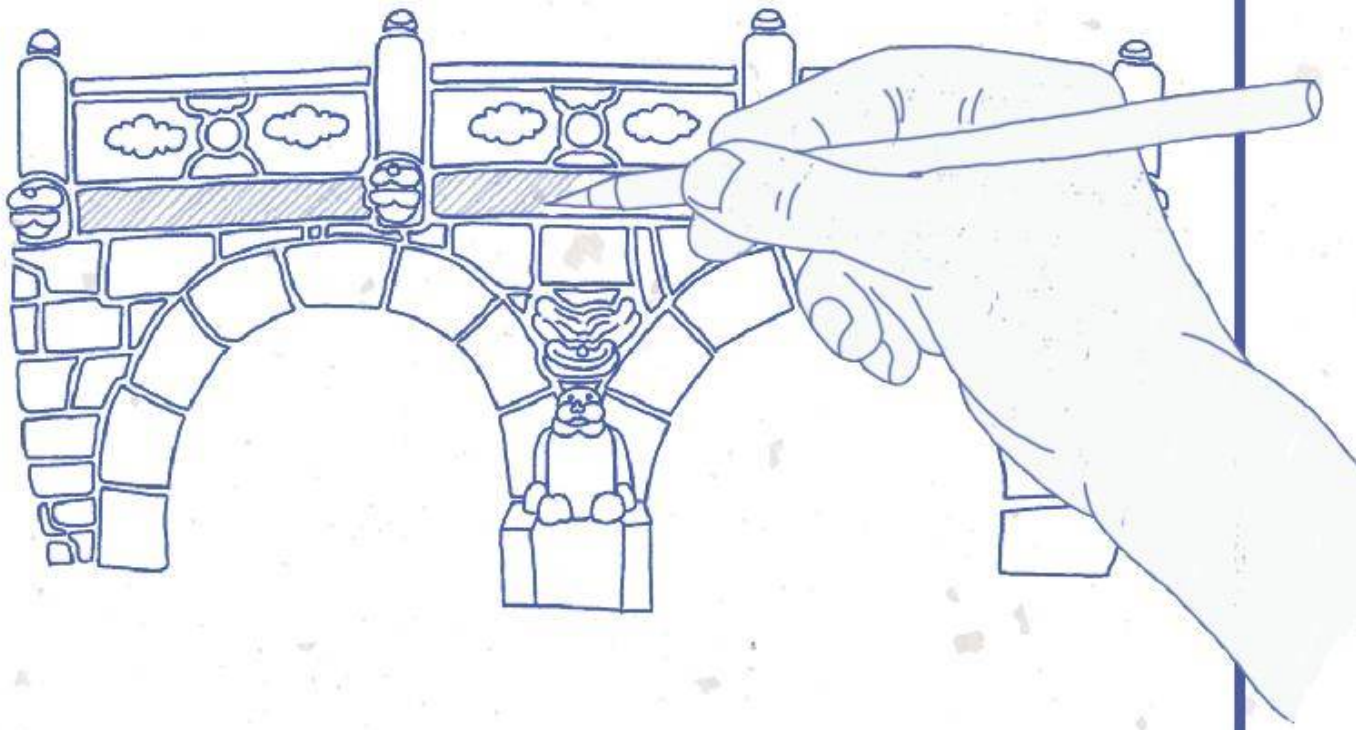


# GUIDE-BOOK



## 유럽에서의 한국 철학

K-Academic Expansion Center

Year. 01



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# 강좌개괄

<b>강좌명</b>	유럽에서의 한국철학	<b>교수자</b>	이지벨 산초 등
<b>수강대상</b>	국내외 (전공) 대학생, 일반인, 전공 연구자	<b>운영조교</b>	
<b>강좌분야</b>	인문	<b>난이도</b>	전공기초

<b>강좌개요</b>	유럽에서 한국 철학을 연구하고 있는 연구자들의 한국 철학에 대한 인식과 이해를 공유하고, 한국 철학의 세계화 방향을 모색합니다.
<b>학습목표</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. 조선 유학을 중심으로 유럽 학자들의 한국 철학에 대한 이해와 관점을 공부합니다.</li> <li>2. 조선 유학의 대략을 우주론, 예론, 교육 제도, 관료 생활 등을 통해 이해합니다.</li> <li>3. 조선 유학자들의 중요한 도덕적 문제의식을 탐색합니다.</li> <li>4. 북한의 조선철학사 서술의 특징을 공부하고 한국과 비교합니다.</li> </ol>

강좌주제		주요내용
1주차	General overview about Korean Confucianism	조선 유학의 사유 체계에 대한 구조적인 이해
2주차	Confucianism and Cosmology	유학의 우주론과 조선 성리학에서의 적용
3주차	Confucianism and Ritualism	예(禮)에 대한 유학의 담론들
4주차	Instruction and evaluation: Ganghak practice in Joseon dynasty	조선에서 유학이 교육되고 전수되었던 ‘강학’이라는 방법과 그 독특한 특징
5주차	Theories and ideas on social participation and moral obligation in Confucianism	학자이면서 정치·행정가이자 교육자였던 조선 유학자들의 삶에 대한 탐색
6주차	Confucian education in the local setting: Hyanggyo and their curricula	성균관과 향교의 커리큘럼을 통해 본 조선의 교육제도
7주차	The transmission of the Way in Confucianism	유교의 도통관과 조선 성리학자들의 재구성
8주차	Individuals in Confucianism	유학의 공동체주의와 개인
9주차	Confucianism studies in North Korea	북한에서 조선철학사를 서술해 온 방법과 배경
10주차	Disengaging scholars from public service in early Joseon part.1	의리와 충절을 드러내는 방식으로 ‘물러남’의 삶 1
11주차	Disengaging scholars from public service in early Joseon part.2	의리와 충절을 드러내는 방식으로 ‘물러남’의 삶 2

<b>학습인정시간</b>	30시간	<b>강좌운영시간</b>	12시간 40분
<b>이수/평가정보</b>	<b>60점 이상</b> 퀴즈 60점 (단답형 46문항, 약술형 14문항) / 기말고사 40점		

## 1 주 차 강 좌 운 영 방 안

<b>강좌주제</b>	General overview about Korean Confucianism	<b>교수자</b>	Isabelle Sandho
<b>학습목표</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Understanding the meaning of Confucianism in Korean in the past and the present</li> <li>2. Classifying the aspects of negative views on Confucianism in both South and North Korea</li> <li>3. Understanding the explanations of the economic developments in Asia associated with Confucianism</li> <li>4. Understanding the views on Confucianism in the era of Japanese colonization</li> <li>5. Analyzing the Neo-Confucianism as a national ideology in the Joseon dynasty</li> </ol>		
<b>핵심어</b>	Confucianism, Neo-Confucianism, Confucian capitalism		
<b>주요흐름</b>	Professor Isabelle Sancho talks about the general images of Confucianism especially in modern both South and North Korea and also in the Western hemisphere. And she explains the general history of Korean Confucianism and why we need to focus on the cosmology of Confucianism.		
<b>읽기자료</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. 이형성, 「타카하시 토오루의 조선유학사 서술의 문제점」, 『대동철학』 55, 2011.</li> <li>2. 이을호, 『한국철학사 총설』, 제1장 한국철학의 특징과 과제, 2015.</li> <li>3. Lee Seung-hwan, “Continuity and Discontinuity of Traditional and Modern Philosophy in Korea”, <i>Anthology of Korean Studies Vol VI: Korean Philosophy</i>, 2004.</li> </ol>		
<b>기타학습요소</b>	단답형 퀴즈와 약술형 퀴즈를 각각 2문항과 6문항 배치함		

### 기타학습요소 운영계획

#### Quiz

1. What was the name which shows well the negative image of the combination of Confucianism and Joseon, old Korean dynasty? (Hell Joseon)
2. What was the class name what the North Korea pointed as oppressive elites? (Yangban)
3. What were the meaning of the names of Neo-Confucianism in Korea?
  - 3-1. Seonglihak: The learning of human nature and principle
  - 3-2. Dohak: The learning of the Way
  - 3-3. Simhak: The learning of the heart/mind
  - 3-4. Jehak: The learning for the ruler
  - 3-5. Kihak: The learning of vital energy
  - 3-6: Silhak: The practice-oriented learning

## 강좌내용

Hi, I'm Isabelle Sancho, I'm a researcher from the French National Research Center I'm happy to try to introduce you to some of the key notions of the Korean Confucianism.

So my aim is to give you a general overview about Confucianism in order to understand Korean culture and history, and, more precisely, how to study Korean Confucianism.

In my lectures, I'd like to make an introduction for you to Confucianism and maybe help you to better understand Korean history and culture.

After explaining some of the aspects, and perceptions of Confucianism related to Korean history, and society I'd like to address three topics that are usually not understood, or misunderstood, or overlooked.

The first one concerns cosmology, the second one concerns ritualism, and the last one will concern individuals in Confucian thought.

So, what is Confucianism? Confucianism is usually a catch-all word, it explains almost everything and its opposite in Korea: culture, mindsets, social practices, politics, economy, legal provisions, gender imbalance, etc.

But also, it explains everything, past and present, and even on both sides of the 38th parallel.

The reason is that Confucianism is associated with the "past" in a generic sense, when one wants to refer to the past without thinking about any specific period of history (premodern Korea, if you will).

So, the past is associated with Confucianism.

A common idea prevailing in both general audience and academia consists in saying that Confucianism was the state ideology or the orthodoxy of Joseon Korea.

This idea is rooted in one strong belief that the reception of Confucianism in Korea was the major shift in Korean history and society, a shift that radically affected and transformed the society, culture, and ultimately the fate of the country.

So one might argue that it goes the same with China.

Confucianism is indeed often associated with what is seen as the systemic model of Chinese "empire" and imperial institutions, politics and culture defining the Chinese past taken as a whole.

But for Korea, the imprints of Confucianism are generally regarded as stronger.

I'd like to cite Professor Keum Jangtae, first two sentences of his preface to 한국유교사상사, the History of Korean Confucianism, that was published in 2002, because it's quite enlightening.

So, I'll first read in Korean and then suggest an English translation.

So it reads as follow: 유교는 한국민족이 성장해 오는 과정에서 역사시대 이전부터 오늘에 이르기까지 가장 깊이 스며들어 있고, 가장 넓게 퍼졌으며, 가장 강하게 작용하였던 이념과 규범과 행동양식을 제공해 왔다.

우리 민족의 생명에서 뼈에 박혀 있고, 살에 녹아 있으며, 피 속으로 흐르고 있는 것이다.

Which can be translated into, "Confucianism has provided the most deeply permeated, widespread, and strongest ideologies, norms, and patterns of behavior from before the historical period to today in the process of the Korean people's growth.

It is embedded in the bones of our people's lives, melted in the flesh, and flowing into the blood." Beyond this evocative and almost solemn statement, but also emotional view of Korean national spirit(민족정신), that is illustrative of the stance taken by scholars from a certain generation in South Korea, it is worth underlying that the introduction of Confucianism in Korea is generally regarded as the major shift that happened in Korean history and society, a radical shift in culture and mindsets, and this view is expressed both from the inside by the

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Koreans but also from the outside.

And this can be seen also in the common use of the now set expression that is often used in academic writings in English, the “Confucianization of Korea” after Martina Deuchler’s seminal work or, sometimes, the Koreanization of Korea (유교의 한국화).

But this view is also related to another common understanding of Korean history, an established argument, that Joseon state (or the Yi dynasty) was more Confucian than its Chinese counterparts (that is the Ming and Qing dynasties).

But all that said, one striking feature, telling much about Korean ambivalent view on its own past, as we will see later, but also explaining a major difference with the Chinese case is that, in Korea, Confucianism is overwhelmingly perceived as something negative and retrograde.

Even if you think about the 유행어, an expression invoked recently about the “Hell Joseon” “Hell Joseon” is supposed to represent everything bad in society, and the underlying idea is that it's coming from the past, from Joseon time, and, mostly, from Confucianism.

There are many plausible explanations for that.

One explanation, the first one, is a form of paradigm shift between premodern, modern, and contemporary views on what is history.

By this, I am referring to what a French historian, François Hartog, has called the different “regimes of historicity” in premodern, modern, and contemporary times.

They designate the ways in which the relationship between past, present, and future was understood and envisioned at certain moments of crisis in history.

So in the case of Korea, it might be said that the shift between a premodern regime of historicity, which valued the past over the present and the future, happened right before, during, and right after the colonization by Japan.

A second explanation as to why Confucianism is assessed negatively is related to the first one. It lies in the imperialist, colonialist -orientalist, if you will- stance in the history writing of East-Asia and, within what is sometimes called the “Sinitic sphere of influence,” the history writing of Korea.

One major feature of Korean history, seen from the perspective of global history, is its remarkable and unparalleled institutional stability over a millennium running roughly from Goryeo, even Unified Silla, to the end of Joseon.

And, the reason explaining the fall of the Yi dynasty, the unprecedented disruption in this seemingly perfect historical trajectory, that led to the shameful and painful colonization, but also the following civil war in the “long” Korean 20th century is, paradoxically, the very same ideology that explained the continuity of Korean trajectory, that is to say, Confucianism.

A third explanation, also related to the previous one, is to be found in the difficulties to understand Confucianism as a historical phenomenon, that is to say a phenomenon depending on evolving, polymorphous time and place, showing both continuity or/and, conversely, changes and disruptions.

This difficulty is related to the strong reluctance of modern, influent, intellectuals and historians to truly see Confucianism “in history,” or as part of the very making of history.

This is certainly due to what we could call an Orientalist tendency to define Confucianism as an object, an idea, a reified “ism” deprived of history.

But one should acknowledge that this last point is related to a true tricky methodological problem in historiography.

To understand this, it should be reminded the importance, in historiography and humanities

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and social sciences in general, of the 20th century contempt for what was called “The old intellectual and political history made by great men or big ideas,” under the influence, among other intellectual trends, of Marxist historiography and historical materialism.

According to basic Marxist view, Confucianism represents the superstructure that is to say the set of ideas and institutions, that could define or that defines premodern Korea, and the infrastructures were identified, of course, in class struggles.

So, to sum up, Confucianism, and more precisely Neo-Confucianism, has been commonly regarded as the "dominant ideology" of Joseon period in a Marxist sense; which explains why Confucianism ended up designating, basically, a mechanism of state control.

When considered as an essentialized “ism,” an ideology like this, the very word of Confucianism inevitably generates a polarizing dialogue between those who criticize it and those who advocate it, sometimes fiercely.

Let's talk about negative evaluations.

So let's get started by alluding first to North Korea, where Confucianism is regarded as consubstantial with the Ri dynasty (Rijo 리조) Confucianism is, in North Korea, the mark of the degenerate feudalistic state of Korea before the introduction and advent of communism.

Confucianism is the ideology of oppressive elite, and illustrates the backwardness of premodern Korea that could not take the path of historical progress driven by the masses of the people.

One interesting remark (a side note, if you will) to make here is that this North-Korean communist, view takes, in fact, root in the intellectual debates of the late 19th and early 20th centuries Korea that were not all marked by communist ideas.

A good example of this is certainly Shin Chaeho, the emblematic nationalist scholar and public intellectual, who figures among the most famous -and certainly most vocal anti-Confucianists in Korean history.

Also, in the same vein, there is a certain irony in the case of North Korea, since outsiders' common view on DPRK is at the very opposite of what North Korea says about itself.

More than often, you will find opinions (be they informed or not) asserting that the North Korean regime is ruled by a Confucian-like dynasty that maintains its authority by stressing supposedly “Confucian” virtues of loyalty to the leader and sacrifice of the self for the benefice of the larger community.

Even the Juche ideology(주체사상), which is a source of pride and a strong feature of its own identity for North Korea, is sometimes regarded as related to Confucianism and explained in a culturalist argumentation.

Indeed, journalists (and scholars alike sometimes) identify the main difference of North Korean ideology with Marxism-Leninism in what they see as cultural and ideological characteristics of the Joseon period, that is to say, the Confucian legacy of premodern Korea.

If we now turn to the South Korean case, it is often said that Confucianism must be blamed for producing and maintaining, first, rigid social hierarchy, second, gender inequality, and third, oppressive corporate culture.

To put it in a nutshell, Confucianism is seen as the Korean avatar of patriarchy mixed with authoritarian regime, social discrimination, male chauvinism, and military culture plaguing South Korean society and culture.

But the area that raises the most heated and most passionate debates in South Korea, but also outside of Korea, when talking of Confucianism is, without any doubt, the relationship between Confucianism and women.

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The World Economic Forum ranks South Korea very very low in terms of gender equality and Confucianism is often summoned to explain this significant gender bias and all abuses on women.

There is a long history of South Korean feminists opposing and confronting Confucians, the so-called yurim 유림, and vice versa.

And there were many confrontations that you can see in many demonstrations in the streets and those confrontations -sometimes violent- have been featured in the media.

More recently, in a context in which the powerful and dynamic MeToo movement has developed in South Korea and attracted, in turn, much interest for Korean society outside of Korea, the recurring and massive sexual misconducts against women in a male-dominant society have been heavily featured in social media and the press.

Accusations were made constantly against theater directors, prosecutors, university professors, Catholic priests, politicians, stars from the entertainment industry.

In such a context, the argument attributing troubles to Confucianism are not few.

I remember reading somewhere that K-pop was even regarded as a Neo-Confucian pornography.

The second major area where Confucianism is used as a culturalist explanation concerns the question of capitalism and, more precisely, Asian capitalism.

Indeed, when South Korean economy and capitalism are discussed, it is not infrequent that economy specialists cite the supposed Confucian despise for economy, wealth, technical and scientific progress as an argument.

In the same way, the supposed "isolationist" position of Korea, related to the cliché of the "hermit kingdom," is often considered as a natural result of the orthodox Neo-Confucian state of Joseon.

Besides, after what South Koreans usually name the "IMF crisis" in the late 1990s, the so-called "Asian values" (basically understood as a form of blind respect for authority influenced by Confucianism or self-development through education also attributed to Confucianism) were given as ready-made, simple, explanations for the economic crisis that shook South Korea.

It is maybe worth reminding and explaining that, in the specific context of that time, scholarly debates revolved around the theory of the "capitalist development state." This concept still used by economists was first applied to Japan and then extended to South Korea and Taiwan.

This theory of Asian development state focuses on state interventionism into business and is interested in the role of culture in economy.

After this quick survey of the negative evaluations of Confucianism applied to Korea, it's maybe worth citing now, very quickly as well, some of the positive evaluations, in order to have a broader and fair view on the topic, since Confucianism also has its advocates.

The first topic that comes to mind immediately, especially seen from abroad, is education.

South Korea has a very impressive literacy and obsession with higher education and this aspect of South Korean society is often linked to Confucianism.

A second area is general ethics and social behavior (this is also seen from abroad).

So, ideas and conducts like filial piety, respect for the elderly, the importance of family, but also a sense of self-sacrifice and individual efforts to attain a goal are attributed to Confucianism.

Interestingly (or paradoxically), almost every single culturalist argument that was using Confucianism to explain and denounce problems and dysfunctionings in Korean society and

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economy can be used the other way around and build positive views of Confucianism for a modern world.

Just to go back briefly to the problem of capitalism, I'd like to remind you of the concept of "Confucian capitalism." This expression was used by Samuel Huntington, in his very famous work published in 1996, and entitled, the Clash of civilization and the Remaking of World Order.

I would also like to cite the notion of "Asian economic development model" that was elaborated at the end of the 20th century.

These ideas provided explanations for the economical success of the Four Asian dragons (South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore).

Furthermore, this Asian development model was widely discussed and spread in journals of international policy and economy by journalists and scholars, after the theories proposed by US-based intellectuals.

I'm thinking especially of some Chinese American academics, like Tu Weiming (a professor at Harvard University) and his supporters that were called collectively the "New Confucianism movement" or the "Boston Confucianism." Today, after the economic recovery from the IMF crisis, the Asian values are seen positively.

They are put in the forefront of the "Korean economical development path" by some influential New Right people in South Korea, like Yu Seokchoon and Ham Jaebong, who advocate for the Korean "affective networks" or "ascriptive associations" (연고집단 緣故集團) and state interventionism that, they believe, are subsumed under the Confucian ethos.

Another topic concerns what was called the "seeds of modernity." In the 1960's South Korean historians developed the "interval development theory" (내재적 발전론).

They took a model on the post-colonial, Marxist, Japanese scholarship and identified the "seeds" of Korean "lost modernity" in the Silhak Confucian school.

By "lost modernity," I'm of course referring here to the book by Alexander Woodside, Lost Modernities: China, Vietnam, Korea, and the Hazards of World History, published in 2006.

These South Korean historians were looking for the sprouts of what they call the theory of "the capitalism in gestation," an unborn capitalism that already existed, inchoately though (자본주의 맹아론).

It is important to note here that the term Silhak (실학 實學) is a by-product of the "invention of tradition" in Korea.

This invented tradition has been leading, in recent decades, to fetishize the 18th century, for instance, and some of its most prominent historical figures, like Dasan Jeong Yagyong or King Jeongjo.

It also led to dichotomize an orthodox/bad/conservative Neo-Confucianism on the one hand, and a "good" Silhak school on the other hand.

Although this Silhak school is certainly of Confucian obedience, it is generally considered as a subversive trend.

As such, it is hence believed to provide today a sort of moral backing to the original, pure, and "genuine" Confucianism, that is considered as unsoiled by any compromise with government and real exercise of power.

This moral backing provided by the Silhak school also saves the Joseon dynasty from the historical shame in which it was relegated, and it is expected to prove the Korean native developmental capability, without resorting to any foreign involvement.

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The other topic that could be used in the other way around concerns women.

So, paradoxically, some South Korean scholars tried hard to provide a more nuanced view about Joseon Korea.

So, there were many studies focusing on the empowerment of women at home and in family circles.

Filial piety was studied as a stronger element than gender inequality; powerful mothers were put forward; the literacy and education of upper-class women were also much researched.

Another aspect is what we could call the “Confucian feminism,” illustrated notably by professor Choe Yeongjin 최영진, who tried to explain to the general audience that, even though Confucian texts don't show a real interest (or concern) for women per se, it doesn't mean that it's not compatible with feminism or the defense of the female condition.

But one might ask, what is Confucianism? What does this word designate? Is it (usually what students are asking is: “is it a religion?”) Is it a philosophy? Is it an ideology? A tradition maybe? Or a wisdom? Definitely, we can say that it's a question-begging object, raising multiple problems of definitions, method, and value judgment as well.

All this contributes to create some confusion around the word Confucianism and it happens quite often that the people, even when delivering academic speeches, talk about “Confusionism” instead of Confucianism, so it's bringing a lot of confusion.

In order to understand why it's so difficult to understand what the very word of Confucianism designates, maybe we should try to first understand what this word connotes, what ideas, images, and notions the word conjures up.

At this stage, I'd like to make a few remarks about the terminology and trace, roughly, the genealogy of the mainstream, modern, perception of Confucianism.

The word Confucianism is a Western neologism, a new label with an “-ism” created after the name of Confucius, that is to say, Master Kong (Kongja 공자 in Korean), and it comes from the Western pronunciation given by European Jesuits sent in mission into China.

So, it's the same as for Buddha that gives Buddhism, and most importantly, the same as Christianity, which was formed on the word Christ, the other name of Jesus.

So maybe we also need to make a brief stop now, to talk about a specific period of time in our description.

In the 17th century, a very significant controversy happened in Europe surrounding the problem of the “religion” of China, as stated by Matteo Ricci, and Confucianism was quoted among the “Three Chinese religions”.

This controversy was called the “Rites Controversy” and was focused on a tricky theological problem.

The basic questioning was about to answer the question: “Is Confucianism a religion, in a same sense as Christianity, or is it a superstition?” This problem evolved around two different sets of questions that could be summed up by, first, “The Term Question,” which is about the name of God -naming God- and, second, the practice of what was called the ‘superstitious’ rituals for Christian believers in China.

The problem came from the fact that most of the Jesuits followed Ricci's position, which was a position of accommodation, but mendicant orders did not follow his position.

Ricci's view was that ancient Confucianism was, in fact, a form of monotheism, an unfinished form of monotheism (if you will).

So, it's in such a context that the first translations of Confucian texts were carried out by

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Jesuits and it was what might be said the birth of sinology.

So, the text that were translated were, first, the Analects of Confucius, the Doctrine of the Mean, and the Great Learning, and what is interesting is that all those texts are, in fact, Neo-Confucian texts.

Besides, a publication dated from 1683 started attracting much attention from the 18th century on, among European intellectuals.

It was a collective work called Confucius, Sinarum Philosophus (Confucius, a Chinese Philosopher).

An Example of this interest is illustrated by Leibniz who, in his Discourse on the Natural Theology of the Chinese, dated from 1716, supported the Jesuits in the Rites Controversy.

He considered Confucianism as a form of theism and expressed admiration for what he called the “naturalism” of Confucian metaphysics, especially the sort of Zhu Xi (주자) At the pre-Enlightenment and Enlightenment periods in Europe, some thinkers expressed even stronger admiration for Confucianism.

They did so for a specific reason matching a need of their own time and place.

The depiction of Confucianism made by missionaries was helpful for their own ideological and political agenda, since it basically could be turned into a powerful anti-clerical weapon.

The central issue was notably stated by Voltaire: Confucianism, as a “civil teaching,” could offer a model of emulation to get rid of religion, Christianity, and Catholicism.

European intellectuals' view was that the religion (theism, God-nature, Heaven of China) was the proof that there was no need of Christian revelation and faith in Jesus Christ in order to be morally upright people, which, naturally, logically, meant that there was no connection between religion and morality ; which is quite paradoxical, because the missionaries' main aim was, primarily, to convince that Confucians (Chinese) were potential converts, for they were ethically reasonable people who only needed the message of the Christian revelation in order to achieve European standards of religious life.

But that's history.

The 17th century religious controversy had long-lasting consequences that can still be felt and noticed today.

Confucianism taken as a religion or, conversely, as a moral philosophy became a topic of debates among major intellectuals but, generally speaking, their views very strongly negative, from Montesquieu, Adam Smith and Hegel from the 18th century to Russell and Max Weber, for example, in the 20th century.

So why should we (or you) care about it? Because of history and its legacy, because of Korean history.

Another turning point, one could almost say a true trauma, in Korean history is Japanese colonial period.

While justifying its colonial project and implementing it, Japan formulated a viewpoint on Korea and Confucianism, and this view was much embedded in Western views.

So, for Japan, what was at stakes was what was called the Confucian cultural sphere, so it was about the definition, contours and limitations of the influence of Sinitic civilization.

The main question was to ask to which degree it is justified to include Japan in this Sinitic sphere, which raised heated debates in Japan.

During the Meiji restoration, Japan's desire to assert its own autonomy from Chinese civilization and extricate itself from Chinese learning and China centered East Asian world order was

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prevailing.

The aim was to be part of the modern world order, as defined by Western powers (datsu-A nyû-Ô).

In this context, ideas of civilization and culture emerged with the creation of a global world order, which was no longer the Chinese tributary system after the Sino-Japanese war, and this was related to the power struggles within that system and Japan wanted its own "civilization." Opposing views developed regarding relationship between Confucianism and Japanese civilization.

Modernist and Orientalist views on Confucianism in Japan state that medieval, Neo-Confucian orthodoxy has to be identified with the Tokugawa regime that was negated by Edo-period precursors of "modern" forms of thought.

It's the view expressed by specialists of "national"/native/Japanese studies (kogaku), ancient learning and kokugaku/"national learning" thinkers.

Meiji conception of Japanese history as having its own indigenous momentum toward modernity and progress that distinguished Japan from the static and cyclical pattern of continental history was the main question.

So, ultimately, this enabled Japan to claim for a kind of equality of historical destiny with advanced nations of the West.

The creation of the Han'guk'ak 한국학 (the Korean studies) or National Studies (kug'ak 국학) dates back to the colonial period.

It was mainly initiated by Japanese scholars taking part in the bunmei kaika movement, the Westernization from the Meiji era.

These scholars were inspired by the German- that is to say the Prussian- model.

And which explained the Korean essential "backwardness" by the adherence to Confucianism and the subsequent servility towards China that Confucianism is supposed to imply.

The still dominant historiography of Confucianism, reducing Korean Neo-Confucianism to opposing schools (or factions) and endless Byzantine debates, is also heavily tributary to the colonial scholarship, especially the works written in the 1920's by famous Japanese scholars, like Takahashi Tooru.

Korean successors of these Japanese specialists, like Jhang Jiyeon or Hyeon Sangyun pursued in the same vein.

Their scholarship is now, despite their contribution, considered as debatable and they are criticized, for it is said and believed that they were mostly driven by a colonialist agenda.

As for the word Neo-Confucianism (which is different from "Confucianism"), it is a term created by Arthur David Waley who retranslated the Analects of Confucius with the purpose of finding the original meaning of the text without the interpretation of Zhu Xi.

For him, Zhu Xi was a "Neo-Confucian" and his reading of Confucius' emblematic work was altering the original meaning of Confucius.

So, he took a historical approach of the Analects and centered his study of Confucius and Confucianism on the Analects, without Zhu Xi's commentary, which was orthodox.

This neologism, Neo-Confucianism, is interesting though, for it enables to draw a tempting comparison with European Renaissance and what were -and are still called- the "neo-Latin" studies.

Just like the Renaissance period, Song China was indeed the stage of deep social, political, economical, technical, and intellectual changes that led to a renewal of Confucianism,

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stimulated by Buddhism and Daoism, but also by its own developments.

This form of a rejuvenated Confucianism was characterized by a call to "get back to the source," that is to say to the Confucian Way, the Confucian Dao 道.

Neo-Confucianism hence came to designate, in Western languages, the new version of Confucianism that developed starting from the 9th in China and spread through all East-Asia (China, Korea, Vietnam, and Japan).

Qualified as heterodox and banned at its beginning in Song China, this Neo-Confucianism finally gained the status of the "orthodox learning" under the Mongol rule of Yuan dynasty over China and Korea and it was associated until the dawn of the 20th century with the well-known state examinations and institutions of pre-modern East-Asian states.

But, interestingly enough, this Western term of Neo-Confucianism embraces in fact a very wide range of schools, tendencies, and phenomena that are designated by many, many different terms in East-Asian languages.

The most common ones in Korean are Seonglihak (the Learning of Human nature and Principle), Dohak (The Learning of the Way), but there are also Simhak (Learning of the heart/mind), Jehak (The Learning for the ruler), Kihak (Learning of Vital Energy), and even Silhak (practice-oriented Learning).

As for Confucianism in a generic sense, it is called quite often yugyo 유교 or yuhak 유학, depending on what aspect has to be underlined.

The term "Jeongjuhak" (정주학) or "Jujahak" (주자학) are also used in Korea for "Neo-Confucianism," but they specifically refer to the orthodoxy and the teachings of either the Cheng brothers or Zhu Xi taken together, or that of Zhu Xi alone (Zhu Xi who was the great Neo-Confucian master who systematized the Confucian Way in a Song China).

In Korea, Confucianism started to really play a crucial role in all aspects of society, culture, and mindsets after the rather long-lasting reception of the Neo-Confucianism that was transmitted from Song dynasty China, but mostly during the Yuan dynasty.

This means that the Korean reception was much tributary to the features of that Song Neo-Confucianism that was "digested" and summarized during the Mongol dynasty.

The version of Neo-Confucianism received in Korea was strongly didactical and explains many characteristics of the Korean actual practice and understanding of Neo-Confucianism.

So, Confucianism or Neo-Confucianism are controversial topics and they are question-begging objects.

They are somehow a "trouble" to borrow the title of William Theodore de Bary, the sinologist's book, which was titled The Trouble with Confucianism and published in 1991.

So I'd like to read, briefly, a quotation from his preface, where he says: "This title [The Trouble with Confucianism] is meant to include the different kinds of trouble Confucianism either fell into, made for itself, or created for others.

In my view, as a way of life and a continuing discourse, Confucianism was a problematical enterprise from its inception, and, as it responded to the challenges of each age, addressing some perhaps better than others, it had both successes and failures.

Looked at in this way, the good and bad points of Confucianism tend to go together.

Rather than thinking of them as fixed points in a static system, we might better view them as mirroring each other in a convoluted historical process, as constants and continuities in the midst of discontinuities and difficulties.

Further, if we think of "trouble" as what was wrong and went wrong with Confucianism, our

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first consideration must be to ask, "But what measure?" My answer is that any failure should, in the first instance, be judged by the standards and goals Confucians put before themselves. Simply to establish such criteria will be more of a task than most of us have realized, but it takes priority over any other historical judgment we might hope to render." So, De Bary's view raises the following question, "What were the standards and goals Confucians put before themselves?" Instead of assessing Confucianism, our aim, our priority as scholars, students, should be to try to keep both the view from the inside, what anthropology calls the emic view, and the view from the outside, the etic view.

So, what is important to understand and stress is that Confucianism is both a process and a project.

Confucianism is humanism as Herbert Fingarette said, paraphrasing Jean-Paul Sartre about existentialism, because the key concept in Confucianism is certainly the notion of Ren 仁 in Chinese and In in Korean, meaning the sense of humanness, humankind even.

Confucianism, also, is a holist worldview, where the world is seen as a continuum, a continuous whole, and it's also a commitment, a mission.

And lastly, as the Confucians themselves say, it's a Do (道), it's a path, it's a road, it's a way. So basically, it's about how human beings can become truly human, and it's an ethical question.

So, I said that it was a process, because Confucianism has been deployed in history, but it's also a project for the Confucians themselves.

It's a project for society, and, beyond that, for humankind.

The Confucian project might be summed up in the notion of Gyo (교 教), which is used in the word Gyohwa (교화 教化), which means "civilizing" and which is related to the notion of Munhwa (문화文化), as well as "culture" or, even, "civilization." So, it's a civilizing project, a universal claim that crosses boundaries.

It's basically a Learning Hak 學 or Gongbu (공부 工夫), something to be taught, something to be learned, something to be transmitted.

The central notion, as I said, is the Path, the Road, the Way (Do 道 道) and there are two aspects in this Way.

The first one is the Way in which the universe, the world, the cosmos itself operates (it's the Heavenly way, the Way of Heaven), and the second aspect of the Way is the human way, the way of ancient kings, the Way of Confucius, the Way of Confucians; which means that this Way, this Do, is a living phenomenon, an ongoing and never-ending process.

And the Way is inscribed in history: there is a historical transmission of the Way and we might think about the genealogical model of the Confucian tradition.

All these two aspects are based on specific views on how history unfolds and how the universe works.

That's why I'd like, in my next lecture, talk about Confucianism and Cosmology.

Thank you!

## 2 주 차 강 좌 운 영 방 안

강좌주제	Confucian cosmology	교수자	Isabelle Sancho
학습목표	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Distinguishing the metaphysics in the Western tradition and the cosmology in the East-Asian thoughts</li> <li>2. Understanding the changes as a core part of the cosmology and its mechanism</li> <li>3. Classifying Yin and Yang; Byeon and Hwa</li> <li>4. Understanding the Trigrams of Iching and what they represent and symbolize</li> <li>5. Arqing about the relation between cosmology and ethics in Confucian thoughts</li> </ol>		
핵심어	Cosmology and metaphysics, The Change, Yin and Yang, The trigrams of Iching, Taeguekki		
주요흐름	At first, professor Isabelle Sancho compares cosmology and metaphysics and explains how Confucian cosmology works with Yin and Yang. She explains the details of Yin and Yang with the case of Taeguekki.		
읽기자료	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. 이선경, 「태극기의 원리와 易의 철학정신-K철학을 전망하며」, 『범한철학』 100(1), 2021.</li> <li>2. 대산 김석진, 『손에 잡히는 주역점』, 대유학당, 2008, 서론~2장</li> <li>3. 대산 김석진, 『손에 잡히는 주역점』, 대유학당, 2008, 11~12장</li> </ol>		
기타학습요소	약술형 질문 2개와 단답형 퀴즈 3개		

### 기타학습요소 운영계획

Question

1. What is the different between cosmology and metaphysics? (Unlikely, cosmology is based on the Change)
2. Please explain shortly about Byeonhwa(변화). (The pattern of changing in the system of Confucian cosmology: getting older and becoming younger)

Quiz

1. What was the name of book which explains the Change? (*The Iching*)
2. What does Sang(상:象) figure in *the Iching*? (Visible patterns)
3. What was the name of the main symbol expressing Yin, Yang, and change itself? (Taeguek)

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Hi, I'm Isabelle Sancho, I'm happy to be with you again for second lecture.

In my first lecture, I have addressed several issues surrounding the perceptions, evaluations, and definitions of Confucianism in relation with Korean history and culture.

One statement I made, in conclusion, was that the conception of the Confucian Way, seen from the inside (that is to say, as it has been elaborated on by Confucian scholars themselves and in texts) was based on specific views on how history unfolds, and how the universe works, which leads us to the topic I'd like to deal with you today: cosmology.

Cosmology can be defined as a comprehensive theory of the structure and evolution of the physical universe.

Cosmology is often contrasted with metaphysics.

Metaphysics literally means “beyond (meta in greek)- physics.

” In Western philosophy, metaphysics is grounded on Ontology, which is it is the realm of the Being, that is to say, the “unchanging.

” The term “metaphysics” is more than often used to talk about some crucial aspects of Confucianism but it can lead to a misunderstanding.

This misunderstanding can be misleading at best and rather harmful at worst, especially when we do not have at least some knowledge of what we are talking about in the Confucian context, or, more precisely, the Neo-Confucian context in the Korean case.

The reason why speaking of metaphysics can be misleading is that Sinitic civilization, from which Neo-Confucianism was made possible and developed, is grounded on a different philosophical ground, which is cosmology.

This cosmology is fundamentally based on the notion of “change” (yi 易; 역 in Korean).

Confucian Cosmology can be characterized as the Philosophy of Changes.

Indeed, according to it, the universe is made of constant changes; the world is alive with motion.

The Origin of Cosmology must be traced back to divination, considered primarily as a practice.

It's worth underlining that this same divination practice also gave birth to Chinese script.

Indeed, Chinese script was meant to record divinatory procedures, in order to make visible the signs that were looked after in these divinatory procedures.

It is important to understand that written signs were not thought as transcriptions of word or speech.

This view is quite different from a written tradition based, for example, on the sentence, In the beginning was the Word, which informed the Christian tradition.

In China, one could rather define the birth of script with another made-up sentence, In the beginning was the sign, the figure.

Besides, it's worth noticing here that a shift happened progressively on how divination was conceived in Chinese history.

From a religious quest, which can be defined as finding God's answers to questions, it turned to a naturalist thinking which aim was to find answers through readings of specific situation, state of things, patterns.

For instance, sacrifices during divination were no longer performed for divination itself, and divination did not come from sacrifices.

Now, let's move on to the topic of Cosmology as a Naturalist Thinking.

As I mentioned, divinatory signs that were written down in archaic Chinese scripts must be

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understood as "figures," "visible patterns" (sang 상 象 in Korean) of emerging situations, states of things.

They are no longer signs of God's will.

In scientific field, for instance, this cosmological and naturalist approach of the universe marked the discontinuity between what is observable and what is scientific, which enabled the developments of "Oriental medicine," which is based on a prophylactic approach to diseases.

The goal is to prevent instead of to correct.

For example, as you may know well, acupuncture follows meridian points that are not visible, even if you would completely cut up a whole human body.

Nevertheless, they are efficient means to both prevent and cure most of diseases, pains, and health problems.

An important aspect of Cosmology is that it is based on correlative reasoning.

The reason of the things, rationality doesn't lie in causal relation that can be observed between different phenomena (one cause produces one effect).

Rationality rather lies in the correlations established by various changes that are happening at the same time at different levels in the universe.

In these correlations, changes resonate with each other and affect each other.

To understand this, one could use the metaphor of the world seen as a gigantic magnetic field.

To sum up, in cosmological thinking, the universe is made of movements.

