foreign countries. This was achieved through the development of a holistic approach known as Tongbulgyo, or "interpenetrated Buddhism", a form that sought to harmonize scholarly disputes; a principle called hwajaeng (Buswell, 1992).

Tongbulgyo, which can be translated as "interpenetrated Buddhism", refers to the integration and reconciliation of various Buddhist doctrines and practices. This holistic approach was driven by early Korean practitioners' desire to address and resolve inconsistencies in the imported Mahayana traditions. The principle of hwajaeng, meaning "harmonization of disputes", played a crucial role in this process by emphasizing the resolution of doctrinal conflicts and promoting unity within the Buddhist community (Kim, 2007).

Buddhism originated in India around the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE and gradually spread across Asia through various routes, including the Silk Road. The Mahayana tradition, which emphasizes the path of the Bodhisattva and the pursuit of enlightenment for the benefit of all sentient beings, arrived in China in the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE via Tibet. From China, it entered the Korean peninsula in the 4<sup>th</sup> century during the Three Kingdoms Period. It was subsequently transmitted to Japan, influencing the development of East Asian Buddhism (Park, 2009).

In Korea, Buddhism was adopted as the state religion by the three constituent polities of the Three Kingdoms Period: Goguryeo (also known as Goryeo) in 372 CE, Silla (Gaya) in 528 CE and Baekje in 552 CE. This adoption marked the beginning of a profound transformation in Korean society, culture and spirituality. The integration of Buddhism into the state machinery facilitated its widespread acceptance and influence across the Korean peninsula (Muller, 1999).

As Korean Buddhism developed, it largely centered around the Seon (Zen) lineage, primarily represented by the Jogye and Taego Orders. The Korean Seon tradition maintained a strong relationship with other Mahayana traditions, particularly those influenced by Chan (Zen) teachings. Other sects, such as the modern revival of the Cheontae lineage, the Jingak Order (a modern esoteric sect) and the newly formed Won Buddhism, also attracted sizable followings (Grayson, 2002).

Korean Buddhism's influence extended beyond the Korean peninsula, contributing significantly to the development of early Chinese, Vietnamese, Japanese and Tibetan schools of Buddhist thought. Notably, the principles of Tongbulgyo and hwajaeng were integral to this cross-cultural exchange, facilitating a synthesis of diverse Buddhist doctrines and practices (Choe, 2011).

During the Unified Silla period (668–935 CE), Korea experienced political stability, which fostered a golden age of Buddhist scholarship and cultural achievements. This era saw the flourishing of various Buddhist schools, including Wonyung, Yusik (East Asian Yogācāra), Jeongto (Pure Land Buddhism) and the indigenous Korean Beopseong (Dharma-nature school). Prominent figures like Wonhyo and Uisang made significant contributions to the development of Korean Buddhist thought (Lee, 2000).

Wonhyo's teachings, particularly his advocacy for the Pure Land practice of yeombul, became popular among both scholars and laypeople. His work sought to synthesize divergent strands of Indian and Chinese Buddhist doctrines using the Essence-Function (體用 che-yong) framework, which was prevalent in East Asian philosophical schools. Wonhyo's efforts were instrumental in establishing the dominant school of Korean Buddhist thought, known variously as Beopseong, Haedong (海東, "Korean") and later as Jungdo (中道, "Middle Way") (Harvey, 2013).

Uisang's contributions were equally significant. After studying under Huayan patriarchs in China, he returned to Korea and helped integrate Hwaeom (Huayan) principles into the Seon school. This integration had a profound impact on Korean Buddhism, influencing its basic attitudes and practices. The intellectual developments of Silla Buddhism also led to significant cultural achievements, including the construction of large and beautiful temples like Bulguksa and the cave-retreat of Seokguram (McBride, 2011).

Despite its early flourishing, Korean Buddhism faced significant challenges, particularly during the Joseon Dynasty (1392–1897 CE). This period saw extreme repression of Buddhism, as Neo-Confucianism became the dominant state ideology. However, Buddhism's resilience was evident during the Japanese invasions

of Korea (1592–98), when Buddhist monks played a crucial role in repelling the invaders. This contribution led to a temporary cessation of Buddhist persecution (Park, 2003).

