



# Historical Narrative and Artistic Evidence: *Reexamining the System for the Construction of Bukhansanseong and the Establishment of Seungyeong Temple through the Artifacts from Sangunsa Temple*

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## Abstract

*This study presents a new interpretation of the Bukhansanseong construction system and the establishment of seungyeong temples by examining both artifacts of Sangunsa temple and historical records related to Bukhansanseong's construction and the establishment of seungyeong temples. Traditionally believed to have been founded in the early 18th century after the completion of Bukhansanseong, Sangunsa temple houses relics from much earlier periods, suggesting a more complex history. This study reveals that, while previous research considered only Junghungsa temple to have been reconstructed, in fact Sangunsa and two additional temples were also reconstructed as seungyeong temples after the completion of Bukhansanseong. Furthermore, it challenges the conventional view that uiseunggun were mobilized for the fortress construction, instead positing that they were involved in temple establishment and post-construction management. By analyzing art pieces like the Goryeo-era stone pagoda and Buddha statues, along with Joseon-era travelogues, this research sheds new light on the integration of religious, military, and administrative functions within Bukhansanseong.*

**Keywords:** Bukhansanseong, seungyeong temples, uiseunggun, Bukhanji, Paldo dochongseop, Gyepa Seongneung, Sangunsa, Nojeoksa

## Introduction

Texts requiring interpretation are not limited to written records. Artworks, as the result of human aesthetic activities, encapsulate the style of a specific period, region, or individual artist, thereby giving them documentary value. Consequently, distortions or errors found in written records can sometimes be corrected through an examination of artworks. In this context, Sangunsa 祥雲寺 temple on Bukhansan 北漢山 (Mt. Bukhan) serves as an important example. Sangunsa is one of the *seungyeong sachal* 僧營寺刹 (Temples with a Military Camp), which, in addition to their religious functions, also served as military camps, illustrating a unique characteristic of Buddhist history during the Joseon dynasty. It is known to have been established in 1711 (37th year of King Sukjong) following the construction of Bukhansanseong 北漢山城 (Bukhansan Fortress). However, the temple houses artifacts from much earlier periods, such as a Goryeo-era stone pagoda and a seated stone Buddha from 1497, which predate the early 18th century. These relics provide crucial clues for reconstructing the temple's foundation period and the history of the era they represent, shedding light on aspects that were unclear from written records alone.

The restoration of the history of Sangunsa, a relatively obscure temple, is important because it helps uncover new facts about the system of Bukhansanseong Fortress construction and the establishment of *seungyeong* temples by identifying the intersection between written records and relics. Bukhansanseong was not merely a military structure but a complex defense system that integrated natural geography with strategic fortifications. Within this system, *seungyeong* temples played a vital role, not only as religious institutions but also as military bases. Reconstructing the history of Sangunsa, one of these *seungyeong* temples, contributes to reexamining the system of *seungyeong* temple establishment and management, as well as the role of *uiseunggun* 義僧軍 (monk-soldiers) in the construction process of Bukhansanseong.

Previous studies, referencing the example of Namhansanseong constructed in the 17th century, have argued that *uiseunggun* played a significant role in the fortress construction from the outset. Thus, it has been suggested that Gyeopa

Seongneung 桂坡 聖能 (circa 1660–after 1745), who held the position of *paldo dochongseop* 八道都摠攝 (Supreme Overseer of the Eight Provinces), had been appointed prior to the establishment of *seungyeong* temples to command the monk-soldiers. However, this study reexamines the existing narrative and presents a new perspective. This perspective involves revisiting the foundation period of Sangunsa temple, the timing of Seongneung's appointment as the *paldo dochongseop* to Bukhansanseong, the role of monk-soldiers in the fortress construction, and the potential conversion of existing temples into *seungyeong* temples.

To address these issues, this study takes an art-historical approach, focusing on Buddhist artworks and textual records from Sangunsa. Additionally, valuable clues can be found in travelogues and literary works by Joseon-era scholar-officials, which mention the existence and location of temples within Bukhansanseong, as well as related relics. Through the relics of Sangunsa and new documentary evidence, this study seeks to reconstruct the early history of Sangunsa and clarify the timeline of Gyepa Seongneung's appointment to Bukhansan. Ultimately, this study aims to offer a new perspective on the context of Bukhansanseong Fortress construction and the establishment of *seungyeong* temples.

## Founding and Historical Restoration of Sangunsa

### *The Artifacts and Founding Period of Sangunsa*

Gyepa Seongneung is said to have published *Bukhanji* 北漢誌 (Gazetteer of Bukhansan Fortress) in 1745 (22nd year of King Yeongjo) as he completed his duties as *paldo dochongseop* and prepared to hand over to his successor.<sup>1</sup> *Bukhanji* is a comprehensive geographical record that organizes all details related to Bukhansanseong Fortress—its terrain, geographical features, construction process, structure, and facilities—into 14 categories.<sup>2</sup> In the

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1. For a discussion on the life and activities of Seongneung, see Kim DeokSu (2022).

2. Although discussions about the construction of Bukhansanseong continued for a long



**Figure 1.** Map of Bukhansan Fortress (Bukhando) from the *Bukhanji*, 1745, Joseon dynasty. Ink on paper. Jangseogak Archives, Academy of Korean Studies

Source: Goyang-si and Gyeonggi Cultural Heritage Research Institute (2009).

section on temples, a total of 21 sites, including hermitages, are listed. Among them, six temples—Hyangnimsa, Cheongnyangsa, Seunggasa, Samcheonsa, Jingwansa, and Doseongam—are noted as having been abandoned. Of the remaining 15 sites, it is recorded that Jeokseoksa became a storage facility for the Hullyeon dogam military training division (今爲訓局倉舍), and that Munsusa was located outside the fortress. Therefore, the 13 *seungyeong sachal* located within the fortress are as follows: Jungheungsa, Taegosa, Yongamsa, Boguksa, Bogwangsa, Buwangsa, Wongaksa, Guknyeongsa, Seoamsa, Jinguksa, Bongseongam, Wonhyoam, and Sangunsa. Among these, Jungheungsa was already in operation before the fortress was constructed, meaning that 12 temples, including two hermitages, were newly established. All 13 sites are marked on the *Bukhando* 北漢圖 (Map of Bukhansan Fortress) included at the beginning of the book, allowing their locations to be identified (Fig. 1). The location of Sangunsa, near the North Gate on the

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period, no other records remain, making *Bukhanji* almost the only text that is regarded as “comprehensively summarizing the historical facts, processes, structures, and functions related to the fortress construction” (W. Lee 2016, 55–56). Those 14 categories are *dori* 道里 (distance between two points), *yeongeok* 沿革 (historical development or changes over time), *sangye* 山谿 (mountains and streams), *seongchi* 城池 (city walls and moats or fortresses), *sasil* 事實 (facts or realities), *gwanyeon* 官員 (government officials), *janggyo* 將校 (military officers), *gungjeon* 宮殿 (palace), *sachal* 寺刹 (temples), *nugwan* 樓觀 (towers or pavilions), *gyoryang* 橋梁 (bridges), *changnim* 倉廩 (granaries), *jeonggye* 定界 (boundary demarcation), and *gojjeok* 古蹟 (historical sites or relics).