It's the realm of changes/moves; it's about the vitalism of the universe.

And these movements obey Cosmological Principles; it's the realm of constancy.

The various movements echo each other and resonate with each other, which is explained with the notion of Gam Eung 감응 感應 in Korean (gan ying in Chinese).

These resonances produce, in turn, correlations that we can observe and even understand.

Why is this important? Because whoever understands, reads through these correlations, can take action, act on the world: which means that Cosmologic Knowledge enables ethical actions.

And we understand that Confucian ethics are fundamentally, essentially, grounded on Cosmology.

Let's now go more precisely into the topic and explain the Confucian belief in cosmology.

This belief can be summed up in two sentences.

The world, in other words, the universe, the cosmos has a meaning, it makes sense, it is "good" (not in the sense of "nice," it is fundamentally "good") and this meaning is understandable, the universe is comprehensible for the Human Mind, which leads to The Problem of Knowledge and Learning.

This leads us as well to one core question: how to decipher this meaning correctly? We are very lucky because the answer is simple: thanks to the understanding of the Changes.

And we can be reassured: Confucian cosmological thinking has been fixed for eternity in one of the Confucian Classics, the Changes (역경 易經).

the Book of Changes has had many versions, initially.

The canonical version is called the Juyeok (주역 周易), The Changes of the Zhou (dynasty).

and it was supplemented with what is called the "Great Commentary" attributed to Confucius himself.

It is something that is so frequently seen that it seems self-evident: the South Korean national flag.

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How is it called? Usually, we don't translate it into Western languages but we are trying to pronounce it in the Korean way, so what is The South Korean National Flag.

It is the Taegeukgi, (태극기 太極旗).

What does it mean, what does it represent? Usually nobody knows.

So Taegeukgi, is difficult to translate, partially because of the Taegeuk, the notion of Taegeuk (태극 太極) that, in philosophical studies, we used to translate as the "Supreme Ultimate" which sounds quite strange, but that's the usual translation.

So at the center of the South Korean flag, you can see, A Circle in red and blue, which represents the Taegeuk, but also something else that we will talk about.

And on the four corners, you see four signs, which are trigrams (괘 卦 in Korean).

And the white background stands for clarity, purity, and peace.

So at the center, as I said, there is the supreme ultimate, the Taegeuk, which is, in fact, the figuration of yin and yang (음 and 양).

In order to understand what Taegeuk (or the Supreme Ultimate) means, maybe it's easier to talk about the Primal Unity, the Primal Energy (원기 元氣).

So Wongi is the Unitary Vital Energy or Vital Force that has been often compared with pneuma in a Western philosophy and Greek philosophy.

Basically, Ki 기 or Qi, the Vital Energy (or the qi, as you may know better) is what sets the universe in motion.

In Confucian cosmology, there is a Cosmic order, which is a Generative order.

And this Cosmic order shows, basically, the rise and fall of Vital Energy: it's a vitalist view.

This Generative order is based on the interaction of two opposite but complementary principles, yin/yang, which are two energies, two material forces, Two Aspects of the same unitary energy.

The rise and fall of vital energy is concentrated on the sun.

Etymologically, yin/Eum is the shady northern slope of the mountain and yang is the sunny, southern, slope of the mountain.

The figures, the written signs, in the Book of changes and the philosophy of the Changes are regarded as real patterns, concrete visible real patterns of yin and yang, and they are represented by two horizontal lines.

So, yin/Eum is a broken line, open line and yang is an unbroken, or solid, line.

So, it looks like the binary number system: it's basically a binary system.

The yin/yang, the generative cosmic order is fundamentally related to one specific philosophical issue, which is the issue of the one and the many.

So, the Book of Changes is based on the generative process of the doubling up of the yin and yang lines.

So, to basically sum up, there is the One (the Unitary Vital energy, the wongi, or the Taegeuk), that begets the Two (the yin and yang), and then the Two, because each of them is doubled up with another line (yin and yang), gives the Four, which are called the "Four images" that are young yin, old yin, and young yang and old yang.

And these Four images beget the Eight trigrams and, then, the Eight begets, in turn, the 64 hexagrams.

So, the 64 sums up the whole cosmic process.

What is The Ultimate Goal of Confucianism? As we have seen it at the end of the first talk, the goal is to implement a proper civilization.

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And this civilization can be understood as a human order that must be, "correct" in line, in tune, properly aligned with the cosmic natural order, which basic mechanisms can be seen in and understood through the Book of Changes.

So it's worth mentioning here the emblematic notion of mun (문 文), that is used in the terms like "civilization" and "culture" Mun (文) basically means "pattern," it means culture, written words, literature, elegance, but also celestial patterns, visible effects of the working of the natural world.

And, in a Confucian perspective, the Classics are vehicles to convey the Way and the civilizing principles that are built on observations of the natural order operating thanks to energy, yin and yang.

What Western tradition calls "chance," something happening randomly, is thought, in the Confucian tradition, in terms of "fate," heaven's command, what "ought to be," myeong (명 命).

Myōng means the right match, Eui (의 義), with the cosmic order.

Because world, life is changes, implementing the Confucian project of civilization is a living, on-going process.

It is also an inheritance from the past.

It's always in the making, ceaseless, and always needs to be "performed"; and it's never definite.

The Way forward is clear, since it has been mapped out, first by natural order, but also by the precedent set in Antiquity.

The consequence is that the Confucian civilizing process follows a dual sense of temporality.

It is the dialectics of duration (Gu 구 久), and moment, (Si 시 時).

The main question is, How to bring constancy in a world regarded as ceaseless changes? In other words, "How is it possible to have constancy in ceaseless changing environment?" How can we, humans, match with these constant changes? The answer, again, is the Book of Changes.

The term "Changes" in the Book of Changes is yi 易 (yeok 역), which is the generic term for "transformation" or "change."

But in the Book of Changes, they are other words expressing the notion of change.

The first notion is Byeon (변 變), which designates a continuous change and, also, a natural evolution, development, maturation, aging process.

Yin energy and yang energy are first young and they become old.

The second notion is hwa (화 化), designating a change in the nature of one line of a hexagram; the transformation from a yin line to a yang line or, conversely, from yang to yin.

A young yin becomes first an old yin, as we have seen, and this old yin then mutates into a young yang, and this young yang, in turn, becomes an old yang, and then the old yang mutates into a young yin and the cycle goes on.

All these phenoma, that can be called generally Byeonhwa (변화 變化) are constant (상 常), they are the constant principles of the natural order on which human society and civilization can or must be Patterned and Built on.

Even though the answer does lies in the Book of Changes or the Classics, it remains a difficulty.

How to understand, decipher correctly this constant natural world? There is indeed an effort to make, we need to fix and transmit knowledge and educate.

The raison d'être of humanity is to understand, match with, and act, transform the natural

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cosmic order.

Mankind, human beings are on earth for a good reason.

We are bound by a natural fate, which is to complete the cosmic order.

This is related to an idea, expressed in Antiquity as well, and in early Confucianism, which is called the "cosmic triad," Heaven-Earth-Man.

And this idea means that the man, I mean "humankind," must complete the world, make the world fully complete.

But how do we know it? Because there is a precedent and, on top of that, a documented precedent, which is Antiquity.

In remote Chinese Antiquity, Sage kings, and emperors sets the precedent.

Their Way is the Way, Confucius' Way.

And this Way is to be found in the Classics, which are the patterns of the Way.

They are carrying the mun 文, expressing the Way, and all the Classics are related, one way or another, to Confucius.

So the difficulty only lies, if I may say so, in the correct understanding, which is related to the problem of knowledge (Ji 지 知), but also the Proper Ethical Practice (haeng 행 行).

And these two aspects are both needed to put into practice the Way (도를 행하다 [行道]).

We can then conclude that the civilizing process is feasible, it is feasible through ethical practice, which leads us to the topic, that we will deal with in the next talk, which is "Ritualism and Confucianism.

" Thank you!

## 3 주 차 강 좌 운 영 방 안

강좌주제	Confucianism and Ritualism	교수자	Isabelle Sancho
학습목표	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Understanding the meaning of ritualism in Confucianism</li> <li>2. Understanding the historical contexts of Confucian and Neo-Confucian ritualism</li> <li>3. Analyzing ritualism and relationship between ritualism and historical writings in Korean Confucianism</li> <li>4. Recalling the myth of Gija and its orthodox applying</li> <li>5. Discussing the transmission of the Way and the Classics</li> <li>6. Comparing between ritualism and <i>the Book of Rites</i></li> </ol>		
핵심어	Ritualism, Historical writings in Korean Confucianism, <i>The Book of Rites</i>		
주요흐름	Professor Isabelle Sancho introduces Confucian ritualism and the relationship between Confucian ritualism and the historical writings in Joseon Korea. Also she points out very important differences between ritualism and <i>the Book of Rites</i> .		
읽기자료	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. 전성건, 「조선예학의 흐름과 『예기』 연구: 규장각 소장 『예기』 판본을 중심으로」, 『한국문화』 73, 2016.</li> <li>2. 한재훈, 「조선시대 예학의 난제들과 학파간 교섭을 통한 예학의 생태계 형성」, 『동방학지』 190, 2020.</li> <li>3. 최문형, 「조선 예학사상의 근대적 해석에 관한 小考 - 호르크하이머의 사회철학을 중심으로 -」, 『동양철학연구』 64, 2010.</li> <li>4. Martina Deuchler, “Neo-Confucianism in the early Joseon dynasty: Some reflections on the role of <i>Ye</i>”, <i>Korean Philosophy: Its tradition and modern transformation</i>, Hollym International Corp., 2004.</li> </ol>		
기타학습요소	약술형 질문 1개와 단답형 퀴즈 5개		

### 기타학습요소 운영계획

Question

1. Why should we give attention to the historical writings of Joseon? (Understanding Korean self-identifying, Understanding the differences between Korean history and Chinese history)

Quiz

1. How the lecturer summerized ritualism? (Synonumous with ethical practice)
2. When was the Book of Rites formalized? (Han Dynasty, 2-3C AD)
3. Who was the sage came into Korean peninsula during Shang dynasty? (Kija)
4. Who did organize, set and compile the Six Classics? (Confucius)
5. Who wrote the book named *the Confucian primer for the youth*? (Yi Yi)

## 강좌내용

Hi, I'm Isabelle Sancho.

I'm here for my third talk, and I'd like to talk about the Confucianism and Ritualism today.

In my previous talk, I have explained how Confucianism was fundamentally grounded on cosmological thinking, and more precisely on the philosophy of Changes.

I have tried to show that the main contribution of the canonical Book of Changes to Confucian ethics was to provide an answer, a solution, to some puzzling questions.

How do we act on the world?" How do we know how we should put the Way into practice?"

How do we become truly human? How can we match with the natural, or cosmic order?" I concluded by saying that the civilizing process was regarded as reachable and that it constituted a feasible project thanks to ethical practice.

So Today, I'd like to present a second aspect of Confucianism that is often misunderstood and overlooked, which is ritualism, since Confucian rites are precisely synonymous with ethical practice.

First, I'd to stress that the Confucian project, the civilizing project, is supposed to be implemented in a complex dual temporality, which is related to both the cosmic and human orders.

A first temporality can be defined as the temporality of the historical trajectory of the whole society.

And here we should think about the crucial importance of history writing in Confucianism.

A second temporality is related to a single individual's ethical practice, which is a work in progress and, as such, implies a certain duration.

Here, we should consider the importance of biographies within the writing of history in the Confucian perspective.

Confucianism, and more precisely Neo-Confucianism, developed a specific conception of time and history.

As seen in the previous lecture, the Confucian civilizing project is meant to be feasible because it presents a historical precedent.

This precedent is situated in Antiquity and explains the beginning of the so-called 도통(道通), literally the Transmission or the Genealogy of the Way, which raises the crucial question of legacy in Confucianism but also the question of Korean identity as explained by professor Vladimir Glomb in one of his lectures.

The Transmission of the Way starts when a model of, namely, of Sages kings of Chinese Antiquity.

This reflects a strong conviction in Confucianism, the course of history should be driven by 'Sages,' 성인(聖人).

But, at this stage of my talk, I'd like to take the time to make a side note, which is very important.

I would like to address the elephant in the room, an elephant that could be felt in my previous lectures.

I mean that I would like to talk a little bit about the recurring question and often misconception, regarding the relation between Korea, China and what is called 'Chinese civilization.

of Korea before the 20th century and even, the middle of the 20th century.

These two points are related to the question of language.

In premodern time, several languages were used and coexisted together, but two of them are

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worth mentioning.

On the one hand, there was a solely written language, used as literary, official, diplomatic language, which was Classical Chinese or Literary Sinitic or 한문(漢文).

On the other hand, there was a vernacular language that later became what we call now Korean language, 한글, and this language was predominantly oral.

The second point to be made is the language and writing system must not (to) be confused.

Language and writing system are not the same.

Today, 한글 is presented as an essential constituent of Korean identity, history and culture.

King Sejong is believed to have invented it and institutions promoting Korean language and culture abroad are hence called Sejong Institute.

So 한글 is said and strongly believed to be the language” of Korea.

However, this identification between this supposedly unique "Korean" language and Korea itself is fabricated, it is a historical construct.

And this identification poses a problem for many students and creates a form of blindness.

Indeed, the adequacy of 한글 and 'Korea' creates recurrent confusions between different notions that are in complex relationships with one another, especially when Korea is considered over a long period of time.

These notions are language, nation, culture and identity.

What causes this confusion is Korean ethnonationalism.

This nationalism based on ethnicity (Ethnonationalism) has largely accompanied Korean transition to modernity.

It forged the contemporary Korean identity discourse.

This identity discourse represents Korea and deliberately presents Korea to the outside world as a single homogeneous ethnic, linguistic and territorial unit.

But this poses various historical and intellectual problems.

What is Korea? Is it South Korea? But how about North Korea, then? How about the Korean diaspora? How about what Koreans call the Koreans from abroad, 해외동포? Most importantly, the identification between one language, one nation and one culture is not self-evident.

For that, you just have to look at what is going on in the world at large, in other countries with other histories.

At the end of the 19th century, Korea elaborated an identity discourse, which was different from the "pre-modern" one, in order to respond to a specific challenge.

The challenge posed by Japan's denial of Korean culture.

Roughly speaking, what was at stake was the countering the Japanese argument according to which Korea was a small China, 소중화.

It was about countering the argument centered on the Korean cultural and linguistic dependence on China, which included the use of Hanmun, Literary Chinese but also Confucianism as I have mentioned at length in my first lecture.

The artificial conflation of the notions of nation, ethnicity, language and culture was intended to restore Korean identity despite the situation of dependence and weakness in which Korea was objectively found at the beginning of the 20th century.

This modern representation, however, creates damaging confusion about our perception today of how Korean culture, history, and identity were thought of and conceived in Korea during the pre-modern period.

It also creates confusion about how the tributary system worked.

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The cohesion of a people can manifest itself in various ways without necessarily calling upon an ethnic or linguistic community.

The cohesion can come from, for instance, a shared culture or imagination, common references and values, or forms of social and institutional organization.

The role of history and its writing are in this respect decisive for understanding the Korean case.

The definition of Korea's identity and culture in the pre-modern era was essentially a matter of determining its history, which naturally distinguished it from China.

History, its writing, its correction, was, and still remains, in Korea a colossal issue, interesting both general audience and academia, but also affecting many political and economic decisions, it's the case in France as well, but this is not always true for all countries in the world.

The first official histories of Korea that have been handed down to us, from late 고려 early Choson, insist less on an ethnic, linguistic or territorial belonging and a sense of community that would distinguish Korea and its identity from that of its neighbors than it insists on a different history.

A history that calls upon both Korean and Chinese references without causing any problem.

This goes without saying, but it sometimes needs to be reminded and repeated, that, in premodern times, Koreans were well aware that they were not Chinese.

At the end of 고려 and beginning of Choson, the Korean state, which had already been unified for several centuries, acquired a written history, recorded, and transmitted officially.

This history was modeled after the dynastic, Chinese, model of historical writing, but, most importantly, it was elaborated around a conception of Korean culture as belonging to the universal and unique human civilization, not Chinese civilization.

The idea of Korean culture was perceived less in terms of belonging than in terms of an actualization of the idea of a universal and universalist civilization, the Confucian model of civilization.

This universal civilization bears moral and political values, is embodied in ritual and institutional practices, and its tangible achievements are for the most part literary and intellectual.

In a model of historical writing that gives primacy to the idea of origins, the pre-eminence and importance of origins came through the fixation, in Korea, of the mythical narratives of the peoples of the Korean peninsula since Antiquity.

One of the functions of the mythical narrative, specific to a given culture, is to give an account of the representation that society makes of itself and of its place in the universe.

Korean mythology is not Chinese mythology and this should make things less confused.

Korea did share common references with Chinese successive dynasties, Korea did use Classical Chinese, a written script, as its official and intellectual language, but this doesn't mean that Korea was part of China, I mean, the real China, since Korea had a different history which was grounded on a different mythology.

The written, official premodern Korean history tells the story of a specific culture in what we call today Korea that is associated with a perennial state and which is integrated into an ancient universalist model that appears to be, paradoxically, almost and historical.

This leads us to move onto the topic of a semi-mythical, semi-historical figure of primary importance, Kija.

Kija, the Vicount of Ji, personal name Xu Yu(胥余), was an uncle of King Zhou, the bad last

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ruler of the Shang dynasty.

He is known as one of the "three wise men," 삼현(三賢) of Shang, along with Weizi(微子) and Bigan(比干).

He occupied the position of Grand Preceptor, 태사(太師), before being imprisoned after remonstrating against the misrule of the corrupt king.

After the fall of the Shang dynasty that he had predicted, he transmitted to King Wu of Zhou, who overthrew the evil king of Shang, the forgotten secret of Yu the Great, that is to say the Hongbeom(洪範), Hongfan, that was later recorded in the Book of Documents, one of the Confucian Classic.

But Kija refused to serve the new ruler and decided to take the road of exile.

and he ended up, more or less, in the territory that might be considered, to simplify, partly as 'Korea' today.

So it is believed that he went eastwards to the Korean peninsula with no less than 5000 people, among whom many craftsmen.

He would then have been enfeoffed by King Wu in 평양 area, where his descendants founded a state known as Joseon, which was later named Kija Joseon.

When Kija's descendants created an independent state, 국(國) on the peninsula, it was the start of civilization in Korea.

Kija himself brought cultural change in Korean peninsula, where what might be called proto-"Koreans," considered as barbaric by later Koreans themselves, have been living.

Kija, it is said, "변이(變夷)" he changed barbaric people.

His descendants then pursued in his work in Joseon and they could truly transform, civilize the people living in the 'Korean' kingdom.

' They 성화(聖化), they transformed in a Sagely way.

So what Kija's story in Korean sources states is that there was a properly Korean history of civilization.

And, what is important to understand is that Kija's civilizing influence was mostly expressed and manifested by the introduction, the teaching of rites and ethics, before Confucius.

The collapse of Kija Joseon and Mahan, these kingdoms cover a very long period of time: more than a thousand years, was not due to moral decay.

It was only due to the chaos generated on the peninsula by the troubled Chinese history.

Now let's go back to our initial topic which was the legacy of the Sage Kings.

So, what was the legacy of the historical precedent set by the Sage Kings in China or Kija, and his descendants, in Korea? The first point to be made is that this Legacy is documented.

There are written sources documenting this precedent, this model.

And it's the Classics, Classics were at the beginning made of diverse texts from Antiquity that were used by Confucius as teaching materials for basically didactic, educational purposes.

The role assigned to the figure of Confucius by tradition in the canonization of the Classics is to be linked to the main feature of Confucius that has been constantly stressed by the later Confucian tradition; that is to say the fact that Confucius is a Master, The Master, Kong ja, he is the teacher.

In the Confucian tradition, Confucius is indeed first and foremost the one who transmits.

Confucius is not a prophet, he is not a god, he is not a Sage king, he is not even a Sage.

He is simply a teacher, the best possible one, who transmits an antic knowledge.

What is then, exactly, the Confucian canonical corpus? What are Classics? Most of the texts

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that were later labeled as Classics are of ancient origin, even archaic origin, as we have seen in the case of the Book of Changes.

They are most probably works of generations of soothsayers, analysts, and scribes from the various princely courts of the Zhou period.

As stated before, Confucius is the Key figure in the definition and constitution of the corpus, according to later tradition.

He is depicted as the compiler, editor, commentator of these texts that somehow needed his intervention to become fully meaningful.

So, to sum up, Confucian canonical, scriptural culture can be described as a culture pre-dating Confucius that has been fixed, even sublimated, by Confucius and his disciples and followers.

To be more precise, one may say that the Classics became Classics only with the development of the commentarial tradition on the Classics long after Confucius' death.

Classics are not revealed Word, they're not closed in on themselves.

Classics are, on the contrary, open, subject to correct reading and hermeneutics.

As expressed in the tradition, the Relation between the Classics and their commentaries can be described as the same as the relation between the warp, Classics 경(經), and the weft commentaries 전(傳).

Commentaries are like the wefts, the threads, that are woven on the warp.

Classics and their commentaries both make, they achieve together, the fabric, the textured fabric, that constitutes the core teaching of Confucianism, which is, again, the written legacy of the original message of the Sage Kings from Antiquity emphasized by Confucius as signs of civilization.

Classics are imprints, footsteps left by the Sage kings about the Way.

They are indications about how later generations can put, again and again, the Way into practice.

The Way is alive, which means that it can decline and even die off.

The Way needs the mediation of the man in order to stay alive, evolve and, ultimately, find its completion.

The Classics reveal the mind, heart 심(心) of the Ancients.

Thanks to the Classics, the Way can be known by the human mind, heart of next generations.

Originally, what mattered to Confucius was the spirit of transmitted texts of his own time.

These texts later, were called 'Classics' by the tradition.

After him, after the Confucian tradition was built up, what mattered to Confucians, that is to say, followers of Confucius were both the spirit and the letter of the Classics.

That was establishment of the Confucian orthodoxy.

After dramatic beginnings, even traumatic beginnings, since the Classics were all burned down by the first Chinese emperor, of Qin dynasty, the Classics survived , like phoenix.

They were fixed under the two Han dynasties, with the specialization of doctors on specific Classics.

Several versions existed, ancient and contemporary writing of the different version of Classics, which raise philological problems.

What is important to remember is that the Corpus evolved over time.

So, we often talk about the 13 Classics, the 십삼경(十三經) which were compulsory for state examination.

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They consist in the Book of Changes 역경(易經), the Book of Documents 서경(書經), the Book of Odes 시경(詩經), the Rites of Zhou 주례(周禮), the Book of Etiquette 의례(儀禮), the Book of Rites 예기(禮記).

The Spring and Autumn Annals, with the three different commentaries, the 춘추좌씨전(春秋左氏傳), and the 춘추공양전(春秋公羊傳), the 춘추곡량전 (春秋穀梁傳).

The Analects of Confucius, 논어(論語), the Book of Filial Piety 효경(孝經), the 이아(爾雅), dictionary, and then the Mencius 맹자(孟子).

But when we talk about the Classics, we often use rather the expression, Five Classics 오경(五經).

And this 오경(五經) are the Odes, the Documents, the Changes, the Rites, and the Spring and Autumn.

So, Odes stands for, are used for literature, and the Documents for policy and political thought, the Changes for cosmology, the Rites for ritualism, and the Spring and Autumn for history.

So, let's now talk about the Rites 예기(禮記).

Originally, there were 3 different books dealing with rites, as seen in the list of the 13 Classics, Rites of Zhou, Book of Rites, the Ceremonial.

But the most influential one is certainly the Book of Rites, 예기(禮記).

The Book of Rites presents in detail ancient ritual rules but was probably formalized in the Han dynasty.

Despite the overall homogeneity of its ritualistic theme, the text sometimes presents contradictions revealing a cumulative and plural writing.

The Book of Rites presents three major characteristics.

First, it legitimates the ancient rituals on the ground that only ritual rules confer on man a transforming and ordering power worthy of heaven and earth.

And like you maybe remember in the recent previous lecture about the cosmic triad, heaven, earth, man.

Second, the Book of Rites is generally attached to the school of Confucius, some passages of the text recall, in their style and content, ideas developed in the works of Confucius' main disciples, notably Xunzi, 순자.

Third, the Book of Rites frequently features Confucius who appears, who is depicted as very concerned with the practice of rituals.

Now, what are rites? In Confucian thought, Rites generally represent a means of working individually towards ethical perfection.

But they also represent an expression of the social harmony that is necessary for social and political order.

And then lastly, they represent a privileged tool for the implementation of a policy based on the moral exemplarity of the sovereign.

What are rites in the Book of Rites? The Rites in the Book of Rites are measures to prevent possible drifts in human behavior that can cause the destabilization of the social and political order.

To quote the Book of Rites it is said, By the teaching that their practice delivers, by giving to see, feel and live the gravity and the sense of responsibilities that all life in community implies, Rites allow to understand the necessity of social harmony, because social harmony is good for, it is beneficial to one and all.

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This harmony finds its most accomplished expression in ritual music.

Ritual music is characterized by its power of action on people's heart.

Music, is not here for the entertainment.

Music not only expresses, but also influences in return, the movements of the human heart, that is to say, The continuous fortune of the Book of Rites among canonical ritual texts is mainly explained by the social and political stake of this ritual practice, or this ritual spirit.

Why? Because the ritual practice precisely reflects the individual awareness of the will to live in an ordered society, a society both united and hierarchical.

Thanks to the combined action of music and rituals, an accomplished ruler will be able to rule not by coercion, but by the sole force of his personal charisma, according to the Confucian ideal.

But how about the Rituals in Neo-Confucianism? There is slightly different emphasis of the Rituals in Neo-Confucianism.

One of the differences between Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism is an altered canonical corpus, new texts were added on the list of curriculum.

This revised curriculum reflects new, or renewed perspectives.

Two new texts were short-listed as reference materials.

A remarkable fact is that these two texts are taken from one single Classic, the Book of Rites, they are chapters of the Book of Rites.

Together with the Analects, and The Mencius, they form a new reference material, called the Four Books that are considered as an introduction to the study of the Classics.

This means that these Four Books are guidelines to the Classics and, hence, provide an overview of what matters in Neo-Confucianism.

The major features of the Great Learning, which is the 대학, and the Doctrine of the Mean, the 중용 is that they explain the path, 도(道) with a certain method.

They also focus on individual self-cultivation rather than collective rules, instead of the top-down approach of learning, teaching, or ruling coming from the Book of Rites taken as a whole, they present a sort of bottom up view of the learning process.

The Great Learning 대학(大學), for instance, presents an eight-step path beginning with the cultivation of the inner life and ending in the development of family relations and eventually the ordering of the entire world.

It can be summed up in a motto, 수기치인(修己治人), one must cultivate oneself to take part in the socio-political ordering of the world.

In the 중용(中庸), the Doctrine of the Mean, the main idea is that the Way, 도(道) is associated with the human nature, 성(性), which is bestowed by Heaven or natural order, or cosmic order. It's the human fate.

The Way is paradoxically hidden yet never far away.

It can be apprehended by following the innate nature, 본성(本性) and by developing the Five Bonds.

In Korean context, Confucian ritualism and Confucianism in general is often summarized by, not to say reduced to, the "Five Bonds" or "Five Humans Relationships.

" These five relations, relationships are the prince-minister, father-son, elder brother-younger brother, husband-wife, and the friend-friend.

These Five Bonds are, in fact, metonymical of all possible human interactions and they should not be understood in a very narrow sense.

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The Five Bonds cannot be understood correctly without taking into account the Golden rule, or the ethics of reciprocity, common to many intellectual and religious traditions and known in Confucianism as the virtue of 서(恕).

As the character(s of) 서(恕) shows, it's the pictogram of the "heart" topped by the character meaning "reciprocity," or "similarity," in the sense of "putting oneself in the place of others.

" This golden rule was expressed by Confucius in the Analects, The other core notions in the Ritual thinking of Confucianism is certainly the notion of 인(仁), ren in Chinese.

Which often translated by humaneness, humanity, or benevolence in English.

It designates the empathy and sense of consideration for others, and for Confucius, the 인(仁) stands for the most significant qualities of the noble or ideal person.

And this quality is accessible not just to rulers but to anyone who personally aspires to it.

So Humaneness is inner disposition realized through one's interactions with others.

Even though its locus is the self, it is a self that is dissolved of selfishness, expanded through reflection and study, cultivated with ritual praxis, and lastly, manifested as filiality, generosity and respect for others.

Confucian ethics has been described by some Western scholars, Roger Ames, Henry Rosemont, as "role ethics," in the sense that it basically stresses the different roles that any individual, within a society, has to live in a life-time.

The word "role" is to be understood here as a role to be "lived" or "experienced" personally and not as a role to be "played" outwardly without any personal commitment.

It is crucial to understand that Confucian Rites are not simple decorum or etiquette.

Rituals are performative acts meant to truly transform the people who perform different ritual roles in different ritual situations.

Again, it's necessary to talk about the relation between Rites and Music.

An analogy with musical performance is indeed rather enlightening.

Performing rituals or having proper ritual behaviors is just like playing and interpreting a score within a musical ensemble.

Each performer plays according to his own capacities, talents, and emotions, but he has to be always in tune with the other performers playing their own scores at the same moment.

The general score that they are all playing together is not written in advance.

Ritual rules might be described as rough sketches, rules and guidelines for what is not still written, that is a score that remains to be played to really exist.

The score is in fact created on the spot by the magic of the performance itself, and each musical performance is in that sense unique.

So, the spirit of the Rites is that each human interaction is unique but it participates at the same time in the common building of a properly human society.

To sum up, Rites are performative acts, trainings to transform, bring to life, embody and enact the Way, they are a 공부(工夫), stands almost of Kong fu, the physical training.

They are the very foundations, which must be worked on constantly, everyday, the foundation upon which Learning, Confucian Learning can blossom.

Confucianism might appear as paradoxical at first sight.

It implies some extensive book knowledge, erudition, but all the books, all the Classics and commentaries that are needed to understand it deal, in fact, with one single idea.

Summarized, for example, by 율곡 이이 in a simple sentence in his 격몽요결(擊蒙要訣), the Confucian primer for the youth, I quote: "If the heart does not exercise and the body does not

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act according to what the mouth is reciting, because we are reading books reciting books, what would be the benefit of a book remaining a book, and me remaining myself?" Confucian Learning is indeed grounded on praxis, which means that it needs social interaction, duration, effort, self-reflection, commitment, and action.

The Confucian motto could even be summarized by "just do it."

“ Here, "Action" has to be understood as a progressive and repeated practice, almost in the sense of practicing in physical training.

In Confucianism, there is always tension between theory and praxis, extensive knowledge and wisdom.

Self-cultivation in order to cultivate others, teach or rule.

This knowledge, this wisdom expressed and practiced through Rites and Learning and Human Bonds are constituting the civilization.

## 4 주 차 강 좌 운 영 방 안

<b>강좌주제</b>	Instruction and Evaluation Ganghak Practice in Joseon Dynasty	<b>교수자</b>	Martin Gehlmann
<b>학습목표</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Understand the traditional teaching and evaluation system: the Ganghak of Joseon Korea</li> <li>2. Classify records to tracing the Ganghak system</li> <li>3. Compare the sources containing the contents of the Ganghak</li> <li>4. Understand Confucian classics in the Ganghak programme</li> <li>5. Distinguish the functions between Sungkyunkwan, Hyanggyo and the local academies</li> <li>6. Analyze the social meaning of the Ganghak system in Joseon dynasty</li> </ol>		
<b>핵심어</b>	Korean traditional education system, Ganghak, Sungkyunkwan, Hyanggyo		
<b>주요흐름</b>	Professor Martin Gehlmann introduces one of the Korean traditional education system, Ganghak with very vivid historical records. Ganghak was the teaching and evaluation system for remembering and understanding of Confucian classics such as <i>the Book of Rites, The Great Learning or the Analects</i> .		
<b>읽기자료</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. 이범직, 『조선 유교 교육 문화』, 문학의문학, 2022, II~III장</li> <li>2. 김경용, 「조선중기 과거제도 정비과정과 그 교육적 의의」, 『교육사학연구』 20(1), 2010</li> <li>3. 이원재, 「조선전기 과거시험의 교육적 역기능」, 『한국교육사학』 35(1), 2013</li> </ol>		
<b>기타학습요소</b>	단답형 퀴즈 5문항		

### 기타학습요소 운영계획

Quiz

1. Who wrote the book named *the Seonghakjibyoo*(성학집요)? (Yi Yi)
2. Who wrote the book named *the Jujasajeolyo*(주자사절요)? (Yi Hwang)
3. What was the name the top educational institution in Joseon dynasty? (Sungkyunkwan)
4. What was the name of local educational institutions which were established by Joseon government? (Hyanggyo)
5. What was the name of local educational institutions which were established by scholars? (Seowon)

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Hi my name is Martin Gehlmann and in Today's Lesson I will speak about Ganghak 강학 Practices. Ganghak can be translated as Lecture or Lecture meetings. So, if we speak of Ganghak Practices we are generally talking about instructional practices in educational settings, such as in local state schools or Confucian academies. There were different forms of such lecture meetings that were designed to achieve different educational goals. Lecture meetings were usually held in schools or academies and included a lecture by an accomplished scholar explaining a Confucian Texts to an audience of students and other scholars. The lectures were usually conducted together with assessments of the students understanding of the lecture topics I am talking about short oral examinations and evaluations of the students, followed by corrections of their mistakes by the teacher In the following we will look at some of these forms and what role they played in the Confucian education of Joseon Korea Through such an exploration of Lecture meeting practices, we can not only better understand how knowledge was disseminated, but also what particular points in the process were deemed as important and how correct understanding of these points was ensured by teachers In order to get a glimpse into the practices of Ganghak we will look at the following points: First, some general Points on Teaching and Evaluation of Ganghak, then some of the Available Sources that tell us about these lecture practices, the Content of Lecture Practices, In the Fourth point, we will talk about the Forms of these Lectures and Classes, In the fifth point we will look at the Evaluation Methods and then in the 6th point at the community interactions and particularly the Social Impact of lecture meetings and lastly I want to give you a little glimpse on how one of these lectures function so we will talk about an Exemplary lecture that happened in the 1826 in Sosu academy 소수서원 As we saw in the previous lessons, for students the main purpose of participating in the lecture meetings in educational institutions was connected to the preparation for the civil examinations Joining a lecture meeting gave them access to knowledge and materials, for example the books stored in the libraries of schools or academies, which was very important in preparing for the examinations For schools, and particularly academies, however, the lecture meetings were a way of ensuring that Confucian knowledge and values were disseminated to students and potential officials Furthermore, in the academies, and to some extent also in the state schools, the lecture meetings also served to spread particular traditions of local Confucian masters and thus the lecture meetings in a sense strengthened the sense of belonging to a certain school or faction And lastly, and this is not to be underestimated, Confucian scholars strongly believed that the correct understanding of the Confucian canon, the Four Books and Five Classics, would produce a moral transformation of the learner or student Education therefore was not just seen as an instrument of personal social advancement, but as a way to produce social harmony, stability and peace One crucial factor for all these purposes of the lecture meetings, whether it was success in the examinations, association with a certain faction, or moral transformation to sage hood, was the confirmation that studied knowledge was understood "correctly" by the students Lecture meeting, and especially the assessments of students understanding through evaluation, are an expression of this necessity, both for the students and the teachers You see, the process of studying the Confucian classics was largely done by reading or rather chanting the texts and receiving instruction on their meaning by a teacher However, confirmation of the correct understanding through evaluation helped the students to know if their interpretation of the texts was within the accepted range of understanding, and therefore seen as valid, and for teachers and the states to prohibit the appearance of heterodoxy Of course, lecture meetings

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and evaluative practices did not secure, and were not supposed to produce, total conformity. Students are individuals and by default developed their own view on things and thinking. Nevertheless, the lecture meetings produced a shared understanding of knowledge among the participants in the educational system and ensured a certain degree of stability in the knowledge pool, so to speak, of Joseon Korea. From a modern point of view, the lecture meetings held during the Joseon dynasty are therefore quite remarkable. Now next I want to talk a little bit about the sources that are available today and the document the lectures and the connected evaluation practices. Generally speaking we have some sources documenting the lectures, however compared to the amount of lectures that were actually held during the Joseon dynasty, this amount is still rather small. This points to the fact, that the documentation of the process of understanding was generally not viewed as important as the understanding itself. Therefore we have more documents showing the grades and results of students in the examinations of the meeting than we have documents showing their evaluated knowledge, so for example their answer sheets or the written poems that will be judged later on by the examiners. We also have lists of topics lectured on by famous teachers, that sometimes moved from school to school to reach a large audience. There are also some remaining transcript of lectures in a question-and-answer style format. Students would raise a question about an unclear point to a teacher and he would then go on to explain particular passages of the text to the students in order to answer the question. However, it sometimes is difficult to judge whether these transcripts are from the actual lectures or a later reimaginings of very salient answers that were deemed to worthy to be recorded in collective writings of famous scholars. Such lecture contents can be often found in the collected writings of these scholars. There they are either they are to underscore the erudition of the scholar or are included to emphasize certain points that are made in the explanation so the answer that the scholars gave to the student's question. The sources that are most plentiful are lecture regulations. These are prescriptive texts that were meant to regulate the proceedings of the lecture meetings. Such regulations organized everything from the formal administration of the meeting to seating arrangements and the prizes given to the winners of the examinations. Next, let's have a look at the contents of the lectures. As it is to be expected, students were most interested in lectures on the books of the Confucian canon as these were also the basis of the civil service examinations. But the Confucian canon was, of course, the basis also for moral education in the schools, and mastery of it was thought to produce objective and well-rounded Confucian gentlemen. Here is a Text by Yoon Bong-gu from the 18th century in which he outlines the curriculum to be studied, and also talks about the process of lectures. I quote: For the books during the lectures, follow the method of the Cheng Brothers and Zhu Xi. Use the Elementary Learning and the Four Books in sequence for the lectures. Then continue on to the Five Classics, but in between use books like the Family Rituals, the Classic of the Mind, the Reflections on Things at Hand, the Jujaseojeolyo 주자서절요 and the Seonghakjibyong 성학집요 and so on. You can see that the lecture sequence follows the basic curriculum of the schools and academies, First the Elementary Learning or the Sohak as the gateway to all other texts, then the Four Books and Five Classics. Prof. Sancho has mentioned in her lesson, and in between texts like Family Rituals the Garye 가례 or Reflections on Things at Hand the Geunsarok 근사록, A Collection of Quotes by Early Song Confucian Masters. Yun here also mentions two Korean compilations, the Jujaseojeolyo 주자서절요 and the by Toegye Yi Hwang and the Seonghakjibyong 성학집요 by Yulgok Yiyi. This shows a certain understanding of this study process as being part