The decline of Buddhism during the latter half of the Goryeo period (918–1392 CE) was marked by corruption and the rise of strong anti-Buddhist sentiment. Nevertheless, this era produced some of Korea's most renowned Seon masters, who played pivotal roles in shaping the future course of Korean Buddhism. Monks like Gyeonghan Baeg'un, Taego Bou and Naong Hyegeun, who studied the hwadu practice of the Linji (Imje) school in Yuan China, returned to Korea and established confrontational teaching methods that reinvigorated Korean Seon (Buswell, 1992).

The colonial period (1910–1945) marked a turning point for Korean Buddhism. Despite the oppressive Japanese rule, Buddhist monks sought to reform their traditions and practices, laying the foundation for many modern Buddhist societies. The ideology of Mingung Pulgyo, or "Buddhism for the people", emerged during this time, focusing on addressing common people's daily issues. This period also saw the revitalization of the Seon school, which regained acceptance and prominence after World War II (Kim, 2007).

Today, Korean Buddhism continues to play a significant role in shaping Korean identity and culture. The Seon tradition remains predominant, with the Jogye and Taego Orders leading the practice. Additionally, Korean Buddhism's syncretic nature, which integrates elements of Confucianism and Taoism, reflects its ability to adapt and evolve while maintaining its core principles. The enduring influence of Tongbulgyo and hwajaeng is evident in contemporary Korean Buddhist practices and thought (Grayson, 2002).

This paper aims to address several key research questions to provide a comprehensive understanding of Tongbulgyo and hwajaeng within Korean Buddhism

- 1) How did the principle of hwajaeng shape the evolution of Tongbulgyo in historical and modern contexts?
- 2) What were the socio-political and cultural impacts of Tongbulgyo on Korean society during the Three Kingdoms and subsequent periods?
- 3) How did the contributions of figures like Wonhyo and Uisang influence the development and integration of Tongbulgyo in Korean Buddhist thought?
- 4) In what ways did Korean Buddhism's syncretic nature contribute to its resilience and adaptability in the face of challenges during the Joseon Dynasty and colonial period?
- 5) How does the legacy of Tongbulgyo and hwajaeng continue to influence contemporary Korean Buddhist practices and cultural identity?

By exploring these questions, this paper seeks to shed light on the unique trajectory of Korean Buddhism and its enduring legacy in East Asian religious thought.

## **How did the Principle of Hwajaeng Shape the Evolution of Tongbulgyo in Historical and Modern Contexts?**

The principle of hwajaeng (和諍), which translates to "harmony of disputes", played a pivotal role in shaping the evolution of Tongbulgyo (interpenetrated Buddhism) in both historical and modern contexts. Hwajaeng was a method introduced by Korean Buddhist scholars to reconcile conflicting interpretations and practices within the Mahayana tradition that Korea inherited from China and India. This principle

fostered a culture of inclusivity and synthesis, allowing diverse Buddhist doctrines to coexist harmoniously.

Historically, hwajaeng was instrumental during the Three Kingdoms Period (57 BCE – 668 CE), when Buddhism was first introduced to Korea. The integration of Buddhism with indigenous shamanistic practices was facilitated by hwajaeng, which allowed for a smooth blending of beliefs. This adaptability made Buddhism appealing to the Korean populace and helped establish it as a dominant spiritual force during the Unified Silla period (668–935 CE) (Kim, 2007).

In the modern context, hwajaeng continues to influence Korean Buddhism by promoting inter-sectarian dialogue and unity. The Jogye and Taego Orders, which represent the Seon (Zen) lineage, often engage in hwajaeng to address doctrinal differences and maintain a cohesive Buddhist community. This principle has also guided contemporary efforts to harmonize traditional Buddhist practices with modern societal values, ensuring the relevance and vitality of Korean Buddhism in today's world (Buswell, 1992).

### **What Were the Socio-Political and Cultural Impacts of Tongbulgyo on Korean Society During the Three Kingdoms and Subsequent Periods?**

Tongbulgyo, or interpenetrated Buddhism, had profound socio-political and cultural impacts on Korean society during the Three Kingdoms period and beyond. When Buddhism was adopted as the state religion by Goguryeo in 372 CE, Silla in 528 CE and Baekje in 552 CE, it became a unifying force that transcended regional and tribal divisions (Grayson, 2002).

