

**LIFE AND DEATH OF A DESPOILER: THE CONFUCIAN REFORMATION OF YUN
HYU**

by

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the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

Yun Hyu was a seventeenth-century scholar-official of the Chosŏn Dynasty. Although he never took the civil service exams, he held office under three different Chosŏn Kings. Yun Hyu is mostly known for his involvement in the so-called Rites Controversy over the mourning of King Hyojong, and for his Socratic execution, by poison. Past studies of Yun Hyu suggested a variety of reasons for the controversial treatment he received. In this work I argue that we should think of Yun Hyu as a religious thinker. Reading Yun Hyu as a theologian allow us to appreciate the dramatic implications of his thought and understand the strong reaction of his peers and opponents. To do so I first present Yun Hyu's life and work in the context of his time and society, namely the seventeenth-century Neo-Confucian factions. This is Yun Hyu's most complete biography in English to date. It is followed by a close reading of his most influential texts. I have divided Yun Hyu's writings into three subjects to represent the main aspects of his religious thought: Sacred texts, divinity and the afterlife. In each chapter I attempt to introduce Yun Hyu's original thought and contributions but also demonstrate how a religious reading of his writing sheds some light on his motives. Finally, I conclude by discussing the religiousness of Neo-Confucianism, demonstrating how it is implemented in the case of Chosŏn in general and Yun Hyu specifically. In particular I demonstrate that a cognitive and evolutionary approach to religion has much to offer us in the way of understanding the motives and agenda of premodern people.

Lay Summary

This work examines the life and work of Yun Hyu (1617 – 1680), a Korean thinker and statesman of the Chosŏn Dynasty (1392-1910) mostly known for his involvement in a public debate over the mourning rituals for King Hyojong (r. 1649-1659) and the following falling out between him and his friend Song Siyŏl (1607-1689). Yun Hyu was executed by poison in the summer of 1680 for high treason, and thus remained controversial and unstudied in Korea until the present day. In this work I survey his most important writings and argue that we should see Neo-Confucianism as a religion and Yun Hyu as a Confucian fundamentalist. I provide a detailed biography of Yun Hyu, followed by a detailed analysis of his writings. Finally, I show that Neo-Confucianism is a religion. I demonstrate how insights from sciences can be useful for the study of the Humanities, and particularly for understanding religious behaviours.

Preface

This dissertation is original, unpublished, independent work by the author Guy Shimon Shababo.

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List of Abbreviations

PHCS *Paekho chŏnsŏ* 白湖全書

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to Yael Livne.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

In the summer of 1680, Yun Hyu 尹鑄 of the Namwŏn Yun clan 南原尹氏, was executed by poison for high treason while in exile. He was not allowed to write his farewells to his sons. A day later his writings were searched and sons exiled. His once-friend turned-enemy Song Siyŏl 宋時烈 dubbed him *samun nanjŏk* 斯文亂賊, “a traitor to this culture of ours”. This unique pejorative title was not given to anyone else during the five centuries of the Chosŏn dynasty. It took another two-hundred and twenty-eight years to clear Yun Hyu’s name, and even more to put his writings in print. Yet his writings were never really banned. Although rarely addressed, intellectuals did have access to them. Tasan 茶山 Chŏng Yakyong 丁若鏞 wrote about his writings, and so did Hwasŏ 華西 Yi Hang-no 李恒老, who served as the prime minister during the regency of the 1860’s. Thus, the Socratic death of Yun Hyu offers us a three hundred year old riddle.

The life of Yun Hyu was just as paradoxical as his death. A year before his execution he was offered the position of Associate State Councillor or *uchansŏng* 右贊成 in the Office of Special Councillors 議政府, a junior first rank position.¹ Since the reign of King Hyojong (r. 1649–1659), Yun Hyu had served in every possible office of the government, in spite of never attending any of the exams, and never formally asking for any government position. Just the

¹ Kim Chunsik, “Chosŏnsidae p’umgyejewa hyŏndae han’gugŭi kongmuwŏn kyegŭpche pigyoyŏn’gu [A Comparative Study of the Civil Rank System of Chosŏn dynasty and the Civil Rank System of Modern Korea],” *Proceedings of Winter Conference - The Korean Association for Public Administration* (December 1999): 751-765. Junior first rank or *chongilp’um* 從一品 was the second of the eighteen civil-service ranks. The holders of the first five ranks (from senior first to senior third) wore red robes and were addressed as *taegam* 大監.

opposite, since 1636 he had renounced politics in favor of countryside scholarship. Following the death of King Hyojong, he became involved in a public controversy over the late King's mourning arrangements, and quickly became the champion of the *namin* 南人. His relationship with Song Siyöl soured, and his opponents (and often also his-own faction members) accused him of heresy or *idan* 異端 and subversion of the classics. Yet again, a quick scan of his writings does not reveal any immediate scandalous material. Yun Hyu's scholarship is long, contemplative, and often prone to rigorous self-scrutiny. His terms are clearly defined and compared to their past application, and his insights often draw from a wide range of Confucian scholars. A deeper analysis shows real adoration of Zhu Xi. Even his enemies confirmed: Yun Hyu was a careful and thorough scholar.

This work attempts to see Yun Hyu's case as a challenge to some of our most prevailing ideas on Chosŏn intellectual life. On one hand, there are those claiming that the activities of the literati were only aimed at achieving political power, a legacy of Korea's recent colonial past.² Colonial period scholars legitimized the colonial project in Korea by describing Korean Neo-Confucianism as a matter of political factions in a zero-sum game. Others challenged the colonial challenge by seeking evidence of early modernity and nationalism starting from mid-Chosŏn period – the seventeenth century. These provide very compelling narratives. Past scholars who did write on Yun Hyu subscribed to these narratives and recruited Yun Hyu's unusual story as an example of either political factionalism at its extreme or as an exemplar of critical and modern thinking.

² See for example Yi Hüijae, "Tak'ahasi toru-üi han'gülgwan-esö ponjosönyuhaksagwan-üi mosun [The Error of Analysis on Korean Confucianism by Takahashi Toru and His Viewpoint of Korean Language]," *Kongjahak* 29 (2015): 109-132.

In *The Rise of Neo-Confucianism in Korea* Miura Kunio described the conflict between Yun Hyu and Song Siyöl in terms of heterodoxy and orthodoxy.³ He described the friendship and different intellectual paths that Yun and Song took, and concluded that “as both Song and Yun were active in the center of politics, the struggle on orthodoxy became a scramble for political power.”⁴ Later, in a paper titled “Controversy over Ritual in 17th Century Korea,” Andrei Lankov analyzed the controversy over the mourning rituals of King Hyojong (r. 1649–1659) in terms of factional struggle and political power.⁵ To a great extent, these two articles presented the two alternative-frameworks through which scholars in the West depict Yun Hyu. Mark Setton combined the two frameworks in “Factional Politics and Philosophical Development in the Late Choson”, where he presents the controversy in terms of political developments and its influence on the attitudes towards orthodox Neo-Confucian learning.⁶ Both Miura and Lankov argue the the controversy is essentially political, but Miura stresses that the controversy was over the use of political power in the context of Neo-Confuciansim.

In *Culture and the State in Late Chosŏn Korea* Martina Deuchler discussed the issue of orthodoxy in Chosŏn Neo-Confucianism.⁷ Deuchler surveyed three famous (or infamous) cases:

³ Miura Kunio, “Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy in Seventeenth-Century Koea: Song Siyöl and Yun Hyu,” in *The Rise of Neo-Confucianism in Korea*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary and JaHyun Kim Haboush (NY: Columbia University Press, 1985), 411-43.

⁴ Miura, “Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy in Seventeenth-Century Koea”, 438.

⁵ Andrei Lankov, “Controversy over Ritual in 17th Century Korea,” *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies* Vol. 3 (1990): 49-64.

⁶ Mark Setton, "Factional Politics and Philosophical Development in the Late Choson," *Journal of Korean Studies* 8 (1992): 47-63.

⁷ Martina Deuchler, “Despoilers of the Way - Insulters of the Sages: Controversies over the Classics in Seventeenth-Century Korea,” in *Culture and the state in late Chosŏn Korea*, ed. JaHyun Kim Haboush and Martina Deuchler (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 1999), 91-133.

Yun Hyu himself, Pak Sedang and Ch'oe Sokchong (1648-1715).⁸ In her discussion she focused on the way orthodoxy suppressed and censored “deviant views.”⁹ The three cases illustrated the limits of personal interpretation allowed by the mainstream. In the same volume, JaHyun Kim Haboush discussed the Ritual Controversy again, presenting the rhetoric and symbols used by each side, and claims that with the fall of the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644) and the demise of the old order, Koreans were looking for new episteme and torn between two options: Either a “nationalist” solution or a “culturalist” view.¹⁰ According to Haboush, the controversy and the events around it were a sign of early national identity.¹¹ Yun Hyu remained a favorite research topic of Haboush. She discussed in depth his ideas on the *Rituals of Zhou* vis-à-vis his *Konggo chikchang tosöl* 公孤職掌圖說 (“Diagrammatic Treatise on the System of Councilors and Mentors”), where she once again connects Yun Hyu to what she calls “the movement to reimagine Korea” in the post-Manchu age.¹² Haboush also provided a detailed translation of Yun Hyu’s letter to the king, in *Epistolary Korea*.¹³ The main issue of *The Confucian Kingship in*

⁸ Martina Deuchler, “Despoilers of the Way - Insulters of the Sages,” 91.

⁹ Martina Deuchler, “Despoilers of the Way - Insulters of the Sages,” 93.

¹⁰ JaHyun Kim Haboush, “Constructing the Center: The Ritual Controversy and the Search for a New Identity in Seventeenth-Century Korea,” in *Culture and the State in Late Chosŏn Korea*, ed. JaHyun Kim Haboush and Martina Deuchler (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 1999), 47-90.

¹¹ JaHyun Kim Haboush, “Constructing the Center,” 89-90.

¹² JaHyun Kim Haboush, “Yun Hyu and the Search for Dominance: A Seventeenth-Century Korean Reading of the *Offices of Zhou* and the *Rituals of Zhou*,” in *Statecraft and Classical Learning*, ed. Benjamin a. Elman and Martin Kern (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 309-329.

¹³ JaHyun Kim Haboush, *Epistolary Korea: Letters in the Communicative Space of the Chosŏn, 1392-1910* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 49-53.

Korea is King Yǒngjo, but Yun Hyu served again as a focal point for the discussion on orthodoxy.¹⁴

In the Korean language, Han Ugūn 韓祐勳 wrote in 1961 a survey of Yun Hyu's life and thought, using the manuscripts to what later became (in 1974) Yun's "Collected Works" (*Paekho chōnsō* 白湖全書, PHCS from here on).¹⁵ Kūm Chang-t'ae wrote on Yun Hyu on numerous occasions, mostly establishing his unique intellectual-system and focusing on Yun Hyu's metaphysics and learning of the classics.¹⁶ With the availability of a translation of the *Paekho chōnsō* online and digitized, we see a slow rise in the number of scholars who take interest in his work.¹⁷ Some focused on specific aspects of Yun Hyu's scholarship. Kim You-Gon talked about Yun Hyu's concept of Heaven.¹⁸ Kim Hyoung-chan shows that Yun Hyu truly inherits the philosophy of Yi Hwang (T'oegyē) in many ways.¹⁹ In a somewhat different trajectory, Sōng Yōnghae traces back a manuscript titled *kūmbo* 琴譜, in Yun Hyu's handwriting.²⁰

¹⁴ JaHyun Kim Haboush, *The Confucian Kingship in Korea: Yǒngjo and the Politics of Sagacity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 25.

¹⁵ Han Ugūn, "Paekho Yun Hyu yōngu (il) [A study of Yun Hyu (part I)]," 1-29.

¹⁶ Kūm Chang-t'ae, *Chosōn hugi-ūi yuhak sasang* [Neo-Confucian Thought of Later Chosōn] (Seoul: Sōul taehakkyo ch'ulp'anbu, 1998).

¹⁷ Yun Hyu, *Paekho chōnsō* [The Collected Writings of Paekho], Korean Classics Research Institute, accessed April 25, 2018, http://db.itkc.or.kr/dir/item?itemId=BT#/dir/node?dataId=ITKC_BT_0380B

¹⁸ Kim You-Gon, "chungyong-kwa taehak haesōge nat'anan yunhyu-ūi sach'ōnjihak-ūi kujo-wa sōnggyōk [The Structure and Characteristic of Yun Hyu's the Theory of Serving Heaven in Interpreting on the Doctrine of the Mean and the Great Learning]," *Tongyang ch'ōrhak yōn'gu* 76 (2013): 7-36

¹⁹ Kim Hyoung-chan, "hamnijōk ihaewa kyōnggōnhan sōmgim -Paekho Yunhyu-ūi T'oegyehak kyesūnge kwanhan koch'al [Rational Understanding and Pious Service - A Study of Paekho Yun Hyu's Succession of Toegyē's Philosophy]," *T'oegyehakpo* 125 (2009): 143-73.