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of a Korean tradition of learning, not just of a general Confucian tradition Let's look at rest of Yun's remark on the lectures I quote: "For the correct reading of the lecture books, one must start from the first line of the first volume and must not mix in other books before one is finished At the end of every lecture, the amount of the next lecture must be promptly decided Do not be greedy" We can see how Yun designed his lecture meeting around the advancement of the student through the curriculum The lecture process he mentions here followed the practice of the students reading predesignated passages of the Confucian texts themselves before raising questions about unclear parts to a teacher, in this case Yun Bong-gu himself Yun also cautions his students against being overly confident in their abilities of comprehension and warns them not be greedy and to study too much at once, lest they won't understand all of it We often find similar provisions, like 'do not fool yourself' into understanding the text in lecture guidelines and regulations Demanding a serious attitude from the learners As the sources about lecture meetings show us, teachers often had to chastise their students for being too rash and seeking to advance to quickly through the curriculum This again reveals the general tension in the learning process between learning for the state examinations and learning for a moral transformation and the betterment of oneself as a person In the fourth section of this lesson, I would like to talk about the different forms of lectures that existed and were held in the Joseon dynasty This raises a question of terminology We have called this lesson Ganghak practices and evaluation methods However, Ganghak is just one of several expressions used for lectures and evaluation as we will see in the following Furthermore, the terms used to describe a certain practice differed according to location and time, and we find many divergent terms describing similar practices In the following I will speak about some of these terms, but cannot explain or mention all of them Nevertheless, the following classification should give you a basic overview of the most common instructional and educational practices in the Joseon dynasty First off, we have Ganghak, or Lecture Meetings, which are sometimes also called Ganghoe강회 These meetings mostly followed the above plan laid out by Yun Bong-gu : an instructor giving a lecture on a certain book and advancing through its passages, or students reading a certain passage and then raising questions to the teacher about this passage In this exchange a student raises a question about a certain passage from the Liyun예운(禮運) chapter of the Record of Rites or Yegi예기 I quote: Question: The passage called "Grand Union, Small Tranquility" in the Liyun Chapter of the Record of Rites is not by the master Confucius May I ask how we know that it is not by the master? Answer: The book Record of Rites, was in the most part interpreted and embellished by the Confucians of the Han and has parts that should not be believed word of word, which if you look at this part, can be seen The question concerns the fact that this particular passage is thought to be inconsistent with other statements made in the book and therefore cannot be attributed to Confucius, like the rest part of the record of rites Yang Eungso양응수 then explains how the internal logic of the passage reveals this inconsistency and attributes this fact to the burning of books during the Qin 진(秦) Dynasty and the imperfect recreation of the Record of Rites by the Confucian scholars of the Han Dynasty This exchange shows that lectures not only discussed the internal logic of the Confucian canon, but also the origin, authenticity, and validity of certain statements The Record of Rites generally was believed to contain many contradictions and inaccuracies and therefore had to be studied very carefully under the detailed instruction by a teacher Looking at the number of lectures on the different books of the Confucian canon, most lectures were held on the Four Books, like the Great

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Learning 대학(大學) and the Doctrine of the Mean 중용(中庸) than on the for example the Record of Rites Yang Eungso양응수 was known to be a prolific lecturer, who held lecture meetings in local state schools and academies such as Goam Academy고암서원 and also Museong Academy무성서원 Besides the question and answer format, lectures could also take the format of an actual oral examination Students would randomly be chosen by the drawing lots and then assigned passages from the book of the lecture meeting, which they then had to recite from memory and explain to the instructor The teacher would then point out their mistakes and explain the passage to the assembled audience The teacher would then point out their mistakes and explain the passage to the assembled audience This process was very similar to the oral examination held as part of the state examinations Another aspect of these Ganghak lecture meetings was that they were always accompanied by rituals in the shrine of the academy or school Rituals were an intrinsic part of the lectures and emphasized moral education through veneration of former Confucian sages and worthies By honoring the scholars of the past, students were supposed to take them as guides and emulate their behavior and scholarship Beyond this, the rituals also served to confirm the belonging of students to a certain school of thought, which often was also associated with a concrete political faction During the rituals, that usually preceded the lecture meetings, the lecture regulations or regulations of the school were read out loud to the assembly in order to remind participants of the goal of the meeting which was self-cultivation and lastly, the rituals surely also served as a spectacle that attracted the local community and gave a certain sense gravity and importance to the lecture meeting as a whole Another form of lecture meetings were Geojeop거접(居接) or Geojae거재(居齋), which simply can be translated as During these meetings students would meet in often remote settings and study together Sometimes they would invite great scholars to give them instruction, but mostly these meetings were to exchange views and understanding among students Such meetings were self-financed and participants had to care for accommodation and provisions themselves One preferred spot to hold such meetings were actually Buddhist monasteries, because they were far from any distractions and participants could sometimes receive food from monks which they paid for, and thus did not have to bring too much baggage to the monastery although we have to keep in mind that we talk about Confucius scholars here so the baggage was most of the times carried by the servants but if you brought more servants then, of course, you had to pay for their food and accommodation as well Besides Buddhist monasteries such as, such study sessions were also held in Academies and State Schools We have to assume that the participants also enjoyed the remote scenery of their study spaces and engaged in some merrymaking, like outings, climbing a mountain and drinking parties in nice locations Through this they surely formed close relationships and friendships with other participants and these would play a role later life as officials or literary Still the main purpose of these sessions was to collectively share knowledge and prepare for the state examinations When we read school regulations or learning curricula we often gain the impression that students followed an ideal sequence in studying We also have to consider that students were also sometimes searching for opportunities to receive the best education and were quite active in this process thus moved from location to location, school to school from academy to academy in order to gain the best education A third form of lecture meeting was called Baegiljang백일장, which I would translate as mock examinations quite simply Schools and academies would sometimes hold these mock examinations for students to test their skills in those years when there are no state examinations Local dignitaries and scholars were invited

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to preside over the meetings and choose the most accomplished students Naturally these meetings were widely popular with students as they not only could test their preparations for the examination, but also could seek to impress the local officials and make themselves widely known Furthermore, such mock examinations often offered prizes to the students that achieved the highest honors in their examinations, which surely was an extra incentive to participate in these trial examinations We have some descriptions of such meetings, where participants could not find accommodation in the town where the examination was held, as there were too many participants and they had to stay far away, so in order to participate in the mock examination they had to get up at dawn and travel several hours to the examination site just to participate Such lecture meetings often featured poem writing contest, as this was also an important part of the state examinations and writing skills were viewed as one part of a well-rounded scholar in smaller settings these poem writing contest were often held together with Ganghak lecture meetings After a lecture on a particular passage from the Confucian canon in the morning, students were then to craft poems on this topic in the afternoon Next, I will talk about the assessment part of the lectures how was student participation evaluated and judged? As I have mentioned before, evaluation was an important part of the lecture meetings It served to confirm student's knowledge and ensure to the instructors that their teachings and interpretations were accurately understood by the students Students were tested in memorization, in interpretation, and in writing As the student's interest most likely lay in the civil service examinations, the grading and assessment system was also similar to that of the state examinations Students were rated according to their performance by a point system and then ranked in a list The four grades given for the performance of the student were good tong 통(通), rough yak약(略), coarse jo조(粗) or fail bul불(不) Sometimes there're also accessed of higher grade than good which was sometimes given suntong순통(純通) or very good The grade of good was given for full memorization and correct interpretation of an assigned passage Rough and coarse were given for partly memorization or half memorization and for an incorrect or wrong interpretation A fail, of course, was a fail Each grade gave a different amount of points to the students While these points differed during different times, we can still look at some instances how the points were awarded Here is the examination paper of scholar Yi Huyeong이후영 from 1684 This paper shows Yi's performance in the first round exams of the metropolitan examination for the higher civil service degree This exam was an oral examination of the so called Seven Books, which included the Four Books and three of the Five Classics: namely the Book of Odes시경, the Book of Documents서경 and the Book of Changes주역 For each of the Seven Books one passage was chosen and Yi then had to recite and explain it to the examiners, and then was awarded points according to his performance In this case, Yi received 11 and a half points A result which helped him to advance to the next stage of the examinations where he ultimately succeeded in this year Looking at the paper we can see that Yi got a good grade for his interpretation of the Book of Documents서경, of the Mencius 맹자 and, it is not visible on the paper but we can see that he received a good, for his interpretation of The Great Learning대학 For his performance on the Doctrine of the Mean중용 he even got a very good His performance for the Book of Changes and the Book of Odes was less stellar and he only received the rough grade For the Lunyu논어 he only gained a coarse Adding up the different grades it becomes clear that a very good amounted to three points, a good was two points, a rough, just one point and coarse, the grade of coarse gave half point, making a total of eleven and a half points for Yi in this case A fail on any subject meant an

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automatic fail on the whole examinations. Sometimes even a coarse would also lead to an elimination from the examination, however this was not the case in this instance. While this examination paper is from the state examination, the grading system for the oral examinations during the lecture meetings was similar. During the lecture meetings a fail in the examination could lead to expulsion of the student from the meeting or in some cases even to corporal punishment. The assessment of writing examinations followed a slightly different method. After writing a poem or a rhyme prose on a certain topic in a short amount of time, the poems were rated by academy or school instructors and accomplished scholars. The judging criteria were adherence to established rhyming schemes, the employed metaphors, correct tonal regulations, and the connection of the poem to the topic of the lecture. Poems were then ranked into three levels, with each level again having three sub tiers: so a good poem, for example, would be judged as belonging to level one - high, middle or low, a bad poem in level three - also could be judged as a high, middle or low. But the whole of low level three was already considered as a fail. Beyond this, there was also a level under the third level that was for poems and rhyming prose that showed serious formal mistakes. The poems were judge soon after their creation and the results were announced quite quickly. In general, the evaluation process during the lecture meetings helped students to assess their skills in competition with other students and under the critical eye of learned scholars and officials. Students, however, did not always agree with the judgement of their examiners and we have quite amusing records of students criticizing the jurors for being either biased, corrupt or just stupid. For the next part, I would like to talk about a somewhat different form of a lecture meeting that lies outside of what we usually would consider to be part of educational process. This is connected to the social impact that some lecture meetings were supposed to have on the local community. As I have mentioned in my lesson on the educational system of the Joseon dynasty, education was supposed to transform the morals of the local community. For this purpose many academies and schools held Libation and Archery rituals that were supposed to attract the interest of the commonfolk and instill Confucian values in them. These meetings were sometimes institutionalized as Community compacts that regulated life in the community according to set of guidelines. During the meetings of the compact or during large rituals, Confucian texts and regulations were read out loudly and the commoners were reminded of how to be a good Confucian member of the community. Besides this, these meetings also included the announcement of good deeds by local people, who then received praise for their actions. Sometimes the local officials would even go on to report their filial and moral actions to the government for rewards. By such initiatives magistrates or local officials could prove their efforts in transforming the local population according to Confucian morals to the government. We can still find steles and shrines honoring filial actions by men, women, children and sometimes even animals all over the Korean countryside. Besides such praise for correct behavior the local meetings also included the proclamation of bad deeds and unmoral behavior. The judged persons then received the scorn and contempt of the scholarly community and were punished in a variety of ways, for example silent judgement or even beatings. We have to understand these community compacts as part of the ultimate goal of education transformation of the society according to Confucian morals and therefore can view them as part of the lecture meetings. It is difficult to assess how deeply such efforts actually penetrated into the life of the common people, but in the late Joseon many Confucian values were shared and emulated by the common people. Now lastly, I would like to give you a short look into one

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particular lecture meeting and how it progressed from its initial announcement to the farewell rituals. So let us take a look at a lecture meeting held at Sosu Academy (소수서원) in the winter of 1826. Sosu Academy is well-known as the first Korean Confucian academy, founded in 1543. It was established by local magistrate Ju Sebung (주세붕) in honor of the Confucian scholar An Hyang (안향), who had lived during Goryeo (고려) times in the late 13th and early 14th century. As Prof. Glomb explained in the lecture on Confucian academies, they were often placed between offering preparation for students for the civil service examinations and emphasizing reclusion and learning for oneself. The very purpose the first academies were founded for. The lecture meeting of 1826 is an interesting phenomenon because it reflects this tension. The lecture meeting is well chronicled, because the academy archived many of the documents related to this particular lecture. This, of course, helps to get a detailed understanding of the proceedings of this lecture meeting. The first steps in organizing a lecture meeting had to be taken several months in advance. Most important was the selection of an appropriate and auspicious date that would allow many people to participate. After the selection of a date, a circular letter was sent to other academies and local schools, inviting students and interested scholars to participate in the meeting. Next, official dignitaries and scholars were invited to attend the lectures, either as instructors or as judges in the writing contests. Even though Sosu Academy (소수서원) had a very high reputation, the participation of famous scholars could raise the profile of the lecture and thus the number of attending scholars. However, the months before the lecture meeting of 1826 brought mounting problems for the organizers. Many of the invited scholars had to cancel on short notice due to sickness or because they were in mourning for close family members. Moreover, the academy ran into some organizational problems in providing refreshments and provisions for the students. However, after some rescheduling, the problems were sorted out and the lecture meeting could start with close to thirty people in attendance. After the obligatory rituals opening the lecture, which included the reading of lecture and school regulations as well as everyone bowing to the spirit tablet of An Hyang (안향) in the shrine of the academy, the first meeting of the lecture began. In this year, the topic of the lectures was Jujaseojeolyo (주자서절요) The Abbreviated Essence of Master Zhu Xi's Letters, which I have mentioned earlier. The choice of this text for the lecture shows Sosu Academy's had a close connection to the Toegye school (퇴계학파), because this text was a summary of the teachings of Zhu Xi as seen through his letters and had been edited by Toegye Yi Hwang. After the lecture, the first poem writing examination was held in the afternoon. Students had the time it took for one or half a candle to burn down to compose a poem or a rhyme prose connected to the topic of the first lecture meeting. The poems were then judged by the examiners and the announcement of the results was posted in the main hall of the academy. The next days of the lectures followed the same procedure, with the topic of the writing examination changing according to the lecture topic. The results of the lecture meeting in 1826 were sobering for the academy organizers. During five examinations, only five participants could once reach a passing grade. Most students continuously failed the poetry examinations. This is surprising, because most of the participants had already succeeded in the lower civil service examinations and most likely were preparing to participate in the higher examinations and thus had to have some experience in composing poetry. Even though the results were abysmal, the meeting must have been fruitful for the participants as they could test and develop their skills. After the final rituals and the writing of farewell poems commemorating the lecture meeting, students and instructors left the academy and returned to

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their homes The lecture meeting of 1826, however, stayed on the mind of academy director Kangun 강운, who during the a meeting in 1826 referred to it in his welcoming lecture For his lecture in 1828, Director Kang chose the “Doctrine of the Mean” as a topic He used his discussion of the text to decry the overambitious behavior and competitiveness of the participants he had witnessed during the last meeting In his opinion students had been too preoccupied with achieving a high score than with actually continuing their quest for self-cultivation In this sense, this particular lecture meeting represents the main tension between the two purposes of the lectures: On one hand providing the require knowledge to succeed in the examinations, and on the other hand the ideal of learning for oneself in order to better the world Prof Yuksel has spoken on the tension between these two goals in her lesson on social participation The lecture meetings or Ganghak were an important part of disseminating correct and valid Confucian knowledge to young students, scholars but also as we have seen to the general public In the other lessons of this course, you have learned about the contents and ideas of Confucian Philosophy in Korea The educational system and its lecture meeting were one avenue how this knowledge was transferred to students in the Joseon dynasty However, as I have mentioned already in my lesson on the educational system in general, education was generally not only a public affair, but mainly received in the home from family members or close relatives Master-disciple relationships were also the norm for educational processes and not always institutionalized in the form of academies or study retreats As these more personal forms of instructions are, however, only seldomly recorded, it is through the lecture meetings that we can get glimpse into the educational processes and how Confucian thought was transferred in Joseon Korea And lastly, as Prof Glomb mentioned in the lesson on Confucian academies, we can see the fates of those scholars that did not go on to become famous or well-known but actually struggled to succeed Thus the recordings of the lecture meetings are a fascinating resource to study the intellectual history of the Joseon dynasty at the basic level Thank you very much!

## 5 주 차 강 좌 운 영 방 안

<b>강좌주제</b>	Theories and ideas on social participation and moral obligation in Confucianism	<b>교수자</b>	Diana Yuksel
<b>학습목표</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Able to Understand and distinguish the two aspects of the Korean Confucian scholars in the two dimensions: Political and Philosophical / Social and Individual</li> <li>2. Understanding the meaning and importance of the concept of Susin(수신: 修身), Self-Cultivation in Confucian Context</li> <li>3. Learn the 4 core virtues in Confucianism: Benevolence Ren/In (인: 仁), Propriety Li/Ye(예: 禮), Rightness Yi/Ui(의: 義), Wisdom Zhi/Ji(지: 知)</li> <li>4. Able to understand and explain about the famous Korean neo-Confucian philosopher Yi Hwang Toegye(이황 퇴계) and his central ideas</li> <li>5. Able to understand and discuss about the social duty which the Confucian scholar ask themselves: teaching and transmitting of the Way</li> <li>6. Able to discuss the Theories of Confucian social participation and its aspects in the Joseon dynasty</li> </ol>		
<b>핵심어</b>	Susin, Self-Cultivation, The Four virtues, Yi Hwang, Toegye, Moral obligation		
<b>주요흐름</b>	Professor Diana Yuksel talks about the social roles of the Korean Confucian scholars identified by themselves. There were two dimensions of their life: Social and Individual, so sometimes they had to choose one of them. Professor Yuksel explains it with the case of Yi Hwang Toegye, the one of most famous scholar in Joseon.		
<b>읽기자료</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. 지준호 외, 『퇴계 이황의 철학사상과 사상사적 전개』, 성균관대학교동아시아학술원, 2022. 제1부 1~2장.</li> <li>2. 김선희, 「성호학파의 가족관과 가족생활 : 가난, 병, 죽음: 삶의 난관 앞에 선 실학자들」, 『한국실학연구』 26, 2013.</li> <li>3. 안경식 외, 「퇴계의 삶에서 ‘물러남’의 교육적 의미」, 『교육사상연구』 24(3), 2010</li> <li>4. 송치욱, 「물러남[處]의 정치학 : 儒者와 국가권력, 그 적절한 距離의 모색 - 조선 중기 南冥 晁植의 出處를 중심으로 -」, 『남명학연구』 60, 2018.</li> </ol>		
<b>기타학습요소</b>	6개의 단답형 퀴즈		

### 기타학습요소 운영계획

#### Quiz

1. How can we divide two dimensions of the life of Confucian scholars in Joseon? (public and personal / social and individual)
2. Who wrote the book named *Seonghaksipdo*(성학십도)? (Yi Hwang)
3. What is the meaning of 'Seonghak'? (Sage Learning)
4. What is the name of the educational institution where Yi Hwang educated his students? (Dosan Seowon, 도산서원)
5. What were the core 4 virtues of Confucianism? (Benevolence, Rightness, Propriety, Wisdom / Ren/In(인: 仁), Yi/Ui(의: 義), Li/Ye(예: 禮), Zhi/Ji(지: 知))
6. What was the key point of their dilemma? (moral obligations / moral duties)

## 강좌내용

Hello my name is Diana Yuksel and I'm an assistant professor in Korean Language and Literature at the University of Bucharest, in Romania.

My research is in pre-modern Korean Confucian thought.

Today we'll talk about the Theories and ideas on social participation and moral obligation in Confucianism. The term social participation here refers to the official involvement of Confucian scholars in state affairs by holding a public position in the government so we will talk about the idea of entering into public service and the practical aspect of Confucianism but in order to enter public service and thus play their part in the government the scholars need to fulfill not only academic criteria but also moral ones therefore, we will also talk about the individual's task of self-cultivation.

As such we also need to talk about the concept of sage-learning and the spiritual aspect of Confucianism.

Because this two main things are sometimes viewed as conflicting by the Confucian scholars we will also talk about the role of the Confucian scholar and how it was understood by various scholars and in order to do so we'll use the writings and the biography of Yi Hwang Toegy and his interactions with other scholars from the 16th century Joseon but we will also examine the classical Confucian heritage in order to understand the source of the argument brought for by these scholars.

The idea of social participation and moral obligation is directly related and define the lives of Confucian scholars and their understanding of the world and in turn shapes the whole Confucian society.

So, the Confucian scholars bear this responsibility for the shaping of the world around them.

Their role has always been a complex one.

For this reason, we call them literati, a term that encompasses their multiple abilities as philosophers, theoreticians, innovators, statesmen, politicians and more.

In whatever capacity we see them, Confucian scholars have always had a dual existence, a public one and a personal one, both anchored deeply in the Confucian tradition.

This is because state and individual cannot be separated in Confucian cultures and the existence of a Confucian scholar cannot be separated from the society that he lives in.

Why is this so? Because, again, of the dual aspect of Confucian teachings.

On the one hand we have the Proper behavior which equals to an understanding of what was studied or passed down or transmitted through the ages and in turn it means a sort of moral obligation for the self and which is understood in Confucianism as self-cultivation.

And on the other hand, We have the Moral obligation for the other which equals with social participation through public duty.

In other words, we can identify two aspects of Confucianism a political one and a philosophical one, where the political strand is using the ethical values in the works of governing, and the philosophical strand is enforcing the Confucian ethics in the world of politics through the self-cultivation.

The two aspects are interrelated and separable only in unusual conditions.

Having this in mind, we can identify three big roles that a proper Confucian scholar aims at fulfilling during his life.

The first one is to become a self-cultivated sage.

This implies "sage learning", term that we'll talk about later.

The second one is to be a servant to the people.

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And the third one is to be a teacher or a transmitter of the Confucian Way.

The task of self-cultivation xiu shen/Susin 수신(修身) or xiu ji/sugi 수기(修己) or self-betterment, self-becoming is an individual one, but the scope of it is not limited to the individual One trains himself so that he can perform appropriately his role among the others.

The role of servant of the state might seem the outer, social duty of the scholar, but it has individual, inner value as well.

By being a good public official, one is also growing as an individual.

The experience of the social role forms the self in the process of self-becoming and, in turn, the self-models the outer world.

Equally, the role of a teacher and transmitter of the Confucian Way, encompasses the two dimensions: the individual self-cultivation and social participation by shaping the next generation of Confucian scholars.

Let's talk now about the first duty or the first role designed for a Confucian scholar that of a pursuing self-cultivation, sage learning and the transmission of the way.

We should first talk about the process of self-cultivation and sage-learning.

There is a phrase in the Confucian classic, The Great Learning, Daehak 대학(大學) which says: "From emperor to the common people, self-cultivation is the foundation" or the basis, which means that self-cultivation is seen as the key element for harmony in the family, in the state and in the world.

This means that for a country or a society to work harmoniously, all the components of the whole should have the same understanding of their roles and act accordingly and morally appropriate.

This is possible only through self-cultivation.

Then what does self-cultivation mean? It's a process of developing personal ethics in accordance with the Confucian cardinal values of benevolence ren/in 인(仁) propriety li/ye 예(禮), rightness yi/ui 의(義), wisdom zhi/ji 지(知), so that the individual is able to properly understand and practice compassion, respect, reciprocity, loyalty and filial devotion in his or hers interactions with the others.

It is a process that implies introspection and self-reflection, in order to project these values outwardly.

what does self-cultivation imply for the Confucian scholars of Joseon Korea? Joseon scholars, understood self-cultivation as an intellectual process more than anything, which is organically linked to the idea of sage learning or Seonghak or 성학 a vital part of the ceaseless effort towards becoming a sage Seongin, or a 성인.

This is perfectly reflected in the works of Yi Hwang Toegye 1501-1570, one of the most prominent beacons of Korean Confucianism from Choson, a scholar who took his mission seriously and became an iconic master of all times in Korea.

It's not by chance that he is known as "Toegye", which means "Retreating creek", the one who formally withdrew from public duty, due to the fact that he had a few attempts to removing himself from public office to a secluded place to dedicate his life to study, to recollection and the perfection of the moral self.

He was always called back to public duty, to public service and he was asked to serve the monarchs until the last years of his life.

Withdrawing from public duty was not something unheard of, Confucius himself had done so, but in Joseon Korea, scholarly worthiness was almost institutionalized and it was very closely

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related to one's social duty, to the point of recreating the Mencian desideratum of a socially engaged "heroic scholar" or a hogeoljisa 豪傑之士.

Yi Hwang Toegye does not seem to fulfill the role of a "heroic scholar" and yet he is undoubtedly an icon of Korean Confucianism.

He has been dubbed the unequalled master of the Way, the clarifier of the Neo-Confucian thought and the one who makes the line of Confucius-Mencius-the Cheng brothers-Zhu Xi complete, the very "Zhu Xi of Korea".

What made him an icon and moreover, what made him more iconic than all of his contemporaries? These questions have been raised before and have been answered primarily by analyzing Toegye's contribution as a philosopher, moralist or adviser in state matters.

The powerful image that Toegye projected has to be rooted in something else though, something that singled him out and made him the providential Teacher, in the same way Confucius had been centuries before, something that pertains to the domain of the sacred rather than the secular.

What made Toegye's teachings transcend the borders of communitarian ethics and socially engaged metaphysics and acquire an almost prophetic dimension? If we look at the studies on the nature of Confucian spirituality in Korea, which in spite of the recent interest is still an understudied topic, it seems that what gives Toegye's teachings an aura of out-of-this-world and almost type of spiritual leadership is his precisely his belief in the power of the self-cultivation, expressed in numerous occasions and developed in various works.

Taking the thesis of the "sage learning" as the core of his teachings, Toegye advocated the power of self-cultivation through moral practice to restore the social harmony and the Heavenly order.

In his most synthetic work, Ten Diagrams for Sage Learning or seonghak sipdo (聖學十圖) Toegye shows that by becoming one with the Heavenly principle Dao/ Do through self-cultivation among other methods the ordinary self can turn into a sage, a process that implies an individual effort, but has consequences of global importance.

Confucius said that "Man can make the Way great, it is not the Way that makes the man great." That is why for Toegye, the self-cultivation is not only a scholarly task, it is a way of life and a process of spiritual formation and transformation.

Endowed with spiritual implications, the practice of self-cultivation becomes thus for Toegye the true Confucian Way.

One of the key elements in this process of self-transformation towards sage learning is the practice of "mindfulness" or "reverent seriousness" Gyeong(경: 敬).

which becomes a medium of reaching the state of sage-learning, an almost beatification if we consider the fact that for Confucius this was an ideal impossible to reach, reserved only for the sage kings of the old the legendary Emperors Yao and Shun, and the Duke of Zhou.

Yi Hwang Toegye derived his line of thought from Zhu Xi's synthesis of Neo-Confucian ideas, recorded in the collection Reflections on Things at Hand Gensarok (近思錄), which provided a comprehensive metaphysical basis for Confucian thought and practice that could rival with the Buddhist metaphysics, and which encompassed the cosmological element, the ethical and ritual practices, scholarly reflection and the social participation with the aim of balancing the inner cultivation and the outer investigation of things.

Toegye believed in the innate capacity of man to transform the ordinary self into sage hood in unity with the Heavenly Way Cheondo, the ideal model, based on the transcendent yet

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immanent reality of human goodness.

Into this frame of Confucian spirituality, which unites the immanent and the transcendent, the process of self-cultivation offers a “model of self-transcendence” which allows for identifying the transcendent with what is immanent.

The self-cultivation for Toegye encompasses a few processes such as “expanding knowledge through the investigation of things” Gyeokmul chiji (격물치지:格物致知), “making one’s thoughts sincere” Seong eui (성의:誠意), “rectifying one’s mind-heart” Jeongsim (정심: 正心) and “cultivating one’s own body” Susin (수신:修身).

But most of all, as explained in the work that crowned his scholastic career, Seonghak sipdo, or the ten diagrams for sage learning self-cultivation and attainment of sage hood is conditioned by the practice of “reverential seriousness” or Gyeong.

The self-cultivation is also the key element in education for Toegye, who refers primarily to moral conduct, to which reverential seriousness is vital.

This spirituality that Toegye promotes and which requires a disciplined way of self-transformation through a constant practice of the processes of self-cultivation has made a valuable contribution to Confucian scholarship.

It is very possible that in the end, this counted more in creating the final image of Toegye than his role in perpetuating the orthodox line of Confucianism in Korea or his philosophical debates over the nature and importance of Principle Li (理) and Substance Ki (氣).

Because of this I’d like to now talk about the Confucian scholar as a teacher and a transmitter of the way and for this we’ll continue to use the example of Toegye, because, like a true Confucian master, Yi Hwang Toegye was a teacher, an educator, and a transmitter of the Confucian tradition.

He acted in a few educational institutions in an official capacity and he also dedicated himself to the informal, personal and insightful study of Confucian values on a few occasions when he retired from public life.

He left public duty and retreated to a quiet place where he could write and refine his thinking, and where he was followed by an increasing number of disciples.

Consequently, he established the Dosan Academy or Dosan Seowon on the Mountain Do.

As a teacher, Toegye had followers who went on becoming respected Confucian scholars themselves.

To his disciples he offered an inspirational model, not only of a scholar that masters the art of hermeneutics in Confucian texts, but also as the image itself of self-cultivation and a dedicated educator.

Even as a formal educator, Toegye emphasized the importance of balancing the inner transformation with the outer quest, so that the future officials he was training would be cultivated men with strong Confucian values such as propriety, loyalty, trustworthiness, modesty, reverent seriousness.

Toegye took his mission seriously, not only for transmitting the Way do (道), but also for creating transmitters of the Way, by means of practicing the Confucian values.

This kind of individual mission and personal commitment of a Confucian scholar is what determined the changes in the way man related to the universal matrix particularly beginning with the 16th century Korea.

The scholar is no longer a simple educator, he recreates the tradition of transmitting the Way and becomes a sage teacher, who impacts not only the individual consciousness of those he

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shares his wisdom with, but also the universal conscience.

This is obvious in the case of Yi Hwang Toegye, who advocated the importance of the individual moral effort and of self-cultivation for the harmony of the universe, and by the self-example he showed that this was not an impossible desideratum.

Moreover, this moral effort is not only necessary, but it is required of man, it is compulsory so that the man be able to distinguish the moral principle from the selfish desires and thus reach moral achievement.

Therefore, to do what is morally right, or what morally „ought to be so means to “abide in reverential seriousness” Geogyong (居敬), which is the “learning of the morally accomplished men” Gunja ji hak (君子之學), This Toegye calls the “learning of reverential seriousness” or Gyeonghak (敬學).

In order to develop his theory of Gyeonghak or reverential seriousness, Toegye revisited the Mencian theory of the inherent goodness of the human nature.

When a human being is born and the germs of the human nature are still latent, the selfish desires are not manifest.

With the growth of the human being and the coming into contact with the environment, the material desires fueled by the vital energy ki dominate and the pure principle Li of the inherent human nature is lost.

Through the constant moral effort and practicing reverence, the selfish desires and the emotions triggered by the social environment can be suppressed.

The evil ak (惡) is present in the individual just as the good seon (善).

The prevalence of the evil is an acquired condition, derived from the failure of nurturing the inherently good nature.

So what one needs to do is the practice of good nature.

Toegye warns against the precarious balance of power between good and evil in man and shows that the selfish desires can become manifest with any hesitation from the path of moral cultivation.

Therefore, the one who aims for moral self-accomplishment should be apprehensive of the selfish desires and guard his mind-heart against them with the vigilance of a castle guard, as Toegye says in one of his Diagrams for Sage Learning, he says, I'm quoting “Always cautious and fearful, never venture in slacken.

Stop up your mouth like the opening of a bottle, and guard your intentions as you would a city wall.” This state of moral vigilance is necessary.

The moral anxiety, which makes the human being question his actions, can become useful for controlling the individual selfish desires and preserving the balance and the harmony of the mind-heart.

Once the inner space is in harmony, the outer world will also be in harmony.

In order for the mind to keep the inner balance and thus ensure the outer harmony, the subtle principle Li should prevail over the course vital energy, or substance ki and the human mind should be one with the principle and unaffected by the movement of ki.

The constant practice of reverence is one way to keep the unity of the mind-heart and the principle and secure the control of the ethical virtue over the selfish desires.

The cultivation of the mind-heart through reverence and seriousness implies respecting a set of rules of proper conduct and Toegye suggests to everyone, including the king, rules which constantly remind the individual of his moral duty: attention paid to protocol, proper situational

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conduct, solemn silence, respect for the hierarchy, obedience in front of authority and most importantly, an ascetic attitude and repression of selfish desires and emotions.

The aura of dignity and seriousness projected over the one who abides by the practice of reverence mirrors the tranquility and the harmony of the mind-heart.

For Toegye, the harmony reflects also through the unity of the inner world and the outer one. The sacrality of the ritual involves an almost magical element: by understanding the Way, respecting the rules of proper conduct and setting one's mind-heart in a state of balance, everything falls in place effortlessly, as foreseen by Confucius who said That "With correct manners, no commands are necessary and affairs move forth." The social adequacy, the respect for hierarchy and etiquette, the reverence in conduct and the cultivation of the mind-heart become for Toegye valuable virtues and it is his duty as a teacher to pass them on.

The practice of reverence for achieving and preserving the harmony and the balance of the mind-heart and its unity with the transcendental principle through morally oriented actions should be doubled by a mental state of detachment.

In other words, the active exterior should be balanced with an inner state of tranquility and they should mutually correct and control.

The inner self-transformation cannot be though separated from the outer moral accomplishment of the individual as a social being.

The self-cultivation through the practice of reverence has as ultimate goal an interior illumination, but not restricted to the inner individual world like the Buddhist total detachment from the outer world, But an illumination of the self for the greater good of the other, according to the universal law of harmony, which encompasses "the nature of interaction, of flowing, of rising and falling, of action and non-action." In his efforts to promote practical self-cultivation often by the power of self-example, Toegye raised a secular concept like reverential seriousness Gyeong to a sacred dimension.

His idea of self-cultivation implied an active engagement into a practice which acquired spiritual span, and which made him the providential Teacher.

While his moral conduct and active implication in teaching the Confucian Way and establishing the Confucian orthodoxy in Korea played an important role in establishing Toegye as one of the iconic figures of Korean Confucianism, it was his contribution to Confucian spirituality that singled him out from among other prominent Confucian scholars and shaped the final image of the Korean Neo-Confucian thinker who has left a clear-cut cultural footprint on the scholarly scenery of the 16th century Joseon.

Let's talk now about the other aspect of Confucian scholarly culture: the Public service and active use of one's sage learning Among the important elements that created the Confucian tradition, the state examinations and the government appointment that depended on their result had a tremendous importance and weighed heavily in the lives of Confucian scholars.

Even more so in Joseon Korea, a yangban bureaucratic state, which functioned following the principles of the civil rule Confucian scholars from Joseon, just like the ones from imperial China, made extreme efforts in studying and preparing themselves to pass the civil service examinations.

And their efforts were very well rewarded: a successful candidate brought honor to all of his family and the area he belonged to.

Holding a public post based on results of the state examinations had equal importance and at

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the same time it carried economic value, because it brought along the possibility of holding a public position, which in turn brought financial benefits and other privileges.

In Joseon Korea, the Confucian scholars, the seonbi, were often considered 'the primary force of the state', a role they assumed and played for centuries, with all the complexity it acquired with the competition of various schools and political groups.

However, these highly educated men, the 'primary force of the state', often expressed their doubts about their role as literati in the service of the state, about the meaning of their scholarly life and ultimately about their moral duty.

Confucian scholars from Joseon seem to be affected by this tension between their drive towards individual study and practice of Confucian morality, the self-cultivation and the public duty for the state and government, which should also be part of Confucian morality.

Theoretically, they should be inter-related, that is, one should result from the other, but in reality, judging by the number of justifications, letters of resignation and memorials they wrote to the kings, it seems that the two were regarded as being apart, if not in opposition and the scholars were often caught in the old age dilemma of the Confucian scholar-official: what is the true role of the scholar? To serve the state in an official capacity or to pursue his scholarly and philosophical interests and concentrate on individual moral training? These two aspects of a scholar's life and role should not be in opposition.

One should not have to choose one or the other.

As we have seen before, in an ideal situation, they are inter-related, one resulting from the other, but when the times were not ideal such as a terrible political situation, but government, social disturbances, and others they are seen as being apart, if not even conflicting with each other.

Many of the most prominent Confucian scholars from the beginning to the middle of Joseon who held a public post at one point in their life experienced some form of retirement from public duty.

The reasons for rejecting public positions or withdrawing from them were various and complex: some of them were recurrent, others were singular.

We'll continue talking about this more in a following class.

Sometimes the reasons were stated in official letters of resignation, or in individual letters that the scholars sent to friends or disciples, other times we can guess the reasons from the life of the scholar and the historical background, or the historical context that he lived in.

Some scholars, like 15th century Kim Siseup 金時習 (1435-1493) retired in protest or to become a Buddhist monk, others, like Seo Gyeongdeok Hwadam 徐敬德 花潭(1489-1546) in the similar time did not accept official positions at all and remained in the countryside to dedicate themselves to the study.

It is also true that many times the scholars retired from public service because of illness: Yi Hwang Toegyae 李滉 退溪 (1501-1570) and Yiyi Yulgok 在 16th century are probably the most notorious cases of frail health.

Other scholars had open political reasons, such as Kim Siseup mentioned before of whom we will talk about in the following class or Yun Hyu 尹鑄 (1617-1680) in the 17th century who lived in the countryside and refused public posts because he opposed the terms of the peace agreement with the Manchus, or Pak Sedang 朴世堂 (1629-1703) who held again in the 17th century who held a series of minor posts but asked repeatedly to be relieved from office in spite of having outstanding credentials after having passed the special munkwa examination

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held on the occasion of King Hyeonjong's enthronement in 1660.

All of these scholars seem to have experienced a break between the ideal of moral cultivation in the spirit of the true Confucian way and the duty they had, as Confucian scholars, to serve the state and the people, or we can see them the others whom, as proper Confucians, they should always place above themselves and their personal interest.

Korean scholars from Joseon are not the only Confucians confronted with this dilemma about entering government service versus following their individual path in learning the Way.

Let us now have a look at some of the theories of social participation and the role of the scholar from classical Confucianism, in order to understand how this tension between public moral duty and individual moral duty is viewed.

Debates on one's moral duty to actively serve the state are present among scholars since the time of Confucius and are often set forth in the Analects.

Confucius' political career is one marked by at least one withdrawal from the public post he held.

According to the Shiji, the historical records by sama qian, in 501 BC, Confucius was appointed to the minor position of governor of a town in the state of Lu.

Later, he rose to the position of Minister of Crime.

The Book of History, or the records of the Grand Historian, mentioned before the shiji and also the Commentary of Zuo Zhuan tell us that Confucius left the state of Lu, which was his homeland, in 497 BC.

He travelled to the neighboring states of Wei, Song, Chen and Cai where he offered advice.

At the age of 68, a venerable age, considering the times he returned to the state of Lu.

Whether he held an office position upon his return is unclear but it seems that he advised numerous government officials, without being officially appointed himself.

In the Analects (論語), he is presented as teaching to his disciples towards the end of his life and although the problem of retiring from public service is not a recurrent one, it is the object of at least two of his discussions with them.

Every single person in the Confucian society has a predestined social role that he should fulfil, the ruler should be a ruler, the minister a minister, the father should be a father, the son should act accordingly as a son.

As such, the social duty becomes implicitly a moral duty.

Nevertheless, Confucius points out that there are times when it is morally allowed and acceptable to give up one's social-moral duty.

He says that as with everything else, public service is also governed by moral laws, which should enforce the presence of the Way Dao in the society.

The true Confucian scholar, the one that possesses Benevolence or Humanity (Ren/in 仁), has the ability to decide about government service by keeping in mind that the government on earth should mirror the Way of Heaven (tian dao/ cheon do 天道).

As such, if the state fails to follow the heavenly model, then the scholar has the right and the duty to withdraw from public service.

In Confucius' words: "Do not take up residence in a state that is troubled, and leave the state that is disordered.

If the Way is being realized in the world, then show yourself; if it is not, then retire to reclusion." Although simple in theory, things are not so straightforward.

Confucius himself did not abide by his theory.

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He left the state being afraid of retaliations from his political adversaries after having failed in his administrative plans of restoring full authority of the state to the ruler by dismantling the fortifications of the city strongholds belonging to the three families, which held the political power in the state of Lu.

However, he did not officially resign at that time.

we know from the shiji or the records of the great historian that he did resign later.

Confucius left his office and the state of Lu and in the Analects we have the justification: a true Confucian does not run away from public service, but is also not a part of an apparatus of bad government.

He abides thus by the moral duty.

The key-element here is the ability of the Confucian scholar to judge the situation correctly, with benevolence, courtesy, righteousness and wisdom.

how does he do that? Through self-cultivation, based on the constant study of Confucian classics and on personal training of one's mind-heart towards perfect balance, the scholar achieves that state of virtue above the mundane, which enables him to judge things equidistantly and fulfil his role of making the Way prevail in the world without seeking any profit from this, thus, fulfilling the Confucian desideratum of 'utter substance and grand function' or in these words (quan ti da yong/ Jeonchaedaeyong全體大用).

