

A Comparative Study of Autogenous Modernity in Donghak and Daesoon Thought

- Centered on Views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity -

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Introduction

Research Background and Necessity

Donghak Thought (Eastern Learning Thought) has been primarily studied as a religious ideology, and thus has not yet been independently illuminated from the perspectives of indigenous (autogenous) modernity and philosophical methodology implied by its name, "Donghak (Eastern Learning)." The same applies to Daesoon Thought (Daesoon Sasang), which claimed to be the "True Eastern Learning" (Cham Donghak).¹ At that time, "Seohak (Western Learning)" was another name for Western modernity, characterized by material civilization and anthropocentrism, and 'Donghak' was another expression for the indigenous modernity and philosophical methodology that responded to it.² Daesoon Thought also emphasizes that the origin of Western modernity is the Eastern civilization transmitted by Matteo Ricci (1552-1610), and highlights the global crisis caused by a Western modernity skewed toward materialism as the background for its emergence.³ Indeed, it is from this perspective that Daesoon Thought uses the term "True Eastern Learning" rather than just "Donghak."⁴⁵

The reason Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought have not been studied from the aspect of indigenous modernity is the failure to recognize East Asia's indigenous modernity, which is now known to be the origin of Western 'modernity.' However, as Daesoon Thought first revealed, the recent discovery that Western modernity originated from the Eastern civilization disseminated to the West by Matteo Ricci has led to a re-evaluation of Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought as East Asia's indigenous modernity.

This re-evaluation of Eastern and Western modernity began as the development of IT technology made writings from the dawn of Western modernity freely available online through platforms like Google (google.com), thereby shedding new light on the concealed Eastern origins of Western modernity. In fact, although Max Weber (1864-1920) claimed the origin of modernity was Calvin's Predestination, it has been revealed that the Enlightenment, which institutionalized Calvin's theology into capitalism, began from the ethical, non-monotheistic civilization of China—namely, Confucian civilization—disseminated by Matteo

¹ Lee Jeong-u, *World History of Philosophy vol. 3: Cartography of Modernity* (Segyecheolhaksa 3: Geundaeseong-ui Kareuteugeullapi), Seoul: Gil, 2021, pp.164-165.

² Lee Do-heum, "The Possibilities and Limits of Eastern Philosophy as Post-modern Thought" ("Talhyeondae sasangeuro-seo dongyang cheolhak-ui ganeungseong-gwa hange"), *Donghak Hakbo* (Journal of Donghak Studies) 10, 2005, p.9.

³ Charles Harrison, *Modernism* (Modeonijeum), Paju: Yeolhwadang, 2003, p.6.

⁴ Weber's argument on modernity is said to be summarized in the famous "Author's Preface" of *The Collected Essays in the Sociology of Religion* (Jonggyo sahoehak nongchong). Cited in Kim Sang-jun, *Mencius's Sweat, the Sacred King's Blood: Multilayered Modernity and East Asian Confucian Civilization* (Maengja-ui ttam seonwang-ui pi: Jungcheung geundae-wa dongasia yugyomunmyeong), Seoul: Acanet, 2011, p.52; Max Weber, translated by Kim Deok-yeong, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (Peuroteseutanteu yunri-wa jabonuijui jeongsin), Seoul: Gil, 2010, pp.11-38.

⁵ Vincent Descombes, translated by Park Seong-chang, *The Same and the Other: Modern French Philosophy (1933-1978)*, Seoul: Ingansarang, 1991.

Ricci.⁶ These records show that Confucianism, which was identified as an obstacle to modernization in the East, was, on the contrary, the origin of modernity in the West.⁷⁸

As the claims of Western scholars regarding the Eastern origins of the Enlightenment were substantiated by online materials, scholars from the Eastern sphere, such as Hwang Tae-yeon, are also revealing that the origin of Western Enlightenment lies in the ethical reflections and religious scholarship of the East, which had been dismissed as pre-modern superstition.⁹ Representative scholars in this field include Zhu Qianzhi (1899-1972) in China; in the West, Andre Gunder Frank (1929-2005), famous as a dependency theorist, John Montagu Hobson (1962-present), Herrlee Glessner Creel (1905-1994), and Adolf Reichwein (1898-1944); and in Korea, Hwang Tae-yeon, Cho Hye-in, Jeon Hong-seok, Lee Young-jae, and Lee Dong-hee, among others.¹⁰¹¹¹²¹³¹⁴¹⁵¹⁶¹⁷¹⁸¹⁹

⁶ Lee Jeong-u, *World History of Philosophy* vol. 3: Cartography of Modernity (Segyecheolhaksa 3: Geundaeseong-ui Kareuteugeullapi), Seoul: Gil, 2021, pp.164-165.

⁷ Lee Jeong-u, *World History of Philosophy* vol. 3: Cartography of Modernity (Segyecheolhaksa 3: Geundaeseong-ui Kareuteugeullapi), Seoul: Gil, 2021; Lee Jeong-u, *World History of Philosophy* vol. 4: Horizons of Post-modern Thought (Segyecheolhaksa 4: Talgeundae sayu-ui jipyeongdeul), Seoul: Gil, 2024.

⁸ Alan Sokal and Jean Bricmont, translated by Lee Hee-jae, *Intellectual Impostures: How Postmodern Thinkers Have Abused Science* (Jeokjeok sagi: Poseuteumodeon sasangga-deul-eun gwahak-eul eotteoke namyonghaenya), Seoul: Hanguk Gyeongje Sinmun Hangeong BP, 2014.

⁹ Jeong Il-gwon, *René Girard in Dialogue with Modern Thinkers: Mimetic Theory, Post-structuralism, and Deconstructive Philosophy*, Seoul: Dongyeon, 2017.

¹⁰ Post-structuralism is a second-generation structuralism that regards the possibility of structural change more flexibly. In broad terms, representative theorists include Lacan, Foucault, and Derrida.

¹¹ Lee Do-heum, "The Possibilities and Limits of Eastern Philosophy as Post-modern Thought" ("Talhyeondae sasangeuro-seo dongyang cheolhak-ui ganeungseong-gwa hange"), *Donghak Hakbo* (Journal of Donghak Studies) 10, 2005, p.11.

¹² Eisenstadt, Shmuel N. and Schluchter, Wolfgang, "Introduction: Paths to Early Modernities: A Comparative View", *Daedalus* 127(3), 1998, pp.1-18, and Eisenstadt (2002), Eisenstadt, Riedel, Sachsenmaier (2002), Wittrock (1998), Arnason (2001), Kaya (2004), Hung (2004). Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, translated by Im Hyeon-jin et al., *Explorations of Multiple Modernities: A Comparative Civilizational Perspective* (Damjungjeok geundaeseong-ui tamgu: Bigyomunmyeongjeok gwanjeom), Paju: Nanam, 2009; cited in Kim Sang-jun, *Mencius's Sweat, the Sacred King's Blood: Multilayered Modernity and East Asian Confucian Civilization* (Maengja-ui ttam seonwang-ui pi: Jungcheung geundae-wa dongasia yugyomunmyeong), Seoul: Acanet, 2011, pp.35-36; S. N. Eisenstadt, *Multiple modernities*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 2002; Johann P. Arnason, Sternberg, Yitzhak and Ben-Rafael, Eliezer, "Identity, Culture and Globalization." *The Multiplication of Modernity*. Brill. 2001; B. Wittrock, "Early modernities: Varieties and transitions." *Daedalus* 127(3), 1998; I. Kaya, "Modernity, openness, interpretation: a perspective on multiple modernities", *Social science information* 43(1), 2004; Hung, "Early modernities and contentious politics in mid-Qing China, c. 1740–1839." *International Sociology* 19(4), 2004.

¹³ Appadurai (1996), Gilroy (1993), Ong (1999), Gaonkar ed. (2001). Cited in Kim Sang-jun, *Mencius's Sweat, the Sacred King's Blood: Multilayered Modernity and East Asian Confucian Civilization* (Maengja-ui ttam seonwang-ui pi: Jungcheung geundae-wa dongasia yugyomunmyeong), Seoul: Acanet, 2011, pp.35-36; A. Appadurai, *Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions of globalization*. Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1996; P. Gilroy, *The black Atlantic: Modernity and double consciousness*. Harvard University Press, 1993; A. Ong, *Flexible citizenship: The cultural logics of transnationality*. Duke University Press, 1999.

¹⁴ Kim Sang-jun, *Mencius's Sweat, the Sacred King's Blood: Multilayered Modernity and East Asian Confucian Civilization* (Maengja-ui ttam seonwang-ui pi: Jungcheung geundae-wa dongasia yugyomunmyeong), Seoul: Acanet, 2011, p.41.

¹⁵ The Axial Age refers to the period between 800-200 BCE, coincidentally an era when sages appeared nearly simultaneously and the world entered a civilization centered on religion; the term was first used by Karl Jaspers (1883-1969).

¹⁶ Historical development through the strengthening of the sacred via the redistribution of the sacred and the secular is said to be a hidden formula of development in the history of Chinese thought. (Wang Hui, translated by Park Ja-yeong, Choe Jeong-seop, Jin Seong-su et al., *The Rise of Modern Chinese Thought* (Geundae jungguk sasang-ui heunggi), Paju: Dolbegae, 2024.)

Consequently, Western 'post-modernism' theorists, particularly Francois Jullien (1951-present), have continuously conducted research seeking post-modern thought, an alternative to Western modernity, in the East. Although Jullien does not claim that Enlightenment philosophy was directly influenced by Mencius (BC 372? - BC 289?), he demonstrates that the critical consciousness of Enlightenment philosophers and that of Mencius are remarkably close.²⁰

This Western modern civilization has long been feared to bring about a crisis of human extinction, such as nuclear weapons and environmental problems, and that crisis has now become a reality. Accordingly, the construction of alternative modernities has become a pressing real-world issue.²¹ Postmodernist thinkers, who have been preparing for alternative modernities through discussions of 'post-modernity,' are also seeking alternatives to modernity in "ethical reflection" and "religious turns," much like indigenous modernity.²² Leading scholars unanimously state that without reflexivity on the civilization that has incessantly conquered nature, and without a religious turn, the alternatives proposed by numerous postmodern thoughts—such as "Deconstruction" and "mourning"—cannot succeed against a modern civilization skewed by human arrogance and materialism.²³

Amidst these fluid changes in global intellectual circles, Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought, which early on emphasized the crisis of modern civilization and the religious turn as an alternative modernity, are being re-illuminated today as East Asia's indigenous modern ideologies.²⁴

Although Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought have been studied in various fields as indigenous modernities, existing research has lacked inquiry into the Eastern philosophical methodology presupposed

¹⁷ Kim Sang-jun, *Mencius's Sweat, the Sacred King's Blood: Multilayered Modernity and East Asian Confucian Civilization* (Maengja-ui ttam seonwang-ui pi: Jungcheung geundae-wa dongasia yugyomunmyeong), Seoul: Acanet, 2011, pp.33-79; 172-182.

¹⁸ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9.

¹⁹ Ulrich Beck, translated by Hong Sung-tae, *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*, Seoul: Saemulgyeol, 1997.

²⁰ Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Modernity* (Aekche geundae), Seoul: Kang, 2009.

²¹ Kim Deok-yeong, *Reductive Modernity: Toward a Sociological Universal History of Korean Modernization and Modernity* (Hwanwon geundae: Hanguk geundaehwa-wa geundaeseong-ui sahoehakjeok bopeonsahwa-reul wihayeo), Seoul: Gil, 2014, p.41.

²² Park Yong-sook, *The 81 Characters of the Cheonbugyeong Paramita*, Paju: Sodong, 2018.

²³ It is useful to examine the pioneering approach of Harold J. Berman, who in 1983 published a study on the formation of Western legal tradition. According to him, when we re-narrate the past we must "go beyond Marx and Weber" and overcome various errors of Western nationalism, religious prejudices, and 19th-century historical materialism and ideal-type analysis. Regional nomenclature is one such example: the distinction between East Asia and Southeast Asia is not based on historical reality or internal logical structure, but is an arbitrary division based on America's post-WWII strategic regional framework, which can become a mistaken convention that paralyzes intellectual inquiry. Alexander Woodside, translated by Min Byeong-hui, *Lost Modernities* (Ireobeorin geundaeseongdeul), Neomeo Books, 2012, p.18; Kim Deok-sam, Lee Gyeong-ja, Choe Won-hyuk, "A Study on the Paradigm Shift in Modern Times and Immanence—Focusing on a Korean Reconsideration of Tradition and Modernity" ("Geunhyeondae paeradeaim-ui jeonhwan-gwa naejaeseong-e daehan gochal—jeontong-gwa geundae-e daehan hangujeok jaego-reul jungshim-euro"), *Inmun Gwahak Yeongu* (Humanities Research) 23, 2014, pp.115-142.

²⁴ Wang Hui, translated by Baek Won-dam, *The Rise of Modern Chinese Thought* (Geundae jungguk sasang-ui heunggi), Paju: Dolbegae, 2024; Lee Jong-min, *Chinese Thought and Alternative Modernity: Reading and Writing Wang Hui's 'The Rise of Modern Chinese Thought'* (Jungguk sasang-gwa daean geundaeseong: Wang Hui-ui 'Geundae jungguk sasang-ui heunggi' ilgi-wa sseugi), Seoul: Hyeonamsa, 2017.

in the name "Donghak"—that is, the Eastern and Korean philosophical methodology of thought. In the West, conversely, the characteristics of Eastern thought were early on sought in its philosophical methodology, which has been consistently noted as an alternative rationality to Western modern rationality.

It is somewhat surprising that philosophical methodology has not been the subject of research concerning Donghak-related thoughts thus far. A lack of understanding regarding the differences between Eastern and Western philosophical methods of thought is obscuring the global intellectual-historical value of the indigenous modernity found in Donghak-related thoughts. Donghak-related thoughts can be defined as thoughts influenced by or related to Donghak, including Daesoon Thought, which was described as 'True Donghak' after Donghak, as well as, for example, Won-Buddhism and the Unification Church.²⁵

In fact, Donghak Thought emerged asserting 'Donghak' as a "Learning (Hak)" in response to the identity crisis caused by the clash of Eastern and Western civilizations, similar to theories like 'Dongdo-seogi-ron' (Eastern ways, Western machines), 'Jungche-seoyong-ron' (Chinese essence, Western function), and 'Seohak-jungwon-ron' (Western learning originated in China). In the "Nonhangmun" (Discussion on Learning) of the Donggyeong Daejeon, where the term 'Donghak' first appears, Donghak Thought is presented over several passages as a "Learning (Hak)" contrasted with Seohak (Western Learning). With the failure of Donghak, this task remained an objective for subsequent Donghak-related thoughts.²⁶

Understanding religion from the academic perspective of "learning (Hak)" is a unique East Asian method of comprehending religion that became popular after Neo-Confucianism. The introduction of the term 'religion' into East Asia, which had previously understood it through the expression "learning (Hak)," occurred later, and even today, the concept of 'religion' remains highly controversial.²⁷

Of course, the concept of "learning (Hak)" in East Asia is sometimes assessed as a pre-modern, undifferentiated concept of religion used before the term "religion" was introduced. However, overseas, extensive research is being conducted on the concept of "Hak" as a broad concept that includes the social background of its emergence and its political implications, and the "Hak" concept of Neo-Confucianism, in particular, is evaluated as a highly holistic system of thought.^{28,29}

²⁵ 20th-century modernism, which can be called the symbol of modernity, is also interpreted in the field of art—where it manifests most clearly in everyday life—as a cultural variant resulting from the spread of Far Eastern Asian culture to Europe beginning in earnest in the 16th century. (Yoo Hyeon-jun, *Modernism: A Hybrid of Eastern and Western Culture* (Modeonijeum: Dong-seoyangmunhwa-ui haibeullideu), Seoul: Miseum, 2008, pp.73-92.) Scholars who argue for the Eastern origins of Western modernity say that even regarding multilayered modernity, the concept is insufficient to explain reality, since Western modernity itself is already a cultural variant resulting from the European transmission of Far Eastern Asian culture.

²⁶ Yun Seung-yong, "A Brief Study on the Anti-structure (communitas) Character of New Religions: Focusing on Religious Phenomena of the Late Joseon Period" ("Sinjongyo-ui bangujosa (communitas)-jeok seonggyeok-e gwanhan sogo: Joseon malgi jonggyo hyeonsang-eul jungshim-euro"), Seoul National University Master's Thesis, 1982.

²⁷ Lee Seon-min, *Reflections on Korea's Indigenous Modernization* (Hanguk-ui jajujeok geundaehwa-e gwanhan seongchal), Paju: Nanam, 2021; Cho Hye-in, *Modern Civil Society Spread from East to West* (Dongeso seo-ro peojin geundae gongminsahoe), Paju: Jimmundang, 2013; Hwang Tae-yeon, *A General Theory of Confucian Modernity* (Yugyojeok geundae-ui ilbaniron), Seoul: Hanguk Munhwasa, 2023.

²⁸ Lee Seon-min, *Reflections on Korea's Indigenous Modernization*, Paju: Nanam, 2021.

The concept of 'learning (Hak)' presented in Neo-Confucianism is evaluated as having a logical structure very different from the modern educational acquisition of knowledge or skills, or even the acquisition of culture. Although the main part of "Hak" in Neo-Confucianism discusses the problem of the Mind (Sim), which seems most detached from the concrete phenomena of human society, this theory, which appears to be merely abstract metaphysics, is said to be a very important part of understanding actual real-world problems. "Hak" shows how the elite, whose identity is "Hak," and the non-elite commoners (Min) are distinguished and what relationship they form; how they can possess and justify real power without being specifically empowered by the state or special institutions; and how the relationships between the elites and the government, state, and monarch are defined.³⁰

In Korea, the evaluation of Donghak's 'Hak' is sometimes expanded and re-evaluated as a theory of self-cultivation, or as Korean humanities or Korean philosophy; however, overseas, it is being re-evaluated through the postmodern science debate as an alternative East Asian science.³¹ The potential for East Asia's "Hak" to be an alternative science was discussed early in the philosophy of science, in the case of the scientific re-evaluation of Europe's pre-modern scientific philosophy, the "four-element theory" (Earth, Water, Fire, Air), within European philosophy of science.³²³³

²⁹ The use of the term 'Donghak' can be said to express Donghak's unique critical consciousness. 'Uneun hana (Unjeuk-il), Doneun gatda (Dojeuk-dong), Ineun dareuda (Ijeuk-bi)': The operation (Un) is one, the Way (Do) is the same, but the principle (I) is different. Su-un criticizes Western Learning for lacking the principle of Won-Hyeong-I-Jeong (the four cardinal principles). He sharply points out the weakness of Western Learning—that without the holistic principle of Won-Hyeong-I-Jeong, it treats truth as context-dependent and thus lacks a center. (Bae Yeong-sun, "The Problem of Distinction between Donghak and Western Learning: Focusing on 'Unjeuk-il, Dojeuk-dong, Ijeuk-bi'", Daegu Sahak (Daegu Historical Studies) 73, Daegu Historical Association, 2003, pp.203-210.) In the "Nonhangmun" of the Donggyeong Daejeon, Su-un states that the West is analytic, so its words change depending on circumstance, and that though it appears to believe in God it does not, and thus ultimately falls into nihilism. Among all civilizations that resisted Western imperialism, only Korea's Donghak took the methodology of learning as a primary theme of resistance, as Nisbett did. Since Donghak has hitherto been studied only from the perspective of a popular resistance movement, it needs to be newly discussed from the standpoint of immanence—paradigm and philosophical methodology.

³⁰ Kim Deok-sam, Choi Won-hyeok, and Lee Gyeong-ja, "Geunhyeondae Paereodaim-ui Jeonhwan-gwa Naejaeseong-e Daehan Gochal: Jeontong-gwa Geundae-e Daehan Hangukjeok Jaego-reul Jungsim-euro" [A Study on the Paradigm Shift in the Modern and Contemporary Era and on Immanence: Focusing on a Korean Reconsideration of Tradition and Modernity], *Immun Gwahak Yeongu* [Journal of the Humanities] 23.

³¹ Jeong Jae-sik, *Continuity and Change in Tradition*, Seoul: Acanet, 2004.

³² Weber holds that the early capitalism which began with the Puritan spirit of Protestantism is distinguishable from modern capitalism, which today focuses solely on economic efficiency. (Daniel L. Pals, translated by Cho Byeong-ryeon and Jeon Jung-hyeon, *Eight Theories of Religion* (Jonggyo-e daehan yeodeolbgaji iron-deul), Goyang: Korean Christian Research Institute, 2013.) Although Weber's observation that the nature of capitalism—a characteristic of modernity—has changed is correct, his theory that capitalism can arise only from a Western Christian standpoint has been refuted both theoretically and practically by East Asia's surpassing of the West today. (Thomas A. Metzger, *Escape from Predicament: Neo-Confucianism and China's Evolving Political Culture* (Gongyeong-ui talpi: Juhui Wang Yangmyeong-buteo Tang Junyi Peng Youlan-kkaji sinyuhak-gwa jungguk-ui jeongchi munhwa), Mineuimsa, 2014, pp.62-65.)

³³ Ko Nam-sik, "A Comparison of the Nationalist Elements of Su-un and Jeungsan" ("Suwun-gwa Jeungsan-ui minjokjujeok yoso bigyo"), *Sinjongyo Yeongu* (New Religions Studies) 26, Korean Society of New Religions, 2012; Lee Kyoung-won, "The Modernity and Transformative Thought of Daesoon Truth" ("Daesoon jinri-ui geundaeseong-gwa byeonhyeok sasang"), *Donghak Hakbo* (Donghak Studies) vol. 10, Donghak Society, 2005. There is also an analysis that the global boom of the Korean Wave (Hallyu) is due to the Korean religious philosophy exemplified in Daesoon Thought. (Park Jong-hyeon, "The Religious-Philosophical Origins and Analysis of the Korean Wave Cultural Phenomenon" ("Hallyu munhwa hyeonsang-ui jonggyo cheolhakjeok giwon-gwa bunseok"), *Sinhaknon-dan* (Theological Forum) 76, Yonsei University School of Theology and Graduate School of Theology, 2014.)

The re-evaluation of the 'four-element' theory, a pre-modern Western scientific theory, as a philosophy of science began with Gaston Louis Pierre Bachelard's (1884-1962) discovery of the scientific philosophy of Earth, Water, Fire, and Air. French philosophy of science, starting with Bachelard, now bifurcates the world of scientific philosophy alongside Anglo-American philosophies of science, such as the paradigm theory of Thomas Samuel Kuhn (1922-1996) or the Falsifiability of Karl Raimund Popper (1902-1994), which are considered representative of contemporary philosophy of science. Whereas the Anglo-American scientific philosophies of Kuhn and Popper are limited to the field of science and lack a concrete system like the 'four elements,' French philosophy of science, which began with the philosophy of the four elements, has expanded into the humanities and social sciences—unlike its Anglo-American counterparts—and presupposes the traditional substance of the four elements.³⁴

Unlike the Anglo-American philosophies of science of Popper and Kuhn, which viewed the conditions of science as falsifiability or the consensus of the scientific community, Bachelard regarded the characteristic of science as the "Epistemological Break." This means that science is not based on the absolute existence of universally valid theories that are falsifiable or established by convention, but rather that disconnected theories emerge independently and coexist. A representative example is the coexistence of the 'four elements' and atomistic science. Bachelard, prior to Kuhn, termed this coexistence a 'paradigm.' Bachelard's philosophy of science, which regarded the 'epistemological break' as a paradigm, became the theoretical foundation for prominent postmodernist philosophers who are still influential today, such as Louis Pierre Althusser (1918-1990), Jacques Lacan (1902-1981), Michel Foucault (1926-1984), Gilles Deleuze (1925-1995), Michel Serres (1930-2019), Gilbert Durand (1921-2012), and systems science theorists like Humberto Maturana (1928-2021), Francisco Javier Varela Garcia (1946-2001), and Niklas Luhmann (1927-1998).

'Earth, Water, Fire, and Air' was a representative scientific view of the pre-modern world, prevalent not only in Europe but also in Buddhism, Hinduism, Egypt, and parts of China. The revival of the four-element scientific view, which had declined after modern science despite its past prominence, by Bachelard as a philosophy of science was paradoxically triggered by the process of pointing out its problems. In the process of identifying the problems of the four elements, the early Bachelard discovered within them the source of imagination, a pre-scientific element that transcends science.³⁵ Bachelard discovered that the four elements were not an obstacle to science, but conversely, that science itself is a discovery of human imagination, and therefore science must utilize the four elements to advance. Bachelard pointed out that modern science, by obstructing the imagination of the four elements, has plunged modern people into the suffering of lacking imagination, and identified this lack of imagination as the cause of all modern

³⁴ Jeon Su-jun, *Sin-gwahak-eseo Dongyanghaiak-euro* [From New Science to Eastern Studies], Seoul: Daewon Publishing, 1995, pp.281-283.

³⁵ Zhu Qianzhi, trans. Jeon Hong-seok, *Jungguk-i Mandeun Yureop-ui Geundae: Geundae Yureop-ui Jungguk Munhwa Yeolpung* [The European Modernity Made by China: The Craze for Chinese Culture in Modern Europe], Cheonggye, 2003.

problems.³⁶ Bachelard's assertions, interpreted in various ways, came to form a major current in world philosophy of science.³⁷

The philosophy of science of the four elements is important for understanding Donghak's "Hak" concept because it shows the possibility that Yin-Yang and the Five Elements—the East Asian scientific theory on which Donghak is academically based—can be re-evaluated as a modern philosophy of science, and that Yin-Yang and the Five Elements have the potential to contribute to modern Eastern philosophy of science as much as the four elements did to Western.³⁸

Daesoon Thought early on suggested, through the term 'True Donghak' (Cham Donghak), that it is the final solution to the task of "Donghak" as an East Asian methodology of thought, a task posed by Donghak Thought. Although extensive research has been conducted on Daesoon Thought and Donghak Thought, studies conducted from the perspective of "Donghak" as an East Asian philosophical methodology are still rare among researchers in both fields.

In the Jeon-gyeong, the scripture of Daesoon Thought, the phrase 'Seoyudaeseong-inwalseohak Dongyudaeseong-inwaldonghak' (A great sage in the West is called Western Learning, a great sage in the East is called Eastern Learning) expresses the religion and learning originating from Eastern sages as 'Donghak,' contrasting it with Western 'Seohak.' From this expression in the Jeon-gyeong, we can see that 'Donghak' was also presented as a philosophical methodology for East Asian religion.³⁹ The use of the academic expression "Jinri" (Truth) in "Daesoon Jinri" (Truth of Daesoon) also reflects this.⁴⁰

It is natural that this term was also presented as a philosophical methodology in Donghak. The "Nonhangmun" (Discussion on Learning) in the Donggyeong Daejeon, where the term 'Donghak' first appears, is said to have originally been titled "Donghangmun" (On Eastern Learning).⁴¹ The Yongdam

³⁶ Thomas A. Metzger, *Gonggyeong-ui Talpi: Juhui-Wang Yangmyeong-buteo Tang Junyi-Feng Youlan-kkaji Sinyuhak-gwa Jungguk-ui Jeongchi Munhwa* [Escape from Predicament: Neo-Confucianism and China's Evolving Political Culture from Zhu Xi and Wang Yangming to Tang Junyi and Feng Youlan], Mineumsa, 2014.

³⁷ Kim Deok-sam, Choi Won-hyeok, and Lee Gyeong-ja, "Geunhyeondae Paereodaim-ui Jeonhwan-gwa Naejaeseong-e Daehan Gochal: Jeontong-gwa Geundae-e Daehan Hangukjeok Jaego-reul Jungsim-euro" [A Study on the Paradigm Shift in the Modern and Contemporary Era and on Immanence: Focusing on a Korean Reconsideration of Tradition and Modernity], *Inmun Gwahak Yeongu* [Journal of the Humanities] 23, pp.115-142.

³⁸ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9; An Sin, "Mateo Richi-wa Daesun Sasang-ui Gwangyesong-e Daehan Yeongu: Daesun Sasang-ui Gidokgyo Jongjang-e Daehan Jonggyo Hyeonsanghakjeok Haeseok" [A Study on the Relationship between Matteo Ricci and Daesoon Thought: A Religious-Phenomenological Interpretation of the Christian Patriarch in Daesoon Thought], *Daesun Sasang Nonchong* [Journal of Daesoon Thought] 36, 2020.

³⁹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 3-15; Kim Tae-su, "Jinmuk Josayujeokgo-gwa Jeongyeong-e Natanan Jinmuk Seolhwa-ui Chai-e Daehan Jachaeseok: Munheon Jeunseung-gwa Gujeon Jeunseung-ui Chai-reul Jungsim-euro" [A Reinterpretation of the Differences in the Jinmuk Tales Found in the Jinmuk Josa Yujeokgo and the Jeongyeong: Focusing on the Difference between Textual and Oral Transmission], *Daesun Sasang Nonchong* [Journal of Daesoon Thought] 41, 2022.

⁴⁰ Lee Bong-ho, *The Philosophy of Seo Myeong-eung, King Jeongjo's Teacher (A Joseon Scholar's Response to Western Science)*, Goyang: Donggwa Seo, 2013.

⁴¹ Hwang Tae-yeon, *Yugyojeok Geundae-ui Ilban Iron: Seogu Gukga-ui Yugyojeok Geundaehwa-wa Yugyo Gukga-ui Seogujeok Geundaehwa* [A General Theory of Confucian Modernity: The Confucian Modernization of Western States and the Western Modernization of Confucian States], Seoul: Hanguk Munhwasa, 2023.

Yusa, a compilation of Su-un's Hangeul verses, and the Donggyeong Daejeon, his work in classical Chinese, were both written directly by Su-un and thus correspond to early Donghak.⁴² In this discussion, the Donghak of the four-year period when Su-un was active is referred to as 'early Donghak,' and following the position of Daesoon Thought, which holds that 'early Donghak' is the thought of Jeungsan, this dissertation will limit its scope of Donghak Thought to early Donghak.⁴³ However, for comparison with Daesoon Thought, some later terminology that specifically interprets early Donghak Thought will also be used.

In Daesoon Thought, Donghak Thought appears as 'a religion that advocated for the work of the Later World (Hucheon).' Although the term 'Hucheon' (Later World) does not appear directly in the Yongdam Yusa or Donggyeong Daejeon, Daesoon Thought shares many terms that originated in early Donghak, such as 'Donghak,' 'Gaebyeok' (Great Opening), and 'Jisang-seongyeong' (Earthly Paradise).⁴⁴

Another basis for the claim that Daesoon Thought represents the completion of Donghak — that is, True Donghak — is the reference to jaknan and chiran.⁴⁵ The passage stating that “the one who created disorder (jaknan, 作乱) was Su-un, and the one who restores order (chiran, 治乱) is Jeungsan” demonstrates that the initial problem posed regarding ‘Donghak’ was raised by Su-un, while its resolution was achieved through Jeungsan’s True Donghak. The work of examining the terminology shared by early Donghak and Daesoon Thought through the lens of Eastern philosophical methodology — in order to show how the True Donghak of Daesoon Thought completes the Donghak of Donghak Thought — is research that is absolutely essential for understanding the logical coherence of Daesoon Thought in the study of Daesoon Thought.

Just as Western modernity began with Copernicus's heliocentric theory, it is a well-known fact that 'modernity' as a scholarly pursuit begins with the establishment of an indigenous theory of cosmology. Therefore, Donghak, as an indigenous modern thought, also started from the new establishment of an Eastern cosmology—that is, views on Heaven, Earth, and Humanity—but like Donghak's philosophical methodology, this aspect has not been extensively studied. Accordingly, this study intends to examine Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought from the perspective of philosophical methodology, focusing on

⁴² So Geon-saeng, trans. Jo Gyeong-hui and Im So-yeon, *Songnara-ui Seulpeum* [The Sorrow of the Song Dynasty], Paju: Geulhangari, 2021.

⁴³ Hwang Tae-yeon, *Gongja-wa Segye: Paechwiwokeu Munmyeong Sidae-ui Gongmaeng Jeongchi Cheolhak* [Confucius and the World: The Political Philosophy of Confucius and Mencius in the Age of Patchwork Civilization], Paju: Cheonggye, 2011; Hwang Tae-yeon, *Yugyojeok Geundae-ui Ilban Iron: Seogu Gukga-ui Yugyojeok Geundaehwa-wa Yugyo Gukga-ui Seogujeok Geundaehwa* [A General Theory of Confucian Modernity], Seoul: Hanguk Munhwasa, 2023.

⁴⁴ Jo Hye-in, *Dong-eseo Seo-ro Peojin Geundae Gongmin Sahoe: Yugyo Yechi mit Jayu Gwanmyeom-ui Baljeon-gwa Seogu-eui Jeonpa* [Modern Civil Society Spread from East to West: The Development of Confucian Rule by Propriety and the Idea of Freedom and Its Transmission to the West], Paju: Jimmundang, 2013; Jo Hye-in, *Sangcheobadeun Jeolgae, Nalgaejebeun Baljeon: Yugyojeok Yusan-gwa Hanguk Jabonjuui-ui Buchim* [Wounded Integrity, Folded Wings of Development: The Confucian Legacy and the Rise and Fall of Korean Capitalism], Paju: Nanam, 2007.

⁴⁵ Lee Yeong-jae, "Gongja-ui 'Seo(恕)' Gaenyeom-e Gwanhan Gonggam Dodeokronjeok Haeseok" [A Sympathy-Morality Interpretation of Confucius's Concept of 'Reciprocity (Seo 恕)'], *Hanguk Jeongchihak Hoebo* [Korean Political Science Review] 47(1), 2013, p.37.

the indigenous modernity of their views on Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, in order to discuss the breadth and depth of their indigenous modernity.⁴⁶

Research Objectives and Scope

The purpose of this discussion is to demonstrate that 'Donghak'-related thoughts established an indigenous modernity against Western modernity by constructing views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity that fused East and West through Eastern philosophical methods of thought, and by deriving mutually beneficent (Sangsaeng-jeok) views of the Heaven-realm, Earth-realm, and Human-realm. From this perspective, this dissertation intends to compare Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought.

The theme of 'Donghak' as a philosophical methodology of thought is a broad and important topic related to the identity of East Asian civilization. Since the imperialist era, when Eastern and Western civilizations began to clash in earnest, the search for an Eastern philosophical methodology as an alternative to the West has been a task of survival for East Asians. Paradoxically, indigenous modernity is also an important task for Westerners in their search for an alternative modernity that can solve the crisis of modern civilization brought about by today's Western civilization.

Daesoon Thought and Donghak Thought present the philosophical structure and logical coherence of Eastern thought more clearly than existing Eastern thoughts. Although Daesoon Thought shares many terms with Donghak Thought, Daesoon Thought fundamentally redefines and supplements the terms first presented in Donghak Thought, referring to this as 'True Donghak' (Cham Donghak). Considering that the term 'Donghak' emerged with the meaning of an Eastern philosophical methodology, the difference between Daesoon Thought and Donghak Thought needs to be re-examined from the perspective of Eastern philosophical methodology. In particular, the 'True Donghak' spoken of in Daesoon Thought can be understood as meaning that it was more faithful to the Eastern philosophical methodology than Donghak Thought. Comparing Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought from the perspective of Eastern philosophical methodology can show the potential for a more essential understanding of 'Donghak' as the establishment of indigenous modernity.⁴⁷

This dissertation examines the characteristics of indigenous modernity in Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought based on preceding research that defined them through the correlative thought's liminality and revitalization movements, focusing on the aspect of constructing a convergent East-West view of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity. The liminality of correlative thinking has been a representative concept used to explain alternative rationality within the history of modern Western thought, which has sought alternatives to Western modernity for over 100 years.

⁴⁶ Paul Feyerabend, translated by Jeong Byeong-hoon, *Against Method*, Seoul: Greenbee, 2019.

⁴⁷ Jeong Byeong-hun, "Paicoabenteu: Gaegwanjuui-wa Sangdaeujuui-reul Neomeoseo" [Feyerabend: Beyond Objectivism and Relativism], *Gwahak Cheollhak* [Philosophy of Science], Paju: Changbi, 2011.

Correlative thinking is a system of thought that first sees the whole of all things and then views the parts in context and relation, contrasting with the Western substantial, ontological, and analytic thought (annalistic thought) that sees the parts first and then the whole; it is an Eastern holographic (Jeon-sik-jeok) and holistic generative system of thought.⁴⁸ The theory of correlative thought posits that, unlike the West where addresses are written starting from the nearest location, the East has a unique relational system of thought, writing addresses starting from the furthest point, the country's name.⁴⁹ Correlative thinking is the system of thought manifested in the traditional Eastern educational method of learning 'Haneul-cheon Tta-ji' (Heaven, Earth, etc.) first, unlike Western-style education which starts with 'Spot, Chul-soo' (names). Correlative thinking was proposed by Marcel Granet (1884-1940), an early researcher of Eastern religions, and has been continuously developed since.⁵⁰

Next, the theory of liminality is a theory that explains religious change through rites of passage. Victor Turner (1920-1983) explains religious change using the concept of liminality, an intermediate zone in rites of passage that exists between the pre-change and post-change states. The concept of liminality, derived from 'Limen' meaning threshold or intermediate zone, is also a theory that, unlike dichotomous Western thought, posits that a third, intermediate zone—liminality—can explain individual and social changes, such as those in rites of passage. Both theories were developed in the West in the search for alternative ways of thinking and are being applied to the characteristics of Eastern thought and systems.⁵¹

Furthermore, revitalization theory, unlike liminality theory which emphasizes the change of modernity, is a theory that explains the process of responding to external changes. First introduced by anthropologist Anthony F. C. Wallace (1923-2015), revitalization theory is another anthropological ritual theory that

⁴⁸ Conservative philosophy of science restricts science to a falsifiable discipline. Kuhnian philosophy of science, which views science as a paradigm—a collective convention—emphasizes the incommensurability of two sciences; yet even when two sciences are incommensurable owing to differing methodologies, if one explains a new science in the terms of an existing science and clarifies their relationship, as in Lakatos's research programs, then theoretical compatibility may be regarded as another form of falsifiability. Theoretical compatibility refers, for example, to the way relativity theory fully explained Newtonian theory, and quantum mechanics could fully explain relativity theory (Sin Jung-seop, Popeo-wa Hyeondae-ui Gwahak Cheolhak [Popper and Contemporary Philosophy of Science], Seoul: Seogwangsa, 1992, pp.209-214). The reason Eastern science possesses theoretical compatibility with Western science in Daesoon Thought is, as it appears in Daesoon Thought, the transmission of Eastern science to the West by Imadu (Matteo Ricci) (Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9).

⁴⁹ There was also another current that, between traditional Confucianism and modernity, sought to transcend such either/or extremes and to make appropriate choices with a relatively balanced perspective: the Confucian reform movements carried out both inside and outside the framework of Confucianism. Confucian reform in Joseon broadly took two currents. One was the reform movement within the Confucian framework that ran from Park Eun-sik to Lee Seung-hui to Lee Byeong-heon; the other was the more radical innovation movement carried out outside the Confucian framework by Choe Je-u and Choe Si-hyeong. Park Eun-sik and Choe Je-u were the first to attempt these two directions of transformation, but they are said to have shown opposing attitudes (Hwang Jong-won, "Choe Je-u-wa Park Eun-sik-ui Yugyo Gaehyeok Banghyang, Pyeongdeungwan, Seogu Geundae Munmyeong-e Daehan Taedo" [Choe Je-u's and Park Eun-sik's Directions of Confucian Reform, Views of Equality, and Attitudes toward Western Modern Civilization], Toegyehak-gwa Yugyo Munhwa [Toegye Studies and Confucian Culture] 49, 2011, pp.318-319).

⁵⁰ Kim Yong-ok, Donggyeong Daejeon 2 [Donggyeong Daejeon, Vol. 2], Tongnamu, 2021.

⁵¹ An Sin, "Seukoteullaendeu Jonggyo Hyeonsanghakpa-ui 'Giwon': Ninian Seumateu-wa Aendeuryu Wolseu-reul Jungsim-euro" [The 'Origins' of the Scottish School of the Phenomenology of Religion: Focusing on Ninian Smart and Andrew Walls], Jonggyo Munhwa Yeongu [Studies in Religion and Culture] 9, 2007, p.230.

explains the changes in the process of responding to external threats by utilizing tradition.⁵² Unlike liminality theory, which emphasizes the internal process of change, revitalization emphasizes external threats and the utilization of tradition. When an individual is threatened with the potential dissolution of their identity, they reorganize their personal belief system based on their strengths, put the changed belief system into practice, and thus change their position in society. Wallace named 'revitalization' as the process whereby a society, when facing a crisis that threatens to dissolve its social identity, revitalizes the strengths of its existing cultural traditions to change its social belief system. If the aspect of liminality explains the mechanism of change, revitalization well explains the mechanism of maintaining that change. In fact, the internal changes of revitalization can be explained by liminality. Therefore, to explain indigenous modernization, the perspective of liminality as an intermediate stage is needed simultaneously with the perspective of revitalization as the principle of maintaining change.⁵³⁵⁴

To achieve the research objectives, this discussion will proceed in the following order and scope. First, it examines the differences between Eastern and Western thought systems as conditions for indigenous modernity, and explores liminality and revitalization as potential mediators between these systems. Second, this dissertation limits its scope to the views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity to trace the indigenous modernity manifested in the two thoughts. It examines the modern transformation of the traditional views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity found in both thoughts and traces its principles. Third, it compares the indigenous modernity of the two thoughts and, in the conclusion, presents an evaluation and prospect of them as the indigenous modernity of the views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity.

In detail, this dissertation proceeds in the following order. First, Chapter I analyzes previous research related to modernity. Chapter II explains the difference between modernity and indigenous modernity, and presents liminality and revitalization as conditions for indigenous modernity. Specifically, Section II-1 examines the definition of modernity as the 'consilience of the sacred and the secular,' the shared Eastern origins of modernity and indigenous modernity, "Hak" (Learning) as the formal system of indigenous modernity, and correlative thinking as the philosophical methodology of indigenous modernity; Section II-2 examines liminality as the change mechanism and revitalization as the persistence mechanism of indigenous modernity.

⁵² The introduction of worldview as an object of study in the phenomenology of religion, which begins in earnest with Ninian Smart, traces back to Wilhelm Dilthey (1833-1911), the founder of hermeneutics, who demonstrated the value of the human sciences as against the natural sciences through hermeneutics (Lee Gil-yong, "Suyangron-euro Bon Hanguk Sinjonggyo-ui Gujojeok Teukjing: Donghak-gwa Jeungsangyo-reul Jungsim-euro" [The Structural Characteristics of Korean New Religions Viewed through the Theory of Self-Cultivation: Focusing on Donghak and Jeungsan-gyo], *Donghak Hakbo* [Journal of Donghak Studies] 25, 2012, p.153).

⁵³ Lee Gil-yong, *Understanding the Study of Religion*, Seoul: Handeul Publishing, 2007.

⁵⁴ Ninian Smart's theory, like Eliade's, can also be criticized as yet another typology, but Eliade's typology too—apart from its ambiguities—has been acknowledged by Jonathan Z. Smith as a useful explanatory system for representing the characteristics of religion.

Chapter III explains the continuity and change of Eastern and Western traditions in Donghak Thought—that is, their commonalities and differences—by dividing them into three parts, focusing on the views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity. Specifically, Section III-1 explains the traditional Eastern and Western views of Heaven as assimilative and formalistic, respectively, and examines the indigenous modernity manifested in Donghak Thought's 'Sicheonju' (Bearing God) view of Heaven. Section III-2 explains the traditional Eastern and Western views of Earth as condensative and materialistic, respectively, and examines the modernity manifested in Donghak Thought's 'Jowhajeong' (Fixing Creation) view of Earth. Section III-3 explains the traditional Eastern and Western views of Humanity as grafting and growth-oriented, respectively, and examines the modernity manifested in Donghak Thought's 'Yeongsebulmang' (Eternal Non-forgetting) view of Humanity.

Chapter IV compares the continuity and change of Eastern and Western traditions in Daesoon Thought—that is, their commonalities and differences—by dividing them into three parts, focusing on the views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity. Section IV-1 explains the Daesoon view of Heaven as a view of the Heaven-realm based on 'Insin-gangse' (Human Advent), compares it with the traditional view of Heaven, and then examines its aspects and characteristics. Section IV-2 explains the Daesoon view of Earth as a view of the Earth-realm based on 'Cheonji Seong-Gyeong-Sin' (Sincerity, Reverence, and Faith of Heaven and Earth), compares it with the traditional view of Earth, and then examines its aspects and characteristics. Section IV-3 explains the Daesoon view of Humanity as a view of the Human-realm based on 'Seongsajaecin' (Success Depends on the Person), compares it with the traditional view of Humanity, and then examines its aspects and characteristics.

Chapter V compares the views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity in Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought from the perspective of the continuity and change in the two thoughts. Section V-1 compares the indigenous modernity of the two thoughts, focusing on their views of Heaven. Section V-2 compares the indigenous modernity of the two thoughts, focusing on their views of Earth. Section V-3 compares the indigenous modernity of the two thoughts, focusing on their views of Humanity.

Chapter VI, the conclusion, summarizes the above discussion, identifies the limitations and significance of this study, and synthesizes the comparison of the indigenous modernity of Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought.

Analysis of Prior Research

Research on Donghak has expanded, with over 1,000 theses published, primarily centered around related academic societies such as the Donghak Society and the Korean Donghak Society. The main discussion has consisted of content that seeks the origin of Korea's modernity theories in "Donghak," as a counterargument to the theories that had sought it in "Silhak" (Practical Learning). Among the preceding studies, the part emphasized as the origin of indigenous modernity in Donghak Thought was the

comparison of Donghak Thought's contemporary philosophical aspects—which began with figures like Kim Ji-ha—with aspects of modern Western philosophy, such as life philosophy and process philosophy.⁵⁵⁵⁶⁵⁷

Previous research on Donghak Thought related to modernity is broadly divided into three categories: studies on the Donghak popular movement, Donghak's religious thought, and Donghak's philosophical methodology. First, the Donghak popular movement is primarily studied using social scientific methods regarding the history of the social movement that arose from Donghak Thought, rather than its religion and ideology, as historical research on the Donghak Peasant Revolution. Second, Donghak's religious thought is studied through religious studies methods or intellectual history methods concerning Eastern religions. Third, Donghak's philosophical methodology is studied as an Eastern academic methodology from the perspective of the philosophy of science or civilizational history.

The preceding research related to this dissertation is mainly the second type, which studies Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought as religious ideologies, and the third type, which regards them as Eastern methodologies of thought. The second type of research can be further divided into studies that seek the significance of Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought within the entire history of Korean religious thought, and studies that intensively explore Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought. The first type, studies seeking the significance of Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought in the entire history of Korean religious thought, includes Jang Byeong-gil, Jeong Jin-hong, Yoon Yi-heum, and Choi Jong-seong.⁵⁸ Kang Don-gu, Noh Gil-myeong, Kim Hong-cheol, Don Baker, Yu Dong-sik, Kim Jong-seo, Kim Ik-du, Hwang Jong-won, among others, can be mentioned; for the second type, studies intensively comparing and exploring Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought, representative researchers include Kim Ji-ha and Kim Tak.⁵⁹⁶⁰⁶¹⁶²⁶³⁶⁴⁶⁵⁶⁶⁶⁷⁶⁸⁶⁹⁷⁰⁷¹

⁵⁵ Van Gennep is also rendered in Korean by various terms such as Ban Genap, Bangjuneupeu, and Ban Henep. In this paper, the name is rendered as "Ban Genep" following the general principles of Romanization.

⁵⁶ Kim Tae-soo, "Cheonjigongsa-e Natanan Uiryejeok Seonggyeok Yeongu" [A Study on the Ritual Characteristics Appearing in the Reordering Works of Heaven and Earth (Cheonjigongsa)], Daejin University Doctoral Dissertation, 2013.

⁵⁷ Lee Yeong-ran, *Liminoliti [Liminality]*, Seoul: Dongbang Inswae Gongsa, 2020; Bjørn Thomassen, *Liminality and the Modern*, Surrey: Ashgate, 2014.

⁵⁸ Thomas S. Kuhn, translated by Kim Myung-ja, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Seoul: Kkachi Glocal, 2013.

⁵⁹ Kim Myeong-jin, (EBS Dakyumenteorì) *Dong-gwa Seo [(EBS Documentary) East and West]*, Seoul: Yedam, 2008.

⁶⁰ A. C. Graham, trans. Lee Chang-il, *Eumyang-gwa Sanggwanyeok Sayu [Yin-Yang and the Nature of Correlative Thinking]*, Cheonggye, p.264, 2001.

⁶¹ Kim Kyung-soo, 『Nojang-ui saengseongnon』 (Lao-Zhuang's Theory of Generation), Seoul: Munsachul, 2015.

⁶² Jeong U-jin, "Dongyang Gwahak-ui Nollì: Gameung-ui Yuhyeong-e Gwanhan Yeongu" [The Logic of Eastern Science: A Study on the Types of Resonance], *Dogyo Munhwa Yeongu [Studies on Daoist Culture]* 42, 2015, p.122.

⁶³ Richard E. Nisbett, trans. Choi In-cheol, *Saenggak-ui Jido: Dongyang-gwa Seoyang, Sesang-eul Barabonan Seoro Dareun Siseon [The Geography of Thought: How Asians and Westerners Think Differently... and Why]*, Gimyoungsa, 2004, pp.83-106.

⁶⁴ Feng Youlan, *Jungguk Cheolhak-ui Jeongsin (Xin Yuandao) [The Spirit of Chinese Philosophy (Xin Yuandao)]*, trans. Gwak Sin-hwan, Seoul: Seogwangsa, 1993.

Looking at each researcher in detail, first, in the case of Jang Byeong-gil, who pioneered the study of Daesoon Thought and published the first edition of the Jeon-gyeong through Seoul National University Press, he understands Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought as the spiritual worldview of the grass-roots populace, and notes that Daesoon Thought, which emerged in response, particularly entails a view of divine beings (Sinmyeong-gwan) according to the principle of the transformation of Heaven and Earth.⁷² It is said that this is also accompanied by a total change in views of humanity, values, and so on. In the case of Jeong Jin-hong, a representative Korean scholar of religion, he summarized Korean religious history as Daoism of mimesis, Buddhism of Mythos, Confucianism of Logos, and Donghak of Theos, and regarded the development of Protestantism after liberation as an extension of Donghak.⁷³ He states that although Donghak's appearance was brief, it holds the significant meaning of being the beginning of Theos in Korean religious thought.⁷⁴ Choi Jong-seong, carrying on Jeong Jin-hong's research, argues that Donghak needs to be studied centering on its rituals, as 'Theopraxy.' While Jeong Jin-hong's research studied the significance of Donghak Thought focusing on its doctrines, Yoon Yi-heum explains its significance in the form of a supreme God, stating that Donghak, while a new ideology, also shares the transformative worldview of the Jeonggammok that preceded it and serves as a model for the new religions that emerged afterward.⁷⁵

⁶⁵ Kim Pil-nyeon, 『Dong-seo munmyeong-gwa jayeon gwahak』 (East-West Civilization and Natural Science), Seoul: Kkachi, 1992.

⁶⁶ Park Dong-hwan, *Where is Eastern Logic?*, Seoul: Koryowon, 1993.

⁶⁷ Choi Bong-yeong, "'Sahoe' Gaenyeom-e Jeonjedoan Gaeche-wa Jeonche-ui Gwangye-wa Yuhyeong" [The Relationship and Types of Individual and Whole Presupposed in the Concept of 'Society'], *Dongyang Sahoe Sasang* [East Asian Social Thought] 1, 1998, pp.88-101.

⁶⁸ Lévi-Strauss, translated by Ahn Jeong-nam, 『Yasaeng-ui sago』 (The Savage Mind), Seoul: Hangilsa, 1996.

⁶⁹ Nakazawa Shin'ichi, trans. Kim Ok-hui, *Daechingseong Illyuhak: Muuisik-eseo Balgyeonhanan Daeanjeok Jiseong* [Symmetrical Anthropology: An Alternative Intelligence Discovered in the Unconscious], Dongasia, 2004, pp.197-221.

⁷⁰ In a cyclical worldview, the starting point of reality becomes resonance rather than substance (François Jullien, trans. Yu Byeong-tae, *Unhaeng-gwa Changjo: Dongseo Munhwa Bigyo Siron* [Process or Creation: An Essay in Comparative East-West Culture], Seoul: K-C Academy, 2003, pp.55-69). Jullien argues that although East and West both aimed at the unity of opposites, the East's immanence, which does not posit substance, was able—despite lacking the concept of substance—to avoid the dogmatism found in the West (François Jullien, *Maengja-wa Gyemong Cheolhakja-ui Daehwa* (Dodeok-ui Gicho-reul Seuda, Russo Kanteu) [A Dialogue between Mencius and the Enlightenment Philosophers (Founding the Basis of Morality: Rousseau, Kant)], Hanul Academy, 2009, pp.174-180). Resonance becomes the precondition by which the mode of understanding things in Eastern thought becomes resonance.

⁷¹ Shin Ji-young, *What is Immanence?*, Seoul: Greenbee, 2009.

⁷² François Jullien, *Samul-ui Seonghyang: Jungguk-in-ui Sayu Bangsik* [The Propensity of Things: A Chinese Way of Thinking], Hanul Academy, 2009, pp.27-37.

⁷³ Shin Ji-young, *What is Immanence?*, Seoul: Greenbee, 2009.

⁷⁴ François Jullien, *Maengja-wa Gyemong Cheolhakja-ui Daehwa* (Dodeok-ui Gicho-reul Seuda, Russo Kanteu) [A Dialogue between Mencius and the Enlightenment Philosophers (Founding the Basis of Morality: Rousseau, Kant)], Hanul Academy, 2009, pp.174-180.

⁷⁵ Recited from Lee Jong-min, *Jungguk Sasang-gwa Daeon Geundaeseong: Wang Hui-ui Geundae Jungguk Sasang-ui Heunggi Ilkki-wa Sseugi* [Chinese Thought and Alternative Modernity: Reading and Writing Wang Hui's The Rise of Modern Chinese Thought], Seoul: Hyeonamsa, 2017, pp.14-30.

In the case of Kang Don-gu, who seeks to apply global religious studies trends to the study of Korean new religions, he emphasizes the role of the Jeongyeok (Correct Change) from the perspective of the differentiation of Korean religion, and stresses that Korean characteristics are prominent in new Korean religions that reflect the Jeongyeok. He says that Daesoon Thought, which particularly emphasizes the Jeongyeok, expresses Korean characteristics well.⁷⁶ Noh Gil-myeong states that today's new Korean religions, although established in the late Joseon period, are a contemporary phenomenon that can be linked to post-modernity, in that they were re-illuminated after the economic development. Accordingly, he argues that Daesoon Thought's Haewon-sangsaeng should also be examined as Jeungsan's alternative modernity, which foresaw the future crisis that Western modernity would cause.⁷⁷

In the case of Kim Hong-cheol, he points to Geumsan Temple and Vinaya Master Jinpyo as the geographical background for the emergence of Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought, illuminating the relationship between the Baekje restoration movement and the revitalization of Maitreya faith as the background for both thoughts. The Donghak Peasant Revolution and Daesoon Thought coincidentally developed centered on Geumsan Temple and Maitreya, which are related to the fall of Baekje.⁷⁸ Don Baker regards Donghak-related thoughts as a combination of Sin (God/spirit) and Do (Dao/Way), which have constituted Korean spirituality. If Sin (神) is a personalistic god concept like that in Christianity or Shamanism, Do (道) can be said to be an impersonalistic principle-god (Ibeopsin), as in Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism.⁷⁹ In the case of Yu Dong-sik, he advocates for "Pungryu" (Wind and Stream) theology, claiming that spiritual determinism, divination-prophecy beliefs, and Pungsu-jiri (Feng Shui) are the three mainstreams of Korean folk religion, and that Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought are extensions of this. The 'Pung' (Wind) in Pungryu is a concept of Qi (Gi) that predates and is interchangeable with Qi (氣), and Qi (氣) has formed the main pillars of Korean folk religion: spiritual determinism, divination-prophecy beliefs, and Pungsu-jiri.⁸⁰ Kim Jong-seo introduces the research of Gernot Prunner (1935-2002), who compared the modern Donghak Thought, which emphasized social revolutionary aspects, with Daesoon Thought, which focused on the salvation of humankind.⁸¹

⁷⁶ Im Heon-gyu, *Gongja-eseo Dasan Jeong Yak-yong-kkaji: Yugyo Inmunhak-ui Dongseo Cheolhakjeok Seongchal* [From Confucius to Dasan Jeong Yak-yong: An East-West Philosophical Reflection on Confucian Humanities], Seoul: Para Academy, 2019, pp.350-381.

⁷⁷ Kim Young-geon, 『Dongyang cheolhak-e gwanhan bunseokjeok bipan』 (An Analytical Critique of Eastern Philosophy), Seoul: Ratio Chulpansa, 2009.

⁷⁸ Hwang Tae-yeon, *Yugyojeok Geundae-ui Ilban Iron: Seogu Gukga-ui Yugyojeok Geundae-hwa-wa Yugyo Gukga-ui Seogu-jeok Geundae-hwa* [A General Theory of Confucian Modernity: The Confucian Modernization of Western States and the Western Modernization of Confucian States], Seoul: Hanguk Munhwasa, 2023.

⁷⁹ Lee Jae-geol, "Kanteu Yugicheron-ui 'Jagi Jojikhwa' Gaenyeom-gwa Peuraekteol Iron-ui Gyocha Yeongu: Yugiche, Saengmyeongseong, Muhan(無限)-e Daehan Mihakjeok Jeonje" [A Cross Study of the Concept of 'Self-Organization' in Kant's Theory of the Organism and Fractal Theory: The Aesthetic Premises of Organism, Vitality, and Infinity], *Munhwa-wa Yunghap* [Culture and Convergence] 44(9), 2022, pp.419-433.

⁸⁰ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9.

⁸¹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 3-15.

In the case of Kim Ik-du, who leads "Jeongeup Studies" in Jeongeup, the heartland of Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought, he, as a scholar of Korean literature specializing in drama, evaluates the two thoughts as groundbreaking ideologies that transform Aristotle's (B.C. 384-322) Western conflict frame, which emphasizes conflict, into Korean Sangsaeng (mutual beneficence). Kim Ik-du argues that the project of seeking the alternative modernity that postmodernism sought in the West failed because catharsis is the womb of dialectics, and catharsis is motivated by Western mythology, which is themed on the conflict of gods. Rather, Kim Ik-du pays attention to Kim Ji-ha's research, which sought the alternative modernity postmodernism was looking for in Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought, and interprets Kim Ji-ha's research from the perspective of liminality. Kim Ik-du states that the 'aesthetics of white shadow,' an alternative modernity that Kim Ji-ha discovered in the two thoughts, was possible because it was based on Korean mythology, which, unlike Western mythology, is motivated by the harmony of gods.⁸²

Also, Lee Young-ran, who studied performance studies under Richard Schechner (1934-present)—who early on applied liminality to performance studies and highly valued Korean shamanism from a liminality perspective—interprets liminality from a performance studies perspective along the two axes of 'being' and 'becoming,' and summarizes the views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity (Cheon-Ji-In) and representative Western postmodern thoughts in a single table. The verb "be," which has the two meanings of "to exist" (itda) and "to be" (ida), is applied in Heidegger's existentialism as a core tool for explaining the world, and Schechner applied this to performance studies, interpreting liminality as 'being' and 'becoming.' Although East Asia lacks the verb "be," it has the "Han" concept, which refers to both part and whole simultaneously; Lee Young-ran applies this to Heaven, Earth, and Humanity (Cheon-Ji-In) like the Cheonbugyeong, interpreting them as Heaven (1), Earth (2, 1+2), and Human (3, 1+2, 1+2+3, 1'=1+2+3), and argues that this "Han" concept can interpret liminality more readily than the verb "be." This dissertation intends to apply the definitions of liminality primarily referenced from Kim Ik-du and Lee Young-ran to the indigenous modernity of Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought.⁸³

Hwang Jong-won states that Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought achieved a creative modernity by uniquely synthesizing the three origins of Eastern and Western religions. It is said that Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought, among the ideologies that chose a third path in response to the Enlightenment faction (Gaehwapa) and the 'Protect Orthodoxy and Reject Heterodoxy' faction (Wijeong-cheoksapa), became successful indigenous ideologies by coordinating East and West from an objective

⁸² Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyobeop" (Dharma) 2-56.

⁸³ It is said that the difference between Donghak and Seohak that Suun spoke of at the opening of the "Nonhangmun" has also been difficult to understand because Seohak has hitherto been interpreted not as Western learning in general but narrowly as Catholicism (Hwang Jong-won, "Choe Je-u-wa Park Eun-sik-ui Yugyo Gaehyeok Banghyang, Pyeongdeungwan, Seogu Geundae Munmyeong-e Daehan Taedo" [Choe Je-u's and Park Eun-sik's Directions of Confucian Reform, Views of Equality, and Attitudes toward Western Modern Civilization], Toegyehak-gwa Yugyo Munhwa [Toegyehak Studies and Confucian Culture] 49, 2011, p.330).

standpoint, unlike the popularization of Confucianism seen in figures like Park Eun-sik. This aligns well with the case of China's Liang Qichao, as pointed out by Wang Hui.

Next, looking at studies focused on comparing the modernity of Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought, Kim Ji-ha, for instance, broadly categorizes Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought into political modern thought and cultural modern thought. Kim Ji-ha argues that while Donghak Thought emphasized political modernity, Daesoon Thought pursued cultural modernity by applying it starting from small, everyday practices. Kim Ji-ha, comparing the two thoughts through an intuitive aesthetic method, states that Donghak Thought has a strong political-ideological character, pursuing a 'Dongse-gaebyeok' (Dynamic World-Opening) through the organized methods of artificial and traditional popular revolt; whereas Daesoon Thought has a strong cultural movement character, demonstrating a movement of 'Jeongse-gaebyeok' (Peaceful World-Opening) in everyday practice.⁸⁴ Kim Ji-ha attempted a comparative analysis of the modern characteristics of the two thoughts from the perspective of the philosophy of Pierre Teilhard de Chardin (1881-1955), who synthesized science and theology; in particular, he compared the philosophy of becoming of Gilles Deleuze (1925-1995), a representative thinker of post-modernity, and ultimately derived the commonality of 'Chaosmos.' Kim Ji-ha expressed this through the stages of life philosophy, 'Yullyeo' (Cosmic Music/Rhythm), and the 'aesthetics of white shadow.' 'Yullyeo,' which means Eastern harmony but symbolizes cosmic harmony, was Kim Ji-ha's aesthetic expression for the indigenous modernity of correlative thinking.⁸⁵ Kim Ji-ha interpreted Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought as indigenous modernity and post-modernity, respectively, and emphasized the characteristics of correlative thinking; however, he primarily used aesthetic expressions and did not attempt a comparison linking correlative thinking with anthropological concepts such as liminality and revitalization, as this dissertation does.⁸⁶⁸⁷⁸⁸⁸⁹

In the case of Kim Tak, he provides detailed textual verification of the two thoughts, specifically comparing the continuity and change of tradition connecting them to existing thoughts from the perspective of anthropocentrism. Especially, insofar as Daesoon Thought could be called 'True Donghak,' he

⁸⁴ Ham Yeong-dae, "18~19 Segi Seohak Jungwonron(西學中源論)-ui Jeon-gae-wa Geu Hamui: Seohak(西學)-e Daehan Joseon Hakja-deul-ui Daejeung Nollu" [The Development of the Theory of the Chinese Origin of Western Learning in the 18th-19th Centuries and Its Implications: Joseon Scholars' Logic of Response to Western Learning], 2020.

⁸⁵ Jeong U-jin, "Dongyang Gwahak-ui Nollu: Gameung-ui Yuhyeong-e Gwanhan Yeongu" [The Logic of Eastern Science: A Study on the Types of Resonance], *Dogyo Munhwa Yeongu* [Studies on Daoist Culture] 42, 2015, pp.119-140.

⁸⁶ J. J. Clarke, trans. Jo Hyeon-suk, Seoyang, *Dogyo-reul Mannada* [The Tao of the West: Western Transformations of Taoist Thought], Seoul: Yemoon Seowon, 2014, p.152.

⁸⁷ The probing of the scientific possibility of correlative thinking is said to have begun with Needham and Capra and to have been developed by Kauffman and others at the Santa Fe Institute (J. J. Clarke, trans. Jo Hyeon-suk, Seoyang, *Dogyo-reul Mannada* [The Tao of the West], Seoul: Yemoon Seowon, 2014, pp.141-144, 167-177).

⁸⁸ A. C. Graham, trans. Lee Chang-il, *Eumyang-gwa Sanggwanjeok Sayu* [Yin-Yang and the Nature of Correlative Thinking], Cheonggye, 2001.

⁸⁹ Kim Gi, "Eumyang Ohaengseol-ui Jujahakjeok Jeogyong Yangsang-e Gwanhan Yeongu" [A Study on the Neo-Confucian Application of the Theory of Yin-Yang and the Five Phases], Ph.D. dissertation, Sungkyunkwan University, 2012, p.4.

sufficiently explains the terms shared by Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought. However, he has not yet conducted research on the correlative thinking present in the background of the two thoughts. Besides these two researchers, some comparative studies on the modernity of the two thoughts have been conducted, which will be discussed whenever the topic arises as the discussion unfolds.^{90,91}

Third, looking at preceding research on the methodological aspects of thought in Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought, it is broadly divided into studies on process philosophy, correlative thinking, and synchronicity. However, these studies, while applied to individual research on Donghak Thought or Daesoon Thought, have rarely been applied to a comparison of the two. The controversy over the third method, which applies the methodology of applying Western scholarship to Eastern thought, is still ongoing. In Daesoon Thought, which holds that modern Western science and humanities/social sciences resulted from the transmission of Eastern thought to the West by Matteo Ricci and Great Master Jinmuk (1562-1633), despite the controversy, preceding studies on the methodological aspects of thought in Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought are prerequisite studies that must be reviewed. In fact, Hwang Tae-yeon, by analyzing the 400-year-old English writings from Matteo Ricci's time released by Google on the internet, shows through about 20 existing books—which analyzed how Eastern thought transmitted after Matteo Ricci was transformed into Western science and humanities/social sciences—how Western modernity, originating from Eastern thought, is being appropriated in Donghak-related thoughts.⁹²

Examining the scholarship by individual researcher, the representative figures in the area of process philosophy are Kim Gyeong-jae and Kim Sang-il. Process philosophy, which began with Alfred North Whitehead (1861–1947), developed into process theology through figures such as John B. Cobb (1925–present) and made groundbreaking contributions to understanding the religious conceptions of the divine⁹³ found in the self-cultivation traditions of East and West across all periods. In the case of Kim Ji-ha, he also applied process philosophy in an aesthetic mode to Donghak thought and Daesoon Thought, and there is likewise the research of Pak Jae-ju, who analyzed the thought of the Book of Changes — the origin of East Asian modes of thought — through the lens of process philosophy,⁹⁴ but the researchers who substantively connected Donghak thought with process philosophy are Kim Gyeong-jae and Kim Sang-il. Kim Gyeong-jae, drawing on the concepts of Charles Hartshorne (1897–2000), who laid the foundations for process

⁹⁰ A. C. Graham, trans. Lee Chang-il, *Eumyang-gwa Sanggwanjeok Sayu* [Yin-Yang and the Nature of Correlative Thinking], Cheonggye, 2001; D. L. Hall and R. T. Ames, *Anticipating China*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995.

⁹¹ John B. Henderson, trans. Mun Jung-yang, *Jungguk-ui Ujuron-gwa Cheongdae-ui Gwahak Hyeongmyeong* [The Development and Decline of Chinese Cosmology], 2004, p.45.

⁹² Jeong U-jin, "Dongyang Gwahak-ui Noll: Gameung-ui Yuhyeong-e Gwanhan Yeongu" [The Logic of Eastern Science: A Study on the Types of Resonance], *Dogyo Munhwa Yeongu* [Studies on Daoist Culture] 42, 2015, p.122.

⁹³ Richard E. Nisbett, trans. Choi In-cheol, *Saenggak-ui Jido: Dongyang-gwa Seoyang, Sesang-eul Barabonan Seoro Dareun Siseon* [The Geography of Thought], Gimyoungsa, 2004.

⁹⁴ François Jullien, *Maengja-wa Gyemong Cheolhakja-ui Daehwa* (Dodeok-ui Gicho-reul Seuda, Russo Kanteu) [A Dialogue between Mencius and the Enlightenment Philosophers (Founding the Basis of Morality: Rousseau, Kant)], Hanul Academy, 2009.

theology,⁹⁵ interpreted the Donghak conception of the divine as a panentheism in which the transcendent is immanently co-present, thereby first opening up the possibility of understanding Donghak through philosophical modes of thought.⁹⁶ Kim Sang-il applies the process theology of John Cobb — who extended Hartshorne's concepts further — to characterize Donghak as Neo-Western Learning (신서학, Sinseohak).⁹⁷ Kim Sang-il subsequently attempted a variety of studies grafting process philosophy onto modern fractal science and applying it to the postmodernity of Daesoon Thought, including the perennial philosophy associated with Ken Wilber (1949–present).⁹⁸ More recent scholarship on process theology has developed into research on the holistic unity (全一性) of Donghak thought.⁹⁹

Next, in the case of correlative thinking, representative researchers include Kim Hyung-hyo, Lee Chang-il, Kwak Shin-hwan, Jeong Woo-jin, Park Jeong-jin, Kim Ki, Baek Seung-jong, Lee Bong-ho, and Kim Baek-hyun. Although Lee Chang-il was the researcher who fully introduced correlative thinking to Korea, Kim Hyung-hyo's research, which had been grafting postmodernism onto Eastern thought for about 30 years prior, existed, and this was followed by domestic researchers like Park Jeong-jin and overseas research.¹⁰⁰ Regarding full-scale research on correlative thinking by Confucian scholars, there is the work of Kwak Shin-hwan.¹⁰¹ Kwak Shin-hwan introduced Taiwanese research on correlative thinking and

⁹⁵ Roger T. Ames, trans. Jang Won-seok, *Dongyang Cheolhak, Geu Sam-gwa Changjoseong: Hwaibudong—Bigyo Cheolhak Gangui* [Asian Philosophy, Its Life and Creativity: Harmony without Sameness—Lectures on Comparative Philosophy], Sungkyunkwan University Press, 2005, pp.155-199.

⁹⁶ Kim Hyeong-hyo, "Wonsibanbon-gwa Haewon Sasang-e Daehan Cheolhakjeok Seongchal: Jeungsan Sasang-ui Han Yeongu" [A Philosophical Reflection on Returning to the Origin (Wonsibanbon) and the Thought of Grievance-Resolution (Haewon): A Study of Jeungsan Thought], *Dongseo Cheolhak-e Daehan Jucheajeok Girok* [A Subjective Record of East-West Philosophy], Seoul: Goryeowon, 1985, pp.38-67; Kim Hyeong-hyo, *Derida-wa Nojang-ui Dokbeop* [Derrida and a Reading of Laozi and Zhuangzi], Academy of Korean Studies, 1994.

⁹⁷ Park Jeong-jin, *Jonggyo Illyuhak* [Religious Anthropology], Seoul: Bulgyo Chunchusa, 2007; Park Jeong-jin, *Cheolhak-ui Seonmul*, *Seonmul-ui Cheolhak* [The Gift of Philosophy, the Philosophy of the Gift], Seoul: Sonamu, 2012.

⁹⁸ Park Yong-sook, *The 81 Characters of the Cheonbugyeong Paramita*, Paju: Sodong, 2018.

⁹⁹ Kim Jeong-min, 『Syameon Baibeul』 (Shaman Bible), Seoul: Global Contents, 2023.

¹⁰⁰ Kim Sang-il, "Daesun Sasang-ui 4-dae Jonggi-e Daehan Munmyeong Sajeok Gochal" [A Study on the Four Tenets of Daesoon Thought from the Perspective of the History of Civilization], *Daesoon Jinri Haksul Nonchong* [The Journal of Daesoon Jinri Academy] 1, 2007.

¹⁰¹ Kim Dae-hyeon, "Daesun Sasang-gwa Haidegeon-ui 'Yangsim' Gaenyeom-e Daehan Bigyo Yeongu: Geunwon-eul Hyangan 'Yangsim'-ui Hoegwijeok Teukseong-e Daehan Nonui-reul Jungsim-euro" [A Comparative Study of the Concept of 'Conscience' in Daesoon Thought and Heidegger], *Daesun Sasang Nonchong* [Journal of Daesoon Thought] 28, 2017, pp.243-265; Kim Dae-hyeon, "Hegel-ui Nodong(勞動, Arbeit) Gaenyeom-eul Tonghae Bon Cheonjigongsa(天地公事) Yeongu" [A Study on the Reordering Works of Heaven and Earth Viewed through Hegel's Concept of Labor (Arbeit)], *Daesun Sasang Nonchong* [Journal of Daesoon Thought] 32, 2019, pp.175-199; Kim Dae-hyeon, "Deulluijeu Chegye-ui Hyeongseong Baegyeong-e Daehan Yeongu: Kanteu Seonheom Cheolhak Chegye Geu Simyeon-eurobuteo-ui Yeongnyu" [A Study on the Background of the Formation of Deleuze's System: A Counter-Current from the Abyss of Kant's Transcendental Philosophy], *Daesun Sasang Nonchong* [Journal of Daesoon Thought] 37, 2021, pp.329-355; Kim Dae-hyeon, "Daesun Jilli-ui Haewon(解嬰) Sasang-e Daehan Haeche(解體)ron-jeok Ihae: Jacques Derrida-ui Haecheron-eul Jungsim-euro" [A Deconstructionist Understanding of the Thought of Grievance-Resolution (Haewon) in Daesoon Truth: Focusing on Jacques Derrida's Deconstruction], *Daesun Sasang Nonchong* [Journal of Daesoon Thought] 39, 2021, pp.69-97.

applied it to the study of post-Toegye Korean thought, including new Korean religious ideologies.¹⁰² Kim Ki has also published a doctoral dissertation synthesizing domestic and international research on the Confucian aspects of correlative thinking.¹⁰³ Baek Seung-jong, who has traced the influence of the Jeonggammok, has also explored the Eastern tradition regarding the power of the mind through correlative thinking, which formed the background of the Jeonggammok's power.¹⁰⁴¹⁰⁵¹⁰⁶¹⁰⁷

Full-scale research on correlative thinking by Daoist scholars has been conducted by Jeong Woo-jin and others. Jeong Woo-jin, reflecting the recent trend in East Asian Daoist research connecting traditional Korean medicine with correlative thinking, distinguished between correlative thinking and synchronistic thinking and presented various views on the body, where East Asian science is concentrated.¹⁰⁸ Kim Hee-jung regards the period when correlative thinking was established as the Han Dynasty, when the Huangdi Sijing (Yellow Emperor's Four Classics) was established, and has traced the development process of Eastern science, in which the body, state, and universe were integrated as one through correlative thinking.¹⁰⁹ Lee Bong-ho, who has traced the correlative thinking of Daoist scholars like Seo Myeong-eung (1716-1787) who responded to Western Learning (Seohak) with correlative thinking, has also traced the emergence of the Yi-zhuan (Commentary on the I Ching), where correlative thinking centered on Taiyi (Great One) first appears, as the birth process of I Ching studies.¹¹⁰ Lee Bong-ho, like Kwon Taek-young, has also traced the structural similarities between Saussure, who was the origin of Lacanian structuralism—a leading theory of post-modernity—and Laozi's Daodejing.¹¹¹ Kim Baek-hyun synthesizes the origins of correlative thinking from the perspective of the 'theory of Qi-fication' (Gihwa-ron).¹¹²¹¹³¹¹⁴¹¹⁵¹¹⁶

¹⁰² Arnold van Gennep, trans. Seo Yeong-dae, *Tonggwauirye* [The Rites of Passage], Incheon: Inha University Press, 1986. Gennep is also called Bangjeuneupeu or Henep in the original pronunciation, but here the name is rendered "Genep," following the general Romanization and the usage of another translated work.

¹⁰³ Arnold van Gennep, trans. Seo Yeong-dae, *Tonggwauirye* [The Rites of Passage], Incheon: Inha University Press, 1986, p.13.

¹⁰⁴ Arnold van Gennep, trans. Seo Yeong-dae, *Tonggwauirye* [The Rites of Passage], Incheon: Inha University Press, 1986, p.13.

¹⁰⁵ Arnold van Gennep, trans. Seo Yeong-dae, *Tonggwauirye* [The Rites of Passage], Incheon: Inha University Press, 1986, p.14.

¹⁰⁶ Z. Bauman, "A Revolution in the Theory of Revolutions?", *International Political Science Review* 15(1): 15-24, 1994.

¹⁰⁷ Victor Turner, trans. Kang Dae-hun, *Ingan Sahoe-wa Sangjing Haengwi: Sahoejeok Deurama, Gujo, Keomyunitaseu* [Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society], Seoul: Hwangso Georeum, 2018, pp.5-12.

¹⁰⁸ Zygmunt Bauman, translated by Jung Il-joon, *Wasted Lives: Modernity and Its Outcasts*, Seoul: Saemulgyeol, 2008.

¹⁰⁹ Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, trans. Im Hyeon-jin et al., *Dajungjeok Geundaeseong-ui Tamgu: Bigyo Munmyeongjeok Gwanjeom* [Comparative Civilizations and Multiple Modernities], Paju: Nanam, 2009. Multiple modernity is also a concept that encompasses alternative modernities such as autogenous modernity.

¹¹⁰ A. Szakolczai, "Liminality and experience: Structuring transitory situations and transformative events", *International Political Anthropology* 2(1), 2009, p.160.

¹¹¹ Bauman received the European Amalfi Prize for Sociology and the Social Sciences in 1992 and the Theodor W. Adorno Prize of the City of Frankfurt in 1998.

¹¹² B. Thomassen, *Liminality and the Modern*, Surrey: Ashgate, 2014, p.4; recited from Kim Gwang-geon, "Liminoliti(liminality) Gaenyeom-ui Dagakjeok Ihae" [A Multifaceted Understanding of the Concept of Liminality], *Sinhak-gwa Silcheon* [Theology and Praxis] 78, 2022, pp.700-701.

While there have been critical studies on correlative thinking, such as Kim Young-gun's critical study from an analytic philosophy perspective arguing that correlative thinking cannot be an alternative to analytic science, if one applies the philosophy of science of Paul Karl Feyerabend (1924-1994)—who argued there is no reason why science must only use analytic methods—then analytic thinking, incompetent in solving today's real-world problems, can be sufficiently complemented by correlative thinking.¹¹⁷¹¹⁸

Research on synchronicity, as seen in the Secret craze, is a field that can be called the future of religious studies, represented today by the "encounter between religion and science." Although the Korean Academy of Mental Science was disbanded, the International Society for Science & Religion, established in 1968, which has continuously held international academic conferences on science and religion, ranks among the top societies in the global field of religious studies every year.¹¹⁹ Research on synchronicity manifests in various fields of Fractal science, which posits that the whole appears repeatedly in the parts.¹²⁰ Previous researchers in fields related to synchronicity in Donghak Thought and Jeungsan Thought include Heo Hun, Park Byoung-hoon, and others.¹²¹ Heo Hun viewed Daesoon Thought through "Perennial Philosophy," and Park Byoung-hoon unearthed cases of synchronicity through the study of Donghak's "Gangpil" (automatic writing).¹²²¹²³¹²⁴

In existing discussions on the modernity of Donghak Thought, the research paying attention to correlative thinking was pioneered by the study of Kim Ji-ha. Kim Ji-ha, almost the only early researcher to study both Donghak Thought and Jeungsan Thought simultaneously, also published many literary works, and the consistency seen in Kim Ji-ha's works was Yin-Yang and the Five Elements.¹²⁵ Kim Ji-ha also claimed that Hong Yong-hee's critical review, which interpreted his thought development process through

¹¹³ A. Szakolczai, "Liminality and experience: Structuring transitory situations and transformative events", *International Political Anthropology* 2(1), 2009, p.160.

¹¹⁴ M. Engelke, "An Interview with Edith Turner", *Current Anthropology* 41(5), 2000, pp.843-852.

¹¹⁵ Kim Ik-doo, 『Hanguk minjok gongyeonhak』 (Korean National Performance Studies), Paju: Jisik Sanupsa, 2013.

¹¹⁶ Lee Young-ran, *Liminality*, Seoul: Dongbang Printing Co., 2020.

¹¹⁷ Kim Hye-suk, *Sin Eumyangron [A New Theory of Yin-Yang]*, Seoul: Ewha Womans University Press, 2014; Kim Yeong-ju, "Seoyang Ibunbeop-gwa Dongyang Eumyangbeop-ui Geukbok: Taegeuk Ibunbeop" [Overcoming Western Dichotomy and Eastern Yin-Yang: The Taegeuk Dichotomy], *Sahoe Sasang-gwa Munhwa [Social Thought and Culture]* 4, 2001, pp.37-80.

¹¹⁸ Victor Turner, translated by Kim Ik-doo, (Victor Turner's) *From Ritual to Theatre*, Seoul: Minsokwon, 2014.

¹¹⁹ Victor Turner, *Sangjing-ui Sup [The Forest of Symbols]*, Seoul: Jisigeul Mandeuneun Jisik, 2020.

¹²⁰ Victor Turner, trans. Park Geun-won, Uirye-ui Gwajeong [The Ritual Process], Seoul: Korea Institute of Psychotherapy, 2005, pp.144-170.

¹²¹ Turner, Edith L. B., *Communitas*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

¹²² M. Engelke, "An Interview with Edith Turner", *Current Anthropology* 41(5), 2000, pp.843-852.

¹²³ There is also prior research carried out by Khyentse Norbu, the Bhutanese spiritual leader famous as the director of the film "The Cup," relating performance studies to Buddhism. Khyentse Norbu, Renjian Shi Juchang [The Human World Is a Theater], Beijing: New Star Press, 2016.

¹²⁴ Zygmunt Bauman, translated by Lee Il-soo, *Liquid Modernity*, Seoul: Kang, 2009.

¹²⁵ Eva Illouz, trans. Park Hyeong-sin and Gwon O-heon, *Nangmanjeok Yutopia Sobihagi [Consuming the Romantic Utopia]*, Seoul: Ehaksa, 2014.

Yin-Yang and the Five Elements, was most consistent with his own thesis.¹²⁶ Hong Yong-hee compares Kim Ji-ha's early work Hwangtogil (Yellow Earth Road) and his later work Aerin, stating that Kim Ji-ha interpreted Donghak Thought as the modernity of Yang (positivity) and Jeungsan Thought as post-modernity.¹²⁷ Kim Ji-ha is said to have explained the development from Donghak Thought to Jeungsan Thought in three stages: Life, Yullyeo (rhythm/cosmic music), and White Shadow.

In the West, along with the trend of postmodernism, research interpreting correlative thinking as post-modernity also appeared globally. In the West, postmodernism is based on non-linear thinking, such as correlative thinking. In particular, theories such as the complex system attracted attention as an alternative not only for the humanities and social sciences but also for modern natural sciences. In Korea, Kim Sang-il and others developed a deductive theory that the I Ching is based on the logic of post-modernity and is also related to process philosophy.¹²⁸ However, these preceding studies delved into everydayness or micro-theories and did not discuss the macroscopic views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity that are the foundation of actual modernity.¹²⁹¹³⁰

Even researchers of Donghak Thought who have studied it as a theory of self-cultivation have conducted insufficient research on correlative thinking.¹³¹ This is because there was no mediating concept like "liminality" to connect correlative thinking with the theory of self-cultivation. The concept of liminality, which has properties of both epistemology and self-cultivation, shares common attributes with the concept of "Jhwa" (Harmony/Creation) in Donghak Thought, and thus can link research on correlative thinking in Donghak Thought with the theory of self-cultivation. The traditional research on "Jhwa" by Cho Yong-il and the research on "liminality" by Lee Young-ran can connect the two concepts.¹³²¹³³

"Jhwa" (Harmony/Creation) was a core ideology of Donghak Thought, along with "Sicheonju" (Bearing God), but follow-up research after Cho Yong-il has been insufficient. The broad scope and

¹²⁶ Kang In-cheol, 5·18 Gwangju Keomyunitaseu [The 5·18 Gwangju Communitas], Seoul: Saram-ui Munui, 2020.

¹²⁷ Bruno Latour, translated by Hong Chul-ki, *We Have Never Been Modern: Essay on Symmetrical Anthropology*, Seoul: Galmuri, 2009.

¹²⁸ A. Szakolczai, "Permanent (trickster) liminality: The reasons of the heart and of the mind", *Theory & Psychology* 27(2), 2017, pp.231-248.

¹²⁹ Lee Yeong-ran, *Liminolithi* [Liminality], Seoul: Dongbang Inswae Gongsa, 2020, pp.231-232.

¹³⁰ Victor Turner, trans. Kim Ik-du, (Bikteon Teoneo-ui) *Jeui-eseo Yeongeuk-euro* [From Ritual to Theatre], Seoul: Minsogwon, 2014, pp.47-48.

¹³¹ In Daesoon Thought as well, liminality has been studied as religious experience through the difference in religious experience between surface religion and depth religion (Lee Eun-hui, "Pyocheung-gwa Simcheung-ui Sigak-eseo Barabon Daesunjillihoe: Jonggyojeok Gyeongheom-ui Gwanjeom-eseo" [Daesoon Jinrihoe Viewed from the Perspective of Surface and Depth: From the Standpoint of Religious Experience], *Daesoon Sasang Nonchong* [Journal of Daesoon Thought] 27, 2016).

¹³² Hwang Pil-ho, *Jonggyo Byeonhohak·Jonggyohak·Jonggyo Cheolhak* [Apologetics of Religion, Religious Studies, and Philosophy of Religion], Seoul: Cheolhak-gwa Hyeonsilsa, 2004, pp.220-235.

¹³³ The heaven beyond heaven is called the transcendent heaven or the heaven-beyond-heaven (cheonoecheon). In Daesoon Thought, in this paper the heaven beyond heaven is called Gucheon (the Ninth Heaven) in the case of Daesoon Thought; in other cases, the transcendent heaven when the meaning contrasted with the immanent heaven is emphasized, and the heaven-beyond-heaven (cheonoecheon) when the spatial difference is emphasized.

meaning covered by "Jhwa" made it a very difficult concept for which to clarify the core attributes. In a broad sense, the "Yullyeo" (cosmic rhythm) and "aesthetics of white shadow" proposed by Kim Ji-ha, or Kim Sang-il's "Han" concept, can also be interpreted as different concepts of "Jhwa."¹³⁴¹³⁵

In his doctoral dissertation on the concept of "Jhwa," Cho Yong-il utilizes the concepts of "Buryeon" (Not-so) and "Giyeon" (So-it-is) found in Donghak Thought to interpret the "Jhwa" concept with the dual meaning of the substance of "being" (doem) and the attribute of "becoming" (saengseong) inherent in the German verb "ist" (to be). Similarly, Lee Young-ran interprets the dual attributes of "liminality" from a performance studies perspective as "becoming" and "being." Furthermore, Lee Young-ran applies these two attributes to a comparison of the Derrida-line and Deleuze-line of postmodernism, presenting a framework for understanding post-modernity as well as a link between modernity and Eastern thought. This visualizes the form of "Jhwa" that 'Sicheonju' (Bearing God)—which seeks to maximize the theory of self-cultivation by enshrining God in one's body—sought to achieve through self-cultivation, thereby presenting the indigenous modernity of Donghak-related thoughts.

Research on Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought is extensive, not only in fields related to correlative thinking, liminality, revitalization, and modernity—which this dissertation adopts as its methodology—but also ideologically; however, further mention will be made in the detailed discussion.¹³⁶

Next, looking at the research by Daesoon Thought scholars related to the three methods above, representative studies include those by Ko Nam-sik, Lee Kyoung-won, Cha Sun-geun, Park Sang-gyu, and Kim Tae-soo. First, in the case of Ko Nam-sik, using a text-centered research method, he has unearthed many hidden concepts that had not received attention, such as 'True Donghak' (Cham Donghak), the 'Fifty-Year Study,' the 'Two Revelations,' the 'View of the Three Realms' (Samgye-gwan), the 'Earth-Human relationship' (Ji-in-gwangye), 'South Joseon,' 'Japanese Haewon (Resolution of Grievances),' the 'Dao of Divine Beings' (Sindo), and the 'Righteous Governance of the Mind's Law' (Ijeong-simbeop).¹³⁷ In particular, related to the first research area, he studied the entire process of the establishment and development of Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought from the perspective of 'True Donghak.' Ko Nam-sik first studied the establishment and development process of 'True Donghak' from the perspectives of 'Jakran' (Causing Disorder), 'Dongran' (Disturbance), and 'Chiran' (Rectifying Disorder); then, in relation to 'Haewon' (Resolution of Grievances) and the 'construction of the Earthly Paradise'—which constitute 'True Donghak'—he sought to prove that Daesoon Thought is 'True Donghak' by demonstrating that the study of Doju Jo Jeong-san, encompassing Korean 'Haewon' starting from 'Japanese Haewon,' the 'two revelations'

¹³⁴ Kim Ji-ha, Kim Ji-ha Jeonjip 1 [The Complete Works of Kim Ji-ha, Vol. 1], Seoul: Silcheon Munhaksa, 2002.

¹³⁵ Kim Ik-du, "Sangsaeng-Haewon·Daedong-ui 'Cheonji-gut' Bijeon-gwa Sinmyeong Changchul-ui Munche" [The Vision of the 'Heaven-and-Earth Gut' of Mutual Beneficence, Grievance-Resolution, and Great Unity, and the Style of Generating Divine Inspiration], Cheonnyeon-ui Sijak [The Beginning of a Millennium] 11(3), 2012, pp.12-25.

¹³⁶ Lee Yeong-ran, Liminoliti [Liminality], Seoul: Dongbang Inswae Gongsas, 2020, p.162.

¹³⁷ Yun Seung-yong, "Sinjonggyo-ui Bangujo(communitas)-jeok Seonggyeok-e Gwanhan Sogo" [A Brief Study on the Anti-Structural (Communitas) Character of New Religions], Seoul: Seoul National University Graduate School, 1988.

in Daesoon Thought, and the realization of a nationalism different from Donghak's, was finalized as the 'Fifty-Year Study Completion' (Osimnyeon Gongbu Jongpil).¹³⁸139140141142143144145146147148

Ko Nam-sik has explained the development process of Daesoon Thought as the development process of 'True Donghak.' Ko Nam-sik's research provides an opportunity for the development process of 'True Donghak' to be expanded into various studies if religious studies theories are applied. Accordingly, this dissertation aims to explain the development process of 'True Donghak' by focusing on the "Hak" (Learning) of Donghak, centering on the theory of rites of passage, which can be seen as a religious-anthropological theory of growth. In fact, in Daesoon Thought, modern civilization, which commits the ceaseless sin of conquering nature, is evaluated as a civilization that must be overcome through views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity that accord with correlative thinking, and through rites of passage. This dissertation aims to show that both thoughts are indigenous modernities and post-modernities by examining how Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought present views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity with a new methodology of thought in order to overcome the crisis of modern civilization through the liminality of rites of passage.

In the case of Lee Kyoung-won, he compares the religious studies analysis of Donghak Thought and Jeungsan Thought as a religious studies inquiry into "ultimate reality." Lee Kyoung-won shows a case where the unprecedented Korean concept of a personalistic God, established in Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought, can be interpreted through the universally human religious studies concept of "ultimate reality," thereby showing a clue that the two thoughts can be interpreted as indigenous modernity.¹⁴⁹ Lee

¹³⁸ Jeong Jin-hong, *Hanguk Jonggyo Munhwa-ui Jeon-gae* [The Development of Korean Religious Culture], Seoul: Jimmundang, 1988.

¹³⁹ Richard Nisbett, translated by Choi In-cheol, 『Saenggak-ui jido: Dongyang-gwa seoyang, sesang-eul baraboneun seoro dareun siseon』 (The Geography of Thought: How Asians and Westerners Think Differently... and Why), Paju: Gimmyoungsa, 2004.

¹⁴⁰ Jo Seong-hwan, "Donghak-ui Jaseongjeok Geundaeseong: Haewol Choe Si-hyeong-ui Inganggwan-gwa Segyegwan-eul Jungsim-euro" [The Autogenous Modernity of Donghak: Focusing on the View of Humanity and the Worldview of Haewol Choe Si-hyeong], *Sinhak-gwa Cheolhak* [Theology and Philosophy] 36, 2020, pp.223-243.

¹⁴¹ Lee Chang-il, *Sogangjeol-ui Cheolhak* [The Philosophy of Shao Yong], Seoul: Simsan, 2007, p.479.

¹⁴² Ihab Hassan, trans. Jeong Jeong-ho and Lee So-yeong, *Poseuteumodeonijeum Gaeron* [The Dismemberment of Orpheus: Toward a Postmodern Literature], Seoul: Hansin Munhwasa, 1991.

¹⁴³ Wallace, Anthony F. C., *Religion; an Anthropological View*. New York: Random House 1966, p.166.

¹⁴⁴ It is functionally necessary for maintaining a mental image of society and culture, of one's own body and rules of behavior, so that everyone in a society acts at every level of the system in a way that reduces the pressure for change. This image, which I call the "maze-way"... [it] is the image of nature, society, culture, personality, and body that a person sees (recited from Kim Ju-gwan, "Gyochamunhwajeok Bigyo-ro Bon Jaesaeng Undong-euroseo-ui Donghak" [Donghak as a Revitalization Movement Seen through Cross-Cultural Comparison], *Donghak Hakbo* [Journal of Donghak Studies] 35, p.244).

¹⁴⁵ Choi Hyeong-geun, "Seongyo-wa Munhwa Byeonhwa" [Mission and Cultural Change], *Seongyo Sinhak* [Journal of Missiology] 16, 2007, p.272.

¹⁴⁶ Kim Ju-gwan, "Gyochamunhwajeok Bigyo-ro Bon Jaesaeng Undong-euroseo-ui Donghak" [Donghak as a Revitalization Movement Seen through Cross-Cultural Comparison], *Donghak Hakbo* [Journal of Donghak Studies] 35, 2015, p.257.

¹⁴⁷ Wallace, Anthony F. C., *Religion; an Anthropological View*. New York: Random House 1966, pp.146-149.

¹⁴⁸ Wallace, Anthony F. C., *Religion; an Anthropological View*. New York: Random House 1966, p.255.

¹⁴⁹ Wallace, Anthony FC, "Revitalization Movements." *American anthropologist*, 1956, pp.266-267.

Kyoung-won, who also understood Daesoon Thought through organic philosophy, described the concept of "ultimate reality" as a characteristic of the view of God common to Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought, showing that an understanding beyond panentheistic concepts is possible.¹⁵⁰ Lee Kyoung-won showed that through the concept of "ultimate reality," it is possible to interpret not only the view of the Three Realms in Daesoon Thought but also new religions in general, and furthermore, the characteristics of Korean religion.¹⁵¹ Furthermore, in his research on the modern transformation of the concept of Heaven (Cheon) in Daesoon Thought, Lee Kyoung-won comparatively explained Donghak Thought's mystical view of Heaven as the 'emergence of a Heaven-beyond-Heaven' (Cheonoecheon) and Daesoon Thought's avataric (Gwonhwa-jeok) view of Heaven as the 'Human Advent of the Ninth Heaven' (Gocheon ui Insin-gangse).¹⁵² Also, in his research on the modernity and transformative thought of Daesoon Thought, he explained Haewon (Resolution of Grievances) thought as true modernity and the Cheonji-gongsa (Reordering Works of Heaven and Earth) as transformative thought.¹⁵³ Modernity without Haewon is like investing in the future without addressing the past, which well explains the problem of today's modernity, where problems grow larger as modernity progresses.¹⁵⁴ This dissertation intends to examine the mystical view of Heaven and transformative thought by adding liminality, the avataric view of Heaven and true modernity by adding revitalization, and modernity by adding correlative thinking.¹⁵⁵

In the case of Cha Sun-geun, he applied the methodology of Jonathan Zittel Smith (1938-2017)—which holds that even when using a religious phenomenological method in comparative religion, the comparison should not be holistic between two religions, but contextual for each individual religion to

¹⁵⁰ Campbell's seventeen-stage cycle is as follows. I. Act 1: 1. the Ordinary World, 2. the Call to Adventure, 3. Refusal of the Call, 4. Meeting with the Mentor, 5. Crossing the First Threshold. II. Act 2: 6. Tests, Allies, Enemies, 7. Approach to the Inmost Cave, 8. the Ordeal, 9. the Reward. III. Act 3: 10. the Road Back, 11. the Resurrection, 12. Return with the Elixir. Campbell's twelve-stage cycle consists of three stages—separation, initiation (passage), and return. When divided into three stages, it is sometimes further subdivided into seventeen stages: I. Departure, Separation: 1. the World of Common Day, 2. the Call to Adventure, 3. Refusal of the Call, 4. Supernatural Aid, 5. Crossing the First Threshold, 6. the Belly of the Whale. II. Descent, Initiation, Passage: 7. the Road of Trials, 8. the Meeting with the Goddess, 9. Woman as the Temptress, 10. Atonement with the Father, 11. Apotheosis, 12. the Ultimate Boon. III. Return: 13. Refusal of the Return, 14. the Magic Flight, 15. Rescue from Without, 16. the Crossing of the Return Threshold, 17. Freedom to Live. Christopher Vogler, trans. Ham Chun-seong, *Sinhwa, Yeong-ung Geurigo Sinaro Sseugi* [The Writer's Journey: Mythic Structure for Writers], Muusu, 2005, p.51; Joseph Campbell, trans. Lee Yun-gi, Cheon-ui Eolgul-eul Gajin Yeong-ung [The Hero with a Thousand Faces], Mineumsa, 1999, pp.44-45, 54-59, 315, 333-337; Jo Deuk-chang, Kim Deok-sam, and Choi Won-hyeok, "Kaembel Sinhwa Iron Jeopmok-eul Tonghan Gyeonggeuk-ui Jaemyeong" [A Reexamination of Peking Opera through the Application of Campbell's Myth Theory], *Yesul Inmun Sahoe Yunghap Meoltimidieo Nonmunji* [Journal of the Convergence on Culture Technology] 7(1), 2017, pp.979-987; Kim Hyeon-ja, "Kaembel-ui Sinhwaron" [Campbell's Theory of Myth], *Jonggyo-wa Munhwa* [Religion and Culture] 6, Seoul National University Institute for Religious Studies, 2000.

¹⁵¹ Wallace, Anthony FC, "Revitalization Movements." *American anthropologist*, 1956, p.268

¹⁵² P. Laude, "Reflections on Civilization, Modernity, and Religion in Light of the Fellowship of the Truth", *Journal of Daesoon Thought and the Religions of East Asia* 1(1), 2021, pp.39-60.

¹⁵³ Jeong Jin-hong, Kim Tae-yeon, Jang Seok-man, Lee Jin-gu, and Im Hyeon-su, *Hanguk Jonggyohak* [Religious Studies in Korea], Seoul: National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Korea, 2021, pp.398-431.

¹⁵⁴ Kim Tak, *Hanguk Sinjonggyo-reul Gwantonghanan Inyeom, Ingan Jungsimjuui* [The Ideology Running through Korean New Religions: Anthropocentrism], Seoul: Minsogwon, 2023.

¹⁵⁵ Karl Mannheim, trans. Im Seok-jin, with an introduction by Song Ho-geun, *Ideollogi-wa Yutopia* [Ideology and Utopia], Paju: Gimyoungsa, 2012.

reveal its uniqueness—to the comparative study of Daesoon Thought. Daesoon Thought shares various characteristics not only with Donghak Thought but also with many other Korean religious traditions such as Daoist thought, Jeongyeok (Correct Change) thought, and shamanistic thought, and thus many comparative studies have been conducted. Regarding this, Cha Sun-geun emphasizes that existing research on Daesoon Thought has concentrated on the religious phenomenological method that holistically compares two religions, which tends to conceal the unique characteristics of the two religions being compared; he stresses that contextual comparison is advantageous for highlighting these concealed characteristics. Accordingly, he emphasizes that despite the commonalities between Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought, their differences must be clearly distinguished, and he subdivides these differences according to the categories of religious studies.¹⁵⁶ Cha Sun-geun, in particular, demonstrates through the difference between the concept of "Gihwa" (Qi-fication) in Donghak Thought and "Deokhwa" (Virtuous Transformation) in Daesoon Thought that Daesoon Thought is not an alternative ideology to Donghak Thought but its own unique ideology, proving this from a religious studies perspective.¹⁵⁷ Donghak Thought's 'Dogi-jangjon Sa-bul-ip' (If the spirit of Dao is preserved long, evil cannot enter) and Daesoon Thought's 'Jinsim-gyeonsu Bok-seon-rae' (If a true mind is firmly kept, blessings come first) clearly reveal the difference between 'Gihwa' (Qi-fication) and 'Deokhwa' (Virtuous Transformation).¹⁵⁸ This dissertation also, following the contextual comparative method proposed by Cha Sun-geun, will compare the two thoughts restrictively, only within the contexts of "learning (Hak)" and the "views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity in correlative thinking."¹⁵⁹¹⁶⁰¹⁶¹

In the case of Daesoon Thought research related to the view of the Three Realms or cosmology, the research of Park Sang-gyu can be mentioned. First, in his paper on the view of the Heaven-realm (Cheongye-gwan) within the view of the Three Realms (Samgye-gwan), Park Sang-gyu compares the 28

¹⁵⁶ Anthony F. C. Wallace, trans. Kim Jong-seok, *Jonggyo Illyuhak [Religion: An Anthropological View]*, Cheonan: Aunae, 2010, pp.146-149.

¹⁵⁷ Jo Hye-jin, "Jeohang-uirye-roseo-ui 'Ogwangdae Nori'-wa 'Donghak', 'Samil Undong'-gwa-ui Sanggwanseong: Soseol [Toji]-ui Iyagi Seosa Teukseong-gwa Jeohang-uirye Yeongu" [The Correlation of 'Ogwangdae Play' as a Resistance Ritual with 'Donghak' and the 'March First Movement': A Study of the Narrative Characteristics of the Novel Toji and of Resistance Ritual], *Hyeondae Munhak-ui Yeongu [Studies in Modern Literature]* 78, 2022, pp.63-102.

¹⁵⁸ Kim Tae-su, "Jeongyeong-e Natanan Immun-uirye-e Gwanhan Yeongu" [A Study on the Initiation Rites Found in the Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture)], *Daesun Sasang Nonchong [Journal of Daesoon Thought]* 24(2), 2015, pp.85-115; Kim Tae-su, *Cheonjigongsa-e Natanan Uiryejeok Seonggyeok Yeongu* [A Study on the Ritual Characteristics Appearing in the Reordering Works of Heaven and Earth], Ph.D. dissertation, Daejin University, 2013.

¹⁵⁹ There are comparative studies on the communal consciousness of Donghak thought and Enlightenment thought, and of Donghak thought and Confucian thought (Jin Bo-seong, "19 Segi Hubangi Joseon-eseo-ui Sahoe Byeonhyeokjeok Gonggong Uisik-ui Du Galae" [Two Strands of Socially Transformative Public Consciousness in Late 19th-Century Joseon], *Inmun Sahoe* 21 [Humanities and Social Sciences 21] 13(2), 2022; Jin Bo-seong and Kim Jong-gon, "Donghak-ui Yeondaejeok Gongdongche Uisik-gwa Geundae-ui Gil" [Donghak's Solidaristic Communal Consciousness and the Path to Modernity], *Daedong Cheolhak [Daedong Philosophy]* 104, 2023).

¹⁶⁰ Kim Ju-gwan, "Gyochamunhwajeok Bigyo-ro Bon Jaesaeng Undong-euroseo-ui Donghak" [Donghak as a Revitalization Movement Seen through Cross-Cultural Comparison], *Donghak Hakbo [Journal of Donghak Studies]* 35, 2015, pp.237-272.

¹⁶¹ Kim Han-gu, "Donghak Cheondogyo-e Gwanhan Munhwa Illyuhakjeok Ilgochal" [A Cultural-Anthropological Study on Donghak Cheondogyo], *Sahoe Gwahak Nonchong [Journal of Social Sciences]* 9, 1990, pp.143-172.

Heavens of the Buddhist Three Realms (divided into the Desire Realm, Form Realm, and Formless Realm) with the 36 Heavens of the Heaven-realm in Daesoon Thought and the 36 Heavens of Daoism, showing that these three views of the Heaven-realm can be mutually harmonized.¹⁶² Park Sang-gyu argues that the dual structure of the Yeongdae (Spirit Altar) and Dosolgung (Tusita Palace) at the Mugeukdo-jang, the center (Dojang) during the Mugeukdo period, shows the dual structure of the Heaven-realm: the 'Heaven within the Three Realms' and the 'Gocheon (Ninth Heaven), the Heaven outside the Three Realms.' Park Sang-gyu states that when explaining the Heaven-realm as a dual structure, the three Heaven-realms can be interconnected in various ways. In Daesoon Thought, which holds that Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism (Yu-Bul-Seon) were formed according to the principle of the 12 orbital periods (Unseong) of the 'Function of Heaven and Earth' (Cheonji-jiyong)—which is the Qi-dynamic action of the Taegeuk (Supreme Ultimate)—it would be natural for the views of the Heaven-realm of Yu-Bul-Seon to be congruent.¹⁶³

Lastly, regarding liminality, Kim Tae-soo has analyzed the Cheonji-gongsa (Reordering Works of Heaven and Earth) of Daesoon Thought from the perspective of liminality. Kim Tae-soo regarded the Cheonji-gongsa itself as a ritual based on liminality and analyzed the Cheonji-gongsa in detail based on liminality theory. This dissertation differs from Kim Tae-soo, who applied the concept of liminality from the perspective of the Supreme God, in that it applies liminality from the self-cultivation perspective of the practitioner (Sudo-in) and also compares it with Donghak Thought from the aspects of correlative thinking and modernity.¹⁶⁴

Although the three methods used to study the modernity of Donghak Thought—namely, the Donghak popular movement, religious thought, and methodology of thought—differ, the three methods are mutually and organically connected. Studying Donghak as a philosophical methodology does not diminish the characteristics of Donghak Thought as a popular movement or a religious ideology. Rather, an examination of its philosophical methodology can enhance the other two characteristics. A philosophical-methodological study of Donghak Thought can foster greater empathy for it by enabling an understanding of the reasons for its theoretical emergence not only from an ideological aspect but also from a logical one. A logical understanding of Donghak Thought also enables a rational and universal understanding of the motivations of the people involved in the Donghak popular movement, who put the thought into practice.

¹⁶² Rigal-Cellard, Bernadette, "Daesoon Jinrihoe in Light of Anthony Fc Wallace's Revitalization Theory." *Religiskifilozofiski raksti* 30(2), 2021, pp.134-162.

¹⁶³ Go Nam-sik, "Daesun Sasang-e Natanan Donghak-ui Wisang-gwa Jeungsan-ui Chamdonghak Jeon-gae" [The Status of Donghak in Daesoon Thought and Jeungsan's Development of the True Donghak], *Daesun Sasang Nonchong* [Journal of Daesoon Thought] 16, 2003, pp.1-23.

¹⁶⁴ Reflection and discussion that view oneself as a third party in an unfamiliar way are emphasized in Daesoon Thought from the very fact that edification is called the discussion of truth (Daesoon Jichim (The Guiding Compass of Daesoon), Chapter 1, Section 5; Eom Hye-jin, "Daesunjillihoe Gyohwa Bangbeop-ui Toron Gyoyukjeok Jeopgeun" [A Discussion-Education Approach to the Edification Method of Daesoon Jinrihoe], M.A. thesis, Daejin University, 2019).

Therefore, a philosophical-methodological understanding of Donghak Thought becomes very important research for universally understanding Daesoon Thought as well.

Despite there being no shortage of research compared to the other two fields, research applying philosophical methodology to Daesoon Thought is relatively lacking compared to Donghak Thought. The reason for this lack of research is related to the absence of diachronic studies and the research scope of the 'ideal world.' First, looking at the absence of diachronic research, existing studies on the philosophical methodology of Donghak remained at the level of existing synchronic methods comparing contemporary Eastern and Western philosophical methodologies, making it difficult to link with the other two fields that focus on historical change. This is because the existing synchronic method limited the philosophical-methodological understanding of Donghak Thought to the domain of philosophy of science, failing to present an organic method that could influence the other two research fields that were already active. In particular, existing preceding research did not pay attention to the difference between Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought using a diachronic method, which studies changes that appear over time. A diachronic study, by diachronically presenting Donghak before Donghak Thought and Donghak after the emergence of Daesoon Thought, can explain the emergence of Donghak Thought and the Donghak popular movement through a philosophical-methodological understanding of Donghak Thought.

Another reason why Daesoon Thought has not been understood in terms of its methodology of thought is that, within Daesoon Thought, the completion of Donghak entails an expansion of Donghak's scope all the way to the realization of the ideal world of Eastern thought. As expressed in the passage, "Those who follow me will attain eternal fortune and blessings, be free from aging and death, and enjoy the pleasures of an eternal paradise — this is True Donghak"¹⁶⁵ — in Daesoon Thought, Donghak's scope extends beyond the dimension of a popular movement to encompass the Later Heaven (후천, Hucheon), the actual ideal society of the East, which makes a religious understanding appear more appropriate than an academic one. However, if the ideal world of the Later Heaven spoken of in Donghak is understood not at the empirical level but at the methodological level of Eastern philosophical modes of thought, then a way of understanding the True Donghak of Daesoon Thought — which encompasses even the ideal world — as a methodology of thought can be proposed.

Besides this, there are various research achievements on Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought. In the case of Daesoon Thought's cosmology and view of the Three Realms alone, there are studies by Lee Jae-won, Kim Yong-hwan, Kim Gwi-man, Cha Sun-geun's comparative research on the cosmology of Daesoon Thought and Jeongyeok (Correct Change) thought, research on future views, Choi Won-hyuk's

¹⁶⁵ The point connecting the concept of 'guarding against self-deception (mujagi)' with the mutual beneficence of Daesoon Thought has already been studied from the perspective of Western philosophy. Kim Tae-su, "Daesun Sasang-ui Mujagi(無自欺)-e Natanan Sangsaeng Yulli: Kanteu-wa Mil-ui Yulligwan-gwa-ui Daebi-reul Jungsim-euro" [The Ethics of Mutual Beneficence Found in the 'Guarding against Self-Deception (Mujagi)' of Daesoon Thought: Focusing on a Contrast with the Ethics of Kant and Mill], *Daesun Sasang Nonchong* [Journal of Daesoon Thought] 27, 2016.

comparative study on the views of the Three Realms in Daesoon Thought and Donghak Thought, comparative research on the ideal society, as well as various studies and monographs published in overseas journals, including SCI-level ones.¹⁶⁶ Additional preceding research will be discussed as the discussion unfolds, whenever the topic arises.¹⁶⁷¹⁶⁸¹⁶⁹¹⁷⁰¹⁷¹¹⁷²¹⁷³

¹⁶⁶ ‘Guarding against self-deception (mujagi)’ corresponds to the aim of Daesoon Thought—that is, the ideal society—together with the earthly paradise and the realization of earthly immortality, in which the relationship of Heaven, Earth, and humanity in Daesoon Thought is concentrated (Na Gwon-su, "Daesunjillihoe-ui Isangsahoeron Yeongu" [A Study on the Theory of Ideal Society in Daesoon Jinrihoe], Ph.D. dissertation, Daejin University, 2016).

¹⁶⁷ Kim Yong-hwan, "Mugeuk-gwa Taegeuk Sanggwan Yeondong-ui Daesun Ujuron Yeongu" [A Study on the Daesoon Cosmology of the Correlative Linkage of the Limitless (Mugeuk) and the Supreme Ultimate (Taegeuk)], *Daesun Sasang Nonchong* [Journal of Daesoon Thought] 33, 2019, pp.31-62.

¹⁶⁸ Kim Gwi-man, "Daesun Sasang-ui Ujuron Yeongu" [A Study on the Cosmology of Daesoon Thought], *Wonbulgyo Sasang-gwa Jonggyo Munhwa* [Won-Buddhist Thought and Religious Culture] 74, pp.285-323.

¹⁶⁹ Cha Seon-geun, "Jeongyeok Sasang-gwa Daesun Sasang-ui Bigyo Yeongu: Ujuron-eul Jungsim-euro" [A Comparative Study of Jeongyeok Thought and Daesoon Thought: Focusing on Cosmology], *Jonggyo Yeongu* [Religious Studies] 60, 2010, pp.35-59.

¹⁷⁰ Bae Gyu-han, "Ingan-gwa Segye-ui Mirae-e Gwanhan Haewonsangsaeng Sasang Yeongu" [A Study on the Thought of Haewon-sangsaeng (Resolution of Grievances for Mutual Beneficence) Concerning the Future of Humanity and the World], *Daesun Sasang Nonchong* [Journal of Daesoon Thought] 30, 2018, pp.1-57.

¹⁷¹ Choi Won-hyeok, "Donghak Sasang-gwa Daesun Sasang-ui Jaseongjeok Geundaeseong Bigyo Yeongu" [A Comparative Study of Autogenous Modernity in Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought], *Studies on Humanities and Social Sciences (SHSC)* 6(1), 2024, pp.287-305.

¹⁷² Na Gwon-su, "Daesunjillihoe-ui Isangsahoeron Yeongu" [A Study on the Theory of Ideal Society in Daesoon Jinrihoe], *Daesun Sasang Nonchong* [Journal of Daesoon Thought] 21, 2013, pp.409-452.

¹⁷³ Bernadette Rigal-Cellard, "Daesoon Jinrihoe in Light of Anthony F. C. Wallace's Revitalization Theory," *Religiskifilozofiski raksti* 30(2), 2021; Massimo Introvigne, "The Flourishing of New Religions in Korea," *Nova Religio* 25(1), 2021; T. S. Kim, "The Ethical Characteristics of 'Haewon-sangsaeng' (解憂相生) in Daesoon Thought: With Focus on Its Relation to the Idea of 'Guarding Against Self-deception'," *Taiwan Zongjiao Yanjiu* [Taiwan Journal of Religious Studies] 20(1), 2021. Recently, an English-language doctoral dissertation on scriptures related to Daesoon Thought has also been published: Jason Greenberger, *Searching for the Historical Jeungsan while Beholding the Hagiographical Jeungsan*, Ph.D. dissertation, Daejin University, 2024; D. W. Kim, *Daesoon Jinrihoe in Modern Korea: The Emergence, Transformation and Transmission of a New Religion*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2020.

Indigenous Modernity and Liminality

Modernity and Indigenous Modernity

Modernity and the Encompassment (Tongsöp) of the Sacred (Seong) and the Secular (Sok)

The concept of 'Modernity' is a characteristic that allowed humanity to escape the shackles of darkness and regain the power of reason, and it has been revered as a symbol of civilization across both East and West. 'Modernity' can be defined as a mode of life that takes science and technology as the foundation for understanding the world, combines it with capital and the state, and objectifies and efficiently manages nature and humans. Modernity was a universal value discovered by humankind through the long trial and error of human history, and accordingly, "modernity" became a goal commonly pursued by the world. Before the modern era, humanity was under the domination of power, and only after being liberated from absolute power through collective effort did they find modernity. Lee Do-heum expresses the power of the modern era as follows.¹⁷⁴

Humanity escaped the Middle Ages, the 'garden of magic,' and opened the modern era dominated by reason and science. The power of the modern era was truly immense. It demolished the world governed by ignorance and barbarism through reason and science, and redesigned it based on the principle of rationality and science. In the history of human evolution spanning over a million years, the modern era was an unprecedented period that, for the first time, freed humanity from the fear of nature and starvation, allowing ordinary citizens to enjoy material abundance comparable to that of past emperors, even if relative deprivation existed. The human lifespan, which was less than 30 years, has extended to 80 years today since the modern era, and humans, having risen to a god-like status, have finally become mostly atheists and materialists instead.¹⁷⁵

Modernisation, modernity, and modernism are areas treated as central themes of contemporary society, and it is said that modernisation and modernity, compared to modernism, have few disagreements regarding their definitions. Modernisation refers to a series of technological, economic, and political developments related to the Industrial Revolution and its effects, and modernity can be said to be the social conditions and modes of experience that emerged as a result of such developments.¹⁷⁶

However, as a result of unrestrained desire, the modern era has again brought humanity to an unprecedented crisis of extinction, and post-modernism, a critical theory of modernity, has become highly

¹⁷⁴ Lee Jeong-u, *Segyecheolhaksa 3: Geundaeseong-ui Kareutogeulrapi* (A World History of Philosophy, Vol. 3: Cartography of Modernity), Seoul: Gil, 2021, pp.164-165.