**Figure 2.** Three-story Stone Pagoda, Goryeo dynasty, Sangunsa, Goyang

Source: photograph by author (2021).

northern side of the fortress, is also clearly indicated.

*Bukhanji* records that Sangunsa was located below Yeongchubong Peak and had 133 rooms and was founded by the monk Hoesu (祥雲寺在靈鷲峯下一百三十三間僧懷秀所創). The *Sangunsa geungnakjeon jungchanggi* 祥雲寺 極樂殿 重創記 (Record of the Reconstruction of Geungnakjeon Hall at Sangunsa) from 1813 states that the monk commander Hoesu established Sangunsa in 1722 (寺之創也在昔康熙之壬寅僧將懷秀之所構... 嘉慶十八年癸酉九月日 太月智聰 記). Additionally, the *Bongeun bonmal saji* 奉恩本末寺誌 (Bongeun Temple Chronicle), compiled in 1943 from earlier records, also mentions that Hoesu founded Sangunsa in 1722, and that it was initially named Nojeoksa.<sup>3</sup> These records generally lead to the acceptance of 1722 as the founding year of Sangunsa, following the construction of Bukhansanseong Fortress (J. Jeong 1999, 49; Hwang 2016, 93n97). However, the existence of a Goryeo-era three-story stone pagoda, a seated stone Buddha from 1497, and a wooden seated Amitabha triad from

3. “朝鮮景宗二年壬寅僧將懷秀創建 額曰露積寺凡一百三十三間” (quoted in Kwon [1979, 621]).

1713 at Sangunsa raises doubts about this founding date (GCF 2011, 754; S. Jeong 2017, 193; Yun 2014, 505; Shim 2019, 258).<sup>4</sup> Therefore, the dates of the artworks housed at Sangunsa, as well as whether they were produced or commissioned at the temple, are directly related to the temple's history, making them important considerations. In light of this, I will review these artworks along with relevant records to explore the founding of Sangunsa.

First, the three-story stone pagoda located behind the main hall of Sangunsa is an important artifact that allows us to trace the temple's history back to the late Goryeo period. This is because it is a typical Goryeo-era stone pagoda, with a square niche carved into the front of the first story and a separate pedestal placed at the bottom of the first story (Shim 2019, 258) (Fig. 2). The height of the pagoda's body is proportionally greater than its width, giving an overall sense of verticality (Jin and Kang 2006, 60). The decoration of the lotus patterns on the separate pedestal, with upward-facing lotus petals, is a characteristic feature of stone pagodas in the Seoul and Gyeonggi regions (S. Lee 2019, 113). As the pagoda is a large structure composed of multiple heavy components, there are no known cases of it being relocated before the Japanese colonial period.<sup>5</sup>

This pagoda is also presumed to have been produced at Sangunsa. The idea of relocating a pagoda from another temple to Sangunsa, which is located at the rugged summit of Bukhansan, is not rational. Therefore, the likelihood that it was brought from elsewhere is low, suggesting that this artifact indicates Sangunsa was in existence as early as the late Goryeo period.

The current stone pagoda was restored in September 1999, having previously collapsed. Missing parts were recreated and reinforced (J. Jeong 1999, 58; C. Kim 1999, 174–175). The *Bongeun Temple Chronicle* (1943) mentions a three-story *petap* 廢塔 (ruined pagoda) on the eastern side of the temple, indicating that the pagoda had already collapsed by that time. However, according to the poem “Sangunsa” by Shin Gwang-ak, included

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4. These are studies that briefly question the early 18th-century establishment of Sangunsa.

5. The relocation of stone pagodas during the colonial period was typically carried out as part of the Japanese Government-General's colonial policies or by private Japanese individuals who looted cultural assets.

in the anthology *Pungyo sokseon* 風謠續選 (Continuation of Songs of the Humble Wind 1797), the pagoda still stood at that time, as Shin refers to it as a *botap* 寶塔 (precious pagoda) rather than a ruined pagoda.<sup>6</sup> Based on this, it is assumed that the Sangunsa stone pagoda collapsed sometime between 1797 and 1943.

The exact reason for the pagoda's collapse is unknown. However, given that records from historical texts frequently report landslides in the Bukhansan area from the Goryeo to Joseon periods, it is presumed that such disasters were one of the major causes (Shim 2019, 258n55). The seated stone Buddha at Sangunsa, which will be discussed below, also suffered damage, with its neck broken and parts of its torso missing, suggesting that the damage to the Buddha and the collapse of the pagoda may have resulted from similar incidents (Shim 2019, 258). Because landslides also twice affected Jungheungsa,<sup>7</sup> though the site was considered a prominent candidate for the temporary royal palace, that palace was ultimately built elsewhere. The royal palace, too, was destroyed by a landslide following heavy rains in July 1915.

The seated stone Buddha at Sangunsa, which will be examined next, is a typical example of early Joseon sculpture, displaying the style of the 15th century (Moon 2011, 115, 131; S. Jeong 2017, 193–194; Shim 2019, 247–256) (Fig. 3).<sup>8</sup>

Since few Buddha statues from that time remain, and stone Buddha statues are even rarer, this piece is considered one of the most important examples of early Joseon stone Buddha statues.<sup>9</sup> The Buddha statue and its

6. “寺名宜此地 寶塔瑞雲過...” (“The temple’s name suits this place, and the precious pagoda is touched by auspicious clouds...”) (Hangukhak munheon yeonguso 1983, 715). The *Pungyo sokseon*, originally published in 1797, is a collection of poems by urban poets which followed upon the collection *Sodae pungyo* (Wind Songs of the Streets), published in 1737. These poems are characterized by their retrospective sentiments, often focusing on historical sites.

7. *Bibyeonsa deungnok* (Records of the Border Defense Council), *chaek* 62, 10th day of the 6th lunar month of the 37th year of King Sukjong (1711).

8. The seated stone Buddha at Sangunsa also exhibits some sculptural features that are not found in other Buddha statues of the same period.