If this requires detachment from serving the monarch and the state, then the Confucian scholar should be able to recognize that and practice his moral virtues by distancing himself.

In spite of the provisions of classic Confucian texts, the views on the role of the literati or the official scholars have not always been unanimous, and among the scholars of Joseon we can see divergent views particularly when it comes to the social role of self-cultivation and "sage learning".

The Confucian scholars of Song China and Joseon Korea found the norm of applying this understanding of one's moral duty of self-cultivation for his own sake and for the sake of the others in a phrase from the beginning of the Great Learning (Da Xue/ Daehak 大學).

The public role is assumed by a scholar-official or by the ruler, according to three principal rules: This is what the great learning say "The way of the Great Learning lies in manifesting luminous virtue, renewing the people, and resting in the utmost good." Following these guidelines, the Confucian tradition from Song onwards, based on many of Zhu Xi's comments on the Great Learning, has identified and extensively discussed two important and interrelated aspects of scholarship: the investigation of things or as later Joseon scholars called it Gyeokmul (格物) and the practice of self-cultivation or Sugi (修己) They are also key elements of what Confucian scholars called "sage learning" (seonghak 聖學), which implies the idea of one's moral duty and has to be for a public purpose or the greater good.

Taking the thesis of the "sage learning" as the core of his teachings, Toegye advocated for the power of self-cultivation through moral practice for the restoration of the social harmony and the Heavenly order.

In other words, he emphasized the importance of the Confucian model of social engagement.

By abiding in all of these, the Confucian scholar is able to put sage learning into practice in all his activities, be it private study or public duty.

The role of the scholar in Toegye's view is clearly expressed in his exchange of letters with Nammyeong Josik 南冥曹植(1501-1572).

And one such letter was sent by Toegye in 1553, to encourage Nammyeong Jo Sik to accept

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the position to accept a public position to which he had just been appointed.

At the time, Toegye was the Head of Sunggyungwan Academy.

And in this letter, Toegye is telling his disciple that to refuse the government office is the equivalent of neglecting the bond between king and subject, which is the first and most important of the five cardinal bonds that form the basis of the Confucian society.

Toegye reminds Nammyeong Josik that prudence in accepting a public office was practiced by Confucian scholars since the old times, but that accepting a public dignity would not spoil a scholar's moral integrity, on the contrary, it is part of his duty.

Nammyeong Jo Sik did not accept the position.

In Toegye's view, his continuous refusal to accept public appointments almost advocated for non-participation in public life, not fulfilling the Confucian public side of moral duty, which attracted Toegye's strong criticism towards Nammyeong Jo Sik.

The letters of refusal to accept public dignities and the memorials he wrote to the king, sometimes very direct and critical, remind us that sometimes the Confucian scholars resorted to Confucius' arguments that there are instances when distancing oneself from public service and implicitly from the king is accepted.

For Nammyeong Jo Sik, the good government of the people, or as the great learning distinguished us 'prevailing of the way' is more important than the duty of the scholar to serve his king due to the inseparable bond between them.

In other words, if the ruler fails to fulfill his moral duty, then the scholar's actions should not be determined by this social bond, but by his moral judgement, by scholar's moral judgement. In spite of the apparent differences in opinion regarding the Confucian scholar's way of public involvement, it seems that both scholars were advocating for the scholars' role and importance in the governing exercise, but the ways they envisioned for this task were different.

The question of social participation and moral duty was never provided a clear solution.

The ambiguity of how and when a scholar should enter government office and when one can leave his office was cause of many discussions among Confucian scholars from Joseon.

In spite of all of the scholarly arguments involving the Confucian classics, it seems that there are no clear rules, that many things are contextual and that many of the scholars of Joseon viewed the public duty and the individual duty of self-cultivation as two separate things at certain times.

Referring to the case discussed earlier, in spite of urging Nammyeong Josik to take up the official position he was offered at some point in his career, Toegye had many times refused appointments himself or retired from government positions that he held.

Having passed the state examinations with honors in 1534, Toegye was appointed to 29 government positions, but he retired from office many times.

A few of the times, he was forced into retirement, when his critiques of the corrupt government were too strong, other times he left office due to illness or to dedicate himself to the study of the Confucian classics and to self-cultivation.

He held a few magistrate posts in the provinces he was in turn governor of Danyang and of Punggi province, and he was also called back to court from retirement.

He rose to the position of Head Instructor of the Sungkyunkwan Confucian Academy in 1552 but did not stay long in that high dignity either and later declined other prominent offices such as that of Minister of Rites or Yejopanseo.

There is a seeming contradiction between what Toegye sustains and what he does, but the

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question of fulfilling one's moral duty is never unclear.

This is visible, for instance, in the letters Toegye exchanged with Gidaeseung Kobong 奇大升 (1527-1572), who having recently passed the state examinations and having immediately afterwards accepted a public post, wrote to Toegye, seeking his advice on his troubling dilemma of considering giving up public service in order to dedicate himself to scholarship.

In his answer to Kobong, Toegye warned him that entering government service should be very seriously pondered and the decision to do so should not be taken lightly and once the public post is accepted, the scholars should know that it comes with great responsibility.

On the other hand, Toegye thought that one that rushed into public service cannot be genuinely interested in the study of the Way.

so his view on the "perils" on the dangers associated with public service are not fundamentally different than those of Nammyeong Jo Sik.

He too was thinking that there are scholars-officials who sway away from the Confucian way by seeking personal profit or fame and for whom official duty is only a way of reaching their vain goals, which is against all Confucian principles.

According to Toegye, the moral duty of the Confucian scholar lies in following the Way at a deeper level of understanding unavailable to non-scholars to non-educated Confucians achievable through the investigation of things, which allows the scholar to act in such a way that the original harmony between human order and cosmic order is re-established.

In this, self-cultivation plays a key role as the connecting ridge between the inner and the outer moral duty, and should not be seen either as isolated self-control nor as collective social sanction.

The struggle for understanding one's moral duty shows that Confucian scholars understanding of the ideal of self-cultivation was not a simple and straightforward process and that it involved a subtle mechanism and processual thought forms beyond the simple dichotomy of individual education and public duty.

Regardless of how they understood the way of the scholar, the role was the same for Toegye as for Nammyeong Josik, for Yulgok or Gobong and other sarim scholars: the practice of 'righteousness and principle' 義理 (euri) in order to 'remedy social ills and corruption' in the society or the world, because 'learning of righteousness and principle' and 'integrity' are ultimately defining principles for Korean Confucianism.

Scholars of Joseon were not naïve idealists: they understood the divergence between Confucian moral ideals and government participation.

In spite of the belief of some scholars that the young Confucians who were trained to be public servants in the Royal Academy were deluded idealists, many of the young scholars suspected this rift between theory and practice and thus started debating the role of the true Confucian scholar.

## 6 주 차 강 좌 운 영 방 안

<b>강좌주제</b>	Confucian education in the local setting: Hyanggyo and their curricula	<b>교수자</b>	Martin Gehlmann
<b>학습목표</b>	1. Able to recall what “향교(Hyanggyo)” means in Korean Society 2. Understanding the education system of Joseon Korea 3. Able to distinguish and explain the difference between Sungkyunkwan and Hyanggyo 4. Able to describe the shape of Korean traditional Confucian schools 5. Able to reflect the meaning of education system		
<b>핵심어</b>	Hyanggyo, Joseon education system, Sungkyunkwan		
<b>주요흐름</b>	Professor Martin Gehlmann gives us a lecture about the Korean traditional education system especially the local one named Hyanggyo. Analyzing the name of Hyanggyo, Hyang means local and Gyo means schools. It can be distinguished with Sungkyunkwan the capital school in Joseon Korea. Professor Gehlmann		
<b>읽기자료</b>	1. 강대민, 『조선후기 향교 사론』, 국학자료원, 2018. 제1장 2, 4, 5절 2. 김정신, 「조선전기 향교의 정치 사회적 성격과 쇠퇴 원인」, 『중원문화연구』 13, 2010 3. 조상순, 「조선시대 향교 건축의 공간 구성 - 기문 및 문헌자료를 중심으로」, 『동양 예술』 20, 2012 4. 채현경, 「조선후기 향교소장 서책 목록과 관리운영」, 『서지학보』 32, 2008		
<b>기타학습요소</b>	단답형 퀴즈 5문항과 약술형 질문 2문항 제공		

### 기타학습요소 운영계획

#### Question

1. What was the purpose of the whole educational system of Joseon such as Hyanggyo? (To produce Neo-Confucian bureaucrats to govern the state as an ideal Confucian state)
2. What was the main reason of falling down of Hyanggyo? (Establishing private schools, Seowon with better teachers and Seowon took the hegemony away from Hyanggyo)

#### Quiz

1. Which dynasty of China could be compare with for identifying Joseon's educational code? (Ming, 명)
2. Who wrote the Kyeonggukjeon, the national law in very early of Joseon dynasty? (Jeong Dojeon, 정도전, Sambong, 삼봉)
3. What was the name of higher public examination? (Daegwa, 대과)
4. How can we divide Hyanggyo buildings as two part by its purposes? (Myeongryundang and Daeseongjeon, 명륜당과 대성전)
5. Which book was well used for educating elementary children? (Sohak, 소학)

## 강좌내용

My name is Martin Gehlmann and I am a research assistant in Ruhr-University Bochum and today I would like to speak to you about the educational system of Joseon dynasty with a special focus on local education.

For this I will talk first a little bit about the relevance about this topic and the sources that I used on my research on this and then go on to talk about the history and the institutions that are part of the education system and then make a connection between the schools and these institutions and the civil service examination system during the Joseon Dynasty.

Then I will go on and talk a little bit about the school structure itself: the set-up of the schools, the architectural features and designs and then talk about what was actually going on in the schools, what was taught in the schools, and how the students lived and learned in these schools.

Now, why is it interesting to talk about educational systems in the first place.

I think in general educational system often represent the ideals of the state that wants to see and put into reality in the future.

So educational systems are always designed to produce the next generation of students that reflect certain ideas and ideals of the society.

But of course, education is a very expensive matter so building the educational system and especially maintaining the educational system has always connected to very high financial investments by the state and therefore often we can see the contradiction between, on the one-side, the state trying to put the ideals into practice through the educational system, but on other side negotiating these ideals with the financial strain that this puts on the resources of the state.

Now, looking at the Korean educational system, especially during the Joseon dynasty, we find these negotiations between these two points very strongly as well.

What is particularly fascinating for me, about the educational system of the Joseon dynasty, is that there is a certain appeal to an universal goal of education that reaches everybody in the whole society.

And in that sense also, it is very comprehensive already, that we have a big educational system that reaches into the smallest part of the society, into the smallest villages, or at least tries to reach everybody that lives in the Korean peninsula.

But at the same time, we also have the problem and the tension between the ideals of elite education that the system is supposed to provide and these ideals of public education that the Confucian knowledge that is disseminated through the educational system is supposed to reach everybody.

So, if you look at the educational system of the Joseon dynasty as a whole, we have this conflict between an ideal educational system and the realities of putting this ideal educational system into place.

Now, these tensions are often reflected by the way we looked at the educational system in the first place.

So, what are the sources we look at and how do we understand the educational system from these sources.

So the first part, or the first sources we usually look at if we look at the set-up of the educational systems are legal codes, because these define what institutions are there, what institutions are set-up by the state, and how they are supposed to function, what roles they play in the society, what rules guide these institutions, and how they are supposed to educate

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the students in the schools.

Particularly with the establishment of the Joseon dynasty at the end of the 14th century, we have many of these codes that set-up a particular school system that was supposed to reach into the farthest portions of the peninsula and carry the Confucian ideology of the new state into every corner of Korea.

Of course, over time these rules often changed and there were different administrative codes that often appealed also to, or reacted to, certain changes in the country.

For example, after the Japanese invasion, of course, there was a much different discussion about who was eligible to enroll in the schools and who wasn't anymore, which I will talk about a little bit later.

So, if you look at these legal codes it is important to keep in mind that they reflect a certain ideal educational system, of course.

This was how the educational system was supposed to function, how it was supposed to work, and how it was supposed to reach the people.

What is also important, if you look at these different codes and regulations is that they are often also very much influenced by Chinese regulations or Chinese laws or the Chinese system.

When the Joseon dynasty set-up the educational system they were very much influenced by the recently set-up system of the Ming dynasty as well.

So, they tried to copy it in a sense, but in certain parts also created their own institutions or followed the institutional histories that already existed on the peninsula.

This may be interesting to look at two dynasties in comparison, especially because if you look at the Ming dynasty, they start to set-up this very comprehensive and a large educational system, as well, but very early ran into financial troubles and never managed to set-up a system, that was reaching actually the whole China.

While Korea is a smaller country, or the Joseon dynasty as a smaller country, was able to build a much more comprehensive educational system, but also encountered the problems of financing the system for a long time.

Now, a second set of sources that always is very helpful to look at, if you studied the history of the schools is, of course, the historical annals and historical records you can find.

Most prominently, of course, the Choson wangjok sillok or the Veritable Records of the Choson dynasty.

So, if you look at these sources we often see how the state viewed its educational system, but these are, of course, already in interaction with the schools themselves, so we see more problems here that were reported back to the court and problems that appeared in local schools that were reported to the court and the reactions of the court towards these problems, but still it is a very top-down view on the educational system as a whole.

So, these sources were often very helpful and seeing how the court imagined its educational system and how it was supposed to work and how it ran into trouble.

Of course, we also have to look at the earlier history of, especially, the schools in the countryside, which first founded during the Koryeo dynasty already, so it's important also, to look at the history of these institutions during Koryeo times, A third form of sources that is very helpful for studying the histories of the schools in the Choson dynasty are so called transcribed records or deungnok등록 which as a form appeared after the Japanese invasions, most famously of course in the form of Bibyeonsadeungnok비변사등록, the records of the Border Defense Council.

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There are also these kinds of records of schools and records of student evaluations in schools, which are often in the form of transcribed or copied official forms.

They are preserved in collections made later on.

In these records we often can find the day to day operations of the schools, applications of the schools to the court, the local government for help in the form of land or book donations, but also visits of local dignitaries that are recorded in resources, or even the examinations that are held in schools in order to evaluate the students' performance and find out if the students are properly learning, if they follow their local curriculum or if they are just in the schools to gain exemption from taxes.

The source that has already been studied very widely are the examination records, so the records of those students that were successful in the civil service examinations.

These records have been studied particularly since the 1960s by Edward Wagner and Song June Ho, who developed this large database of all the people in the whole history of the Choson dynasty that passed the civil service examination, so these sources are very helpful and looking at the makeup of the people that actually participated in the civil service examinations and passed these, and therefore give us a good overview of the groups that were actually able to successfully study during the Choson dynasty and participate in the examinations.

Now a 4th or the 5th source that is worth looking at are always the local sources, looking up, from top-down, we talked about sources that like describe how the system was supposed to work, and now the local sources if you look at these, we often can find how the system actually worked in the local setting.

These are often local records that are produced to record the history of a certain area, sometimes also the history of certain schools and therefore give us like a particular history of the school and how it progressed over time, what changes appeared in the school, who were the teachers that taught in the schools, when was the school rebuilt, when was it moved, so these are very helpful to look at the individual histories of these schools We have these also for the history of the Sunggyungwan성균관, so we can also see here how education functioned in the capital and what problems arose there and how it was related in many senses the history of what was conducted in the countryside.

For this, also, we can sometimes look to more widely drawn gazetteers, who document basically the whole set-up of the educational system in the whole Korean peninsula and give us a sense of where the schools were located and what county, where was the school, how was it related to the local administration, and this of course helps also to establish in a large sense how the educational system functioned as a whole.

Now, then as a last source of course we can look or have to look at the individual writings that scholars actually went to these schools and from this we can learn most of the realities of what actually happened in the schools.

We have, of course, the scholarly writings: the munjip문집, the collective writings of the scholars, in which we can see their personal experiences as teachers, as students, as administrators related to the schools and from this can conclude somehow how the schools actually worked and what maybe didn't work and how the educational system functioned on the bottom level.

particularly helpful in this regard are Ilgi일기 records, or diaries, by scholars that wrote that their personal experiences, from studying themselves to prepare for the civil service examinations and up to being teachers or lecturers in the schools and how they experienced

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this, and we can see from this the actual realities of the system compared to the ideal set-up that is documented in the legal codes.

And the last set of sources that are also very helpful to look at the history of the schools are, of course, the documents they have left behind, that document their day to day operations and for example their landholdings, how they were buying and selling land, how they were buying and selling slaves, how they applied for books from the government and their interactions with the local community, that sense can be gained from these documents that we often still find from some collections. Now, besides having created the very comprehensive and large educational system during the Choson dynasty, the history of the educational system in Korea is also very, it reaches back very long.

We have the first greater schools, or documented greater schools, already during the times of the Three Kingdoms with the foundation of Taehak school 태학 in Goguryeo 고(구)려 in 372.

Of course, these early schools often modeled themselves of the Chinese ideals or Chinese records, historical records, and tried to kind of emulate the Chinese system for teaching especially in the capital and the children of the local elites.

Overtime, they have different forms of these higher schools that are located in the capital, in Silla 신라 and Goryeo 고려.

During the Goryeo dynasty we have this called Kukjagam 국자감 or Directorate of Education following the Tang dynasty tradition.

Since 1308 the highest school of the capital then is renamed as Sunggyungwan school 성균관, a name that remained for the remainder of the Choson dynasty.

Now looking at local education in the countryside, of course, there were always private schools and private education in the family, so we have to count these in as well, and also since Buddhism arrived on the Korean peninsula, we have educational processes that happened in the temples, where lay people are taught, of course, to write and read in order to be able to understand the Buddhist scripture.

But, looking at state sponsored schools that exist in the countryside it often is said that these appear in the form of local schools or Hyanggyo in the 10th to 11th century.

Now what the differences is between these schools and schools that may existed earlier, is often that they contain not only an educational space, so a lecture hall, but they also contained a Confucian shrine mostly located in the back of the school, but they combine these two elements into one and follow the example that is given by the main school in the capital.

Especially after the founding of the Choson dynasty, there is a great drive to build local schools in the whole country in order to disseminate the Confucian knowledge and Confucian ideas through the schools to the general population.

This is especially driven forward by one of the founding fathers, so to speak, of the Choson dynasty, which is of course Jeong Do Jeon 정도전.

He especially in his legal writings, the Kyonggukjeon 경국전 so the Code of Administration he set-up for the country, was concerned with setting up schools in all of the counties, because in his thought "schools were the root of transformation for education.

They are where the human relations are clarified and they are where the talents are formed.

Our country has built the Sunggyungwan 성균관 at the center to educate the sons of great ministers and officials and the outstanding among the people.

Local educators are placed to educate the children and extend this system.

In every province, prefecture, large or small county there is one local school where teachers

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and students are placed.” So, we see here the idea that education was supposed not to only give the people a chance to study for the civil service examinations, but was actually there to spread the Confucian ideals to all of the population.

So there is a certain universal rhetoric here at play that tries to emphasize the Confucian idea of a wholly Confucian society, where everybody has the chance to study these ideas.

Now the institutions that are set-up to spread these ideas and also to keep the educational systems running are in the capital the Sunggyungwan성균관, as I have mentioned before, which is often translated as the National Academy, because it is located at a little bit higher point than other educational institutions that are built in the country.

In order to study at the Sunggyungwan성균관 during the Choson dynasty you were supposed to already have finished the lower examination level and have gained the title of either Saengwon생원 or Jinsa진사 title during the lower examinations.

But often a quota of 200 students that were able to attend Sunggyungwan성균관 was not met and so the number of students was filled up with students that not yet had gained any title or degree in the civil service examinations.

The school was run by about 83 officials that were involved in the day-to-day operations of the school and even had like a system of attendance registration, where the students were supposed to mark their attendance in the school during lunch time in order to prove that they were actually studying at the school and were not just enrolled for other purposes.

But of course if you look at the records of the Sunggyungwan성균관, we find as well that often students signed their name for other students, so there was a certain amount of trying to get around the system.

Because we often see that it was actually not very coveted to stay at Sunggyungwan성균관 because the dormitories were often not in a good condition, and it was difficult for the students to stay in the capital if they came from the country side, so many students either stayed outside the school or tried to prepare for the higher examination level in the countryside.

The advantages that came with studying at Sunggyungwan성균관 were of course that you often could skip parts of the civil service examination and therefore had an easier way into officialdom.

And also with it came that many students that studied at the Sunggyungwan성균관 could automatically qualify for the second round of the civil service examinations.

The second set of schools that were located in the capital are the so called ‘Four schools’ or Sabu Hakdang 사부학당, that were located in different parts of the capital, and the four schools in a sense can be seen in being in an equal level with the Hyanggyo schools or local schools in the countryside, as students there were supposed to prepare for the lower level civil service examinations.

Of course, these students were attended by the children of officials that lived in the capital and what was interesting maybe about this four schools system is that compared to the local schools, which were set-up by a lecture hall and a shrine hall, these four schools themselves did not have a Confucian shrine within their compound, because they were generally thought to be affiliated with the Sunggyungwan성균관, so the Sunggyungwan성균관 held the Confucius shrine in the capital and therefore the four schools didn’t have these shrines as well, as the students could go on to the shrine in the Sunggyungwan성균관 .

Now, coming to the main point of talking about the local schools, I think it’s important to

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already hear, compare ideal and reality.

As I mentioned before, the local schools were set-up as a very comprehensive system to reach the whole of the country and so we often in secondary literature about the educational system of the Choson dynasty, we talk today about the ideal of “one county, one school”, so the idea that every county of the Choson dynasty actually had one school, where students could enroll and study for the civil service examination, as well as study Confucian thought in general.

This is difficult to confirm if actually every county always had one school, but we can say that there were more than 320 schools that existed in the whole history of the Choson dynasty.

But, of course, often administrative boundaries were redrawn, schools burned down, schools moved, so it's difficult to say actually if there was a time when every county had its own school.

Theoretically, the schools in the countryside were open to all commoners and the only people excluded were those of the lower class, so slaves and certain other people that were considered to be as a base class and could not participate or enroll in the schools.

The schools had different quota of enrollment, so the number of students that could join the school, and this depended, of course, on where the schools were located, so the schools in bigger cities and towns had a higher a number of places for the students to enroll, while of course the students in the smaller counties had lower numbers.

Teachers and officials running the schools were supposedly sent from the capital and were officials that had already succeeded in the civil service examinations and then were sent into different counties of the country in order to teach there in the schools or run the administrations of the schools.

As mentioned before, the schools were financed mostly through study fields that were granted to the schools, so called study-fields.

So land that was granted to schools by the government and every administrator or magistrate of a county was supposed to make sure that the school was maintained, that its buildings were in order and that it had enough finances for its operations.

The schools also had some slaves that were also involved in maintaining the buildings, working on the fields, and the general the operation of the schools.

Now, the most important factor in the running of the schools, of course, was that when you joined as a student and one of these local students, you became exempt from military operations, you didn't have to pay military tax or participate in military, give military obligations to the government during certain times.

This of course was a great draw for people to join these schools and many people, of course, tried to keep up the status of studying for the civil service examinations by enrolling in these schools.

This idea of being exempt from military obligations when enrolling in the schools, of course, kind a reflects this rhetoric of that study Confucian knowledge and you studied Confucian ideas, as you were supposed to in schools, you were exempt from having to do anything else because this was kind of an important part of the ideal of the State.

This changed overtime and especially later on many people complained that the students in the schools just enroll there in order to escape their military taxes and actually don't study.

So quite early on, we already find complains by Confucian scholars about the quota system, because they complained that introducing such a system for the schools would put a limit on how much talent could be won for the state, so they were often complaining about these

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quotas and the state reacted by enlarging the number of students that could enroll in the different level of schools.

Now what this reflects on, I think, is very much that we have especially the Yangban 양반 class had its power, its power came from the examination system and being able to enroll in the schools.

So, by putting a quota on the schools, of course, they were putting quota on how many people could enroll and participate in the civil service examinations and thereby limit the chance of replicating one's status as the member of the elite class.

Furthermore, because they were always competing with commoners enrolling in the schools and Yangban 양반 scholars very early on tried to distinguish themselves by forming their own rosters and trying to push commoners out of the schools in order to retain their own status.

Next up, I want to talk about the institutional framework in which the different schools operated, especially in relation to the civil service examination system and I already mentioned before the local schools and the four schools that were located in the capital which are often associated with the lower examination in the civil service examination which was also known as the Sogwa 소과 or Samasi 사마시.

The lower examination in civil service examinations produced either Saengwon 생원 degree holders or Jinsa 진사 degree holders.

And Saengwan degree holders where those who studied the Confucian classics and Jinsa degree holders were often more trained in literary writings or writings of poems, for example poems and prose texts.

Now the examination system, on the lower level worked in two steps: First, there was provincial examination that was done in the countryside in the local schools or on the same side in the capital the first examination, which produced in total of 1,400 students that were successful in these examinations and which would go on to metropolitan exam, which was held in the capital.

So, you could imagine that during these times when the second part of this lower examination was held in the capital, we have these students all over from the country coming to Seoul to participate in this big examination so it was a big travel and there were always problems with infrastructure and housing for all these students, and of course with such a big movement in the country often also produced with sickness and other problems for the students coming from the country.

After they held the second round of the examination in the capital, there was a total of 200 successful examinees and chosen among the 1,400 that participated in the examinations, and these then were conferred the lower examination degrees and basically by this could retain their status.

Now, being successful in the lower examination part of the civil service examinations didn't qualify for becoming an office holder in the Choson dynasty but often, it was enough for scholars to retain their status as members of the elite so they returned often to the countryside and became part of local associations of Confucian scholars and exerted their power there.

But some others went on or decided also to go for the higher examinations system, which was known as the Munkwa 문과 or Taegwa 대과 which provided the Munkwa degree and the civil service degree, which was a little bit of a harder examination.

The higher examination was divided into three levels of examinations: First, again the

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provincial examination which produced about 240 successful students or participants in the whole of the country, but already this first examination was divided in three different parts the students had to be successful in.

Then again, they would move to the capital where among these 240 students in three different examinations 33 students were chosen as the successful participants of this round of the examinations.

Then as a last step there was the so called palace examinations, where students then those 33 students would basically go on to hold another examination in front of the King, but this examination was largely just ceremonial, but in a sense it was decide during this time who was the highest, who received the highest position and the honor of being the winner, so to say, of the examination system and therefore be able to get the highest position in the government straight after receiving this higher examination degree Now, these different parts of the examination system are often associated with different schools.

So, Training in the local schools was, of course, for the lower examination system, but also students prepared there for the higher examination system as well.

But as mentioned before, the Sunggyungwan성균관 in particular is associated with the higher examination system because students at the Sunggyungwan, that were enrolled in the Sunggyungwan, often had already finished the lower examination degree and therefore could go on to the higher degree.

Now, its maybe important to mention here, success in the lower examination system was not a prerequisite to participate in the higher examination.

So, you could if you wanted, you could just go to the higher examination system right away.

The civil service examination system of the Choson dynasty is impressive because it was held every three years regularly and only very few times was actually interrupted, so we have nearly unbroken history of these examinations that are being held every three years in an organized fashion.

But then, also beyond this we have many special occasions which was marked by many special celebratory examinations, for example, if a crown prince was born a special examination was held, if a member of the royal family recovered from a sickness a special examination was held so we can see how the examination system is closely tied to the setup of the Choson state, and how it is an reflection of its ideals of meritocracy.

So that people could rise basically through the examination system and gain social mobility by moving through the different examinations and rise to a higher post But in reality, if you look at the Choson dynasty, then we know that it was a very status-driven society and positions in the society were often decided by kinship relations belonging to the right family from the beginning.

While this system was supposedly and ideally very open for everybody to participate in, it was actually quite close and if we look at the families who participated in the examination and were successful it is quite obvious that the system wasn't as universal as it styled itself often.

But still I think it's very important to notice that the examination and participation in the examination was always viewed as something positive, so you could advance in status, you could advance yourself and you were basically working as the talent for the state.

Now, looking at the architectural setup of the local schools, we find certain features appearing in all of these schools, but of course every school was located in the different area and therefore was often very different but we can identify certain characteristics that appeared in

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most of the schools.

So the schools often, or always had a lecture hall, which was also flanked by two dormitories, an eastern and a western dormitory and in the front often the gate or a little terrace was constructed as the entrance to the school.

The second feature of the schools is that they are all housed a Confucius shrine where Confucius and his disciples, some Confucian scholars from China and also during the course of the Choson dynasty 18 Korean scholars were introduced and worshipped.

The basic setup of these schools therefore followed that of the Sunggyungwan in the capital. But, of course, because the schools were not as big and didn't have the finances like the Sunggyungwan especially with regards to the size of the shrine there were often compromises made on who was actually worshipped in the shrine, so often we find that just in the local schools they have a small shrine to Confucius and his direct disciples, and not a big shrine as it was in the Sunggyungwan.

Also, of interest is, if we look at the architectural designs of the schools that the shrine building is always the most prominent part of the school.

So, looking at most of the school setups if they are located at the mountainside the shrine is usually in the back, because this way it is in the highest position and it represents that the shrine feature in the schools was most important.

So, the dissemination of the Confucian values and ideas through worshipping of Confucius and his disciples was the most important part of school education and this is reflected in the architectural designs of the schools.

For example, if we find other schools not located on the mountain sides or the hill sides, but on flat land then usually the shrine is built in the front because, or in the middle of the schools, because it is again, it is the most important part.

so we find certain local schools, for example, the Jeonju Hyanggyo 전주향교 where the shrine building is in front of the lecture hall, in the center of the compound and therefore takes the most important position.

Beyond that, the school often is divided in outer and inner part, so we have a front gate which leads to the main part of the schools, and then we have the second gate usually in front of the shrine, which was locked during most times and only opened during ceremonial occasions.

Maybe looking on the at the names of the different buildings the lecture hall was called Myeongryundang 명륜당 which can be translated a hall of clarifying human relations, because of course the main part of Confucian education was the Oryun오륜, the 5 relations, which defined the society.

If you look at the regulations that were guiding the teaching instructions in the school, it is quite obvious that one of the most important texts used for studying and also as a guiding of the students in the school was the Elementary Learning, or Sohak 소학 in Korean.

In this text, the basic tenets of Confucianism are put together and it was also one of the texts that every student had to study for the civil service examination.

So, this text was agreed on very early on being one of the main regulations to be used in the schools.

And if we look at the book inventories of the schools, we can find that nearly every school had the version of Elementary Learning for the students to study and often also vernacular versions of the Elementary Learning, so a larger audience could understand the meaning and the contents of this book.

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Of course, regulation-wise we also have more concrete regulations that regulated the day-to-day life of the schools, so what students can do, at what time, when they were supposed to be learning, when they are supposed to be quiet, when they have to clean the school, when they what they had to pay to participate in certain rituals and stuff.

So, these regulations are usually more concrete and not as defining what the ideal of the school was in relation to Confucian knowledge.

Looking at the books, of course, that were stored in the inventories of the school we can know what was taught there and of course this was related to the civil service examinations.

So the books that were tested during the civil service examinations were also stored in the schools in order for students being able to access them, study them, read them together, and copy them maybe for themselves.

These are, of course, the basic text of the Confucian curriculum, which are the Four books as designated by the Zhuxi주희, Chinese philosopher and the Confucian five classics and just as I mentioned the elementary learning.

But then as the civil service examination testing also involved the writing of literary texts: poems, prose-rhymes, often the school inventories also held poem collections.

Poem collections for example from the Tang masters, the Chinese masters from the Tang dynasty, but also Korean poem collections the students could use as a guide to study the craft of writing poetry.

Then because the civil service examination also had parts where you were supposed to elaborate on historical problems or political problems through historical texts, it was important for the schools also to hold different historical writings from different Chinese dynasties, and also those from the Korean history.

So, these texts can also often be found in the inventories of the schools.

And then we also find often the collections of scholars that are stored in the inventories and libraries of the schools, which are related to scholar famous scholars from where the school was located.

So this is kind of a local connection and also as a guide maybe to the students of this particular school, because these scholars were supposed to kind of serve as an ideal to follow for the students and to show them their local belonging or belonging to a certain particular school or faction that was connected to the schools.

Looking at the history of the schools we can say that particularly starting in the 16th century, the government had more and more problems financing the schools and upholding their operations and one of the biggest problems was that nobody wanted to work as teachers in schools.

So I talked about the civil service examination process and you saw how difficult it was to go through this process and gain an official position, so the scholars who were appointed as officials often didn't want to go to these lowly positions as being a teacher in the countryside and then rather retreated to the family holdings or sought other positions.

So, schools were often missing educational personnel that was qualified to teach in these schools.

Furthermore, the government support dwindled and became less and less in the 16th century, so one step that was done by the government during this time in order to solve these two problems was that they stopped dispatching teachers and administrative personnel for the schools from the capital, but actually handed the operation of the schools, gave the operation

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of the schools, into the hands of local families.

Now what happened through this is, of course, the local families that were running the schools became very much involved with this and often revived the operations of the schools: they let more students enroll, repaired the buildings of the schools, for example, but at the same time this in a sense privatized the original state schools, by giving it in the hand of the local families, the families became entrenched in the schools and monopolized the institution for themselves.

The positions of instructors and directors of schools became hereditary and were held in certain families and they also decided who could join the school and who could not. A different factor that came up in the 16th century was the appearance of the Confucian academies, or Seowon서원, which was often thought to be related to the downfall of the schools in one way or another: Either as a reaction to the decline in state education or as one cause of the decline of the state education, because many of the students or privileged students were now seeking not to join the local school, which had a bad reputation but were actually trying to get enrolled in the Confucian academies.

So, if we look at quotes from this time we see that the schools gained a rather bad reputation and as places where students only enroll in order to escape the tax obligations, the military service obligations, they were supposed to give to the state.

So especially the status of Kyosaeng 교생the student, so school student, was often described as people that are 60 years old but have not learned even one character and just joining the schools in order not to pay taxes.

What also happened because the schools were very put into private hands, run by private families, of course, these families had now the interest of letting many people join the schools and pay enrollment fees so the schools started, in order to finance their operation, started to admit more students and was actually designed for their quota.

For this time, we often speak the difference between quota students and so-called extra-quota students that are outside the actually designed quota of students that could attend these schools.

Here is a quote in a translation by Choe Yong-ho where he kind of compares the academies with the schools and kind of reflects on this situation with this non-quota students: different from the local schools in the following respect.

In the local schools, there are two types of students - those who are admitted within the assigned quota and those who are admitted as non-quota students.

Those who are enrolled as the non-quota students are all either sons of concubines or commoners.

Those enrolled in the academies on the other hand are the honored members of the scholar families, who are concurrently listed in the rosters of Confucian scholars.” So, we see that at this points students at local schools were thought to be non not able to join the civil service examination and therefore just joined the schools in order to basically gain the status of not having to pay the taxes.

Of course, they would pay for this so the students in the schools were just seen as money operations or financial operations of certain families at this point.

With the rise of two kind of students in the schools also a hierarchy appeared between those two students.

So, quota students were considered to be from elite families often and attended the schools in

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order to qualify to participate the civil service examinations, when non-quota students often just joined the school in order to augment the school finances and then just stayed there because they wanted to escape their military obligations.

This was also reflected in the way those students were treated in the schools.

Quota students from the elite families often participated in the rituals as the main holders of the rituals they were doing the many parts of the rituals, while the non-quota students were supposed to attend these rituals and offer the finances, take care of the ritual utensils, and prepare the ritual offerings.

Also, they were in charge of caretaking of the schools, while the quota students mostly were in the schools to study.

This is also reflected in the way the students were assigned inside the schools, so students from elite families were recorded in the eastern dormitory of the schools while the non-quota students were to be recorded in the western dormitory of the school.

Now, the state tried to counteract the decline of the state system with various methods in order to bring the state school system again under its control and recover and rebuild many of the schools in order to provide education in the countryside.

However, the final blow to the school system, so to say, came of course with the Japanese invasion at the end of the 16th century where many of the schools, which were often located in settlements, in towns, so many of the schools were burned and destroyed during the Japanese invasions and were often rebuild only really late.

After the Japanese invasions there was also a realization in the government of Choson dynasty that one reason for the military unpreparedness for the Japanese invasions was that many students were escaping from military obligations and paying military taxes and contributed to abysmal performance of the Choson military at the beginning of the invasions So, the state tried, especially at the beginning of the 17th century to institute a form of student evaluation that was supposed to check if the students were actually engaging and learning in the schools.

This was particularly interesting because as I talked about before when we talk about examinations during the Choson dynasty it was usually always a process of advancing in status.

If you participate in the civil service examinations in order to gain a higher status, to advance in society, to gain a higher position and become an official or a member of the government.

Now, this new evaluation or examination which was called Gyosaeng Gogang 교생 고강 or student evaluation was an examination designed to root out these students that were not learning.

So by failing this examination you could actually lose the status as students.

This was of course a kind of new idea that was introduced with this examination, and this is particularly interesting in the state relations to the students because before examinations were thought of something graceful that the king was offering the chance to the people to advance in the country.

What is interesting about this Gyosaeng Gogang system is that it developed overtime and had many problems especially in the way it was conducted.

So what would happen is that the state would dispatch an official in order to go to different schools and different provinces and check the status of the students enrolled in the schools, whether they were able to prove a certain level of knowledge concerning the Confucian texts they were supposed to study in schools and then if they would fail these examinations, they would fall into, they would lose the status as students and fall into the category where they

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would have to pay taxes or actually join the military and perform military duty.

Of course, this was seen by many of the students as an attack of the status as the members of the elite, so there was a large scale protests against the inception of this kind of form of evaluation.

And if we look at the first or at the first rules that were proposed for this examination system, in 1644, we can already see that in the time it took to formulate these regulations for these students examinations there was a part sort of negotiation going on between the state, who wanted to enlarge its tax base and get more finances for the military and the students in the schools would try to protect their position as being exempt from taxation and therefore being able to prepare supposedly for the civil service examinations.

So, originally the state decided that the official would go to the schools and evaluate the different students could for example, decide himself what of the elementary Confucian texts he would test the students in.

Now there was protests from the students and finally in the rules of 1644 it says: that the students themselves can decide which texts they want to be tested in.

This, of course, is a great help if you have to have an examination and you can choose yourself what text you wanted to be examined in because it makes it easy of course in preparation.

Then we also have lots of discussions about whether if you actually fail this kind of oral examination that was conducted by the investigator sent by the court, if you would immediately lose your student status or you would get another chance to take a second examination a year later.

So in the rules of the 1644, it was actually designed in the way that students would have a second chance of taking these tests.

So you can already tell that even though the state tried to introduce this kind of system in order to get more people to pay military tax, in its negotiations with the people enrolled in the schools and especially the elites that tried to get out of the tax system or protect the status outside the tax system, had considerable power opposite the state in the way of negotiating the system to their own advantage and kind of watering down the original idea of testing the students through these oral examinations.

Also if you look at the history of these examinations we find that often they were not conducted quite properly, because officials often they also came from important families and were kind of related to the people, they were testing so often they gave them really easy passes and said everybody was successful in the examinations and sometimes we have records that the examiners didn't even show up and everybody just got a pass in this examinations and therefore could keep the status as students.

So it was a constant problem of probably conducting these examination and the state always had the problem of trying to get more people into the tax system.

Now, another problem that arose in connection to the system was of course that students were plainly cheating.

So we have interesting quotes from inspectors or people that would observed these inspections and they describe how all the students that had to take the student evaluation examination were put into a room and the room was closed and they were supposed to write a poem about a certain text, but what they actually did they just passed the topic of the exam to their friends or other students that were outside and they actually then wrote the poem for them

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and everybody inside the building passes the examination.