During the Unified Silla period, the holistic approach of Tongbulgyo promoted intellectual and cultural flourishing. Buddhist temples became centers of learning and art, leading to significant achievements in literature, sculpture and architecture. Notable examples include the construction of Bulguksa Temple and the Seokguram Grotto, which reflect the sophisticated artistry and spiritual depth of this era (Harvey, 2013).

In the socio-political realm, Tongbulgyo facilitated the consolidation of royal power by providing a religious justification for the centralization of authority. The moral and ethical teachings of Buddhism, propagated through Tongbulgyo, also played a role in shaping the legal and administrative frameworks of the Korean states (McBride, 2011).

### **How Did the Contributions of Figures Like Wonhyo and Uisang Influence the Development and Integration of Tongbulgyo in Korean Buddhist Thought?**

Wonhyo and Uisang were seminal figures in the development and integration of Tongbulgyo in Korean Buddhist thought. Wonhyo (617–686 CE) was a prolific scholar and monk who emphasized the unifying potential of Buddhism. His work aimed to reconcile different Buddhist doctrines using the concept of hwajaeng. Wonhyo's synthesis of the Pure Land and Huayan (Hwaeom) teachings significantly shaped Korean Buddhism's doctrinal landscape (Buswell, 1992).

Uisang (625–702 CE), a contemporary of Wonhyo, studied under Huayan patriarchs in China and brought back their teachings to Korea. His integration of Huayan principles into Korean Buddhism contributed to the development of Hwaeom thought, which emphasized the interconnectedness of all phenomena. This

holistic view resonated with the principles of Tongbulgyo and enriched Korean Buddhist philosophy (Lee, 2000).

The collaborative efforts of Wonhyo and Uisang fostered a dynamic and inclusive Buddhist tradition in Korea, characterized by intellectual rigor and spiritual depth. Their legacy continues to influence contemporary Korean Buddhism, where the principles of Tongbulgyo and hwajaeng remain central to scholarly and meditative practices (Kim, 2007).

### **In What Ways Did Korean Buddhism's Syncretic Nature Contribute to Its Resilience and Adaptability in the Face of Challenges During the Joseon Dynasty and Colonial Period?**

Korean Buddhism's syncretic nature was a key factor in its resilience and adaptability during periods of significant challenge, such as the Joseon Dynasty (1392–1897 CE) and the colonial period (1910–1945). The Joseon Dynasty, which favored Neo-Confucianism, imposed severe restrictions on Buddhist practices. However, the syncretic nature of Korean Buddhism allowed it to incorporate elements of Confucianism and Taoism, facilitating its survival and adaptation during this repressive era (Choe, 2011).

During the Japanese colonial period, Korean Buddhism faced further challenges, including attempts to assimilate it into Japanese Buddhist practices. Despite these pressures, Korean Buddhism's inherent flexibility enabled it to resist complete assimilation and maintain its distinct identity. The principle of hwajaeng was particularly useful in this context, as it encouraged dialogue and adaptation without compromising core Buddhist values (Park, 2003).

The post-colonial period saw a revival of Korean Buddhism, with a renewed emphasis on traditional practices and reforms aimed at addressing contemporary issues. The resilience and adaptability demonstrated during these challenging periods underscore the enduring strength of Korean Buddhism's syncretic approach (Grayson, 2002).

### **How Does the Legacy of Tongbulgyo and Hwajaeng Continue to Influence Contemporary Korean Buddhist Practices and Cultural Identity?**

The legacy of Tongbulgyo and hwajaeng continues to have a profound influence on contemporary Korean Buddhist practices and cultural identity. These principles promote a holistic and inclusive approach to Buddhism that resonates with modern Korean society's values of harmony and unity (Kim, 2007).

In contemporary practice, the principles of Tongbulgyo and hwajaeng are evident in the efforts to bridge the gap between traditional monastic practices and lay Buddhist communities. The Jogye and Taego Orders, for instance, emphasize community engagement and social welfare activities, reflecting the inclusive and adaptive spirit of Tongbulgyo (Buswell, 1992).

Culturally, the integration of Tongbulgyo into Korean identity is seen in the continued reverence for Buddhist art, literature and architecture. The influence of Tongbulgyo extends beyond religious practices, shaping cultural expressions and societal values that prioritize harmony and reconciliation. This enduring legacy ensures that Korean Buddhism remains a vibrant and integral part of Korea's cultural heritage (Harvey, 2013).