¹⁷⁵ Lee Do-heum, "Talhyeondae sasangeuro-seo dongyang cheolhak-ui ganeungseong-gwa hangye" [The Possibilities and Limits of Eastern Philosophy as Post-modern Thought], *Donghak Hakbo* [Journal of Donghak Studies] 10, 2005, p.9.

¹⁷⁶ Charles Harrison, *Modeonijeum* (Modernism), Paju: Yeolhwadang, 2003, p.6.

prevalent. Although criticism of modernity is fierce, this is because the modern era was a time that gave humanity unprecedented benefits; however, research is still ongoing as to why these benefits were given.

First, Weber, known as a representative theorist of classical modernity, compressed modernity into the 'rationalization of all society' and subdivided it into ① rational capitalism, ② a rational legal-administrative system (Rechtsstaat), and ③ rational social differentiation.¹⁷⁷ In Weber's writings, modernity is compressed into "rationality." In response, post-modernists, who are critical theorists of modernity, identify this rationality as the core problem of modernity. Post-modernists pointed out that the rationality of modernity is summarized as reason-centrism based on the methodological skepticism of Rene Descartes' (1596-1650) "I think, therefore I am" (Cogito, ergo sum), and that this rationality is the cause of modernity's numerous problems. Post-modernists argue that modernity as a narcissistic 'Same,' which denies Idea or God and re-establishes all laws concerning cognition, existence, and value from the self, must inevitably lead to a conclusion like that of Jean-Paul Sartre (1905-1980), that "hell is other people." Therefore, they say, an interrelative, generative, processual, and deconstructive rationality that accepts the 'Other' is necessary.¹⁷⁸ Post-modernity can be defined as the trend that has resisted this modernity and pursued its alternatives.¹⁷⁹

The critique of Descartes' reductionist rationality begins far back with the expressionist metaphysics of Baruch Spinoza (1632-1675) and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716), and its modern momentum developed from Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche (1844-1900), Henri-Louis Bergson (1859-1941), and Edmund Husserl (1859-1938) in different fields, leading to representative post-modernist theorists such as Foucault, Deleuze, Jacques Derrida (1930-2004), and Lacan. Postmodernism was introduced to the United States by Rene Girard (1923-2015), sometimes called the savior of Christianity today, and became exceptionally activated even in the US, where analytic philosophy is dominant, becoming a major trend in European and American humanities and social sciences today.¹⁸⁰ Consequently, criticism from existing Anglo-American philosophy and the orthodox modernity position is also growing.¹⁸¹¹⁸²

¹⁷⁷ Weber's argument on modernity is said to be summarized in the famous "Author's Preface" of *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie* (Collected Essays in the Sociology of Religion). Cited in Kim Sang-jun, *Maengja-ui ttam Seongwang-ui pi: Jungcheung Geundae-wa Dong-asia Yugyo Munmyeong* (The Sweat of Mencius, the Blood of Sage-Kings: Multilayered Modernity and East Asian Confucian Civilization), Seoul: Acanet, 2011, p.52; Max Weber, translated by Kim Deok-yeong, *Peulloteseutanteu Yunri-wa Jabonjuui Jeongsin* (The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism), Seoul: Gil, 2010, pp.11-38.

¹⁷⁸ Vincent Descombes, translated by Park Seong-chang, *The Same and the Other: Modern French Philosophy (1933-1978)*, Seoul: Ingansarang, 1991.

¹⁷⁹ Lee Jeong-u, *Segyecheolhaksa 3: Geundaeseong-ui Kareutogeulrapi* (A World History of Philosophy, Vol. 3: Cartography of Modernity), Seoul: Gil, 2021, pp.164-165.

¹⁸⁰ Lee Jeong-u, *Segyecheolhaksa 3: Geundaeseong-ui Kareutogeulrapi* (A World History of Philosophy, Vol. 3: Cartography of Modernity), Seoul: Gil, 2021; Lee Jeong-u, *Segyecheolhaksa 4: Talgeundae Sayu-ui Jipyongdeul* (A World History of Philosophy, Vol. 4: Horizons of Post-modern Thought), Seoul: Gil, 2024.

¹⁸¹ Alan Sokal and Jean Bricmont, translated by Lee Hui-jac, Jijeok Sagi: *Poseuteumodeon Sasangadeul-eun Gwahak-eul Eotteoke Namyonghaetneunga* (Fashionable Nonsense: Postmodern Intellectuals' Abuse of Science), Seoul: Hanguk Gyeongje Sinmun Hankyung BP, 2014.

The developments achieved by the modern era compared to the previous era and the changes after modernity—that is, the difference between 'modernity' and 'post-modernity' as argued by post-modern theorists—are said to be summarized as in <Table 1>. In this dissertation, 'post-modernity' is used interchangeably with 'post-contemporaneity' (Tal-hyeondaeseong).

The postmodernism debate was triggered by the May 1968 student movement in France and became highly activated in Korea in the 1990s. The postmodernism debate began in Europe, especially France, with the debate between Sartre's Existentialism and Claude Levi-Strauss's (1908-2009) Structuralism, but this debate later led to a critique of modern rationality and communism, represented by Sartre's existentialism, and formed a huge current in contemporary philosophy, such as post-structuralism.¹⁸³

<Table 1> Overview of Medieval, Modern, and Postmodern¹⁸⁴

<Table 1> Overview of Medieval, Modern, and Postmodern

	Medieval	Modern	Postmodern
Superstructure	God-centered	Human-centered	Ecological paradigm
Rule of the divine (Sinseong)	Principles of reason and rationality	Deconstruction of rationalism	
God as truth	Absoluteness and universality of truth	Relativity and unknowability of truth	
Superstition and magic	Science	Indeterminacy of science (and scientific truth)	
Good, or the divine, as beauty	Secularization of art and pursuit of self-purposiveness	Heterogeneity, hybridity, and deconstruction of art	
Self subjugated to God	Subject	Intersubjectivity	
Space of life	Reality	Simulation	
Roman and Chinese centrism	Eurocentrism	Globalization and localization	
Script of the center	Script of the nation-state	Image	
Base	Feudal system	Capitalism	Late capitalism
Pre-industrial society	Industrial society	Post-industrial society	

The reason the discussion of post-modernity is becoming increasingly important is that the modern era, which achieved groundbreaking development, has conversely approached humanity as an even greater danger. Consequently, much research has been conducted not only on post-modernist theories focusing on the critique of modernity but also on alternative modernities. Research on alternative modernities, like post-modernist theory, has been centered on the concept of 'multiple modernity,' which focuses on the history of modernity appearing in cultural spheres different from the West, rather than on theoretical exploration. Multiple modernity is distinct from alternative modernity. It is said that the theory of multiple modernities

¹⁸² Jeong Il-gwon, René Girard in Dialogue with Modern Thinkers: Mimetic Theory, Post-structuralism, and Deconstructive Philosophy, Seoul: Dongyeon, 2017.

¹⁸³ Post-structuralism is a second-generation structuralism that regards the possibility of structural change more flexibly. Representative theorists in the broad category include Lacan, Foucault, and Derrida.

¹⁸⁴ Lee Do-heum, "Talhyeondae sasangeuro-seo dongyang cheolhak-ui ganeungseong-gwa hangye" [The Possibilities and Limits of Eastern Philosophy as Post-modern Thought], Donghak Hakbo [Journal of Donghak Studies] 10, 2005, p.11.

first revealed its lineup in the 1998 special issue of the academic journal *Daedalus* titled "early modernities." Comparative-historical sociologists such as Shmuel N. Eisenstadt (1923-present), Bjorn Wittrock (1945-present), and Johann Pall Arnason (1940-present) are said to represent this position. Meanwhile, the theory of alternative modernities is said to be raised in various fields such as cultural theory, literary-political criticism, and anthropology.¹⁸⁵¹⁸⁶

Furthermore, they argue that modernity today should be understood as a global modernity that includes Western modernity, and that this is a Multilayered Modernity resulting from the interaction of various civilizations, as seen in the case of Song Dynasty China. In other words, it is said that there was a proto-modernity before Western modernity, and after Western modernity, there was a colonizing-colonized modernity, which then became the multilayered modernity of today's global modernity. The argument is that the 'fetishism of European modernity,' which views modernity as having started only in the West, is a major obstacle to constructing alternative modernities today.¹⁸⁷

Proponents of alternative modernities propose the 'encompass' (Tongseop) model as an alternative to Western modernity, which is centered on Cartesian rationality. 'Tongseop' (encompassment) is not the biological consilience proposed by Edward Osborne Wilson (1929-2021), but a religious-sociological model of modernity that shifts the boundary between the sacred (Seong) and the secular (Sok). Encompassment is when the center includes, rather than excludes, the periphery, but controls it. Modernity means the transition from 'Encompassment 1,' where the sacred (Seong) encompassed the secular (Sok) after the Axial Age, to 'Encompassment 2,' where the secular (Sok) encompasses the sacred (Seong).¹⁸⁸ In Encompassment 2, as well, the sacred (Seong) has merely stepped back from the position of control in the process of encompassment; it has not disappeared but has rather become more important. This theory of

¹⁸⁵ Eisenstadt, Shmuel N. and Schluchter, Wolfgang, "Introduction: Paths to Early Modernities: A Comparative View", *Daedalus* 127(3), 1998. pp.1-18, and others including Eisenstadt(2002), Eisenstadt, Riedel, Sachsenmaier(2002), Wittrock(1998), Arnason(2001), Kaya(2004), Hung(2004). Cited in Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, translated by Im Hyeon-jin [et al.], *Damunjeok Geundaeseong-ui Tamgu: Bigyo Munmyeongjeok Gwanjeom* (Comparative Civilizations and Multiple Modernities), Paju: Nanam, 2009; Kim Sang-jun, *Maengja-ui ttam Seongwang-ui pi: Jungcheung Geundae-wa Dong-asia Yugyo Munmyeong* (The Sweat of Mencius, the Blood of Sage-Kings: Multilayered Modernity and East Asian Confucian Civilization), Seoul: Acanet, 2011, pp.35-36; S. N. Eisenstadt, *Multiple modernities*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 2002; Johann P. Arnason, Sternberg, Yitzhak and Ben-Rafael, Eliezer, "Identity, Culture and Globalization." *The Multiplication of Modernity*. Brill. 2001; B. Wittrock, "Early modernities: Varieties and transitions." *Daedalus* 127(3), 1998; I. Kaya, "Modernity, openness, interpretation: a perspective on multiple modernities", *Social science information* 43(1), 2004; Hung, "Early modernities and contentious politics in mid-Qing China, c. 1740-1839." *International Sociology* 19(4), 2004.

¹⁸⁶ Appadurai(1996), Gilroy(1993), Ong(1999), Gaonkar ed.(2001). Cited in Kim Sang-jun, *Maengja-ui ttam Seongwang-ui pi: Jungcheung Geundae-wa Dong-asia Yugyo Munmyeong* (The Sweat of Mencius, the Blood of Sage-Kings: Multilayered Modernity and East Asian Confucian Civilization), Seoul: Acanet, 2011, pp.35-36; A. Appadurai, *Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions of globalization*. Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1996; P. Gilroy, *The black Atlantic: Modernity and double consciousness*. Harvard University Press, 1993; A. Ong, *Flexible citizenship: The cultural logics of transnationality*. Duke University Press, 1999.

¹⁸⁷ Kim Sang-jun, *Maengja-ui ttam Seongwang-ui pi: Jungcheung Geundae-wa Dong-asia Yugyo Munmyeong* (The Sweat of Mencius, the Blood of Sage-Kings: Multilayered Modernity and East Asian Confucian Civilization), Seoul: Acanet, 2011, p.41.

¹⁸⁸ The "Axial Age" refers to the period between 800-200 BCE when sages coincidentally appeared almost simultaneously and the world entered a civilization centered on religion; the term was first used by Karl Jaspers (1883-1969).

encompassment can well explain Weber's description of Western modernity, such as Calvin's predestination, as well as the early modern development of the Song Dynasty through Neo-Confucianism, which was not Western modernity. This is because the encompassment relationship between the sacred and the secular—which is the strengthening of divinity (Sinseong) through the rearrangement of the sacred and the secular—is a universally human phenomenon, as explained in the sociology of religion.¹⁸⁹

Encompassment explains the 'religionization' behind rationalization, and thus well explains the contradictory role Confucianism played in Eastern and Western modernity, which is still not fully understood. The reason for the failure of Liang Qichao (1873-1929), a representative Chinese modernization theorist who lived contemporaneously with Weber, in his attempt at Chinese modernization through Confucianism is a prime example. Weber's point—that the reason for the failure of Liang Qichao's Confucian modernization was his attempt to achieve modernity with a Confucianism stripped of religiosity, not knowing that Western modern rationality was a modernity that encompassed religiosity within it—is said to have been accurate.¹⁹⁰

It is said that multiple modernities can also be applied to Donghak. Donghak can be interpreted as the definitive edition of the "whole country becoming Yangban" trend in Joseon, which lasted from the Imjin War to Jeong Yak-yong. The similarity between Donghak and the Reformation, which was the dawn of Western modernity, has been pointed out by various scholars. If modernity is the transition of encompassment where the secular (Sok) encompasses the sacred (Seong), then Donghak Thought can be understood as an alternative modernity. In fact, in Daesoon Thought, which appeared after Donghak Thought about 120 years ago, it was predicted that this modernity would instead become a great threat and disaster to humanity.¹⁹¹

About 120 years later, modernity was actually identified as the cause of the contemporary crisis of human extinction, and numerous studies were conducted to find a solution for its re-establishment. The discussion of post-modernity is now also discussed as reflexive modernity, which emphasizes reflection on modernity, such as by Beck, or as the Liquid Modernity of Zygmunt Bauman (1925-2017), which emphasizes the processual and fluid characteristics that hinder decision-making.¹⁹² Postmodernism has now become one of the mainstream ideologies in the intellectual circles of continental Europe and the Anglo-American world.¹⁹³ However, as Jurgen Habermas (1929-present), a representative intellect of world social

¹⁸⁹ The development of history through the strengthening of divinity via the rearrangement of the sacred and the secular is said to be a hidden formula of development in the history of Chinese thought. (Wang Hui, translated by Park Ja-yeong, Choe Jeong-seop, Jin Seong-su et al., *Geundae Jungguk Sasang-ui Heunggi* (The Rise of Modern Chinese Thought), Paju: Dolbegae, 2024)

¹⁹⁰ Kim Sang-jun, *Maengja-ui ttam Seongwang-ui pi: Jungcheung Geundae-wa Dong-asia Yugyo Munmyeong* (The Sweat of Mencius, the Blood of Sage-Kings: Multilayered Modernity and East Asian Confucian Civilization), Seoul: Acanet, 2011, pp.33-79; 172-182.

¹⁹¹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9.

¹⁹² Ulrich Beck, translated by Hong Sung-tae, *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*, Seoul: Saemulgyeol, 1997.

¹⁹³ Zygmunt Bauman, *Aengche Geundae* (Liquid Modernity), Seoul: Kang, 2009.

science, has said, despite much research, the modern era is still an unfinished project and an object of re-establishment, one about which a post-modern era cannot yet be discussed.¹⁹⁴ In fact, if one traces the etymology of the word "modern," modernity itself can have the meanings of both modern and post-modern simultaneously.

The Oxford dictionary defines "mode," the etymological root of Modernity, as "now, here." Despite long debate, the origin of its etymology is still unclear. Although there have been many theories about modernity, it has not yet been clarified why the new trend responding to the Middle Ages was named "Modernity." However, there is a theory that "mode," meaning "now, here," which had been used since before the Roman era, is related to the pre-Christian Gnostic tradition, which is also related to the Chinese character "𠂇 (mu)"; therefore, the modern era, which started as a counter-culture to Christianity, adopted it to emphasize its counter-nature. Since modernity and post-modernity appear overlapped in today's reality, "now, here" can mean both modernity and post-modernity. At any rate, the etymology of Modernity shows that modernity itself can simultaneously have the meaning of 'modern' and 'post-modern'.¹⁹⁵

This dissertation intends to focus on 'Indigenous Modernity' (Autogenous Modernity) as a concept of modernity that can synthesize alternative modernity, multiple modernities, post-modernity, multilayered modernity, reflexive modernity, and liquid modernity. Indigenous modernity means that there was modernity in our tradition, and that there was a modernity that revived our tradition in response to Western modernity. If one overcomes Weber and abandons a Western-centric perspective, indigenous modernity can be discovered in Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought from an objective viewpoint based on history. In the cases of Japan and China, this has been attempted by the Kyoto School (Kyōto-gakuha) and Wang Hui, among others, and is widely known.^{196,197}

In the West, modernity was a concept that enabled industrialization by reclaiming individual freedom lost to church power through the secularization of religion, such as the Reformation; in the East, modernity

¹⁹⁴ Kim Deok-yeong, *Hwanwon Geundae: Hanguk Geundaehwa-wa Geundaeseong-ui Sahoehakjeok Bopyeonsa-reul Wihayeo* (Reductive Modernity: Toward a Sociological Universal History of Korea's Modernization and Modernity), Seoul: Gil, 2014, p.41.

¹⁹⁵ Park Yong-sook, *The 81 Characters of the Cheonbugyeong Paramita*, Paju: Sodong, 2018.

¹⁹⁶ It is useful to examine the pioneering approach of Harold J. Berman, who published a study in 1983 on the formation of the Western legal tradition. According to him, when we rewrite the past, we must "go beyond Marx and Weber" and also overcome the errors of various Western nationalisms, religious prejudices, and the historical materialism and ideal-type analysis of the 19th century. Regional designations are one example: the distinction between East Asia and Southeast Asia is not based on historical realities and internal logical structures but is an arbitrary division based on US strategic regional configurations after World War II, which could become a mistaken practice that paralyzes intellectual inquiry. Alexander Woodside, translated by Min Byeong-hui, *Ireobeolin Geundaeseongdeul* (Lost Modernities), Neomeobukseu, 2012, p.18.; Kim Deok-sam, Lee Gyeong-ja, Choe Won-hyeok, "Geunhyeondae Paereodaim-ui Jeonhwan-gwa Naejaeseong-e Daehan Gochal-Jeontong-gwa Geundae-e Daehan Hangujeok Jaego(再考)-reul Jungsimsim-euro" [A Study on the Paradigm Shift in Modern and Contemporary Times and Immanence — Focusing on the Korean Reconsideration of Tradition and Modernity], *Inmun Gwahak Yeongu* [Studies in Humanities] 23, 2014, pp.115-142.

¹⁹⁷ Wang Hui, translated by Baek Won-dam, *Geundae Jungguk Sasang-ui Heunggi* (The Rise of Modern Chinese Thought), Paju: Dolbegae, 2024.; Lee Jong-min, *Jungguk Sasang-gwa Daean Geundaeseong: Wang Hui-ui Geundae Jungguk Sasang-ui Heunggi Ilgi-wa Sseugi* (Chinese Thought and Alternative Modernity: Reading and Writing Wang Hui's The Rise of Modern Chinese Thought), Seoul: Hyeonamsa, 2017.

was a concept that liberated the populace from irrational oppressions, although much damage was inflicted by the West. Therefore, when discussing modernity, the West has mainly emphasized dis-enchantment through the Reformation and the Industrial Revolution, while the East has mainly emphasized indigenouslyness, that is, nationalist movements.¹⁹⁸

Indigenous modernity also simultaneously reveals the two characteristics of modernity and post-modernity. Just like the material modernization achieved through compressed modernity in non-Western regions, alternative modernity also compressively constructs modernity and post-modernity. Post-modernist theorists suggest that the indigenous modernity found in non-Western regions may be more suitable as an alternative modernity than the post-modernity sought in the West. This was termed "thought from the outside" (*pensée du dehors*) and became a major basis for post-structuralist post-modern theory. Furthermore, the recently emphasized Eastern origins of Western modernity draw more attention to multiple modernities as post-modernity, namely, indigenous modernity. Since the New Science movement, many researchers have actually sought alternatives to modernity in Eastern thought. Since the emergence of postmodernism, this has expanded not only to the field of science but also to the humanities and social sciences, and modernity and post-modernity, in particular, have formed an intersecting point where Eastern and Western religious thoughts meet. Modernity's characteristics always appear clearly when compared with the Middle Ages and post-modernity.

Like the encompassment theory of multiple modernities or the theory of reflexive modernity, modernity today becomes a matter of reflection—that is, the power to try to overcome limits, the boundary between the sacred and the secular, namely, liminality. Especially in the case of the East, it becomes a problem of the liminality of correlative thinking, which is the methodology of Eastern philosophy. Ultimate liminality becomes the will to choose the sacred over the secular. Humans constantly seek to escape the secular and find the sacred, thus giving rise to religion, which seeks ultimate reality.¹⁹⁹

In this regard, Korea's modernity today is being sought from Donghak. The idea is that the concept of the nation-state first emerged in Korea from Donghak.²⁰⁰ However, this concept of modernity beginning from Donghak is highly controversial. Colonial modernization theorists regarded Donghak as an ideology.

¹⁹⁸ 20th-century modernism, which can be called a symbol of modernity, is also interpreted in the field of fine arts — where it is most clearly manifested in everyday life — as a cultural variant resulting from the spread of Far Eastern Asian culture to Europe beginning in the 16th century. (Yu Hyeon-jun, *Modernism: Dongseoyang Munhwa-ui Haibeullideu* [Modernism: A Hybrid of Eastern and Western Culture], Seoul: Miseum, 2008, pp.73-92.) Scholars who argue for the Eastern origins of Western modernity maintain that even with respect to multilayered modernity, Western modernity itself is already a cultural variant produced by the spread of Far Eastern Asian culture to Europe and is therefore not a sufficient concept of modernity to explain reality.

¹⁹⁹ Yun Seung-yong, "Sinjongyo-ui Ban-gujo(communitas)-jeok Seonggyeok-e Gwanhan Sogo: Joseon Malgi Jonggyo Hyeonsang-eul Jungsimsim-euro" [A Brief Study on the Anti-structural (Communitas) Character of New Religions: Focusing on Religious Phenomena in Late Joseon], Seoul National University Master's Thesis, 1982.

²⁰⁰ Lee Seon-min, *Hanguk-ui Jajujeok Geundaehwa-e Gwanhan Seongreul* (Reflections on Korea's Indigenous Modernization), Paju: Nanam, 2021; Jo Hye-in, *Dong-eseo Seo-ro Peorin Geundae Gongmin Sahoe* (Modern Civil Society That Spread from East to West), Paju: Jimmundang, 2013.; Hwang Tae-yeon, *Yugyo-jeok Geundae-ui Ilbaniryon* (A General Theory of Confucian Modernity), Seoul: Hanguk Munhwasa, 2023.

To colonial modernization theorists, Donghak is merely the resistance of the powerless populace. To intrinsic development theorists, Donghak is an expression of the sprouts of modernity, but it lacks an ideological background.²⁰¹ However, Donghak is related to the immanence of Eastern thought—that is, the indigenous modernity of the East based on the idea that 'the principles of the universe are equipped in the body, so the mind of the people is the mind of Heaven'—namely, the liminality of correlative thinking.²⁰² Just as with tradition, a balanced perspective is needed in modernity as well.²⁰³

Paying attention to this point, this dissertation is an attempt to understand the philosophical methodology of Donghak Thought in an in-depth manner by diachronically presenting previous research—which studied Donghak Thought as a philosophical method of thought—from the perspective of "continuity and change of tradition," and through this, to understand the context and validity of the indigenous modernity presented by Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought.²⁰⁴

Daesoon Thought predicted, over 120 years ago, the crisis of human extinction resulting from a distorted concept of Western modernity that excluded the East. The concept of 'Haewon-sangsaeng' (Resolution of Grievances for Mutual Beneficence) modernity, which fuses East and West as presented by Daesoon Thought, is gaining attention as a new solution to the problem of re-establishing the concept of modernity.²⁰⁵ The true meaning of the concept of modernity presented by Daesoon Thought, like other Eastern thoughts, is only being revealed today, after Western science has reached an advanced state of

²⁰¹ Lee Seon-min, *Reflections on Korea's Indigenous Modernization*, Paju: Nanam, 2021.

²⁰² The use of the term "Donghak" can be said to express the unique problematic consciousness of Donghak: un-jeuk-il (運則一, the movement is one), do-jeuk-dong (道則同, the Way is the same), i-jeuk-bi (理則非, but the principle differs). Suun criticizes Western Learning (Seohak) for lacking the principle of won-hyeong-i-jeong (元亨利貞, the fourfold virtue). He sharply points out the weakness of Western Learning — that without the unified principle of won-hyeong-i-jeong, it regards truth situationally and thus lacks a center. (Bae Yeong-sun, "Donghak-gwa Seohak-ui Chabyeolseong Munje [The Problem of the Difference between Donghak and Western Learning: Focusing on 'Un-jeuk-il Do-jeuk-dong I-jeuk-bi']", *理則非 Daegu Sahak [Daegu Historical Studies]* 73, Daegu Sahakhoe, 2003, pp.203-210.) Choe Su-un (Suun) in the Nonhangmun (Discourse on Learning) chapter of Donggyeong Daejeon (The Great Scripture of Eastern Learning), argues that the West is analytical, changes its words according to circumstances, seems to believe in God but does not, and thus ultimately falls into nihilism. Among all the world's civilizations that resisted Western imperialism, only Korea's Donghak — like Nisbett — made the methodology of scholarship a central theme of resistance. Since Donghak has until now been studied only from the perspective of popular resistance movements, it needs to be newly discussed from the standpoint of immanence in terms of paradigm and the methodology of thought.

²⁰³ Kim Deok-sam, Choe Won-hyeok, Lee Gyeong-ja, "Geunhyeondae Paereodaim-ui Jeonhwan-gwa Naejaeseong-e Daehan Gochal — Jeontong-gwa Geundae-e Daehan Hangujeok Jaego(再考)-reul Jungsimsim-euro" [A Study on the Paradigm Shift in Modern and Contemporary Times and Immanence — Focusing on the Korean Reconsideration of Tradition and Modernity], *Inmun Gwahak Yeongu [Studies in Humanities]* 23, 2014, pp.115-142.

²⁰⁴ Jeong Jae-sik, *Continuity and Change in Tradition*, Seoul: Acanet, 2004.

²⁰⁵ Weber argues that early capitalism, which began with the Puritan spirit of Protestantism, is distinct from modern capitalism, which today focuses solely on economic efficiency. (Daniel Pals, translated by Jo Byeong-ryeon and Jeon Jung-hyeon, *Jonggyo-e Daehan Yeodeolb Gaji Irondeul [Eight Theories of Religion]*, Goyang: Hanguk Gidokgyo Yeonguso, 2013.) Weber's observation that the nature of capitalism, a characteristic of modernity, has changed is correct, but his theory that capitalism can only arise from a Western Christian standpoint has been refuted both theoretically and practically by the East's overtaking of the West today. (Thomas Metzger, Gongyeong-ui Talpyi: Juhui-Wangyang-myeongbuteo Tang Jyun-i-Peng Yu-lan-kkaji Sinyuhak-gwa Jungguk-ui Jeongchi Munhwa [Escape from Predicament: Neo-Confucianism and China's Evolving Political Culture, from Zhu Xi and Wang Yangming to Tang Junyi and Feng Youlan], Minumsa, 2014, pp.62-65.)

development.²⁰⁶ At that time, obscured by the Western modernity splendidly packaged with Western material civilization, the modernity presented by Daesoon Thought, which synthesized Eastern and Western thoughts, was almost completely misunderstood. As Western modernity became the epicenter of the modern crisis, and numerous efforts to re-establish modernity, such as postmodernism, led to a 'New Science' shift in ontology, epistemology, and axiology across the entire spectrum of Western humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences, a clue to understanding emerged as Eastern studies (Dongyanghak) was proposed as the next stage after New Science.²⁰⁷

The Eastern Common Origins of Western Modernity and Autogenous Modernity

Today, as the three East Asian nations are the only non-Western civilizations to have achieved economic growth surpassing the West, research is proliferating, contrary to past assessments of East Asia as a stagnant civilization, suggesting that the Western modern era was instead influenced by the East. In accordance with recent research results on East Asian culture, the indigenous modernity of modern and contemporary Korea, which had previously been regarded merely as a unique legacy of a bygone era, is also being re-evaluated.²⁰⁸

Unlike Weber, who did not know Chinese characters, if one examines the research of Thomas A. Metzger (1933-present), who knew Chinese characters and applied Weber's method to derive the opposite conclusion, it seems an understanding of East Asia's "indigenous modernity" has begun. The sprouts of Eastern modernity, being revealed recently in relation to the theory of Eastern influence on modern Western culture, are a factor causing the reconstruction of Korea's indigenous modernity and tradition.²⁰⁹ Furthermore, the interpretation of the modernity of Eastern culture from an Eastern perspective by Western scholars such as Jullien, Frank, Hobson, Creel, and Alexander Woodside (1938-present) is also a factor prompting a reconsideration of Korea's indigenous modernity and tradition.²¹⁰

²⁰⁶ Ko Nam-sik, "Suun-gwa Jeungsan-ui Minjokjuuijeok Yoso Bigyo" [A Comparison of Nationalist Elements in Suun and Jeungsan], *Sinjongyo Yeongu* [Studies in New Religions] 26, Hanguk Sinjongyo Hakhoe [Korean Association for the Study of New Religions], 2012; Lee Gyeong-won, "Daesun Jinri-ui Geundaeseong-gwa Byeohyeok Sasang" [The Modernity and Thought of Reform in Daesoon Truth], *Donghak Hakbo* [Journal of Donghak Studies] 10, Donghak Hakhoe, 2005. There is also an analysis that the Korean Wave's global boom is due to Korean religious philosophy, as exemplified in Daesoon thought. (Park Jong-hyeon, "Hallyu Munhwa Hyeonsang-ui Jonggyo Cheolhakjeok Giwon-gwa Bunseok" [The Religious-Philosophical Origins and Analysis of the Korean Wave Cultural Phenomenon], *Sinhak Nondan* [Theological Studies] 76, Yonsei University School of Theology and Graduate School of Theology, 2014.)

²⁰⁷ Jeon Su-jun, *Singwahak-eseo Dongyanghakreulo* (From New Science to Oriental Studies), Seoul: Daewon Chulpan, 1995, pp.281-283.

²⁰⁸ Zhu Qianzhi, translated by Jeon Hong-seok, *Jungguk-i Mandeun Yureopeui Geundae: Geundae Yureopeui Jungguk Munhwa Yeolpung* (China-Made European Modernity: The Craze for Chinese Culture in Modern Europe), Cheongye, 2003.

²⁰⁹ Thomas Metzger, Gongyeong-ui Talpyi: Juhui-Wangyang-myeongbuteo Tang Jyun-i-Peng Yu-lan-kkaji Sinyuhak-gwa Jungguk-ui Jeongchi Munhwa (Escape from Predicament: Neo-Confucianism and China's Evolving Political Culture, from Zhu Xi and Wang Yangming to Tang Junyi and Feng Youlan), Minumsa, 2014.

²¹⁰ Kim Deok-sam, Choe Won-hyeok, Lee Gyeong-ja, "Geunhyeondae Paereodaim-ui Jeonhwan-gwa Naejaeseong-e Daehan Gochal — Jeontong-gwa Geundae-e Daehan Hangujeok Jaego(再考)-reul Jungsimsim-euro" [A Study on the Paradigm Shift in Modern and Contemporary Times and Immanence — Focusing on the Korean Reconsideration of Tradition and Modernity], *Inmun Gwahak Yeongu* [Studies in Humanities] 23, pp.115-142.

The characteristic that distinguishes Donghak-related thoughts from other religious movements in the world at that time is that they asserted the Eastern origins of Western modernity. The Eastern origins of Western modernity, which appeared in indirect expressions in Donghak such as "Donghak" (Eastern Learning) and "Dasi Gaebyeok" (Re-Opening), appear clearly in Daesoon Thought—which claimed to be the True Donghak—through the cases of Matteo Ricci and Great Master Jinmuk, who were said to have respectively moved Eastern civilization gods and Dao-mastery gods to the West.²¹¹ Even at the time Donghak Thought was established, the 'Seohak-jungwon-ron' (theory that Western learning originated in China) was dominant in China, and in Korea, it had been developing further since Seo Myeong-eung.²¹²²¹³

Since China's May Fourth Movement, traditional Eastern scholarship has been condemned as irrational, pre-modern scholarship; however, even in Europe at that time, the negation of traditional Eastern scholarship was a phenomenon less than 100 years old. Rather, in Europe, from Matteo Ricci until the Enlightenment period, during the so-called "Chinoiserie" (Chinese craze), scholars who formed the origins of modern thought today, such as Voltaire (1694-1778), Adam Smith (1723-1790), and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), unanimously found the basis for their arguments in the Chinese thought transmitted by Matteo Ricci. It was only after the Enlightenment, with the beginning of colonial rule, that Europe viewed Chinese civilization as pre-modern. The records from that time, disclosed today, clearly show the concealed Eastern origins of Western modernity.²¹⁴

According to the records of the time, Chinese society, which was more moral than Europe despite having no religion, appeared as an excellent alternative to European society, which had not shrunk even from internecine religious wars under the justification that the absence of religion leads to moral decline. In Europe, with its strong Christian tradition at the time, which lacked even the basic opportunities for freedom and equality found in the civil service examination system (Gwageoje), there was fertile ground to accept China's secularized, rational traditions without the negative side effect of the emperor's despotic attributes.²¹⁵ In fact, it is said that Smith's "invisible hand" and Rousseau's "Natural Rights," which

²¹¹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9; An Sin, "Mateo Richi-wa Daesun Sasang-ui Gwangyesong-e Daehan Yeongu: Daesun Sasang-ui Gidokgyo Jongjang-e Daehan Jonggyo Hyeonsanghajeok Haeseok" [A Study on the Relationship between Matteo Ricci and Daesoon Thought: A Religious Phenomenological Interpretation of the Christian Founder in Daesoon Thought], Daesun Sasang Nonchong [Studies in Daesoon Thought] 36, 2020.

²¹² Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 3-15; Kim Tae-su, "Jinmuk Josayujeokgo-wa Jeongyeong-e Natanan Jinmuk Seolhwa-ui Chai-e Daehan Jaehaeseok: Munheon Jeonseung-gwa Gujeon Jeonseung-ui Chai-reul Jungsim-euro" [A Reinterpretation of the Differences in the Jinmuk Legend as Appearing in Jinmukjosayujeokgo and Jeongyeong: Focusing on the Differences between Literary Transmission and Oral Tradition], Daesun Sasang Nonchong [Studies in Daesoon Thought] 41, 2022.

²¹³ Lee Bong-ho, *The Philosophy of Seo Myeong-eung, King Jeongjo's Teacher (A Joseon Scholar's Response to Western Science)*, Goyang: Donggwa Seo, 2013.

²¹⁴ Hwang Tae-yeon, *Yugyo-jeok Geundae-ui Ilbaniron: Seogugukga-ui Yugyo-jeok Geundaehwa-wa Yugyogukga-ui Seogujeo k Geundaehwa (A General Theory of Confucian Modernity: The Confucian Modernization of Western States and the Western Modernization of Confucian States)*, Seoul: Hanguk Munhwasa, 2023.

²¹⁵ Suo Jiansheng, translated by Jo Gyeong-hui and Im So-yeon, *Sonnara-ui Seulpeum (The Sorrow of the Song Dynasty)*, Paju: Geulhangari, 2021.

represent modernity today, were concepts developed by European intellectuals studying Chinese civilization at the time, inspired by Eastern thought.²¹⁶

The starting point for Weber defining rationality as modernity, a universal value of humanity, seems to be Hegel's Absolute Geist (Absolute Spirit/Reason). As the etymology of the word "universal" (bopyeon-jeok) derives from "catholic," this seems to have been a very traditional issue in the West. The West regarded Christianity as "catholic," making it the universal truth, but it experienced numerous contradictions during the Middle Ages. It can be said that Western modern thought, starting with Descartes, was the West's effort to re-establish universality upon reaching the modern era. Hegel is in the lineage extending from Descartes and Kant.

The rationality Weber discovered seems to have been mindful of Hegel's universal value or Absolute Reason, which develops itself through dialectics. Hegel assumes modern Western society is the most developed modern society, places Eastern society and others below it, and dialectically explains the process from primitive society to modern Western society. Weber adopted Hegel's perspective of viewing Eastern society as a society where the Absolute Spirit had developed less than in Western society, designating Eastern society as a pre-modern society or a patrimonial bureaucracy, and this became Weber's theory of Eastern society.

The reason Weber's theory of Eastern society is important today is that his theory can be said to be the fundamental perspective from which Westerners view contemporary Eastern society, or from which Eastern intellectuals in Eastern societies—where Western influence is dominant—view their own societies, even to this day. Although it has been about 100 years since Weber proposed his theory of Eastern society, the fact that there is still no counterargument centered on the methodology of thought regarding Weber's theory must be the first starting point when discussing indigenous modernity.

Metzger applied Weber's theory, but unlike Weber, he argued that it was the East Asians who possessed a Protestant-like tension. The tension of East Asians toward the world, manifested as an 'anxiety consciousness' (uhwan-uisik), can be seen in the profiles of those who devoted themselves to the realization of democracy when Western democratic ideas were introduced. From an Eastern perspective, democracy is less a revolution from below and more an expansion of bureaucracy; since the expansion of bureaucracy is the process of 'inner sageliness and outer kingliness' (naeseong-oewang), the expansion of bureaucracy is truly genuine historical development. The unique development of East Asia today proves the validity of the East Asian perspective. In fact, Donghak Thought has the character of a religious reformation against Neo-

²¹⁶ Hwang Tae-yeon, *Gongja-wa Segye: Paechiwokeu Munmyeong Sidae-ui Gongmaeng Jeongchi Cheolhak* (Confucius and the World: The Political Philosophy of Confucius and Mencius in the Age of Patchwork Civilization), Paju: Cheongye, 2011; Hwang Tae-yeon, *Yugyo-jeok Geundae-ui Ilbaniron: Seogugukga-ui Yugyo-jeok Geundaehwa-wa Yugyogukga-ui Seogujeok Geundaehwa* (A General Theory of Confucian Modernity: The Confucian Modernization of Western States and the Western Modernization of Confucian States), Seoul: Hanguk Munhwasa, 2023.

Confucianism, and there is also research suggesting that Joseon society actually had stronger civil society characteristics than Western civil society.²¹⁷

Applying Metzger's theory, Eastern society becomes a society closer to modernity. If so, why did Eastern society not modernize before the West? It becomes crucial to examine why modern thought could sprout earlier in the East than in the West. The reason why the East modernized later than the West, even though—as Metzger suggests—the 'anxiety consciousness' (uhwan-uisik) mentioned by Weber was more advanced in the East than in the West, is related to the emphasis on 'empathy' (gonggam) in Eastern culture. Eastern culture was ahead in modernity through empathy, but it fell behind the West in modernization, which industrialized modernity.

If we condense Weber's theory of Eastern society further, it is summarized as the East lacking rationality; in other words, lacking consistency. The consistency Weber refers to here is Kantian consistency, as spoken of in German society where Kant's influence was dominant. In Weber's view, Neo-Confucianism, first of all, emphasizes 'Li' (principle) but has no argumentation. Since there is no argumentation, the 'Li' of Neo-Confucianism does not constitute rationality as Weber defines it.

However, it is recently being revealed that Weber's theory was influenced by Kant at the time and thus excluded pre-Kantian discussions. In the pre-Kantian West, Eastern thought, unlike in Kant's view, was rationality itself. Rather, during the Enlightenment period, the doctrines of Christianity, the Western religion, symbolized superstition; therefore, they sought to eliminate the irrationality of Christian doctrine by accepting Chinese rationality under the name of Enlightenment.

As represented by the May Fourth Movement, China at the time of Donghak Thought's emergence, like Meiji Japan, mostly took Westernization as the model of modernity; however, Donghak-related thoughts grasped the Eastern origins of Western modernity and sought East-West integration. In particular, both thoughts sought to find countermeasures for the global crisis brought about by Western modernity. Therefore, Korea's modernity can be an alternative modernity for the crisis of modernity. Contrary to common sense, modernity actually began in the East, and Korea, where Neo-Confucianism was more developed than in China, was an advanced modernity even among them.

In the 18th century, Hume and Adam Smith interpreted the Confucian thought of Confucius, transmitted by Matteo Ricci, as 'empathy' (gonggam) and sought to lay a new foundation for Western moral theory. The commonality between Confucianism and the Enlightenment had already been noted, leading to the theory of multilayered modernity, which views the commonality of the two theories as a coincidence;

²¹⁷ Jo Hye-in, *Dong-eseo Seo-ro Peorin Geundae Gongmin Sahoe: Yugyo Yechi(禮治) and the Development of the Concept of Freedom and Their Spread to the West*, Paju: Jimmundang, 2013.; Jo Hye-in, *Sangcheobadeun Jeolchae, Nalgae-jeobgeun Baljeon: Yugyo-jeok Yusan-gwa Hanguk Jabonjuui-ui Buchim* (Wounded Chastity, Wings-Folded Development: The Confucian Heritage and the Rise and Fall of Korean Capitalism), Paju: Nanam Chulpan, 2007.

however, it is recently being revealed through the development of empathy theory and the rediscovery of historical materials that it was a direct influence.²¹⁸

The West, after learning from the East that ethics through empathy is possible, developed modernity from a reflection on unilateral obedience to God. However, Western modernity soon became skewed toward materialism and caused human arrogance, leading to many problems. Consequently, reflexive modernity and post-modernity, which reflect on the modern era, were sought. The reason East Asia's indigenous modernity is important is that Eastern modernity is a reflexive modernity that emphasizes reflection more than Western modernity does. In particular, empathy, said to be the origin of Western modernity, gains significance when combined with reflection.

The background against which indigenous modernity is presented includes the debate on modernity and post-modernity raised by postmodernism. Although modernity achieved numerous developments compared to the Middle Ages, it also caused many serious problems, leading to the search for alternative modernities.

Hak (학) as the Formal System of Autogenous Modernity

As the crisis of Western scholarship became apparent, voices of reflection are rising even within the philosophy of science, which had dogmatically asserted that only Western scholarship was science. Today, in Western philosophy of science, science is also used in the sense of science based on methodological anarchism (Anarchistic Theory of Knowledge), like Feyerabend. Methodological anarchism in science refers to the contemporary philosophy of science which states that, like Deng Xiaoping's 'Black Cat, White Cat Theory' (it doesn't matter if a cat is black or white, as long as it catches mice), as long as there is consistency and the prediction matches the result, it can all be called science, regardless of the theoretical framework of normal science, which is the standard of academia.²¹⁹ This dissertation also uses the meaning of the scientific nature of Eastern scholarship from the perspective of methodological anarchism, but uses it more restrictively.²²⁰ The scientific nature of Donghak that this dissertation seeks to assert includes not only the methodological anarchism that existing Eastern science also possessed, but also the falsifiability that allows Eastern science to be comparatively explained through the theoretical structure of analytical, institutional science.²²¹

²¹⁸ Lee Yeong-jae, "Gongja-ui 'Seo(恕)' Gaenyeom-e Gwanhan Gonggam Dogeokronjeok Haeseok" [An Empathy-Moral-Theory Interpretation of Confucius's Concept of 'Shu' (恕, Reciprocity/Empathy)], *Hanguk Jeongchi Hakhoe Bo* [Journal of the Korean Political Science Association] 47(1), 2013, p.37.

²¹⁹ Paul Feyerabend, translated by Jeong Byeong-hoon, *Against Method*, Seoul: Greenbee, 2019.

²²⁰ Jeong Byeong-hun, "Paiyeobeneuteu: Gaekgwanjuui-wa Sangdaejuu-reul Neomeo-seo" [Feyerabend: Beyond Objectivism and Relativism], *Gwahak Cheolhak* [Philosophy of Science], Paju: Changbi, 2011.

²²¹ Conservative philosophy of science restricts science to a falsifiable discipline. Kuhnian philosophy of science, which views science as a paradigm — a collective agreement — emphasizes the incommensurability of two sciences, but even for two incommensurable sciences due to methodological differences, if we can explain a new science in the terms of existing science and reveal the relationship between them — as in Lakatos's research program — theoretical compatibility can be

The most prominent feature distinguishing Donghak as a religious thought from other religions is that it expresses religion with the academic term "Hak" (Learning). Expressing religious thought with the term "Hak" aligns with the East Asian tradition of referring to Confucianism as "Seongrihak" (Neo-Confucianism) for a long period. In fact, Catholicism was also called "Seohak" (Western Learning) in East Asia, expressing other religions with the academic term "Hak." One of the reasons religion was traditionally expressed as 'Hak' in the East is that Eastern religions have a natural science background in astronomy and geography (Cheonmun-jiri), and, as in the case of Dong Zhongshu (BC 176?-AD 104) who advocated the 'theory of disasters and anomalies' (Jaei-seol), there was a tendency to prioritize astronomy and geography over religion, and it also possessed holistic attributes inseparable from natural science.

The "Nonhangmun" (Discussion on Learning) in the Donggyeong Daejeon, where the term 'Donghak' first appears, explains that the difference between Eastern and Western religions lies in the methodology of thought, such as Seohak's "Gakja-wisim" (Each acting for oneself).²²² In Donghak Thought, the presentation of Donghak in response to Seohak is sometimes considered a response made with Matteo Ricci's Cheonjusilui (The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven) in mind, which argued for the superiority of Seohak's methodology over the East's.²²³

The task that must first be methodologically settled in studying East Asian religions is the establishment of the phenomenological meaning of "Hak" (Learning) in religion. It was discussed early on that studying Eastern religions using the phenomenology of religion, a major methodology in religious studies today, requires a phenomenology unique to East Asia.²²⁴

In fact, various attempts are being made in recent research focusing on the "Hak" of Donghak. However, existing research focusing on "Hak" has been conducted at the level of Donghak's "theory of self-cultivation" (Suyang-ron), which is prominent today, and studies focusing on the phenomenology of

considered another form of falsifiability. Theoretical compatibility refers to the property by which, for example, the theory of relativity fully explained Newtonian theory, and quantum mechanics was able to fully explain the theory of relativity. (Shin Jung-seop, Popeo-wa Hyeondae-ui Gwahak Cheolhak [Popper and Modern Philosophy of Science], Seoul: Seogwangsa, 1992, pp.209-214.) The reason Eastern science in Daesoon thought has theoretical compatibility with Western science is that, as shown in Daesoon thought, Eastern science was transmitted to the West by Matteo Ricci (Имать). (Jeongyeong [The Canonical Scripture], "Gyoun" [Religious Service] 1-9.)

²²² There was also another current that, going beyond this either-or extreme between traditional Confucianism and modernity, sought a relatively balanced perspective and appropriate selective adoption. This was the Confucian reform movement carried out both within and outside the Confucian framework. Confucian reform in Joseon broadly took two currents. One was the reform movement within the Confucian framework, running from Park Eun-sik through Lee Seung-hui to Lee Byeong-heon, and the other was a more radical innovation movement carried out outside the Confucian framework by Choe Je-u and Choe Si-hyeong. It is said that Park Eun-sik and Choe Je-u were the first to attempt transformation in these two directions, but they displayed contrasting attitudes. (Hwang Jong-won, "Choe Je-u-wa Park Eun-sik-ui Yugyo Gaehyeok Banghyang, Pyeongdeungwan, Seogu Geundae Munmyeong-e Daehan Taedo" [The Direction of Confucian Reform, View of Equality, and Attitude toward Western Modernity in Choe Je-u and Park Eun-sik], Toegye-hak-gwa Yugyo Munhwa [Toegye Studies and Confucian Culture] 49, 2011, pp.318-319.)

²²³ Kim Yong-ok, Donggyeong Daejeon 2 (The Great Scripture of Eastern Learning, Vol. 2), Tongnamu, 2021.

²²⁴ An Sin, "Seukoteullaendeu Jonggyo Hyeonsanghaknpa-ui 'Giwon': Ninian Seumateeu-wa Andrew Wollseu-reul Jungsim-sim-euro" [The 'Origins' of the Scottish School of Religious Phenomenology: Focusing on Ninian Smart and Andrew Walls], Jonggyo Munhwa Yeongu [Studies in Religious Culture] 9, 2007, p.230.

religion and religious-anthropological research as a philosophical methodology unique to Korean religion have been rare.

Today, the philosophical methodology of "Hak" belongs broadly to the domain of worldview, phenomenologically speaking, in terms of religion. The emergence of worldview as a full-fledged subject of research in the phenomenology of religion today begins with Roderick Ninian Smart (1927-2001).²²⁵

Ninian Smart developed a "cross-cultural" phenomenology by compromising between Eliade's archetype-theoretical phenomenology of religion and Van der Leeuw's "power"-centered phenomenology. "Cross-cultural" phenomenology broadly divides worldview as an object of religious studies research into two categories. In Ninian Smart's cross-cultural phenomenology, religion can be seen as a system necessary for humans to understand and live in the world, and this is further divided into a 'world-explanation system' (Welterklaerungssystem) and a 'life-problem overcoming system' (Lebensbewältigungssystem). Ninian Smart further divided this into 7 dimensions, and these two classifications are useful from the perspective of the religious methodology of "Hak."^{226,227}

If religion is thus divided into a 'world-explanation system' (Welterklaerungssystem) and a 'life-problem overcoming system' (Lebensbewältigungssystem), the phenomenology of religion can be connected with the anthropology of religion, which studies religion as a human problem-solving process. In the anthropology of religion, human problem-solving through religion has been studied from three main directions: principle, process, and structure.

First, looking at principle, one can cite Arnold Van Gennep's (1873-1957) theory of the "rite of passage" and Turner's theory of "Liminality," which originated from the "rite of passage" theory.²²⁸ The theory of rites of passage, which explains the process of an individual's transformation into an adult, becomes, macroscopically, the theory of liminality, which transforms a society. Applying this to the study of Donghak Thought, one can regard the span from Donghak Thought to the subsequent Daesoon Thought as a single rite of passage. In the case of Kim Ji-ha, he expressed the liminal character of Donghak-related thoughts as the 'aesthetics of white shadow,' and in Daesoon Thought, there is also research that conducted the Cheonji-gongsa (Reordering Works of Heaven and Earth) from the ritual perspective of liminality. Kim

²²⁵ The introduction of worldview as a subject of religious phenomenology, which became fully systematized from Ninian Smart, traces back to Dilthey (Wilhelm Dilthey, 1833-1911), the founder of hermeneutics who demonstrated the value of the humanities compared to the natural sciences through hermeneutics. (Lee Gil-yong, "Suyangnon-euro bon Hanguk Sinjongyo-ui Gujojeo k Teukjing — Donghak-gwa Jeungsangyo-reul Jungsimsim-euro" [Structural Characteristics of Korean New Religions as Seen through Self-Cultivation Theory — Focusing on Donghak and Jeungsan Religion], Donghak Hakbo [Journal of Donghak Studies] 25, 2012, p.153.)

²²⁶ Lee Gil-yong, *Understanding the Study of Religion*, Seoul: Handeul Publishing, 2007.

²²⁷ Ninian Smart's theory, like Eliade's, can be criticized as yet another typology, but Eliade's typology, setting aside its ambiguities, has been acknowledged by Jonathan Z. Smith as a useful explanatory system for capturing the characteristics of religion.

²²⁸ Van Gennep is translated into Korean in various ways besides 'Ban Genap' (반 게 념), including 'Bangjuneupeu' (방주네프) and 'Ban Henep' (반 헤 념). In this paper, the name is rendered as 'Ban Genep' following the general principles of Romanization.

Tae-soo focused on the formal aspects among the ritual aspects of the Cheonji-gongsa, which had not received attention, and conducted detailed research based on liminality theory.²²⁹ This dissertation, based on Kim Tae-soo's research on the formal aspects, intends to focus on the content-related aspects related to modernity by utilizing the latest research achievements on liminality.²³⁰

Next, from the perspective of structure, there is the theory that each tradition exhibits a unique structure, and each religion can be explained by the difference in its structure. If the aspect of principle viewed worldview as religion as a 'life-problem overcoming system,' the explanation from the aspect of structure is closer to a 'world-explanation system.' Anthropology that explains religion from the aspect of structure originates its methodology largely from the philosophies of science in the Anglo-American and Continental spheres. Both the Anglo-American and Continental spheres explain "Hak" (Learning) using the term 'paradigm.' However, its meaning is different. In the Anglo-American sphere, paradigm is related to the consensus of the community. In paradigm theory, a specific truth is merely a chain of hypotheses, so if the method is changed, something else can become truth. A paradigm is like a frame of thought, and if a new theory has a different problem-frame, existing scientists call it 'not normal science.' It took a long period of consensus among the scientific community for Einstein's theory of relativity to be recognized as science. The reason why the East's Yin-Yang and Five Elements is not currently incorporated into science can be attributed not to a problem of its scientific nature, but rather to the paradigm (norm) that recognizes only reductionism as science.²³¹

Viewed from the aspect of paradigm, the East's "Hak" (Learning) has 'correlative thinking' as its unique norm. 'Correlative thinking' is a term contrasted with 'analytic thinking'; unlike analytic epistemology, which holds that all things are independent and thus must be perceived by breaking them down, it is a method of thought that perceives through correlation, as all things are interconnected and cannot be broken down.

There has also been research that proved, through large-scale experiments, that the methodological differences between Eastern and Western scholarship are actually applied in the ways of thinking of modern Easterners and Westerners.²³² Furthermore, there is research revealing that Yin-Yang theory, a representative theory of correlative thinking, is correlative thinking in which analytic thinking is hidden.²³³ From the perspective of correlative thinking, analytic thinking is also, internally, cyclical thinking, so it is ultimately correlative thinking that is just not revealed. There is the research of Jeong Woo-jin, which

²²⁹ Kim Tae-soo, "Cheonjigongsa-e Natanan Uiryejeok Seonggyeok Yeongu" [A Study on the Ritual Characteristics Appearing in the Reordering Works of Heaven and Earth (Cheonjigongsa)], Daejin University Doctoral Dissertation, 2013.

²³⁰ Lee Yeong-ran, *Liminality (Riminaelliti)*, Seoul: Dongbang Printing Co., 2020; Thomassen, Bjørn, *Liminality and the modern*, Surrey: Ashgate, 2014.

²³¹ Thomas S. Kuhn, translated by Kim Myung-ja, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Seoul: Kkachi Glocal, 2013.

²³² Kim Myeong-jin, (EBS Documentary) *Dong-gwa Seo (East and West)*, Seoul: Yedam, 2008.

²³³ A. C. Graham, translated by Lee Chang-il, *Eumyang-gwa Sangwanjeok Sayu (Yin-Yang and the Nature of Correlative Thinking)*, Cheongye, p.264, 2001.

summarizes Eastern correlative thinking. Based on such research, what are considered today as Eastern and Western philosophical methodologies of thought can be broadly divided into two: the Eastern generative method and the Western ontological method.²³⁴ Correlative thinking corresponds to the Eastern generative method of thought, which has a deductive principle of generating from top to bottom, and this Eastern generative method of thought manifests largely as correlative thinking and synchronicity.²³⁵

Next, viewed from the aspect of process, worldview as religion can be seen as revitalization. Revitalization is a concept argued in the revitalization model mentioned in the revitalization model of the religious scholar Wallace. Revitalization appears in the process of acculturation, in the process of accepting other scholarships, and this becomes an important method for examining worldview as religion. This is because a religious worldview that does not change despite external changes can be understood as the process of continuity and change of tradition, and this occurs through revitalization.

Considering the concept of "Hak" (Learning) as a philosophical methodology examined above, this study intends to simultaneously and three-dimensionally use three methods from the anthropology of religion—which study worldview as religion within the continuity and change of tradition—to compare Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought. The continuity and change of tradition appearing in Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought are primarily manifested in semantic changes of terms and concepts. Therefore, this dissertation focuses on the key terms of the two thoughts, seeking to three-dimensionally grasp the continuity and change in the meaning of these terms using all three perspectives: structure, principle, and process. Through this, it aims to verify whether Daesoon Thought can hold significance as 'True Donghak' (Cham Donghak) by using as an indicator the extent to which Daesoon Thought was faithful to the continuity and change of the Eastern and Western traditions inherited by Donghak, from the perspective of religion as worldview.

East-West Distinction as the Theoretical Background of Autogenous Modernity

In Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought, the concept of East-West—that is, the division of Eastern and Western—appears as a very fundamental distinction, much like 'Donghak' or 'Cham Donghak' itself. If the East-West distinction appears as a fundamental division in philosophical thought, it is necessary to examine the criteria for this distinction and the reasons why this division is fundamentally important.

Research on the difference between Donghak (Eastern Learning) and Seohak (Western Learning) has been conducted in various areas, including the differences in Eastern and Western methodologies of thought. First, empirical research in cognitive psychology on the differences in thought methods between Easterners and Westerners has recently been substantiated through experimental psychology by Richard Eugene Nisbett (1941-present). Nisbett states that in experiments, the world appears to Asians as a complex

²³⁴ Kim Kyung-soo, 『Nojang-ui saengseongnon』 (Lao-Zhuang's Theory of Generation), Seoul: Munsachul, 2015.

²³⁵ Jeong U-jin, "Dongyang Gwahak-ui Nonri: Gameung-ui Yuhyeong-e Gwanhan Yeongu" [The Logic of Eastern Science: A Study on the Types of Resonance (Gameung)], Dogyo Munhwa Yeongu [Studies in Daoist Culture] 42, 2015, p.122.

place and an object of collective control rather than personal control, whereas to Westerners, the world is relatively simple and an object of highly personal control; the two worlds are indeed different. In fact, Nisbett noted that when seeing a bird fly, Westerners remember the number of birds, while Easterners remember the background.²³⁶

Various explanations have been offered regarding the differences in Eastern and Western methods of thought. First, Fung Yu-lan (1894-1990) explained it based on the difference between commercial and agricultural cultures. Fung Yu-lan argued that epistemology was absent in the East; the reason for this absence was that, unlike in the West where commerce developed—requiring the distinction between the essence and substance of trading partners—in the East, which had a favorable natural environment, intuitive perception was important in agriculture, thus not necessitating an epistemology that distinguishes essence and substance as in the West.²³⁷

Besides the difference between commerce and agriculture, Kim Pil-nyeon analyzed the origin of the East-West difference—summarized as collectivism and individualism—as the geographical-environmental differences faced by Greece and the Spring and Autumn/Warring States period, the axial age of Eastern and Western civilizations. Kim Pil-nyeon states that in the West, logic developed for clear communication because diverse races lived together, while in China, during the Spring and Autumn/Warring States period, the problems were political, leading to the development of internal ethics.²³⁸

Park Dong-hwan, who, unlike environmental determinists, is evaluated as having developed a Korean logic, also explains the East-West difference, especially the Korean difference, using a linguistic model. He states that Korean logic is a cyclical logic of 'Heosa' (functional words) determination, where the periphery determines the center, different from the West and China. He claims that because Korean logic is a logic of 'Heosa' determinism, it has a cyclical characteristic that allows new theories to be fused indefinitely.²³⁹

It is said that due to the East-West difference, Eastern and Western cultures can actually be typified by the relationship between the whole and the part, as Nisbett mentioned. Choi Bong-young states that each civilization can be classified according to whether it views the individual and the community from an individualistic or holistic perspective: Western religion (Seogyo) moved from a whole-subordinate worldview, viewing God and human in a relationship of subordination, to a modern individual-aggregate

²³⁶ Richard Nisbett, translated by Choi In-cheol, *Saenggak-ui Jido: Dongyang-gwa Seoyang, Sesang-eul Baraboneun Seoro Dareun Siseon* (The Geography of Thought: How Asians and Westerners Think Differently... and Why), Gimmyoungsa, 2004, pp.83-106.

²³⁷ Feng Youlan, *Jungguk Cheolhak-ui Jeongsin* (Xin Yuan Dao / The Spirit of Chinese Philosophy), translated by Gwak Sin-hwan, Seoul: Seogwangsa, 1993.

²³⁸ Kim Pil-nyeon, 『Dong-seo munmyeong-gwa jayeon gwahak』 (East-West Civilization and Natural Science), Seoul: Kkachi, 1992.

²³⁹ Park Dong-hwan, *Where is Eastern Logic?*, Seoul: Koryowon, 1993.

worldview; China is classified as having a whole-partial (Bubunja-jeok) worldview, and India a whole-dependent origination (Yeongija-jeok) worldview.²⁴⁰

In the case of the West, structuralist anthropologists represented by Lévi-Strauss demonstrated through debates with existentialism that the thought of primitive tribes also possesses structural principles that are in no way inferior to Western thought, such as existentialism. In structuralist anthropology, the thought system of indigenous peoples was called the 'Savage Mind,' and it is said to consist of symmetrical thinking, like Yin-Yang.²⁴¹ If the principles of structuralist anthropology are applied to the East and West, the fundamental reason for the East-West difference is that symmetrical thinking—the savage mind—was applied differently depending on the region. According to structuralist anthropology, Eastern holistic thinking is closer to symmetrical thinking, and this could be a more rational way of thinking than Western analytic thinking. In particular, Buddhism is said to achieve the symmetrical thinking closest to circulation. Because Buddhism possesses 'Emptiness' (Gong), the pinnacle of symmetrical thinking, it aligns with the symmetry of all things.²⁴²

Following the emergence of structuralist anthropology, the West sought 'thought from the outside' (*pensée du dehors*) through the concept of 'Immanence,' which allows reflection on Western thought. Immanence refers to the implicit conventions shared within a specific culture, characteristics that cannot be known except from the outside. For example, in the case of a fish that lives its entire life in water, water becomes an immanence difficult to know without leaving the water. The Western immanence discovered by the West, centered around post-structuralists, was the 'substance theory' that Matteo Ricci used when criticizing the East's correlative thinking, the theory of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements. Aristotle's substance theory is the theory that for a logical explanation of change, the process of change must be explained by a substance possessing attributes—namely, atoms, the four elements (earth, water, fire, air), God, etc. According to the substance theory of Matteo Ricci, who was influenced by Aristotle, since the ultimate substance is God, theories like Yin-Yang and the Five Elements or the Li-Qi theory, which do not explain change with substance as God does, were argued to be illogical.²⁴³

²⁴⁰ Choe Bong-yeong, "'Sahoe' Gaenyeom-e Jeonje-doen Gaegye-wa Jeonche-ui Gwangye-wa Yuhyeong" [The Relationship and Types of Individual and Whole Presupposed in the Concept of 'Society'], *Dongyang Sahoe Sasang* [Eastern Social Thought] 1, 1998, pp.88-101.

²⁴¹ Lévi-Strauss, translated by Ahn Jeong-nam, 『Yasaeng-ui sago』 (The Savage Mind), Seoul: Hangilsa, 1996.

²⁴² Nakazawa Shinichi, translated by Kim Ok-hui, *Daecheungseong Illyu Hak: Muusik-eseo Balgyeonhaneun Daeon-jeok Jiseong* (Symmetrical Anthropology: An Alternative Intelligence Discovered in the Unconscious), Dong-asia, 2004, pp.197-221.

²⁴³ In a cyclical worldview, the starting point of reality is not substance but resonance (*gameung*). (François Jullien, translated by Yu Byeong-tae, *Unhaeng-gwa Changio: Dongseo Munhwa Bigyo Siron* [Process and Creation: A Comparative Essay on Eastern and Western Cultures], Seoul: KC Academy, 2003, pp.55-69.) François Jullien argues that while both East and West aimed for the unity of opposites, Eastern immanence — which does not presuppose substance — although lacking the concept of substance, was able to escape the dogmatism found in the West. (François Jullien, *Maengja-wa Gyemong Cheolhakja-ui Daehwa: Dodeok-ui Gicho-reul Seuda, Ruso Kanteu* [Dialogue between Mencius and the Enlightenment Philosophers: Founding the Basis of Morality, Rousseau and Kant], Hanul Academy, 2009, pp.174-180.) Resonance (*gameung*) serves as the precursor to the Eastern mode of understanding things through resonance.

The reason post-structuralists like Gilles Deleuze (1925-1995), Paul-Michel Foucault (1926-1984), and Jacques Derrida (1930-2004) sought 'Outside Thinking' (*pensée du dehors*)—namely, Western immanence—was that they discovered traces of dogmatism in Western thought.²⁴⁴ The intersection in Western thought that both enabled the discovery of existence and also drove it away lay in the dogmatism possessed by substance. Although Derrida and others criticized this dogmatism, calling it 'phonocentrism' (Grammatology), etc., as Kim Ik-du argued, what caused Western dogmatism was the substance theory also present in Aristotle's theory of tragedy, and the failure to find an alternative to it in the West.²⁴⁵

Deleuze, who devised the concept of immanence, criticized substantiality but did not criticize the East. Jullien found 'thought from the outside' in the East through Deleuze's concept of immanence.²⁴⁶ Jullien focused on Eastern immanence, which aims for the unity of opposites but does not presuppose substance. According to him, Eastern holistic thought, although lacking the concept of substance, was able to escape dogmatism like that of the West. Furthermore, Jullien shows that because Eastern immanence was completely opposite to that of the West, Mencius's concept of self-cultivation-based existence, stemming from Eastern immanence, had the same character as the moral foundation of modern Western thought and could serve as an alternative case of problem-solving for Western thought.²⁴⁷

In fact, Wang Hui (1959-present), who has sought alternative modernity in Chinese thought, argues that an alternative modernity applicable to the contemporary era can be found in the process of Eastern correlative thinking changing since ancient times. Wang Hui states that as the feudal order of the Zhou Dynasty collapsed, the Confucian thought of the Xia, Shang, and Zhou dynasties, centered on emperors and aristocrats, was transformed. Wang Hui points out the error in the existing interpretation that Confucius's thought of 'Ren' (benevolence) was a rationalization of the sanctity of the Zhou Dynasty's rites and music (*Ye-ak*), which originated from shamanism; he argues that Confucius, on the contrary, sought to restore it. By the same principle, he views the 'theory of disasters and anomalies' (*Jaei-ron*) of the Han and Tang dynasties—which transitioned from feudalism to a 'Junxian' (commanderies and counties) system with strong centralization—and the Li-Qi theory of the Song, Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties, which were bureaucracy-oriented, as also being attempts to restore the collapsed sanctity. Wang Hui, who gained global fame by pointing out errors in existing research in his study of Lu Xun, argues that an alternative modernity based on Chinese thought is also possible through the restoration of tradition. Wang Hui's theory of alternative modernity, in that it explains modernity through the change of the sacred and the secular, aligns

²⁴⁴ Shin Ji-young, *What is Immanence?*, Seoul: Greenbee, 2009.

²⁴⁵ François Jullien, *Samul-ui Seonghyang: Jungguk-in-ui Sayu Bangseok* (The Propensity of Things: Toward a History of Efficacy in China), Hanul Academy, 2009, pp.27-37.

²⁴⁶ Shin Ji-young, *What is Immanence?*, Seoul: Greenbee, 2009.

²⁴⁷ François Jullien, *Maengja-wa Gyemong Cheolhakja-ui Daehwa: Dodeok-ui Gicho-reul Seuda, Ruso Kanteu* (Dialogue between Mencius and the Enlightenment Philosophers: Founding the Basis of Morality, Rousseau and Kant), Hanul Academy, 2009, pp.174-180.

with the Western theory of alternative modernity, which explains modernity through the 'encompassment' change of the sacred and the secular.²⁴⁸

Lim Heon-gyu, who studies Confucian thought through the mind-body relationship based on analytic philosophy, states that the empathetic interpretation of the mind concerning the child falling into the well in Mencius—which became the basis of Neo-Confucianism—has not yet been proven psycho-philosophically; however, if proven, it could become an important philosophical theory of the mind-body relationship that holistically solves problems that modern philosophy of mind's mind-body relationship cannot resolve. This can serve as an analytic-philosophical counterargument to the discussions that criticized correlative thinking using analytic philosophy.^{249,250}

Hwang Tae-yeon, who has traced the Eastern origins of the rationality that appeared in Western modernity after Matteo Ricci, states that actual Western rationality is not the Kantian-sense rationality spoken of by Weber, but the Confucian rationality of Confucius-Mencius, which accepted Chinese philosophy before Kant. The argument is that analytic philosophy, which represents rationality today, can be seen, when compared to Confucian rationality, as a dogmatism latent in Western substantiality.²⁵¹

To summarize, the difference in the thought systems of the East and West, although arising from various reasons, is ultimately condensed into the difference in immanence: the West's partial substance and the East's holistic attributes. The explanation in Eastern thought for the West's substance and the East's attributes can be interpreted as the difference in Yin-Yang attributes appearing in texts like the Huangdi Neijing (Yellow Emperor's Inner Canon). In the Huangdi Neijing, among the body's meridians (Gyeongnaek), the Yin meridians, which have Yin attributes, ascend from bottom to top, and the Yang meridians, which have Yang attributes, descend from top to bottom. If we apply the Yin-Yang difference explained in the Huangdi Neijing to the East and West, Westerners, having Yang attributes, possess a substantial thought system that moves from bottom to top, like the Yin meridians—that is, from the self to the universe; Easterners, having Yin attributes, possess an attributive and holistic thought system that moves from top to bottom, like the Yang meridians—that is, from the universe to the self. In the East, where the Earth's Qi (Ji) is Yang, people become 'Yin persons' (Eum-in) with Yin attributes to balance Yin-Yang; in the West, where the Earth's Qi is Yin, people become 'Yang persons' (Yang-in) with Yang

²⁴⁸ Cited in Lee Jong-min, *Jungguk Sasang-gwa Daeon Geundaeseong: Wang Hui-ui Geundae Jungguk Sasang-ui Heunggi Ilgi-wa Sseugi* (Chinese Thought and Alternative Modernity: Reading and Writing Wang Hui's The Rise of Modern Chinese Thought), Seoul: Hyeonamsa, 2017, pp.14-30.

²⁴⁹ Im Heon-gyu, *Gongja-eseo Dasan Jeong Yak-yong-kkaji: Yugyo Inmun Hak-ui Dongseo Cheolhakjeok Seongreul* (From Confucius to Dasan Jeong Yak-yong: East-West Philosophical Reflections on Confucian Humanities), Seoul: Para Academy, 2019, pp.350-381.

²⁵⁰ Kim Young-geon, 『Dongyang cheolhak-e gwanhan bunseokjeok bipan』 (An Analytical Critique of Eastern Philosophy), Seoul: Ratio Chulpansa, 2009.

²⁵¹ Hwang Tae-yeon, *Yugyo-jeok Geundae-ui Ilbaniron: Seogugukga-ui Yugyo-jeok Geundaehwa-wa Yugyogukga-ui Seogujeok Geundaehwa* (A General Theory of Confucian Modernity: The Confucian Modernization of Western States and the Western Modernization of Confucian States), Seoul: Hanguk Munhwasa, 2023.

attributes. Donghak Thought refers to this as the West's 'Gakja-wisim' (Each acting for oneself); Daesoon Thought, in the 'Jong-un' (Bell Rhyme), also expresses it as 'Cheon-gi hagang hago Jigi sangseung handa' (Heaven's Qi descends and Earth's Qi ascends), reprimanding that Western modernity—which, based on the Yin principle, thinks upward from the self to the world—ultimately fell into material gain (Jaeri).

The thought of immanence, which began in European structuralist philosophy centered in France, developed into empirical research such as the New Age Science Movement and Self-organization Theory, but it also crossed over into the Anglo-American sphere, developing into the theory of correlative thinking and liminality theory. Correlative thinking theory and liminality theory apply the binary opposition symmetrical thinking of structuralism to Eastern thought, developing into the characteristic of thought called 'correlative thinking' and the aspect of thought-change called 'liminality.' Correlative thinking develops in an empirical direction, like Fractal theory, and liminality theory gains attention as a post-modernity theory called 'Liquid Modernity.'²⁵²

Next, we will examine the criteria for the East-West distinction. In the Jeon-gyeong, the scripture of Daesoon Thought, which has more instances of East-West distinction than Donghak Thought, the criterion for the East-West distinction aligns with the criterion historically used in the East Asian cultural sphere. In the Jeon-gyeong, the chronologically earliest East-West distinction begins at the point where Matteo Ricci distinguished between the East and the West. This matches the traditional concept which geographically designated the West as west of the Kunlun Mountains and the East as east of them. By Western standards, the 'Orient' includes the Middle East, but in the East Asian cultural sphere, the Middle East corresponds to the West. The criterion distinguishing East and West becomes the Kunlun Mountains. Furthermore, in the Jeon-gyeong, instances of the East-West distinction also appear in the aspect of the world of divine beings (Sinmyeong-gye). As can be seen in the example that before Matteo Ricci, the East and West were firmly guarded so that divine beings (Sinmyeong) did not travel between them, or in the account that Great Master Jinmuk crossed over to the West leading all the Dao-mastery gods (Dotong-sin) of the East, the East-West distinction in the Jeon-gyeong appears even as a criterion for dividing the world of divine beings.²⁵³ That even the world of divine beings is divided into East and West means that the criterion for the East-West distinction is very central to the composition of the world.²⁵⁴

The reason the East-West distinction in Daesoon Thought appears even as a division of the world of divine beings is related to the Daesoon worldview of Yin-Yang and the Daesoon view of God(s) as Cheonjon (Heaven Honored), Jijon (Earth Honored), and Injon (Human Honored). In the worldview of

²⁵² Lee Jae-geol, "Kanteu Yugich'eronnui 'Jagijojikhwa' Gaenyeom-gwa Peuraekteol Iroui Gyocha Yeongu: Yugich'e, Saengmyeongseong, Muhan(無限)-e Daehan Mihakjeok Jeonje" [A Cross-Study of the Concept of 'Self-Organization' in Kant's Theory of Organism and Fractal Theory: Aesthetic Presuppositions Regarding Organism, Vitality, and Infinity], *Munhwa-wa Yunghap* [Culture and Convergence] 44(9), 2022, pp.419-433.

²⁵³ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9.

²⁵⁴ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 3-15.

Daesoon Thought, which regards all things as Yin-Yang differentiated from the Taegeuk (Supreme Ultimate), the East and the West each take charge of one axis of Yin-Yang. In Daesoon Thought, the reason the East-West distinction expands, among the axes of Yin-Yang, to become a criterion for dividing the world of divine beings is that the era of human history is the 'Earth Honored Era' (Jijon Sidae), when divine beings are enshrined on Earth. If the historical era of humanity is the 'Earth Honored Era' when divine beings are enshrined on Earth, then the distinction between East and West, which divides the Earth, becomes a core concept that extends even to the division of divine beings.²⁵⁵

If East and West become the core concept for distinguishing divine beings, then in the framework of Daesoon Thought—which sees divine beings as immanent in all things—East and West can be understood as the principle of the Taegeuk (the reference point of Yin-Yang) being applied even to the world of divine beings. According to this principle, the everyday affairs and objects of the East and the West all come to manifest in opposing forms, like Yin and Yang. Therefore, in Eastern 'Hak' (Learning), which holds that universal principles are immanent in everyday affairs, the distinction between Donghak (Eastern Learning) and Seohak (Western Learning) becomes a fundamental distinction, and indeed, Donghak and Seohak manifest with opposing attributes, like Yin and Yang.²⁵⁶

Donghak and Seohak were not only core concepts for distinguishing divine beings but also important concepts for understanding the West in the situation of the East-West clash, where Eastern civilization could be destroyed by Western civilization. Theories seeking to understand by distinguishing East and West, such as 'Dongdo-seogi-ron' (Eastern ways, Western machines), 'Jungche-seoyong-ron' (Chinese essence, Western function), and 'Seohak-jungwon-ron' (Western learning originated in China), already existed at that time. However, Donghak was the first in all of China, Japan, and Korea to make the distinction of dividing East and West into Yin and Yang from the perspective of thought methodology—a distinction that was modern yet more aligned with tradition.²⁵⁷

In fact, today, after Western civilization has been transmitted to the East for over 100 years and anthropological and cultural-studies comparisons of Eastern and Western methodologies of thought have progressed, the East-West distinction as a fundamental cultural division, which appeared in Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought at that time, appears to have been very appropriate. This is because, in that

²⁵⁵ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyobeop" (Dharma) 2-56.

²⁵⁶ It is said that the difference between Donghak and Western Learning (Seohak) as stated by Suun at the opening of the Nonhangmun (Discourse on Learning) of Donghak has been difficult to understand because Western Learning has been interpreted not as Western academia in general but limited to Catholicism. (Hwang Jong-won, "Choe Je-u-wa Park Eun-sik-ui Yugyo Gaehyeok Banghyang, Pyeongdeunggwon, Seogu Geundae Munmyeong-e Daehan Taedo" [The Direction of Confucian Reform, View of Equality, and Attitude toward Western Modernity in Choe Je-u and Park Eun-sik], *Toegye-hak-gwa Yugyo Munhwa* [Toegye Studies and Confucian Culture] 49, 2011, p.330.)

²⁵⁷ Ham Yeong-dae, "18~19-segi Seohak Jungwonron(西學中源論)-ui Jeonhae-wa Geu Hami — Seohak(西學)-e Daehan Joseon Hakjaadeul-ui Daejeung Nonri" [The Development and Implications of the Theory of Chinese Origin of Western Learning (西學中源論) in the 18th-19th Centuries — The Response Logic of Joseon Scholars toward Western Learning], 2020.

the East and the West show opposing aspects not only in culture and language but also in ways of thinking, Donghak can be seen as having realized the continuity of tradition starting from its very name.

Correlative Thought as the Philosophical Methodology of Autogenous Modernity

Today, the logic of Eastern science is establishing itself as correlative thinking, different from that of the West.²⁵⁸ Correlative thinking is a theory that applies structuralism to Eastern thought, viewing all things as interconnected; it is a Western re-evaluation of the rationality manifested in Eastern thought. Correlative thinking (Sang-gwan-jeok Sayu) is a way of thinking in which the part and the whole move simultaneously. It is a thought and cognition method based on the idea that the whole exists within the part and all things are interrelated; most civilizations, excluding the West, possess such a thought system. Correlative thinking, previously considered superstitious thought, is now being verified by modern science, and its potential as a new science is instead being explored.²⁵⁹ Recently, it has even been revealed that the theories of analytic science are, in fact, a type of correlative thinking.²⁶⁰ Among them, Yin-Yang theory—a representative traditional Eastern theory that constitutes the first aim (Jongji) of Daesoon Thought—is attracting attention as a representative correlative thinking system that brings to the surface the fact that analytic thinking is actually hidden correlative thinking.

Until now, Western science has engaged in individualistic thinking, holding that all things move independently. For example, men and women are opposites, but their movements are separate from each other. Thus, it has been thought that all things can be broken down into particles (atoms, molecules, quanta), and that an object is a collection of such parts. Modern Easterners raised with a Western education also mostly engage in analytic thinking. This method of perceiving objects by breaking them down, assuming all things are independent, is called analytic epistemology. In opposition to this, the generative method of thought, which perceives through correlation because all things are interconnected and cannot be broken down, is called correlative epistemology.²⁶¹

The theory of correlative thinking is a theory that begins with Granet, who first positively evaluated the Yin-Yang and Five Elements theory (Eum-Yang O-Haeng Seol)—the representative logical theory of Eastern thought—and continues through figures like Angus Charles Graham (1919-1991), Roger T. Ames (1947-present), David L. Hall (1937-2001), Benjamin Isadore Schwartz (1916-1999), and Joseph Terence

²⁵⁸ Jeong U-jin, 2015, "Dongyang Gwahak-ui Nonri: Gameung-ui Yuhyeong-e Gwanhan Yeongu" [The Logic of Eastern Science: A Study on the Types of Resonance], *Dogyo Munhwa Yeongu* [Studies in Daoist Culture] 42, pp.119-140.

²⁵⁹ J. J. Clarke, translated by Jo Hyeon-suk, Seoyang, *Dogyo-reul Mannada* (The Tao of the West: Western Transformations of Taoist Thought), Seoul: Yemun Seowon, 2014, p.152.

²⁶⁰ The scientific exploration of correlative thought is said to have been initiated by Needham and Capra, and further developed by Kauffman and others at the Santa Fe Institute. (J. J. Clarke, translated by Jo Hyeon-suk, Seoyang, *Dogyo-reul Mannada* [The Tao of the West: Western Transformations of Taoist Thought], Seoul: Yemun Seowon, 2014, pp.141-144, 167-177.)

²⁶¹ A. C. Graham, translated by Lee Chang-il, *Eumyang-gwa Sangwanjeok Sayu* (Yin-Yang and the Nature of Correlative Thinking), Cheongye, 2001.

Montgomery Needham (1900-1995). The theory of correlative thinking evaluated the Yin-Yang and Five Elements theory, which has both positive and negative aspects, as objectively as possible, assessing it as a primitive form of science. In particular, the American structuralist Sinologist A. C. Graham grafted structuralism onto Chinese philosophy and proved the correlative scientific nature of Eastern thought, which is different from Western individuality.²⁶² Only after the research of Graham and others did the West begin to understand the scientific nature of the East, and the East, conversely, is now finding its identity by learning Eastern thought through the West.²⁶³

John B. Henderson divided correlative thinking into four types. First, the relationship between humans and the universe, i.e., between the microcosm and the macrocosm.²⁶⁴ Second, the relationship between Heaven, the realm of the cosmos, and the earthly realm of the dynasty or state bureaucracy, which Needham called the 'state analogy.' Third, numerological correlation systems, such as the Five Elements. Fourth, the system of the I Ching (Book of Changes).²⁶⁵

That correlative thinking is a characteristic of the East, different from the West, is empirically proven in the field of cognitive psychology today. Nisbett, who first theorized the cognitive psychological differences between East and West from the perspective of correlative thinking, shows that due to correlative thinking, the world appears more complex to Easterners than to Westerners. Easterners are objects of collective control rather than personal control. To Westerners, the world is a relatively simple place; it is an object of extremely personal control. Indeed, he said they are two different worlds. Although the East also has various strata and large differences between countries, it can be said that they are common in that they engage in correlative thinking.²⁶⁶

Since correlative thought is the common cognitive framework of the Eastern worldview, its principles appear as correlative thought in the continuity and change of tradition. Eastern thought, represented by Yin-Yang, the Five Elements, and the Taegeuk (Supreme Ultimate), has explained the continuity and change of tradition based on how well it conforms to the Taegeuk and Yin-Yang Five Elements. Therefore, the continuity and change of tradition seen in Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought can be examined through the concepts of Yin-Yang Five Elements and Taegeuk.

²⁶² Kim Gi, "Eumyang Osaengseol-ui Jujahakjeok Jeokyeong Yangsang-e Gwanhan Yeongu" [A Study on the Patterns of Application of the Theory of Yin-Yang and the Five Agents in Neo-Confucianism], Sungkyunkwan University Doctoral Dissertation, 2012, p.4.

²⁶³ A. C. Graham, translated by Lee Chang-il, *Eumyang-gwa Sangwanjeok Sayu* (Yin-Yang and the Nature of Correlative Thinking), Cheongye, 2001; D. L. Hall and R. T. Ames, *Anticipating China*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995.

²⁶⁴ John B. Henderson, translated by Mun Jung-yang, *Jungguk-ui Uju-ron-gwa Cheongdae-ui Gwahak Hyeongmyeong* (The Development and Decline of Chinese Cosmology), 2004, p.45.

²⁶⁵ Jeong U-jin, "Dongyang Gwahak-ui Nonri: Gameung-ui Yuhyeong-e Gwanhan Yeongu" [The Logic of Eastern Science: A Study on the Types of Resonance], *Dogyo Munhwa Yeongu* [Studies in Daoist Culture] 42, 2015, p.122.

²⁶⁶ Richard Nisbett, translated by Choi In-cheol, *Saenggak-ui Jido: Dongyang-gwa Seoyang, Sesang-eul Baraboneun Seoro Dareun Siseon* (The Geography of Thought: How Asians and Westerners Think Differently... and Why), Gimmyoungsa, 2004.

Regarding correlative thinking, the focal point of Western discussions re-evaluating Eastern culture today, which began during the Enlightenment period, can be said to be Confucius's (B.C. 551-479) "Yil-i-gwan-ji" (One thread runs through it all). Confucius bound his theory together with the concept of empathy, known as "Chung-seo" (loyalty and reciprocity). Furthermore, Confucius stated that his methodology of "Yil-i-gwan-ji" was not his own theory but the methodology of "Sul-i-bu-jak" (Transmitting rather than creating), handed down from antiquity. In fact, "Yil-i-gwan-ji" is a characteristic not only of Confucius but of Eastern culture as a whole. The East, rather than the West, is actually more obsessed with consistency. In pre-Kantian Europe, Confucius's thought was interpreted as the "Yil-i-gwan-ji" of empathy and became the foundation for a new Western morality. However, because Eastern consistency, unlike Western, is an internal consistency, Confucianism appeared to post-Kantian researchers as nothing more than miscellaneous studies.

If Confucius's thought is reinterpreted from the aspect of the "Yil-i-gwan-ji" of empathy, Eastern thought, previously regarded as a subjective theory, manifests objective consistency. First, the fundamental concept of the I Ching (Book of Changes)—the basis of all Eastern thought—which is 'Cheon-Ji-In' (Heaven, Earth, Humanity), has aspects understood through empathy. In the Eastern tradition, the mutual empathy between Heaven, Earth, and Humanity has been expressed as 'Gam-eung' (sympathetic resonance). In Eastern thought, Heaven, Earth, Humanity, and humans all originated from the 'One Thing' (Il-mul), thus becoming beings that inevitably resonate sympathetically with one another. Empathy is also an extension of sympathetic resonance; it is not that resonance is a personification of empathy.

Today, Western research that understands Eastern thought through empathy can be said to be represented mainly by Jullien's theory of immanence and evolutionary anthropology. These two studies are representative of the rationalist and empiricist traditions of the West today, respectively, and can be said to be cases where disparate academic fields have met at the forefront of research. First, Jullien's research, which inherits the rationalist tradition, follows the research of Deleuze and Foucault. In the process of studying the immanence that differentiates the West from the East—that is, the unique characteristics the West possesses when viewed from the outside—Jullien discovers commonalities between Mencius and the Enlightenment philosophers. The reason the Enlightenment philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) garnered the attention of his contemporaries was his introduction of Eastern immanence—namely, empathy—which was difficult to find in Western philosophy. Empathy is the immanence of the East, that is, the most representative characteristic of the East that distinguishes it from the West.²⁶⁷

What Jullien identified as Western immanence was the concept of substance used in the process of explaining change. Aristotle, unlike Plato (B.C. 424-348), while completing the syllogism, formalized that change must be explained by the attributes possessed by a substance. For example, in the case of A

²⁶⁷ François Jullien, *Maengja-wa Gyemong Cheolhakja-ui Daehwa: Dodeok-ui Gicho-reul Seuda, Ruso Kanteu* (Dialogue between Mencius and the Enlightenment Philosophers: Founding the Basis of Morality, Rousseau and Kant), Hanul Academy, 2009.

changing to B, in the East or in the pre-Aristotelian West, it could change through sympathetic resonance, like empathy. However, after Aristotle, the change from A to B required that the substance of B be inherent within A. Within this tradition, the Eastern immanence—that sympathetic resonance can be an element of change—eventually led to empathy, and this empathy became the cornerstone of Enlightenment thought. The Enlightenment was a heterogeneous ideology in the West, and the West was able to achieve modern civilization by developing the heterogeneity of the Enlightenment into a moral foundation replacing God.

Another theory that interpreted the core of Confucian thought transmitted by Matteo Ricci as 'empathy' was British empiricism. Empiricism, due to its own practicality, was not bound by Aristotle's concept of immanence and thus naturally accepted Eastern thought as 'empathy' from the beginning. Although interaction with Eastern thought faltered on the continent after Kant, British empiricism continued to develop it into evolutionary theory and evolutionary anthropology. Evolutionary theory and evolutionary anthropology further expand empathy theory by incorporating the recent discovery of mirror neuron theory in brain science. In fact, American pragmatism, influenced by British empiricism, also had a great influence on China, especially through John Dewey (1859-1952), because it is said to be very similar to Confucius's thought.²⁶⁸

It is not, in fact, the first time today that the West has interpreted Eastern thought as empathy. Even before Kant, the West had consistently interpreted the East as empathy ever since encountering Matteo Ricci's translations. The Enlightenment and British empiricism can be said to have begun from Chinese influence. If Western modernity was a modernity based on the Confucian rationality transmitted by Matteo Ricci, then Donghak Thought, which appropriated Western Learning (Seohak) through liminality, can be called indigenous modernity.

Consequently, research linking Eastern correlative thinking with postmodernism, a post-modernity, followed. Kim Hyung-hyo early on linked postmodernism and Eastern thought, extending even to Jeungsan Thought, and many later Western scholars have agreed with this.²⁶⁹ Park Jeong-jin produced many substantial research achievements from a religious studies perspective based on Kim Hyung-hyo's research. Park Yong-sook has studied the East-West convergence of ancient shamanism from a civilizational history perspective, and Kim Jeong-min has sought empirical data.²⁷⁰ This has also been done in Daesoon Thought

²⁶⁸ Roger Ames, translated by Jang Won-seok, *Dongyang Cheolhak, Geu Salm-gwa Changjoseong: Hwaibudong: Bigyo Cheolhak Gangeui* (Eastern Philosophy, Its Life and Creativity: Harmony without Uniformity (和而不同): Lectures in Comparative Philosophy), Sungkyunkwan University Press, 2005, pp.155-199.

²⁶⁹ Kim Hyeong-hyo, "Wonsi Baebon-gwa Haewon Sasang-e Daehan Cheolhakjeok Seongreul — Jeungsan Sasang-ui Han Yeongu" [A Philosophical Reflection on the Thought of Returning to Origins and the Resolution of Grievances — A Study of Jeungsan Thought], *Dongseong Cheolhak-e Daehan Juche-jeok Girok* (Subjective Records on East-West Philosophy), Seoul: Goryeowon, 1985, pp.38-67; Kim Hyeong-hyo, *Deorida-wa Nojang-ui Dongbeop* (Derrida and the Reading Method of Lao-Zhuang), Hanguk Jeongsin Munhwa Yeonguwon, 1994.

²⁷⁰ Park Jeong-jin, *Jonggyo Illyu Hak* (Religious Anthropology), Seoul: Bulgyo Chunchu Sa, 2007; Park Jeong-jin, *Cheolhak-ui Seonmul, Seonmul-ui Cheolhak* (The Gift of Philosophy, The Philosophy of the Gift), Seoul: Sonamu, 2012.

research.²⁷¹ Kim Sang-il, the proponent of 'Han Philosophy,' also revealed the significance of Daesoon Thought through process philosophy and other means, and Kim Dae-hyun has compared Daesoon Thought with Hegel, Heidegger, Derrida, and Deleuze.²⁷²²⁷³²⁷⁴

Liminality and Revitalization

Liminality as the Mechanism of Sacred-Secular Transformation in Autogenous Modernity

Among the representative Western humanities and social science theories that connect correlative thinking—which Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought focused on—and modernity, there is the theory of Liminality. Liminality is a term first coined by Van Gennep in anthropology to express the attributes commonly appearing in 'rites of passage.' The Latin word 'Limen' is a language referring to the threshold, the boundary area, and liminality is a term derived from 'Limen.' Liminality is sometimes translated as 'Gyeonggyeseong' (boundary-ness) or 'Yeokchiseong' (threshold-ness), but as these fail to fully convey the meaning, it is generally translated simply as 'liminality.'²⁷⁵

Van Gennep discovered the concept of 'passage' (Tong-gwa) or 'Transition' as a common attribute of world religious rituals.²⁷⁶ Gennep states that the world's rites of passage are commonly composed of three types of rites: rites of separation, rites of transition (jeon-i or gwado), and rites of incorporation. Van Gennep expressed the boundary area moving from the first stage to the second stage of the rite of passage—that is, from separation to transition—as liminality.²⁷⁷²⁷⁸

²⁷¹ Park Yong-sook, *The 81 Characters of the Cheonbugyeong Paramita*, Paju: Sodong, 2018.

²⁷² Kim Jeong-min, 『Syameon Baibeul』 (Shaman Bible), Seoul: Global Contents, 2023.

²⁷³ Kim Sang-il, "Daesun Sasang-ui 4-dae Jongji-e Daehan Munmyeong Sajeok Gochal" [A Study on the Four Tenets of Daesoon Thought from the Perspective of the History of Civilization], *Daesoon Jinri Haksul Nonchong* [The Journal of Daesoon Jinri Academy] 1, 2007.

²⁷⁴ Kim Dae-hyeon, "Daesun Sasang-gwa Haidegeo-ui 'Yangsīm' Gaenyeom [The Concept of 'Yangsīm' (Conscience) in Daesoon Thought and Heidegger: Focusing on the Regressive Characteristics of 'Conscience' Oriented toward Origins], *Daesun Sasang Nonchong* 28, 2017, pp.243-265.; Kim Dae-hyeon, "A Study of Cheonjigongsa (天地公事) through Hegel's Concept of Labor (勞動, Arbeit)", *Daesun Sasang Nonchong* 32, 2019, pp.175-199; 勞動 Kim Dae-hyeon, "A Study on the Formation Background of Deleuze's System: Counter-current from the Abyss of Kant's Transcendental Philosophy System", *Daesun Sasang Nonchong* 37: 329-355, 2021; Kim Dae-hyeon, "A Deconstructive Understanding of the Haewon (解冤) Thought of Daesoon Truth: Focusing on Jacques Derrida's Deconstruction Theory", *Daesun Sasang Nonchong* 39, 2021, pp.69-97.

²⁷⁵ Arnold van Gennep, translated by Seo Yeong-dae, *Rites de Passage (Les rites de passage)*, Incheon: Inha University Press, 1986. Van Gennep's name can also be pronounced 'Bangzeunaepu' or 'Henep' in its original-language pronunciation, but here it is transliterated as 'Gennep' following general romanization conventions and the usage in other translations.

²⁷⁶ Arnold van Gennep, translated by Seo Yeong-dae, *Rites de Passage (Les rites de passage)*, Incheon: Inha University Press, 1986, p.13.

²⁷⁷ Arnold van Gennep, translated by Seo Yeong-dae, *Rites de Passage (Les rites de passage)*, Incheon: Inha University Press, 1986, p.13.

²⁷⁸ Arnold van Gennep, translated by Seo Yeong-dae, *Rites de Passage (Les rites de passage)*, Incheon: Inha University Press, 1986, p.14.

Van Gennep states that rites of passage are further divided, centered on the boundary area, into pre-liminal rites, liminal rites, and post-liminal rites. Liminality, by temporarily departing from value, possesses ambiguous, indeterminate, and vague attributes. For this reason, liminality is often compared to death, the womb, darkness, androgyny, desolation, solar and lunar eclipses, and so on. The reason the aspect of liminality has this duality and ambiguity is that the purpose of rites of passage is not simply a ritualistic formality of society for maintaining the existing social order, but to actually promote a new, unforeseen emergence. The change before and after the rite of passage is significant because it cannot be predicted by the person participating in the rite or by those around helping. However, the change after the rite of passage becomes a state of 'transcendence-inclusion' (Powol), which includes and yet goes beyond the state before the rite of passage.²⁷⁹

The strength of liminality theory is that it formalizes the form and content of change in detail, clearly revealing the role and meaning of symbols in the process of change within the ritual. Consequently, liminality theory offers a quick method for modern people, who find it difficult to understand the meaning of religion today, to communicate with religion.²⁸⁰

Two of the most noted concepts of modernity after the postmodernism debate—Zygmunt Bauman's 'Liquid Modernity' (液體近代) and Shmuel Noah Eisenstadt's (1923-2010) 'Multiple Modernities' (多重近代性)—are both related to the concept of liminality.²⁸¹ The reason liminality is gaining attention as a theory of modernity is that it analyzes the problems of modern society that Hegel's (Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, 1770-1831) dialectic, which represents the conventional ideology of modernity, fails to address.²⁸² Bauman, who dedicated his life to the concept of modernity, garnered global attention late in life with the concept of "liquid modernity." Liquidity refers to "ambiguity" (兩價性), which is said to be a characteristic of modernity, and this implies the positive meaning of liminality.²⁸³ Furthermore, multiple modernities, which describes modernity using the concept of tongseop (consilience/encompassment) that redefines the concepts of the sacred and the secular, represents the concept of liminality present in the boundary transition between the sacred and the secular.

Liminality has the attribute of the union of opposites, like the dialectic composed of thesis-antithesis-synthesis, but it points out the problem of ambiguity inherent in the union of opposites—which the dialectic optimistically interpreted—and interprets this ambiguity as the cause of the extreme despondency and

²⁷⁹ Z. Bauman, "A Revolution in the Theory of Revolutions?", *International Political Science Review* 15(1): 15-24, 1994.

²⁸⁰ Victor Turner, translated by Gang Dae-hun, *Human Society and Symbolic Action: Social Drama, Structure, Communitas (Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors)*, Seoul: Hwangsogaeum, 2018, pp.5-12.

²⁸¹ Zygmunt Bauman, translated by Jung Il-joon, *Wasted Lives: Modernity and Its Outcasts*, Seoul: Saemulgyeol, 2008.

²⁸² Samuel N. Eisenstadt, translated by Im Hyeon-jin [et al.], *Exploring Multiple Modernities: A Comparative Civilizational Perspective (Comparative Civilizations and Multiple Modernities)*, Paju: Nanam, 2009. The concept of multiple modernities also encompasses alternative modernities such as autogenous (indigenous) modernity.

²⁸³ A. Szakolczai, "Liminality and experience: Structuring transitory situations and transformative events", *International Political Anthropology* 2(1), 2009, p.160.

uncertainty of contemporary modernity, such as eternal liminality, or 'Liquid Modernity.' The concept of liminality is recognized as a theory that brilliantly analyzes the confusion of post-modernity by suggesting that modernity, which subverted existing values, brought about the result of "throwing the baby out with the bathwater."²⁸⁴

The development of liminality theory into a theory that interprets modernity as an alternative to the dialectic occurred in three stages. The first is the stage where Van Gennep's liminality theory was criticized by David-Emile Durkheim (1858-1917)—whose theory became the mainstream in sociology up to the present day—and was reduced to only a theory of the Ritual Process. The concept of "passage," which Van Gennep discovered as a common attribute of rituals, was a concept that anthropology had long sought at that time. Since Frazer (Sir James George Frazer, 1854-1941), who discovered 'The Golden Bough' in the tradition of the priesthood of the woods as a common principle of anthropology, anthropology has been searching for the common principle by which humanity came to form society. Van Gennep, a contemporary of Dumézil (Georges Dumézil, 1898-1986) who succeeded Frazer and discovered the trifunctional system common to the Indo-European language family, discovered the concept of common passage in rituals and liminality, the core of passage, which later greatly influenced religious studies, including Eliade.

The concept of "passage," which Van Gennep discovered as a common attribute of rituals, was an influential theory capable of explaining not only anthropology but even the core principles that constitute society. However, this was a concept that contradicted the sociological theories of "function" and "maintenance" that were mainstream in sociology at the time. Durkheim, who first proposed the theory of 'sociologism'—that religious phenomena are a reflection of social phenomena—and formed the mainstream theory, criticized Van Gennep's liminality theory, which emphasized action over structure, and reduced the concept of liminality, which originally started as a universal concept, to only the theoretical domain of rites of passage. The concept of liminality discovered by Van Gennep was consistent with the French Revolution, which was the background for the emergence of sociology by Comte and others, and it was also a theory consistent with the concept of liminality appearing in Pascal's "thinking reed," which was as influential as Kant at the time. Nevertheless, liminality subsequently became an almost forgotten concept in the sociology of religion.²⁸⁵

The second stage is the revival of the buried concept of liminality through Victor Turner's accidental discovery. Victor Turner, who was studying the rites of passage of the Ndembu tribe at the time, was trying to establish his own concept to explain their rites, which could not be explained by existing structural-functional anthropological theory; in the process, he discovered Van Gennep's theory of liminality, introduced the concept of structure, and uncovered the hidden meaning of the liminality concept that even

²⁸⁴ Bauman received the European Amalfi Prize for Sociology and Social Sciences in 1992, and the Theodor W. Adorno Award from the City of Frankfurt in 1998.

²⁸⁵ B. Thomassen, *Liminality and the modern*, Surrey: Ashgate, 2014, p.4; cited in Kim Gwang-geon, "A Multifaceted Understanding of the Concept of Liminality", *Theology and Praxis* 78, 2022, pp.700-701.

Van Gennep had not explained.²⁸⁶ Victor Turner focused on the transition stage among the rites of passage (separation, transition, incorporation) and discovered that the phenomenon of liminality appearing at this time is a concept, like the dialectic, that can explain not only rites of passage but also macroscopic, society-wide changes.²⁸⁷ After discovering the social drama aspect of liminality, Turner, along with Richard Schechner (1934-present) and others, defined the common attributes of rituals as 'performance' and developed research into ethno-performance studies. The third stage is when the concept of liminality, expanded by his wife Edith Turner (1921-2016) after Turner's death to analyze various everyday situations, was actually introduced into the analysis of the concept of modernity by Zygmunt Bauman and Shmuel Eisenstadt, and subsequently spread widely throughout the humanities and social sciences, being expanded even to theories of post-modernity in individual national cultures by figures like Kim Ik-du and Lee Young-ran.^{288,289}

The dialectic had early on been compared from the perspective of the East-West difference, noting its commonalities and differences with Yin-Yang theory, a theory of correlative thinking. Liminality theory interpreted the commonalities appearing in Eastern and Western modernity, acting as a mediating concept between Yin-Yang theory and the dialectic. Liminality theory was initially a concept in cultural anthropology originating from ritual and ceremony theory known as rites of passage, but it was decisively expanded by Turner into a universal concept applied across the entirety of socio-cultural change.²⁹⁰

Victor Turner's liminality theory is broadly classified into liminality and *communitas*. Liminality and *communitas* are theories of social drama ritual. Among these, the concept of social drama is a reinterpretation of Van Gennep's theory of rites of passage as a theatrical theory of social change. According to Van Gennep, humans experience rites of passage when facing a survival crisis, passing through an unfamiliar territory, or undergoing a change in status. Rites of passage include the process of 'separation → transition → incorporation.' Turner, a symbolic-comparative cultural anthropologist, viewed Van Gennep's concept of rites of passage not just as ritual, but as a universal principle and structure of society. Victor Turner expanded Van Gennep's concept of rites of passage to all social, cultural, and religious domains, calling it 'Social Drama,' as it is like a play set against the backdrop of society.²⁹¹

Communitas is a term concerning human interrelationship, and Victor Turner presented two types of human relatedness. These are parallel interrelationship and alternative (either/or) interrelationship.

²⁸⁶ A. Szakolczai, "Liminality and experience: Structuring transitory situations and transformative events", *International Political Anthropology* 2(1), 2009, p.160.

²⁸⁷ M. Engelke, "An Interview with Edith Turner", *Current Anthropology* 41(5), 2000, pp.843-852.

²⁸⁸ Kim Ik-doo, 『Hanguk minjok gongyeonhak』 (Korean National Performance Studies), Paju: Jisik Sanupsa, 2013.

²⁸⁹ Lee Young-ran, *Liminality*, Seoul: Dongbang Printing Co., 2020.

²⁹⁰ Kim Hye-suk, *New Theory of Yin and Yang (Sin eumyangnon)*, Seoul: Ewha Womans University Press, 2014.; Kim Yeong-ju, "Overcoming Western Dichotomy and Eastern Yin-Yang Method: Taeguk Dichotomy", *Social Thought and Culture* 4, 2001, pp.37-80.

²⁹¹ Victor Turner, translated by Kim Ik-doo, (Victor Turner's) *From Ritual to Theatre*, Seoul: Minsokwon, 2014.

Liminality and *communitas* appear almost simultaneously and are seen as being named differently depending on the difference in emphasis. The former refers to the structural state of the existing society, that is, the structured and differentiated social mode of political, legal, and economic status; the latter refers to the relatively undifferentiated social mode during the transition phase of a ritual, when organization is incomplete. The latter corresponds precisely to anti-structure. In this sense, *communitas* can be called an 'anti-structure' that transcends the dimension of structure, or a post-structural community in a 'structureless' state where structure has been dismantled.

Victor Turner's social drama is expanded to function like myth does for Eliade. However, whereas for Eliade, myth is a story related to the unique sacred era, Turner argued that myth contributes to current psychological and social purposes by broadly providing experiences that straddle the boundaries of consciousness. This is the same as accepting the claims of the ritual school within mythology. The ritual school linked myth and ritual in order to justify the ritual itself, but Turner links ritual and myth by focusing on the point that both perform the psychological function of helping to pass through life's painful transition processes more smoothly. The reason Victor Turner's social drama theory attracts attention in crisis situation analysis is that it explains how to overcome a crisis in the most comprehensive yet detailed way. *Communitas* is applied today not only to rituals but also to areas such as society, politics, religion, culture, and the arts.

Victor Turner discovered a peculiar fact while studying the Ndembu tribe of Africa. The members of that tribe were brave, strong, and responsible. What he learned through the tribe's traditional coming-of-age ceremony for 13-year-old boys was that, at the appropriate time, adult men would sneak into the quarters, wrap the boys in cloths, and abduct them. Afterward, the adult men take the boys to a completely unknown place and disappear. This place where the boys are thrown is precisely the state of liminality. The boys, facing a crisis they have never experienced before, realize they have been thrown into the mountains, completely unfamiliar with their surroundings. At first, they all cry and make a fuss, but their parents do not come just because they cry. The tribe's elders visit once a month to check on them and give advice. In such an environment, the boys learn how to survive. The boys learn a very strong sense of cooperation, camaraderie, and solidarity, thinking, 'We must stick together to survive here,' and develop an intense social bond and sense of belonging. After going through such a process, they return to the village and perform the coming-of-age ceremony. This community, which the boys learn by surviving together as members of the community before their coming-of-age ceremony, is called *communitas*.²⁹²

Victor Turner says that social drama is a theory that explains the changes in "universal socio-cultural phenomena occurring worldwide." According to Victor Turner, all social dramas and conflicts go through the dialectic of 'structure → anti-structure → structure,' and specifically, they go through the stages of breach—crisis—redress/healing—reintegration/schism. Whereas Van Gennep focused his interest on

²⁹² Victor Turner, *The Forest of Symbols* (Sangjing-ui sup), Seoul: Jisig-eul mandeuneun jisig, 2020.

rituals performed during life crises, such as coming-of-age ceremonies, weddings, funerals, childbirth, and pregnancy, Victor Turner noted the fact that most rituals or events possess the process or form of passage. In short, Victor Turner became interested in the second stage of the three stages, transition—that is, the time and space of the threshold or sill placed on the boundary line, belonging to neither this stage nor that stage; he considered this second stage, transition—namely, anti-structure—to be the key to crisis resolution, and began full-scale research on the symbolic system of rituals, utilizing terms such as limen, liminality, liminoid, communitas, anti-structure, and the subjunctive mode of culture.

Communitas and liminality, which form anti-structure, are closely related yet distinct. Liminality concerns the modes of existence, situations, and conditions of humans or groups. Communitas, on the other hand, concerns the mode of human interrelationship revealed in liminality.

Liminality is the intermediate state and process—filled with all possibilities and potential powers—that one passes through to break away from the existing socio-cultural system, order, or symbolic system, lose one's existing status, and reintegrate into a new system. Communitas is essentially a relationship between specific individuals of different qualities. These individuals are not divided by role or status but form free relationships among individuals.

The characteristics of anti-structure are as follows. First, anonymity. Within communitas, humans generally become anonymous beings. The participants in a ritual are represented as propertyless, wearing identical clothing. The secular markers of identification they held in the existing society—status, property, occupation, rank, social standing, privileges, and so on—all disappear or are homogenized. Second, equality. In a state where all existing social status and standing have been nullified, a strong sense of comradeship and equality grows among the practitioners, and they actively embrace egalitarianism. Third, the paradoxical power of the weak. In an anti-structural situation, social roles and authority are reversed: a phenomenon appears in which the weak seize authority and the strong are stripped of it. Those in lower positions rise to high places, or those of low standing or status come to possess sacred attributes, whether permanently or temporarily. The purpose of this lies in society's giving shape to its own mode of existence.²⁹³

After Victor Turner's death, his wife Edith Turner further expanded the scope of application for communitas, explaining that it appears in almost all spheres of life. She presented new categories such as the communitas of work (labor), liberation, resistance, and disaster, in addition to the communitas found in rites of passage, festivals, music, and sports.²⁹⁴

In particular, Edith Turner states that the response of communitas in disaster situations is important. This is the redress/healing stage in the four stages of social drama: breach—crisis—redress/healing—

²⁹³ Victor Turner, translated by Park Geun-won, *The Ritual Process (Uirye-ui gwajong)*, Seoul: Korean Psychotherapy Research Institute, 2005, pp.144-170.

²⁹⁴ Turner, Edith L. B., *Communitas*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

reintegration/schism. In today's social dramas, what influences redress/healing the most is the media of various societies, including SNS. However, when conflicts cannot be resolved by society's media alone, as in the case of COVID-19, what comes to the fore is religious coping.²⁹⁵

In this respect, previous studies have failed to sufficiently highlight the self-cultivation tradition of Daesoon Thought. The attribute of liminality that integrates these has a strong aspect of synthesizing performative post-modernity performatively, as in drama therapy. Nevertheless, liminality becomes a good framework for explanation when it includes socio-cultural elements while preserving its unique performative characteristics. In both East and West, modernity arrived at moments of crisis, like disaster situations. In the case of the West, modernity arose in the process of attempting exchange with China and India, based on the medieval crisis of the Mongol invasions and the plague, and the reflection upon it. Donghak Thought also arose as a rite of passage to overcome the crisis of potential genocide amidst the imperialist domination of Asia.²⁹⁶

Meanwhile, the term "Liquid Modernity," which implies a very unstable state though it contains much potential for change, well explains why "Liminality" is in the spotlight, replacing dialectics, in the discourse on the crisis of modernity. In the theory of "Liquid Modernity," modernity is interpreted as an extreme state of fluid change due to permanent liminality. The concept of "Liquid Modernity" is that the modern era, born from overcoming feudal values, is in a state of permanent liminality, like a liquid, because it failed to establish alternative values. The concept of liminality is a useful theory that, while everyday like 'romantic love,' offers clear interpretations for representative modern myth concepts or difficult modern cases like the Gwangju Democratization Movement.²⁹⁷ Nevertheless, liminality, which achieves modernity through the rearrangement of the sacred and the secular, also presents the problem of modern people trapped in permanent liminality.²⁹⁸ This is because modern people today have 'never been modern,' so the modern era has always remained an unfinished reform.²⁹⁹³⁰⁰

Regarding this problem, the researcher who expanded liminality, a core concept of modernity, to the indigenous modernity appearing in correlative thinking is Kim Ji-ha.³⁰¹ Kim Ik-du, and Lee Young-ran. Kim Ji-ha, who discovered in Donghak Thought an Eastern generative thinking method different from the

²⁹⁵ M. Engelke, "An Interview with Edith Turner", *Current Anthropology* 41(5), 2000, pp.843-852.

²⁹⁶ There is also prior research by Khyentse Norbu, the Bhutanese spiritual leader famous as the director of the film 'The Cup,' who studied performance studies in relation to Buddhism. Norbu, Khyentse, *Renjan shi juchang* (All the World's a Stage), Beijing: New Star Press, 2016.

²⁹⁷ Zygmunt Bauman, translated by Lee Il-soo, *Liquid Modernity*, Seoul: Kang, 2009.

²⁹⁸ Eva Illouz, translated by Park Hyeong-sin and Gwon O-heon, *Consuming the Romantic Utopia* (Consuming the Romantic Utopia: Love and the Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism), Seoul: Ihaksa, 2014.

²⁹⁹ Gang In-cheol, *The May 18th Gwangju Communitas* (5.18 Gwangju Keomyunitaseu), Seoul: Saram-ui Munui, 2020.

³⁰⁰ Bruno Latour, translated by Hong Chul-ki, *We Have Never Been Modern: Essay on Symmetrical Anthropology*, Seoul: Galmuri, 2009.

³⁰¹ A. Szakolczai, "Permanent (trickster) liminality: The reasons of the heart and of the mind", *Theory & Psychology* 27(2), 2017, pp.231-248.

Western dialectic and advocated for 'Life Thought' (Saengmyeong Sasang), discovered indigenous modernity in Donghak Thought and expanded his research to Daesoon Thought with 'Yullyeo' (cosmic rhythm) thought and the 'aesthetics of white shadow.' Kim Ik-du applied the anthropological concept of liminality to Kim Ji-ha's 'aesthetics of white shadow,' revealing that indigenous modernity is connected to the concept of liminality. Lee Young-ran views the core difference distinguishing the concept of liminality, which connects to post-modernity, from the dialectic as lying in 'ontogeny recapitulating phylogeny.' For example, if in the 'Samjae' (Three Potentials) of Heaven, Earth, and Human (Cheon-Ji-In), Heaven, Earth, and Human are 1, 2, and 3 respectively, the change from Heaven (1) to Earth (2)—that is, liminality—is said to manifest the aspect of liminality because the emergent property of Earth (1, 2, 1+2) appears from Earth (2). Similarly, the change from Heaven (1) to Human (3) requires the properties of Human (1, 2, 3, 1+2, 1+2+3) to appear from Human (3), and to form the 'Samjae,' it must become a new, larger 1. Lee Young-ran states that the reason 'ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny' in the aspect of liminality is because the "body" (Sinche) has the principle of the 'body' (Mom), where change accumulates. Lee Young-ran says that the aspect of liminality operates simultaneously through the body, and therefore it is the phenomenon itself, operating even in the present.³⁰²

Turner also defined liminality as the emergence of a new, third element. Turner sees the difference between the liminality he rediscovered and the liminality first spoken of by Van Gennep as the indeterminacy of liminality. He states that while conventional liminality involved rites of passage with the character of a formality, primarily for the reintegration of society, the reason the aspect of liminality actually functions in society is because of liminality's indeterminacy.³⁰³

Furthermore, Turner says that this indeterminacy is the emergence of a third element, and this third element has the 'Ga-il-bae' (doubled) character of integrating the contradictions of both the existing element and the new element. This is just like in a scientific revolution, where for a paradigm to change, the new paradigm must explain everything the existing paradigm explained, plus explain new phenomena, in order to replace the existing paradigm.³⁰⁴

In the East, liminality has long been explained through the terms 'the method of doubling' (gayilbaebeop 加一倍法) and 'transformation' (hwa 化). The method of doubling refers to Shao Yong's principle in the Yijing of adding 1 when changing from one dimension to the next. Here, 'doubling' (gayilbae) signifies a multiple of 2. For example, if something cannot be explained by yin-yang, then by doubling yin-yang—that is, by multiplying by 2—it can be explained through the Four Images (sasang).

³⁰² Lee Yeong-ran, *Liminality (Liminaeliti)*, Seoul: Dongbang Printing Co., 2020, pp.231-232.

³⁰³ Victor Turner, translated by Kim Ik-doo, (Victor Turner's) *From Ritual to Theatre* (Jeui-eseo Yeongeuk-euro), Seoul: Minsokwon, 2014, pp.47-48.