²⁰ Sōng Yōnghae, "yunhyu kamunūi 'kūmbo'-e kwanhan yōn'gu [The Study on Geumbo of Yun-Hyu's House]," *han'gungmunhakkwa yesul* 20 (2016): 239-83.

1.2 Argument and Structure of the Dissertation

Yun Hyu is long due a proper survey in English, which is what I set to do here. I argue that we should think of Yun Hyu as a religious thinker. In other words, I would like to suggest that for the purpose of assessing Yun Hyu's work as a whole, methodologies from religious studies have better explanatory power than either the social or the political explanation. Only when Yun Hyu is viewed under the scope of religious studies (in a sense, as if he were a theologian) can we appreciate the dramatic implications of his thought, and understand the strong reaction of his peers and opponents. What I call "the elephant in the room" is the failure of other approaches, the political and the factional-social, to explain various elements of his way. I further claim that by applying tools and insights from religious studies we can expose the specific religious interpretation of Chosŏn's Neo-Confucianism that Yun offers. Yun Hyu witnessed challenges very similar to the those faced by the Western world in the early 21st century: A major climate change, radical shifts in the global powers outside and political unrest at home. Following Hideyoshi's invasion in the late 16th century, the subsequent arrival of Ming forces, and the Manchu invasions of 1627 and 1636, Yun Hyu's generation and the generation before saw more foreigners on the Korean peninsula than ever before. Most importantly, Chosŏn's idealized worldview was challenged with new ideologies such as the Wang Yangming school which was generally not accepted in Chosŏn. Yun Hyu's reaction was religious in nature, a form of a neo-classical revival movement that bears surprising similarities to the modern movement facing similar challenges: a return to some imagined antiquity, textual literalism and emphasis of simple and direct belief in an all-knowing moralizing Heaven, complemented with a military aggressive line. In lack of other terms, I call this approach a "fundamentalist" Neo-Confucianism.

I suggest a methodological approach which resembles Yun Hyu's own way of studying the classics. Since Yun Hyu employed a "system-wide" approach for his studies, often looking at a cross-section of the classics to investigate a term or an idea, we should (or at least can) read his texts the same way. Specifically, the current scholarship seems to focus on particular aspects of Yun Hyu's learning or political activities but rarely tries confronting those aspects with each other. While detailed analysis of a single text leads to many insight, it is only when viewed within the scope of his entire system that we can appreciate the far-reaching implications of Yun Hyu's Learning of the Classics 經學 (*kyŏnghak*).

In the first chapter I survey the history of Yun Hyu's generation and his personal history, with emphasis on his career and eventually the events that led to his execution on the twentieth day of the fifth month of King Sukchong's fifth year, or June sixteenth, 1680. My outline of Yun Hyu's career and early life follows the outline proposed in his posthumous biography 行狀 (*haengjang*), and supplemented with the *Veritable Records of Chosŏn Dynasty* 朝鮮王朝實錄 (*chosŏn wangjo sillok*) and the *Journal of the Royal Secretariat* 承政院日記 (*Sŭngjŏngwŏn ilgi*). I present the major factional stresses that shaped public life of the seventeenth century, and position Yun Hyu within that complex system. I survey his meteoric rise in ranks, in part as a counter-balance to inter-factional politics and because he was an outsider to that system. Finally, I examine Yun Hyu's original interrogation records, as reported directly from the garrison where he was being held, to show that the official accusations against him had to do with his close friendship with the three sons of Prince Pok (*pokch'ang-gun* 福昌君), and his active attempts to reinforce Chosŏn in preparation for a war with the Qing, an effort commonly known as a Northern Expedition or *pukpŏl* 北伐.

In the second chapter I review Yun Hyu's relationship with the Confucian canon, by exploring his commentaries on the "Great Plan" chapter of the *Book of Documents*. For the reading of the "Great Plan" I use Michael Nylan's reading of the chapter, and try to explicate Chosŏn scholars' take on it. Generally speaking, the "Great Plan" had rhetorical significance in Chosŏn, but was not of unique exegetical importance. Yun Hyu's choice to put it in the center of his teaching signifies his interest in antiquity as a source of authentic knowledge, but not without criticism. For Chosŏn scholars, the "Great Plan" implied a link to Kija 箕子, believed to be Korea's ancient primogenitor, but Yun Hyu goes beyond that: he envisions a new order of the canonical texts in which the "Great Plan" has a major role. I will show how this role relates to other classics, and what purposes it serves. This is the first opportunity to see how Yun Hyu's system of learning works in a real test case, which is crucial for the following chapters as well. Part of that system was a work in iteration, commenting and re-commenting on his own work (as well as others'). Finally, I demonstrate how Yun Hyu applied the text to real problems of his time.

In the third chapter I investigate Yun Hyu's most famous text, his commentary on the *Doctrine of the Mean*, a text which bore the brunt of Song Siyŏl's anger and criticism. This allows me to demonstrate Yun Hyu's attitude toward Heaven, his emphasis on Heaven as the Lord on High 上帝 (*sangje*) and his strong devotional belief in it. I use a close reading of Yun Hyu's commentary to show some of Yun Hyu's most unusual expressions of belief. Korean scholars such as Kim Hyoung-chan and Kim You-Gon have noted that this relationship is closer to pious service. I show that Yun Hyu differentiated two kinds of Neo-Confucianism, which I

call *sŏngnihak* 性理學, and *Yuhak* 儒學, and hypothesize on the way that some of this idea might have influenced future generations.

In the fourth chapter I discuss Yun Hyu's opinion on the afterlife, mourning rituals and ghosts. I follow up on the debate on whether ghosts and spirits exist or not, a seventeenth century offshoot of the famous "Four and Seven" debate of the sixteenth century. The debate on ghosts had implications both for metaphysics and for ritual, and I show some of those implications by discussing Yun Hyu's position on the Rites Controversy 禮訟, the public debate over the mourning required from the Queen-Dowager Jaeui (1624–1688), who was not the mother of the late King Hyojong (r. 1649–1659). As mentioned earlier, both Western and Korean scholars had different theories on the Rites Controversies, but I will juxtapose Yun Hyu's writing on ghosts with the controversy to suggest that this is a religious event *par excellence*. Finally, I suggest that beyond the political and social implications the controversy offers us a genuine demonstration of the incommensurability of religious language, as per Wittgenstein's commentary in his "Lectures". That is, I suggest that while the parties participating in the controversy use the same terminology, they give the terms different meanings in a way that cannot be compromised, a quality that Wittgenstein identified as inherent to the discussion between religious and non-religious people. The failure of Western scholars to recognize it is part of the same incommensurability.

In the sixth and final chapter I suggest a different angle to see Yun Hyu's work. I argue that using methodologies from religious studies to read Yun Hyu offers a consistent explanation to the various independent aspects of his scholarship, private life and public work, which answer some of the otherwise unanswered riddles in his life. In this chapter I survey briefly the problems with the definition of Neo-Confucianism as a religion and suggest various approaches

to that problem. Although scholars such as Tu Weiming and Julia Ching both described Confucianism as a religion, both had used reserved, apologetic language, and referred primarily to Christian theologians when attempting to explain why Confucianism deserves the religious title.²¹ I turn to cognitive-evolutionary explanations of religion as a way to avoid the circular nature of the traditional definition and demonstrate how Yun Hyu's writings fit into that scheme. Finally, I suggest a narrative that claims that Yun Hyu's religiousness is primarily a reaction to extreme condition, a combination of challenges that prompted the *yangban* Confucians to form smaller groups and increase the intensity of their religious performance. I compare that with modern fundamentalist movements to show that in spite of the many differences between Chosŏn's Neo-Confucianism and modern Christianity, the model that fits Yun Hyu's teaching the most is that of a book-literalist fundamentalism.

1.3 Background and Methodology

The interdisciplinary nature of this work requires special attention to methodological aspects, in particular due to the limited and fragmented nature of our sources. Much of our information on Yun Hyu comes from his own work, and from the posthumous biography and timeline that his descendants composed. As such, this work, and particularly the first and last chapters, tend to have a biographical nature. In terms of methodology it is common to switch between "collective biography" and "prosopography" as if they were the same thing. I use the term prosopography as it was defined by Laurence Stone: the investigation of the common background characteristics of

²¹ Thus, in *Centrality and Commonality* Du Weiming refers to Paul Tillich, while Julia Ching refers to Whitehead in *The Religious Thought of Chu Hsi* and to Paul Tillich in *Chinese Religions*.

a group of actors in history by means of a collective study of their lives.²² In his discussion on the term, Stone addressed two functions of biographies, namely finding the roots of political actions and uncovering social structure and mobility. In this sense, the term is particularly apt for the study of mid-Chosŏn *yangban*. As it is used today, the term prosopography tends toward the larger scale study using large databases. The growing availability of digitized databases make this possibility viable, but it was not within the scope of this study.²³ The term biography, on the other hand, tends to be focused more on the individual level. Biographers often deal with lack of sources, as is the case with Yun Hyu. Only some of his writings survived, 46 *kwŏn* (卷) altogether, compared with Song Siyŏl's 215 *kwŏn*. Some texts (like Yun Hyu's writing on the *Zhu Xi Family Rituals* or *Zhuzi jiali* 朱子家禮) have gone missing altogether.²⁴ From others we have only an introduction. It is safe to assume that some of the texts were degraded over the years, and others were confiscated after Yun Hyu's execution.²⁵ Thus, the personal information on Yun Hyu is lacking when compared with the public aspects. When discussing Yun Hyu's biography I have attempted to balance between these two aspects of biography, that he is an unusual individual and also a representative of a group, thus I have tried to apply a middle way between these two methodologies. I partially use Yun Hyu's biography as a way to think about his generation and faction members, a notion that I borrow from Brian Harrison's use of the

²² Laurence Stone, 'Prosopography', in *Historical Studies Today*, ed. Felix Gilbert and Stephen R. Graubard (New York, NY: W. W. Norton, 1972), 107.

²³ There are two main issue with a large-scale study of the currently digitized material. Methodologically we have to deal with the issue of selection bias in the digitization and annotation of material. Technically, not all materials are digitized in the same way, and whereas some are digitized and annotated, others are only scanned.

²⁴ Song Siyŏl had repeatedly argued against Yun Hyu's commentary on this specific text, so we know that it existed and circulated. See for example *Sukching sillok*, 5th year (1679) 3rd month, 12th day, 7.11a-16b.

²⁵ See "Haengjang [necrology]," in Yun Hyu, *PHCS*, *purok* 2, 2128.

terms group-biography and generation in his discussion of the British feminists between the wars.²⁶

Another issue that we need to consider is time. Although public sources concerning Yun Hyu's life are usually dated, many of his private writings are not, and the iterative nature of his work meant that he kept rewriting his own text. Of the public sources of information on Yun Hyu, the most accessible is the *sillok* or Annals of Chosŏn Dynasty, which brings into mind the French Annales school of history. Fernand Braudel, perhaps the most famous of the Annales historians, argued that historical time was characterized by the simultaneous presence of several layers of time. He describes three layers of historical time that corresponded to three different levels of human activity. The first is the short term which corresponds with individual activities, measured in days, months and years. This is what he calls "surface disturbances, crests of foam that the tides of history carry".²⁷ The second scope is the time of civilized constructs such as states and empires, measured in decades and centuries. Finally, there is the *longue duree*, a term coined by Marc Bloch, which describes a time that tells "the story of man's contact with the inanimate."²⁸ The study of history and the writing of history is an important part of Confucianism, and Chosŏn *sŏnbi* were consciously participating in the creation of their own history. This included naturally the writing of biographies and other historical writing (Yun Hyu himself lamented the lack of sources regarding Sima Guang 司馬光 1019-1086) and their own

²⁶ Brian Harrison, *Prudent Revolutionaries - Portraits of British Feminists Between the Wars* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 2-3.

²⁷ Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995), 21.

