Lecture 4b  
Korean Confucianism

- Original Confucianism in Korean is referred to as Yugyo (유교).
- Above all, it stresses the importance of 'filial piety' hyo (효).

The Three Bonds 'cardinal relationships' Samgang 三綱 삼강

- Bond between ruler and subject  
  君爲臣綱 군위신강
- Bond between father and son  
  父爲子綱 부위자강
- Bond between husband and wife  
  夫爲婦綱 부위부강

The Five Codes or 'moral imperatives' Oryun/Illyu 五倫 오륜 / 人倫 인륜

- Intimacy between father and son  
  父子有親 부자유친
- Justice/righteousness between ruler and subject  
  君臣有義 군신유의
- Distinction between husband and wife  
  夫婦有別 부부유별
- Order between senior and junior  
  長幼有序 장유유서
- Trust between friends.  
  朋友有信 봉우유신

"Husband and wife are the union of two families and the beginning of the birth of the people and the source of a myriad blessings. Introductions are made and the betrothal discussed, gifts are exchanged and visits are paid, and thus this distinction is emphasized. Therefore in choosing a wife one does not choose anyone of the same surname, and in establishing a home the inside and outside affairs are kept separate. The man lives in the outer rooms (舍廊사랑방) and does not meddle in the interior; the wife lives in the inner apartment (房안) and does not interfere in the outside affairs. Indeed, he must be dignified in his condescension and personify the positive heavenly element [yang 陽], while she must be docile in her correctness and thus follow the earthly principle [yin 陰] in her obedience. Then the way of the household will be perfect." (from Dongmong-seonseup 童蒙先習, a Joseon dynasty text for children.)

Confucianism introduced to Korea

- The Samguk-sagi records a Taehak Confucian academy (太學 태학) being established in Goguryeo in 372, the same year as the official adoption of Buddhism.
- In the Silla Annals section, the Samguk-sagi further records for the year 640 Queen Seondeok (善德王 r.632–647) sending sons of the nobility to study at the Guoxue national university (國學) in the Tang capital of Chang’an, observing that Baekje, Goguryeo and other countries did likewise.
- In 682 Silla established its own Gukhak national university/academy (國學 국학): the core curriculum consisted of the Analects and the Book of Filial Piety and specialization in one of the following: the Book of Odes, the Book of Changes, the Book of Documents, the Record of Rites, the Tso Commentary, or the Anthology of Refined Literature.
- In 788 a state examination system was first introduced but it was unable to challenge Silla’s hereditary bone rank order.
- The Confucian civil service examination (科舉 과거) was more permanently established in 958 during the early Goryeo dynasty (918–1392).
Neo-Confucianism / Seongni-hak

• "Neo-Confucianism" is a modern Western term, in Korean it is referred to as either:
  • Seongni-hak (성리학 study of human nature and principle) or
  "the principle of human nature") or,
  • Juja-hak (朱子學 study of Master Zhu).

• Song dynasty scholar Zhu Xi (朱熹 1130-1200) grouped the Four Books and wrote commentaries on them:
  
  - *Analects of Confucius* (論語 Lun Yu)
  - *Works of Mencius* (孟子 Mengzi)
  - *Great Learning* (大學 Da Xue)
  - *Doctrine of the Mean* (中庸 Zhong Yong)

  These four books formed the complete curriculum of study for the Confucian examination system throughout the entire period of the Joseon dynasty (1392-1910).

• In China Neo-Confucianism and the study of Zhu Xi lost popularity relatively quickly.

"Zhu Xi stated that the Great Ultimate (太極 taegeuk - the yin-yang sign as on the South Korean flag) is without form and comprises the totality of all individual principles in the universe. As it is the nature of principle to become actualised, *Zhu stated that the universe must be made up of two basic elements, li (理 yi/li principle) and qi (氣 gi material force). Qi was necessary to bring into actuality the potential of li. On the one hand, li explains the reality and universality of things while qi explains the process of coming into being, and the facts of universal transformation and change. However, principle and material force are not to be seen as separate entities, but are to be understood as inseparably linked together. The universe functions because of the 'mind' of the universe, which is Ultimate Principle (?). Ultimate Principle in turn is reflected individually in the moral mind of man, representing his original nature, and the human mind, the individual manifestation of the moral mind formed by the individual circumstances of a person’s physical endowment and desires. Believing that the actual differences amongst humans are caused by differences in individual qi, Zhu Xi felt that men could be brought to a higher moral state through education. Using philosophical elements drawn from Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism, Zhu Xi gave Confucianism what it had always lacked, a formalised metaphysical system. This cosmological system, however, linked together grand concepts about the nature of the universe with discussions of the moral nature and potential of individual persons. From now on, Confucianism was no longer just an ethical system but, in effect, a religious system as well. Moral living now meant moral harmony with the Ultimate Reality." (Grayson 2002:101-2)