³⁰⁴ In Daesoon thought as well, liminality has been studied as religious experience through the difference in religious experience between surface religion and depth religion. (Lee Eun-hui, "Daesoon Jinrihoe Viewed from the Perspective of Surface and Depth: From the Viewpoint of Religious Experience", *Daesun Sasang Nonchong* 27, 2016)

Indeed, the East's yin-yang and Five Phases are structured as yin-yang ($2, 2^1$)—the Four Images ($4 = 2^2$)—the Eight Trigrams ($8 = 2^3$). Here 2, 4, and 8 move as multiples of 2, but in the exponents of 2 they are 1, 2, 3—a doubling. Expressed in terms of gua (lines), this becomes —, 二, 三, ䷊, a doubling.

In this case, 'Ga-il-bae'—adding 1—means adding one more 'count' onto the existing foundation, which aligns with the content-related characteristic of liminality described by Lee Young-ran. This is applied identically in the numerical changes of the East's Six Lines (Yuk-hyo), or the West's Enneagram, Tarot, Kabbalah, etc. In the Six Lines (Yuk-hyo), which are the 6-line hexagrams of the I Ching, the next line possesses the elements of the previous line. In the Enneagram, Tarot, etc., the subsequent number also has the characteristics of the preceding number. The freedom in religious acceptance in Korea, which has a strong character of 'grafting' (Jeophwa), can also be explained this way. That is, it is said to be because Koreans do not 'convert' (Gaejong) when accepting a religion, but 'add' a religion (Gajong). Hwang Pil-ho states that 'Gajong' (adding a religion) is a characteristic of Korean religious culture. For example, when Buddhism entered, it was merely the addition of the element called Buddhism to existing Shamanism; the same applied later to Confucianism and Christianity.³⁰⁵ This has traditionally been expressed in the East as 'Powol' (transcendence-inclusion), 'Jeophwa' (grafting), or 'Hwa' (transformation), meaning to include and transcend. Korean culture, with its strong 'grafting' (Jeophwa) character, has a character closer to the Heaven-beyond-Heaven, or transcendent Heaven, compared to Chinese culture, which has a strong 'assimilative' (Donghwa) character, or Japanese culture, which has a strong 'condensative' (Eungchuk) character, even among East Asian cultures. It is said that among the three East Asian countries, only Korea saw the transcendent-Heaven religions of Protestantism and Catholicism gain prominence. 'Jeophwa' (grafting) is a concept that encompasses both mind and body.³⁰⁶ Similarly, in rites of passage, both the spirit and the material must endure the rite of passage. When the spirit changes like the body, it changes according to the principle of 'Ga-il-bae-beop' (adding one fold), so this was traditionally expressed using "Hwa" (化), signifying chemical change. "Hwa" (化) represented the principle by which the transcendent Heaven operates things, as seen in the Jeongyeok (Correct Change), which expresses the Creator as the "Old Man of Transformation" (Hwamuweng).

The liminality of correlative thinking appearing in Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought is explained in more detail by Kim Ji-ha, Kim Ik-du, and Lee Young-ran. Kim Ji-ha, who experienced the liminality of life offered by Donghak Thought during his imprisonment, left behind a vast amount of writing on the indigenous modernity and post-modernity found in Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought

³⁰⁵ Hwang Pil-ho, *Apologetics of Religion, Religious Studies, Philosophy of Religion* (Jonggyo byeonhohak, jonggyo hak, jonggyo cheolhak), Seoul: Cheolhak-gwa Hyeosilsa, 2004, pp.220-235.

³⁰⁶ The 'sky beyond sky' (haneul bakk-ui haneul) is called 'transcendent heaven' (chowolcheon) or 'heaven beyond heaven' (cheonwaecheon). In Daesoon thought, in this text, the 'sky beyond sky' will be called 'Gucheon' (the Ninth Heaven) in the context of Daesoon thought; in other contexts, when the meaning contrasting with immanent heaven (naejaecheon) is emphasized, it will be called 'transcendent heaven' (chowolcheon); and when spatial difference is emphasized, it will be called 'heaven beyond heaven' (cheonwaecheon).

after his release. Kim Ji-ha explained the development from Donghak Thought to Daesoon Thought in three stages: Life, Yullyeo (rhythm), and White Shadow. Regarding the difference between Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought, Kim Ji-ha argues that Jeungsan Thought emphasized everyday life more than Donghak Thought did. Kim Ji-ha discovered "Life" in Donghak, finding an indigenous modernity as opposed to the material-centric, materialistic Western modernity. However, he explains that Donghak, which discovered "Life," "Yin-Yang," and "Sicheonju" (Bearing God), failed to find the roots to make these sustainable in everyday life and could not overcome the Confucian limitation (Jeoncheon) of "Yoksok-budal" (More haste, less speed), leading to the emergence of Daesoon Thought, an indigenous post-modernity.³⁰⁷

It was Kim Ik-du who revealed that the center of change in the 3-stage development of Kim Ji-ha's theory lies in the concept of the liminality of the 'white shadow.' Kim Ji-ha perplexed surrounding researchers by failing to find a concept in Western theory similar to the 'white shadow' concept he devised, and it was Kim Ik-du who solved this problem. Kim Ik-du showed that the dual attributes of the 'white shadow' correspond to the dual attributes appearing in the aspect of liminality, and that the 3-stage development of Kim Ji-ha's theory corresponds to the 3-stage development possessed by the aspect of liminality. Kim Ik-du also derives the uniqueness of Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought, as explained by Kim Ji-ha, by presenting not only the commonalities but also the differences in the liminality attributes possessed by the 'white shadow.' As a professional drama researcher, Kim Ik-du analyzes Eastern and Western myths as dramas and finds that the crucial difference in the aspects of Eastern and Western mythology lies in Aristotle's theory of conflict. And he explains that this Aristotelian theory of conflict extends to liminality theory, and the East-West difference in liminality connects to the difference between the indigenous post-modernity discovered by Kim Ji-ha and Western post-modernity. Therefore, Kim Ik-du reveals that the indigenous modernity and post-modernity found in Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought, discovered by Kim Ji-ha, are the alternative modernity that Western postmodernism had been searching for so desperately.³⁰⁸

Kim Ik-du's research, due to Lee Young-ran's research which identified liminality as a common attribute of postmodernism, becomes more precisely combined with Western theory and develops into theories of indigenous modernity and indigenous post-modernity. Lee Young-ran analyzes liminality theory as a common phenomenon appearing in postmodernism. Lee Young-ran discovered that the aspect of liminality is a common point in the various concepts with which post-modernity theorists criticized the modern era. Consequently, liminality is regarded as a keyword that encapsulates contemporary Eastern and Western thought. Lee Young-ran integrates and presents Maurice Merleau-Ponty's (1908-1961) phenomenology of the body, Derrida's deconstructionism, Whitehead's process philosophy, Deleuze's

³⁰⁷ Kim Ji-ha, *Collected Works of Kim Ji-ha*, Vol. 1 (Kim Ji-ha Jeonjip 1), Seoul: Silcheon Munhaksa, 2002.

³⁰⁸ Kim Ik-du, "The Vision of 'Cheonji-gut' (Heaven-and-Earth Ritual) of Sangsaeng, Haewon, and Daedong, and the Style of Creating Sinmyeong", *Cheonnyeon-ui sijak* 11(3), 2012, pp.12-25.

philosophy of becoming, Kim Sang-il's 'Han' thought, and Korean 'Seondo' (Way of Immortals) thought into liminality theory from a performance studies perspective, as shown in <Table 2>.³⁰⁹

The table above, which summarizes liminality and post-modernity from a performance studies perspective, provides a key viewpoint for expressing the liminality of correlative thinking as indigenous modernity. When the union of 'Hon' (spirit-soul) and 'Baek' (body-soul), mind and body, is considered the core task given to humans in the views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, performance studies, which unites mind and body, can present a major methodology. In fact, Merleau-Ponty, who introduced the 'body' into phenomenology, is evaluated as a philosopher who made an original contribution to the development of phenomenology, and the core theme of post-modernity is also said to be the introduction of the 'body.' In addition, Lee Young-ran defines the characteristic of liminality as post-modernity as 'ontogeny recapitulating phylogeny,' clarifying its difference from the dialectic. Lee Young-ran states that the stages occurring in the liminality process, such as anti-structure and separation, can be understood as the process of ontogeny that must recapitulate phylogeny. In other words, the process of binary-opposition integration in liminality becomes the passage process of the individual, which must recapitulate phylogeny. In fact, Turner also explains the process of nullification in the transition stage as an integration of the pre-liminal stage and the post-liminal stage.

<Table 2>. Summary of Liminality and Postmodernity from the Perspective of Performance Studies
<Table 2>. Summary of Liminality and Postmodernity from the Perspective of Performance Studies

Phenomenology	Deconstructionism	Process Philosophy	Philosophy of Becoming
Merleau-Ponty	Jacques Derrida	Alfred North Whitehead	Deleuze
Individual consciousness and	At the 'in-between'	Being is constituted not by being but by becoming	Being and being's
The manifestation of the world revealed through the living actor's body	The unpredictability arising in the 'gap'/'in-between' between the 'I' and the 'role'	The processual act itself in which the 'I' and the 'role' transform together of their own accord	The 'I' and the 'role'

In this way, Lee Young-ran, by applying the concept of liminality all the way to post-modernity, provided an opportunity for Kim Ik-du's research to be further expanded. Lee Young-ran synthesizes the similarities appearing in Eastern correlative thinking and Western post-modernity concepts using liminality. Through this, Lee Young-ran's research established the theoretical foundation that the indigenous modernity of Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought could become an alternative modernity linked to post-modernity. Kim Ik-du and Lee Young-ran commonly found the liminality of Eastern performance studies—where mind and body, corresponding to Heaven, Earth, and Humanity (Cheon-Ji-In), combine—in the performance studies of Turner and Schechner. Accordingly, liminality can be a major philosophical methodology for understanding the modernity of the two thoughts. Viewed this way, indigenous modernity as the liminality of correlative thinking becomes the phylogenetic fusion—that is, the continuity and

³⁰⁹ Lee Yeong-ran, *Liminality (Liminaeliti)*, Seoul: Dongbang Printing Co., 2020, p.162.

change of tradition—between the substance-centric Western views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity and the attribute-centric Eastern views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity; and indigenous post-modernity comes to include indigenous modernity.

The first study to interpret new religions, represented by Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought, through liminality is the research of Yoon Seung-yong.³¹⁰ Yoon Seung-yong, in his analysis of liminality and new religions, interprets the unprecedented success of Korean new religions through liminality and *communitas*. However, as postmodernism had not been introduced to Korea at that time, Yoon Seung-yong did not connect liminality to indigenous modernity. If Yoon Seung-yong's preceding research is expanded and applied to Kim Ji-ha's research, and then combined with the research of Jeong Jin-hong, who integrated Korean religious spiritual history, Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought can be understood as indigenous modernity.³¹¹

In that modernity was in the midst of rapid change, modernity possesses the attributes of liminality, like a rite of passage, helping the emergence of anti-structural modern ideologies such as equality and freedom. For example, a man and woman approaching a rite of passage like a wedding exhibit liminality, being neither unmarried nor married, and before the rite, deviation and anti-structure—which are contrary to the rite—are partially permitted. A society facing the great transformation of the modern era also passes through a period of equality and freedom, like the French Revolution, before leaving its pre-modern attributes. In the East, there was Hong Xiuquan's Taiping Rebellion and Donghak's Peasant Revolution Movement.

Both the West and the East constructed liminality and realized modernity through their views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, but the form of modernity's liminality was different between the West—which possessed a rationality expanding from the self to the universe—and the East—which expands rationality from the universe to the self. Misunderstanding this difference, the West claimed modernity did not exist in the East and exploited the East as a colony. Fortunately, Japan's miraculous victory over Russia in the Russo-Japanese War allowed the East, although centered on Japan, to succeed in making a comeback. The West, facing limits in its colonial management, shifted its direction of struggle internally, leading to mutual destruction, which allowed the East to find a path to independence.³¹²

Liminality holds similarities to the East's correlative thinking, which emphasizes the harmony of opposing elements. In fact, after postmodernism, as the East's Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism (Yu-Bul-Seon) were re-evaluated as archetypes of post-modern thought, the modernity possessed by the

³¹⁰ Yun Seung-yong, "A Brief Study on the Anti-Structural (*communitas*) Character of New Religions (Sin Jonggyoui Ban Gujo jeokin Seongyeok-e gwanhan Sogo)", Seoul: Seoul National University Graduate School, 1988.

³¹¹ Jeong Jin-hong, *The Development of Korean Religious Culture (Hanguk Jonggyo Munhwa-ui Jeon'gae)*, Seoul: Jimmundang, 1988.

³¹² Richard Nisbett, translated by Choi In-cheol, 『Saenggak-ui jido: Dongyang-gwa seoyang, sesang-eul baraboneun seoro dareun siseon』 (The Geography of Thought: How Asians and Westerners Think Differently... and Why), Paju: Gimmyoungsa, 2004.

correlative thinking of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements, on which Yu-Bul-Seon are based, has been re-evaluated. Among the three East Asian countries, the cases of constructing modernity with an indigenous view of the Three Realms (Samgye-gwan) are particularly Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought in Korea. Unlike China and Japan, which rejected the traditional view of the Three Realms through the May Fourth Movement and the Meiji Restoration, Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought commonly emphasize 'Gaebyeok' (Great Opening), which is related to the indigenous view of the Three Realms. Korea's modernity truly begins its modernity from "Gaebyeok," the transformation of the indigenous view of the Three Realms.³¹³

From this perspective, in ideal situations, more diverse equality and freedom were realized in correlative thinking than in analytic thinking; however, in distorted situations where grievances (Wonhan) had accumulated, the negative aspects of correlative thinking emerged, potentially leading to even greater suppression of freedom and equality than in analytic thinking. The negative aspect of correlative thinking is expressed as the "fallacy of the perfect schema." The correlative thinking inherent in the traditional views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity secured stability and continuity in which facts and values did not conflict within a single universe. However, in return, a heavy price had to be paid: the forgetting of adventure and challenge, due to the perfect schema that mercilessly swallowed new experiences and classified them in an orderly manner. Especially in the East, facing rapid changes in the external environment, a new indigenous ideology was desperately needed to bring about a 'Gaebyeok' (Great Opening) of the Three Realms, which had been distorted by grievances (Wonhan).³¹⁴

Revitalization as the Mechanism of Sacred-Secular Continuity in Autogenous Modernity

In liminality as modernity, the difference in attitudes toward tradition is clearly revealed according to whether it is an empire or a colony. In the case of Western modernity, which defined its identity in reaction against tradition, liminality emphasized a negative stance toward tradition; whereas in the modernity of non-Western countries with colonial experience, there were many aspects of liminality that emphasized a positive stance toward tradition, as a reaction against the West. The forms of liminality in non-Western modernity that emphasize a positive stance toward tradition have been referred to as revitalization movements. Revitalization theory is a theory that emerged before Turner's liminality theory, so its potential for expansion is limited compared to liminality theory; however, it presents a clearer explanation regarding the part of continuity and change of tradition within liminality theory.³¹⁵

According to Wallace, the change in a society's belief system occurs through the 'Mazeway' (cognitive map, originally meaning maze), which is the mental image held by the members of a society. According to

³¹³ Jo Seong-hwan, "The Autogenous Modernity of Donghak: Focusing on Haewol Choe Si-hyeong's View of Humanity and Worldview", *Theology and Philosophy* (36), 2020, pp.223-243.

³¹⁴ Lee Chang-il, *The Philosophy of Shao Kangjie (Sogang-jeol-ui cheolhak)*, Seoul: Simsan, 2007, p.479.

³¹⁵ Ihab Hassan, translated by Jeong Jeong-ho and Lee So-yeong, *Introduction to Postmodernism (The Postmodern Turn)*, Seoul: Hansin Munhwasa, 1991.

Wallace, all members of a society, as parts of a social organism, come to have a mental image not only of their own body and the regularity of actions the body performs, but also of the society and culture to which they belong; it is this image that corresponds to the 'Mazeway.' Wallace viewed human society as a giant organism, and the Mazeway is the way each member of society adapts to this social organism.³¹⁶ The concept of the maze includes not only the perception of physical objects living within the social environment but also the perception of the way an individual adjusts to minimize given stress, or the way they adjust and reconstruct this maze together with other members of society.³¹⁷³¹⁸

When a society's identity crisis occurs, a crisis visits this Mazeway for the individual, and this is connected not only to a material crisis but also to a crisis of the ideology that constitutes the society; therefore, it approaches the members of society as a greater threat than a material crisis. In response, the society reacts with various religious revitalization movements, and some religious movements expand into political movements. For the leaders of numerous colonized countries in the 19th-20th centuries, when imperialism was expanding, the most threatening crisis was the identity crisis, more so than the material crisis. Traditions that had continued for thousands of years were tabooed as superstition by Western civilization, and respected leaders were reduced to charlatans promoting superstition; the belief system of traditional society could no longer maintain social order, and the social status of individuals also plummeted irreversibly.

For the general public as well, the collapse of tradition acted as a strong psychological stressor. In a situation where only their own belief system was being negated—even though the new Western belief system, like the collapsed traditional belief system, also came from a long tradition and was a belief system that could collapse at any time—the method that the general public and leaders could choose was the appropriation of existing tradition by reinterpreting it: namely, revitalization. Revitalization was applied to time, space, and humans. In the case of time, it appeared as Millenarianism, that a new era would dawn; in the case of space, it sometimes became an earthly paradise movement, that a new utopia would arrive. On the human level, hybridism (syncretism), where religious doctrines are mixed, sometimes appeared, and politically, non-resistance sometimes appeared. Most religious movements of the 19th-20th centuries can be classified as types of revitalization, and in the case of Donghak, all these types are synthesized.

Revitalization theory originated as a theory seeking to evaluate the birth and development of religious groups based on the investigation of the 'Long House movement,' which appeared among the Iroquois in the early 19th century, initiated by the Seneca tribe prophet Handsome Lake (1735-1815) in 1952 (sic). Just

³¹⁶ Wallace, Anthony F. C., *Religion; an Anthropological View*. New York: Random House 1966, p.166.

³¹⁷ It is functionally necessary for every person in a society to maintain a mental image of the society and its culture, their own body, and the rules of action, in order to act in a manner that reduces stress on the system at every level of the system. This image, which I call a 'mazeway'... [it is] the nature, society, culture, personality, and body image that a person sees. (Kim Ju-gwan, "Donghak as a Revitalization Movement Viewed through Cross-Cultural Comparison", *Donghak Hakbo* 35, p.244, cited therein)

³¹⁸ Choe Hyeong-geun, "Mission and Cultural Change", *Missionology* 16, 2007, p.272.

as the capitalistic material culture of Japan and the West caused an identity crisis in Joseon—which had known only the long-standing, China-centered patriarchal order as the entire world—Western culture and Westerners, who destroyed their authority with guns and swords, came as a great shock to the Native Americans who had lived for ages with cultural pride.

To the Iroquois, a representative Native American tribe in the northeastern United States where New York is located, the shock came even greater. Handsome Lake, who was one of the leadership class of the Seneca tribe, one of the Iroquois, was also a person who seriously suffered an identity crisis due to America's colonial policies. The period when Handsome Lake lived was when the Gold Rush was underway due to the discovery of American gold mines; with the onset of this Gold Rush, the status of the Native Americans, who had previously contracted with the United States on an equal footing as nation-to-nation, was reduced to that of a protectorate, just like Joseon, which lost its national status during the Japan-Korea annexation.

Unlike Japan, which, even while annexing, preserved the status of the existing Yangban class for the sake of governance, the United States did not recognize the status of the Native American leadership. Like other disheartened Native American leaders, Handsome Lake also fell into a life of alcohol and dissipation, but one day, a turning point for a change of heart arrived. Like the Sangje (Supreme God) who appeared to Su-un, Handsome Lake also had a mystical experience; the spiritual being that appeared to Handsome Lake revealed to him the revitalized future of the Native Americans and, as a condition, requested a life based on restrained discipline.

Awakening from the mystical experience, Handsome Lake ended his dissipated life, personally practiced the experiences and teachings from the mystical experience, and spread them widely to others, leading many Native Americans to, like Handsome Lake, end their dissipated lives and join the discipline movement. Because the place they gathered was the Long House where Handsome Lake was, this is called the 'Long House movement.' Even after Handsome Lake, in North American Native society, the 'Ghost Dance' became popular, following a revelation that dancing would hasten the arrival of the Native American utopia, and the 'Peyote ritual,' involving the ingestion of an herb called 'peyote,' also appeared.³¹⁹

The case of Handsome Lake shows the typical stages of revitalization. Wallace, through the case of Handsome Lake, discovers the stages common to numerous cases of revitalization. Wallace defines a revitalization movement as "a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture." Revitalization movements arise when people feel the need to do so because the current system is unsatisfactory. People innovate new functions, new systems, and this leads to a chain reaction effect. Activation (Revitalization) is a theory signifying the view of society as an organism, first

³¹⁹ Kim Ju-gwan, "Donghak as a Revitalization Movement Viewed through Cross-Cultural Comparison", *Donghak Hakbo* 35, 2015, p.257.

introduced by Durkheim. When under pressure to change, a society takes emergency measures to preserve the invariance of the "life maintenance system (Matrix) of its individual members."³²⁰³²¹

Although liminality theory and revitalization theory both share the commonality of being theories about change, if liminality is a theory about the mechanism of change, revitalization theory can be said to be a theory about the mechanism of persistence. There is a difference in that liminality theory mainly solves problems through change in response to crisis, whereas revitalization theory solves problems through tradition in response to crisis. When an individual faces severe stress and realizes their mazeway does not provide relief, they face a choice. It is a choice between continuing tradition or changing: "The 'real' system may have to be changed to bring the mazeway and 'reality' into congruence." "The effort to work change in mazeway and 'real' system together" to "permit more effective stress reduction" is also an effort for revitalization. "And the collaboration of a number of persons in such an effort is a revitalization movement."³²²

The reason liminality theory and revitalization theory attract attention as cultural change theories is that they have found a single common formula among various changes, regarding internal and external change. In the case of myth, Joseph John Campbell (1904-1987) discovered a single formula called the 'hero's journey' from the numerous myths discovered by Eliade, and this formula has been applied to Hollywood scriptwriting, leading to the creation of numerous blockbuster movies. In fact, Western modernity began with the revitalization of Greco-Roman culture, the Renaissance, and Islam and India are also constructing indigenous modernity through revitalization.³²³

In Buddhism, the numerous change processes through spiritual cultivation have been presented with commonalities in the 'Ten Ox-Herding Pictures' (Sibu-do). Daesoon Thought also adapted the 'Ten Ox-Herding Pictures' into the 'Searching for the Ox Pictures' (Simu-do) and sometimes requests exertion in the cultivation process. In this context, Campbell's 17 stages of the hero's journey follow the revitalization

³²⁰ Wallace, Anthony F. C., *Religion; an Anthropological View*. New York: Random House 1966, pp.146-149.

³²¹ Wallace, Anthony F. C., *Religion; an Anthropological View*. New York: Random House 1966, p.255.

³²² Wallace, Anthony FC, "Revitalization Movements." *American anthropologist*, 1956, pp.266-267.

³²³ Campbell's 17-stage cycle is as follows. Act I: 1. The Ordinary World, 2. The Call to Adventure, 3. Refusal of the Call, 4. Meeting the Mentor, 5. Crossing the First Threshold. Act II: 6. Tests, Allies, Enemies, 7. Approach to the Inmost Cave, 8. The Ordeal, 9. Reward. Act III: 10. The Road Back, 11. The Resurrection, 12. Return with the Elixir. Campbell's 12-stage cycle consists of three stages: Separation-Initiation-Return. When divided into three stages, it is further subdivided into 17 stages. I. Departure/Separation: 1. The Ordinary World, 2. The Call to Adventure, 3. Refusal of the Call, 4. Supernatural Aid, 5. Crossing the First Threshold, 6. The Belly of the Whale. II. Descent, Initiation, Penetration: 7. The Road of Trials, 8. The Meeting with the Goddess, 9. Woman as the Temptress, 10. Atonement with the Father, 11. Apotheosis, 12. The Ultimate Boon. III. Return: 13. Refusal of the Return, 14. The Magic Flight, 15. Rescue from Without, 16. The Crossing of the Return Threshold, 17. Master of the Two Worlds. Christopher Vogler, translated by Ham Chun-seong, *The Writer's Journey: Mythic Structure for Writers* (Sinhwa yeong-ung geurigo sinario sseugi), Moo-woo-su, 2005, p.51; Joseph Campbell, translated by Lee Yun-gi, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (Cheon-ui eol-gul-eul ga-jin yeong-ung), Minumsa, 1999, pp.44-45, 54-59, 315, 333-337; Jo Deuk-chang, Kim Deok-sam, Choe Won-hyeok, "Reexamining Jingju through Campbell's Mythology Theory", *Arts Humanities Social Convergence Multimedia Journal* 7(1), 2017, pp.979-987; Kim Hyeon-ja, "Campbell's Mythology", *Religion and Culture* 6, Seoul National University Institute for the Study of Religion, 2000.

stages, much like the 6 panels of the 'Searching for the Ox Pictures.' The revitalization process follows "five somewhat overlapping stages":

Steady State

Period of Individual Stress

3. The Age of Cultural Distortion

Period of Revitalization (during which the functions of mazeway reformulation, communication, organization, adaptation, cultural transformation, and routinization occur)

New Steady State.³²⁴

In religious studies, liminality belongs to rites of passage, and revitalization belongs to revitalization rites. This is similar to 'Naeseong-Oewang' (Inner Sageliness, Outer Kingliness) in Confucianism. Liminality is close to 'Naeseong' (Inner Sageliness), which cultivates the inside, and revitalization is close to 'Oewang' (Outer Kingliness), which communicates with the outside. Donghak also responded with 'Naeseong' (inner sageliness) as anti-feudalism and 'Oewang' (outer kingliness) as anti-foreign-influence.

The process from correlative thinking through liminality to revitalization is similar to the stages of 'Gyeokmul-chiji' (Investigation of Things, Extension of Knowledge) - 'Jeongsim-Susin' (Rectification of Mind, Cultivation of Self) - 'Jega-Pyeongcheonha' (Regulation of Family, Governance of State) in the Confucian classic Daxue (Great Learning). If correlative thinking derives Donghak's epistemology through the method of 'Gyeokmul-chiji,' then liminality shows Donghak's internal growth method, like 'Jeongsim-Susin,' and revitalization theory represents Donghak's external response to Seohak (Western Learning), like 'Jega-Chiguk' (Regulation of Family, Governance of State).

The name "Donghak" (Eastern Learning) holds the seed of revitalization—that it integrates the existing Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism (Yu-Bul-Seon)—and "Cham Donghak" (True Eastern Learning) carries the meaning of completing this. Daesoon Jinrihoe is the only organization among the numerous groups related to Donghak today that has formed a major religious order (Daejongdan) possessing an organizational name and doctrinal system from the Eastern tradition. If this is viewed from a liminality perspective, it can be seen as the only *communitas* in which the change achieved in the aspect of liminality is sustained. If Donghak Thought is seen as a continuously generating liminality, then the "Hoe" (Association/Fellowship) of Daesoon Thought can be said to correspond to *communitas*. Regarding this, Patrick Laude (1958-present) has interpreted the characteristic of the "Hoe" as Eastern modernity.³²⁵

From Mugeukdo, where Daesoon Thought emerged as a religious order, revitalization is more appropriate than liminality. As such, the indigenous modernity appearing in the correlative thinking of Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought can be explained even more universally through the religious

³²⁴ Wallace, Anthony FC, "Revitalization Movements." American anthropologist, 1956, p.268

³²⁵ P. Laude, "Reflections on Civilization, Modernity, and Religion in Light of the Fellowship of the Truth", Journal of Daesoon Thought and the Religions of East Asia 1(1), 2021, pp.39-60.

anthropological theories of liminality and revitalization. Unlike modernization, which focuses on industrialization, modernity emphasizes cultural change. In non-Western societies where Western industrialization has spread, modernity is more prominent in the aspect of cultural change and continuity rather than modernization, and accordingly, liminality and revitalization become appropriate terms to explain the indigenous modernity of non-Western societies. Western modernization, too, can be explained by liminality and revitalization before industrialization. In the West as well, the trigger for modernity is said to have been the clash of East and West, namely, the Mongol invasions and the plague epidemic. The Mongol invasions and the plague epidemic brought about a crisis and reflection on the existing views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity represented by Christianity. Finally, the West devised a new view of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity called atomism as a counter-theory to Christianity. They devised atomism through revitalization under the name of the Renaissance and continued the change. Furthermore, the West accepted the Eastern culture of empathy and constructed modernity through the Enlightenment.

Although the liminality and revitalization of East and West develop commonly, the main difference lies in correlative thinking. Today, epistemology such as correlative thinking is also being interpreted in the field of cognitive science of religion and is evolving into Post-humanism, which moves beyond post-modernity to address the problematic fusion of humans and machines. However, at the time Western modernity was being introduced, correlative thinking was identified as a factor that stagnated Eastern modernity and was rejected by mainstream society as a foundation for indigenous modernity.³²⁶ However, new Korean religions take this as the foundation for indigenous modernity. This point must be re-evaluated today. This is because if the ideology penetrating new Korean religions can be called anthropocentrism, it can be interpreted as a post-humanism that goes beyond new materialism and can stand against the age of artificial intelligence.³²⁷

The theory of correlative thinking shows the characteristics and reasons for the Eastern tradition, which always shows tendencies opposite to the West. Turner's liminality theory presents why religious liminality is necessary in an age of crisis. Furthermore, Wallace's revitalization theory shows the aspect in which the reconstruction of tradition takes place.

The commonality of the theory of correlative thinking, Turner's liminality theory, and Wallace's revitalization theory is that they are representative theories discussing the continuity and change of a society and cultural tradition. If correlative thinking theory is a theory that explains the continuity and change of Eastern cultural tradition by revealing the fundamental differences between Eastern and Western cultures, then liminality theory and revitalization theory well show how a society's existing order changes and how that change is sustained.

³²⁶ Jeong Jin-hong, Kim Tae-yeon, Jang Seok-man, Lee Jin-gu, Im Hyeon-su, Korean Religious Studies (Hanguk Jonggyo Hak), Seoul: National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Korea, 2021, pp.398-431.

³²⁷ Kim Tak, The Ideology Penetrating Korean New Religions: Anthropocentrism (Hanguk Sin Jonggyo-reul Gwan'tong-haneun Inyeom, Ingan Jungsim-juui), Seoul: Minsokwon, 2023.

Like Kuhn's philosophy of science, which suggests that even science, representing objectivity, might be merely a paradigm, the methodology of 'Hak' (Learning) operates as a frame of thought that maintains and changes a society, and this frame forms the ideology and utopia of each society. Mannheim early on summarized a society's order maintenance and change as Ideology and Utopia. If ideology is the doctrine and attitude seeking to maintain the existing order, utopia is the doctrine and attitude seeking to transform the existing order.³²⁸ Liminality theory and revitalization theory are theories that explain the religious-anthropological emergence and change process of ideology and utopia appearing in religion. If liminality theory, which originated from the theory of rites of passage (the change of internal members of society), focuses on the internal change and growth of social order, then revitalization theory, which originated from acculturation theory, emphasizes the response to external shocks.³²⁹ Both theories are representative theories that explain the ideological function and utopian function of religion.

Donghak, in its very name, exhibits a mode of response to the external ideology of Seohak (Western Learning). In this regard, Donghak first emphasized the aspect of 'Dong' (East), stressing the meaning of an Eastern epistemological method. Here, 'Dong' signifies the methodological response of correlative thinking. Second, in the aspect of 'Hak' (Learning), which pursues internal change and growth, it includes the theory of liminality, a theory of rites of passage. Third, in that it is a response to the shock of the external ideology of 'Seohak,' it also includes the characteristic of revitalization. In this way, when Donghak-related thought is studied by applying these three theories in a multidimensional manner, a value universal to humanity can be drawn out in religious-studies terms.

While the theory of correlative thinking has rarely been applied to Donghak Thought or Daesoon Thought, there have been studies applying liminality theory to Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought respectively, but they were not studied at the level of comparison between Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought.³³⁰ Liminality theory can be used to more clearly reveal the ideological differences and significance of the two thoughts, in that it can be applied as a detailed study in the comparative research of the two.³³¹³³²

³²⁸ Karl Mannheim, translated by Im Seok-jin, with preface by Song Ho-geun, *Ideology and Utopia* (Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge), Paju: Gimmyoungsa, 2012.

³²⁹ Anthony F. C. Wallace, translated by Kim Jong-seok, *Religion: An Anthropological View* (Jonggyo Inryuhak), Cheonan: Aunae, 2010, pp.146-149.

³³⁰ Jo Hye-jin, "The Correlation between 'Ogwangdae Nori' as a Resistance Ritual and 'Donghak' and the 'March First Movement': A Study of the Narrative Characteristics and Resistance Rituals of the Novel [Toji (Land)]", *Research in Modern Literature* 78, 2022, pp.63-102.

³³¹ Kim Tae-su, "A Study on the Initiation Rites Found in the Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture)", *Daesun Sasang Nonchong* 24(2), 2015, pp.85-115; Kim Tae-su, *A Study on the Ritual Character Found in Cheonjigongsa (Public Works of Heaven and Earth) (Cheonjigongsa-e Natanan Uirye-jeok Seongyeok Yeongu)*, Doctoral dissertation, Daejin University, 2013.

³³² Comparative research exists on topics such as Donghak thought and Enlightenment thought, and the sense of community in Donghak thought and Confucian thought. (Jin Bo-seong, "Two Streams of Socially Transformative Public Consciousness in Late 19th-Century Joseon", *Humanities and Social Sciences* 21 13(2), 2022; Jin Bo-seong and Kim Jong-gon, "The Solidarity Community Consciousness of Donghak and the Path of Modernity", *Daedong Philosophy* 104, 2023.)

Wallace's revitalization theory has also been applied and studied in various cases around the world related to the encounter between Christianity and traditional religions, in the field of Donghak Thought alone, in research connecting Donghak Thought and Cheondoism (Cheondogyo), and also in Daesoon Thought by Bernadette Rigal-Cellard.³³³³³⁴³³⁵

However, Bernadette's research did not compare the liminality of Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought. Therefore, the difference in liminality arising from the difference between the two thoughts, and correlative thinking, were not highlighted. Therefore, the author believes that if Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought are compared from the aspect of Eastern methodology of thought, and if liminality and Wallace's revitalization theory are applied, the difference between Daesoon Thought—which is called 'True Donghak' (Cham Donghak)—and Donghak Thought can be clearly revealed.

There is the research of Ko Nam-sik, which continuously grasped Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought from the aspect of 'True Donghak.' This dissertation, based on preceding research that examined Daesoon Thought from the aspect of the continuity and change of Donghak Thought, synthesizes existing preceding research on Donghak Thought and applies the academic methods of Eastern thought. However, by examining this in detail from a religious-anthropological aspect, it illuminates more precisely the aspect of Daesoon Thought, which expanded the scope of Donghak to the realization of the ideal world proposed by Donghak. In particular, it seeks to examine, from the perspective of the continuity and change of tradition, how Daesoon Thought revitalized Donghak at the point where Donghak's revitalization failed. Through this, it intends to present the value of the two thoughts as universally human ideologies by applying an organic method that synthesizes the other two avenues of research on Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought—namely, the popular movement and religious thought—with the practical Donghak research on the realization of the ideal world.³³⁶

Liminality and revitalization have self-reflection and creative acceptance as common characteristics. In liminality as a rite of passage, a new creation appears through bottom-level experience and reflection that can integrate binary opposition. Revitalization theory also, by viewing one's own culture unfamiliarity, re-illuminates the positive aspects within one's culture. This aligns with the attribute of 'Mu-ja-gi' (Guarding against self-deception), which has been emphasized as the foundation of 'Sudo' (cultivation) in Daesoon Thought.³³⁷ This is because 'Mu-ja-gi,' by viewing oneself unfamiliarity through reflection, re-

³³³ Kim Ju-gwan, "Donghak as a Revitalization Movement Viewed through Cross-Cultural Comparison", *Donghak Hakbo* 35, 2015, pp.237-272.

³³⁴ Kim Han-gu, "A Cultural Anthropological Study on Donghak-Cheondogyo", *Social Science Review (Sahoe Gwahak Nonchong)* 社會科學論叢 9, 1990, pp.143-172.

³³⁵ Rigal-Cellard, Bernadette, "Daesoon Jinrihoe in Light of Anthony Fc Wallace's Revitalization Theory." *Religiski-filozofski raksti* 30(2), 2021, pp.134-162.

³³⁶ Go Nam-sik, "The Status of Donghak in Daesoon Thought and the Development of Jeungsan's True Donghak", *Daesun Sasang Nonchong* 16, 2003, pp.1-23.

³³⁷ Reflection and discussion that views oneself as a stranger — as a third party — are emphasized in Daesoon thought from the very fact that edification (gyohwa) is called 'Truth Discussion' (Jinri Toron). (Daesoonjichim [Daesoon Guidelines],

illuminates the new creation through bottom-level experience and reflection, and the positive aspects within oneself.³³⁸ Paying attention to this point, this dissertation aims to illuminate that the indigenous modernity of Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought is the new re-creation of the views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity based on correlative thinking, by accepting the Western views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity through liminality and revitalization.³³⁹ The misunderstanding of the Eastern origins of Western modernity and the rationality of correlative thinking has also influenced the evaluation of the indigenous liminality and revitalization appearing in Donghak-related thoughts. The difference between the aspect of liminality in correlative thinking and the liminality in analytic thinking is that while the liminality of analytic thinking harmonizes two mutually opposing elements, like the dialectic, the liminality of correlative thinking harmonizes the boundary between two complementary elements. Therefore, this research, keeping in mind the Eastern origins of Western modernity—which is implicit in Donghak-related thoughts and noted in Daesoon Thought—intends to trace the journey through which the two thoughts sought to achieve revitalization, as indigenous modernity, through the liminality of correlative thinking.

Chapter 1, Section 5; Eom Hye-jin, "A Discussion Education Approach to the Edification Method of Daesoon Jinrihoe", Master's thesis, Daejin University, 2019)

³³⁸ The point at which the concept of 'mu-ja-gi' (non-self-deception, 無自欺) connects with the Daesoon thought of sangsaeng (mutual beneficence) has already been researched from the perspective of Western philosophy. Kim Tae-su, "The Ethics of Sangsaeng Found in Mu-ja-gi (無自欺) in Daesoon Thought: Focusing on a Contrast with the Ethics of Kant and Mill", Daesun Sasang Nonchong 27, 2016.

³³⁹ 'Mu-ja-gi' (non-self-deception, 無自欺) corresponds to the aims of Daesoon thought — the realization of an earthly paradise (jisang cheon'guk) and earthly immortals (jisang sinseonsil-hyeon) — in which the relationships among heaven, earth, and humanity in Daesoon thought are concentrated, and thus accords with Daesoon thought's purpose: the ideal society. (Na Gwon-su, "A Study of the Ideal Society Theory of Daesoon Jinrihoe" 大巡眞理會의 理想社會論, Doctoral dissertation, Daejin University, 2016)

Autogenous Modernity and the Liminality of Disorder (作亂) in Donghak Thought

Autogenous Modernity in the Siecheonju (侍天主) View of Heaven

The Western Formal (形相的) View of Heaven

The heliocentric theory and Calvin's predestination, which represent Western modernity, were both changes in perspective regarding the views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity. Because the views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity are the most fundamental foundation directly connected to human existence and survival, a change like the modern era, which marks a new epoch, is measured by the change in the views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity.³⁴⁰

Although the views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity were the main terms for dividing the universe in the Eastern cosmological view represented by the 'Cheon-Ji-In Samjae' (Three Potentials of Heaven, Earth, Humanity), in Western thought, which shares a common origin in religions related to Northern Shamanism, the views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity also appeared as a trifunctional system.³⁴¹ The views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity have been the foundational concepts for dividing the universe in the West since the age of myth.³⁴² Accordingly, the views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity can be a concept for comparing Eastern and Western thought.³⁴³

That the 'Cheon-Ji-In Samjae' can be called a foundational concept in Western thought is also shown by the fact that the cosmology of Platonic philosophy, which became the root of Western philosophy, is also composed of three dimensions like 'Cheon-Ji-In': the cosmos, God, and human. As is well known, Plato explained that the visible universe is a reflection of the invisible world of Ideas. In this, the invisible world of Ideas corresponds to the East's Heaven (Cheon), the visible world corresponds to the East's Earth (Ji), and the observing being corresponds to the Human (In).³⁴⁴

As Whitehead's saying that "Western philosophy is footnotes to Plato" has long been repeated, the influence of Platonic philosophy on Western thought was significant. Plato's thought was transformed by

³⁴⁰ Lee Jeong-u, *Segyecheolhaksa 3: Geundaeseong-ui Kareutogeulrapi* (A World History of Philosophy, Vol. 3: Cartography of Modernity), Seoul: Gil, 2021, pp.164-165.

³⁴¹ Lee Do-heum, "Talhyeondae sasangeuro-seo dongyang cheolhak-ui ganeungseong-gwa hangye" [The Possibilities and Limits of Eastern Philosophy as Post-modern Thought], *Donghak Hakbo* [Journal of Donghak Studies] 10, 2005, p.9.

³⁴² Charles Harrison, *Modeonijeum* (Modernism), Paju: Yeolhwadang, 2003, p.6.

³⁴³ Weber's argument on modernity is said to be summarized in the famous "Author's Preface" of *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie* (Collected Essays in the Sociology of Religion). Cited in Kim Sang-jun, *Maengja-ui ttam Seongwang-ui pi: Jungcheung Geundae-wa Dong-asia Yugyo Munmyeong* (The Sweat of Mencius, the Blood of Sage-Kings: Multilayered Modernity and East Asian Confucian Civilization), Seoul: Acanet, 2011, p.52; Max Weber, translated by Kim Deok-yeong, *Peulloteseutanteu Yunri-wa Jabonjuui Jeongsin* (The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism), Seoul: Gil, 2010, pp.11-38.

³⁴⁴ Vincent Descombes, translated by Park Seong-chang, *The Same and the Other: Modern French Philosophy (1933-1978)*, Seoul: Ingansarang, 1991.

his disciple Aristotle to be more suitable for explaining reality; Aristotle explained Ideas as 'form' and the earth as 'matter.' To Aristotle, the universe, appearing in the form of a formal Heaven and a material Earth, manifested as a world where the form of Heaven transformed the Earth as matter. The human is regarded as a being that helps the form of Heaven manifest on Earth.³⁴⁵

The Western views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, starting from Aristotle, can be called ontological because they presuppose substance when explaining change. Ontology and 'generativism' (Saengseong-ron) are the major thought systems distinguishing East and West today. In the system of Eastern thought, which thinks from the whole to the part, from top to bottom, a generative thought system is formed where change is explained without substance; whereas in the system of Western thought, which expands from the part to the whole, it becomes an ontological thought system that explains change starting from the part as substance.³⁴⁶

Francois Jullien, who applied Deleuze's theory of immanence to Eastern thought, also regards the West, which explains change through substance, as ontological, and the East, which explains through attributes, as generative. Typically, in the case of medicine, Eastern medicine targets living people, so its anatomical charts are poor, while the West targets dead people, so its anatomical charts are detailed. Viewed from the standpoint of Western ontology, which is represented by substance theory, atomism which represents the modern West, the monotheistic God which represented the medieval West, and Plato's Ideas which represented the ancient West, can all be called a formalistic (Hyeongsang-jeok, form, eidos) view of Heaven (Cheon-gwan) as substance. In the ontological views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, the substance of change was posited as God in the past, but upon reaching the modern era which denies God, change came to be explained only by matter, without God.

Aristotle's substance theory is an ontological theory that states the process of change must be explained by substance to be a logical explanation. For example, for water to change into fire, Aristotle's theory requires a substance with the property of changing water into fire, otherwise, it is not a logical discipline. On the other hand, the fractal correlative principle of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements can change without any substance.³⁴⁷

The substantial cause of this change is the four causes, and the matter that causes change is the four elements. Aristotle is said to have claimed that the universe is composed of the four elements: earth, water, fire, and air (wind). By the same principle, the universe is said to be composed of the four causes: formal

³⁴⁵ Lee Jeong-u, *Segyecheolhaksa 3: Geundaeseong-ui Kareutogeulrapi* (A World History of Philosophy, Vol. 3: Cartography of Modernity), Seoul: Gil, 2021, pp.164-165.

³⁴⁶ Lee Jeong-u, *Segyecheolhaksa 3: Geundaeseong-ui Kareutogeulrapi* (A World History of Philosophy, Vol. 3: Cartography of Modernity), Seoul: Gil, 2021; Lee Jeong-u, *Segyecheolhaksa 4: Talgeundae Sayu-ui Jipyongdeul* (A World History of Philosophy, Vol. 4: Horizons of Post-modern Thought), Seoul: Gil, 2024.

³⁴⁷ Alan Sokal and Jean Bricmont, translated by Lee Hui-jac, Jijeok Sagi: *Poseuteumodeon Sasangadeul-eun Gwahak-eul Eotteoke Namyonghaetneunga* (Fashionable Nonsense: Postmodern Intellectuals' Abuse of Science), Seoul: Hanguk Gyeongje Sinmun Hankyung BP, 2014.

cause, final cause, efficient cause, and material cause. Among the four causes, the material cause and formal cause that constitute things are immanent in the things, but the efficient cause and final cause, which move things and realize their purpose, exist outside the things.³⁴⁸ The difference between the Eastern Yin-Yang and Five Elements theory and the Western four causes theory and four elements theory lay in explaining change through substance.³⁴⁹

If the purpose and action where form and matter combine are the four causes by which substance is formed, then the differentiation of matter constitutes the four great elements (earth, water, fire, air). When interpreting the four-element theory as a cycle, the four elements become the four phases of the cycle: convergence (water) - compression and explosion (earth) - expansion (fire) - inflation (air). Aristotle further substantiated the theory of earth, water, fire, and air that existed before Empedocles. Dumézil is said to have argued that in the anthropological structure of the Indo-European linguistic imaginary, characterized by ascent and descent, the substantialist cosmology was formulated as the four-element theory, with the ascent of fire and air, and the descent of earth and water.³⁵⁰

The four causes theory was considered the most rational Western theory for explaining the universe until the 17th century when Matteo Ricci lived. Therefore, in the Western formal view of Heaven, Plato's Idea or the Christian monotheistic God, as the fifth element separate from earth, water, fire, and air, becomes the center of the view of Heaven. Unlike in the East, the Western view of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, which has clear boundaries, establishes a mode of liminality through the substance of the fifth element rather than through immanent liminality.

Aristotle's four causes theory was used by Matteo Ricci in *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* (Tianzhu Shiyi) as the basis for arguing that the cosmology of earth, water, fire, and air was more scientific than the cosmology of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements. Matteo Ricci proves the existence of the Lord of Heaven (Tian-zhu) using Aristotle's 'four causes theory'. *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* is a summary of *Western Learning* (Seohak) written by Ricci; it was the first such work written in the East and subsequently had a significant influence on Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought. The two systems of thought appear similar, but there was a difference in that Yin-Yang and the Five Elements explain change through attributes, whereas earth, water, fire, and air explain it through substance, and this difference led to significant disparities in Eastern and Western modernity. In the West, as seen in medieval architecture and art, the attributes of God also manifest as the four attributes of earth, water, fire, and air.³⁵¹

³⁴⁸ Jeong Il-gwon, René Girard in *Dialogue with Modern Thinkers: Mimetic Theory, Post-structuralism, and Deconstructive Philosophy*, Seoul: Dongyeon, 2017.

³⁴⁹ Post-structuralism is a second-generation structuralism that regards the possibility of structural change more flexibly. Representative theorists in the broad category include Lacan, Foucault, and Derrida.

³⁵⁰ Lee Do-heum, "Talhyeondae sasangeuro-seo dongyang cheolhak-ui ganeungseong-gwa hangye" [The Possibilities and Limits of Eastern Philosophy as Post-modern Thought], *Donghak Hakbo* [Journal of Donghak Studies] 10, 2005, p.11.

³⁵¹ Eisenstadt, Shmuel N. and Schluchter, Wolfgang, "Introduction: Paths to Early Modernities: A Comparative View", *Daedalus* 127(3), 1998. pp.1-18, and others including Eisenstadt(2002), Eisenstadt, Riedel, Sachsenmaier(2002),

It can be said that the four-element theory and the four causes theory are closely related. In India, which also had a worldview based on earth, water, fire, and air, a logic similar to the four causes theory developed, and it can be said that the process of explaining the change of the four elements directly connects to the four causes theory.

Today, most Easterners prefer the traditional Western view of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, which does not recognize spiritual beings (Sinmyeong), as a scientific worldview. However, based on the Eastern view of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, the Western view of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity that does not recognize spiritual beings also becomes a view of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity established under specific assumptions. The Western view of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity can be called an ontological view of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, having the background of ontology, which explains change through substance.

In summary, the Western ontological view of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity is represented by the worldview of earth, water, fire, and air, starting from Aristotle. In the Western case of observing things from bottom to top, substance is divided into essence and phenomenon; therefore, phenomenon is the essence (form) changing the phenomenon (matter) as substance. In contrast, generation (saengseong) does not presuppose substance, so the East does not distinguish between phenomenon and essence; rather, phenomenon and essence are unified as one, like in Yin-Yang and the Five Elements, and change is explained monistically.

The Eastern Assimilative (同化的) View of Heaven

Traditionally, the Eastern concept of "Cheon" (Heaven) had two meanings: the "Cheon" concept that corresponds to Cheonji (Heaven and Earth) as a pair, and the Cheon of Mugeuk (Limitlessness) and Taegeuk (Great Ultimate) that existed before the division into "Cheonji," which gave birth to Heaven and Earth—in other words, the Heaven above Heaven, Cheon-oe-cheon. This is similar to how in the West, Adam before splitting into Adam and Eve is split into Eve, and even after splitting, is still called by the same name, Adam. Accordingly, in the Cheon-Ji-In (Heaven-Earth-Human) concept, if Cheon is posited as Cheon-oe-cheon outside of Heaven and Earth, then Ji (Earth) becomes the Heaven and Earth created by Cheon-oe-cheon; and if the Cheon that is part of the Heaven-Earth pair is taken as Cheon, then Ji also becomes the Ji concept that is part of the Heaven-Earth pair. This ambiguous use of the Cheon concept is also a reason why discussions of the Eastern views of Heaven and Earth are difficult and confusing. This

Wittrock(1998), Arnason(2001), Kaya(2004), Hung(2004). Cited in Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, translated by Im Hyeon-jin [et al.], *Damunjeok Geundaeseong-ui Tamgu: Bigyo Munmyeongjeok Gwanjeom* (Comparative Civilizations and Multiple Modernities), Paju: Nanam, 2009; Kim Sang-jun, *Maengja-ui ttam Seongwang-ui pi: Jungcheung Geundae-wa Dong-asia Yugyo Munmyeong* (The Sweat of Mencius, the Blood of Sage-Kings: Multilayered Modernity and East Asian Confucian Civilization), Seoul: Acanet, 2011, pp.35-36; S. N. Eisenstadt, *Multiple modernities*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 2002; Johann P. Arnason, Sternberg, Yitzhak and Ben-Rafael, Eliezer, "Identity, Culture and Globalization." *The Multiplication of Modernity*. Brill. 2001; B. Wittrock, "Early modernities: Varieties and transitions." *Daedalus* 127(3), 1998; I. Kaya, "Modernity, openness, interpretation: a perspective on multiple modernities", *Social science information* 43(1), 2004; Hung, "Early modernities and contentious politics in mid-Qing China, c. 1740-1839." *International Sociology* 19(4), 2004.

article intends to specify the distinction between Cheon as Cheon-oe-cheon and Cheon as part of the Heaven-Earth pair before explaining the Cheon concept.³⁵²

This applies equally to the concept of Sin (神, Deity/Spirit). When the concept of Heaven (天) is used as the concept of Cheonoecheon that created Heaven and Earth, the Sin (Deity) signifies "Sangje" (上帝, the Supreme Ruler), and the Sin (Deity) as the subject operating Heaven and Earth within the Heaven-and-Earth created by Cheonoecheon becomes Cheonjisinmyeong (天地神明, Spirits of Heaven and Earth) or Sinmyeong (神明, Spiritual Beings). However, when distinguished from humans, both Sangje and Sinmyeong have been collectively referred to as Sin (Deity/Gods), so the concept of Sin also needs to be differentiated. In Donghak Thought, Sangje or Cheonju (Lord of Heaven) signifies the Deity of Cheonoecheon, thus it is distinguished from the concept of Sin (Deity) in existing Eastern thought, where Sin as Sinmyeong (Spiritual Beings) appears frequently. Comparing with the West, the West uniformly emphasized Sin (God) mainly as the Sangje of Cheonoecheon, whereas the Eastern Cheon (Heaven) emphasized the meaning of Cheonoecheon during the Xia, Shang, and Zhou dynasties, but in Neo-Confucianism, it was almost used as the concept of Heaven as one part of Heaven-and-Earth, namely, the Principle-Heaven (理法天, Ibeopcheon).

Ibeopcheon (Principle-Heaven) is a term that emphasizes the principle-aspect (Ichi) of heaven rather than its personal aspect. This reflects the Eastern thought that because the Heaven above Heaven created Heaven and Earth according to principle (Ichi), the Heaven below Heaven moves according to laws. The Heaven below Heaven was made according to principle, so its personal attributes are relatively lacking, but because the Heaven above Heaven exists, the Principle-Heaven (Ibeopcheon) is also variable; however, in Eastern thought, the attributes of Heaven were fixed as the Principle-Heaven.

This applies not only to the concept of Sin (Deity) but also to the concept of Ji (地, Earth). When Cheon (Heaven) is used as Cheonoecheon (Heaven above Heaven), the concept of Ji (Earth) becomes the concept of "Cheon-ji" (Heaven and Earth) created by the existing Cheonoecheon; therefore, Ji at this time appears as the object and result of the action of 'Johwa' (Creation-Transformation) or 'Muwiiwha' (Spontaneous Transformation) by Cheonoecheon, and in Donghak Thought, terms like 'Johwa', 'Muwiiwha', and 'Gihwa' (Qi-transformation) become the terms signifying 'Ji (地)' corresponding to Cheonoecheon.

The ambiguous use of the concepts of Cheon (Heaven), Ji (Earth), and Sin (Deity) is similar in both the East and the West. However, the reason they are used more ambiguously in the East than in the West is that in the East, which changes through resonance (Gam-eung) unlike the substantialist West, Heaven,

³⁵² Appadurai(1996), Gilroy(1993), Ong(1999), Gaonkar ed.(2001). Cited in Kim Sang-jun, Maengja-ui ttam Seongwang-ui pi: Jungcheung Geundae-wa Dong-asia Yugyo Munmyeong (The Sweat of Mencius, the Blood of Sage-Kings: Multilayered Modernity and East Asian Confucian Civilization), Seoul: Acanet, 2011, pp.35-36; A. Appadurai, *Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions of globalization*. Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1996; P. Gilroy, *The black Atlantic: Modernity and double consciousness*. Harvard University Press, 1993; A. Ong, *Flexible citizenship: The cultural logics of transnationality*. Duke University Press, 1999.

Earth, and Deity are explained through the changes of correlative thinking. In the East, which explains based on attributes, the specific scope meant by Heaven, Earth, and Deity differs depending on the case, but their attributes are identical.

Correlative thinking corresponds to aesthetic order in Western thought, so the Eastern Cheon (Heaven), Ji (Earth), and In (Humanity) can be more clearly defined using aesthetic terms.³⁵³ Accordingly, the Eastern view of Heaven (天觀), differentiated by Yin-Yang and represented by Cheonwonjibang (Heaven is round, Earth is square) and Cheondojeok (The Way of Heaven, the Virtue of Earth), can be classified as an assimilative (同化的) view of Heaven; the view of Earth (地觀) as a condensative (凝縮的) view of Earth; and the view of Humanity (人間觀) as a grafting (接化的) view of Humanity.³⁵⁴

Assimilation (同化) is a term expressing the common attribute found in Cheonwon (Heaven's roundness) versus Jibang (Earth's squareness) and Cheondo (Heaven's Way) versus Jideok (Earth's virtue); like the 'assimilation' in 'carbon assimilation', it means making heterogeneous properties or forms identical. Assimilation forms a hierarchical relationship as heterogeneous things are integrated into one, thus exhibiting the nature of the circle (Won) of integration and the Way (Do) of order.³⁵⁵ The Eastern spiritual cultures of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism (Yubulseon) also exhibit the nature of assimilation: Daoism assimilates with nature, Confucianism assimilates with the inner self, and Buddhism assimilates with the Dharma (Law).³⁵⁶ The East, unlike the West which analyzes and dominates, pursued assimilation because it had an organic view of nature where nature and humans are one.

Condensation (凝縮) is a term expressing the common attribute found in Jibang (Earth's squareness) versus Cheonwon (Heaven's roundness) and Jideok (Earth's virtue) versus Cheondo (Heaven's Way); like the 'condensation' in 'water vapor condensation', it expresses the phenomenon of different elements intertwining and solidifying together. Condensation, unlike assimilation, does not change the components themselves but compresses heterogeneous beings to form a single small unity, thus, like a square (Bang), it is angular but characterized by the virtue of precision. Both condensation and assimilation aim for unity, but the direction of their force is opposite. If assimilation is a force that continuously expands outward centered on the self, condensation is a force that contracts inward. If assimilation is called Jungwha

³⁵³ Kim Sang-jun, *Maengja-ui ttam Seongwang-ui pi: Jungcheung Geundae-wa Dong-asia Yugyo Munmyeong* (The Sweat of Mencius, the Blood of Sage-Kings: Multilayered Modernity and East Asian Confucian Civilization), Seoul: Acanet, 2011, p.41.

³⁵⁴ The "Axial Age" refers to the period between 800-200 BCE when sages coincidentally appeared almost simultaneously and the world entered a civilization centered on religion; the term was first used by Karl Jaspers (1883-1969).

³⁵⁵ The development of history through the strengthening of divinity via the rearrangement of the sacred and the secular is said to be a hidden formula of development in the history of Chinese thought. (Wang Hui, translated by Park Ja-yeong, Choe Jeong-seop, Jin Seong-su et al., *Geundae Jungguk Sasang-ui Heunggi* (The Rise of Modern Chinese Thought), Paju: Dolbegae, 2024)

³⁵⁶ Kim Sang-jun, *Maengja-ui ttam Seongwang-ui pi: Jungcheung Geundae-wa Dong-asia Yugyo Munmyeong* (The Sweat of Mencius, the Blood of Sage-Kings: Multilayered Modernity and East Asian Confucian Civilization), Seoul: Acanet, 2011, pp.33-79; 172-182.

(Central Harmony), condensation is like Hoegwi (Returning). Eastern material cultures such as art, music, and martial arts sought maximum effect with minimum effort, like the beauty of empty space (Yeobaek).³⁵⁷

Grafting (接化) is a term expressing the coming together of opposing existences, such as Cheonwon (Heaven's roundness) versus Jibang (Earth's squareness) or Cheondo (Heaven's Way) versus Jideok (Earth's virtue), to blend as one; like the 'grafting' in 'Jeophwagunsaeng' (grafting and transforming all living beings), it expresses an integration where two existences meet equally and preserve their heterogeneity. If assimilation aims for the center and condensation aims for perfectionism, grafting advocates for hybridity through the harmonization of conflict (Sanggeuk). This is suitable for the human attribute, which is the fusion of Cheonwon (Heaven's roundness) and Jibang (Earth's squareness) appearing in Wonbangak (Circle-Square-Triangle), and the fusion of Cheondo (Heaven's Way) and Jideok (Earth's virtue) appearing in the virtuous person (Dodeokgunja).

At this time, the Eastern Heaven, Earth, and Humanity form a relationship identical to Lee Young-ran's definition of liminality, where ontogeny (individual development) recapitulates phylogeny (evolutionary history). Geongeongsun (乾健坤順) means that what Heaven (Geon) decides, Earth (Gon) executes; if Geon (Heaven) is 1 and Gon (Earth) is 2, then Earth's 'Sun' (順, obedience/following) has the meaning of 1+2, incorporating Heaven's 'Geon' (健, strength); similarly, In (Humanity), which grafts Heaven and Earth, forms a relationship of 3, 1+2+3, (1+2+3)' from Heaven (1), Earth (2), and Humanity (3). In other words, condensation includes assimilation, and grafting includes assimilation, condensation, and even a third existence.³⁵⁸

Meanwhile, compared to the generative Eastern thought, the ontological Western thought corresponds to differentiation (異化) or segmentation (分化), which is the opposite of assimilation, and this corresponds to ontological order; therefore, following Aristotle's ontology, which is the cornerstone of Western ontology, the Western view of Heaven can be classified as a formal view of Heaven, the view of Earth as a material (質料) view of Earth, and the view of Humanity as a growth-theoretic (成長論的) view of Humanity.

In the Eastern generative view of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, which spontaneously differentiates from Mugeuk (Wuji) and Taegeuk (Taiji), the Eastern view of Heaven becomes an assimilative view of Heaven that integrates all things as one; if the Daoist view of Heaven is an assimilative view of Heaven regarding the natural world, which is Heaven's artwork, then the Confucian view of Heaven can be called an assimilative view of Heaven regarding the inner mind of humanity, which is Heaven's masterpiece (名

³⁵⁷ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9.

³⁵⁸ Ulrich Beck, translated by Hong Sung-tae, Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity, Seoul: Saemulgyeol, 1997.

品). In the East, even the Buddhist view of Heaven, which is closest to ontology, can be called an assimilative ontological view of Heaven regarding the existence called Heaven.³⁵⁹

The Eastern view of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity explains change through attributes, unlike the Western Samjae (Three Powers) which explains change through substance; therefore, the laws of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements are applied to the Eastern view of Heaven, just as they are to all things. Yin-Yang and the Five Elements, acting as attributes, apply not only to matter but also to Sinmyeong (Spiritual Beings), so the Eastern Heaven is composed of numerous Sinmyeong to whom Yin-Yang and the Five Elements are applied.

The Eastern Sin (Deity) was not a singular concept like the Western absolute God, but a complex concept distinguished into the supreme God Sangje, the Cheonjisinmyeong (Spirits of Heaven and Earth), and ancestral spirits (Josangsin). Unlike the few angels of the West, the numerous Eastern Sinmyeong—so many that it is said there are countless Buddhas even in a speck of dust—filled the universe, operated the universe like a computer, and were beings possessing their own domains according to the laws of Yin-Yang. The Eastern Sinmyeong protected their respective domains, differentiated according to the laws of Yin-Yang, so the Eastern Sangje (Supreme Ruler), even though Sangje, could not interfere in the affairs of the Sinmyeong; thus, in the East, the existence of the supreme God was depersonalized almost to a law, reaching the point of being forgotten.³⁶⁰ In the Eastern relationship between gods and humans, Sinmyeong (Spiritual Beings) were beings created by Sangje as Yin-Yang with humans, just like all other existences; and the ancestral spirits (Josangsin), which humans become after death, unlike Sinmyeong, did not participate in the operation of Heaven and Earth but were beings that oversaw the human descendants' cultivation (Sudo) to unite with Sinmyeong as Yin-Yang.³⁶¹

If the organizing principle of the traditional Western ontological Samjae (Three Powers) is the principle of earth, water, fire, and air, then the organizing principle of the traditional Eastern generative Samjae is Yin-Yang and the Five Elements. If the Western view of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, which began from the tri-functional system appearing in Greco-Roman mythology and Indian mythology, was established early through earth, water, fire, and air, culminating in Aristotle's ontological view of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity based on matter-form, then the Eastern generative view of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity was formed over a long period as Confucianism, Buddhism, Daoism (Yubulseon) and Yin-Yang and the Five Elements interacted with each other.

The traditional Eastern view of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity is largely divided into the Samjae (Three Powers) view of the I Ching (Book of Changes) and the Samgye (Three Realms) view of Buddhism.

³⁵⁹ Zygmunt Bauman, *Aengche Geundae (Liquid Modernity)*, Seoul: Kang, 2009.

³⁶⁰ Kim Deok-yeong, *Hwanwon Geundae: Hanguk Geundaehwa-wa Geundaeseong-ui Sahoehakjeok Bopyeonsa-reul Wihayeo (Reductive Modernity: Toward a Sociological Universal History of Korea's Modernization and Modernity)*, Seoul: Gil, 2014, p.41.

³⁶¹ Park Yong-sook, *The 81 Characters of the Cheonbugyeong Paramita*, Paju: Sodong, 2018.

If the I Ching's Samjae view, organized by the principles of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, is the traditional Eastern generative Samjae view, then the Buddhist Samgye view is closer to an ontological Samjae view. The traditional Eastern view of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity was formed first as the Daoist I Ching's Samjae view, and then, as the Buddhist ontological Samgye view was introduced, it was synthesized into the Neo-Confucian (Seongrihak) Confucian Samjae view; in fact, before the introduction of Buddhism, Confucianism had almost no ontological cosmology, and the generative cosmology of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements was introduced first. It is natural that in the generative Eastern thought system, the view of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity could only develop into the Samjae view after the introduction of Buddhism's ontological thought system.

Due to differences in natural and cultural environments, the Eastern Samjae-gwan, which developed a more genesis-based view of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity compared to the West, was a view of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity based on correlative thought, represented by Cheon-Ji-In and Yin-Yang and the Five Elements. The theories of Yin-Yang, the Five Elements, and the Three Powers (Samjae), which are said to have arisen individually in history, share correlative thought and began to be integrated starting from Dong Zhongshu's Confucianism of Cheon-in-gam-eung-ron (theory of resonance between Heaven and Human), but their full-scale integration begins with Zhou Dunyi's (1017-1073) Taegeuk-do-seol (Explanation of the Diagram of the Great Ultimate), which is the foundation of Neo-Confucianism. The Yin-Yang mentioned in the I Ching develops in the order of the Cheon-Ji-In Samjae of Asian shamanism, which is similar to the European three-function system, and then the Five Elements. The development process of correlative thought can be summarized as follows.

Although Yin-Yang, Samjae (Three Powers), the Five Elements, and the Eight Trigrams (Palgwae) had different origins, they were each differences in perspective looking at the same Samjae, so if the differences in perspective are understood, they can be integrated. Each of these was a minimal system for viewing the Samjae (Three Powers) depending on the perspective. Yin-Yang, Samjae, the Five Elements, and the Eight Trigrams become an integrated principle capable of interpreting the same Samjae in detail according to Shao Kangjie's (So Gang-jeol) principle of "adding one fold" (Ga-ilbaebeop).

First, Yin-Yang is a common element of binary opposition worldwide, serving as the first step in intuitively distinguishing things and as a fundamental attribute. In the generative Samjae view that emphasizes attributes, Yin-Yang becomes the fundamental principle. If Yin-Yang exhibits binary oppositional attributes in a world without form, these attributes must form a solid (three-dimensional body) to have substance in reality, thus developing into Samjae (三才, Three Powers), the minimal system for forming a three-dimensional solid. At this time, Samjae is represented by the Heaven-Earth-Humanity Samjae; as Samjae developed from Yin-Yang into form, in Heaven-Earth-Humanity, Heaven (Cheon) takes

the role of Yang, Earth (Ji) takes the role of Yin, and Humanity (In) takes the role of Jung (中, Neutral/Middle) mediating Heaven and Earth.³⁶²

If a solid (three-dimensional body) is formed by Samjae, just as a particle in matter must simultaneously have the nature of a wave to exist, the particle must form a Sasang (四象, Four Symbols) system that can circulate as waves. Sasang systems like Wonhyeongijeong (元亨利貞; sublime, potential, favorable, correct), Saengjangyeomjang (生長斂藏; birth, growth, harvest, storage), and Chunhachudong (spring, summer, autumn, winter) form a system similar to the Sasang system formed by earth, water, fire, and air. However, the difference here between the Sasang system of earth, water, fire, and air and the Sasang system of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements is that earth, water, fire, and air is a substantial thought system moving from bottom to top, and thus is not an attributive thought system developing into Yin-Yang and the Five Elements, which are attributes common to all things.

The Sasang system, in turn, must achieve mutual conflict (Sanggeuk) and mutual generation (Sangsaeng) to form a continuous cycle, so it develops into the Five Elements (Ohaeng), the minimal system for Sanggeuk and Sangsaeng, requiring the central element, Earth (土, To), for its central role. However, even the Five Elements are existences of "generating numbers" (Saengsu) that do not yet possess the Yin-Yang that constitutes things; therefore, for these generating numbers to acquire the Yin-Yang that possesses change in reality, the Five Elements must change into the 8 Trigrams (Pal-gwae), which, as an even number, can form the minimal system of Sanggeuk and Sangsaeng.³⁶³ The 8 Trigrams again require a center, thus becoming the Gugungpalgwae (Nine Palaces and Eight Trigrams), and this Gugungpalgwae becomes the fundamental system of correlative thinking that explains the universe, developing into the He Tu (River Chart) and Luo Shu (Luo Writing).³⁶⁴

³⁶² It is useful to examine the pioneering approach of Harold J. Berman, who published a study in 1983 on the formation of the Western legal tradition. According to him, when we rewrite the past, we must "go beyond Marx and Weber" and also overcome the errors of various Western nationalisms, religious prejudices, and the historical materialism and ideal-type analysis of the 19th century. Regional designations are one example: the distinction between East Asia and Southeast Asia is not based on historical realities and internal logical structures but is an arbitrary division based on US strategic regional configurations after World War II, which could become a mistaken practice that paralyzes intellectual inquiry. Alexander Woodside, translated by Min Byeong-hui, *Ireobeolin Geundaeseongdeul (Lost Modernities)*, Neomeobukseu, 2012, p.18.; Kim Deok-sam, Lee Gyeong-ja, Choe Won-hyeok, "Geunhyeondae Paereodaim-ui Jeonhwan-gwa Naejaeseong-e Daehan Gochal-Jeontong-gwa Geundae-e Daehan Hangujeok Jaego(再考)-reul Jungsimsim-euro" [A Study on the Paradigm Shift in Modern and Contemporary Times and Immanence — Focusing on the Korean Reconsideration of Tradition and Modernity], *Inmun Gwahak Yeongu [Studies in Humanities]* 23, 2014, pp.115-142.

³⁶³ Wang Hui, translated by Baek Won-dam, *Geundae Jungguk Sasang-ui Heunggi (The Rise of Modern Chinese Thought)*, Paju: Dolbegae, 2024.; Lee Jong-min, *Jungguk Sasang-gwa Daean Geundaeseong: Wang Hui-ui Geundae Jungguk Sasang-ui Heunggi Ilgi-wa Sseugi (Chinese Thought and Alternative Modernity: Reading and Writing Wang Hui's The Rise of Modern Chinese Thought)*, Seoul: Hyeonamsa, 2017.

³⁶⁴ 20th-century modernism, which can be called a symbol of modernity, is also interpreted in the field of fine arts — where it is most clearly manifested in everyday life — as a cultural variant resulting from the spread of Far Eastern Asian culture to Europe beginning in the 16th century. (Yu Hyeon-jun, *Modernism: Dongseoyang Munhwa-ui Haibeullideu [Modernism: A Hybrid of Eastern and Western Culture]*, Seoul: Miseum, 2008, pp.73-92.) Scholars who argue for the Eastern origins of Western modernity maintain that even with respect to multilayered modernity, Western modernity itself is already a cultural

For the Gugung (Nine Palaces) of the Hado and Nakseo to appear as the substance that actually operates Heaven and Earth, the element of time is added, appearing as the 10 Heavenly Stems (Sipgan) and 12 Earthly Branches (Sipiji). In the 10 Stems and 12 Branches, the element of To (Earth), such as Jin, Sul, Chuk, Mi, is placed in time to mediate the changes of time. The 10 Stems and 12 Branches, arranged respectively in Heaven and Earth, perform the Cheonji-hwayuk (Nurturing Transformation of Heaven and Earth) through Cheon-gi-hagang (descent of Heaven's Gi) and Ji-gi-sangseung (ascent of Earth's Gi), that is, Cheonji-seunggang (ascent and descent of Heaven and Earth), which is the action of the Cheonjijiyong (Function of Heaven and Earth), the 12 Unseong (Phases of Fortune): namely, the actions of Potae (Conception), Yangsaeng (Nourishment), Yokdae (Bathing & Girding), Gwanwang (Coming of Age & Prosperity), Soebyeong (Decline & Sickness), and Sajang (Death & Burial).³⁶⁵ If the 10 Stems and 12 Branches are like atoms in physics, the 12 Unseong as the Cheonjijiyong can be likened to molecules, where atoms combine to exhibit completely different properties.³⁶⁶

The 12 phases of Qi (Unseong) express the transformation and nourishment (Cheonjihwayuk) of Heaven and Earth's ascent and descent (Cheonjiseunggang) as the life cycle of a living being.³⁶⁷ Like the meeting of a man and a woman, Heaven and Earth as Yin-Yang begin with conception (Potae)—where Heaven descends and Earth ascends (Cheongangjiseung) and the seed of life is sown in the earth—followed by the earth nourishing (Yangsaeng) the seed of life, the seed emerging outside the earth or body to bathe in Heaven's rain and dew (Uro) and form the phase of bathing and girding (Yokdae) as another girted individual, and then reaching the phase of coming of age and prosperity (Gwanwang) where it takes on work and acts vigorously, before declining, sickening, and being buried (Soe, Byeong, Jang), signifying 12 stages.³⁶⁸ This shows a process similar to the 12 stages of Campbell's monomyth, the 7 characters, or the

variant produced by the spread of Far Eastern Asian culture to Europe and is therefore not a sufficient concept of modernity to explain reality.

³⁶⁵ Yun Seung-yong, "Sinjongyo-ui Ban-gujo(communitas)-jeok Seonggyeok-e Gwanhan Sogo: Joseon Malgi Jonggyo Hyeonsang-eul Jungsimsim-euro" [A Brief Study on the Anti-structural (Communitas) Character of New Religions: Focusing on Religious Phenomena in Late Joseon], Seoul National University Master's Thesis, 1982.

³⁶⁶ Lee Seon-min, *Hanguk-ui Jajujeok Geundaehwa-e Gwanhan Seongreul* (Reflections on Korea's Indigenous Modernization), Paju: Nanam, 2021; Jo Hye-in, *Dong-eseo Seo-ro Peorin Geundae Gongmin Sahoe* (Modern Civil Society That Spread from East to West), Paju: Jimmundang, 2013.; Hwang Tae-yeon, *Yugyo-jeok Geundae-ui Ilbaniryon* (A General Theory of Confucian Modernity), Seoul: Hanguk Munhwasa, 2023.

³⁶⁷ Lee Seon-min, *Reflections on Korea's Indigenous Modernization*, Paju: Nanam, 2021.

³⁶⁸ The use of the term "Donghak" can be said to express the unique problematic consciousness of Donghak: un-jeuk-il (運則一, the movement is one), do-jeuk-dong (道則同, the Way is the same), i-jeuk-bi (理則非, but the principle differs). Suun criticizes Western Learning (Seohak) for lacking the principle of won-hyeong-i-jeong (元亨利貞, the fourfold virtue). He sharply points out the weakness of Western Learning — that without the unified principle of won-hyeong-i-jeong, it regards truth situationally and thus lacks a center. (Bae Yeong-sun, "Donghak-gwa Seohak-ui Chabyeolseong Munje [The Problem of the Difference between Donghak and Western Learning: Focusing on 'Un-jeuk-il Do-jeuk-dong I-jeuk-bi']", 理則非 Daegu Sahak [Daegu Historical Studies] 73, Daegu Sahakhoe, 2003, pp.203-210.) Choe Su-un (Suun) in the Nonhangmun (Discourse on Learning) chapter of Donggyeong Daejeon (The Great Scripture of Eastern Learning), argues that the West is analytical, changes its words according to circumstances, seems to believe in God but does not, and thus ultimately falls into nihilism. Among all the world's civilizations that resisted Western imperialism, only Korea's Donghak — like Nisbett — made the methodology of scholarship a central theme of resistance. Since Donghak has until now been studied only from the

Ten Ox-Herding Pictures (Simudo).³⁶⁹ Kim Ji-ha expressed this as Yullyeo (cosmic music/rhythm).³⁷⁰ The function of Heaven and Earth (Cheonjijiyong) shows that the operation of Heaven and Earth is not mechanical by nature, but is due to the utmost Seong-Gyeong-Sin (Sincerity, Reverence, and Trust) of Heaven and Earth. From the perspective of Eastern thought, what Western atomistic modernity most overlooked was the omission of the Seong-Gyeong-Sin of the Sinmyeong (Spiritual Beings) in its mechanistic view of nature. This is referred to as the "disease of lack of Dao" (Mudobyeong) in Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought.³⁷¹

The function of Heaven and Earth (Cheonjijiyong) influences not only everyday things but also thought systems, so Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism (Yubulseon) appear as reflections of this function. The conception (Potae) of Heaven and Earth is expressed as the Dao of Immortals (Seondo) of emptiness (Heomu); the nourishment (Yangsang) of Heaven and Earth is expressed as the Buddhist Dao (Buldo) of cessation (Jeokmyeol); and the bathing and girding (Yokdae) of Heaven and Earth is expressed as the 'Ijo' (以詔, decree/instruction) of the Confucian Dao (Yudo). If the Western view of Heaven explains Heaven's characteristics through the substantial attributes of earth, water, fire, and air, the East expresses Heaven's attributes through the four attributes of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements. If the Western view of Heaven is substantialist and thus, since modernity, has differentiated countless and individually like atomism, the Eastern view of Heaven shows a unified structure—such as Yin-Yang, Samjae (Three Powers), Five Elements, Eight Trigrams, 10 Stems, and 12 Branches—within each unit, including atoms, molecules, individuals, and society.³⁷²

The Clash and Mutual Antagonism (相克化) of East-West Views of Heaven in Modernity

perspective of popular resistance movements, it needs to be newly discussed from the standpoint of immanence in terms of paradigm and the methodology of thought.

³⁶⁹ Kim Deok-sam, Choe Won-hyeok, Lee Gyeong-ja, "Geunhyeondae Paereodaim-ui Jeonhwan-gwa Naejaeseong-e Daehan Gochal — Jeontong-gwa Geundae-e Daehan Hangujeok Jaego(再考)-reul Jungsimsim-euro" [A Study on the Paradigm Shift in Modern and Contemporary Times and Immanence — Focusing on the Korean Reconsideration of Tradition and Modernity], *Inmun Gwahak Yeongu* [Studies in Humanities] 23, 2014, pp.115-142.

³⁷⁰ Jeong Jae-sik, *Continuity and Change in Tradition*, Seoul: Acanet, 2004.

³⁷¹ Weber argues that early capitalism, which began with the Puritan spirit of Protestantism, is distinct from modern capitalism, which today focuses solely on economic efficiency. (Daniel Pals, translated by Jo Byeong-ryeon and Jeon Jung-hyeon, *Jonggyo-e Daehan Yeodeolb Gaji Irondeul* [Eight Theories of Religion], Goyang: Hanguk Gidokgyo Yeonguso, 2013.) Weber's observation that the nature of capitalism, a characteristic of modernity, has changed is correct, but his theory that capitalism can only arise from a Western Christian standpoint has been refuted both theoretically and practically by the East's overtaking of the West today. (Thomas Metzger, *Gongyeong-ui Talpyi: Juhui-Wangyang-myeongbuteo Tang Jyun-i-Peng Yu-lan-kkaji Sinyuhak-gwa Jungguk-ui Jeongchi Munhwa* [Escape from Predicament: Neo-Confucianism and China's Evolving Political Culture, from Zhu Xi and Wang Yangming to Tang Junyi and Feng Youlan], Minumsa, 2014, pp.62-65.)

³⁷² Ko Nam-sik, "Suun-gwa Jeungsan-ui Minjokjuuijeok Yoso Bigyo" [A Comparison of Nationalist Elements in Suun and Jeungsan], *Sinjongyo Yeongu* [Studies in New Religions] 26, Hanguk Sinjongyo Hakhoe [Korean Association for the Study of New Religions], 2012; Lee Gyeong-won, "Daesun Jinri-ui Geundaeseong-gwa Byeohyeok Sasang" [The Modernity and Thought of Reform in Daesoon Truth], *Donghak Hakbo* [Journal of Donghak Studies] 10, Donghak Hakhoe, 2005. There is also an analysis that the Korean Wave's global boom is due to Korean religious philosophy, as exemplified in Daesoon thought. (Park Jong-hyeon, "Hallyu Munhwa Hyeonsang-ui Jonggyo Cheolhakjeok Giwon-gwa Bunseok" [The Religious-Philosophical Origins and Analysis of the Korean Wave Cultural Phenomenon], *Sinhak Nondan* [Theological Studies] 76, Yonsei University School of Theology and Graduate School of Theology, 2014.)

Clash of Views of Heaven

The Western view of Heaven, expressed through the attributes of earth, water, fire, and air, and the Eastern view of Heaven, expressed through Yin-Yang and the Five Elements, had similarities. In fact, Ricci, who embarked on the Eastern mission, was impressed that the Eastern view of Heaven appearing in the Classic of History (Seogyeong), a Confucian classic predating Neo-Confucianism, was similar to the Western view of Heaven and even had superior points, and he held hope for the Eastern mission.

I have never seen, among all the nations of gentiles known in Europe, any whose ancient ideas had fewer errors than those of the ancient Chinese. In fact, I discovered in their books that they always revered the supreme being, whom they called the King of Heaven (天帝) or Heaven and Earth (天地). Perhaps, in their view, Heaven and Earth constituted a single living body (體), and the supreme being of that body was something like its soul.³⁷³

Matteo Ricci pursues the Eastern mission with the view of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity based on earth, water, fire, and air. The view of Heaven in the Classic of History that Matteo Ricci discovered—Heaven as Creator, the providence of Heaven, the judgment of Heaven, and the attributes of Heaven as Ruler—appeared almost identically to Western Learning (Seohak).³⁷⁴

Heaven and Earth are the parents of all things, and the human being is the most numinous of all things. — Heaven as Creator³⁷⁵

August Heaven watched over and gave its command, so that he became the sovereign of all under Heaven who governs the whole world. — The providence of Heaven³⁷⁶

Heaven punishes because there is sin. — The judgment of Heaven³⁷⁷

The Way of Heaven is such that it bestows blessings upon the good and sends down calamity upon the wicked. — The attribute of Heaven as the presiding ruler³⁷⁸

³⁷³ Jeon Su-jun, *Singwahak-eseo Dongyanghakreulo* (From New Science to Oriental Studies), Seoul: Daewon Chulpan, 1995, pp.281-283.

³⁷⁴ Zhu Qianzhi, translated by Jeon Hong-seok, *Jungguk-i Mandeun Yureopeui Geundae: Geundae Yureopeui Jungguk Munhwa Yeolpung* (China-Made European Modernity: The Craze for Chinese Culture in Modern Europe), Cheongye, 2003.

³⁷⁵ Thomas Metzger, *Gongyeong-ui Talpyi: Juhui-Wangyang-myeongbuteo Tang Jyun-i-Peng Yu-lan-kkaji Sinyuhak-gwa Jungguk-ui Jeongchi Munhwa* (Escape from Predicament: Neo-Confucianism and China's Evolving Political Culture, from Zhu Xi and Wang Yangming to Tang Junyi and Feng Youlan), Minumsa, 2014.

³⁷⁶ Kim Deok-sam, Choe Won-hyeok, Lee Gyeong-ja, "Geunhyeondae Paereodaim-ui Jeonhwan-gwa Naejaeseong-e Daehan Gochal — Jeontong-gwa Geundae-e Daehan Hangujeok Jaego(再考)-reul Jungsimsim-euro" [A Study on the Paradigm Shift in Modern and Contemporary Times and Immanence — Focusing on the Korean Reconsideration of Tradition and Modernity], *Inmun Gwahak Yeongu* [Studies in Humanities] 23, pp.115-142.

³⁷⁷ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9; An Sin, "Mateo Richi-wa Daesun Sasang-ui Gwangyesong-e Daehan Yeongu: Daesun Sasang-ui Gidokgyo Jongjang-e Daehan Jonggyo Hyeonsanghajeok Haeseok" [A Study on the Relationship between Matteo Ricci and Daesoon Thought: A Religious Phenomenological Interpretation of the Christian Founder in Daesoon Thought], *Daesun Sasang Nonchong* [Studies in Daesoon Thought] 36, 2020.

³⁷⁸ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 3-15; Kim Tae-su, "Jinmuk Josayujeokgo-wa Jeongyeong-e Natanan Jinmuk Seolhwa-ui Chai-e Daehan Jaehaeseok: Munheon Jeonseung-gwa Gujeon Jeonseung-ui Chai-reul Jungsimsim-euro" [A Reinterpretation of the Differences in the Jinmuk Legend as Appearing in Jinmukjosayujeokgo and

Matteo Ricci considered it a corruption and lamented that the idea of Heaven in the Classic of History, which he found similar to the Western view of Heaven, lost its personal divine attributes and changed into a Principle-Deity (Ibeopsin) as it progressed through the Zhou dynasty, Confucius, and Neo-Confucianism. However, from today's perspective, which understands it as an attribute of multiple modernities where the secular (Sok) encompasses the sacred (Seong), divinity is seen as having been rather strengthened.³⁷⁹

In fact, intellectuals in Joseon, which was the most Neo-Confucianized society in East Asia, encountered The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven and sometimes welcomed it as an ideology that could reveal the original meaning of Confucianism. Contemporary intellectuals such as Gwangam Yi Byeok and Jeong Yak-yong even risked their lives to accept Western Learning (Seohak). On the other hand, many intellectuals, represented by Sin Hudam (1702-1761) who wrote the Critique of Western Learning (Seohakbyeon), also expressed concern about Western Learning.³⁸⁰

However, the view of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity based on earth, water, fire, and air, where the attribute of the fifth element as Heaven was maximized, and the view of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity based on Yin-Yang and the Five Elements, where the attribute of Earth (To) as land was maximized, collide head-on. Fortunately, during Matteo Ricci's time, the two views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity maintained a cooperative relationship under the pretext of the theory of complementing Confucianism (Boryuron), but after Matteo Ricci, due to the Rites Controversy (Boryuron nonjaeng), the two views mutually rejected each other and rushed into a relationship of confrontation, eventually leading the East to face a crisis of civilization annihilation by the West, much like the Inca or Maya empires. The East could not overcome the limitations (Jeonheon) of Confucianism, and the West could not tolerate the East.

In particular, the question of whether the "Li" (理, Principle) of Taegeuk (Taiji) was a self-subsistent existence (substantia) emerged as the core issue between the two views of Heaven. In the Western formal view of Heaven, which explains change through substance, all things are created, so the "Li" of Taegeuk cannot be a self-subsistent existence; however, in the Eastern assimilative view of Heaven, which took charge of the operation of Heaven and Earth through the creation (Gaebyeok) of Heaven and Earth, the "Li" of Taegeuk is self-subsistent, so the two views of Heaven were bound to collide.

In response to Matteo Ricci's argument in The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven—which sought to clarify the Western substantialist position that "Li" (Principle) cannot subsist on its own by distinguishing whether "Li" is a self-subsistent existence (substantia) or an accidental existence (accidentia)—the Neo-Confucian scholar Sin Hudam replies in his Critique of Western Learning (Seohakbyeon) with the Eastern

Jeongyeong: Focusing on the Differences between Literary Transmission and Oral Tradition], Daesun Sasang Nonchong [Studies in Daesoon Thought] 41, 2022.

³⁷⁹ Lee Bong-ho, The Philosophy of Seo Myeong-eung, King Jeongjo's Teacher (A Joseon Scholar's Response to Western Science), Goyang: Donggwa Seo, 2013.

³⁸⁰ Hwang Tae-yeon, Yugyo-jeok Geundae-ui Ilbaniron: Seogugukga-ui Yugyo-jeok Geundaehwa-wa Yugyogukga-ui Seogujeo k Geundaehwa (A General Theory of Confucian Modernity: The Confucian Modernization of Western States and the Western Modernization of Confucian States), Seoul: Hanguk Munhwasa, 2023.

attributive logic that as much as Li and things (事物) are completely connected, if there is Li, there are things, and if there are things, there is Li.³⁸¹³⁸²

The general populace, who had been favorable toward the West, also shifted to a negative stance regarding the Western view of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity after the Treaty of Beijing, when Western domination began in earnest. The East, suppressed by Western power, now required the liminality of a rite of passage and the revitalization of a new view of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity to counter Western power. Consequently, in East Asia, movements such as China's Yiguandao, the Taiping Rebellion, and the Xinhai Revolution arose, and in Japan, new religious movements like the Meiji Restoration and Tenrikyo either emerged or spread.

The place that reacted most sensitively to the collapse of the Yin-Yang and Five Elements view of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity was Korea, the most Confucianized of the three East Asian countries. Korea further developed the theory that Western Learning originated in China (Seohakjungwonron) and interpreted Western Learning from an Eastern perspective. The Korean version of Seohakjungwonron, starting from Seo Myeong-eung, passed through Jeong Yak-yong and Choe Han-gi, and then reached a critical turning point upon reaching Donghak Thought. Donghak Thought presents the harmony between the personal God of earth, water, fire, and air and the Principle-Deity (Ibeopsin) of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements through the liminality called Siccheonju (Bearing the Lord of Heaven).³⁸³

In the case of the East, the creator of the realms of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity hides; instead, unlike the West, the realms of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity are divided by Heaven-Earth-Humanity and Yin-Yang, like in the I Ching (Book of Changes), forming an autonomous and coherent system of Spiritual Beings (Sinmyeong). Whereas in Western Learning (Seohak), other gods of the realms of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity disappear due to the monotheistic God, in Daoism, under the influence of the I Ching, the gods of the realms of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity function as an autonomous and coherent system called Yin-Yang. This connects to the Donghak thought of Johwa (Creation-Transformation), namely Muwiiwha (Spontaneous Transformation) and Cheonjigwisin (Heaven-Earth-Ghosts-Spirits).³⁸⁴

After Seohakjungwonron (theory that Western Learning originated in China) was introduced to Joseon, a counterargument based on Yin-Yang and the Five Elements theory was raised against Ricci's criticism of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements. Seo Myeong-eung refutes Matteo Ricci's *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* using Shao Kangjie's (1011-1077) theory of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements. Meanwhile, Jeong Yak-yong (1762-1836) partially accepted Matteo Ricci's opinions and criticized Neo-Confucianism (Seongrihak), but this was in order to defend Eastern values. As such, before Donghak, the East-West

³⁸¹ Han Tae-dong, *Sayuui Heureum* (The Flow of Thought), Yonsei University Press, 2003.

³⁸² Han Jang-gyeong, *Juyeok·Jeong-yeok* (The Book of Changes and the Correct Change), Samgwa Kkum, 2001.

³⁸³ Han Dong-seok, *Ujubyeonhwaui Wonri: Eumyang Ohaeng Wonri* (The Principles of Cosmic Change: The Principles of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements), Daewon Publishing, 2003.

³⁸⁴ Lee Seung-soo, *The Principle of Jung* (Center/Balance), Seoul: GG.com, 2008.

debate on correlative thinking was becoming an important issue in the academic world at that time. "Donghak" (Eastern Learning) was born in the atmosphere of the times that emphasized the unique methodology of Eastern scholarship in response to "Seohak" (Western Learning).

For Easterners at that time, establishing East Asia's indigenous modernity was a matter of survival, beyond a matter of choice. The East, having realized Western power through the Opium War, sensed the danger that if it failed to establish indigenous modernity, Asia could also degenerate into a state of civilization loss, like Africa or the indigenous peoples of the Americas. Furthermore, for Easterners who had lived more diligently than Westerners, the shock from the West was not only a great material threat but also approached as a spiritual threat of demoralization, seeing all their efforts come to nothing.

During the imperialist era, Easterners faced a spiritual crisis of losing not only material well-being but also their identity, leading them to either uncritically accept Western Learning (Seohak) or rely on Eastern mysticism. Establishing indigenous modernity based on correlative thinking, the Eastern form of rationality, was increasingly becoming a core issue for East Asia's survival. Donghak was founded bearing a heavy task. Once the Donghak concept, based on the correlative thinking of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements, was established, concepts such as 'Mugeukdaedo' (Great Dao of the Non-polar), 'Cheonjigwisin' (Heaven-Earth-Ghosts-Spirits), 'Sangwongap' (First Cycle of Sixty), and 'Dasi Gaebyeok' (Re-Creation) were newly established.

Mutual Antagonism of Views of Heaven

As the views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity based on Yin-Yang and the Five Elements, and those based on earth, water, fire, and air collided, the mutual conflict (Sanggeukhwa) of the view of Heaven intensified. The two thought systems, Yin-Yang and the Five Elements, and earth, water, fire, and air, not only share similar ideal views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, but their patterns of mutual conflict (Sanggeukhwa) are also similar. In the worldview of earth, water, fire, and air, the ideal world falls into mutual conflict (Sanggeukhwa) as the three calamities (Samjae) of water, fire, and wind due to human sin; in the worldview of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements, it falls into mutual conflict as the disorder of Yin and Yang (Eumyangnanjap) due to an incomplete world structure. Due to the East-West exchange that unfolded after Matteo Ricci, the mutual conflict (Sanggeukhwa) of the view of Heaven, denying God for different reasons, proceeds in both the East and the West.

The confusion in the East-West relationship between gods and humans that unfolded after Matteo Ricci began in the area of the theory of the soul's immortality after death.³⁸⁵ After Matteo Ricci, in the East, the Li-Qi theory (Igi-ron), which held that the soul also disappears as Qi dissipates after four generations (代), was doubted; and in the West, the idea that the world of God consists of one absolute God and a few angels was doubted. After Matteo Ricci, in the East, Yin-Yang and the Five Elements and the

³⁸⁵ Kim Seung-ho, Juyeok Wonron (The Original Principles of the Book of Changes) (vols. 1–6), Seonyeongsa, 2009.

Cheonjisinmyeong (Spirits of Heaven and Earth) were denied, and in the West, an atheistic worldview, composed of numerous principle-deities (Ibeopsin) or mechanisms like in the East, was formed.³⁸⁶

The difference in the modes of thinking between the East and the West is revealed in detail in Matteo Ricci's *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* and the debates surrounding it. By today's standards, the worldview of earth, water, fire, and air seems more similar to the view of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity based on Yin-Yang and the Five Elements, which Matteo Ricci criticized, than to the modern mechanistic view of science; however, as François Jullien pointed out, in its emphasis on substance in explaining change, the worldview of earth, water, fire, and air was closer to the modern mechanistic view of science.³⁸⁷ In fact, Ricci, despite the common attribute of the Eastern Yin-Yang and Five Elements view of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity being a science of correlative thinking, criticizes the Eastern Yin-Yang and Five Elements view of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity as an unscientific explanation because it explains change through attributes instead of substance.³⁸⁸

As seen in the Rites Controversy (Boryuron nonjaeng), Catholicism rejected the Eastern worldview transmitted by Matteo Ricci, but secular society, on the contrary, welcomed it. Starting with Descartes, represented by "Cogito ergo sum," the West bleached its existing view of God and proceeded to construct a mechanistic worldview without God (神).³⁸⁹ On the other hand, in morality, theories emphasizing the Gospel over the Law (Yulbeop) expand. In other words, Calvin's predestination theory changes into empathy (Gonggam) in a society without God.³⁹⁰ Modernity converges into a new liminality. From a human perspective, this change in the view of God had been interpreted as a positive change, but today, with the problems of modernity maximized, it has become an occasion for reflection and a motive for seeking a new, alternative modernity.

In the mutually conflicting (Sanggeukhwa) Heaven-human relationship of "God is high, man is low" (Sinjoninbi), humans become beings who must leave the realms of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity through liberation (Haetal), renunciation (Talsok), or death to escape the suffering of birth, aging, sickness, and death. In the mutually conflicting view of Heaven, the Sinmyeong (Spiritual Beings) are also bound, each taking charge of their own boundary, becoming existences trapped within their own fields and domains in a state of misfortune/blockage (Bigeop). Humans, consequently, under the influence of their respective earth energies, give rise to different civilizations and conflict with one another. Furthermore, in the mutually conflicting Heaven, due to the disharmony of rain and dew (Uro), humans come to live in the suffering of

³⁸⁶ Yun Jong-bin, *Jeong-yeokgwa Juyeok* (The Correct Change and the Book of Changes), Sangsaeng Publishing, 2009.

³⁸⁷ Yi Hyeon-jung, *Yeokgyeonggwa Saseo* (The Book of Changes and the Four Books), Yeoknak, 2004.

³⁸⁸ Im Byeong-hak, *Yeokhaggwa Hadollakseo* (The Studies of Changes and the River Diagram and Luo Writing), Korean Studies Information, 2008.

³⁸⁹ Yun Jong-bin, *Hanguk Yeokak Yeongui Gicho* (Foundations of Korean I Ching Studies), Mungyeong Publishing, 2012.

³⁹⁰ Kim Sang-il, *Yeokgwa Talhyeondaeui Nonri* (The Book of Changes and the Logic of Post-Modernity), Knowledge Industry, 2006.

the three calamities (Samjae) of water, fire, and wind. Mutual conflict (Sanggeuk) begets mutual conflict, and it becomes today's reality that Heaven-and-Earth and humanity fall into tragic confusion (Changnan) and transition to a state of annihilation (Jinmyeoljigyeong).

Liminality in the Siecheonju (侍天主) View of Heaven in Donghak Thought

The Siecheonju (侍天主) View of Heaven in Donghak Thought

When Neo-Confucianism's Principle-Heaven (Ibeopcheon) reached a stage where it could not solve the problems of the new era in East Asia, especially in Joseon society, Donghak presented a solution with a new view of Heaven: the Heaven above Heaven (Cheonoecheon), namely, the Heaven of the Non-polar (Mugeuk). Donghak seeks to embrace the learning of Seohak (Western Learning) within its view of Heaven. This is similar to how the Western invasion by the Mongols and Islam became the background for Western modernity. The new view of Heaven presented by Donghak, unlike Neo-Confucianism's Principle-Heaven, was direct communication with the Heaven above Heaven, namely, Cheonoecheon (天外天). The Cheon (Heaven) of Siecheonju (Bearing the Lord of Heaven) is the concept of Heaven as Cheonoecheon.

Donghak Thought emphasizes the concept of Cheonoecheon, which had not been highlighted in the existing views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, thereby promoting the indigenous modernity of the view of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity. In the theory of multiple modernities, modernity arises from encompassment (Tongseop) and liminality, which, as in Donghak Thought, reactivates the parts alienated in the existing view of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, changing the hierarchy of the sacred and secular (Seong-Sok) to transition so that the secular can accommodate the sacred. Donghak Thought pursues a rearrangement of the sacred-secular hierarchy, experiencing the sacred in everyday secular life through direct communication with Cheonoecheon, and attempts liminality to solve existing, overlapping problems through "guarding the mind and rectifying the Qi" (Susimjeonggi).

Suun (Choe Je-u) expresses the direct communication with the 'Heaven above Heaven', which is different from the 'Heaven' of existing Neo-Confucianism, as Siecheonju (Bearing the Lord of Heaven). Suun invests all his capabilities throughout his life for direct communication with the 'Heaven above Heaven'. Suun, who had striven for nearly 40 long years, finally arrives at the 'Heavenly Master's Questions and Answers' (Cheonsamundap) in the Gyeongsin year (1860). The Donghak view of Heaven is established through the Cheonsamundap, the encounter with Sangje (the Supreme Ruler). It is said that Suun received the first revelation from Sangje on the 5th day of the 4th lunar month in 1860 (Gyeongsin year).³⁹¹

³⁹¹ An Seong-ho, "The Theological Continuity Between the Term 'Shangdi (上帝)' Used in Matteo Ricci's The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven in the Early 17th Century and in James Legge's English Translation of Chinese Confucian Classics in the 19th Century," *Hanguk Gidokgyowa Yeoksa* (Christianity and History in Korea) 32, Korean Institute of Church History, 2010, pp.302–304; Chan Kei Thong, *Godai Junggugsogui Hananim* (Faith of Our Fathers: God in Ancient China), Seoul: Sun Publishing, 2009.

不意四月 心寒身戰 疾不得執症 言不得難狀之際 有何仙語 忽入耳中 驚起探問則 曰勿懼勿恐 世人 謂我上帝 汝不知上帝耶 問其所然 曰余亦無功故 生汝世間 教人此法 勿疑勿疑 曰然則 西道以教人乎 曰不然 吾有靈符 其名 仙藥 其形 太極 又形 弓弓 受我此符 濟人疾病 受我呪文 教人爲我則 汝亦長生 布德天下矣

Unexpectedly in April, when my heart grew cold and my body trembled, so much so that I could not diagnose what illness it was nor describe it in words, there was some immortal's saying that suddenly entered my ear; startled, I inquired about it, and he replied, "Do not fear, do not be afraid. "The people of the world call me Sangje (上帝, the Supreme Ruler). Do you not know Sangje?" I asked the reason, and it said, "I also have no achievement, therefore I have brought you forth into this world to teach people this law. Do not doubt, do not doubt." I asked, "Then, shall I teach people with the Western Dao (Seodo)?" It replied, "No. I have a spirit talisman (Yeongbu); its name is elixir (Seonyak), its shape is the Great Ultimate (Taegeuk), and its shape is also Gunggung (弓弓, Bow-Bow). Receive this talisman from me and save people from disease; receive my incantation (Jumun) and teach people for my sake, then you too shall live long and spread virtue throughout the world."³⁹²

Suun's Heavenly Master's Questions and Answers (Cheonsamundap) continued for about six months, and after pondering for about a year, Suun expressed this in detail in the Yongdam Yusa (Songs of Yongdam) and the Donggyeong Daejeon (Great Scripture of Eastern Learning). That is why Yi Don-hwa divides Suun's practice into the Heavenly Master's Questions and Answers period and the internal strengthening period. However, it is said that the Dowon Giseo (Record of the Origin of the Way), written after the Yongdam Yusa and Donggyeong Daejeon, contains passages describing Suun communicating with Sangje (the Supreme Ruler) multiple times thereafter, right up until his arrest.³⁹³

It is said that the most characteristic feature of Donghak Thought in the history of modern religion, and furthermore in the religious history of all times and places, is that the founder's religious experience is expressed in great detail and over a long period. It is said that Islam is almost the only religion, like Donghak Thought, that begins with the founder's religious experience, while other religions, like Buddhism, begin with the founder's ascetic experiences, and thus records of the religious experience do not appear. Also, in Islam, the experience is expressed very briefly. The fact that Donghak Thought gained many

³⁹² An Seong-ho, "John Ross's Theological Position on Primitive Chinese Monotheism in Confucianism and the Terminology Debate in Chinese Bible Translation," *Hanguk Gidokgyowa Yeoksa* (Christianity and History in Korea) 40, (Korean Institute of Church History, 2014), p.228.

³⁹³ Legge, *The Notions of the Chinese concerning God and Spirits*, p.33, cited in An Seong-ho, "The Theological Continuity Between the Term 'Shangdi (上帝)' Used in Matteo Ricci's *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* in the Early 17th Century and in James Legge's *English Translation of Chinese Confucian Classics* in the 19th Century," *Hanguk Gidokgyowa Yeoksa* (Christianity and History in Korea) 32, Korean Institute of Church History, 2010, pp.315–316.

supporters in a short period in Korean society, which was a deeply-rooted Confucian society, is largely because these detailed Heavenly Master's Questions and Answers inspired trust.³⁹⁴

Donghak was established in the process of Suun interpreting the dialogues that took place during the six-month period of the Heavenly Master's Questions and Answers. In the "Nonhangmun" (On Learning), Suun first emphasizes the distinction from Western Learning (Seohak) as the epistemological background of Donghak. Suun proclaims that the Sangje he met is the Heaven above Heaven, integrating the heavens of East and West, and particularly insists that this Heaven is superior to the Heaven of Western Learning. Suun defines this based on the nature of "Learning" (Hak, 學). As seen in the title "On Learning," among all the world's civilizations that resisted Western imperialism, only Korea's Donghak uniquely took the epistemological theme of "learning" (Hakmun) as its main subject. The claim regarding the East—that the difference between East and West lies in the fundamental aspect of cognitive structure—first appears in Donghak's "Nonhangmun."

In the Donggyeong Daejeon's "Nonhangmun," Suun mentions that the West is analytical, changes its words according to the situation, and seems to believe in God but does not, thus ultimately falling into nihilism. First, Suun clarifies the difference between Donghak and Seohak with the words "Un jeuk il, Do jeuk dong, I jeuk bi" (運則一 道則同 理則非; "The fate (Un) is one, the Way (Do) is the same, but the principle (I) is not").

日與西道 無異者乎

Question: Is it no different from the Western Dao?

日洋學 如斯而有異 如呪而無實 然而運則一也 道則同也 理則非也

Answer: Western Learning (Yanghak) is similar to this but different; it seems like praying, but there is no substance.

However, the fortune (Unsu) is one, and the Way (Do) is the same, but the principle (Ichi) is different.³⁹⁵

In the excerpt above, Suun is said to state that Eastern and Western learning have the same goal but are methodologically different. Bae Young-soon has summarized previous research on this topic. Bae Young-soon explains the differences in detail, stating that existing preceding studies did not clearly elucidate the differences among Un (運, Fate/Fortune), Do (道, Way), and I (理, Principle) as spoken of in

³⁹⁴ Sun Jiang, "The Yellow Emperor (Huangdi) Came from Babylon: Lacouperie's 'Theory of Western Origins of Chinese Civilization' and Its Dissemination to East Asia," *Gaenyeongwa Sotong* (Concepts and Communication) 5, 2010, pp.79–126.

³⁹⁵ Hundreds of thousands of heavenly beings perform celestial music, and holding mandara flowers (mandarava flowers) and maha-mandara flowers of heaven, they scatter them upon him and say in praise: 'Excellent, excellent! Good man, because you have widely cultivated meritorious karma in Jambudvipa, you have come to be born here. This place is called Tusita Heaven, and the name of the Lord of Heaven (Cheonju) here is Maitreya; you should take refuge in him.' (Sutra on the Visualization of Bodhisattva Maitreya's Ascent to Tusita Heaven [佛說觀彌勒菩薩上生兜率天經]; Dongguk University Buddhist Records and Cultural Heritage Archive). Gucheon Daewon Johwajushin can also be called 'Cheonju' by combining the 'cheon' of Gucheon (the Ninth Heaven) and the 'ju' of Johwaju (the Lord of Creation).

Donghak. Bae Young-soon analyzes Sicheonju (Bearing the Lord of Heaven) through the correlative thinking of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity (Cheon-Ji-In), suggesting that in the phrase "Sicheonju Johwajeong Yeongsebulmangmansaji" (Bearing the Lord of Heaven, the Creation-Transformation is set; Eternally not forgetting, all things are known), 'Sicheonju' corresponds to Heaven (天), 'Johwajeong' to Earth (地), and 'Yeongsebulmangmansaji' to Humanity (人).

Bae Young-soon then applies Sicheonju to Un (Fate), Do (Way), and I (Principle), assigning Do (道) as 'Sicheonju' (侍天主), Un (運) as 'Johwajeong' (造化定), and I (理) as 'Yeongsebulmangmansaji' (永世不忘萬事知). Ultimately, it is said that the difference between Donghak and Seohak is that while Heaven and Earth are the same and one, the difference lies in the human principle (Ichi) of bearing the Lord of Heaven (Cheonju). Bae Young-soon is said to state that in Donghak, the Heaven (Do) of spring, summer, autumn, and winter is the same for both East and West, but the lands (運) of the East and West differ according to their Ki (energy/fortune).³⁹⁶

The difference in principle (Ichi) between Donghak and Seohak is explained in Donghak as follows.

曰何爲其然也 曰吾道無爲而化矣 守其心正其氣 率其性受其教 化出於自然之中也 西人 言無次第 書無皂白而 頓無爲天主之端 只視自爲身之謀 身無氣化之神 學無天主之教 有形無迹 如思無呢 道近虛無 學非天主 豈可謂無異者乎

"Why is it so?" "The Way (Do) I receive naturally enlightens the world according to the will of Haneullim (Lord of Heaven)." If each person guards their original mind, rectifies their Qi, and follows their innate nature (Cheonseong), thereby receiving the teaching of Haneullim, enlightenment will naturally be achieved. In contrast, Western people who believe in Western Learning (Seohak) have no proper order in their words and no clear logic in their writings. And they have no substance of serving Haneullim at all, but only pray for means for their own profit. Therefore, there is no wondrous state of the body uniting with spiritual energy (Yeonggi) and no true teaching of Haneullim; there is only form and no substance. It seems like they think of Haneullim, but they do not truly serve Haneullim. Thus, their Way (Do) is almost empty of content, and their religion does not serve Haneullim. How can one say there is no difference?³⁹⁷

The above excerpt is considered the most difficult part of the Donggyeong Daejeon, and it is said the reason is that the target of criticism in the excerpt was mainly understood as Catholicism or Catholics; it is

³⁹⁶ Choe Jong-seok, "Buddhist Elements in Jeungsan Religion (甌山教): Focusing on the Acceptance of Maitreya Faith," Seon Munhwa Yeongu (禪文化研究; Journal of Seon Culture Studies) 23, 2017, pp.254-255.

³⁹⁷ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Jesaeng" (Saving Lives) 43. The Heavenly Use (天用), Earthly Use (地用), and Human Use (人用) equalize the foundational order (Ganggi), thereby governing Heaven and Earth. This is called the means (Sudan) of Creation-Transformation (Johwa 造化). (Yang Mu-mok, "Salvation Truth [救援 真理] as Yin-Yang Unity of Virtue [陰陽合德] and Democracy [民主主義]," Daesoon Sasang Nonchong (Daesoon Thoughts) 2, 1997, pp.175-176)

said that if the target of criticism in the excerpt is viewed as Westerners in general and Western learning as a whole, it becomes understandable.³⁹⁸

In the excerpt above, Bae Young-soon is said to state that the decisive difference between Donghak and Seohak pointed out by Donghak is the "spirit of Qi-transformation" (Gihwajisin). Here, Gihwa (氣化, Qi-transformation) means the condensation of Heaven's Qi (energy) in the body. It means that Western Learning (Seohak) only prays to the Lord of Heaven (Cheonju) but lacks the incantations (Jumun) to spontaneously achieve Gihwa and lacks the training of "guarding the mind and rectifying the Qi" (Susimjeonggi). Just as Suun criticized the strict vertical division between priests and laypeople in Western Learning, he criticizes Western Learning here with the same logic for its lack of Gihwa.

It is said that what Suun actually took most pride in regarding the founding of Donghak was Susimjeonggi (guarding the mind and rectifying the Qi), and he spoke of this not only in relation to Western Learning but also in relation to Confucianism (Yuhak).³⁹⁹ Suun's view that the difference between Donghak and Seohak lies in the presence or absence of a training method was a penetrating insight into Eastern and Western learning. The renowned transpersonal psychologist Ken Wilber (1949-), who is said to have integrated Eastern and Western spirituality, has also pointed out that the greatest weakness of Western thought is the lack of a cultivation theory (Suryangnon), even in systematic philosophies like German Idealism.⁴⁰⁰ Ken Wilber is said to state that the most urgent problem in modern thought is to redirect the Western epistemological approach to a cultivation-based (Suryangnon) approach.⁴⁰¹

The appearance of Sangje (the Supreme Ruler) in Donghak Thought was, from the standpoint of orthodox Neo-Confucianism (Seongrihak), an unusual and heretical phenomenon, belonging to the category of "extraordinary phenomena, feats of strength, disorders, and spirits" (Goeryeoknansin). Suun's Heavenly Master's Questions and Answers seemed even more unusual because Suun's lineage belonged to the orthodox line of Korean Neo-Confucianism. Although Suun's birth as the child of a remarried woman (Jaeganyeo), lower than an illegitimate son (Seoeol), was unfortunate, the scholarly lineage of his father, Geunam Choe Ok (近菴 崔鑒, 1762-1840), belonged to the orthodox line among the master-disciple lineages of Toegye Yi Hwang (李滉, 1501-1570). The appearance of Sangje was an unusual situation not

³⁹⁸ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-30.

³⁹⁹ It is said that Jeongeup, where Daesoon Thought originated, had a tradition of substantialist Li-Qi theory (siljilon-jeok i-giron), specifically that of Iljae Yi Hang. Kim Ik-du, Choe Yeong-seong, Yi Seon-a, Kim Beom-su (authors), Iljae Ihangeui Sasang, Hangmun, Iron-e Gwanhan Saeroun Sikakdeul (New Perspectives on the Thought, Scholarship, and Theories of Iljae Yi Hang), Seoul: Munyewon, 2014.

⁴⁰⁰ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Jesaeng" (Saving Lives) 43. Li shu gao, chu yu wuji taiji zhi biao, bu li hu riyong shiwu zhi jian. The principle (i), though lofty, emerges from the surface of Taegeuk and Mugeuk, and does not depart from the midst of everyday (il-yong) affairs.

⁴⁰¹ Zhu Xi's expression 'Gakgu Taegeuk, Tongche Taegeuk (各具太極, 統體太極; Each thing possesses the Supreme Ultimate, the Supreme Ultimate encompasses the whole)' is connected to the Avatamsaka Sutra's concept of Jungjiung Mujin (重重無盡; infinitely interrelated layers). (Kim Jong-uk, "The Ecosystem and Dharmadhatu as Complex Systems," Cheolhak Sasang (Philosophical Thoughts) 41, 2011, pp.7-36)

only for Confucian scholars but also for the common people, yet surprisingly, Suun's Heavenly Master's Questions and Answers, in which he conversed with Sangje, was recognized regardless of social class. Donghak Thought overcomes this, supported by the many traditions of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism (Yubulseon).

Regarding the background of the wide acceptance of Suun's Heavenly Master's Questions and Answers, recent research points to the influence of Chinese Daoism, which was newly flowing in at the time of Donghak's emergence. In particular, the influence of Nandan Daoism (鸞壇道教, Phoenix Altar Daoism) in the late Joseon period has been highlighted. This is attributed to the less-known transmission of Chinese Daoism today; it is said that due to the chaos of the Qing dynasty, many Qing Daoist masters entered Joseon, and at that time, the first Daoist group called "Musangdan" (無相壇, Formless Altar) was formed in Joseon. Even King Gojong went so far as to publish Daoist scriptures as a national project. It is said that the background allowing Suun's Heavenly Master's Questions and Answers to be recognized as questions and answers with Sangje included the changing atmosphere of Joseon society at that time, due to the transmission of Nandan Daoism.⁴⁰²

The influence of Daoism on the establishment of Donghak also appears in the incantation training (Jumunsuryeon) and the Donghak Gasa (Songs of Donghak). It is said that Donghak could be accepted in a Confucian society due to the influence of Daoism, which was flowing in. Donghak Thought included Daoism, which encapsulated the traditional civilization of East Asia at that time. The "Donghak Gasa" can also be interpreted as "Gangpil" (spirit-writing) resulting from contact with Sinmyeong (Spiritual Beings). It is said that Jeungsan (Kang Il-sun) also revealed the three essences of East Asian intellect—namely, the three Ki (energies): the knowledge of Shao Kangjie (Gangjeol), the poetry of Li Bai (Yi Taeback) and Du Fu (Dubu), and the eloquence of Su Qin (Sojin) and Zhang Yi (Jangui).⁴⁰³ In fact, Suun is later appointed by Jeungsan as the Jongjang (Patriarch) of the Later World's (Hucheon) Seondo (Way of Immortals), which is related to Daoism.⁴⁰⁴ This indicates that Donghak inherited the essence of Daoism. Jeungsan expressed this as Potae (Conception, 胞胎) in terms of the 12 Phases of Qi (Unseong), which is the function of Heaven and Earth (天地之用), and in concrete form, as "Johwa" (Creation-Transformation).⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰² Jang Ip-mun et al. (authors), An Yu-gyeong (trans.), Riui Cheolhak (Philosophy of Li/Principle), Seoul: Yemunseowon, 2004, pp.30-36, 46, 49, 106.