²⁸ Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 23.

biographies, but also the selective editing of the *sillok*.²⁹ Haboush claims that there were two opposing schools in Chosŏn, in regard to the concept of history itself. On Yun Hyu she says:

One group essentially saw civilization as the entire span of human experience ... Yun Hyu, a representative of this school, for instance, held that one should only keep the spirit of previous sages such as Confucius or Chu His but should not remain bound by their precepts or doctrines.³⁰

The other group, represented in this study by Song Siyŏl, held a rigid position claiming that Zhu Xi was the peak of civilization and should be the main focus of historical studies.³¹ We can say that, in this sense, Yun Hyu himself was closer to the historians of the *Annales* than we could expect. He of course counted his own civilization from the time of the duke of Ji (Kija), as I show in the chapter on the “Great Plan”. However, knowing this tendency, we must also be aware that Yun Hyu is “tinkering” with the history records. This brings us to the third methodological issue, of narrative and language.

The ‘narrative turn’ in the humanities and social sciences, means that we recognize that no historical source provides a direct and unmediated access to the past. As mentioned, the written records of Yun Hyu’s life (both public and private letters) form a complicated narrative. Most evidently is that the language involved is Classical Chinese (Literary Sinitic) which I see also as a form of a public performance (in the John Austin sense of the word). It is a privileged form of communication, and it constructs complicated narratives in the sense of the language and

²⁹In this work I note specifically the editor’s comments in the *sillok* on a couple of occasions.

³⁰ JaHyun Kim Haboush, *The Confucian Kingship in Korea*, 25.

³¹ *Ibid.*

its meaning. It is tempting to think of Classical Chinese as fixed and unchanging, but this is impossible for any language. Since neither Yun Hyu nor us are “native speakers” of Classical Chinese, there is a good incentive to be aware of incommensurability. Here, the term “incommensurability” serves in several capacities. As a problem of translation, there is a chance that we miss the nuances of the language game of Yun Hyu’s time. As a methodological problem in Philosophy and Religious Studies, it echoes the concerns of Ludwig Wittgenstein that an atheist reader might not understand religious language at all.³² This is particularly true since there is no reason to assume that the understanding of modern educated people from democratic industrialized countries is anything like the premodern mind.³³ Validating my understanding of Yun Hyu’s thought vis-à-vis the reactions of his peers proved valuable and prudent, particularly when dealing with the abstract. Thus, I have noted Hō Mok’s emotional reaction to Yun Hyu’s reading of the *Documents*, confirming my intuition that Yun Hyu was indeed making some radical claims.³⁴

1.4 A Notes on Sources

One of the most important sources for this dissertation is the *Annals of the Chosŏn Dynasty* 朝鮮王朝實錄 (*Chosŏn wangjo sillok*), compiled upon the death of each King. I have used the

³² Ludwig Wittgenstein, “Lectures on Religious Belief,” in *Lectures and Conversations on Aesthetics, Psychology, and Religious Belief*, ed. Cyril Barrett (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 35-73. The standard reading of the three lectures on religious belief suggests a hard model of incommensurability. Putnam, however, suggested a different reading of these lectures. See also footnote 124 on page 227.

³³ I am following here the argument in: Joseph Henrich, Steven J. Heine, and Ara Norenzayan, “Most People are Not WEIRD,” *Nature* 466, no. 7302 (2010): 29.

³⁴ Hō Mok, “Tabyojŏn, Hongbŏm, Chungyong kojŏngjisilsŏ 答堯典, 洪範, 中庸考定之失書 [Response on the ‘Canon of Yao,’ ‘Great Plan,’ and ‘Examining the Order of the Doctrine of the Mean’ you previously wrote],” in *Misu kiŏn* 3.43b. I translate a part of the letter in the second chapter.

version that is now available online, but often complemented that version with the North Korean vernacular translation. To allow easy access to both versions, I have followed Edward Wagner's system when citing it, using the full date, but also provided the page number. Occasionally I complemented the *sillok* with the *Records of the Royal Secretariat* 承政院日記 (*Sŭngjŏng 'wŏn ilgi*), which tend to be longer and more elaborated. I have also used the *Formal Investigation Records* 推案及鞫案 (*Ch'uan kŭp kugan*) that Chosŏn government kept whenever nobility was investigated.

The most important sources for this work come from Yun Hyu's writings themselves. After the execution of Yun Hyu in 1680, and his 1689 rehabilitation and honors by the Chief State Councilor 領議政 (*yŏngŭijŏng*), his sons Yun Haje 尹夏濟 and Yun Kyŏngje 尹景濟 assembled his writing into a manuscript titled *Hahŏn chib kobon* 夏軒集稿本. However, even after the rehabilitation of his name, he was still considered a despoiler of the way and traitor by many, and the manuscript kept being listed as a banned book (*kŭmsŏ* 禁書) throughout the Chosŏn dynasty. It was not until 1927 that a Yŏngnam Confucian scholar and an 8th generation descendant of Yun Hyu named Yu Sin-hwan 尹臣煥 created the woodblocks for the *Paekho chip* (白湖集) in Chinju's Yonggang Sŏdang. This book contains 30 *kwŏn* in 18 books. Yun Hyu's descendants in Undal mountain, Kyŏngsang district, received the manuscript in 1924 and initially thought to keep it private. Additional material was listed in the appendix of this print.

In 1935 Yu sin-hwan prepared a facsimile (mimeograph) version of Yun Hyu's most important and controversial texts, collected under the name *Paekho toksŏgi* 白湖讀書記. Hong Sŭnggyun 洪承均 proofread the draft, with the help of Hwang Ŭidon 黃義敦 and a Japanese scholar named Andō Yūkan 安藤幽乾. This version contains some of Yun Hyu's more

controversial texts, including his commentaries on the *Doctrine of the Mean*, *Great Learning*, *Classic of Filial Piety*, *Book of Changes*, *Book of Rites*, *Annals of the Springs and the Autumns*, but most importantly his commentary on Zhu Xi's *Doctrine of the Mean in Chapter and Phrase* (中庸朱子章句) titled *chungyong jujajanggu borok* (中庸朱子章句補錄).

In 1974 a team led by a 9th generation descendant named Yun Sunkyōng 尹壽慶 compiled an extended edition of Yun Hyu's texts and published it through Kyungpook University Press in Taegu. This edition, titled *Paekho chōnsō wōnjip* (白湖全書原集) contains 46 *kwōn* and another 5 *kwōn* of appendices. This version contains, among other changes, Yun Hyu's diagrams (*kwōn* 35), and the entire 1935 *toksōgi* 讀書記 (*kwōn* 36–46). Particularly, this edition corrects issues in *kwōn* 12, 23, 30 and 31 of the 1927 edition. The 1974 edition is attributed in the Library of Congress to the “Paekho Sōnsaeng Munjip Kanhaenghoe” (Master Paekho's Collected Work Publication Committee).

All existing versions of this primary material are reprints of these efforts. These include two editions of the *Paekho chōnsō* and four editions of the *Paekho chip*. One edition of the *Paekho chip* is from 1972, two editions from 1993, and a final edition from 1996. With regard to the *Paekho chōnsō*, there is a newer version of this text from 1995, translated into Korean, and attributed to the Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics (韓國古典翻譯院) in Seoul. For this work I have used the printed version of the 1974 *Paekho chōnsō* mentioned above. On two occasions I have used the *Paekho chip*.

In addition, I have used sources from other Chosōn scholars, including some editions of Hō Mok's *Misu kiōn* 眉叟記言, Song Siyōl's *Songja taejōn* 宋子大全 and others. Unless stated otherwise, these versions are retrieved digitally from “Database of Korean Classics” (*han'guk*

kojŏn chongap DB), maintained by *Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics* 韓國古典翻譯院 (*han'guk kojŏn chongabwŏn*).

1.5 A Note on Names and Titles

For the translation of official titles, I have followed James Palais's *Confucian Statecraft and Korean Institutions*.³⁵ I have also used *The Annals of King T'aejo* in the English translation of 2014.³⁶ Chosŏn royalty changed their name whenever their position changed. I have mostly kept with the most common name (Royal name for Kings, and so on) to avoid confusion, unless called for by the text, as in the case of Queen-Dowager Jaeui (1624–1688). Korean authors make a habit of calling scholars by their name and penname (*hŏ*) interchangeably. Thus, Yi Hwang 李滉 (1501-1570) might appear in the same text also as T'oegye 退溪 and occasionally Yi T'oegye 李退溪. To avoid confusion I kept with the proper name, unless the text itself called for a change, most notably when Song Siyŏl calls Yun Hyu by his courtesy name (*cha*) Huijung 希仲.

³⁵ James B. Palais, *Confucian Statecraft and Korean Institutions: Yu Hyŏngwŏn and the late Chosŏn Dynasty* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014).

³⁶ Choi Byonghyon, *The Annals of King T'aejo: Founder of Korea's Chosŏn Dynasty* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2014).

Chapter 2: Historical Background and Biography

2.1 Introduction

Yun Hyu is best known for his involvement in factional politics. This involvement ended when he had to take poison under the orders of the King. He was officially killed for his commentary on the classics, a fact that gave him a Socratic ending and the epithet “Despoiler of the true Way” (斯文亂賊).³⁷ The title remained, and two centuries after his death, he was still regularly referred to as the prime example of such an evil.³⁸ The fact that his writings were in the banned books list until 1908 did not stop prominent thinkers across the board, from Chǒng Yakyong 丁若鏞 (1762-1836) to Yi Hang-no 李恒老 (1792-1868) from commenting on the complexity and relevance of his work, even when condemning him politically (as Yi Hang-no did).³⁹ During the colonial occupation of Korea, Takahashi Tōru 高橋亨 (1878-1967) suggested that the Neo-Confucianism of the Chosŏn dynasty focused its energies on a narrow adherence to Zhu Xi and bitter factional rivalries. This narrative is still prevailing among Korean academics, and those who discuss Yun Hyu either condemn his involvement in “low” factional politics or praise his ability to rise above the Cheng-Zhu conditioning of the faction system. For example, Chǒng Chong-bok, commenting on his ability to criticize Zhu Xi, saying that “Certainly he stood out all alone in the history of Korean Confucianism which attached the highest importance to unconditional obedience to Zhu Xi’s doctrine”.⁴⁰ Others have shown similar sentiments,

³⁷ *Sukchong Sillok*, year 13 (1687), 2nd month, 4th day, 18.4b.

³⁸ See for example: *Ch'ŏljong Sillok*, year 6 (1855), 8th month, 2nd day, 7.8b.

³⁹ See for example: Yi Hang-no, “Yun Hyu hongnanbyŏn 尹鑄或難辨,” in *Hwasŏ chip*, 24.141a.

⁴⁰ Chǒng Chong-bok, “Historical Review of Korean Confucianism,” in *Main Currents of Korean Thought* (Seoul, Korea: Si-sa-yong-o-sa Publishers, 1983), 73.

occasionally acknowledging that they must put factional rivalries aside to discuss philosophical points.⁴¹

In this chapter, I wish to take a different approach. Rather, I would like to put the factional and personal rivalries in the center, metaphorically speaking, before discussing any philosophical insights. In other words, I would like to introduce Yun Hyu's background and history, as well as the history of his time, as a basic framework for his work. This methodology drives its methodological insights from several sources. First is the work of Ben-Ami Scharfstein, on comparative philosophy.⁴² Discussing what he called the 'the dilemma of context', he suggested that lack of context impairs our understanding. Too much context, on the other hand obscures and dwells on details. Personal history and psychological background becomes, therefore, my solution for the problem of incommensurability. Another is the pioneering work of Han Ugŭn 韓祐勳 from 1961, who provided the first thorough overview of Yun Hyu's life and philosophy.⁴³ Han Ugŭn was able to consolidate many sources, including the raw material for the Paekho Chönsö which was published a decade later, but also the writings of Yun Hyu's half-brother Yun Yöng, and other sources.⁴⁴ In his introduction, Han Ugŭn comments on the disparity between Yun Hyu's importance and his deletion from written accounts. For him, writing Yun Hyu's history is a political act.⁴⁵ Even more than that, it corrects the false façade of Yun Hyu as an historical anomaly, because presenting him in context shows both his interconnection with other thinkers from all factions and schools, and the background for his

⁴¹ Kŭm Chang-t'ae, *Confucianism and Korean Thoughts* (Seoul, Korea: Jimoondang Pub. Co., 2000), 113.

⁴² Ben-Ami Scharfstein, Preface to *The Dilemma of Context* (New York: New York University Press, 1991), xi-xii. Professor Scharfstein introduced Asian Studies in Israel. Many of his works dealt with issues of commensurability, whether it was in the fields of philosophy, religion or art. Both personal history and human psychology can provide bridges for understanding. See also Ben-Ami Scharfstein, *The Philosophers: Their Lives and the Nature of Their Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

⁴³ Han Ugŭn, "Paekho Yun Hyu yöngu (il)," 1-29.