9. In recognition of its value, it was designated Gyeonggi-do Tangible Cultural Heritage No.



**Figure 3.** Seated Stone Buddha (left) and inscription (right), 1497, Joseon dynasty, Sangunsa, Goyang

Sources: (left) photograph by author (2018); (right) Goyang-si (2018).

pedestal were made from separate stones, and on the bottom of the statue, an ink-written inscription detailing the statue's creation survives (Fig. 3). The inscription states that a total of 55 lay devotees and monks commissioned the statue in the 4th month of 1497.<sup>10</sup> The estimated production date, inferred from the sculptural style, has been further clarified through this inscription. However, unfortunately, the inscription does not record the name of the statue, the sculptor-monk who made it, the background of its creation, or its enshrinement location. This omission reflects a formal characteristic of inscriptions from the Goryeo period, differing from those of the Joseon period (Yu 2011). In terms of its sculptural style, the Buddha statue at Sangunsa also exhibits more archaic features compared to other Buddha statues of the same period (Shim 2019, 254–256).

135 in 2018.

10. Although the inscription is difficult to decipher, the name of a monk, Gaegong 戒空, can be identified. He appears to be the same person recorded as the sponsor in the *Inscribed Tablet from the 3rd Year of the Zhengde Era* (1508), housed in the Dongguk University Museum (Dongguk University Museum 2006, 122).

The inscription on the Buddha statue does not specify its enshrinement location, leaving the possibility that it may have been moved from another site. However, the scientific analysis of the statue's material conducted by the National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage confirms that the statue was made at Sangunsa (Goyang-si 2018). In particular, it has been observed that the rock formations located to the left and right of the Yaksa Cave Hall, where the Buddha statue is currently enshrined, appear to be the same material used for both the statue and its pedestal (Shim 2019, 258–259). Therefore, it seems certain that this statue was made at Sangunsa in the late 15th century and that it has been preserved there ever since, suggesting that Sangunsa existed during the late 15th century. However, given that the patrons of the statue were monks and ordinary civilians without official titles or positions, it seems that Sangunsa was not a large temple supported by powerful or wealthy patrons at that time.

Through the pagoda and Buddha statue preserved at Sangunsa, it can be confirmed that Sangunsa existed not only during the Goryeo period but also in the early Joseon period. This is further supported by fragments of *buncheong* ware from the late Goryeo to early Joseon period, which are easily found at the temple entrance and within its grounds (Fig. 4).



**Figure 4.** Fragments of *buncheong* ware, late 14th to 15th century, Sangunsa, Goyang

Source: photographs by author (2018).

The fact that Sangunsa existed before the construction of Bukhansanseong Fortress is also supported by historical records. This is evidenced by the travelogue *Yu sangaksannok* 遊三角山錄 (Record of a Journey to Samgaksan), written by the late Joseon scholar Oh Jae-jeong (1641–1709). On the 16th day, 3rd lunar month, 1696 (22nd year of King Sukjong), Oh Jae-jeong, along with his younger brother, ten friends, three servants, and two monks, toured Bukhansan. While describing the locations he ascended during his journey, he noted that Sangunam 祥雲菴 (Sangun Hermitage) was visible to the west (其所瞻望者 西祥雲菴).<sup>11</sup> The name “Sangunam” further confirms the small scale of early Joseon Sangunsa, as previously inferred from the inscription on the seated stone Buddha.

Sangunam is also mentioned twice in the *Seungjeongwon ilgi* 承政院日記 (Diary of the Royal Secretariat): on the 3rd day, 9th lunar month, 1712 (38th year of King Sukjong), it is noted as part of the construction projects associated with Bukhansanseong Fortress, that “the storage facility at Sangunam and a five-beam pavilion with twenty bays were built” (祥雲菴庫舍五樑閣二十間); and on the 7th day, intercalary 5th month, 1713 (39th year of King Sukjong), it is recorded how “various military equipment and miscellaneous items were just transferred to the storage facility at Sangunam” (各樣軍器及雜物, 方有移置於祥雲庵庫舍之事). These records confirm that Sangunsa was referred to as “Sangunam,” at least by the intercalary 5th lunar month of 1713, and that it was utilized as an auxiliary facility of Bukhansanseong Fortress, with a storage facility in operation.

Through both artifacts and records, we can conclude that Sangunsa was not newly established in the early 18th century but was founded no later than the late Goryeo period and continued under the name Sangunam. However, considering that Gyepa Seongneung, the *paldo dochongseop*, likely witnessed the renovation of Sangunsa, it raises the question of why he recorded it as being newly established. This issue can be explored through records indicating that construction work at Sangunsa took place in the early 18th century and that the temple’s original name was Nojeoksa. Therefore,

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11. This account is included in *Hancheondang yugo* 寒泉堂遺稿 (Collected Works of Hancheondang Oh Jae-jeong).

we will now examine the relationship between Sangunsa and Nojeoksa.

### *Relationship between Sangunsa and Nojeoksa*

The final piece related to the history of Sangunsa to be introduced is the wooden seated Amitabha triad, which is currently enshrined in the Cheonbuljeon Hall at Sangunsa (Fig. 5). This statue exemplifies the characteristics of late Joseon Buddhist sculpture in its posture, volume, body proportions, and the treatment of the folds of the clothing (Choi 2004, 174-176). Of the Amitabha triad, one bodhisattva statue is missing, with only the pedestal remaining. The currently enshrined bodhisattva statue is the principal Buddha statue commissioned by the head monk of Sangunsa in 1999, and the missing statue is said to be the Avalokiteshvara bodhisattva (C. Kim 1999, 175-179).<sup>12</sup>



**Figure 5.** Wooden seated Amitabha triad, 1713, Joseon dynasty, Sangunsa, Goyang

Source: photograph by author (2021).

12. However, the *Bongeun Temple Chronicle* mentions that a 1.75-*chon* tall wooden Avalokiteshvara bodhisattva statue was housed in the Geungnakjeon Hall, but the statue of Mahasthamaprapta is not listed. Therefore, it can be inferred that one of the statues from the triad had already been lost by the early 20th century.

The pedestals are divided into upper and lower sections. The commissioning inscription is located on the upper side of the pedestal's top section, while the inscription detailing the re-gilding is found on the underside of the top section of Amitabha Buddha's pedestal. These inscriptions are important sources for reconstructing the early 18th-century history of Sangunsa, so I will now examine their contents. As the contents of the commissioning inscriptions for the triad are similar, I will focus on the inscription of the central Amitabha Buddha (C. Kim 1999, 176–177, photo 114).