⁴⁰³ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 2-33. Wonhyong ijong, Daegyeong Daebeop, Do jeong Cheonji, Su jeong Cheonbeop, I jeong Simbeop. The Way (道) rectifies Heaven and Earth, the Numbers (Su 數) fix the Thousand Laws (Cheonbeop 千法), and the Principle (I 理) governs the mental teachings (Simbeop). (Choe Chi-bong, "A Study on Taeguk in Daesoon Thought," Daesoon Sasang Nonchong (Daesoon Thoughts) 23, 2014, p.403)

⁴⁰⁴ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyobeop" (Dharma) 2-42.

⁴⁰⁵ Contemporary Western 'thanatology' (death studies) has also come to acknowledge the existence of ancestral spirits (seonnyeongsin). Though originating in the hospice movement aimed at 'well-dying', modern Western thanatology, through tens of thousands of near-death experience cases, is demonstrating that in the West too, just as in the East, people encounter in the afterlife ancestral spirits they had never met during their lifetime. (Eben Alexander and Ptolemy Tompkins [co-authors],

In Eastern thought, the view of Heaven (Cheongwan) is related to the method of cultivation (Suryeon). In the method of cultivation, the view of Heaven has a concentrated aspect. The biggest characteristic of Donghak cultivation was incantation training (Jumunsuryeon). Even from the standpoint of orthodox Neo-Confucianism, this was exceptionally accepted. Incantations (Jumun) were also partially adopted in Confucianism, as in the case of the 'Jeongyeok' (Correct Change) in Yeonggamudo (Chanting and Dancing) or the case of Sijo (Korean classical poem) recitation. "Incantations" (Jumun), while already widely used in Buddhism as Yeombul (chanting), were exceptional in the mainstream Confucian society of Joseon, but this very exceptionality caused Donghak to spread even more widely.⁴⁰⁶ In the case of incantation training, although it was a universal cultivation method of all times and places, also used in modern Western spiritual training, in Korea's case, it was first introduced into the self-cultivation of the general public by Donghak and was later widely used in new religions.⁴⁰⁷

Confucianism also played a large role in the establishment of Donghak. Donghak is actually evaluated by Jeungsan as not having overcome the limitations (Jeonheon) of Confucianism. First, Donghak emphasizes the role of Ki (氣), which is also emphasized in Neo-Confucianism, as seen in the content of the representative incantation Sicheonju's case, "Jigigeumjiwonwidaegang" (至氣今至願爲大降; May the Ultimate Ki descend greatly now).⁴⁰⁸ Like "Dogijangjonsaburip" (道氣長存邪不入; When the Ki of the Dao is preserved long, evil cannot enter), Donghak was in a position to emphasize "Ki" (氣) more than "I" (理, Principle), but in that Donghak rarely contains content about Daoist Sinmyeong (Spiritual Beings) except for Sangje (the Supreme Ruler), it does not significantly deviate from the "Ki" at the Confucian level.⁴⁰⁹

Suun's view of Sangje, which does not emphasize Daoist Sinmyeong, also does not largely deviate from the influence of the Confucian view of Heaven. Ahn Yoo-kyung is said to state that although Donghak emphasizes "Ki," the background of Donghak's establishment shows a connection extending from the establishment of "I" (理, Principle) originating from Toegye (Yi Hwang) to Dasan (Jeong Yak-yong). It is said that Donghak was possible in Korea largely due to Toegye's influence.⁴¹⁰

Ko Mi-ra and Yi Jin [co-translators], *Naneun Cheonguk-eul Bo-atta* (Proof of Heaven), Paju: Gimyoungsa, 2013, pp.124-130, 190)

⁴⁰⁶ Michel Serres regards the concept of angels, just as the Eastern concept of Sinmyeong (divine spirits), not as a simple concept but as a decisive occasion that shapes the Western epistemological framework. (Michel Serres, Yi Gyu-hyeon (trans.), *Heolmeseu* (Hermes), Seoul: Minumsa, 2009, pp.299-303)

⁴⁰⁷ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 2-55.

⁴⁰⁸ Baek Min-jeong, "The Thought of Jeong Yak-yong and Choe Je-u Compared through the Concepts of Shangdi (上帝) and Mind (心)," *Minjok Munhwa* (民族文化; National/Korean Culture) 61, 2022, p.149.

⁴⁰⁹ Donggyeong Daejeon (Great Scripture of Eastern Learning), "Nonhangmun" (Discussion on Learning).

⁴¹⁰ Son Byeong-uk, "A Comparison of the Cultivation Systems of Donghak and Buddhist Yeombul-Seon (念佛禪; Chanting-Meditation)," *Donghak Hakbo* (Journal of Donghak Studies) 23, 2011, p.107.

Overall, in Suun's understanding of Donghak, theoretical aspects such as the view of Sangje remain within the limitations (Jeonheon) of Confucianism, while in metaphysical (Hyeongiihakjeogin, below-form) aspects such as occult arts (Sulsu), Daoism was actively accepted. In fact, it is said that the power of "occult arts" (Sulsu) was also a significant factor in Donghak becoming widely known to the general public. Even in the Donghak Peasant Movement, one of the great strengths that allowed the movement to persist was the belief in occult arts.⁴¹¹

That Donghak was, on the metaphysical level, within the Confucian canon, while on the physical level it was adept at the occult arts of Daoism, in fact served to reinforce Donghak's Confucian canonical character all the more. As appears in Hwang Hyeon's (黃琰, 1855-1910) Ohagimun (梧下記文), Donghak was indeed joined by people of various classes, whose purposes for joining were extremely diverse. Jeungsan highly esteemed Jeon Myeong-suk (全明淑, 1855-1895), who strove for the emancipation of the lowborn even while being a fellow Donghak participant, and he saw through the fact that many Donghak participants outwardly cried out 'supporting the nation and comforting the people' (boguk-anmin) while inwardly dreaming of becoming kings, marquises, generals, and ministers (wanghu-jangsang). Those who joined Donghak coveting such high station judged that they could fully achieve their dreams within a Donghak skilled in the occult arts. Yun Yi-heum therefore holds that to the general populace Donghak appeared as an expansion of the thought of the Jeonggammok, and that it thereafter became a model for the new religions.⁴¹²⁴¹³⁴¹⁴

The influence of Buddhism on the establishment of Donghak was indirect. The influence of Buddhism is limited to the connection that the place Suun took refuge was Eunjeogam (hermitage), and that Donghak's incantations (Jumun) are similar to Buddhist chanting (Yeombul). The Donghak Peasant Movement also began to first activate when the Jeopju (local leader) Son Hwa-jung (1861-1895) removed the book written by Yi Seo-gu (1754-1825), which was inside the stomach of the Maitreya statue at Seonunsa Temple. However, beliefs in past lives and ancestors, such as the law of karma (Inyeonbeop), were not emphasized in Donghak, so the Haewon (Resolution of Grievances) thought, like that in Daesoon Thought, did not appear in Donghak Thought either.

What greatly influenced the establishment of Donghak, besides Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism (Yubulseon), was Yin-Yang thought. Yin-Yang thought can also be included in the broad category of Daoism, but if considered separately, Donghak does not largely deviate from the Confucian Yin-Yang view, like the Heaven-Earth view appearing in the I Ching (Book of Changes) thought of Confucianism, that "Heaven and Earth are Gwisin (ghosts/spirits), and Gwisin are Heaven and Earth." Although Donghak

⁴¹¹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyobeop" (Dharma) 2-3.

⁴¹² The mural paintings of Daesoon Jinrihoe depict Oseon-wigi (Five Immortals Playing Baduk; 五仙圍棋), which represents Haewon Sangsaeng (Resolution of Grievances and Mutual Beneficence), through the metaphor of a game of Go (baduk/wigi).

⁴¹³ Kim Yong-ok, Donggyeong Daejeon 2 (Great Scripture of Eastern Learning, vol. 2), Tongnamu, 2021, p.135.

⁴¹⁴ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-66.

began by emphasizing the Heaven outside of Heaven, criticizing Western Learning (Seohak) and Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism (Yubulseon) and trying to transcend them, Donghak Thought, which failed to introduce concepts like Sinmyeong (Spiritual Beings), still does not largely deviate from Confucianism. This was a somewhat different character from the Yin-Yang view of Daesoon Thought, which emphasizes Sinmyeong.

It is said that Donghak was established not only against the ideological background of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism, but also due to the influence of the fear of foreign powers and the resulting nationalist sentiment at that time, leading to the appearance of a consciousness of resistance against Western aggression during the port-opening period in the thoughts of Suun and Jeungsan.⁴¹⁵

I, too, was born in the East and received it in the East; so, although the Way (Do) is the Way of Heaven (Cheondo), the Learning (Hak) is Eastern Learning (Donghak).⁴¹⁶

Donghak expands from opposition against Japan to opposition against the West. It is said that after Donghak, the concept of "East" (Dong) changed from meaning Korea in relation to China to meaning the East (Orient) in relation to the West. However, Donghak, which began with the concept of "Hak" (Learning) as a social movement like "Seongrihak" (Neo-Confucianism), is said to have become internalized during the Japanese colonial period.⁴¹⁷

At the time of Donghak's establishment, the Donghak leaders' perception of the international situation was limited to the scope of China. The Donghak gasa (songs) show great hostility towards Japan, and this is also close to the Confucian convention of interpreting the world with China at the center.

Ultimately, Suun's understanding of Donghak is formed against the background of his turbulent life history, profound learning, and pure heart, as well as the influence of nationalism from the Jeonggamnok, the will to abolish the caste system, and ignorance of the international situation. This background of establishment also has a significant impact on the subsequent development of the Donghak Peasant Movement. Donghak emphasizes gi (energy/spirit) rather than i (principle/reason) compared to Daesoon Thought, and Kim Ji-ha states that compared to Donghak Thought, Daesoon Thought emphasizes daily life.

The Donghak view of Heaven emerges as a solution within the conflict between the Western view of Heaven, which emphasizes the transcendent Heaven (Cheonoecheon, Heaven beyond Heaven) and does not emphasize the immanent Heaven divided into Heaven and Earth, and the Eastern view of Heaven, which emphasizes the immanent Heaven divided into Heaven and Earth and does not emphasize the transcendent Heaven (Cheonoecheon). The indigenous modernity of Donghak's view of Heaven, in this solution, reorganizes the sacred and the secular, encompassing and transcending the views of Heaven from all times

⁴¹⁵ 『朱子語類』 卷3, 中華書局, 33 夸."鬼神事自是第二著.那箇無形影底,是難理會底.末消去理會,且就日用緊切處做工夫".

⁴¹⁶ Choe Jin-deok, "The Li-Qi Theory (理氣論) and Ghost-Spirit Theory (鬼神論) in Zhu Xi Studies (朱子學)," Yangmyeonghak (Yangming Studies) 23, Korean Yangming Studies Association, 2009, pp.381-382.

⁴¹⁷ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Haengrok" (Acts) 2-16.

and places (East, West, past, present). Donghak's view of Heaven attempts to accommodate the strengths of Eastern Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism (Yubulseon) to the fullest, while also seeking to embrace the merits of the Western view of Heaven. This duality possessed by Donghak's view of Heaven was previously termed panentheism by Kim Kyoung-jae and others. However, the existing panentheistic view has a shortcoming in that its background of emergence has not been sufficiently revealed through its connection with modernity.⁴¹⁸

Modernity was a matter of science in the West, but for Easterners, it was a matter of survival—whether or not to face ethnic cleansing. Today, the issue of modernity is discussed at an academic level, but at that time, modernity involved the problem of survival. Furthermore, today modernity has expanded beyond being an Eastern problem to become a problem of human extinction. The view of Heaven in Donghak Thought, established with difficulty, is revealed in various aspects.

Aspects of Liminality in the Siecheonju (侍天主) View of Heaven

At a time when indigenous modernity was needed, Donghak first proposed the concept of 'Mugeukdaedo' (Great Dao of the Ultimate Void) as a new view of Heaven. 'Mugeukdaedo' is related to the Heaven above Heaven, that is, the primordial universe. This can be compared to how Western modernity, in the situation of East-West conflict involving the invasions of Islam and the Mongols, developed into a new view of Heaven, namely atomism. Donghak's view of Heaven, which encompasses and transcends the Eastern and Western views of Heaven through the Cheonoecheon (Heaven beyond Heaven), repeats the phylogeny (phylogenesis) manifested in the Eastern and Western views of Heaven as ontogeny (ontogenesis). This shows the indigenous modernity of liminality, which is achieved by rearranging the boundaries of the sacred and the secular.

My body trembled violently; outwardly a numinous energy made contact, and inwardly words descended as teaching. I tried to see it but could not see it, I tried to hear it but could not hear it, so my mind grew all the more strange and doubtful. Composing my mind and rectifying my energy, I asked, “Why is it so?” [He] replied, “My mind is precisely your mind [吾心即汝心]. How could humans know this? They know Heaven and Earth but do not know the gods and spirits, yet the gods and spirits too are I. You have reached the infinite, boundless Way; cultivate and refine it, compose writings to teach people, and rectify the Law and spread virtue, and I shall cause you to live long and to shine throughout the world.” I too cultivated and pondered it for nearly a year, and found that there was nothing in it that was not a natural principle. So, on the one hand I composed an incantation, on the other a method for receiving the numinous energy [降靈, descent of the spirit], and on the other writings for not forgetting the Lord of

⁴¹⁸ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Haengrok" (Acts) 1-2.

Heaven (Cheonju); the procedure and method of the Way amounted to nothing more than the twenty-one characters [of the incantation].⁴¹⁹

The passage above is the part describing the time when Suun received the Boundless Great Dao (Mugeuk-daedo). What the 'Boundless Great Dao' is, and why Donghak can be expressed as the 'Boundless Great Dao,' appears clearly in the passage above from the Donggyeong Daejeon, "Nonhangmun." The part expressing Donghak as the Boundless Great Dao also appears several times in the Yongdam Yusa, but the passage above is the most detailed.⁴²⁰

Mugeuk (Ultimate Void) refers to the state even before Taeguk (Supreme Ultimate), which is the state before Yin and Yang were divided, and thus it is related to the primordial universe. From the perspective of the view of Heaven, it corresponds to the Heaven beyond Heaven, the Cheonoecheon. Therefore, Mugeukdaedo signifies the Dao of the Heaven beyond Heaven, surpassing existing Neo-Confucianism, which claimed to reveal the principle of Taeguk, Seohak (Western Learning), which claimed to reveal Cheonju (the Lord of Heaven), or Buddhism, which sought to realize the substance of the universe. Accordingly, as in the excerpt above, "You have reached the infinite and boundless Dao," Mugeukdaedo becomes the 'infinite and boundless Dao'.

The reason the Boundless Great Dao becomes the 'infinite, boundless Way' is explained in the passage above by "My mind is precisely your mind [吾心即汝心]." Here, "my mind (osim 吾心)" is the mind of the "heaven above heaven," that is, the heaven-beyond-heaven (cheonoecheon), while "your mind (yeosim 汝心)" is the human mind represented by Suun. This means that the mind of the heaven-beyond-heaven—that is, the mind of the Limitless (Mugeuk)—becomes precisely the human mind. Since this says that the mind of the heaven-beyond-heaven, which is the origin of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, is the same as the human mind, it means that humanity's status in the cosmos becomes that of a being whose mind communes with the Limitless; hence it becomes the "Boundless Great Dao."

The most significant difference between the conventional Mugeuk and Donghak's 'Mugeukdaedo' regarding the view of Heaven is the first appearance of 'Mugeuk', or Sangje (the Supreme God), who communicates directly with humans, as seen in the Cheonsamundap (Q&A with the Heavenly Teacher) and Gangpil (divine brush). Furthermore, in the early Cheonsamundap, Suun continuously doubted Sangje's intentions and pressed his own arguments, thereby conversely gaining Sangje's trust. Donghak's view of Heaven, as a Mugeuk that communicates directly with humans, appears as a view of Heaven that harmonizes the Eastern assimilative view of Heaven and the Western formal view of Heaven without conflict.

In the case of the East, 'Mugeukdaedo', in its very name, first typically manifests the tradition of Mugeuk-Taeguk-EumyangOhaeng (Yin-Yang and Five Elements), which is representative of Eastern

⁴¹⁹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 3-6.

⁴²⁰ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9.

correlative thinking. This aligns with the Eastern assimilative view of Heaven. The expression 'Mugeukdaedo, unprecedented in myriad ages' can be seen as meaning the completion of correlative thinking. Furthermore, the expression 'Mugeukdaedo' is also an expression that Donghak Thought inherits the correlative thinking of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism (Yubulseon), which developed as religions in the East.⁴²¹ In reality, Yubulseon is based on the correlative thinking of the unity of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, and there have been preceding studies suggesting that Donghak's representative Sicheonju thought is a form in which Yubulseon, having developed in the direction of internalizing the absolute being, matures into a transcendent Heaven.⁴²²

Next, the case of the Western formal view of Heaven appears in Donghak's concept of 'Muwiyihwa' (natural transformation without action). "Muwiyihwa," used for the first time in Donghak, can be thought of as a concept linking Daoism's "Muwijayeon" (naturalness without action) and Seohak's "Johwa" (creation/harmony). Muwiyihwa has the significance of connecting the harmony within the realms of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, known as the harmony of Yin and Yang, to the harmony of the Cheonoecheon (Heaven beyond Heaven) that connects the Creator and the Three Realms. Donghak revitalizes the concept of the personalistic Cheonoecheon as a Josaengja (Creator) who emphasizes the concept of creation within harmony. Suun, when interpreting the incantation, explained that 'Johwa' (creation) means 'Muwiyihwa' (natural transformation without action), and 'Jeong' (determination/fixation) means 'Hapgideok' (uniting with its virtue) and 'Jeonggishim' (fixing one's mind).⁴²³

It is said that the differentiating point between Donghak's view of Heaven and the traditional Eastern view of Heaven is the concept of "Johwa" (creation/harmony) that appears in Sicheonju. Johwa was a core keyword in Donghak Thought, a key theme that transcended the Eastern view of Heaven to connect the Eastern and Western views of Heaven.⁴²⁴

Johwa (harmony/creation) appears in various forms in traditional Eastern and Western thought. First, etymologically, it is an abbreviation for creation (changjo) and evolution (jinhwa); this appears variously as principles of being (doem) and becoming (saengseong), preservation and creation, and Yin and Yang. Second, in actual religious terminology, it appears as the harmony of Yin and Yang, the Johwasinjang (Harmonizing Divine Generals) of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements, and so on. In Daesoon Thought, both Donghak Thought's 'Jakran' (disruption) and Daesoon Thought's 'Chiran' (alleviation/governance) are called

⁴²¹ Choe Su-un took pride in the fact that his seventh-generation ancestor Jin-rip (震立) had performed great meritorious deeds and died in battle during the Japanese Invasions (Imjinwaeran) and Manchu Invasions (Byeongja Horan), posthumously receiving the title of Minister of War (Byeongjo Panseo) and the posthumous name Jeonmu-gong. Through expressions in the "Ansimga" (Song of Solace) such as "You dog-like Japanese invader (倭敵)!" and "He too is an enemy," Choe Su-un cast Japan as an adversarial relationship. (Bak Gwang-su, Hanguk Sinjonggyo-ui Sasang-gwa Jonggyo Munhwa (The Thought and Religious Culture of Korean New Religions), Seoul: Jibmundang, 2012, pp.199-201).

⁴²² Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 74.

⁴²³ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 57.

⁴²⁴ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 2-4.

Johwa, and it is said that the original name of the Johwaju (Lord of Creation), corresponding to the Creator in Seohak, was 'Gucheon Daewon Johwajushin' (Great Primal Lord of Creation of the Nine Heavens).⁴²⁵⁴²⁶

In the case of the West, "Harmony" was a key theme in the Bible, signifying "peace." In the Bible, harmony was a symbol of Heaven, meaning "order" and "peace." In Seohak and Eastern Daoism, harmony was also emphasized as an attribute of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity; however, the harmony of Seohak was a harmony of analytical thought, while the harmony of Daoism was a different harmony of correlative thinking. Anthropology has understood new combinations of opposing elements, such as harmony, as liminality, which signifies boundaries, but Donghak Thought connects the two types of harmony with a new correlative concept of harmony. The harmony of Donghak Thought appears distinguished as 'Sicheonju', 'Muwiyihwa', 'Cheonjigwisin' (Heaven-Earth spirits), and 'Naeyushinryeong Oeyugihwa' (Indwelling Divine Spirit, Externalizing Qi-transformation). These four types of harmony are concepts that connect the existing harmony of Daoism and Seohak; they are views of Heaven, but from the perspective of the transcendent Heaven, they correspond to the nature of Heaven and Earth, and thus can also correspond to the view of Earth.⁴²⁷

First, "Johwa" (harmony/creation) appears in Donghak Thought in the form of 'Muwiyihwa' (natural transformation without action).⁴²⁸ Looking at 'Muwiyihwa', it is said that Suun summarized the core of Donghak as 'Muwiyihwa'. Suun calls Donghak 'Muwiyihwa', and explains that Muwiyihwa refers to the entire harmonizing action of the divine Earthly Gi (energy), and that if one guards the mind, corrects the energy, follows one's innate nature, and receives the teaching, harmony emerges from within naturalness.⁴²⁹ He says the Cheonju (Lord of Heaven) he revered is the divine spirit (Shinryeong) of Gihwa (Qi-transformation) that presides over all things in the universe, and the god he received acts through the harmony of Muwiyihwa and is omnipresent everywhere in the world.⁴³⁰ He states, "Gi (energy) is

⁴²⁵ Gang Don-gu, *Hanguk Geundae Jonggyo-wa Minjokjuui* (Korean Modern Religion and Nationalism), Seoul: Jibmundang, 1992.; Bak Jae-hyeon, "The Characteristics of Daesoon Thought in the Modern Korean Period - Focusing on Super-Nationalism and Modern and Post-Modern Values," *Daesoon Sasang Nonchong* (Daesoon Thoughts) 24, 2014.

⁴²⁶ Hwang Jong-won, "A Critical Study on the Innaecheon Doctrine and Theory of Mind-Nature (Simseongnon) of Cheondogyo in the Early 20th Century," *Daedong Cheolhak* (Daedong Philosophy) 44, 2008, pp.92-93.

⁴²⁷ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyobeop" (Dharma) 3-47. Sa ji dang wang jae eo cheonji, pil bu jae in, yeon mu in mu cheonji, go cheonji saeng in yong in, i insaeng bul cham eo cheonji, yong in ji si ha ga wal insaeng ho. When any matter comes to be accomplished, its fundamental cause lies in Heaven and Earth, not necessarily in human beings. However, since Heaven and Earth would be useless without human beings, Heaven and Earth (Cheonji) bring forth people and make use of them. This being so, when Heaven and Earth wish to make use of people, if a person does not follow the will of Heaven and Earth, how can this be called a human life? (Gyomuby, "Cheonji Saengin Yongin" [Heaven and Earth Bring Forth People and Use Them], *Daesoon Hoebo* [Daesoon Newsletter] 13, 1989)

⁴²⁸ Yi Gyeong-won, "The Modernity and Transformative Thought of Daesoon Truth," *Donghak Hakbo* (Journal of Donghak Studies) 9(2): 43. 2005.

⁴²⁹ Yi Gyeong-won, *Daesoon Jonghak Wonron* (Fundamental Principles of Daesoon Religious Studies), Seoul: Munsacheol, 2013.

⁴³⁰ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-66.

Heoryeongchangchang (vacuous, spiritual, and vast), involved in all affairs, commanding all affairs, a single primordial Gi (Honwonhan Ilgi)."⁴³¹

Donghak's connection of East and West through Muwiyihwa is a process of attempting to mediate the dualistic opposition between tradition and modernity through liminality. In fact, it is said that Sangje as the Creator in the Eastern tradition, revealed in the Shijing (Book of Odes), shares five personalistic attributes with the Creator in the Book of Psalms in the Bible. Among these, phrases revealing the attribute as Creator are said to be clearly evident in Chinese classics through the Shuowen Jiezi (Explaining Graphs and Analyzing Characters) and the Shijing.⁴³²⁴³³⁴³⁴

Even after his communion with the personal Heavenly Spirit (cheollyeong), Suun, connecting it with Daoism, explains the teaching of the Lord of Heaven (Cheonju) in terms of the impersonal harmony and motion-principles of nature. When asked how Suun's experience differed from Western Learning (Yanghak 洋學, Seohak), he added that the heavenly fortune (cheonun 天運) is the same and the Way of Heaven (cheondo 天道) is the same, but that their principle [理] is different. The difference of principle that Suun mentioned can be seen as pointing to a difference in the method of learning—that is, a difference of 'learning (hak 學).'⁴³⁵

Suun's Cheonsamundap (Q&A with the Heavenly Teacher) also, conversely, allows one to guess the reason why Heaven chose Suun. Like Jesus who defeated the devil's temptations, Suun rejected all of Sangje's suggestions proposing realistic success, and even refused success through the existing Yubulseon (Confucianism, Buddhism, Daoism). The Donghak concept of Sicheonju (Serving the Lord of Heaven) is based on this background of sincere dialogue with Sangje. This relationship of trust expanded to the belief, during the Donghak Peasant Movement, that participants in the Donghak Peasant Movement could even block bullets.⁴³⁶

The reason Suun's Cheonsamundap could gain the trust of others was that Heaven chose the most problematic figure, like Suun, as the person through whom to reveal itself. Heaven appeared to Suun, a very intermediate being who was neither the existing establishment nor the lower class.

Suun was the most unfortunate Homo sacer that era could produce at the time. Although Suun had a father who was the most outstanding scholar in the most orthodox Neo-Confucian lineage, he had to live with the status of a descendant of a remarried woman (Jaeganyeo), lower than an illegitimate son (Seoja);

⁴³¹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-30.

⁴³² Daesoon Jinrihoe Yoram (Daesoon Jinrihoe Handbook), "Chwinji" (Aims).

⁴³³ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-19.

⁴³⁴ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9.

⁴³⁵ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 1-3.

⁴³⁶ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyobeop" (Dharma) 3-47. Sa ji dang wang jae eo cheonji, pil bu jae in. When any matter comes to be accomplished, its fundamental cause lies in Heaven and Earth, not necessarily in human beings. (Gyomuby, "Cheonji Saengin Yongin" [Heaven and Earth Bring Forth People and Use Them], Daesoon Hoebo [Daesoon Newsletter] 13, 1989)

furthermore, after his father passed away and even his house burned down, Suun had to wander the country to maintain his livelihood. Eventually, even wandering proved too difficult, and Suun returned home. People actually placed more trust in the fact that the one to whom Heaven appeared was a being like Suun. Although Suun was unfortunate, he also possessed an extraordinary nature no less than his father's, and he even had the ho (style name) 'Boksul', meaning he was skilled in divination arts (Sulsu).⁴³⁷

The difference between Donghak Thought's concept of harmony and the Western one is that it is a harmony of correlative thinking. In addition to preceding studies showing that the correlative thinking displayed by Donghak's Siccheonju thought, as a continuity and change of tradition, is more clearly revealed in the tradition of Yubulseon (Confucian, Buddhist, Daoist) thought, preceding studies from an epistemological perspective are also active. There are many preceding studies on the continuity and change of the epistemological aspects of correlative thinking in Donghak Thought, so an overview can first be examined through an analysis of those preceding studies.

To examine the preceding studies on correlative thinking in Donghak Thought, it is necessary to first understand the definition of correlative thinking. Correlative thinking, represented by Yin-Yang and the Five Elements (Eumyang Ohaeng), is correlative thinking that uses the term sanggwon (correlation), meaning parts are mutually related; however, the connection of parts to parts, and ultimately the connection of parts within the whole, can be called an organismic theory that views the whole and parts unitarily, or a holistic theory, or a holographic (Jeonshikjeok) perspective that examines parts from the viewpoint of the whole. In other words, correlative thinking, if defined broadly, includes organismic thinking or holographic (Jeonshikjeok) thinking.

If Eastern thinking, or correlative thinking, is expanded to include holographic theory (Jeonshikron) or organismic theory, the preceding research on Donghak from a correlative cognitive perspective expands into very extensive research both domestically and internationally. Having examined overseas cases earlier, if we look at the domestic cases, we can mention, in a narrow scope, the research of Lee Chang-il, who translated and introduced correlative thinking to Korea. Although not actively applied to Donghak Thought, Lee Chang-il's research introduced to Korea the main Western methodology for studying Eastern thought—that research on Eastern thought must primarily be approached through correlative thinking—and analyzed the philosophy of Shao Kangjie (So Gang-jeol), which greatly influenced Donghak Thought, using the methodology of correlative thinking.⁴³⁸

Although Donghak, through the term 'Gaebyeok' (Great Opening/Creation), seems to advocate an ideology disconnected from East Asian tradition, the definition of Donghak presented in Donghak Thought—as seen in "Nonhangmun" (Discussion on Learning), the text where the term 'Donghak' first

⁴³⁷ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyobeop" (Dharma) 3-47. Mansa bun i jeong, bu saeng gong ja mang. All matters have their portions already fixed, yet the people of the world busily move about to no avail. (Gyomuby, "Mansa Bun I Jeong" [All Matters Have Their Portions Fixed], Daesoon Hoebo [Daesoon Newsletter] 148, 2013)

⁴³⁸ Daesoon Jinrihoe Yoram (Daesoon Jinrihoe Handbook), p.7.

appears—defines Donghak as a learning based on Yin-Yang and the Five Elements, which is a representative theory of correlative thinking. In fact, Shao Kangjie, the Yin-Yang and Five Elements theorist of Neo-Confucianism, who was identified by theorists of correlative thinking as a representative theorist of correlative thinking, is also noted as a thinker who had a great influence on Donghak Thought.⁴³⁹ The term 'Dasi Gaebyeok' (Re-Creation/Re-Opening) in Donghak Thought was also a term widely used by late Joseon intellectuals who were under the influence of Shao Kangjie.⁴⁴⁰⁴⁴¹

If expanded to holographic theory (Jeonshikron) or organismic theory, pioneering domestic research on the correlative thinking manifested in Donghak Thought was conducted by Kim Sang-il. Kim Sang-il defines Donghak as 'New Western Learning' (Shinseohak) and interprets Donghak as a pioneering Eastern version of Whitehead's process thought. Afterward, Kim Sang-il names Eastern thought "Han Philosophy" (Hancheolhak) and expands Eastern thought to fractal science, theoretically developing the characteristics of Donghak's correlative thinking in comparison with the entirety of past and present Western thought.⁴⁴²

In the East, the most representative term in which 'creative transformation' (johwa) appears is Sicheonju (Bearing the Lord of Heaven). Donghak's view of Heaven, which appears as the Eastern Boundless Great Dao and the Western 'non-doing and self-transformation' (muwi-ihwa), is synthesized in Sicheonju. Sicheonju is especially the concept representing the view of Heaven in Donghak Thought. As appears in Donghak's representative incantation "Sicheonju Johwajeong," Sicheonju is the foundation of creative transformation. Researchers who have studied the commonalities between Donghak and Neo-Confucianism hold that the johwa of Donghak's Sicheonju is, in content, similar to johwa in the Neo-Confucian sense, and that it is the concept encompassing Donghak's other phrases "gihwa" and "muwi-ihwa." In Donghak's "Nonhangmun," 侍 (si, 'bearing') is glossed as "having the divine spirit within, the qi-transformation without, and each person in the world knowing this and not departing from it (內有神靈, 外有氣化, 一世之人, 各知不移)." This means that all people in the world realize that the meaning of "Sicheonju" is to possess a divine-spirited mind and a qi-transforming body, and maintain that state—that is, all alike return to unity (gwil 歸一) in the creatively evolving [造化] substance [體], namely the "utmost qi (jigi)." Therefore Sicheonju is precisely the returning of all to one body (donggwi-ilche) and is "creative transformation (johwa)."⁴⁴³⁴⁴⁴

In that Sicheonju is precisely immanent transcendence, Donghak Thought shares methods of cultivation with existing Confucianism and Daoism. However, Donghak Thought, unlike Confucianism,

⁴³⁹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 2-42.

⁴⁴⁰ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9.

⁴⁴¹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9.

⁴⁴² Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-66.

⁴⁴³ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-19.

⁴⁴⁴ Daesoon Jinrihoe Yoram (Daesoon Jinrihoe Handbook), p.20.

substantivized the Ibeop (Principle-Law) similarly to Daoism, and unlike Daoism, a personal God, the Creator, appears. In the johwa (harmony/creation) of Donghak Thought through "Sicheonju," a "hidden God" appears, unlike in Confucianism or Daoism. In Donghak Thought, the aspect of creation is emphasized from the perspective of East-West convergence, more so than in the Daoist tradition where only the aspect of evolution within johwa was stressed.⁴⁴⁵

The common point "Sicheonju" shares with Seohak (Western Learning) is not only the appearance of a personal God but also the scene of encounter with that personal God. Regarding this, researchers emphasizing the commonality with Seohak say that Suun's Cheonsamundap (Q&A with the Heavenly Teacher) is similar to the experience of the Apostle Paul. It is said that in the past religious experiences of Koreans, there were no cases of directly encountering God like Suun did. From this point, Donghak's Cheonju (Lord of Heaven) is also evaluated as having been influenced by Christianity. However, Suun explains that he harmonized immanent transcendence, an Eastern method of self-reflection, with the traditional Korean belief in God (Haneunim).⁴⁴⁶

The indigenous modernity apparent in Donghak Thought's view of Heaven is the communication between the Cheonoecheon (Heaven beyond Heaven) and the human mind, and from this, the rearrangement of the sacred and the secular, namely, the emergence of a trans-boundary liminality. In terms of political and social thought, this also means the rise in status of making a commoner (sangnom) into an aristocrat (yangban), and the rise in status of the Earth and Humanity, which had been neglected in the relationship of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity. Donghak's view of Heaven, which encompasses and transcends the Eastern and Western views of Heaven through the emergence of the Cheonoecheon, repeats the phylogeny manifested in the Eastern and Western views of Heaven as ontogeny, showing indigenous modernity through liminality.

Indigenous Modernity of the Johwajeong (Creation is Determined) View of Earth (Jigwan)

The Western Material (Jillyojeok) View of Earth (Jigwan)

The view of Earth (Jigwan) also changes depending on whether the view of Heaven (Cheongwan) emphasizes the transcendent Heaven (Cheonoecheon) or the immanent Heaven divided into Heaven and Earth. From the perspective of the transcendent Heaven, Ji (Earth) becomes an expression encompassing all of Heaven-and-Earth as divided from Heaven-and-Earth; and in the Western substance-oriented ontological worldview, which does not regard Heaven-and-Earth as the immanent Heaven of Yin and Yang, Heaven-and-Earth, especially the Earth, becomes a material existence where form is realized.

⁴⁴⁵ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 1-11.

⁴⁴⁶ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9.

The Western material view of Earth differed depending on whether it regarded the transcendent Heaven (Cheonoecheon) as Idea, as the One God, or as materialistic reason. Today's material Western view of Earth, which regards the transcendent Heaven (Cheonoecheon) as materialistic reason, has become an atomistic worldview.

Until the emergence of the modern atomistic worldview, which held that all things are composed of atoms and molecules that cannot be broken down further, the West, as seen in the case of Matteo Ricci, also engaged in the ontological correlative thinking of Earth, Water, Fire, and Wind (Jisuwhapung); however, the difference between the Western correlative worldview of Jisuwhapung and the Eastern correlative thinking of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements (Eumyang Ohaeng) was, as Jesuit priests like Matteo Ricci discussed, that Jisuwhapung was correlative thinking based on substance, whereas Eumyang Ohaeng was correlative thinking based on attributes.⁴⁴⁷ The atomistic worldview was a theory that maximized the substantialist attributes of Jisuwhapung (Earth, Water, Fire, Wind) through analytical methods.⁴⁴⁸

Thales' worldview that "the origin of all things is water" is a representative example of substantialist correlative thinking, explaining all things through the substance of "water." Afterward, Empedocles' four-element theory was expanded, and the four-element theory was accepted by Plato and Aristotle, constituting the Western worldview up to Matteo Ricci. Earth, Water, Fire, and Wind (Jisuwhapung) were also applied in Plato's world of Ideas and Aristotle's theory of Form, forming a system where the fifth element, existing amidst the four elements, balances the other four.⁴⁴⁹⁴⁵⁰

Although Empedocles introduced Jisuwhapung, it had already been transmitted as a common worldview of the Indo-European language family before him; Jisuwhapung also appears in the cosmology of ancient Indian Brahmins, and the Buddhist worldview that inherited this is also composed of Jisuwhapung. Jisuwhapung (Earth, Water, Fire, Wind) even influenced China, becoming the Chinese theory of the Three Calamities (Samjae) of Water, Fire, and Wind. In the worldview of the Abhidharmakośa-sāstra, where the Buddhist view of the heavenly realms appears, the world is depicted as an existence floating on the wheel of Jisuwhapung (Earth, Water, Fire, Wind), and above it, "Geumgangsān" (Diamond Mountain), also called "Cheorwisan" (Iron Encircling Mountain), defends the center of the universe, and above that center, Mount Sumeru exists, forming 28 heavens. This Jisuwhapung view of the heavenly realms combines with the Chinese Daoist view of the Three Powers (Samjae) to become 36 heavens, and it also appears in the later Daesoon Thought's view of the heavenly realms.⁴⁵¹⁴⁵²

⁴⁴⁷ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9.

⁴⁴⁸ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Haengrok" (Acts) 1-10.

⁴⁴⁹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyobeop" (Dharma) 1-54.

⁴⁵⁰ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyobeop" (Dharma) 3-35.

⁴⁵¹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyobeop" (Dharma) 1-42.

⁴⁵² Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Jesaeng" (Saving Lives) 43.

What allows Jisuwhapung (Earth, Water, Fire, Wind) to be connected to the Western correlative theory of the views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity is the correlative principle inherent in Jisuwhapung. Another commonality that appears throughout the Indo-European language family is the tripartite functional system, which was revealed by Dumézil. Dumézil revealed that the background for the development of the Indo-European mythology's tripartite functional system into the European views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity is that the tripartite functional system and Jisuwhapung (Earth, Water, Fire, Wind) are composed of the same principles of ascent and descent.⁴⁵³

Dumézil states that in the anthropological structure of the Indo-European imaginary, the religious function of the upper level, the military-political function of the middle level, and the production-aesthetic function of the lower level appear in the views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity. Dumézil revealed that the three functions of the three goddesses appearing in the Trojan War of Greco-Roman mythology—Hera (religion), Athena (politics), and Aphrodite (production)—are the same as the Mitra-Varuna-Aryaman structure of Indian mythology. The tripartite functional system also appears in a structure similar to the Buddhist Three Realms (Samgye) of Kāmadhātu (Realm of Desire), Rūpadhātu (Realm of Form), and Ārūpyadhātu (Realm of Formlessness).⁴⁵⁴

Jisuwhapung (Earth, Water, Fire, Wind) and the tripartite functional system originated in Central Asia and widely influenced both East and West. That influence also appears in East Asia's Samjae (Three Powers) of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity. The Eastern Three Realms (Samgye)—namely, the Heavenly Realm (Cheongye), Earthly Realm (Jigye), and Human Realm (Ingye)—which are based on the Heaven-Earth-Humanity Samjae, are similar to the Western tripartite functional system in spatial division, but differ in that they emphasize "attributes" rather than "substance." Although they are the same "Su" (Water) and "Hwa" (Fire), the "Su" and "Hwa" of Jisuwhapung and the "Su" and "Hwa" of Eumyang Ohaeng (Yin-Yang and Five Elements) being different is a difference of substance and attribute. Therefore, if the two systems are compared, the functions of "Su" (Water) and "Hwa" (Fire) may appear opposite to each other.

The Western material view of Earth, in the sense that the form of the Heaven beyond Heaven (transcendent Heaven) is realized, contributed to the development of modern material civilization. However, the Western material view of Earth, biased toward matter, completely collapsed the divine realm system (Shinmyeongchehye) of the new universe, becoming a catalyst that instead led the world to the brink of annihilation and became the starting point of the crisis of modernity.

The Eastern Condensational (Eungchukjeok) View of Earth (Jigwan)

⁴⁵³ Dang Hyeon-seon, Jilberey Dwirangui Sangsanggye Yeongu (A Study on Gilbert Durand's Imaginary), Master's thesis, Hongik University Graduate School, 2009, pp.28-30.

⁴⁵⁴ Bak Jeong-jin, (Yesul Illyu Hak Seosel) Hanguk Munhwa Simjeong Munhwa ([Introduction to Art Anthropology] Korean Culture and the Culture of Simjeong [Heart-Mind]), Miraemunhwasa, 1990, pp.130-146.

Unlike the Western material view of Earth, which appeared differently as a material view of Earth according to the attributes of the Heaven above Heaven (transcendent Heaven)—such as Idea, the One God, or materialistic form—the Eastern condensed view of Earth appears in three different ways according to the transcendent Heaven, the immanent Heaven divided into Heaven and Earth, and the role of the Cheonjishinmyeong (Spirits/Gods of Heaven and Earth).

First, when Heaven (Cheon) is seen as the transcendent Heaven, Earth (Ji) encompasses all of Heaven-and-Earth, and Heaven-and-Earth, as the concept of Earth relative to Sangje (the Supreme God) who is the transcendent Heaven, appears as Shinmyeong (Divine Spirits) who execute Sangje's will of Cheonjihwayuk (Transformation and Nurturance of Heaven and Earth) by dividing the roles. At this time, Heaven plays the role of assimilation, and Earth plays the role of condensation, so Earth becomes the existence that realizes the Gi (energy) of Heaven and Earth as form, or a vessel (Gi). In Yeokhak (I Ching studies), this has been expressed as Geon (Heaven) and Gon (Earth). As the roles are divided, the shin (spirit/god) of Heaven takes on the role of assimilating, and the shin of Earth takes on the role of condensing. However, since the Shinmyeong (Divine Spirits) who perform those roles are appointed from Heaven, traditionally, the shin of Heaven has been described as Cheonshin (Heavenly God), the shin of Earth as Jigi (Earthly Spirit/Indicator), and in the case of humans, In'gwi (Human Spirit/Ghost).⁴⁵⁵

Today, the Samjae (Three Powers) of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity and Eumyang Ohaeng (Yin-Yang and Five Elements) establish a common theoretical system and emphasize "attributes" more than "substance." Yin-Yang, Samjae, and Ohaeng (Five Elements) each express the relationship between Heaven and Earth from different perspectives. In the case of Yin-Yang, it is further divided: on one hand, there is Yin-Yang as a material concept of Earth, similar to the West, which includes a formal transcendent Heaven and an immanent Heaven-and-Earth; on the other hand, similar to the East, it is divided into the assimilative Heaven, which emphasizes the immanent Heaven, and the condensed Earth. On the other hand, Samjae (Three Powers) has the aspect of integrating both these Eastern and Western views of Heaven. That is, the transcendent Heaven, the immanent Heaven, and the immanent Earth gather as three to form the Sam-Taeguk (Triple Supreme Ultimate) Samjae. Ohaeng (Five Elements) becomes an expanded concept where this Yin-Yang and Samjae meet, the Samjae view becomes Yin-Yang, and Yin-Yang becomes the Samjae view. If the origins of the three thoughts are traced, it appears that the three thoughts met from different starting points. It is not clear from which side Jisuwhapung (Earth, Water, Fire, Wind) and

⁴⁵⁵ The Yin-Yang Five Elements theory (Eumyang Ohaengseol) has both positive and negative aspects; in the case of Western scholars, they evaluate the Yin-Yang Five Elements as objectively as possible, appraising them at least as a primitive form of science. Representative figures include Marcel Granet, Angus Graham, Benjamin Schwartz, and Joseph Needham. (Kim Gi, "A Study on the Aspects of Application of Yin-Yang Five Elements Theory in Neo-Confucianism (Zhu Xi Studies)," doctoral dissertation, Sungkyunkwan University, 2012, p.4) On the other hand, Eastern scholars tend to regard Yin-Yang Five Elements as more superstitious. (Bang In, "Yin-Yang Five Elements Theory [陰陽五行說] as a Form of Ancient Chinese Cosmology [宇宙論]," *Jonggyo Yeongu* [宗教研究; Journal of Religious Studies] 4, 1988, p.71)

Eumyang Ohaeng (Yin-Yang and Five Elements) influenced the other, but in their mutual relationship, the thoughts of Yin-Yang, Ohaeng, and Samjae arose, and they appear combined in the aspect of attributes.⁴⁵⁶

Since the Eastern Heaven, Earth, and Humanity (Cheon, Ji, In) involve ontogeny repeating phylogeny, Geon-geon Gon-sun (Heaven is strong, Earth is receptive), which explains the relationship of Heaven and Earth, means that Earth's condensation includes Heaven's assimilation. Traditionally, the Eastern Way of Gon (Earth, 坤道) appears in detail in the Yeokjeon (Commentaries on the I Ching).

Supreme indeed is the Originating Power of Kun (坤元, Earth)! All things owe their birth to it, and thereby it obediently continues the Way of Heaven (天道). The thick virtue of Kun (坤), which bears all things, is without limit; embracing, broad, brilliant, and great, it causes all things to attain to full prosperity.⁴⁵⁷

In the excerpt above, Earth appears, through the action of Gon, as the action of a vessel and form that condenses the Gi (energy) assimilated by Heaven. From the perspective of Lee Young-ran's interpretation of liminality, this is Heaven (1) developing into Earth (1+2) through liminality.⁴⁵⁸

In traditional East Asian mythology, the division of the Heavenly Realm (Cheongye), Earthly Realm (Jigye), and Human Realm (Ingye) appears originating from the Gonggong (共工) clan, who were the most civilized people during the Yao and Shun era.⁴⁵⁹ According to artifacts and records, it is said to appear from the Warring States period. Like the underground civilization gods (Jihamunmyeongshin) appearing in Daesoon Thought, the Gonggong clan, the first civilized people of East Asia, appears in mythology as underground gods (Jihashin).⁴⁶⁰ The appearance of civilization gods underground stems from the correlative thinking that views Heaven and Earth correlatively.

The Earth viewed from the perspective of the immanent Heaven is much more related to life and its importance is magnified, compared to the Earth viewed from the perspective of the transcendent Heaven. Pungsujiri (Feng Shui) and Jesa (ancestral rites) were icons of traditional culture. In ecology, the Earth is emphasized as being as important as Heaven today. Pungsujiri, which can be called the indigenous geography of East Asia, was the traditional East Asian view of Earth, and this appeared in Eumyang Ohaeng (Yin-Yang and Five Elements) as the importance of To (Earth), which signifies the center of Eumyang Ohaeng. The reason correlative thinking is important in the views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity is that correlative thinking provides the basis for Sangsaeng (mutual beneficence/coexistence). The importance of the Earth occupies a major part of the Sangsaeng-oriented views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity. In particular, the rise in status of the Earth, which had more capability but a lower status—

⁴⁵⁶ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9.

⁴⁵⁷ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 3-14.

⁴⁵⁸ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 2-1.

⁴⁵⁹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Haengrok" (Acts) 3-53.

⁴⁶⁰ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Jesaeng" (Saving Lives) 43.

namely, Jeongeumjeongyang (Correct Yin and Correct Yang)—becomes central also for the Haewon (resolution of grievances) of humanity, that is, Sangsaeng. The great difference between Donghak Thought's 'Dasi Gaebyeok' (Re-Creation) and Daesoon Thought's 'Samgye Gaebyeok' (Creation of the Three Realms) also lies in Sangsaeng. Daesoon Thought's Samgye Gaebyeok discusses Sangsaeng, and for Sangsaeng, it discusses Haewon. Haewon is possible through the Shinmyeong (Divine Spirits), and Sangsaeng is achieved through Haewon after the balance of Yin and Yang status is achieved.

In the traditional East Asian view of Earth, the importance of the Earth appeared in the term represented by the word Cheonji (Heaven-Earth). Representatively, Cheonwonjibang (Heaven is round, Earth is square) does not refer to the erroneous claim of the geocentric theory (Cheondongseol), which was revealed by the heliocentric theory (Jidongseol), that the sky is round; rather, it can be said to be an abbreviation for "Cheondojiwiwon Jidojiwibang" (The Way of Heaven is called Round, The Way of Earth is called Square), referring to the one-dimensional nature of "Ju" (duration), which represents time, and the two-dimensional nature of "U" (expanse), which represents space. The Heaven of the Juyeok (I Ching) is called "Geon" (乾), and this "Geon" (dry) represents the dry attribute of time, which performs the "Sae Eul" (乙, second heavenly stem) action.⁴⁶¹

Samcheon-Yangji (Three Heavens, Two Earths) is a core concept of the Juyeok, meaning Heaven moves by the principle of 3 and Earth by the principle of 2. The Juyeok has understood Heaven, Earth, and Humanity (Cheonjiin), which symbolize nature, as the family relationship of father-mother-son, and has abundantly created propositions contrasting the attributes of Heaven and Earth, corresponding to father and mother. Samcheon-Yangji (Three Heavens, Two Earths), Cheonwon-Jibang (Heaven Round, Earth Square), Cheonjang-Jigu (Heaven lasting, Earth enduring), and Cheondo-Jideok (Way of Heaven, Virtue of Earth) all indicated that the father-Heaven signifies Sam (Three), Won (Round), Jang (Lasting), and Do (Way), and the mother-Earth possesses the attributes of Yang (Two), Bang (Square), Gu (Enduring), and Deok (Virtue). The complex-system interpretation of Cheonjiin (Heaven, Earth, Humanity) and psychoanalysis can be said to be almost similar to the Oedipus Complex. The Sam-su Bunhwa (three-number differentiation) system, as a complex-system understanding of psychoanalysis, can be seen as a part of fractal aesthetics, and the symmetry possessed by the Sam-su Bunhwa system was a fundamental proposition of Greek aesthetics.

In traditional thought, Earth played a role as one axis of the correlation with Heaven and Humanity. Traditional thought was understood as theology or mythology rather than as indigenous modernity, but there was a movement to understand it as indigenous modernity through Daejonggyo (Great Ancestral Religion) and others. The three-number differentiation system is a system that views all things as a

⁴⁶¹ Yi Eo-ryeong, *Dijirogeu: Hangugin-i Ikkeyneun Cheomdan Jeongbo Sahoe, Geu Miraereul Ilkneun Keyword* (Digilog: The Keyword for Reading the Future of the Advanced Information Society Led by Koreans), Seoul: Saenggak-ui Namu, 2006.

complex-system expansion of the three components: Heaven, Earth, and Humanity.⁴⁶² The three-number differentiation system has been recognized as the common inner structure of all things in the West as Kant's three-element system, Freud's father-mother-son, Father-Son-Holy Spirit, and in the East as the Cheon-Ji-In system. The three-number differentiation system is common to both East and West from the perspective of the symmetry possessed by the Oedipal structure.⁴⁶³ The three-number differentiation system integratively illuminates the humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences.

Jeong Jaeseo states that Chinese mythology is an anti-Oedipus mythology, distinct from Western mythology. In Christian theology, Cheon-Ji-In (Heaven-Earth-Humanity) theology is emerging as a theology that emphasizes not only the role of the father but also the roles of Earth and Humanity.⁴⁶⁴ The opportunity to integrate the emphasis on the roles of Earth and Humanity in ecological theology, etc., with existing theology appears in the Dangun myth and the Cheon-Ji-In thought, which is Korea's unique three-number differentiation worldview.⁴⁶⁵ However, since Cheon-Ji-In theology is also a Christian theology without a Daoist view of divine beings, it cannot go so far as to claim that the god of the Earth is a god like a mother.⁴⁶⁶ Heo Ho-ik mentions Yoon Sung-bum, Kim Kwang-sik, Park Jong-chun, Yu Dong-sik, Lee Jung-yong, Lee Eun-sun, and Seo Nam-dong as theological researchers related to Cheon-Ji-In theology.⁴⁶⁷ Kim Heup-young, with similar logic, requests a shift from existing theology—Logos-centered theology emphasizing the father, Praxis theology centered on the mother—to a desirable theology, Do (Tao)-theology emphasizing the universe-Christ, which emphasizes the third party.⁴⁶⁸ Lee Eun-sun, as a feminist scholar, sometimes interprets the characteristic of Korean theology, along with Hwang Pil-ho, as the *gajong* (adding religion) of Cheon-Ji-In.⁴⁶⁹⁴⁷⁰⁴⁷¹⁴⁷²

⁴⁶² Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 46.

⁴⁶³ Kim Ji-ha, (Mihak Gangui) Huin Geuteul-ui Mihageul Chajaseo ([Aesthetics Lectures] In Search of the Aesthetics of White Shadow), Seoul: Silcheon Munhaksa, 2005.; Kim Ik-du, "Reconciliation and Mutual Beneficence (Sangsaeng) in East Asian Thought — The Ideological Movements of Modern Jeollabuk-do and Their Development," Proceedings of the 93rd Academic Conference of the Society for Ancient East Asian Studies, 2023.

⁴⁶⁴ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-66.

⁴⁶⁵ Daesoon Jinrihoe Yoram (Daesoon Jinrihoe Handbook), "Hunhoe" (Precepts).

⁴⁶⁶ Daesoon Jinrihoe Yoram (Daesoon Jinrihoe Handbook), "Sinjo" (Creed).

⁴⁶⁷ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-6.

⁴⁶⁸ Yongdam Yusa (Songs of Yongdam), "Dodeokga" (Song of Virtue).

⁴⁶⁹ Donggyeong Daejeon (Great Scripture of Eastern Learning), "Jwajam" (Seated Admonition). O do bak i yak, bul yong da eon ui, byeol mu ta do ri, seong gyeong sin sam ja. Our Way is broad yet simple; there is no need for many words. There is no other path — it is but three characters: Seong (sincerity), Gyeong (reverence), and Sin (faith).

⁴⁷⁰ A. N. Whitehead, D. R. Griffin and D. W. Sherburne, Process and Reality, New York: Free Press, 1929. pp.10-11. Cited in Roger Ames and David Hall (authors), Jang Won-seok (trans.), Ilsangsa-e Chocheom Matchugi: Jungyong-ui Beonyeok-gwa Cheolhakjeok Haeseok (Focusing on Everyday Affairs: A Translation and Philosophical Interpretation of the Zhongyong [The Doctrine of the Mean]), Seongnam: Academy of Korean Studies Press, 2019. pp.50-51.

⁴⁷¹ Nam Hyo-on (author), Bak Dae-hyeon (trans.), Chugang Jip (Collected Works of Chugang), Seoul: Minjok Munhwa Chujinhoe, 2007, vol. 5, 35b.

⁴⁷² Hanguk Sasangsa Yeongu-hoe (Korean Intellectual History Research Association), Joseon Yuhak-ui Gaenyeomdeul (Concepts of Joseon Confucianism), Yemunseowon, 2002.

The concept of yin-yang, which allows Taegeuk (Supreme Ultimate) to be understood as a complex-system scientific concept of creation and preservation principles, was first proposed by the Chinese philosopher Mou Zongsan, who studied Eastern philosophy ontologically. He states that while Western philosophy understands a personal God through the concept of 'substance' (實體), Chinese philosophy understands the Way of Heaven (天道) through the concept of 'function' (作用). He says that when viewed from the perspective of such function, Geon-won (Creative Principle of Heaven) is the principle of creativity, and Gon-won (Receptive Principle of Earth) becomes the so-called principle of preservation. Since Daesoon Thought states that Taegeuk originates from the circle (Won), this aligns with Mou Zongsan's view of Taegeuk as the function of circular motion, and since it views all things as complex-system circular motion, it can be said that it viewed Taegeuk as the basic principle of a complex system. It can be said that symmetry, asymmetry, and supersymmetry arise from circular motion.⁴⁷⁷

Unlike the West, which views Earth as the material for form from the Heaven-beyond-Heaven, the Eastern view of Earth, as the place where the practice of the transcendent Heaven's creative transformation is condensed, did not regard Earth as an object of domination and conquest like the West, but rather regarded it as an object of worship, as in Pungsu-jiri (Geomancy). However, as Neo-Confucianism excluded the transcendent Heaven, the Eastern Earth was relegated merely to the partner of the immanent Heaven, and Eastern correlative thinking became fixed. As Western substantial thinking had a tendency to strengthen the keynote of sanggeuk (mutual conflict), the two views of Earth came to clash in the modern era.

The Collision and Mutually Overcoming Conflict (Sanggeukhwa) of Eastern and Western Views of Earth (Jigwan)

The Clash of Views of Earth (Ji-gwan)

To Easterners who regarded Earth as an object of worship, Westerners who treated Earth as material came as a great shock. The two forces, which had been mutually balanced, rapidly tilted toward the West after Matteo Ricci. The East-West clash regarding the view of Earth appeared largely in two stages. The first was the worldview clash presented by the material view of Earth based on the transcendent Heaven, which appeared in Matteo Ricci's *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* (Cheonju Sil-ui), and the

⁴⁷³ Kim Yun-gyeong, *Hanguk Dogyosa* (History of Korean Taoism), Seoul: Munsacheol, 2020.

⁴⁷⁴ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Jesaeng" (Saving Lives) 43.

⁴⁷⁵ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Jesaeng" (Saving Lives) 43.

⁴⁷⁶ Go Hoe-min (author), Gwak Sin-hwan (trans.), *Sogangjeol-ui Seoncheon Yeokhak* (Shao Yong's [Shao Kangjie's] Anterior Heaven Yi Studies), Seoul: Simsan, 2007.

⁴⁷⁷ In practice, the concept of Wonhyong Ijeong (Yuan Heng Li Zhen; Origination, Flourishing, Advantage, Correctness) is used to refer to the four common attributes of cyclical periods such as spring-summer-autumn-winter, morning-noon-evening-night, and early youth-young adulthood-middle age-old age. It is said that, like an infinitely layered cycle, every single thing and every single matter contains Wonhyong Ijeong. (Yun Yong-nam, "Reconsidering Zhu Xi's [朱子's] Theory of Li [理說]," *Dongyang Cheolhak Yeongu* [東洋哲學研究; Studies in East Asian Philosophy] 8, 1988, pp.52-54)

second was the material clash that occurred when the West, having retreated from the East after the Boryu-ron (Supplementary Confucianism) debate, reappeared with weapons.

First, looking at the worldview clash, it was a clash between the ontological worldview presupposed in the Western material view of Earth and the condensational view of Earth inherent in the Eastern view of Earth. Although the Eastern I-Gi-ron (Theory of Principle and Material Force) was the closest ideology among Eastern thoughts to Aristotle's ontology, it collapsed under Matteo Ricci's criticism because Aristotle's four-element theory (earth, water, fire, wind) and four-cause theory seemed to explain God logically well at the scientific level of the time.⁴⁷⁸ At the scientific level of the time, the Eum-Yang O-Haeng (Yin-Yang and Five Elements) theory and the I-Gi-ron, which did not separately recognize substance, became illogical theories according to Aristotle's theory.⁴⁷⁹

When compared with the West's earth, water, fire, and wind, the relationship between To (Earth element) and Mok-Hwa-Geum-Su (Wood-Fire-Metal-Water elements) in Eum-Yang O-Haeng is a part where East and West clearly differ.⁴⁸⁰ The West's earth, water, fire, and wind also had a fifth element, ether, which played the same role as the To (Earth element) of the East's Eum-Yang O-Haeng. However, the West's fifth element was a separate existence from earth, water, fire, and wind, like the monotheistic God, whereas the To of Eum-Yang O-Haeng was different in that it was an immanent existence that, while being a separate existence, also operated together with Wood, Fire, Metal, and Water.⁴⁸¹ Shao Kangjie's (Sogangjeol) Eum-Yang O-Haeng relationship between divine beings and humans is re-examined later because it could simultaneously accommodate the transcendent Western relationship and the immanent Eastern relationship between divine beings and humans.

When Matteo Ricci criticized Eum-Yang O-Haeng, he argued that, unlike earth, water, fire, and wind, the Eum-Yang O-Haeng theory could not be interpreted by Aristotle's four-cause theory.⁴⁸² The four-cause theory was regarded as the most rational Western theory for explaining the universe until the 17th century, when Matteo Ricci lived. Although Matteo Ricci was also a top-level scientist of his time, his criticism of Eum-Yang O-Haeng was not from the standpoint of atomism, but from the theory of earth, water, fire, and wind, which, from today's perspective, does not seem much different from Eum-Yang O-Haeng.⁴⁸³⁴⁸⁴

⁴⁷⁸ Choe Jin-deok, "The Li-Qi Theory (理氣論) and Ghost-Spirit Theory (鬼神論) in Zhu Xi Studies (朱子學)," Yangmyeonghak (Yangming Studies) 23, Korean Yangming Studies Association, 2009, pp.381-383.

⁴⁷⁹ Do gi jang jon sa bul ip, segan jung in bu dong gwi. If the energy of the Way is preserved for long, evil (satuk) cannot enter; and one shall not wander about like the common people of the world.

⁴⁸⁰ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyobeop" (Dharma) 2-3

⁴⁸¹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyobeop" (Dharma) 1-34

⁴⁸² Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Haengrok" (Acts) 5-38. Dong yu daeseong in wal donghak, seo yu daeseong in wal seohak. In the East there is a great sage who says: [it is] Donghak; in the West there is a great sage who says: [it is] Seohak (Western Learning). (Gyomuby, "Dolbyeongpung" [Stone Screen], Daesoon Hoebo [Daesoon Newsletter] 119, 2011)

⁴⁸³ Hanguk Sasangsa Yeongu-hoe (Korean Intellectual History Research Association), Joseon Yuhak-ui Gaenyeomdeul (Concepts of Joseon Confucianism), Yemunseowon, 2002.

To the contemporary Eastern intellectuals who first encountered an ontological view of nature after Buddhism, earth, water, fire, and wind, although a correlative way of thinking, came as a great shock, enough to lead to the collapse of their worldview. The biggest problem in the Eastern acceptance of Western Learning (Seohak) was the issue of ancestral rites. For the West, the Rites Controversy was a matter of the Holy See's stance, but the newly emerged Eastern followers of Western Learning had to believe in Western Learning at the risk of their lives. The clash of worldviews seemed to result in an Eastern victory due to the prohibition of Western Learning.

The next material clash appeared rapidly around the time Su-un founded Donghak (Eastern Learning). China's defeat to the West, such as in the Treaty of Beijing, was a shock as if the sky was falling. As vividly depicted in Lu Xun's (1881-1936) *The True Story of Ah Q*, the shocked Chinese people, fearing they would face ethnic cleansing under Western rule, reached a state of schizophrenia, akin to "spiritual victory." China faced the experience of Heaven collapsing once again, just as the feudal system of the Zhou Dynasty collapsed during the Warring States period. It was like the situation where all Americans had to tremble at the threat of Russian nukes when the Soviet Union sent a rocket to the moon. It is said that Su-un was able to learn about Western information early through his wandering life. In the *Yongdam Yusa* (Songs of Yongdam), there are parts that well describe the clashes of that time. Accordingly, indigenous modernity emerged as a very urgent issue in the East.

The Mutual Conflict (Sanggeuk-hwa) of the Heaven-Earth Relationship

The change in the views of Heaven and Earth also changed the traditional Heaven-Earth relationship. First, in the case of the West, Matteo Ricci's introduction of Eastern culture led to the introduction of the East's immanent views of Heaven and Earth into Western civilization, which consisted of transcendent views of Heaven and Earth, resulting in the rapid development of science and technology. Eum-Yang O-Haeng, originally devised to explain the attributive relationship of Heaven and Earth, crossed over to the West and was applied to the natural sciences explaining substantial relationships, bringing about the development of science and technology. In the West, after Matteo Ricci, new scientific concepts different from Aristotelian science, such as mass, element, volume, gravity, and velocity, were introduced, rapidly applied to science and technology, and society quickly became capitalist.⁴⁸⁵

Although material civilization developed as immanent Heaven was introduced into science and technology, in the case of the West, the Heaven-Earth relationship, represented by the fifth element and

⁴⁸⁴ Kim Seon-hui, "The Theistic World as Seen by Confucian Scholars," *Proceedings of the Korean Association for the Study of Religion*, Korean Association for the Study of Religion, 2014; Jeon Seong-geon, "The Theological Possibility of Dasan's Theory of Yeongji (Spiritual Knowledge)," *Proceedings of the Korean Association for the Study of Religion*, Korean Association for the Study of Religion, 2014)

⁴⁸⁵ Go Nam-sik, "Patterns and Significance of Japan-Related Records in the Kang Jeungsan (姜飢山) Transmission in the Modern and Contemporary Period: Focusing on Daesunjeongyeong (大巡典經) (1929-1965)," *Ilbon Geundae Hak Yeongu* (Journal of Modern Japanese Studies), 2023.

earth, water, fire, and wind, rather degenerated into a sanggeuk (mutual conflict) relationship between the monotheistic God and all things. Subsequently, the Heaven-Earth relationship becomes even more characterized by sanggeuk (mutual conflict) with an atomistic worldview, where even the correlative attributes of earth, water, fire, and wind have disappeared. Modern science removed the attributes of earth, water, fire, and wind from the views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity under the pretext of objectivity, but from the aspect of sanggeuk (mutual conflict), objectivity can also be seen as a pretext.

In the case of the Heaven-Earth relationship, the sanggeuk-hwa (mutual conflict) of the earth-water-fire-wind Heaven-Earth relationship appears as cheonjon-jibi (Heaven revered, Earth base) towards the monotheistic God. In the Western concept of earth, water, fire, and wind, Heaven corresponds to the fifth element, and Earth corresponds to earth, water, fire, and wind. At the time earth, water, fire, and wind appeared, the fifth element was the central element connecting the existing earth, water, fire, and wind, as seen in the movie "The Fifth Element." This fifth element was replaced by reason, namely material and profit (財利).

The West's fifth element is similar in role to the East's 'To' (Earth element) concept, but the West is different in that, unlike the East, the fifth element is a transcendent solid (three-dimensional entity). The West developed more than the East by recognizing the solid (three-dimensional entity) through the concept of the fifth element. However, the problem is that the West failed to connect this fifth element back to being immanentized as a plane, but rather remained fixed in the solid (three-dimensional entity). As the fifth element combined with Christianity, the fifth element became fixed as transcendence.

In the case of the West, the sanggeuk-hwa (mutual conflict) of earth, water, fire, and wind appears as particle theory. Earth, water, fire, and wind, deprived of their status as divine beings, are now relegated to components like atoms and molecules, placed under human domination. The relationship between Heaven and Earth becomes jeolji-tongcheon (severed from Earth, communicating with Heaven), their mutual relationship is severed, humans seek to dominate, and Heaven and Earth, renamed as nature, become beings that take revenge on humans, as described in ecology.

The Eastern Heaven-Earth relationship, which rejected the Western transcendent Heaven, also rapidly became fixed. The Heaven-Earth relationship, with the transcendent Heaven excluded, became fixed as the element of liminality was omitted. The classic Eastern Heaven-Earth relationship, represented by cheonwon-jibang (Heaven round, Earth square), cheonmun-jiri (astronomy and geography), etc., becomes characterized by sanggeuk (mutual conflict) through the cheonjon-jibi (Heaven revered, Earth base) and yangjon-eumbi (Yang revered, Yin base) Heaven-Earth relationship.⁴⁸⁶

The traditional Eastern Heaven-Earth relationship of Eum-Yang O-Haeng is also excluded by the worldview of eogeum-jonyang (suppressing Yin, revering Yang) and yangjon-eumbi (Yang revered, Yin

⁴⁸⁶ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 2-4.

base), despite the situation of jijon (Earth revered) where divine beings are enshrined on Earth. The Heaven-Earth relationship was a horizontal corresponding relationship, as in the concepts of I-reum-i-ryang-ji-wi-do (One Yin and One Yang is called the Dao), cheondo-jideok (Heaven's Way, Earth's Virtue), and cheonwon-jibang (Heaven round, Earth square), but as history progressed, the cheonjon-jibi (Heaven revered, Earth base) relationship became formalized. In the East, although it was known to be the era of jijon (Earth revered) according to the concepts of sinbong-eo-cheon (divine beings enshrined in Heaven) and sinbong-eo-ji (divine beings enshrined on Earth), the jijon divine beings enshrined on Earth were relegated to objects of fortune-seeking (gibok), known as myeongdang (auspicious sites).

In the case of the East, the progression of sanggeuk-hwa (mutual conflict) as cheonjon-jibi (Heaven revered, Earth base) is, contrary to the case of earth, water, fire, and wind, attributed to the forgetting of the Sangje (Supreme Ruler) concept due to the immanentization of To (Earth element). In the case of the Eum-Yang O-Haeng views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, the sanggeuk-hwa (mutual conflict) Heaven-Earth relationship appears as the substantialization of To (Earth element). The To (Earth element) concept of Eum-Yang O-Haeng, which originally signified both Heaven and Earth, becomes characterized by sanggeuk (mutual conflict), the concept of Heaven fades, and it is relegated to the concept of Earth. The exact opposite sanggeuk-hwa (mutual conflict) to that of the West, where the fifth element was extremist as the monotheistic God, unfolds in the Eum-Yang O-Haeng Heaven-Earth relationship. As seen in the Baopuzi's To-geuk-su (Earth overcomes Water), To (Earth element) in Eum-Yang O-Haeng is a core element, like the yin-yang of the five elements. This materialization of To-geuk-su (Earth overcomes Water) is only converted into revitalization in Daesoon Thought.⁴⁸⁷

Liminality in the Johwajong (造化定) View of Earth in Donghak Thought

Donghak Thought's Johwajeong (Fixing the Creation-Transformation) View of Earth (Ji-gwan)

In accordance with Donghak Thought's emphasis on the transcendent Heaven, Donghak Thought also shows a view of Earth (Ji-gwan) different from the existing view of Earth. If Heaven is assumed to be the Heaven-beyond-Heaven, i.e., the transcendent Heaven, then Earth appears as the existing Heaven-and-Earth, i.e., the object of the transcendent Heaven's creation-transformation, the existence of muwi-ihwa (non-acting transformation) and gihwa (material force transformation). Therefore, in Donghak Thought's view of Earth, the meaning of Earth is not clearly revealed, and concepts such as johwa (creation-transformation), muwi-ihwa (non-acting transformation), and gihwa (material force transformation) are emphasized.

While Donghak Thought's view of Heaven (Cheon-gwan) began with the cheonsa-mundap (conversation with the Heavenly Master), Donghak Thought's view of Earth (Ji-gwan) is gradually formed as Su-un's deep contemplation and experience follow after the cheonsa-mundap. Su-un's extensive

⁴⁸⁷ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 1.

experience and knowledge fuse with the cheonsa-mundap and become established as the view of Earth (Ji-gwan).

In reality, the establishment of Donghak Thought was influenced not only by the West, namely Western modernity, but also by the immanent development of Eastern thought. While the external environment surrounding Donghak Thought was as such for the establishment of Donghak's indigenous modernity, internally, there was an influx of Nandan-doggyo (Luntan Daoism), etc., established in modern China. It has been studied that the influence of Daoism was emphasized not only in the formation of the view of Heaven (Cheon-gwan) but also in the view of Earth (Ji-gwan).

Looking at this in detail, it can be divided into the influx of Tongsin Daoism (通神道教, Spirit-Communicating Daoism) and Naedan Daoism (内丹道教, Internal Alchemy Daoism). The existing Daoism introduced to Joseon was Naedan Daoism, focused on cultivation, as seen in Bukchang Jeong Ryeom's (北窓 鄭礪, 1506-1549) Yongho Bigyeol (Secret Teachings of the Dragon and Tiger) or Gwon Geuk-jung's (權克中, 1585-1659) Juyeok Chamdonggye Juhae (Commentary on the Book of Changes and the Triplex Unity). However, after the Imjin War (Japanese invasions of Korea, 1592-1598), faith in Guan Yunchang (Guan Yu) was introduced, and the Okchu Bogyeong (Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot), which was banned in China, became widely spread through shamanism and other channels, leading to the widespread dissemination in Joseon of Tongsin Daoism and Nandan Daoism—Daoism that communicates directly with gods through incantations and talismans—as opposed to Naedan Daoism. Tongsin Daoism, which emphasizes communication with gods, and Nandan Daoism, which has a name related to talismans, have different names but share the commonality of emphasizing gods compared to Naedan Daoism. Chronologically, Naedan Daoism was introduced earlier than Tongsin Daoism. While Naedan Daoism was primarily transmitted to the yangban (nobility), Tongsin Daoism influenced the masses. The introduction of these two types of Daoism into the Neo-Confucian-centric Joseon society was not widely known, but they had as much influence on the intellectual society of the time as Seohak (Western Learning). It is also said that many Daoist masters migrated to Korea from China during the chaotic period of the Qing Dynasty.

The newly introduced Daoism showed a new development in Joseon in connection with Western Learning (Seohak). At that time, as appears in the records of foreigners who came to Joseon in the late Joseon period, the people of Joseon had lost all hope and, their will to labor exhausted, most of the populace had given up on work. At the 'Haemi International Catholic Shrine,' one of Korea's representative Catholic sites, there are many graves of common people who were martyred, such as the 'Yaso (Jesus) graves.' Since it was a time when, for the common people, death was better than life if only it were guaranteed, the communicative Daoism of Nandan Daoism and the Lord-of-Heaven faith of Western Learning won great response from the common people.

The traditional value system centered on Neo-Confucianism, which had been accumulated over a long time, faced a crisis, and Joseon society as a whole was facing an identity crisis. In Joseon's case, an identity

controversy arose as Cheonju Sil-ui (The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven) and Seohak Jungwon-ron (Theory of Western Learning Originating from China) were accepted simultaneously. As seen in the case where Yeonam Park Ji-won (朴趾源, 1737-1805), while serving as the county magistrate of Myeoncheon in 1798, persuaded and leniently released Catholics, the Neo-Confucian intellectuals of the time were well aware of the methodological differences between Seohak (Western Learning) and Donghak (Eastern Learning) and had much interest in Seohak.

Accordingly, the newly introduced Daoism attracted attention as a response to Seohak (Western Learning). The influx of Nandan Daoism also explains why some segments of the yangban class accepted Donghak's rituals of incantations and spiritual talismans, which were unconventional for the time, without significant resistance. Even during the Donghak period, groups centered around some yangban that independently practiced cultivation related to Nandan Daoism also appear in the later denominational histories of Donghak or Daesoon. In the end, Donghak is an ideology presented amidst the clash of Eastern and Western worldviews, as the harms of Western modernity were exposed, and with the aim of saving the endangered East.

If the background of Donghak Thought's establishment includes the Eastern origins of Western modernity, the influx of Nandan Daoism, and the prevalence of Seohak (Western Learning), then in terms of correlative thinking, the conceptual establishment of Donghak Thought appears largely in the order of Donghak (Eastern Learning), Mugeuk Daedo (Great Dao of the Ultimate Void), Cheonji Gwisin (Heaven-Earth Ghosts-Spirits), and the Dasi Gaebyeok (Re-Opening) of the Sangwon-gap (First Cycle). Although much preceding research has been conducted on the establishment of Donghak in chronological order, not much has been done regarding the order of conceptual establishment, making it somewhat difficult to grasp the outline of Donghak Thought. The history of concepts is particularly important when comparing the two ideologies.

Looking at the order of conceptual establishment above, first, in the case of 'Donghak,' preceding research explains the reason Su-un adopted the term "Donghak" from two main standpoints. First, it is said to be represented by the meaning of Donghak (Eastern Learning) as opposing Seohak (Western Learning), and second, by the stance of Donghak as integrating Eastern and Western learning.⁴⁸⁸⁴⁸⁹⁴⁹⁰

Although Daoism's influence was significant in the background of the establishment of Donghak's view of Earth, the actual establishment of the view of Earth occurred with the development of Donghak Thought after Su-un's year-long contemplation following the cheonsa-mundap (conversation with the Heavenly Master). The development of Donghak Thought, examined in relation to the establishment of

⁴⁸⁸ 'Sindo' (Divine Way) is regarded as the ultimate reality and also as the basis for Haewon Sangsaeng (Resolution of Grievances and Mutual Beneficence). (Kim Ui-seong, Daesoon Sasang-ui Cheolhakjeok Tamgu [大巡思想의 哲學的探究; A Philosophical Inquiry into Daesoon Thought], doctoral dissertation, Sungkyunkwan University, 2017)

⁴⁸⁹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 73.

⁴⁹⁰ Daesoon Jichim (Daesoon Directives), Chapter 1, Section 1.

indigenous modernity, appears largely in four stages. The first stage is when the cheonsa-mundap (conversation with the Heavenly Master) disappears and he writes at Eunjeogam (Hermitage of Seclusion); the second stage is when he only teaches the method to avoid siseok (execution); the third stage is the one leading to the Donghak Peasant Revolution after Su-un's death; and the fourth stage is the transition to Cheondogyo (Religion of the Heavenly Way) after the failure of the Donghak Peasant Revolution.

If the establishment of Donghak Thought was from the mystical experience on April 5, 1860, to Eunjeogam, then the development of Donghak Thought can be said to be from after Eunjeogam to the establishment of Cheondogyo. The Donghak Gasa (Donghak Songs) are established from the cheonsa-mundap (conversations with the Heavenly Master) and Su-un's writings up to his arrival at the Daegu governor's office (Daegu Gamyong) in 1864, as well as the memories of Choe Si-hyeong and the Donghak followers regarding lost materials. In Daesoon Thought, it is also said that Su-un was receiving the Cheonmyeong (Heavenly Mandate) and Singyo (Divine Teaching) during this period. It is said that Su-un, after attaining the words of the Lord of Heaven (Cheonju) for himself on the 15th day of the 9th month of the Gyeongsin year (1860), no longer needed to have the cheonsa-mundap (conversation with the Heavenly Master).⁴⁹¹ It is said that it was from this time that Su-un was encouraged by Sangje (the Supreme Ruler) to propagate the Way (podeok), proclaimed "Donghak," and began writing the Donggyeong Daejeon (Great Eastern Scripture) and Yongdam Yusa (Songs of Yongdam).⁴⁹² Consequently, the later Donghak heavily reflected Su-un's thought.

In the Jeon-gyeong, it is said that Su-un's understanding of Donghak Thought, which developed subsequently, was initially an excellent understanding containing the three gi (energies)—the knowledge of Shao Kangjie (Kangjeol), the poetry of Li Bai (Ibaek) and Du Fu (Dubo), and the eloquence of Su Qin (Sojin) and Zhang Yi (Jang-ui)—but unfortunately, as it failed to overcome the limitations (jeonheon) of Confucianism, the Cheonmyeong (Heavenly Mandate) and Singyo (Divine Teaching) were inevitably

⁴⁹¹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 1-34.

⁴⁹² Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Jesaeng" (Saving Lives) 43. Su saeng eo hwa, hwa saeng eo su, geum saeng eo mok, mok saeng eo geum, gi yong ga yong yeon hu, bang ga wi sin in ya. Eum sal yang saeng, yang sal eum saeng, saeng sal ji do, jae eo eum yang, in ga yong eum yang yeon hu, bang ga wi in saeng ya. In wi yang, sin wi eum, eum yang sang hap yeon hu, yu byeon hwa ji do ya. Bul cheuk byeon hwa ji sul, do jae eo sin myeong, gam tong sin myeong yeon hu, sa gi sa cheuk wi ji dae in dae ui ya. Water (Su 水) arises from Fire (Hwa 火), Fire arises from Water, Metal (Geum 金) arises from Wood (Mok 木), and Wood arises from Metal; only after one understands the functioning (Yong 用) of these can one be called a Divine Person (Sinin 神人). If Yin is killed, Yang lives; if Yang is killed, Yin lives; the path of creation and destruction (Saengsal 生殺) lies in Yin and Yang. Only after a person can properly employ Yin and Yang can that person be called a human being (insaeng). People become Yang and spirits (Sin 神) become Yin; only after Yin and Yang are mutually harmonized is there a path of transformation (Byeonhwa). Otherwise, all arts of transformation (Bangsul 方術) lie with Sinmyeong (Divine Spirits), and if, after achieving communion (Gamtong 感通) with Sinmyeong, a matter is accomplished, this is called Great Benevolence and Great Righteousness (Daein Daeui 大仁大義). (Yang Mu-mok, "Salvation Truth [救援真理] as Yin-Yang Unity of Virtue [陰陽合德] and Democracy [民主主義]," Daesoon Sasang Nonchong (Daesoon Thoughts) 2, 1997, pp.175-176)

withdrawn.⁴⁹³ In reality, on the 28th day of the 10th month of the Gyehae year (1863), after having a dream at his birthday banquet, Su-un only came to hear the method of avoiding arrows through the cheonsa-mundap (conversation with the Heavenly Master).⁴⁹⁴ It is said that upon parting with Choe Si-hyeong, Su-un could no longer even know the method to avoid arrows, and Sangje's assistance was cut off. Su-un was arrested in Gyeongju on December 20, 1863, by Jeong Un-gu (鄭雲龜), a seonjeon-gwan (royal envoy) sent by the royal court. It is said that Su-un actually did not expect his own arrest at this time at all. In the Dowon Giseo (Record of the Origins of the Way), which contains the content of Choe Si-hyeong's meeting and Q&A with Choe Su-un, there is the following record.

Before long, the 28th day of the 10th month arrived, marking his 40th birthday. "Although the Teacher (Seonsaeng) originally felt uncomfortable holding banquets" (including Sinsa), the disciples secretly prepared and arranged a large feast at the Yeongdeok-jeop (gathering place). The Teacher, upon receiving the feast table, picked up his spoon and chopsticks and said, "The world shall call me Cheonhwang-ssi (Mr. Heavenly Emperor)." Cheonhwang-ssi refers to the first emperor who opened the era of culture from the pre-cultural era. It is interpreted that the Great Divine Teacher (Daesinsa) claimed to be Cheonhwang-ssi in the sense that he himself had opened a new world again. After the feast table was cleared, the Great Divine Teacher (Daesinsa) received lectures (gang) one by one from the disciples on the <Heungbiga> (Song of Rising Joy) and then told them about a strange dream he had a few days prior. "In the dream, the killing energy (salgi) of the sun shone, then turned into fire and drew the character in (人, person) on my thigh for a long time. When I woke up and examined my thigh, a purple mark remained, and it did not fade for three days. After that, there were no more teachings from Sangje (the Supreme Ruler)."⁴⁹⁵

The mention of Cheonhwang-ssi (Heavenly Emperor) appears in Daesoon Thought in connection with Geumsan Temple. It is a coincidence that the cheonsa-mundap (conversation with the Heavenly Master) ceased from the day he said he would be called Cheonhwang-ssi. It is also said that Su-un boasted that if one practiced Donghak cultivation, one would tong (attain enlightenment/mastery) within three years, and these parts are related to the limitations (jeonheon) of Confucianism.⁴⁹⁶

From Eunjeogam, Su-un began to leave records of the Yongdam Yusa (Songs of Yongdam) and the Donggyeong Daejeon (Great Eastern Scripture), and various places in the Yongdam Yusa and Donggyeong

⁴⁹³ It is said that the concept of Yin and Yang emphasized and pursued in Daesoon Thought advocates Jeong-eum Jeong-yang (Correct Yin Correct Yang; 正陰正陽) and the unity of virtue (Hapdeok 合德) through harmony, and shows that through this an ideal world can be constructed. (Yi Ho-yeol, Daesoon Sasang-ui Eumyang-non-e Gwanhan Yeongu [大巡思想의 陰陽論에 관한 연구; A Study on the Yin-Yang Theory of Daesoon Thought], Master's thesis, Daejin University, 2015)

⁴⁹⁴ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 1-3.

⁴⁹⁵ Fan Chi asked about wisdom. The Master said: 'Devote yourself to promoting what is right for the people; respect the spirits and demons (guishen) while keeping them at a distance — this may be called wisdom.' (Lunyu [Analects], "Yongye" [Chapter 6])

⁴⁹⁶ Yu Ji-yeon, "Hwang Hyeon (1855-1910)'s Perception and Critique of Donghak: Focusing on Ohagimun [梧下記文; Jottings from Under the Paulownia Tree]," Iwon Haksullonzip [梨院學術논집; Ewha Academic Anthology] 2, 2004, pp.1-54.

Daejeon state that Su-un's recording work was done in a half-dreaming, half-awake state, similar to the cheonsa-mundap (conversation with the Heavenly Master). If so, like the Jeon-gyeong phrase, "The three gi (energies) are revealed in the Donghak Gasa (Songs)," it means that the Yongdam Yusa and Donggyeong Daejeon also contain much content of the Cheonmyeong (Heavenly Mandate) and Singyo (Divine Teaching). Donghak Thought researchers refer to the Donghak from 1860 to 1864 as early Donghak. The Daesoon Thought related to the Donghak Thought, as claimed by Daesoon Thought, extends up to early Donghak.⁴⁹⁷

Whereas the indigenous ideologies of most colonized countries end up as the ideologies of minority groups, Donghak Thought developed into a new religious movement of the general public. The establishment period of Donghak was a perilous situation for the baekseong (common people) who were ignorant of the international situation, so Donghak became an important opportunity to gather the baekseong who had nowhere to rely on.

Donghak Thought developed into a peasant movement in Gobu, which was suffering the most severe exploitation at the time. At that time, Donghak's jeopju (local leaders) were distributed throughout the country, and when the Gyojo Sinwon Undong (Movement to Exonerate the Founder) occurred and the influence of the Donghak religion became known to the world, it became an object of suppression and, at the same time, an opportunity for vitalization.

Donghak Thought's view of Earth (Ji-gwan) is acquired as a result of Su-un's continuous cultivation, as seen in Su-un's comment criticizing Seohak (Western Learning) for believing in Sangje (the Supreme Ruler) without the "gihwa-ji-sin" (spirit of material force transformation). Just as Heaven and Earth all correspond to Earth (Ji) from the perspective of the transcendent Heaven, human cultivation also becomes the domain of johwa (creation-transformation) and gihwa (material force transformation), so Donghak Thought's view of Earth (Ji-gwan) is established by Su-un's continuous cultivation.

The change from the Eastern view of Earth (Ji-gwan), which regarded the given land as the view of Earth, to a view of Earth verified through cultivation was a groundbreaking change for its time. In a Confucian society where only the king could receive the Earth's gi (energy) and perform rites to the Earth, the view of Earth (Ji-gwan) that common people could communicate with the transcendent Heaven through cultivation becomes the starting point of indigenous modernity, where the boundary between the sacred and the secular is reorganized.

Liminality Aspects of the Johwajeong (Fixing the Creation-Transformation) View of Earth (Ji-gwan)

The Western modernity's view of Earth (Ji-gwan) and Donghak Thought's view of Earth (Ji-gwan) appear in mutually opposing aspects. The Western modernity's view of Earth (Ji-gwan) starts from the

⁴⁹⁷ Kim Gi-seung, "A Chronological Review of the Works of Su-un Choe Je-u," Donghak Hakbo (Journal of Donghak Studies) 3, 2002, pp.159-162.

heliocentric theory, which is moved by the immanent Heaven, breaking from the geocentric theory, which is moved by the transcendent Heaven. In the heliocentric theory, the action of the immanent Heaven takes precedence over the will of the transcendent Heaven. The heliocentric theory, stating that the Earth rotates, not the Heaven, is called a Copernican Revolution and brought about a change that overturned all existing values. Values previously believed to be determined according to God's providence were all subjected to doubt. Sociologically, the heliocentric theory became the theoretical foundation of modernity, with the meaning that the person who works is more important. Donghak Thought also presents the Earth, presided over by the Lord of Heaven (Cheonju), not as the subsidiary nature of the past cheonjon-jibi (Heaven revered, Earth base), but as an existence of life that must be served like the Lord of Heaven (Cheonju).⁴⁹⁸

Furthermore, in Donghak Thought, Earth is interpreted as the action of the transcendent Heaven. In Donghak Thought, where the transcendent Heaven is newly emphasized, the concept of Earth from existing Eastern thought is expanded to the entire action of the transcendent Heaven's johwa (creation-transformation), gihwa (material force transformation), and muwi-ihwa (non-acting transformation). Therefore, compared to the view of Earth (Ji-gwan) in existing Eastern thought, the life-thought (saengmyeong-sasang) is prominent in Donghak Thought's view of Earth. Accordingly, Donghak has attracted attention in later generations as a life-thought and an environmental-thought.

As Donghak is re-examined as a life-thought, Donghak's emphasis on Earth is also re-examined. Today's Korean organic farming method originated from Donghak Thought's Earth-centered thought. However, in Donghak Thought itself, the mention of Earth is not emphasized. Here, Donghak refers only up to early Donghak, so only early Donghak will be considered. What is considered Donghak are the Donghak Gasa (Donghak Songs) and Su-un Gasa (Su-un's Songs).

Heaven and Earth are also gwisin (ghosts-spirits), and gwisin are also yin-yang; how could the worthy gentlemen (hyeon-in gunja) know this, not knowing it as such (Yongdam Yusa, Dodeokga - Song of Morality).⁴⁹⁹

The above example, when applied to Earth, means that Earth is elevated to a yin-yang relationship with Heaven. The yin-yang of the Book of Changes (Juyeok) did not emphasize the expression gwisin

⁴⁹⁸ The great fortune of mountains and rivers all returns to this Way; its source is deepest and its principle extends most far. One must firmly establish the master of the mind (Simju), and then one will know the taste of the Way; when every thought dwells in this, all affairs will go as one wishes. Sweep away murky energy and nurture the clear energy as tenderly as raising a young infant. It is not only a matter of the mind being utmost; it lies only in rectifying the mind. Subtle brilliance naturally emerges in a divine manner, and all things coming in the future will return to one principle. Do not deliberate in your own heart over another's small faults; rather, bestow your own small wisdom upon others. In this way, do not apply great devotion to small matters regarding the great Way. When facing great matters and using all your discernment, help will naturally come. The great fortune of wind and clouds follows one's capacity. The mysterious mechanism does not appear, so do not be hasty in heart. On the other day when merit is accomplished, one will gladly form the destiny of an immortal. The heart-mind is originally empty; even when responding to things, it leaves no trace. Cultivate the heart-mind and you will know virtue; virtue is revealed only in the Way. It lies in virtue, not in other people; it lies in faith, not in study; it lies in what is near, not in what is far; it lies in sincerity, not in seeking — it seems not so, yet it is so; it seems distant, yet it is not distant. Cheondogyo Scriptures (Cheondogyo Gyeongjeon)

⁴⁹⁹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 3-41.

(ghosts-spirits), thus concealing the importance of Earth. In reality, in Donghak, the first person Su-un propagated the Way (podeok) to was his wife, who symbolized Earth, and he made cherishing women's rights the beginning of Donghak cultivation. The above example from Donghak Thought has hitherto been studied as an expression of the Neo-Confucian view of Earth (Ji-gwan), mainly due to the influence of traditional thought. Although Donghak did not overcome the limitations (jeonheon) of Confucianism, if we infer from the concepts of "jigi" (ultimate energy) and "Mugeuk Daedo" (Great Dao of the Ultimate Void), the view of Earth (Ji-gwan) in Donghak Thought shown in the above example implies the concept of "Ji-gye" (Earthly Realm), similar to Daoism.⁵⁰⁰

Although it has been much emphasized that Donghak commonly implies Daoist elements such as yeongbu (spiritual talismans) and incantations, it has not been emphasized that Donghak also implies the Daoist view of Earth (Ji-gwan). Although Donghak's concept of the view of Earth (Ji-gwan) did not expand to the Ji-gye (Earthly Realm) by applying divine beings, it implied that possibility due to the influence of Daoism, which accommodates the Ji-gye. The above expression "Heaven and Earth are gwisin (ghosts-spirits)" is a concept that also appears in Neo-Confucianism, but in Donghak Thought, which accommodates Daoism, it can be interpreted as expanding beyond the Neo-Confucian concept to the Daoist concept of the Ji-gye (Earthly Realm).

The Daoist concept of the Ji-gye (Earthly Realm) implies the infinite expansion of the yin-yang concept. The infinite expansion of the yin-yang concept signifies a polytheistic system. The Daoist view of Earth (Ji-gwan) implies a polytheistic system (多神體系). However, although it is called polytheism, the Hindu polytheistic system and the Daoist polytheistic system are distinguished from the Hindu polytheistic system in that they have the consistency of the infinite expansion of the yin-yang principle. The Hindu polytheistic system also has room to be interpreted as an infinite expansion of the Indo-European traditional three-function system.

Therefore, the above expression "Heaven and Earth are also gwisin (ghosts-spirits)" is a phrase showing that Donghak Thought's view of Earth (Ji-gwan), like its view of Heaven (Cheon-gwan), shows a view of Earth different from Seohak (Western Learning), possessing the principles of the divine-being realm wherein the Daoist bureaucratic system is inherent. The above example shows that Donghak Thought's view of Earth (Ji-gwan) is a new view of Earth, different from the dry view of Earth (Ji-gwan) of materialistic Seohak (Western Learning) which excludes spirit, and also different from the Neo-Confucian view of Earth (Ji-gwan) which moves only according to the system of ibeop (principle-law).

Furthermore, the view of Earth (Ji-gwan) in Donghak Thought shown in the above example shares the commonality with the Daoist view of Earth (Ji-gwan) in being an infinite expansion of yin-yang, but it is different from Donghak Thought in that the Daoist view of Earth (Ji-gwan) does not emphasize the principle according to the Heaven-beyond-Heaven. Donghak Thought's view of Earth (Ji-gwan), which

⁵⁰⁰ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gwonji" (Authority and Foreknowledge) 1-11.

emphasizes the Heaven-beyond-Heaven, emphasizes the variability of the view of Earth (Ji-gwan) compared to the Daoist thought's view of Earth (Ji-gwan). While the Daoist thought's view of Earth (Ji-gwan) emphasizes the lawfulness according to the principle of geon-gon (Heaven-Earth), Donghak Thought's view of Earth (Ji-gwan) emphasizes the variability by the Heaven-beyond-Heaven. Furthermore, Donghak Thought, in its concepts of Sicheonju (Serving the Lord of Heaven) and jigi (ultimate energy), shows that Earth is also a world that follows the principle of the Lord of Heaven (Cheonju), and thus is a harmonistic view of Earth (Ji-gwan) that can respond to the human who practices Sicheonju.

Donghak Thought, which defined the Earth as a total system of divine spirits (Sinmyeong) following the command of the Heaven above heaven, Sangje, further re-established the center and periphery of the Earth. Donghak Thought implies that the center of the Earth could be Korea, where Sangje appeared, by designating Korea as the location of the Myeongdang (propitious site). This is expressed as Myeongdang, and Myeongdang expands into the issue of Sojunghwa (Minor Sinocentrism) and Daejunghwa (Greater Sinocentrism). In Neo-Confucianism, the Myeongdang was China, and there was an ideology of Korea as Sojunghwa (Minor Sinocentrism), but Donghak emphasized that Korea is the Myeongdang. The content of Donghak's view of Earth, like its view of Heaven, was very innovative, but its value was hidden, and that value is clearly revealed in Daesoon Thought's view of the Earthly Realm (Jigyegwan).

Aspects of Liminality in the Animistic (鬼神論的) Heaven-Earth Relationship in Donghak Thought

Donghak's view of Heaven, which first provided the idea of "serving Heaven," has received the most attention in Donghak Thought. Prior research on the characteristics of Donghak Thought's view of Heaven is largely divided into formal aspects and content-related aspects.

In terms of formal aspects, Donghak Thought's view of Heaven is represented by the view of Heaven-and-Earth based on the traditional Yin-Yang theory that "Heaven and Earth are Gwisin, and Gwisin are Heaven and Earth." The identity of Heaven-and-Earth and Gwisin mentioned in Donghak Thought is the same in expression as the identity of Gwisin and Heaven-and-Earth spoken of in Confucianism, but there is a significant difference in whether the Heaven-and-Earth of the concept is the transcendent Heaven or the immanent Heaven. As the concept of Heaven (Cheon) in Donghak Thought expands to Cheonoecheon (Heaven outside of Heaven), the existing concepts of Heaven-and-Earth and Gwisin are also newly repositioned. Expressions emphasizing the identity of Heaven-and-Earth and Gwisin as the transcendent Heaven appear variously in Donghak Thought.

In Donghak Thought, the concept of Gwisin, which was previously used only as the immanent Heaven, is first applied to the transcendent Heaven.

They know Heaven and Earth, but they do not know Gwisin (spirits/gods); that Gwisin is also Me.⁵⁰¹
(知天地而無知鬼神, 鬼神者吾也)

In the above excerpt, the meaning of "that which is called Gwisin is also I" shows that the term Gwisin, known only as the action of Yin and Yang, i.e., as the Heaven within Heaven-and-Earth, is actually by the action of the Heaven outside of Heaven, the Cheonoecheon. In Donghak Thought, Gwisin as the Cheonoecheon gives spirit (Simnyeong) to the human mind, offering hope that humans are beings who can escape the Heaven-and-Earth filled with suffering. This concept of Gwisin as Cheonoecheon is also used as a criticism against Seohak (Western Learning), which knows only the Cheonoecheon and not the immanent Heaven.

"They speak as if they see Sangjenim (the Supreme God) in the Okgyeongdae (Jade Capital Terrace) in Heaven; setting aside the principles of Yin and Yang (Eumyangirchi), is this not just empty talk (Heomusijiseol)? The Mugo (sorcery) affair of the Han dynasty has been transmitted to our East, and what every household reveres is, by every name, a Gwisin. Look at this kind of perception! That Heaven and Earth are also Gwisin, and Gwisin are also Yin and Yang; since they did not know this, what is the use of examining the scriptures (Gyeongjeon)? Since they did not know the Dao and virtue, how could the worthy scholars (Hyeoningunja) know?"⁵⁰²

In the above excerpt, "They speak as if they see... is this not just empty talk?" is a criticism that Seohak's view of Heaven—which knows the Cheonoecheon but lacks the concept of the immanent Heaven divided into Heaven-and-Earth—lacks the Yin-Yang principles of the immanent Heaven through which one experiences the actual workings of Heaven, and thus can only be making empty claims of baseless wishes. On the other hand, Donghak Thought claims to have presented an integrated perspective capable of penetrating the content of the scriptures by adding the Cheonoecheon view of Heaven, which was lacking in the East, onto the foundation of Eastern thought that valued the immanent Heaven.

Here, Seohak is compared to the Mugojiwha (sorcery catastrophe) of the Han dynasty, which deluded the people by emphasizing power over principle. Mugo refers to an effigy resembling a human body, made of straw, wood, or other materials, for sorcery. The Mugojiwha refers to the incident where countless people died due to Emperor Wu of Han's intervention in the prince succession issue using Mugo. In conclusion, it is said that Seohak, which emphasizes only the transcendent Heaven without the immanent Heaven, will, like Mugo, lead to empty results.

"The movement of a person's limbs, this too is Gwisin;"

"The mind's workings between good and evil, this too is Giun (energy/spirit);"

⁵⁰¹ Kim Sang-jun, "Becoming Yangban Across the Nation: The Mechanism of Confucian Egalitarianism in the Late Joseon Period," *Sahoe-wa Yeoksa (gu Hanguk Sahoe-sa Hakhoe Nonmunjip) [Society and History (formerly Korean Social History Association Papers)]* 63(0), 2003, pp.5-29

⁵⁰² Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9.

"Speaking and laughing, this too is Johwa (creation-transformation)."⁵⁰³

The above excerpt shows that Gwisin as the Cheonoecheon is an entity that also acts upon everyday things (Ilyongsateul) where substance is primary, thereby accommodating the Western view of Heaven as well. Furthermore, the Giun and Johwa connected after Gwisin ultimately show that Gwisin, Johwa, and Giun are the same action.

Compared to Sicheonju, Donghak's Yin-Yang view of Heaven-and-Earth (Eumyangcheonjigwan) has not received attention. Donghak Thought's Yin-Yang view of Heaven-and-Earth has been regarded as a Confucian view of Gwisin (Yugyojeok Gwisinsangwan) due to a tendency within Donghak Thought to follow the precedents of Confucianism. However, the Yin-Yang view of Heaven-and-Earth presented by Donghak Thought was a different concept from the Confucian Heaven-and-Earth-Gwisin view, in that it was a Cheonoecheon's view of Heaven-and-Earth. However, in Donghak, which lacked the concept of Sinmyeong (divine spirits), the Yin-Yang-Heaven-and-Earth view was not sufficiently explained, and it is explained concretely in Daesoon Thought, which includes the concept of Sinmyeong.

The change in the view of Heaven into a transcendent heaven—the 'heaven above heaven'—also transforms the Heaven-human relationship and the Earth-human relationship. Through these altered Heaven-human and Earth-human relationships, autogenous modernity becomes all the more pronounced. Calvin's doctrine of predestination, identified as the harbinger of Western modernity, is representative of the change in the Heaven-human relationship. The doctrine of predestination is said to have laid the cornerstone of modernity—salvation through effort rather than salvation through priests—and Weber called this the Protestant ethic that became the origin of capitalism. The Heaven-Earth and Heaven-human relationships presented by Donghak Thought negate the 'physical nature' (gijiljiseong) of the older Li-Qi theory, in which there was discrimination between yangban and the lowborn. Donghak Thought seeks to take only the strengths from among the Eastern and Western Heaven-Earth and Heaven-human relationships.

The Heaven-Earth relationship in Donghak Thought was expressed in various places as a Gwisin-ron (ghost-spirit/god theory)-based Heaven-Earth relationship. In the case of Cheonjigwisin (Heaven-Earth Ghosts-Spirits), Cheonjigwisin becomes another element that differentiates Donghak from Daoism and Seohak. Cheonjigwisin, unlike in Daoism, means Cheonju (Heavenly Lord) in Donghak Thought, and unlike in Seogyo (Western Religion), it also means immanent transcendence. First, looking at the case where it means a transcendent being, it states Gwisinjaoya (鬼神者吾也, That which is Gwisin is I), specifying Gwisin as the Cheonju, saying "Gwisin is none other than Haneullim (God)." However, this Gwisin is soon depicted as immanent transcendence in various ways. "My mind (of the Cheonju) is none other than your mind (Osimjeugyeosim)," "The mind of Heaven is none other than the mind of man

⁵⁰³ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gwonji" (Authority and Foreknowledge) 1-11.

(Cheonsimjeug-insim)," "The movement of a person's hands and feet, that too is Gwisin." It is depicted as such.⁵⁰⁴⁵⁰⁵⁵⁰⁶

Traditionally in the East, it is said that Zhu Xi (朱子, 朱熹, 1130-1200) concisely summarized the principled identity of Heaven (Cheon), Gwisin (ghosts-spirits/gods), and Sangje (Supreme God). "When referring to its manifest form, it is called Heaven (Cheon); when referring to its presiding aspect, it is called Je (帝, Sangje); and when referring to its operational aspect, it is called Gwisin." It is said that even in the Ibeopcheon (Heaven as Principle) of Neo-Confucianism before the emergence of Donghak Thought, the rudiments of a view of Sangje were visible.⁵⁰⁷⁵⁰⁸

Cheonji (Heaven-and-Earth) as Gwisin in Donghak Thought, unlike Zhu Xi's Gwisin in traditional Neo-Confucianism, included the meaning of Cheonju (Heavenly Lord) in addition to the meaning of Yin and Yang. In Donghak Thought's Gwisin, the meanings of a personal god and a god of principle (Ibeopsin) appear simultaneously.

The concept of Heaven-and-Earth as Gwisin, which includes the meaning of Cheonju as it appears in Donghak Thought, provides an anti-structural property of liminality to the Cheonjonjibi (Heaven revered, Earth debased) relationship of Heaven-and-Earth. Following the Heaven-Human and Earth-Human relationships changed through Sicheonju, Sicheonju also changes the Heaven-Earth relationship through Johwa (creation-transformation/harmony). All things and all affairs (Manmulmansa), represented by Heaven and Earth, are integrated into Jigi (Ultimate Gi).

The Gwisin-ron-based Heaven-Earth relationship revitalizes the Cheonjonjibi Heaven-Earth view of Cheondojideok (Way of Heaven, Virtue of Earth) into the traditional, equal Heaven-Earth relationship of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements. Accordingly, Suun first chose his wife as the subject of his propagation, practicing the harmonized Heaven-Earth relationship of Donghak Thought through a Jeongeumjeongyang (correct Yin, correct Yang) marital relationship, unseen in the Neo-Confucian marital relationship. Following Suun's precedent, Donghak followers made it their first practice to convert the ancient human relationships, such as those between husband and wife or father and son, which were based on the Yin-Yang relationship of Eogeumjonyang (suppressing Yin, revering Yang), into Jeongeumjeongyang relationships.

⁵⁰⁴ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyobeop" (Dharma) 3-30; Go Nam-sik, "Kang Jeungsan's Historical Consciousness and View of Joseon in the Late Joseon Period," *Dongasia Godae Hak* (East Asian Ancient Studies) 59, 2020, pp. 239-270. 259.

⁵⁰⁵ Murayama Jijun, "Mugeukdo Chwijiseo" (Manifesto of Mugeukdo), Joseon-ui Yusa Jonggyo (Pseudo-religions of Joseon). Daegu: Gyemyeong Daehakgyo Chulpunbu (Keimyung University Press). 1991.

⁵⁰⁶ Yi Dong-hui, Raipu-nitseu-ga Mannan Jungguk (China as Leibniz Encountered It), Ihaksa, 2003, pp.92-93.

⁵⁰⁷ An Jong-su, "Spinoza and Confucianism (Yuhak)," *Cheolhak Nonchong* (Philosophical Forum) 44(2), 2006, pp.172-173.

⁵⁰⁸ Yi Yeong-jae, "A Reillumination of Gongmeng (Confucian-Mencian) Philosophy through Contemporary Empathy Theory," *Jeongsin Munhwa Yeongu* (Journal of Korean Studies) 35(2), 2012, p.427.

The Gwisin-ron-based Heaven-Earth relationship manifests as the practice of Muwiyihwa (spontaneous transformation). Muwiyihwa was a new concept that simultaneously implied the Muwijayeon (spontaneous nature) based on Yin-Yang and the Five Elements, and the Western Johwa (creation) concept of the four elements. Muwiyihwa was also interpreted in Donghak to mean Naeyusillyeong Oeyugihwa (spirit dwelling within, Gi transforming without), which is a detailed expression concretizing the Johwa concept appearing in Sicheonju. If viewed from the relationship of cheonjonjibi (heaven revered, earth base), sillyeong (divine spirit) and gihwa (materialization/qi-transformation) are also in a hierarchical relationship of noble and base. By serving the Cheonju (Heavenly Lord) who is transcendent above the three realms (samgye), the hierarchical relationship transforms into an equal yin-yang relationship, which can be seen as the meaning of naeyu sillyeong oeyu gihwa (divine spirit within, materialization without). Muu-i-ihwa (effortless transformation) thus develops to signify, in Donghak thought, a state where the harmony of muu-i jayeon (effortless nature) is practiced within the mind through the internal-external relationship of sillyeong and gihwa. While muu-i jayeon was interpreted as the harmony of yin-yang and the five elements in yin-yang and five elements thought, as the yin-yang and five elements became mutually conflicting (sanggeuk), muu-i-ihwa was emphasized in Donghak thought to add the concept of liminality that transforms this conflicting relationship.

Indigenous Modernity of the Yeongsebulmang (Eternal Non-forgetting) View of Humanity (In-gwan)

The Western Developmental (成長論的) View of Humanity

In the Western views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, which look at the world from bottom to top, Humanity, amidst the evolving Heaven and Earth, aims for growth. In the Western tradition that aims for substantiality, Humanity was an individual who focuses on salvation to ascend from Earth back to Heaven after losing paradise in Heaven due to original sin, evolving from a struggling human like Prometheus who realizes the ideals of the Idea in the material of the Earth. In the modern era where God has disappeared, Western Humanity, as a solitary existence separated from Heaven and Earth, becomes a phenomenological growth theory pursuing success alone in a differentiated world, that is, an existential human being.

Unlike Eastern Humanity, whose sense of duty to participate in the creative transformation (hwa-yuk) of Heaven and Earth within a close relationship with Heaven and Earth led to a preoccupation with anxiety (uhwan-uisik), the West prioritized an existential consciousness directly related to the Heaven-beyond-Heaven over an anxiety consciousness related to Heaven and Earth. Western original sin thought, unlike the Eastern theory of inherent evil (seongak-seol), also did not prohibit humans from instrumentally manipulating nature.

The Western growth-oriented view of humanity has been studied in mythology and psychology. In mythology, the Western growth theory has been studied focusing on individual growth, like the hero's cycle.

Scholars like Campbell sometimes interpret all world myths as hero myths. The East, unlike the West, prioritizes the growth of Heaven and Earth, namely the Cheonji-jiyong (Function of Heaven and Earth) of Cheonji-hwa-yuk (Creative Transformation of Heaven and Earth)—such as potae-yangsaeng-yokdae-gwanwang-soebyeong-sajang (conception, nourishment, bathing-girding, capping-flourishing, decline-sickness, death-burial)—even for the same growth.⁵⁰⁹ Western psychology, stating that the Western modern view of humanity has hitherto been biased towards negative views of humanity, such as psychoanalysis or behaviorism, emphasizes growth more with a growth-oriented view of humanity. Eastern psychologists evaluate that Western views of humanity, such as psychoanalysis, which sees all human desires as transformations of sexual desire, or behaviorism, which sees them as material desires, are self-affirmative views of humanity compared to the East.⁵¹⁰

The Western view of humanity is expressed concentratedly in the growth-oriented view of humanity and the recent posthumanism view of humanity, which is its reflection. The growth-oriented view of humanity is the view of humanity in existentialist psychological theory, which views human desire positively and approaches it focusing on the inner spirit, in contrast to behaviorism and psychoanalysis, which viewed human desire negatively and took a technology-oriented approach. According to the growth-oriented view of humanity, human desire is not negative, but humans simply have various needs. The growth-oriented view of humanity is a general term for theories of the view of humanity (In-gwan) that emphasize the growth aspect, assuming that human needs are latent in stages and that these needs appear developmentally from lower (下級) ones to higher ones. The growth-oriented view of humanity presented a view of humanity aiming for self-realization-based problem-solving based on the theory of inherent goodness (seongseon-seol), in contrast to the classical view of humanity aiming for technology-centered problem-solving based on the theory of inherent evil (seongak-seol). Theories of the view of humanity included in such growth theories include Maslow's (A.H. Maslow) hierarchy of needs theory, which appeared in the mid-1940s and later formed the basis of growth theory, as well as McGregor's (D. McGregor) Theory X and Theory Y, Herzberg's (F. Herzberg) two-factor theory (二要因理論), Allport's (G. W. Allport) trait theory, and Argyris's (C. Argyris) immaturity-maturity theory, presented in the 1960s.

Posthumanism is based on the 4th Industrial Revolution, and the 4th Industrial Revolution is also interpreted as the industrial revolution of the self-realization stage spoken of by the growth-oriented view

⁵⁰⁹ Lee Dong-hee, "Geundae Dogil Cheolhakja-ui Daeripjeok Bulgyo Ihae-wa Suyong" [Modern German Philosophers' Conflicting Understandings and Receptions of Buddhism], *Hegel Yeongu* [Hegel Studies] 29, 2011.

⁵¹⁰ Ju Gyeom-ji (author), Jeon Hong-seok (trans.), *Jungguk-i Mandeun Yureop-ui Geundae: Geundae Yureop-ui Jungguk* Munhwa Yeolpung (China's Creation of European Modernity: The Chinese Cultural Craze in Modern Europe), Cheonggye, 2010, p.378.

of humanity.⁵¹¹ Furthermore, it is sometimes said that existentialism is finally being achieved in the posthuman era and aligns with the future prospects spoken of by Korea's new religions.⁵¹²

The positive view of humanity presented by the growth-oriented view of humanity, in contrast to the existing seongak-seol (theory of inherent evil)-based psychological view of humanity, appears, in Maslow's case, as affirmation of desire, growth, and the world, respectively. First, in the case of desire, Maslow affirms desire by stating that the self-actualization need, which appears after all lower-level needs are met, is an individual's yearning for self-enhancement and the desire to realize everything one possesses as potential.

Second, it affirms growth. Maslow regarded the lower four needs in the hierarchy of needs—the 'lower' needs of physiology, safety, belonging, and esteem—as all being 'deficiency motives' that arise from the lack of some external condition. The operation of such deficiency motives generally follows a 'tension-reduction model.' By contrast, the highest need, the need for self-actualization, is a 'growth motive' that seeks one's own growth. This “arises from being (being) itself rather than from a state of deficiency, and pursues an increase of tension rather than a reduction of tension. Hence it is called a 'being motive,' which, by pursuing distant goals connected to the innate impulse to realize the individual's potential, enriches life by broadening experience and thereby increases the joy of living.”⁵¹³

Third, it affirms the world. Maslow criticized the psychopathological aspect of the human being emphasized by psychoanalysis—the first force in American psychology of the time—as well as the mechanistic aspect and the reductionistic, deterministic worldview emphasized by behaviorism, the second force; and he pursued self-actualization while respecting the human potentiality of the individual, grounded in the subjectivity and wholeness of the human being as an integrated being. Pursuing and understanding the truly human nature of the human being, and orienting toward a world that contributes to human growth and happiness, Maslow's psychological theory made him an idol of the young people of that time.⁵¹⁴

It is said that the positive attributes of humans asserted by Maslow are attributes very opposite to the attributes of humans that posthumans can replace. The reason posthuman is very shocking to human society is that machines have surpassed humans in calculation ability, which corresponds to instrumental reason,

⁵¹¹ Heo Jeong-hwa, "A Comparative Study of Avatamsaka (Huayan) Thought and Modern Physics," Master's thesis, Dongguk University, 2003.

⁵¹² In the book *Neijing* [Classic of Internal Medicine], traces of the thought of the Taoist, Mohist, School of Names, and Yin-Yang schools can be found — this is an undeniable fact. Xu Yiming, *Xingli yu Qihuang* (Nature, Principle, and the Yellow Emperor's Classic), China Social Sciences Press, 1997, p.23.

⁵¹³ So Byeong-seon, *Jujahak-gwa Thomism-ui Cheolhakjeok Bigyo* (A Philosophical Comparison of Zhu Xi Studies and Thomism), doctoral dissertation, Academy of Korean Studies, 2005; Bak Jeong-jin, *Cheolhak-ui Seonmul Seonmul-ui Cheolhak* (The Gift of Philosophy, The Philosophy of the Gift), Seoul: Sonamoo, 2012; Yi Jeong-u, Kim Si-cheon, Kim Gyo-bin et al., *Gihak-ui Moheom: 1, Dongseoyang Cheolhakja, Yubae-doen Gi-ui Buhwal-eul Malhada* (The Adventure of Qi Studies: 1, Eastern and Western Philosophers Speak of the Resurrection of Exiled Qi), Seoul: Deulnyeok, 2004.