Of course, this kind of cheating in this instance can only exist if the clerk or the investigator kind of turns a blind eye to this process and we can see often that people involved in the, in conducting these examinations were more concerned with actually making sure that the students would not complain and therefore gave them an easy pass and let them keep their student status.

Now, overall looking at the educational system of the Choson dynasty we see that in its inception and also in its institutional setup is a very clearly defined system, where you advanced through different institutions in order to prepare for the civil service examination and then in the end become an official, if you make it all way, or at least attain some sort of degree.

So you start in a lower form of school when you were very young, and you have an advance at some point to a local school Hyanggyo, and if you are successful at a lower level of civil service examinations you are allowed to advance to the Sunggyungwan at the capital and prepare for the higher examinations.

So, the system, and often this is our gaze from modern times we assume that this educational system that works in a very institutionalized way.

If we look at diaries from scholars from the Choson dynasty however we often find that these career paths through the educational system are not this straight, following the straight line of going through the different institutions.

What we find instead is that scholars or students especially preparing for the state examinations received most of their education at home.

The education through the family was the most important part of the student's life so if you had a father or an uncle or somebody who was related to a great teacher or something, you would first always study with this person and become connected to a certain schools or certain line of thinking, and then maybe join the school just in the roster and there was no steady attendance in local schools or any other institutions or rather students were kind of floating from place to place in order to get the best education possible, they were looking for where is the greatest teacher that teaches, where is a good lecture that is held and they were moving from place to place to participate and kind of also test their own skills in competition with other students at local schools.

So the system is not that you would join one particular school and stay there all the time, but students were always looking for the best masters from which they could learn and prepare in the best way to participate in the civil service examinations and of course through this system, there were strong bonds formed between masters and disciples and these bonds often played a big role after the students were successful and also for them to be successful in the civil service examinations, because of often these bonds and relations played a big role in evaluation of students already during the civil service examination and beyond.

Going back to what I mentioned in the beginning I think the educational system of the Choson dynasty reflects very much on one main contradiction that we find with Confucian thought and Korean society at the time.

Which is that we have this idea of universally ideology that was supposed to include everybody and reach everybody, and give everybody in a sense a chance to advance through their own knowledge and by their own skills through the system and raise their position in society while at the same time the very much status-conscious Choson society, the elites monopolized

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education for their own status and thereby used these schools or protected the schools in order to protect their own status.

So, I think this is very interesting also if we compare the educational system of the Choson dynasty with the modern educational system, because the many questions that arise in the management and in the ideals and realities of the Choson dynasty school system are still reflected on today.

So, what is education for? is it for an universal and very egalitarian approach to teaching students and making sure they all have the same chances to advance through their own skills or is it there in order to replicate and rebuild the certain elite that already exists and kind of repeats its success in society through the school systems, and educational systems that they control.

So, what is very interesting for me in the educational system of the Choson society is that very early on raises all these questions that we now discuss if you look at modern educational system, also if you look at the financing sides, so how much is the state involved in financing schools, and how much is it worth to finance schools, and give people the chance to advance through the school system.

## 7 주 차 강 좌 운 영 방 안

<b>강좌주제</b>	The genealogy of the Way in Joseon Korea	<b>교수자</b>	Vladimir Glomb
<b>학습목표</b>	1. Able to understand the transmission of the Way in Joseon and its historical background 2. Understand and remember the general explanation about the history of the transmission of the Way in China 3. Evaluate Zhu Xi's explanation and its theoretical mechanisms 4. Analyze Chinese and Korean transmission of the Way in Confucianism 5. Understand the importance of Toegye and Yulgok in the history of Korean Confucianism 6. Able to interpret the traditional explanation of the transmission of the Confucian Way		
<b>핵심어</b>	Transmission of the Way, Dotong, Zhu Xi, Neo-Confucianism, Yi Hwang, Yi Yi		
<b>주요흐름</b>	Professor Vladimir Glomb explains the transmission of the Way of Neo-Confucianism especially focusing on Zhu Xi and how it changed in Joseon after Zhu Xi's death. He shows how both Yi Hwang's and Yi Yi's disciples described their teacher as the legitimate successor.		
<b>읽기자료</b>	1. Tu Weiming, "Toegye's creative interpretation of Zhu Xi's philosophy of principle", <i>Korean Philosophy: Its tradition and modern transformation</i> , Hollym International Corp., 2004. 2. 한국철학사연구회, 『한국철학사상사』, 심산, 2003., 제7장, 제9장 3. 최연식, 「조선시대 도통 확립의 계보학」, 『한국정치학회보』 45(4), 2011.		
<b>기타학습요소</b>	단답형 퀴즈 7문항		

### 기타학습요소 운영계획

Quiz

1. Who was scholar made the genealogy of Confucianism in Song dynasty China? (Zhu Xi, 주희)
2. Who was the first person of the transmission of the Confucian Way in ancient China for Zhu Xi? (Fuxi, 복희 / Yao, 요 도 정답 인정)
3. Who was not sage but the first ordinary person in the history of transmitting of the Way? (Confucius, 공자)
4. For Joseon scholars, from whom did the Korean peninsula succeed the Confucian Way from ancient China? (Gija, 기자)
5. What was the name who wrote Yi Hwang as the direct heir professor Glomb quoted in this lecture? (Seongho Yi Yik or Yi Yik, 성호 이익)
6. What is Yi Hwang's pen name? (Toegye, 퇴계)
7. What is Yi Yi's pen name? (Yulgok, 율곡)

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Hello, I'm Vladimyr Glomb from Freie University, Berlin.

And today I will talk about the concept of the genealogy of the way in Joseon Korea.

And this \_\_??? name\_\_ we will have a look on general questions concerning how was constructed Korean tradition of Confucianism.

And we will deal with the main question that is how it's possible that during the middle and late Joseon time, Korean Confucianism started to be significantly different from its Chinese counterpart, and developed in a rather different way.

This is somehow very crucial question.

When talking about, we could use the modern word "identity of Korean Confucianism".

Because this lecture should somehow introduce you to the question how much we can talk about Chinese Confucianism, Korean Confucianism, or Confucianism in general.

Talking about Confucianism, we are frequently mentioning or hearing the terms of tradition of Confucianism, linages in Confucian schools.

And it is somehow puzzling because, on one hand, we are somehow used to the concept that oriental or far eastern religions are transmitted from master to disciples.

The western imagination is obsessed with the term of Guru, who is delivering his wisdom to his close disciples so and maintain the linages.

Indeed, we have a lot of examples in Buddhist schools and authority of the particular thinkers is derived from the founders of the school.

On the other hand, we are somehow puzzled by the very fact that we are talking about millennial of lasting tradition or Confucian school.

It's for us quite hard to imagine how could work continue transmission for 2500 years.

When we look at the Confucius ??? in China, which is made in Taiwan, which is made then by direct Confucian descendant, it is really puzzling question how much could be Confucianism taken as a Korean tradition.

And we are facing the question how this transmission functioned, and what kind of legitimacy could be assigned to Korean Confucianism.

The question of Confucian tradition particular important nowadays when we are in at least two decades with the same renaissance of Confucian studies, and also Confucian rituals, and generally acknowledgement of the Confucian in mainland China where it was interrupted for a long decade.

We have disposed a quite difficult question of the legitimacy of the Confucian lineages present in Taiwan and China, which are continued.

And we are also facing the question what position could be attributed to Korean Confucianism. The general argument could be that history are not talking about ethnic states, and that generally Confucianism is universal teaching which is accessible to everybody.

But this I would say is rather naïve.

It is confronted by the fact that since the very beginning of Chinese history there was strict notion of distinction between China proper or Chinese state, Chunghwa, Chinese civilization.

And barbarians, which included all neighboring countries, including also Koreans which were generally assigned name of "Nine Yi" or "Eastern Yi Tribes".

And in spite of many discussions, how could Koreans, from the perspective of applied Chinese classical sources, be classified as barbarians or whether they are better than northern barbarians or southern barbarians.

They are more civilized or more open to the Chinese culture.

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Nevertheless, the question of the provenience of Chinese culture and its acceptance in Korea, was present during the whole history of Korean Confucianism and is present also nowadays Including some small details that Confucian shrine in the Korean capital, South Korean capital Seoul, could be taken as longest functioning shrine in the East Asia.

several arguments about what is really authentic Confucian tradition.

And those questions were discussed basically for the whole existence of Confucian school and even before Confucius because I would like to stress that we will today talk about the very substance of Confucian teaching.

It means transmission of the way which started long ago before Confucius, and Confucius was only transmitter of ideals of the ancient Chinese dynasties and thinkers.

So, let me begin first with a rather technical description of simple mechanism how we can talk about transmission of the way or Confucian teaching.

It is important to stress that the term Tao, “도” in Korean, the way, includes basically all principles of the world.

And it includes also all standards for the proper behavior.

Deliberation ideas, basically everything what humans could do.

And this set of ways, by the way, could be transmitted either theoretically, there is somebody who knows all those things.

But in the best case, also practical.

Because only the person, ideally the person who can fulfill the ideals of the way, could transmit them.

Because Praxis is here the highest criteria of the revelation.

When we are talking about the concept of the Sage, we have to understand that it's not only for the ideal or only someone who understands the Way, but it's also somebody who can put it into practice.

The Confucian tradition, or at least legendary origins of Confucian tradition, are associated with the legendary emperors as were Fuxi(복희), Shennong(신농), and Yao(요) emperor.

Who were both understanding, transmitting, and practicing the Way.

And later with the emperors Yao, and Shun(순), and the great Yu(우), was the founder of the first of the three ancient legendary Chinese dynasties.

And we can roughly say that this epoch was retrospectively understood at the time when the Way was practiced by the ideal royals.

And this period is followed by times when we for the first time, during the Xia(하), and Shang(상), and later Zhou(주) dynasty, see some very interesting mechanisms that there could happen that appear decline of the way.

That when the Way is not properly practiced, it disappears, or at least is not transmitted.

This happened mainly during the reign of several of legendary or historical rulers who were cruel and evil.

And we found explicit statement during the rule of those rulers, the way was not practiced.

On the other hand, we found instance when the Way could be renewed usually by the good ruler or replace the old one, as was the case of the most famous case; the replacement of last Shang dynasty ruler tyrant Zhou by King who established Zhou dynasty and renewed the practice of the Way.

So all in all, according to Chinese classics, the remote Chinese antiquity was associated with the rule of wise rulers who practice the Way.

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And with some occasional interruption when the Way was not practiced.

But there was a new prétendant, or a new ruler, who could assume the rulers' position and practice the way, the rule properly the China.

And we may say that this situation somehow lasted to the beginning of the Zhou dynasty.

When we see that the last person who was accepted as a sage, who both practiced and understood the way, was the duke of Zhou.

And after that, we have long line of Zhou dynasty rulers who were not accepted as the authentic transmitters of the way or the sages who were ruling according to Confucian ideas.

And we instead find some tradition which could be described as the transmission of the Way by people, or we can call them scholars, who were not rulers, who were, let's say "private person".

And, it is exactly private person which is associated with the systematization of this tradition.

It was Confucius himself.

Confucius himself claim that his teaching is only transmitting the Way in the old tradition.

He is not creating any new.

And he was also acknowledging the fact that he's by all means in the position of the ruler.

That he can practice the Way only to the extent as a private person, and private person can do.

We have numerous anecdotes from Confucius life how he treated this part of that in spite of being in the position that he understands perfectly ideas of the Way.

He's, even the circumstance of the time and his social position, not able to put in the practice.

This is also the one of the reasons why frequent metaphor used for Confucius is And it is, since Confucius, we can really see the classical pattern of transmission of the Confucian teaching via master disciple relation.

When you look on Confucius dialogues, those have basically mostly talks with his disciples.

And Confucius goal was to transfer his knowledge of the Way to his disciples.

Most notably to his favorite disciples because Confucius was extensively teaching hundreds of people.

But there were some disciples which were more closer to him or more talented.

The most famous of them, Yan Hui(안회), who unfortunately died early.

But nevertheless, after Confucius death, we have regular transmission from Confucius to his disciples or even family, relatives.

And since Confucius, we are with the same concept of direct transmission between Confucius and his disciples, and even family member, which could be described as transmission from Confucius to master Zeng Shen(증삼), Zisi(자사), and later Mencius(맹자).

Who are four sages associated or taken as authors of the four classical books which are And "Mencius"(맹자).

Seeing this line or succession of Confucian sages, its important to understand two facts.

First, it was constructed retrospectively.

And second, it was constructed in order to exclude other claimants for the orthodox Confucian tradition.

We know that there were like much more Confucian linages.

And it was basically the situation for the next 2 millenniums.

But only some of them were able to be, let's say, secure such a claim for the particular lineage.

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And we may say that after that of Mencius, we have further centuries of the Confucian school during Han dynasty, Tang dynasty.

Of course, the development of Confucianism during the Han and Tang dynasty was marked by many significant events.

Competition with Buddhism.

And we have a whole range of various schools debating and pursuing particular strains of Confucian teaching.

But what is for us most important is our events which happened during the Song dynasty and which gave birth to the new interpretation of Confucian tradition, which was coined by scholars who themselves called member of learning on the Way, Taoists or 도학 in Korean.

And who are in the western literature called “Neo-Confucianism” or in Korean 신유학.

I would just notice that I think Hoyt Tillman gave enough arguments why we should use the label “Learning of the way” instead of the Neo-Confucianism.

But it is just particular feudal.

What is more important is how changed the notion of Confucian tradition? As you know, the greatest scholar of the Song time, or Song Confucian Zhu Xi, that only brought or systematized many new concepts.

And significantly changed many Confucian concepts, or explained them.

He also developed a particular interpretation of the Confucian history.

And in the very short way, Zhu Xi claimed that after the death of Mencius, was the way not transmitted and basically disappeared.

Han dynasty and Tang dynasty which are usually associated with the ??? literary (or militarily??) expansion of China, we can just mention that during the Han/Tang dynasty, the Northern parts of the Korean peninsula were conquered by the Chinese armies.

And associated with unprecedented culture development, marking highlights of Chinese poetry and literature, and also Confucian teaching for certain degree For Zhu Xi's were those dynasties dark ages when the transmission of the Way was not practiced.

It was replaced by Buddhism.

And those Confucian's were active in those times were not legitimate Confucians because they do not understand properly Confucians teaching.

This figure of, let's say, rejection of parts of any tradition, and going back to roots, in Zhu xi's case back to Mencius, we found in many other cases, western tradition, Marxist tradition, and that one is one of the best methods out to establish ??? schools.

And one rejects immediate predecessors and try to come back at ???.

What is here however very interesting is the fact that Zhu Xi explain the rediscovery of the Way.

It is important that he have not claimed he is the one with the first after Mencius, because this wouldn't be compatible with the idea of the Confucian sage who has to be, above all, also humble.

But Zhu Xi constructed the new genealogy where the Way was interrupted after that of Mencius.

And it was discovered by some scholar Zhou Dunyi (주돈이), who discovered it according to Zhu Xi's explanation without help of any teacher, only on his own, studying works of Mencius and Confucius and other sages.

And who was later followed by his disciples.

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Brothers Cheng(이정형제).

Zhang Zai(장재), and to certain degree also Shao Yong(소옹).

Who were later succeeded by Zhu Xi, via transmission, by some other teachers.

Though, we have here, again, something we have seen also in the case of Confucius, we have independent rediscovery of the Way.

Which is, again, transmitted.

And this is the point when we can end up our introduction to the terminus techniques of generality of the way, which is the term which was called by Zhu Xi, 도통 or Taotong Even though we have some discussions at it, appeared already in some variety slightly before him.

But, nevertheless, Zhu xi systematized that Confucian tradition, as transmitted from the legendary origin by sage emperors, then by sage rulers, then transmitted by wise scholars, like Confucius, Zeng Shen(증삼), Zisi(자사), Mencius.

Then interrupted and rediscovered by Song dynasty scholars, and received, again, by Zhu xi.

Though, the most important fact of all those concepts, is that transmission of the way could be interrupted.

But could be, again, renewed.

And this is exactly the moment when we start a complicated story of Korean Confucianism.

And I'm not saying Joseon Confucianism, because we are now going to Goryeo time.

When first scholars transmitted this new theory of the transmission of the Way to Korea, it is relatively difficult to trace really precise bibliography and the steps how Zhu Xi works and learning of the way was transmitted to Korea.

We may say that we have, of course, legendary attributed to Ahn Hyang(안향) and some later scholars.

Even the fact that it was rather complicated process, nevertheless, we can say that very soon, learning of the way became the intellectual mainstream of the Goryeo times.

This is also magnified by the fact that, speaking about the Confucianism, there is general tendency to underestimate Goryeo Confucianism.

Because proper imagination is based on idea that Goryeo was essentially Buddhist dynasty, and Joseon was Confucian dynasty.

But this is quite misleading.

I would like to stress that Goryeo times were the last times where Korean scholars directly studied in China.

Even though Joseon had very close relations with China, it was not common or allowed for Korean scholars to study in China.

Unlike in Shilla times, where we have cases when Korean scholars really studied in China.

Graduated in imperial examination systems, and even pursued quite significant careers, like was the case of Shilla scholar Choi Chi Won.

Or they were stay for long time in Yuan(원:元) capital and studied regularly with Chinese colleagues.

Though, in all of what is usually called "Pax Mongolica", the very fact that Korea was integrated to the broader context of the Chinese empire under the Mongol rule, could be considered in rather positive way.

That it was, at the time, unprecedented context between the both country.

Not mentioning the fact that Goryeo ruling family was basically due to intermarriage with imperial Mogol family, half Mongolian.

## 강좌내용

Talking about transmission of the learning of the Way to Korea, and transition with Goryeo and Joseon, we have to understand that it was rather complicated process which lasted for centuries.

And the favorite method how to trace this process by bibliographical studies documenting when were some important documents of Chinese learning of the Way transmitted, transferred, imported to Korea particular interpretational studies is rather misleading.

There were many ups and downs of Confucian community in Both like Goryeo and early Joseon where states which were basically ruled and driven by Confucian scholars who belonging to the learning of the Way.

But on the other hand, it is rather naive to see the Korean learning of the Way as a monolithic on one particular school.

And it's also quite dangerous to take it as a equivalent of the Chinese schools and thought, which were important.

The Confucian tradition of early Joseon is, in many cases somehow difficult to trace.

But only because of various political upheavals and alliterative purges, Sahwa(사화:士禍).

But also due to the very fact that the history of Korean Confucianism, we will talk about it in a while, was heavily addicted by the retrospective annals and chronicles, and later scholars.

So although we know during the early Joseon there were some distinguished scholars, like Gwon Geun, Yangchon Gwon Geun(권근) or Sambong Jeong Dojeon(정도전) who wrote interesting theoretical things.

About many scholars of the 14th, 15th century, we do not have much existent document.

This point is extremely important.

When we are talking about the so-called golden age of Korean Confucianism in 16th century.

And it's often suggested the 16th century scholars opened new interpretations and topics in the debates on the learning of the Way, philosophical foundations.

But a close look reveals that these topics were integrative part of tradition.

And we've discussed already before, this is the most important case.

It's problem of Sadan and Chiljeong(사단칠정: 四端七情): the four beginning and seven motions which were discussed quite frequently before 16th century and Toegye(퇴계) and Yulgok(율곡) were systematize the debate.

And in some cases, they were discussed exactly in the lines of the 16th century interpreted namely in the in the contest of the question "what is relation between four beginnings and seven emotions" and principal Li(리:理) and the and the and the Chi(기:氣) And we have a lot of cases of early Joseon scholars who were discussing these topics in a very similar way, like the later Toegye and Yulgok namely, again Yangchon Gwon Geun(권근), or for example Yi Pa(이파:李坡, 1434~1486) who even discussed by the quote.

But nevertheless, what is for us important is that we maybe be a little bit puzzled to how much debts was the learning of the way understood and studied in Joseon Korea, which particular classics and commentaries were imported.

How they influenced the Korean development.

But we can be quite sure that there was one stable point generally acknowledged by all Joseon scholars.

And it was the very simple fact that the Confucian tradition, or namely also transmission genealogy of the Way, begins with legendary emperor Fuxi, and ends with Zhu Xi.

This is in this way very actively described The idea of the more systematic text treating the

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topic of the genealogy of the way, is Yulgok's Seonghakjipyo성학집요 elements to keep point on the sage.

Learning which is the Confucian anthology, or encyclopedia, which was compared for the young King Seonjo and was used for the rest of the dynasty as one of the essential texts.

But we have another rather unusual proof how the question of the Confucian tradition was understood, and how widespread it was.

And it is 16th century primer Dongmongseonseup(동몽선습) the first exercises for uneducated youth.

The small booklet of more relatively obscure origins or significant debate on the authors of this book on who where authors and not theorists.

But what is most important is the fact that is primary textbook which was read by all Korean children since the 16th century until the coming of modern times, and even nowadays.

If you would look this, this was the first text which was read by Korean kids when they were learning classical Chinese right after the basic books like Cheonjamun(천자문), Classic of thousand correctors.

When we look at on the structure of the Dongmongseonseup(동몽선습), we see that the Dongmongseonseup(동몽선습) is formed by two parts.

One is devoted to the explaining of the basic human relationships and obligation for small children.

And second part devoted to, we can say, three lines.

One of the being explanation of Chinese history.

The explanation of Korean history.

And explanation of history of Confucian school.

Dongmongseonseup(동몽선습) contains, besides description of the Chinese history and Korean history, also description of the history of Confucian school.

And it explain the how was the way transmitted from the legendary emperors Confucius, Mencius, and later to Zhu Xi.

This is the quite important fact that both Seonghakjipyo성학집요, elite Confucian anthology directed for the King himself.

And the lowest child?? for the prime metaphors?? for the for the eight-year-old children both agree that Confucian tradition are rightful tradition as we can name it.

And in the China with Zhu Xi (주희) who, on one hand, described the previous tradition and qualified his interpretation of the succession of various masters.

But on the other hand, left one big question, as it his how this genealogy continues after Zhu Xi himself.

It is at the moment when it starts the very important question how Koreans understood themselves in the relation to this tradition.

And, we may say that the starting point of this debate may be the very fact that in spite of the various competing lineages of Zhu Xi disciples, or scholars who followed after Zhu Xi in Song and Ming dynasties.

For Korean scholars where was any legitimacy of the school, What they have learned from the all how they interpreted the Zhu Xi's writing was based on very simple fact that Zhu Xi was the last sage of Confucian tradition.

And therefore, they are accepting his writings as a crucial text of their own branch of the learning of the way.

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But, it is not clear who is the successful of which particular school could be taken as legitimate continuation of Zhu Xi own school.

And this very simple fact that from the Korean perspective there haven't been clear genealogy of the way after Zhu Xi died, gave basic features to the Korean relation to Ming Confucianism.

When we look on many studies concerning relation between Joseon and Ming scholarship, it is frequently stressed that Korean scholars rejected some particular strains of Ming scholarship.

Most notably Wang Yangming schools(양명학파) and his predecessors which was associated with Lu Xiangshan (육상산:陸象山) famous advisor of Zhu Xi's.

And that they generally considered Ming thought as a contaminated by Buddhism, But this interpretation somehow overlooks the fact that among Ming Confucians, there were many schools which could be considered by all standards of Zhu Xi teaching as orthodox.

And the relation between Ming and Joseon Confucianism are characterized by suspicion on the sight of Joseon scholars to work Ming Confucianism which they're consider as contaminated by Lu Xiangshan teaching, Buddhism etcetera.

But we often forget that there was quite a lot of orthodox schools in the Ming China.

And that Wang Yangming even though he was great influential, was nevertheless dominating current of the Chinese thought.

And there were many scholars who criticized him exactly like Joseon scholars.

Though, what we can see is that the general distance of Joseon scholars towards Ming scholarship, is difficult to explain.

Because we would assume that they could eagerly accept all the Chinese influences.

And as far as we can trade the particular acceptance of individual scholars, and imports of the book, we see that Joseon scholars were really up-to-date, and they were very closely watching intellectual transit currents in Ming China.

But, nevertheless, we find for very few cases when they would follow them.

We can really say that Joseon scholars studied Ming Confucianism and used it as a thought.

But they were rather reluctant to use it as an authority.

And this fact is based, not so much on problematic parts of Ming Confucianism, but rather on the fact that for Joseon scholars it was difficult, if not impossible, to identify what should be the orthodox: the right current of Ming Confucianism after Zhu Xi.

Though, in the situation when virtually all Chinese schools claimed to be legitimate successors of Zhu Xi, including Wang Yangming, who also called in the theory that his ideas are only interpretation of Zhu Xi and follows Zhu Xi's conclusions.

It is quite understandable that Joseon scholars assumed a rather reluctant and neutral position toward Ming scholarship.

We may say also that it was also the political question in the moment when it was not clear which school will prevail or will be orthodox interpretation within the China.

It was rather dangerous to pick up one particular strain and practice it in Korea.

But, in spite of all political motivations and so on, we may stress that the main reason was really deep belief of Korean scholars, that the transmission of the way in China, or at least transmission which we could for sure identify as the orthodox, ended with Zhu Xi.

And everything would follow after Zhu Xi was open to interpretation.

And while there were many Chinese scholars who influenced their Joseon counterparts, as the Wang Yangming but orthodox scholars opponents Wang Yangming, like ??? and so on.

They were accepted by Korean scholars as colleagues, or inspiration, or sources.

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But not as authorities because they had no clear legitimacy.

The transmission of the way was after, for Korean scholars, after Zhu Xi's death, not clear.

What was the main concern of Joseon scholars in the situation when the succession genealogy of the way in China was not clear, and ended with Zhi Xi roughly 2~300 years ago before their own time.

The situation during the 16th century was for Korean scholars not really confirming the questions of the Confucian tradition according to all sources which take respected as authorities.

The transmission of the way ended in China with Zhu Xi.

And it was not clear who from the competing Ming intellectual currents should be taken as legitimate successor.

And it was precisely in this moment Korean scholars started to turn attention to their own tradition and try to position themselves besides the previous Confucian tradition.

Not only China, but also in Korea.

In this aspect we can say that Korean scholars had one very strong argument, which gave them stronger legitimacy as followers of the Confucian way.

And mainly because the existence of Gija(기자: 箕子), the legendary sage of the Shang dynasty, who came to Korea and civilized and introduced many elements of Chinese culture.

This myth was the founding myth of Korean culture.

And we may say that it played dual role together with the myth of Dangun(단군).

Unfortunately, nowadays in both Korean states the Gija's myth is largely neglected, or was eradicated in North Korea and in South Korea there is not significant attention to this ancient legend.

Then again, Dongmongseonseup(동몽선습) text which speaks about Gija, is the one of the most famous texts.

And we can also, as I mentioned, be sure that in those texts which was studied and memorized So when we look on text of Dongmongseonseup(동몽선습), we see the description of Korean history, beginnings of Korean history, in the following words: there were, at the beginning, no rulers or chieftains but [then] there was the divine man who descended under the sandalwood tree in the Taebaek Mountains, and the people of the country made him their ruler.

He ruled at the same time as Yao.

The name of the state was Joseon and this was Dangun.

King Wen of Zhou enfeoffed Gija in Joseon.

He taught the people the rituals and a sense for righteousness and founded the teaching of the Eight Articles of the law.

Thus there was the transformation made by a good and wise man in original in him." So, we can see that we have two myths here.

One is the first ruler of Korea, Dangun. We can again stress that this is particular point Dangun was the rulers of Korean people and not the, let's say, progenitor in proper sense, as is understood here.

And we can see Gija who was given Korea And he educated people and introduced them to what we could call in broad sense Confucian values.

The importance of the Gija myth is expressed by the end of Dongmongseonseup(동몽선습), where it is explained which role plays Gija concerning Korean culture.

And we can quote: situated far away in the corner of the sea and its territory is narrow and

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small, but its rites and music laws and rules, clothing and culture all follow the Chinese arrangement.

The moral relations are clear above: the transformation by teaching is practiced below.

The beauty of customs and mores can be called equal to that of China, so that Chinese people call our country Small China.

Is this not because of the transformation bequeathed by Gija? Oh, you boys! By this you must be inspired and roused” We can skip the point that the Dongmongseonseup(동몽선습) targeted specifically to boys since the girls were not allowed to study in the Confucian curriculum, or it was very rare.

But we can focus on this particular figure of small China.

In modern history it was interpreted as a subservient position of Korea to China.

And it was criticized by many modern scholars as Sadaejueui(사대주의), Serving the Great.

But in Joseon times it was understood differently because we look properly.

We can see that in the logic of Confucian genealogy or the Confucian view of history, the ancient sages were the idea the older was better like, the model of the history presented in the genealogy of the Way was descendant.

It was the slow decline of the ideal times of sage rulers, which were later replaced by dynasty rulers, and then \_???\_ scholars like Confucius.

And when we are talking about role of Confucian scholars, they were trying to restore the way.

Restore the Way to the state which was presented during the ancient times.

And Gija was really heir of the Shang dynasty, which was one of the oldest one.

And the frequently mentioned arguments by Korean scholars was that the culture, which was introduced by Gija to Korea, is ancient Shang culture, which is more close to the ancient ideals than later Zhou, or Han, and Tang culture.

So the Korean interpretation of Gija’s figure, was not that those are Chinese customs and culture which was brought by him.

But those are particular ancient classical customs which are living in Korea and disappeared in China.

He just made it, paradoxically, proof of culture superiority of Koreans toward the China where Shan dynasty and ancient morals were later replaced by later customs of Zhou dynasty or Han and Tang.

But it disappeared.

But it is still kept alive in Korea.

So this is no accident that Pyongyang was where which was allegedly the city of Gija’s state, was called Gisong, Gija city and there was the strong cult of Gija who was taken as ancestor of all Confucian.

It could be seen as a rather naïve argument that there used to the wise man in ancient times.

But it played, extreme important role for Korean scholars, because Gija’s presence in Korean history means that they were practice the Way once.

Even in the remote times, but nevertheless it was.

So it was important president that wise men, like Gija, can cultivate population and practice the Way.

How was treated the later tradition after Gija? What was taken as a Confucian tradition during Goryeo and early Joseon times.

And here we can say that we are coming to the crucial point of our lecture.

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And this is the new version, or specific Joseon version of the genealogy of the Way, which was coined by Yulgok(율곡) and Toegye(퇴계), and two more scholars.

Roughly speaking, Confucianism there were many scholarly lineages or schools during the early Joseon or Goryeo.

And it was standard that Confucian teaching was transmitted via master to disciple relation.

It was automatically assumed that every student has this master.

But these genealogies were never pronounced as the genealogy of the Way.

Though there were genealogy of particular school.

It happened only in Toegye and Yulgok case that they formulated their own versions of the genealogy of the Way.

Toegye and Yulgok are generally understood as the greatest Korean scholars in the local histories of Korean philosophy.

If you look at the history of Korean philosophy, we find the general opinions that Toegye and Yulgok were greatest scholars of Korean Confucianism who founded their particular schools, which later were dominating for the Korean intellectual discourse for the rest of the Joseon dynasty.

What I would like to present here as my argument that maybe the story was other way around that Toegye and Yulgok became greatest scholars of Korean Confucianism because they found the tradition which cultivated their position, and was able to maintain their position.

And I would like to explain how this was possible.

You know, when we see exceptions, we should be always suspicious.

And it is rather unprobeable that scholars of 14th or 15th century wouldn't be intellectually gifted as Toegye and Yulgok.

And we should read the events of the 16th century and Toegye, Yulgok's narratives a with big caution.

When we studied Toegye and Yulgok's works, there is one interesting point.

And that is that they practically rejected the whole previous tradition of Korean learning of the way.

We can see it in many texts there were some correspondents and there was with the disciples, that they acknowledge certain qualities by certain scholars.

But generally, we view the idea that Korean scholars presented in there, even though they were scholars of the learning of the Way, properly understood it, or taught it, or practiced it.

We can find some positive mentions.

For example, Toegye had some positive views about Hoejae Yi Eonjeok(이연적) or Yulgok was praising some parts of Hwadam Seo Gyeongdeok(서경덕).

But generally, they rejected the idea that there were authentic true Confucians since Gija times. This is rather suspicious given the fact that every Confucian scholar has a great respect for the tradition.

And this suspicion is further fueled by the fact that when we are studying about biographies of Yulgok and Toegye, we find that there is no figure of their teacher.

Of their particular tradition.

They are presented in those biographies as mere scholars who discovered the way on their own.

I will show you a, or read, part of the funeral inscription for Toegye where Toegye is presented as the scholar who re-discovered the Way.

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It's the author of Park Sun(박순), also famous scholar, and it is like that: not clear and practiced.

Moreover, in our Eastern Country, poor, desolate, lonely, and remote for a thousand years after Gija, there were a very few people who could be considered as having understood the Way...

Teacher was the only one who caused the Way of Confucius, Mencius, the Cheng brothers, and Master Zhu to shine again brightly in our Eastern Country” Here we have one paradox.

In the way, those are not Toegye's words.

Those are words of his disciples.

But this is exactly the same figure like in the case of Confucius of Zhu Xi.

Zhu Xi had also never directly said that he inherited the way.

He was pronounced by his disciples.

This is not only the case where Toegye is presented as a true heir of Zhu Xi, occurred over centuries.

Jo Mok(조목, 1524~1606) was a famous scholar of Toegye's schools explicitly describes a direct bond without any mediators across century between Zhu Xi and Toegye.

So the times when the teacher, Toegye, was born were very distant from the times of master Zhu.

It is almost 400 years.

The places where they were born were also very distant.

Almost more than ten-thousand Kilometers.

The teacher read his Zhu Xi books and sought out his intentions.

And in this way, he attained this message; this is the Zhu Xi's name, they can find the teacher's doctrine.” Again, Toegye is presented here as a direct heir of Zhu Xi.

And we have to say that this perspective gives much more sense to Toegye's work which focused on, let's say, critique of Korean scholars.

But even more on direct studies of Zhu Xi.

In other words, Toegye was elevated to a direct heir of Zhu Xi, and the direct successor of the genealogy of the way.

The genealogy of the way, which disappeared in China after Zhu Xi, was renewed again in Korea.

Another text which was concerned slightly later, and was composed for the Seongho Yi Yik, a famous scholar of Toegye's school, explains the mechanism also in the same way.

their writings were preserved but the meaning was not clear.

After one thousand and five hundred years, the great masters, the brothers Cheng, emerged and expounded the interrupted teaching, creating a continuation of the masters before them and opening it for opening it for posteriority.

When it came to Master Zhu, he made the teaching even more complete and his writings could fill a whole house.

The Way of Confucius and Mencius was once again illuminated and manifest.

But Confucius, Mencius, the brothers Cheng and Zhu Xi were all poor and could not cause the Way to be put into practice... In our Eastern Country, ever since the sage Gija departed, there elapsed four thousand years.

At the beginning of the new era there was Master Toegye, Toedo Yi, Yi Toedo, who received the un-transmitted lineage of the brothers Cheng and Master Zhu, and thus our Way came

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East.” Here we see the figure which appears in many texts of those times, and this is the Way coming east Dotong(도통: 道通), which is attested by mainly description and text.

And this is the very notion that the Way which disappeared in China after Zhu Xi, was renewed directly by Toegye.

This idea that it can be Korean scholar who will renew the Way was based on two assumptions.

First, it already happened the way was practiced in Korea by Gija Second, it was the very mechanism of Zhu Xi’s idea of genealogy of the Way.

If its lost, it could be discovered by scholar who can, even without teachers and direct transmission, reconnect via studying the works.

And Toegye was not the only one who got this idea.

And we have also second pretendent namely Yulgok.

Who was understood also as the scholar who directly discovered the Way.

And we can call the inscription composed by Song Siyeol(송시열) in Jawun Academy(자운서원).

Gija came to our Eastern Country, he transformed the old habits of the Yi Barbarians(동이족).

When it came to our dynasty, the Learning of the Way began to be held in refined harmony and streamed into glory as when it flourished in Luoyang(뤄양) and Jianyang(젠양).

But the complete structure of substance and the function of the Way was not entirely evident, and the profoundness of essence and the subtle points of the principle li(리:理) were not entirely clear.

Only after our Teacher Yulgok emerged, was the complete structure of substance and the function and profoundness of essence and subtle points, nothing lacking, and dignified elegance found its place here” But we can see some more direct description of this process.

As for example Namdang Han Wonjin(한원진), later scholar who said master Yi Yulgok was born in the eastern country.

The lineage of Confucius and master Zhu was, with this attainment, once again transmitted.

And, again, in the one of the narratives concerning Yulgok’s school, master Zhu followed after Confucius, and Yulgok followed after master Zhu.

If you study master Zhu, you must study Yulgok.

So exactly like Zhu Xi renewed way, Yulgok renewed way after Zhu Xi.

Here we have two competing schools, or scholars.

Yulgok and Toegye who both claimed also not directly, they never said personally, it was said only by their disciples.

But if you look on their works how they excluding previous Korean tradition, accepting Meng scholarship, and directly connecting themselves to Zhu Xi, they were aware of the fact that they are raising this implicitly.

This claim.

What is even more remarkable that we have another two scholars who were less successful in these claims, Nammyeong Jo Sik(조식) and Hwadam Seo Gyeongdeok(서경덕) who were, by certain scholars of their old disciples, also considering as a direct transmitters of the genealogy of the way.

But, unlike Toegye and Zhu Xi, they were not able to establish sufficiently strong base to put this claim into practice.

These claims had large consequence.

And I would say that this was this very idea that Toegye or Yulgok or for each school, are

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direct transmitters of the genealogy of the Way Which cause substantial changes in the later development in Korean Confucianism.

The members of Yulgok or Toegye's school, were by the very fact that they are belonging to direct sages or inherited the Chinese genealogy of the way, fully satisfied in their legitimacy.

And they had no slice of tendency to emulate anything from China.

Unlike before Toegye and Yulgok, when the situation which school in Ming China or Korea is orthodox and the right successor of the genealogy of the Way for the disciples and later schools of Toegye and Yulgok was clear.

The only legitimate school was either Yulgok's school, or Toegye's school.

And there is no need to follow any Ming or later Qin scholarship.

This was the crucial moment and probably also the very fact why Korean scholars remained loyal to particular interpretation of learning of the way in Zhu Xi school.

And have not oriented themselves according to later Ming or Qin intellectual currents.

They have no need to learn anything anymore from Chinese scholars because they consider themselves as the heir of the genealogy of the Way.

And in their views, the Way was transmitted in their school in Korea.

China was, since the death of Zhu Xi, deprived of this privilege.

And even though many Chinese schools claim the genealogy of the Way in direct connection to Zhu Xi and ancient sages, it was not acknowledged by Korean scholars.

This is very important fact, and we can say this is the moment where Korean scholars started to be sure about their place within tradition as such.

There is a lot of literature describing Korea-China relationship in Ming time, Qin times, stressing that after the fall of Ming to Manchu dynasty, Korea's considered themselves as the only guardians of the culture.

And there is a lot of argument that the fall of Ming dynasty, which was allegedly caused, at least within Korean opinion by Wang Yangming teaching among other factors, cemented Korea view they have the orthodox heirs of the learning of the way, and that they should keep it intact.

But we can see that the crucial steps to this process happened a long before those events And those were claims of Toegye and Yulgok that they are the direct transmitters of the way after master Zhu.

This is not to say that Toegye and Yulgok were no gifted and great scholars.

But it is only to highlight that they were together to certain degree with Nammyeong Jo Sik(조식) and Hwadam Seo Gyeongdeok(서경덕), scholars who were really closely reading Zhu Xi and understood the mechanism and potential of the genealogy of the Way, theory developed by him.

And they were the first who applied it exactly like Zhu Xi declared Han and Tang Confucianism as not worth of Confucian tradition.

Korean scholars declared Ming and Yuan Confucianism as a non-orthodox part of the tradition.

They refused also their own Korean predecessors and established their own school, which gave impacts to particular Korean interpretations of learning of the Way.

And it also explains somehow it's called a conservative nature of Korean Confucianism.