On the 5th day of the 7th lunar month in the 52nd year of Kangxi [1713], the work began and was completed on the 26th day of the 8th lunar month. It was a great success. It was enshrined in the Amitabha Hall of Nojeoksa as the main Buddha statue. The place of creation was a separate room at Buksa Temple...The artisans were monks Jin-yeol, Yeong-hui, Tae-won, Cheo-rim, and Cheong-hwi...The sponsors were monk Ji-seom, monk Si-im-ju□, monk Du-geun, monk Si-im-su-seung, monk U-se-seung (Pung), Chief Overseer of the Bureau of Military Affairs, and Gasan-daebu monk Min-ok.

康熙五十貳年癸巳自七月初五日始役于至八月念六日畢大成功也奉安于露積寺極樂寶殿主補陀蓮臺也次[또는 又]造成處則北寺別室也...畫員 進悅比丘 靈熙比丘 太元比丘 處林比丘 清徽比丘...化主 智暹比丘 時任主□ 斗謹比丘 時任首僧 祐世僧(風)摠領察事都摠大將嘉善大夫 旼玉比丘. (C. Kim 1999, photos 117, 119, inscription on 177; Choi 2004, 177–178; 2018, 83)

The commissioning inscription states that the creation of the Amitabha triad was completed in the 8th lunar month, 1713, with the main Buddha statue created in a separate room at Buksa and enshrined as the principal statue in Geungnakjeon Hall of Nojeoksa. The sculptor-monks who created the triad were Jin-yeol, Yeong-hui, Tae-won, Cheo-rim, and Cheong-hwi, and their roles are identified in the inscription. The Avalokiteshvara and Mahasthamaprapta bodhisattva statues were also created by the same sculptor-monks, each in a separate room at Nojeoksa and Buksa, and were enshrined on the left and

right of the main Buddha statue.<sup>13</sup>

The Buksa and Nojeoksa mentioned in the commissioning inscription do not appear in *Bukhanji*. However, it seems that “Buksa” refers to Sangunsa, located near the North Gate of Bukhansanseong Fortress.<sup>14</sup> Likewise, the *seungyeong* temples of Bukhansanseong share their names with nearby gates, such as Seoammun Gate and Seoamsa Temple, Buwangdongammun Gate and Buwangsa Temple, Bogukmun Gate and Boguksa Temple, and Yongammun Gate and Yongamsa Temple.

Nojeoksa has been introduced in the *Bongeun Temple Chronicle* as the original name of Sangunsa at the time of its founding, leading to the assumption that the name of Sangunsa in the early 18th century was Nojeoksa (Kwon 1979, 255; Son and Noh 1999, 58n11).<sup>15</sup> However, based on the description in *Bukhanji* that “Jinguksa is located below Nojeokbong Peak” (鎮國寺 在露積峯下), some view Nojeoksa as the former temple of Jinguksa (GCF 2011, 751).<sup>16</sup> According to *Yu bukhan gi* 遊北漢記 (Record of a Journey to Bukhansan) by Song Sang-gi 宋相琦 (1657–1723), a renowned scholar and statesman of the late Joseon period, it is more likely that Nojeoksa was the former temple of Jinguksa rather than Sangunsa. Song Sang-gi visited Nojeoksa on the second day of his Bukhansan tour, on the 2nd day of the 9th lunar month, 1717, and noted that it was a newly built temple.<sup>17</sup> The

13. The phrase “Nojeoksa byeolsil ya” (露積寺別室也) from the inscription of the Mahasthamaprapta bodhisattva that Kim Changgyun read is confirmed to be “Buksa byeolsil ya” (北寺別室也) according to the photo. Additionally, the character Kim Changgyun read as “u” 于 has here been interpreted as “cha” 次 or “u” 又.

14. The nine *seungyeong* temples within Namhansanseong Fortress were similarly referred to as the Four Northern Temples and Five Southern Temples, based on their locations.

15. Choi Seon-il found it difficult to fully trust the record that Nojeoksa was renamed Sangunsa (Choi 2004, 174).

16. Yun Giyeop suggested that Hoesu, while renovating Sangunsa in 1722, called it Nojeoksa and later renamed it Sangunsa in 1745. He also argued that, since Jinguksa is located on the western slopes of Nojeokbong, it would be natural to call the temple Nojeoksa (Yun 2014, 506, 507n39). Shim Yeoung Shin speculated that, as Hoesu is listed as the sponsor in the inscription regarding the re-gilding, there must have been a renovation project led by Hoesu in the early 18th century, during which the temple’s name was changed from Nojeoksa to Sangunsa (Shim 2019, 258).

17. “朝起歷見露積寺 寺亦新創 在露積峰下” (In the morning, I visited Nojeoksa; the temple

temple name “Nojeoksa” is also confirmed in the poem “Nojeoksa yaja yeongu samsipi un” 露積寺夜坐聯句三十二韻 (Night Sitting at Nojeoksa, 32 Rhymes), which Jo Tae-eok 趙泰億 (1675–1728) composed together with his acquaintances.<sup>18</sup> This poem is included in *Gyeomjaejip* 謙齋集 (Collected Writings of Gyeomjae Jo Tae-eok). It is believed to have been written around 1714.<sup>19</sup> Considering the records of Song Sang-gi and Jo Tae-eok, it is highly likely that Nojeoksa was a temple separate from Sangunsa.

Meanwhile, through the reconstruction inscription found on the wooden seated Shakyamuni Buddha triad enshrined in Daeungeon Hall of Cheonchuksa Temple in Seoul, we can learn about another Buddha statue project carried out at Nojeoksa in August 1713, around the same period. The inscription is as follows:

On a certain day in the eighth lunar month of the 52nd year of the Kangxi reign [1713], while staying at Nojeoksa on Mount Samgak, the three Buddhas, which had been created during the Wanli reign [1573–1619],

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was also newly established, located below Nojeokbong Peak). *Yu bukhan gi* is included in his collected works, *Ogojaejip* 玉吾齋集 (Collected Writings of Ogojae Song Sang-gi). For the original text and translation, see GCF (2011, 460–461). Song Sang-gi personally visited Boguksa, Yongamsa, Jungheungsa, Nojeoksa, and Minjisa, and, combining his observations with what he had heard, he wrote that Boguksa, Yongamsa, Nojeoksa, Minjisa, and Buwangsa were newly constructed. According to *the Bukhansanseong geumwiyeong igeon bigi* 北漢山城禁衛營移建碑記 (Inscription on the Stele for the Relocation of the Garrison of Bukhansanseong) from 1715, the construction of Boguksa, Bogwangsa, Yongamsa, and Taegosa were completed by 1715.