⁵¹⁴ Matsumoto Kouro, "Theory of Interreligious Dialogue in Islam (The Thought of Interreligious Dialogue — Historical Aspects and Their Dialogue, Panel, Special Issue: Proceedings of the 68th Academic Conference)," *Shukyo Kenkyu* (Journal of Religious Studies) 83-4, Japanese Association for Religious Studies, 2010, pp.180-81, 1272-73.

among reason, which had been regarded as an attribute representing humans that machines could not replace. However, the more artificial intelligence was studied, the more Moravec's paradox appeared: humans have intelligence opposite to artificial intelligence, so what humans are good at, artificial intelligence is bad at, and what humans are bad at, artificial intelligence is good at.⁵¹⁵ This Moravec's paradox, through the Chinese room argument by the critical posthumanist Searle (John Searle), revealed the limitation that even artificial intelligence, which passed the Turing test and was determined to be intelligent, is difficult to regard as having human intelligence like posthumans.⁵¹⁶⁵¹⁷

In the posthuman era, humans must now focus on the intelligence that humans do better than machines for co-evolution to be possible, and the representative one among them pointed out is human growth intelligence. Coincidentally, the Eastern relationship between divine beings and humans also has the characteristic of organic humans and mechanistic divine beings. The reason humans came to have growth intelligence differently from machines is that because survival was the goal for humans for a long time, human intelligence was not artificial narrow intelligence specialized in specific parts, but had the property of artificial general intelligence, which developed slowly but evenly across all fields. Growth intelligence, which can form symbols and communities to achieve self-development, has attracted attention as an intelligence unique to humans.⁵¹⁸ Indeed, humans have made existential efforts to exist for tens of thousands of years, and in that process, they were positive beings who developed intelligence through numerous symbols that artificial intelligence cannot imitate and came to have the motive for self-realization. Humans finally came to achieve self-realization as individuals from the group.⁵¹⁹ Maslow's 4-stage growth process can be compared with the gwanwang (capping-flourishing) of Daesoon Thought and the potae (conception) of Donghak Thought.⁵²⁰

The Western growth-oriented view of humanity led modern scientific and technological development and achieved various social developments, but the dogmatic development of humans, excluding Heaven and Earth, paradoxically led humanity to the verge of annihilation due to the betrayal of Heaven and Earth. The Western view of humanity, which has loosened the reins of desire but has no way to tie them again, came to need a new alternative modernity.

⁵¹⁵ Mircea Eliade (author), Choe Jong-seong and Kim Jae-hyeon (trans.), *Segye Jonggyo Sasangsa 2: Gotama Buddaeseo-buteo Gidokgyo-ui Seungli-kkaji* (A History of Religious Ideas, Vol. 2: From Gautama Buddha to the Triumph of Christianity), Ihaksa, 2005, p.299, pp.490-491.

⁵¹⁶ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 88. Dotong cheonji boeun (Penetrating the Way of Heaven and Earth and repaying grace).

⁵¹⁷ Daesoon Jinrihoe Yoram (Daesoon Jinrihoe Handbook), p.20.

⁵¹⁸ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyobeop" (Dharma) 2-36.

⁵¹⁹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoung" (Progress of the Order) 2-41. The utmost treasure is my own spirit-soul (simryeong). When one penetrates the spirit-soul, one can commune with spirits and demons (guishin), and one can share in the ordering of all things. (Gyomuby, "Poyumun" [Proclamation for All], Daesoon Hoebo [Daesoon Newsletter] 184, 2016)

⁵²⁰ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 1-9.

The Eastern Transformative Contact (接化的) View of Humanity

Unlike the West, which emphasizes the Heaven-beyond-Heaven, the East emphasizes the role of Humanity in connecting the Heaven-within-Heaven, that is, the Heaven and Earth of the immanent Heaven, and the space between Heaven and Earth. Accordingly, the Eastern view of humanity has a grafting (jeophwa) characteristic in which correlative thinking is prominent. Regarding correlative thinking, which enables understanding of the Eastern view of humanity, follow-up research in modern philosophy has been conducted by Shim Gwang-hyeon and others since Kim Sang-il. The Eastern grafting view of humanity, due to the nature of correlative thinking, appears prominently in Korea's aesthetic characteristics among Korea, China, and Japan.⁵²¹

Shim Gwang-hyeon defined the characteristic of Korean culture as fractal, compared it in detail with Western postmodernism, and then applied it to Korean culture in general. Shim Gwang-hyeon states that the Eastern science, which says that the same structure repeats today, is expressed in a word as a fractal structure, and also says that the Hallyu (Korean Wave) receives global support because all cultures have the most fractal characteristics in the world based on Eum-Yang O-Haeng (Yin-Yang and Five Elements).⁵²² The Eastern grafting view of humanity is well revealed in the fractal characteristics.⁵²³

The fractal theory, from fractal meaning a part, is the theory that the structure of the whole appears in the structure of the part, meaning that no matter how complex the universe is, like a computer, it is a repetition of the same structure, just like the repetition of 0 and 1, such as yin and yang. The Eastern Eum-Yang O-Haeng, which states that the Eum-Yang O-Haeng structure of Heaven is also in Earth and in Humanity, so if one knows the Eum-Yang O-Haeng structure of Humanity, one can know Earth and also the principles of Heaven, is a typical fractal theory. This has been expressed as ichi (principle) in the East, and the Eastern grafting view of humanity is that humans possess the ichi of Heaven and Earth simultaneously, so humans are beings who can and must participate in the creative transformation (hwa-yuk) of Heaven and Earth.

The Eastern grafting view of humanity shares the commonality with the Western growth-oriented view of humanity in that it views human abilities highly, but what is different is that in the East, Heaven and Earth are not objects on which human abilities must be realized; on the contrary, human abilities are gifts from Heaven and Earth, and humans are beings who must repay the grace to Heaven and Earth. Since the Heaven and Earth of the East were not material and form but assimilation and condensation that creatively transformed all things, the Eastern intellectual's anxiety consciousness (uhwan-uisik) that one could not match and participate in the creative transformation efforts of Heaven and Earth took precedence over the existential consciousness of individual growth.

⁵²¹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Haengrok" (Acts) 2-9.

⁵²² Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Haengrok" (Acts) 5-24.

⁵²³ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 2-19.

With the modernization of the West, the Eastern grafting view of humanity was dismissed as a pre-modern object of enlightenment even by Eastern intellectuals, but today it is being re-evaluated in various ways according to East-West exchange. First, the researcher who expanded the East's correlative thinking to the level of Western cognitive psychology is Choi In-cheol. Choi In-cheol, in joint research with Nisbett, cognitively and psychologically proved the correlative perception of Eastern thought, creating a field of study in this area. By them, it has also been proven through psychological experiments today that the East and West are represented by collectivism and individualism.⁵²⁴

The person who actually expanded Choi In-cheol's research to Eastern psychology is Cho Gung-ho. Cho Gung-ho showed that the Eastern cognitive system, which grasps the part from the whole, also influenced human psychological ethics, creating a system of Confucian psychology different from the West in the East, especially in Confucianism.⁵²⁵ In reality, the East has emphasized holistic moderation rather than professionalism.⁵²⁶

The researcher who expanded correlative thinking linguistically and pedagogically is Cho Ok-gu. Cho Ok-gu explains the traditional Eastern Cheonjamun (Thousand Character Classic) education, which starts learning from 'Haneul Cheon Tta Ji (Heaven Sky Earth Ground),' and the Western-style modern education, which starts learning from 'Yeonghui-ya Cheolsu-ya (Names),' as differences in Eastern and Western cognitive systems, suggesting that Eastern correlative thinking can be an alternative science to modern civilization.⁵²⁷

Existing senior scholars such as Lee O-young also joined in proposing theories of Donghak's correlative thinking against Western analytical thinking, but the person who synthesized these theories and comprehensively explained the correlative thinking system is Park Jae-ju. Park Jae-ju has comprehensively organized it, centering on Whitehead's thought.⁵²⁸

According to the East's generative thinking, which thinks from top to bottom, in correlative thinking, Humanity's position in the universe becomes an existence that grafts (jeophwa) with Heaven and Earth, as an existence possessing all the attributes of Heaven and Earth. Therefore, Heaven and Earth come to need Humanity for the mediation of Heaven and Earth, and bestow upon Humanity the most outstanding gi (energy) from Heaven and Earth.

⁵²⁴ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 30.

⁵²⁵ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 30.

⁵²⁶ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 30.

⁵²⁷ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 1-30; Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-30; Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 1-21.

⁵²⁸ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Haengrok" (Acts) 5-38.

The gi of Eum-Yang O-Haeng flows into the midst of Heaven and Earth; the outstanding becomes Humanity, and the dregs become things. Among the outstanding, the outstanding become saints and sages; among the outstanding, the dregs become foolish people and unworthy people.⁵²⁹

Humans, born from the grafting (jeophwa) of the gi (energies) of Heaven and Earth, have the duty, along with Heaven and Earth, to participate in Heaven and Earth's creative transformation (hwa-yuk) of all things. Heaven and Earth creatively transform (hwa-yuk) Humanity with Seong-Gyeong-Sin (Sincerity, Reverence, Faith), and Humanity becomes an existence that repays this with Seong-Gyeong-Sin.⁵³⁰

Only those who practice utmost Sincerity (誠) under Heaven (天下) can fully realize their own Nature (性); if they can fully realize their own Nature, they can fully realize the Nature of other people. If they can fully realize the Nature of other people, they can fully realize the Nature of things; if they can fully realize the Nature of things, they will be able to assist the Creative Transformation (化育) of Heaven and Earth (天地). If they assist the Creative Transformation of Heaven and Earth, they participate (in the Creative Transformation of Heaven and Earth) along with Heaven and Earth.⁵³¹

In the above example, the grafting (jeophwa) human is an existence that has received the gi (energies) of Heaven and Earth respectively, this is called Nature (性), and appears as an existence that returns this Nature to Heaven and Earth by fulfilling it with Sincerity (誠). Ames and Hall, who have translated Eastern thought through correlative thinking, translate the Doctrine of the Mean (Zhongyong) as 'Focusing on the Familiar,' and say that the Sincerity (誠) of Heaven and Earth, when interpreted from the Western substantial worldview, should be interpreted as the Creativity spoken of by the philosopher of postmodernity, Whitehead, in his process thought. It is said that Whitehead also commented on this.

In all philosophic theory there is an ultimate which is actual in virtue of its accidents. [...] In the philosophy of organism this ultimate is termed 'creativity.' [...] In monistic philosophies [...] this ultimate is God, who is also termed by the name 'the Absolute.' In such monistic philosophical schemes, the ultimate is unjustifiably allowed a final, 'eminent' reality that transcends every accident. From this point of view, the philosophy of organism seems much closer to the philosophical schools of India and China than to the thought of West Asia or Europe.⁵³²

When Sincerity (誠) is interpreted as creativity, Heaven and Earth's saeng-in (giving birth to humans) is also creativity, and what humans return is also creativity. In grafting (jeophwa), the concept of creativity

⁵²⁹ Daesoon Jichim (Daesoon Directives), p.18.

⁵³⁰ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Haengrok" (Acts) 3-44.

⁵³¹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 2-33; Go Nam-sik, "Yi Jeong Simbeop (Right Determination Mental Teaching) and the Ultimate Orientation of Cultivating the Mind," Daesoon Sasang Nonchong (Daesoon Thoughts) 13, 2001.

⁵³² Go Nam-sik, "The Prior Heaven (Seoncheon) View of Heaven and the Transcendence of Sangje: Regarding Sangje's Divine Way (Sindo) and the Supreme Authority over the Three Realms (Samgye Daegwon)," Daesoon Sasang Nonchong (Daesoon Thoughts) 8, 1999, pp.562-563.

becomes core. The Eastern grafting view of humanity pursued harmony with nature and did not pursue excessive development, but it became fixed in correlative thinking, entered a fixed state of forgetting the thinking before correlative thinking—that is, the Heaven-beyond-Heaven—and rejecting new things, thus failing to respond properly to Western criticism like that of Matteo Ricci. Accordingly, only after the shock from the West did the East come to seek indigenous modernity.

From the perspective of Lee Young-ran's liminality theory, following heaven (1) and earth (2, 1+2), the human (3, 1+2, 1+2+3) is a being capable of changing beyond the human into a third existence (1+2+3=1'), and this liminal aspect of changeability becomes the jeophwajeok characteristic of humans. Because humans possess the yin and yang bestowed by heaven and earth—namely the hon (spiritual soul) and baek (corporeal soul)—they can change themselves, and thus can become a ji-in (one who knows) capable of recognizing the performance of transformative nourishment (cheonji hwayuk) staged by the universe. Furthermore, humans must reach the stage of being performers themselves in the universe. In the indigenous modernity's view of humanity, which was prompted by the shock from the West, liminality prepares for the realization of the ideal view of humanity.

The Clash and Mutual Antagonism of East-West Views of Humanity in Modernity

The Clash of Views of Humanity

The Eastern and Western views of humanity already contained many problems even before the East and West interacted. As the Eastern and Western views of humanity developed independently, the shortcomings of each view of humanity also became prominent. First, in the case of earth, water, fire, and wind, as the fifth element became monotheized, the divine-being system of earth, water, fire, and wind first disappeared in the West. In the weakened earth-water-fire-wind views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, the divine beings of earth, water, fire, and wind are mistreated and ousted, and the Heaven-Humanity relationship is privatized into a contractual relationship between the monotheistic God and humans. Humanity is relegated to the status of a sinner before the monotheistic God, becoming an existence that must repent and be saved, attaining a status where they can only go to paradise after death. In the East, as correlative thinking solidified, the discrimination between yangban (nobility) and sangnom (commoners) intensified. This encountered an opportunity for change through East-West exchange.⁵³³

Like the economic law that bad money drives out good, as the East and West interact, they exchange strengths, but the shortcomings in their views of humanity become more prominent. As the East and West interact, the West's transcendent-oriented view of humanity first changes to an immanent-oriented view of humanity. The West, having learned from Matteo Ricci that an ethical human society is possible even without a transcendent God, no longer desires God's salvation, and God's place is replaced by material.

⁵³³ Hwang Tae-yeon, "Confucius's Empathetic Non-action and Worldly-ism and the East Asian Origins of Western Tolerance Thought, Part 1," *Hangukak (Korean Studies)* 36(2), 2013, pp.73-74.

The clash of Eastern and Western views of humanity occurs from the imperialist period, which arose after the West, having achieved modernity through Eastern thought, cultivated national power through the policy of *buguk gangbyeong* (rich country, strong military). As the East and West clash, the Heaven of earth, water, fire, and wind—which was originally the mediator of earth, water, fire, and wind as the fifth element—loses its attribute as an immanent god and appears as a transcendent god. To the transcendent monotheistic God, Earth is provided as an object of domination and conquest that humans can enjoy, and the East also corresponds to this.

The Eastern and Western views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, unlike their superficial differences, also share a common origin when tracing back to antiquity. In the case of the 36 Heavens, which also appear in Daesoon Thought, they also appear in the Daoist 36 Heavens view, which is related to the common pre-Buddhist East-West origin of the views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity. It is said that the Daoist 36 Heavens view, which appears in the Daoist *Lingbao* (Spiritual Treasure) scriptures, is related to the Buddhist 28 Heavens view, which appears in the *Abhidharmakośa-śāstra*. The Buddhist 28 Heavens view is vertically divided into the Desire Realm (*yokgye*), Form Realm (*saekgye*), and Formless Realm (*musaekgye*), and the Daoist 36 Heavens are said to also be distinguished by the meaning of horizontal division in the four cardinal directions (East, West, South, North), but the Buddhist 28 Heavens are also said to be related to the 28 lunar mansions (constellations) of astronomy, like Daoism.⁵³⁴ The *Abhidharmakośa-śāstra*, where the Buddhist 28 Heavens first appear, is a Hinayana scripture regarded as Buddhist teaching, but the Buddhist 28 Heavens theory is considered a legacy of the Indo-European trifunctional system, which predates the establishment of Buddhism, and this is said to originate further back from common East-West astronomical thought.⁵³⁵

The trifunctional system is a theory stating that in both the myths and social organizations of the vast region spanning ancient India and Europe, where a common language was spoken, a system of classes appeared, similar to Cheon-Ji-In (Heaven-Earth-Humanity): the religious class like Heaven—Brahman; the warrior (戰士) class like Humanity—Kshatriya (Chal-lijong, 刹利種); and the producer class like Earth—the Vaishya-Shudras lineage. In fact, Dumézil, who first discovered the trifunctional system theory, investigated ancient cultures in over 50 languages and stated that the trifunctional system commonly appears in the Trojan War depicted in Greco-Roman mythology and in Hindu mythology. In fact, the Trojan War of Greek mythology is said to have been a war among Aphrodite, symbolizing production and beauty; Hera, symbolizing religion; and Athena, symbolizing politics. In India's case as well, Mitra of the

⁵³⁴ In Daesoon Thought, the mural painting of Oseon-wigi (Five Immortals Playing Baduk) symbolizing Haewon is expressed as 'ihae' (understanding/resolution). Haewon (Resolution of Grievances) becomes the natural-scientific foundation of Sangsaeng (Mutual Beneficence). (Bak Yong-cheol, "A Study on the Realization of Haewon Sangsaeng," *Daesoon Sasang Nonchong* (Daesoon Thoughts) 4, 1998, pp.213-241)

⁵³⁵ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Haengrok" (Acts) 5-38; Jo Yeong-suk, "A Study on the Cosmological Ontology of Dongui Bogam [東醫寶鑑; Dongui Bogam: Principles and Practice of Eastern Medicine]," *Dogyo Munhwa Yeongu* (Journal of Taoist Cultural Studies) 33, 2010, p.141; Kim Mi-rim, "A Study on the Concept of Yangsheng (Health Cultivation) in Dongui Bogam," doctoral dissertation, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, 2009, pp.163-165.

Maitreya lineage, who also appears in Buddhism, governs religion along with Varuna, and Vajra, the god of lightning who appears in the Geumgangsan (Diamond Mountain) lineage, governs politics along with Indra.⁵³⁶ It is said that the reason the Abhidharmakośa-śāstra, which is said to be Buddhism's unique teaching, includes pre-Buddhist teachings is related to the process of Mahayana Buddhist doctrines, which conflict with Hinayana Buddhism, being accepted into Buddhism.⁵³⁷ According to Sasaki Shizuka (佐佐木 閑), who is renowned as a scientific interpreter of Buddhist scriptures, the scope of what could be accepted as Buddhist was greatly expanded through two Buddhist councils, as appears in King Ashoka's inscriptions. Therefore, Geumgangsan (Diamond Mountain), which plays a major role in the Buddhist view of the Heavenly Realm that also appears in Daesoon Thought, is structured to form a trifunctional system with Vajra, the god of lightning in ancient Indian mythology.⁵³⁸

If the Buddhist trifunctional system has a temporal vertical character, in the case of the Chinese views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, which were changed by ancient East-West exchange, the Samjae-gwan (Three Powers view) appears more prominently as the spatial arrangement of Cheon-Ji-In (Heaven-Earth-Humanity). The Daoist 36 Heavens view of the Heavenly Realm internally includes the Buddhist 28 Heavens view of the Heavenly Realm. In the case of the East Asian views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, where spatial arrangement is emphasized, the driving force of the Samjae (Three Powers) circulation also appears as the seungbu (victory/defeat or contest) between ancestors and descendants rather than the reincarnation of individual karma.⁵³⁹ Therefore, in East Asia, the views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity mythologically appear with the Gonggong-jok (Gonggong tribe), a representative civilized tribe, as the underworld civilization god, and the underworld god appears as its relic.⁵⁴⁰

In Seohak (Western Learning), Catholicism, the Euro-Indian trifunctional system is also reflected in its views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity. Zoroastrianism, often said to be the origin of the Abrahamic religions, also emphasizes the post-mortem Heavenly Realm and the Court of Judgment (Myeongbu), based on the trifunctional system originating from the god Mithra, who is the origin of Maitreya.⁵⁴¹

Although the Western views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, represented by the trifunctional system, and the Eastern Samjae-gwan (Three Powers view), represented by Cheon-Ji-In (Heaven-Earth-Humanity), share common points, the two views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity show differences in the method of

⁵³⁶ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Jesaeng" (Saving Lives) 43.

⁵³⁷ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Haengrok" (Acts) 5-38.

⁵³⁸ Choi, Won-hyuk, "Comparative Study on Indigenous Modernity of Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought," *Studies on Humanities and Social Sciences (SHSC)* 6(1), 2024.

⁵³⁹ Yoshiko Kamitsuka (author), Jang Won-cheol and Yi Dong-cheol (trans.), *Dogyo Sasang (Taoist Thought)*, Seoul: AK Communications, 2022, pp.116-121.

⁵⁴⁰ Jeong Jae-seo, *Sarajin Sindoul-ui Gwihwan (The Return of the Vanished Gods)*, Paju: Munhakdongne, 2022.

⁵⁴¹ Kim Yeong-deok, Heo Yong-gu, and Kim Byeong-su (authors), *Jungguk Munhaksa (History of Chinese Literature)*, Seoul: Cheongyeonsa, 1992, p.133; cited in Kim Chae-su, *Altai Munmyeongron (Theory of Altaic Civilization)*, Seoul: Bagijeong, 2013, p.691.

distinguishing the creator of the three realms from the three realms, in addition to the difference in emphasis on time and space. The Western views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, compared to the Eastern Samjae-gwan (Three Powers view), have the creator continuously intervening, and in Seohak (Western Learning), the gods of the Heavenly, Earthly, and Human realms even disappear, becoming a monotheistic system. On the other hand, in the Eastern Samjae-gwan (Three Powers view), the creator appears as a hidden god (Deus absconditus). Sangje (the Supreme Ruler), who appears in Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought, simultaneously manifests the attributes of the East's hidden god and the West's monotheistic God, thus appearing as a similar part to Seohak (Western Learning) and Daoism.⁵⁴²

The common origin inherent in Eastern and Western views of humanity becomes the background for forming the view of humanity of indigenous modernity as the East and West interact. The Eastern view of humanity, buried in correlative thinking, also finds an opportunity for change through the intervention of the transcendent Heaven, and the West also finds an opportunity to re-establish the East's immanent Heaven, which it had materialized.

The Mutual Conflict (Sanggeuk-hwa) of the Heaven-Humanity (Cheon-In) and Earth-Humanity (Ji-In) Relationships

As the East and West develop individually, the Eum-Yang O-Haeng (Yin-Yang and Five Elements) and earth-water-fire-wind views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity become characterized by sanggeuk (mutual conflict) in different directions, but the two thought systems become sophisticated. In the Eum-Yang O-Haeng (Yin-Yang and Five Elements) worldview, the Heaven-Humanity relationship shifts from the personal Heaven-Humanity relationship of the Classic of Poetry (Shijing) and the Book of Documents (Shujing) to the ibeop (principle-law)-based Heaven-Humanity relationship of good-evil distinction of King Tang and King Jie; during the Warring States period, the Eum-Yang (Yin-Yang), Samjae (Three Powers), and O-Haeng (Five Elements) thoughts are theoretically combined, and later, with the introduction of Buddhism, the three realms (samgye) of the Heavenly Realm, Earthly Realm, and Human Realm, where ibeop (理法, principle-law) is substantiated, are completed in Daoism.⁵⁴³ The transcendental divine-being system completed in the Okchu Bogyeong (Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot) also weakens, and the immanent yin-yang relationship between humans and gods fades.⁵⁴⁴⁵⁴⁵

⁵⁴² Lao Siguang (勞思光, 1927-2012) states that in ancient Chinese thought, the divine (sin/shen 神) differs from that of Judaism, and that when referring to a monotheistic god (ilsin 一神) like the God of Judaism, the terms 'Cheon (天; Heaven)' or 'Je (帝; Lord), Sangje (上帝; Lord on High)' were used. Lao Siguang, *Zhongguo Zhhexueshi (Gudai Pian) [History of Chinese Philosophy (Ancient Volume)]*, trans. Jeong In-jae, Jungguk Cheolhaksa (Godae Pyeon) [History of Chinese Philosophy (Ancient Volume)], Seoul: Tamgudang, 1988, pp.44-45; cited in Kim Yeong-ho, "A Comparative Study on the Attributes of Cheon (Heaven 天) in Sigyeong (詩經; Book of Odes) and the Attributes of God (神) in Sipyeon (詩篇; Psalms)," *Wonbulgyo Sasang-gwa Jonggyo Munhwa (Won Buddhism Thought and Religious Culture)* 71, pp.201-236.

⁵⁴³ Kim Yeong-ho, "A Comparative Study on the Attributes of Cheon (Heaven 天) in Sigyeong (詩經; Book of Odes) and the Attributes of God (神) in Sipyeon (詩篇; Psalms)," *Wonbulgyo Sasang-gwa Jonggyo Munhwa (Won Buddhism Thought and Religious Culture)* 71, 2017, pp.201-236.

⁵⁴⁴ Lee Seung-jae, *A Scientific Inquiry into the Eight Trigrams*, Seoul: Miraeteo, 2016.

Looking at the Western relationship between divine beings and humans before Matteo Ricci, prior to the clash of Eastern and Western views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, the Western relationship between divine beings and humans was a structure where there was an omniscient and omnipotent monotheistic God, the absolute God, who presided over all affairs of the universe; below him were angels who performed the monotheistic God's work only in special cases; and human souls existed in heaven and hell. The West had forgotten the Heaven-Earth divine beings (cheonji sinmyeong) who operate nature, but the East had the advantage that the existence of the forgotten divine beings was remembered. The Western monotheistic God, influenced by nomadic culture and wheat farming, was an existence that could do everything arbitrarily without specific laws, rather than presiding according to laws like the East's Sangje (Supreme Ruler), and angels, unlike the East's divine beings, were also not beings specially in charge of specific areas of unique duties. Therefore, the greatest sin of humans and angels was not the failure to perform duties in their own unique areas, as in the East, but disobedience to the arbitrarily changing commands of the monotheistic God. In the West, the authority of the monotheistic God was oppressive but firm.⁵⁴⁶

The traditional Western Heaven-Humanity relationship, which presupposes a transcendent god, is presented by Western thought, represented by Christianity. Christianity, which expressed itself in Aristotelian terms, also presents the model of the transcendent being as Aristotle's fifth element model. Aristotle's god is an existence that observes from a position transcending the circulation of earth, water, fire, and wind, like the fifth element of the earth-water-fire-wind cosmology.⁵⁴⁷

Heaven, the fifth element of earth, water, fire, and wind, which was originally the mediator of earth, water, fire, and wind as the fifth element, loses its attribute as an immanent god and appears as a transcendent god. In the case of the West, approaching the modern era, the earth-water-fire-wind cosmology retains only the character of substance and excludes the correlativity of earth, water, fire, and

⁵⁴⁵ Choe Su-bin, "The Other World as Seen from Taoism: The Taoist World View and Salvation Reflected in the World of Immortals (Sinsin 神仙) and the Dead (Saja 死者)," *Dogyo Munhwa Yeongu* (道教文化研究; Journal of Taoist Cultural Studies) 41, 2014, pp.303-350.

⁵⁴⁶ It is said that the world's views of death appear in two forms: salvation and avatar (doppelganger). (Edgar Morin [author], Kim Myeong-suk [trans.], *Ingan-gwa Jukeum* [Man and Death], Seoul: Dongmunson, 2000, pp.147-164) Max Weber also states that the religions of the world are divided into salvation religions based on other-power faith and non-salvation religions based on self-power faith. (Jeon Seong-u, "Max Weber's Theory of Confucianism: A Critical Reconstruction," *Nammyeonghak Yeongu* [Nammyeong Studies] 16, 2003, pp.310-314) Recent research argues that even within the same East Asia, the mythology of Eurasia — particularly Korean mythology represented by Maitreya and Dangun — is a Manaism of ternary differentiation as Heaven (天), Yang (陽), Fire (火), and Immortal (仙); while Chinese mythology, represented by Buddhism and Taoism, has a dual structure of Animism as Earth (地), Yin (陰), Water (水), and Way (道). (Jeon Je-hun, "A Manaistic Illumination of Ancient Korean Mythology [韓國古代神話의 manaism의 照明]," doctoral dissertation, Wonkwang University [圓光大學校], 2013, pp.11-12)

⁵⁴⁷ As symbolized by the notion of 'the virtue (deok) of Heaven's Way and Earth's Virtue (Cheondo Jideok),' traditionally in the East, the earth has been expressed through the attribute of 'virtue (deok).' Therefore, 'virtue (deok)' becomes a key element for comparing Eastern and Western views of the earth. In particular, the concept of virtue in Aristotle — who played a pivotal role in constructing the Western worldview — is an important subject of comparison with the concept of virtue in Daesoon Thought. (Ju So-yeon, *Daesoon Sasang-ui Deok Yunri Yeongu* [A Study on the Virtue Ethics of Daesoon Thought], doctoral dissertation, Daejin University, 2024.

wind. Accordingly, human arrogance also doubles in accordance with the monotheized cheonjon (Heaven revered).

Not only the Heaven-Humanity relationship but also the Earth-Humanity relationship becomes characterized by sanggeuk (mutual conflict). In the West, Earth was material and an object of domination, but after East-West exchange, it is now relegated to an object of manipulation, manipulated by immanent science and technology. In the case of the East, Earth's role in the Heaven-Earth relationship becomes fixed, and it is relegated to an existence that only follows Heaven's instructions.

The Heaven-Humanity relationship, regardless of East or West, was originally a sangsaeng (mutual beneficence) relationship. In the case of the West, the human world is the place where the Idea is projected, and God creates humans in His own image. In the case of the East, the Human Realm was a place for cultivation to go to a higher place in the divine-being realm. However, as the Heaven-Humanity relationship and Earth-Humanity relationship become characterized by sanggeuk (mutual conflict), the development of the Heavenly Realm through the Human Realm stops, and the creative transformation (hwa-yuk) of Heaven and Earth is suspended. Furthermore, chaos accelerates throughout the universe, and it enters a state of near annihilation. Accordingly, a rearrangement of the sacred and the secular, namely, the liminality aspect of modernity, is requested in the Heaven-Humanity and Earth-Humanity relationships.

Liminality in Donghak Thought's View of Humanity as Yeongsebulmang (Eternal Unforgetting)

Donghak Thought's Yeongsebulmang (Eternal Non-forgetting) View of Humanity (In-gwan)

The change in the view of Heaven (Cheon-gwan) due to the intervention of the transcendent Heaven brings about changes in the view of Earth (Ji-gwan) as well as changes in the view of Humanity (In-gwan). Just as the concept of Earth changes to the concepts of johwa (creation-transformation) and gihwa (material force transformation) due to the transcendent Heaven, and Earth's status rises, becoming equal to Heaven's status, Humanity is also elevated to an existence that can communicate the same mind with the transcendent Heaven—'Osim-jeug-Yeosim' (My Mind is Your Mind)—and Humanity's status is elevated to an existence of the same class as Heaven and Earth.

Donghak Thought's view of Humanity (In-gwan), like its view of Earth (Ji-gwan), is gradually revealed as Donghak Thought develops. As Donghak Thought develops, Su-un's attitude toward Donghak Thought changes. It continuously changes through the cheonsa-mundap (conversation with the Heavenly Master) and podeok (propagation) activities, martyrdom (sundo), and after martyrdom. Donghak Thought's view of Humanity (In-gwan) changes especially around Su-un's martyrdom.⁵⁴⁸

⁵⁴⁸ Sundo (殉道; dying for the Way) means death through the Way, just as Sungo (殉教; martyrdom) means dying for one's religion.

Although Choe Su-un, the founder of Donghak, disappeared as expected on the execution ground after daring to return to Gyeongju, which was close to suicide, the embers he scattered began to revive through the efforts of Choe Si-hyeong after countless hardships. Choe Si-hyeong revives the memories of the Yongdam Yusa (Songs of Yongdam) and the Donggyeong Daejeon (Great Eastern Scripture), which Su-un had painstakingly left behind but had all disappeared, and restores them with the help of his colleagues. The Yongdam Yusa and Donggyeong Daejeon restored by Choe Si-hyeong are distributed throughout the country, and Donghak revives in the form of the Donghak Peasant Movement. Jeungsan (Kang Il-sun) likens this to Chiyu (蚩尤) and says that the jakran (disruption/rebellion) of Donghak began.⁵⁴⁹

The Donghak Peasant Revolution Movement became an unprecedentedly large movement in the history of Korean peasant revolutions and seemed to succeed, but it brought about Japanese intervention, turning into the greatest tragic movement instead. However, the will of Sangje (the Supreme Ruler) revealed in Donghak is widely promulgated, leaving hope. The surviving Donghak followers participate again in new religions or various movements that are transformations of Donghak.⁵⁵⁰

Donghak can be said to be the earliest new religion to appear among the new religions. The influence Donghak had on new religions, based on the research of some new religions, reaches as far as the Unification Church. This is because mentions related to Donghak also appear in Won Buddhism and the Unification Church. Donghak is also the field most researched by intellectuals during the revival period of new religions since the 1980s. On the other hand, the claims of the new religions are contrary to the claims of Donghak. In the new religions after Donghak, it is generally claimed that Donghak was a prelude for the appearance of the new religions after Donghak. The claims of Donghak and the new religions after Donghak can be understood by examining the common doctrinal systems between them. Among the doctrinal systems of Donghak, the doctrinal system held in common, especially with the new religions after Donghak, is the circularity of correlative thinking.⁵⁵¹

If the influence of Donghak on the new religions after Donghak is controversial, then the influence of existing religions on Donghak becomes an issue. The relationship between Donghak's doctrinal system and existing religions is one of the main research tasks for Donghak researchers. However, although the issue of affinity between Donghak and Confucianism, Daoism, and Christianity has been much studied, it has not yet been much studied from the aspect of correlative thinking, which is the circular attribute of Donghak's doctrinal system.

Donghak, like Seondo (Way of the Immortals), formally uses talismans and recites incantations, but internally it has the system of Neo-Confucianism, such as boguk-anmin (protecting the nation and securing

⁵⁴⁹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyobeop" (Dharma) 3-30.

⁵⁵⁰ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 6.

⁵⁵¹ Kim Tak, *Hanguk Sinjonggyo-reul Gwan-tonghaneun Inyeom, Ingan Jungsimsimjuui* (The Ideology Penetrating Korean New Religions: Anthropocentrism), Seoul: Minsokwon, 2023, p.405.

peace for the people), chunghyo-yeol (loyalty, filial piety, fidelity), and Seong-Gyeong-Sin (Sincerity, Reverence, Faith). It also shares the term Cheonju (Lord of Heaven), which is the same as in Seogyo (Western Religion). Like Daesoon Jinrihoe's evaluation of Donghak, Donghak is summarized as having advocated Seondo (Way of the Immortals) but failed due to the limitations (jeonheon) of Confucianism.⁵⁵²

The circular doctrinal system of Donghak, which has been re-evaluated centered on the Donghak Society since the 1980s, is the Sam-Taegeuk (Three Supreme Ultimates) system shared not only by Donghak but also by most new religions. While Donghak, in its organized religion period, has the circulation of correlative thinking as its core doctrine, the unique views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity appearing in Donghak's doctrinal system have not been well studied.⁵⁵³

The circularity of correlative thinking, which has been highly evaluated in Donghak so far, was the part of the egalitarianism of the Donghak Peasant Movement, which is an external circulation, rather than an internal evaluation of the doctrinal system. Donghak claims that the circulation appearing in the new religions after Donghak is the influence of Donghak, but since it shares the Sam-Taegeuk (Three Supreme Ultimates) tradition that appears in common with Donghak, it is difficult to see the correlative thinking that appears very diversely after Donghak as the influence of Donghak.⁵⁵⁴

It is said that the Buryeon-giyeon (Not so, yet so), which appears at the very end of the Donggyeong Daejeon (Great Eastern Scripture), corresponds to the change in human status and the proof of God's existence in Donghak when viewed in the overall context of the Donggyeong Daejeon. The Donggyeong Daejeon focuses on emphasizing the thought of Sangje (the Supreme Ruler) who gave the revelation to Choe Su-un, rather than Choe Su-un's thought. In fact, in the Dowon Giseo (Record of the Origins of the Way), which Haewol (Choe Si-hyeong) wrote about his conversations with Su-un, it is recorded that Su-un had continuously received teachings from Sangje, and after Sangje's teachings ceased, he foresaw his own death and was very anxious.

⁵⁵² Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9.

⁵⁵³ Choe Min-ja, "Donghak Viewed from the Perspectives of Eastern and Western Thought: Ken Wilber's Holarchic Holism and the Integrated Vision Found in Su-un's Si (侍; Serving/Enshrining)," *Donghak Hakbo* (Journal of Donghak Studies) 23, 2011.

⁵⁵⁴ It is said that 'mosim' (enshrining/serving) carries the meaning of equality from a practical standpoint. The idea is that all Donghak practitioners, through inner cultivation such as reciting incantations (jumun) and prayer, should devotedly serve the Cheonju (Lord of Heaven) enshrined within themselves, and also keep in mind that others whom they encounter in daily life are likewise beings who each enshrine the Cheonju within their own interior — and treat them as the Lord of Heaven (Haeunym). The following passage, frequently cited by Donghak scholars when emphasizing that Donghak's Haeunym is also an inner being of humanity, in fact contains both of these meanings: 'Do not believe in me; believe in the Haeunym. Since [the Haeunym] is enshrined in your body, should one abandon what is near and seek what is far (Sagunchwiwon [捨近取遠])?' (Yongdam Yusa [Songs of Yongdam], 'Gyohunka' [Song of Instruction]) The phrase 'enshrined in your body' signifies ontologically that a person is already a being who has enshrined the Haeunym; while 'Do not believe in me; believe in the Haeunym' signifies, from a practical standpoint, a view of equality — that the act of 'enshrining' (mosim) must occur in both inner and outer directions. ("The Direction of Confucian Reform, View of Equality, and Attitude toward Western Modern Civilization in Choe Je-u and Bak Eun-sik," *Toegy Studies and Confucian Culture* [退溪學과 儒教文化] 49, 2011, p.328)

Donghak after Choe Su-un also shows discontinuity with Choe Su-un's Donghak. Within the Donggyeong Daejeon or Yongdam Yusa, the early period and the later period are also sometimes evaluated differently. As there is discontinuity even within Donghak, it can be seen that Donghak and other new religions are very distant.

Lee Kang-oh's data on new religions focuses mainly on the mergers and divisions of religious orders, paying attention to the commonality of doctrinal systems rather than the differences. The reason Donghak sees the new religions after Donghak as the influence of Donghak is that the figures who believed in the new religions after Donghak were mainly Donghak party members. Donghak party members are active in Southern Buddhism, Won Buddhism, etc., after the failure of Donghak.

The Donghak doctrinal basis for Donghak's claim that the new religions after Donghak are the influence of Donghak is that Donghak also synthesized the three religions of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism. However, there is little Buddhist influence in Donghak, and although it recites incantations and uses talismans, it also does not emphasize the world of divine beings, including ancestral spirits (seonryeongsin), in which respect it still largely does not deviate from the confines of Confucianism.⁵⁵⁵

It can be said that Donghak's emphasis on the circulation of correlative thinking came after the March 1st Movement in 1919, when Donghak reorganized its theoretical system as new religions emerged after Donghak. Due to Japan's policy of suppressing religions without a doctrinal system, Donghak, centered around Lee Don-hwa, set out to establish a doctrinal system.⁵⁵⁶

The Liminality Aspect of the View of Humanity in 'Never Forgetting through Eternal Ages' (Yeongsebulmang 永世不忘)

The aspect of the Donghak view of humanity, whose status was elevated by the transcendent heaven (choweolcheon), appears differently through its early and later periods. In the early angelic Q&A (cheonsamundap), the elevation of human status to a position capable of "serving the Heavenly Lord" (Si-Cheonju) was due to Su-un's arduous efforts.

Just as the Jeon-gyeong (Daesoon scriptures) mentions that those who participated in the Donghak Peasant Movement outwardly advocated boguk-anmin (protecting the nation and securing peace for the

⁵⁵⁵ There is also research that connects Donghak's Buryeon Giryeon (非然其然; The Not-So but Yet So) with Buddhism and links it to Buddhism in the sense that Choe Su-un always conducted his activities centered on hermitage temples (amja). (Bak Gyeong-hwan, "Donghak and Buddhist Thought," Donghak-gwa Jeontongsasang [Donghak and Traditional Thought], Mosineun Saramdeul, 2004)

⁵⁵⁶ Today there is a movement to understand Donghak as a principle of circulation, centered on the theory of Kim Yong-ok — who claims the original name of Donghak was Mugeukdaedo — and the theory of Sangyunron (distribution/spreading principle), etc. Kim Ji-ha regards Buryeon Giryeon, Yulryeo, etc., as principles of circulation within complex systems. Kim Ji-ha states: 'The core symbol of Chinese historical thinking or the Book of Changes (Juyeok) centered on Heaven and Yang or the Cosmos is the Supreme Ultimate (Taeguk), which advances into Yin-Yang, Four Symbols (Sasang), and Eight Trigrams (Palgwe) — stable numbers, i.e., the order of the Cosmos. On the other hand, Gungung is 1·3·5·7·9 — dynamic numbers. The inherent meaning of our nation and the numerical order of 1·3·5·7·9 consisting of the three poles (Samgeuk) of Heaven-Earth-Human is precisely Chaos.' (Kim Ji-ha, Yegam-e Gaadeukhan Soop-geuneul [The Forest Shade Full of Foreboding], Silcheon Munhaksa, 1999, p.35)

people) but inwardly harbored ambitions of becoming "kings, nobles, generals, and ministers" (wanghu-jangsang), anyone in difficult circumstances is prone to materialism, but Su-un, like Jesus, rejects even heaven's proposals. For Su-un, who had endured all sorts of hardships for over 40 years, the temptation of material wealth was ineffective, much like it was for Lü Dongbin. After continuous tests and Su-un's fasting protest, Sangje reveals the elevation of human status to Su-un, stating, "My mind is your mind" (osim jeuk yeosim).

However, in the end, even in the later period, Su-un fails to fully grasp the meaning of "my mind is your mind." Even though human status was elevated to a position capable of serving Sangje through Si-Cheonju, Su-un fails to fully understand its meaning, unable to overcome the precedents (jeonheon) of Confucianism. Su-un resolves human problems through buryeon (not so) and giyeon (so it is). "What is difficult to understand is Buryeon (not-so), and what is easy to understand is Giyeon (so-it-is)." If Giyeon is the world that can be understood and experienced by human reason, Buryeon is the world that cannot be understood or experienced by human reason. In that case, Buryeon corresponds to Ri (Principle), Do (Dao), Ilsim (One Mind), and Cheon (Heaven). However, what is important here is that Buryeon and Giyeon are not dichotomous opposites. 'Osim-jeuk-Yeosim' (My mind is your mind) is understood to the extent that one can reach the ultimate reality through experience, just as one realizes the truth beyond experience through experience and gains enlightenment from the things before us. While Buryeon-Giyeon is sometimes understood by Donghak scholars as an excellent epistemology, it was an understanding somewhat distant when compared to Daesoon Thought's Dotong-Jin'gyeong (attaining the True State of Unification with the Dao).⁵⁵⁷

The Donghak view of humanity as Yeongse-bulmang (eternal remembrance) differed from Seohak (Western Learning) in two major ways. First and foremost is the abolition of discrimination between priests and believers. Donghak thought criticizes the strict distinction between priests and believers in Western Learning. Donghak thought highly valued the fact that Western Learning viewed humans more equally compared to Confucianism, Buddhism, or Daoism, but it strongly criticized the class-like difference between priests and believers. A prominent feature of Donghak's Yeongse-bulmang view of humanity, in terms of the history of religious thought on humanity, is that it did not distinguish between priests and believers within the scope of "Si-cheonju" (Bearing God). Consequently, in Donghak thought, the distinction between believer and priest disappears, much like in the non-church movement (Mugyohoeju) of figures like Ham Seok-heon today. This becomes the significance of the Jeopju (regional leader) system, a characteristic of the Donghak view of humanity. If the Western Reformation abolished the privileges of the Catholic priest, Donghak thought abolished even the privileges of the Protestant minister.

⁵⁵⁷ Yi Do-heum, "The Possibilities and Limits of Eastern Philosophy as Post-Modern Thought," *Donghak Hakbo* (Journal of Donghak Studies) 10, 2005, p.22.

The second characteristic of the Yeongse-bulmang view of humanity, distinguishing it from Western Learning, is the difference between "Gakja-wisim" (each acting for oneself) and "Gakji-buri" (each knowing and not moving). Whereas Western Learning primarily emphasized the superficial religious characteristic of Cheonju (the Lord of Heaven) as an external being, Donghak's Si-cheonju strongly exhibits the characteristic of a deep religion where Cheonju is internal. Therefore, the method of practice also, in the case of Western Learning, as Weber pointed out, manifests as a form of faith in "Gakja-wisim," where the proof of salvation is worldly success, as in Calvinism. This became the foundation of Western modernity. However, in Donghak thought, since the proof of salvation lies within, it resides in "Gakji-buri," a moral practice of spontaneously implementing internal, reflective ethics.

If the characteristics of the Donghak view of humanity, contrasted with Western Learning, appear as the abolition of discrimination between priests and believers and an emphasis on reflective ethics rather than secular success, then the characteristic of the Donghak view of humanity, contrasted with Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism, appears as an emphasis on the microcosmic human being. In later Donghak, this is expanded to the term "In-nae-cheon" (Man is Heaven), but in early Donghak, the view of humanity is strictly that of a human being within Heaven and Earth. However, through Si-cheonju, the human being becomes an existence capable of participating in the Cheonji-hwayuk (transformation and nourishment of Heaven and Earth) according to Cheonju's Muwi-ihwa (spontaneous transformation) through the practice of "Naeyu-sinryeong Oeyu-gihwa" (having divine spirit within and energetic transformation without).

The difference in the views of humanity between Donghak thought and Daesoon Thought arose from the difference in whether the scope of "Naeyu-sinryeong Oeyu-gihwa" could be expanded to "In-nae-cheon." Donghak thought, which later developed into Cheondogyo, expanded the scope of "Naeyu-sinryeong Oeyu-gihwa" to "In-nae-cheon." Consequently, Daesoon Thought, which defines humans merely as beings participating in Cheonji-hwayuk, is sometimes criticized as a pre-modern ideology. The view of humanity in early Donghak thought is actually developed more concretely in Daesoon Thought.⁵⁵⁸

The Donghak view of humanity is expanded into the term "earthly paradise" (Jisang-cheonguk), which manifests when the Si-cheonju-practicing humans of Donghak gather. In later Donghak, "earthly immortal" (Jisang-sinseon) is understood not as a result of the interaction between the human realm and the earthly realm as seen in early Donghak, but as a person who has attained the enlightenment of Si-cheonju. The term "earthly paradise" built by the gathering of "earthly immortals," while in early Donghak it implied a rise in the status of the earth due to the change in the status of heaven and earth from Cheonjon-jibi (heaven

⁵⁵⁸ It is said that the central doctrine of 19th-century Donghak was Siecheonju (侍天主; Enshrining the Lord of Heaven), i.e., enshrining the Haeunym (Lord of Heaven). However, when Donghak was renamed Cheondogyo and organizational restructuring took place, the core doctrine shifted to Innaecheon (人乃天; Humanity is Heaven), and the personality (ingyeokseong) of Cheon (Heaven 天) is said to have greatly weakened. (Hwang Jong-won, "The East-West Philosophical Convergence Characteristics and Life-Philosophy Significance of Yi Don-hwa's Cosmology and View of Humanity: Focusing on 'Sinin Cheolhak' [New-Human Philosophy]," *Yuhak Yeongu* (儒學研究; Confucian Studies) 36, 2016, p.590)

revered, earth base) to Cheonjon-jijon (heaven revered, earth revered) through their mutual interaction, is depicted in later Donghak as a world of indigenous modernity built by the gathering of Si-cheonju-practicing humans. The concept of the earthly paradise in early Donghak is, rather, reinterpreted in Daesoon Thought.

The transcendent Heaven (Chowol-cheon) of Donghak thought, revitalized from the immanent Heaven (Naejae-cheon) of Eastern thought, brought about great changes not only to the view of earth (Jigwan) as Muwi-ihwa but also to the view of humanity. The human being in Donghak thought is elevated to an existence that communicates directly with the transcendent Heaven. Consequently, the sacred-secular relationship was reorganized, and the common people sometimes interpreted this as a rise in status that allowed them to become "kings, marquises, generals, and ministers" (Wanghu-jangsang). As indicated by the expressions "earthly paradise" and "earthly immortal," the initial intention of Donghak was to overcome the traditional limitations (Jeonheon) of Confucianism, but that intention was not fully realized. The Donghak view of humanity repositioned the sacred-secular relationship and provided the motivation for the common people to participate in the liminality of modernity, thereby laying the groundwork for indigenous modernity.

Liminality Aspects in the Cheon-In (Heaven-Human) Relationship of Naeyu-sinryeong (Having Divine Spirit Within) in Donghak Thought

While much research regards Si-cheonju and Gaebyeok (Great Opening) as the core characteristics of Donghak thought, research on "Jhwa" (Harmony/Creation), which connects the two concepts, is rare. Jhwa, the result of Si-cheonju, has been variously interpreted in Donghak thought as Gihwa (energetic transformation) and Jigi (utmost energy). Although the concept of Jigi is new, if it is considered within the extension of the concept of "Gi" (energy), the most characteristic concept that distinguishes Donghak thought from existing Western Learning or Neo-Confucianism is "Jhwa," and it can be said that Naeyu-sinryeong is this Jhwa applied to the human interior, while Gihwa is it applied to the exterior of individual daily affairs. This Jhwa manifests as Sinryeong (divine spirit) in the Heaven-human relationship, and as Gihwa, Muwi-ihwa, and Jhwa (Creation) in the Earth-human relationship.

In Donghak thought, which emphasizes the Heaven above Heaven, the view of earth is also transformed by the Gihwa action of Sangje (the Supreme God); therefore, the relationship between Heaven and humanity is transformed into a relationship of Naeyu-sinryeong.

The "Jhwa" of Si-cheonju manifests as Naeyu-sinryeong, overcoming the Sinjon-inbi (God revered, human base) relationship of Western Learning's monotheistic Heaven-human view. Unlike the strictly separated monotheistic God of Western Learning, the Sangje of Si-cheonju revives the state of Cheonin-habil (union of Heaven and human), which had been discarded, as seen in 'Osim-jeuk-Yeosim'. Although the Heaven above Heaven intervened in Donghak thought, unlike in Western religion, it also included the concept of Cheonji (Heaven and Earth) as the Heaven within Heaven, allowing even ordinary believers to

connect with the Heaven above Heaven through their minds. Thus, Donghak communicated with the Heaven above Heaven, but unlike Western religion, it resulted in a Heaven-human relationship without hierarchy between priests and believers, which consequently also changed the relationship between society and the individual.

In Donghak thought, there was no discrimination based on the Gi endowed by Heaven between yangban (aristocrats) and sangnom (commoners) as in Neo-Confucianism, nor was there a difference between priests and believers as in Western religion; the status of humanity was elevated to an existence where believers, too, could have the same mind as the Heaven above Heaven. Accordingly, the liminality aspect of indigenous modernity, where the boundary between the sacred and the secular is repositioned, is achieved in the Heaven-human and Earth-human relationships of Donghak thought.

Liminality Aspects in the Ji-In (Earth-Human) Relationship of Oeyu-gihwa (Having Energetic Transformation Without) in Donghak Thought

The concept of "Jhwa" (Harmony/Creation) was also a key characteristic of nature at the time of Donghak thought, but Neo-Confucianism primarily emphasized the characteristic of human society called Beomjeol (norms and etiquette) and did not emphasize the characteristics appearing in the Jhwa of nature. Compared to Beomjeol, which is the orderly change in human society, the Jhwa of nature is a concept related to the creativity that gives birth to new life; Joseon society at the time of Donghak overflowed with Beomjeol, but the culture that could foster Jhwa and creativity was suppressed by Confucianism.

It was not only Neo-Confucianism that suppressed Jhwa, which means creation and evolution; in the eyes of the traditional Joseon people of the time, Western Learning was the same. The suppression by the monotheistic God of Western Learning, which dismissed ancestral rites as superstition and maintained a strict hierarchy between priests and believers, approached as an authoritarianism that surpassed Neo-Confucianism. Thus, society faced a situation requiring a new anti-structure and needed a new ideology to harmonize this.⁵⁵⁹

Jhwa (Harmony/Creation) was always a process of resolving the contradictory problems of opposing elements. Like the harmony of Yin and Yang or the harmony of the new and the old, Jhwa always presupposes opposing elements. In the anthropology of religion, the concept closest to Jhwa is that of liminality. Derived from the word 'Limen,' meaning threshold or boundary, liminality was the word meaning the boundary point of opposing elements commonly appearing in most rites of passage studied by the anthropologist Van Gennep. For example, a rite of passage like a wedding ceremony includes rites such as a honeymoon or Dongsangnye (groom-handling ritual), which are periods of anti-structural deviation between the time before marriage and after marriage. Indeed, on the main gate where daily rites of passage always occur, there was Janus with two faces in the West, and the Taegeuk (Supreme Ultimate) in the East.

⁵⁵⁹ Yun Seung-yong, "A Brief Study on the Anti-Structure (Communitas) Character of New Religions (新宗教)," Master's thesis, Seoul National University (서울대학교), 1982.

The Taegeuk and Janus signified the allowance of deviation at the boundary point—that is, Jhwa (Harmony).

The fact that Si-cheonju came to mean Jhwa (Harmony/Creation), or liminality, was largely due to the Heaven-human relationship of Sinjon-inbi (God revered, human base), where Sangguk (mutual conflict/overcoming) was maximized at the time. At that time, the common people (Sangmin) were considered beings full of turbid Gi from the Neo-Confucian perspective and sinners from the Western Learning perspective, but through Si-cheonju, they were provided the liminality to "bear" Sangje.

The change in the Heaven-human relationship that began with Si-cheonju—that is, the liminal Heaven-human relationship—expanded throughout society, centering on Donghak. Consequently, the relationship between earth and people—that is, the relationship between the earth-based society and humans—changed. It is said that Donghak was early on referred to not by "believing" but by "doing," manifesting as the practice of anti-structural actions of the communitas, the anti-structural society brought about by liminality. As creativity and "Jhwa," which were scarcely respected during the Neo-Confucian Joseon Dynasty, came to be respected, the treatment of women and children, the most oppressed groups in the Joseon era, began to be "opened" (Gaebyeok).

The rise in the status of earth and humanity, brought about by the change in the view of Heaven due to the intervention of the transcendent Heaven in Donghak thought, caused an anti-structural aspect of liminality to appear in the traditional Earth-human relationship. In Neo-Confucianism, if the yangban, endowed with the clear Gi of Heaven and Earth, guarded the realm of the sacred (聖), the common people (baekseong), endowed with the turbid Gi, were positioned in the realm of the secular (俗); however, a change occurred with the elevation of human status. Now, the common people also secured the religious justification to become "kings, marquises, generals, and ministers," leading to an indigenous repositioning of the sacred-secular.

Looking closely at the Earth-human relationship, compared to Heaven, which resembles the nature of Hon (spirit-soul) and can move freely, the attributes of Earth—which resembles the nature of Baek (body-soul), has form, and is heavy in nature—meant that even in the East, as seen in Eogeum-jonyang (suppressing Yin, venerating Yang) and Yangjon-eumbi (Yang revered, Yin base), Earth was an existence that approached humans as confinement. As in the term Cheonmun-jiri (astronomy and geography), Earth in the East was an existence that restricted daily life for humans with material laws, much like the Ibeop (principles) of natural science. In the West, of course, Earth was the place to which humans were banished from the Garden of Eden, and in Buddhism too, Earth was a hotbed of suffering.

The Jhwa (Harmony/Creation) emphasized by Donghak thought also brought change to the traditional relationship between Earth and humans. Because Donghak's Si-cheonju "bears" Heaven, it opened a new Heaven, and through "Dasi Gaebyeok" (Again, Great Opening), Donghak thought created a new Earth-human relationship.

Donghak thought seeks to change the role of Earth, which was forbidden in the past, through the Jhwa of Si-cheonju. In Donghak thought, the Earth-human relationship cycles into the Ho-sijeol (Good Times) that follows the Ha-won-gap (Last 60-year cycle). The Earth-human relationship is represented by Ingeol-eun-jiryung (great personages are spiritual energy of the earth), and eminent sages and virtuous scholars (Myeonghyeon-dalsa) convert to become Donghak believers.⁵⁶⁰⁵⁶¹

In Donghak thought, Earth, through Dasi Gaebyeok, becomes a place that can be an earthly paradise and where one can become an earthly immortal. On the earth "opened" by Donghak—the Eastern Learning, where the principles of the earth are different—Donghak thought also gains the strength to overcome Western Learning. Donghak grants Korea the strength to overcome the West, in place of China which was defeated by the West, giving birth to a new nation. The power of the East, manifested in Donghak thought, enables the overcoming of the "vicious Western enemy" that invaded China, through the oath of Daebodan (Altar of Great Gratitude).⁵⁶²

The change in the Heaven-human and Earth-human relationships also brings about a change in the perception of human status in society. As seen in the interrogation of Jeon Myeong-suk, the catalyst for the Donghak Peasant Movement aligns with the project of "the whole country becoming yangban." This appears in the Jeon-gyeong as follows.⁵⁶³

Because Jeon Myeong-suk, when he rose up, held the intention to make sangnom into yangban and to make the lowly (cheonin) noble, he fared well after death and became a judge in the Myeongbu (Realm of Judgment) of Joseon.⁵⁶⁴

Donghak thought further possessed an egalitarian ideology that made the participants of the Donghak Peasant Movement dream of gaining office, aiming for all citizens to become officials. However, the participants' latent desire to become "kings, marquises, generals, and ministers" was still inherent, making Donghak thought an incomplete state of Yoksok-budal (more haste, less speed) for realizing an earthly paradise. It is said that the image of Koreans in the eyes of foreigners at the time was one of having lost the will to work. In a situation where their harvest was taken even if they worked, the path to becoming "kings, marquises, generals, and ministers" was the most realistic. In fact, the Jeon-gyeong states that the reason

⁵⁶⁰ Yongdam Yusa (Songs of Yongdam), "Mongjung Noso Mundapga" (Song of Dialogue Between Old and Young in a Dream).

⁵⁶¹ Yongdam Yusa (Songs of Yongdam), "Yongdamga" (Song of Yongdam).

⁵⁶² 'Let us swear at the Daebodang altar and avenge the enmity of Korea (Han),' Yongdam Yusa (Songs of Yongdam), "Ansimga" (Song of Solace). Here, the Daebodang refers to the altar first established during the reign of King Sukjong in 1705, in honor of the benevolence of the Ming Emperor Wanli who sent troops to rescue Korea during the Japanese Invasions (Imjinwaeran); it was later renamed Hwangudan (Circular Mound Altar).

⁵⁶³ Kim Sang-jun, "Becoming Yangban Across the Nation: The Mechanism of Confucian Egalitarianism in the Late Joseon Period," *Sahoe-wa Yeoksa* (gu Hanguk Sahoe-sa Hakhoe Nonmunjip) [Society and History (formerly Korean Social History Association Papers)] 63(0), 2003, pp.5-29.

⁵⁶⁴ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyobeop" (Dharma) 1-2.

many Donghak participants actually joined was to pursue becoming "kings, marquises, generals, and ministers."

Upon entering the twelfth month, Sangje completed various Gongsas (Works) and embarked on the Gongsas to adjust the Yeokdo (degrees of rebellion/adversity). Gyeong-seok, Gwang-chan, and Nae-seong left for Daeheung-ri; Won-il left for Shin Gyeong-won's house; and Hyeong-ryeol and Ja-hyeon left for Donggok. Sangje spoke to the remaining Mun Gong-sin, Hwang Eung-jong, and Shin Gyeong-su, saying, "Gyeong-seok's Seong (Sincerity), Gyeong (Reverence), and Sin (Trust) are so profound that I considered using him differently, but since this is a matter he himself requests, it cannot be helped," and added, "Originally, Donghak's advocacy for Boguk-anmin (protecting the nation and securing peace for the people) was merely a cry for the work of the Later World, but their hearts each desired to become 'kings, marquises, generals, and ministers,' and tens of thousands were dragged away and killed without achieving their desire. Their grievances soared to the heavens, and if those divine beings were left as they are, the governance of the Later World would fall into adversity (Yeokdo) and become chaotic; therefore, I was in the process of appointing a leader for the Haewon (resolution of grievances) of those divine beings, and Gyeong-seok's mention of twelve empires (十二帝國) means he has volunteered for it. His father was a high-ranking leader in Donghak and was captured and killed, and he himself also served as a Donghak Chongdae (representative leader), so from now on, I have attached all the Donghak divine beings to Gyeong-seok; from this seat, the Haewon of the 'kings, marquises, generals, and ministers' shall begin," He said, writing on a piece of paper, forbidding outsiders from entering, and saying, "Watch in the days to come. The expenditure of money will greatly increase, and the number of people will also be greater than in the Gabo year (1894). They must be set free so that there will be no hindrance in the Later World," He concluded.⁵⁶⁵

The passage above shows that most of the people who took part in Donghak outwardly cried out 'supporting the nation and comforting the people' (boguk-anmin) while inwardly scheming to become kings, marquises, generals, and ministers (wanghu-jangsang). The Earth-human relationship of Donghak Thought, which has the character of 'outward qi-transformation' (oeyu-gihwa), expanded in various directions.

⁵⁶⁵ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsas" (Reordering Works) 2-19.

Autogenous Modernity and the Revitalization of Order (治亂) in Daesoon Thought

The Indigenous Modernity of the View of the Heavenly Realm (Cheon'gye-gwan) based on Insin-gangse (Divine Incarnation in Human Form)

The view of the Heavenly Realm (Cheon'gye-gwan) as the view of Heaven (Cheon'gwan).

The change in Donghak Thought's Trinitarian Cosmology of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, caused by the intervention of the transcendent Heaven (Chowolcheon), is revitalized in Daesoon Thought through the Insin-gangse (divine incarnation in human form) of Sangje (the Supreme God). If Donghak Thought's transcendent Heaven merely appeared in the human world, in Daesoon Thought, it directly descends into a human body. The formation process of Daesoon Thought's view of the Heavenly Realm (Cheon'gye-gwan) appears more clearly in the following passage, which summarily explains the emergence process of Donghak Thought.

When Sangje resided in Gucheon (the Ninth Heaven), the Sinseong (Divine Sages), Buddhas, and Bodhisattvas appealed that without Sangje, the chaotic Heaven and Earth could not be rectified; therefore, He descended to the Cheongyetap (Heavenly Revelation Pagoda) in the Great French Nation of the West, looked over the Three Realms, made a great tour (Daesoon) of the world, and then stopped in the Eastern Land, residing in the Golden Maitreya Statue at Geumsan Temple on Moak Mountain for thirty years, during which He bestowed the Heavenly Mandate (Cheonmyeong) and Divine Teaching (Singyo) upon Choe Su-un to establish the Great Dao; however, in the Gapja year (1864), He withdrew the Heavenly Mandate and Divine Teaching, and in the Sinmi year (1871), He decided to descend into the world Himself.⁵⁶⁶

The transcendent Heaven first appeared in the human world in Donghak Thought, but when humans could not understand its will by its appearance alone, it finally descended in human form. The background for this was the situation where the material-centric Western modernity, introduced by Matteo Ricci, had brought about the Cheonha-jinmyeol (annihilation of the world). Among modern East Asian thoughts, it is difficult to find any, other than Daesoon Thought, that transcended nationalism to warn of the crisis of human extinction posed by Western modernity. Sangje's Insin-gangse also brought about a total change in the views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, just as the appearance of the transcendent Heaven did in Donghak Thought.

Now I have reconstructed Heaven and reconstructed Earth, arranging the Dosu (Heavenly Degrees) watertight, so a new order will open as each reaches its limit. Also, I will have the divine beings (Sinmyeong) enter and exit people's insides to correct and use their constitutions and characters; this is

⁵⁶⁶ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 5.

because even a wooden stake, if endowed with Gi (energy), can become useful. Only favor the foolish, the poor, the lowly, and the weak; be careful of all sins arising from the mind, mouth, and will; and do not create Cheok (grievances or karmic debts) with others. Those who are rich, noble, wise, and powerful will all be caught by Cheok and pulled out like bean sprouts, because it is difficult for a place filled with old, stagnant Gi to handle great fortune (Unsu). The floors, rooms, and storehouses of the rich are filled with killing energy (Salgi) and disaster.⁵⁶⁷

In Daesoon Thought, the transcendent Heaven is referred to as Gucheon (the Ninth Heaven). Gucheon descends in order to newly fix the Heaven and Earth that have functioned thus far. The reason for not fixing Heaven and Earth from Heaven, but being born directly as a human to fix them, is that only by being born as a human can He see the state of Heaven and Earth from a human perspective. Gucheon, who divided Heaven and Earth at the beginning, now becomes a human and transforms into an existence that reconstructs the Heaven and Earth He Himself made.⁵⁶⁸

One day, Sangje said to the Jongdo (followers) who were gathered, "The old Heaven only oversaw affairs that killed people." "Hereafter, all daily necessities will become scarce, making it impossible to survive, so it must be reconstructed now," He said, and conducted a Gongsu (Work) for three days. After finishing the Gongsu, Sangje said, "I have barely made it possible to sustain life, but the able-bodied men will not be able to fill their stomachs, and the sound of their hunger will reach Gucheon."⁵⁶⁹

The change in the view of Heaven (Cheon'gwan), where the Heaven that had been regarded as the ultimate existence in existing religions becomes the "old Heaven" from the perspective of the Heaven above Heaven, is revealed through the Insin-gangse of Gucheon. The solution of changing the structure in the face of chaotic times is thus presented by Gucheon. Here, Gucheon does not pursue a 'Dasi Gaebyeok' (Again, Great Opening) that renews the existing Heaven, as in Donghak Thought, but aims for 'Hucheon Gaebyeok' (Later World's Great Opening) through a method of reconstruction, or "tearing down and fixing." The form of revitalization, in which the modernity of the view of Heaven is revealed by Gucheon, appears as the Cheonji-gongsu (Work of Reordering Heaven and Earth), which reconstructs and remodels Heaven and Earth. The Gongsu of reconstructing Heaven begins with the Myeongbu (Realm of Judgment).

Sangje said, "In the Seoncheon (Former World), all human affairs and things were governed by Sangguk (mutual conflict/overcoming), causing grievances to accumulate and form knots, filling the Three Realms; thus, Heaven and Earth lost their constant way (Sangdo), giving rise to all sorts of disasters, and the world became tragic." "Therefore, I intend to rectify the Dosu of Heaven and Earth, harmonize the divine beings (Sinmyeong), resolve the grievances of all time, and establish the Seon'gyeong (Immortal Realm) of the Hucheon (Later World) through the Dao of Sangsaeng (mutual beneficence), thereby saving

⁵⁶⁷ Daesoon Jinrihoe Yeolam (Daesoon Jinrihoe Overview), p.7.

⁵⁶⁸ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-17.

⁵⁶⁹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9.

the people of the world." "In all matters, great or small, the grievances must be resolved starting from the Sindo (Dao of Gods/Divine Beings)." "First, if the Dosu is firmly established and harmonized, that will become the foundation, and human affairs (Insa) will be accomplished spontaneously." "This is precisely the Samgye-gongsa (Work of the Three Realms)," He said to Kim Hyeong-ryeol, and He began a part of it, the Myeongbu-gongsa (Work of the Realm of Judgment).⁵⁷⁰

In the passage above, the meaning of "if the Dosu is firmly established and harmonized, that will become the foundation" is to newly change Heaven and Earth, which are the root of all things in the universe. The difference between the appearance of the transcendent Heaven in Donghak Thought and the Insin-gangse of Gucheon in Daesoon Thought lies in the difference of whether the transcendent Heaven has substance. It is through Insin-gangse that the transcendent Heaven possesses substance. The rise in the status of Earth and Humanity, brought about by the transcendent Heaven, expands through the substantiated Insin-gangse, and finally, the views of Earth and Humanity also come to possess substance. Sangje's Insin-gangse signifies that humans and the transcendent Heaven become beings capable of communicating not just in mind but also in body, and Earth also achieves an elevation in status as an existence from which Sangje can emerge.

When Gucheon, after His Insin-gangse, seeks to reconstruct Heaven and Earth, the Sinmyeong who operated the existing Heaven and Earth appear. Consequently, in Daesoon Thought, the Heavenly Realm (Cheon'gye), Earthly Realm (Jigye), and Human Realm (In'gye), which are composed of the divine realm (Sinmyeong-gye) and do not appear in Donghak Thought, emerge. Therefore, the characteristic of Daesoon Thought's view of Heaven is represented by the term Cheon'gye (Heavenly Realm) within the Samgye (Three Realms). The following passage shows that Daesoon Thought uses the term Samgye to mean the Heavenly Realm, the Earthly Realm, and the Human Realm.

That Samgye-gongsa is precisely the Gaebyeok (Great Opening) of the Three Realms of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity; and this Gaebyeok is not a matter of following what others have made, but is newly made, so it did not exist in the past, nor does it exist now; it is not inherited from others, nor is it a matter of Unsu (fortune/destiny), but is solely a matter that must be brought into being by Sangje.⁵⁷¹

In the passage above, the term Gye (界, Realm) in Cheon'gye (Heavenly Realm) and Samgye (Three Realms) is a term contrasted with Jae (才, Calamity/Talent/Material) as in Cheon-Ji-In Samjae (Three Talents of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity). Samjae (三才) has the meaning of three great materials, ingredients, or talents. In the passage above, the Gye (界) of Samgye (Three Realms) is the Gye (界) of Segye (World, 世界); the difference between Samjae and Samgye is that Samgye expresses a complex and diverse internal world, i.e., a system, like the divine realm (Sinmyeong-gye), more so than Samjae. Based

⁵⁷⁰ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 10.

⁵⁷¹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9; Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 2-6.

on this system of divine beings, the Samgye of Daesoon Thought differs from the existing Samjae in that dynamic and present changes occur simultaneously among Heaven, Earth, and Humanity.

The Samgye of Daesoon Thought is different from the Samgye of Buddhism, which only means the Heavenly Realm. Although Buddhism is the religion in which the term Samgye was first clearly used in Eastern religions, the Buddhist Samgye refers to the Heavenly Realm composed of the Desire Realm (Yokgye), Form Realm (Saekgye), and Formless Realm (Musaekgye), so it is different from the Samgye of Daesoon Thought, which includes the Heavenly Realm, Earthly Realm, and Human Realm. The Samgye of Daesoon Thought is closer to an expression emphasizing the internal system within the Cheon-Ji-In Samjae.

In Buddhism, Samgye (Three Realms, trailokya or triloka) refers to the Desire Realm (Yokgye), Form Realm (Saekgye), and Formless Realm (Musaekgye), but the Buddhist concept of Samgye was influenced by the traditional Indian three worlds, and the Samgye before that is said to have originated from astronomy common to both East and West. Although Daoism also refers to Heaven, Earth, and Humanity as Samjae, Daesoon Thought is the first case to definitively express Samgye as the Heavenly Realm, Earthly Realm, and Human Realm.

The Trinitarian Cosmology of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity can be called Cosmology in English. If Segye-gwan (worldview) is "worldview" and Uju-gwan (view of the universe) is "Universe theory," then the Trinitarian Cosmology of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity as Cosmology is closer to "anthropocentricity" or an anthropocentric cosmology in English, and is somewhat different from "Astronomy," which is a nature-centric cosmology. The view of the Three Realms (Samgye-gwan) is also close to anthropocentricity.

In the establishment of Daesoon Thought's view of the Heavenly Realm, stepwise changes do not appear, but it is divided into the view of the Heavenly Realm before and after the Cheonji-gongsa, and the view of the Heavenly Realm is clearly revealed according to the stage of explaining it. Therefore, the establishment of Daesoon Thought's view of the Heavenly Realm can be examined through the process in which it appears. In Daesoon Thought, the view of the Heavenly Realm appears starting from Su-un's Cheonsa-mundap (conversation with the Heavenly Master). The "Yesi" (Prophecies and Illustrations) section of Daesoon Thought expresses it as follows.

Sangje's will—to reconstruct the Dosu of the Former World, open the path of Unsu (fortune/destiny) for the eternal Immortal Realm (Seon'gyeong) of the Later World, resolve all grievances resulting from Sangguk (mutual conflict/overcoming) in the Former World, and save the people of the world through the Dao of Sangsaeng (mutual beneficence)—has already been widely proclaimed to the world.⁵⁷²

In the text above, what is meant by "widely proclaimed" ultimately signifies Donghak Thought, for which Jeungsan (Sangje) bestowed the Heavenly Mandate (Cheonmyeong) and Divine Teaching (Singyo). Although Donghak Thought spread like wildfire in a short period, it was during the later period of

⁵⁷² Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 17; Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gwonji" (Authority and Foreknowledge) 1-21.

Bocheongyo and Mugeukdo that Jeungsan's thought became more widely known to the world. Therefore, from the text above, it can be understood that Daesoon Thought regards Donghak Thought as Jeungsan's thought. Through the passage above from the "Yesi" section of the Jeon-gyeong, it can be seen that Daesoon Thought interprets Donghak's view of Heaven—expressed in the phrase "Heaven and Earth are Gwisin (spirits/ghosts), and Gwisin are Yin and Yang" and the statement that "Sangje is called Gwisin" which appear in Donghak Thought—as being the same as Daesoon Thought's view of the Heavenly Realm (Cheon'gye-gwan).⁵⁷³

If the view of Heaven in Donghak Thought, represented by the phrase "Heaven and Earth are Gwisin, and Gwisin are Yin and Yang," partially reflected the substance concept of Gwisin among the attributive views of Heaven in the East, in Daesoon Thought's view of the Heavenly Realm, the concept of Sinmyeong (divine beings) as substance appears in a very detailed aspect within the system called "Gye" (Realm). If the Cheonsa-mundap was decisive in the establishment of Donghak, in the case of Daesoon Thought, the following passage shows in more detail that the harm from modern civilization, which began with Matteo Ricci, was the decisive background for Sangje's Insin-gangse.

One day, Sangje said to Kim Hyeong-ryeol, "The Westerner Matteo Ricci (Yi Madu) came to the East and tried to establish an earthly paradise, but he could not achieve his goal because the deeply rooted corrupt customs of Confucianism could not be easily reformed." "However, he opened the boundary between the Celestial and the Subterranean, allowing the divine beings (Sinmyeong), who had firmly guarded their respective regions and could not cross over to each other, to come and go; and after his death, he took charge of the Munmyeongsin (Divine Beings of Civilization) of the East and went to the West to open the Un (fortune/destiny) of civilization." "From this, the subterranean divine beings (Jihasin) emulated all the wondrous methods (Myobeop) of the celestial and bestowed them upon the human world." Saying, "All the cultural products of the West are patterned after the models of the Heavenly Kingdom," He spoke, "That civilization is biased toward materialism, fostering human arrogance, and ultimately, from its attempt to shake the Heavenly Principle (Cheonri) and conquer nature, it endlessly commits all sins, diminishing the authority of the Sindo (Dao of Gods); therefore, the constant way (Sangdo) of the Heavenly Dao and Human Affairs (Insa) was violated, the Three Realms (Samgye) fell into chaos, and the source of the Dao was severed; consequently, all the primordial Sinseong (Divine Sages), Buddhas, and Bodhisattvas gathered and appealed to Gucheon (the Ninth Heaven) about this Geobaek (great calamity) of humanity and the divine realm (Sinmyeong-gye)... I revealed the Jesedaedo (Great Dao for Saving the World) to Choe Je-u, but as Je-u was unable to overcome the traditional limitations (Jeonheon) of Confucianism and clarify the true meaning of the Great Dao, I finally withdrew the Heavenly Mandate (Cheonmyeong) and Divine Teaching (Singyo) in the Gapja year (1864) and descended in the Sinmi year (1871)."⁵⁷⁴

⁵⁷³ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Haengrok" (Acts) 5-38.

⁵⁷⁴ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 7.

Daesoon Thought explains that due to the crisis of modern civilization brought about by Matteo Ricci, the Sinseong, Buddhas, and Bodhisattvas requested the Insin-gangse of Gucheon Sangje, and accordingly, He bestowed the Heavenly Mandate and Divine Teaching upon Su-un, but as there were no results, He directly descended Himself. The ills caused by Western modernity, brought about by the encounter between East and West, become the background for the establishment of Daesoon Thought's view of Heaven.

The sacred-secular repositioning and the liminality of correlative thought, which were raised by Donghak Thought, are achieved through the revitalization by Daesoon Thought. Daesoon Thought refers to this achievement as Gaebyeok (Great Opening), which integrates the principles of all things, and also as Seosin-samyeong (Mission of the Spirit of the West), by which all things ripen. The Sinmyeong were beings who cultivated and nourished humanity as Heaven and Earth, in accordance with the command of Gucheon, the Heaven above Heaven.⁵⁷⁵ The reason Daesoon Thought's view of Heaven can perform Gaebyeok and Seosin-samyeong is that the concept of Sinmyeong, which was not seen in Donghak Thought's view of Heaven, is introduced.⁵⁷⁶⁵⁷⁷

The reason Daesoon Thought, unlike Donghak Thought, could involve Sinmyeong is because of Sangje's Insin-gangse. Unlike Donghak Thought, which remained in the form of revelation, Daesoon Thought, through Sangje's Insin-gangse, provided the opportunity for Sinmyeong to intervene by entering and exiting the human mind. In Donghak Thought, the human being is elevated to an existence capable of communicating with the Heaven above Heaven, but now is elevated to an existence into which Gucheon descends. This is the Insin-gangse of Gucheon, and Daesoon Thought's view of Heaven is thus characterized by Insin-gangse. Insin-gangse therefore completes the sacred-secular repositioning and liminality initiated by Donghak Thought.

The Incarnational (人身降世) View of the Heavenly Realm (天界觀)

The aspect of Daesoon Thought's view of the Heavenly Realm is summarized by Sangje's Insin-gangse and the subdivision of the view of the Heavenly Realm. Daesoon Thought's view of the Heavenly Realm is subdivided into: Gucheon (the Ninth Heaven), the Heaven outside of Heaven-Earth-Humanity where Sangje resides; the Heaven that is part of the Heaven-Earth-Humanity division, presided over by the Cheonji-sinmyeong (Divine Beings of Heaven and Earth) who received Sangje's mission; and another Heaven where the Seollyeongsin (ancestral divine beings) reside. This is first revealed in a dialogue with the Jongdo Kim Song-hwan.

⁵⁷⁵ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 3.

⁵⁷⁶ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-30.

⁵⁷⁷ Daesoon Jinrihoe Yeolam (Daesoon Jinrihoe Overview), p.9

One day, Kim Song-hwan asked Sangje, "Is there another Heaven above Heaven?" Sangje replied, "There is." Again, he asked, "Is there another above that one?" Sangje replied, "There is again." He answered in this manner nine times and then said, "Know only that much." Sangje later commented on him, saying he was Mansa-bulseong (a person who accomplishes nothing).

From the passage above, it can be understood that Daesoon Thought's view of the Heavenly Realm is composed of more than nine overlapping heavenly realms. That Daesoon Thought's view of the Heavenly Realm is divided, first, into Gucheon (the Heaven outside of Heaven) and the Heaven of Heaven-Earth-Humanity (which cultivates and nourishes all things according to Sangje's command), is shown in the following passage.

Noeseong (Thunder Sound) means the Heavenly Command (Cheonryeong) and the Sound of Benevolence (Inseong). Thunder (Noe) is formed by the combination of the two Gi of Yin and Yang. Noe (Thunder) is the Che (Body/Substance) of Seong (Sound), and Seong is the Yong (Function/Use) of Noe; it divides Heaven and Earth, causes the Cheon'gi (Heavenly Gi) and Jigi (Earthly Gi) to ascend and descend through the changes of motion, stillness, advance, and retreat; and signifies the growth, generation, transformation, dominion, and nourishment of all things.⁵⁷⁸

The passage above shows the background in which Heaven and Earth are generated by Gucheon (the Ninth Heaven). It explains the 'Nwehseong' (Thunderbolt) portion among the divine titles of 'Gucheon Eungwon Nwehseong Bohwa Cheonjon Kangseong Sangje,' the object of faith in Daesoon Thought. First, in the phrase 'dividing Heaven and Earth,' it shows that Heaven and Earth were divided and created by Sangje through the Thunderbolt. Second, 'causing the energy of Heaven (cheon-gi) and the energy of Earth (ji-gi) to ascend and descend' shows that the principle by which the heavenly and earthly realms foster all things through mutual ascent and descent was intended by Sangje. Third, 'making all things grow, and generating, transforming, governing, and nourishing them' shows that Heaven and Earth were not only created by Sangje but are also being harmonized (johwa) by Him.

The reason Daesoon Thought's view of the Heavenly Realm must be constructed complexly is that the operation of Heaven and Earth must be very systematic. The following passage shows the role and function that Heaven, in Daesoon Thought, performs by Sangje's command.

Sangje said in a place where the Jongdo were gathered, "Even the croakers caught in the Chilsan sea are caught in the net after the person who will eat them is designated; farming is also the same, bearing fruit after the person who will eat it is designated." "There will be no starvation," He said.⁵⁷⁹

This example shows that the nurturing of heaven and earth, including the fortunes of humanity, is determined by the operation of heaven and earth conducted by the Shinmyeong (divine beings). Heaven determines even the number of croakers caught in the Chilsan sea. The view of the Three Realms in the

⁵⁷⁸ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 1-2

⁵⁷⁹ Daesoon Jinrihoe Yeolam (Daesoon Jinrihoe Overview), "Object of Faith."

above example is similar to the parallel universe theory in modern science, which posits that other universes identical to the one we live in can exist.⁵⁸⁰

In Daesoon Thought, Heaven and Earth itself, which determines all such human affairs, is also harmonized by Sangje. In Daesoon Thought, the process by which the Cheonji-sinmyeong (Divine Beings of Heaven and Earth) preside over the operation of Heaven and Earth appears as follows.

One day, Sangje said to Kim Hyeong-ryeol, "Presiding over the great authority of the Three Realms (Samgye-daegwon), I intend to open the Hucheon Seon'gyeong (Immortal Realm of the Later World) by opening Heaven and Earth through Jhwa (Creation/Harmony) and widely save the sentient beings who have fallen into the sea of suffering (Gohae)," and also said:

"Now, facing the Malse (End Times), the Mugeuk-daeun (Great Fortune of the Ultimate Infinite) is about to open,"

"Be careful in all matters, do not create Cheok (grievances/karmic debts) with others, and distance yourselves from sin,"

"Participate in the Cheonji Gongjeong (Public Court of Heaven and Earth) with a pure mind."

So He spoke, and He opened Hyeong-ryeol's Sinan (divine eye) and had him observe the Hoesan (gathering and scattering) and Cheongryeong (receiving commands) of the divine beings.⁵⁸¹

From the passage above, it can be seen that the Cheonji-sinmyeong receive Sangje's Heavenly Mandate (Cheonmyeong) through Hoesan. However, this Cheongryeong and Hoesan are possible through the effort of the utmost Seong-Gyeong-Sin (Sincerity, Reverence, and Trust) of Heaven and Earth. Even to raise wind and rain, Heaven and Earth exert immense effort.

After finishing these words, He said to Gong-u, "It takes limitless Gongryeok (effort/merit) to raise wind and rain through the Jhwa of Heaven and Earth, so there is no way to know anything without Gongbu (study/practice) in all matters." "It is said that even with talent like Jeong Buk-chang, he only learned the affairs of the world after entering the mountains for three days," He instructed.⁵⁸²

In the passage above, the fact that it takes limitless Gongryeok even to raise wind and rain shows that the Heavenly Realm is composed of a complex system. Therefore, Heaven can also become an "old Heaven," and it can be newly changed to become a "new Heaven."⁵⁸³

One day, Sangje said to the Jongdo (followers) who were gathered, "The old Heaven only oversaw affairs that killed people." "Hereafter, all daily necessities will become scarce, making it impossible to survive, so it must be reconstructed now," He said, and conducted a Gongsu (Work) for three days. After

⁵⁸⁰ Daesoon Jinrihoe Yeolam (Daesoon Jinrihoe Overview), "Object of Faith."

⁵⁸¹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-17.

⁵⁸² Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9.

⁵⁸³ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 10.

finishing the Gongsu, Sangje said, "I have barely made it possible to sustain life, but the able-bodied men will not be able to fill their stomachs, and the sound of their hunger will reach Gucheon."⁵⁸⁴

The passage above shows, first, that the Heaven divided by Sangje, when it grows old, can become a stale Heaven. Second, it shows that when the Three Realms fall into disorder, they can reach a state of collision in which they try to kill one another. Even Heaven must be torn apart and reformed, and this too is intended by Sangje.⁵⁸⁵

The view of Heaven that appears in Daesoon Thought shows a view of Heaven that Powol (embraces and transcends) the existing view of Heaven, which was that of Heaven as the ultimate existence. Unlike the modern Western view of Heaven, which completely denied the existing view of Heaven by saying "God is dead" and denied the existence of Heaven itself, Daesoon Thought presents the view of Heaven with the concept of Gajong (adding a religion/lineage), which acknowledges the existing Heaven but replaces the old, worn-out Heaven with a new Heaven. Through this, the existing concept of Heaven, involving the Cheongryeong and Hoesan of the divine beings, is also inherited without being discarded. As a view of Heaven where the Western transcendent Heaven mutually harmonizes with the Eastern divine beings as substance, Daesoon Thought repositions the sacred-secular relationship, and by bringing the sacred into daily life, it completes indigenous modernity and develops into indigenous postmodernity.

Revitalization of Eastern and Western Views of Heaven in the View of the Heavenly Realm based on Divine Incarnation (Insin Gangse)

Revitalization of Confucian, Buddhist, and Daoist (Yu-Bul-Seon) Views of Heaven in the View of the Heavenly Realm (Cheon'gye-gwan) based on Insin-gangse

Daesoon Thought's view of Gucheon as Heaven, substantiated through Insin-gangse, also presented an integrative reinterpretation of the detailed aspects of the East Asian view of Heaven. The difference between the Yu-Bul-Seon (Confucian, Buddhist, Daoist) views of Heaven appearing in Daesoon Thought and Daesoon Thought's view of Heaven lies in the difference in the interpretation of 'Earth' (To) among the Yin-Yang and Five Elements (Eum-Yang O-Haeng) principles shared by Yu-Bul-Seon and Daesoon Thought.

And Sangje said one day, "I am Maitreya." "The six-jang (approx. 18m) golden statue in the Maitreya Hall (Mireuk-jeon) at Geumsan Temple holds the Yeouiju (Cintamani pearl) in its hand, but I hold it in my mouth." And Sangje showed the Jongdo his lower lip, and there was a red spot there; Sangje's face resembled the Golden Maitreya Statue of Geumsan Temple; there was a round Baekhoju (white curl pearl)

⁵⁸⁴ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9; Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 2-6.

⁵⁸⁵ Podeok Gyohwa Gibonwonri (Fundamental Principles of the Proselytization and Education), "Outline of History."

between his eyebrows; and the Jongdo saw the character Im (壬) on his left palm and the character Mu (戊) on his right palm.⁵⁸⁶

In the example above, "the character Im (壬) on his left palm and the character Mu (戊) on his right palm" shows the typical form of To-geuk-su (Earth overcoming Water), as the right hand is placed over the left hand in the Daesoon Thought's meditation posture.

Togeuksu (Earth overcoming Water) is described in the 『Pobakja (Baopuzi)』 as the concept that the five elements (Ohaeng) can be compressed into two elements: Earth (土) and Water (水). Here, Water represents Earth, Water, Fire, and Wind (Ji-Su-Hwa-Pung) when speaking of them, and Earth corresponds to the fifth element. In the Hado (River Chart), the five elements also existed simultaneously with the fifth element separated, like Earth, Water, Fire, and Wind; however, as correlative thought centered on attributes became conflict-oriented (Sangguk) in the Nakseo (Luo Scripture), the fifth element was incorporated internally, leaving only the immanent gods while the transcendent gods became hidden and nominal. From this, Eastern power became standardized, and the traditional authority (Jeonheon) of Confucianism strengthened.⁵⁸⁷

The reason Togeuksu is important in the five elements is that the core principle of the Hado and Nakseo—the principle of turning a straight line into a cycle—becomes the Geumhwa Gyoyeok (Metal-Fire Mutual Exchange). Geumhwa Gyoyeok is the principle in the five elements where Metal and Fire exchange positions to circulate the five elements. Since Eumyang Ohaeng (Yin-Yang and the Five Elements) is based on the Hado and Nakseo, Geumhwa Gyoyeok becomes a major key to understanding the changes in the Hado and Nakseo. The Hado and Nakseo were regarded in Eastern thought as the principles of the transcendent Heaven's cosmic creation and change, becoming the principle, or I (理), that explains all things in the universe. In fact, in the East, a place where books explaining the principles of the universe are collected is still called a 'library' (圖書館, Doseogwan), borrowing the characters Do (圖) from Hado and Seo (書) from Nakseo. In the Hado, which is based on mutual generation (Sangsaeng), the five elements circulate in a generative relationship according to the principle of Wood→Fire→Earth→Metal→Water, while in the Nakseo, which is based on mutual conflict (Sangguk), the five elements circulate in a conflict relationship according to the principle of Water→Fire→Metal→Wood→Earth. When the mutual generation of the Hado and the mutual conflict of the Nakseo meet, all things in the universe change like warp and weft.⁵⁸⁸

The reasons Geumhwa Gyoyeok and Togeuksu emerge as central in the changes of Eumyang Ohaeng are, first, the transition between the Hado and Nakseo, and second, the circulation aspect of the Nakseo.

⁵⁸⁶ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9.

⁵⁸⁷ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 1-5.

⁵⁸⁸ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9.

First, looking at the transition between the Hado and Nakseo, the difference between them is that Metal and Fire exchange places. That is, when Metal and Fire exchange places, they undergo Geumhwa Gyoyeok, turning generation into conflict and conflict into generation; therefore, Geumhwa Gyoyeok becomes the core principle in Eumyang Ohaeng. In other words, Geumhwa Gyoyeok is the exchange (Gyoyeok) of Fire (which was in the west in the Nakseo) and Metal (which was in the south in the Nakseo) to move the Metal (which was in the south) to the west, as it is in the Hado. In the Nakseo, which unfolds counter-clockwise as Water overcomes Fire → Fire overcomes Metal → Metal overcomes Wood → Wood overcomes Earth → Earth overcomes Water, if the positions of Metal and Fire are switched, it unfolds in the order of generation: Metal generates Water → Water generates Wood → Wood generates Fire → Fire generates Earth → Earth generates Metal.

He said, "Those who study say the directions have changed, but how would they know that I have turned the Heavens and Earth around?"⁵⁸⁹

In the example above, the expression "how would they know that I have turned the Heavens and Earth around" means changing the operation of the universe by changing the order of the 8 trigrams, similar to Geumhwa Gyoyeok. In the world of the I Ching (Classic of Changes), the Heaven above Heaven cultivates all things through Heaven and Earth, and Heaven and Earth are composed of 8 gates, namely the Palmun (八門) of Geon-Gam-Gan-Jin-Son-I-Gon-Tae (乾坎艮震巽離坤兌), and by changing the directions of the 8 gates, Heaven and Earth operate according to the Hado and Nakseo principles of Saengjang-Yeomjang (growth and storage) and Wonhyeong-Ijeong (spring, summer, autumn, winter). The expression that the directions of Heaven and Earth are composed of 8 gates appears specifically in the following passage:

One day, Sangje wrote, "Heaven and Earth's Great Eight Gates (天地大八門), Sun and Moon's Great Command (日月大御命), Birds and Beasts' Great Dao Arts (禽獸大道術), Humanity's Great Accumulation of Good (人間大積善), O Time, O Time, the World of Spirits (時乎時乎鬼神世界)," and gave it to Gong-u, who was living with Shin Gyeong-su at his house, instructing him to paste it on the wall of Gyeong-su's house, and said, "I am designating Gyeong-su's house as the repository of life (Sumyeongso), so when dealing with all people, take only their strengths, and even if you see shortcomings, forgive them well and do not hate them." At this time, he also said to Hyeong-ryeol, "The Beop (Law) originates from Seoul (Gyeong) and spreads to all nations, so I must use the energy of those whose names contain the character Gyeong (京)." "Therefore, I am designating Gyeong-su's (京洙) house as the repository of life (Sumyeongso), Gyeong-hak's (京學) house as the great university (Daehakgyo), and Gyeong-won's (京元) house as the repository of blessings (Bongnokso)."⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁸⁹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gwonji" (Authority and Foreknowledge) 1-11.

⁵⁹⁰ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-64.

In the example above, "Heaven and Earth's Great Eight Gates (天地大八門), Sun and Moon's Great Command (日月大御命), Birds and Beasts' Great Dao Arts (禽獸大道術), Humanity's Great Accumulation of Good (人間大積善)" signifies that time, represented by the sun and moon, has appeared in the Eight Gates of Heaven and Earth, which are represented by "Geon-Gon-Gam-Ri-Son-I-Gon-Tae." This shows that Gocheon's (the Ninth Heaven's) intention is inherent in the cultivation (Hwayuk) of Heaven and Earth through humanity's great accumulation of good, which is universally connected to the great Dao arts of birds and beasts. Wonhyeong-Ijeong and Saengjam-Yeomjang are ultimately derived from the sequential changes of these 8 gates, just like the Hado and Nakseo.

The standard for Geumhwa Gyoyeok (Metal-Fire Mutual Exchange) is Togeuksu (Earth overcoming Water). The reason Togeuksu is crucial for Geumhwa Gyoyeok is that the sequence of mutual conflict in the Nakseo—Water overcomes Fire → Fire overcomes Metal → Metal overcomes Wood → Wood overcomes Earth → Earth overcomes Water—occurs because of Togeuksu. In Eumyang Ohaeng, Earth is the only entity that possesses both Yin and Yang. Also, among Wood, Fire, Metal, and Water, which possess only one (Yin or Yang), the strongest in the Nakseo sequence is Water, and the weakest is Wood. Therefore, for the five elements to circulate in conflict, Earth, the entity possessing both Yin and Yang, must overcome the strongest entity, Water, and in turn be overcome by the weakest entity, Wood, thereby allowing the five elements to circulate in conflict. This applies equally to the Hado's generative relationship; to circulate from Fire to Metal, which are in mutual conflict, the mediation of Earth is required in the middle.

Ultimately, Earth occupies one position among Wood, Fire, Earth, Metal, and Water in the five elements, yet it is a separate entity distinct from Wood, Fire, Metal, and Water. It is as if the transcendent Heaven, the Heaven above Heaven, re-intervenes in the Heaven that was separated into Heaven and Earth, mingling with the elements within Heaven and Earth to appear as the immanent Heaven. The Earth of Eumyang Ohaeng ultimately reveals the characteristics of Heaven's transcendent Heaven and immanent Heaven. The dual nature of Earth aligns very well with the encompassing transcendence (Powoelseong) of liminality. Eastern thought recognized this early on, identifying Togeuksu as the core of Eumyang Ohaeng.

五行之義 土克水也⁵⁹¹

Daesoon thought, by mentioning "Togeuksu" in the expression that Gocheon is Maitreya, shows its distinctiveness in reactivating the existence of "Earth." In fact, Daesoon Jinrihoe's prayer times (Sudo) are held during the Earth hours of Jin, Sul, Chuk, and Mi. The image of Gocheon as the existence of "Earth" appears in Daesoon thought as the expression "Gocheon Daewon Johwajusin" (The Great Primal Deity of the Ninth Heaven who Orchestrates Transformation).

⁵⁹¹ Daesoon Jinrihoe Yeolam (Daesoon Jinrihoe Overview), "Daesoon Jinrihoe."

The Holy Teacher Kang Jeungshan (姜飭山), possessor of supreme wisdom (智慧), boundless virtuous influence (德化), and great power (權能), and a great historical religious founder (大宗教家), as Gocheon Daewon Johwajusin (九天大元造化主神), presided over the Three Realms (Sambaek) with great authority, made a great circuit (Daesoon) of the world (天下), and descended (Daegang) into the human world (人世) to rectify the Tiendidosu (天地度數, Heavenly and Earthly Degrees) which had lost their normal path (常道), open the path of the boundless Seongyeong (仙境, Immortal Realm) of the Later World (後天), build an earthly paradise (地上天國), and save the Sinmyeong (神明, Divine Beings) trapped in Bigeop (否劫, Adversity) and the world's people (世界蒼生) fallen into Jaegeop (災劫, Calamity). He traveled (巡回周遊) and performed the Great Works (大公事). Through the truth (眞理) of the Great Dao (大道)—Eumyang Hapdeok (陰陽合德, Virtuous Concordance of Yin and Yang), Sinin Johwa (神人調化, Harmonious Union between Divine Beings and Human Beings), and Haewon Sangsaeng (解冤相生, Resolution of Grievances for Mutual Beneficence)—and by the principle (理法) of Sinin Uido (神人依導, Mutual Guidance of Divine Beings and Human Beings), He centered on Haewon (解冤, Resolution of Grievances) and concluded the Tiendigonssa (天地公事, Heavenly and Earthly Works) with Boeun (報恩, Grateful Reciprocation of Favors). Through the principles (道理) of Haewon and Boeun, all the grievances (冤鬱) accumulated throughout history (萬古) will be resolved, and the world (世界) will become a paradise of Dao transformation (道化樂園) without mutual conflict (相克). This is the truth (眞理) of the Great Circuit (大巡).⁵⁹²

The example above shows that Daesoon thought expresses Gocheon as Gocheon Daewon Johwajusin (九天大元造化主神). Daesoon thought shows how the Three Realms were cultivated (Hwayuk) through virtue (Dodeok) according to the principle of "Earth overcoming Water."

曰有道, 道有德, 德有化, 化有育, 育有蒼生, 蒼生有億兆, 億兆有願戴, 願戴有唐堯⁵⁹³

The example above shows in more detail the process merely expressed as 'Tiendi Hwayuk' (Heavenly and Earthly Nurturing) in the I Ching. Daesoon thought, showing the substantive Gocheon, demonstrates that Dao and De originate from Gocheon and cultivate billions of living beings (Eokjo Changsaeng) by the principle of Cheondo Jideok (Heaven's Dao and Earth's Virtue), and that the final goal of this cultivation (Hwayuk) is the success of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity following Sangje's incarnation, namely the emergence of the Ji-in (知人, Wise Person), like Emperor Yao, who knows the grace of Heaven and Earth and knows how to repay it.⁵⁹⁴

⁵⁹² Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 17; Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gwonji" (Authority and Foreknowledge) 1-21.

⁵⁹³ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Haengrok" (Acts) 5-38.

⁵⁹⁴ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 7.

Daesoon thought points out that due to the dual nature of "Earth," the attribute-oriented Eastern view of Heaven forgot the existence of Gocheon, and this is the main problem of the Eastern view of Heaven. The forgetting of Gocheon appears, first, in Matteo Ricci's attempt at an earthly paradise failing due to the corrupt customs of Confucianism; second, the forgetting of Gocheon deepens into a "world plagued by illness" (天下皆病) through the loss of loyalty, filial piety, and chastity (Chunghyoyeol), forgetting the transcendent Heaven and the Seonggyeongsin (Sincerity, Reverence, Faith) of Heaven and Earth; and third, it manifests to the stage of Baecheonji (背天地, betraying Heaven and Earth) through East-West exchange.⁵⁹⁵

One day, Sangje said to Kim Hyeong-ryeol, "The Westerner Matteo Ricci (Yi Madu) came to the East and tried to establish an earthly paradise, but he could not achieve his goal because the deeply rooted corrupt customs of Confucianism could not be easily reformed."⁵⁹⁶

世無忠 世無孝 世無烈 是故天下皆病⁵⁹⁷

誓者元天地之約 有其誓 背天地之約 則雖元物其物難成⁵⁹⁸

The examples above appear in the passage explaining the outline of the Heavenly and Earthly Works while first mentioning Matteo Ricci, in the "Byeongsemun" (Proclamation on the State of Illness) left after his Hwacheon (ascension), and in the core passages contained in the "Hyeonmugyeong" (Scripture of the Black Warrior). This shows that the background of Daesoon thought's emergence lies in the East and West's forgetting of Gocheon.

Reactivation of the Western View of Heaven (天觀) in the Incarnational (人身降世) View of the Heavenly Realm (天界觀)

The most prominent difference of Daesoon thought's view of Heaven—which integrated the substantive view of Heaven into the substantive transcendent Heaven (Cheonoicheon) view of the West and the attributive Heaven view of the East—compared to other views of Heaven, is that the attributive principle of Eumyang Ohaeng is added to Gocheon. First, that difference is revealed in the divine title of Daesoon thought's transcendent Heaven, namely "Gocheon Eungwon Noeseong Bohwa Cheonjon Gangseong Sangje" (Sangje of the Ninth Heaven, Who Responds to All Appeals with Thunder, Transforms All Beings, is the Honored One of Heaven, and Surnamed Kang). Whereas the Western transcendent Heaven appears only as a name, such as God, Zeus, or Allah, the divine title of Gocheon in Daesoon thought, which reflects the Eastern attributive view of Heaven, clearly expresses Eumyang Ohaeng attributes. In Daesoon thought, Eumyang Ohaeng is the principle of Gocheon's cultivation (Hwayuk) of

⁵⁹⁵ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 1-3.

⁵⁹⁶ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-30.

⁵⁹⁷ Daesoon Jinrihoe Yeolam (Daesoon Jinrihoe Overview), p.9.

⁵⁹⁸ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 1-2.

Heaven and Earth, known as Wonhyeong-Ijeong (Origin, Flourishing, Fruition, Consummation). This clearly appears in the parts "Gocheon" (Ninth Heaven) and "Bohwa" (Universal Transformation) within the divine title "Gocheon Eungwon Noeseong Bohwa Cheonjon Gangseong Sangje." First, looking at "Gocheon":

Gocheon (九天) means:

As seen in the Jeongyeong (典經) "...all the divine saints (神聖), Buddhas (佛), and Bodhisattvas (菩薩) gathered and appealed to the Ninth Heaven (九天)... (Gyoun 1-9)," it means they appealed to the Cheonjon (天尊, Honored One of Heaven) who is in the highest position (位) governing (總轄) this universe (宇宙). Therefore, Gocheon (九天) signifies the highest position where Sangje (上帝) presides over (統察) the Three Realms (三界), regulates (調理) Geon-Gon (乾坤, Heaven and Earth), and orchestrates (調鍊) the Unhwa (運化, 운(運) and Transformation).⁵⁹⁹

In the example above, Gocheon of Daesoon thought listens to the opinions of the Sinmyeong (divine beings), namely the divine saints, Buddhas, and Bodhisattvas. The aspect of being the "Honored One of Heaven (天尊) in the highest position (位) governing (總轄) the universe (宇宙)" is common with the Western transcendent Heaven, but the difference appears in that Gocheon presides over (統察) the Three Realms (三界) through the Sinmyeong, regulates (調理) Geon-Gon (乾坤), and orchestrates (調鍊) the Unhwa (運化). The presence or absence of Sinmyeong intervention, which appears in Daesoon thought's view of Heaven and the Western view of Heaven, is a characteristic difference between them.

Western religion treats the Sinmyeong poorly, so it will not dare succeed.⁶⁰⁰

The example above, seen in the Jeongyeong, points out that although the Western view of Heaven has merits over the Eastern view of Heaven in emphasizing the transcendent Heaven, by denying the immanent gods (Sinmyeong), the Western religious view of Heaven, even if it is a substantive view of Heaven, is one that is difficult to succeed. Here, 'success' means, just as parents are said to have succeeded in educating their children when they raise a child better than themselves (referred to as Cheongchul-eoram, "blue indigo from the indigo plant"), in Daesoon thought, it signifies the 'success' when Heaven and Earth meet as Yin and Yang, cultivate all things, and produce humans equal to Heaven and Earth.

Sangje said, "Hereafter is the time when Heaven and Earth succeed." "The Western Spirit (Seosin) takes command and reorganizes all existence, so all principles are gathered and greatly accomplished; this is Gaebyeok (the Great Opening)." "Just as all things fall or mature according to the autumn wind, the truthful ones will gain great fruit, and their lifespan will prosper long." "The false ones will wither, fall, and

⁵⁹⁹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 17.

⁶⁰⁰ Park Tae-bong, "Hangug-ui Sasang-gwa Munhwa-e Natanan Samsu Wolli Yeongu" [A Study on the Principle of Three Numbers Appearing in Korean Thought and Culture], Kongju National University Doctoral Dissertation, 2020.

perish forever." "Therefore, I wield the authority of the gods to purge injustice, or I bestow benevolence to help the righteous; let those who seek blessings and those who seek life strive hard," He said.⁶⁰¹

As in the example above, Daesoon thought's transcendent view of Heaven shows that it cultivates Heaven and Earth through the immanent view of Heaven by the principle of Saengjam-Yeongjang (growth and storage), and that Heaven and Earth, along with humanity, are judged on their success by the Western Spirit (Seosin). Daesoon thought's view of Heaven is dually substantiated by combining the Eastern attributive view of Heaven and the Western substantive view of Heaven. Gocheon is particularly different in that He issued the command to Heaven and Earth to cultivate all things. This appears in the "Bohwa" (Universal Transformation) part of Gocheon's divine title.

Bohwa (普化) means:

It signifies that the transformation (化成) of all existence (萬有) in the universe (宇宙), both tangible (有形) and intangible (無形), is the virtuous influence (德化) of the Cheonjon (天尊, Honored One of Heaven).⁶⁰²

The example above means that dividing Heaven and Earth into Yin and Yang by Noeseong (Thunder) originally signified Gocheon's Bohwa (Universal Transformation) intended to cultivate Heaven and Earth. Here, the Bo (普) in "Bohwa" (普化) signifies the meaning of Bo (普) as used in the word 'universal' (普遍的, bopyeonjeok). In religious thought, Bo (普) and Hwa (化) were words symbolizing the transcendent Heaven (Cheonoicheon). For example, in the West, "Catholic" which signifies the transcendent Heaven, meant 'universal,' and Hwa (化) was the Eastern concept of Heaven that cultivates all things. The term "Bohwa" (普化) carries the meaning that the Eastern and Western concepts of transcendent Heaven are integrated to cultivate all existence (Manyu).

The concept of "Bohwa" prominently shows the difference between the Western concept of transcendent Heaven, which is said to have created all things, and the Daesoon thought concept of Gocheon, which creates and cultivates all things. If the concept of "Noeseong" (Thunder) in Gocheon's divine title in Daesoon thought has the meaning of "creation" like the Western transcendent view of Heaven, "Bohwa" is related to the evolution of created things. Although there were many debates between creationism and evolutionism surrounding the Western transcendent view of Heaven after the emergence of evolutionary theory, the debate is resolved in Daesoon thought's view of Heaven.

⁶⁰¹ Fritjof Capra, trans. Kim Yong-jeong and Kim Dong-gwang, *Saengmyeong-ui Geumul: Saengmul Siseutem-e Daehan Saeroun Gwahakjeok Ihae* (The Web of Life: A New Scientific Understanding of Living Systems), Seoul: Goyang, 1998.; Fritjof Capra, trans. Yi Seong-beom and Kim Yong-jeong, *Hyeondae Mulli-hak-gwa Dongyang Sasang* (The Tao of Physics), Goyang: Beomyangsa, 2015.

⁶⁰² Kim Tak, "Donghakgyo 'Doro Seoncheon (先天)' Sasang-ui Naeyong-gwa Uiui" [The Content and Significance of the Donghak Religion's Thought of 'Returning to the Former Heaven'], *Daesoon Sasang Nonchong* (Journal of Daesoon Thought) 48, 2024, pp.199-237.

The Western substantive transcendent Heaven appeared as the fifth element in the case of Greece and Rome, and as the monotheistic God in Christianity, but both views of Heaven have the fifth element as a common background. Paul, one of the early disciples of Jesus who was well-versed in Greco-Roman philosophy, sometimes used Greco-Roman philosophy to explain Jesus's ideas. In that Earth, Water, Fire, and Wind formed the cosmology of the Bible from the emergence of Christianity until modern times, the fifth element also plays the role of the transcendent Heaven in Christianity. Gocheon of Daesoon thought, which applied the dual properties of "Earth" to the explanation of the transcendent Heaven, includes and transcends the meaning of the Western fifth element. The dual view of Heaven, incorporating the concept of transcendence substantiated by Daesoon thought and immanence, synthesizes the views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity from all ages that appeared in modern times, and develops beyond modernity into postmodernity. Daesoon thought's substantive view of Gocheon is the stage where the liminal aspect of indigenous modernity—which includes and transcends the Eastern attributive view of Heaven (1), the Western substantive view of Heaven (2), and Donghak thought's transcendent view of Heaven (3)—has reached revitalization ($1+2+3=1'$).

Focusing on the fact that Daesoon thought became activated not in the late Joseon period but in modern Korean society after the 1980s, studies approaching Daesoon thought from the perspective of 1980s postmodernism, rather than simply as a new religion of the late Joseon period, are also gaining attention. Looking at research that views Daesoon thought in the realm of postmodernism, there is the religious studies research by Lee Gyeong-won and the psychology of religion research by Ko Nam-sik.⁶⁰³ The dissertation by Park Maria, a full-scale study of Daesoon thought as postmodern thought, presents Daesoon thought as a solution to the problem of pluralism according to modern postmodernism.⁶⁰⁴⁶⁰⁵

Kang Don-gu states that it is true that there have recently been attempts to explain the changes in world religions under the themes of 'religion and modernity' and 'religion and postmodernity.' However, the concept of postmodernism as used today, meaning post-structuralism, etc., lacks the new existential concept Arnold Toynbee (1889-1975) intended when he first coined the term, and is being used excessively in a structuralist sense.⁶⁰⁶ The concept of 'existence after existentialism,' which Arnold Toynbee referred to as postmodernism, was a concept that emphasized existence even more than today's post-structuralism.

⁶⁰³ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 2-19.

⁶⁰⁴ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 30.

⁶⁰⁵ Jo Hui-yeong, "Seo Myeong-eung-ui Seoncheon Yeokhak Jeongnim-gwa Sidae-jeok Uiui; 'Seoncheon Saryeon'-eul Jungsim-euro" [The Establishment of Seo Myeong-eung's Former-Heaven I Ching Studies and Its Historical Significance: Centering on 'Seoncheon Saryeon'], *Cheolhak Yeongu* (Philosophical Research) 98, 2012, p.1.

⁶⁰⁶ Han Gyu-seong, original author; Han Pil-hun, ed., *Juyeok-e Daehan 46gaji Jilmun-gwa Daedap* (46 Questions and Answers on the I Ching), Dongnyeok, 1996; Han Gyu-seong, *Yeokhak Wonri Ganghwa* (Lectures on the Principles of I Ching Studies), Yemun-ji, 1997.

Turner has stated that the concept of liminality was also an existential rebellion against Claude Lévi-Strauss's structural anthropology, which excessively emphasized structure.⁶⁰⁷⁶⁰⁸

In fact, postmodernism began to flourish after the 1990s, and even its earliest beginnings, before the 1960s, trace back to the existential historian Arnold Toynbee, who, looking 50 years ahead, coined the term postmodernism. In late modern Western philosophy, known as postmodernism, figures like Deleuze, Lacan, and Derrida pursued a unification of Western thought similar to the concept of Igi (理氣, Principle and Material Force), but its limitations are still witnessed today.⁶⁰⁹

Autogenous Modernity in the Cheonji Seongyeongsin (天地誠敬信) View of the Earthly Realm

View of Earth as the Earthly Realm (地界觀)

Daesoon Thought's view of Heaven, which came to possess both attributive and substantial characteristics simultaneously through the divine incarnation, also has a multiple view of Earth (Jigwan), much like Donghak Thought. First, when Daesoon Thought's view of Heaven is defined as the transcendent Heaven, Gucheon, Daesoon Thought's view of Earth (Jigwan) also encompasses the concept of Heaven-and-Earth (Cheonji) existing below Gucheon, just as in Donghak Thought. The difference from Donghak Thought is that whereas Donghak's view of Earth was mainly expressed as unseen realities like muwi-ihwa (non-acting transformation), gihwa (materialization), and johwa (creation-transformation), Daesoon Thought expresses it concretely as the Earthly Realm (Jigye), which includes the world of divine beings (sinmyeong).

Sangje also said, "Because the Earth's energy (Jigi) is not unified, the human race living within it has conflicting ideologies, and everyone thinks differently, leading to mutual strife and conflict. To eliminate this, one must harmonize the divine beings (sinmyeong) of all ages through Haewon (Resolution of Grievances) and adjust the measures (dosu) of Heaven and Earth; when this is achieved, Heaven and Earth will be opened (Gaebyeok) and a paradise (Seongyeong) will be established."⁶¹⁰

In the example above, relative to Gucheon, both Heaven and Earth are entities possessing form, but among them, Earth becomes the representative entity possessing form. Since Earth is also composed of divine beings (sinmyeong), changing the Earth also begins with the divine beings. Thus, unlike Western religion (Seogyo), which treated divine beings poorly, Joseon, which treated them well, is highlighted, and the place where Sangje incarnated also becomes Joseon. The establishment of Daesoon Thought's view of

⁶⁰⁷ Han Tae-dong, *Sayu-ui Heulleum (The Flow of Thought)*, Yonsei University Press, 2003.

⁶⁰⁸ Han Jang-gyeong, *Juyeok·Jeongyeok (The I Ching and the Correct Changes)*, Salm-gwa Kkum, 2001.

⁶⁰⁹ Han Dong-seok, *Uju Byeonhwa-ui Wonri: Eumyang Ohaeng Wonri (The Principles of Cosmic Change: The Principles of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements)*, Daewon Publishing, 2003.

⁶¹⁰ Lee Seung-soo, *The Principle of Jung (Center/Balance)*, Seoul: GG.com, 2008.

the Earthly Realm (Jigye-gwan) begins with Gucheon stopping in the Eastern land (Dongto) and the divine incarnation occurring in Joseon.

One day, Sangje took Gyeong-seok from Nongam and, on the way to Jeongeup, stopped at a tavern in Wonpyeong, called over a passerby, bought him alcohol, and said, "This road is the sea route to Namjoseon (Southern Joseon). We must load much cargo before departing," and then hurried on the road, reaching a place thirty ri away, saying, "A great formation (Daejin) travels thirty ri in one party," and stayed at the house of Park Gong-woo, who lived in the jaesil (ritual house) of the Choe family in Songwol-ri, Gobu. He said to Gong-woo and Gyeong-seok, "Now that I have met the one I was meant to meet, the Tongjeongsin (Spirit of Mutual Understanding) emerges. My work is something that even my parents and siblings do not know." He continued, "I descended to the Cheongyetap (Tower of Divine Revelation) in the Great Western Nation of France, toured the world (Daesoon), and then, taking the authority of the Three Realms (Samgye), I came to open a paradise (Seongyeong) through the Gaebyeok of the Three Realms and save the people of the world who have fallen into annihilation; the reason I stopped in this land while touring your Eastern country is to first help the obscure, weak nation buried in calamity and resolve the grievances accumulated throughout the ages. Those who follow me will receive eternal fortune and blessings, achieve immortality, and enjoy the pleasures of an eternal paradise; this is the True Donghak. In the Gungeul-ga (Song of Gungeul), it is said, 'The lands and rivers of Joseon are a famed land (Myeongsan). A Dotong Gunja (Gentleman who has attained the Dao) will be born again'; this also refers to my work. It is transmitted among Donghak followers that a Daeseonsaeng (Great Teacher) will be reborn (gaengsaeng); this means a Daeseonsaeng (Teacher of the Era) will emerge again, and I am that Daeseonsaeng."⁶¹¹

The example above shows that the reason for the divine incarnation in Joseon includes the purpose of Haewon (Resolution of Grievances), as expressed in the phrase, "to first help the obscure, weak nation buried in calamity and resolve the grievances accumulated throughout the ages." The Haewon of the Earth was one of the main purposes of the Haewon-gongsa (Work of Resolution of Grievances) within the Cheonjigongsa (Work of Reordering Heaven and Earth).

Now that we have entered the age of Haewon, people who were obscure will gain momentum, and lands that were abandoned will have their energy restored.⁶¹²

However, as there were many obscure and weak nations besides Joseon at that time, the Jeon-gyeong provides an additional explanation.

There is no place in this world that treats divine beings (sinmyeong) as well as Joseon. The divine beings, wishing to repay that grace, will support [the people] according to their respective wishes without

⁶¹¹ Kim Seung-ho, *Juyeok Wonron (The Original Principles of the I Ching)* (vols. 1-6), Seonyeongsa, 2009.