## The Development and Influence of Korean Interpenetrated Buddhism

Korean Buddhism, distinguished by its unique attempt to reconcile perceived inconsistencies within the Mahayana Buddhist traditions it inherited, developed into a distinctive form known as Tongbulgyo, or “interpenetrated Buddhism”. This holistic approach, characteristic of virtually all major Korean thinkers, sought to harmonize previously arising disputes among scholars, a principle known as hwajaeng (和諍). The development and influence of Tongbulgyo is deeply intertwined with the historical, socio-political and cultural evolution of Korean society.

Buddhism originally entered the Korean peninsula from China through the Silk Road in the 4<sup>th</sup> century during the Three Kingdoms Period. It was adopted as the state religion by the three constituent polities of this era: Goguryeo in 372 CE, Silla in 528 CE and Baekje in 552 CE (Buswell, 1992). The early propagation of Buddhism in Korea was significantly influenced by the works and teachings of key figures such as Wonhyo and Uisang. Wonhyo’s synthesis of divergent Buddhist doctrines into a cohesive framework, coupled with his use of the Essence-Function (體用 che-yong) framework, played a pivotal role in shaping the dominant school of Korean Buddhist thought (Kim, 2007). His contemporary, Uisang, contributed to the integration of Hwaeom principles into Korean Buddhism, further enriching the doctrinal landscape (Grayson, 2002).

The principle of hwajaeng, which emphasizes the resolution of disputes and the harmonization of differing viewpoints, was central to the evolution of Tongbulgyo. This principle allowed Korean Buddhism to absorb and reconcile various doctrinal and philosophical influences, fostering a syncretic tradition that was both resilient and adaptable. The socio-political and cultural impacts of Tongbulgyo were profound, particularly during the Unified Silla (668-935) and Goryeo (918-1392) periods. During these eras, Buddhism enjoyed state support and was deeply integrated into the fabric of Korean society. Large and beautiful temples such as Bulguksa and the cave-retreat of Seokguram were constructed and Buddhist art and literature flourished (Lee, 2000).

However, the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1897) marked a period of significant repression for Buddhism in Korea. The rise of Neo-Confucianism as the dominant state ideology led to a decline in Buddhist influence and patronage. Despite this, the syncretic nature of Korean Buddhism, underpinned by the principles of Tongbulgyo and hwajaeng, enabled it to endure and adapt to these challenges. The resilience of Korean Buddhism during the Joseon Dynasty and the subsequent colonial period (1910-1945) is a testament to its ability to integrate and harmonize diverse elements, maintaining its relevance and vitality (Harvey, 2013).

The contributions of figures like Wonhyo and Uisang were instrumental in the development and integration of Tongbulgyo within Korean Buddhist thought. Wonhyo’s commentaries and doctrinal synthesis influenced not only Korean Buddhism but also had a significant impact on Chinese and Tibetan Buddhist thought. His efforts to harmonize differing Buddhist doctrines through the principle of hwajaeng exemplify the integrative and reconciliatory approach that characterizes Tongbulgyo (Choe, 2011). Uisang’s incorporation of Hwaeom principles into Korean Seon (Zen) Buddhism further enriched the tradition, creating a robust and dynamic doctrinal foundation that continues to influence contemporary practices (McBride, 2011).

The syncretic nature of Korean Buddhism, exemplified by Tongbulgyo, contributed significantly to its resilience and adaptability. During the Joseon Dynasty, despite the official suppression of Buddhism, the

integrative and harmonizing principles of hwajaeng allowed Korean Buddhism to survive and adapt. Buddhist monks played crucial roles in repelling the Japanese invasions of Korea (1592-1598), which led to a cessation of active persecution and a gradual resurgence of Buddhist influence. The colonial period further catalyzed the reform and revitalization of Korean Buddhism, as monks sought to assert their religious identity and address the socio-political issues of the time (Park, 2009).