Where it is always presented, unlike Ming and Qui scholar who follow various other directions, Koreans remained loyal to Zhu Xi's teaching.

We can say that they were not loyal only to Zhu Xi, they were loyal to Toegye and Yulgok

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teaching.

Toegye and Yulgok are really able to provide Korean scholar with the identity based on the highest values of Confucian tradition, in other words, they made Confucian tradition Korean.

Not only in the Way of passive reception, as was in the opinion before, but in active forming of the tradition, they were really directly transmitting the heritage of ancient sages including Gija.

And they were the only orthodox Confucian lineages in the whole world.

Of course, this phenomenon created quite strong friction between those two schools.

Because, as I mentioned, there could be only one genealogy of the way.

Though, factional fight between followers and Yulgok during the late Joseon would be explained not only by economical and political meanings, but also by the very simple ideological motivation that acknowledging the fact that Toegye was directly transmitting the way from Zhi Xi would deprive Yulgok's school of legitimacy and vice versa.

The story I try to present here today is an illustration how Confucian tradition could be both universal, and very local.

And how Korean scholars were able to use parts of the Confucian tradition, or namely genealogy of the Way, for their own profit.

Although it took some time, we see that there was really active discourse of Korean scholars when they were able to redefine Confucian tradition.

And unlike, during the many centuries before when Korean scholars accepted the fact that orthodox genealogy of the Way resides in China, they were able to reconnect or connect: Reconnect if we are talking about Gija and connect if we are talking about Toegye and Yulgok. Korean Confucian tradition took their classical predecessors in China and elevated to the position of the only legitimate school in the all under heaven.

I would like to conclude my lecture with the summarizing argument that it was Toegye and Yulgok decision to formulate the new genealogy of the Way, which really gave crucial impacts to original forms of Korean Confucianism.

Or, better to say, which gave legitimacy to Korean interpretations of the learning of the way teaching.

Since Toegye and Yulgok, Korean scholars might not admit anymore, only those who are study teaching of Zhu Xi, they were scholars who inherited his tradition.

And it was also the reason why there was a loyal and devote to this tradition until the coming of the modern times, and some of them even nowadays.

Thank you.

## 8 주 차 강 좌 운 영 방 안

<b>강좌주제</b>	Confucianism & Individualism	<b>교수자</b>	Isabelle Sancho
<b>학습목표</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Understanding the harmony between Ritualism and individualism of Confucianism</li> <li>2. Recalling the five human relations</li> <li>3. Discussing the concept of Heart-mind of Confucianism</li> <li>4. Understanding the self-consciousness and roles of Joseon Confucian scholars</li> <li>5. Describing the expressions of individualism in the Analects and the Four Books</li> <li>6. Understanding the importance of historical writings</li> </ol>		
<b>핵심어</b>	Confucianism, Ritualism, Individualism, Relationship, Joseon Confucian		
<b>주요흐름</b>	<p>Professor Isabelle Sancho argues how Joseon Confucian scholars dealt with community and individuals in harmony. They solved this problem by following and developing the theory of the five relations, Oryun(五倫) which was claimed by Confucian sage Mencius. Professor Sancho introduces many interesting sentences about this problem in the Analects and the Four Books</p>		
<b>읽기자료</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. 신병주, 『조선 중·후기 지성사 연구』, 새문사, 2007. 1장, 5장, 6장</li> <li>2. 한국사상사학회, 『한국사상사입문』, 서문문화사, 2006, “성리학의 수용과 조선의 지배이념”, “성리학의 이념구현과 예학”</li> <li>3. 한명기 외, 『민음 한국사 : 16세기, 성리학 유포피아』, 민음사, 2014</li> </ol>		
<b>기타학습요소</b>	단답형 퀴즈 3문항		

### 기타학습요소 운영계획

Quiz

1. What is the name of the most famous Confucian doctrine about human relationship? (Oryun)
2. What was regarded as the most important thing the judge one's life in Joseon society? (Biographical writings)
3. What was the core concept when Joseon Confucian scholars solve the tension between community and individual? (Harmony)

## 강좌내용

Hello, I'm Isabelle Sancho and I'm here again with you for my last talk which will deal with individuals in <a> Confucianism.

In my previous talks, I've spoken about how Confucianism was generally perceived, spoken of, and judged in western countries, modern and colonial Japan, and also Korea in modern and present times.

I have then explained how we should try to overcome some of these stereotypes and common assumptions.

Be the well-intended, or conversely badly-intended.

In order to try and understand Confucianism as a historical phenomenon, and a philosophical process by notably adopting a view that should ideally combine together an outside view and an inside view.

Or, to borrow terminology taken from anthropology, an emic and etic view.

I have then presented two crucial features of Confucianism that are often misunderstood or overlooked.

Cosmology and ritualism.

In my last talk, I have explained that Confucian rights must not be reduced to a set of purely formal etiquette rules prescribed by social convention, and by authority, and how they should rather be understood as the accumulation and repetition of performative acts that constitute the individual ethical training.

The reason is that ethical training perform both on individual and collective levels, ultimately enables in the long run, and if successful, the enactment or performance, in the sense of musical performance, of properly human society, which is the goal of Confucianism.

Rites, basically, concern human interactions.

These interactions are at the heart of Confucianism, and they are commonly regarded as summarized in the Oryun오륜.

The five human relations.

Especially in the Korean case, even though this view is reductive in many ways.

We also said that Confucianism must be understood as humanism and can be characterized by one core notion in humaneness.

This humaneness has to be understood as the individual relationship to others in the sense that any interpersonal relationship is based, essentially, on reciprocity. Reciprocity is not equality.

Reciprocity is acting as if I were in your place, and as if you were in my place.

Reciprocity is the moral imperative urging you to behave according to your place in a specific social and human configuration.

This place changes and evolves depending on situation, context, time and place, since one individual plays various roles in the course of a lifetime.

Behaving ritually means that your attitude and actions must match with what is ritually and morally expected in a certain type of situation.

And this prescription applies for everyone.

But what is often missed, and this is absolutely crucial, in order to understand Confucianism correctly, is that behaving ritually often means acting according to the emotions that are aroused by specific and changing inter-personal configurations, since we are human beings and not machines.

Saying that human beings have emotions means that human beings have heart mind, sim (심)

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心) That, on the one hand, resonates with the natural order and, hence, able to follow and ideally apply the constant rules of the universe and nature.

And, on the other hand, this heart mind enables us to understand and reconnect with the heart mind of sage kings, the models of Confucian civilization, as we have seen in the talk dealing with cosmology.

The sim, the heart mind, is the seed of both thinking and emotions.

While the western philosophical and religious tradition opposes the heart and the mind by seeing them as radically different things.

Confucianism consider them as forming a single unity.

Cognitive and emotional capacities are distant.

But, they are consubstantially related and always work, or function, together.

They are echoing and affecting each other.

And its' features explain not only why, but also how human beings can be moral.

Here, being moral doesn't mean behaving good or bad.

It's not about determining whether you have been naughty and need absolution.

Being moral means that man can have a transformative action, since the very existence of human kind is precisely meant by fate or heavens will, Myeong 명(命), to deploy a transformative action on the world.

This action applies first to the human world.

It should bring civilization to life by putting the way in practice.

도를 행하다.

But it also ultimately applies to the cosmic, natural order.

In such a view, being moral and behaving ritually according to full ethical consciousness is seen as an existential duty.

And this duty is heroic, not to say grandiose.

Needless to say, it is difficult to put in practice.

Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism present some differences.

They do not focus on the same aspects of rights and ethical training.

We mentioned that Neo-Confucianism could be characterized among other features by the addition of new reference texts aiming at facilitating the correct understanding of the classics themselves.

Why was a correct revised understanding of the classics needed around the time of Song dynasty? Because Neo-Confucianism was largely built upon the encounter with Buddhism, which confronted it with a philosophical challenge.

Buddhists sophisticated views on human existence, the self, and the working of human mind, was challenging in many ways.

And some of the question's Buddhism raised could not be left unanswered in Confucianism.

Although Neo-Confucianism did incorporate several issues raised by Buddhism, it also had to really find clearly what was the Confucian method and identity.

To do that, Neo-Confucians had to redefine its essential reference materials, as well as some terms and notions that were shared by Confucianism and Buddhism.

As we have seen, the four books were made of the gathering of the Analects, the Mencius, and two chapters that were taken out of the Book of rites.

The Great Learning and the Doctrine of the Mean.

These Four Books delineated the new contours of the Confucian message in Neo-Confucianism.

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Firstly, the redefined Confucian message centered on the figure of Confucius.

Not only that, it centered on the figure of Confucius as he appears in the Analects.

Confucius appears in many ancient works, be they Confucian or not.

And he notably appears in the Book of rites where he is characterized by his obsession for rituals as we mentioned in our previous talk.

Starting from the Han times, Confucius has also been seen as the king without a crown, as stated by Sima Qian in the Shiji Sagi사기, The Records of the Grand Historian, which is the reference work for history writing in China.

The expression “The king without a crown” was used by Sima Qian in his biography of Confucius and sums up Confucius’ life as the life of someone who had the knowledge to rule correctly but never got the chance to apply his ideas or rule himself and who, after having been expelled from many states and having been even mistreated, ended up teaching in his homeland in order to transmit his ideals.

The expression presents Confucius as a sort of misunderstood genius.

Whose personal value was not properly acknowledged on his own time More importantly, this view contributed to the definition of Confucianism as the philosophy of the Confucian literati taken as a group.

What is important to understand here, is that Confucian literati are seen as ministers, not kings.

The Transmission, or the Genealogy of the Way, Dotong도통, was elaborated in a systematic way by Neo-Confucianism and describes a shift that would have happened in the course of history, from Antiquity where Sage kings ruled to later periods starting, basically, with Confucius.

What the transmission of the Way says is that the model of the Sage kings of Antiquity has never been able to be reenacted in history.

But it was taught.

It was taught and transmitted by devoted scholars, the so-called Confucians, who followed the attitude of Confucius, the king without a crown This depiction of the Confucian tradition that is transmitted from scholar to scholar, not from king to king, notably contributed to define the Confucian identity which is, essentially, that of exceptional scholars who are, and must be:Advisors to kings.

Teachers of next generations of scholars.

And role models for the general population.

Confucian scholars are masters for all and everyone.

In a society following Confucian principles, Confucian scholars are the real heroes.

They are the most important figures in history.

When we think about Joseon Korea, except two kings who are regarded as true Confucians themselves, Sejong and Jeongjo, the vast majority of cultural heroes are Confucian masters.

Moreover, the overwhelming majority of the national figures still put forward today by the South Korean inmulsa인물사, the history of great men, a significant and prolific sub-genre of historical writing in Korea, is made of Confucian literati.

Generally speaking, there is a certain paradox at first sight.

The goal of Confucianism and the message from the Canonical corpus that Confucius has been teaching consist in creating the conditions for the advent of true rulers, since only rulers have the power to put the Way in practice and transform both the people and the universe.

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But, according to Confucianism and especially Neo-Confucianism, those who are in fact capable of emulating others and exert a civilizing influence in history have been and still are Confucian scholars who are not kings but ministers.

In Joseon Korea, Confucian scholars overwhelmingly belonged to the so-called “yangban class”, which constituted the aristocratic elites of the society.

This last point is crucial in the sense that Confucian scholars did share a sense of belonging to a special community, and they also shared a common sense of identity.

But, knowledge and moral attitude were essential criteria to assess whether one particular scholar was a true Confucian scholar, or not.

True Confucian scholars are those who are worthy of bearing the name “masters”.

Those who show credentials about their knowledge and morality.

And here comes the issue of individuals in Confucianism.

Ethical training involves the self, it always concerns a specific person who has his own individuality and his own heart/mind, with strengths and weaknesses.

Human beings have commonalities. They are animated and moved by the vital energy for instance.

But they also have individualities since, for example again, the quality of this vital energy is different from one individual to another.

A second interesting comment to be made about the Four Books is that the Confucius who is appearing in the Analects is a special one.

He is not a king without a crown, he is a “master”.

The Analects is, also, a very special text, since it is marked by orality.

The voice and the presence of Confucius can indeed be felt, and we are listening to a person, a unique individual voice.

Contrary to the Classics, or the Great Learning and the Doctrine of the Mean whose authorship is cumulative and most probably collective, with the Analects, we are in the presence of an individual, Confucius, who expresses ideas but also emotions.

The Confucius from the Analects shows and expresses the full range of emotions.

From joy to sadness.

The structure of the text of the Analects itself is made of fragments, which accentuates the lively side of the content.

Confucius does not answer the same way to the same question depending on who he is talking to and depending on the context.

The reader can, hence, understand how he adapts his teaching according to situations and people.

Confucius is a master, but he is a master surrounded by disciples.

These disciples have distinct personalities, social backgrounds, and trajectories.

The practical and straight-talker Zilu with military training.

The gifted and politically skilled Zigong coming from a wealthy family.

The youngest and favorite disciple Yan Hui from humble origins, whose premature death left Confucius inconsolable.

Zengzi, keen on transmitting the supposed true teachings of Confucius and to whom is attributed the Book of Filial Piety, etcetera.

All these disciples ask him questions, discuss among themselves, and express their opinions on diverse matters.

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Without their presence, and their questions or reactions, most of the sayings of Confucius would be meaningless.

Severed from their original dialogical form.

Reading the Analects consists in attending conversations between a master and his disciples it's not reading a systematic work like a philosophical essay or a commentary of Classics.

The Mencius among the Four Books, also presents the same features, even though it is more organized content wise.

So, two of the Four Books are presenting masters.

Exceptional individuals who marked the history of Confucianism.

Or, in other words, the Transmission of the Way.

Borrowing the genealogical model of Buddhist schools, the Neo-Confucian tradition defines itself by insisting on certain steps represented by certain masters.

Confucius is the model.

He is the first master, but he was followed by other masters.

Defining who is a master and who is not is then a crucial issue in Confucianism.

And we must now talk about the relationship between Confucianism and the writing of history.

History indeed plays an important role in the Confucian self-definition and the Confucian assessment of individuals.

Traditionally, history is compared to a mirror thanks to which one can make judgments.

Or more precisely, one can form judgments for one's own edification.

History is also the writing of the history of humanity.

As significant part of history writing is taken by the writing of individual lives who are considered interesting enough to be mentioned and discussed.

These individuals are not necessarily all good, since bad individuals are as important as good ones in order to have a moral assessment of human trajectories and past examples.

Since the goal is to avoid repeating the same mistakes, for example, and to understand the consequences of one individual's actions and legacy.

Let's now talk about what great men or great individuals, inmul인물, are in Confucianism.

The defining characteristic of the Confucian inmul 인물 is neither heroism nor holiness.

Not even sageness.

here has to be understood in the sense of being Seong성聖, like in the Sage kings.

The Confucian inmul 인물 is basically a true man, Jinin(진인).

He is a scholar who he I mean most of the time instead of a she is a scholar who pursues the best of his innate and acquired possibilities, the Confucian Way.

He is sincere.

The biographical trajectory of each scholar is both familiar and always new.

The scholars are generally defined as 탁월하다, 우수하다, 뛰어나다.

They are exceptional, they stand out from the crowd.

This exceptionality is not defined by one-time achievements, occasional heroic acts, or some specific events that would be radically different.

Usually, their exceptional nature is considered over a lifetime.

And their biography is written following a linear frame, starting from birth and ending with death.

Biography is crucial in Confucianism It gives to read and inscribes in history the way in which a singular individual was a man in the full sense.

## 강좌내용

What is looked at and judged is the human quality of a person, 사람됨.

Through the span of a lifetime, and through the variety of situations and contexts, what is scrutinized in Confucian biographies is the evolutions, the continuities and discontinuities of a character in formation, a personality in permanent progress.

The biography, even more than the thinking, makes the Confucian master.

Because it is intended to show the relationship of a particular individual to the Confucian ideal of civilization, 문, on the one hand.

But also to the Confucian rites, 예, on the other hand.

Why? Because this relationship is precisely what explains the exceptional status.

Both universal, and particular, of one single master.

Again, what matters in a master's life is the moral quality of the man, his intentionality, his heart.

심, 마음 가짐.

In the writing of the biography of Confucian masters, one can notice a strong emotional dimension of the memory of the inmul 인물.

Biography must arouse emotions, 감동, and interest, 재미, while providing a role model, 모범.

Biography is meant to create both intellectual and emotional resonances.

In Korean Confucianism, there has been a strong willingness to complete and archive for posterity all possible documents about a scholar's life, 생애자료.

As well as any documents deemed useful in connection with a personality and his life.

The reason is that one characteristic feature of the Korean Neo-Confucian tradition is the massive production of munjip문집, collected works of individual scholars, especially after the 16th century.

But the making of munjip required substantial financial, human, and intellectual investments.

These compilations were intended to be circulated, copied, read, commented on and imitated, reproduced, reprinted, amended, destroyed, even forgotten.

The compilers of biographical material were descendants and disciple.

And they had to choose a form, a literary genre of restitution of a life story among existing models and styles.

This implied to follow strict stylistic constraints and cultural conventions of the time while expressing, also, the compilers and the biographer's own narrative strategies.

In Joseon, there were many different forms of biographical writings.

The chronological biography, 연보, served as the raw material from which biographical narrative, 전기, could be written.

And biographical judgment, or biographical criticism, 평전, could be made.

And these chronological biographies were written by using the records of a deceased person, 행장, that were written right after the death.

The very materiality of these printed compilations participated in inscribing, or not, the name/fame, 명(名), of a scholar in history.

So, to sum up it is often said that Confucianism is an ideology that leaves little room for the individuals, because of its special focus on the seemingly rigid rules about social interactions.

The rites.

This is untrue.

Both on philosophical and historical grounds.

In Confucian theory, and Neo-Confucian texts especially, rites represent the means to fully

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assume, or to deal with, one's individual nature, which includes both thinking and emotions. This is one of the reason why Korean Neo-Confucianism happened to develop some very sophisticated discussions about what might be called the psycho-physiology of morality, like the overly famous Four-Seven debate, 사단칠정.

Emotions are what differentiates one individual from another.

And ethical behavior is fundamentally based on how one manages emotions in relation to rites. The tension that is created by the complex and constantly evolving relationship between emotions and ritual behavior, is at the heart of Neo-Confucian moral thought.

And this tension is always unique and specific to each individual.

That's why biography matters so importantly in Confucianism.

To evaluate the moral value of Confucian scholars and establish the Transmission of the Way by selecting the scholars who are real masters, worthy of being compared to great figures like Confucius and Mencius, it is crucial to examine their lives.

Because, it is only through the duration of a life that the moral stature of individuals can be assessed.

The writing of biographies was an essential part of what generations of Korean Confucian scholars dedicated themselves to.

Biographies were indeed crucial in the making of collected works of individual scholars.

The historical judgement made on some selected figures, who could potentially be erected as major figures, took into account the intellectual achievements, as well as individual lives, since this judgement was all about looking at certain individuals in order to read their hearts and minds.

I will conclude my series of talks by expressing my heartfelt thanks to those of you who might have had the patience to listen to all of the parts of this content that I've been presenting.

I hope that it will be of some help in understanding Confucianism and Korean culture and history.

I also hope that it will encourage you to further explore the subject by listening to more talks, and, maybe, get the courage to start reading Confucian texts directly.

With a little effort and time, I can testify that it will bring you fuel for thought and joy.

Thank you very much.

## 9 주 차 강 좌 운 영 방 안

<b>강좌주제</b>	Confucianism studies in North Korea	<b>교수자</b>	Vladimir Glomb
<b>학습목표</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Understanding how did North Korea accept and overcome Marxist-Leninist ideology.</li> <li>2. Understanding the Juche ideology and how it works in North Korea, especially for scholars who studied Joseon Confucian scholars</li> <li>3. Analyzing and discussing the way the North Korean scholars categorized Joseon Confucian scholars</li> <li>4. Compare two understandings about Joseon scholars of both North and South Korea</li> </ol>		
<b>핵심어</b>	North Korean philosophy, The Juche ideology, Yi Hwang, Yi Yi, Seo Gyeong deok		
<b>주요흐름</b>	<p>Professor Vladimir Glomb shows how North Korean scholars categorized Joseon Confucian scholars under the shadow of the Juche ideology. For that, professor Glomb explains what is the Juche ideology and the background of its birth also he introduces some sources from North Korea like <i>Ryeoksagwalhak</i>(역사과학).</p>		
<b>읽기자료</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. 정성철 외, 『조선철학사:이조편』, 형설출판사, 1988.</li> <li>2. 한국철학사연구회, 『조선철학사』, 이성과학사, 1988.</li> <li>3. 선우현, 『우리 시대의 북한철학』, 책세상, 2000.</li> </ol>		
<b>기타학습요소</b>	단답형 퀴즈 5문항		

### 기타학습요소 운영계획

Quiz

1. What is the name of ideology the North Korea invented by themselves? (The Juche ideology)
2. When was the first book about the history of Korean philosophy published in North Korea? (1960's)
3. What was the most important concept which made the North Korean scholars categorize Yi Hwang as a reactionary scholar? (Emotion)
4. Who was categorized as a materialist thinker by the North Korean scholars? (Seo Kyeongdeok)
5. How did the North Korean philosophers definite Silhak? (The high stage of Materialist current in Korean thought)

## 강좌내용

My name is Vladimir Glomb and I'm from Freie University, Berlin, and today I will talk about Confucianism studies in North Korea.

And first I would like to explain why should we study North Korean interpretation of Korean philosophy and Confucianism particularly.

Although in many people's imagination, North Korea is fully devoted to chuch'e[주체] ideology and in the early decades to Marxism-Leninism.

North Korea has always paid a significant attention to the studies of the past Confucian thought and philosophy.

For various reasons we may say there were two general purposes of North Korean studies of Confucianism.

One was, let's say, to eradicate the remanence of the traditional thought which was considered as a subtle enemy of the Marxism socialist regime.

And the second point, even more interesting, was to find some legitimization of the North Korean regime because North Korean regime paid significant attention to construct and revolutionary tradition lasting from the onset of the Korean nation/Korean states up to the Kim Yil(ae) Song[김일성] , or even more precisely, to his father and grandfather to legitimate Kim Yil(ae) Song's power and later Kim Yil(ae) Song's family rule in the North Korea.

Though in other works, North Korean specialists try to categorize the whole history, intellectual history, of the Korean nation in order to detect which part should be rejected and which part could be to certain degree studied and accepted.

Before I will come to the topic itself, I would like to talk for a while about sources for such studies.

Because in general imagination North Korea is not much accessible and is really difficult to get precise picture what's going on within North Korean academia and also among general population.

We have certain obstacles in getting access to North Korean materials, but nevertheless I can tell you that if you will try you will for sure find many of them available.

Maybe not in the original North Korean (?) edition, but there have been significant studies of the North Korean history of philosophy in South Korea.

And since early 90's there were republished many North Korean books on the topic.

Plus, it's not much well known but North Korea in the last decade heavily invested to online journals.

So many North Korean articles from last two or three decades are available online in particular databases which you can see.

Necessary to say, the study of Confucianism or the philosophy was not a priority of the North Korean regime and we can see it from the very fact that the two correlatives with long time since the liberation 1945 until the first concise materials on the history of North Korean philosophy appeared.

This long delay, amounting approximately 10 to 15 years, could be explained in two ways.

First, was the problem where to find a theoretical-metalogical framework how to {of} interpret the Korean philosophy.

The problem was very simple.

After 49, North Korea took over in the culture and sphere and in the humanities, the soviet model of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, which was applied in North Korean environment.

The main obstacle was the very fact that Marxist theory or Marxist-Leninist theory, or even

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stalinism have not included particular topics concerning Korean history and thought.

We can find some mentions about China and Chinese thought {law(?)} in the Marx's works, but they were rather insignificant and, in many cases, rather negative based on ---- relation of the East Asian thought.

So, the Korean scholars had literally no blueprint (rubric) how to interpret Korean thought{{(?)}} within the framework of Marxism-Leninism.

Though because of the mentions of Korean presidents and thought and history in the soviet classics of the Marxism-Leninism, North Korean scholars were forced to develop completely new methodology how to treat the problem.

And it is the puzzling mixture of this western methodology and Korean topics which presents a serious obstacle to understand North Korean interpretation, because you have to understand both North Korean thought or Confucianism in particular, and the Marxism-Leninism framework which was applied.

But, nevertheless, beginning with early 50's started to appear first original North Korean studies and treating the topic of Korean Confucianism.

I will mention few sources and we can really say that these are only few sources because North Korean resources for the support of humanities has been always limited.

So, we can talk about two or three journals, which started to be published in {the} 50's, and some of them are published until nowadays.

But I would like to mention that this, I would say, limited field {fear} , is for the researchers {es} or people who are interested in North Korean intellectual history is a relatively lucky fact.

Because, once you are looking for the official North Korean {transcribed(?)} interpretation, you just browse two or three journals and you got general overview.

This is in striking contrast with the South Korean academic production which amounts to tens of thousands of journals and articles and books.

So, when we are talking about North Korean sources, there are not many.

But it's rather good point because it takes not so much time to read them all if you want.

Though, first articles about Korean Confucianism appeared in journal focused on Korean history but included also quite frequently articles on Korean philosophy.

Included also translations of the original text because as you know, the North Koreans were facing the same problem like South Koreans, namely the fact that most of the philosophical works, traditional philosophical works were written in classical Chinese.

the short original text which were introduced in the history of philosophy or the original text.

And, roughly at this time, appeared also, I would say, the collection of articles on philosophy which is published until nowadays.

Both these journals were published by the North Korean academics of Sciences which was the main research institution in those times - still exists.

Quite a big change came in early 1960's when the regime decided that its necessary to overhaul the whole structure of the humanities publishing and for every particular field was established special journal.

So, "Ryōksa kwahak", history science, continues.

But, besides were established new journals "Munhwa Yusan[문화유산]", culture heritage, and "Ch'ōrhak yōn'gu[철학연구]", philosophy research or studies in philosophy, which is published until nowadays is quite a rich sourcePlus, later came also another journal.

The journal of Kim Il Sung university, published divided in four sections or four issues and

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some issues are devoted to {choose either go to} linguistics, some are devoted to {someone} economics, some are devoted to {someone will go to} law, and there are also issues devoted particularly to philosophy and history of philosophy {philosophic and historic thought}.

But, the funding publication of the North Korean research on history of {historic} philosophy was which was published in 1960, or roughly around big changes in the North Korean society when Kim Ilŏng took, or rather, stabilized his power for the North Korea.

Though we have disposal the first general history of Korean philosophy, which was published in 1960, and soon there was also published in Japan, it was published also in Russia, and it was also published in 90's in South Korea.

And since that time, we have regular line of North Korean works on historical philosophy.

And we can say that roughly every ten years, or something like that, it was updated or expanded.

Though, we have “Chosŏn Ch'ŏrhak sasang yŏngu[조선철학사상연구]”, research on Korean philosophical thought published in 1975.

We have “Chosŏn Ch'ŏrhaksa kaeyo[조선 철학사개요]”, the outline of history Korean philosophy, published in 86.

We have another {of} history of Korean thought We have another historical philosophy And we have several other works, which are for example “Ch'ŏrhak chisik[철학지식]” philosophical knowledge, published in 2009, or “Chosŏn yulli sasangsa[조선윤리사상사]” the history of Korean moral thought, which are more or less covering also the history of Korean philosophy.

And finally, we have, I would say, the last and biggest work on the topic of historical philosophy.

We have “Chosŏn Ch'ŏrhak chŏnsa[조선철학총사]” which amounts to roughly fifty volumes.

We can say that only first volumes are devoted to the topic of traditional Korean thought, and the bulk of the book is devoted to the thought of Kim Chŏng'il and Kim Ilŏng.

But, nevertheless, you can see that there is a rather regular flow of the publications on the topic.

We have quite a few individual works.

I can name, for example, studies in the Korean Confucian learning of the nature and principle, by the professor “Ro Hakhŭi[로학희]” from the And I would like to mention that most of these works are collective works.

They were published not in the opinion of individual scholars, but those were officially sanctioned works which were to cement interpretation which was decided by the political authorities.

Though, in another words {works}, what is present in those books is not an opinion of individual scholars of academics of sciences.

But it is the political line of the North Korean regime.

Which is both fortunate and unfortunate.

On the other hand, it allows us to really be sure that this is the interpretation which was prevalent at that time.

On the other hand, we are left without any clues what are the honest opinions of individual scholars.

If we are trying to find traces of really academic discussions on this topic, we can find it only in early 50s in “Ryŏksa hakpo” journal where there was really significant disagreement on some terms and interpretation.

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But we can say that we really understand of really personally let Kim Il-sŏng regime this debate completely disappear.

On the other hand, we can say that since “Chosŏn Ch'ŏrhaksa”, the blueprint for the interpretation of the traditional thought and ideas, was relatively stable.

We can see some changing accents and aspects.

But we can compare the earliest publication from the 60's and the latest publications, the general framework, much like the North Korean ideology remained the same.

We are of course talking about 70 case of the development.

But as I said, much like in the case of the North Korean regime, even though some terms like socialism or Marxist-Leninism (partisan is) slowly disappeared and were replaced with the terms of “chuch'e[주체]” and “chajusŏng[자주성]” or another new concepts of the North Korean ideology.

Basically, the treatment of the historical thought remained the same.

Though(t), starting with basic framework of the North Korean interpretation of historical thought, we can say that it was based on Marxist-Leninist theory {jury(?)} of the intellectual history as a fight between materialism and idealism.

Materialism being progressive way of thought, idealism a reactionary way of thought.

Idealism stressing that the beginning of things and the main agent is the idea, or spirits, or animals, or god.

Materialism stressing mechanical progress or the importance of matter or material.

This concept was rather difficult to apply to Korean environment.

Because, as you know, the terms of idea and idealism and material and materialism are the western (words of) origin.

So, it was quite difficult to find the precise equivalent in the works of Korean philosophy.

But, nevertheless, this framework was applied and it was declared that what we know from the Korean Chinese philosophy as “li” or “리”, principle, is identical with the western type of idea.

And what we know as energo-materia or stuff, identical with the western term of matter {metal}.

In this lecture I will explain the mechanism of this interpretation on example of three greatest thinkers {singers} of Korean Confucianism.

and “Yi Yulgok[이율곡]”.

And we will see how where different categories apply.

As I mentioned already at the beginning, the purpose of the publication of historical philosophy was both to highlight and reject certain part of the intellectual tradition.

Though, right in the forward(ed) \_\_\_\_\_ waters of the publication brought directly one of the urgent tasks these days for scholars in the field of Korean philosophy is the scientific organization of the history of our philosophy.

It is great significance not only in the continued development of outstanding philosophical heritage left to us by our ancestors, but it's also absolutely necessary for the liquidation and struggle with the remaining old ways of thinking.

Though, how to distinguish which or ways of thinking are to remove or which are outstanding philosophical heritage left to us by ancestors.

Well, in general way, one can say that Marxist-Leninist history of the philosophy used to apply similar criteria.

One of them was the criteria of class background of particular thinker.

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Though the more noble background the thinker had, the more was allegedly prone to reactionary ideology.

And it was generally supposed that scholars and thinkers who were from lower classes or sympathizing with lower classes were more open to progressive ideas.

In the history of western philosophy, we can find quite a lot of examples how Marxist and Soviet scholars try to categorize whether Plato is more reactionary than Aristotle, etcetera.

The main problem with this methodology for the history of Korean thought was that basically {physically} all great thinkers of Korean Confucianism belonged to the same class background.

They were all members of yangban clans.

They were all educated literati.

And even though we can say that personal connection, All in all, they were all, as would North Korean scholar say, of the reactionary class background.

So, it was the first significant problem.

How we can find progressive elements in the Korean Confucianism when all scholars who left works concerning Korean Confucianism belong to ruling class(clans).

This is one of the conundrums which is inherently presented{ing} in Marxist philosophy that if your thought is mostly based or determined by your class definition, how it's possible that some people can overcome this class determination and produce something new.

In the case of Korean Confucian scholars, it was decided to classify them according to, not their origin because they were all the same class origin, but according to their sympathies to workers and peasants.

And we can say that this categorization was done quite {very} mechanical.

Some scholars were selected to be -----.

Some scholars were selected to be progressive scholars.

And some scholars were selected to be something in the middle.

The definition whether any scholar were progressive or reactionary was difficult to decide because as I said that all the Confucian scholars and all follow the particular interpretation of Confucianism or learning of the way, which was derived from a Chinese thinker "Zhu Xi" was active during Song dynasty.

In spite of that we can say that there are significant differences between thought of all those three greatest Korean Confucian scholars.

But those differences were about particular interpretations of the Confucian doctrine and not about a doctrine as a such.

So, as an example, we can say that concerning the moral values that son should be filial and subject should be loyal to their rulers, all scholars basically agreed.

And concerning some complicated philosophical issues like relations of the principle and the "qi {chi(?)}", they all agree that both those elements are in the play.

And roughly speaking, the difference between those goals were rather in accent or tone, than in the, I would say, rejection of acceptance of the basic Confucian principle.

But, nevertheless, the North Korean scholars were not{(??)} looking for some common understanding of the traditional Korean.

They were looking for clear-cut categories which could exclude certain scholars and highlight other ones.

History needs to have an enemy.

They were trying to basically divide the whole intellectual history to currents, which are

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favorable in the light of North Korean Marxism-Leninist{m(?) }ideology and currents which were not favorable.

To show how this mechanism precisely work, we can see the quote concerning “T’oegye Yi Hwang[퇴계 이황]” thought.

And as I mentioned {here}, labeled {regarded} by North Korean scholars as the most reactionary of the three thinkers.

And in this quote, we will see that it was quite serious accusation and it was quite important political consequences.

So, “Chōng jinsōk {Chon Chin Sok}[정진석]” and other authors of “the history of Korean philosophy” concerning {considering} T’oegye’s thought, stress that “T’oegye’s conservative and reactionary {rational} theory served for the next 300 years as the governing ideology for the ruling class {plans} of the Yi dynasty.” When the Japanese imperialists occupied Korea in order to ideologically subjugate the Korean people, they wanted to indoctrinate with the rationalism(?) that were bourgeois ideas.

Including religious superstition and{at} all kinds of idealism {items}.

Therefore, Japanese reactionary “scholars” took Yi Hwang’s ideas {alias}, including both philosophical and moral ethic concepts, and elevated him to place of the foremost figure in the history of Korean philosophy.

The American imperialist, and the instruments nestling in South Korea, replaced the Japanese empire, and also wanted to paralyze and enslave the consciousness of struggle of the South Korean people.

Not only through {so} indoctrination into the corrupt and degenerated American lifestyle, but also by openly advocating for the realistic moral ethics based on the three moral bonds and five human relations[삼강오륜] in their books and speeches.

Here, again, Yi Hwang and his reactionary thought were Though, in other words, we can see the construction of the direct link between the South Korean regime which was antagonistic to {Because antagonistic(?) the} North Korean one, with {the} American imperialism {emperors(?) of the} , American way of life, and {And} the 16th century chosōn scholar.

This is for us presenting some kind of conundrum because particularly concerning for example three moral bonds: Relation between ruler and {law(?)} subjects, father and son, husband and wife, and between younger and older and between friends.

We can say that this thought or framework of human relationship was common to all Confucian scholars and to much degree also to North Korea.

So, the point was, that in the case of T’oegye Yi Hwang, the North Korean scholars decided that ideas of faithful friendship, and love to parents, and obedience to parents are reactionary interpreted.

But in other cases, we see the same ideas when preached by other scholars praised as a sign of truly positive human emotions and models for human behavior {being}.

But we look deeply, If we look at the North Korean textbooks and education for children, many of these values are very {there} repeated almost word by word only with the point of what used to be the category of loyalty of subjects looking was replaced with the loyalty of people to the workers party and Kim Il-sōng in particular.

The same problem could we see, for example in comparison of theory of “insim tosim.[인심도심]” It means that human mind and mind of the way which was issue of the “four-seven” debate led by T’oegye Yi Hwang with his younger scholar and also his friend And between

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Yulgok Yi Yi [율곡 이이] and his friend Ugye Söng Hon[우계 성혼].

In very short, the main topic of the debate was how to control human desires and whether human beings could be without desires, or want to say negative desires.

Or those has to be strictly controlled in when, how, to which degree.

T'oegye Yi Hwang was, we may say a word , to fully control human desires and emotions.

And we may say that there was great deal in this opinion, mainly based on the very fact that according to traditional Confucian interpretation of human emotions is rather difficult to control human emotions because of the very inborn paradox that once emotions are born {all there}, they are already out of control.

We can control them {then} only {the} retrospectively and it's impossible to control them right in the moment they arise .

And control of emotions before emotions are arise is not {are} possible {impossible} because emotions are not yet existing.

Though T'oegye's ideas concerning human emotions were that one should be maximally cautious {cautions} about them and exercise the constant control.

On the other hand, Yulgok Yi Yi's theory was, we can say, much more relaxed.

And Yi Yi was advocating for rather constant control with stressing that quite a lot of emotions or desires which are fully compatible with moral standards.

In other words, the main issue of {with} controlling human desires is about the degree of control.

That basically, if properly controlled, all desires could be positive.

To briefly comment difference between those two thinkers, many people who read the text four-seven debate, believe that {Yi} Yulgok's approach was, let's say more realistic, as it was advocating really, we can say, more open approach to human desires.

But we should not forget that T'oegye's demands for very strict control and even suppression of some desires was truly difficult to estimate what is the proper degree of control.

Though, in other words, Yi Hwang saw an inherent danger that control as such is not necessarily enough because we need some measure to which we orient our control.

But how was this complicated matter explained by North Korean scholars? It was explained according to we can say the simple theory how to label enemy and how to label evil.

Though, history of Korean philosophy concise this difficult debate, stating that Yi Hwang's statements concerning food and clothes say that these desires are human desires.

And even if practices properly, they are evil.

This idea was used to suppress even the elementary physical needs of people.

But as we have seen above, Yi Yi's theory, to certain degree, displays an interest in the means of production of his day.

Thus, it is connected with the reflection of past interest, which also has a relative consent for reproduction of the human labor force.

This is some, quite often figure that the works of premodern thinkers are twisted and thus interpreted to fit this structure of evil reactionary thinkers and positive progressive thinkers.

never advocating that people should live without desires.

If it were so, it would be rather on the Buddhist side, which would in his case never happen because he was the ardent enemy of the Buddhist.

And also, he never said that human desires are evil.

T'oegye's interpretation was that they could become evil or they are becoming evil.

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Though his works were, as I said, twisted, and he was presented as the enemy of people as somebody who is{was} denying food and clothing to people in general, but more particularly to poor people.

Unlike Yulgok who showed, according to scholars, understanding of the human desires, and showed the concern for common folks.

This black and white division that you are taking individual scholars and saying these are negatives and these are positives, could be applied by North Korean standards.

But it will be never be free of contradiction.

And North Korean scholars acknowledged it.

Though, the same authors, even though they praised Yulgok Yi Yi compared to T'oegye, they stress that even he was not free of serious flaws.

What does it mean that Yulgok thought was unable to escape historical determination? Basically, no thinker can escape historical determination according to Marxist theory.

But, we have to understand that the crucial criteria to judge the past historical thought of Korea was that it was just a road or a process which resulted into birth of North Korean ideology.

In other words, all thinkers of past were wrong.

And the only thinker who was right was Kim Ilŏng.

Though, previous thinkers could more or less approximate to some ideas of progress of the social reform and so on.

But the one who was really the end of the history and the crown of the Korean philosophical tradition, not only to Korean as we see and the North Korean laborism, was the greatest thinker was Kim Ilŏng.

Though all scholars of the past were to some degree wrong.

T'oegye Yi Hwang completely wrong.

Yi I was to some degree wrong.

And the only one who was to some degree, among 16th century scholars, understood as the most progressive was Hwadam Sŏ Kyŏngdŏk[화담 서경덕] who was labeled as a representant of peasants and lower classes.