18. The original text and translation of the poem can be found in GCF (2011, 400–402). However, the book incorrectly identifies Gyeomjae as Ki Hakgyeong (1741–1809). I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to Mr. Ki Ho Chul the former of the Ghil Institute of Cultural Heritage for his invaluable assistance in confirming that *Gyeomjaejip* is indeed the collection of writings by Jo Tae-eok.
19. The acquaintances who composed the poem together were Kwon Cheom (1664–1730), Yi Jingam (1671–1727), and Yi Jeongje (1670–1737). Yi Jingam was exiled to Gangjin in 1725 (1st year of King Yeongjo) and died there. Kwon Cheom became the governor of Jeolla-do province in 1724, and then the governor of Chungcheong-do province in 1727, but he died in prison in 1730 for failing to mobilize against a rebellion. Therefore, this poem must have been composed no later than 1724, before Kwon Cheom left to serve as governor of Jeolla-do.

were restored and relocated to Minjisa after being gilded.<sup>20</sup>

康熙五十二年歲次癸巳八月日三角山露積寺依住而重修於萬曆造成三佛而改金移安于閔漬寺... (Choi 2018, 83)<sup>21</sup>

According to this restoration vow, it is evident that in the 8th lunar month of 1713, when the newly carved wooden Amitabha triad was enshrined at Nojeoksa, the previously enshrined triad was gilded and relocated to Minjisa. The same sculptor-monks participated in both the creation of the new statues and the restoration of the old ones.

Next is the gilding record of the pedestal of the main Buddha statue from the wooden Amitabha triad enshrined in the Hall of One Thousand Buddhas at Sangunsa.

On a certain day in the 6th lunar month of the 8th year of the Yongzheng reign [1730], the Amitabha statue was gilded and enshrined at Sangunsa on Mount Samgak...The painter was Baekgi Hyeonteuk...The sponsor was Hoesu.<sup>22</sup>

雍正八年庚戌六月日 彌陀尊像開金三角山祥雲寺奉安于...畫員 白基 玄特 供養 義允 別座 一湖 化主 懷秀. (C. Kim 1999, 177, photo 115; Choi 2018, 111)

The gilding record reveals that the wooden Amitabha triad, originally enshrined at Nojeoksa in 1713, was gilded again and relocated to Sangunsa

20. The translation was done by Professor Kim Jung Ryol of the Department of History, Soongsil University.

21. The inscription read by Choi Seonil as “Min Cheonggi” 閔淸奇 is a mistaken rendering of “Minjisa” 閔漬寺.

22. This translation was also provided by Professor Kim Jung Ryol of the Department of History, Soongsil University. It is noted that both the above votive text and this inscription are examples of Korean-style Classical Chinese that do not conform to standard grammar. I extend my gratitude to Professor Kim for his assistance with the Classical Chinese translations.

in 1730.<sup>23</sup> Therefore, it is highly likely that Nojeoksa and Sangunsa were separate temples, and the interpretation that considers the two temples as the same is probably incorrect. If the two temples were the same, it would be difficult to understand the need to gild the statue again in 1730 after it was created in 1713. However, if they are separate temples, it makes sense that the statue was restored as part of its relocation. The relocation of the Buddha statue from Nojeoksa to Sangunsa was likely part of the restoration work and is an important event that demonstrates the relationship between the two temples.

Why then did the *Bongun bonmal saji* record Nojeoksa as the founding name of Sangunsa? This may have been due to confusion caused by the presence of Hoesu. Hoesu is recorded as the founder of Sangunsa in the *Bukhanji* and was also the sponsor of the gilding project that transferred the Buddha statue from Nojeoksa to Sangunsa in 1730. Therefore, it seems that Hoesu played a significant role in both temples, which may have led to confusion about the relationship between Sangunsa and Nojeoksa. When we synthesize the artifacts and related records, it appears that Sangunam (Sangunsa) underwent significant transformation into a large temple with 133 bays after the construction of the fortress, and this transformation was led by Hoesu. Thus, records indicating Sangunsa's founding as being in the early 18th century are likely referring rather to its reconstruction.<sup>24</sup>

Now, I would like to continue the discussion on why *paldo dochongseop* Seongneung recorded Sangunsa as a newly founded temple. It is unclear whether Gyepa Seongneung mistakenly believed that the original name of Sangunsa was Nojeoksa. However, there seems to be a clue related to Hoesu's involvement that may have caused confusion with Nojeoksa. This could also be attributed to the fact that Gyepa Seongneung was unaware of the existence of Sangunam. The error in the records is likely related to the time when Gyepa Seongneung was appointed to Bukhansanseong.

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23. Contrary to the interpretation in this paper, Choi Seonil (2004, 178) interpreted it as having been gilded for enshrinement in Geungnakbojeon Hall at Nojeokam.

24. Yun Giyeop also considers that Sangunsa was reconstructed by Hoesu. However, unlike this present study, he believed it was built on the site of an already abandoned old temple (Yun 2014, 505).

The *paldo dochongseop* was appointed to organize and manage the monks, so his appointment might also be related to the deployment of monks to Bukhansanseong. Despite the lack of records indicating the deployment of *uiseunggun* (monk-soldiers) during the fortress construction, previous research has assumed that monks were mobilized for the construction of Bukhansanseong, based on the precedent set at Namhansanseong. To verify this, I will return to the discussions prior to the fortress construction.

### Construction of Bukhansanseong Fortress and Establishment of Seungyeong Temples: Timing of *Uiseunggun* Mobilization

Construction of Bukhansanseong began on 3rd day, 4th lunar month, 1711, and was completed before the 18th day of the 10th lunar month of the same year.<sup>25</sup> Although the construction was completed within a short period of about six months, discussions on the necessity and utility of the fortress stretched over a century.<sup>26</sup> According to Seoul Mayor Yi Eon-gang, during King Seonjo's reign, Minister of War Yi Deok-hyeong (1561–1613) was ordered by the king to survey Bukhansan, indicating that discussions on the fortress likely began no later than the era of King Seonjo (r. 1567–1608).<sup>27</sup> Yi Deok-hyeong reported to the king that 70–80 percent of the fortress walls had collapsed and proposed gathering monks from various provinces to take on the task of repairing them.<sup>28</sup> However, there are no records of monks being mobilized for actual construction during King Sukjong's reign (1667–1674). This absence of records is one of the key pieces of evidence

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25. *Sukjong sillok*, *gwon* 50, 19th day of the 10th lunar month, 1711; *Bibyeonsa deungnok*, *chaek* 63, 18th day of the 10th lunar month of the 37th year of King Sukjong (1711).

26. For discussions on the emergence of fortress defense theories in the late Joseon period and the debates for and against the construction of Bukhansanseong, see Baek (2013, 114–118).

27. *Bibyeonsa deungnok*, *chaek* 61, 9th day of the 2nd lunar month of the 37th year of King Sukjong (1711).