Goryeo period

• According to tradition, Neo-Confucianism was introduced to Goryeo by scholar-official An Hyang (安珦 1243-1306).
  • An Hyang first visited the Mongol Yuan capital, modern Beijing, in 1289, and there discovered the works of Zhu Xi (*Annotations of Zhu Xi* 朱子集註) which he copied by hand and brought back to Goryeo together with portraits of both Confucius and Zhu Xi.
  • Whilst remaining close to the Goryeo kings (with whom he travelled twice more to the Yuan capital) and serving in the highest positions, An Hyang devoted himself to revitalizing the National University and establishing Seongni-hak in Goryeo.

At the end of the Goryeo period, Neo-Confucian practitioners became divided between those who believed one must remain loyal to the kingship no matter what (부사이조 'not serving two dynasties'), and those who would switch their support to Yi Seonggye and participate in the founding of the new Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910).

Joseon period

"Unlike the Confucian intellectuals behind Zhu Yuanzhang's (朱元璋 r.1368-98, first Ming dynasty emperor) rise, intellectuals who, looking back on the failure of the Song dynasty, harbored grave doubts about the ability of the Confucian bureaucracy to rule successfully, the Yi [Joseon dynasty] Neo-Confucian founders, with no past failures to contend with, were driven by a commitment to forge a new Confucian social order which would be a complete break from the old Buddhist Goryeo society. With this sense of mission, they engineered and carried out the change. The founding of the Yi dynasty was thus more than anything else a Confucian revolution." (Haboush 2001:12)

Emergence of the Sarim-pa faction (士林派 사림파)

- In the early Joseon dynasty, Neo-Confucian scholars were split between those who supported Yi Seonggye and those who had remained loyal to Goryeo.
  - Those who supported the change of dynasty, e.g. Jeong Dojeon and Gwon Geun, focused their energies on running the new government.
  - Those who had opposed the change in dynasty turned more to metaphysics and became almost more idealistic. They became the Sarim-pa faction (士林派 'scholar forest faction') which subsequently gained influence towards the end of the 15th century.
  - Because of their original non-participation in governance, and their later factionalism which led to scholar-officials constantly being sent into exile, Sarim-pa scholars had much of their power/influence/happiness in the provinces where they established local schools, seowon (書院 서원), which would form their ideological base whilst reflecting their ideal of being lofty scholars detached from daily politics.

Sarim-pa split into Easterner and Westerner factions

- During the 15th century the Sarim-pa split into two factions over the metaphysical debate on the dualistic phenomena of Principle (理 li/yi) and Material Force (氣 gi).
- The two factions were thus the Principle First faction (主理派 주리파 juri-pa 'emphasizing Principle') and the Material Force faction (主氣派 주기파 jugi-pa 'emphasizing Material Force').
- They were referred to as the Easterners (東人派 동인파 Dong’in-pa) and Westerners (西人派 西人派 Seo’in-pa) respectively: the names of these two factions only referred to the positions of the houses in Seoul belonging to the two officials who led the factions in political rivalry.

In spite of their differences:

"Both the Principle First School [Juri-pa] and the Matter First School (Jugi-pa) believed that there was a direct correlation between the order which exists in the material universe and the order which exists in human society. Both schools also believed that the essence of man was good, and that his character could be brought into a better if not a perfect state through the performance of ritual propriety and social virtues. Finally, both schools emphasized the importance of unity and harmony in all relationships." (Grayson 2002:119)

Principle First faction (主理派 Juri-pa)


Hoeje Yi Eonjeok (晦齋 李彦迪 1491-1553):

- Exiled twice: during the first exile in 1530 he established a seowon school; the second time he was exiled to Gang’ye in northern Korea where he wrote his works.
- Developed ‘theory of the Infinite Great Ultimate’ (無極太極論 mugeuk-taegeuk-ron) which subsequently influenced Toegye Yi Hwang.