⁶¹² Yun Jong-bin, *Jeongyeok-gwa Juyeok (The Correct Changes and the I Ching)*, Sangsaeng Publishing, 2009.

any lack, so the practitioners (doin) will be able to engage in the work of the world (cheonhasa) without any hindrance.⁶¹³

The example above shows that the reason the divine incarnation occurred in Joseon is that Joseon was not only an obscure and weak nation, but also the nation among the obscure and weak nations that treated divine beings (sinmyeong) the best. Furthermore, the fact that the place where the divine incarnation occurred was Jeongeup, where the Samshinsan (Three Spirit Mountains) are located within Joseon, shows that the background of the divine incarnation also implies the meaning of a sacred site (seongji) of the earth, like Samshinsan.

This is the place where the three mountains—Bongnaesan (Mt. Penglai), Yeongjusan (Mt. Yingzhou), also known as Sinseonbong (Immortal Peak), and Bangjangsan (Mt. Fangzhang)—have been called the Samshinsan (Three Spirit Mountains) since ancient times.⁶¹⁴

The example above shows that just as the Celestial Realm (Cheongye) is divided into 33 heavens or 36 heavens centered on the North Star, through the Big Dipper and the 28 constellations around it, the divine incarnation also occurred on Earth with the Samshinsan, which is equivalent to the North Star of the sky, as its background. Although the central mountain of the Earth is Kunlun Mountain, in terms of the virtuous concordance (eumyanghapdeok) of Heaven and Earth, Samshinsan can meaningfully be the center of the Earth. It shows that the sacred and the secular were reorganized against the background of Gucheon's divine incarnation. Once the divine incarnation took place, it appeared as the Cheonjigongsa (Work of Reordering Heaven and Earth).

As Sangje often made a sound like a ship's horn, disciples asked Him why He did so. He answered, "For enabling this country to gain superiority in the world, the divine beings in the West must be called in. They shall come over here, attached to cargo tags."

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In the example above, the divine beings crossing over to Joseon according to the cargo manifests is due to the Cheonjigongsa, but it is also in accordance with the principles of the Cheonjigongsa. Since the principles of the Cheonjigongsa include the principle of wonsibanbon (Returning to the Origin), the principle by which the view of the Earthly Realm (Jigye-gwan) is established in the Cheonjigongsa is also based on wonsibanbon.

One day in April of the Musin year, he spoke again to his followers, saying, "In this world, the Pung (Wind) surname existed first, but it was not transmitted, and only remains in terms of appearance, such as

⁶¹³ Yi Hyeon-jung, *Yeokyeong-gwa Saseo* (The Book of Changes and the Four Books), Yeongnak, 2004.

⁶¹⁴ Im Byeong-hak, *Yeokhak-gwa Hado Nakseo* (I Ching Studies and the River Chart and Luo Writing), Korea Academic Information, 2008.

⁶¹⁵ Yun Jong-bin, *Hanguk Yeokhak Yeongu-ui Gicho* (Foundations of Korean I Ching Research), Mungyeong Publishing, 2012.

pungchae (demeanor), pungsin (physique), and punggol (stature). After that, the Kang (Jiang) surname emerged, which is the origin of surnames. Therefore, facing the era of Gaebyeok, it becomes wonsibanbon (Returning to the Origin), so the Kang surname has come to take charge of the work."⁶¹⁶

Applying the example above to the view of the Earthly Realm, the principle by which the divine incarnation occurred in Joseon is because Samshinsan, the center of the Earth, is there. Furthermore, the reason Joseon became the background for the Cheonjigongsa includes not only the grievance (Won) of being an obscure and weak nation but also a larger historical background. Looking closely, Geumsansa Temple, where the establishment of Daesoon Thought's view of the Earthly Realm began, can be connected to Matteo Ricci, and even further back, to ancient history.

An alternative modernity that is not biased toward materialism can be presented through the Haewon (Resolution of Grievances) by which an obscure and weak nation succeeds. According to the principle of Sangsaeng (Mutual Beneficence) presented by Jeungsan, the method of Japanese Haewon, which first resolves the Cheok (grievance-debt) incurred against Japan, is applied. The Haewon method appearing in the view of the Earthly Realm (Jigye-gwan) of True Donghak (Chamdonghak) is that if Japan's grievances are resolved (Haewon), Joseon can receive China's Boeun (Repayment of Grace), and upon receiving China's Boeun, it can resolve the grievances of the whole world through Oseonwigi (Five Immortals Playing Go) and become a first-class nation with the help of the whole world. In fact, Korea, which was at the world's lowest GNP level when the Cheonjigongsa began, is the only country among those with colonial experience to have since achieved modernity, including political democratization, economic industrialization, and cultural advancement. Daesoon Thought identified the reason for Donghak Thought's failure as the absence of the 'Haewon' ideology and revived 'Donghak' Thought as True Donghak (Chamdonghak).⁶¹⁷

When the Donghak army, which had been victorious in Jeonju with only the Southern Assembly (Namjeop), was joined by the Northern Assembly (Bukjeop) and advanced to Ugeumchi, the counterattack by the Japanese army with the Gatling Gun, the world's first machine gun, was a fatal blow they had never dreamed of. The Donghak army uprising was the first nationwide uprising in thousands of years of Korean history, but the result was an unprecedented catastrophe. In the history of Korean popular movements, where righteous armies (uibyeong) had achieved numerous successes, the Donghak army was almost the first to experience both great success and failure simultaneously, and they could not understand the meaning of that success and failure. It is said that the time when Jeungsan intended to prepare for the

⁶¹⁶ Kim Sang-il, *Yeok-gwa Talhyeondae-ui Nonri* (The I Ching and the Logic of Postmodernity), Jisiksaneopsa, 2006.

⁶¹⁷ An Seong-ho, "The Theological Continuity between the Term 'Shangdi (上帝)' Used in Matteo Ricci's *Tianzhu Shi* (early 17th century) and James Legge's English Translations of Chinese Confucian Classics (19th century)," *Hanguk Gidokgyo-wa Yeoksa* (Christianity and History in Korea) 32, Korea Institute of Christian History, 2010, pp.302-304.; Chen Kai Tong, *Godae Jungguk Sok-ui Hananim* (God in Ancient China), Seoul: Sun Publishing, 2009.

Cheonjigongsa was precisely when the Donghak Peasant Revolution had been suppressed and the yangban (aristocrats) were holding poetry gatherings (sihoe) as celebratory events.⁶¹⁸

For the Donghak followers, who were ignorant of the international situation and did not understand the difference between Japan and Korea, Jeungsan's explanation was difficult to comprehend. Jeungsan's explanation and gongsa (work) that Japan needed to resolve its grievances (Haewon) against Joseon—a Joseon that had only ever been invaded by Japan—was unacceptable at the time. Jeungsan stated that what Japan needed to resolve (Haewon) were the three grievances (Won) that arose during the Imjin War (Japanese invasions of Korea in 1592-1598), called Japan the 'Samhandang' (Hall of Three Grievances), and prioritized resolving Japan's grievances as part of the Jigye-gongsa (Work of the Earthly Realm) related to the world situation within the Cheonjigongsa.⁶¹⁹ The three grievances Japan experienced during the Imjin War were: failing to capture the king, inefficiently causing too many casualties, and reviving Joseon's economy by teaching it double-cropping techniques.⁶²⁰

After the Japanese Haewon-gongsa, Jeungsan performs the Danju Haewon-gongsa (Work of Resolving Danju's Grievance), the grievance of the first ancestor of humanity, which common sense would dictate should be the very first priority of the Ingye-gongsa (Work of the Human Realm). The resolution of the grievance of Danju, the son of Emperor Yao, which is said to be the beginning of human grievances (Won), occurs in the process of progressing to China's Boeun (Repayment of Grace) after the Japanese Haewon; therefore, it seems the Japanese Haewon was prioritized over the Ingye-gongsa as a Jigye-gongsa.⁶²¹ Jeungsan states that, contrary to common sense, China, having received tribute from Joseon, must repay its grace (Boeun) to Joseon, while Japan, having something to receive from Joseon, must resolve its grievances (Haewon).^{622,623}

⁶¹⁸ An Seong-ho, "John Ross's Theological Stance on Primitive Chinese Confucian Monotheism and the Terminology Debate in Chinese Bible Translation," *Hanguk Gidokgyo-wa Yeoksa* (Christianity and History in Korea) 40, (Korea Institute of Christian History, 2014), p.228.

⁶¹⁹ Legge, *The Notions of the Chinese concerning God and Spirits*, p.33, cited in An Seong-ho, "The Theological Continuity between the Term 'Shangdi (上帝)' Used in Matteo Ricci's Tianzhu Shiyi and James Legge's English Translations of Chinese Confucian Classics," *Hanguk Gidokgyo-wa Yeoksa* (Christianity and History in Korea) 32, Korea Institute of Christian History, 2010, pp.315-316.

⁶²⁰ Sun Jiang, "The Yellow Emperor Came from Babylon: Lacouperie's Theory of the Western Origin of Chinese Civilization and Its Spread to East Asia," *Gaenyeom-gwa Sotong* (Concepts and Communication) 5, 2010, pp.79-26.

⁶²¹ Hundreds of thousands of heavenly beings provided celestial music while scattering heavenly mandala flowers and great mandala flowers above him, praising: 'Excellent, excellent! Good man, because you cultivated abundant meritorious karma in Jambudvīpa, you have been born here. This place is called Tusita Heaven, and the Lord of Heaven (Cheonju) here is named Maitreya; you should take refuge in him.' (Foshuo Guan Mile Pusa Shang Sheng Dou Shuai Tian Jing [Sutra on Contemplating Bodhisattva Maitreya's Ascent to Tusita Heaven]: 百千天子作天伎樂持天曼陀羅花摩訶曼陀羅花以散其上 讚言善哉善哉善男子汝於閻浮提廣修福業來生此處此處名兜率陀天今此天主名曰彌勒汝當歸依, Dongguk University Buddhist Records Cultural Heritage Archive). Gucheon Daewon Johwajusin can also be called Cheonju (Lord of Heaven) by combining the cheon of Gucheon and the ju of Johwaju.

⁶²² Choe Jong-seok, "Buddhist Elements in Jeungsan Religion: Focusing on the Acceptance of Maitreya Faith," *Seonmunhwa Yeongu* (Research on Seon Culture) 23, 2017, pp.254-255.

⁶²³ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Jesaeng" (Saving Lives) 43. The use of Heaven (Cheon-yong), the use of Earth (Ji-yong), and the use of Humanity (In-yong) are to harmonize the fundamental order (Ganggi), thereby governing Heaven

Jeungsan also refers to the Japanese as 'people who see to work,' stating that he would make Japan defeat Russia, which was Britain's rival at the time, elevate Japan to the top of the world stage, and protect East Asia from the racial discrimination experienced by Western colonies.⁶²⁴⁶²⁵

Among Jeungsan's future predictions, what impressed the populace at the time was undoubtedly the prophecy of Donghak's downfall and Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War.⁶²⁶ Jeungsan followed his followers Ahn Pil-seong and Kim Hyeong-ryeol to the Cheongju Battle led by Kim Gae-nam, which occurred around the same time as the Battle of Ugeumchi, prepared their escape route after the defeat, and saved their lives.⁶²⁷ Furthermore, Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War was an event unforeseen by the world powers.⁶²⁸ Jeungsan's words and actions, having foreseen the unexpected southeast wind that brought victory to Japan in the Russo-Japanese War, received much attention.⁶²⁹

Daesoon Thought, according to the principle of Dogang-iseo (Crossing the River to the West) and following the 50-year Gongbu Jongpil (Completion of Study Record) of Doju Jo Jeong-san who came from Manchuria, avoided the Korean War and developed in a saduyongmi (snake's head, dragon's tail) manner.⁶³⁰ Mugeukdo, which preemptively moved its headquarters to Taegeuk Village in Gamcheon, Busan, in response to the sudden liberation and the Korean War, later changed its name to Taegeukdo and then connected to Park Wudang's Daesoon Jinrihoe in Seoul in 1969.⁶³¹⁶³²⁶³³

and Earth. This is called the means of Joswa (Creation/Transformation). (Yang Mu-mok, "Haewon Jinri-roseoui Eumyang Hapdeok-gwa Minjujuui" [Yin-Yang Harmonic Virtue as Salvation Truth, and Democracy], *Daesoon Sasang Nonchong* [Journal of Daesoon Studies] 2, 1997, pp.175-176)

⁶²⁴ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-30.

⁶²⁵ It is said that Jeongeup, where Daesoon thought originated, had the tradition of Iljae Yi Hang, a substantialist school of Li-Qi thought. Kim Ik-du, Choe Yeong-seong, Yi Seon-a, Kim Beom-su, Iljae Yi Hang-ui Sasang Hangmun Iron-e Gwanhan Saeroun Sigakdeul (New Perspectives on the Thought, Scholarship, and Theory of Iljae Yi Hang), Seoul: Munyewon, 2014.

⁶²⁶ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Jesaeng" (Saving Lives) 43. Yi su go chul eo mugeuk taeguk ji pyo, bulli ho ilyong samul ji gan. Although the principle is lofty, it emerges from the surface of Taiji (the Supreme Ultimate) and Wuji (the Limitless), and does not depart from the midst of daily-use things.

⁶²⁷ Zhu Xi's expression 'Gakgu Taegeuk, Tongche Taegeuk (各具太極, 統體太極)' — each thing possessing the Supreme Ultimate, and the Supreme Ultimate as a whole — is connected to the Huayan concept of Jungjeung Mujin (重重無盡, infinite interpenetration). (Kim Jong-uk, "Bogjapgye-roseo Saengtaegye-wa Beopgye" [Ecosystem and Dharmadhatu as Complex Systems], *Cheolhak Sasang* [Philosophical Thought] 41, 2011, pp.7-36)

⁶²⁸ Jang Ip-mun et al., trans. An Yu-gyeong, Ri-ui Cheolhak (The Philosophy of Li/Principle), Seoul: Yemunseowon, 2004, pp.30-36, 46, 49, 106.

⁶²⁹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 2-33. Wonhyeong ijong, daegyeong daebeop, do jeong cheonji, su jeong cheonbeop, i jeong simbeop. The Way (Do) rectifies Heaven and Earth, Numbers (Su) fix the myriad laws, and Principle (Ri) governs the mind-method. (Choe Chi-bong, "Daesoon Sasang-ui Taegeuk-e Gwanhan Yeongu" [A Study on the Supreme Ultimate in Daesoon Thought], *Daesoon Sasang Nonchong* [Journal of Daesoon Studies] 23, 2014, p.403)

⁶³⁰ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyobeob" (Teachings) 2-42.

⁶³¹ In today's Western 'thanatology' (death studies), the West also acknowledges the existence of ancestral spirits (Seonlyeongsin). Although it began with the hospice movement aimed at 'well-dying,' modern Western thanatology has verified through tens of thousands of near-death experience cases that, just as in the East, people in the afterlife encounter ancestral spirits whom they had never met while alive. (Eben Alexander; Ptolemy Tompkins [co-authors], trans. Ko Mi-ra; Yi Jin [co-translators], *Na-neun Cheonguk-eul Bo-asda* [Proof of Heaven], Paju: Gimyeongsa, 2013, pp.124-130, 190)

Along with the principle of Wonsibanbon (Returning to the Origin), Haewon (Resolution of Grievances) becomes an important element in the establishment of modernity in Daesoon Thought's view of the Earthly Realm (Jigye-gwan). Western modernity, which discards the past in favor of prospects for the future, is like a dangerous mountain climb that only moves forward without securing a path of return. The assessment of Western modernity found in Daesoon Thought was that Western modernity, lacking Haewon for the past, only amplified past grievances (Won), bringing humanity to an irretrievable state of annihilation. The principle of indigenous modernity appearing in Daesoon Thought is that true modernity begins with Haewon, and this starts from the view of the Earthly Realm (Jigye-gwan), which has relatively more grievances than the view of the Celestial Realm (Cheongye-gwan), and was only possible after the divine incarnation.

The View of the Earthly Realm (Jigye-gwan) based on Cheonji Seong-Gyeong-Sin (Sincerity, Reverence, and Faith of Heaven and Earth)

In Donghak Thought, which was the occasion for the re-emergence of the transcendent Heaven in Eastern thought, the understanding of Earth was presented through concepts such as creative transformation (johwa 造化), non-doing and self-transformation (muwi-ihwa 無爲而化), and qi-transformation (gihwa 氣化). However, in Daesoon Thought, in which Gucheon appears as a substantial reality, Earth [地] is understood through the concept of the divine beings of Heaven and Earth (cheonji-sinmyeong).

One day, Sangje said to his followers, "It is not that I wished to take charge of this Work. The Cheonjisinmyeong gathered and appealed that Heaven and Earth could not be set right without Sangje, so although it is boundlessly agonizing, I had no choice but to take charge."⁶³⁴

The example above states that the appearance of Gucheon in Daesoon Thought was not by Gucheon's own will but an unavoidable result of the appeal by the Cheonjisinmyeong to save Heaven and Earth, which had fallen into a state of annihilation. In Daesoon Thought, where Gucheon possesses substance, the view of Earth (Jigwan) takes the form of a view of the Earthly Realm (Jigye-gwan), implying multiple meanings. In Donghak Thought, Heaven and Earth appeared in abstract and law-like forms, such as Gihwa, Johwa, and Muwi-ihwa, rather than as personal divine beings (sinmyeong); however, in Daesoon Thought, where the transcendent God possesses substance, Heaven and Earth appear to humans in the form of personal divine beings. As a result, in Daesoon Thought, the Earthly Realm (Jigye), as the concept of the

⁶³² Michel Serres regards the concept of angels, like the Eastern concept of Sinmyeong (divine spirits), not as a simple concept but as a decisive occasion for shaping the epistemological framework of the West. (Michel Serres, trans. Yi Gyu-hyeon, Heremes, Seoul: Minumsa, 2009, pp.299-303)

⁶³³ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 2-55.

⁶³⁴ Baek Min-jeong, "Jeong Yak-yong-gwa Choe Je-u-ui Sayu: Sangje-wa Sim Gaenyeom-euro Bigyo" [A Comparison of the Thought of Jeong Yak-yong and Choe Je-u through the Concepts of Sangje (Lord on High) and Sim (Mind/Heart)], Minjok Munhwa (National Culture) 61, 2022, p.149.

view of Earth corresponding to Gucheon, reveals itself as the Three Realms (Samgye), the system of the Cheonjisinmyeong.

One day in the first month of the Jeongmi year, while Kim Gwang-chan and Shin Won-il were attending Sangje, Sangje said to them, "Spiritual beings (gwisin) are utmost in truth (jilli), so I judge the Cheonjigongsa (Work of Reordering Heaven and Earth) together with them," and posted a writing on the wall as follows.⁶³⁵

In the example above, the expression "utmost in truth" indicates two meanings: the aspect of "single-mindedness" (ilsim) and the aspect of "immersion and concentration." "Single-mindedness" means being outstanding in one field, which can be interpreted to mean that other divine beings (sinmyeong) exist for other fields. Furthermore, the characteristic of divine beings as specialized, mechanical beings contrasts with humans, who possess relatively organic bodies. If divine beings, like experts, are outstanding in one field but ignorant of others, humans, like managers, know broadly but are inferior to divine beings in specific fields. It means that humans are beings with an organic nature capable of complementing specialized divine beings so they can harmonize with each other.

Specifically, it shows that in Daesoon Thought, the divine beings (sinmyeong) are composed of numerous beings who, like specialized machines, are outstanding in one specific field but do not intervene in other fields. Ultimately, Daesoon Thought reveals the hidden principle of the Eastern Samjae (Three Potencies) wherein the universe is operated by two types of beings: the mechanical divine beings (sinmyeong), who are utmost in the truth of one field, and the organic humans, who are not experts utmost in the truth of one field but are broadly conversant in many fields. The operation of Heaven and Earth must be free of errors (chachak), so it is operated by divine beings (sinmyeong) who are utmost in truth.

Heaven and Earth are filled with divine beings (sinmyeong); if a spirit departs from even a single blade of grass, it will wither, and if a spirit moves from even an earthen wall, it will collapse.⁶³⁶

In the example above, the earthen wall is said to represent inanimate objects, and the blade of grass represents life. The example above explains the system of the Three Realms (Samgye) in Daesoon Thought. The "Gye" (Realm) of Samgye (Three Realms) signifies a system filled with divine beings (sinmyeong). The Three Realms of Daesoon Thought consist of the Celestial Realm (Cheongye) and the Earthly Realm (Jigye), which are systems of divine beings, and the Human Realm (Ingye), which is the system of humans. Therefore, the principles by which the Three Realms operate differ in the Celestial, Earthly, and Human Realms. Since divine beings (sinmyeong) are utmost in the truth of one field, they sometimes do not follow Gucheon's instructions regarding the field they are in charge of.

⁶³⁵ Donggyeong Daejeon (The Eastern Canon), "Nonhangmun" (On Learning).

⁶³⁶ Son Byeong-uk, "Donghak-gwa Bulgyo Yeombulseon-ui Sujeung Chegye Bigyo" [A Comparison of the Cultivation Systems of Donghak and Buddhist Yeombul-Seon], *Donghak Hakbo* (Journal of Donghak Studies) 23, 2011, p.107.

One day, Sangje said to his followers, "When I called the divine beings of the Buan region, they did not respond, so I had to go to that region to find out the situation. I found it was because when Won-il was conducting his gongbu (practice), the local deities (Jibangsin) were guarding him and could not leave. Seeing things like this, how can you neglect your gongbu?"⁶³⁷

In the example above, Gucheon called the divine beings of the Buan region, but the Buan local deities were so utmost in truth that they did not respond to Sangje's call because they had work within their own domain. The fact of being utmost in truth also implies problems. Therefore, Gucheon presents the mutual harmonization of divine beings and humans as the method for solving problems.

In Daesoon Thought, Heaven and Earth operate precisely like machines, yet their operation is not random but is driven by the utmost Seong-Gyeong-Sin (Sincerity, Reverence, and Faith) of the divine beings (sinmyeong) who operate Heaven and Earth. The passage that clearly reveals that the hwayuk (nurturing transformation) of Heaven and Earth is accomplished through the Seong-Gyeong-Sin of Heaven and Earth appears for the first time in Daesoon Thought's Jeon-gyeong.

天地誠敬信⁶³⁸

Seong-Gyeong-Sin is a term combining the individual concepts of Seong (Sincerity), Gyeong (Reverence), and Sin (Faith), signifying the entirety of effort required to accomplish tasks. In Daesoon Thought, the Seong-Gyeong-Sin of divine beings is expressed as the most utmost Seong-Gyeong-Sin among various applied examples of Seong-Gyeong-Sin. Since humans and divine beings share this Seong-Gyeong-Sin while performing Haewon and Boeun, Seong-Gyeong-Sin becomes both a principle of nature and a principle of human cultivation (sudo). In Daesoon Thought, humans and divine beings form a relationship of Sin-in Uido (Mutual Dependence and Guidance between Divine Beings and Humans) through Seong-Gyeong-Sin, establishing a relationship of Haewon and Boeun.

Sin-in i Eum-yang Seong Johwa... (Divine Beings and Humans achieve Creation-Transformation through Yin and Yang...)

神無人後無托而所依人無神前無導而所依⁶³⁹

The example above shows that the complementary relationship between divine beings and humans in Daesoon Thought is crucial for the operation of Heaven and Earth, involving the Sin-in Uido (Mutual Dependence and Guidance) of different divine beings and humans. Sin-in Uido signifies a relationship where divine beings (sinmyeong), being bright in specific fields because they lack bodies, can guide (Do) humans, but also, lacking bodies, must depend on (Eui) humans. The example above, stating that divine beings and humans are in a Yin-Yang relationship—that without humans, divine beings have nowhere to

⁶³⁷ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyobeob" (Teachings) 2-3.

⁶³⁸ The murals of Daesoon Jinrihoe depict Oseon Wigi (Five Immortals Playing Baduk), which represents Haewon Sangsaeng (Resolution of Grievances for Mutual Flourishing), as expressing 'benefit' (Yi/Ihae).

⁶³⁹ Kim Yong-ok, Donggyeong Daejeon 2 (The Eastern Canon, vol. 2), Tongnamu, 2021, p.135.

entrust themselves, and without divine beings, humans have no one to guide them—shows that the relationship between humans and divine beings is a core relationship in the operation of Heaven and Earth. Therefore, the relationship of Uido (Dependence and Guidance) hinges on the Eun-Won (Grace and Grievance) relationship between divine beings and humans, namely Haewon and Boeun. The Earthly Realm (Jigye), like the Celestial Realm (Cheongye), also has the meaning of a system, and research on Daesoon Thought's Jigye-gongsa (Work of the Earthly Realm) has mainly been studied as the Jigi-tongil-gongsa (Work of Unifying Earth's Energy). The Earthly Realm in Daesoon Thought primarily moves toward a state of integration and reconciliation through the method of Haewon, whereby the Earth itself resolves its grievances.

'Haewon' proceeded in a manner akin to what is termed 'liminality' in modern anthropology. Liminality means 'threshold' and refers to a boundary state of being neither one thing nor the other. In anthropology, rites of passage found worldwide represent Haewon, accepting the change called 'Haewon' through liminal ceremonies, like weddings or funerals, which are neither one state nor the other. For example, the Japanese annexation of Korea (Han-il Happang) was a liminal state—neither Japan nor Korea—and through this, Japan resolves its grievances (Haewon). Liminality is becoming in a state of yeokjisaji (putting oneself in another's shoes), like a 'spirit marriage.' The Japanese Haewon is an objective token demonstrating the reality of the Cheonjigongsa, known as the Haewon-gongsa; the Japanese Haewon was such an important gongsa (work) that it required 36 years.⁶⁴⁰

In Daesoon Thought, the Celestial Realm (Cheongye) is the place where the celestial court (Cheonsang-gongjeong) is held, just as the divine saints, Buddhas, and Bodhisattvas gathered to appeal to Sangje; the Earthly Realm (Jigye) is the world of civilization and form where, in the space opened between Heaven and Earth after Matteo Ricci's death, the subterranean civilization spirits (Jihasin) ascend to the celestial realm, learn civilization, and bestow it upon the human world.⁶⁴¹ Attributive nature and substantial humans harmonize through the civilization spirits (Munmyeongsin).⁶⁴² Daesoon Thought is the ideology that emerged to reorganize the Three Realms when their order was disrupted by human grievances (Won), and it is here that traces of East-West convergence appear.

When Daesoon Thought's Heaven (Cheon) is considered the substantial Gucheon, the Cheonjisinmyeong (Divine Beings of Heaven and Earth) correspond to Earth (Ji); therefore, the beings appealing to Gucheon are the divine saints, Buddhas, and Bodhisattvas. Viewed in relation to modernity, from Daesoon Thought's perspective, the divine beings (sinmyeong) bestowed [blessings] upon humans, but humans, biased toward materialism, forgot the grace of the divine beings, causing Heaven and Earth to

⁶⁴⁰ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-66.

⁶⁴¹ Zhuzi Yulei (Classified Conversations of Master Zhu), Vol. 3, Zhonghua Shuju, p.33. "Matters of ghosts and spirits are naturally secondary. Those things without form or shadow are difficult to understand. There is no need to think about them; just do the work of daily-use essentials."

⁶⁴² Choe Jin-deok, "Jujahak-ui Igieron-gwa Gwisinron" [The Li-Qi Theory and Theory of Ghosts and Spirits in Zhu Xi's Philosophy], Yangmyeonghak (Journal of Yangming Studies) 23, Korean Yangming Society, 2009, pp.381-382.

fall into annihilation. The divine beings (sinmyeong) appearing in the Celestial Realm (Cheongye) of Daesoon Thought correspond not only to the Eastern concept of Heaven, which signified only attributes, but also to the Western concept of God, which emphasizes substance.

In Daesoon Thought, the Earth is a place where divine beings (sinmyeong) can be enshrined. Divine beings are not enshrined only in Heaven; they also move to the Earth and to humans according to the changes of the times.

Injon (Human Worthiness) is greater than Cheonjon (Celestial Worthiness) and Jijon (Terrestrial Worthiness); now is the Injon era. Be diligent in your mind.⁶⁴³

In the example above, Cheonjon refers to the Celestial Worthiness of the Cheonjon era, when the divine was enshrined in Heaven, and Jijon refers to the Terrestrial Worthiness, enshrined in the Earth. The liminality and revitalization based on Daesoon Thought's correlative thinking, which enable Injon (Human Worthiness) where divine beings can be enshrined in humans, can be described as Eumyanghapdeok (Virtuous Concordance of Yin and Yang), Samjae-hwakrip (Establishment of the Three Potencies), and Ohaeng-gubi (Equipping of the Five Elements).

The emergence of the substantialist Gucheon due to the divine incarnation appears as an powol (encompassing transcendence) of the Heaven-Earth relationship. In Daesoon Thought, where divine beings (sinmyeong) appear, the Heaven-Earth relationship, which had been changed by the appearance of Gucheon in Donghak Thought, changes into a substantial relationship. Daesoon Thought, which connects the Three Realms through the concept of Geumgang (Diamond), i.e., 'Noeseong' (Thunder), resolves the conflict (sanggeuk) in the Heaven-Earth relationship—which Donghak Thought could not resolve even with the concept of 'Cheonjigwisin' (Spirits of Heaven and Earth)—through revitalization via Jeong-eum Jeong-yang (Right Yin and Right Yang).⁶⁴⁴⁶⁴⁵

One day, Sangje had the followers practice the Oju (Five Incantations) to adjust the Yin-Yang dosu (measures) in the Later World (Hucheon). When the followers finished their practice and settled in their respective places, Sangje distributed slips of paper and said, "I intend to see the Yin-Yang dosu of the Later World. Each of you, mark a dot so that others cannot know." The followers then marked dots as they wished and submitted them. He said, "Eung-jong marked two dots, Gyeong-su three dots, Nae-seong eight dots, Gyeong-seok twelve dots, and Gong-sin one dot. There is no nine, so the old saying of 'one man, nine women' cannot be known." He then asked Nae-seong, "Did you mark eight dots because of the saying 'eight fairies'?" and said to Eung-jong and Gyeong-su, "Old men desire two wives, but how could they manage?" They asked back, "In the Later World, will new vitality not emerge?" He replied, "That seems plausible." Then Sangje asked Gyeong-seok, "Why do you desire twelve wives?" He replied, "I would only be

⁶⁴³ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Haengrok" (Acts) 2-16.

⁶⁴⁴ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Haengrok" (Acts) 1-2.

⁶⁴⁵ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 3-6.

satisfied if I had one wife in each of the twelve empires." Hearing this, Sangje again said, "That seems plausible," and turning to Gong-sin, he asked, "Gyeong-seok desires twelve, why do you think of only one?" He answered, "There is only Geon (Heaven) and Gon (Earth); there cannot be two Gons. I know the principle is one Yin and one Yang." Sangje said, "Your words are correct," and commanded, "You have seen the gongsa (work) well; treat the guests well." Gong-sin carried out the order as spoken. After finishing this Yin-Yang dosu, Sangje instructed Gong-sin, "Yours is the dosu of Jeong-eum Jeong-yang (Right Yin and Right Yang), so endure that energy well and cultivate (suryeon) with a right mind (jeongsim)." He added, "There is the dosu of King Mun and the dosu of Yi Yun; undertaking that dosu will be extremely difficult."⁶⁴⁶

In the example above, Jeong-eum Jeong-yang (Right Yin and Right Yang) means that while Heaven and Earth corresponded multiply in the Former World (Seoncheon), they will correspond one-to-one in the Later World (Hucheon). The conflict-based (sanggeuk) Heaven-Earth relationship of Yangjon-eumbi (Yang revered, Yin debased), Eogeum-jonyang (Suppressing Yin, Revering Yang), and Cheonjon-jibi (Heaven revered, Earth debased) becomes the Jeong-eum Jeong-yang Sangsaeng (Mutual Beneficence) of Daesoon Thought, and the Heaven-Earth relationship transforms into an Earthly Paradise (Jisang-cheonguk). Earthly Paradise (Jisang-cheonguk) is a concept representing the Sangsaeng transformation of the Heaven-Earth relationship in Daesoon Thought, signifying the Eumyanghapdeok (Virtuous Concordance of Yin and Yang) of Heaven and Earth, meaning that the kingdom of heaven is realized on Earth, and Earth itself becomes heaven. In Daesoon Thought, the Earthly Paradise is achieved through the Jeong-eum Jeong-yang gongsa, but it manifests as the principle of the 12 Unseong (Phases of Energy), by which Heaven and Earth nurture (hwayuk) from the time they were separated.

年月日時分刻輪廻 皆是元亨利貞天地之道也⁶⁴⁷

The example above shows that Won-Hyeong-I-Jeong (Yuan-Heng-Li-Zhen), symbolizing the energies of spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is a principle that applies with infinite superposition to the year, month, day, hour, minute, and moment; it also clearly states that Buddhist reincarnation (yunhoe) is one of the Yeon-Wol-Il-Si-Bun-Kak-Yunhoe (Cycles of Year, Month, Day, Hour, Minute, and Moment).⁶⁴⁸ Based on the principle of the Circle (Won), reincarnation (yunhoe) is not limited to the reincarnation of life (saeng) as in Buddhism, but operates as a fractal principle in the macrocosmic and microcosmic spatio-temporal

⁶⁴⁶ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9.

⁶⁴⁷ Choe Su-un took pride in his 7th-generation ancestor Jin-rip (震立), who made great contributions during the Imjin War (Japanese invasions) and Byeongja War (Manchu invasion) and died in battle, posthumously receiving the title of Byeongjo Panseo (Minister of Military Affairs) and the honorary title of Jeongmu-gong. In the 'Ansimga' (Song of Comfort), Choe expressed his adversarial view of Japan through phrases such as 'You dog-like Japanese enemy!' and 'That too is a foe.' (Pak Gwang-su, Hanguk Sinjongyo-ui Sasang-gwa Jonggyo Munhwa [The Thought and Religious Culture of Korean New Religions], Seoul: Jimmundang, 2012, pp.199-201).

⁶⁴⁸ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 74.

worlds. In the Jeon-gyeong, Won-Hyeong-I-Jeong is also expressed as the Dae-gyeong Dae-beop (Great Classic and Great Law), the fundamental principle of all changes in the universe.⁶⁴⁹⁶⁵⁰

In the example above, Won-Hyeong-I-Jeong and the 12 Unseong (Phases of Energy) appear in a Che-Yong (Substance-Function) relationship. Daesoon Thought revealed that the 12 Unseong of Myeongrihak (Study of Life and Destiny), whose origin and operating principles were previously unknown, are in a Che-Yong (Substance-Function) relationship with Won-Hyeong-I-Jeong, the Dao of Heaven and Earth. Just as the 5 Wun (Five Movements) as Che (Substance) manifest realistically as the 6 Gi (Six Energies) as Yong (Function), it is said that Won-Hyeong-I-Jeong, the Dao of Heaven and Earth as Che, manifests as the Yong of the 12 Unseong: Po-Tae-Yang-Saeng-Yok-Dae-Gwan-Wang-Soe-Byeong-Sa-Jang.

Po-Tae-Yang-Saeng-Yok-Dae-Gwan-Wang-Soe-Byeong-Sa-Jang are the 12 Unseong (Phases of Energy), or the Potaebeop (Law of Gestation and Birth), originating from Ungihak (Study of Movements and Energies). Po-Tae (Conception/Gestation) is the baby implanting in the mother's womb, Yang-Saeng (Nourishment/Birth) is the implanted fetus developing, Yok-Dae (Bathing/Girding) is the baby emerging from the mother's womb, and Gwan-Wang (Capping/Prospering) refers to wearing a hat (coming of age) and becoming vigorously active. Po-Tae-Yang-Saeng-Yok-Dae-Gwan-Wang-Soe-Byeong-Sa-Jang (Conception, Gestation, Nourishment, Birth, Bathing, Girding, Capping, Prospering, Declining, Sickness, Death, and Burial) are terms from the 'Yin-Yang Hyuwangseol' (Theory of Yin-Yang Rest and Prosperity), also known today as the 12 Unseong. The 'Yin-Yang Hyuwangseol' refers to the movement of Gi (Energy) corresponding to the 6 Gi within the 5 Wun 6 Gi (Five Movements and Six Energies) of Yeokhak (Study of Changes); for example, Gap (甲), which is Wood Gi, becomes the most vigorous Gwan (Capping) in In (寅) Wood, and becomes Tae (Gestation), where the energy begins, in Sin (申) Metal, which is in a sanggeuk (conflict/overcoming) relationship with Wood.

Although the theory of Eumyanghyuwangseol (Theory of Yin-Yang's Rest and Prosperity) is used in some parts of Myeongrihak (study of divination) today, it is not a concept used universally enough in Yeokhak (study of Changes/I Ching) to be called Cheonjijiyong (Function of Heaven and Earth); nonetheless, it is emphasized enough in the JeonGyeong to be cited as the Cheonjijiyong that forms a Che-Yong (Substance-Function) relationship with Wonhyeongijeong (Origin, Flourishing, Advantage, Firmness). Since Yeokhak presents the fundamental model for all circulation, it can be said that Eumyanghyuwangseol, which deals with the circulation of Gi (energy) and can be considered the core of circulation in Yeokhak, was mentioned as Cheonjijiyong in the JeonGyeong. In Daesoon Thought, Eumyanghyuwangseol became the basic framework for problem-solving. The principles of problem-solving, Jisoseonhu (knowing the order of priority) and Hubak (knowing the thickness and thinness, i.e.,

⁶⁴⁹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 57.

⁶⁵⁰ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 2-4.

importance), show that matters are accomplished according to the order of I (Principle) and Gi (Energy), namely, the order of Eumyanghyuwang (Yin-Yang's Rest and Prosperity).⁶⁵¹

The 12 Unseong (Twelve Phases of Fortune/Energy) is a typical growth theory that divides the entire growth process of life—from conception, growth, and development to activity—into 12 stages. The 12 Unseong are based on the concepts of 'Eumsal-yangsaeng' (Yin kills, Yang gives life) and 'Eumyangsunyeokjiseol' (Theory of the Forward and Reverse cycles of Yin and Yang), which are inevitable outcomes of the encounter between Yin-Yang theory and Five Elements theory. 'Eumsal-yangsaeng' means that the waning of Yin is the waxing of Yang, and 'Eumyangsunyeokjiseol' means that the reverse is also true. In fact, 'Eumsal-yangsaeng' and 'Eumyangsunyeokjiseol' also appear in the JeonGyeong.⁶⁵²

陰殺陽生 陽殺陰生 生殺之道 在於陰陽 人可用陰陽然後 方可謂人生也⁶⁵³

The 12 Unseong appearing in the Huainanzi and the Baihutongyi are manifested in Eumsal-yangsaeng, where the Five Elements meet the Eight Trigrams to generate, grow, converge, and store. The 12 Unseong represent the manner in which the 10 Gan (Celestial Stems) influence the 12 Ji (Terrestrial Branches). The mention of the 12 Unseong from the Ungihak (Study of Cosmic Energy Cycles) of the Huangdi Neijing (Yellow Emperor's Inner Canon) shows that the JeonGyeong reflects the Ungihak's distinction between the macrocosm and the microcosm. In Daesoon Thought, the status of the Earth is highlighted as an entity that undergoes the changes of Heaven and Earth and the 12 Unseong. Daesoon Thought divides the 12 Unseong by 2, referring to the Cheonjjijyong (Function of Heaven and Earth) as the 6 Yong (Six Functions), and the 6 Yong as the 3 Deok (Three Virtues) of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity.⁶⁵⁴

Yuk-yong (Six Functions) and Sam-deok (Three Virtues); the Three Virtues are Cheon-deok (Virtue of Heaven), Ji-deok (Virtue of Earth), and In-deok (Virtue of Humanity). Their integration is called Dae-deok (Great Virtue). (Omitted)

⁶⁵¹ Gang Don-gu, *Hanguk Geundae Jonggyo-wa Minjokjuui* (Korean Modern Religion and Nationalism), Seoul: Jimmundang, 1992.; Pak Jae-hyeon, "Hanguk Geundae Sigi Daesoon Sasang-ui Teukjil - Chominjogjuui-wa Geundae mit Talgeundae Gachi-reul Jungsim-euro" [Characteristics of Daesoon Thought in the Modern Korean Period: Focusing on Trans-nationalism and Modern and Postmodern Values], *Daesoon Sasang Nonchong* [Journal of Daesoon Studies] 24, 2014.

⁶⁵² Hwang Jong-won, "20 Segi Choyeop Cheondogyo-ui Innaecheon Gyoui mit Simseongron-e Daehan Bipanjeok Yeongu" [A Critical Study on the Innaecheon Doctrine and Theory of Mind-Nature in Early 20th Century Cheondogyo], *Daedong Cheolhak* (Korean Philosophy Studies) 44, 2008, pp.92-93.

⁶⁵³ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyobeob" (Teachings) 3-47. Sa ji dang wang jae eo cheonji, pil bu jae in, yeon mu in mu cheonji, go cheonji saeng in yong in, i insaeng bul cham eo cheonji, yong in ji si ha ga wal insaeng ho. The fundamental cause of all things is in Heaven and Earth, not necessarily in people. However, since Heaven and Earth are useless without people, Heaven and Earth bring forth people and use them. If so, when Heaven and Earth wish to use people, and people do not follow the will of Heaven and Earth, how could this be called living as a human? (Daesoon Jinrihoe Gyomubu [Religious Affairs Department], "Cheonji Saeng-in Yong-in" [Heaven and Earth Give Birth to People and Use People], *Daesoon Hoebo* [Daesoon Newsletter] 13, 1989)

⁶⁵⁴ Yi Gyeong-won, "Daesoon Jinri-ui Geundaeseong-gwa Byeonhyeok Sasang" [The Modernity and Transformative Thought of Daesoon Truth], *Donghak Hakbo* (Journal of Donghak Studies) 9(2): 43. 2005.

天地之用 胞胎養生浴帶冠旺衰病死葬而已⁶⁵⁵

Therefore, the 12 Unseong are divided into the 6 Yong (Six Functions)—Potae, Yangsaeng, Yokdae, Gwanwang, Soebyeong, and Sajang—and Potae, Yangsaeng, and Yokdae correspond to the Sam-deok (Three Virtues) of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity. The Cheonjihwayuk (Transformation and Nurturance of Heaven and Earth) is accomplished by these Three Virtues of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, which in turn interlocks with Confucianism, Buddhism, and Seon (Daoism) related to Heaven, Earth, and Humanity.

In Daesoon Thought, where the Gucheon (Ninth Heaven) appears as substance, concepts from Donghak's view of Earth, such as Johwa (Creation-Transformation), Muwi-ihwa (Spontaneous Transformation without Action), and Gihwa (Materialization/Transformation of Gi), are materialized through the concept of Cheonjisinmyeong (Divine Beings of Heaven and Earth), clarifying the relationships between components, such as revealing the Che-Yong (Substance-Function) relationship between the 12 Unseong and Wonhyeongijeong. The view of the Earthly Realm in Daesoon Thought, expanded into Cheonjijiyong, accommodates the East's condensative view of Earth (1), the West's material view of Earth (2), and Donghak's Johwajeong (Stabilized Creation-Transformation) view of Earth (3), presenting a new view of the Earthly Realm based on Cheonjijiyong. Through this, a rearrangement of the sacred and the secular integrating East and West—that is, modernity—is established, and it further transitions into post-modernity.⁶⁵⁶

The Revitalization of Eastern and Western Views of Earth Manifested in the View of the Earthly Realm based on Cheonji-Seong-Gyeong-Sin (Sincerity, Reverence, and Faith of Heaven and Earth)

The Revitalization of Confucian, Buddhist, and Seon (Daoist) Views of Earth Manifested in the View of the Earthly Realm based on Cheonji-Seong-Gyeong-Sin

In Daesoon Thought, it is said that Confucianism, Buddhism, and Seon (Daoism) are related to the 12 Unseong of Cheonjijiyong.

受天地之虛無仙之胞胎

受天地之寂滅佛之養生

受天地之以詔儒之浴帶⁶⁵⁷

According to the principle of the 12 Unseong, it is said that Seondo (Way of Seon/Daoism) emerged possessing Heomu (Voidness), the Potae energy of Heaven and Earth; Buldo (Way of Buddhism) emerged possessing Jeokmyeol (Nirvanic Extinction), the Yangsaeng energy of Heaven and Earth; and

⁶⁵⁵ Yi Gyeong-won, Daesoon Jonghak Wonron (Fundamental Theory of Daesoon Religious Studies), Seoul: Munsacheol, 2013.

⁶⁵⁶ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-66.

⁶⁵⁷ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-30.

Confucianism's Ijo (Proclamation/Mandate) emerged possessing the Yokdae energy of Heaven and Earth. In Daesoon Thought, since the growth process of Heaven and Earth is applied to all things in the universe, human growth can also be interpreted through the 12 Unseong growth principle of Heaven and Earth. Daesoon Thought explains human growth with the consistency of the 12 Unseong. Seon (Daoism), Buddhism, and Confucianism become interconnected entities through the relationship of Potae, Yangsaeng, and Yokdae, respectively. Examining the roles that Confucianism, Buddhism, and Seon (Daoism) perform through Potae, Yangsaeng, and Yokdae:

佛之形體仙之造化儒之凡節⁶⁵⁸

Buddhism, through Yangsaeng (Nourishment), creates Hyeongche (Form/Body), and Seon (Daoism), through Johwa (Creation-Transformation), achieves Potae (Conception) by harmonizing Yin and Yang. The baby, having emerged from the womb, learns Beomjeol (Etiquette/Rites). If humanity develops in the order of Seon (Potae, Heaven), Buddhism (Yangsaeng, Earth), and Confucianism (Yokdae, Humanity), then Heaven and Earth emerge in the reverse order: Confucianism (Ja [Rat], Heaven), Buddhism (Chuk [Ox], Earth), and Seon (In [Tiger], Humanity).⁶⁵⁹

道傳於夜天開於子 轍環天下虛靈

教奉於晨地關於丑 不信看我足知覺

德布於世人起於寅 腹中八十年神明⁶⁶⁰

The view of the Earthly Realm in Daesoon Thought is the actual implementation of this Confucian, Buddhist, and Seon (Daoist) view of the Earthly Realm upon the Earth. The Earth, where Sinmyeong (Divine Beings) can be enshrined, is also revitalized like Heaven, and just as the celestial phenomena are realigned, so too is the Earth. The view of the Earthly Realm in Daesoon Thought originates from the Sam-sin-san (Three Divine Mountains), is rectified at the parent mountains of Hoemun-san and Moak-san, and the Hyeol (acupoints/nodes) of the San-wang (Mountain King) and Hae-wang (Sea King) are aligned.

This is the place where the three mountains—Bongnaesan (Mt. Penglai), Yeongjusan (Mt. Yingzhou), also known as Sinseonbong (Immortal Peak), and Bangjangsan (Mt. Fangzhang)—have been called the Samshinsan (Three Spirit Mountains) since ancient times.

First, in the case of Sam-sin-san, it is a representative place name showing that ancient Daoist thought—namely Sinseon-sasang (Immortalism) and Pungryu-sasang (Way of Elegance)—arose centered around Jeongeup, the starting point of Daesoon Thought. Jeongeup is also the place where the Donghak Peasant Movement occurred. Jeongeup is near the location of the Sam-sin-san which were said to have sunk into the Balhae (Bohai) Sea, and among the Sam-sin-san across the country, the Sam-sin-san of

⁶⁵⁸ Daesoon Jinrihoe Yeolam (Daesoon Jinrihoe Overview), "Chwiji" (Purpose/Mission Statement).

⁶⁵⁹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-19.

⁶⁶⁰ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9.

Jeongeup is uniquely well-known nationally.⁶⁶¹ As suggested by prior research from scholars like Kim Sung-hwan and Jeong Jae-seo, Jeongeup may have been a stop on the journey of Seo Bok (Xu Fu, BC 255-?), who represented Sinseon-sasang (Immortalism) during the Qin-Han period, in his search for the elixir of immortality. If Sam-sin-san is the land where the Gucheon (Ninth Heaven) can respond, then the Parent Mountains are the site that can correspond to the Cheonjisinmyeong (Divine Beings of Heaven and Earth) created by the Gucheon.⁶⁶²

Sangje conducted works to extract the Jeong-gi (essential energy) from various places. To extract and combine the Jeong-gi of the mountains and rivers, He began the work with the Jeong-gi of the Bumo-san (Parent Mountains). "The Bumo-san are Moak-san (Mt. Moak) in Jeonju and Hoemun-san (Mt. Hoemun) in Sunchang. On Hoemun-san, there are twenty-four Hyeol (acupoints/nodes), among which is the Oseon-wigi-hyeong (Formation of Five Immortals Playing Go); the game of Gi-byeon (Go strategy) was created by Dang-Yo (Emperor Yao) to teach Danju (Danzhu), therefore, the Haewon (Resolution of Grievances) of Danju will begin from the Oseon-wigi, and the Great Un (Fortune/Destiny) will open and unfold. Next, the Jeong-gi (essential energy) of the four Myeongdang (Propitious Sites) must be synthesized. The four Myeongdang are the Oseon-wigi-hyeong (Formation of Five Immortals Playing Go) on Hoemun-san in Sunchang, the Hoseung-yebul-hyeong (Formation of a Barbarian Monk Bowing to Buddha) on Seungdal-san in Muan, the Seonnyeo-jikgeum-hyeong (Formation of an Immortal Maiden Weaving Silk) at Sonryong in Jangseong, and the Gunsin-bongjo-hyeong (Formation of Subjects Receiving a Royal Mandate) at Baerye-bat in Taemin. Furthermore, there are twenty-four Hyeol on Byeon-san in Buan; this corresponds to the number of Hyeol on Hoemun-san and, being located by the sea, it responds to the Dosu (Order/Degree) of the Hae-wang (Sea King). Hoemun-san is the San-gun (Mountain Lord) and Byeon-san is the Hae-wang (Sea King)," He said, and Sangje extracted their Jeong-gi.⁶⁶³

Hoemun-san, corresponding to the 'father' among the Parent Mountains which can be called the origin of the Earth's Yin and Yang, is also the location of the Oseon-wigi-hyeong, where world peace begins in Daesoon Thought. Whereas conventional Pungsu-jiri (Geomancy/Feng Shui) deals with microcosmic matters such as family affairs or state affairs, the Pungsu-jiri of Daesoon Thought relates macrocosmically to Cheonha (Affairs of the World).

Again, Sangje had Jang-geun brew a crock of Sikhye (sweet rice drink), and during the first watch of the night, He placed the Sikhye in a large bowl under the Ingyeong (temple bell), saying, "This is to attach

⁶⁶¹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 1-3.

⁶⁶² Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyobeob" (Teachings) 3-47. Sa ji dang wang jae eo cheonji, pil bu jae in. The fundamental cause of all things is in Heaven and Earth, not necessarily in people. (Daesoon Jinrihoe Gyomubu [Religious Affairs Department], "Cheonji Saeng-in Yong-in" [Heaven and Earth Give Birth to People and Use People], Daesoon Hoebo [Daesoon Newsletter] 13, 1989)

⁶⁶³ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyobeob" (Teachings) 3-47. Mansa bun i jeong, busaeng gong ja mang. All affairs have their proper allotment already determined, yet people of the world vainly busy themselves. (Daesoon Jinrihoe Gyomubu [Religious Affairs Department], "Mansa Bun I Jeong" [All Affairs Have Their Allotment Determined], Daesoon Hoebo [Daesoon Newsletter] 148, 2013)

the Haewon-dosu (Order of Resolution of Grievances) of Danju (Danzhu), the progenitor of Go, to the Oseon-wigi-hyeol on Hoemun-san to turn the tide of Joseon's national destiny. Among the five immortals, one immortal is the host and merely looks on, while the other four immortals set up the board and form teams, trying to capture each other's stones. Because the game is delayed and the outcome cannot be decided, I am now inviting Choe Su-un to serve as a witness and determine the result; this Sikhye is to treat Su-un." He then asked, "Do you know the phrases in the literary collections you possess?" Several people replied, "We remember some passages." Sangje wrote on white paper, "Geolgungut, Chorani-pae, Namsadang, Yeosadang, Samdaechi," and said, "These words are the Jumun (incantation). Be careful, for anyone who laughs while reciting it will die." He added, "These words have a melody; if you recite it out of tune, the immortals will laugh." Sangje personally attached a melody and recited it, having the followers recite along, whereupon a cold energy soon began to circulate. Sangje stopped the recitation and said, "Choe Su-un has arrived, so listen quietly." Suddenly, a voice was heard from above the Ingyeong (temple bell), crying out, "If the head of the household were solemn, why would such an appearance exist?" He then asked, "Where are these words found?" A follower replied, "They are in the Su-un Gasa (Songs of Su-un)." Sangje then spoke two or three phrases toward the Ingyeong, conversing unintelligibly.⁶⁶⁴

If Hoemun-san is the father mountain and the place where the Oseon-wigi—the beginning of world peace—will start, then Moak-san, which can be called the origin of the Earth's Yin and Yang, corresponds to the 'mother' among the parent divinities, and it is where Geumsan-sa (Geumsan Temple) is located, where Jeungsan resided as a Sinmyeong (Divine Being) for thirty years.

When some disciples followed Sangje to Golden Mountain Temple (Geumsan-sa), He recited a passage: After the Heaven Emperor, the Earth Emperor, and the Human Emperor, there will be the great Golden Mountain in the world. At the foot of Mount Mother (Moak-san), a golden icon of Maitreya has the ability to speak. The sixteen-foot-high golden icon becomes a perfected woman (jeon nyeo 全女). The solutions of saving ten thousand nations belong to South Joseon (Korea), and a lucid breeze and bright moon embrace Golden Mountain Temple [萬國活計南朝鮮 清風明月金山寺]. The blooming civilization shall shed light on three thousand nations, and the arts of the Dao shall stretch outwardly for ninety thousand ri [文明開花三千國 道術運通九萬里].⁶⁶⁵

In the passage above, "Beneath Moak-san, the Geumbul (Golden Buddha) can speak" signifies that the advent of the Gucheon (Ninth Heaven) at Geumsan-sa was anticipated. Comparing Donghak's view of Earth and Daesoon's view of the Earthly Realm, in Daesoon Thought, the role of the Earth is magnified, and the aspects of liminality are strengthened due to the expansion of correlative thinking compared to Donghak Thought. Representatively, 'burning the earth three ja and three chi deep' to strengthen the Earth's

⁶⁶⁴ Daesoon Jinrihoe Yeolam (Daesoon Jinrihoe Overview), p.7.

⁶⁶⁵ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 2-42.

Gi (energy) is accomplished through the Jigi-tongil-gongsa (Work of Unifying the Earth's Gi) performed by Jeungsan to expand revitalization.

In the Later World, once a seed is planted, new sprouts will emerge from the root every year for harvest, and the land will become fertile soil even without cultivation. This is because the earth is burned three ja (feet) and three chi (inches) deep.⁶⁶⁶

In the passage above, the reason for burning the earth 'three ja and three chi deep' illustrates the creation of an Earthly Paradise by elevating the status of the land to fertile soil. "Three ja and three chi" is the range traditionally considered by Jigwan (geomancers) as the scope of the Earth's energy's influence. It is said that the Cheon-gi (Celestial energy) extends ninety thousand li (leagues), which corresponds to modern-day satellite orbits.

A characteristic of the view of the Earthly Realm in Daesoon Thought is said to be a religious perspective of "Earthly-ism" (Jisang-juui), focusing on an Earthly Paradise rather than an apocalypse. 'Earthly-ism' signifies the impetus for rearranging the boundary between the sacred and the secular.⁶⁶⁷ Cha Seon-geun discusses the relationship between Naejeong (Inner Court) and Yeongdae (Spirit ðài) in conjunction with Daoism.⁶⁶⁸ In Daesoon Thought, the view of the Earthly Realm, along with Pungsu-jiri (geomancy), holds significant importance.

In the case of the view of the Earthly Realm, the Parent Mountains and the 24 Hyeol-cheo (acupoint sites) are realigned. Centered on the Parent Mountains, Moak-san and Hoemun-san, and Naejang-san, the source mountain of the world, the 24 Hyeol (nodes) of the San-gun (Mountain Lord) and Hae-wang (Sea King) are realigned.

Sangje conducted works to extract the Jeong-gi (essential energy) from various places. To extract and combine the Jeong-gi of the mountains and rivers, He began the work with the Jeong-gi of the Bumo-san (Parent Mountains). "The Bumo-san are Moak-san (Mt. Moak) in Jeonju and Hoemun-san (Mt. Hoemun) in Sunchang. On Hoemun-san, there are twenty-four Hyeol (acupoints/nodes), among which is the Oseon-wigi-hyeong (Formation of Five Immortals Playing Go); the game of Gi-byeon (Go strategy) was created by Dang-Yo (Emperor Yao) to teach Danju (Danzhu), therefore, the Haewon (Resolution of Grievances) of Danju will begin from the Oseon-wigi, and the Great Un (Fortune/Destiny) will open and unfold. Next, the Jeong-gi (essential energy) of the four Myeongdang (Propitious Sites) must be synthesized. The four Myeongdang are the Oseon-wigi-hyeong (Formation of Five Immortals Playing Go) on Hoemun-san in Sunchang, the Hoseung-yebul-hyeong (Formation of a Barbarian Monk Bowing to Buddha) on Seungdal-san in Muan, the Seonnyeo-jikgeum-hyeong (Formation of an Immortal Maiden Weaving Silk) at Son-ryong in Jangseong, and the Gunsin-bongjo-hyeong (Formation of Subjects Receiving a Royal Mandate) at

⁶⁶⁶ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9.

⁶⁶⁷ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9.

⁶⁶⁸ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-66.

Baerye-bat in Taein. Furthermore, there are twenty-four Hyeol on Byeon-san in Buan; this corresponds to the number of Hyeol on Hoemun-san and, being located by the sea, it responds to the Dosu (Order/Degree) of the Hae-wang (Sea King). Hoemun-san is the San-gun (Mountain Lord) and Byeon-san is the Hae-wang (Sea King)," He said, and Sangje extracted their Jeong-gi.⁶⁶⁹

The center of the Jigi-tongil-gongsa (Work of Unifying the Earth's Gi) is Hoemun-san and Moak-san. The works concerning the Parent Mountains, Hoemun-san and Moak-san, the Sam-sin-san of Jeolla Province, the Unhoe-gongsa (Work of Converging Destinies) for the Outer Three Divine Mountains—Jirisan (Mt. Jiri), Geumgangsan (Mt. Geumgang), and Hallasan (Mt. Halla)—and the work concerning the 24 Hyeol (nodes) of the San-gun (Mountain Lord) and Hae-wang (Sea King) form the core of the Jigye-gongsa (Work of the Earthly Realm). Through the Cheonjigongsa (Work of Renewing Heaven and Earth), the Celestial Realm is aligned, and the relationship between Heaven and Humanity is revitalized from the Johwa (harmony/creation) relationship of Donghak Thought into an advanced Sangsaeng (Mutual Beneficence) relationship. Through the Insin-gangse (Advent of the Divine in Human Form), the status of humanity as the mediator of the Cheon-Won-Ji-Bang (Heaven is Round, Earth is Square) relationship between Heaven and Earth is revitalized, and the Cheonjigongsa (Work of Renewing Heaven and Earth) transforms the Sanggeuk (Mutual Conflict) relationship between Earth and Humanity in both East and West into Sangsaeng (Mutual Beneficence). While the views of Earth in Confucianism, Buddhism, and Seon (Daoism) are constituted individually, the view of the Earthly Realm in Daesoon Thought is presented as integrated through the 12 Unseong.

The Revitalization of the Western View of Earth Manifested in the View of the Earthly Realm based on Cheonji-Seong-Gyeong-Sin

The Western worldview is a substantialist worldview. The Earth of which the West speaks is not, as in the East, a being that resonates with Heaven and participates in the fostering work of Heaven and Earth. It is merely a material substance to which the form of Heaven is applied, or an object that is made according to Heaven's form and is dominated and managed by humans. Thus, unlike the Eastern Earth filled with divine beings, the Western Earth was an object utilized for human convenience. The Canonical Scripture (Jeongyeong) expresses this in terms of 'the convenience of all creatures.'

One day, Sangje said to Gyeong-seok, "Before, you followed my words, but today I will follow your words to decide the Gongsaregarding this matter, so think carefully and answer as I ask." He then asked again, "Is it right to leave the instruments of civilization invented by Westerners as they are, or is it right to remove them?" Gyeong-seok replied, "I believe leaving them as they are and using them will be convenient

⁶⁶⁹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-19.

for the masses." Saying his words were correct, He added, "Their machines are modeled after those of heaven." After asking several other things, Sangje finalized the Gongsu.⁶⁷⁰

The passage above shows a comprehensive characterization of the view of the earthly realm in Western modernity. First, the phrase 'the instruments of civilization invented by Westerners' shows that the characteristic of Western modernity with respect to Earth lies in the instruments of civilization. Historically, the instruments of civilization were the symbol that comprehensively represented Western modernity. The Western instruments of civilization, represented by guns, swords, and trains, reflect the post-modern (atomistic) Western views of Heaven, Earth, and humanity that shifted to atomism after the modern era.

Descartes' proposition "Cogito ergo sum (I think, therefore I am)," though a short phrase, comprehensively implies the changed Western view of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity. Although Western modernity began with Calvin's predestination, the attribute-oriented Eastern worldview introduced after Matteo Ricci led to the denial of even the monotheistic God, which was the only remaining element in the substance-based Western worldview centered on God, and posed the challenge of finding a new substance to replace the monotheistic God in a world where God had disappeared. The most prominent response to this was Descartes' proposition, "Cogito ergo sum."

The core of constructivism, which represents Western modernity, was that since the monotheistic God had disappeared, the only thing that could be trusted was the fact "I think," and therefore, all views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity should be reconstructed upon "Cogito ergo sum." Although there were opposing views to Descartes, such as Spinoza's pantheism (the entire universe is God) or Leibniz's monadology (existence is like gi), Descartes' constructivism, passing through Kant, established itself as the modern Western view of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, and particularly accelerated its practice in the view of Earth.

After modernity, to the West, the Earth was nothing more than a combination of matter composed of atoms, and the role of humanity was to create instruments of civilization by utilizing the characteristics of atoms. The paradox is that the laws of atoms also followed the principles of the view of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, but such claims were concealed. Now, humans became beings of instrumental reason who create instruments of civilization, and only Westerners became humans possessing instrumental reason. However, the excerpt above states that these instruments of civilization were the result of the opening of the boundary between Heaven and the subterranean world by Matteo Ricci, through which heavenly civilization was transmitted to the subterranean divine beings, who then unfolded it for humanity.⁶⁷¹ Consequently, the old Heaven was transformed into a Heaven that kills humans.⁶⁷²

⁶⁷⁰ Daesoon Jinrihoe Yeolam (Daesoon Jinrihoe Overview), p.20.

⁶⁷¹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsu" (Reordering Works) 1-11.

⁶⁷² Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9.

Although Western modernity was a dangerous modernity that only advanced without retreat, and a modernity that was self-destructing in arrogance, ignorant of the grace of divine beings, the excerpt above also highly evaluates the value of Western modernity in terms of "convenience for the masses." In this passage, "masses" (changsang) refers to those beings who live their daily lives without achieving Dotong (unification with the Dao) in the Later World. Because they have not achieved Dotong, instruments of civilization are indeed convenient means for carrying out daily life. Although Western modernity excluded divine beings, its achievement of development for the convenience of the masses was due to the Earth's energy (gi) of the West; therefore, it could be highly evaluated in the Gaebyeok (Great Opening) where the strengths of each civilization are integrated.⁶⁷³

From the excerpt above, we can confirm that Gucheon (the Ninth Heaven) in Daesoon Thought evaluates Western modernity ambivalently. The fact that Gucheon evaluates Western modernity ambivalently leaves room to suggest that Gucheon intentionally aimed for Western modernity. In fact, Gucheon in Daesoon Thought strongly emphasizes the importance of material civilization, much like Western modernity.

Sangje said, "Do not learn the art of using power, because hundreds of tons of weight shall be carried by trains or ships. Do not learn the art of shortening distances. By controlling the wind in a cloud chariot, you shall be able to move 10,000 ri in a moment."⁶⁷⁴

The excerpt above shows that the convenience of the masses surpasses the Dosul (spiritual arts) of the Former World. Daesoon Thought emphasizes not to confuse Daesoon Thought with the Dosul of the Former World. Daesoon Thought, like Donghak Thought, is a truth not found in previously emerged systems of truth, and thus advises against learning the Dosul of the Former World.

When the water energy (sugi) circulates in Heaven and Earth, people of all nations will be able to communicate without learning each other's languages; when the water energy circulates, there will be a cracking sound.⁶⁷⁵

This implies that the scope of civilization spoken of in Daesoon Thought includes not only concrete things like trains and steamships but also abstract concepts like language. It means that the technological advancements being realized today, more than 100 years after the Cheonjigongsa (Reordering of Heaven and Earth) began, were predicted at that time.

When some disciples followed Sangje to Golden Mountain Temple (Geumsan-sa), He recited a passage: After the Heaven Emperor, the Earth Emperor, and the Human Emperor, there will be the great Golden Mountain in the world. At the foot of Mount Mother (Moak-san), a golden icon of Maitreya has the ability to speak. The sixteen-foot-high golden icon becomes a perfected woman (jeon nyeo 全女). The

⁶⁷³ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9.

⁶⁷⁴ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Haengrok" (Acts) 1-10.

⁶⁷⁵ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyobeob" (Teachings) 1-54.

solutions of saving ten thousand nations belong to South Joseon (Korea), and a lucid breeze and bright moon embrace Golden Mountain Temple [萬國活計南朝鮮 清風明月金山寺]. The blooming civilization shall shed light on three thousand nations, and the arts of the Dao shall stretch outwardly for ninety thousand ri [文明開花三千國 道術運通九萬里].

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The excerpt above shows that the scope of modernity spoken of in Daesoon Thought is a much broader and more long-term perspective of modernity that includes Western modernity. Furthermore, the mention of the origins of civilization found in the Sagi (Records of the Grand Historian)—the Celestial Emperor, Earthly Emperor, and Human Emperor—shows that modernity is, in fact, connected to tradition.

"Establishing schools widely in this world to teach people is intended to greatly civilize the world and attach it to the history of the Three Realms to resolve the grievances (haewon) of divine beings and humans, but the current school education causes learners to fall into only base utilitarianism, such as government posts and salaries; therefore, I have brought about the attainment of the Dao outside the established framework," He concluded.⁶⁷⁷

The excerpt above indicates that Western modernity, contrary to its original purpose when the cultural destiny (munun) of the West was opened by Matteo Ricci, failed to fulfill its original intent due to humans using it only for profit. Afterward, the West denied and neglected divine beings and failed to fulfill the original purpose, but its merit of promoting the convenience of the masses is acknowledged.

One day, Sangje said to Gyeong-seok, "Before, you followed my words, but today I will follow your words to decide the Gongsaregarding this matter, so think carefully and answer as I ask." He then asked again, "Is it right to leave the instruments of civilization invented by Westerners as they are, or is it right to remove them?" Gyeong-seok replied, "I believe leaving them as they are and using them will be convenient for the masses." Saying his words were correct, He added, "Their machines are modeled after those of heaven." After asking several other things, Sangje finalized the Gongsu.⁶⁷⁸

The fact that Western civilization came to promote the convenience of the masses is shown to be an effect of the Earth's energy. However, differences in the Earth's energy can cause not only the development

⁶⁷⁶ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyobeob" (Teachings) 3-35.

⁶⁷⁷ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyobeob" (Teachings) 1-42.

⁶⁷⁸ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Jesaeng" (Saving Lives) 43.

of different cultures but also mutual antagonism, so it is said that mutual development can be pursued through the Gongsu that unifies the Earth's energy (jigi).

Sangje also said, "Because the Earth's energy (Jigi) is not unified, the human race living within it has conflicting ideologies, and everyone thinks differently, leading to mutual strife and conflict. To eliminate this, one must harmonize the divine beings (sinmyeong) of all ages through Haewon (Resolution of Grievances) and adjust the measures (dosu) of Heaven and Earth; when this is achieved, Heaven and Earth will be opened (Gaebyeok) and a paradise (Seongyeong) will be established."⁶⁷⁹

The influence of different Earth energies shown in the excerpt above appears not only in culture but also in the realm of religion. In the realm of religion, religion can combine with the Earth's energy and contribute to cultural development. Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism (Yubulseon) can also form a triple combination.

One day in the fourth lunar month, while conducting a Gongsu at Kim Bo-gyeong's house, Sangje spread out four sheets of white paper and wrote "Cheongok (Spring Valley)" on each corner. When Chi-bok inquired about its meaning, Sangje taught him, "It is the name of a won (a type of lodge or inn) where ancestral rites were discontinued long ago." He then had Chi-bok and Song-hwan hold the written papers facing each other and remarked, "Its shape is like a hobangsan (a large ceremonial umbrella) of a funeral bier."

Then, Gap-chil, following Sangje's command, went outside and returned to report a speck of cloud in the western sky. Commanded again, he went out, looked at the sky, returned, and reported that the single speck of cloud had covered the entire sky. Sangje then wrote Samyeongdang (Four Bright Halls) in the center of a sheet of white paper and said to Chi-bok, "The saying 'Samyeongdang is reborn' in the Gung-eul-ga (Song of Gung-eul) does not refer to the monk Samyeongdang, but to Samyeongdang written with the character myeong (bright). Because harmony (johwa) resides in the Buddhist Dharma, it corresponds to the Hoseung-yebul-hyeol (the auspicious site of a foreign monk bowing to Buddha). Long life without illness resides in the Daoist arts (seonsul), so it corresponds to the Oseon-wigi-hyeol (the auspicious site of five immortals playing Go). National peace and public well-being correspond to the Gunsin-bongjo-hyeol (the auspicious site of lords and vassals receiving a royal edict). Through the Seonnyeo-jikgeum-hyeol (the auspicious site of an immortal woman weaving silk), I will clothe the masses in silk. I will perform the Gongsu after holding the ancestral rite for Sinnongssi (the Divine Farmer) on the fifteenth day of the sixth lunar month. This year is the gateway (hanmun) of Heaven and Earth. If I do not perform the work now, the work cannot be achieved."

The excerpt above shows that the foundation of each civilization, represented by Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism, was in the Earth's energy, and that each land represented the will of Heaven. In the

⁶⁷⁹ Dang Hyeon-seon, Jilbe-reu Dyurang-ui Sangsanggye Yeongu (A Study on Gilbert Durand's Imaginary), Master's thesis, Hongik University Graduate School, 2009, pp.28-30.

excerpt above, the part presumed to be related to Seohak (Western Learning) is the Seonnyeo-jikgeum-hyeol (auspicious site of an immortal woman weaving silk), which also emphasizes the convenience of the masses by stating it will "clothe the masses in silk."

The shift in perception regarding Gucheon (the Ninth Heaven) has always been a key point in modernity. In Donghak Thought, the concept of Cheonoecheon (Heaven beyond Heaven) appears for the first time in Eastern thought; however, in the West, which had a foundational culture that regarded Cheonoecheon as the concept of Heaven, the view of Earth also had more substantial attributes compared to the Eastern view of Earth, which responds (gameung) to Heaven. Regarding the practical nature of the Western view of Earth, the content concerning the convenience of the masses is represented by the phrase "clothing the masses in silk" (geum-ui-changsaeng). Daesoon Thought revitalizes the Eastern and Western views of Earth through the Jigi-tongil-gongsa (Gongsa for the Unification of Earth's Energy).

Revitalization of the East-West Heaven-Earth Relationship in the Earthly Heaven (地上天國)

Regarding the discourse on the Earthly Paradise, two characteristics appear in Daesoon Thought. The first is that it clarifies the theoretical background of the Earthly Paradise, and the second is that it shows the phenomena of the Earthly Paradise.

First, Daesoon Thought's clarification of the principle of the Earthly Paradise is that this principle is realized according to the principle of Eumyang-hapdeok (Virtuous Concordance of Yin and Yang). In Daesoon Thought, the Heaven-Earth relationship becomes a system that nurtures all things (simnamansang) through the interaction of the divine beings of Heaven and Earth, according to the Heaven-Earth constitutive principle of Cheonwon-jibang (Heaven is round, Earth is square). Heaven and Earth are each responsible for only one part, Yin or Yang, and are beings that can only succeed with human Dotong (unification with the Dao), aiming for the nurture of the Dotong-gunja (person of Dao and virtue). Heaven, having the nature of Hon (spirit-soul), plans without form, thus performing the roles of Won (roundness), Mun (patterns/culture), and Do (Dao), which possess the nature of Hon, as seen in Cheonwon-jibang (Heaven is round, Earth is square), Cheonmun-jiri (astronomy and geography), and Cheondo-jideok (Heaven's Dao and Earth's virtue). On the other hand, Earth, having the nature of Baek (physical-soul), has form and executes, thus performing the roles of Bang (squareness), I (principle/order), and Deok (virtue), which possess the nature of Baek, as seen in Cheonwon-jibang, Cheonmun-jiri, and Cheondo-jideok. In the jumun (incantations) of Daesoon Thought, the divine beings who carry out the 28 constellations (su) and 24 seasonal divisions (jeolhu) of Heaven and Earth, the harmony (johwa) of Heaven and Earth, the eight gates (palmun) of Heaven and Earth, and the transformations (dungap) of Heaven and Earth appear systematically.

Traditionally, the Earthly Paradise was understood only as a hopeful desire existing in the imagination. Daesoon Thought, facing the emergence of the unfamiliar "Other," the West, interpreted the relationship between East and West using the principle of Yin-Yang, thereby establishing a turning point for an indigenous understanding of the West. Similarly, by applying the principle of Yin-Yang to the Earthly Paradise, it enabled an Eastern understanding of the meaning of the Earthly Paradise that was being advanced by the West.

Aims (Objectives)

Guarding against self-deception (mujagi 無自欺) / Re-creation of the inner-spirit (jeongsin-gaebyeok 精神開闢)

Realizing earthly immortality (jisang-sinseon-silhyeon 地上神仙實現) / Renovation of human beings (ingan-gaejo 人間改造)

Creating an earthly paradise (jisang-cheonguk-geonseol 地上天國建設) / Re-creation of the world (segye-gaebyeok 世界開闢)⁶⁸⁰

The excerpt above is the part explained as the "Aims" when Doju (Successor of the Dao) Jo Jeong-san clarified the tenets, aims, and creed of Daesoon Thought in 1925 (the Eulchuk year) after enshrining Gucheon as Gucheon-eungwon-noeseong-bohwa-cheonjon-sangje (Sangje, the All-Governing Primal Deity of the Ninth Heaven, Who Responds to All Entities with the Sound of Thunder and Universally Transforms All Beings). Although there were many researchers of Jeungsan's thought at the time, Doju Jo Jeong-san was the first to clearly distinguish Daesoon Thought into tenets, aims, and creed.

In the passage above, 'aim' is the part that specifies the intention behind the Reordering Works of Heaven and Earth and the many deeds of Jeungsan. The 'creation of an earthly paradise,' expressed in the passage as 're-creation of the world (segye-gaebyeok),' shows that the earthly paradise is understood at the level of the Great Opening (gaebyeok), namely the virtuous concordance of yin and yang (eumyang-hapdeok).

Next, looking at the second aspect, the phenomena of the Earthly Paradise, Daesoon Thought explains the state of the Earthly Paradise through its underlying principles (Ichi).

In the Later World, once a seed is planted, new sprouts will emerge from the root every year for harvest, and the land will become fertile soil even without cultivation. This is because the earth is burned three ja (feet) and three chi (inches) deep.⁶⁸¹

⁶⁸⁰ Pak Jeong-jin, *Hanguk Munhwa Simjeong Munhwa* (Introduction to Art Anthropology: Korean Culture as Heart-Mind Culture), Mirae Munhwasa, 1990, pp.130-146.

⁶⁸¹ The theory of Yin-Yang and the Five Phases has both positive and negative aspects; Western scholars tend to evaluate Yin-Yang and the Five Phases as objectively as possible, rating it at least as a primitive form of science. Representative figures include Marcel Granet, Angus Graham, Benjamin Schwartz, and Joseph Needham. (Kim Gi, "Eumyang Ohaengseol-ui Jujahakjeok Jeokyang-e Gwanhan Yeongu" [A Study on the Application of the Yin-Yang and Five Phases Theory in Zhu Xi's Philosophy], Ph.D. dissertation, Sungkyunkwan University, 2012, p.4) On the other hand, Eastern scholars tend to regard

The excerpt above is a passage describing the Earth in the Earthly Paradise of the Later World. In the Later World's Earth, crops grow by themselves even without planting seeds. The Earth, whose status has been elevated like Heaven according to the principle of Eumyang-hapdeok, corresponds to Heaven in its function as well. Meanwhile, the place where the Dotong-sinmyeong (divine beings of Dotong), who will join the Dotong-gunja leading the Later World, exist is also Geumgangsan (Diamond Mountain), considered the most beautiful place on Earth.

Sangje, referring to a well at Dao Prosperity Hill Path (Dochang-hyeon) of Great Benevolence (Taein) County, said, "This is a spring of milk. And as the Dao shall dwell in the 12,000 peaks of Geumgang Mountain, the same number of sages who were enlightened to the Dao will be born into the world. Yet, in the Later world, women shall outnumber men among the sages." And He added, "In the upper area, is Dao Prosperity (Dochang 道昌), in the middle, is Great Benevolence (Taein 泰仁), and in the lower, is Great Awakening (Daegak 大覺)."

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The Earthly Paradise was actualized by the incarnation of Jeungsan, but since the Earthly Paradise was an intended principle from the time Heaven and Earth were created, it had been continuously pursued even before his incarnation. In Western religions, heaven and earth were generally separated, but as seen in examples like Silla's Bulgukto (Buddha Land) and the Hwarang (warrior youth group), integration was continuously pursued in the East.

In Daesoon Thought, the realization of the Earthly Paradise is shown to be through the education of humanity, as revealed in the "Jeongyo" (Transmission of Teachings), by the sages who appeared in the world and the propagation of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism over a history of about 4,600 years. The Jeon-gyeong describes the Earthly Paradise of the Later World, where Heaven and Earth succeed through the Eumyang-hapdeok of Heaven and Earth and the Sin-in-johwa (Harmonious Union between Divine Beings and Human Beings) of humans and divine beings, as follows:

Furthermore, in the Later World, the entire world will become one family, and the masses will be governed according to principles (beopri) through harmony (johwa), without the use of intimidation or punishment. Those who hold office will have their authority (hwagwon) opened, so they will not act beyond their station, and the populace will be free from all afflictions of grievance, resentment, greed, and lewdness. They will be spared the suffering of sickness and the ritual of death and burial, achieving agelessness and immortality (bullobulsa). There will be no distinction between rich and poor, and they will

Yin-Yang and the Five Phases as more superstitious. (Bang In, "Godae Jungguk-ui Ujuron-ui Han Hyeongtaero-seoui Eumyang Ohaengseol" [The Theory of Yin-Yang and Five Phases as a Form of Ancient Chinese Cosmology], Jonggyo Yeongu (Religious Studies) 4, 1988, p.71)

⁶⁸² Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9.

travel freely. The sky will be low, allowing ascent and descent at will. Their wisdom will brighten, allowing them to comprehend the past, present, future, and all directions of the world. The Three Disasters (samjae) of water, fire, and wind will vanish from the world, and it will transform into an Earthly Paradise (jisang-seongyeong) where auspicious signs abound.⁶⁸³

In the excerpt above, the Later World presupposes that Heaven and Earth are harmonized by humans, thus showing that human education and human transformation are prerequisites. As such, the Earthly Paradise of Daesoon Thought is realized based on very detailed logic within a long history.

Furthermore, in Daesoon Thought, along with the principles, three historical events related to the Earthly Paradise are noteworthy. In the Jeon-gyeong, the figures who earnestly pursued the Earthly Paradise are Emperor Yao, Matteo Ricci, and Great Master Jinmuk. In Daesoon Thought, the first person who attempted to construct the Earthly Paradise through Eumyang-hapdeok was Emperor Yao.

On the 23rd day of the twelfth lunar month of the Jeongmi year, Sangje visited Shin Gyeong-su at his house. Sangje spoke about Yao's "observing the sun, moon, and stars, and respectfully bestowing the seasons upon the people" (yeoksang ilwolsongsin gyeongsuinsi), saying, "Heaven and Earth, without the sun and moon, are an empty shell; the sun and moon, without a person of wisdom (ji-in), are an empty shadow. Because Dang Yao (Emperor Yao) discerned the laws of the sun and moon and taught them to the people, the grace of Heaven and the principles of Earth were finally bestowed upon humanity." At this time, Sangje taught, "The sun and moon govern all things without selfishness; the rivers and mountains have the Dao and receive hundreds of practices (日月無私治萬物 江山有道受百行)," and He composed the Five Mantras (Oju), calling them the "Essence (Jinaek) of Heaven and Earth," and the Five Mantras are as follows.

新天地家家長歲 日月日月萬事知

侍天主造化定永世不忘萬事知

福祿誠敬信 壽命誠敬信 至氣今至願爲大降

明德觀音八陰八陽 至氣今至願爲大降

三界解魔大帝神位願趁天尊關聖帝君⁶⁸⁴

In the excerpt above, Daesoon Thought evaluates that Emperor Yao (Deyao Taotangssi, BC 2324–BC 2255) opened the path to the earthly paradise by teaching humanity the grace of Heaven, which is the law of the sun and moon—that is, the principle of time—and the corresponding principles of the Earth.

Next, the figures who sought to realize the earthly paradise of Daesoon Thought in the period near the modern era are Matteo Ricci and Great Master Jinmuk (1562-1633). In Daesoon Thought, Matteo Ricci's Eastern mission is highly regarded as an effort by Seohak (Western Learning) to establish an earthly

⁶⁸³ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 3-14.

⁶⁸⁴ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 2-1.

paradise. Although Seohak's heaven (Cheondang) was emphasized as existing in the afterlife, Daesoon Thought assesses that the true value of Seohak lay in the construction of an earthly paradise. Other figures who sought to find the earthly paradise even before Matteo Ricci are re-examined in Daesoon Thought. Among these figures are Sinrongssi (Emperor Yan Shennong), Gangtaegong (Jiang Shang, B.C. 1211-1072), Gwanunjang (Guan Yu, ?-21), and Shakyamuni.⁶⁸⁵

Matteo Ricci's attempt at an earthly paradise was frustrated by the entrenched customs of Confucianism. However, instead, the boundary between East and West was opened, and the civilization deities of the East crossed over to the West to participate in the construction of the Western earthly paradise. But this opening, occurring while grievances remained unresolved due to human arrogance, instead led to the derangement of the Three Realms.

Another figure who strives for the construction of the earthly paradise in Daesoon Thought is Great Master Jinmuk. Great Master Jinmuk, who was the protagonist of miracles and legends to the extent of being called a living Buddha during the mid-Joseon period, ascended to the heavens to learn all sorts of wondrous laws and intended to bestow them upon the human world, but this, too, was thwarted by the slander of the Confucian scholar Kim Bong-gok.

After the failure of Donghak, the situation of the East (Dongyang) was at a critical juncture (baekcheokgandu), its very survival hanging by a thread, but following the Cheonjigongsa (Reordering of the Universe), it seized the Russo-Japanese War as an opportunity for revival, which continues to this day. The relationship between East and West, where the East was once ahead, was reversed after Matteo Ricci and Great Master Jinmuk, and the East, facing a crisis of annihilation, was revived. After the Cheonjigongsa, the exchange between East and West intensified, and a culture combining the strengths of both East and West has been established over 150 years.

The Indigenous Modernity of the View of the Human Realm (Ingyegwan) as "Achievement Depends on Humanity" (Seongsa Jaein)

The View of Humanity (Ingangwan) as the View of the Human Realm (Ingyegwan)

The establishment of the Daesoon Thought's view of the human realm begins with the incarnation of Gucheon (Ninth Heaven); the incarnation of Gucheon as a substantial entity is clearly revealed in the term "Gangseong Sangje" (Sangje of the Gang [Kang] surname) found in the divine title of Gucheon.

Gangseong Sangje (姜聖上帝) means

It signifies the honorific title of the omniscient and omnipotent God who, with the supreme authority over the Three Realms (Samgye Daegwon), presides over and commands all things in the universe (Samramansang), observing and overseeing all heavens (Gwangammancheon).

⁶⁸⁵ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Haengrok" (Acts) 3-53.

"Gangseong Sangje" reveals that Gucheon incarnated by adding the surname of the human realm (Gang) to the divine title. Due to the incarnation of Gucheon, the view of the human realm is newly formed. After the incarnation, the divine beings (Sinmyeong) who operated heaven and earth begin to seek out humans with whom to share the apportionment of destiny (Unsu). Before the incarnation, humans sought the divine beings, but after the incarnation, the divine beings seek humans.

When Bak Gong-u came to Guritgol after arguing with his wife, Sangje suddenly rebuked him, saying, "If I am virulent, I possess all the virulence in the world, and if I am good, I possess all the good in the world. How dare you commit such an untruthful act while in my presence? Now, the divine beings of heaven and earth will seek the apportionment of destiny, visiting each person and each household to test their capacity (Giguk). If one's disposition is not generous and the harmony of the home is lost, the divine beings will mock them, deeming their capacity unfit to be entrusted with great tasks, and they will lead each other away; therefore, how could those who have set their minds on this work dare to be negligent in their thoughts even for a moment?"⁶⁸⁶

The "apportionment of destiny" (Unsu) refers to the people and households with whom the divine beings will join in the Later World, according to the principle of the virtuous concordance of Yin and Yang. Through the incarnation of Gucheon, the status of humanity is elevated. In Daesoon Thought, divine beings and humans are distinguished by the boundary of life and death; when a human dies, they become a divine being, and when a divine being is born, they become a human.

When Kim Song-hwan inquired about matters after death, Sangje said, "Humans have a Hon (spirit-soul) and a Baek (body-soul); when a person dies, the Hon ascends to heaven and becomes a Sin (divinity), receiving ancestral rites from descendants, and after four generations pass, it becomes a Yeong (spirit) or a Seon (immortal). The Baek returns to the earth, and after four generations pass, it becomes a Gwi (ghost)."⁶⁸⁷

Divine beings and humans change their forms by themselves through life and death. In other words, a human is a divine being possessing the form of a body, and when a human sheds that form through death, they become a divine being. However, a human who has cultivated the Dao has their Jeong (essence) and Hon (spirit-soul) combined and solidified, so even in death, the Hon does not scatter and can ascend to the heavens; but for a human who has not cultivated, their spirit-soul fades away like dissipating smoke.

For one who has cultivated the Dao, their Jeonghon (essence-soul) is firmly consolidated, so even in death, it does not scatter and ascends to the heavens; whereas for one who has not, their Jeonghon is faint and will dissipate like smoke or a bubble.⁶⁸⁸

⁶⁸⁶ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Jesaeng" (Saving Lives) 43.

⁶⁸⁷ Yi Eo-ryeong, *Dijirogu: Hangukin-i Ikkeun-eun Cheomdanjungbo Sahoe*, Geu Mirae-reul Ilgneun Keyword (Digilog: Keywords for Reading the Future of the Advanced Information Society Led by Koreans), Seoul: Saengak-ui Namu, 2006.

⁶⁸⁸ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 46.

In the excerpt above, "Jeonghon" (essence-soul) differs from Hon (spirit-soul) because Jeonghon is the combination of Jeong (essence), which is the material aspect among the Jeong-Gi-Sin (Essence, Energy, Spirit) in the body, and Hon, which is the spiritual aspect; therefore, Jeonghon is a soul that humans possess only while alive. The level of this Jeonghon is determined by the degree of a human's cultivation (Sudo). Consequently, divine beings and humans can form a Yin-Yang relationship.

神有人神 陰人陽, ... [...] 神人以陰陽成造化 ... [...] 神人和而萬事成 神人合而百工成 神明俟人
人俟神明 陰陽相合 神人相通 然後天道成而地道成 神事成而人事成 人事成而神事成⁶⁸⁹

There is the divine (Shin) and there is the human; the divine is yin and the human is yang. ...

The divine and the human work creative transformation (johwa) through yin and yang. ...

Only when God and Man are in harmony can all affairs (Mansa) be achieved,

Only when God and Man cooperate can the hundred endeavors (Baekgong) be achieved.

God awaits (desires) Man, and Man awaits (desires) God.

Only after Yin and Yang mutually unite and God and Man mutually commune,
does the Dao of Heaven become complete and the Dao of Earth become complete.

Only when the work of God is achieved can the work of Man be achieved,
and only when the work of Man is achieved can the work of God be achieved.⁶⁹⁰

In the excerpt above, the reason God and Man depend on and guide each other is that humans, having bodies, can affect change in the earthly world but cannot know the unseen realms, whereas divine beings can see the unseen realms but cannot affect change in the earthly world. When the Heaven above heavens cultivates (Hwayuk) heaven and earth, it distinguishes between divine beings and humans and has them interact because humans, having bodies, can become adept in all areas through effort but cannot excel in one specific field; whereas divine beings, lacking bodies, can excel in one specific field but, lacking bodies, cannot become adept in all areas. However, the divine beings of the human realm and the divine beings of heaven and earth are distinguished.

Heaven and Earth are filled with divine beings (sinmyeong); if a spirit departs from even a single blade of grass, it will wither, and if a spirit moves from even an earthen wall, it will collapse.⁶⁹¹

The excerpt above shows that in Daesoon Thought, the views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity are a system of divine beings (Sinmyeong) comprising the Heaven Realm, Earth Realm, and Human Realm, all filled with divine beings. This shows that the God-Human relationship in Daesoon Thought is composed of

⁶⁸⁹ Kim Ji-ha, *Huin Geuneul-ui Mihaeg-eul Chajaseo* (Aesthetics Lectures: In Search of the Aesthetics of White Shadow), Seoul: Silcheon Munhaksa, 2005.; Kim Ik-du, "Dong-asia Sasang Sogeui Hwahae-wa Sangsaeng: Hanguk-ui Geunhyeondae Jeonbuk-ui Sasang Undong-gwa Geu Jeongae Yangsang" [Reconciliation and Mutual Flourishing in East Asian Thought: Ideological Movements in Modern and Contemporary Jeonbuk, Korea, and Their Development], *Proceedings of the 93rd East Asian Ancient Studies Conference*, 2023.

⁶⁹⁰ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-66.

⁶⁹¹ Daesoon Jinrihoe Yeolam (Daesoon Jinrihoe Overview), "Hunhoe" (Teachings/Precepts).

organic humans and mechanistic divine beings, and this relationship is reflected in Heaven, Earth, and Humanity. Therefore, Gucheon presents the law of Sinin Uido (mutual guidance and dependence between divine beings and humans) as the prescription for the derangement of the Three Realms. Its core is that after the Samgye Daesun (Great Itineration of the Three Realms), which diagnoses the problems of the world following the incarnation, 'Gods' and 'Humans' help each other to change the world.

With the principle (Ibeop) of Sinin Uido, He concluded the Cheonjigongsa (Reordering of the Universe) with Boeun (Grateful Reciprocation), focusing primarily on Haewon (Resolution of Grievances).⁶⁹²

In the Samjae (Three Powers) theory, humans appear as mediators who mediate the communication between Heaven and Earth. The difference between the view of the human realm (Ingyegwan) and the view of humanity (Ingangwan) is that in the former, events are logically connected according to the systemic nature of the "realm" (Gye). While the Samjae view of humanity focuses on individual decision-making, the Samgye view of the human realm emphasizes a systemic character. Therefore, the mediating and grafting functions that humans possess also manifest systematically.

For over 100 years since the modern era, the East and the West have held ambivalent feelings for each other, known as Orientalism and Occidentalism; the West mystified the East to justify its domination, and the East mystified the West to justify the abandonment of its own identity. The forgetting of the Eastern origins of Western modern civilization for over 100 years makes Eastern people today unable to believe that the origin of Western modernity was the East. The Eastern views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, in a state of crisis, came to await the emergence of new views of the Heaven Realm, Earth Realm, and Human Realm.

The View of the Human Realm (Ingyegwan) as "Achievement Depends on Humanity" (Seongsa Jaein)

The difference between before and after the advent of Gucheon is prominent in the reversal of the relationship between divine beings and humans. Humans, who had always served the divine beings, reached a stage in the modern era of challenging and even denying God; however, the incarnation of Sangje finally provided the opportunity for the divine beings to acknowledge humans and achieve cooperation with them.

"Jungchalinsa (investigating human affairs) signifies Dotong (unification with the Dao), and this means that in the future, humans will possess all rights and everything whatsoever. Therefore, humans become the highest. ... (omitted) In the past, it was the Cheonjon Sidae (Era of Heaven's Supremacy) as Sinbong-eocheon (divinity enshrined in Heaven), where Heaven held and exercised all authority; currently, it is the Jijon Sidae (Era of Earth's Supremacy) as Sinbong-eoji (divinity enshrined in Earth), where the

⁶⁹² Daesoon Jinrihoe Yeolam (Daesoon Jinrihoe Overview), "Sinjo" (Creed/Articles of Faith).

Earth holds and exercises it. Although the Jijon Sidae is now said to be over, the reason people still depend on the earth—such as checking directions when moving or selecting grave sites—is because the earth holds the authority. In the future, it will be Sinbong-eoin (divinity enshrined in Humans), and humans will take charge of this authority." "Dojun-nim Hunsil" (Address by Dojun-nim) (April 12, 1989)⁶⁹³

From the excerpt above, we can understand that the reason the power of the Earth, such as in Pungsujiri (Geomancy), was emphasized as much as Heaven in the East—unlike in the West—was the belief that divine beings were enshrined in the Earth. Furthermore, we can see that the incarnation of Sangje is a great opportunity to enshrine in humans the divine beings that were enshrined in the Earth. Humans, who feared the sins and punishments of the divine beings, are elevated to a status equal to that of the divine beings through the incarnation.

The greatest change among the shifts in the views of Earth and Humanity brought about by the incarnation of Gucheon was the resolution of the question, 'What is a human, and why do they exist?' Daesoon Thought presents the 'Mind' (Maeum) as the answer to the reason for human existence.

The mind is the master of the entire body (Ilsin), so all of a person's speech (Eoneo) and actions (Haengdong) are expressions of the mind. In that mind, there are two kinds: the good mind (Yangsim) and the selfish mind (Sasim). The good mind (Yangsim) is the original mind (Bonsim) according to one's heavenly nature (Cheonseong); the selfish mind (Sasim) is the greedy mind (Yoksim) that is activated by material desires (Muryok). Originally, the essence (Bonjil) of human nature (Inseong) is the good mind (Yangsim), but being captured by the selfish mind (Sasim), one comes to dare (Gamhaeng) speech and actions (Eondong) that go against moral principles (Dori); therefore, dedicate yourself (Jeonnyeom) to abandoning the selfish mind and reclaiming the good mind, which is the heavenly nature. The root (Geunwon) of all human (Ingan) sins (Joeak) arises from deceiving the mind; therefore, eradicate (Geunjeol) all (Ilche) sins with honesty (Jeongjik) and truthfulness (Jinsil), which are the essence (Bonjil) of human nature (Inseong).⁶⁹⁴

In the excerpt above, the human mind is an existence that embraces heavenly nature. Just as it is said in the West that humans were made in the image of God, the human mind, in particular, is said to be able to commune with the mind of Heaven. Although the West surpassed the East for 100-some years of the modern era, the concept of 'Mind' (Maeum) still does not exist in Western humanities.

The 'Mind', regarded as the fundamental mechanism of cultivation (Suaeng) in Eastern tradition, is elevated in Daesoon Thought to the status of the catalyst by which the earthly paradise is realized after the incarnation of Gucheon. In Daesoon Thought, the mind is the treasure of heaven and earth; heaven and

⁶⁹³ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-6.

⁶⁹⁴ Yongdam Yusa (Songs of Yongdam), "Dodeok-ga" (Song of Virtue and Morality).

earth also operate according to the mind, and the incarnation of Gucheon also takes place.⁶⁹⁵ The reason divine beings are enshrined in humans is also because of the mind, and thus the mind was called the Yeongdae (Spirit Platform), the house of the soul.⁶⁹⁶ In Donghak Thought, "Jigi (Ultimate Energy)" is mentioned multiple times, but there is little mention of the mind that receives that "Jigi." The reason for human existence, revealed after the divine incarnation, is that humans possess a mind, enabling them to form the Three Powers (Samjae) equally with Heaven and Earth.

One day in the sixth lunar month, Shin Gyeong-won (辛京元) sent a person in haste from Taein to report the news that policemen were coming to his house daily asking for Sangje's whereabouts. Sangje saw the person and scolded him, "What matter caused a person coming on urgent business to tarry on the way and be late?" The person replied, "On the way, there was someone judging fortunes using the Danghwa Commentary on the I Ching, so I tarried for a moment; please forgive me." Sangje then immediately wrote a message, saying, "Give this message to Gyeong-won, and after he reads it, burn it immediately." The message was as follows.

天用雨露之薄則必有萬方之怨
地用水土之薄則必有萬物之怨
人用德化之薄則必有萬事之怨
天用地用人用統在於心
心也者鬼神之樞機也門戶也道路也
開閉樞機出入門戶往來道路神
或有善或有惡
善者師之惡者改之
吾心之樞機門戶道路大於天地⁶⁹⁷

In the excerpt above, Heaven bestowing rain and dew and Earth using the virtue of water and soil depend on the mind. Heaven and Earth move as humans desire for their cultivation (Hwayuk), thus the Earth also follows the will of humans. The human mind becomes the passage and house through which divine beings come and go. According to the liminality principle of Ga-ilbaebeop (doubling method), some researchers predict many changes in the land during the transition from the Jijon Sidae (Era of Earth's

⁶⁹⁵ Donggyeong Daejeon (The Eastern Canon), "Jwajam" (Admonition While Seated). O do bak i yak, bul yong da eon ui, byeol mu ta do ri, seong gyeong sin sam ja. Our Way is broad yet simple; there is no need for many words, and there is no other principle — it is the three characters of Seong (Sincerity), Gyeong (Reverence), and Sin (Faith).

⁶⁹⁶ A. N. Whitehead, D. R. Griffin and D. W. Sherburne, *Process and Reality*, New York: Free Press, 1929, pp.10-11. Cited in Roger Ames and David Hall, trans. Jang Won-seok, *Ilsangsa-e Chochoom Matchugi: Jungyong-ui Beonyeok-gwa Cheolhakjeok Haeseok* (Focusing on the Familiar: A Translation and Philosophical Interpretation of the Zhongyong), Seongnam: Academy of Korean Studies Press, 2019, pp.50-51.

⁶⁹⁷ Nam Hyo-on, trans. Pak Dae-hyeon, *Chugangjeop* (Collected Works of Chuggang), Seoul: Society for the Promotion of Korean Culture, 2007, Vol. 5, 35b.

Supremacy) to the Injon Sidae (Era of Humanity's Supremacy), passing through the Jijon Sidae before reaching the Injon Sidae. Because humans are beings with minds, the value of the mind is determined in the relationship of grace and grievance (Eunwongwangye), where the mind becomes substantial.⁶⁹⁸

正吾之心氣 立吾之義理 求吾之心靈⁶⁹⁹

The excerpt above, appearing at the end of the "Poyumun" (Edict of Enlightenment) which states the human mind is a treasure, shows that the value of the human mind is determined by one's everyday state of mind (Sim-gi) and sense of obligation (Uri). Therefore, the earthly paradise arrives when humans resolve their grievances (Haewon), re-establishing the obligation and grateful reciprocation (Boeun) that had disappeared in a world diseased with immorality.

In particular, the Haewon-Boeun relationship between parents and children—that is, between ancestral spirits (Seollyeongsin) and descendants—is the key to the realization of the mind, and thus the realization of the earthly paradise. Whereas in the West, reason is the standard for all judgment, in the East, filial piety (Hyo) is the standard for judgment by the mind. In Daesoon Thought, filial piety also becomes the ultimate standard for the mind and for judgments of life and death.

At Daeheung-ri, Sangje took a thirty-page book of Western paper and wrote, "Baeunmangdeok Mansasin Ilbunmyeong Ilyang Sisaeng (The divinity who betrays grace and forgets virtue deserves ten thousand deaths; when one part becomes clear, the One Yang begins to arise)" on each of the first fifteen pages, and "Jakji Buji Seongui Ungyak Ileum Sisaeng (He who works ceaselessly is a holy doctor and heroic medicine; the One Yin begins to arise)" on each of the last fifteen pages. He then placed cinnabar ground on a mirror and a plate, and said to Gwang-chan, "This matter determines the path of life and death, so think carefully and speak." Gwang-chan submitted, "Those who do not know how to serve their ancestral spirits will not be able to live." Sangje was silent, but after a short while, He said, "Your words are acceptable," and, wrapping the plate in paper and dipping it in the cinnabar (Jusa), He stamped every page of the book. He then declared, "This is a Mapae (horse warrant)."⁷⁰⁰

In the excerpt above, grateful reciprocation (Boeun) to the ancestral spirits becomes the standard for judging life and death. The reason obligation (Uri) and grateful reciprocation (Boeun) are the standard for judging life and death is that the capacity of the mind—which is the standard by which Heaven and Earth choose humans—is determined by obligation.

Although the concept of 'Mind' (Maeum) is absent in Western thought, Daesoon Thought positively embraces Western thought as well. Daesoon Thought, like the West, affirms growth. However, the difference between Daesoon Thought and the West is that growth in Daesoon Thought includes the divine

⁶⁹⁸ Research Society for the History of Korean Thought, Joseon Yuhak-ui Gaenyeomdeul (Concepts in Joseon Confucianism), Yemunseowon, 2002.

⁶⁹⁹ Kim Yun-gyeong, Hanguk Dogyosa (History of Korean Taoism), Seoul: Munsacheol, 2020.

⁷⁰⁰ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Jesaeng" (Saving Lives) 43.

beings of Heaven and Earth and the ancestral spirits. In Daesoon Thought, human growth becomes Dotong (unification with the Dao). What is emphasized in the growth of Daesoon Thought is the grace of Heaven and Earth and the ancestors—that is, Boeun. However, in Daesoon Thought, unlike in Daoism, Dotong can only be achieved by entrusting oneself to the will of Sangje, not just through one's own efforts.

任上帝之任意洋洋上帝在上浩浩⁷⁰¹

The excerpt above shows that the Dotong, which the treasured mind can achieve, lies in Ansim (peace of mind) and Ansin (peace of body), which are cultivated according to the Jinbeop (True Law) presented by the incarnated Gucheon. In Daesoon Thought, Dotong, like the principle of Muwiihwa (non-action and natural transformation), depends not only on individual effort but also on the principles of Gucheon.

The view of the human realm in Daesoon Thought, while its significance was revealed along with the progress of the Cheonjigongsa, appears in the "Jeongyo" (Teachings) section even before the Cheonjigongsa. Daesoon Thought presents the "Jeongyo" as a program through which Heaven and Earth foster human growth via Confucianism, Buddhism, and Seon (Daoism), which possess the energies of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity. Just as Mencius mentioned the appearance of a sage every 500 years, the "Jeongyo" states that over approximately 4,617 years, divine sages (Sinseong) and the sages of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Seon, along with their teachings, appeared nine times in 513-year cycles, teaching humanity as shown in <Table 3>.⁷⁰²

<Table 3> Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism (Yu-Bul-Seon) and the Jeongyo (Teachings)

<Table 3> Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism (Yu-Bul-Seon) and the Jeongyo (Teachings)

	Potae (Concepti on; union of governan ce and religion, jeonggyo- hapil)	Yangsae ng (Nurturi ng Life; separati on of governa nce and religion, jeonggy o-bunri)	Yokdae (Bathing and Capping ; separati on of governa nce and religion)	Gwanwa ng (Prime; union of governa nce and religion)						
Period	513 years × 3 = 1,539 years	513 years × 3 = 1,539 years	513 years × 3 = 1,539 years							
Content	The Three Sovereigns and Five Emperors (Samhwan g-Oje)	Yao and Shun (Yo-Sun)	King Tang (Tangwa ng)	Shakyam uni Buddha (Seokga)	Confuc ius (Gongj a)	Jesus (Yes u)	Silla and the Southe rn Dynast ies (Silla-	Neo- Confucian ism (Seongnih ak)	the Pope (Gyohwa ng)	Daesoo n (the Great Itinerati on)

⁷⁰¹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Jesaeng" (Saving Lives) 43.

⁷⁰² Gu Hoe-min, trans. Gwak Sin-hwan, Sogangjeo-ui Seoncheon Yeokhak (Shao Yong's Prior Heaven Yi-ology), Seoul: Simsan, 2007.

							Namjo)			
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In fact, Daesoon Thought can be interpreted through the 7 stars of Jamidusu (Purple Star Astrology)—an extension of the astronomy and geography of Eastern mathematics, namely Hadonakseo (Hetu and Luoshu) mathematics—the 28 constellations (Su) of esoteric Buddhist astronomy, the 24 seasonal divisions (Jeol) as temporal functions, the cosmology of the Cheonsangbunyeolchajido (Celestial Chart), and the 36-heaven cosmology of the Desire Realm, Form Realm, and Formless Realm.⁷⁰³⁷⁰⁴⁷⁰⁵⁷⁰⁶

In accordance with Daesoon Thought's Samgyegongsa (Reordering of the Three Realms), which aims to fuse the principles (Ichi) manifested across all times and spaces of East and West, the Three Realms are reorganized for the cultivation of humanity. By the Cheongyegongsa (Reordering of the Heaven Realm), Tae-eul (Great Unity), the center of the Cheonsangbunyeolchajido, is related to Tae-eul Cheonsangwon-gun (Celestial Lord of the Great Unity), and the Chilseong (Seven Stars) surrounding Tae-eul are reorganized through a change in the order of the Chilseongju (Lords of the Seven Stars). Divine generals (Sinjang) are assigned to each of the 28 constellations and 24 seasonal divisions surrounding the Seven Stars, thereby substantiating correlative thinking. In the relationship of the Three Realms in the Later World, the greatest changes from the Former World are Injon (Supremacy of Humanity), Seongsu Jaerin (Achievement Depends on Humanity), and Dotonggunja (Person of Dao Mastery).⁷⁰⁷

Therefore, unlike the human-divine relationship in existing religions, in Daesoon Thought, it is one of mutual communication. It can be said that humans are gods trapped within bodies, and the goal is to awaken the internal god to communicate with the external gods. The cosmology and view of the human body in Daesoon Thought are meticulous in detail, explaining the cosmologies and views of the human body of existing religions more thoroughly and systematically.

Western thought, which entered East Asia 100 years ago, was actually familiar to East Asians. The West learned from Mencius and initiated the first dynastic revolution (Yeokseonghyeongmyeong), and through the I Ching (Book of Changes), Leibniz established monadology, the foundation of atomism.⁷⁰⁸

⁷⁰³ The concept of Wonhyeong Ijeong (origination, flourishing, benefit, and firmness) is actually used to refer to the four common properties of cyclical periods such as spring-summer-autumn-winter, morning-noon-evening-night, and early years-prime years-middle years-old age. It is said that, like infinite nested cycles, each individual thing has its Wonhyeong Ijeong and all things and affairs have their Wonhyeong Ijeong. (Yun Yong-nam, "Juja Iseo-l-ui Jaeguseong" [Reconstructing Zhu Xi's Theory of Li/Principle], Dongyang Cheolhak Yeongu (East Asian Philosophy Studies) 8, 1988, pp.52-54)

⁷⁰⁴ Choe Jin-deok, "Jujahak-ui Igieron-gwa Gwisinron" [The Li-Qi Theory and Theory of Ghosts and Spirits in Zhu Xi's Philosophy], Yangmyeonghak (Journal of Yangming Studies) 23, Korean Yangming Society, 2009, pp.381-383.

⁷⁰⁵ Do gi jang jon sa bul ip, se gan jung in bu dong gwi. In eternally preserving the energy of the Way, evil things cannot enter, and one will not go round and round like the common people of the world.

⁷⁰⁶ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyobeob" (Teachings) 2-3.

⁷⁰⁷ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyobeob" (Teachings) 1-34.

⁷⁰⁸ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Haengrok" (Acts) 5-38. Dong yu daeseong-in wal Donghak, seo yu daeseong-in wal Seohak. In the East there is a great sage who calls it Donghak (Eastern Learning), and in the West there is a great sage who calls it Seohak (Western Learning). (Daesoon Jinrihoe Gyonmubu [Religious Affairs Department], "Dol Byeongpung" [Stone Screen], Daesoon Hoebo [Daesoon Newsletter] 119, 2011)

When Western culture arrived, Western democracy and science were not unfamiliar to Eastern intellectuals, so unlike other civilizations, their acceptance was very easy.⁷⁰⁹

The significance of the East Asian origin of European modern civilization for Korean new religions implies that the modernity possessed by Korean new religions was, from today's perspective, postmodernism—that is, contemporary modernity. Although mainstream modern intellectuals accepted Western modernity literally, the indigenous modernity of the seemingly inferior new religions was, in fact, a modernity one step ahead of the West. Another basis for the modernity of Korean new religions being postmodernism—that is, contemporaneity—is that the great rise of Korean new religions occurred after the late 1980s, when contemporaneity emerged.⁷¹⁰

Korean new religions, at the time of their emergence, were already pursuing a modernity one level higher than that of the West; therefore, for Korean new religions to be revived after Japanese suppression, they had to await the postmodern situation of the collapse of communism, or the contemporary situation.

The Revitalization of Eastern and Western Views of Humanity (Ingangwan) in the View of the Human Realm (Ingyegwan) as "Achievement Depends on Humanity" (Seongsajaein)

The Revitalization of Confucian, Buddhist, and Seon (Daoist) Views of Humanity (Ingangwan) in the View of the Human Realm (Ingyegwan) as "Achievement Depends on Humanity" (Seongsajaein)

The view of the human realm appearing in Daesoon Thought is connected to the views of humanity in Confucianism, Buddhism, and Seon (Daoism), as shown in the "Jeongyo" (Teachings). In Daesoon Thought, Confucianism, Buddhism, and Seon are said to have been the process by which Heaven educated humanity. In Daesoon Thought, where Gucheon is emphasized, Confucianism, Buddhism, and Seon correspond to the energies of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity. However, there is a significant difference in that Daesoon Thought emphasizes substantial divine beings (Sinmyeong), whereas existing Confucianism, Buddhism, and Seon emphasize the attributive functions of divine beings.

Heomu (Emptiness/Nothingness), Jeokmyeol (Nirvana/Extinction), and Ijo (Rule by Decree), which represent the ideas of existing Seon, Buddhism, and Confucianism, each take on one function of Heaven and Earth in Daesoon Thought. The Heomu of Seon, the Jeokmyeol of Buddhism, and the Ijo of Confucianism are integrated into Gwanwang (Peak of Prosperity), the stage following Potae (Conception), Yangsaeng (Nourishment), and Yokdae (Bathing and Girding) in the 12 Phases of Energy (Sibiwunseong),

⁷⁰⁹ Research Society for the History of Korean Thought, Joseon Yuhak-ui Gaenyeomdeul (Concepts in Joseon Confucianism), Yemunseowon, 2002.

⁷¹⁰ Kim Seon-hui, "Yuhakja-ga Bara Bon Yusinron-jeok Segye" [A Theistic World as Seen by a Confucian Scholar], Proceedings of the Korean Academy of Religion, Korean Academy of Religion, 2014; Jeon Seong-geon, "Dasan Yeongjisel-ui Sinhakjeok Ganeungseong" [The Theological Possibilities of Dasan's Theory of Spiritual Knowledge], Proceedings of the Korean Academy of Religion, Korean Academy of Religion, 2014)

and Daesoon Thought is the Dao of Gwanwang. The Heomu of Seon (Daoism), the Jeokmyeol of Buddhism, and the Ijo of Confucianism correspond respectively to the three functions of the mind as clarified in Neo-Confucianism: Heoryeong (Vacuous Spirit), Jigak (Perception/Awareness), and Sinmyeong (Divinity/Spirit).⁷¹¹

道傳於夜天開於子 轍環天下虛靈

教奉於晨地闢於丑 不信看兒足知覺

德布於世人起於寅 腹中八十年神明⁷¹²

In the Simgyeong (Classic of the Mind), the mind is said to have the structure of heoryeong (numinous void)–jigak (perception)–sinmyeong (divine illumination). In Daesoon Thought, the three energies of heoryeong–heomu (emptiness), jigak–jeokmyeol (nirvanic cessation), and sinmyeong–ijo correspond respectively to Heaven, Earth, and Humanity. Heoryeong, jigak, and sinmyeong can be interpreted, in correspondence with Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, as substance, function, and subject.⁷¹³⁷¹⁴

In Daesoon Thought, the principle by which Confucianism, Buddhism, and Seon can relate to divine beings is that they each possess the energies of Heaven and Earth's Potae (Conception), Yangsaeng (Nourishment), and Yokdae (Bathing and Girding).

受天地之虛無仙之胞胎

受天地之寂滅佛之養生

受天地之以詔儒之浴帶⁷¹⁵

The excerpt above shows that the Seon (Daoist) idea of Heomu (Emptiness) came from the Potae energy of Heaven and Earth, Heomu; and the Buddhist idea of Jeokmyeol (Nirvana) also came from the Yangsaeng energy of Heaven and Earth, Jeokmyeol. This is the same for Confucianism.

The harmonious union between divine and human beings (sinin-johwa) in Daesoon Thought, achieved through the principles of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism that function as Potae, Yangsaeng, and Yokdae, can be understood more clearly through Han Tae-dong's method of representing Eastern thought in symbolic mathematics. Confucianism, Buddhism, Daoism, and Western religion can be expressed as: the double-affirmative Confucianism in which X is X and $-X$ is $-X$; the paradoxical Daoism in which X is $-X$

⁷¹¹ Ko Nam-sik, "Geun Hyeondaegi Gang Jeung-san Jeonseung-e Natanan Ilbon Gwanlyeon Girok-ui Yangsang-gwa Uimi: Daesoon Jeongyeong (1929-1965)-eul Jungsim-euro" [Aspects and Significance of Japan-Related Records in the Modern and Contemporary Transmission of Gang Jeung-san: Focusing on the Daesoon Jeongyeong (1929-1965)], Ilbon Geundae Hak Yeongu (Studies in Modern Japanese Studies), 2023.

⁷¹² Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsu" (Reordering Works) 2-4.

⁷¹³ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 1.

⁷¹⁴ Some view 'Sindo' (Divine Way) as the ultimate reality and as the basis of Haewon Sangsaeng (Resolution of Grievances for Mutual Flourishing). (Kim Ui-seong, Daesoon Sasang-ui Cheolhakjeok Tamgu [Philosophical Inquiry into Daesoon Thought], Ph.D. dissertation, Sungkyunkwan University, 2017)

⁷¹⁵ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 73.

and $-X$ is X ; and the double-negative Buddhism in which X is neither X nor $-X$. The characteristics of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism are clearly revealed in how they define the relationship between friend and foe. Confucianism—glad to learn (X) and practice (X), and glad that a friend (X) comes again (X) from afar—holds that, since the ruler (X) must be ruler-like (X) and the subject ($-X$) must be subject-like ($-X$), in the friend (X)–foe ($-X$) relationship, a friend (X) is a friend (X) and a foe ($-X$) is a foe ($-X$). Against this Confucianism, which separates and drives foe and friend apart like a repulsive force, Daoism—the old archrival of Confucianism—holds that calling the Dao (X) the Dao (X) is not the Dao ($-X$), that being (X) is non-being ($-X$) and non-being ($-X$) is being (X), that the weakest water ($-X$) is strongest (X), and the ugliest ($-X$) person is the most beautiful (X); therefore a foe ($-X$) is a friend (X) and a friend (X) is a foe ($-X$). Against this Daoism, which arranges foe and friend symmetrically, Buddhism—the long-standing mediator between Confucianism and Daoism—asserts the all-encompassing emptiness (空) in which there is neither friend (X) nor foe ($-X$). Therefore the emptiness and cessation of Daoism and Buddhism are marked as $-X$. Moreover, although Confucianism has no $-X$, the double-affirmative X marked by *ijo* (以詔) can be interpreted as inner transcendence. The posthuman era requires inner transcendence, and this is well revealed in the vogue of the Korean Wave (Hallyu), which reflects the transcendence internalized by Eastern women. Inner transcendence grounded in emptiness and cessation is said to be the key to the co-evolution of humans and machines in the posthuman era. The above relationship between the Twelve Life-Stages and Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism can be summarized as in <Table 4>.⁷¹⁶⁷¹⁷⁷¹⁸⁷¹⁹⁷²⁰⁷²¹⁷²²

⁷¹⁶ Daesoon Jichim (Daesoon Guidelines), Chapter 1, Section 1.