But nevertheless, even he was not taken as the completely flawless thinker.

On the other hand, Hwadam Sŏ Kyŏngdŏk was taken by Korean scholars as a materialist thinker who was much better and advanced than European scholars, for example, Baruch Spinoza {Pinoza}.

We have quotations of, alleged quotations of Kim Jung Il[김정일] who is comparing those thinkers.

And we have alleged quotations stressing that scholars like Kim shisŭp[김시습] and Sŏ Kyŏngdŏk were such kind of materialist scholars which could not be found in the history of western philosophy.

If we look at the final evaluation of 16th century scholars, in particularly YI Yulgok, we can find places where it's openly stressed that never mind how much you can pursue a particular way of thought, you are{was} always determined by your class background.

And the authors of the "history of Korean philosophy" explicitly said that in spite {despite} of the fact that Yi Yi's {it is} reformed thoughts in many cases reflects an understanding of the people, he could not remain free{d} of the limits imposed by the contemporary social historical environment in his own class position.

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He adamantly criticized the evils and {he was in} contradictions of feudal {philosophic} society, but could not understand them as contradictions of the feudal {philosophic} society system as such, as it contradictions based on class antagonism.

Therefore, he was unable to change it.

Though, extends if Yulgok's writings on military reforms, tax {text} reforms, or various improvements of Korean society were Because according to the Marxist-Leninist definition, he was utterly determined by his class position.

And, generally speaking, only person who was able to properly understand the problems of Korean society, and propose the right solution, wasn't any scholars of the past, but it was Kim Il-sŏng himself.

As I mentioned, all three great scholars of the 16th century were categorized where T'oegye was a representant of reactionary {directionary} idealism.

Yulgok was representant of, let's say, progressive kind of idealism.

And Hwadam Sŏ Kyŏngdŏk was labeled as a materialist thinker.

This were described in the sources why they are saying that Yulgok Yi Yi assumed a critical stance towards traditional Zhu Xi school "chujahak[주자학]".

But on the other, he opposed materialist opinion of Qi monism "kiirwŏllon[기일월론]", and developed his own independent compromise.

Also, philosophical thought contains many elements of naive dialectical materialism.

He did not cross the borders of objective idealism.

Though, this is, again, the main figure.

Any historical thought can only approximate the ideal and proper ideology, which is naive dialectical materialism.

And while the simple fact that Yulgok was a Confucianism scholar, he did not cross the boarders of objective idealism.

Objective idealism here we can understand as a {the} general label of Confucianism as such in contrast to local subjective idealism {ideas} which was reserved to Buddhism.

This is quite important because all those classifications were seen in, we can say a dialectical manner, as various {the very} stages of thought.

On the one hand, all Korean scholars of the past were wrong.

But some of them were wrong more, and some of them were wrong less.

In other words, Buddhism, subjective idealism, is presented as the less developed form of idealism compared to Confucianism which was labeled as objective idealism and was These categories were applied to all thinkers and ideological or religious scholars, though we may say that, for example, Yin{g} and Yang thought [음양론] was Until now we were still talking about the situation in 60's when North Korea was following, let's say, the classical soviet model of Marxism-Leninism.

But already during the 60's Kim Il-sŏng, and later his son Kim Jong Il, started to coin their own version.

Juche[주체] ideology which was applied also to history of philosophy.

And we can say that these shifts are well documented in the "general history of Korean philosophy, Chosŏn ch'ŏrhak chŏnsa[조선철학총사]" which was published in several volumes, I mentioned it in the beginning.

But we {you} can see that the framework and also the purpose of these later studies on the history of {of the South Korean} philosophy was not much different.

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What really changed was, we can say, a rather nation centered approach.

Because beginning with the 90's, North Korea did what we can say, historiographic or {of} historical term, and started to focus more on Korean history, this was marked by, for example the discovery of Tan'gun[단군] in 1994 and etcetera.

And what we can see is that while in 1960's Korean thought was taken as a part of world history of philosophy.

Since 90's, Korean thought was highlighted as the most advanced form of historical thought.

And in spite of various shortcomings, or reactionary or progressive nature, it was highlighted as the most outstanding thought in the world.

As is said right at {in} the beginning of the "generally so-called philosophy" where is quoted Kim Jong Il, the great leader, I would just stress that quotes of great leaders, Kim Ilsong, Kim Jong Il and nowadays Kim Jungeun, are always marked by capital letters and treated in a special way.

Kim Jong Il stated that there are many countries and nations in the world.

But there is which as a unique race created on the River Han, expanded culture with a long {their own} history.

This is quite important change.

But it doesn't mean necessarily that all parts of Korean traditional thought are to be accepted.

They were considered to be much more better and more developed than any Chinese or European thought.

But still, it was necessary to distinguish which elements are to be rejected and which elements are to be accepted.

Kim Jong Il wrote in 1980 in his explanation on national classical literature, that we must inspect all old books in order not to show the current people and bad things.

Even the use of the books has to be treated critically.

The old {all} books we need are to be published with the commentary in order to use them in communist education {Confucianism communication}.

This is quite important point {one}.

Because it shows the limitations how the traditional thought was presented in North Korea We can say that North Korea never published or designated sources of Korean thought as they were written.

It was only in 50's were But nevertheless, T'oegye, or Yulgok, or other Confucian{ism} thinker's words {works} were never translated or even published in original.

Because they were potentially subversive.

The North Korean regime strived to control the picture of past, which should be shown to people.

So, many old works, including literature works, were censored or rewritten etcetera.

And especially in the field of philosophy, they were published only as selections or with significant changes.

Concerning the framework of the chuch'e[주체] {teachings of } philosophy and its relation to the past, we can say that it was just like a more upgraded Marxist{m}-Leninist theory.

And the theoretical framework of this relation is described also in the first volume of "\_\_\_\_\_ of Philosophy" {moim of chuch'e' thought philosophical ways and} where it says that the history of the fight between materialism and idealism in which materialism and dialectical thought emerged victorious, we could also say the development of contemporary philosophy is the

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history of the fight between chuch'e philosophy, focusing on the human subject and various opportunistic trends, beginning with bourgeois philosophy, in which chuch'e philosophy emerged victorious.

Concerning the systematic history of chuch'e philosophy, we must write it as a history emerging from and developing within the struggles between reactionary and opportunistic thought, which have opposed chuch'e philosophy continuously since its instigation." Though, again, it's the same point.

Historical thought was defined between the idealism and materialism.

And the contemporary thought is seen as a fight between chuch'e, which is the highest form of materialism in the latest {later} stage, and bourgeois philosophy, which is the latest form of idealism.

With {Which} decades of the regime, {?} We can say that focus on traditional Korean philosophy was somehow more accented.

And particularly it was Kim Jong Il whom was frequently quoted on the topic.

And it's really rare to find any Korean article which is not introduced by quotations of great leaders.

Concerning the Kim Jong Il's quotation concerning various historical persons, and thought, and intellectual currents, many of these quotes are not present in his complete works.

But were probably inserted.

They are treated as an old tradition, and were inserted to the text, exposed.

We may be almost {all not} sure that they are not pronounced by Kim Jong Il himself.

But, nevertheless, these short quotations show us that the regime takes significant attention to bring the history of philosophy under more and more control.

Though, we have quotations like, when we look at the thought decrypted by Yi Yulgok {the new book}, we may know that in his time and society, These quotes are usually very short and are not much instructive.

But {its actually} these are telling us a lot about the nature of the ideological and intellectual change within the North Korean regime, As we will see, {the,} the basic definitions which were established in early 60's, are still roughly corresponding to the framework which is used in 2010 and 2020.

It reminds us the one simple aspect why we see practically no change within the development of North Korea interpretations of tradition thought.

According to some definitions, authoritarian states or regime could be defined by a lack of self-reflection.

In other words, for most of the regime, its natural somehow reflect on the past mistakes and successes and change somehow.

Authoritarian regime, on the other hand, is never acknowledging anything wrong.

And this is important, because even in the case of Korean Confucianism or traditional Korean thought, current authors are obliged to follow old interpretations because those interpretations were officially sanctioned by Kim Ilŏng and his regime, or Kim Jong Il.

It is not possible to come with some particular new {in} interpretation, because it was logically in similar way, that Kim Ilŏng or Kim Jong Il, were wrong.

This is the paradox of Kim Ilŏng and Kim Jong Il's work, which were published in a huge number and they were very volume ---- .

But in many cases, the contain precise set of proper opinions.

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And if you want to write any new interpretation, you have to write it according to the precedent within these works.

Though it's no accident that book published in 2010 is repeating opinions published in the 1960, because it's the same regime which is insisting {has been listing} on same values {layouts}.

as well compares three main thinkers of the Confucianism.

And we can see that it doesn't change much here.

The volume four, which is instructing the philosopher 16th century {"qui" "Li"}, Yi I deeply studied Yi Hwang's idealist philosophy and Sŏ Kyŏngdŏk's materialist theories, and then developed, integrating both of them, his independent philosophical thought of li and qi dualism, proposing as well his radical social reform thought representing the interests of the progressive stratum of the yangban class.

His philosophical and socio-political thought could not overcome the scope of sŏngnihak[성리학] idealism but there are within it elements of materialism and a practical perspective, which demonstrate tendencies of advancement.

The rational parts of his philosophy were in later times further developed by progressive scholars and became the foundation of the emergence and development of sirhak[실학], the representative current of progressive thought during the end of the Chosŏn period.

Though, what we can see is just slightly more systematization where Yulgok is labeled as a predecessor of 17, 18, and 19th century scholars who were labeled as the most progressive part of Korean traditional thought.

Here we have to mention slightly that in spite of the fact that 16th century scholars of Korean Confucianism, are generally acknowledged as one of the greatest thinkers of the East Asian thought.

And North Korean political preference was focused on the so-called scholars of practical sciences first translation of the term sirhak, who were taken as almost direct critics of the chuch'e ideology and {in} the high stage of {the} materialist current in Korean thought.

We can add some rather funny {fine} details.

Not only works {words} of silhak scholars were compared to works of {parts of }16th century scholars, published some of the monarchist parts of some of their works were published.

They were also quite prominent as it {in} attested for example by stamps.

And the greatest scholar of the Korean past was considered Chŏng Yagyong[정약용].

even two post stamps {terms}.

And even there is series of post-cards where progressive sirhak thinkers something would never happen to 16th century scholars.

When we talk about the similar nature of the current, of the latest works, we can give example{s} of T'oegye Yi Hwang who was still, even after the case unable to get rid{e} of the label of reactionary scholar.

And the North Korean publication from 2010's are speaking clearly that "Yi Hwang's philosophical thought, together with his moral and social-political views, received, due to their reactionary nature, the positive support of feudal rulers of those days; later on, they were widely used by the feudal government of the Yi dynasty as a means of ideological control.

Also, during the Japanese occupation of Korea, these ideas were used as an ideological instrument for the support of colonial rule.

Nowadays, they are used in South Korea by the puppets of American imperialism as one of

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their ideological tools for control of the people.

{Later on.}" This is roughly the same what we can see at the beginning of the regime.

Confucianism is basically wrong, and its only predecessor of Japanese imperialism or American way of life, and is used by South Korean government to oppress people.

Nevertheless, there are some minor changes.

We, for example, find mentions that Yulguk, T'oegye influenced Japanese thought, which is right.

And, in spite of the critique of the T'oegye, he is currently in North Korea acknowledged as reactionary, but at least influential thinker.

Again, it is difficult to compare the North Korean statements with any historical occurrence.

Because they are based simply on the, we can say that the question of those criteria, right in this quotation when we {where they} state that T'oegye Yi Hwang ideas "were widely used by the feudal government of the Yi dynasty." As well very {are} used the ideas of Yulguk, which were even more prominent than T'oegye's ideas.

of the late chosŏn Korea were in most cases aligned to Yulguk's school of thought.

The same we can say about Hwadam Sŏ Kyŏngdŏk's[화담 서경덕] thought, which was not so much prominent as the thought of Yi Hwang.

And Yi I, during the late Chosŏn part, but nevertheless, were still studied.

What we can take from all those debates on historical development of Korean thought in North Korea? I would say that it, first of all, serve us not only as a way how to understand the motivations and way of thought of North Korean regime.

But above all, I think it is somehow interesting perspective on Korean thought.

Something like a broken mirror.

The fact that North Korean scholars are deliberately twisting and applying anachronistic categories to the history of Korean thought.

And for us evident testimony of the fact that we should be always {be} aware of the particular interpretations.

And, roughly speaking, when you see really wrong interpretation, it is the right moment to ask whether your interpretation is exactly correct.

It is somehow important, not only to know the wrong interpretations, but also other that whether they are not showing us something or we have overlooked.

It brings some paradoxes.

I can give one example.

The North Korea which is associated with horrible abuse of human rights, payed a grave attention to critiques of the feudal society and previous society in order to show that the socialist or chuch'e society in North Korea is better than anything what happened in the history of Korean peninsula.

As an example, could be focus on the suffering of Korean people within{as in} the traditional society, and, for example, studies of Korean slaves or Nobi[노비].

And we have {made} numerous statements concerning Yi Hwang or Yi I's reform proposals or statements about the various classes of the Korean society.

And, frankly speaking, this could be sometimes interesting.

Because, for example, the question of social thought or the class society was, for a relatively long time, not much interested in the general histories of Korean philosophy.

Though, it is ironic that the state or regime which had never any concern for its own

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population, is bringing out attention to the pains and suffering of the people in {of} the historical Korean society.

As I mentioned, North Korean interpretations of Confucianism, or we can say rather monothematic and they follow {for all} the basic framework which was laid down already during the 60's.

But, we can expect some changes if the regime is changed to some degree.

{do some work.} It is also necessary to stress that what we are talking about, all materials presented during the lectures, are materials addressed to academic ordeals and the impact on the general population is rather limited.

Those interpretations are for really advanced scholars or the members {From -----} of the workers party, to properly understand the history of Korean thought.

We may find reflections of this discourse, on Korean Confucianism, on some lower levels.

Like in textbooks for high school and so on.

But, nevertheless, what we are talking about here is really elite perception.

I would like to stress that many Confucian{ism} scholars, including Hwadam Sŏ Kyŏngdŏk and Yulguk Yi I, are present on other levels of the regime discourse as rather positive figures.

Especially Yulguk is praised for his ----- study.

And Sŏ Kyŏngdŏk is presented as a dedicated scholar.

Even Yulguk's mother, Sin Saimdang[신사임당] is quite {, in fact, a very} popular figure within North Korean discourse.

Though, all know history of Korean philosophy as presented in those books, is the highest level available only to scholars and student of the Kim Ilŏng's University and Academy of Sciences.

This is somehow related to the very simple fact that books we are talking about are basically not freely available to North Korean population.

North Korean population has access to many public libraries etcetera.

But it's really controlled which books are targeted for the general audience {public}.

Though I would like to end this lecture by simple encouragement, to you not to forget that besides the general discourse on {from general} Korean history {historian} and thought, which we are having at disposal {this model}.

There is also this particular strain of the North Korean interpretation.

And I would like to really encourage you to take a look on this facts.

When you are writing an article studying North Korean philosophy, it could happen that you forget some of the famous scholars either in Korea, United States or Europe, and your professor will criticize that you omitted that source.

But on the other hand, if you will mention on North Korean publication, nobody {no one} will care.

I think this is somehow problematic that in spite of what we can think about {of} North Korean sources, we should be aware of their existence.

And there is also one aspect that maybe one day we will {you might} have to engage with North Korean scholars face-to-face.

Either after reunification, or the change in relations.

I personally will add small note.

I am a {Other} disciple{s} of professors who studied in North Korea already in in 50s and etcetera.

They never believed that the regime would last so long.

## 강좌내용

And due to this experience, I am very cautious to say that we could have chance to speak freely with Korean scholars in a few years.

It could last 70 decades.

My professors waited for this moment for {their} whole lives and it was not enough. But nevertheless, this time would come.

And, understanding what is the standing status of Korean traditional thought and Confucianism in North Korea, could prepare us for this future battle.

Thank you for attention.

## 10 주 차 강 좌 운 영 방 안

<b>강좌주제</b>	Disengaging scholars from public service in Joseon Korea part.1	<b>교수자</b>	Diana Yuksel
<b>학습목표</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Understanding the meaning of Confucian royalty through the life of Kim Siseup 김시습, the Confucian scholar in Joseon dynasty</li> <li>2. Describing what is the Elementary Learning 소학 and how it works to Korean Confucian scholars</li> <li>3. Contrasting the way of royalty in Confucian scholars between Song dynasty and Joseon dynasty</li> <li>4. Arguing what is the way of real royalty in the context of Confucianism</li> </ol>		
<b>핵심어</b>	Confucian royalty, The Way, Kim Siseup, Yi Maengnjin, Joseon scholars		
<b>주요흐름</b>	Professor Diana Yuksel introduces many cases of retirements of Joseon Confucian scholars to show what was the meaning of royalty for them and itself. The 'official reasons' were disease, aging or weakness but in many cases the real meaning of their retirements was a kind of protest. Kim Siseup, the one of Saengyuksin was a very example for the retirement for protesting about the deposition of King Danjong.		
<b>읽기자료</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. 심경호, 『김시습 평전』, 돌베개, 2003.</li> <li>2. 한국인물사연구원, 『계유년의 역신들: 계유정난과 사육신』, 타오름, 2012.</li> <li>3. 영화 &lt;관상&gt;</li> </ol>		
<b>기타학습요소</b>	1개의 토론 주제와 4개의 퀴즈		

### 기타학습요소 운영계획

Discuss

1. How do you judge their retirement especially the Sayuksin and Saengyuksin?

Quiz

1. What was the posthumous epithet who was dethroned by his uncle Sejo? (Danjong)
2. What was the nick name of six scholars who died for the disposition of Danjong? (Sayuksin)
3. What was the name when Kim Siseup became a Buddhist monk? (Seoljam)
4. Who was the king taking the throne from his nephew Danjong? (Sejo)

## 강좌내용

Hello my name is Diana Yusel I'm an assistant professor in Korean studies at the University of Bucharest in Romania .

My research is in pre-modern Korean Confucianism and today I will talk about the disengaging scholars from public service in partly Joseon Korea .

This topic of disengaging scholars is related to idea of Joseon scholars entering the public service and sometimes leaving it .

So the lecture today is addressing the problem of disengaging scholars and in order to do so we will also look at the important book that regulates the parkour of the scholar in his official capacity but also personal life and this book is the Sohak 小學 .

In order to understand why sometimes this phenomenon was more extended and sometimes it was a less so, we will have a look at the historical context that prompted some of this refusals to serve in a public capacity by the Confucian scholars .

In particular we will look at the case of a scholar from the 15th century Kim Siseup .

Let's start with the first problem with the larger topic of disengaging scholars In the previous course we have seen that throughout their lives, Confucian scholars of all times had their moments of doubt about the moral duty of a scholar .

Should they always serve the government in an official capacity or should they retire from the service if the government does not fulfill the same moral standards? Such old-age questions made scholars constantly ponder between their duty towards their monarchs and the people, as civil servants, and their desire to satisfy their need to be true scholars by dedicating themselves to the study of Confucian classics and Confucian thought in general .

From the struggle this issue raises in many cases, it seems that the two instances as we have seen in order to complement each-other, are in fact diametrically opposed .

This is very obvious particularly in the case of Joseon scholars, in a paradoxical way, since the Joseon state initiated "the political and institutionally oriented Confucian focus" or the "bureaucratic learning" (kwanhak 官學) in order to have professionals who know the ropes of government .

However, it seems that in those times, just like nowadays, there was a profound incompatibility between government and politics and an honest intellectual life .

In essence, things should have been pretty straight forward .

During the first century of Joseon, scholars analyzed and dissected normative books such as the Rituals of Zhou (Zhou li 周禮), the Book of Rites (Li ji 禮記), The Great Learning (Daxue 大學), The Doctrine of the Mean (Zhongyong 中庸), the Analects (論語) of Confucius or the Book of Mencius (孟子) in order to establish performative connections between the Confucian teachings and the public and implicitly political life .

Their hesitation seemed to have found a satisfactory solution in the common sense normative prescriptions of a later, simplified compilation, which was the Elementary Learning or the Sohak/Xiao Xue 小學 .

The book, which is a manual for a code of conduct befitting a Confucian scholar, underlines the importance of putting one's knowledge into practice .

The text had been in use in China since the end of the twelfth century and is based on the ethical teachings of Confucianism .

It was compiled by Zhu Xi in the 12th century .

The Elementary Learning is painting a clear image of how the life of a proper Confucian scholar should be .

## 강좌내용

From the age of 1 to 9, the future scholar trains at home, becoming knowledgeable not only in reading and writing, but also in the ways of the world he learns proper behavior while eating, dressing, talking .

This is the time spent at home, in a personal, private space .

After the age of 10, until the age of 70, the scholar's life is public, outside the personal/secluded family space .

From the age of 10 to 20, the scholar is completing his training by studying with a master and at an academy .

And between 20 and 30, establishes his family and relationships with his fellow scholars .

At 40, one accepts serious appointments, in state official positions and acts with caution .

This is what Sohak is advising .

If he can comply and his work is principal, then the scholarship pursue an official career, if not, one should retreat .

These are the provisions of the Sohak .

By 50, the scholar should be in a high official position and do important things for the people

And finally, at 70, the scholar is allowed to give up his official duties and retire and maybe return home .

A scholar's path is very well defined in the Elementary Learning, as a cyclic structure, starting from the private area, going towards the public area, then returning to the private life .

The problem though that arises The Elementary Learning is addressing an ideal time and space and ideal people, without taking into account the historical-political context .

The context, or the times (shi 時) of serving or retreating from public service is an element of particular importance, acknowledged as such from the ancient times, present in the classics such as The Great Learning and in the sayings of Confucius and Mencius .

Later, the scholars of Song dynasty when the Elementary Learning was compiled were more interested in re-theorizing important aspects of Confucianism, so there is less interest in the context in spite of the fact that The Elementary Learning is in fact a practical guide .

But at the same time, there was another trend .

The theories of the scholars from the Song Dynasty, for the role of the scholar diverged from the Mencian idea of adjusting one's public acts to times and circumstances, claiming instead that a loyal Confucian scholar should unconditionally serve the monarch at any cost For the Song masters, the relationship between the ruler and subject preceded all other moral obligations, and loyalty towards one's ruler preceded any other type of loyalty, to the point where it would be improper for a Confucian scholar to serve a successive dynasty, no matter what justified the dynastic change .

On the contrary, in spite of the popularity of the Elementary Learning, for the scholars of Joseon the problem of time or historical context was of extreme importance as it determined on the one hand the dynamic of serving the state or disengaging from the public service and on the other hand their views on the role of a scholar .

A short detour is needed here to clarify the connection between the birth of ideas and the context or the times that favors it .

Whenever we talk about a particular idea that such and such scholar had on a certain topic, there are multiple layers that we need to examine in order to understand it .

The central layer obviously is the theory itself, but underneath it, of equal importance, there is the historical context that prompted this idea or theory .

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Therefore, examining philosophical ideas is a multidisciplinary task that, particularly in the case of Joseon scholars, necessarily implies having a close look at the historical socio-political context .

If we have a general look at the recorded resignations of scholar-officials, in the The Annals of the Joseon Dynasty or the Veritable Records of Joseon Dynasty (Joseon Wangjo Sillok 朝鮮王朝實錄), the official records compiled between 1392 and 1865, we'll notice that the peaks of resignations from public offices are in times of political struggles .

There are over 3,800 entries in the Veritable Records and Restored Annals dealing with the problem of resignation .

It is true not all of them make a direct reference to a particular scholar or a certain letter of resignation, some of these entries are just general considerations on the topic .

Nevertheless, many of these entries are related to resignations and from them we can understand the dynamic of disengagement from public duty and its direct connection with the times .

If we have a look at the petitions, letters of resignation, or intentions expressed about leaving public service between the 14th and the 18th century, we will notice a repeating pattern .

In troubled times throughout the history, the number of scholars leaving the office or intending to leave the office is significantly higher than in calmer historical and political context .

If we have a look at the very beginning of Joseon Kingdom, during the reign of the first kings there are few entries related to scholars disengagement from public duty particularly at the end of 14th century during the reigns of King Taejo, Jeongjo .

Because these are the formative years of the new state and the society of the scholar official (Seonbi) or literati .

However, from the time of King Sejong on, things are changing and these changes can be followed through the centuries in the Joseon Wangjo Sillok .

During the reign of King Sejong for instance there are over 180 entries related to letters of resignations or to the idea of disengagement from public office but then the reign of King Sejong was extremely long it lasted for 32 years so this many entries on the topic are spreading over a long period of time .

The reign of King Munjong on the other hand, was very short it lasted only for 2 years .

There are a few letters of resignation And mentions about scholars leaving their official positions but they are not that many but it's also true that his reign marked the beginning of an imbalance of power at court and also the beginning of the remonstrating tradition that we will talk about a little bit later .

The reign of King Danjong was also short but Being too young to rule the government and decisions of power were taken by the primary counselor Hwangbo In and his vice-counselor general Kim Jong-seo with his sister, Princess Gyeonghye acting as his guardian .

This deepened the struggles for power and the political imbalance .

The times of King Sejo are times of disruptive events, and the most notable of this events is the martyrdom of the Danjong loyalist .

As a result we will see slightly more mentions about scholars wanting to leave the public service .

In the following reign of King Yejong, there are only 3 references to letters of resignations but only 2 of the resignations as such and we will talk about one of them later .

## 강좌내용

During the reign of King Seongjong, there was an explosion of entries about scholars resigning their public position .

King Seongjong was, he had a long reign of 25 years and he was strongly committed to the doctrine of remonstrance and he was usually tolerant in this practice .

But the scholar officials began abusing the power of remonstrance and started using it as a tool to undermine royal authority and the official hierarchy .

These were times when the future scholar-officials, training at the Confucian Academy Sunkyunkwan, would organize sometimes remonstrative protests and scholars and official scholars would try to change royal provisions by mass resignations .

Then, during the reign of Yeonsangun 연산군 even more troubled times came about .

And this is again a peak of resignations, most probably determined by the literati purges from 1498 and 1504 .

This ascending trend of scholars disengaging from public duty seemed to continue during the time of King Jungjong, who had a long reign of 38 years, when tensions between scholars at court grows it's the time of the literati purge of 1519 when scholars such as Jo Kwangjo were purged and it is also the time of scholars like Hwadam, Jongsik, T'oegye, and others .

During the time of the Myeong Jong, again long reign of over 20 years in spite of the fact that a literati purge takes place in 1545 we don't have as many resignations or intentions to resign as we expected .

But it is true that many scholars had resigned previously refused to return to serve we know that it was the case of the Yi Hwang Toegye .

During the time of King Seonjo, who had one of the longest reigns in the history of Joseon, his reign lasted for 41 years, and in spite of the fact that it's a troubled time because it's the time of the Imjinwaeran or the Imjin war .

The letters of resignations are significantly less because this is a time of national cohesion a time when scholars were serving the state and the people particularly because of the destruction that had an external cause .

The following reigns are again seeing a rise in the disengagement of scholars because they are the times of factional disputes .

Particularly during the reign of Gwanhaegun and then later during the reign of Injo when the Manchu invasion determine some scholars particularly the main loyalists to leave office .

In the following times we notice a rise in the Intention of scholars to leave service particularly during the reign of King Hyeon Jong when factional conflict arose on many issues, the most famous being: The mourning rites of controversy which sparked over a disagreement on the proper mourning time for one of the wives of King Hyojong .

This led to a difference of opinion by the leaders of two rival factions and this dispute led to a purge of one faction and the coming into power in 1674 of another one and to an eventual counter-purge in 1689 .

Finally during the time of King Sukjong we know that he alternatively favored opposing political groups or factions, which were engaged in some of the most intense factional fights in Joseon, and the King himself frequently replaced factions in power with replace other faction in power with another faction in order to strengthen the royal authority .

and with each change of government the losing faction was completely driven out of politics with executions and exiles .

The scholars resigned from their positions either in fear of their lives or in protest to the

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King's decisions .

So this resulted in high percentage of disengagement from the government duties and detachment from public affairs .

So obviously, if we have a general look at what we've talked about before with longer reigns there are bigger numbers of disengaging scholars .

Some monarchs did not reign long enough to accumulate an impressive collection of resignations from their officials in spite of their less than perfect government such as the case of Jeongjong, Munjong, Danjong, Yejong, Injong .

It should be noted that not all of the petitions to resign were accepted, in fact many were denied, so the fact that a letter of resignation or the issue of a scholar's desire to resign are documented in the Sillok, does not necessarily mean that a resignation did in fact take place .

The reasons for scholars to retire from their government positions are most of the time clearly stated or apparent .

But sometimes they are not overtly expressed .

The hidden reasons for the submission of a request to retire from public duty can be found out from the context on the background .

This is an example of a petition to resign Yi Maengjin, from the Office of Ministers-without-Portfolio possibly holding a position of rank 2 has advanced his position of resignation saying: I'm quoting of mediocre qualifications has passed 70 year of age and, befitting from his Majesty' s grace, has reached the highest position .

Moreover, he was presented the Gwejang and received honors beyond comparison and could not be more grateful .

Lately, with his strength diminishing, even if he has not been able to fulfill his duties, he still enjoyed the benefits of wealth and glory and for this his gratitude is infinite .

Now this humble servant's greatest wish is to spend the remaining of his life in peace." Telling that he passed the 70 years of age means that Yi Maengjin passed the traditional age which the Confucian scholar could retire from public service .

But his petition was denied .

The King refused his plea .

This seems to be like a common example, but it comes to prove the importance of times, the importance of context, the historical context, and the fact that the conduct of the official scholars of Joseon cannot be taken out of the historical and political context .

If we go and check the context then we will find out, that the scholar wrote his petition the letter of resignation Yi Maengjin was born in Hansan and he was the grandson of Yi Saek, so he was coming from prominent descendancy from prominent family with tradition of scholarship and he had very serious reasons to disengage from public duty and distance himself from the court even at a such late age .

This year, 1456, when he wrote his resignation, was the year of the failed attempt to restore King Danjong to the throne .

The event happened in June .

Six of the members of Jiphyeonjeon, the Hall of Worthies but also the role of an academic research institute, so high ranked officials namely Seong Sam-mun, Pak Paeng-nyeon, Ha Wi-ji, Yi Gae, Yu Eung-bu, and Yu Seong-won who reacted with outrage to Sejo former duke Suyang's usurpation of the throne in 1455, together with Kim Jil, plotted a coup to coincide with the visit of a Ming Dynasty envoy .

## 강좌내용

When the banquet and subsequently the assassination plot were postponed, Kim Jil lost his heart and betrayed the plot to his father-in-law, who reported to Sejo .

The Six except Yu Seong-won, who committed suicide with his wife, were seized and tortured . They are collectively known as the Six Martyred Ministers, Sayuksin Many more were put to death for their suspected involvement in the plot or for sympathy with Danjong .

As was common with treason cases, the penalties were not limited to the individual but extended to the entire family .

The men of the family were put to death and the women were often taken into slavery .

The moment was followed by the resignation or disengagement in protest of prominent scholars and high-ranking officials, later known as the Six Living Servants Saeng yuksin 生六臣 .

The Six Living Servants were Kim Siseup, Seong Damsu, Wonho, Yi Maengjeon, Jo Ryeo and Nam Hyoon .

Yi Maengjin's second cousin to Baek Okheon Yi Gae, was one of the Six Martyred Ministers, and in 1456 together with his second son, who was of the same mind, met their pitiful end when they were put to death by dismemberment and the whole family fell into slavery .

By Sejo's special order Yi Maengjin's life was spared, but he died during the same year, 1456 from the shock of having his son and grandson killed and his daughter in law and his daughters turned into slaves .

So we can see that behind a simple letter of resignation there is more if you look at the context because Yi Maengjin probably realized that harsh times were coming in the beginning of the year, before the afore mentioned events happened, so he submitted his letter of resignation but he motivated it by old age and the will to return home and live peacefully .

But if you look at the context we can see that he might have had in fact a lot more serious reasons behind his decisions to disengage from public life .

This event was not a singular one, it preceded a series of bloody purges that resulted from the socio-political changes in the first half of Joseon .

The new class of scholars, many of them younger officials, took their roles as examples of morality seriously and intended to project them onto the court politics .

They were also given the tools to do so, through three government offices: the Office of the Inspector General (사헌부), the Office of the Censor General (사간원), and the Office of Special Counselors (홍문관) .

The officials in these offices could both advise and remonstrate .

The power of remonstrance, that was given to the young scholars usually appointed in these three offices, often came into conflict with the authority of the throne and the high court officials and they sometimes led to bloody purges .

After the purges the role of the scholar tended to be understood slightly different and the scholars found various ways of fulfilling their moral scholarly duty in a non-official capacity, by keeping away from the power, because after all, retiring did not absolve a scholar of his moral duty .

This they did, particularly during the 16th century by retiring to the countryside and focusing on self-cultivation, which was also a fundamental part of the role of a scholar .

But because their duty was also towards the people one of the alternative ways of serving was to make the society aware of and abide by Confucian values through educational projects .

And they strived to disseminate their deeper understanding of Confucianism through the private academies, seowon they set up or joined in the countryside .

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The topic of the Confucian academies the seowon is covered largely and in depth in the courses of professors Vladimir Glomb and Martin Gehlmann .

We will now look at this at other alternative way, of serving .

So one of these ways of serving was retiring in the countryside, teach and pass on the Confucian tradition and create a new generation of scholars who abide by high moral standards but there are alternative ways of serving and we would look at one of them by following the life and writings of Kim Siseup .

As I was saying, serving the state was one way of fulfilling scholar duty, another alternative for a Confucian scholar to fulfill his duty was what we may call “participatory eremitism” a term which means that the scholars are protesting they are retiring from public life, they may never enter public service, they stay away from the state affairs, but they still have an agenda and they still abide by the principles of proper Confucian scholar’s life .

This is the case of Kim Siseup a scholar from the 15th century .

In order to understand Kim Siseup’s idea of doing one’s scholarly duty, we need to go back to the events of 1455-1456 .

The moment of the mass punishment of officials followed by the resignation or detachment in protest of prominent scholars and high-ranking officials, which could be seen not only as one of the many tensed moments in the history of Joseon, but also as the first assumed and documented reaction on the part of the seonbi, which marked the emergence of defiant political action in Korea .

Kim Siseup is considered to be one of the Six Living Servants or the Saengyuksin not only for his radical decision of retiring from public life, but also for the amount of work he created while living the life of a recluse .

His refusal of public positions and the adoption of an secluded life has sparked many debates during the sixteen and seventeen centuries, but it was only in the eighteen century that he was finally acknowledged by the Confucian literati as a loyal scholar or Euirijisa, which made him officially part of the Confucian tradition .

The ideological foundation of Kim Siseup’s eremitism rests in his moral philosophy, centered around the idea of righteousness and just conduct, Euri, that is guided by a moral consciousness of man and his place in the world .

Understanding the ideological foundation of Kim Siseup is important to understand the reasons for his decision and his choice of detaching himself from public life .

By elaborating extensively on this topic of just conduct, Kim Siseup proved his constant preoccupation with the question of morality, Right and wrong, the nature of human mind and, implicitly, with the idea of righteous government .

At the same time, his theory of morality expands towards the role of the scholar, having at its core the “theory of righteousness and just positioning”, Euiriron .

While in theory, the principle is to be found in all aspects of life, Kim Siseup elaborated on it particularly in relation with the idea of a loyal scholar, who adopts the right stance towards his monarch .

Kim Siseup’s theory on the principle of just positioning must have originated in his early Confucian education .

A precocious scholar, he was trained at the State Confucian Academy and had studied in depth the Confucian classics .

he was very well versed in the Doctrine of the Mean, the Great Learning, The Analects of

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Confucius, The book of Mencius, The Book of Poetry, The Classic of Documents and The Spring and Autumn Annals, and many others .

In parallel, he studied Buddhism, which was not uncommon among the young aspiring Korean scholars .

In spite of all the preparations, Kim Siseup failed the civil service examination in 1453, and in 1455 he had his first moment of rebellion, when he protested the deposition of King Danjong, whom he saw as the rightful heir to the throne, by leaving the capital .

Kim Siseup began his wanderings, after allegedly having burned his Confucian books and after having taken the Buddhist name of Seoljam, or Snow Peak .

From then on, he began a series of visits to the Buddhist monasteries and wanderings throughout the country and refused to enter the civil service .

We know for sure that in 1465 Kim Siseup was summoned to the capital by King Sejo, but he refused to return and serve the government .

There are probably other instances when he was given the chance to join the public service, but denied the request .

True to his idea of moral conduct and loyalty, Kim Siseup was credited with the burial of the corpses of the Six Martyred Ministers, the officials executed for having planned to restore Danjong to the throne .

He returned to the Confucian studies only after King Sejo's death in 1468, dedicating himself to Confucian morality and the just conduct of Confucian scholars .

For Kim Siseup, Euri is the basis of all belief systems and all actions and perceptions, becoming, on an individual level a set of rules of conduct that have primacy over and replace propriety Ye .

Although a rebel against the social conventions himself, Kim Siseup sees propriety as a tool in reaching the just positioning, illuminating the Way and making the virtue manifest, which means abiding by the orthodox Confucian moral rules for self-cultivation and maintaining social order .

In theory, propriety and just positioning should be part of the same equation, in which the scholar official plays the same role on a personal level and on an official level .

In practice, Kim Siseup discovered that inherent to the Confucian world was also this tension between the scholar's compliance to his ethical standards and his duty to society and state .

In the end, Kim Siseup rebelled only against the social conventions of the moment, which have strayed from the norm, standing by the rules of propriety such as they have been passed on from antiquity, with the primacy of the rules of patriarchy and primogeniture .

As a consequence, Kim Siseup's attachment to the idea of loyalty to the rightful heir to the throne derived naturally from his view on Confucian morality .

The duty of the scholar to serve his king is due to the inseparable bond between them, the first of the five cardinal bonds in Confucianism: the five cardinal bonds being the bond between king and his minister, father and son, husband and wife, elder brother - younger brother and the bond between friends .

And this is a topic that discovered in another lecture .

The role of a loyal subject and a devoted scholar is to practice "righteousness" and to have a consciousness of what is right in an effort to "learn righteousness or the just positioning and principle" which in one word is the Euirijihak and also to make manifest "integrity" Jeoleui .

In the writings of Zhu Xi, the foundation of the original relationship between king and subject .

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Since Zhu Xi adopts the Mencian idea that Eui is a form of respect, born of a consciousness of right and wrong .

But this does not have an absolute value, since it depends largely on the circumstances, or the times, as we called in before Si and on one's moral judgement of the circumstances .

For Mencius, the Five Dynasties was an era of chaos, when worthy men withdrew in seclusion and unworthy men served in the office .

In his discussions on positioning oneself correctly in a given social context, Kim Siseup brings as an argument the idea of authenticity, in the Confucian sense Seong, understood as the sincerity of one's moral convictions, which is a necessary condition for the practice of Eui .

Being authentic implies a counterpart, since for Confucians sincerity or authenticity is always related to the other, and as such it also implies a great responsibility, since it is also the Way of Heaven .

Observing this idea of authenticity and sincerity and inspired from the Confucian classics, Kim Siseup retired and never took office during the reign of King Sejo, which he considered an unpropitious era .

He wrote: quote and to retire from it is according to the proper rules of conduct, Eui and the possibility or the impossibility of practicing one's Eui by taking a public position depends on the times and politics." Although he had voluntarily withdrawn from public service, Kim Siseup was by no means His retirement had a purpose: he thought and wrote about the political problems of his age, like a scholar in recess rather than a recluse, being one of the most prolific writers of the fifteenth century in Korea .

We may say that he had consciously and programmatically assumed his eremitism after the dethronement of Danjong .

Kim Siseup says that "Not all of the people who master the Way have a wish to retreat to the woods and not all want to show their Way in the world of people .