28. *Seonjo sillok*, *gwon* 73, 3rd day of the 3rd lunar month of the 29th year of King Seonjo (1596). Although it has not been passed down, at the time, Yi Deok-hyeong submitted a depiction of the terrain in the form of a drawing.

supporting this study's argument that *uiseunggun* were not deployed for the construction of the fortress. The reason for not mobilizing monks seems to be that there was no significant need for additional manpower. The main issue raised by the opposition in discussions surrounding the fortress construction during King Sukjong's reign was the labor and resources required for the project. In response, proponents argued that the fortress could be completed through the labor of the common people,<sup>29</sup> that there was no need to transport stones from outside since there were plenty within the fortress area, and that because the fortress site was originally rugged, fewer sections required manpower to build,<sup>30</sup> making it possible to complete the construction within a few months. In fact, the construction was completed in the short period of six months. There are numerous records showing that the construction was divided among the Three Military Commands—Hullyeon dogam 訓練都監 (Military Training Command), Geumwiyeong 禁衛營 (Capital Garrison), and Eoyeongcheong 御營廳 (Royal Guards Command)—each responsible for a different section.<sup>31</sup>

However, after construction, the issues of maintaining and repairing the fortress were resolved through the deployment of *uiseunggun*, and for this purpose, *seungyeong* temples were established.<sup>32</sup> Although the mobilization of monk-soldiers was not necessary during the construction, there was a need for personnel to reside within the fortress to maintain and guard it. Due to the rugged terrain of Bukhansan, it was practically difficult to recruit residents or assign officials to maintain the fortress. Therefore, the monk-soldiers took on the role of living inside the fortress, repairing, and

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29. *Bibyeonsa deungnok*, chaek 61, 9th day of the 2nd lunar month of the 37th year of King Sukjong (1711).

30. As can be understood from Yi Deok-hyeong's earlier report, the construction of Bukhansanseong during King Sukjong's reign was not a new construction, but rather the reconstruction and reinforcement of an existing fortress.

31. *Bibyeonsa deungnok*, chaek 63, 8th and 9th days of the 7th lunar month of the 37th year of King Sukjong (1711); *Bibyeonsa deungnok*, chaek 64, 13th day of the 4th lunar month of the 38th year of King Sukjong (1712).

32. For more information on the management system after the fortress construction, see Lee Geunho (2016).

defending it,<sup>33</sup> making the establishment of *seungyeong* temples inevitable. This was proven by the experience at Namhansanseong, and in the same manner, *seungyeong* temples were built at Bukhansanseong. The use of *uiseunggun* to manage and defend the fortress was an inevitable measure arising from the geographical limitations and the need for management.

As a result, Seongneung was appointed as the *paldo dochongseop* to organize and supervise the monks, and during this process, discussions also took place regarding the recruitment of monks. This is another reason it is believed that *uiseunggun* were not mobilized for the fortress construction. The discussion about recruiting monks arose when a chief supervisor was appointed to oversee the monks involved in temple construction.<sup>34</sup> This was around the mid-point of the fortress construction. The *Bibyeonsa deungnok* 備邊司登錄 [Records of Border Defense Council] records that on the 13th day of the 4th lunar month, 1712, Minister of Taxation Kim U-hang discussed the need to mobilize monks for maintaining the fortress and building temples after the construction was completed.

I previously reported and obtained a *gomyeongcheop* 空名帖 [an empty name roster] to recruit monks, and we are currently constructing temples. Now, eight new temples are being built within the fortress, bringing the total to nine when combined with Jungheungsa, the old temple. If a large number of monks gather, there must be someone to supervise them. Would it not be appropriate to follow the precedent of Namhansanseong and have the Bibyeonsa 備邊司 [Border Defense Council] appoint a *pal-do dochongseop*?<sup>35</sup>

Additionally, on the 7th day of the 5th lunar month of the same year, Choe Seok-hang, serving as minister of war (*haengbyeongjo panseo*), reported that

33. *Bibyeonsa deungnok*, *chaek* 61, 9th day of the 2nd lunar month of the 37th year of King Sukjong (1711).

34. *Bibyeonsa deungnok*, *chaek* 63, 8th day of the 7th lunar month of the 37th year of King Sukjong (1711).

35. *Bibyeonsa deungnok*, *chaek* 64, 13th day of the 4th lunar month of the 38th year of King Sukjong (1712).

eight temples were being built within Bukhansanseong that year, monks were being recruited, and a chief supervisor was about to be appointed.<sup>36</sup> Through this, it can be understood that the construction of *seungyeong* temples and the recruitment of monks took place after the completion of the fortress construction. In other words, the appointment of *paldo dochongseop* Seongneung and the role of monk-soldiers occurred not during the fortress construction, but after the completion of the work, during the temple building phase.

It has generally been accepted in previous studies that, in addition to civilians and soldiers from the Three Military Commands, monk-soldiers were also mobilized for the construction of Bukhansanseong Fortress (Yun 2014, 498; Hwang 2016, 89–90).<sup>37</sup> Despite the lack of records, this assumption was largely based on the precedent of Namhansanseong.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, Seongneung systematically managed them, which is said to have enabled the construction to be completed in a short period of time (Sunbae Kim 2016, 307; 2017, 328; W. Lee 2016, 56–58).<sup>39</sup> However, in the case of Bukhansanseong, it can be seen that the monk-soldiers were mobilized during the construction of *seungyeong* temples after the fortress was completed. This differs from the case of Namhansanseong, where the issue of mobilizing monks for the fortress construction was discussed first.<sup>40</sup> At Namhansanseong, when Byeogam Gakseong (1574–1659) was appointed as

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36. *Bibyeonsa deungnok, chaek* 64, 7th day of the 5th lunar month of the 38th year of King Sukjong (1712).

37. For the broader history of the *uiseunggun* and research findings on its role in the late Joseon period, refer to Hwang (2016, 75–99). Baek Jong-oh has argued that the personnel mobilized for the construction consisted of skilled workers and general laborers, and that the construction was carried out in line with the principle of *yeomin gongsu* (working for the public good) (Baek 2013, 122–123).

38. As previously mentioned by Kim U-hang, the Border Defense Council (Bibyeonsa) followed the example of Namhansanseong in maintaining the Seongneung's authority as overseer and implementing policies under his leadership (*Bibyeonsa deungnok, chaek* 64, 13th day of the 4th lunar month of the 38th year of King Sukjong [1712]; W. Lee 2016, 57, 59).

39. Hwang Ingyu believed that Seongneung held the overall responsibility for the involvement of monk-soldiers in the fortress construction (Hwang 2016, 88).

40. *Injo sillok, gwon* 7, 16th day of the 10th lunar month and 30th day of the 11th lunar month of the 2nd year of King Injo (1624).