"The Way (道 ‘Tao’) in its Great Origin proceeds from heaven and spreads to the Three Ultimates, Heaven, Earth and Man. In all the universe there is nowhere one can go where there is no ongoing activity of this Way: there is not a creature that does not embody this Way. As for the form it takes in man, the greater elements are the primary relationships between ruler and subject, father and son, husband and wife, elder and younger: the lesser elements are the appropriate measure regarding activity and quiet, food and rest, coming forward to serve in office or retiring, rising and declining. This goes to the extent that each case of speaking or keeping silent, each frown or smile, has its own proper norm. One cannot part from it for the slightest moment or deviate from it by a hair’s breadth. There is nothing that is not the wondrousness of this principle...

..at the moment of the subtle incipient activation of the mind-and-heart there is the conflict of heavenly principle and selfish human desire, and a hair’s breadth of carelessness interrupting the process may result in an error of a thousand miles. At this point one must bring even greater mindfulness and caution to bear! In the terms Zhang Nanxuan (1133-80) used to describe this, one must preserve one’s inborn good nature in quiescence in order to nurture the foundation of activity; one must exercise discernment in activity so that it will manifest what was preserved in quiescence: only then will nothing escape." (in Sources 1997:348)

Toegye Yi Hwang (退溪 李滉 退溪 1501–70)

- Regarded as the founder of the Yeongnam School of thought (嶺南學派 영남학파) associated with the Easterner Faction (東人派 동인파) of the former Sarim scholars.

- Even during his lifetime he was recognized as one of the foremost philosophers.

4) Also known as Zhou Lianxi (周濂溪 주렴계).
• Following the 1545 Literati Purge, he attempted to retire multiple times but was always called back to high office.
• In 1560 he established the Dosan-seodang (陶山書堂) village school in his hometown, near Andong, but was only able to finally retire in 1568.

Biography
• The youngest of 8 children; he was born to a second wife after the first had died. Hometown was to the northeast of Andong, in North Gyeongsang-do province.
• Both his grandfather and father had only managed to pass the lower round of civil examinations, giving them the title of jinsa (進仕); they were consequently not very rich.
• His father died when he was only 7 months old so the family struggled.
• Aged 6, he began to learn the Thousand Character Text (千字文) from a local old man; aged 12 he began studying the Analects of Confucius (論語) under his uncle. He later studied so hard he neglected food and sleep, and consequently suffered weak digestion throughout his life.
• Aged 21 he married; aged 23, he studied at the Seonggyun-gwan (成均館) national university in Seoul.
• Aged 27, he passed the provincial examination (鄕試), but the same year his first wife died.
• Aged 30, he remarried and continued to pass higher exams finally obtaining official rank aged 34.
• Aged 43, he achieved the highest rank at the Seonggyung-gwan of saseong (成均館司成) aged 46, his 2nd wife died and he built a small hermitage (암자) in his hometown for future study.
• To stay outside of Seoul, he took positions as county magistrate in Dan’yang (丹陽 North Chuncheong-do) and Pung’gi (豊基 North Gyeongsang-do); citing ill health, he returned to his hometown without waiting for permission for which he was stripped of his office but was soon recalled.
• Aged 50, his older brother was killed during factional strife: Toegye built another small hermitage building in his hometown together with a lilly pond (all part of his dream to withdraw from office).
• From this period until his final retirement, there was a constant cycle of being called to high office and withdrawing on grounds of ill health.
• In 1560, he finally established the Dosan seodang village school (陶山書堂 도산서당), but was not able to fully retire until 1568. He continued to teach there until a month before his death.

Toegye stated that he only took the official exams because of the poverty of his household, his aging mother and at the urging of friends.
• He lamented that from early on he had planned to spend his life in the mountains where he would have built a thatched hut and devoted his time to reading and self-cultivation. Had he been able to spend thirty or more years at this he was sure his health would have restored itself, he would have attained erudition and would have been able to enjoy all things in the world. Instead he had to "sell his eyes" for the examinations and official posts.
• Four days before his death he told his nephew he only wanted a simple burial without rites and just a small stone to mark his grave.
• His face is now on the 1,000 won banknote.