⁴⁴ Han Ugŭn, "Paekho Yun Hyu yöngu (il)," 1-2.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

thought. In terms of familial ties, Yun Hyu is related to three major clans: the Kyōngju Kim, Andong Kwōn and P’ap’yōng Yun. All three dominated the civil service, and according to John Duncan were directly responsible for the Confucianization of Chosōn.⁴⁶ Yun Hyu was related, through family ties and friendship, to prominent members of all four factions. In terms of school loyalties, he was related to the line of Cho Kwangjo.

To accurately present Yun Hyu’s background and context I will examine briefly the crises and challenges that the seventeenth century brought to Korean intellectuals. I will then focus in particular on the factional dynamics of Yun Hyu’s life, in which he was deeply involved, and for which he is mostly remembered. I will finish by presenting his life chronologically, with a focus on his ideological and political involvement, as well as those factors that influenced his studies. Yun Hyu’s life was marked by his unusual involvement in faction politics. While being an outsider to all factions, he was ensnared in the struggle between factions for political and ideological dominance. This struggle was aggravated by the stress of a climatic change, and political changes in East Asia. I will show that ritual correctness was one of the most important factors for the stress between *yangban* factions and between the *yangban* and the king. For Yun Hyu, ritual reform was also a solution for these problems.

2.2 Historical Survey - The Seventeenth Century in Korea

It is customary to draw the demarcation line between “early” and “late” Chosōn at the beginning of the seventeenth century, following the six years of Toyotomi Hideyoshi’s invasion of Korea. Indeed, the *imjin* war (as it is often dubbed, after the sexagenary name of 1592) was an extraordinary event in Korean history. The Japanese invasion was unusually cruel and of a scale

⁴⁶ John B. Duncan, *The Origins of the Chosōn Dynasty* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014), 73.

unprecedented in premodern East Asia.⁴⁷ It left a long-lasting impact on the Korean economy in more than one way. It devastated the agricultural infrastructures of the country, disrupted the economy, and perhaps also damaged the status of the monarchy for many years. Arable land, for example, was reduced to third of what it was before the war, at least in the taxbooks.⁴⁸ In addition, thousands of useful workers were lost - dead, captured or willingly migrated to Japan. Korean potters are the most famous group in this respect, and the war was later dubbed *tojagi chŏnjaeng* “the pottery war”.⁴⁹ While loss of kilns and artisans meant a decline in Chosŏn pottery, some of the captured potters fared well in Tokugawa Japan, and were responsible for new techniques, such as the *Takatori* Wares.⁵⁰

Even the graves of former Korean kings were rifled and desecrated. One famous outcome of the war was the burning of the slaves’ roster, the *nobi-an* 奴婢案, resulting in a sharp decline of public slaves. The effects of the war were so dramatic and overwhelming that in the early 1670s, some three quarters of a century after the war, Yun Hyu is still writing on it. Surprisingly enough, the status of King Sŏnjo personally did not erode as a result of the war, perhaps, as James Palais suggests because it was regarded almost as a type of natural disaster.⁵¹ Generally speaking it seems that both *yangban* landlords and the monarchy were allowed to go back to their places, mobilizing private resources and restoring the slavery system. Nevertheless, the *yangban* did suffer changes, as I will show later. It left later thinkers such as Yun Hyu with the task of finding ways to fix what was obviously broken, without breaking the system.

⁴⁷ Kuno Yoshi Saburo, *Japanese Expansion on the Asiatic continent: A Study in the History of Japan with Special Reference to her International Relations with China, Korea, and Russia*, vol. 1 (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1967), 175.

⁴⁸ This was probably more a function of lost records. See also James B. Palais, *Confucian statecraft and Korean Institutions: Yu Hyŏngwŏn and the late Chosŏn Dynasty* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996), 18-19.

⁴⁹ JaHyun Kim Haboush, "Dead Bodies in the Postwar Discourse of Identity in Seventeenth-Century Korea: Subversion and Literary Production in the Private Sector," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 62, no. 2 (2003), 416.

⁵⁰ Andrew L. Maske, *Potters and Patrons in Edo Period Japan: Takatori Ware and the Kuroda Domain* (N.Y.: Routledge, 2016), 13-66.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

The first generation after the war was dedicated therefore to rebuilding the nation. As Palais suggests, in spite of all his failures, King Sŏnjo retained enough of a reputation to continue acting as a monarch. However, it seems that in the decade that followed the war, he lost the gusto needed for the monumental task of rebuilding the nation. He started moving responsibilities to his successor, the crown prince Kwanghae 光海, a son of a concubine. King Sŏnjo did manage to have a son from his queen in 1606, but in 1608 he passed the title to Kwanghae-gun, a succession that was not un-contested. If Sŏnjo's late years were placid and accommodating, Kwanghae-gun's reign started off with gusto. Internally he dedicated resources to rebuilding the army and the country, and these often required an additional burden of taxes and corvée work from peasants (since both *yangban* aristocrats and base-people were exempt from corvée work, and the *yangban* were also exempt from military tax). His foreign relations strategy was much more appeasing. Surrounded by three strong neighbors, he tended to keep neutrality. In 1609, he re-established commercial ties with Tokugawa Japan, after Korea's requests were fulfilled: Tokugawa even sent back two prisoners, most likely common prisoners, as those responsible for the defilement of Korean Kings' graves, and these were executed ceremoniously.

Kwanghae-gun suffered from a shaky status of another reason: the Ming did not formally ratify his status as the crown prince until 1608.⁵² In fact, in the twelve years between 1592 and 1604, the Ming refused to affirm Kwanghae-gun five times.⁵³ Kwanghae-gun's position was indeed problematic, with both his full elder brother and his younger half-brother from the queen, having a better claim than him. Technically speaking, that latter prince was the *chŏkchangja* 嫡長子 and had the better claim.⁵⁴ It seems however, that the Ming refusal was a result of the

⁵² Han Myŏnggi, "P'okkunin'ga hyŏn'gunin'ga kwangaegun tasi ilgi [A Tyrant or a Wise King? Reconsideration on Gwangaegun]," *Yŏksa pip'yŏng* vol. 44 (1998): 156–227.

⁵³ Sŏnjo Sillok, year 37 (1604), 11th month, 25th day, 181.24a.

⁵⁴ Han Myŏnggi, *Imjin waeran kwa Han-Chung kwan'gye* [The Imjin Wars and Sino-Korean Relations] (Seoul: Yŏksa pip'yŏngsa, 1999), 187–195.

Ming's own inheritance issues and complicated internal politics. Nevertheless, it colored him as somewhat less than a legitimate ruler, a fact which the opposition factions of his party were only eager to promote. It was foreign diplomacy, however, that pressed him the most, particularly the growing pressure on his northern borders.

On Chosŏn's northern frontier, the Jurchen, later called Manchu, gathered under the banner of Nurhaci, who declared himself Khan in 1616 and attacked the Ming empire in 1618.⁵⁵ The Jurchen threat was a constant menace to the Chosŏn kings, and their policies differed. Kwanghae-gun was torn between his own tendency to play a safe game and wait to see how the confrontation between the Manchus and the Ming unfolded, and his generals who still remembered the crucial role of the Ming support in the *Imjin* war.⁵⁶ In 1618, after a lot of controversy, Kwanghae-gun mustered a force of 13,000 soldiers under the command of Kang Hongrip 姜弘立 (1560-1627), to aid the Ming forces in the battle of Sarhu.⁵⁷ The Ming army was obliterated, and Kang Hongrip became a captive of the Manchus. Kwanghae-gun remained reluctant to attack the Jurchen in full force, but was losing support quickly. Generals and intellectuals were pressing harder for a decisive action against the Manchus. It is possible, as Kim Sung-woo claims, that the sharp rise in government expenses, and additional burden it placed on the already overtaxed peasants, was the last straw.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Kye Seung-Bum, "Hyangt'ongsa haseguk-kwa chosŏnŭi sŏnt'aek - 16~17 segi han yŏjinŏ t'ongyŏkkwanŭi samgwa chugŭm [Jurchen Interpreter Ha Seguk: His Life and Death in Northeast Asia around the Turn of the 1600s]," *Manju yŏn'gu* Vol. 11 (June 2011): 179-208.

⁵⁶ Kye Seung-Bum, , "Hyangt'ongsa haseguk-kwa chosŏnŭi sŏnt'aek - 16~17 segi han yŏjinŏ t'ongyŏkkwanŭi samgwa chugŭm," 180-1.

⁵⁷ Kye Seung-Bum, , "Hyangt'ongsa haseguk-kwa chosŏnŭi sŏnt'aek - 16~17 segi han yŏjinŏ t'ongyŏkkwanŭi samgwa chugŭm," 189.

⁵⁸ Kim Sung-woo, "Kwangaegun chipkwŏn 3ki(1618~1623) kuk'kajaejŏng suyŏŭi kŭpchŭnggwanongmin'gyŏngje-ŭi punggoe [Sharp Growth in Government Expenses and Collapse of Peasant Economy during the third phase of King Kwangaegun's Reign (1618-1623)]," *Taegu sahak-hoe* 118.0 (2015): 77-112.

During his rule Kwanghae-gun was mostly supported by the Greater Northern faction, or *taebuk* 大北, a spin-off of the so-called Northerners (*pugin* 北人). In 1623, the other group of Northerners, called the Lesser Northerners faction (*sobuk* 小北), joined the Southerners (*namin* 南人) and Westerners (*söin* 西人) to depose the king. He was exiled to Cheju island and his nephew was crowned and replaced him as King Injo (r. 1623-1649). Yun Hyu's father Yun Hyojön 尹孝全 suffered less than other *pugin* families, and following the coup was installed as the Magistrate of Kyöngju.⁵⁹ History is written by the winners, and Kwanghae-gun is remembered by Korean chroniclers as a tyrant, one of two deposed kings who receive the title *gun*, prince, instead of a temple name. Judging from his actions however, and the details left in his court records, it seems that he was a capable ruler even if somewhat of an authoritarian.⁶⁰

Backed by three of the four factions of his time, Injo titled his *coup d'état* as “restoration” or *panjöng* 反正, and no one dared say otherwise. Internally, he started by easing the burden of taxes and renovations. He declared a policy that he called “Letting the People Rest”, or *yömin hyusik* 與民休息, a term borrowed from the *Han Shu*, and a common-enough trope in Korean court records.⁶¹ Injo inherited the *taedong* tax system that his uncle promulgated in 1608, but struggled with it. The *taedong* was supposed to be a uniform land tax, replacing the previous tribute tax, but some provinces (like Chölla) struggled with it.⁶² Following the report of a secret

⁵⁹ “Haengjang [Necrology],” in Yun Hyu, *PHCS, purok 2*, 1884.

⁶⁰ One recent study used topic-modelling to map decision making in the *Sillok*. According to that study, Kwanghae-gun does receive higher than usual rate for what the authors call “Arbitrary Decisions” and a fairly low grade for “Discussion and Follow” type of interchanges. Curiously enough, this pattern is shared by Yönsan'gun (r. 1494-1506) and T'aejo (r. 1392-1398). However, they also claim that “... Gwangaegun (0.0454) who is known as a tyrant has similar value mean distance from other kings (0.0434). It means his ruling style is quite similar to other kings, and this result supports previous results in Korean historical study that re-evaluate his reputation.”. Bak JinYeong and Alice Oh, “Five Centuries of Monarchy in Korea: Mining the Text of the Annals of the Joseon Dynasty,” *LaTeCH 2015* (2015): 10.

⁶¹ Kim Sung-woo, “Kwangaegun chipkwön 3ki(1618~1623) kuk'kajaejöng suyöüi küpchüngwanongmin'gyöngje-üi punggoe,” 78-9.

⁶² James B. Palais, *Confucian statecraft and Korean Institutions: Yu Hyöngwön and the late Chosön Dynasty*, 782-787.

censor in 1624, and the recommendations of others in his court, he reverted back to what was cruelly called “half *taedong*”. Injo and his two successors continued to struggle with the tax system, moving back and forth between systems, in what seemed to be a problem without resolution.