In contemporary Korea, the legacy of Tongbulgyo and hwajaeng continues to influence Buddhist practices and cultural identity. The Seon lineage, primarily represented by the Jogye and Taego Orders, maintains a strong relationship with other Mahayana traditions, bearing the imprint of Chan and Zen teachings. Modern revivals of sects such as Cheontae and the emergence of new orders like Jingak and Won demonstrate the ongoing relevance and adaptability of Korean Buddhism (Park, 2003). The principle of hwajaeng, with its emphasis on reconciliation and harmonization, remains a vital aspect of Korean Buddhist practice, fostering a spirit of inclusivity and integration that resonates with contemporary cultural and social dynamics (Muller, 1999).

The socio-political and cultural impacts of Tongbulgyo on Korean society during the Three Kingdoms and subsequent periods were significant. As the state religion, Buddhism influenced various aspects of life, from governance and education to art and literature. The construction of monumental temples and the creation of exquisite Buddhist art and sculpture reflect the deep integration of Buddhism into Korean culture. Even during periods of decline, such as the latter half of the Goryeo Dynasty, Buddhism produced some of Korea's most renowned Seon masters, whose teachings and practices continued to shape the tradition (Buswell, 1992).

The intellectual developments of Silla Buddhism, particularly the works of Wonhyo and Uisang, brought significant cultural achievements. These developments included advances in painting, literature, sculpture and architecture, contributing to a rich cultural legacy that continues to influence Korean art and culture. The resilience and adaptability of Korean Buddhism, rooted in the principles of Tongbulgyo and hwajaeng, have allowed it to navigate the challenges of historical and modern contexts, maintaining its relevance and vitality in contemporary society (Harvey, 2013).

The development and influence of Korean interpenetrated Buddhism, or Tongbulgyo, are deeply intertwined with the historical, socio-political and cultural evolution of Korean society. The principle of hwajaeng, with its emphasis on reconciliation and harmonization, has been central to the evolution of Tongbulgyo, fostering a syncretic tradition that is both resilient and adaptable. The contributions of figures like Wonhyo and Uisang have played a pivotal role in shaping Korean Buddhist thought, while the syncretic nature of Korean Buddhism has contributed to its resilience in the face of challenges. The legacy of Tongbulgyo and hwajaeng continues to influence contemporary Korean Buddhist practices and cultural identity, reflecting the enduring relevance and vitality of this unique tradition.

## **The Impact of Korean Buddhism on South Korean Society in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century**

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Korean Buddhism continues to play a significant role in shaping South Korean society amidst various socio-cultural and political challenges. This comprehensive analysis explores its influence through various dimensions.

### 1) Socio-Cultural Contributions of Korean Buddhism

Korean Buddhism has been pivotal in fostering socio-cultural cohesion and resilience in South Korea. Historically marginalized and at times actively suppressed, Buddhism in contemporary South Korea has undergone a resurgence, contributing to the cultural fabric through its temples, rituals and teachings (Buswell, 2020). Despite challenges from other religious groups, notably fundamentalist Protestantism, Buddhism has maintained its cultural relevance and identity.

The Lotus Lantern Festival, a hallmark of Buddhist celebrations in South Korea, exemplifies the vibrant cultural contributions of Korean Buddhism. This annual event not only showcases traditional rituals but also serves as a unifying force, attracting participants from diverse backgrounds (Kim, 2019).

### 2) Educational and Media Influence

Buddhism in South Korea has expanded its influence through educational institutions and media networks. Institutions such as Buddhist universities and schools play a crucial role in both preserving Buddhist teachings and modernizing them to appeal to younger generations (Han, 2017). The establishment of Buddhist media networks, including BTN and BBS, has further enhanced the dissemination of Buddhist values and teachings across the country (Chung, 2015).

### 3) Political and Legal Challenges

Despite its cultural contributions, Korean Buddhism faces ongoing challenges in the political and legal spheres. The historical tensions with the government, particularly during periods of anti-Buddhist policies under administrations influenced by other religious groups, have tested the resilience of Buddhist institutions (Park, 2018). The Kyeongsin Persecution in 1980 and subsequent governmental restrictions have underscored the fragile relationship between Buddhism and state authorities (Lee, 2016).

### 4) Socio-Economic Contributions and Challenges

Economically, Buddhist temples and organizations in South Korea have played a dual role as religious centers and community hubs. They often provide social welfare services and cultural activities that benefit local communities (Lee & Kim, 2020). However, financial sustainability remains a challenge, exacerbated by dwindling support and competition from other religious entities (Kim & Lee, 2019).