Toegye’s Big Bang theory:

"Principle moved and thus Material Force followed and was born"

Toegye thus hypothesized that Principle had to have existed before Material Force and so

This was derived from the statement by Zhou Dunyi (周敦颐 1017-73) in his Taiji-tushuo (太極圖說 'Diagram and Explanation of the Great Ultimate')

"[When the] Great Ultimate moved it created yang; [when] it was quiet/settled it created yin."

Toegye thus hypothesized that Principle had to have existed before Material Force and so
in all his philosophy Principle is emphasized over Material Force.

- However, he was left with the question, if Principle is passive (무 작위), how was it able to 'move' and create Material Force? This led him to create his 'theory of Body and Function' (體用論) which proposed:

  The passive nature of Principle is only in its 'body' (體) but not its 'function' (用) which can be active (作爲).

"Toegye and his followers had a strong sense of man’s moral weakness, of how difficult it was to consistently adhere to the high Confucian standards of selflessness and self-control. They tended to emphasize the gap between li, seen as the normative pattern governing humane relationships among themselves and with the world around them, and ki, seen as the physical world that sometimes hinders the smooth operation of li." (Baker ‘Morality and Metaphysics in Korean Neo-Confucianism’ paper)

Four-Seven Debate 四七理氣論辯 사칠이기논변
- Comprised an 8 year correspondence between Toegye and his disciple, Gobong Gi Daeseung (高峯 奇大升 高奉基대승 1527-72).

  Concepts:
  
  The Four Beginnings (四端 사단) taken from Mencius (孟子 孟子):
  - humanity (仁 仁), righteousness (義 義), propriety/ritual behaviour (禮 예) and wisdom (知 지)
  - Regarded as always good.
  
  The Seven Emotions (七情 七情) taken from the Book of Rites (禮記 예기 Liji):
  - happiness (喜 喜), anger (怒 古), sadness (哀 哀), fear (懼 懼), love (愛 愛), hate (恨 恨) and greed (欲 욕)
  - Started as good but could easily become bad (i.e. were not always good - which explains why humans are not always good, even when Mencius said they innately were).

  The debate began in 1558 when Gobong met Toegye for the first time and asked his opinion on Chuman Jeong Ji-un's (秋巖 鄭之雲 1509-61) Diagram of Heaven’s Mandate (天命圖說 천명도설) which originally contained the explanation:

  "The Four Beginnings emanate from Principle: the Seven emotions emanate from Material Force."

Toegye initially revised this to:

  "The Four Beginnings are the issuance of Principle: the Seven Emotions are the issuance of Material Force."

Gobong, however, argued that the substance of the Four Beginnings and Seven Emotions were different only in name but in fact were the same. He suggested that the Four

5) Also translated as 'four fonts' and 'four potentialities'.
Beginnings were included within the Seven Emotions.

- This led Toegye to revise his formula to what is termed his **Theory of Mutual Issuance** (互發說 호발설)

  "As for the Four Beginnings, Principle issues them and Material Force follows/obeys them:
  as for the Seven Emotions, Material Force issues them and Principle mounts/rides them."

A paraphrase of Toegye’s formula might make clearer what he was trying to say:

> The four fonts of virtue are generated by the human tendency to act in accordance with the cosmic pattern of appropriate interrelationships [li] but, when those instinctive feelings are generated, the tendency to act for oneself rather than as part of the whole [ki] follows behind.

> The seven emotions are generated by the individualizing tendency to pursue one’s self-interest apart from that cosmic pattern [ki] but the universalizing tendency to act in accordance with that pattern [li] rides along." (Baker)

For Toegye, the beginnings of the four cardinal virtues are generated by yi (理) or Principle, whilst the seven sentiments of human emotion are generated by gi (氣), Matter or Material Force. Thus the virtues and emotions of the individual mind are formed by the two basic elements of the universe, Principle and Material Force. Toegye further believed that yi was the fundamental, prescribed element in the universe which led or directed gi, the material force or essence of matter.” (Grayson 2002:118)

The practical objective of Toegye’s philosophy was:

> "To block human desire and behave according to the Principle of Heaven"

- Behaviour according to the Principal of Heaven, he believed, could be achieved through maintaining **gyeong** (敬 정 'respectful attitude').
- **Gyeong** could be **realized in everyday life through ye** (禮 예 'ritual [behaviour]').