But when the times are turning, their acts are not contrary to the way, when the sincerity prevails, their words are not spoken against the changes." He considered retiring as a form of loyalty, a type of moral conduct that defined a loyal scholar .

In spite of the fact that he himself chose a life of a recluse as a way of manifesting his righteousness, Kim Siseup accepted the Mencian idea that there is more than one virtuous way of acting when it comes to serving one's king and country .

By maintaining that one can abide by the scholar-official's moral code "Gunsinjieui" while serving with caution .

But this is not the only way of following the Way, Doeui .

Retirement and seclusion as a mean of moral delimitation from a monarch that lacks the inherent virtue is another .

Regardless of the methods used to serve one's purpose of abiding by morality and doing one's duty, the role of the virtuous scholar never ceases .

This is what Kim Siseup says: their mind-heart is still devoted to the country and the king; even after becoming decrepit, they never cease to think about advising the monarch .

Even if their bodies travel far, their hearts are left above the palace gate; living apart from their families, they show their loyalty and their mind-hearts are truly those of exemplary scholars Sagunja." Kim Siseup had clearly a pragmatic scope for his writing, which is engaged, aimed at producing a change, even if the results might not be immediate .

He was an atypical Confucian and an atypical scholar, and his image was diametrically opposed

## 강좌내용

to that of a Sadaebu, conservative scholars who took up official roles and rose to power in the beginning of Joseon .

His refusal to serve in an official capacity brought him critiques and accusations of heterodoxy during his lifetime and afterwards .

However, his devotion to the moral ideals and the consistency of his theories on morality was constantly doubled by his preoccupation for and engagement into discussing the problem of ideal government albeit from the position of a disengaged scholar .

While he cannot be credited as the initiator of a tradition of Confucian eremitism in Korea, Kim Siseup's case has had significant relevance in the long tradition of scholarly disengagement from public duty as a way of protesting morally faulty government, while continuing to serve the people and the Confucian society in a different way .

Kim Siseup's reclusion is an active one .

He retired from the public life in protest, but continued to serve by writing about the moral ideals .

His case proves that there are alternative ways of fulfilling one's scholarly moral duty and one of them is shunning the government in protest and calling for a change by engaged writing, such as that of Kim Siseup .

So far we have talked about the role of the Confucian scholars and the possible alternative that they had to serve the state which means doing their moral duty their official or their public moral duty while at the same time having a look at their individual moral duty and the strive to perfect themselves and better themselves for the sake of the moral ideals of proper Confucian scholars and also for the sake of the Observing one's state in better way possible .

We have looked at the examples offered through the writings and through the personal life of Yi Hwang Toegae and of his predecessor Kim Siseup .

We have seen the different ways in which Confucian scholars from Joseon reacted to and acted when faced with the choice of entering the public service or retiring from the public service .

I hope this lecture is useful in understanding the Confucian way that's the way of Confucian scholar and in understanding maybe why some of the Confucian values are still part of our world today .

Thank you for listening .

감사합니다.

## 11 주 차 강 좌 운 영 방 안

<b>강좌주제</b>	Disengaging scholars from public service in Joseon Korea part.2	<b>교수자</b>	Diana Yuksel
<b>학습목표</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Recalling the meaning of the “retire” for Joseon scholars</li> <li>2. Comparing the retirement of Kim Siseup and others</li> <li>3. Understanding the Confucian moral duty for scholars</li> <li>4. Evaluating Kim Siseup’s retirement historically, politically, and philosophically</li> <li>5. Arguing the idea of Confucian fundamental value such as royalty(충:忠)</li> </ol>		
<b>핵심어</b>	Kim Siseup, Royalty, Righteousness, Moral duty of Confucians		
<b>주요흐름</b>	<p>Professor Diana Yuksel continues her previous lecture and shows us the deeper layer of Confucian concept of Royalty and Righteousness with Kim Siseups case. She drags the legend of Boyi and Shuqi in Zhou dynasty China and compare their spirit with Koseon Confucian scholars retirements to show what is Royalty and Righteousness.</p>		
<b>읽기자료</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. 심경호, 『김시습 평전』, 돌베개, 2003.</li> <li>2. 심낙수, 『사도세자의 충신과 역신』, 한국학중앙연구원출판부, 2022.</li> <li>3. 정출현, 「&lt;육신전&gt;과 &lt;원생몽유록&gt; - 충절의 인물과 기억서사의 정치학」, 『고소설 연구』 33, 2012.</li> <li>4. 윤정, 「18세기 ‘단종제신’ 포장의 확대와 ‘생육신’의 성립」, 『역사문화연구』 36, 2010.</li> </ol>		
<b>기타학습요소</b>	토론과 퀴즈 4문항		

### 기타학습요소 운영계획

Discuss

1. What is Royalty (comparing Confucian way and the others)?

Quiz

1. What were the name the two wise mans protesting Zhou? (Boyi and Shuqi)
2. Who did related the benevolence with righteousness in acient China? (Mencius)
3. Who were compared with Yi Yin, Boyi and Shuqi by Mencius? (Confucius)
4. What was the main action of Joseon Confucianists for showing their protest in this lecture? (Retirement)

## 강좌내용

Hello , my name is Diana Yuksel.

I'm an assistant professor at the university of Bucharest.

And my research area is in premodern Korean history and Korean thought.

Welcome back to the course on "Disengaging scholars from public service in early Joseon".

We will continue our lecture on the problem of serving or not serving the state, a perpetual question for the Confucian scholars, that we have seen, by illustrating it with a historical example that was talked about and debated over the centuries.

So far we have seen that Confucian scholars, particularly in the beginning, in the first half of Joseon, were training to fulfill a moral duty towards themselves and the others by following the guidelines of the Elementary Learning, Sohak, and the pattern it provided for the balance between the private or individual life, and the public life.

However, in spite of the reverence, or the utmost respect that scholars had for Zhu Xi's stipulations, which were taken as general rules for a scholar's life, they were often questioning whether entering the state service was auspicious, and whether they should retire or continue to serve.

The practice of "quiet retirement", or 은퇴, or that of retiring from public life and becoming a recluse, or what is known as a 야인, together with rejection of royal summoning, or official appointments to public dignities, or just avoiding them, was not uncommon among the Joseon scholars, in spite of the fact that Joseon was a yangban bureaucratic state which functioned following the principles of the civil rule, as we have seen in the first part of this lecture.

And as such we would expect that a scholar's duty to the state had primacy over the individual preference.

We have already seen that there are many illustrious examples, in spite of what I have just said, examples of scholars who chose not to serve a certain government, sometimes following their own will, and other times forced by the circumstances.

Such in the cases of Seo Gyeong Deok, Hwadam, for instance, in the first half of the 16th century, who did not accept official positions and dedicated himself to the study of Confucian works .

Or Yi Yi Yulgok, retired from public service quite a few times because of various reasons Many times, forced by a frail health.

Similarly, Yi Hwang Toegye had a long list of appointments and held important official positions but oftentimes retired from his official duty.

One interesting case is that of Yun Hyu already in the 17th century, who lived in the countryside and refused public positions, public postings, because he opposed the terms of the peace with the Manchus.

And this was his way of expressing his disapproval of the state policy and monarch's decisions.

And, also in the 17th century, we have the example of Pak Sedang who held a series of minor posts but repeatedly asked to be relieved from office, also unhappy with the government.

And we have paid particular attention to the case of Kim Siseup in 15th century, who retired in protest and even became a Buddhist monk for a while, and then wandered the country while teaching the Confucian principles of morality to his disciples.

Why is Kim Siseup interesting when it comes to the problem of disengaging from public duty? Because Kim Siseup provided an extensive argumentation of his views on ethics and government, which were directly linked with his concern for the question of morality.

This concern is present in many of his writings, which can be found in various divisions of the

## 강좌내용

Collected Writings of Maewoldang, or Maewoldang chip, such as “The Righteousness of Monarchs”, Ingunŭi.

“Preserving the Mind”, Chonsim.

Or “Discussing the Gentlemen of All Times Who Chose Seclusion”, Kogŭm Gunja ūnhyŏng non.

Or “Eulogy for Boyi and Shuqi”, Paegi Sukche ch'an.

Or in various divisions of the Miscellaneous Writings, the so called Chapchŏ, as well in many of his poems.

In all of the mentioned works, Kim Siseup's views on the question of morality have at their core the “theory on the principle of just positioning”, uirion, which we talked about in the first part of this lecture.

And we have seen that following the principle of just positioning, and developing one's sense of adopting the right moral stance, is to be found in all aspects of life, but that Kim Siseup elaborated on it particularly in relation to the idea of a loyal scholar, who always knows to position himself appropriately towards his monarch, and whose morality is implicitly linked to the idea of loyalty.

There cannot be one without the other if we talk about a scholar who understand moral duty and the perfection of one's moral duty.

We have also seen that the precedents of theories on the moral obligation of the scholar, and also the precedent in applying it, which can be found since the Chinese antiquity.

For instance, Confucius himself, held a series of positions in the government and retired on a few occasions, and motivated a scholar's decision to disengage from public duty by the scholar's duty to not serve a faulty government.

We have already talked about Confucius actions.

Now we will just have a look at how he motivated it.

He says, “Do not take up residence in a state that is troubled and leave the state that is disordered.

If the Way is being realized in the world, then show yourself; if it is not, then retire to reclusion.” This argument must also take into consideration Mencius' idea of how and where one's moral duty lies.

For Mencius, there are a few heroes of antiquity who had different ways of reacting in the face of the circumstances.

Mencius brings into discussion the two characters that we will talk about later .

He says, Chou then asked, “What do you say of Bo Yi and Yi Yin?” “Their ways were different from mine,” said Mencius.

“Not to serve a prince whom he did not esteem, nor command a people whom he did not approve.

In a time of good government to take office, and on the occurrence of confusion to retire.

this was the way of Bo Yi.

To say "Whom may I not serve? My serving him makes him my ruler.

What people may I not command? My commanding them makes them my people.” In a time of good government to take office, and when disorder prevailed, also to take office.

That was the way of Yi Yin.

When it is proper to go into office, then to go into it.

When it is proper to keep retired from office, then to keep retired from it.

When it is proper to continue in it long, then to continue in it long.

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And when it is proper to withdraw from it quickly, then to withdraw quickly.

That was the way of Confucius.

These were all sages of antiquity, and I have not yet reached the point where I could do what they did.

But what I wish to do is to learn to be like Confucius.” So, this is Mencius way of praising the way of a scholar who’s knowledgeable and aware of the times, and who knows how to position himself perfectly in according to the situation.

And he understands why this doing was moral duty.

Kim Siseup also talks about this and relates this to the reference that he makes to the Cheng Yi’s Commentary on the Book of Changes, Yi Cheng zhuan, and to Zhu Xi’s commentaries on the Book of Changes as well, Zhouyi benyi, where the Chinese masters from Song elaborate the moral implications of the cosmic order of the principle which in turn determines all the context that Confucian scholar is faced with.

"Yuan is the beginning of the life of a thing.

Heng is the luxuriant growth of a thing, li, however, is its tendency to bear fruit.

While Zhen is the realization of its fruit.

Once the fruit is produced then its stalk falls off and it can produce seeds, which will grow anew.

These four virtues go around in a circle without ceasing." What does this mean? It means that the moral foundation of the world, or universe, is in an unceasing process of renewal and a morally grounded thing will in turn determine the existence of other things endowed with the same virtues and abiding by the same principles.

This is why for Kim Siseup “Heaven keeps on moving and determining the transformation of the myriad things.” So, in other words, action and transformation have a necessary relationship of causality.

But, although Kim Siseup is devoted to the Book of Changes, he sees things in a slightly different manner.

Whereas in the Book of Changes transformation is global, without local, and with diffuse and all-prevailing effects, while action is localized, for Kim Siseup, as for the Song Confucians masters that he extensively studied, the transformation is embedded in the principle, li, and as such it can be localized in the mind-heart, xin or sim.

The Song Confucian tradition began with masters who advocated the recovering of the classical Confucian tradition, and had a new reading of Confucius and Mencius.

The tradition was adopted and continued by the Korean scholars, so it is not a surprise that Kim Siseup’s views on humanity, righteousness, and just positioning, are of Mencian inspiration.

Mencius discussed benevolence or humanity, yin or ren , which is the virtue, in relation with righteousness.

And he often explained one through the other.

In a very well-known passage it is said that Mengzi, or Mencius, had an audience with King Hui of Liang.

And the King said, “Sir, you have come, not regarding one thousand li as too far.

Surely you will have something to profit my state?” And Mencius (Mengzi) said in response, “Why must Your Majesty say ‘profit’, Let there be benevolence and righteousness and that is all.

## 강좌내용

Your Majesty says 'How can my state be profited?' The Counsellors say, 'How can my family be profited?' The scholars and commoners say, 'How can I be profited?' Those above and those below mutually compete for profit and the state is endangered.

There have never been those who were benevolent who abandoned their parents.

There have never been those who were righteous who put their ruler last.

So, let your Majesty say, 'Benevolence and righteousness,' and that is all.

Why must you say 'profit'?" This relation between the two concepts, the benevolence and the righteousness, or the right, behave right positioning or understanding things proper, is then further explored by the Song Confucians, for whom the two are interdependent and equally important.

In other words, the just conduct, or the ui as we call it yi in chinese, is the movement of benevolence or humanity.

So, proceeding only in accordance with just conduct may result in harm to benevolence.

Because benevolence is the constant force of the body.

To be excessive in it may result in harm to the just conduct.

The pairing of the two Confucian concepts is used by Mencius in a dialogue with the usurper King Hui of Liang, who tried to understand the principles of good government until his death in 319 B.C.

And Mencius arrived in the city of Liang a year later, shortly before the ruler's demise thus witnessing the process.

As we have seen before, Kim Siseup paid particular attention to the stories of usurpation.

It is not by chance that I brought up this story of King Hui of Liang.

And it's because Kim Siseup was sensitive to the stories, not only because such a historical episode had happened during his lifetime.

We remember that he witnessed the usurpation of the throne by Sejo('s) who pushed away his nephew, 단종 .

And this episode shaped Kim Siseups life, influenced his life, and also it shaped his unique writing as a result.

But, he had an interest in these stories also because they presented exemplars of Confucian moral behavior in the highest form.

After the detonation of the 단종 with the rise of Sejo as the King, Kim Siseup started wandering in the country after allegedly having burned his Confucian books and after he took the Buddhist name of Sölcham, which we know from various biographies which were written on Kim Siseup later.

He did this in protest of Sejo's usurpation of the throne, as I said, in the manner of the illustrious models of antiquity, which were the loyalists Boyi and Shuqi.

We will get to that story soon.

We have already seen that Kim Siseup based his retiring from society, his eremitism, on the theoretical approach to the idea of proper government, which should have as foundation the idea of just positioning, euri, just as the scholar's officials serving the government should also abide by the same fundamental values.

He also underlined the harm of pursuing profit and personal benevolence, stylistically following the more elaborate way of Zhu Xi's views on morality and the general Confucian ideal of following righteousness without hoping for reward or profit, and for the sole purpose of putting one's humanity, one's benevolence, into practice.

## 강좌내용

How is Kim Siseup proposing that putting one's humanity, benevolence into practice should be done? He says that this is done through propriety, or through ritual reverence, ye.

And this is an extremely important concept, fundamental to the whole construct of the Confucian society.

We have already talked a little bit on the importance of rights and rituals, ye, in reaching this idea of just positioning, illuminating the way and making the virtue manifest, which were the three things set forth in the Zhongyong.

Which means abiding by the Confucian moral rules for self-cultivation and maintaining the social order.

The lecture on ritualism by Professor Isabelle Sancho explores the idea of rite and a ritually defined society in depth.

So, I will not insist on this.

Another key element that Kim Siseup uses to argue his idea of following one's moral instinct and just positioning is that of the importance of a scholar to be true to oneself, or to be sincere, song.

or authentic, a state which, as it is explained in Zhongyong, The Doctrine of the Mean that I mentioned earlier, (t)is a necessary condition for the practice of the just moral stance, or uiri.

“There is a way to attain self-sincerity: If one does not understand goodness, one fails to attain self-sincerity.

But authenticity is the Way of Heaven.

To attain sincerity is the way of man.

The one that has authenticity finds balance without effort and understands without forceful thinking.

Such a man follows the right Way with easiness, for he is a sage.” The authenticity, the sincerity of moral convictions, translated into loyalty, filial piety and just positioning, is not a static thing, or a fixed thing.

But, it is flexible, since, as we have seen, it is tightly connected with the idea of time, or times. It is connected and influenced by this.

And this is what Kim Siseup says: “When times are turning, their acts are not contrary to the Way, when sincerity prevails, their words are not spoken against the changes.

Since they do not seek profit, their words can be straightforward and honest.

Since they do not care for fame, their deeds are correct and austere.

Since they do not run away from poverty, their words deeply move the kings and monarchs.

Since they do not fear death, their guiding principles make them fully aware of their times.

The ceremonies, and reverence coming with monarchs and princes they do not consider as high, they can join the litter bearers and yet not fall low.

In the face of heterodox slander, their creed grows stronger.

Even when attacked in treacherous ways, their teachings do not perish.

If there is a scholar whose Virtue is like this, then he truly is the master of the eternal Way.

Therefore, it is useless to compare such a person who is filled with morality, todök, with one who praises himself, places himself above others and seeks only profit and fame.” This is a talk that Kim Siseup gives or that he writes about the scholars who are straying away from the proper way of abiding by morality.

And seeking profit in the same way, Mencius was talking about the Kings of the past who should not seek any benefits in whatever things they are doing.

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But, what we can see also in this fragment is that there is, again, this idea of the implication of time.

And this is also inspired by Mencius and his writings, and particularly by the story on the two paragons of morality.

Now let's go back to Mencius' discussing of the story of Boyi and Shuqi.

The story says, and following now the source provided by the great historian Sima Qian.

So according to his biography that was of Boyi and Shuqi that was recorded in his Shiji, or The Record of the Grand Historian, the two were of noble descent.

They were princes.

We are talking about two noble people.

They were the sons of the ruler of Guzhu.

And they left that state in the name of serving the principles of rightness and filial devotion when their father designated the younger son, Shuqi, as his heir.

They thought this is not the proper Way.

The elder brother should be officially the heir to the throne.

So, they left the state, in a sort of protesting stance.

On the other hand, in a quest for understanding the proper rituality and the morals.

And they travelled to the state of Zhou where they were initially well received, but then also retired in protest, and they went to the Shouyang Mountain when King Wu of Zhou displayed unfilial behavior by attacking his enemy at a time of mourning for his father's death.

So, the King Wu's father has died and instead of waiting for the prescribed time for mourning, he went to war and this was seen as an act of treason towards the Confucian values.

Towards the idea of morality.

And refusing to accept anything from the traitorous king, these two characters, Boyi and Shuqi, the story says ate ferns on the mountain and eventually died of starvation.

And this is one version of their motivation for this extreme form of protest.

But there are other versions recorded by various scholars.

For instance, Art Vervoorn in his monograph "The Men of the Cliffs and Caves.

The Development of the Chinese Eremitic Tradition to the End of the Han Dynasty," identifies other versions of this story.

One is that the two princes objected to the covenants they witnessed being made between King Wu and his followers.

Covenants which promised land and titles in return for participation in his decisions, in treachery and violence and were sealed with the blood of a sacrificial victim.

And such practices the brothers are said to have seen as evidence of the final decay of the social order based on mutual trust, cooperation and harmony supposed to have been characteristic of the reign of the legendary emperor Shennong.

But other versions would have us believe that King Wu wanted to cede the empire to the two brothers.

So, in other words, they were called into office, and they wanted to escape this burden by running away into the wilderness, and avoid having anything to do with government.

Particularly under the King Wu.

Now, Mencius used the(is) story.

In Mencius texts its only Boyi is mentioned, but most of the time we understand the two characters together.

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And so, he took Boyi and Shuqi, but also Yi Yin and Confucius as models of just positioning and righteousness and he pointed out not only the importance of the circumstances in one's decision on how one should exercise moral duty, but also the duty of the scholar to sanction political deeds.

This is what he considers that is the ideal stance, the one adopted by Confucius.

We remember that in the end of the fragment, there he says "I want to be like Confucius." So, depending on the circumstances, the Confucian sage will do his moral duty by taking a public post and serving the king and the people, or by retiring as a gesture, again, of serving the people when the monarch forgets the proper Way.

Kim Siseup considered retiring to be, thus, a form of loyalty, a type of moral conduct that defined a loyal scholar, who also had other unquestionable qualities.

And was necessarily a virtuous man, Gunja, who cultivates himself delving into his original nature, which, as a result, can only be good.

The things that are touched by the virtue can only, thus, be sincere or authentic.

Hence the loyal conduct is a sort of a natural development.

Or at least this is how it should be.

This is how Kim Siseup sees it as a necessary being.

Kim Siseup himself was considered a loyal scholar later when described in his biographies.

We see often that the scholars are describing him as a loyal scholar.

Not only because his seclusion which was seen as an act of loyalty, but also for the devotion he proved towards King Danjong and the martyred ministers who supported him.

Again we need to remember the story when King Danjong was deposed for his number of six ministers, high ranked officials, protested to his deposition, and They were punished.

And they are known later in the history as the 사육신 And Kim Siseup was supposed to be one of the high profile characters who defied the rulings of Sejo and helped honor the memory of these six scholars, and then he was part of the group of officials, or scholars rather, who are known collectively as the 생육신.

The six living servants.

So, Kim Siseup connected this theory of just positioning and righteousness to retiring from public service by becoming a recluse himself, ilmin.

And hiding away from the world, so also an ũnja, by using, on a few occasions, the ancient examples of the Chinese princes Boyi and Shuqi, who were widely accepted even in his time as paragons of loyal officials.

In spite of his aspiration for the Confucian masters, Kim Siseup's situation was fundamentally different from that of the pre-Qin Confucians.

In the times of Confucius and Mencius, the scholars who wanted to distance themselves from the monarchs whose morality they did not find satisfactory would travel, maybe, to the next state, offering their services to one of their neighboring rulers.

And in fact, it appears that this attitude became a frequent practice particularly in the times of distress and chaotic political decisions of the Warring States in a time which encouraged pessimism, which became in a way more attractive to educated men than the normal pattern of life.

And this was precisely the time when Confucian scholars became more aware of the idea of si, of time and circumstances, and started developing their theories on the need to conform one's behavior to the changing disposition of times.

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In the book mentioned before, Art Vervoorn argues that these theories of time and circumstances went through a conceptual shift from the end of the Warring States period, when the intellectuals of the moment used them to criticize the legalist approach of a rule by law rather than by virtue, and to explain their reluctance to participate in such state affairs, to the beginning of the Han dynasty.

So, a lot later when the scholars' commitment to sociopolitical order was justified by the times, which, quote, "allowed them to assist the Emperor in the great task of bringing security and prosperity to the people," end quote, and when eremitism was considered almost a crime.

Definitely a proof of outmost lack of loyalty.

On the other hand, there are other opinions.

For instance, Frederick Mote finds this shift of interpretation as resulting naturally from the onset of the "imperial Confucianism" of the Han and following ages, an inherent development of the sociopolitical circumstances, which, I quote, "could scarcely have been fully anticipated by Confucius and Mencius, two unemployed thinkers reflecting on the age of decaying feudalism." Kim Siseup's views on the idea of loyalty draw much more from the Song Confucian masters, in spite of the fact that their theories diverge from the Mencian idea of adjusting one's public acts to times and circumstances.

Claiming instead that a loyal Confucian scholar should unconditionally serve the monarch at any cost.

For Song masters, the relationship between ruler and subject precedes all other moral obligations, and loyalty towards one's ruler precedes any other types of loyalty, to the point where it would be almost improper for a Confucian scholar to serve a new dynasty, no matter what justified the dynastic change.

And Frederick Mote calls this refusal to serve the government in the name of dynastic loyalty "compulsory eremitism," originating from the works of the Legalists and Xunzi.

In contrast, the retirement solution offered by Confucius and Mencius, in relation to the loss of morality at certain times, is called or could be called "voluntary eremitism." Kim Siseup's case peculiarly falls under both categories.

He voluntarily withdrew from public service in protest to the violation by Sejo of the moral code of rightful succession to the throne, but at the same time he was forced into eremitism by his own strong moral convictions.

The decision was a matter of his own conscience, but it was dictated by his loyalty to Danjong, in the spirit of Legalist morality that demanded that all servants of a fallen dynasty should remain loyal to it.

But Kim Siseup did not remain idle in spite of the fact that he retired from society and from public life.

He thought and wrote about the political problems of his age, like a scholar in recess rather than a recluse, being one of the most prolific writers of the fifteenth century in Joseon.

While dedicating himself, in turns, to the study of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism, Kim Siseup was also well acquainted with the work of the famous recluse poets such as Qu Yuan or Tao Yuanming.

And the "Ten Talented Men of the Ming", which included the famous poet Lin Hong, who retired from office to dedicate himself to poetry And also, with the case of Qu You, persecuted, exiled and forced into labor camps and reclusion and whose stories gathered together in the New Tales for the Trimmed Lampwick, or Jiandeng Xinhua, which were an inspiration for Kim

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Siseup's New Tales of the Golden Turtle, Kūmo sinhwa, were popular in Joseon at the time they were banned in China.

It is not a chance that Kim Siseup was interested in the works of Chinese poets because he was himself a prolifically talented poet, and we have volumes and volumes of poetry written by Kim Siseup.

However, the model for Kim Siseup's protesting eremitism, a combination of Mencian retirement and Song loyalism, might rather be found in the peculiar case of the Song-Yuan scholar Liu Yin, with whom he also shared a few biographical elements.

Like Liu Yin, Kim Siseup was a precocious student of Confucian classics.

He could read and write at an early age and even received some sort of recognition for his scholarly accomplishments.

Among other things, Liu Yin was notorious for having been able to memorize passages of hundreds of characters by the age of two and being able to write poetry by five.

Similarly, Kim Siseup is said to have studied Tang poetry at two and started writing poetry at three.

Whether these are true facts is difficult to know, but the stories are coming down from the biographies that were written for these two scholars.

The two scholars also shared an admiration for Song Confucian masters and harbored similar thoughts on the role of the scholar, while at the same time having similar attitudes towards eremitism.

Just like Liu Yin, who, on various occasions, was accused of favoring Daoism through his writings and through his attitude of distancing himself from state affairs, Kim Siseup was for a long time discarded as a valid Confucian philosopher by some of the prominent thinkers of the time.

In spite of accusations of Daoist and Buddhist heterodoxies, both thinkers emphasized their Confucian thoughts, particularly in matters of morality.

There is, however, a fundamental distinction between the two.

Liu Yin's refusal to serve publicly and his decision to adopt a life of seclusion came from his discontent with the Yuan government.

Inspired by his master, Yao Shu's reclusion to the mountains in protest against the corruption of the ruling house, Liu Yin withdrew from public service. He retired in seclusion and dedicated himself to the teaching of Confucianism.

Unlike Liu Yin, Kim Siseup did not have a preceding moral exemplar.

For as far as we know his masters in Confucian classics were not recluses.

Moreover, Kim Siseup clearly, consciously and programmatically assumed his eremitism after the dethronement of Danjong.

And he would sometimes refer to himself as "Ch'ōnghan, the recluse".

Or in other words sanin Cheonghan.

While Kim Siseup seems to have a detached and equidistant attitude in regard to the role of the scholar and his moral duty, his admiration for a rather extreme way of abiding by one's moral conviction and protesting against political circumstances is also evident, emerging especially from his attention to the stories of the recluses of antiquity, such as those of Boyi and Shuqi, an interest that he shared with Liu Yin.

Kim Siseup also distanced himself from the extreme Song loyalists, or the models of antiquity, who often died for their moral convictions.

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He admired Boyi and Shuqi, criticized the actions of King Wu and acted out his own beliefs through the burial of the Six Martyred Ministers, or the 사육신 that I mentioned before.

But he did not follow the model of Boyi and Shuqi who starved to death rather than eat King Wu's grain.

At least not in terms of physical hardship.

Also, he did not make the ultimate sacrifice.

Kim Siseup approached the story of Boyi and Shuqi on two levels.

A theoretical one, where he used the story to discuss euri.

And a practical one, where he reenacted, in terms of behavior, the "scene" of the gifted scholar who goes into seclusion in protest to political inequities.

For Kim Siseup, the story of Boyi and Shuqi is not merely a way of justifying the choice of lifestyle and the decision to leave the prospect of a public position for good.

Nor is it a simple story that exemplifies the idea of loyalty and filial piety.

But is above all a story of authenticity, of sincere living, which constitutes the foundation of the righteous man, and we can read here both "righteous Confucian scholar" and, at the same time, righteous monarch because this idea of righteous behavior and morality applies to everyone.

Including the monarch.

At the same time, it is an opportunity to question the unquestionable Confucian values.

Confucian practice and utilitarianism.

But not necessarily by serving under such King as Sejo in this case.

But this is not the only way to follow the principle, or the Way.

Retirement and seclusion as a mean of moral delimitation from a monarch who lacks inherent virtue is another way, just as the story of Boyi and Shuqi demonstrated.

But this is how Kim Siseup sees the problem.

He says, "The conduct of a noble man is difficult.

He cannot take up a position impatiently in search of profit, nor can he retire hastily in times of peril.

By pulling the rice from water one cannot make it strong, by hastening one's pace, one cannot hurry things.

The virtuous sage's decision to accept a government position and to retire from it is according to the proper rules of conduct, and the possibility or the impossibility of practicing one's conduct depends on the times." For Kim Siseup, the superior man's duty is to follow his moral path without expecting a divine reward, or any kind of reward.

Therefore, in regard to the story of Boyi and Shuqi, he was less interested in the biography of the main characters, or in the narrative as such.

And just like Sima Qian, the historian who wrote down the story, Kim Siseup used the story as a pretext for elaborating on the meaning of the lives and deaths, in this case, of the protagonists, in order to argue his theory of right positioning and loyalty in connection with respecting tradition and Heaven's mandate.

Just as Sima Qian, whose work he studied carefully and who "believed in a kind of fate determined in advance by Heaven and unaffected by actions of moral worth of persons", Kim Siseup gave preference to the idea of Heaven's mandate, or Tianming, or Cheonmyeong, rather than to that of the Way of Heaven, or Cheondo, Tiandao.

He was convinced that man's fate was determined by Heaven as a reasonable entity,

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representing the ultimate moral instance.

And given this, the social order, customs and rites should be observed above everything else.

If one ruler loses the mandate of Heaven by not upholding the highest morality and by not serving the people, the one that succeeds him should strive to exhibit the type of morality befitting the monarch.

Instead, King Wu in our story of Boyi and Shuqi embarked on a military campaign during a time of mourning, replacing an act of defiance of the heavenly mandate on the part of King Zhou of Yin, whom he went against, with another act of defiance.

Because he himself did not abide to the rites and to what was morally right to do.

So, for Kim Siseup, such a turn of events can only be unpropitious.

In a longer argument, he explain his understanding of the story of Boyi and Shuqi.

He says, The 'Song of Ferns' goes like this: "They went up the mountain and gathered ferns because they could not understand how one can replace brutality with brutality." This is what I think about the story of Boyi and Shuqi.

Even though King Wu of Zhou punished the wrongdoers and saved the people, he did this at a time when he should have observed the funerary rites for his father, and he struck his enemy while wearing mourning attire.

Thus, King Wu acted with more violence than King Zhou of Yin.

Moreover, the brutality of King Zhou is such that even if when the body is worn out and the time of death comes upon him, he repents and reconsiders, it nevertheless leads to destruction and harm for future generations.

The brutality of King Wu of Zhou was even more tremendous for those times and its stench affected greatly many generations.

Why do I say this? If one raises armies without observing funerary rites, the world that follows will have the lack of filial piety at its origin.

If the vassal kills the ruler, the world that follows will have usurpation at its foundation.

At the time, the people were already following the king and this could not be stopped abruptly, hence the words of Boyi and Shuqi.

Even Mencius in the state of Zhou had already understood this mistake and said the following: "To strike a king while his vassal, this could be done by King Tang or King Wu, but if one is not King Tang or King Wu, this is usurpation." Kim Siseup uses this analogy to criticize the government, and implicitly to accuse Sejo of usurpation, a crime against morality that will affect generations to come, as we have seen in Kim Siseup's writing.

However, the political action taken against such a crime, in the form of an extreme type of protest undertaken by Boyi and Shuqi, for instance, is not endorsed by Kim Siseup.

For him, the role of the virtuous scholar never ceases, regardless of the methods used to serve one's purpose of abiding by morality and doing one's duty.

Let's have a look at another passage in Kim Siseup's works that reflects this idea that abiding by morality and serving with loyalty is a life-long task.

He says, "In case of misfortune, when the world is in chaos and when times are dangerous and the monarch is sending admonitions, or when one is sent away from the family, some prefer to go fishing in the North Sea.

Others just hang their hats at the East Gate.

But their gestures mean only that they wish for their monarchs to become like the ancient Fuxi or like the Yellow Emperor to restore peace in the world and to civilize the people.

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Even if in old age they retire to the woods, their mind-heart is still devoted to the country and the king.

Even after becoming decrepit, they never cease to think about advising the monarch.

Even if their bodies travel far, their hearts are left above the palace gate.

Living apart from their families, they show their loyalty and their mind-hearts are truly those of exemplary scholars, Sagunja.

If the monarch is holy and sage and his people are of outstanding benevolence, and he is calling from afar by using noble words, and yet the summoned one does not return to society, this is unconceivable for the exemplary scholar.” In this fragment there are two things that we should clarify.

One is the expression phrasing “to go fishing in the North Sea, Beihai.” According to Mencius, the North Sea is the place where Boyi retreated when fleeing from King Wu.

Also, “hanging one’s hat at the East Gate, or Dongmun”, is an allusion to scholar Meifu, from the Former Han dynasty, who retired from public duty after being appointed as educational instructor and head of the Nanchang commandery.

And he submitted a few memorials criticizing the general Wang Feng during the reign of Emperor Cheng.

Kim Siseup also uses the term “Exemplary scholar”, or Sagunja.

And we see here that an exemplary scholar regardless of his situation, being retired to the mountains or being old, he continues to serve through the monarch.

But what Kim Siseup points out is that when such exemplary scholars refuses to serve, this means that the monarch failed in his moral duty towards his people, and can no longer claim the loyalty of his officials.

It is the case of usurpers of the throne or kings that did not abide by propriety and rites, as we have seen from the story of Boyi and Shuqi, and from the historical situation and context of Danjong and Sejo.

The story of Boyi and Shuqi is not perfect in many ways and Kim Siseup was well aware that the historical Sima Qian recorded it, had raised himself a few questions in regard to the efficacy of the gesture.

Sima Qian is telling that “Boyi was ashamed of the Zhou and starved to death on Shouyang Mountain, and yet the king Wen and Wu did not give up their thrones because of him.” In other words, what is the purpose of such a gesture if it does not produce any significant change in the context that it was meant for? Just as in the ancient times when the story of Boyi and Shuqi took place, in Kim Siseup’s time, King Sejo continued to rule, and history has him, actually, as one of the inspired monarchs.

One of the monarchs who managed the country very well in spite of Kim Siseup’s defiant reclusion or of the critiques of other Confucian scholars of his time.

Just as in the case of the ancient story of Boyi and Shuqi, which acquired value through the attention it was given by Confucius, and Mencius, and the Song scholars, Kim Siseup’s theory of loyalty and just positioning and his eremitism were validated by the rise of later commentaries and discussions that they triggered.

Kim Siseup's gesture had generated at least 47 commentaries by the end of the nineteenth century.

His discussion on the implications of Boyi-Shuqi’s story constituted the beginning of an in-depth study and generated the debate on the problem of Confucian morality in the

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beginning of Joseon.

At the same time, it brought forth a model of argumentation for justifying defiant political attitudes, an aspect of Kim Siseup's work which was not fully understood at the time.

If it was understood at all.

The impact of his gesture, just like those of Boyi and Shuqi, was not an immediate one.

But it was one with an echo through time, and which introduced retirement in protest as a means to support one's moral convictions.

Kim Siseup's eremitism gained considerably more importance through his elaborated idea of loyalty, where he might well have been one of the first Confucian scholars in Korea to systematically argue this theme.

He (Kim Siseup) had clearly a pragmatic scope for his writing, which was engaged, which was aimed at producing a change, even if the results might not be immediate.

This makes him entirely different.

It sets him apart from the other scholars.

And also makes him different from the image of an idealist type of morality embodied, such as the one embodied by Boyi and Shuqi.

At the same time, this emphasis on the importance of authenticity and sincere living for a loyal scholar of utmost virtue, one that we would call Eurijisa, which he put into practice by choosing the path of eremitism, had earned him the honorific cognomen of "Boyi of Korea." Notoriously credited for this characterization, Yulgok was not the only scholar to have dubbed Kim Siseup a paragon of morality and loyalty as early as the sixteenth century.

Sangchon Sin Heum, a reputable scholar-official who served in many roles including those of Minister of Rites, and Left and Right First Minister, had also acknowledged Kim Siseup as a paragon of loyalty and right positioning in Korea.

He said of Kim Siseup "Yeolgeong Kim Siseup is the Boyi of our country.

Ch'ugang Nam Hyoon had named him such after having heard of his behavior." We know very well that Nam Hyoon was one of the close friends of Kim Siseup and was one of the six ministers who honored the memory of the dead six ministers .

While Yulgok's biography of Kim Siseup has undoubtedly contributed to the rehabilitation of Kim Siseup's image as a true Confucian scholar.

This coming amongst all the other critiques about him straying away from Confucianism by dedicating his heart, his life to study Buddhism and practicing Buddhism, and moreover for having an active interest in Taoism.

So, while Yulgok helped rehabilitate Kim Siseup's image as a true Confucian scholar, has shaped the way his works, Kim Siseup's works, were received by sixteenth-century and later scholars.

A major contribution to this reconsideration of Kim Siseup's image must have been the inclusion of some of his works in the sequel to Selections of Refined Literature of Korea, Sokdongmunseon A work compiled in 16th century, in 1518 under the supervision of Sin Yonggae, where Kim Siseup's writings are in the company of other works by prominent scholar-officials from the beginning of Joseon such as Kim Jongjik, Seo Gojong, Kang Huimaeng, and others.

This anthology has not only facilitated the circulation of Kim Siseup's ideas, but also kept his scholarly image at parity with other Confucians of the time, and served as a means of scholarly recognition of his works.

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During the first half of the seventeenth century there were only a few feeble attempts at recognizing and praising Kim Siseup's work and the impact of his attitude towards governing and morality on the Confucian thinking of other Joseon literati.

However, towards the end of the seventeenth century, the importance of Kim Siseup's contribution to the Confucian theory of morality in Korea was fully recognized.

The first notable event was the initiative of Park Sedang in the end of the 17th century, who erected a commemorative stone on Mt.Surak for Kim Siseup in 1668, followed in 1669 by official recognition of Kim Siseup as a loyal scholar, worthy of memorial rites and a posthumous title.

Following this, while his writings were being circulated, the Confucian academies began recognizing Kim Siseup as a paragon of Confucian ethics by establishing memorial rituals, such as the ones conducted by the Changjeol Academy in Yeongwol or the SeoSan Academy in Haman.

Finally, during the reign of King Jeongjo Kim Siseup received the posthumous title of Minister of Personnel, Yijo panseo, and the posthumous honorific name of Chonggan, which is a conclusion to his posture of being "upright and modest".

What can we take away from Kim Siseup's model of disengagement from public life and the theories by which he supported his decisions? Well first of all we can take away the fact that a Confucian scholar has a moral obligation to fulfil one's duty towards the society, but that this duty can be understood in different ways, and has been understood in different ways for centuries.

What Kim Siseup did was to bring forth the possibility of various paths of fulfilling one's moral duty.

And this is what we may call his legacy.

Kim Siseup's legacy throughout Joseon and after.

Thank you for your attention.