The factional and political instability did not end with Injo’s coup. In 1624, less than a year after Injo’s installation, a general named Yi Kwal 李适 (1587-1624) orchestrated another attempted *coup d'état*. Yi Kwal was one of the main movers of Injo’s restoration, and as a general he was the one who captured the capital from the forces of Kwanghae-gun. Frustrated with what he saw as a minor reward for his contribution, he organized his own coup early in 1624. While Yi Kwal’s insurrection was eventually subdued, his ability to capture the capital, and the forces required to defeat him, made a strong impact on the relationship between monarch and literati. For the rest of the century Chosŏn kings would face strong *yangban* and complicated factional politics, partly as a result of this power balance. Being of the Lesser Northerners (*sobuk* 小北), Yi Kwal’s defeat added an additional stress on Yun Hyu’s family, who found themselves migrating again.⁶³

Injo continued to face the results of the political turmoil on his northern border. In 1627 he faced a Jurchen invasion, dubbed *Chŏngmyo horan* 丁卯胡亂 in Korean. Chosŏn was defeated and surrendered under relatively lenient conditions, but Injo’s Chosŏn remained inherently loyal to the Ming. When Hong Taiji changed the name of his empire from Later Jin 後金 to Great Qing 大清, Injo refused to meet his envoys. The furious emperor waited long enough to conclude his battle with the Ming and turned to invade Korea that very same year.⁶⁴ After forty-seven days of siege in the Namhan Castle, King Injo capitulated. Hong Taiji forced Injo and his crown prince to capitulate in a humiliating protocol: wearing the commoners’ garb and

⁶³ Han Ugŭn, “Paekho Yun Hyu yŏngu (il),” 7.

⁶⁴ JaHyun Kim Haboush, “Dead Bodies,” 417.

kowtowing nine times on bare earth before Hong Taiji. After this, the Manchus retreated with the crown prince as a hostage. At the time, Yun Hyu was nineteen years old, and was in a meeting with Song Siyöl and others in *pokch'ön* Temple 福泉寺 when they got the news. He describes in his writings how they cried bitterly at the news, vowing never to forget the day's humiliation.⁶⁵

The seventeenth century was marked by a series of Chosön kings with a problematic pedigree. So were both Kwanghae-gun and Injo, and so was King Hyojong (r. 1649 - 1659) who succeeded him. Prince Sohyön, Injo's first son, died in the spring of 1645, shortly after his return from the Manchu captivity. He came back to Chosön armed with new knowledge from the Qing empire, as well as an acquaintance with Christianity, and soon died and was buried with no formal investigation of why he passed away so quickly after returning home.⁶⁶ More curious still was the fact that Injo insisted on the exile of Sohyön's children to Cheju, and the mourning rites of one year only.⁶⁷ Injo named Sohyön's younger brother, Pongnim, as his successor, and he later became King Hyojong. These events added weight perhaps to the problematic status of Hyojong's legitimacy. He died in 1659, and after his funeral the *söin* faction, controlling the government at the time, had to decide what to do with the mourning etiquette of the Queen Dowager Cho, King Hyojong's second wife.⁶⁸ The controversy was, in short, over the mourning arrangement of Queen Dowager Chaeui, Hyojong's step-mother and five years younger than him.⁶⁹ The *söin*, who occupied the power centers of the government at the time, argued that the Queen Dowager, since she was not Hyojong's natural mother, should observe a mourning period of one year (暮年服). The *namin* however, argued for a period of three years, in two different

⁶⁵ Han Ugün, "Paekho Yun Hyu yöngu (il)," 7.

⁶⁶ Na Chong-myön, "sohyönseja-üi chugüm-kwa changyejölch'a [The Death and Funeral Procedure of Prince Sohyön]," *Tongbanghak* Vol. 14 (2008): 187-208.

⁶⁷ Na Chong-myön, "sohyönseja-üi chugüm-kwa changyejölch'a," 198-206.

⁶⁸ Andrei Lankov, "Controversy over Ritual in 17th Century Korea," *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies* 3 (December 1990): 49-64.

⁶⁹ Na Chong-myön, "sohyönseja-üi chugüm-kwa changyejölch'a," 157.

ranks. Initially Hō Mok argued that since the deceased was the second eldest son (次長子), the queen should mourn the three-year period in trimmed mourning (齋衰服). On the second phase of the argument Yun Hyu argued for a three-year period in untrimmed mourning (斬衰服), the highest form of mourning, as befits the Queen Dowager mourning a late King.⁷⁰

The Ritual Controversy of the Year *Kyōngja* (庚子禮訟), as the event is sometimes called, quickly escalated beyond the realm of Confucian scholars debating the classics of ritual.⁷¹ It proved very quickly the limits of Confucian theory in the Korean environment. Even though the Chosŏn code endorsed primogenital inheritance, Chosŏn monarchs hardly ever felt limited by it. The search conducted by court historians yielded no example from the past for a situation just like Hyojong's case.⁷² The ramifications of this debate quickly escalated beyond the realm of academic interest, as it implied that the king is less than legitimate. As Queen Dowager Jaui's year of mourning was rapidly drawing to its end, the matter became also urgent. The *namin* led by the aggressive Yun Sōndo 尹善道 (1587–1671) suggested that the Song Siyōl's line of argument, claiming that there were not two "true" lines of succession, was on the verge of treason.⁷³ Song Siyōl actually fled the capital altogether, and only the decisive intervention of King Hyōnjong (r. 1659 -1674) on the matter saved his life and career. Yun Sōndo was banished from court, not for the first time in his career, and went back to his country home to resume his career as Chosŏn's greatest *Sijo* poet.⁷⁴ The events also drew Yun Hyu to politics, at the age of

⁷⁰ Yun Hyu cited the Zhu Xi Family Rituals, arguing that the ritual for the royal family should not be regarded as the same as the mourning rituals of other families (王者士庶同不禮).

⁷¹ See for example Hyōnjong *Sillok*, 13th year (1672), 12th month, 5th day, 26.34a. The *sillok* often uses just the term *song* 訟 (controversy), assuming perhaps the the context is known. See also: Song Sun-kwan, "The Resilience and Decline of Neo-Confucianism as State Ideology in Joseon Korea" (PhD Dissertation, University of London, 2013), 155-166.

⁷² *Hyōnjong Sillok*, 1st year (1660), 3rd month, 21st day, 2.14b.

⁷³ Andrei Lankov, "Controversy over Ritual in 17th Century Korea," 55.

⁷⁴ O Hangnyōng, "Kosan Yun Sōndo-ŭi chōngch'ihwaltonggwa kyōngseron [Kosan Yun Sōndo in the 17th century: From critic to calamity]," *Hangul Sahakbo* Vol. 46 (Feb 2012): 171-201. A translation of his most famous work is available in Kevin O'Rourke, "The fisherman's calendar, I & II," *Korea Journal* 28 (1988): 57.

forty-two, without ever attempting the civil-service examinations.⁷⁵ It marked the end of his friendship with Song Siyöl and the beginning of an almost-legendary rivalry.

The ritual controversy reemerged in 1674, with the death of Queen Insön, King Hyojong's widow. At the time, the late queen's mother-in-law, Queen Dowager Chaeui, was still alive and thus a mirror image of the original problem arose. This time the court could not hide behind the words of the *Great Code*, which was clear enough on that matter.⁷⁶ King Hyönjong forced his ruling on this case, asserting the legitimacy of his line through a mourning period of a full year. As far as ritual theory was concerned, there were no real insights on the ritual aspects, just a matter of clarifying the status of the king's position in the succession. Unfortunately, the king died the very next month.⁷⁷ His successor, King Sukchong was only 13 years old at the time, and his inexperience left the court wide open for *yangban* pressure. The pressure yielded a power struggle and factional shifts in the court over more important court positions.

By the summer of 1674, Sukchong's court started getting news of the Revolt of the Three Feudatories.⁷⁸ The revolt, led by the traitor Wu Sangui 吳三桂 (1612-1678), was accepted in the Chosön court in a mixture of excitement and concern. It was quickly labelled a "counter rebellion" (反亂) by hopeful *namin* who argued as to the degree of agency that Chosön should show in the matter.⁷⁹ Before his death, Hyönjong was reluctant to arm against the Manchus, even with the Qing facing revolt from within, in spite of Yun Hyu's urgings.⁸⁰ With Sukchong on the throne, Yun Hyu obviously renewed his attempts to revive the idea of a campaign against the

⁷⁵ Nevertheless, when Yun Hyu appeared in the court when it was dealing with the matter of the *söin*'s treacherous line of argument he chose to stay silent perhaps out of concern for his friend's life. The anonymous editor of the *sillok* left a reprimand there, complaining he exhibited cowardice. *Hyeonjong Sillok*, 1660. 5. 3. (2), 2.46a.

⁷⁶ Song Sun-Kwan, "Intellectuals and the State," (Phd, University of London, 2013), 164. Cf. *Hyönjong Sillok*, 15th year (1674), 7th month, 6th day, 22.24b.

⁷⁷ *Hyönjong Sillok*, 15th year (1674), 8th month, 18th day, 22.54a.

⁷⁸ *Sukchong sillok*, 1st year (1674), 11th month, 7th day, 1.24b.

⁷⁹ *Sukchong sillok*, 2nd year (1675), 5th month, 28th day, 3.59b.

⁸⁰ *Hyönjong sillok*, 15th year (1774), 7th month, 1st day, 22.22a.

Manchu, hoping perhaps to influence the young King, who seemed to be quite in favor of him. The rest of the court kept a much more conservative line, and Sukchong, in spite of his sympathy, did not yield. Even within his faction Yun Hyu was a minority, and the attack on the Manchus never happened. Other forms of defiance were more acceptable, and about a decade after Yun Hyu's death, Song Siyöl convinced his faction to venerate the late Ming Emperor Chongzhen (r. 1627 - 1644) in Chojongam 朝宗巖 and in Mandong-myo 萬東廟.⁸¹ This one time effort became later a regularly-held full-fledged ritual for three Ming emperors, aptly titled *Sam hwangje paehyang* 三皇帝配享.⁸² By 1704 King Sukchong established the Taebodan 大報壇 shrine for the ritual.⁸³

2.3 Factionalism and Intellectual Trends

It is impossible to discuss the seventeenth century in Korea without mentioning factions and factionalism. These became more dominant in the seventeenth century than ever before, and are particularly important for the understanding of Yun Hyu's achievements. For the sake of this discussion I will differentiate between two kinds of factions, as they usually appear in academic literature. In the broader sense, there was the big division into major dominant political factions, often referred to as *hakp'a* 學派 or *sasaek* 四色.⁸⁴ In this sense, large factions, such as the *namin* or the *sŏin*, fought for political dominance, their members sharing many ideological presuppositions. In the narrow sense, the term *hakp'a* 學派 or *tang* 黨, denoted a smaller group of followers of a specific teacher, maintaining the transmission of teaching from one specific

⁸¹ David A. Mason, "The sam hwangje paehyang (Sacrificial Ceremony for Three Emperors): Korea's Link to the Ming Dynasty," *Korea Journal* 31, no. 3 (1991): 113-137.

⁸² David A. Mason, "The sam hwangje paehyang," 122.

⁸³ David A. Mason, "The sam hwangje paehyang," 125.

⁸⁴ The term *sasaek* 四色 that is so common in modern scholarship, is somewhat anachronistic, and hardly ever appears in formal discussions.

master. For example, Song Siyöl's ad-hoc *sandang* (山黨) faction, which dominated the political scene during Hyönjong reign, consisted of the students and relatives of Kim Chip 金集. Their name denotes their hometown area in Yönsan 連山.⁸⁵ In all cases the existence of factions denoted a complicated network of relationships, family relationships and shared teachers. Donald Baker notes that there are many reasons for the expansion and radicalization of faction politics, including the socio-economical interest of small and medium land owners, and the natural bias of the Neo-Confucian ideology.⁸⁶ Seen from this angle, loyalty and filial piety became very important, since they match both Confucian tenets and the natural organization of land-owners in kin-and-kith groups. In other words, loyalty and filial piety added ideological reinforcement to the political necessity of factions.⁸⁷ These narrow and specific loyalties were made possible by the creation of private academies in the sixteenth century.

The first private academy was the *Paegundong* Academy 白雲洞 書院, founded by Chu Sebung 周世鵬 (1495-1554) in 1553, and attached to a Confucian shrine dedicated to the scholar An Hyang 安珦 (1243-1306).⁸⁸ It received a royal charter in 1550, with the direct intervention of Yi Hwang, and a significant state support. By the end of the century, many others were established along the same model, and their status was so unshakable that even during Hideyoshi's invasion, King Sönjo was not able to convert some private academies to training grounds.⁸⁹ Following the model of Chu Sebung's first academy, the academies were constructed around a shrine, and thus created not only a shared sense of knowledge but also a shared sense of

⁸⁵ Kim Chip 金集 was a student of Kim Changsaeng 金長生, himself a student of Yi I 李珣. Thus, in the broader sense Song Siyöl shared loyalties and teaching

⁸⁶ Donald L. Baker, "Factionalism in Perspective: The Nature and Cause of Political Struggles During the Chosön Dynasty," in *Factionalism in Perspective*, ed. by Baek Eaun-jin (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1993), 2-10.