*paldo dochongseop* in the spring of 1626, he gathered monk-soldiers to build the fortress, and he also participated in the management of 12 *seungyeong* temples (Hwang 2016, 95).<sup>41</sup> Moreover, when the fortress was completed, the king offered personal praise, for “the officials’ diligent work and the monks’ hard efforts,” and ordered rewards distributed.<sup>42</sup> According to the *Hwaeomsa byeogamdang gakseong daesa bimun* 華嚴寺 碧巖堂 覺性大師碑文 (Stele Inscription of Great Master Gakseong of Byeogamdang at Hwaeomsa) composed by Yi Gyeong-seok, Gakseong was recognized for his contributions to the construction of Namhansanseong and was bestowed by King Injo with the posthumous title Boun cheongyo wonjo gukildo daeseonsa 報恩闡教圓照國一都大禪師 (Great Seon Master, Foremost in the Nation, of Perfect Enlightenment, Who Propagates the Teachings and Repays Gratitude) and the *uibal* 衣鉢 (robe and bowl) as a symbol of transmission of the Dharma (J. Lee 2000, 180–184).

One of the reasons previous studies assumed that Seongneung was involved as the figure responsible for the construction of Bukhansanseong was the fact that he was the compiler of *Bukhanji* (W. Lee 2016, 61).<sup>43</sup> However, as detailed above, the construction was primarily overseen by the Three Military Commands, and it can be seen that the recruitment of monk-soldiers and the appointment of the overseer took place only after the completion of the fortress, during the construction of the *seungyeong* temples. Therefore, no matter how early the appointment of the Seongneung as overseer may have been, it was not during the construction of the fortress in 1711. Furthermore, the number of monk-soldiers assigned to Bukhansanseong was determined in 1714 under the *uiseung sangbanje* 義僧上番制 (rotation system for monk-soldiers).<sup>44</sup> Therefore, it is presumed that Seongneung was appointed as

41. The use of monk-soldiers and the official appointment of the *paldo dochongseop* began at Namhansanseong in the early 17th century. The monk-soldiers were mobilized for fortress construction following their involvement in the Imjin War and were also drafted for the construction of palaces and royal tombs (Y. Kim 2015, 188–189).

42. *Injo sillok*, *gwon* 13, 22nd day of the 7th lunar month of the 4th year of King Injo (1626).

43. For this reason, it is believed that Seongneung served as *paldo dochongseop* from 1711 to 1745 (Y. Kim 2024, 64n55).

44. Initially, there were about 150, but this increased to around 350 by transferring over

overseer no later than 1714, following Choe Seok-hang's aforementioned remark in the 5th month of 1712 that "a chief supervisor was about to be appointed."<sup>45</sup>

When Seongneung was appointed to Bukhansan as *paldo dochongseop*, the fortress restoration project had already been completed, and *seungyeong* temples were being built. At the time, it is likely that the reconstruction work at Sangunam was also in progress. Therefore, Seongneung may have mistakenly understood the reconstruction as the initial construction, as he was unaware of the prior existence of Sangunam.

This kind of error in the records reflects that Seongneung was not well-informed about the temples that already existed before his appointment to Bukhansanseong. For example, recent studies have indicated that Jingwansa, which was recorded in the *Bukhanji* as being abandoned (在三千洞今廢 [located in Samcheondong, now abandoned]), was actually still operating in the 1730s–1740s (Jo 2016, 262). Furthermore, in the *Bukhan dobongsan yugi* 北漢道峯山遊記 (Travelogue to Bukhan Dobongsan, 1779) by the Joseon official Yi Yeop (1729–1788), the author mentions taking a short rest at Jingwansa on his first day climbing Bukhansan, describing it as an ancient temple of a thousand years and recording its location (Goyang-si and GCHRI 2019, 99). Dosongam, which was noted as abandoned in *Bukhanji*, also appears to have been intact in 1711. This is because Dosongam was mentioned by Panbusa Yi Im-yeong in his report on Bukhansanseong following its construction in 1711.<sup>46</sup> Another example is that Jogyesa, which

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200 monk-soldiers from Namhansanseong, where there had been about 400. In 1756, the *uiseung sangbanje* was converted to the *uiseung bangbanje* 義僧防番錢制, a system wherein monks provided financial contributions (rather than labor service), and by 1785, the *uiseungjeon* 義僧錢 (financial contributions from monks) had been reduced. As the strategic focus shifted from mountain fortresses to city fortresses, the *seungyeong* temples at mountain fortresses also began to decline. By 1882 (19th year of King Gojong), the temples had fallen into further decline, with some being seized by influential figures in the capital (Hwang 2016, 93–94).

45. There is also an opinion that Seongneung led the construction of Bukhansanseong, but only assumed the position of *paldo dochongseop* later, around 1716 or 1717 (D. Kim 2022, 51n7).

46. *Bibyeonsa deungnok*, *chaek* 63, 3rd day of the 10th lunar month of the 37th year of King

was not included in *Bukhanji*, but is mentioned in other records.<sup>47</sup>

According to the records related to Kim U-hang and Choe Seok-hang cited above, it was originally planned to establish eight temples,<sup>48</sup> but one additional temple was added in 1715.<sup>49</sup> Thus, the newly constructed temples after the fortress construction amounted to nine, not twelve, and contrary to the records in *Bukhanji*, there were three other temples already in operation in addition to Junghungsa.<sup>50</sup> One of the three restored old temples was Sangunam. The question remains: what were the other two temples?<sup>51</sup>

Although the *seungyeong* temples were established for military strategic purposes, Bukhansan was originally known as a sacred Buddhist site and a famous mountain where many temples had been operating since ancient

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Sukjong (1711).