Toegye’s key works:

- **Jaseong-rok** (‘Record of Self-Reflection’)
  - Collection of his letters: during his lifetime he corresponded with more than a 100 people (though this only includes a small number).

- **Non-sadan-chiljeong-seo** (‘Debating the Four Beginnings and Seven Emotions’)
  - Contains his letters to Gobong.

- **Seonghak-sipdo** (‘Ten Diagrams on the Study of Sages’)
  - Written in 1568, two years before his death, represents the summation of his philosophy.
  - 'Study of sages' refers to **seongni-hak** ('study of human nature' aka Neo-Confucianism)
  - Prepared as a guide for the 17 year old king Seonjo (宣祖 r.1567-1608) on how to become a sagacious king: carries the notion of being 'a sage on the inside and king on the outside' (內聖外王 naeseong-woewang).
Material Force faction (主氣派 jugi-pa)

- Emphasized Material Force (氣 gi) over Principle.
- Included Gobong Gi Daeseung (高峯 奇大升 1527-72) who debated with Toegye.

Yulgok Yi I (栗谷 李珥 李珥 1536-84)

- Regarded as the founder of the Giho School of thought (畿湖學派 기호학파), based around Gyeonggi-do province and the central peninsula region.
- Was criticized by the Easterners as being pro-Westerner when, in fact, he had tried to reduce tensions between the two factions.

- Sin Sa'imdang (申師任堂 신사임단 1504-51), his mother, was a highly accomplished painter famous for her paintings of insects, small animals plants and fruit.
- Following 3 years’ mourning for his mother, he briefly became a Buddhist monk in Geumgang-san mountain (金剛山 금강산).
  - This was later used by the Easterners as a pretext to criticize him.

Yulgok's philosophy:

- Yulgok also met Toegye in 1558 at the age of 23.
- He later continued the Four-Seven Debate with Seong Hon (成渾 1535-98): Yulgok took up the former position of Gobong whilst Seong Hon maintained that of Toegye’s.

  'Yulgok was critical of Toegye’s theory of mutual issuance of Principle and Material Force saying, “It is correct to say that the Seven Emotions issue forth from Material Force and Principle mounts it. This is not limited to the Seven Emotions but rather, the Four Beginnings also issue forth from Material Force and rides on [them too].”’ (Kang 2006:291)

  "[Yulgok] writes instead that all human emotions, whether the Four Fonts of Virtue or the morally ambiguous Seven Emotions, are generated by ki, though every time ki generates such an emotion, li rides along to provide direction... How successful li is in providing direction is what determines good and evil.” (Baker)

- Yulgok developed the 'Yi-gi Theory of Monistic Dualism' (理氣一元的二元論 리기일원적이원론) emphasizing the inseparability of Material Force and Principle.

Water in vessel metaphor:

"As for something that cannot be separated from a vessel and has ceaseless activity, water is just the thing. Water is just the metaphor for principle. The original clarity of water is like the nature’s original goodness. The difference between a clean and a dirty vessel is like the differentiation of the physical nature. When the vessel moves, the water moves - which is like material force issuing and principle mounting it... there is no difference between the vessel’s moving and the water’s moving. Nor is there a difference in the issuance of material force and principle, as suggested by the mutual issuance theory [of Toegye]. When the vessel moves, the water necessarily moves: the water never moves of itself. Principle is nonactive: it is material force that has activity..."

Now if you would say they mutually have issuances as function [like Toegye did], then that would mean that sometimes the vessel would move first and the water would follow and move, sometimes the water would move first and the vessel would follow and move. How in the world could there be a rationale for this?” (in Sources 1997:377-9)

"While Toegye saw yi as a transcendent, primary force, Yulgok saw yi as one of the factors involved in gi. Thus the four beginnings were in effect a part of the seven sentiments of human emotion. As yi is generated by gi, Material Force, not Principle, is responsible for the generation, maintenance, and purification of the values held by the mind. This emphasis on the material force of the universe led Yulgok and his disciples to stress the importance of practical affairs.” (Grayson 2002:119)