⁸⁷ Donald L. Baker, "Factionalism in Perspective," 6-7.

⁸⁸ Ch'oe Yöng-ho, "Private Academies and the State in Late Chosön Korea," in *Culture and the state in late Chosön Korea*, ed. by Martina Deuchler, and JaHyun Kim Haboush (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2001), 15-45.

⁸⁹ Ch'oe Yöng-ho, "Private Academies and the State in Late Chosön Korea," 19.

ritual. The students and teachers of any given academy had to perform the Confucian rituals together, and according to a prescribed interpretation. Modern studies suggest that those who share rituals regularly tend to trust each other more, and cooperate better.⁹⁰ Even during the fifteenth century private academies differed in various details regarding ritual observance.⁹¹ It is hard to estimate the particular mix of high-intensity low-frequency rituals (such as the *munmyo cherye* 文廟祭禮, the memorial ritual for Confucius) and their opposite, low-intensity high-frequency rituals in specific academies. It seems that the biannual nature of most Neo-Confucian ritual activity tended to focus more of the former type, which might have affected the willingness of the group to promote a parochial identity.⁹²

In the most concrete form, all private academies contained a Confucian shrine where teachers and students would perform rituals together. These rituals would naturally vary according to the prescribed interpretation of the school, and would act as an immediate unifying stimulus, setting them apart from other schools and factions. It is not surprising therefore that the first major factional split starts as early as 1557.⁹³

By the late sixteenth century groups of *yangban* started to be recognized as factions, during the reign of King Sŏnjo (r. 1567-1608). A dispute between Kim Hyo-wŏn 金孝元 (1542-1590) and Sim Ŭi-gyŏm 沈義謙 (1535-1587) led their followers to call themselves after their

⁹⁰ Richard Sosis, "Religion and Intragroup Cooperation: Preliminary Results of a Comparative Analysis of Utopian Communities," *Cross-Cultural Research*, Vol. 34 No. 1 (2000), 77-88. Sosis studied utopian communities such as Israeli *Kibutzim* to show that those who participated regularly in shared rituals (i.e., regularly went to the synagogue) were more likely to trust their peers. I suggest that a similar process is happening here.

⁹¹ For example, the debate over the enshrinement of the Koryŏ scholar Ch'oe Ch'ung 崔沖 (984-1068) and the development of his cult. See Yi Sŏnggho, "Ch'oe Ch'ung-e tachan yŏktae insik pyŏnhwawa Munmyo chonsa onŭiŭi ihae [The Historical Changes in the Perception of Choe Chung and a Comprehension on the Discussion of the Enshrinement of Confucian Scholars]," *Yŏksawa kyŏnggye* 3 (2012), 95-135.

⁹² Harvey Whitehouse et al., "The Ties that Bind Us: Ritual, Fusion, and Identification," *Current Anthropology* 55, no. 6 (2014): 674-695. Whitehouse et al links ritual performance and social cohesion (group identification and identity fusion). They suggest that high-frequency, low-arousal rituals are related to social complexity and help creating social identity.

⁹³ Mark Setton, "Factional Politics and Philosophical Development in the Late Chosŏn," *The Journal of Korean Studies* 8 (1992): 37-80.

leaders respective dwelling locations within the capital. The disciples of Kim Hyo-wŏn, who lived in the eastern side of the city, were called *tongin* 東人, whereas the followers of Sim Ŭi-gyŏm became the *sŏin* 西人. Philosophically, they were loosely affiliated with the teachings of Yi I (1536-1584) and Yi Hwang (1501-1570) respectively.⁹⁴ These represented different approaches to some of the elementary metaphysical questions of Cheng-Zhu Neo Confucianism, such as the relations between *material force* and *principle* but these differences also manifested as different approaches toward ritual, exegesis and politics.⁹⁵ For example, Yi Hwang and his followers regarded the task of differentiating the pure *li* 理 from the morally ambiguous *ki* 氣 as exceedingly hard, and as a result shunned the political realm (the public domain as well as that of concrete events) in favor of quiet scholarship (the morally pure, private domain). Yi Hwang himself repeatedly resigned from office. The two schools were also divided geographically. Thus, the capital affiliated *sŏin* were titled *kiho* 畿湖 (standing for Kyŏnggi and Ch’ungch’ŏng provinces), and the *tongin* were dubbed *Yŏngnam* 嶺南 (denoting Kyŏngsang Province).⁹⁶ The *tongin* were further split into *namin* 南人 and *pugin* 北人 in 1591, over the issue of King Sŏnjo’s succession.⁹⁷ The *pugin* were further split into *teabuk* 大北 and *sobuk* 小北, supporting Prince Kwanghae and Prince Yŏngch’ang, respectively.⁹⁸ In 1623, the *namin* and the *sŏin* joined forces in a coup d’etat to install Injo (r. 1623–1649) on the throne. This maneuver, and the failed coup by general Yi Kwŏl 李适 (1587-1624), a year later, removed the two “northerners” factions from the political scene.

⁹⁴ Mark Setton, "Factional Politics and Philosophical Development in the Late Chosŏn," 47.

⁹⁵ Hwang Joon-yon, "Neo-Confucian Scholars of Chosun Dynasty and the Problems of Spiritual Cultivation in Case of the 'Four-Seven Debate,'" in *Tongyang ch'ŏrhak yŏngu* 25 (2001:6): 217-234.

⁹⁶ Mark Setton, "Factional Politics and Philosophical Development in the Late Chosŏn," 47.

⁹⁷ Mark Setton, "Factional Politics and Philosophical Development in the Late Chosŏn," 48.

⁹⁸ *Kwanghae ilgi*, ascend year (1608), 4th month, 14th day, 2.13a.

Further internal divisions occurred whenever prominent leaders of the ruling faction were at odds over high-stakes political issues. During Injo's time the two prominent schools within the *sŏin* were the *nakdang* 洛黨 and the *wondang* 原黨.⁹⁹ Being part of the same faction, and of the intellectual lineage of Yulgok, the schools did not have big differences in matters of policy or study. However, when Hyojong assumed the throne the power structure changed. A new group within the *sŏin*, the so-called *sandang* (山黨) faction rose to power and eliminated the other groups.¹⁰⁰ In 1650, they were able to point to a conspiracy between one of King Injo's consorts, Cho Gui'in 趙貴人 and the leaders of the *nakdang* 洛黨. In 1652 the entire cadre of *nakdang* leaders, including Kim Chajŏm 金自點 himself, his son Kim Sik 金埴 and others were executed.¹⁰¹ A different kind of stress was applied on the *handang* (漢黨) over issues of taxation, and particularly the *taedong* tax system. The *sandang*'s aggressive approach to internal politics helped to secure their position within the faction and remove competition. Next came the *namin* that, in spite of political and ideological differences, were allied with the *sŏin* ever since they helped Injo assume power in 1623. The *sŏin* won the ritual controversy of 1660 and assumed significant political power.

On the other hand, the *namin* remained important in the government of King Hyŏnjong (r. 1659-1674). Right before his death in 1674, the *namin* revived the ritual controversy. This time they managed to win the debate and assume political power, particularly after Hyŏnjong's death. King Sukchong (r. 1674-1720) seemed to be closer to the *namin* and favored them in

⁹⁹ The *nakdang* were the followers of Naksŏ 洛西, the penname of Kim Chajŏm 金自點. The *wondang* were called after Won Tup'yo 元斗杓. See Chŏng Manjo, "17 segi chungban handang-ŭi chŏngch'ihwaltong-kwa kukchŏnggunyŏngnon," *Hanguk Munhwa* Vol.23 (June 1999):107-146.

¹⁰⁰ As mentioned in other places, Song Siyŏl was the unappointed leader of the *sandang*. In a sense, some of the political rivalry between that school and other schools seems to be fueled by his emotional reactions. This topic deserves a longer discussion and its own research.

¹⁰¹ *Sŏngjŏngwŏn ilgi*, Hyojong year 2 (1651), 12th month, 16th day, article 3/16. 48a (*kisa*). A final word on the business as well as the exclusion of the *nakdang* from any power appears in *Hyojong sillok*, 3rd year (1652), 1st month, 23rd day, 8.13a.

court. As soon as they ousted the *sŏin*, the *namin* were divided over the question of proper retribution on the *sandang* and particularly on Song Siyŏl.¹⁰² The “hardliner” *namin* or *ch'ŏngnam* 淸南 advocated for severe punishment, whereas the conciliatory group or *t'angnam* 濁南 including Chief State Councillor 領議政 Hŏ Chŏk 許積 (1610-1680) opposed extreme measures.¹⁰³ The conflict allowed the king to replace Hŏ Chŏk with Kim Suhang, which allowed in turn the purge of 1680. Just like the internal factions of the *sŏin*, the internal factions of the *namin* did not have great ideological differences between them, and differed mostly on this topic.

The so called “pervasiveness of Chosŏn factionalism” allowed Japanese scholars during the colonial period to emphasize the impotency of the government against the *yangban*, and the interpretation is still regarded as tightly related to Korea’s colonial heritage.¹⁰⁴ As a response to that notion, modern scholars attempt to show factionalism as more than a matter of power brokering. Mark Setton, for example, thinks that the events of the seventeenth century mark the struggle between an attempt to pursue adherence to the Cheng-Zhu orthodoxy, and the wish to break from that pattern. Thus he claims that events such as the two Rites Controversies had a significant impact on ideological orientation.¹⁰⁵ In his analysis of the rivalry between Yun Hyu and Song Siyŏl, Miura Kunio reaches a similar conclusion, claiming that the controversy “became a struggle between an absolutist and relativist interpretation of Chu Hsi.”¹⁰⁶ Finally, Martina Deuchler described it as “manipulated orthodoxy”, focusing on the big political factions.¹⁰⁷ Deuchler claims that the big change of the seventeenth century was the movement of

¹⁰² Mark Setton, "Factional Politics and Philosophical Development in the Late Chosŏn," 61.

¹⁰³ Ibid. Sukchong Sillok, year 1 (1675), 4th month, 14th day, 3.32b.

¹⁰⁴ Mark Setton, "Factional Politics and Philosophical Development in the Late Chosŏn," 38-9.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Miura Kunio, “Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy in Seventeenth-Century Korea: Song Siyŏl and Yun Hyu,” in *The Rise of Neo-Confucianism in Korea*, ed. by Wm. Theodore de Barry and JaHyun Kim Haboush (NY, University of Columbia Press: 1995), 438.

¹⁰⁷ Martina Deuchler, “Controversy Over the Classics,” in *Culture and the State in Late Chosŏn Korea* (Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001), 128-30.

self-cultivation from the private to the public sphere. Thus, she recognizes factionalism with the attempt to turn factional interests to public concerns. This sudden urgency was very much a matter of constructing Korean identity in the wake of the Ming dynasty.

Another line of inquiry, responding to the post-colonial challenges of factionalism, is to tie the major factional debates with the emergence of *sirhak* (practical learning) scholars, a century later.¹⁰⁸ Setton again sees those who participated in factional controversies as forerunners of the so called *sirhak* movement. He places Yun Hyu in a line of *namin*-affiliated *silhak* scholars.¹⁰⁹ The term *sirhak* is anachronistic, and to a great extent a product of the twentieth century, and a way to mitigate a problematic past while maintaining a sense of continuity.¹¹⁰ In other words, the people on the list of scholars that Setton recognizes as *sirhak* scholars never used this term to describe themselves. Nevertheless, we do see a common themes and interest that are shared among them, as well as a sense of intellectual continuity.

All the factional splits of the seventeenth century are directly related to the growing ideological gap between *yangban* and the royal family, on the topic of inheritance. Even when it seems that factions were merely expanding the control of their own one kin-and-kith group, at the expense of another, inheritance had a major role. The range of topics, in this case, is a disguise for a deeper struggle. Starting from the end of the sixteenth century, *yangban* were going through a major change in the way that they understood inheritance, applying to themselves strict rules of primogeniture succession and agnatic principle 宗法.¹¹¹ Zhu Xi's entire ritual philosophy was based on the discriminative organization of the five ritual groups. Direct

¹⁰⁸ A lot was discussed on the term and its problem elsewhere. James B. Palais, *Confucian statecraft and Korean Institutions*, 9-10.

¹⁰⁹ Mark Setton, "Factional Politics and Philosophical Development in the Late Chosŏn," 42.

¹¹⁰ Donald L. Baker, "The Use and Abuse of the Sirhak Label: A New Look at Sin Hu-dam and his Sohak Pyon," *Kyohoesa yŏngu* 3 (1981): 183-254.