47. Jogyesa is not mentioned in *Sinjeung dongguk yeoji seungnam* (1530) nor in the report submitted by Yi Deok-hyeong in 1596. However, in the *Myeongjong sillok* for the 21st day of the 2nd lunar month, 1556, it is recorded that a strange phenomenon occurred when four to five large rocks collapsed from the rear mountain at Samgaksan's Jogyesa temple. According to the *Bibyeonsa deungnok*, 9th day of the 2nd lunar month, 1710, Jogyesa is believed to have been located "beyond a small valley near the old East Gate," and it is also mentioned in a report on the Bukhansanseong site from the same record from the 14th day of the 10th lunar month of the same year. This report also mentions Hyangnimisa temple, suggesting that Hyangnimisa, which was recorded as abandoned in *Bukhanji*, was still in operation at least until the early 18th century.
48. *Seungjeongwon ilgi*, *chaek* 467, 10th day of the 4th lunar month of the 38th year of King Sukjong (1712); *Seungjeongwon ilgi*, *chaek* 474, 20th day of the 11th lunar month of the 38th year of King Sukjong (1712); *Sukjong sillok*, *chaek* 54, 2nd day of 9th lunar month and 3rd day of the 9th lunar month of the 39th year of King Sukjong (1713).
49. *Bibyeonsa deungnok*, *chaek* 68, 24th day of the 2nd lunar month of the 41st year of King Sukjong (1715). This record describes how a request was made to issue *gongmyeongcheop* (blank appointment certificates) to build one more temple in addition to the nine temples, including Junghungsa, and the king gave the order to proceed.
50. Yun Giyeop posited that ten temples, including two hermitages, were newly constructed. Since only Junghungsa existed within the fortress at the time, the construction of new temples was deemed inevitable (Yun 2014, 148–149).
51. Given that Kim U-hang stated, "Only Junghungsa exists within Bukhansanseong," it seems that at the time, the court considered Junghungsa to be the only temple within Bukhansanseong. *Bibyeonsa deungnok*, *chaek* 63, 8th day of the 7th lunar month of the 37th year of King Sukjong (1711).

times (Seon Kim 2019, 115–118; Gyehyeong Lee 2024; S. Lee 2019, 93–96).<sup>52</sup> During the Unified Silla period, there was Janguisa, which is said to have been built by King Taejong Muyeol, and in the *Goryeosa* 高麗史 (History of Goryeo), the names of such temples as Hyangnimsa, Cheongnyangsa, Seunggasa, Munsusa, and Sinhyeolsa are recorded as being on Bukhansan. The *Sinjeung dongguk yeoji seungnam* lists Janguisa, Hyangnimsa, Seokjeoksa (Jeokseoksa), Cheongnyangsa, Junhungsa, Seunggasa, Samcheonsa, Munsusa, Jingwansa, and Dosongam. These temples, established during the Unified Silla and Goryeo periods, were still in operation into the early Joseon period. According to the aforementioned report submitted by Yi Deok-hyeong during the reign of King Seonjo, there were Junhungsa and the old site of Unamsa within Bukhansan, and outside the fortress were hermitages like Sudoam and Dosongam, and temples such as Munsusa, Seunggasa, and Hyangnimsa.<sup>53</sup> Therefore, it is possible that the old temples restored as *seungyeong* temples were among these. However, considering that some temples like Sangunam and Jogyesa were omitted from earlier records, it cannot be ruled out that other temples may have been involved.<sup>54</sup>

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52. For detailed information on the chronological trends of temple construction on Bukhansan, refer to Lee Gyehyeong (2024). For the status of temple construction prior to the fortress construction in 1711, see Kim Seon (2019, 115–118) and Lee Seohyeon (2019, 93–96).

53. *Seonjo sillok*, *gwon* 73, 3rd day of the 3rd lunar month of the 29th year of King Seonjo (1596).

54. In the *Bukhanji*, Taegosa is described as a temple established after the construction of the fortress. However, it is also viewed as a reconstruction of Taegoam, originally founded by Taego Bou (1301–1382). It is believed that although Taegosa was already in a state of abandonment, the temple was rebuilt on the former site during the fortress construction, which led to it being regarded as a newly established temple (Yun 2014, 511–512). This is confirmed by a record in the *Chongwiyeong sarye* (Records of General Guard Camp), published in 1847, which states that “Seongneung rebuilt Taegosa on its old site” (太古寺...後摠攝聖能復於舊址) (*Chongwiyeong sarye*, *gwon* 3).

## Conclusion

In reviewing the artifacts and historical records of Sangunsa, I have proposed a new interpretation of the system for constructing Bukhansanseong and establishing *seungyeong* temples. Through the analysis of artistic relics, such as the Goryeo-era three-story pagoda, the seated stone Buddha from 1497, and the wooden seated Amitabha triad from 1713, Sangunsa's historical continuity was confirmed. In addition, literary sources and travelogues related to Bukhansan provide further evidence that Sangunsa existed as a small hermitage named Sangunam from the Goryeo period until its reconstruction in the Joseon period. Following the construction of Bukhansanseong, Sangunam was rebuilt into a temple with 133 bays as part of the *seungyeong* temples establishment project. Since this reconstruction was a large-scale undertaking comparable to an initial foundation, it is possible that Seongneung mistakenly regarded it as the temple's original founding. The reason Sangunsa was initially referred to as Nojeoksa is likely due to the involvement of Monk Hoesu, who oversaw the project of gilding the Buddha statue from Nojeoksa and relocating it to Sangunsa.

This study has addressed several questions that arose from the discovery that the founding period of Sangunsa dates back much earlier than previously thought. First, regarding the question of whether Junghungsa was the only temple within Bukhansanseong at the time, this study suggests the possibility that four existing temples, including Junghungsa and Sangunsa, were reconstructed as *seungyeong* temples. Second, concerning the timing of the appointment of Seongneung, the Supreme Overseer of the Eight Provinces (*paldo dochongseop*), and the mobilization of the monk-soldiers (*uiseunggun*), this study posits that the monk-soldiers were recruited not during the construction of the fortress but during the establishment of the *seungyeong* temples, and Seongneung was appointed accordingly. The fact that Seongneung was appointed after the fortress construction and that the monk-soldiers were not mobilized for the construction suggests the need to revise our existing understanding of the Bukhansanseong construction process.

This study has made it possible to offer a new interpretation of the

Bukhansanseong construction process in connection with the *seungyeong* temples by shedding light on the history of small temples like Sangunsa. It was confirmed that the roles of the monk-soldiers and the *paldo dochongseop*, which were emphasized in previous studies, were focused more on the construction of temples and the post-construction maintenance of the fortress rather than on the fortress construction itself. Through this, a new perspective on the Bukhansanseong construction process and the role of monks has been presented.

The case of Sangunsa clearly demonstrates that the intersection of art and historical records can lead to unexpected new findings when each is studied not in isolation but in conjunction with the other. By comprehensively analyzing the artifacts and historical records of Sangunsa, an art historical approach has enabled a deeper understanding of the process of constructing Bukhansanseong and the *seungyeong* temples. Temples such as Jingwansa and Doseongam, which were described as abandoned at the time in the *Bukhanji*, as well as Jogyesa, which is not mentioned in the *Bukhanji*, are presumed to have still been in operation based on a related Buddha statue and other records. Exploring these issues further in future studies will expand our understanding of how temple management, reconstruction processes, military objectives, and religious functions were integrated in the Bukhansan area. Such research is also expected to make significant contributions to clarifying the role of Buddhism during the Joseon dynasty and the historical transformations of temples after the construction of Bukhansanseong.

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