"[Yulgok argued] that the patterns that should govern a person’s life, the li that should guide a person’s interactions with his fellow human beings and with the world around him, are best sought in the material world outside, rather than in the mental world within. Reaching out to the world in order to cultivate sincerity (selfless interaction with the social and physical world) was Yulgok’s prescription for self-control.” (Baker)

• Yulgok reframed the debate utilizing other terms Zhu Xi had also employed:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tao Mind (道心)</th>
<th>vs</th>
<th>Human Mind (人心)</th>
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<tr>
<td>corresponds to: Four Beginnings</td>
<td>vs</td>
<td>Seven Emotions</td>
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<tr>
<td>and: Principle</td>
<td>vs</td>
<td>Material Force</td>
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Therefore the sage [aka Zhu Xi] was concerned about this matter and categorized the feelings that directly follow from our normative nature in its original conditions as the "Tao Mind" in order to get people to preserve, nurture, and develop it to the fullest extent. The feelings that are disrupted by the effects of our physical constitution and are unable to be the direct consequence of our normative nature in its original condition he categorized as the "Human Mind" in order to get people to examine the excess or deficiency involved in such feelings and moderate them accordingly.

As for the Human Mind, how is it likewise not good? But its negative connotation is from its involving excess or deficiency and devolving into evil.. If one is able to develop the Tao Mind to its fullest extent and moderate Human Mind.. then whether in activity or tranquility, speech or deeds, there will be nothing that is not of our normative nature in its original condition.’ (in Sources 1997:377)

Metaphor of a man mounted on a horse:

"When they go out the gate, sometimes the horse follows the will of the rider and goes out, sometimes the rider leaves it to the horse and goes out. When the horse follows the will of the rider and goes out, it is classed on the side of the man: that is the Tao Mind. When the man leaves it to the horse and goes out, it is classed on the side of the horse: that is the Human Mind. The road in front of the gate is the road of things and affairs as it ought to be traversed...

If one wants to apply it to the mutual issuance thesis [of Toegye], it would be like the man and the horse being in different places when they have not yet gone out the gate and the man mounting the horse after they go out. In some cases the man might go out and the horse follow him: in others the horse might go out and the man follow. The terminology and the rationale both go wrong, and it becomes meaningless. A man and a horse [in reality] can be separate from one another, however, so the comparison is not quite as close as that of the vessel and water. But water also has concrete
form, and in this respect likewise is not comparable to principle, which is formless. Similes must be looked at flexibly [!].“ (quoted in Sources 1997:379-80)

Practical efforts and works:
Aged 34, Yulgok wrote *Dongho-mundap* (東湖問答 'Questions and Answers of the Eastern Lake')

‘Yulgok] Yi Yi emphasized that reading 10,000 books as Emperor Wudi of Liang China had done cannot be called learning of the Way if it does not help to enrich and strengthen the nation and the nation falls. Jo Gwang-jo said that enriching and strengthening the nation is by the rule of might, but to Yi Yi the learning of the Way was the means to realize the enrichment and strengthening of the nation.” (Kang 2006:294)

- Yulgok objected to Jo Gwangjo’s (趙光祖 1482-1519) promulgation of the village code of Song dynasty scholar Lu Dai-jun (呂氏鄉約 1029-80. (呂氏鄉約 여씨향약, although he wrote his own!) on the grounds that the people first needed practical help, stating during a Royal Lecture in 1574:

  "The time is not ripe in my humble opinion. Providing for the people must be first and teaching them must be after that. The poverty of the people has never been this extreme before. Thus [the people] must be saved from this evil rapidly, and the village code must be applied after the needy circumstance of the commoners is resolved.” (from the Royal Lecture Diary quoted in Kang 2006:294)

*Seonghak-jip’yo* (聖學輯要 'Essentials of the Study of Sages')
- Written aged 40 as a guide for King Seonjo.
- Presented it during the Royal Lectures and encouraged reforms of laws appropriate to circumstances.
- However, all of Yulgok’s proposals were rejected or blocked by the Easterner faction who opposed him.

In particular, in 1583 Yulgok exhorted Seonjo to build up the army predicting disaster within 10 years!