¹¹¹ Martina Deuchler, *The Confucian Transformation of Korea* (Cambridge, MA.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1992), 130-1. See also Song Sun-kwan, "The Resilience and Decline," 151-4.

relatives, he noted, had the same *ki* 氣 as their ancestors, allowing the main descendants to call back upon this *ki* when needed.¹¹² This principle, valid both in the public and private spheres, was one of the founding principles of the dynasty, allowing the *yangban* to organize a tighter control over kin groups. From the sixteenth century, the *yangban*'s agnatic consciousness deepened, and a large body of scholarly work as well as legislation was focused on the meaning of a society adhering to primogenital successions.¹¹³ On the practical level, this was reflected in favoring adopted sons over the sons of concubines (*sōson* 庶孫). Under the pressure of his ministers, King Myōng-jong 明宗 (r. 1545-1567) ruled that it was illegal to sever one's relations with an adopted son, once a real son was born.¹¹⁴ Ritual studies were not important during the first half of the Chosŏn dynasty, although we do find some interesting notes made by Yi Hwang and Yi I. Only from the beginning of the sixteenth century we see a rise in the writings on ritual studies, and a growing emphasis on the studies of inheritance. In 1626, the commentary of Qiu Jun 邱濬 (1420–1495) on *Zhu Xi's Family Rituals*, finally appeared, and a century after that text had been written it was recommended for printing in Korea.¹¹⁵ It gave scholars such as Kim Changsaeng 金長生 (1548–1631), a member of the *sōin*, renewed interest in ritual studies, and allowed the *yangban* to discuss the differences between original Chinese requirements and the actual Korean application.

The emphasis on primogenital successions was quite foreign to Korea before the Chosŏn dynasty. Very few of the Chosŏn kings were the first legitimate son of a King. In the seventeenth

¹¹² Martina Deuchler, *The Confucian Transformation of Korea*, 132-3. The five are *ijong* 禰宗, *chojong* 祖宗, *Chŭngjojong* 曾祖宗, *kojojong* 高祖宗 and *taejong* 大宗.

¹¹³ Song Sun-kwan, 152. In section 5.4 below I discuss the rift between the *yangban* who wished to follow a proper model of agnatic primogenital inheritance (based on their understanding of the classics) and the Chosŏn kings who did not feel that it was their prerogative to select a proper heir.

¹¹⁴ *Myōngjong sillok*, 7th year (1652), 7th month, 16th day, 13.54b. See also *Sōnjo sillok*, 14th year (1581), 2nd month, 6th day, 15.5a. One of the first public cases was of Ch'oe Myōng'gil 崔鳴吉 (1586 – 1647) who asked specifically for his adopted son to be recognized as his legitimate successor. See *Injo sillok*, 4th year (1626), 1st month, 25th day, 11.22b-27a.

¹¹⁵ Song Sun-kwan, 152.

century, for example, King Sŏnjo was the third son of King Chungjong's seventh son from a concubine.¹¹⁶ Both Kwanghae-gun and King Injo were sons of Sŏnjo's concubines, and Hyojong was Injo's second son. In fact, King Hyŏnjong was one of the few first-born sons to be Chosŏn Kings.¹¹⁷ As opposed to the image in the Ritual Classics, Chosŏn kings had the prerogative to choose their own successor, and often exercised it. For example, in 1689 King Sukchong executed Song Siyŏl for questioning the timing of Sukchong's selecting his heir. In other words, the Neo-Confucian theory linked the primogenital succession of the royal house with legitimacy, but in practice it was rarely used in Chosŏn.¹¹⁸ For the *yangban*, however, the patrilineal lineage system was one of the major results of the "Confucian transformation" of Chosŏn, and as mentioned, became an important issue for the aristocracy.¹¹⁹ It is no surprise therefore that matters of the royal inheritance became key in factional disputes. In fact, most if not all of the factional splits can be traced to direct inheritance issues. The *tongin* split into *namin* and *pugin* in 1591 was over the issue of King Sŏnjo's succession, and the *pugin* additional split into *teabuk* and *sobuk* just after Sŏnjo's death.¹²⁰ The two Rites Controversies were obviously directly related to the topic, but so were the power changes that followed them. As I will show later, the *namin* persecution of 1680 was directly aimed at the *namin* links with Prince Pokch'ang (pokch'ang-gun 福昌君) and his sons of Injo's first son's line. Almost all of the major factions and smaller schools and splits within those factions were advocating for a certain queen and her offspring at one time or another. King Sukchong's mother Queen Myŏngsŏng 明聖, for example, was the granddaughter of Kim Yuk 金堉 of the *handang* group within the *sŏin*.¹²¹ His first wife,

¹¹⁶ Song Sun-kwan, 151-2.

¹¹⁷ King Hyŏnjong's line, however, was not an agnatic line, which was the whole point of the two Rites Controversy.

¹¹⁸ Martina Deuchler, *The Confucian Transformation of Korea*, 283 – 285.

¹¹⁹ Martina Deuchler, 138.

¹²⁰ Mark Setton, 48.

¹²¹ *Sukchong sillok*, "Sukchong taewang haengjang [Posthumous biography of King Sukchong]," 65.35a.

Queen in'gyōng 仁敬, was the daughter of Kim Mangi 金萬基, of the *sandang*. His second wife was Queen Inhyōn 仁顯, the daughter of Min Yu-jung 閔維重) of the *namin*. Yet another queen, Queen Inwon 仁元, was the daughter of Kim Chusin 金柱臣, later a member of the *soron* 少論, but also an associate of *namin* and particularly Park Sedang 朴世堂.¹²²

The adoption of a stricter form of agnatic principles is an act with consequences in the ritual sphere, and therefore we should consider its meaning in a ritual community. In the terminology of Rodney Stark and Roger Finke's *Acts of Faith*, enforcing a more demanding set of limitations on ritual is moving the ritual community toward higher tension.¹²³ To the purpose of this analysis, factions act as what Stark and Finke would call a sect. Those tend to start off as an adaptation to a market niche.¹²⁴ In the language of our discussion, some of the sects (factions), like the *namin*, adhere to more strict niches, whereas others lean toward the liberal end of the spectrum.¹²⁵ Stark and Finke predict that sects will tend to move toward medium tension, which allows them to hold larger market niches.¹²⁶ The type of movement that we see here, toward a smaller niche and higher tension, is more unusual, and indicates a relatively unregulated religious environment.¹²⁷ In other words, the factionalization of the *yangban* indicates almost necessarily the relative weakening of the monarchy. Stark and Fink predict that in ideal "free

¹²² Park Sedang (1629–1703), pen named Sōgye 西溪 was intellectually related to Yun Hyu. Like Yun Hyu, he was also dubbed as a rebel and destroyer of the Confucian Way by Song Siyōl's disciples. See Martina Deuchler, "Despoilers of the Way-Insulters of the Sages: Controversies over the Classics in Seventeenth-Century Korea," in *Culture and the State in Late Choson Korea*, ed. JaHyun Kim Haboush, Martina Deuchler (Cambridge, Mass.: University Press, 2001), 94-5.

¹²³ Rodney Stark and Roger Finke, *Acts of Faith: Explaining the Human Side of Religion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

¹²⁴ Stark and Finke, *Acts of Faith*, 285 §81, §91.

¹²⁵ Stark and Finke, 142-3. Stark and Finke follow the definition of Ernst Troeltsch and Max Weber, and use the Church/Sect dichotomy throughout the book. They ignore the "Cult" category that Weber uses, and clearly state that they do not intend to discuss political sects since these are non-religious in nature. This is clearly not true for our case, and perhaps for many other cases as well. Liberal here is used in the sense that Stark and Finke are using it, as less strict in terms of adherence and performance, and not in the contemporary-colloquial sense.

¹²⁶ Stark and Finke, *Acts of Faith*, 285 §83.

¹²⁷ Stark and Finke, *Acts of Faith*, 286 §99.

market” conditions, the dominant factions in terms of adherents will be the medium tension ones, whereas the very liberal and very strict will take smaller and more specialized niches. Although the conditions of Chosŏn Neo-Confucians were far from those of a free market, and mobility between factions was limited, the basic dynamics still apply, and in the limited scope of Neo-Confucianism as practiced by *yangban* we see greater mobility than what we usually assign to the period. Yun Hyu’s family was able to move between factions, and Yun Hyu himself was unaffiliated for a long time, which allows him to develop his system while interacting with different schools of thoughts. Although affiliated with the *pugin*, Yun Hyu’s ancestor was affiliated with Cho Kwangjo 趙光祖, and thus belong neither to the Yi Hwang nor to the Yi I schools. The personal history of Yun Hyu and his family allow us a peek into the real complexities of factional dynamics in the seventeenth century.¹²⁸

2.4 Yun Hyu’s Family and Faction

Yun Hyu was born in 1617, to the Namwŏn Yun clan, and came from a line of politically active *yangban*.¹²⁹ His great-great-grandfather Yun Chagwan 尹子寬 (Pen name Samhyu 三休) was an associate of Cho Kwangjo 趙光祖 (1482 –1520) and was implicated along with him in the Third Literati Purge of 1519.¹³⁰ Cho Kwangjo was at the center of the third wave of purges, when the reform he suggested encountered the resistance of the old meritorious elite (*hun’gu* 勳舊), which led to his execution in 1520 and the execution or exile of dozens of others. As a result, he had to build his house in *Ssanggye-dong* (A district of Yeongcheon, North Gyeongsang province) since

¹²⁸ From Yun Hyu’s own example it becomes clear that by the seventeenth century it was no longer possible to hold a position in the civil structure without being actively a member of a specific faction.

¹²⁹ Han Ugŭn, “Paekho Yun Hyu yŏngu (il),” 3-4.

¹³⁰ The association of Yun Hyu’s ancestor with Cho Kwangjo helps establish a certain mind set among that specific lineage of scholars. He himself belonged to the intellectual lineage of Chŏng Mongju 夢周 (1338-1392) who died resisting the dynastic change and was later canonized in the Confucian shrine for that. Similarly, Cho Kwangjois and Yun Chagwan were persecuted by King Chungjong (r. 1506 - 1544) in the Literati Purges of 1519.

Cho Kwangjo's group were no longer welcome in the capital. Yun Hyu's great-grandfather Yun Hu 尹虎 (Pen name Nurhön 訥軒) passed the classics licentiate of the national academy by writing a critique of Cao Can 曹參 the famous second chancellor of Han Dynasty. His grandfather Hüison 喜孫 (Pen name Chöngjae 靜齋) and his father Hyojön 孝全 (Pen name Kichön 沂川) both passed the Civil Service Examination in respectable places. In 1605 his father was appointed briefly to be the Crown Prince's tutor but was later demoted to be an official of the Five Military Commands Headquarters for the Ch'ungch'öng governor. Yun Hyojön married the daughter of Damhyu 覃休 (Pen name T'ongye 通禮) of the P'ap'yöng Yun clan.¹³¹ However, she was infertile and he married again a woman from the Kyöngju Kim clan. His father had a son named Yun Yöng 尹鏞 (1612-1685) born from his second wife, the daughter of Yi Sun-shin (1545–1598) and his concubine. Yun Hyu's half-brother married the daughter of Yi Wönik 李元翼 (Pen name Oyi 梧里) and had descendants.¹³²

Hyu was born on the 14th day of the 10th month of Kwanghaegun's 10th year (1618), and received his childhood name Chöng 鎭 from his father's life-long friend Chong Hah'gang 鄭寒崗 who happened to be visiting. Yun Hyu's father was able to circumnavigate the political disaster of his faction and was installed as magistrate of Kyöngju that same year.¹³³ Yun Hyu himself chose the name Hyu 鑄 as his personal name (*myöng* 名) when he turned twenty-five. His courtesy name was Hüijung 希仲 and his pen names are Peakho 白湖 and Hagan 夏奸. At the age of 19 he married the daughter of Kwön U 權佑 (Pen name Yöp'an 余判) of the

¹³¹ A clan which have been holding positions continuously since before the coup of 1170; See John B. Duncan, *The Origins of the Chosön Dynasty* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014), 133.

¹³² Yi Wönik was a prime minister and held prominent positions in the Chosön government for half a century, including the Imjin War, Injo's "Restoration of Rectitude" (Injo Panjöng 仁祖反正) in 1623 and the Manchu invasion of 1627. You can find a full account of his life in: Shin Byung-ju, "sönjoesö injodaëüi chönggukkwa iwönik üi chöngch'ihwältong [Yi Wönik's political actions in the time from Sönjo's reign to Injo's reign]" in *Tongguk sahak* Vol. 53 No. 0 (2012), 233-273.