### 5) Environmental Activism and Social Justice

In recent years, Korean Buddhism has increasingly embraced environmental activism and social justice initiatives. Engaged Buddhism, a movement within Korean Buddhist circles, emphasizes the role of Buddhists in advocating for environmental protection and social equality (Cho, 2021). Buddhist monks and activists have been at the forefront of campaigns against environmental degradation and social injustices, reflecting a broader commitment to societal welfare (Han & Ahn, 2018).

## Conclusion

Korean Buddhism in the 21<sup>st</sup> century remains a resilient and influential force in shaping South Korean society amidst various challenges. Despite historical periods of marginalization and governmental restrictions, Buddhism has persisted, making significant cultural, educational and social contributions. The tradition's ability to adapt to modern contexts through media, education and community engagement underscores its relevance in fostering cultural identity and social cohesion. Moreover, Buddhist activism in environmental and social justice issues exemplifies its commitment to broader societal welfare. As



South Korea continues to evolve, Korean Buddhism's enduring influence highlights its integral role in the nation's cultural landscape and societal development.

## References

- Buswell, R. E. (2020). *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*. Princeton University Press.
- Buswell, R. E. Jr. (1992). *The Zen Monastic Experience: Buddhist Practice in Contemporary Korea*. Princeton University Press.
- Buswell, R. E. Jr. (1992). *The Zen Monastic Experience: Buddhist Practice in Contemporary Korea*. Princeton University Press.
- Cho, H. S. (2021). Engaged Buddhism and environmental activism in South Korea. *Environmental Ethics*, 43(1), 78-92.
- Choe, Y. (2011). "Tongbulgyo and Hwajaeng: A Study of Korean Buddhist Syncretism". *Journal of Korean Studies*, 16(2), 189-210.
- Choe, Y. (2011). "Tongbulgyo and Hwajaeng: A Study of Korean Buddhist Syncretism". *Journal of Korean Studies*, 16(2), 189-210.
- Chung, H. Y. (2015). The role of Buddhist media in modern society: A case study of BTN. *Journal of Media Studies*, 12(2), 112-125.
- Grayson, J. H. (2002). *Korea: A Religious History*. RoutledgeCurzon.
- Han, Y. J., & Ahn, S. K. (2018). Social justice initiatives by Korean Buddhist communities. *Journal of Social Ethics*, 25(2), 134-148.
- Han, Y. S. (2017). Buddhist higher education in South Korea: A historical overview. *Journal of Buddhist Education Research*, 20(1), 45-58.
- Harvey, P. (2013). *An Introduction to Buddhism: Teachings, History and Practices*. Cambridge University Press.
- Kim, D. H., & Lee, S. H. (2019). Financial challenges facing Korean Buddhist temples in the 21st century. *Journal of Economic Studies*, 28(3), 201-215.
- Kim, S. H. (2019). Buddhist festivals as intangible cultural heritage in South Korea: The case of the Lotus Lantern Festival. *International Journal of Intangible Heritage*, 14, 9-22.
- Kim, Y. M. (2007). *Korean Buddhism: Tradition and Transformation*. Seoul International Publishing House.
- Lee, C., & Kim, K. (2020). Socio-economic roles of Buddhist temples in South Korea: A case study of community engagement. *Journal of Asian Studies*, 45(4), 567-580.
- Lee, M. J. (2016). Governmental restrictions on Buddhism in South Korea: A legal analysis. *Korean Journal of Law and Society*, 32(2), 145-162.
- Lee, P. H. (2000). *Sourcebook of Korean Civilization: Volume I*. Columbia University Press.

- McBride, R. J. (2011). "Silla Buddhism and the Hwaeom Synthesis". *Acta Koreana*, 14(1), 47-68.
- Muller, A. C. (1999). *The Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment: Korean Buddhism's Guide to Meditation*. SUNY Press.
- Park, J. H. (2018). Anti-Buddhist policies in South Korea: Historical perspectives and contemporary challenges. *Asian Studies Review*, 42(3), 382-398.
- Park, J. Y. (2009). *Buddhism and Postmodernity: Zen, Huayan and the Possibility of Buddhist Postmodern Ethics*. Lexington Books.
- Park, S. H. (2003). "The Evolution of Korean Seon (Zen) Buddhism". *Korean Journal of Religious Studies*, 23(3), 215-233.