'The Master (Yi Yi) delivered a speech at a royal lecture:

"The spirit of the kingdom has hit rock bottom. There will be great calamity in less than 10 years. I implore Your Majesty to train military troops consisting of 100,000 men in advance: station 20,000 in the capital and a troop of 10,000 in each province, but exempt them from household tax and train them in military arts. They should also be replaced every six months to protect the capital as well as to prepare all 100,000 to protect the capital. We will otherwise incur disaster in the event that a war occurs because the townspeople must be gathered in a hurry to fight.”

Yu Seong-ryong said, “That is not right. Training military troops when there is no trouble is to incur disaster.”

The Master’s words were not carried out, because all of the vassals attending the royal lecture agreed that the Master’s statement was overly apprehensive.’ (from Yulgok’s Collected Works 栗谷全書 quoted in Kang 2006:297)

Simplified comparison of Toegye and Yulgok:

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<tr>
<th>Toegye Yi Hwang</th>
<th>Yulgok Yi Yi</th>
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<tr>
<td>Founder of:</td>
<td>Yeongnam school (嶺南學派)</td>
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<td>Emphasized:</td>
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Neo-Confucianism in practice

“No-one could read through the traditional Korean course of Chinese studies and not gain some sort of moral insight. Unfortunately, all too often the method of teaching gave little instruction in how to make the moral education actively useful: it often left a man with knowledge, but without much initiative.”

- Orthodox Neo-Confucian life revolved around the 'Four Rites' (四禮 사례) which were the cornerstones to the ideal of 'ritual behaviour' ye (禮 예):
  - Capping 관례 gwallye (putting on the horse hair hat gat 갓)
  - Marriage 婚禮 hollye
  - Mourning 祭禮 sangnye (3 years living beside the graveside in a thatched hut; the length of time represented that sacrificed by parents to look after a young child).

  Ancestor worship 祭禮 제례 jerye

- The form of the rites were described in detail in Zhu Xi’s last work Zhuzi Jia-li (朱子家禮 'House Rules of Master Zhu')

Ancestor worship (祭祀 제사 jesa ) was especially important:
- It is a key aspect of Korean culture which has survived into the 21st century.
- Most Koreans, visit their family graves at least twice a year, at Chuseok autumn moon festival, and lunar New Year.

The objective of ancestor worship:
"The ancestors and their descendants, Zhu Xi remarked, consist of the same mind-matter (氣 gi 'material force'). Although a man’s gi dissipates upon his death, its substance is preserved in his descendants. If they exert their utmost sincerity and reverence, they can call back their ancestors’ gi during the ritual (祭祀 jesa ). Therefore people unrelated by blood to the dead cannot perform ancestral sacrifice for them." (Deuchler 1995:133)

Synthesis with indigenous customs:
"Ideally, on the basis of the Jiali (朱子家禮 주자가례 'House Rules of Master Zhu'), Confucian officials should have held seasonal ancestral services (時祭 시제 sije) on the first day of the middle month of each of the four seasons and on the death anniversary (忌祭 기제 gije) of each ancestor... Rather, the Koreans kept to their customary holidays (俗節 속절 sokjeol ) especially Dan’o [5th day of 5th month] and Chuseok [15th day of 8th month], that were linked to the agricultural cycle." (Deuchler 1995:170)

"At the beginning of the dynasty, women, especially the wife of a direct lineal heir (主婦 주부 jubu ), took part in the services, under certain circumstances even as chief officiant, although their names could not be written on the spirit tablets (神主 신주 sinju )." (Deuchler 1995:171)

"Despite this vast literature on Confucian rituals... ritual behavior was never uniform, and a family might even pride itself on its own particular performance of ritual precepts. Confucian style ancestor worship retained elitist traits: and, in accordance with the dictum of the Liji (禮記 Book of Rites) that "rituals do not go down to the commoners," the lower strata of society were not supposed to partake in a ritually pure life." (Deuchler 1995:174)

- Throughout most of the Joseon dynasty, the strict practices and associated dogmatic prejudices and discrimination (discussed below) applied primarily to the upper strata of society, the yangban households.
- The rest of society (farmers, slaves and artisans) maintained Buddhist and folk beliefs; it was only during the late 18th and 19th centuries, as the yangban class expanded that Neo-Confucian practices were adopted by those lower down.