⁷¹⁷ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 1-34.

⁷¹⁸ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Jesaeng" (Saving Lives) 43. Su saeng eo hwa, hwa saeng eo su, geum saeng eo mok, mok saeng eo geum, gi yong ga yong yeonhu bang ga wi sininja. Eum sal yang saeng, yang sal eum saeng, saeng sal ji do jae eo eumyang, in ga yong eumyang yeonhu bang ga wi insaengya. In wi yang, sin wi eum, eumyang sanghap yeonhu yu byeonhwa ji doya. Bulcheok byeonhwa ji sul, do jae eo sinmyeong, gamtong sinmyeong yeonhu sa gi sa cheuk wi ji daein daeya. Water is born from Fire and Fire is born from Water; Metal is born from Wood and Wood is born from Metal — only after one understands their uses can one be called a Divine Person. If Yin is extinguished, Yang lives; if Yang is extinguished, Yin lives — the Way of life and death lies in Yin and Yang. Only after a person can use Yin and Yang can one be called a human being. Humans are Yang and spirits are Yin; only after Yin and Yang harmonize together is there the Way of transformation. Otherwise, all techniques of transformation lie with Sinmyeong (Divine Spirits); only after communicating with Sinmyeong and accomplishing the task can this be called Daein Daeui (Great Benevolence and Great Righteousness). (Yang Mu-mok, "Haewon Jinri-roseoui Eumyang Hapdeok-gwa Minjujuui" [Yin-Yang Harmonic Virtue as Salvation Truth, and Democracy], Daesoon Sasang Nonchong [Journal of Daesoon Studies] 2, 1997, pp.175-176)

⁷¹⁹ The concept of Yin and Yang emphasized and pursued in Daesoon thought is said to advocate Jeongeum Jeongyang (Correct Yin and Correct Yang) and Hapdeok (Harmonic Virtue) through harmony, demonstrating that an ideal world can be built through this. (Yi Ho-yeol, Daesoon Sasang-ui Eumyang-non-e Gwanhan Yeongu [A Study on the Yin-Yang Theory in Daesoon Thought], Master's thesis, Daejin University, 2015)

⁷²⁰ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 1-3.

⁷²¹ Fan Chi asked about wisdom. Confucius said: 'To devote oneself to what is right for the people, and to respect spirits while keeping them at a distance — this may be called wisdom.' (Analects, "Yongya" [Yong the Brilliant])

⁷²² Yu Ji-yeon, "Hwang Hyeon (1855-1910)-ui Donghak-e Daehan Insik-gwa Bipan: Ohagimun-eul Jungsim-euro" [Hwang Hyeon's (1855-1910) Perception and Critique of Donghak: Focusing on the Ohagimun], Yi-won Haksul Nonjeop (Ywon Academic Papers) 2, 2004, pp.1-54.

Looking at the trends of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Seon in the East, overall, they have progressed in a direction where the substantiality of divine beings disappears and attributes are emphasized. In the case of Daoism, the correlative thinking of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements progresses from Waedan (Outer Alchemy) to Naedan (Inner Alchemy), and the Gi (energy) of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements is internalized. In the case of Buddhism, correlative thinking progressed from Theravada Buddhism, where Buddha and sentient beings are strictly separated, to Mahayana Buddhism's Tathagatagarbha thought, which posits that Buddha-nature is inherent in sentient beings, and finally developed into Seon (Zen) Buddhism, which holds that sentient beings can awaken directly. In the case of Confucianism, after the system of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements merged with Confucianism following the Han Dynasty, Confucianism developed into inner cultivation (Suaeng) at the stage of Neo-Confucianism. However, Confucianism, Buddhism, and Seon, having abandoned substance and leaned toward attributes, ultimately could not overcome the threat from the West, which leaned toward substance.

<Table 4> The Twelve Life-Stages (12-unseong) and Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism (Yu-Bul-Seon)

<Table 4> The Twelve Life-Stages (12-unseong) and Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism (Yu-Bul-Seon)

Category	Seon (Daoism)	Bul (Buddhism)	Yu (Confucianism)
Twelve Life-Stages (12-unseong)	Potae (Conception)	Yangsaeng (Nurturing Life)	Yokdae (Bathing and Capping)
Characteristic	Creative Transformation (Johwa)	Form (Hyeongche)	Decorum (Beomjeol)
Logic (Nolli)	X is -X, -X is X	X is -X, -X is X	X is X, -X is -X
Patriarchs of the Former World (Seoncheon Jongjang)	Laozi (Noja)	Shakyamuni (Seokga)	Confucius (Gongja)
Patriarchs of the Later World (Hucheon Jongjang)	Suun	Jinmuk	Zhu Xi (Juja)

In response to this, the concept of substantial divine beings (Sinmyeong) appears in Daesoon Thought. If the West says "God is dead," the Cheonjigongsa of Daesoon Thought is summarized as "Heaven has grown old." Whereas in the West, God is dead and humans must live alone without God, in Daesoon Thought, Heaven, which corresponds to God, is not dead but merely old, and Heaven can be mended and re-established by Sangje.

Furthermore, in contrast to Eastern thought which emphasizes attributive elements, Daesoon Thought emphasizes substantial elements and expresses the concepts of sin and punishment by placing their origin not only in human nature but also in the substance that is the structure of Heaven and Earth.

In the past Former World, the era of heroes, people lived by means of sin; but in the Later World, the era of sages, they will live by means of good. Will living by sin last long, or will living by good last long?

Now, I have laid out the Dosu (order of things) for the sentient beings of the Later World to live by means of good.⁷²³

In the excerpt above, the expression "the Former World, living by means of sin" shows that human sin is not just an individual problem. Daesoon Thought's view of humanity, unlike the Eastern Yoo-Bul-Seon (Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism) view that emphasizes an attributive view of humanity, possesses both attributes and substance through the structural reality of Seoncheon (Earlier World) and Hoocheon (Later World), thereby embodying Eastern indigenous modernity.

Revitalization of Western Views of Humanity in the Seongsajaein (成事在人) Human Realm View

In the West, as the monotheistic worldview collapsed upon reaching the modern era, it was followed by the collapse of the view of God, and then the collapse of the view of humanity. The Western worldview, which collapsed due to heliocentrism, eventually led to the collapse of the view of God, epitomized by "God is dead," and today, it is linked to the loss of humanity amidst the reality of the end of humanity and the collapse of the ecosystem.

When Matteo Ricci transmitted Western Learning (Seohak), it also had an organic worldview of the Four Elements (earth, water, fire, air), similar to Yin-Yang and the Five Elements (Ohaeng), but by the time the Cheonjigongsa (Reordering of the Universe) was underway, the Western view of humanity had discarded the Four Elements view and replaced it with the constructivist view of humanity of Descartes and Kant.

The Descartes-Kant constructivist view of humanity was a worldview that replaced the position of the vanished monotheistic God with the substance of human five senses. Descartes' assertion that in a situation where the monotheistic God had disappeared and nothing could be trusted, the only thing one could trust was one's own thought, was widely accepted and later developed by Kant into a constructivist worldview where the world is constructed by each individual.

This constructivist worldview, which emerged in the process of imitating the East—a moral society in a world without God (Shin)—was, unlike the Eastern worldview, a dangerous substantial worldview that dominated and manipulated nature. The constructivist worldview quantified and instrumentalized the world according to human senses, devising many tools of civilization and scientific technologies that had not been thought of before.⁷²⁴ As humanity seemed to grow closer to God, this constructivism was considered

⁷²³ Kim Gi-seung, "Suun Choe Je-u Jeojakui Yeondaegijeok Geomto" [A Chronological Review of Suun Choe Je-u's Works], Donghak Hakbo (Journal of Donghak Studies) 3, 2002, pp.159-162.

⁷²⁴ All the great fortune of rivers and mountains returns to this Way; its source is deepest and its principle is most profound. One must firmly establish the master of one's mind to know the taste of the Way, and one thought must be here for all things to go as intended. Sweep away the cloudy energy and nurture the clear energy like raising a young child. It is not merely that the mind be utmost, but that the mind be solely rectified. Subtle brilliance naturally emerges with divine freshness, and all things to come will return to one principle. Do not dispute others' small faults in your own mind, but bestow your own small wisdom upon others. Do not devote great sincerity to petty things in this Way. When confronting great matters and

successful for the first 200 years of its establishment. However, before even 300 years had passed, the West began to speak of "The Decline of the West." The West, having recklessly run down a path never taken for over 300 years, realized that their civilization had brought about the extinction of humanity and that they had reached a dead end with no way back.⁷²⁵

The Eastern thought that the West had originally imitated—a moral society in a world without God (Shin)—was not, in fact, constructivism like that of the West. The East, also in a society without a transcendent God, projected its own laws onto the world, but what they projected was the principle of correlative thinking known as Igiron (Theory of Principle and Material Force). Furthermore, the concept of God (Shin) in Eastern thought was not a transcendent God like that of the West, so there was no need to be hostile towards it.

The fact that Eastern Gwishin-ron (theory of spirits) is a mechanistic concept of God (Shin), like Yin-Yang or Igi (Principle and Material Force), is the point where the Eastern and Western views of God differ the most. The Eastern view of God, when looking at the concept of Sangje (Supreme Ruler) appearing in the oracle bone script of the Yin dynasty where the Eastern view of God first appeared, has anthropomorphic (personal God) elements similar to the West; however, as the Zhou dynasty's concept of Cheon (Heaven) replaced the Yin dynasty's concept of Sangje, the anthropomorphic concept gradually disappeared and the characteristics of an Ibeopshin (God of Law/Principle) emerged. The Zhou dynasty's concept of Cheon (Heaven) developed into the concepts of Cheonshin (Heavenly Spirits), Jigi (Earthly Spirits), and Ingwi (Human Spirits) under the influence of the Cheon-Ji-In Samjae (Three Powers: Heaven, Earth, Humanity) thought during the Warring States period, and eventually, by the Han dynasty when the I Ching (Book of Changes) was established, it was replaced by the concept of Yin-Yang. The mechanistic Eastern concept of Gwishin (spirits) temporarily disappeared from the forefront of Chinese intellectual history as the anthropomorphic (personal God) concepts of Buddhism and Taoism became popular. Only after Shao Kangjie (Shao Yong) explained the Igi concept as the Che-Yong (Substance-Function) relationship of Gwishin concept and Yin-Yang Ohaeng did the Yin-Yang and Igi concepts inherent in the Gwishin concept regenerate. Shao Kangjie's Che-Yong relationship was more specific in terms of Gihwa-ron (theory of materialization/qi-transformation) than the simple Yin-Yang relationship of the Warring States period's Shin-In (God-Human) relationship.⁷²⁶

If Yoo-Bul-Seon (Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism) are concepts that explain the view of humanity from an attributive perspective, then Jori (Regulating Principle) and Gihwa (Materialization/Qi-

exhausting all deliberation, help will naturally come. The great fortune of winds and clouds follows one's capacity. The mysterious mechanism does not appear outwardly — do not be hasty in mind. On another day when merit is accomplished, one will form a good karmic bond with the immortals. The mind is originally empty; even when responding to things, it leaves no trace. Only by cultivating the mind does one know virtue; only by illuminating virtue is it the Way. It lies in virtue, not in people; in faith, not in study; in what is near, not in what is far; in sincerity, not in seeking — it seems not so yet is so, and seems far yet is not far. Cheondogyo Gyeongjeon (The Sacred Scriptures of Cheondogyo).

⁷²⁵ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 3-41.

⁷²⁶ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gwonji" (Authority and Foreknowledge) 1-11.

transformation) are concepts that explain the view of humanity from a substantial perspective. Daesoon Thought also presents human Jori (Regulating Principle) and divine Gihwa (Materialization/Qi-transformation) as major characteristics of the Ingye-gwan (View of the Human Realm).

天用地用 人用之 調理綱紀 統制乾坤 此之謂造化手段也⁷²⁷

In the example above, Jori (Regulating Principle) signifies the method of controlling Geon-Gon (Heaven and Earth) from the center, that is, mediation by humanity as To (Earth/Soil). This reflects the Yeokhak (I Ching studies) perspective that humanity, as a being possessing I (Principle/Reason), controls the surrounding things. This corresponds to the Eastern case of Western constructivism, where humanity manipulates the world perceived through the eyes, ears, mouth, and nose (sensory organs) from the center of the world.

The Eastern thought corresponding to Western constructivism was the mediation of human contradiction through empathy, that is, human Jori (Regulating Principle) and divine Gihwa (Materialization/Qi-transformation). The Warring States period's idea of mediation by humanity as To (Earth/Soil) is substantiated in Shao Kangjie's Igi concept as the concept of human Jori (Regulating Principle). Looking at the concept of human Jori (Regulating Principle) in Shao Kangjie's Igi concept, one can see that Shao Kangjie's concept of human Jori (Regulating Principle) also originates from the Yin-Yang relationship between God (Shin) and human (In).⁷²⁸ Unlike the Shinseon-sul (Taoist arts of immortal hermits) that was already widely used in Shao Kangjie's time, Shao Kangjie discovered a more specific model of the Shin-In (God-Human) relationship in Yin-Yang Ohaeng.⁷²⁹ What Shao Kangjie, who deeply studied the principles of Ha-do (River Chart) and Nak-seo (Luo Writing), discovered was the distinction between To (Earth) and Mok-Hwa-Geum-Su (Wood, Fire, Metal, Water) in Yin-Yang Ohaeng.

Looking at this specifically, Shao Kangjie, like the Jeon-gyeong, shows that humanity can regulate (Jori) the Shinmyeong (divine spirits) through the empathy and justice of the mind. In Shao Kangjie's Shin-In (God-Human) relationship, the arrangement of humanity as Jung (Center) and To (Earth), and God (Shin) as the Sa-sang (Four Symbols) and periphery appears. Humanity, as a being equipped with all principles (Ichi), regulates (Jori) all things through Gwanmul (observation of things), viewing things not by their external form but by their principle (Ichi) through the sensory organs.⁷³⁰ Taoism's Shinseon Naedan-sul (internal alchemy) is said to well express the Yin-Yang, the regulating (Jori) human and the materializing

⁷²⁷ Kim Sang-jun, "On Nara-ga Yangban Doegi: Joseon Hugi Yugyojeok Pyeongdeunghwa Meok-eonikeum" [The Whole Nation Becoming Yangban: The Mechanism of Confucian Egalitarianism in Late Joseon], *Sahoe-wa Yeoksa* [Society and History] 63(0), 2003, pp.5-29.

⁷²⁸ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9.

⁷²⁹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gwonji" (Authority and Foreknowledge) 1-11.

⁷³⁰ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyobeob" (Teachings) 3-30; Ko Nam-sik, "Joseon Malgi Gang Jeung-san-ui Yeoksa Insik-gwa Joseon-gwan" [Gang Jeung-san's Historical Consciousness and View of Joseon in the Late Joseon Period], *Dong-asia Godae Hak* (East Asian Ancient Studies) 59, 2020, pp.239-270, 259.

(Gihwa) mechanistic Shinmyeong (divine spirits) of the East.⁷³¹ Shinseon (Taoist immortal), a being combined of Yang-human and Yin-God (Shin), is the conclusion of the Eastern Shin-In (God-Human) relationship according to the Yeok (I Ching) thought that all Yin-Yang merges into Taegeuk (Supreme Ultimate). As the I Ching revealed that Gwishin (spirits), which were objects of fear, possessed the rational attributes of Yin-Yang, the God (Shin)-Human relationship was also regarded as a Yin-Yang relationship, and unlike in the West, in the East, Gwishin (spirits) became beings that could combine with and be utilized by humans. After the Yin-Yang concept was established, the fascination of Qin Shi Huangdi and numerous Eastern intellectuals with Shinseon-sul (Taoist arts of immortal hermits) can be attributed to the rationality of Yin-Yang theory inherent in it. If Yin-Yang was the major premise that God (Shin) and human could unite, Ohaeng (Five Elements) was the specific pattern where the central human and the peripheral God (Shin) were arranged.

Before the constructivism of the modern West, the West's Four Elements (earth, water, fire, air) also had more similarities to constructivism than Yin-Yang Ohaeng. The relationship between To (Earth) and Mok-Hwa-Geum-Su (Wood, Fire, Metal, Water) in Yin-Yang Ohaeng is a part where East and West clearly differ. The West's Four Elements also had a fifth element, ether, like the To (Earth) of the East's Yin-Yang Ohaeng. The West's fifth element, like the monotheistic God, was a separate existence from the Four Elements (earth, water, fire, air). In contrast, the To (Earth) of Yin-Yang Ohaeng was a separate existence, yet also an immanent existence that operated together with Mok-Hwa-Geum-Su (Wood, Fire, Metal, Water). Shao Kangjie's Shin-In (God-Human) relationship can simultaneously accommodate the transcendent Western Shin-In relationship and the immanent Eastern Shin-In relationship.

Descartes and Kant were not the only ones who Westernized the Jori (Regulating Principle)-Gihwa (Materialization) concept. Leibniz interpreted Shao Kangjie's philosophy as a circle (Won) and found the point of contact between the theory of the immortality of the soul and the Igi (Principle and Material Force) concept. Leibniz says, "God is in all things, and in all things there is God (Shin)." God is simultaneously the circle (Won) and the center of the circle. Because God is the circle that is at the center of the circle everywhere.⁷³² Spinoza, a representative Western pantheist, creates a Western polytheism influenced by Gi (Qi/Material Force) theory.⁷³³ Schopenhauer writes "The World as Will and Representation," reflecting the Gi (Qi/Material Force) and Sang (Symbol/Image) of the I Ching (Book of Changes).⁷³⁴ Nietzsche also

⁷³¹ Murayama Jijun, "Mugeukdo Chwijijeo" [The Purpose Statement of Mugeukdo], in Joseon-ui Yusa Jonggyo (Quasi-Religions of Joseon), Daegu: Keimyung University Press, 1991.

⁷³² Yi Dong-hui, Raipenicheueu-ga Mannan Jungguk (China that Leibniz Encountered), Ihaksa, 2003, pp.92-93.

⁷³³ An Jong-su, "Seupinoja-wa Yuhak" [Spinoza and Confucianism], Cheolhak Nonchong (Journal of Philosophical Studies) 44(2), 2006, pp.172-173.

⁷³⁴ Yi Yeong-jae, "Hyeondae Gongam Iron-eul Tonghan Gong-maeng Cheolhak-ui Jaedomyeong" [Re-illuminating Confucian-Mencian Philosophy through Modern Empathy Theory], Jeongshin Munhwa Yeongu (Studies in Mental Culture) 35(2), 2012, p.427.

pursued the *Übermensch* (Overman/Superman) under the influence of Buddhism.⁷³⁵ From Kant to Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, in some cases 'God' was regarded as a moral being (Kant), in other cases 'God' was regarded as the universal Self (Fichte, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, 1762-1814), and in still other cases, God was regarded as the unified absolute idea constituting the world (Hegel). In short, this tendency to make 'reason' 'God' is precisely what replaces orthodox religion with philosophical religion, and it is said that all of this was influenced by Chinese philosophy.⁷³⁶

In modern physics and Buddhism's *Avatamsaka Sutra* (Flower Garland Sutra), it is said that the universe, matter, and humanity are not self-caused (*Jajak*), other-caused (*Tajak*), mutually-caused (*Gongjak*), or uncaused (*Muinjak*), but phenomena arising from given causes, and that the creation and annihilation of matter revealed by modern physics are the properties of elementary particles and energy, which is revealed to be *Seong-gi* (arising from nature) of the fundamental nature (*Bonseong*) spoken of in *Hwaeom* (Huayan). The life and death of stars, the change from inorganic to organic—the entire Dharma realm (*Beopgye*) shows that it has arisen through endlessly overlapping dependent origination (*Jungjungmujin Yeongi*).⁷³⁷

The "*Huangdi Neijing*" (Yellow Emperor's Inner Canon), which became the beginning of the *Igi* (Principle and Material Force) concept, includes all of the Hundred Schools of Thought.⁷³⁸ It is said that Neo-Confucianism's developed concept of *I* (Principle/Reason) was influenced by Buddhism's *Avatamsaka Sutra* (Flower Garland Sutra). In comparative philosophy today, the *Igi* concept is being extensively compared and studied with semiotics, Thomism, Spinozism, and the post-French philosophy influenced by it.⁷³⁹

The concept of *I* (Principle/Reason), meaning the grain of jade (*Ok*), coming to represent the meaning of *Taegeuk* (Supreme Ultimate) in Buddhism's *Avatamsaka Sutra* (Flower Garland Sutra) can be understood as the combination of the meaning of power that jade (*Ok*) possesses and the concept of the union of Brahman-Atman from Indian Brahmanism. Because jade (*Ok*) requires enormous labor, jade (*Ok*) itself could already be a symbol of power, and the union of Brahman, the entire cosmic existence, and

⁷³⁵ Lee Dong-hee, "Geundae Dogil Cheolhakja-ui Daeripjeok Bulgyo Ihae-wa Suyong" [Modern German Philosophers' Conflicting Understandings and Receptions of Buddhism], *Hegel Yeongu* [Hegel Studies] 29, 2011.

⁷³⁶ Ju Gyeom-ji, trans. Jeon Hong-seok, *Jungguk-i Mandeun Yureop-ui Geundae: Geundae Yureop-ui Jungguk Munhwa Yeolpung* (China's Creation of Europe's Modernity: The Craze for Chinese Culture in Modern Europe), Cheongye, 2010, p.378.

⁷³⁷ Heo Jeong-hwa, "*Hwaeom Sasang-gwa Hyeondae Mullihagg-ui Bigyo Yeongu*" [A Comparative Study of Huayan Buddhist Thought and Modern Physics], Master's thesis, Dongguk University, 2003.

⁷³⁸ In the *Neijing* (Classic of Internal Medicine), traces of thought from schools such as Daoism, Mohism, the School of Names, and the School of Yin-Yang can be seen — this is an undeniable fact. Xu Yiming, *Xingli yu Qihuang* (Neo-Confucianism and the Yellow Emperor's Classic), China Social Sciences Press, 1997, p.23.

⁷³⁹ So Byeong-seon, *Jujahak-gwa Thomism-ui Cheolhakjeok Bigyo* (A Philosophical Comparison of Zhu Xi's Philosophy and Thomism), Ph.D. dissertation, Academy of Korean Studies, 2005; Pak Jeong-jin, *Cheolhak-ui Seonmul Seonmul-ui Cheolhak* (The Gift of Philosophy, the Philosophy of the Gift), Seoul: Sonamu, 2012; Yi Jeong-u, Kim Si-cheon, Kim Gyo-bin et al., *Gihak-ui Moheom 1: Dongseo-yang Cheolhakja, Yubaedoen Gi-ui Buhwal-eul Malhada* (The Adventure of Gi-studies 1: Eastern and Western Philosophers Speak on the Revival of Exiled Qi), Seoul: Deulnyeok, 2004.

Atman, the individual existence, aligns with the meaning of Taegeuk as 'Gakgu-Taegeuk Tongche-Taegeuk' (Each possesses the Supreme Ultimate, All encompasses the Supreme Ultimate) and the meaning of organic science that the part and the whole exhibit the same character.

The Avatamsaka Sutra (Flower Garland Sutra) is a scripture that actually appeared around the 6th century when Buddhism was declining and Indian Brahmanism was reviving. The concept of Ri (Principle/Reason), which started from the concept of Jori (Order/Pattern) of Gi (Qi/Material Force), became independent as the concept of Jori (Regulating/Nourishing) as Yangsaeng (nurturing life) appearing in the "Zhuangzi." It can be said that the Platonic philosophical aspects appearing in Islam and Hinduism at the time the Hwaeom (Huayan) concept of I (Principle/Reason) was translated influenced the formation of Shao Kangjie's concept of I (Principle/Reason). It is said that Islam's Tawhid is the gerund form of 'to make one' or 'to declare or acknowledge oneness,' acknowledging God's oneness (uniqueness), indivisibility, absoluteness, and sole reality. Tawhid is seen as a variation of emanationism, like Neoplatonism, and is considered to have influenced the Sasa-muae (unimpeded interpenetration of all phenomena) and Isa-muae (unimpeded interpenetration of principle and phenomena) of the Avatamsaka Sutra (Flower Garland Sutra). The interconnection of India, Islam, and China related to the origin of the concept of I (Principle/Reason) shows the possibility that the origin of Fuxi (Bok-hui) of Ha-do (River Chart) and Nak-seo (Luo Writing), which is the origin of the concept of I (Principle/Reason), can be traced back to the era of the ancient trifunctional system.⁷⁴⁰⁷⁴¹

Revitalization of the East-West Heaven-Human Relationship in the Cheonji Boeun (天地報恩)

In Daesoon Thought, the relationship between humanity and Heaven is summarized as Cheonji-boeun (Grateful Reciprocation to Heaven and Earth). The reason humanity can realize the Earthly Paradise is that humanity is a being capable of Boeun (Grateful Reciprocation) through the mind.

道通天地報恩⁷⁴²

In the example above, humanity's achievement of Dotong (Unification with the Dao), unlike in Taoism, is not because of human ability but because of Boeun (Grateful Reciprocation) to Heaven and Earth. Because humanity is called the most spiritual (Choeryeongja) of Heaven and Earth, humanity can know the grace of Heaven and Earth, and human Cheonji-boeun (Grateful Reciprocation to Heaven and Earth) can be said to be the reason for human existence.

⁷⁴⁰ Matsumoto Koro, "Theory of Interfaith Dialogue in Islam (Thought on Interfaith Dialogue: Historical Aspects and Their Dialogue, Panel, Special Feature: Proceedings of the 68th Academic Conference)", Shukyo Kenkyu (Journal of Religious Studies) 83-4, Japanese Association for Religious Studies, 2010, pp.180-81, 1272-73.

⁷⁴¹ Mircea Eliade, trans. Choe Jong-seong and Kim Jae-hyeon, Segye Jonggyo Sasangsa 2: Gotama Buddha-eseobuteo Gidokgyo-ui Seungniga-ji (A History of Religious Ideas, Vol. 2: From Gautama Buddha to the Triumph of Christianity), Ihaksa, 2005, p.299, pp.490-491.

⁷⁴² Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 88. Do tong cheonji boeun.

That humanity must perform Boeun (Grateful Reciprocation) is specifically related to the Seong-Gyeong-Shin (Sincerity, Reverence, Faith) of Heaven and Earth. Because humanity has forgotten that the operation of Heaven and Earth, which nurtures (Hwayuk) humanity, is due to the utmost Seong-Gyeong-Shin (Sincerity, Reverence, Faith) of the Shinmyeong (divine spirits), Boeun (Grateful Reciprocation) to the Shinmyeong becomes an important factor in human life and death.

Life, longevity, and fortune are the grace of Heaven and Earth; therefore, establish the great righteousness of Cheonji-boeun (Grateful Reciprocation to Heaven and Earth) with Seong (Sincerity), Gyeong (Reverence), and Shin (Faith), and fulfill the human way (Indo).⁷⁴³

As seen in the example above, human longevity and fortune are the result of the Seong-Gyeong-Shin (Sincerity, Reverence, Faith) of Heaven and Earth, thus becoming the core reason for human ethics and morality. Therefore, humanity must strive for Boeun (Grateful Reciprocation) for the grace of Heaven and Earth, and human Boeun (Grateful Reciprocation) and the resulting Dotong (Unification with the Dao) become central to the Hwayuk (nurturing) of Heaven and Earth. Therefore, in Daesoon Thought, it is said that through the efforts of ancestors over some 60 years, humans can be born as descendants with Hon (spirit) and Baek (body) combined, and because Hon and Baek are combined, humans come to possess a mind, which can be the source of desire and the foundation of all human abilities.⁷⁴⁴

至寶即吾之心靈也 心靈通則鬼神可與酬酢 萬物可與俱序⁷⁴⁵

In the example above, if humanity knows to repay (Boeun) the grace of Heaven and Earth, the human mind becomes a channel through which one can interact (sujak) with Gwishin (spirits). In Daesoon Thought, Heaven and Earth become beings that bestow infinite grace upon humanity. However, although human grievances (Wonhan) are connected even to Heaven and Earth, if humanity cultivates with a single mind (Ilshim), humanity becomes a being that repays (Boeun) Heaven and Earth through Dotong (Unification with the Dao).

For human Dotong (Unification with the Dao) and the accompanying Gaebyeok (Re-creation), there is also judgment upon Cheon-Ji-In (Heaven, Earth, Humanity). Therefore, Sangje is born directly borrowing a human body and actually expresses great suffering.

One day, Sangje said to his followers, "It is not that I wished to take charge of this Work. The Cheonjisinmyeong gathered and appealed that Heaven and Earth could not be set right without Sangje, so although it is boundlessly agonizing, I had no choice but to take charge."⁷⁴⁶

⁷⁴³ Daesoon Jinrihoe Yoram (Daesoon Jinrihoe Yearbook), p.20.

⁷⁴⁴ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyobeob" (Teachings) 2-36.

⁷⁴⁵ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 2-41. Ji geuk han bobae neun gon na ui simryeong i ra. Simryeong eul tong ha myeon gwisin gwa deo bul eo ga hi su jak hal su it go man mul gwa deo bul eo ga hi jilseo reul ham kke hal su it neu ni ra. (Daesoon Jinrihoe Gyomubu (Religious Affairs Department), "Poyumun" (Proclamation), Daesoon Hoebo 184, 2016)

⁷⁴⁶ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 1-9.

While Sangje was cultivating (gongbu) on Siru Mountain, he sometimes wept beyond the spring site at the foot of the mountain, and one time his father witnessed that sight while bringing a meal up Siru Peak.⁷⁴⁷

Sangje lay down facing the wall, then suddenly said to his followers, "Now the whole world has come to destruction, and it is difficult to rescue everyone, so how could it not be lamentable (Wontong)," and He grieved greatly.⁷⁴⁸

In the example above, Gucheon (Sangje of the Ninth Heaven) expresses the suffering of having to carry out the Cheonjigongsa (Reordering of the Universe). Gucheon (Sangje) also resolves the Hae-won (resolution of grievances) of the numerous vengeful spirits (Wonhon) who died misunderstanding Donghak thought, through the Gongsang (work).

Upon entering the twelfth month, Sangje completed various Gongsang (Works) and embarked on the Gongsang to adjust the Yeokdo (degrees of rebellion/adversity). Gyeong-seok, Gwang-chan, and Nae-seong left for Daeheung-ri; Won-il left for Shin Gyeong-won's house; and Hyeong-ryeol and Ja-hyeon left for Donggok. Sangje spoke to the remaining Mun Gong-sin, Hwang Eung-jong, and Shin Gyeong-su, saying, "Gyeong-seok's Seong (Sincerity), Gyeong (Reverence), and Sin (Trust) are so profound that I considered using him differently, but since this is a matter he himself requests, it cannot be helped," and added, "Originally, Donghak's advocacy for Boguk-anmin (protecting the nation and securing peace for the people) was merely a cry for the work of the Later World, but their hearts each desired to become 'kings, marquises, generals, and ministers,' and tens of thousands were dragged away and killed without achieving their desire. Their grievances soared to the heavens, and if those divine beings were left as they are, the governance of the Later World would fall into adversity (Yeokdo) and become chaotic; therefore, I was in the process of appointing a leader for the Haewon (resolution of grievances) of those divine beings, and Gyeong-seok's mention of twelve empires (十二帝國) means he has volunteered for it. His father was a high-ranking leader in Donghak and was captured and killed, and he himself also served as a Donghak Chongdae (representative leader), so from now on, I have attached all the Donghak divine beings to Gyeong-seok; from this seat, the Haewon of the 'kings, marquises, generals, and ministers' shall begin," He said, writing on a piece of paper, forbidding outsiders from entering, and saying, "Watch in the days to come. The expenditure of money will greatly increase, and the number of people will also be greater than in the Gabo year (1894). They must be set free so that there will be no hindrance in the Later World," He concluded.⁷⁴⁹

In the example above, what Gucheon (Sangje), as substance, first emphasizes in Cheonji-boeun (Grateful Reciprocation to Heaven and Earth) is the Hae-won (resolution of grievances) of all creation (Samramansang). Also, because Dotong (Unification with the Dao) can only be achieved through Hae-won

⁷⁴⁷ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Haengrok" (Acts) 2-9.

⁷⁴⁸ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Haengrok" (Acts) 5-24.

⁷⁴⁹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsang" (Reordering Works) 2-19.

(resolution of grievances), Hae-won is highly valued. Gucheon (Sangje) selects Hae-won (resolution of grievances), which could not be resolved in the Seoncheon (Earlier World), as the foremost task to be resolved in the Cheonji-Cheonin (Heaven-Earth and Heaven-Human) relationship.

The Holy Teacher Kang Jeungshan (姜甌山), who is the possessor of supreme (無上) wisdom (智慧), boundless (無邊) virtuous transformation (德化), and great (偉大) authority (權能), and is a historic (歷史的) great religious founder (大宗教家), as Gucheon Daewon Jowajusin (九天大元造化主神) presided (主宰) over the Three Realms Great Authority (三界大權), made a great circuit (大巡) of the world (天下), and then descended (大降) into the human world (人世), rectified (整理) the Cheonji Dosu (天地度數, Heavenly and Earthly Degrees) which had lost their proper course (常道), opened the path (運路) to the boundless (無窮) immortal realm (仙境) of the Hucheon (後天, Later World) to build (建設) an earthly paradise (地上天國), and in order to widely save (建) the divine beings (神明) trapped in calamity (否劫) and the world's populace (世界蒼生) fallen into disaster (災劫), He traveled (巡回 周遊) and performed (行) the Great Work (大公事); therefore, by the truth (眞理) of the Great Dao (大道) of Eumyang Hapdeok (陰陽合德, Virtuous Concordance of Yin and Yang), Sinin Jowa (神人調化, Harmonious Union between Divine Beings and Human Beings), and Haewon Sangsaeng (解冤相生, Resolution of Grievances for Mutual Beneficence), with the principle (理法) of Sinin Uido (神人依導, Mutual Guidance between Divine Beings and Human Beings), He centered on Haewon (解冤, Resolution of Grievances) and concluded (終結) the Cheonji Gongsa (天地公事, Heavenly and Earthly Works) with Boeun (報恩, Grateful Reciprocation); thus, by the principles (道理) of these two foundations (兩原理), Haewon (解冤) and Boeun (報恩), all the grievances (冤鬱) accumulated throughout the ages (萬古) will be resolved, and the world (世界) will be transformed into a paradise of virtuous transformation (道化樂園) free of mutual conflict (相克), and this is precisely the truth (眞理) of the Daesoon (大巡, Great Circuit).

In the excerpt above, the phrase "all the grievances (冤鬱) accumulated throughout the ages (萬古) will be resolved" signifies that the purpose of Gucheon's Cheonji Gongsa is Haewon (Resolution of Grievances), and that Haewon is the key to modernity. Furthermore, through Jeungshan's Haewon and Boeun Gongsa (Works for Resolution of Grievances and Grateful Reciprocation), all things in the Three Realms will become the Huchon Seon'gyeong (Later World Immortal Realm). The smooth progress of this Haewon and Boeun is the success of Cheonji (Heaven and Earth), and the achievement of Haewon and Boeun for all things in the universe also occurs under the authority of Jeungshan.

In Daesoon Thought, the mutual conflict (相克) of the Three Realms manifests as the disorder of the Three Realms (三界錯亂), and the mutual beneficence (相生) of the Three Realms manifests as the success of Cheonji (天地成功). Because the disorder of the Myeongbu (冥府, Underworld) is a significant problem,

through the Cheonji Gongsu, the Cheon-In (Heaven-Human) relationship and Ji-In (Earth-Human) relationship are restored and reactivated by stopping this disorder of the Myeongbu, which arose from the calamities (否劫) of divine beings and humans.

In the case of the Ingye-gwan (View of the Human Realm), it is the perspective that the occurrence and resolution of all problems in the Cheongye (Heavenly Realm) and Jigye (Earthly Realm) happen simultaneously through human beings. This is the time when Cheonji (Heaven and Earth) needs human beings in order to succeed, and Cheonji Seonggong (Success of Heaven and Earth) is achieved through the Sangsaeng (mutual beneficence) of the Cheon-In (Heaven-Human) relationship.⁷⁵⁰⁷⁵¹

Revitalization of the East-West Earth-Human Relationship in the Earthly Immortal (地上神仙)

In Daesoon Thought, the relationship between humans and the earth is related to Jisang Sinseon (Earthly Immortals). In Daesoon Thought, the key to human growth and world development is Sinin Jowa (Harmonious Union between Divine Beings and Human Beings), and the method for Sinin Jowa is Eumyang Hapdeok (Virtuous Concordance of Yin and Yang). In Daesoon Thought, Sinin Jowa is possible because both divine beings and humans commonly possess the principle of the Taegeuk (Supreme Ultimate), which is Eum-Yang (Yin-Yang), so if they understand each other's opposing positions, they can harmonize because they share the same principle. That the world grows toward Haewon Sangsaeng (Resolution of Grievances for Mutual Beneficence) and Dotong Jin'gyeong (Perfected State of Unification with the Dao) through the harmony of divine beings and humans is the view of humanity concerning the Hucheon (Later World) presented by Daesoon Thought.

In Daesoon Thought, in which one can become an earthly immortal, the status of the human being in relation to Earth is concentrated in the tenets (jongji). If the consideration of this paper is correct—that in Daesoon Thought the cosmos circulates in infinite superposition [qi] according to the four virtues of origination, flourishing, benefiting, and firmness [li], and the human being mediates through empathy [mind]—then humanity's status in the cosmos in Daesoon Thought is that of a being that brings Heaven and Earth to success. Humanity's status in the cosmos, in which it must bring Heaven and Earth to success, is again divided in Daesoon Thought into four kinds, like the tenets, according to the method of empathy. Infinite superposed circulation [li-qi] and empathy [mind] become the common principle regarding humanity's status in the cosmos as it appears in Daesoon Thought. Let us now examine humanity's status as it appears in Daesoon Thought.⁷⁵²

⁷⁵⁰ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 30.

⁷⁵¹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 30.

⁷⁵² Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 30.

First, regarding Eumyang Hapdeok (Virtuous Concordance of Yin and Yang), humans must empathize with Cheonji (Heaven and Earth) through space-time, and therefore can become Ji-in (知人, knowing persons) who understand the movements of time. If people know the time and know how to change according to the time, Saenggi (生氣, vital energy) will continuously arise.⁷⁵³ To the extent that a single thought of a person can change the weather of Cheonji (Heaven and Earth), humans can achieve the Eumyang Hapdeok (Virtuous Concordance) of body and mind through Mujagi (毋自欺, guarding against self-deception), which is not deceiving the mind.⁷⁵⁴ Humans, through the empathy of Eumyang Hapdeok, can well control the energies of spring, summer, autumn, and winter, which move freely according to the principles of Hyeonmanghoessak (弦望晦朔, phases of the moon). Because the universe infinitely and overlappingly circulates, Eum-Yang (Yin-Yang) is the principle (理致), and the principle (理致) becomes the circumstance (境遇).⁷⁵⁵

Next, regarding Sinin Jowa (Harmonious Union between Divine Beings and Human Beings), humans are the only beings who possess a mind that can suffer through a physical body, which divine beings do not have. In Daesoon Thought, Sinmyeong (神明, divine beings) can be interpreted as the Gi (氣) of Wonhyeong-ijeong (元亨利貞, Principle of Four Virtues). The human mind is the place where divine beings come and go, and just like Ijeongsimbeop (理定心法, Rectifying the Mind with Principle), principle (理致) can rectify the mind.⁷⁵⁶ Through Ansim Ansin (安心安身, Calming the Mind and Body), the mind becomes Jamsim (潛心, immersed), and when the mind is immersed, it becomes peaceful, like a woman living in the house called the universe (宇宙), enabling empathy with the divine.⁷⁵⁷ The Sudo-in (practitioner) can mediate the infinitely and overlappingly circulating universe through Jumun (呪文, incantation) training, and through Seonggyeongsin (誠敬信, Sincerity, Respect, and Trust), they empathize (共感) and resonate (感應) with the divine through principle (理).⁷⁵⁸⁷⁵⁹

⁷⁵³ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 1-30; Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-30; Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 1-21.

⁷⁵⁴ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Haengrok" (Acts) 5-38.

⁷⁵⁵ Daesoon Jichim (Daesoon Directives), p.18.

⁷⁵⁶ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Haengrok" (Acts) 3-44.

⁷⁵⁷ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 2-33; Ko Nam-sik, "Ijeong Simbeop gwa Susim-ui Gungukjeok Seonghyang" (The Ultimate Tendency of Rectifying the Mind-Method and Cultivating the Mind), Daesoon Sasang Nonchong (Journal of Daesoon Studies) 13, 2001.

⁷⁵⁸ Ko Nam-sik, "Seoncheon Cheongwan gwa Sangje-ui Chowlseong: Sangje-ui Sindo, Samgye Daegwon-gwa Gwanryeonhayeo" (The Former-World View of Heaven and the Transcendence of Sangje: In Relation to Sangje's Divine Way and Supreme Authority over the Three Realms), Daesoon Sasang Nonchong (Journal of Daesoon Studies) 8, 1999, pp.562-563.

⁷⁵⁹ Hwang Tae-yeon, "Gongja-ui Gonggamjeok Muwi Hyeonse-juui wa Seogu Gwanyong Sasang-ui Dongasia-jeok Giwon (Part 1)" (Confucius's Empathetic Non-Action and Worldliness, and the East Asian Origins of Western Tolerance Thought, Part 1), Hangukak (Korean Studies) 36(2), 2013, pp.73-74.

Next, regarding Haewon Sangsaeng (Resolution of Grievances for Mutual Beneficence), humans are the only beings who can resolve Won (冤, grievances) with principle (理致). Ihae (理解, understanding) can be seen as meaning that Won (冤, grievances) must be resolved (解) through principle (理致); therefore, humans can resolve Won through principle (理致). Humans are beings who empathize and mediate, so if they cannot control their Eum-Yang (Yin-Yang), Won (grievances) will make them sick, and they cannot be called human.⁷⁶⁰ Therefore, while both the East and the West have Dotongsin (Divine Beings of Dao Unification), Uidong (醫統, Unification of Medicine) exists only in Joseon.⁷⁶¹ Humans are beings at the center, curing the diseases of the universe and making it circulate.⁷⁶² Because the universe infinitely and overlappingly circulates, even the grievance harbored by one person can block the energy of the world.⁷⁶³

The indigenous modernity revealed in the re-establishment of the Daesoon Thought's Samgye-gwan (View of the Three Realms), as examined above, can be summarized into three main points. First is the variability of the entire Three Realms, especially the variability of the Cheongye (Heavenly Realm). Daesoon Thought regarded the collapse of the Samgye-gwan (View of the Three Realms) not as a problem of the Samgye-gwan itself, but as a problem of the Samgye (Three Realms). The Daesoon Thought's Cheongye-gwan (View of the Heavenly Realm), represented by the "Old Heaven," re-established the collapse of the Cheongye-gwan by assigning a limit to the Heaven—which had been the supreme existence throughout history in both the East and the West—that it was a being capable of aging. In Daesoon Thought, the Three Realms are not the immutable, reigning Three Realms of traditional Eastern thought, but variable Three Realms that can be changed by Sangje (the Supreme God).

Second is the rise in status of the Jigye (Earthly Realm) within the Three Realms. Throughout Eastern and Western history, religions that elevate Sangje (Jeungsan) as the object of faith are almost the only ones to have emphasized that the earth must be elevated as high as the heavens, whereas others elevated only the heavens. Daesoon Thought, by putting forward Eumyang Hapdeok (Virtuous Concordance of Yin and Yang)—which elevates the earth—as the first phrase of its tenets, presented the status elevation of the Jigye (Earthly Realm) most clearly among the religious groups that venerate Jeungsan.

Third, the mutual compatibility (interchangeability) of the Three Realms. In Daesoon Thought, the Three Realms change as a whole and their internal proportions are fluid, yet they are mutually

⁷⁶⁰ In Daesoon thought, the mural painting of Oseon-wigi (Five Immortals Playing Baduk), which symbolizes haewon (resolution of grievances), is expressed as 'understanding' (ihae). Haewon forms the natural-scientific basis of sangsaeng (mutual flourishing). (Pak Yong-cheol, "Haewon Sangsaeng-ui Silhyeon-e Daehan Gochal" (A Study on the Realization of Haewon Sangsaeng), *Daesoon Sasang Nonchong* (Journal of Daesoon Studies) 4, 1998, pp.213-241)

⁷⁶¹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Haengrok" (Acts) 5-38; Jo Yeong-suk, "Dongui Bogam Uju Boncheronone Gwanhan Yeongu" (A Study on the Cosmological Ontology of Dongui Bogam [Principles and Practice of Eastern Medicine]), *Dogyomunhwa Yeongu* (Journal of Taoist Culture Studies) 33, 2010, p.141; Kim Mi-rim, "Dongui Bogam-ui Yangsaenggwan Yeongu" (A Study on the View of Nurturing Life in Dongui Bogam), Doctoral Dissertation, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, 2009, pp.163-165.

⁷⁶² Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Jesaeng" (Saving Lives) 43.

⁷⁶³ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Haengrok" (Acts) 5-38.

interchangeable centered on the human being who mediates. Daesoon Thought holds that Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, which arose from a common structure and principle, failed to communicate with one another because of grievances, so that many calamities occurred. The reason mutual exchange was blocked is that Earth was despised in comparison with Heaven, and humans, as weak beings, were exploited without principle. The changes in the views of Heaven, Earth, and humanity in Daesoon Thought that appeared after the human incarnation and descent of Gucheon manifest as the variability, constancy, and interchangeability of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity.⁷⁶⁴

⁷⁶⁴ Choi, Won-hyuk, "Comparative Study on Indigenous Modernity of Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought," *Studies on Humanities and Social Sciences (SHSC)* 6(1), 2024.

A Comparison of Autogenous Modernity in Donghak and Daesoon Thought

Comparison of Autogenous Modernity in Views of Heaven

The Three Powers (Samjae 三才) and the Three Realms (Samgye 三界)

According to the principle of liminality, where ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny, Daesoon Thought adds new characteristics to the characteristics of Donghak Thought. Therefore, a comparison of the two thoughts can be made through these newly emerging characteristics. Terms that uniquely appear in the Daesoon Thought's view of Heaven include Samgye (Three Realms) and Hucheon (Later World), which contrast with Donghak Thought's Samjae (Three Powers) and Seoncheon (Former World), respectively.

First, in Daesoon Thought, Samgye (Three Realms) refers to the Cheongye (Heavenly Realm), Jigye (Earthly Realm), and Ingye (Human Realm). Although Daoist thought individually mentions the Heavenly Realm, Subterranean Realm, etc., instances of using the expression Samgye (Three Realms) to collectively refer to them are rare. On the other hand, Daesoon Thought presupposes the "Three Realms" starting from the term Daesoon (Great Circuit), and the Cheonji Gongsang (Heavenly and Earthly Works), which is central to Daesoon Thought, is also expressed as a series of Samgye Gongsang (Works of the Three Realms).

That Samgye-gongsang is precisely the Gaebyeok (Great Opening) of the Three Realms of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity; and this Gaebyeok is not a matter of following what others have made, but is newly made, so it did not exist in the past, nor does it exist now; it is not inherited from others, nor is it a matter of Unsu (fortune/destiny), but is solely a matter that must be brought into being by Sangje.⁷⁶⁵

In the excerpt above, Samgye (Three Realms) is defined as collectively referring to the Heavenly Realm, Earthly Realm, and Human Realm. Samgye (Three Realms) appears as a core term of the doctrine that reveals the characteristics of Daesoon Thought. Samgye (三界, Three Realms) contrasts with Samjae (三才, Three Powers), but it first appears in Daesoon Thought and is used repeatedly. For example, in Daesoon Thought, Gucheon Daewon Jowajusin (九天大元造化主神) is the Samgye Jijon (三界至尊, Supreme Ruler of the Three Realms) who oversees (統察) the Three Realms and, while conducting the history of the Three Realms (三界役使), diagnoses the progression of the confusion of the Three Realms (三界混亂) into the disorder of the Three Realms (三界錯亂)—caused by the appeals of Shinseong (神聖, divine saints), Bul (佛, Buddhas), and Bosal (菩薩, Bodhisattvas)—through the Samgye Daesoon (三界大巡, Great Circuit of the Three Realms), and with the Samgye Daegweon (三界大權, Great Authority of the Three Realms), He performs the Samgye Gongsang (三界公事, Works of the Three Realms) which subdues the demons of the Three Realms (三界伏魔) and reconstructs (三界改造) the Three Realms, thereby

⁷⁶⁵ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 5.

exorcising the demons of the Three Realms (三界解魔), making the Three Realms transparent (透明), and achieving the Gaebyeok (開闢, Creation-Opening) of the Three Realms.⁷⁶⁶⁷⁶⁷⁷⁶⁸⁷⁶⁹⁷⁷⁰⁷⁷¹⁷⁷²⁷⁷³⁷⁷⁴⁷⁷⁵⁷⁷⁶⁷⁷⁷

These Three Realms (三界), when compared to the Three Powers (三才), reveal three characteristics. First, characteristics of the views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity as seen from the perspective of Gucheon (the Ninth Heaven), such as Samgye Jijon (Supreme Ruler of the Three Realms) and Samgye Daesoon (Great Circuit of the Three Realms), are revealed. Second, because the "Gye (界)" in Samgye (三界, Three Realms) carries the meaning of a "system," it emphasizes the Sinmyeong-gye (Realm of Divine Beings) compared to Samjae (三才, Three Powers). Third, Samgye (三界, Three Realms), as indicated by the term "Gye (界)," simultaneously emphasizes Western substantiality in comparison to the Eastern Samjae (三才, Three Powers), which emphasizes attributes. Examining each characteristic in light of the usage examples of Samgye (Three Realms), they are as follows.

First, characteristics of the views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity as seen from the perspective of Gucheon (the Ninth Heaven), such as Samgye Jijon (Supreme Ruler of the Three Realms) and Samgye Daesoon (Great Circuit of the Three Realms), are revealed in the Three Realms. Cheonju (Celestial Lord), that is, Gucheon Daewon Jowajusin (九天大元造化主神), as the Samgye Jijon (Supreme Ruler of the Three Realms), oversees (統察) the Three Realms and works within the Three Realms.

Cheonjon (天尊, Celestial Worthy) indicates that Sangje is the holiest and greatest deity throughout the Three Realms, who universally creates every being through His thunderbolt throughout all directions in space and time.⁷⁷⁸

⁷⁶⁶ Daesoon Jinrihoe Yeolam (Daesoon Jinrihoe Overview), p.7.

⁷⁶⁷ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-17.

⁷⁶⁸ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9.

⁷⁶⁹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 10.

⁷⁷⁰ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9; Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 2-6.

⁷⁷¹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 17; Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gwonji" (Authority and Foreknowledge) 1-21.

⁷⁷² Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Haengrok" (Acts) 5-38.

⁷⁷³ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 7.

⁷⁷⁴ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 3.

⁷⁷⁵ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-30.

⁷⁷⁶ Daesoon Jinrihoe Yeolam (Daesoon Jinrihoe Overview), p.9

⁷⁷⁷ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 1-2

⁷⁷⁸ Daesoon Jinrihoe Yeolam (Daesoon Jinrihoe Overview), "Sinang-ui Daesang" (Object of Faith).

Gucheon (九天, Heaven) is a name derived from the following scriptural passage: "...all the divine sages, buddhas, and bodhisattvas, who had existed since the dawn of time, gathered and petitioned Me in the Ninth Heaven..." This means that they appealed to the highest Celestial Worthy, the one who presides with supreme authority over the cosmos. The Ninth Heaven is the highest location of all, a post from which Sangje supervises the Three Realms, coordinates Heaven and Earth, and directs the process of their unfolding.⁷⁷⁹

The word Tongchal (統察, overseeing governance) is also, like Samgye (Three Realms), a term unique to Daesoon Thought, not found in standard Korean dictionaries. Standard Korean dictionaries only list Tongchal (洞察, insight) and Tongchal (通察, thorough investigation); the "Tong (統)" in Tongchal (統察) means "to lead" or "to command" (거느릴 통). Tongchal (統察, overseeing governance) is also distinguished from Tongje (統制, control); Tongje means to command and regulate, while Tongchal means to command and observe the great universe. Samgye Tongchal (overseeing governance of the Three Realms) means residing as the Samgye Jijon (Supreme Ruler of the Three Realms) and exercising the Samgye Daegweon (Great Authority of the Three Realms). Gucheon resides as the Samgye Jijon (Supreme Ruler of the Three Realms) and, in the Ninth Heaven, listens to the appeals of Shinseong (divine saints), Bul (Buddhas), and Bosal (Bodhisattvas).

"Establishing schools widely in this world to teach people is intended to greatly civilize the world, attach it to the history of the Three Realms, and resolve the grievances of divine beings and humans; however, the current school education causes learners to fall only into base utilitarianism, such as seeking government positions and salaries, and therefore, I have decided to allow the attainment of the Dao outside the established framework," He concluded His words.⁷⁸⁰

In the Seoncheon (Former World), the only way for divine beings to resolve their grievances was to respond to humans or be reborn as humans and achieve accomplishments of a higher level, and that was only possible through schools. Samgye Yeoksa (History of the Three Realms) is mentioned only once in the Jeon-gyeong. From the history of the Three Realms, it can be seen that the problems of the Three Realms are presented with humans as the answer to the problems.

Second, because the "Gye (界)" in Samgye (三界, Three Realms) carries the meaning of a "system," it emphasizes the Sinmyeong-gye (Realm of Divine Beings) compared to Samjae (三才, Three Powers). The indigenous modernity of Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought is set against the backdrop of the conflict between the modernity of the Western views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, which emphasizes substance, and the traditional Eastern Samjae (Three Powers) thought, which emphasizes attributes. The Western substantial views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, centered on growth, had power but lacked stability; the

⁷⁷⁹ Daesoon Jinrihoe Yeolam (Daesoon Jinrihoe Overview), "Sinang-ui Daesang" (Object of Faith).

⁷⁸⁰ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-17.

Eastern Samjae-gwan (View of the Three Powers), centered on stability, presented integrative stability but lacked the power to respond to reality. Donghak Thought attempted to compensate for the power lacking in the Eastern Samjae-gwan by revealing the Cheonoecheon (Heaven beyond the Heavens) hidden in Eastern thought, but it could not be a sufficient method. In response, Daesoon Thought introduced the concept of Sinmyeong (divine beings) through the concept of Samgye (Three Realms), thereby presenting a method to integrate the Eastern and Western views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity.

In Daesoon Thought, Gucheon (the Ninth Heaven Sangje) diagnoses, through the Samgye Daesoon (Great Circuit of the Three Realms), the progression of the confusion of the Three Realms (三界混亂) into the disorder of the Three Realms (三界錯亂), caused by the appeals of the Cheonji Sinmyeong (Heavenly and Earthly Divine Beings)—the Shinseong (divine saints), Bul (Buddhas), and Bosal (Bodhisattvas).⁷⁸¹⁷⁸²⁷⁸³

Daesoon Jinrihoe is based on the appeal of the Cheonji Sinmyeong (Heavenly and Earthly Divine Beings) to correct the Three Realms (三界) that had lost their proper course (常道), whereupon Gucheon Sangje (九天上帝, Sangje of the Ninth Heaven) descended to the human world (人世), rectified the Cheonji Dosu (Heavenly and Earthly Degrees) that had lost their proper course, in order to save the world (匡救天下), proclaimed the principles (道理) of Haewon Sangsaeng (Resolution of Grievances for Mutual Beneficence) to the Human Realm (人界), and after completing the accompanying Great Work (大公事) over forty years, He ascended (化天).⁷⁸⁴

The "appeal of the Cheonji Sinmyeong" refers to the "appeal made to the Gucheon (Ninth Heaven) by all the Shinseong (神聖, divine saints), Bul (佛, Buddhas), and Bosal (菩薩, Bodhisattvas) who had gathered." Accordingly, all Shinseong (divine saints), Bul (Buddhas), and Bosal (Bodhisattvas) are expressed as Cheonji Sinmyeong (Heavenly and Earthly Divine Beings). Divine beings connect attributes and substance, causing substance to move according to attributes and attributes to be revealed as substance. Depending on the role of the divine beings, the Three Realms fall into confusion or escape from confusion.

...(Omitted)... That civilization, being biased toward materialism, instead fostered human arrogance, and eventually, by attempting to shake the heavenly principles and conquer nature, it endlessly committed all sorts of sins, undermining the authority of the divine way (Shindo), thus the proper courses of the Heavenly Dao and human affairs were violated, the Three Realms fell into confusion, and the source of the Dao was severed; therefore, all the primeval Shinseong (divine saints), Bul (Buddhas), and Bosal

⁷⁸¹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9.

⁷⁸² Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 10.

⁷⁸³ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9; Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 2-6.

⁷⁸⁴ Podeok Gyohwa Gibonwonri (Fundamental Principles of Proselytization and Edification), "Yeonhyeok Gaeyo" (Historical Overview).

(Bodhisattvas) gathered and appealed to the Gucheon (Ninth Heaven) regarding this calamity (劫厄) of the human race and the realm of divine beings (神明界) ... (Omitted)...⁷⁸⁵

Confusion manifests as the operational disorder of the Sinmyeong-gye (Realm of Divine Beings). The confusion of the Sinmyeong-gye (Realm of Divine Beings) develops into the disorder (錯亂) of the Sinmyeong-gye. It is said that the confusion of the Cheongye (Heavenly Realm) begins with the disorder of the Myeongbu (Underworld). "Sangje said, 'Because of the disorder of the Myeongbu (Underworld), the entire world has fallen into disorder; when the Myeongbu Gongsa (Work of the Underworld) is concluded, all the world's affairs will be resolved.'" After saying this, Sangje wrote on paper daily and then burned it. In this passage, the divine beings are not only the cause of the confusion but also the means of resolving the problem. Gucheon (the Ninth Heaven Sangje) diagnoses the confusion of the Sinmyeong-gye (Realm of Divine Beings) through the Samgye Daesoon (Great Circuit of the Three Realms) and corrects the confusion of the Sinmyeong-gye through the Samgye Gongsa (Works of the Three Realms). "Daesoon Jinri" (Truth of Daesoon) is an abbreviation for "Samgye Gaebyeok Daesoon Jinri" (Truth of the Great Circuit for the Gaebyeok of the Three Realms).⁷⁸⁶

The term Daesoon, literally 'Great Itineration,' by which this religious order is named Daesoon Jinrihoe, comes from The Canonical Scripture, where Sangje said:

"...all the divine sages, buddhas, and bodhisattvas, who had existed since the dawn of time, gathered and petitioned Me in the Ninth Heaven to save the realm of humans and the realm of gods from the catastrophes that they were facing. Thus, I descended to the Tower of Heavenly Revelation in the Kingdom of the Great Law (Daebeopguk 大法國) in the West, and on My Great Itineration (Daesoon 大巡) throughout the whole world, at last I reached this land in the East." (Progress of the Order 1-9)⁷⁸⁷

"Descending to the Tower of Heavenly Revelation in the Kingdom of the Great Law in the West, I went on My Great Itineration throughout the whole world to create an earthly paradise and save humanity from the verge of annihilation by re-creating the Three Realms through My great authority." (Authority and Foreknowledge 1-11)⁷⁸⁸

"Gong-Wu attended to Sangje in many Reordering Works of Heaven and Earth for three years. Whenever a Reordering Work was done, Sangje ordered, 'Make the rounds and promulgate the news to disciples everywhere.' Gong-Wu heard Him say, 'This is precisely the Great Itineration (Daesoon 大巡) around Heaven and Earth.'" (Progress of the Order 1-64) The order's name was coined by citing this

⁷⁸⁵ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9.

⁷⁸⁶ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 1-5.

⁷⁸⁷ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9.

⁷⁸⁸ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gwonji" (Authority and Foreknowledge) 1-11.

Daesoon, which embodies the meaning of the Reordering Works of the Great Opening throughout the Three Realms (Samgye Daesoon Gaebyeok-gongsa).⁷⁸⁹⁷⁹⁰

In the examples above, the expression "the Daesoon (大巡) which holds the meaning of the Reordering Works of Samgye Daesoon (三界大巡, Great Itineration of the Three Realms)" shows that "Daesoon Jinri" (Daesoon Truth) is an abbreviation for "Samgye Gaebyeok Daesoon Jinri" (The Truth of the Great Itineration for the Gaebyeok of the Three Realms).

Third, as indicated by the term "Gye (界)," the Samgye (Three Realms), compared to the Eastern Samjae (Three Powers) that emphasizes attributes, emphasizes Western substantiality. The Gucheon of Daesoon Thought holds the Samgye Daegwon (Great Authority over the Three Realms), performs the Samgye Gongsa (Works of the Three Realms) which Samgye Gaejo (reorganizes) the Samgye Bokma (Latent Devils of the Three Realms), Samgye Haema (resolves the malign forces of the Three Realms), makes the Three Realms transparent, and brings about the Gaebyeok (Re-creation) of the Three Realms.⁷⁹¹ First, the Three Realms, unlike the Three Powers which are biased toward the meaning of attributes, possess substance, such as the Great Authority over the Three Realms, thereby bringing about substantial change.⁷⁹²⁷⁹³⁷⁹⁴⁷⁹⁵⁷⁹⁶⁷⁹⁷

One day, Sangje said to Kim Hyeong-ryeol, "Presiding over the great authority of the Three Realms (Samgye-daegwon), I intend to open the Hucheon Seon'gyeong (Immortal Realm of the Later World) by opening Heaven and Earth through Jhwa (Creation/Harmony) and widely save the sentient beings who have fallen into the sea of suffering (Gohae)," and also said:

"Now, facing the Malse (End Times), the Mugeuk-daeun (Great Fortune of the Ultimate Infinite) is about to open,"

"Be careful in all matters, do not create Cheok (grievances/karmic debts) with others, and distance yourselves from sin,"

"Participate in the Cheonji Gongjeong (Public Court of Heaven and Earth) with a pure mind."

⁷⁸⁹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-64.

⁷⁹⁰ Daesoon Jinrihoe Yeolam (Daesoon Jinrihoe Overview), "Daesoon Jinrihoe."

⁷⁹¹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 17; Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gwonji" (Authority and Foreknowledge) 1-21.

⁷⁹² Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Haengrok" (Acts) 5-38.

⁷⁹³ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 7.

⁷⁹⁴ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 1-3.

⁷⁹⁵ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-30.

⁷⁹⁶ Daesoon Jinrihoe Yeolam (Daesoon Jinrihoe Overview), p.9.

⁷⁹⁷ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 1-2.

So He spoke, and He opened Hyeong-ryeol's Sinan (divine eye) and had him observe the Hoesan (gathering and scattering) and Cheongryeong (receiving commands) of the divine beings.⁷⁹⁸

In the example above, Gucheon mentions the Great Authority over the Three Realms as the means to re-create Heaven and Earth through Johwa via the divine beings and to open the Earthly Paradise of the Later World. Through the divine beings, Gucheon can also resolve the malign forces (Haema) of the Bokma (Latent Devils), the hidden demons of the Three Realms, and bring about Gaebyeok.

The introduction of the Shinmyeonggye and the harmony of substance and attribute through the concept of the Three Realms can be explained more concretely by the incarnation of Gucheon in Daesoon Thought and the subsequent harmony of the views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, compared to Donghak Thought which only emphasized the appearance of the Cheonoicheon. Against the backdrop of the concept of the Three Realms examined above, we can compare the indigenous modernity manifested in Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought.

First, the characteristics of Donghak Thought's views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity can be summarized as follows. First, Donghak Thought activated the concept of Cheonju (Heavenly Lord), a being outside the Heavenly Realm. The Donghak view of Heaven is different from the pre-Donghak view of Heaven, which was merely separate. Second, the Donghak view of Heaven formally possesses both the transcendence of Seohak (Western Learning) and the immanence of Daoism, and content-wise, it possesses the immanence of Seohak and the transcendence of Daoism. Regarding the view of Earth, Donghak Thought also aims for an Earthly Paradise. Examining the Donghak view of Humanity, it advocates Boguganmin (Protecting the Nation and Securing Peace for the People). This is based on the harmony between Earth and Humanity, and the harmony between humans.

Throughout the East and West, claims and ideas regarding the views of Humanity and the Divine have continuously emerged. However, Daesoon Thought is almost the only ideology that has re-established the view of the Three Realms (Samgyegwan) and re-established the views of the Divine and Humanity through this worldview. As Daesoon Thought's re-establishment of the view of the Three Realms was different from existing religions, research on the view of the Three Realms has been very rare.

The Eastern worldview of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity is no longer a worldview that even Easterners believe in and rely on today, following the Western invasions that occurred over 100 years ago. The negation of the views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity means the negation of Eastern civilization and the negation of the 5,000-year history that the East has achieved. Therefore, the re-establishment of the views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity is the re-establishment of Eastern civilization and the revival of Eastern history.

In response to the changed views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity in Donghak Thought, Daesoon Thought presents the concept of the Three Realms. The Three Realms not only have ancient origins but

⁷⁹⁸ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 17.

also provide a microscopic framework for East Asian culture as a whole, beyond just a macroscopic worldview. The Three Realms surpassed the spatial worldview of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity to become the basis for the methodology of Eumyang Ohaeng (Yin-Yang and the Five Elements), which formed the foundation of East Asian philosophy, religion, science, art, and technology. The Samjae (Three Powers) provided a unified framework, from high culture to folk culture, as the common foundation for the theories of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements.

The worldview of Daesoon Thought is characterized as the Samgyegwan (View of the Three Realms). Daesoon Thought is almost the only religion that clearly presents the Samgyegwan as its worldview. In Daesoon Thought, the Three Realms refer to the Heavenly Realm (Cheon-gye), the Earthly Realm (Ji-gye), and the Human Realm (In-gye). Although Daoist thought individually mentions the Celestial Realm, the Subterranean Realm, etc., instances of using the expression "Three Realms" to refer to them collectively are rare. On the other hand, Daesoon Thought presupposes the "Three Realms" starting from the term Daesoon itself, and the Cheonjigongsa (Reordering Works of Heaven and Earth), which is central to Daesoon Thought, is also expressed as a series of Samgye Gongsa (Works of the Three Realms).

The denominations that advocate correlative thinking are those that venerate Jeungsan as their object of faith, and among them, Daesoon Thought is the most representative. The Daesoon denomination further specifies and emphasizes the Three Realms. Daesoon Thought also made the establishment of the Samgyegwan the foremost task of the Cheonjigongsa and assigned it priority theoretically as well. The establishment of the Samgyegwan in Daesoon Thought is liminality and revitalization based on correlative thinking, and can be described as Eumyang Hapdeok (Virtuous Concordance of Yin and Yang), Samjae Hwangnip (Establishment of the Three Powers), and Ohaeng Gubi (Completion of the Five Elements). In the Cheonjigongsa, this is actually implemented in Heaven, Earth, and Humanity.

The most concrete form of Gaebyeok (Re-creation) is the Samgye Gaebyeok (Re-creation of the Three Realms) of Daesoon. Before Jeungsan spoke of Samgye Gaebyeok, there was "Dasi Gaebyeok" (Re-creation Again), but Samgye Gaebyeok is clear and substantial. Although there has been much research on Donghak, comparative studies with Daesoon Thought regarding the views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity are rare. The comparison between Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought is most clearly revealed in the changes in their views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity.

Despite the widespread examples of the Three Realms in East Asian culture, the understanding of the Three Realms is still insufficient, not only within Daesoon Thought itself but also in the entire study of Eastern thought. The reason research on the Three Realms is insufficient is that the concept of the Three Realms requires empirical and logical explanation. This is a field of interdisciplinary research that transcends the domain of the humanities. In other words, the extensive scope possessed by the Three Realms has actually acted as an obstacle. Because the Three Realms are not merely a symbolic framework but are applied to substantial culture, explaining the infinite domain possessed by the Three Realms often

did not align with existing Western science. Therefore, in the study of East Asian thought, the Three Realms as a worldview were regarded as a pre-modern worldview, and only the ideological aspects have been studied separately.

The views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity in Daesoon Thought, which interpret Cheon-Ji-In (Heaven, Earth, Humanity) as the Three Realms, superficially align with the Daoist views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity. The Three Realms in Daoism is a concept established by expanding the concept of Jae (才, Power/Component) from the Samjae (Three Powers) of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity into the concept of Gye (界, Realm) as in Segye (World). The Three Realms in the East are largely divided into the Buddhist Three Realms (composed of the Desire Realm, Form Realm, and Formless Realm) and the Daoist Heavenly Realm, Earthly Realm, and Human Realm. The Daoist views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, which clearly explain the material world, and the Buddhist view of the Three Realms, which is also understood as a spiritual state, seem to have clear differences in their explanatory fields, but they also show commonalities. Among the commonalities, looking first at the name "Three Realms," the concept of "Gye" (Realm)—as in Heavenly Realm, Earthly Realm, and Human Realm—appears in Daoism after the Buddhist concept of the Three Realms, instead of Samjae (Three Powers). Also, regarding the division of heavens, the heavens appearing in the Buddhist Three Realms add up to 28 heavens, and Daoism also has 28 heavens, excluding the upper heavens. The fact that the number of heavens, 28, matches, shows that Daoism's expression of the Samjae as "Gye" (Realms) like the Buddhist Three Realms indicates that the Daoist Heavenly, Earthly, and Human Realms and the Buddhist Three Realms share commonalities. Another commonality in the "Gye" concept of Buddhism and Daoism is the application of tri-divisional thinking in world perception.⁷⁹⁹

The tri-division in both Buddhism and Daoism seems to be an emphasis on the mechanical symmetry common to both Buddhism and Daoism. Symmetry itself is a binary division of Yin and Yang, but sustaining symmetry requires a new central axis at the center of the two axes. Just like natural phenomena in the macroscopic solar system or the microscopic subatomic particle system, metaphysical thought also requires three axes to finally maintain continuous symmetry. Like the global ubiquity of the concept of the Trinity, the reason why the worldview of tri-division is universal throughout the world, not just in the East but across all ages and places, is clearly the maintenance of symmetry. This is also a characteristic of the Samgyegwan (View of the Three Realms) of Daesoon Thought, which has Eumyang Hapdeok (Virtuous Concordance of Yin and Yang) as its tenet. Another reason the Daoist views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, which align with the Samgyegwan of Daesoon Thought, receive attention is because of their

⁷⁹⁹ Park Tae-bong, "Hangug-ui Sasang-gwa Munhwa-e Natanan Samsu Wolli Yeongu" [A Study on the Principle of Three Numbers Appearing in Korean Thought and Culture], Kongju National University Doctoral Dissertation, 2020.

scientific nature. In particular, the fractal worldview of quantum mechanics, which views the universe as a repetition of a single principle, has been highlighted by new scientists like Capra since the 1960s.⁸⁰⁰

Seoncheon (Former World) and Hucheon (Later World)

The most prominent difference seen in the view of Heaven between Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought can be succinctly described as Seoncheon (Former World) and Hucheon (Later World). Like the difference between the Three Realms and the Three Powers, Seoncheon and Hucheon do not just signify a simple difference in eras, but are a core concept related to whether or not the Shinmyeong (Divine Beings) play a role in modernity. The concept of the Hucheon is distinguished from the Seoncheon based on the incarnation of Sangje as a human body. The appearance of the Cheonoicheon (Heaven beyond Heaven) in Donghak Thought and the incarnation of Gucheon (Ninth Heaven) as a human body in Daesoon Thought represent an incomparable difference from the perspective of the Shinmyeonggye (Realm of Divine Beings) that constitutes the world; therefore, the boundary of the Hucheon begins with the incarnation of Gucheon in Daesoon Thought, which brings about a total change in the status of the Shinmyeonggye and the Ingye (Human Realm). Therefore, the concept of Hucheon in Daesoon Thought is an expression unique to Daesoon Thought, completely different from the Jeongyeok (Correct Change) thought.

In Donghak Thought, Gaebyeok (Re-creation) becomes "Dasi Gaebyeok" (Re-creation Again), which carries the meaning of "Returning to the Seoncheon." The "Dasi Gaebyeok" of Donghak Thought has often been interpreted as "Hucheon Gaebyeok" (Re-creation of the Later World). However, looking at the records of Donghak-related denominations that continued Donghak Thought, "Dasi Gaebyeok" appears to be a return to the origin point of the Seoncheon, "Doro Seoncheon" (Returning to the Seoncheon), rather than meaning "Hucheon Gaebyeok." "Doro Seoncheon" seems to be a term formally similar to "Dasi Gaebyeok." 'Sangju Donghak,' which used the term "Doro Seoncheon," is known as a denomination that newly distributed many Donghak-related scriptures and Gasa (verses). The fact that this denomination, which focused on publishing and literature, interpreted "Dasi Gaebyeok" as "Doro Seoncheon" seems to indicate their position that, in the context of the Donghak scriptures, "Dasi Gaebyeok" is properly interpreted as "Doro Seoncheon." In fact, if one looks at the problems of that time only from a Confucian perspective, the best solution to the problems of the time could be a "Dasi Gaebyeok" that returns to the age of Yao and Shun.⁸⁰¹

On the other hand, Daesoon thought advocates for Huchon Gaebyeok in response to this. The concepts of Sonchon and Huchon also follow the principle of liminality, where ontogeny repeats phylogeny, so a

⁸⁰⁰ Fritjof Capra, trans. Kim Yong-jeong and Kim Dong-gwang, *Saengmyeong-ui Geumul: Saengmul Siseutem-e Daehan Saeroun Gwahakjeok Ihae* (The Web of Life: A New Scientific Understanding of Living Systems), Seoul: Goyang, 1998.; Fritjof Capra, trans. Yi Seong-beom and Kim Yong-jeong, *Hyeondae Mulli-hak-gwa Dongyang Sasang* (The Tao of Physics), Goyang: Beomyangsa, 2015.

⁸⁰¹ Kim Tak, "Donghakgyo 'Doro Seoncheon' (先天) Sasang-ui Naeyong-gwa Uiui" [The Content and Significance of the Donghak Religion's Thought of 'Returning to the Former Heaven'], *Daesoon Sasang Nonchong* (Journal of Daesoon Thought) 48, 2024, pp.199-237.

comparison with the Sonchon of Donghak thought can be made by examining the characteristics of the Huchon. The Huchon is a view of Heaven (Cheongwan) in which the Eastern attributive view of Heaven and the Western substantive view of Heaven have achieved virtuous concordance (Hapdeok). From the perspective of Daesoon thought, which integrates Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism (Yubulseon), the idea of "Doro-Sonchon," meaning the era of Yao and Shun begins again, is a reductionist understanding of Daesoon thought through the lens of Confucian limitations (Yugyo-ui Jeonheon).

Upon entering the twelfth month, Sangje completed various Gongsas (Works) and embarked on the Gongsas to adjust the Yeokdo (degrees of rebellion/adversity). Gyeong-seok, Gwang-chan, and Nae-seong left for Daeheung-ri; Won-il left for Shin Gyeong-won's house; and Hyeong-ryeol and Ja-hyeon left for Donggok. Sangje spoke to the remaining Mun Gong-sin, Hwang Eung-jong, and Shin Gyeong-su, saying, "Gyeong-seok's Seong (Sincerity), Gyeong (Reverence), and Sin (Trust) are so profound that I considered using him differently, but since this is a matter he himself requests, it cannot be helped," and added, "Originally, Donghak's advocacy for Boguk-anmin (protecting the nation and securing peace for the people) was merely a cry for the work of the Later World, but their hearts each desired to become 'kings, marquises, generals, and ministers,' and tens of thousands were dragged away and killed without achieving their desire. Their grievances soared to the heavens, and if those divine beings were left as they are, the governance of the Later World would fall into adversity (Yeokdo) and become chaotic; therefore, I was in the process of appointing a leader for the Haewon (resolution of grievances) of those divine beings, and Gyeong-seok's mention of twelve empires (十二帝國) means he has volunteered for it. His father was a high-ranking leader in Donghak and was captured and killed, and he himself also served as a Donghak Chongdae (representative leader), so from now on, I have attached all the Donghak divine beings to Gyeong-seok; from this seat, the Haewon of the 'kings, marquises, generals, and ministers' shall begin," He said, writing on a piece of paper, forbidding outsiders from entering, and saying, "Watch in the days to come. The expenditure of money will greatly increase, and the number of people will also be greater than in the Gabo year (1894). They must be set free so that there will be no hindrance in the Later World," He concluded.⁸⁰²

The original intent of Donghak thought was the Huchon, but Donghak thought, understanding Daesoon thought through the limitations of Confucianism, misunderstood the Huchon as 'Doro-Sonchon' (Returning to the Former World) and understood Donghak thought as the idea of "the whole country becoming Yangban (aristocrats)." Furthermore, the dream of "Yangban" connects to becoming 'Wanghujangsang,' which shows that the interpretation of "Doro-Sonchon" was an incomplete interpretation.

Like the principle that phylogeny is recapitulated in ontogeny, Daesoon Thought holds that the new era is realized in a new world through a new thought that integrates Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism,

⁸⁰² Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsas" (Reordering Works) 2-19.

and that this had to be the Later World (Hucheon)—a new Heaven and new Earth—rather than a reverting Former World (Seoncheon).

In Daesoon thought, the Sonchon was not a world to be sublated (rejected) in contrast to the Huchon, but a process that had to be passed through according to the principle of Saengjang-yeomjang (growth, flourishing, harvest, storage) in order to reach the Huchon. The countless grievances of the Sonchon were the driving force that could be resolved through Haewon in the Huchon. However, the meaning of Gaebyeok, or the indigenous modernity of Daesoon thought, was not that the Sonchon would be reset to the beginning like 'Doro-Sonchon.' The Gaebyeok and Huchon that the indigenous modernity of Daesoon thought sought to achieve was a new world created by gathering only the advantages of the principles of all times and places, just as ontogeny repeats phylogeny.⁸⁰³

Originally, the term 'Sonchon' (Prior Heaven) was first used in the history of I-Ching (Yeok) studies by Shao Kangjie (Sogangjeol), and the scholarly system of Sonchon-yeokhak (Prior Heaven I-Ching studies) was completed by Zhu Xi (Ju Hui) and Cai Yuanding (Chae Wonjeong), the father of Cai Chen (Chae Chim) who wrote the "Seojeon-seomun" (Preface to the Book of Documents).⁸⁰⁴ Sonchon-yeokhak, unlike the I-Ching studies that tell fortunes according to King Mun's 64 hexagrams, is the study that explores the principles of universal change appearing in Fuxi's 8 trigrams diagram and the Hado (River Map) and Nakseo (Luo Writing). The commonly used Fuxi's 8 trigrams diagram did not exist before Shao Kangjie made it public. In Sonchon-yeokhak, 'Sonchon' is used to mean "prior to Heaven" in the I-Ching, referring to the time before things operated in mutual conflict (Sangguk) or before matter came into existence. Shao Kangjie distinguishes between Sonchon (Prior) and Huchon (Latter) worlds based on the boundary of Emperor Yao's discovery of the concept of 'To' (Earth). Since Sonchon-yeokhak is related to the arrangement of the eight trigrams, "Jeongyeok" (Correct Change) can also be considered Sonchon-yeokhak in a broad sense. For the modern interpretation of Sonchon-yeokhak, Han Gyu-seong, Han Tae-dong, Han Jang-gyeong, Han Dong-seok, Lee Seung-su, Kim Seung-ho, Yu Nam-sang, Lee Hyeon-jung, Im Byeong-hak, Yun Jong-bin, and Kim Sang-il are widely known.⁸⁰⁵

⁸⁰³ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 30.

⁸⁰⁴ Jo Hui-yeong, "Seo Myeong-eung-ui Seoncheon Yeokhak Jeongnim-gwa Sidae-jeok Uiui; 'Seoncheon Saryeon'-eul Jungsim-euro" [The Establishment of Seo Myeong-eung's Former-Heaven I Ching Studies and Its Historical Significance: Centering on 'Seoncheon Saryeon'], *Cheolhak Yeongu* (Philosophical Research) 98, 2012, p.1.

⁸⁰⁵ Han Gyu-seong, original author; Han Pil-hun, ed., *Juyeok-e Daehan 46gaji Jilmun-gwa Daedap* (46 Questions and Answers on the I Ching), Dongnyeok, 1996; Han Gyu-seong, *Yeokhak Wonri Ganghwa* (Lectures on the Principles of I Ching Studies), Yemun-ji, 1997.

⁸⁰⁶ Han Tae-dong, *Sayu-ui Heulleum* (The Flow of Thought), Yonsei University Press, 2003.

⁸⁰⁷ Han Jang-gyeong, *Juyeok-Jeongyeok* (The I Ching and the Correct Changes), Salm-gwa Kkum, 2001.

⁸⁰⁸ Han Dong-seok, *Uju Byeonhwa-ui Wonri: Eumyang Ohaeng Wonri* (The Principles of Cosmic Change: The Principles of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements), Daewon Publishing, 2003.

⁸⁰⁹ Lee Seung-soo, *The Principle of Jung* (Center/Balance), Seoul: GG.com, 2008.

⁸¹⁰ Kim Seung-ho, *Juyeok Wonron* (The Original Principles of the I Ching) (vols. 1-6), Seonyeongsa, 2009.

⁸¹¹ Yun Jong-bin, *Jeongyeok-gwa Juyeok* (The Correct Changes and the I Ching), Sangsaeng Publishing, 2009.

The concept of Huchon begins with the use of the concept of Cheonju (Lord of Heaven) in Donghak thought. This is because what separates Sonchon and Huchon is the incarnation of Sangje into a human body. 'Cheonju' (Lord of Heaven) is the name of the monotheistic God that Matteo Ricci heard from a young Chinese man.⁸¹⁶ Catholic priests and Protestant ministers who studied Confucian scriptures, including Matteo Ricci, say that the Sangje of primitive Confucianism had a purely monotheistic form.⁸¹⁷ Matteo Ricci, the Catholic priest who first introduced Seohak (Western Learning/Catholicism) to China, and James Legge (1815-1897), the Protestant minister who translated the Four Books and Five Classics including the "I Ching" (Juyeok) and "Analects" (Noneo) into Western languages, almost identically claimed that the Chinese were descendants of Noah who had migrated, thus possessing primitive monotheistic beliefs which later became corrupted.⁸¹⁸ Terrien de Lacouperie (1844-1894), Europe's foremost Sinologist until the early 20th century, also argued that the Yellow Emperor (Huangdi) came from Babylonia.⁸¹⁹

The 'Cheonju' in the Sichonju (Serving the Lord of Heaven) incantation is important because the reason for the persecution of Donghak was the suspicion that Donghak was Catholicism, based on the 'Cheonju' in the 'Sichonju' incantation. Why Choe Su-un insisted on 'Cheonju', even knowing the danger that the 'Cheonju' in the 'Sichonju' incantation could lead to Donghak being persecuted as Catholicism, remains an unsolved riddle in academia. Choe Su-un received the teachings of Sangje as a revelation, and Sichonju was also a revelation from Sangje; thus, although there was concern he could be persecuted as a Catholic, he could not change it. 'Cheonju' in 'Sichonju' also signified Mireuk (Maitreya), the Lord of Tushita Heaven, who appears in the Mireuk-sangsaeng-gyeong (Sutra on the Upward Rebirth of Maitreya). The reason Matteo Ricci translated Deus as Cheonju was not because he invented the term, but because it

⁸¹² Yi Hyeon-jung, *Yeokyeong-gwa Saseo* (The Book of Changes and the Four Books), Yeongnak, 2004.

⁸¹³ Im Byeong-hak, *Yeokhak-gwa Hado Nakseo* (I Ching Studies and the River Chart and Luo Writing), Korea Academic Information, 2008.

⁸¹⁴ Yun Jong-bin, *Hanguk Yeokhak Yeongu-ui Gicho* (Foundations of Korean I Ching Research), Mungyeong Publishing, 2012.

⁸¹⁵ Kim Sang-il, *Yeok-gwa Talhyeondae-ui Nonri* (The I Ching and the Logic of Postmodernity), Jisiksaneopsa, 2006.

⁸¹⁶ An Seong-ho, "The Theological Continuity between the Term 'Shangdi (上帝)' Used in Matteo Ricci's Tianzhu Shiyi (early 17th century) and James Legge's English Translations of Chinese Confucian Classics (19th century)," *Hanguk Gidokgyo-wa Yeoksa* (Christianity and History in Korea) 32, Korea Institute of Christian History, 2010, pp.302-304.; Chen Kai Tong, *Godae Jungguk Sok-ui Hananim* (God in Ancient China), Seoul: Sun Publishing, 2009.

⁸¹⁷ An Seong-ho, "John Ross's Theological Stance on Primitive Chinese Confucian Monotheism and the Terminology Debate in Chinese Bible Translation," *Hanguk Gidokgyo-wa Yeoksa* (Christianity and History in Korea) 40, (Korea Institute of Christian History, 2014), p.228.

⁸¹⁸ Legge, *The Notions of the Chinese concerning God and Spirits*, p.33, cited in An Seong-ho, "The Theological Continuity between the Term 'Shangdi (上帝)' Used in Matteo Ricci's Tianzhu Shiyi and James Legge's English Translations of Chinese Confucian Classics," *Hanguk Gidokgyo-wa Yeoksa* (Christianity and History in Korea) 32, Korea Institute of Christian History, 2010, pp.315-316.

⁸¹⁹ Sun Jiang, "The Yellow Emperor Came from Babylon: Lacouperie's Theory of the Western Origin of Chinese Civilization and Its Spread to East Asia," *Gaenyeom-gwa Sotong* (Concepts and Communication) 5, 2010, pp.79-26.

was the term used to mean God in China at the time.⁸²⁰ The Huchon was a concept contrasted with the Yonghwa-segye (Dragon-Flower World) that comes after the descent of Maitreya (Mireuk).⁸²¹

In Daesoon thought, the Huchon is a view of the Samgye (Three Realms) in which the Samjae (Three Powers/Potencies) are established. The Daesoon view of the Cheongyegwan (Heavenly Realm), which establishes the Samjae, even reorganizes the astronomy (Cheonmun) of the heavens. Daesoon reifies Mugeuk (the Ultimate Non-being/Limitless) through the concept of Mugeuksin (God of Mugeuk) and reifies Taegeuk (the Supreme Ultimate) through Tae-eul Cheonsang-wongun (Primal Lord of the Tae-eul Heaven). The Huchon is the future view of the Heavenly Realm, into which the Sinmyeong (spirits/gods) are introduced, seen from the perspective of the Guchon (Ninth Heaven). The view of the Heavenly Realm in the Huchon is as follows.

First, the Daesoon concept of the Heavenly Realm appears as two concepts of the Heavenly Realm. Cheon (Heaven) as Sangje is newly added. In Daesoon thought, there are two Gods: God as Sangje and the Cheonjisinmyeong (Spirits of Heaven and Earth); thus, there is the Heaven of Taegeuk (Supreme Ultimate) which contrasts with the Earth, and there is the Taegeuk Heaven above that, which integrates Heaven and Earth. Sangje presides over both Mugeuk and Taegeuk.

Second, compared to Donghak thought, which merely declared that Heaven and Earth are Yin and Yang, the Ibeopcheon (Heaven of Principle/Law) is more concretized in Daesoon thought. In summary, the characteristics of the Daesoon view of the Heavenly Realm appear as a more concrete view of the Heavenly Realm than that of Donghak thought, including: the replacement of the old heaven with a new heaven, an emphasis on Taegeuk and principle (Ichi), the distinction between the grace of Heaven and the principle of Earth, and the relationship of Yin-Yang virtuous concordance (Eumyang-hapdeok) between Heaven and Earth.

The correlative thinking appearing in the Donghak view of the Heavenly Realm is limited compared to that of Daesoon thought. The fact that the Cheon-In (Heaven-Human) relationship and the Cheon-Ji (Heaven-Earth) relationship are more prominent in the Daesoon view of the Heavenly Realm shows that liminality aspects are strengthened in the Daesoon view of the Heavenly Realm more than in Donghak thought. Furthermore, the Daesoon view of the Heavenly Realm emphasizes Sangsaeng (Mutual

⁸²⁰ Hundreds of thousands of heavenly beings provided celestial music while scattering heavenly mandala flowers and great mandala flowers above him, praising: 'Excellent, excellent! Good man, because you cultivated abundant meritorious karma in Jambudvipa, you have been born here. This place is called Tusita Heaven, and the Lord of Heaven (Cheonju) here is named Maitreya; you should take refuge in him.' (Foshuo Guan Mile Pusa Shang Sheng Dou Shuai Tian Jing [Sutra on Contemplating Bodhisattva Maitreya's Ascent to Tusita Heaven]: 百千天子作天伎樂持天曼陀羅花摩訶曼陀羅花以散其上讚言善哉善哉善男子汝於閻浮提廣修福業來生此處此處名兜率陀天今此天主名曰彌勒汝當歸依, Dongguk University Buddhist Records Cultural Heritage Archive). Gucheon Daewon Johwajusin can also be called Cheonju (Lord of Heaven) by combining the cheon of Gucheon and the ju of Johwaju.

⁸²¹ Choe Jong-seok, "Buddhist Elements in Jeungsan Religion: Focusing on the Acceptance of Maitreya Faith," Seonmunhwa Yeongu (Research on Seon Culture) 23, 2017, pp.254-255.

Beneficence), which does not appear in Donghak thought, and the role of Heaven is redefined, expanding revitalization in Daesoon thought.

In Daesoon thought, the revitalized view of the Heavenly Realm is reified as Mugeuksin (God of Mugeuk) and Tae-eul Cheonsang-wongun (Primal Lord of the Tae-eul Heaven); the arrangement of the Chilseongju (Lords of the Seven Stars) is changed; and the names of spirits are invoked in the 24 Ju (Jurisdictions/Divisions) and 28 Su (Constellations/Mansions), thereby re-establishing the view of the Heavenly Realm. This is realized through the Myeongbu-gongsa (Reordering Work of the Netherworld) within the Cheonji-gongsa (Reordering Works of Heaven and Earth). The astronomy of the Cheonsang-bunya-yeolcha-jido (Celestial Chart) is realigned.

In Daesoon thought, the Gaebyeok (Opened) Huchon signifies the fusion of all principles that have appeared in the time and space of all ages, East and West. Therefore, the connection of Eastern and Western views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity appearing in the Johwa (Harmony/Creation) of Donghak thought develops into fusion through the Samgye-gongsa (Reordering Work of the Three Realms) in Daesoon thought.

The Mueui-ihwa (Spontaneous Transformation) of the Cheon-Ji relationship in Donghak thought, which consists of Naeyu-sinryeong (Indwelling Spirit) and Oeyu-gihwa (Externalized Ki-transformation), appears in Daesoon thought as the Sa-ui (Four Forms/Modes) of Saengjang-yeomjang (growth, flourishing, harvest, storage). As a result of the reorganization of the 28 Su (Constellations) and 24 Jeolhu (Solar Terms) through the Cheonji-gongsa, the harmony of the 10 Gan (Stems) and 12 Ji (Branches), Wonhyeong-ijeong (Primal, Flourishing, Advantageous, Firm), and the 12 Unseong (Phases of Fortune) is established in Daesoon thought. This appears in the order of Eumyang-hapdeok (Virtuous Concordance of Yin and Yang), Samjae-hwakrip (Establishment of the Three Powers), and Ohaeng-gubi (Completion of the Five Elements), as shown in the Mugeukdo-chwijiseo (Statement of Purpose of Mugeukdo) of Daesoon thought.

However, existing views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity (Cheongwan, Jigwan, Ingwan) had fixed, unbalanced, and incompatible relationships between Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, and thus mainly pursued human salvation, liberation from suffering, or human immortality, but failed to pursue the realization of the world-spirit by humans. The existing views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity still carry the unresolved homework that Western civilization failed to solve when it spread to the East in the past. What differentiates the Daesoon view of the Three Realms (Samgye-gwan) from existing views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity is the variability, constancy, and compatibility of the Three Realms. The Daesoon view of the Three Realms possesses variability, constancy, and compatibility through Sangje.

The perspective of viewing modern problems as problems of the traditional Three Realms is not found even in Daoism. The reason Daesoon thought still shines today, over 100 years later, is that even now, there are few cases that have diagnosed modern civilization from a traditional Eastern perspective as much as

Daesoon thought has. A differentiated study is needed on the perspective that viewed the problems of modernity from the viewpoint of the senescence and imbalance of the Three Realms.

Comparative Study on the Indigenous Modernity of the View of Earth (Jigwan)

Gihwa (Ki-transformation) and Jori (Governing/Conditioning)

In Donghak thought and Daesoon thought, which define the views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity from the perspective of the Transcendent Heaven (Chowolcheon), 'Earth' (Ddang) is not the Earth belonging to the conventional Heaven-and-Earth (Cheonji), but rather the concept of Heaven-and-Earth contrasted with the Transcendent Heaven, namely Gihwa (Ki-transformation). However, in the case of Daesoon thought, which introduced the concept of Sinmyeong (spirits/gods) to Donghak thought, the role of Jori (Governing/Conditioning) by the incarnated Transcendent Heaven—that is, the role of 'To' (Earth) as a mediator—is added to the concept of Gihwa. The concept of Jori in Daesoon thought also follows the principle of liminality that ontogeny repeats phylogeny, allowing a comparison of the views of Earth (Jigwan) in Donghak thought and Daesoon thought through the concept of Jori appearing in Daesoon thought. Jori is a concept that clearly shows the Daesoon view of the Earthly Realm (Jigyegwan), which is harmonized by the World of Spirits (Sinmyeonggye), in contrast to Donghak thought.

天用地用 人用之 調理綱紀 統制乾坤 此之謂造化手段也⁸²²

The above example shows that Jori, corresponding to Gihwa, is a core principle explaining the operation of the universe, just as Gihwa is. The 'Ri' (or 'I') in Jori is expressed as principle (Ichi) or law/principle (Ibeop). In Daesoon thought, the Earth appears as the central being of principle.

On the 23rd day of the twelfth lunar month of the Jeongmi year, Sangje visited Shin Gyeong-su at his house. Sangje spoke about Yao's "observing the sun, moon, and stars, and respectfully bestowing the seasons upon the people" (yeoksang ilwolseongsin gyeongsuinsi), saying, "Heaven and Earth, without the sun and moon, are an empty shell; the sun and moon, without a person of wisdom (ji-in), are an empty shadow. Because Dang Yao (Emperor Yao) discerned the laws of the sun and moon and taught them to the people, the grace of Heaven and the principles of Earth were finally bestowed upon humanity." At this time, Sangje taught, "The sun and moon govern all things without selfishness; the rivers and mountains have the Dao and receive hundreds of practices (日月無私治萬物 江山有道受百行)," and He composed the Five

⁸²² Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Jesaeng" (Saving Lives) 43. The use of Heaven (Cheon-yong), the use of Earth (Ji-yong), and the use of Humanity (In-yong) are to harmonize the fundamental order (Ganggi), thereby governing Heaven and Earth. This is called the means of Joswa (Creation/Transformation). (Yang Mu-mok, "Haewon Jinri-roseoui Eumyang Hapdeok-gwa Minjujuui" [Yin-Yang Harmonic Virtue as Salvation Truth, and Democracy], Daesoon Sasang Nonchong [Journal of Daesoon Studies] 2, 1997, pp.175-176)

Mantras (Oju), calling them the "Essence (Jinaek) of Heaven and Earth," and the Five Mantras are as follows.⁸²³

In the above example, the "principle of Earth" (Ddang-ui Ichi) shows the aspect of the Earth focusing on principle and law, according to the principle of Cheonwon-jibang (Heaven is round, Earth is square). Ri (Principle) traditionally appears in connection with Taegeuk (Supreme Ultimate). Before Donghak thought and Daesoon thought emerged, 'I' (Ri, principle) was the central concept in I-Gi-ron (Theory of Principle and Material Force); therefore, Donghak thought, with the concept of "Gihwa" (Ki-transformation), relatively emphasized Gi (material force) over I. In response to this, Daesoon thought emphasizes the 'I' (Principle) before 'I'—that is, Mugeuk (Limitless) and Taegeuk (Supreme Ultimate)—thereby stressing its practical application to everyday affairs.⁸²⁴

理雖高出於太極無極之表 不離乎日用事物之間⁸²⁵

In the example above, the expression "Though Principle [I] is lofty, it issues forth from Taegeuk and Mugeuk" shows that 'I' (Principle) belongs to the Guchon (Ninth Heaven) of Daesoon thought, who is the presider over Mugeuk and Taegeuk. Accordingly, 'I' (Principle) exists within everyday affairs, that is, within all things in the universe (Samra-mansang). Whereas 'I' (Principle) in I-Gi-ron (Theory of Principle and Material Force) was a concept oriented toward attributes that excluded substantiality, the 'I' appearing in the example above is a concept of 'I' that emphasizes substantiality.

Because Taegeuk is the origin of the universe, it does not exist only at the beginning or origin, but is immanent in all things, like the 'I' (Principle) of the Avatamsaka (Hwaeom) Sutra. Zhu Xi's (Juja) expression 'Gakgu-Taegeuk Tongche-Taegeuk' (Each thing possesses Taegeuk; the whole possesses Taegeuk) means that Taegeuk exists commonly in the maximal universe and the minimal universe, just as the Avatamsaka Sutra says innumerable Buddhas exist within a speck of dust. The only difference between Taegeuk and the 'I' (Principle) of Buddhism is that Taegeuk explicitly expresses that its interior is specifically composed of Yin and Yang. Another difference between the 'I' (Principle) of I-Gi-ron (Theory of Principle and Material Force) and the 'I' of the Avatamsaka Sutra is that the 'I' of I-Gi-ron manifests specific attributes known as Wonhyeong-ijeong (Primal, Flourishing, Advantageous, Firm), unlike the 'I' of the Avatamsaka Sutra.⁸²⁶

⁸²³ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-30.

⁸²⁴ It is said that Jeongeup, where Daesoon thought originated, had the tradition of Iljae Yi Hang, a substantialist school of Li-Qi thought. Kim Ik-du, Choe Yeong-seong, Yi Seon-a, Kim Beom-su, Iljae Yi Hang-ui Sasang Hangmun Iron-e Gwanhan Saeroun Sigakdeul (New Perspectives on the Thought, Scholarship, and Theory of Iljae Yi Hang), Seoul: Munyewon, 2014.

⁸²⁵ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Jesaeng" (Saving Lives) 43. Yi su go chul eo mugeuk taeguk ji pyo, bulli ho ilyong samul ji gan. Although the principle is lofty, it emerges from the surface of Taiji (the Supreme Ultimate) and Wuji (the Limitless), and does not depart from the midst of daily-use things.

⁸²⁶ Zhu Xi's expression 'Gakgu Taegeuk, Tongche Taegeuk' (各具太極, 統體太極) — each thing possessing the Supreme Ultimate, and the Supreme Ultimate as a whole — is connected to the Huayan concept of Jungjeung Mujin (重重無盡, infinite interpenetration). (Kim Jong-uk, "Bogjapgye-roseo Saengtaegye-wa Beopgye" [Ecosystem and Dharmadhatu as Complex Systems], Cheolhak Sasang [Philosophical Thought] 41, 2011, pp.7-36)

Originally, the characteristics of the category of li (理) are said to be inclusiveness, diversity, and dynamism. Examining the concept of li before Neo-Confucianism, in the *Shuowen Jiezi*, li is connected with jade (玉) in the sense that, the grain of things being densest in jade, the character follows 'jade.' Li first appears in the *Classic of Poetry* (Shijing 詩經), the *Zuozhuan*, and the *Guoyu*, where the concept of li used as munri (紋理, the pattern of markings) appears as chiri (治理, the principle of governing). Thereafter, in the *Yijing* it became the principle of all under Heaven and the principle of nature and destiny; it became Mencius's righteousness-principle and Xunzi's ritual-principle, and then changed into the Daoist principle of the natural. After that, Dong Zhongshu's concept of li and the concept of li in the *Huangdi Neijing* appeared. Dong Zhongshu, in the 'Cycle of the Dao' of the *Chunqiu Fanlu*, spoke of 'that which Heaven and Earth have not yet reached—li,' and the *Huangdi Neijing* calls birth-growth-transformation-completion-storage the 'principle of nurturing life.'⁸²⁷

The reason the characteristics of the 'Ri' (Principle) category were originally inclusiveness, diversity, and dynamism is that it originated from the concept of 'To' (Earth) in Yin-Yang and the Five Elements. Daesoon thought reactivated this 'I' concept as the concept of 'To', thereby enabling the introduction of the 'I' concept, compared to Donghak thought which was biased towards the 'Gihwa' (Ki-transformation) concept; consequently, it was able to introduce the accompanying concept of Sinmyeong (spirits/gods) and present a more concrete indigenous modernity.

元亨利貞大經大法道正天地數定千法而理定心法⁸²⁸

In the passage above, which appears in the 'Gakdomun' (Writing on Awakening to the Dao) that defines the awakening of the Dao, this appears between the four virtues of origination-flourishing-benefiting-firmness and the concept of the mind that signifies Earth (To); by expressing that the mind's becoming To is the very concept of fixing the mind being li, it shows that the relationship between li (理) and qi (氣) is the relationship between To and Wood-Fire-Metal-Water. Daesoon Thought indirectly emphasizes that the starting point of Li-Qi theory is yin-yang and the Five Elements, and that it derives from Shao Yong.

Sangje said, "There is a saying that for words, there was Su Qin and Zhang Yi, for knowledge, there was Shao Kangjie, and for writing, there was Li Tai-Bai and Du Zimei. In The Songs of the Eastern Learning, these three energies are embedded. Contemplate this deeply."⁸²⁹

⁸²⁷ Jang Ip-mun et al., trans. *An Yu-gyeong, Ri-ui Cheollhak* (The Philosophy of Li/Principle), Seoul: Yemunseowon, 2004, pp.30-36, 46, 49, 106.

⁸²⁸ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 2-33. Wonhyeong ijong, daegyeong daebeop, do jeong cheonji, su jeong cheonbeop, i jeong simbeop. The Way (Do) rectifies Heaven and Earth, Numbers (Su) fix the myriad laws, and Principle (Ri) governs the mind-method. (Choe Chi-bong, "Daesoon Sasang-ui Taegyeuk-e Gwanhan Yeongu" [A Study on the Supreme Ultimate in Daesoon Thought], *Daesoon Sasang Nonchong* [Journal of Daesoon Studies] 23, 2014, p.403)

⁸²⁹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyobeop" (Teachings) 2-42.

That the starting point of Li-Qi theory was yin-yang and the Five Elements was long forgotten by Neo-Confucianism. Neo-Confucianism's defeat by the West is also located in the very point that it discarded yin-yang and the Five Elements on its own. Yin-yang and the Five Elements were the starting point of Li-Qi theory, but the Neo-Confucians accepted Li-Qi theory while regarding yin-yang and the Five Elements as superstition. After Matteo Ricci, the superstitionizing of yin-yang and the Five Elements accelerated. The re-illumination of the Shao Yong theory by Seo Myeong-eung and others, who grounded yin-yang and the Five Elements in Li-Qi theory, was inevitable at the time.

If the resolution of grievances for mutual beneficence (haewon-sangsaeng) through humanity's harmonizing (jori) is realized, the Eastern and Western divine-human relationships can be integrated with each other. Once it becomes clear that divine beings exist as yin-yang and the Five Elements, the Western earth-water-fire-wind also becomes one part of the circle's circulation. In the West, the concept of divine beings has been demoted to the concept of angels, but the angels too are restored to the status of divine beings.⁸³⁰

The West's ancestral spirits (seollyeongsin) are also restored. In the West too, the ancestral spirits related to humans and the divine beings of Heaven and Earth related to nature are distinguished. When angels become the same as divine beings, in the West too the human becomes a being that merges with angels. By the respective natures of East and West, the West has had an affinity with subterranean deities, but with the union of yin-yang in virtue (eumyang-hapdeok), the West too dwells together with the spirits of ancestors. Daesoon Thought, by saying that 'after an ancestor passes four generations, it becomes both a spirit (yeong) and an immortal (seon),' explains both Li-Qi theory and the theory of the soul. If the concept of angels is converted into divine beings in the West, the character of the Absolute is also converted. In the East, the ultimate being was rendered as a principle, as in the Limitless (Mugeuk) and the Supreme Ultimate (Taegeuk); but, accepting also the Western-religious tradition in which Jesus personified it under the name of Father, Daesoon Thought concretizes the Limitless and the Supreme Ultimate under names such as the God of the Limitless (Mugeuksin), thereby re-establishing the Eastern and Western divine-human relationship. The re-established Eastern and Western divine-human relationship can also explain the changes of nature as follows.⁸³¹

On the next day after Doju came back from Haein-sa Temple (Ocean Seal Temple), he gathered many disciples and said, "Even though Sangje defined the Ocean Seal as a seal, it is wrong for you to take it as a tangible object. The Ocean Seal is not far but close at hand. The origin of the principles of all things in the

⁸³⁰ In today's Western 'thanatology' (death studies), the West also acknowledges the existence of ancestral spirits (Seonlyeongsin). Although it began with the hospice movement aimed at 'well-dying,' modern Western thanatology has verified through tens of thousands of near-death experience cases that, just as in the East, people in the afterlife encounter ancestral spirits whom they had never met while alive. (Eben Alexander; Ptolemy Tompkins [co-authors], trans. Ko Mi-ra; Yi Jin [co-translators], Na-neun Cheonguk-eul Bo-asda [Proof of Heaven], Paju: Gimyeongsa, 2013, pp.124-130, 190)

⁸³¹ Michel Serres regards the concept of angels, like the Eastern concept of Sinmyeong (divine spirits), not as a simple concept but as a decisive occasion for shaping the epistemological framework of the West. (Michel Serres, trans. Yi Gyu-hyeon, Heremes, Seoul: Minumsa, 2009, pp.299-303)

universe lies in the ocean. So, there are sayings of 'the Ocean Seal' and 'a Perfected Being on an ocean island.' Take a look at the sea water. It is all electrified. Water flows down but has the characteristic of ascending. Originally, all things are generated and grow by absorbing the energy of water. There are 36 Heavens in the sky and Sangje governs them. As he presides over electricity, rules, and nurtures all nature in Heaven and Earth, He is, accordingly, Nwehseong Bohwa Cheonjon Sangje [雷聲普化天尊上帝 The Supreme God, the Celestial Worthy of Universal Creation through His Thunderbolt]. Since the electricity of Heaven is in the ocean water, all things are surrounded by electricity."⁸³²

In Donghak, the concept of 'qi-transformation (gihwa 氣化)' appears in the part 'inwardly there is the divine spirit, outwardly there is qi-transformation (內有神靈 外有氣化).' In the case of 'the divine spirit within and qi-transformation without,' the divine spirit and qi-transformation are another concept by which Donghak connects East and West. Suun expresses the image of the Lord of Heaven (Cheonju)—who is personal yet at the same time impersonal, external yet at the same time fully immanent—as 'there is the divine spirit within us and qi-transformation without (內有神靈 外有氣化).' Looking at the 'Nonhangmun,' one can see that Choe Je-u went a step beyond the general 'Eastern Way, Western implements (Dongdo-Seogi)' theory and highly evaluated Western learning and morality.⁸³³

“Westerners perfect the Dao and establish virtue (道成立德), and as for their creative transformation, there is nothing they cannot accomplish. When they attack with weapons, no one can stand before them in battle; if China is destroyed, how could we be free from the worry of 'lips gone, teeth cold'? There is no other reason for it. They call their Dao the Western Way (西道), their learning the Lord of Heaven (天主) [Learning], and their teaching the Holy Teaching (聖教). Is this not knowing the time of Heaven (天時) and receiving the mandate of Heaven (天命)?”⁸³⁴

On the other hand, Suun criticizes the practice of the Western teaching. In the phrase 'the Western teaching has no numinous spirit of qi-transformation, and its learning has no teaching of the Lord of Heaven,' the latter, 'the learning has no teaching of the Lord of Heaven (學無天主之教),' is said to mean 'the learning has no teaching of the Lord of Heaven's descending word (學無天主降話之教)'—that is, not having inwardly received the teaching of the descending word (降話). Suun's criticism that Westerners do not even know how to serve the Lord of Heaven and ultimately only pray for themselves is because he saw

⁸³² Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 2-55.

⁸³³ Baek Min-jeong, "Jeong Yak-yong-gwa Choe Je-u-ui Sayu: Sangje-wa Sim Gaenyeom-euro Bigyo" [A Comparison of the Thought of Jeong Yak-yong and Choe Je-u through the Concepts of Sangje (Lord on High) and Sim (Mind/Heart)], *Minjok Munhwa* (National Culture) 61, 2022, p.149.

⁸³⁴ Donggyeong Daejeon (The Eastern Canon), "Nonhangmun" (On Learning).

that they do not know the numinous spirit of qi-transformation that mediates and makes mutually belong the 'I' and the 'you.'⁸³⁵

Daesoon Thought has revealed, as a point of difference, that it emphasizes the feminine mind rather than the masculine energy (gi) emphasized in Donghak Thought.

In The Songs of Suwun, there is a saying, "If the energy of the Dao is maintained for a long time, wickedness cannot enter [道氣長存邪不入]." However, I say, "If a perfected heart is adamantly guarded, blessings will come first [眞心堅守福先來]."⁸³⁶

That the feminine mind is emphasized in Daesoon Thought, unlike the masculine 'utmost qi (jigi)' emphasized in Donghak Thought, is because the resolution of grievances according to principle (li) is emphasized. 'Understanding (ihae),' the resolution of grievances by principle, is continually emphasized in Daesoon Thought together with 'reconciliation (hwahae).' The reason Donghak Thought is being re-illuminated today is, on the one hand, the aspect of its autogenous character connected to Korea's autogenous modernity; but it is also that Donghak Thought is a thought that contains a critique of materialistic modern civilization and an alternative future vision. Donghak Thought regards materialistic modern civilization as the legacy of Catholic Western Learning (Seohak), and criticizes Western Learning as outwardly advocating equality while, in the course of its practice, betraying Heaven through each-person-for-oneself-mindedness (gakja-wisim).⁸³⁷⁸³⁸

The present status of Donghak Thought, while Donghak Thought itself is meager, still exerts great influence today through the expansion of Donghak-related thought that arose after Donghak. Most Donghak-related thought proposed gaebyeok (the Great Opening) as an alternative. In particular, Donghak aimed at a short-term, external, social gaebyeok. By contrast, Daesoon Thought aimed at a long-term, religious gaebyeok by divine beings.

In that East Asia of the time, at a grim moment when, having fallen to colonial status, the identity of an entire people maintained for 5,000 years was about to be annihilated, Korean new religions—rarely paralleled—presented a rosy vision of the future and won great response from the populace of the time. In fact, that vision, depending on interpretation, has proven accurate up to the present, so that the religious influence of those new religions persists even today.

To the Donghak participants who had become frustrated by the failure of the future vision of becoming kings, marquises, generals, and ministers, Jeungsan presents the True Donghak of grievance-resolution and gaebyeok as the cause of, and remedy for, Donghak's failure.

⁸³⁵ Son Byeong-uk, "Donghak-gwa Bulgyo Yeombulseon-ui Sujeung Chegye Bigyo" [A Comparison of the Cultivation Systems of Donghak and Buddhist Yeombul-Seon], *Donghak Hakbo* (Journal of Donghak Studies) 23, 2011, p.107.

⁸³⁶ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyobeob" (Teachings) 2-3.

⁸³⁷ The murals of Daesoon Jinrihoe depict Oseon Wigi (Five Immortals Playing Baduk), which represents Haewon Sangsaeng (Resolution of Grievances for Mutual Flourishing), as expressing 'benefit' (Yi/Ihae).

⁸³⁸ Kim Yong-ok, *Donggyeong Daejeon 2* (The Eastern Canon, vol. 2), Tongnamu, 2021, p.135.

One day, Sangje took Gyeong-seok from Nongam and, on the way to Jeongeup, stopped at a tavern in Wonpyeong, called over a passerby, bought him alcohol, and said, "This road is the sea route to Namjoseon (Southern Joseon). We must load much cargo before departing," and then hurried on the road, reaching a place thirty ri away, saying, "A great formation (Daejin) travels thirty ri in one party," and stayed at the house of Park Gong-woo, who lived in the jaesil (ritual house) of the Choe family in Songwol-ri, Gobu. He said to Gong-woo and Gyeong-seok, "Now that I have met the one I was meant to meet, the Tongjeongsin (Spirit of Mutual Understanding) emerges. My work is something that even my parents and siblings do not know." He continued, "I descended to the Cheongyetap (Tower of Divine Revelation) in the Great Western Nation of France, toured the world (Daesoon), and then, taking the authority of the Three Realms (Samgye), I came to open a paradise (Seongyeong) through the Gaebyeok of the Three Realms and save the people of the world who have fallen into annihilation; the reason I stopped in this land while touring your Eastern country is to first help the obscure, weak nation buried in calamity and resolve the grievances accumulated throughout the ages. Those who follow me will receive eternal fortune and blessings, achieve immortality, and enjoy the pleasures of an eternal paradise; this is the True Donghak. In the Gungeul-ga (Song of Gungeul), it is said, 'The lands and rivers of Joseon are a famed land (Myeongsan). A Dotong Gunja (Gentleman who has attained the Dao) will be born again'; this also refers to my work. It is transmitted among Donghak followers that a Daeseonsaeng (Great Teacher) will be reborn (gaengsaeng); this means a Daeseonsaeng (Teacher of the Era) will emerge again, and I am that Daeseonsaeng."

In the passage above, Jeungsan says that the original purpose of Donghak was to help Korea—an obscure, weak nation—and to resolve the age-old grievances accumulated across the whole world and thereby present an earthly paradise; that Donghak failed only because it could not fulfill its original purpose; and that henceforth Donghak's purpose will be realized through the True Donghak. In fact, after Jeungsan, Korea was rather handed over to Japanese rule; yet after Japanese rule, just as Jeungsan envisioned, Korea—then among the world's lowest-ranked nations and a country that had experienced colonization—became a political, economic, and cultural advanced nation in what is called the Miracle on the Han River. Daesoon Thought, by emphasizing the 'virtue of Earth (jideok 地德)' over against the anxious future brought about by Donghak Thought's 'qi-transformation (gihwa 氣化),' made a life of peace of mind and peace of body (ansim-ansin) possible.

Noiemugang (勞而無功) and Cheonji Seonggong (天地成功)

In the view of Earth (Jigwan) of Donghak thought and Daesoon thought, the terms that clearly reveal the difference between them are No-i-mugong (Labor without Achievement) and Cheonji-seonggong (Success of Heaven and Earth). 'No-i-mugong,' meaning 'labored but achieved no success,' is the term used in Donghak thought—where the Cheonoecheon (Heaven beyond Heaven) appeared only as a spirit

(Sinmyeong)—to describe its own achievements, while Cheonji-seonggong is the term Guchon (Ninth Heaven) used to describe Heaven and Earth after the incarnation into a human body.

In traditional Yin-Yang and Five Elements, the term contrasted with Cheonji-seonggong (Success of Heaven and Earth) is Cheonji-hwayuk (Transformation and Nurturance by Heaven and Earth). In the ideal Samjae (Three Powers) concept, such as Cheonwon-jibang (Heaven is round, Earth is square) and Cheondo-jideok (Heaven's Dao, Earth's Virtue), Heaven and Earth nurture humans (hwayuk) to achieve the success of Heaven and Earth, much like parents raising children for the success of the family. No-i-mugong means that there were no instances of success. Although there are many terms for Heaven and Earth in Eastern thought, such as 'Cheonwon-jibang,' Donghak thought is unique in providing the first clue to the concept of Cheonji-seonggong (Success of Heaven and Earth). In Donghak thought, Cheonji-seonggong appears in the expression of Cheonju (Lord of Heaven) as "No-i-mugong" (Labor without Achievement). The No-i-mugong of Donghak thought becomes the gateway to understanding the Cheonji-seonggong of Daesoon thought. Cheonji-seonggong is the Earthly Paradise (Jisang-cheonguk) where Earth and Heaven achieve Yin-Yang virtuous concordance (Eumyang-hapdeok), and it becomes the success of Cheonju (the Lord of Heaven).⁸³⁹

Since No-i-mugong appears in Donghak thought in the scene of realizing that Cheonji (Heaven and Earth) is Cheonju (the Lord of Heaven), i.e., Gwishin (spirit/god), it is necessary to understand the existing Eastern concept of Gwishin to understand No-i-mugong. In Donghak thought, Gwishin means the Cheonoecheon (Heaven beyond Heaven), but understanding why the Cheonoecheon was expressed using the term Gwishin requires an understanding of the traditional concept of Gwishin.

Zhu Xi (Juja) says, "Matters related to Gwishin (spirits) are inherently of secondary importance; Gwishin, having no form or shadow, are difficult to understand, so there is no need to forcibly try to understand them; one should first approach the urgent necessities of daily life and study those." The discourse on Gwishin (Gwishin-ron) is not a discourse at the level of the Sohak (Small Learning), where one learns 'Sa' (affairs/practice) with the body, but a discourse at the level of the Daehak (Great Learning), where one investigates 'I' (principle) with the mind.⁸⁴⁰ Song-Ming Neo-Confucianism (Songmyeong-ihak) is broadly divided into the Zhu Xi school (Jujahak) and the Wang Yangming school (Yangmyeonghak), and the two are sometimes seen as contradictory; however, in reality, although they differ in terms of their methodology of 'study' (Gongbu-ron), they do not differ in terms of their 'ontology' (Bonche-ron). Ontologically speaking, the 'substance (Che) of I (Principle)' becomes Mu (Nothingness/Non-being) and Heo (Void/Emptiness).⁸⁴¹

⁸³⁹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-66.

⁸⁴⁰ 『朱子語類』 卷3, 中華書局, 33 夸."鬼神事自是第二著.那箇無形影底,是難理會底.末消去理會,且就日用緊切處做工夫".

⁸⁴¹ Choe Jin-deok, "The I-Gi Theory and Gwishin Theory of Zhu Xi Studies (朱子學의 理氣論과 鬼神論)," Yangmyeonghak (Journal of Wang Yangming Studies), vol. 23, Korean Society of Wang Yangming Studies, 2009, pp.381-382.

In the end, the view of the earthly realm in Daesoon Thought appears as the importance of 'To' (Earth element), which signifies the center of yin-yang and the Five Elements. 'Toiling without merit (no-i-mugong)' and 'the success of Heaven and Earth (cheonji-seonggong)' are two different theories expressing the role of Gucheon as To. The period before the human incarnation and descent is expressed as 'toiling without merit,' and the period after as 'the success of Heaven and Earth.'⁸⁴²

Consequently, the Donghak view of Earth (Jigwan) is also understood as a form that emphasizes the life-thought (Saengmyeong-sasang) of the earth. As Donghak is re-examined as a life-thought, Donghak's emphasis on the earth is also being re-examined. It is said that today's organic farming methods in Korea also originated from the earth-centric thought of Donghak. However, in Donghak thought itself, the importance of the earth, equal to that of heaven, is not actually emphasized. Here, Donghak refers only to early Donghak, following the Jeon-gyeong (Daesoon Scriptures) of Daesoon thought, so only early Donghak will be considered. What is mainly referred to as Donghak in the Jeon-gyeong are the Donghak Gasa (Donghak Songs/Lyrics) and Su-un Gasa (Su-un's Songs/Lyrics).

Cheonji-seonggong (Success of Heaven and Earth) is a concept meaning that Heaven and Earth divide roles to accomplish the work, and it is a term that appears in Daesoon thought, which, unlike Donghak thought, emphasizes Sinmyeong (spirits/gods). Even in the traditional East Asian view of Earth (Jigwan), the earth, as in the term 'Cheonji' (Heaven-and-Earth), superficially appears as equal to heaven. Representatively, Cheonwon-jibang (Heaven is round, Earth is square) does not refer to the erroneous claim of geocentrism (Cheondongseol) revealed by heliocentrism (Jidongseol) that the sky is round, but rather it is an abbreviation for "Cheondo-jiwi-won Jido-jiwi-bang" (The Dao of Heaven is called Round, the Dao of Earth is called Square), and it can be said to refer to the one-dimensional character of "Ju" (宙), representing time, and the two-dimensional character of "U" (宇), representing space. The heaven of the I Ching (Juyeok) is called "Geon" (乾), and this "Geon" (meaning 'dry') signifies the dry attribute of time, which performs the function of "Sae Eul" (乙, the second heavenly stem, often associated with budding/new growth).

Daesoon thought reifies the traditional view of Earth (Jigwan) through the Cheonji-gongsa (Reordering Works of Heaven and Earth), which changes Eogeum-jonyang (Suppressing Yin and Venerating Yang) to Jeong-eum-jeong-yang (Correct Yin and Correct Yang). Consequently, the earth is also realigned, just like the heavens (Cheonmun, astronomy/celestial patterns). Daesoon thought starts from the Samshinsan (Three Divine Mountains), the Bumo-san (Parent Mountains) of Hoemun-san and Moak-san are put in order, and the Hyeoljari (Acupoints/Vital Spots) of the San-wang (Mountain King) and Hae-wang (Sea King) are aligned.⁸⁴³ Jisang-cheonguk (Earthly Paradise), the result of the Yin-Yang virtuous

⁸⁴² Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Haengrok" (Acts) 2-16.

⁸⁴³ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Haengrok" (Acts) 1-2.

concordance (Eumyang-hapdeok) of Heaven and Earth, is the term representing the Daesoon view of the Earthly Realm (Jigyegwan), where the Three Realms (Samgye) act correlatively.⁸⁴⁴

The fact that the Donghak Ji-In (Earth-Human) relationship of Bulyeongiyeon (Not-so, yet-so), after being conceived (Potae), is nurtured (Yangsaeng) is largely due to the revitalization of Daesoon thought's Jigye-gongsa (Reordering Work of the Earthly Realm), which reassigned the Samshinsan and the Bumosan. In Daesoon thought, the Samgye-chakran (Disorder of the Three Realms) manifests in the Ji-In (Earth-Human) relationship as world wars due to Jigi-bultong (non-communication of Earth's Ki/energy) and human arrogance stemming from material civilization. The disharmony of Jigi (Earth's Ki), identified in Daesoon thought as the cause of world disputes, is unified through the Jigi-tongil-gongsa (Reordering Work for the Unification of Earth's Ki). After Matteo Ricci opened the exchange between Eastern and Western Sinmyeong (spirits/gods), modern civilization was pioneered through the exchange between the Jihamunmyeong-sin (Underground Civilization Spirits) and the Cheonsang (Heavenly Realm) and their bestowal of grace upon the Inse (Human World). However, modern civilization, due to human arrogance and an imbalance toward material civilization, resulted in the crisis of 'Cheonha-jinmyeol' (Annihilation of the World). Therefore, Daesoon thought seeks to construct the Ji-In (Earth-Human) relationship of the Jisang-sinseon (Earthly Immortal) as a Dosul-munmyeong (Civilization of Daoist Magic/Arts) over material civilization, through the Jigye-gongsa (Reordering Work of the Earthly Realm).⁸⁴⁵

Choe Su-un perceived Japan as the enemy (Wonsu) that invaded our country during the Imjin War (Japanese invasions of Korea in 1592-1598) and, therefore, as an object of revenge that must be destroyed.⁸⁴⁶ On the other hand, Jeungsan (Gang Il-sun) saw that Japan, contrarily, had formed grievances (Won) during the Imjin War because they failed to enter Seoul, many innocent lives were killed, and furthermore, they taught Joseon the method of rice planting; therefore, to resolve this, he conducted a Gongsa (Reordering Work) entrusting Joseon to Japan.⁸⁴⁷ Furthermore, Jeungsan said not to oppose Japan but to be obedient, and prophesied that Japan would be defeated in the future and return [home] empty-handed, without even receiving wages for their work.⁸⁴⁸ Many existing studies also interpret Jeungsan's Gongsa of temporarily entrusting Joseon to Japan in order to protect the Joseon people from Western

⁸⁴⁴ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 3-6.

⁸⁴⁵ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9.

⁸⁴⁶ Choe Su-un took pride in the fact that his seventh-generation ancestor Jin-rip (震立) rendered great service and died in battle during the Imjin War and the Byeongjahoran, and was posthumously awarded the office of Byeongjopanseo (Minister of War) and the posthumous title of Jeongmugong. In the Ansimga (Song of Solace), through expressions such as "those dog-like Japanese enemies (倭敵)" and "they too are enemies," he framed Japan in an adversarial relationship. (Bak Gwang-su, Hanguk sinjonggyo-ui sasang-gwa jonggyo munhwa (Thought and Religious Culture of Korean New Religions), Seoul: Jipmundang, 2012, pp.199-201).

⁸⁴⁷ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 74.

⁸⁴⁸ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 57.

powers as showing that Jeungsan temporarily utilized Imperial Japan's theory of hegemony in East Asia.⁸⁴⁹

Comparison of Autogenous Modernity in Views of Humanity

Innaechoen (人乃天) and Sinin Johwa (神人調化)

"Innaechoen" (人乃天, Man is Heaven), meaning "Man is Heaven," is not an expression used by Su-un in early Donghak; however, it is evaluated as a concept that conforms to Western modernity by excluding the transcendent aspects and maximizing the immanent aspects of the Cheon-In (Heaven-Human) and Ji-In (Earth-Human) relationships in Donghak thought, which are characterized by Naeyu-sinryeong (Indwelling Spirit) and Oeyu-gihwa (Externalized Ki-transformation). In Cheondogyo (Religion of the Heavenly Way), which interpreted Su-un's thought after the rise of Cheondogyo, "Innaechoen" is used as the phrase representing the modernity of Donghak thought. The reason "Innaechoen" was designated as the term representing the modernity of Donghak thought was because of the egalitarian ideology it implies. "Innaechoen"—the idea that even the Baekjeong (the lowest caste), women, and children could become Heaven—was a very advanced ideology for a pre-modern society where only the "Cheonja" (Son of Heaven/Emperor) could be Heaven, as it asserted equality in the human world, excluding the world of spirits (Sinmyeonggye).⁸⁵¹

Daesoon thought saw "Haewon" (Resolution of Grievances) as the reason Donghak thought failed, despite the "Innaechoen" ideology receiving much support. In Daesoon thought, egalitarianism was not something that came instantaneously, like a revolution, but was a gradual process that came through Haewon and the resulting Sangsaeng (Mutual Beneficence).

Furthermore, Daesoon thought does not express that "Man is Heaven." In Daesoon thought, Heaven (Haneul) means not only the existing heaven divided from earth (Cheonji), but also Heaven as the Guchon (Ninth Heaven) that presides over all things in the universe (Samra-mansang). In Daesoon thought, which emphasizes the grace of Heaven, humans cannot become beings equal to Heaven. However, in Daesoon thought, where the incarnation into a human body occurred, human status is elevated in a different way than in Donghak thought. The thought of Su-un in early Donghak was also "Osim-jeuk-Yeosim" (My heart is precisely your heart), not "Innaechoen." Daesoon thought, on the contrary, points to humanity and modernity—which have forgotten the grace of Heaven and Earth (Cheonji)—as the cause of the problems, and insists on respecting Heaven and Earth.

⁸⁴⁹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 2-4.

⁸⁵⁰ Kang Don-ku, *Hanguk geundae jonggyo-wa minjokjuui* (Korean Modern Religion and Nationalism), Seoul: Jipmundang, 1992.; Bak Jae-hyeon, "The Characteristics of Daesoon Thought in the Modern Period of Korea: Focused on Transnationalism and Modern and Post-modern Values," *Daesoon Sasang Nonchong* (Journal of Daesoon Thought) 24, 2014.

⁸⁵¹ Hwang Jong-won, "A Critical Study on the Innaechoen Doctrine and the Theory of Mind-Nature in Cheondogyo in the Early 20th Century," *Daedong Cheolhak* (Journal of Daedong Philosophy) 44, 2008, pp.92-93.

事之當旺在於天地 必不在人

然無人無天地 故天地生人 用人

以人生 不參於天地用人之時 何可曰人生乎⁸⁵²

The example above clarifies that the beginning and end of affairs reside in Heaven and Earth, not in Man. Ultimately, Daesoon thought shows that in order to achieve the egalitarian world that Innaechoen aims for, Boeun (Grateful Reciprocation of Favors) to Heaven and Earth and the Haewon (Resolution of Grievances) of humanity for that purpose must take precedence, and that Haewon, not revolution (Byeonhyeok), is the true modernity.⁸⁵³

Therefore, what Daesoon thought presents in response to Innaechoen (which aims for revolution) is the harmony of spirits/gods (Sin) and humans (In), namely, Sin-in-johwa (Harmonious Union between Divine Beings and Human Beings). Here, Johwa (調化, Harmonious Transformation/Union) is a compound word formed by combining 'Jo' (調) from Johwa (調和, Harmony/accord) and 'Hwa' (化) from Johwa (造化, Creation/Transformation); it is a word that does not exist in conventional dictionaries and appears only in Daesoon thought. Johwa (調化) can be said to be a combination that gathers only the advantages of Johwa (調和, Harmony) and Johwa (造化, Creation).⁸⁵⁴

The relationship between Sinmyeong (spirits/gods) and humans in Daesoon thought, which does not appear in Donghak thought, is the core point of difference in the indigenous modernity of the human view (Ingwan) between Donghak thought and Daesoon thought. Donghak thought saw the cause of the problem of modernity as a human problem, namely 'Gakja-wisim' (Each acting for oneself), but in Daesoon thought, the cause of the problem of modernity is human foolishness in not knowing the grace of the Cheonjisinmyeong (Spirits of Heaven and Earth). The perspective of Daesoon thought reflects the perspective of the Guchon (Ninth Heaven). In Daesoon thought, thinking of humans as beings equal to Heaven, like in Innaechoen, is human arrogance and foolishness. If humans do not know the grace of Heaven and Earth or act contrary to Heaven and Earth, no work can succeed. Therefore, Daesoon thought regards Emperor Yao, who made humans aware of the grace of Heaven and Earth, as a very exemplary model of humanity.⁸⁵⁵

⁸⁵² Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyobeob" (Teachings) 3-47. Saji-dangwang-jae-eo-cheonji, pil-bu-jae-in, yeon-mu-in-mu-cheonji, go-cheonji-saeng-in-yong-in, i-insaeng-bulcham-eo-cheonji, yong-in-ji-si-ha-ga-wal-insaeng-ho. The fundamental cause of any affair being accomplished lies in Heaven and Earth, not necessarily in human beings. However, since Heaven and Earth are useless without human beings, Heaven and Earth produce human beings and employ them. This being the case, if, when Heaven and Earth wish to employ human beings, a person does not follow the will of Heaven and Earth, how can this be called a human life? (Gyomubu, "Cheonji Saeng-in Yong-in" (Heaven and Earth Produce and Employ Human Beings), Daesoon Hoebo (Daesoon Circular) 13, 1989)

⁸⁵³ Yi Gyeong-won, "The Modernity of Daesoon Truth and the Thought of Transformation," Donghak Hakbo (Journal of Donghak Studies) 9(2): 43, 2005.

⁸⁵⁴ Yi Gyeong-won, Daesoon Jonghak Wonron (Principles of Daesoon Religious Studies), Seoul: Munsacheol, 2013.

⁸⁵⁵ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-66.

On the 23rd day of the twelfth lunar month of the Jeongmi year, Sangje visited Shin Gyeong-su at his house. Sangje spoke about Yao's "observing the sun, moon, and stars, and respectfully bestowing the seasons upon the people" (yeoksang ilwolsesungsin gyeongsuinsi), saying, "Heaven and Earth, without the sun and moon, are an empty shell; the sun and moon, without a person of wisdom (ji-in), are an empty shadow. Because Dang Yao (Emperor Yao) discerned the laws of the sun and moon and taught them to the people, the grace of Heaven and the principles of Earth were finally bestowed upon humanity." At this time, Sangje taught, "The sun and moon govern all things without selfishness; the rivers and mountains have the Dao and receive hundreds of practices (日月無私治萬物 江山有道受百行)," and He composed the Five Mantras (Oju), calling them the "Essence (Jinaek) of Heaven and Earth," and the Five Mantras are as follows.

新天地家家長歲 日月日月萬事知

侍天主造化定永世不忘萬事知

福祿誠敬信 壽命誠敬信 至氣今至願爲大降

明德觀音八陰八陽 至氣今至願爲大降

三界解魔大帝神位願趁天尊關聖帝君⁸⁵⁶

In the example above, it is said that Emperor Yao's greatest contribution lies in conveying "the grace of Heaven and the principles of Earth" to humankind, that is, in making humans aware of the grace of Heaven and Earth. In contrast to Innaechoen, Daesoon thought instead presents the harmony of spirits/gods and humans, namely Sin-in-uido (Mutual guidance and reliance between Divine Beings and Human Beings), as humanity's greatest task.⁸⁵⁷

In Donghak thought, Cheonju (Lord of Heaven) and Sangje (Supreme Ruler) are mentioned, but expressions regarding Sinmyeong (spirits/gods) or Sindo (Dao of spirits/gods) hardly appear. This also applies to the Samjae (Three Powers), and the expression 'Samgye' (Three Realms), which presupposes the Sinmyeonggye (World of Spirits/Gods), also hardly appears in Donghak thought. Daesoon thought transcends the limits of the Indo (Human Dao) presented by Donghak thought, by means of the Sindo (Dao of spirits/gods) which Donghak thought could not accept due to the limitations of Confucianism (Yugyo-ui Jeonheon).

Daesoon thought brings the expression 'Samgye' (Three Realms) to the forefront in response to human arrogance, such as Innaechoen. Humans do not become equal to Heaven; rather, the Guchon (Ninth Heaven) changes the old heaven into a new heaven. Even among the denominations that venerate Gang Il-sun (Jeungsan), Daesoon thought is an ideology that particularly brings the Samgye (Three Realms) to the

⁸⁵⁶ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-30.

⁸⁵⁷ Daesoon Jinrihoe Yeolam (Daesoon Jinrihoe Overview), "Chwiji" (Purpose/Mission).

forefront, in that the term 'Daesoon' (Great Itineration) is an abbreviation for "Samgye-Daesoon Gaebyeok-Gongsa" (The Reordering Work of the Great Opening of the Three Realms through Great Itineration).

If Daesoon thought is explained centering on the Three Realms (Samgye), it is a series of processes: the Three Realms, harmonized by Sangje, fall into disorder (Samgye-chakran) due to human grievances (Wonhan); furthermore, as they reach the state of 'Samgye-jinmyeol' (Annihilation of the Three Realms), Sangje, upon the appeal of the Sinseong (Divine Sages), Bul (Buddhas), and Bosal (Bodhisattvas), diagnoses the Three Realms through the Samgye-Daesoon (Great Itineration of the Three Realms) and then achieves the Samgye-Gaebyeok (Great Opening of the Three Realms) through the Samgye-gongsa (Reordering Work of the Three Realms); this is the Samgye-Daesoon, and the ideology accompanying it is Daesoon thought.

The Three Realms of Daesoon Jinrihoe, which are operated by Sinmyeong (spirits/gods), are operated by countless Sinmyeong. In Daesoon thought, the reason the Three Realms are operated by Sinmyeong is that Sinmyeong are beings who are "perfect" (or "extreme") in truth (Jinri-e Jigeukhan).

One day in the first month of the Jeongmi year, while Kim Gwang-chan and Shin Won-il were attending Sangje, Sangje said to them, "Spiritual beings (gwisin) are utmost in truth (jilli), so I judge the Cheonjigongsa (Work of Reordering Heaven and Earth) together with them," and posted a writing on the wall as follows.⁸⁵⁸

In the example above, "being perfect in truth" means being faithful to the roles and boundaries of the Sinmyeong. Unlike humans, who possess both Hon (spirit-soul) and Baek (body-soul) and thus have diversity but cannot be faithful to only one role, in Daesoon thought, Sinmyeong are beings possessing only one of Hon or Baek; therefore, they can be faithful to one role and can operate Heaven and Earth (Cheonji). Therefore, in Daesoon Thought, the harmony between Sinmyeong (divine beings) who operate the Three Realms and human beings becomes the core of the new operation of Heaven and Earth.

In Daesoon Thought, the Three Realms are not only related to the operation of Heaven and Earth but also have a close relationship with modern science and technology. In the Daesoon view of the Three Realms, the Heavenly Realm includes the Celestial Realm and the Spirit Realm (Myeongbu), and the Earthly Realm includes the Subterranean Realm; among these, the Celestial and Subterranean Realms are the origin of modern scientific civilization, and the Spirit Realm is where human beings' gratitude (Boeun) for the Sincerity, Reverence, and Faith (Seong, Gyeong, Sin) of Heaven and Earth is evaluated.

One day, Sangje said to Kim Hyeong-ryeol, "The Westerner Matteo Ricci (Yi Madu) came to the East and tried to establish an earthly paradise, but he could not achieve his goal because the deep-rooted evil customs of Confucianism made reform difficult. However, he opened the boundaries between the Celestial and Subterranean Realms, allowing the divine beings (Sinmyeong), who had firmly guarded their respective regions and could not cross over, to interact, and after his death, he took the civilization divine

⁸⁵⁸ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-19.

beings (Munmyeongsin) of the East to the West and opened the way for cultural development (Mun-un). From this, the Subterranean divine beings (Jihasin) emulated all the wondrous methods of the Celestial Realm and bestowed them upon the human world. All the cultures and materials of the West are modeled after the Kingdom of Heaven," He said.⁸⁵⁹

This excerpt first shows the Sin-in-johwa (Harmonious Union between Divine Beings and Human Beings) of Daesoon Thought, where the interaction between the celestial divine beings and the subterranean divine beings operates Heaven and Earth and also changes the Human Realm. Second, it shows that in Daesoon Thought, the Heavenly Realm includes the Celestial Realm where the celestial divine beings reside, and the Earthly Realm includes the subterranean divine beings (Jihasin). Third, it shows the interaction of the Three Realms, indicating that the exchange between celestial and subterranean divine beings is closely related to the Human Realm, and that the boundary between the Celestial and Subterranean Realms can be changed by figures who existed in the Human Realm.

Sangje said, "In the Seoncheon (Former World), all human affairs and things were governed by Sangguk (mutual conflict/overcoming), causing grievances to accumulate and form knots, filling the Three Realms; thus, Heaven and Earth lost their constant way (Sangdo), giving rise to all sorts of disasters, and the world became tragic." "Therefore, I intend to rectify the Dosu of Heaven and Earth, harmonize the divine beings (Sinmyeong), resolve the grievances of all time, and establish the Seon'gyeong (Immortal Realm) of the Hucheon (Later World) through the Dao of Sangsaeng (mutual beneficence), thereby saving the people of the world." "In all matters, great or small, the grievances must be resolved starting from the Sindo (Dao of Gods/Divine Beings)." "First, if the Dosu is firmly established and harmonized, that will become the foundation, and human affairs (Insa) will be accomplished spontaneously." "This is precisely the Samgye-gongsa (Work of the Three Realms)," He said to Kim Hyeong-ryeol, and He began a part of it, the Myeongbu-gongsa (Work of the Realm of Judgment).⁸⁶⁰

This excerpt first shows that Heaven, Earth, and human beings mutually grow and foster each other's growth. Second, it shows that the Spirit Realm (Myeongbu) is where the divine beings of Heaven and Earth evaluate human beings. However, it shows that this mutual growth was not properly evaluated due to human affairs and material objects dominated by mutual conflict, leading only to increased grievances, which became the cause of the confusion in the Three Realms. Third, the excerpt shows that the Spirit Realm belongs to the Heavenly Realm and is the place where the affairs of the Three Realms are synthesized.

The Daesoon view of the Three Realms, where even human destiny in the Spirit Realm and scientific technology, beyond the operation of the universe, are determined by the divine beings of Heaven and Earth,

⁸⁵⁹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9.

⁸⁶⁰ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 1-3.

suggests that Heaven and Earth take precedence in human affairs, extending to the determination of all matters.

事之當旺在於天地 必不在人⁸⁶¹,

萬事分已定 浮生空自忙⁸⁶²

Among these two verses, the first verse clearly shows that in the Daesoon view of the Three Realms, Heaven and Earth have priority over human beings in the order of affairs. It shows that the relationship between Heaven and Earth and human beings is similar, just as parents take precedence because even if a child becomes more outstanding than the parents, it is due to the parents' grace. Furthermore, the second verse shows that even if a human being is more successful than Heaven and Earth, this is already predetermined by Heaven and Earth.

The Daesoon view of the Human Realm, as examined through the discussions so far, is as follows. First, the Daesoon view of the Three Realms consists of Sangje of Gucheon (the Highest Heaven) as the supreme God, and the Three Realms of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, which are harmonized by Sangje. In the Daesoon view of the Three Realms, Heaven and Earth cultivate and nurture all things on behalf of Sangje, while Sangje observes and oversees all heavens (Gwangam-mancheon). Gwangam-mancheon (observing and overseeing all heavens), which means observation, shares similarities with the concept of a hidden god, but it differs in that it specifically involves the medium of Heaven and Earth.⁸⁶³

Heaven and Earth also entrust tasks to countless divine beings, each responsible for specific parts, when cultivating and nurturing the myriad things of the universe. Heaven and Earth meet through ascent and descent; since Heaven and Earth are Yin and Yang, Heaven plans and Earth implements. Therefore, as shown in Geonjeong-Gonsun (Heaven determines and Earth follows), the celestial civilization plans, and the subterranean divine beings emulate and bestow it upon the human world.⁸⁶⁴ Heaven and Earth cultivate and nurture human beings with utmost Sincerity, Reverence, and Faith (Seong, Gyeong, Sin), devoted to truth.⁸⁶⁵ Human beings, who receive life, longevity, and blessings through the cultivation and nurturing of Heaven and Earth with utmost Sincerity, Reverence, and Faith, have an obligation to reciprocate (Boeun) with Sincerity, Reverence, and Faith, just like Heaven and Earth.⁸⁶⁶ However, human beings, having become capable of contending with Heaven and Earth through modern science, betray Heaven and Earth,

⁸⁶¹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyobeob" (Teachings) 3-47. Saji-dangwang-jae-eo-cheonji, pil-bu-jae-in: The fundamental cause of any affair being accomplished lies in Heaven and Earth, not necessarily in human beings. (Gyomubu, "Cheonji Saeng-in Yong-in" (Heaven and Earth Produce and Employ Human Beings), Daesoon Hoebo (Daesoon Circular) 13, 1989)

⁸⁶² Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyobeob" (Teachings) 3-47. Mansa-bun-i-jeong, busaeng-gong-ja-mang: All affairs have their allotted portions already determined, yet the people of the world busily stir about to no avail. (Gyomubu, "Mansa Bun-i-jeong" (All Affairs Have Their Portions Already Determined), Daesoon Hoebo (Daesoon Circular) 148, 2013)

⁸⁶³ Daesoon Jinrihoe Yeolam (Daesoon Jinrihoe Overview), p.7.

⁸⁶⁴ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 2-42.

⁸⁶⁵ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9.

⁸⁶⁶ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9.

deny the existence of the divine beings (Sinmyeong) of Heaven and Earth, and exploit and conquer Heaven and Earth.⁸⁶⁷ Consequently, an era of confusion in the Three Realms ensues, where Heaven and Earth also seek only to kill human beings, leading Sangje to inspect the human world (Daesun) in response to the appeals of divine saints, Buddhas, and Bodhisattvas, first bestowing the Heavenly Mandate (Cheonmyeong) and Divine Teaching (Singyo) upon Su-un, resulting in the emergence of Donghak Thought.⁸⁶⁸ Although Su-un received the Heavenly Mandate and Divine Teaching, he could not overcome the limitations of Confucianism, leading Sangje to directly descend into the human world in human form through the Three Realms; this becomes the background for the Daesoon view of the Human Realm, characterized by the incarnation of Gucheon (Sangje).⁸⁶⁹⁸⁷⁰⁸⁷¹⁸⁷²⁸⁷³

Although it is clearly revealed in Daesoon Thought that the existence and roles of the Three Realms, filled with divine beings, are based on Yin-Yang and the Five Elements, both the East and the West have, since antiquity, posited a Heavenly Realm and an Earthly Realm filled with divine beings that intervene in the Human Realm, much like in Daesoon Thought. The Daesoon view of the Three Realms actually shares many common elements with pre-modern Eastern and Western cosmologies. Therefore, since the Daesoon view of the Three Realms also includes Heaven, Earth, Humanity, and the Spirit Realm (Sinmyeong-gye), notions of the Heavenly, Earthly, and Human Realms from all times and places can also be collectively referred to as the Three Realms and compared. The Daesoon view of the Three Realms is close to a revitalized cosmology that integrates ancient Eastern and Western cosmologies—discarded by modernity—with modern science.

If the Daesoon view of humanity described above is expressed concisely, it can be called a view of humanity based on Sin-in-uido (Mutual Guidance between Divine Beings and Human Beings). If Donghak Thought achieved a liminality from the Western ontological view of the Three Realms to a generative (process-oriented) view of the Three Realms, Daesoon Thought revitalized the relationship between divine beings and human beings inherent in the generative view of the Three Realms through Sin-in-uido.

Buryeon-giyeon (Not so, yet so) and Seongsajaein (Accomplishment of affairs lies with human beings)

The conclusive difference between the Donghak and Daesoon views of humanity is Seongsajaein (Accomplishment of affairs lies with human beings). Seongsajaein in Daesoon Thought means that the determination of an affair's success, which previously rested with Heaven, is now shifted to human beings.

⁸⁶⁷ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-66.

⁸⁶⁸ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-19.

⁸⁶⁹ Daesoon Jinrihoe Yeolam (Daesoon Jinrihoe Overview), p.20.

⁸⁷⁰ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 1-11.

⁸⁷¹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9.

⁸⁷² Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9.

⁸⁷³ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Haengrok" (Acts) 1-10.

The difference between the emergence of the Cheon-oe-cheon (Heaven beyond Heaven) in Donghak Thought and the incarnation of Gucheon (Sangje) in Daesoon Thought ultimately manifests as Seongsajaein.

A fight among humans causes a fight among the Seonryeongsin (ancestral spirits) in the heavens; only after the heavenly fight ends is the human fight decided.⁸⁷⁴

In the excerpt above, the expression "only after the heavenly fight ends is the human fight decided" signifies Seongsajaecheon (Accomplishment of affairs lies with Heaven) of the Former World. In Donghak Thought, which lacks the concept of Sinmyeong, the outcome of a fight is determined by Gi (energy/spirit), whereas in Daesoon Thought, it is the Sinmyeong who determine the fight. In Daesoon Thought, this principle—that divine beings determine human fights—is reversed after Sangje's incarnation, changing the positions of human beings and divine beings.

In the Former World, it was said, "Planning of affairs lies with human beings (Mosa-jaein), and accomplishment of affairs lies with Heaven (Seongsajaecheon)," but now, planning of affairs lies with Heaven (Mosa-jaecheon), and accomplishment of affairs lies with human beings (Seongsajaein). Furthermore, no matter how much you wish to die, you will not be able to; you can only die when I release you.⁸⁷⁵

In the excerpt above, the expression "now, planning of affairs lies with Heaven (Mosa-jaecheon), and accomplishment of affairs lies with human beings (Seongsajaein)" signifies that after the incarnation of Gucheon (Sangje), the locus of decision-making power shifted from divine beings to human beings. The reversal of the positions of planning affairs (Mosa) and accomplishing affairs (Seongsajaein) after the incarnation is because the ultimate value of human beings was finally revealed through the incarnation of Gucheon (Sangje). This is because the value of human beings as beings who possess both Yin and Yang—body and spirit—was revealed by the incarnation of Gucheon (Sangje). If, before the incarnation, the affairs of the world were accomplished by the divine beings of Heaven and Earth (Cheonji-sinmyeong), the meaning of Seongsajaein is that after the incarnation, they are accomplished by human beings.

When Park Gong-u came to Guritgol after arguing with his wife, Sangje suddenly rebuked him, saying, "If I am venomous, I possess all the venom in the world, and if I am good, I possess all the goodness in the world. How can you commit such an unfaithful act while in my presence? Now, the divine beings of Heaven and Earth (Cheonji-sinmyeong) will search for their destined places (Unsu), visiting each person and each household to test their capacity (Giguk). If one's disposition is not generous and harmony is lost in the family, the divine beings will mock them, deeming their capacity unfit for great tasks, and will lead

⁸⁷⁴ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyobeob" (Teachings) 1-54.

⁸⁷⁵ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyobeob" (Teachings) 3-35.

each other away; therefore, how can those who aspire to this work dare to be negligent in their thoughts even for a moment?" He said.⁸⁷⁶

In the passage above, the expression 'the divine beings of Heaven and Earth seek out the seat of destiny (unsu)' means that, after the human incarnation and descent of Gucheon, the human being was changed into the seat of destiny that brings affairs to success (seongsa). That the positions of human and divine beings are reversed by the human incarnation and descent of Gucheon is because the divine beings fell into adversity (bigeop 否劫) and humankind fell into calamity (jaegeop 災劫). Comparing the views of humanity in Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought, Daesoon Thought, through the expansion of correlative thinking, reinforces fractal thinking more than Donghak Thought does. In Daesoon Thought, the human plays the role of yang and the divine beings the role of yin; the harmonious union between divine and human beings (sinin-johwa) is likewise achieved by the principle of the virtuous concordance of yin and yang (eumyang-hapdeok).⁸⁷⁷

Seongsa (accomplishment of affairs) and Mosa (planning of affairs) can be understood through the Yin-Yang and Five Elements as Jori (Regulating Principle) and Gihwa (Materialization/Spiritualization). The relationship between Jori and Gihwa in the Later World is the reverse of that in the Former World. In Donghak Thought, the existence of Earth (To), which regulates Wood, Fire, Metal, and Water, becomes the divine being (Sinmyeong).

In the relationship of Seongsa-jaein, Jori and Gihwa manifest as human regulation (Jori) and divine materialization/spiritualization (Gihwa). This is similar to the relationship between Earth (To) and Wood, Fire, Metal, and Water in the Five Elements. Particularly in Daesoon Thought, human regulation (Jori) and divine materialization/spiritualization (Gihwa) represent a circulation as a principle of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements centered on human beings.

Human regulation (Jori) like Earth (To) and the divine materialization/spiritualization (Gihwa) of Wood, Fire, Metal, and Water have existed in both Eastern and Western traditions. In traditional Eastern thought, existences representing the four cardinal directions, like Wood, Fire, Metal, and Water, have been depicted as divine beings in the form of animals in the Sashindo (Painting of the Four Deities). In the West, too, divine beings have been represented as animals. The Four Elements (Earth, Water, Fire, Air), corresponding to the Western Sashindo, were regarded by Bachelard as the fundamental complex of human imagination.⁸⁷⁸

Gilbert Durand, who succeeded Bachelard, states that the culmination of imagination is when human symbols meet by becoming divine, and human symbols become animals and eventually divine beings.

⁸⁷⁶ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyobeob" (Teachings) 1-42.

⁸⁷⁷ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Jeosaeng" (Saving Lives) 43.

⁸⁷⁸ Dang Hyeon-seon, *Jilbereou Dyurang-ui Sangsanggye Yeongu* (A Study on Gilbert Durand's Imaginary), Hongik University Graduate School Master's Thesis, 2009, pp.28-30.

Until now, humans have sought to become divine, but in Korea's culture of Simjeong (heart/mind), it is said that divine beings particularly seek to become human.⁸⁷⁹

The I-Gi (Principle and Material Force) theory of the Seoncheon (Former) Yeok (Changes), which Confucius reportedly transmitted to Daoist hermits, differs from the Hucheon (Later) Yeok I-Gi theory of Neo-Confucianism in that Taegeuk (Supreme Ultimate) and Yin-Yang and the Five Elements possess the characteristics of both I and Gi, thus accommodating Confucianism, Buddhism, Daoism, and Western Learning (Seogyo). However, even Shao Kang-jie's I-Gi theory failed to adequately respond to Matteo Ricci's criticisms due to the distortion of the Seoncheon Yin-Yang itself and its lack of explanatory power regarding modern science, leading to the collapse of the Eastern divine-human relationship.⁸⁸⁰

In Daesoon Thought, the liminal property of the view of the Human Realm is also strengthened. Human arrogance and materialism are reflected upon, and the primordial grievance of humanity is resolved (Haewon).⁸⁸¹ Revitalization is expanded through the Dosu of the White-Clad General and the White-Clad Minister, symbolically giving away human flesh and going into exile on Maljeom Island.⁸⁸²⁸⁸³⁸⁸⁴

In the Daesoon view of the Human Realm, the elevation of human status is expressed more clearly than in Donghak. Donghak Thought, which failed to introduce the Spirit Realm (Sinmyeong-gye), expresses the harmonious union between divine beings and human beings as 'Buryeon-giyeon' (Not so, yet so). 'Buryeon-giyeon' means that even the parts that are Buryeon (not so), which are difficult for humans to understand, will one day become Giyeon (so), understandable through spiritual cultivation (Sudo). In Daesoon Thought, many parts that were Buryeon (not so) in Donghak manifest as Giyeon (so). Human beings are divine beings trapped within a body, so by awakening the divine being within, they can communicate with the divine beings outside. The purpose of human birth is to change and develop into a new divine being (Sinmyeong) through the body. One must find the divine being within to find one's lost self and walk the path of a human being who brings success to Heaven and Earth. Therefore, in Daesoon Thought, Gaebyeok (the Great Opening) is the success of Heaven and Earth, which is the world of Dotong-

⁸⁷⁹ Bak Jeong-jin, (Yesul Illyu Hakseoseol) Hanguk Munhwa Simjeong Munhwa ((Introduction to Art Anthropology) Korean Culture: The Culture of Simjeong), Mirae Munhwasa, 1990, pp.130-146.

⁸⁸⁰ The Yin-Yang and Five Elements theory has both positive and negative aspects; in the case of Western scholars, they evaluate Yin-Yang and the Five Elements as objectively as possible, at least appraising it as a primitive form of science. Representative figures include Marcel Granet, Angus Graham, Benjamin Schwartz, and Joseph Needham. (Kim Ki, "A Study on the Application Pattern of the Yin-Yang and Five Elements Theory in Zhu Xi Studies," Sungkyunkwan University Doctoral Dissertation, 2012, p.4) On the other hand, Eastern scholars tend to regard Yin-Yang and the Five Elements as even more superstitious. (Bang In, "Yin-Yang and Five Elements Theory as a Form of Ancient Chinese Cosmology" (고대 중국의 宇宙論의 한 형태로서의 陰陽五行說), Jonggyo Yeongu (Journal of Religious Studies) 4, 1988, p.71)

⁸⁸¹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9.

⁸⁸² Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 3-14.

⁸⁸³ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 2-1.

⁸⁸⁴ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Haengrok" (Acts) 3-53.

jingyeong (Perfected State of Unification with the Dao) of Injon (Humanity as the center), possible only after the emergence of Dotong-gunja (Virtuous Scholars Who Have Attained the Dao).⁸⁸⁵

In Daesoon Thought, Sin-in-johwa (Harmonious Union between Divine Beings and Human Beings) becomes the principle of Gaebyeok (the Great Opening) by which Heaven and Earth succeed through human beings. Daesoon Thought explains the reason why Sin-in-johwa is possible through the principles of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements, namely Geumhwa-gyoyeok (Mutual Exchange of Metal and Fire) and Togeuksu (Earth overcomes Water). As seen in the terms "divine beings fallen into Bigeop (calamity of obstruction)" and "human beings fallen into Jaegop (calamity of disaster)," in Daesoon Thought, divine beings (corresponding to the Heavenly and Earthly Realms) and human beings possess two attributes—property and substance—that are difficult to reconcile.⁸⁸⁶ It manifests in the aspect of 'Sin-in-uido' (Mutual Guidance between Divine Beings and Human Beings). The divine beings of Heaven and Earth (Cheonji-sinmyeong), upon which Heaven and Earth are based, are also divine beings; therefore, like digital systems, they are devoted to truth but have only one direction, whereas human beings, though not precise, possess bodies that can flexibly adapt to change.⁸⁸⁷ Like Cheonwon-jibang (Heaven is Round, Earth is Square), properties move in both directions like a circle, while substance moves in one direction like a square; therefore, combining these two attributes results in Sin-in-johwa (Harmonious Union between Divine Beings and Human Beings), resolving the problem. Kim Ji-ha expressed the principle of integrating the two opposing elements of substance and property as the "Aesthetics of White Shadow," which Kim Ik-du interpreted as liminality.⁸⁸⁸ The indigenous modernity of Daesoon Thought emphasizes the liminality and revitalization of correlative thinking.

In Donghak Thought, the Daoist development of the Heaven-human relationship was not revitalized, but in Daesoon Thought, it is specifically revitalized. Daesoon Thought is the only religious organization that venerates Jeungsan (Kang Il-sun) which honors the highest divine status (Singyeokwi) as Guchwon-eungwon-noeseong-bohwa-cheonjon-gangseong-sangje (Goo-cheon-eung-won-noe-seong-bo-hwa-cheonjon-kang-seong-sang-je).

Comparison of the Heaven-Earth Relationships in Donghak and Daesoon Thought

⁸⁸⁵ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Jeosaeng" (Saving Lives) 43.

⁸⁸⁶ Yi Eo-ryeong, *Dijireukeu: Hangugin-i Ikkeoneun Cheomdan Jeongngsahoe, Geu Mirae-reul Inneun Kiwodeu* (Digilog: The Keywords for Reading the Future of the Advanced Information Society Led by Koreans), Seoul: Saenggak-ui Namu, 2006.

⁸⁸⁷ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 46.

⁸⁸⁸ Kim Ji-ha, (Mihak Gang-ui) Huin Geuneul-ui Mihak-eul Chajaseo ((Aesthetics Lecture) In Search of the Aesthetics of White Shadow), Seoul: Silcheon Munhaksa, 2005.; Kim Ik-du, "Reconciliation and Sangsaeng (Mutual Beneficence) in East Asian Thought: The Ideological Movements of Modern and Contemporary Jeonbuk and Their Development," Proceedings of the 93rd Academic Conference of the Society of Ancient East Asian Studies, 2023.

Cheonji Gwisin (天地鬼神) and Cheonji Seongyeongsin (天地誠敬信)

'Heaven-Earth ghosts-and-spirits (cheonji-gwisin)' and 'Heaven-Earth sincerity-respectfulness-faithfulness (cheonji-seonggyeongsin)' are terms that first appear, respectively, in Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought, and that represent the Heaven-Earth relationship of the two thoughts. They are also two concepts that clearly show the difference between Donghak Thought, which emphasizes the emergence of the heaven-beyond-heaven, and Daesoon Thought, which emphasizes the human incarnation and descent of Gucheon. First, in the case of 'Heaven-Earth ghosts-and-spirits' in Donghak Thought—meaning that Heaven and Earth are beings made by the yin-yang principle of the transcendent Heaven—'ghosts-and-spirits' signifies the heaven-beyond-heaven of Donghak Thought and does not signify divine beings (sinmyeong). On the other hand, the 'Heaven-Earth sincerity-respectfulness-faithfulness' of Daesoon Thought—by which Heaven and Earth operate and foster all things and even humanity's blessings and lifespan are determined—emphasizes the sincerity-respectfulness-faithfulness of the divine beings.

Since both Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought emphasize the heaven above heaven—that is, the transcendent Heaven—here 'Heaven and Earth (cheonji)' differs from the concept of Heaven and Earth as yin-yang in traditional Eastern thought. If Heaven is regarded as the transcendent Heaven, the Earth that stands opposite to it corresponds to both Heaven and Earth. Both 'Heaven-Earth ghosts-and-spirits (天地鬼神)' and 'Heaven-Earth sincerity-respectfulness-faithfulness (天地誠敬信)' signify the transcendent God and the attitude of the divine beings of Heaven and Earth toward the transcendent God.

Examined in detail, first, in Daesoon Thought the Three Realms coexist with the divine beings and operate by the sincerity-respectfulness-faithfulness of the divine beings.

天地誠敬信⁸⁸⁹

Life, longevity, and fortune are the grace of Heaven and Earth; therefore, establish the great righteousness of Cheonji-boeun (Grateful Reciprocation to Heaven and Earth) with Seong (Sincerity), Gyeong (Reverence), and Shin (Faith), and fulfill the human way (Indo).⁸⁹⁰

The two passages above mean that a human being's life, lifespan, and blessings are favors bestowed by the sincerity-respectfulness-faithfulness (seonggyeongsin) of the many divine beings who operate Heaven and Earth; therefore, a human being too, by emulating Heaven and Earth and reciprocating with sincerity-respectfulness-faithfulness, can qualify as a person worthy of receiving Heaven and Earth's favors. This is the background by which the Three Essential Attitudes among the creeds of Daesoon Jinrihoe become sincerity-respectfulness-faithfulness.⁸⁹¹

⁸⁸⁹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-66.

⁸⁹⁰ Daesoon Jinrihoe Yeolam (Daesoon Jinrihoe Overview), "Hunhoe" (Admonitions).

⁸⁹¹ Daesoon Jinrihoe Yeolam (Daesoon Jinrihoe Overview), "Sinjo" (Creed/Beliefs).

Compared with Donghak Thought, which emphasizes the significance of the first emergence of the transcendent God, Daesoon Thought, which emphasizes the human incarnation and descent of Gucheon, emphasizes a different aspect of Heaven and Earth. First, Donghak Thought's 'Heaven-Earth ghosts-and-spirits' has the meaning of emphasizing the qi-transformation function (gihwa-jagyong) of the utmost qi (jigi) of the transcendent Heaven. Even before Donghak Thought arose, Neo-Confucianism too had expressed Heaven and Earth as ghosts-and-spirits, but the Heaven and Earth as ghosts-and-spirits in Neo-Confucianism was a substantialist explanation of yin-yang's operation. Donghak Thought, however, goes beyond Neo-Confucianism and emphasizes the transcendent Heaven. By emphasizing that Heaven and Earth being ghosts-and-spirits is not the operation of yin-yang but the qi-transformation function of the transcendent Heaven, it prepared a new modern turning point for Neo-Confucianism.⁸⁹²

Heaven and Earth too are ghosts-and-spirits (天地亦是鬼神), and ghosts-and-spirits too are yin-yang (鬼神亦是陰陽)—

Not having known it thus, what use is it to examine the classics?

Not having known the Dao and virtue, how could the worthies and noble gentlemen (賢人君子) know?⁸⁹³

In the passage above, 'ghosts-and-spirits' and 'Dao and virtue' carry the meaning of the transcendent Heaven, while 'the classics' and 'the worthies and noble gentlemen (賢人君子)' refer to the Dao of the heaven-below-heaven that Donghak seeks to overcome. Donghak Thought pursued, through the transcendent Heaven, a modernity that surpasses Neo-Confucianism; but because it could not accept even the concept of divine beings, it failed to go beyond the Confucian canon.

Donghak Thought, which accepted the concept of ghosts-and-spirits only in the sense of the transcendent Heaven and could not accept the concept of divine beings who heed the command of the transcendent Heaven, fails—owing to the absence of the concept of divine beings—to reach a successful modernity. Accordingly, Daesoon Thought, accepting the concept of divine beings, expresses Heaven and Earth as sincerity-respectfulness-faithfulness, over against Donghak Thought, which expressed Heaven and Earth as ghosts-and-spirits.

Sincerity-respectfulness-faithfulness (seonggyeongsin) is a term that centrally expresses the relationship between the transcendent Heaven and the human being in Eastern thought, which is a correlative thinking composed of yin-yang and the Five Elements. Donghak Thought too expresses Donghak Thought itself as a 'thought of sincerity-respectfulness-faithfulness.'

吾道博而約不用多言義

別無他道理誠敬信三字⁸⁹⁴

⁸⁹² Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-6.

⁸⁹³ Yongdam Yusa (Songs of Yongdam), "Dodeokga" (Song of Morality/Dao and Virtue).

Sincerity-respectfulness-faithfulness expanded gradually from the thought of sincerity (誠) in the Doctrine of the Mean to respectfulness (敬) and faithfulness (信), appearing in Donghak Thought as a term naming sincerity-respectfulness-faithfulness together. Naming sincerity-respectfulness-faithfulness together in Donghak Thought is because, like essence-energy-spirit (jeong-gi-sin), it seeks to express simultaneously the respective Heaven-Earth-Humanity elements contained in sincerity-respectfulness-faithfulness. In fact, sincerity (誠) is sometimes translated by today's Western researchers as 'creativity.'⁸⁹⁵

However, although the same term 'sincerity-respectfulness-faithfulness' is used, the concept of 'sincerity-respectfulness-faithfulness' is the part where Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought—and further, even Confucian thought—differ most greatly. That sincerity (誠) was emphasized from Confucian thought onward is because sincerity was the part where Heaven and the human being connect. Just as utmost sincerity brings one into accord with Heaven, sincerity (誠) was the principal channel between Heaven and the human being, the principal method of human thorough penetration (hwaryeon-gwantong); hence sincerity (誠) was most valued in Confucian thought. Even early Western-Learning thinkers such as Yi Byeok, who encountered Western Learning through Confucianism, regarded sincerity (誠) as the link connecting Confucianism and the Western teaching. Donghak Thought emphasizes sincerity (誠) in the aspect of revitalizing the vanished Confucian tradition, but what differs from Confucianism is that it is sincerity toward not the Heaven of 'Heaven and Earth,' but the transcendent Heaven that made Heaven and Earth. Daesoon Thought, by contrast, goes further, so that this sincerity (誠) applies also to the Heaven and Earth created by Gucheon; the difference is that the concept of sincerity (誠) in Daesoon Thought appears within a triangular structure of Gucheon, divine beings, and human beings. In Daesoon Thought, a human being's reciprocation through sincerity (誠) applies to both Gucheon and Heaven-and-Earth.

Again, the concept of ghosts-and-spirits is also the part where Daesoon Thought and Donghak Thought—and further, Confucian learning—differ most greatly. As the expression 'Heaven-Earth sincerity-respectfulness-faithfulness' shows, in Daesoon Thought the concept of ghosts-and-spirits, or divine beings, has sincerity-respectfulness-faithfulness connected to the concept of divine beings, whereas in Donghak Thought or Confucian thought sincerity-respectfulness-faithfulness is not so connected. In Daesoon Thought, the role of the divine beings of Heaven and Earth, which was not specified in Confucian thought or Donghak Thought, is emphasized. Examined in more detail, this is as follows.

⁸⁹⁴ Donggyeong Daejeon (Eastern Canon), "Jwajam" (Seated Maxims). Odo-bak-i-yak, bul-yong-da-eon-ui, byeol-mu-ta-dori, seong-gyeong-sin-sam-ja. Our Dao is broad yet concise; there is no need for many words — there is no other principle, just the three characters Seong (Sincerity), Gyeong (Reverence), and Sin (Faith).

⁸⁹⁵ A. N. Whitehead, D. R. Griffin and D. W. Sherburne, *Process and Reality*, New York: Free Press, 1929, pp.10-11. Cited in: Roger Ames and David Hall, translated by Jang Won-seok, *Ilseongsa-e Chojeomssi Matchwigi: Jungyong-ui Beonyeok-gwa Cheolhakjeok Haesok* (Focusing on the Affairs of Daily Life: Translation and Philosophical Interpretation of the Zhongyong), Seongnam: Academy of Korean Studies Press, 2019, pp.50-51.

The concept of ghosts-and-spirits explained, from the standpoint of natural philosophy, as dispersing qi could not guarantee the eternity of the ghosts-and-spirits that are the objects of ancestral sacrifice; and the religious concept of ghosts-and-spirits, which reinforced eternity in order to support the significance of sacrifice, was not a theory that conformed without strain to the Neo-Confucian doctrine premised on the finitude of qi.

The ghosts-and-spirits interpreted from the natural-philosophical standpoint of Neo-Confucianism are, as the union of li and qi, beings that move back and forth between substance and phenomenon, being and non-being. Applying such a concept of ghosts-and-spirits to human affairs, it points to a being in the process leading from primordial non-being to birth, and from death back again to primordial non-being. In Li-Qi theory, ghosts-and-spirits are not an incomprehensible supernatural substance but the very intermediate process by which the various things and phenomena in nature come into being and perish—a concept grasping nature, composed of li (理) and qi (氣), from the aspect of its changing operation. As [the scholar] said, 'What manifests outwardly is qi (氣), and what is subtly immanent is li (理); taking these together, we call them ghosts-and-spirits.'⁸⁹⁶

Ghosts-and-spirits, although not at the dimension of fundamental beings like li or qi, were understood as that which, with li and qi bound together, really exists within nature and exercises a presiding power (jujaeryeok) that gives rise to change of itself. If ghosts-and-spirits are understood as qi (氣) alone, they will be perceived as thoroughly material; conversely, if regarded as li (理) alone, they will remain principle-like, abstract beings. Therefore, for ghosts-and-spirits to be a numinous being possessing presiding power of itself, they must have both elements, li and qi. However, in explaining ghosts-and-spirits, the questions of which of the two to weight more heavily, and of whether li and qi being together is coexistence (竝存) or union (合一), became continuing topics of discussion among later Neo-Confucians.

In Neo-Confucianism, the human body too, like other things, is thought to be composed of qi (氣). The birth of a human being is accomplished when, within the mother's womb, the qi of the father and mother and the qi drifting around at that moment combine to form a single independent living being. Human death is that process running in reverse. When the life of a human being who had existed as an independent individual comes to an end, the qi that composed the body disperses into nature and disappears. Yet at this time, the dispersal of qi does not occur immediately at the moment of death but proceeds gradually over a long time. The logic that the various ancestral sacrifices, which the royal house and the scholar-official families of the Joseon period performed unceasingly with all their devotion, are directed not at a fiction or a notion but at a really existing being, is explained precisely on this ground. The ghost of the dead person who is the object of sacrifice—namely, the human-ghost (人鬼)—though a finite thing in the

⁸⁹⁶ Nam Hyo-on (author), Bak Dae-hyeon (translator), Chugangjip (Collected Works of Chugyang), Seoul: Minjok Munhwa Chujinhoe, 2007, vol. 5, 35b.

process of extinction, can, until it reaches complete extinction, partake of the sacrifice as a really existing being.

In light of the premise of Neo-Confucianism's Li-Qi dualism, which distinguishes the roles of li and qi, granting the capacity for action (作爲) to qi alone and allowing li only a principle-like character, some Neo-Confucians say that the doctrine of the immortality of the soul is an untenable theory. However, the point we must grasp meaningfully is that the substance called li (理), as conceived by the Neo-Confucians of the Joseon period, was not confined to a natural and ethical principle 'without feeling or intention (無情意)' and 'without contrivance (無造作),' but was sometimes also perceived as a numinous and luminous (靈明) being that guarantees the eternity of human existence.⁸⁹⁷

The conspicuous difference in the Heaven-Earth and Earth-human relationships of Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought lies in the difference of their perception of the West. If Donghak, which first advocated autogenous modernity, emphasizes—as seen in the very name 'Donghak'—a stance of opposition to Western Learning (Seohak), Daesoon Thought emphasizes—as seen in the term 'Daesoon'—the point of embracing. Accordingly, with respect to autogenous modernity, Daesoon Thought presents the Eastern origin of Western modernity. To survey, in brief, the studies up to recently on the formation of Donghak Thought as related to autogenous modernity: Donghak Thought begins from the Eastern origin of Western modernity, is then re-imported into the East together with Western Learning, and again, modern Chinese Daoism such as the autogenously developed Nandan Daoism is synthesized with the existing Neo-Confucianism, taking form as a revelation of Sangje in the shape of the 'Dialogue with the Heavenly Teacher (Cheonsa-mundap 天師問答).'⁸⁹⁸

Dogi Jangjon (道氣長存) and Sangsaeng (相生)

The concept of 'mutual beneficence (sangsaeng)' is the term in which the most representative difference appears between the conceptions of Earth in Daesoon Thought and Donghak Thought. That the concept of mutual beneficence is used in connection with an abstract concept, as in 'resolution of grievances for mutual beneficence (haewon-sangsaeng),' first appears in Daesoon Thought among the Jeungsan-related thoughts. That sangsaeng, used in yin-yang and the Five Elements, can be used together with an abstract concept in Daesoon Thought has, as its background, the relationship of Gucheon and the divine beings—namely, To's mediation of Wood-Fire-Metal-Water, as seen in harmonizing (jori) and qi-transformation (gihwa).

Although the concept of yin-yang and the Five Elements appears in Donghak Thought as well and functioned as the standard of science in the East for some 2,000 years after Dong Zhongshu, the core

⁸⁹⁷ Hanguk Sasangsa Yeonguhoe (Research Group on the History of Korean Thought), Joseon Yuhak-ui Gaenyeomdeul (Concepts of Joseon Confucianism), Yemun Seowon, 2002.

⁸⁹⁸ Kim Yun-gyeong, Hanguk Dogyosa (History of Korean Daoism), Seoul: Munsacheol, 2020.

concept of yin-yang and the Five Elements being used together with 'resolution of grievances for mutual beneficence' is a theoretical derivation of yin-yang and the Five Elements viewed from the standpoint of Gucheon, like the Three Realms and the Three Powers, or the Former World and the Later World. In Daesoon Thought, yin-yang and the Five Elements—as appears in the 'Prospectus of Mugeuk-do' in the form of the virtuous concordance of yin and yang, the establishment of the Three Powers, and the completeness of the Five Elements—are, together with yin-yang and the Three Powers, the principle by which Gucheon operates the Three Realms.

In Daesoon Thought, according to the arrangement methods of yin-yang and the Five Elements known as the Hetu (Hado) and Luoshu (Nakseo), Gucheon operates yin-yang and the Five Elements, and accordingly the non-doing and self-transformation (muwi-ihwa) of birth-growth-harvest-storage (saengjang-yeomjang) occurs. The divine beings are infinitely superposed according to the intention of Gucheon and fulfill the role of the divine beings of Heaven and Earth—such is the worldview, by the autogenous modernity of Daesoon Thought, presented by Gucheon.

Here, mutual contention (sanggeuk) and mutual beneficence (sangsaeng) are elevated beyond the operating principle of yin-yang and the Five Elements to the core principle of all the myriad things. The traditional mutual contention and mutual beneficence are applied, by autogenous modernity, to everyday things, becoming the criterion for evaluating and judging everyday things.⁸⁹⁹

Yin-yang and the Five Elements appear in Donghak Thought too, but mutual contention and mutual beneficence are not emphasized. Mutual contention and mutual beneficence have their importance emphasized in the course of Gucheon's harmonizing of yin-yang and the Five Elements through the Reordering Works of Heaven and Earth after the human incarnation and descent. Yin-yang and the Five Elements appear not only as the Limitless (Mugeuk) emphasized in Donghak Thought, but also as the importance of the Supreme Ultimate (Taegeuk).⁹⁰⁰

The Supreme Ultimate unfolds from yin-yang into the Three Powers and the Five Elements, ultimately becoming yin-yang and the Five Elements; and what does not change within yin-yang and the Five Elements is the central 'To' (土, Earth) at the center. The yin-yang and the Five Elements that Dong Zhongshu combined were fully combined only through the Hetu and Luoshu, which Shao Yong rediscovered. Shao Yong, disclosing the Hetu, Luoshu, and the diagram of the Eight Trigrams of Fu Xi, which Confucius is legendarily said to have transmitted to the Daoist thinkers, unified yin-yang and the Five Elements with the Eight Trigrams. According to Shao Yong's interpretation of yin-yang and the Five Elements unified by the Hetu and Luoshu, the cosmos is the infinite repetition of yin-yang and the Five Elements, and yin-yang and the Five Elements are the movement in which Wood-Fire-Metal-Water move in mutual contention and mutual beneficence around the central 'To' (土). If yin-yang and the Five

⁸⁹⁹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Jeosaeng" (Saving Lives) 43.

⁹⁰⁰ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Jeosaeng" (Saving Lives) 43.

Elements signify endless change, then, like the Supreme Ultimate, there is an unchanging being that makes yin-yang and the Five Elements change endlessly, and this is precisely li (理); corresponding to the qi (氣) of yin-yang and the Five Elements, it comes to possess the attribute of origination-flourishing-benefiting-firmness (wonhyeong-ijeong). In the end, in Shao Yong's system, li (理) is the invisible central 'To' (土) among the Five Elements and is origination-flourishing-benefiting-firmness, while qi (氣) is the Wood-Fire-Metal-Water that manifests around the periphery among the Five Elements and is yin-yang and the Five Elements.⁹⁰¹

In yin-yang and the Five Elements, mutual contention is, together with mutual beneficence, absolutely necessary. However, since balance between mutual contention and mutual beneficence is important, leaning toward mutual contention also risks maximizing mutual contention. The autogenous modernity of Donghak Thought pursues the power of mutual contention, as in its emphasis on the long preservation of the Dao's energy (do-gi-jangjon 道氣長存), qi-transformation (gihwa 氣化), and the repulsion of Japan (cheok-wae).

In Donghak Thought, the word 'do-gi-jangjon (道氣長存)' is a phrase appearing in 'Ipchunsi (Verse on the Beginning of Spring),' which Suun wrote at the beginning of spring of the Gyeongsin Year, just before the Dialogue with the Heavenly Teacher, resolving to devote himself to cultivation.

道氣長存邪不入, 世間衆人不同歸⁹⁰⁴

The text above can be thought of simply as a firm resolve regarding cultivation, but The Canonical Scripture (Jeongyeong) reveals that an important meaning is hidden in it from the standpoint of mutual contention and mutual beneficence.

In The Songs of Suwon, there is a saying, "If the energy of the Dao is maintained for a long time, wickedness cannot enter [道氣長存邪不入]." However, I say, "If a perfected heart is adamantly guarded, blessings will come first [眞心堅守福先來]."⁹⁰⁵

In the passage above, Suun's 'do-gi-jangjon (道氣長存)' is contrasted with 'jinsim-gyeonsu (眞心堅守, adamantly guarding a perfected heart).' In the passage above, 'do-gi-jangjon' contrasted with 'jinsim-

⁹⁰¹ Gao Huimin (author), Kwak Shin-hwan (translator), Sogangjeol-ui Seoncheon Yeokhak (Shao Kangjie's Xiantian Yixue [Prior Heaven Changes Studies]), Seoul: Simsan, 2007.

⁹⁰² In practice, the concept of Wonhyong-i-jeong (the four elemental attributes: origination, flourishing, advantage, firmness) is used to refer to the four common attributes of cyclical periods, such as spring-summer-autumn-winter, morning-midday-evening-night, and early-middle-mature-old age. It is said that, like an infinitely nested cycle, Wonhyong-i-jeong exists in every single affair and object, and in all affairs and all things. (Yun Yong-nam, "A Reconstruction of Zhu Xi's Theory of I" (Juja i-seol(理說)-ui Jaegusaeng), Dongyang Cheolhak Yeongu 8, 1988, pp.52-54)

⁹⁰³ Choe Jin-deok, "The I-Gi Theory and Gwisin Theory of Zhu Xi Studies (朱子學의 理氣論과 鬼神論)," Yangmyeonghak (Journal of Wang Yangming Studies), vol. 23, Korean Society of Wang Yangming Studies, 2009, pp.381-383.

⁹⁰⁴ Dogi-jangjon-sa-bul-ip, segan-jungin-bu-dong-gwi. When the Qi of the Dao is preserved for a long time, evil things cannot enter; I will not follow the same path as the multitude of the world.

⁹⁰⁵ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyobeob" (Teachings) 2-3.

gyeonsu' emphasizes the meaning of countering force with force. Regarding countering force with force, The Canonical Scripture states the following.

Repaying evil with evil is the same as washing away blood with blood.⁹⁰⁶

To say 'do not repay evil with evil' does not mean that The Canonical Scripture tells one to grant an opponent's unjust demands. Rather, The Canonical Scripture criticizes as weakness the inability to refuse an unjust demand. It only emphasizes that, in solving a problem, mutual contention must be resolved through mutual beneficence.

In the autogenous modernity of Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought, the part where mutual contention and mutual beneficence appear most conspicuously is the part related to the West and Japan. First, looking at the case of the West:

東有大聖人曰東學 西有大聖人曰西學⁹⁰⁷

In the passage above, Daesoon Thought regards Western Learning as being of the same rank of sages as Donghak. Unlike Donghak Thought, which displayed great wariness toward the West, Daesoon Thought regards East and West as a mutually beneficial relationship of the virtuous concordance of yin and yang. Matteo Ricci, for instance, also appears as a figure who broke through the boundary of East and West and transmitted the civilization of Heaven to Earth. In fact, even in the Practical Learning (Silhak) of the late Joseon period, there was an ambivalent attitude toward Western Learning.

The Christian thought that exerted influence among the scholars of the Seongho school, a representative school of late-Joseon Practical Learning, appears to have provoked broadly three types of response. The first, as in the case of An Jeong-bok, was to acknowledge that there was something to learn from Western Learning as science while clearly rejecting Christian thought as religion or philosophy. The second, conversely, was to accept Christian thought as religion and even to advance to the stage of believing in it; among Seongho's disciples, this corresponds to the so-called Faith-in-the-West faction (Sinseopa)—Yi Byeok (1754-1786), Gwon Cheol-sin (1736-1801), Yi Seung-hun (1756-1801), Yi Gahwan (1742-1801), and others. The third was the effort to take the stimulus of Christian thought as an occasion for returning to the original standpoint of ancient Confucianism, and thereby to establish a new theoretical system regarding the problems of nature and the human being. The philosophy of Jeong Yak-yong (1762-1836), counted among the representative figures of late-Joseon Practical Learning, corresponds to this third case. Jeong Yak-yong, a representative scholar of the time, is said to have acknowledged

⁹⁰⁶ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyobeob" (Teachings) 1-34.

⁹⁰⁷ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Haengrok" (Acts) 5-38. Dong-yu-daeseong-in-wal-donghak, seo-yu-daeseong-in-wal-seohak. In the East there is a great sage, and it is called Donghak (Eastern Learning); in the West there is a great sage, and it is called Seohak (Western Learning). (Gyomubu, "Dolbyeongpung" (Stone Screen), Daesoon Hoebo (Daesoon Circular) 119, 2011)

Sangje and Li-Qi theory while denying the yin-yang and the Five Elements that form the theoretical basis of the divine beings of Heaven and Earth.⁹⁰⁸⁹⁰⁹

Next, looking at the case of Japan: the first Reordering Work of Heaven and Earth to be realized after Jeungsan's passing into Heaven was the 'Resolution of Japan's Grievances (Ilbon-haewon).' Compared with Donghak Thought's 'dog-like Japanese enemies,' Daesoon Thought says that, since the Japanese too are people, one should at least treat them generously in speech.⁹¹⁰⁹¹¹

One day, Sangje said, "If I took Joseon (Korea) over to the West, it could not survive, being abused due to racial discrimination. And if I took Joseon over to Qing, its people, who are dull and stupid, could not afford to take the responsibility. There have been grievances between the gods of both nations who have presided over arts of the Dao since the Imjin War (1592-1598), so I will hand Joseon over to Japan in order to resolve the grievances there. I shall temporarily give them the power of unifying the world and the greatly bright energy of the sun and moon to do the work. But I shall never grant them one thing: benevolence. If they were endowed with benevolence, the entire world would be under their control. I will confer the word of benevolence to you. Keep it well. You shall live in relative safety while only they work. Accordingly, do everything accurately for them to handle. When they finish the work, they will return to their country empty-handed without wages. At the very least, use refined language with them."

The Canonical Scripture (Jeongyeong), rather than mutual contention with Japan, presents as an interpretation of history by autogenous modernity the mutually beneficial path by which, after the resolution of Japan's grievances—connected even to the fall of Baekje and thereafter to the Imjin War—Joseon can receive China's reciprocation and become a nation of superior rank.

Comparison of the Heaven-Human and Earth-Human Relationships in Donghak and Daesoon Thought

The Heaven-Human Relationship of Human Way (人道) and Divine Way (神道)

Daesoon Thought, with the terms 'Heavenly mandate (cheonmyeong 天命)' and 'divine teaching (singyo 神教),' distinguishes the human Way (indo 人道) carried out by humans and the Way of gods (sindo 神道) carried out by divine beings.

⁹⁰⁸ Hanguk Sasangsa Yeonguhoe (Research Group on the History of Korean Thought), Joseon Yuhak-ui Gaenyeomdeul (Concepts of Joseon Confucianism), Yemun Seowon, 2002.

⁹⁰⁹ Kim Seon-hee, "The Theistic World as Seen by a Confucian Scholar," Proceedings of the Korean Academy of Religion Conference, Korean Academy of Religion, 2014; Jeon Seong-geon, "The Theological Possibilities of Dasan's Theory of Spiritual Knowledge (Yeongji)," Proceedings of the Korean Academy of Religion Conference, Korean Academy of Religion, 2014)

⁹¹⁰ Go Nam-sik, "The Patterns and Significance of Japan-Related Records in the Transmission of Kang Jeungsan in the Modern and Contemporary Period: Focusing on the Daesoon Jeongyeong (大巡典經) (1929-1965)," Ilbon Geundae Hak Yeongu (Journal of Japanese Modern Studies), 2023.

⁹¹¹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 2-4.

When Sangje resided in Gucheon (the Ninth Heaven), the Sinseong (Divine Sages), Buddhas, and Bodhisattvas appealed that without Sangje, the chaotic Heaven and Earth could not be rectified; therefore, He descended to the Cheongyetap (Heavenly Revelation Pagoda) in the Great French Nation of the West, looked over the Three Realms, made a great tour (Daesoon) of the world, and then stopped in the Eastern Land, residing in the Golden Maitreya Statue at Geumsan Temple on Moak Mountain for thirty years, during which He bestowed the Heavenly Mandate (Cheonmyeong) and Divine Teaching (Singyo) upon Choe Su-un to establish the Great Dao; however, in the Gapja year (1864), He withdrew the Heavenly Mandate and Divine Teaching, and in the Sinmi year (1871), He decided to descend into the world Himself.⁹¹²

The core difference between the Way of gods and the human Way is that, since divine beings are constituent elements of Heaven and Earth, the Way of gods entails structural change. Accordingly, the Way of gods, which proceeds in parallel with the Reordering Works of Heaven and Earth, appears in the form of a re-establishment of the Heaven-human relationship.⁹¹³

“If all things, no matter how large or small, are ruled by the Dao of gods, profound and inscrutable accomplishments shall be gained. This is the way of changing without need for action. With the Dao of gods, all things can be performed in accordance with the righteousness of the Dao. By doing so, I will determine the destiny of the boundless paradisiacal land of immortals. A new foundation shall be opened when the Degree Number reaches the right time.”

“If someone had to undertake the mission of defending against the Japanese army in the Imjin War (1592-1598), Choi Pung-Heon would have brought it to a close within three days. Jin-Muk would have taken no longer than three months. Song Gubong could have done it within eight months. This is only due to the fact that Daoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism have different arts of the Dao. In the past, the ground was small and affairs were simple, so it was possible to clear confusion away with just one method. However, today, as the improved contact between the East and the West has broadened the ground and complicated the affairs, it is not possible to redress chaos unless all methods are integrated and used.”⁹¹⁴

In the passage above, the expression 'a new foundation shall be opened as the destiny (unsu) reaches the right time' indicates that, since divine beings are constituent elements of Heaven and Earth, the Way of gods entails structural change. In the end, Daesoon Thought laments that Donghak Thought, failing to understand sufficiently the Way of gods of 'Heavenly mandate' and 'divine teaching,' scarcely mentioned divine beings and could not greatly depart from the human Way. Traditionally, the human Way carries the meaning of an artificial Way, while the Way of gods carries the meaning of the necessary Way of nature,

⁹¹² Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 1.

⁹¹³ Sindo (the Way of Divine Beings) is also seen as the ultimate reality and the basis for Haewon Sangsaeng (Resolution of Grievances for Mutual Beneficence). (Kim Eui-seong, Daesoon Sasang-ui Cheolhakjeok Tamgu (A Philosophical Inquiry into Daesoon Thought), Sungkyunkwan University Doctoral Dissertation, 2017)

⁹¹⁴ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Yeosi" (Prophetic Elucidations) 73.

like natural law. Daesoon Thought too follows the traditional distinction between the human Way and the Way of gods.⁹¹⁵

In Donghak Thought, the emergence of the heaven-beyond-heaven was epoch-making, but because it could not explain the existence and role of divine beings, the relationship between the heaven-beyond-heaven and the human being could not escape the scope of the Confucian human Way. Donghak Thought chose the path of the human Way (人道), communicating with the heaven-beyond-heaven by doing the best a human being can do.

One day, Sangje's disciples wrote down their names while thinking about the all-time greatest generals in accordance with His orders. Gyeong-Seok asked Sangje, "Is the founder of a dynasty one of the greatest generals as well?" Sangje said, "Yes, he is." Gyeong-Seok enumerated the generals from the Yellow Emperor, King Tang, King Wu of Zhou, Jiang Taigong and Emperor Gaozu of Han, to others, ending with Jeon Myeong-Suk (Jeon Bong-Jun). Then he gave the paper to Sangje. Sangje asked him, "Why did you put Jeon Myeong-Suk at the end?" Gyeong-Seok replied, "Jeon Myeong-Suk is the first if read from the left." Sangje agreed with him and said to His disciples, "Jeon Myeong-Suk is one of the greatest generals of all ages. He was a poor scholar without a government position, yet he moved the world."⁹¹⁶

In the passage above, the Donghak Peasant Movement sought to favor the lowborn and make them yangban, and it became the fuse for a series of events extending from the Sino-Japanese War to the Russo-Japanese War and the First and Second World Wars. Donghak Thought is evaluated, not only at the time but also today, as the truly original modern ideological movement, predating even the French Revolution, so that a World Revolutionary Cities Solidarity Conference is held annually in Jeongeup. In Daesoon Thought, however, in the Heaven-human relationship, the Way of gods (神道) that communicates together with the divine beings of Heaven and Earth is emphasized more than the human Way (人道) of Donghak Thought, which seeks to communicate directly with the heaven-beyond-heaven.

水生於火 火生於水 金生於木 木生於金 其用可知然後 方可謂神人也

陰殺陽生 陽殺陰生 生殺之道 在於陰陽 人可用陰陽然後 方可謂人生也

人爲陽 神爲陰 陰陽相合然後 有變化之道也

不測變化之術 都在於神明 感通神明然後 事其事則謂之大仁大義也⁹¹⁷

⁹¹⁵ Daesoon Jichim (Daesoon Guidelines), Chapter 1, Section 1.

⁹¹⁶ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 1-34.

⁹¹⁷ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Jeosaeng" (Saving Lives) 43. Su-saeng-eo-hwa hwa-saeng-eo-su geum-saeng-eo-mok mok-saeng-eo-geum gi-yong-ga-yong-yeonhu bang-ga-wi-sinin-ya. Eum-sal-yang-saeng yang-sal-cum-saeng saeng-sal-ji-do jae-co-eumyang in-ga-yong-eumyang-yeonhu bang-ga-wi-insaeng-ya. In-wi-yang sin-wi-eum eumyang-sanghap-yeonhu yu-byeonhwa-ji-do-ya. Bul-cheuk-byeonhwa-ji-sul do-jae-eo-sinmyeong gam-tong-sinmyeong-yeonhu sa-gi-sa-cheuk-wi-ji-daein-daceui-ya. Water (Su/水) is generated from Fire (Hwa/火(火)) and Fire (Hwa/火(火)) from Water (水); Metal (Geum/金(金)) from Wood (Mok/木); Wood (木(木)) from Metal (Geum/금(金)) — only after one can know their

In the passage above, the human is yang and the divine beings are yin (人爲陽 神爲陰); and since one can be called a human only when one knows how to use yin and yang (人可用陰陽然後 方可謂人生也), a human being acquires the minimum condition of being a human who knows how to use yin and yang only by knowing how to work together with the divine beings (感通神明然後 事其事).⁹¹⁸

Sangje said, "In the Seoncheon (Former World), all human affairs and things were governed by Sangguk (mutual conflict/overcoming), causing grievances to accumulate and form knots, filling the Three Realms; thus, Heaven and Earth lost their constant way (Sangdo), giving rise to all sorts of disasters, and the world became tragic." "Therefore, I intend to rectify the Dosu of Heaven and Earth, harmonize the divine beings (Sinmyeong), resolve the grievances of all time, and establish the Seon'gyeong (Immortal Realm) of the Hucheon (Later World) through the Dao of Sangsaeng (mutual beneficence), thereby saving the people of the world." "In all matters, great or small, the grievances must be resolved starting from the Sindo (Dao of Gods/Divine Beings)." "First, if the Dosu is firmly established and harmonized, that will become the foundation, and human affairs (Insa) will be accomplished spontaneously." "This is precisely the Samgye-gongsa (Work of the Three Realms)," He said to Kim Hyeong-ryeol, and He began a part of it, the Myeongbu-gongsa (Work of the Realm of Judgment).⁹¹⁹

In the passage above, the content 'one must, without distinction of great or small affairs, resolve grievances starting from the Way of gods' reveals that Donghak Thought and Western modernity, failing to understand the parts of divine beings and grievances, could not show successful results in matters great and small.

In Daesoon Thought, the characteristic of Confucianism is regarded as a human-centered doctrinal system that does not emphasize divine beings—called 'maintaining decorum (yuji-beomjeol).' Indeed, Confucianism has traditionally held to the tradition of 'revering yet keeping at a distance (敬而遠之)'—acknowledging divine beings (敬) but not drawing close to them (遠之).⁹²⁰

function (用) can one be called a Spirit-Human (신인(神人)/Sinin). When Yin is killed Yang lives, and when Yang is killed Yin lives; the path of life-and-death (생살(生殺)/生殺) resides in Yin and Yang. Only after a person can employ Yin and Yang can one be called a living human being. A human becomes Yang and the divine being becomes Yin; only after Yin and Yang harmonize together is there a path of transformation. Moreover, the arts of unfathomable transformation (방술(方術)/方術) all reside in the divine beings (신명(神明)/神明); only after communing with (감통(感通)/感通) the divine beings and an affair is accomplished, this is called Great Humaneness and Great Righteousness (대인대의(大仁大義)/大仁大義). (Yang Mu-mok, "Yin-Yang Hapdeok as Salvific Truth and Democracy," Daesoon Sasang Nonchong (Journal of Daesoon Thought) 2, 1997, pp.175-176)

⁹¹⁸ It is said that the concept of Yin-Yang emphasized and pursued in Daesoon Thought advocates Jeong-eum-jeong-yang (正陰正陽, Correct Yin and Correct Yang) and Hapdeok (合德, Virtuous Concordance) through harmony, and shows that an ideal world can be built through them. (Yi Ho-yeol, Daesoon Sasang-ui Eumyangnon-e gwanhan Yeongu (A Study on the Theory of Yin-Yang in Daesoon Thought), Daejin University Master's Thesis, 2015)

⁹¹⁹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsa" (Reordering Works) 1-3.

⁹²⁰ Fan Chi asked about wisdom. The Master said: "Devote yourself to the duties owed to people; and respect spiritual beings (Gwisin), while keeping them at a distance — this can be called wisdom." (Analects (Noneo), "Yongya" chapter)

That the re-establishment of the view of the Three Realms connects with the Heaven-human relationship is through the re-establishment of the divine-human relationship known as harmonizing (jori) and qi-transformation (gihwa). After the human incarnation and descent of Gucheon, harmonizing and qi-transformation can now turn mutual contention into mutual beneficence, making possible, through the human being, the creative transformation (johwa) of the divine beings and the resolution of grievances (haewon) of humans.

The difference between Donghak Thought, which emphasizes the emergence of the heaven-beyond-heaven, and Daesoon Thought, which emphasizes the human incarnation and descent of Gucheon, is that humanity's mediation of contradiction through empathy—that is, the human use of yin and yang—is achieved through humanity's harmonizing (jori) and the divine beings' qi-transformation (gihwa). Shao Yong, like The Canonical Scripture (Jeongyeong), shows that the human being can harmonize the divine beings through the empathy and righteousness of the mind.

The Earth-Human Relationship of Simgeub Doyu (心急道儒) and Dotong Gunja (道通君子)

The most prominent difference in the view of the Earthly Realm (Jigyegwan) between Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought is that Daesoon Thought's Gaebyeok (Great Opening) specifies the Dotong (Unification with the Dao) of the twelve thousand Dotong-gunja (Virtuous Scholars Who Have Attained the Dao) through Geumgangsang (Diamond Mountain) and the subsequent Dotong-jingyeong (Perfected State of Unification with the Dao). In Donghak Thought, which does not involve Sinmyeong (divine beings), the realization of the Dao manifested as social practice. In the society of that time, the realization of the Dao was the worldly desire that even commoners could become kings, nobles, generals, and ministers (Wanghu-jangsang). For those practicing Donghak Thought, the meaning of the emergence of the Cheon-oe-cheon (Heaven beyond Heaven) culminated in Simgeupdoyu (Daoist-Confucians with an impatient mind).⁹²¹

Simgeupdoyu refers to the subject of Su-un's admonition to Donghak followers, which appears in "Tan Doyusimgeup" (Lamenting the Impatient Mind of Daoist-Confucians) in the Donggyeong Daejeon, presumed to be a late work.⁹²² Su-un referred to Donghak followers as Doyu (Daoist-Confucians), and through this poem, he warned the Donghak followers who wished for the results of their spiritual cultivation to appear quickly, calling them Simgeupdoyu.⁹²³

⁹²¹ Yu Ji-yeon, "Hwang Hyeon (1855-1910)'s Perception and Criticism of Donghak: Focused on the Oha Gimun (梧下記文)," Irwon Haksul (梨院 學錄) Nonchong (Academic Theses Collection) 2, 2004, pp.1-54.

⁹²² Kim Gi-seung, "A Chronological Review of the Works of Su-un Choe Je-u," Donghak Hakbo (Journal of Donghak Studies) 3, 2002, pp.159-162.

⁹²³ The great fortune of mountains and rivers all returns to this Way, for its source is deepest and its principle extends farthest. Only by firmly establishing the mind-pillar (心柱) within oneself can one know the taste of the Way; only by keeping one's thought here will all affairs proceed as one wishes. Sweep away the turbid energy and nurture the clear energy as tenderly as

山河大運 盡歸此道 其源極深 其理甚遠 — The great destiny of the mountains and rivers all returns to this Dao; its source is exceedingly deep, its principle exceedingly far-reaching.

固我心柱 乃知道味 一念在茲 萬事如意 — Firmly holding the pillar of my mind, I come to know the savor of the Dao; when a single thought rests here, all affairs go as one wishes.

消除濁氣 兒養淑氣 — Dispel and remove the turbid energy, and nurture the pure energy as one rears a child.

非徒心至 惟在正心 隱隱聰明 仙出自然 — It is not merely that the mind arrives; it lies only in rectifying the mind. Quietly and subtly comes clear intelligence, and the immortal emerges of its own accord.

來頭百事 同歸一理 — The hundred affairs to come all return to a single principle.

他人細過 勿論我心 我心小慧 以施於人 — Do not let another's small faults trouble my mind; the small wisdom of my mind, bestow it upon others.

如斯大道 勿誠小事 臨勦盡料 自然有助 — For so great a Dao as this, do not lavish sincerity on trifling matters; when facing a task, give it your full reckoning, and help will come of itself.

風雲大手 隨其器局 玄機不露 勿爲心急 — The great hand of wind and cloud accords with one's capacity and measure; the profound mechanism is not disclosed, so let not the mind be hasty.

功成他日 好作仙緣 心兮本虛 應物無迹 — When merit is accomplished on a later day, make good the affinity for immortality; the mind is by nature empty, responding to things without leaving a trace.

心修來而知德 德惟明而是道 — When the mind is cultivated, one comes to know virtue; when virtue is bright, this is the Dao.

在德不在於人 在信不在於工 — It lies in virtue, not in other people; it lies in faith, not in labor.

在近不在於遠 在誠不在於求 — It lies in the near, not in the far; it lies in sincerity, not in seeking.

不然而其然 似遠而非遠 — Not so, and yet it is so; seemingly far, and yet not far.

On the other hand, Daesoon Thought, which introduced Sinmyeong (divine beings) through the incarnation of Gucheon (Sangje), aimed to realize the Jiseon-sinseon (Earthly Immortals) and Jiseon-cheonguk (Earthly Paradise) in this world, but unlike Donghak Thought, it did not desire to become kings,

rearing an infant. It is not merely a matter of the mind reaching its utmost—it lies solely in rectifying the mind. Subtle luminosity naturally arises with a spirit-like grace, and all affairs yet to come will return to a single principle. Do not debate the small faults of others within your own mind; bestow your small wisdom upon others. Do not devote the great Way to petty affairs. When confronted with great matters and one exhausts all deliberation, assistance will naturally come. The great fortune of wind and clouds follows one's capacity and scope. The profound and wondrous mechanism does not manifest itself—do not let the mind grow impatient. On another day when merit is accomplished, one will properly form a bond with the immortals. The mind is originally empty, and even when responding to things, it leaves no trace. Only by cultivating the mind can one know virtue, and it is the Way that solely illumines virtue. It lies in virtue and not in other people; it lies in faith and not in study; it lies in what is near and not in what is far; it lies in sincerity and not in seeking—it seems not so yet it is so; it seems far yet it is not far. Cheondogyo Gyeongjeon (The Cheondogyo Scriptures)

nobles, generals, and ministers (Wanghu-jangsang) through undue haste (Yoksok-budal).⁹²⁴ Daesoon Thought remained faithful to daily life with a long-term perspective looking far into the Hucheon (Later World). Daesoon Thought, which considers the Hucheon (Later World), states that Cham Donghak (True Eastern Learning) is that which specifies the emergence of Geumgangsán (Diamond Mountain) and the Dotong-gunja (Virtuous Scholars Who Have Attained the Dao) after the Gaebyeok (Great Opening)—which do not appear in Donghak Thought—and aims to produce these Dotong-gunja.⁹²⁵ Since the Daesoon view of the Three Realms aims for the production of Dotong-gunja as a priority, the Earth-human relationship (Ji-in-gwangye) also develops centered around the Dotong-gunja. In the Earth-human relationship of Donghak Thought, the Dotong-gunja and Geumgangsán are not specified, but they appear in the phrase "great men are the spiritual energy of the earth" (Ingeol-eun-jiryeong) and in references to Sinseon (Immortals).

Although Donghak Thought, which became a practical example of "making the whole country Yangban," maximized the intensity of practicing egalitarianism to the point of "making the whole country kings, nobles, generals, and ministers," the Jeon-gyeong interprets this as Su-un failing to overcome the limitations (Jeonheon) of Confucianism.⁹²⁶

One day, Sangje said to Kim Hyeong-ryeol, "The Westerner Matteo Ricci (Yi Madu) came to the East and tried to establish an earthly paradise, but he could not achieve his goal because the deep-rooted evil customs of Confucianism made reform difficult. However, he opened the boundaries between the Celestial and Subterranean Realms, allowing the divine beings (Sinmyeong), who had firmly guarded their respective regions and could not cross over, to interact, and after his death, he took the civilization divine beings (Munmyeongsin) of the East to the West and opened the way for cultural development (Mun-un). From this, the Subterranean divine beings (Jihasin) emulated all the wondrous methods of the Celestial Realm and bestowed them upon the human world. All the cultures and materials of the West are modeled after the Kingdom of Heaven," He said, "That civilization, being biased toward materialism, has instead fostered human arrogance and, in its attempt to conquer nature and shake the Heavenly Principle, has continuously committed all sorts of sins, undermining the authority of the Sindo (Dao of Divine Beings). Consequently, the proper ways (Sangdo) of the Heavenly Dao and Human Affairs (Insa) were violated, the Three Realms fell into confusion, and the source of the Dao was severed. Therefore, all the primordial divine saints, Buddhas, and Bodhisattvas gathered and appealed to Gucheon (the Highest Heaven) regarding this calamity (Geobaek) of humanity and the Spirit Realm. Thus, I descended to the Celestial Revelation Pagoda (Cheongyetap) in the great Western nation of France, inspected (Daesun) the world, and then stopped in this Eastern land, arriving at the Maitreya Golden Buddha statute in the three-story hall of

⁹²⁴ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gongsá" (Reordering Works) 3-41.

⁹²⁵ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gwonji" (Authority and Foreknowledge) 1-11.

⁹²⁶ Kim Sang-jun, "Making the Whole Country Yangban: The Confucian Egalitarian Mechanism in Late Joseon," *Sahoe-wa Yeoksa* (Society and History, formerly Hanguk Sahoesa Hakhoe Nonmunjip) 63(0), 2003, pp.5-29

Geumsansa Temple on Moaksan Mountain. After staying for thirty years, I revealed the Daedo (Great Dao) for saving the world (Jesedaedo) to Choe Je-u. However, as Je-u was unable to overcome the limitations (Jeonheon) of Confucianism and reveal the true meaning of the Daedo, I finally withdrew the Heavenly Mandate (Cheonmyeong) and Divine Teaching (Singyo) in the Gapja (1864) year and descended in the Sinmi (1871) year."⁹²⁷

In the excerpt above, the 'true meaning of the Daedo' is presented as an alternative modernity to Western modernity, which was biased toward materialism and fostered human arrogance; Daesoon Thought presents the purpose of Donghak Thought as an ideology that transcended Confucianism. Just as ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny, the 'true meaning of the Daedo' had to be a new truth that transcended Confucianism and gathered only the strengths of all principles. Therefore, the Cham Donghak (True Eastern Learning) that Donghak failed to realize was to transcend the modernity of 'making the whole country kings, nobles, generals, and ministers' and to realize 'Earthly Immortals' (Jiseon-sinseon).

One day, Sangje took Gyeong-seok from Nongam and, on the way to Jeongeup, stopped at a tavern in Wonpyeong, called over a passerby, bought him alcohol, and said, "This road is the sea route to Namjoseon (Southern Joseon). We must load much cargo before departing," and then hurried on the road, reaching a place thirty ri away, saying, "A great formation (Daejin) travels thirty ri in one party," and stayed at the house of Park Gong-woo, who lived in the jaesil (ritual house) of the Choe family in Songwol-ri, Gobu. He said to Gong-woo and Gyeong-seok, "Now that I have met the one I was meant to meet, the Tongjeongsin (Spirit of Mutual Understanding) emerges. My work is something that even my parents and siblings do not know." He continued, "I descended to the Cheongyetap (Tower of Divine Revelation) in the Great Western Nation of France, toured the world (Daesoon), and then, taking the authority of the Three Realms (Samgye), I came to open a paradise (Seongyeong) through the Gaebyeok of the Three Realms and save the people of the world who have fallen into annihilation; the reason I stopped in this land while touring your Eastern country is to first help the obscure, weak nation buried in calamity and resolve the grievances accumulated throughout the ages. Those who follow me will receive eternal fortune and blessings, achieve immortality, and enjoy the pleasures of an eternal paradise; this is the True Donghak. In the Gungeul-ga (Song of Gungeul), it is said, 'The lands and rivers of Joseon are a famed land (Myeongsan). A Dotong Gunja (Gentleman who has attained the Dao) will be born again'; this also refers to my work. It is transmitted among Donghak followers that a Daeseonsaeng (Great Teacher) will be reborn (gaengsaeng); this means a Daeseonsaeng (Teacher of the Era) will emerge again, and I am that Daeseonsaeng."⁹²⁸

In the excerpt above, the original purpose of Donghak is shown to go beyond advocating the Confucian 'anti-feudal, anti-foreign' stance, and to develop into an indigenous modernity leading to the Hucheon (Later World), a new world—that is, Cham Donghak (True Eastern Learning).

⁹²⁷ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyoun" (Progress of the Order) 1-9.

⁹²⁸ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gwonji" (Authority and Foreknowledge) 1-11.

The Hucheon (Later World), the new world, is the world of Jiseon-sinseon (Earthly Immortals) and Dotong-gunja (Virtuous Scholars Who Have Attained the Dao), and the Jiseon-sinseon is another form of Eumyang-hapdeok (Virtuous Concordance of Yin and Yang) between Earth and humanity, which are in a Yin-Yang relationship. The slogan of Jiseon-sinseon (Earthly Immortals) is manifesting as reality today. If we introduce the correlative thinking of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements, which has hitherto been overlooked in studies on the indigenous modernity of Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought, the Jiseon-sinseon (Earthly Immortals) can be understood as the following Eumyang-hapdeok (Virtuous Concordance of Yin and Yang) relationship between Earth and humanity.

Since the concept of the Samjae (Three Powers: Heaven, Earth, and Humanity), human beings have been regarded as equal to Heaven and Earth, but there has been little explanation as to why human beings can be equal to Heaven and Earth. Daesoon Thought clearly refers to the human-centricity mediated by Heaven and Earth—that human beings are compatible with Heaven and Earth, and that human beings must exist for Heaven and Earth to succeed—as Sin-in-johwa (Harmonious Union between Divine Beings and Human Beings). In Daesoon Thought, although human beings are incomparably small in scale and function compared to Heaven and Earth, they organically become beings equal to Heaven and Earth in that they are compatible with Heaven and Earth by combining the two aspects of Heaven and Earth as Yin and Yang. Before Daesoon Thought, human beings' status was only formally equalized with Heaven and Earth through the Samjae (Three Powers) and Samgye (Three Realms). Before the emergence of Daesoon Thought, human beings were indeed like specks of dust compared to Heaven and Earth. The characteristic of the Earth-human relationship (Ji-in-gwangye) in Daesoon Thought is that through human Dotong (Unification with the Dao), human beings can become beings who mediate and are compatible with Heaven and Earth.

Daesoon Thought has expressed the process leading from Donghak through the Donghak Peasant Revolution to Jeungsan Thought as a process of harmony (Johwa) consisting of Jakran (Creating Disorder), Dongran (Causing Turmoil), and Chiran (Remedying Disorder). If the correlative thinking of the concept of "harmony" (Johwa), which began in Donghak Thought, is interpreted as "liminality," the modernity manifested in Donghak and Daesoon Thought (as Cham Donghak) can be compared, focusing on the concept of the view of the Three Realms (Samgye-gwan), where correlative thinking is concentrated.⁹²⁹ Daesoon Thought, which proclaimed Cham Donghak (True Eastern Learning), actually materializes Yin-Yang and the Five Elements as its ideological indigenous nature, starting from the initial Mugeukdo prospectus—which outlined Eumyang-hapdeok (Virtuous Concordance of Yin and Yang), Samjae-hwakrip

⁹²⁹ Jeongyeong (The Canonical Scripture), "Gyobeob" (Teachings) 3-30; Go Nam-sik, "Kang Jeungsan's Historical Consciousness and View of Joseon in the Late Joseon Period," *Dongasia Godaehak (Journal of Ancient East Asian Studies)* 59, 2020, pp.239-270, p.259.

(Establishment of the Three Powers), and Ohaeng-gubi (Completion of the Five Elements)—more so than Donghak Thought.⁹³⁰

⁹³⁰ Murayama Jijun, "Mugeukdo Chwiji-seo" (Mugeukdo Prospectus), Joseon-ui Yusa Jonggyo (Quasi-Religions of Joseon), Daegu: Gyemyeong University Press, 1991.

Conclusion

Today, the Eastern Learning (Donghak) Peasant Movement is being re-evaluated as a modern movement comparable to the French Revolution, and Daesoon (Daesun) Thought is attracting attention as an ideology that can explain the changes in the post-modern world through the traditional Eastern system of thought. This dissertation centers on the concept of "Donghak" (Eastern Learning) as a method of thought in Eastern philosophy and aims to demonstrate that the two systems of thought (Donghak and Daesoon) both built East Asia's indigenous (jasaengjeok) modernity through the reconstruction of the trinitarian cosmology of Heaven, Earth, and Humankind.

The series of discussions revealed in this dissertation can be summarized as follows. The alternative to Western modernity, which is in crisis, can be found in the alternative modernity demonstrated by the views of Heaven, Earth, and Humankind in Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought. The reason for this is that the cause of the crisis in Western modernity lies in Western immanence, which views the change of all things only through substance, whereas the East possesses correlative thinking, which explains the change of all things through attributes. Western postmodern theories, after long discussions, have come to explain Eastern rationality through correlative thinking and liminality. Accordingly, the new alternative views of Heaven, Earth, and Humankind established by Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought can be explained by the liminality of correlative (sanggwanjeok) thinking.

Liminality, meaning threshold or boundary, reveals the chaotic dynamic characteristics of Eastern thought that pursues the harmony of Yin and Yang by encompassing both mutually opposing elements to harmonize their opposition for the sake of passage through the boundary in rites of passage—that is, for change. On the other hand, correlative thinking reveals the fractal static characteristics that all things are interconnected. Through the liminality of correlative thinking, which synthesizes these two characteristics, the Heaven, Earth, and Humankind of the East and West are interconnected. Heaven and Earth become an existence like Gun-Sa-Bu (Monarch, Teacher, and Father) to human beings. Just as in human relationships, where subjects, disciples, and children are beings who receive and realize the will of the Gun-Sa-Bu, human beings receive grace from Heaven and Earth, repay that grace, and become beings of Yeocheonjidong (Sharing the Same [Virtues] with Heaven and Earth), learning abilities equivalent to Heaven and Earth.

In Donghak Thought, when the Cheonsa-mundap (Q&A with the Heavenly Teacher) took place, the purpose of the Cheon-oe-cheon (Heaven beyond Heaven) was to revitalize the liminality of correlative thinking in the Three Realms of Heaven, Earth, and Humankind. Accordingly, Donghak Thought presents new views of Heaven, Earth, and Humankind based on the emergence of the Cheon-oe-cheon. The views of Heaven, Earth, and Humankind newly presented by Donghak Thought consist of the view of Heaven as Sicheonju (Bearing the Heavenly Lord), the view of Earth as Jowha-jeong (Fixing the Creation), and the

view of Humankind as Yeongse-bulmang (Never forgetting for all ages). The Three Realms of Donghak Thought, in turn, interact based on a Gwisillon (theory of spirits) relationship between Heaven and Earth, through a Gihwaron (theory of materialization/spiritualization) Heaven-human relationship, and a Ji-in-gwangye (Earth-human relationship) of kings, nobles, generals, and ministers (Wanghu-jangsang). However, the Donghak view of Heaven, Earth, and Humankind failed to sufficiently overcome the limitations (Jeonheon) of Confucianism and was discontinued.

In response, Daesoon Thought introduces the concepts of Sinmyeong (divine beings) and Wonhan (grievances) based on the incarnation of Gucheon (Sangje), and overcomes the Confucian limitations present in the Donghak view of Heaven, Earth, and Humankind with a Sin-in-uido (principle of mutual guidance between divine beings and human beings) view of the Three Realms. Daesoon Thought presents the view of the Heavenly Realm based on incarnation (Insin-gangse), the view of the Earthly Realm based on Cheonji-seonggyeongsin (Sincerity, Reverence, and Faith of Heaven and Earth), and the view of the Human Realm based on Seongsa-jaein (Accomplishment of affairs lies with human beings). The Three Realms of Daesoon Thought interact based on the principle of Yeocheonjidong (Sharing the Same [Virtues] with Heaven and Earth) and, grounded in the Heaven-Earth relationship of the Earthly Paradise (Jiseon-cheonguk), establish a Heaven-human relationship of Cheonji-boeun (Grateful Reciprocation to Heaven and Earth) and an Earth-human relationship of Jiseon-sinseon (Earthly Immortals), realizing this through the Cheonji-gongsa (Reordering Works of Heaven and Earth) and spiritual cultivation (Sudo).

Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought both commonly present indigenous modernity by achieving liminality through the revitalization of correlative thinking. If Donghak Thought focused on short-term liminality and contributed to the entry into revitalization, Daesoon Thought revitalized Donghak Thought where it had failed, presenting Cham Donghak (True Eastern Learning). Consequently, Donghak Thought possesses the properties of indigenous modernity characterized by Jakran (Creating Disorder) and the liminality of Potae (Embryonic stage), while Daesoon Thought manifests the revitalization of indigenous modernity characterized by Chiran (Remedying Disorder) and the liminality of Gwanwang (Peak stage).

The correlative thinking of Donghak Thought, revitalized by Daesoon Thought, appears more concretely in Daesoon Thought's reconstruction of the views of Heaven, Earth, and Humankind. The correlative thinking of Daesoon Thought manifests as Eumyang-hapdeok (Virtuous Concordance of Yin and Yang), Samjae-hwakrip (Establishment of the Three Powers), and Ohaeng-gubi (Completion of the Five Elements). Unlike Donghak Thought, Daesoon Thought, in its view of the Heavenly Realm, establishes Mugeuk (Ultimate Nothingness) and Taegeuk (Supreme Ultimate) through the Tae-eul-ju (Tae-eul Mantra), achieving the Eumyang-hapdeok of the Ibeopcheon (Heaven of Principle) and the Ingyeokcheon (Personal Heaven), and re-establishes the celestial order (Cheonmun). It also reconstructs the geography of the Earth by re-establishing the Samsinsan (Three Divine Mountains), the Bumosan (Parent Mountains), the Sanwang (Mountain King), and the Haewang (Sea King). This connects to human beings,

correcting the bloodlines and, through Haewon (Resolution of Grievances), aligning the Hwanggeuksin (Spirit of the August Pole) and the Myeongbu (Spirit Realm), among other aspects of the Spirit Realm (Sinmyeong-gye).

If the liminality and revitalization of religious anthropology are incomplete rites of passage that might end merely as rituals, the rite of passage in Daesoon Thought, which combines politics and edification, is a rite of passage connected to actual practice, continuing uninterrupted to this day and linking to the substance of Daesoon Jinrihoe. This harmonizes with the synchronicity of Daoism, the process philosophy of Buddhism, the correlative thinking of Confucianism, etc., forming an indigenous modernity where Eastern and Western modernities are harmonized.

The indigenous modernity manifested in the two thoughts can be summarized in detail as follows. To the public today, modernity means 'secularization,' but to researchers of 'modernity,' modernity was rather the 'rearrangement of the sacred (Seong) and the secular (Sok),' that is, the strengthening of divinity (Sinseong) through liminality. Even Western modernity, a representative example of 'secularization' today, began with Calvin's predestination and Descartes' *Cogito ergo sum* (I think, therefore I am). The reason 'modernity' was the greatest change among the countless changes in human history is that modernity was initially, like Calvin or Descartes, a permanent and enormous change of the 'sacred and secular' spanning material and spiritual realms—that is, a strengthening of divinity. However, modernity, contrary to its original purpose, transformed into secularization emphasizing only the 'secular' (Sok), reaching a crisis where divinity is disappearing from the earth.

Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought have long been widely discussed individually in academia as East Asia's indigenous modernity in comparison to postmodern philosophy. However, existing discussions of indigenous modernity have not emphasized their shared Eastern origins with Western modernity. Furthermore, the two thoughts have not been comparatively studied in terms of the form and principles of indigenous modernity manifested in the concept of "Donghak" (Eastern Learning). This dissertation, based on the concept of multiple modernities as the 'rearrangement of the sacred and the secular,' compares the indigenous modernity achieved by the two thoughts in their views of Heaven, Earth, and Humankind using the Eastern philosophical method of correlative thinking, and aims to show the ideological value of the two thoughts more clearly.

Whether 'secularization' or the 'strengthening of divinity' through the 'rearrangement of the sacred and secular,' modernity manifests as political democratization, economic industrialization, and cultural diversification. In the case of Korea, which is almost unique among former colonized nations today in having achieved all three, there was an indigenous modernity not found in other countries. That is the Cheon-oe-cheon (Heaven beyond Heaven) thought, represented by Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought. The Cheon-oe-cheon thought was a response to the problem posed by Matteo Ricci before the imperialist invasions. Matteo Ricci criticized that the East Asian views of Heaven, Earth, and Humankind

had lost the personal divine characteristics of the Cheon-oe-cheon (Heaven beyond Heaven) due to an overemphasis on Ibeophwa (rationalization) which only highlighted the attributive characteristics of Heaven, Earth, and Humankind. In response, Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought respectively presented an indigenous rearrangement of the sacred (Seong) and the secular (Sok) as an answer, integrating the Eastern and Western views of Heaven, Earth, and Humankind through the concepts of the emergence of the Cheon-oe-cheon and the incarnation (Tangang) of Gucheon (Sangje). The Gucheon (Sangje) of the two thoughts, being a Cheon-oe-cheon based on correlative thinking, was able to integrate the strengths of the Eastern and Western views of Heaven, Earth, and Humankind.

As a detailed methodology for comparing these two indigenous modernities, this dissertation used three methodologies: the theory of correlative thought by A.C. Graham and others, the theory of liminality by Victor Turner, and the theory of revitalization movement by Anthony Wallace. The reason for applying all three theories simultaneously is that they work organically together in comparative research. First, the theory of correlative thought clearly shows the epistemological differences between Eastern and Western ways of thinking, thereby clarifying the difference between indigenous modernity and (Western) modernity. Second, the theory of liminality is effective in explaining the process of rearrangement in modernity, which is the 'rearrangement of the sacred and the secular,' and third, the theory of revitalization is useful for explaining the succession of tradition manifested in the rearrangement process.

If the Western thought's views of Heaven, Earth, and Humankind, which emphasize substance, are differentiating (Bunhwajeok), the Eastern thought's views of Heaven, Earth, and Humankind, which emphasize attributes, exhibit assimilative (Donghwajeok), condensing (Eungchukjeok), and grafting (Jeophwajeok) characteristics, respectively. In response, Donghak Thought attempted to integrate the East and West by presenting the view of Heaven of the transcendent Heaven, the subsequent Gihwa (Materialization/Spiritualization) of the Earth, and an Innaechon (Man is Heaven) view of Humankind. The Cheon-oe-cheon (Heaven beyond Heaven) of Donghak, which first appeared in the approximately 4,600-year history of East Asian civilization tracing its origins from the Yellow Emperor, caused a great sensation in Joseon society at the time and developed into a large-scale peasant movement. However, Donghak Thought, which failed to overcome the limitations of Confucianism, instead remained a great Jakran (Creating Disorder) and Dongran (Causing Turmoil).

In response, Daesoon Thought, under the premise of the Incarnation of Gucheon (the Highest Heaven), introduced the concept of the divine beings of Heaven and Earth (Cheonji-sinmyeong) and revitalized the views of Heaven, Earth, and Humankind presented by Donghak Thought. Daesoon Thought reinterpreted Donghak Thought with the religious principles of Haewon-sangsaeng (Resolution of Grievances for Mutual Beneficence) and Boeun-sangsaeng (Grateful Reciprocation of Favors for Mutual Beneficence), and built an indigenous modernity where Heaven, Earth, and divine beings (Sinmyeong) are combined Gihwaron (theory of materialization/spiritualization) through correlative thinking applicable even to everyday affairs.

In accordance with the principles of Daesoon Thought—Eumyang-hapdeok (Virtuous Concordance of Yin and Yang), Sin-in-johwa (Harmonious Union between Divine Beings and Human Beings), Haewon-sangsaeng (Resolution of Grievances for Mutual Beneficence), and Dotong-jingyeong (Perfected State of Unification with the Dao)—Daesoon Thought presented the views of Heaven, Earth, and Humankind of indigenous modernity, such as the Samgye (Three Realms), Hucheon (Later World), Sangsaeng (Mutual Beneficence), Sindo (Dao of Divine Beings), Jiseon-cheonguk (Earthly Paradise), and Jiseon-sinseon (Earthly Immortals).

Based on the discussions above, the value and significance of this study are as follows. First, this study presented the indigenous modernity of the two thoughts as an alternative modernity to contemporary Western modernity, which is in crisis. The discourse on the indigenous modernity of Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought is a minority discourse today, but it is the only remaining discourse on modernity based on East Asian correlative thinking in the world. In the history of philosophy, there have been many cases where minority discourses transformed into mainstream discourses during times of crisis. Especially today, when humanity contemplates extinction due to the lack of an alternative modernity for the total crisis of modernity, such as the climate crisis and nuclear threats, the indigenous modernity of Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought, as a discourse that integrates the strengths of ancient and modern, Eastern and Western views of Heaven, Earth, and Humankind through the liminality of correlative thinking, can present a practical alternative modernity in daily life.

Second, this dissertation presented the revitalization of correlative thinking as a solution for the stagnant growth of East Asian modernity. Over the past 150-plus years, East Asia, particularly the three countries of Korea, China, and Japan, which advocated the Sindo (Dao of Divine Beings) centering on Gucheon Sangje (Sangje of the Highest Heaven) and learned from Western modernity, has come to surpass the West economically. However, East Asia, finding nothing more to learn from the West, has now come to seek a new model for growth in its indigenous modernity. Accordingly, Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought, which have uniquely built indigenous modernity based on correlative thinking among the three East Asian countries, present a model to recover the lost modernity in East Asia. This is applicable not only to communities but also to individuals in East Asia suffering from identity confusion, enabling them to overcome the comparative terrestrialism-based culture of Western modernity and establish new survival strategies with indigenous modernity.

Third, this dissertation can contribute to a comparative philosophical understanding of Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought across all times and places. This study, which compares the indigenous modernity of the two thoughts with Western modernity focusing on the views of Heaven, Earth, and Humankind, facilitates an easier understanding of the inherent significance and value of the two thoughts. The characteristics of Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought are more easily understood through comparison with existing Eastern and Western thoughts and contemporary scientific thought.

Furthermore, the limitations of this study are as follows. First, this study focused on the correlative thinking aspect of the views of Heaven, Earth, and Humankind concerning indigenous modernity and thus did not sufficiently incorporate existing research on modernity. Modernity is a holistic phenomenon that has been studied in various fields beyond correlative thinking, including ecology. In the future, follow-up research on indigenous modernity is needed, based on the achievements of existing modernity studies.

Second, due to the extensive research scope of the views of Heaven, Earth, and Humankind, this study lacked detailed discussion. This study, which summarily compared the two thoughts focusing on research methodology, needs to be supplemented by interdisciplinary research.

Third, this study lacked an introduction to specific examples where the indigenous modernity of correlative thinking has been successfully implemented. For the indigenous modernity of correlative thinking to be actually applied as an alternative modernity, various application cases and research models are needed.

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ABSTRACT

Comparative Study on Indigenous Modernity of Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought

- Focusing on the Trinity of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity

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Today, the Eastern Learning (Donghak 東學) Peasant Movement is being re-evaluated as a modern movement comparable to the French Revolution, and Daesoon (大巡) Thought is attracting attention as a spontaneous ideology that can explain the changes in the modern world through the traditional Eastern thought. This dissertation centers on the concept of "donghak" as a method of thought in Eastern

philosophy and aims to demonstrate that the two systems of thought (Donghak and Daesoon) both built East Asia's indigenous modernity through the reconstruction of trinitarian cosmology of Heaven, Earth and Humankind.

Donghak and Daesoon thought have been widely discussed separately as East Asia's indigenous modernity in comparison to postmodern philosophy. However, existing discussions of indigenous modernity have not emphasized their shared Eastern origins with Western modernity.

Furthermore, the two ideologies have not been studied in relation to each other in terms of the overarching Eastern philosophical system of thought manifested in the concept of “Donghak.” Based on the concept of multiple modernities as the “rearrangement of the sacred and the secular,” this dissertation compares the self-generated modernity of the Heavenly, Earthly, and Human views through the Eastern philosophical method of correlative thinking and aims to show the value of the two ideas more clearly.

As a detailed methodological approach to the comparison, this dissertation draws on three anthropological approaches to religion: A.C. Graham's theory of correlative thought, Victor Turner's theory of liminality, and Anthony Wallace's theory of revitalization movements. The reason for applying all three theories simultaneously is that they work well together in a comparative study. First, the correlative theory of thought clarifies the epistemological differences between Eastern and Western ways of thinking, thus clarifying the difference between indigenous modernity and modernity. Second, the theory of liminality is valid for explaining the process of relocation in modernity, which is the relocation of sacred rituals, and third, the theory of revitalization is useful for explaining the inheritance of tradition in the process of relocation.

The indigenous modernity of Donghak and Daesoon Thought began as a response to a problem posed by Matteo Ricci, a Jesuit priest on a mission in the East prior to European imperialist invasions. Matteo Ricci criticized the East Asian view of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity as overemphasizing rationalization, which emphasized only the attributes of Heaven and Earth, while lacking the personal divine qualities of Heaven and Earth. In response, Donghak Thought and Daesoon Thought proposed a reorganization of the sacred and the secular that integrated the Eastern and Western views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity through concepts of the emergence of an external Heaven and a human avatar of the transcendent Heaven. Based on correlative reasoning, the transcendental Heaven envisioned by these two systems of thought was able to integrate the best aspects of the Eastern and Western views of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity.

Whereas the Western view of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, which emphasizes substance, has those entities as differentiated, the Eastern Trinitarian Cosmology of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, which emphasizes attributes, has them as assimilative, condensed, and grafted. In response, Donghak Thought attempted to unite the East and West by proposing the transcendent view of Heaven, the subsequent materialization of Earth, and an anthropocentric view of Humanity as co-equal to Heaven. First appearing in the 4,617-year history of civilization in East Asia, which traces its origins to the Yellow Emperor (黄帝),

Donghak's view of Heaven and Earth resonated with the Joseon society and developed into a large-scale peasant movement. However, because it failed to overcome the limitations of Confucianism, the idea of Donghak eventually lost favor and became a disruptive and tumultuous movement.

In response, Daesoon Thought rediscovered the functions of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity latent in Eastern thought by combining the concepts of Heaven, Earth, and Divinity in a materialization theory under the premise of divine incarnation via a human body and the principle that divine beings and human beings are interdependent. The functions of the external Heaven and divine beings latent in Eastern thought were rediscovered through the concept of mutual guidance between divine beings and human beings, and the realms of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity from the perspective of external Heaven, was reactivated as Donghak Thought failed to realize these notions due to the limitations of Confucianism under which they operated. Daesoon Thought redefined Donghak Thought through the doctrines of Haewon Sangsaeng (the Resolution of Grievances for Mutual Beneficence) and Boeun Sangsaeng (the Grateful Reciprocation of Favors for Mutual Beneficence), and built a indigenous modernity that combined correlative reason among Heaven, Earth, and divine beings that could be applied to everyday phenomena. In accordance with the Daesoon Thought's tenets of Virtuous Concordance of Yin and Yang, Harmonious Union between Divine Beings and Human Beings, Resolution of Grievances for Mutual Beneficence, and Perfected State of Unification with the Dao, Daesoon Thought presented a new indigenous modernity that is in harmony with correlative ideas such as the Three Realms (三界 samgye) of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, the Later World, Mutual Beneficence, the Dao of gods, the earthly paradise, and earthly immortality, and presented Trinitarian Cosmology of Heaven, Earth and Humanity as the True Eastern Learning (Chamdonghak).

Keywords: Indigenous Modernity, Eastern Learning (Donghak 東學), True Eastern Learning (Chamdonghak), Daesoon (大巡) Thought, Trinity Of Heaven, Earth And Humanity, Correlational Thought, Liminality, Revitalization, Materialization Theory, Principle that Spiritual Beings and Human Beings are Interdependent (神人依導), Disruption(作亂), Alleviation(治亂)