Eldest sons and adoption of ritual of ritual heirs in their absence:

"The eldest son alone (長子 장자 jangja) came to be recognized as the ideal link in the continuum of generations... his full emergence in the 17th century signifies the climax of agnatic thinking along the lines of Zhu Xi’s conception of an ideal society." (Deuchler 1995:178)

"...in the course of the 17th century daughters were gradually losing their traditional status as heir’s of their ancestors’ property." (Deuchler 1995:228)

Disenfranchisement of daughters:

"The recognition of the eldest son as exclusive ritual heir - a general phenomenon by the end of the 17th century - was the climax of a gradual process of deepened ritual awareness and knowledge that was accelerated by the need to counteract the adverse effects of land shortage and land fragmentation... Women fared the worst... sisters were in reality disinherited by their own brothers in the name of serving their ancestors." (Deuchler 1995:230)

"Adoption, increasingly practised from the middle of the dynasty, thus destroyed one of the main reasons for concluding secondary marriages. [The 1447 Gyeongguk-daejeon] explicitly excluded secondary sons and their descendants from taking the civil service examinations." (Deuchler 1995:272)

Seoja secondary sons (庶子 서자)

- Secondary sons were the produce of yangban and secondary wives or concubines (妾妾 cheop): hence they were referred to as cheopia (妾妾 체자).
- Were not allowed to call their fathers "father" and treated as inferior even to younger but legitimate half-brothers (i.e. those born to the primary wife 嫡妾 jeok).
- Despite this they were often educated but barred from sitting the higher civil service examination and thus could not gain any official position.
- It was not just the immediate secondary sons, but all their subsequent descendants who faced the same discrimination: they were referred to as seoryu (庶流 ‘illegitimate lineage’).
In 1568 some 1,600 seoja memorialized the throne asking for discrimination to be removed; in 1695 again 988 seoja did the same: apparently to little effect though by the late 18th century there was some official recognition of the problem.

From a 1769 memorial by Yi Sudeuk (李秀得 이수득 1697-1775) asking for seoja to be allowed to sit the examinations:

"If a secondary son happens to have scholarly inclinations and desires to study at the National Academy, he will have to sit in the back, no matter how old he is, though the other students are assigned seats according to their age. **This being so, there is not a place in the world where secondary sons can make their mark or even have their existence recognized.** Those who have any self-respect at all never entertain any hope of winning an appointment to public office and instead withdraw from the world, closing their doors and staying by themselves. Those who are forced to go out into the world appear deflected and lifeless and look as if they were guilt-ridden because of some great sin.

..when they are children, they do not dare call their father 'father', and so the moral relationship between father and son also becomes denigrated. Worst of all, there are fathers who ignore the existence of their sons by their secondary wives and instead adopt distant relatives to carry on the family line. This destroying of moral relationships and this violation of heavenly principles is extremely serious." (in Sources II 1997:166)

### Women under Neo-Confucianism

- After the age of seven, girls could no longer associate with boys or men.

  - "[Buddhist] temples were declared off-limits to women except for memorial services for their parents."
  - Distinction between primary and secondary wives (嫡妾之分 jeokcheop-ji-bun) legalized ending the Goryeo tradition of plural marriage: the law consequently barred a secondary wife (妾 cheop) from ever advancing to the position of primary wife.
  - Patronizing shaman mudang was made illegal.
  - Gyeongguk-daejeon made women’s temple visits and outings into the mountains a crime punishable by one hundred lashes - though this may not have been often implemented.

**Seven reasons for which a wife could be expelled (七出 칠출 chilchul):**

**Disobedience towards the parents-in-law:** failure to produce a son; adultery; theft; undue jealousy; grave illness; extreme talkativeness.

And three instances when they could not be expelled (三不去 삼불거 sambulgeo):

- If the family fortune had improved greatly during the marriage.
- If the wife could not return to her own family.
- If she had mourned for either or both parents-in-law.

- During the early Joseon dynasty, the wife of an eldest son who had died without a legitimate son (i.e. by that wife) succeeded to the ritual heirship as chongbu (宗婦 총부) and had the right to designate an heir to her late husband. This meant often she would come into conflict with her brother-in-laws: as a consequence:

  1554 royal edict ruled "As long as her parents-in-law were alive... the wife of a dead oldest son was not allowed to perform the ancestral services. Only if her husband had actually become the ritual heir before his death was she granted the right to continue the services for the rest of her life."