¹³³ The political tension at the time of Yun Hyu's birth was a result of the split inside the so-called Northern faction or *pugin* 北人, following the void attempt to install Prince Yöngchang, in 1613.

illustrious Andong Kwŏn clan, and they had five sons and three daughters. His eldest son, Ŭije 義濟 married the daughter of Kwŏn In 權認 (T'anong 炭翁), and his youngest son Kyŏngje 景濟 married a descendent of Yi Sugwang 李晬光 (1563-1629, chibong 芝峯).¹³⁴

Besides that, Yun Hyu was involved with the important figures of his time, and they had family relations with each other. Yun Sŏn'gŏ 尹宣舉 (魯西, the grandson of Sŏng Hon 成渾 Ugye 牛溪) became related to Yun Hyu indirectly, through his son-in-law Yun Chŭng 尹拯 [who was from the P'ap'yŏng Yun clan, as was Yun Hyu's grandmother] and through the marriages of his first son to the daughter of Kwŏn Si 權認 (Pen name T'an'ung 炭翁). Kwŏn Si actually connected Yun Hyu and Song Siyŏl in family ties, through the marriages of his second son to the daughter of Song Siyŏl. Another family tie with Song Siyŏl came through Yun Pak 尹搏, Yun Chŭng's cousin, who married Song Siyŏl's second daughter. Two other prominent figures of the time, Hŏ Chŏk 許積 (1610-1680) and Yi Ha-jin 李夏鎭 (Yi Yik's father), both had a double relationship with Yi Hang 李沆 (related to Prince Yangnyeong's family line).¹³⁵

This partial list demonstrates the interconnected nature of *yangban* marriage patterns in the seventeenth century. We can see the tight family ties across factions (*namin* and *sŏin* in this case), before their opposition and the so-called split of the *sŏin* into “old” and “new” doctrine (老論小論) and the split of the *namin* into “pure” and “muddy” factions (清南濁南).¹³⁶ In other words, it gives us a glimpse to the state of things before clique opposition and political factures took place. Also, that many mutual relationships between what will be called as the factions (or “colors” in Korean) meant that a person could not make a point against a colleague even if that

¹³⁴ Yi Sugwang 李晬光 was a famous historian and author, who commented as early as 1614 on Jesuit knowledge and particularly on their cosmology. See Shi Yunli, “The Yuzhi lixiang kaocheng houbian in Korea” in *The Jesuits, the Padroado and East Asian Science (1552-1773)*, ed. Luis Saraiva and Catherine Jami (NJ: World Scientific, 2008), 208.

¹³⁵ I provide a simplified diagram of Yun Hyu's family tree in Appendix A .

¹³⁶ This indicate the factional split between Kwŏn Daeun 權大運 and Hŏ Mok in 1675.

point would give his faction a significant advantage, making arguments that the various schisms and oppositions made impossible. Thus, a person like Yun Hyu, who did not belong to a faction (or rather, was accepted into another faction) had perhaps some sense of freedom that most scholars did not enjoy.¹³⁷

Yun Hyu's lineage, while providing excellent pedigree, was not related directly to the *namin* centers of power. This was later a cause for some activism on part of *namin* people who felt that his loyalties might be compromised. On the other hand, families of the two Northerner factions, were disappointed that they did not receive the proper support. Here is an example of one common lament, here provided as a memorial by Kim Munha 金文夏, a *sōbok* yangban:

classics licentiate Kim Munha and others appealed to Yun Hyu for help, to argue their case to the king. Hyu's family background was originally *sōbok* 小北, and at first he praised Song Siyōl and his friends, and largely received praise when introduced to Min Chōjūng's 閔鼎重 and his clique. Until they took sides in the issue of the mourning of King Hyojong 孝廟, he had no problem receiving their empty honor on a daily basis. At that time people paid attention to the so-called *sōin*. When the great funeral of 1659 arrived, he had a disagreement with Song Siyōl, and also slandered Zhu Xi's exegesis, so he was rejected by scholars. Now that *namin* are recommended for service for the first time, suddenly ascending to power, he has suddenly emerged as a worthy Confucian side

¹³⁷ As I mentioned earlier, Yun Hyu's family were of the *pugin* faction, even though his father was not harmed by Injo's *coup d'état* as some other families did. As I will show later, from 1655 when he first received his first government position, he started to associate with *namin* scholars, and particularly after he championed the *namin* position in the Rites Controversy of 1660. Thus, Yun Hyu effectively moved a faction (just like Hō Mok).

by side with Hō Mok. Not only did people see Yun Hyu as a *namin*, but he himself adopted this pose, to the extent that people once again criticized his many faults. Thus, Yun Hyu's peers are disappointed and angry at him, bringing up old grudges. Now, the people of the *sōbok* use the opportunity to exert power, to cause Yun Hyu to return to their party. Chōng Pak (鄭樸) already wrote about it personally. Kim Munha and other disciples of *sōbok* families, because of that, would also follow the example of Chōng Pak, at this time of opposition.¹³⁸

On the other hand, some member on the *namin* were accusing him of keeping old loyalties to his native faction. In 1680, for example, Yi Sō-u 李瑞雨 (1633-1709, Pen name Song'guk 松谷) of the Office of Special Advisors (*okdang* 玉堂) specifically contacted Hō Mok, recommending that “descendants of the bugin suddenly should not be able to suddenly rise to key positions”.¹³⁹ In spite of both hopes and allegations, Yun Hyu saw himself as a free agent, above faction politics, and to a large degree exercised this approach in his writings. Yun Hyu had good relations with members of all three factions from before 1659, and according to Han Ugūn was either stubborn or obstructive toward the factions from the beginning.¹⁴⁰

2.5 Yun Hyu's Career

2.5.1 Early Life

Yun Hyu was born in Kyōngju, where his father served as a magistrate. When Yun Hyu was born, his father's life-long friend Chong Han'gang 鄭寒崗 (1543-1620) visited and wrote “I have just visited a great man, whose son was born. Don't we also benefit when one of our

¹³⁸ *Sukchong Sillok*, year 2 (1676), 7th month, 8th day, 5.31b.

¹³⁹ *Sukchong Sillok*, year 6 (1680), 10th month, 2th day, 10.44a.

¹⁴⁰ Han Ugūn, “Paekho Yun Hyu yōngu (il),” 6.

personal friends has reason to be happy?”¹⁴¹ Both he and Jōng Ku 鄭逵 (1543-1620, Penname Han’gan 寒岡) came to celebrate the birth.¹⁴² During Yi Kwal ‘s 李适 attempted coup (1624) his family took refuge in Yōju city (Kyōnggido), with his grandparents. In 1627, when he was 11, he fled to Yōju again, this time from the first Manchu invasion. At the time, he was living in Samsan (in North Chungcheong Province), which was directly on the path of the Manchu army. While in Samsan, he was invited to study under the tutelage of his maternal grandfather, Kim Dōkmin 金德民 (of the Kyōngju Kim clan) in his famous Bamboo Pavilion 竹軒. Following the death of his grandfather two years later, he moved to the capital. He married the daughter of Kwōn U 權佑 of the Andong Kwōn clan, and during the second Manchu invasion, in 1636, he was visiting in-laws in Songnisan 俗離山 (in the North Ch’ungch’ōng province), meeting with Song Siyōl and others in the pokch’ōn Temple 福泉寺. According to Yun Hyu’s chronology they heard the news of King Injo’s surrender in Namhan Sansōng there in Pokch’ōn Temple. They cried and hugged each other, and vowed “From this day onward, we will no longer attend the examinations or be involved in politics, never forgetting today’s humiliation”.¹⁴³

Yun Hyu’s reluctance to take the exam is interesting, since he was appointed to some important positions, and he served as a *de facto* faction leader. While a personal recommendation (*ch’ōngō* 薦舉) and a protected appointment (*ūmgwan* 蔭官) have always existed as ways to win an appointment to a government post, these tended to be somewhat limited in time and scope.¹⁴⁴ It is general noted that Chosōn scholars were divided around the question of the examination

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Both scholars were related to Cho Sik 曹植 (1501-1572), a counter-current politician who opposed the two big names of his time –T’oegye and Yulgok, and had an astounding influence on the 18th century scholars loosely recognized today as *silhak*, or “practical learning.”

¹⁴³ See “Haengjang [necrology],” in Yun Hyu, *PHCS, purok 2*, 1888. “自今以後 不復赴舉 或遇時從政 不忘今日之羞辱”.

¹⁴⁴ There were, however, several famous cases, of people who received high profile offices without passing the third exam. One such case is discussed in Michael C. Kalton, Introduction to *To Become a Sage: The Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 16-18. T’oegye did pass the lower level exams.

system: while some saw it as a prime example of a balanced meritorious system, others pointed to the fact that a small cadre of people seemed to be manipulating the exams.¹⁴⁵ As noted before, Yun Hyu’s great-great-grandfather Yun Chagwan was an associate of Cho Kwangjo and got involved in the Literati Purge of 1519 over that issue. Cho Kwangjo and his supporters planned to adapt a recommendation system, parallel to the examinations, effectively limiting its efficiency.¹⁴⁶ We can think of the suspicion toward the examination system as reflecting the different ideologies of different schools.¹⁴⁷

Unlike Yun Hyu, other people mentioned in that meeting, and most notably Song Siyöl, did take the exams later. It is possible though that there were more pragmatic reasons for his reluctance, either because of his inability or because of his factional background, for him giving up on the exams. If nothing else, his *pugin* affiliation would not have allowed him to take any significant government position. A line in one of his poems, titled “Paekho,” reflects this sentiment:

學劍悲無術 屠龍愧近名

Learning is like swordmanship. Sadly, I have no skill with it.

I Fail to live with the name of a dragon-slayer.¹⁴⁸

Yun Hyu however, went on to become a private scholar, shunning political involvement.¹⁴⁹ In the following year, he moved to Yusan 柳山, Kongju (in South Ch’ungch’öng province), where

¹⁴⁵ James B. Palais, *Confucian statecraft and Korean Institutions*, 144-9.

¹⁴⁶ James B. Palais, *Confucian statecraft and Korean Institutions*, 157-8.

¹⁴⁷ In theory, the examination system relies on universally accepted readings and interpretations. In reality, there was always one school or factions dominating the exams, and thus the suspicion of all schools towards the process is understandable.

¹⁴⁸ Yun Hyu, “Paekho [The while-lake],” in *PHCS*, *kwön* 2,29. A more accurate translation would be: I Study swordmanship but gain no mastery / Failing to live with the name of a dragon-slayer. Here “learning swordmanship” is of course a metaphore for scholarship in general. The term “屠龍” is perhaps an allusion to Zhuangzi’s *Lie Yu-kou* 列御寇 chapter.

¹⁴⁹ Han Ugün, “Paekho Yun Hyu yöngu (il),” 6-7.

he became invested in the learning of the Classics. For a period of time, he maintained a network of correspondents, from all factions. These included some of the most important names of his time, including Kwŏn Si 權認 (1604-1672), Yun Mungŏ 尹文學 (1606-1672), Yun Kilbo 尹吉甫, and Kwŏn Ch’ido 權秀夫. Among his close friends were important *sŏin* figures, such as the “Two Songs” - Song Siyŏl 宋時烈 and Song Chun’gil 宋浚吉, Yu Kye 兪槩 (1607 - 1664), as well as Yi Yut’ae 李惟泰 (1607 – 1684), who was also a *namin* protected appointment. During this period, he wrote some of his more significant texts: *Treatise on the Human-Mind and the Way-Mind in the Four Fonts and Seven Emotions* (四端七清人心道心說) at 22.¹⁵⁰ At 25 he wrote *kaemyŏngsŏl* (改名說), *Treatise on Changing One’s Name*, where he explains why at 21 he changed his name from Kyŏng 鎭 to Hyu.¹⁵¹ In the following years he wrote short texts on *The Great Plan* (洪範說), on *The Rites of Zhou* (周禮) and *The Doctrine of the Mean* (中庸說). These were, in essence, the first iteration of what will become later his *Notes Upon Reading* or *toksŏgi* 讀書記. He revisited these writings periodically and updated them, and the version of the *toksŏgi* contains his own comments to all of them.

2.5.2 Government Service During Hyojong’s Reign

King Injo died and Hyojong succeeded him when Yun Hyu was 34. During the early years of Hyojong’s reign, Yun Hyu started frequenting the capital more, and eventually moved there in 1649. It was during that time that he started associating with a prominent group of *sŏin* and *namin* scholars, such as Yi Yut’ae 李惟泰, Yun Sŏngŏ 尹宣舉, and Min Chŏng-jong 閔鼎重. In particular, he established a strong friendship and deep intellectual understanding with Yun Sŏngŏ, in spite of the factional and doctrinal differences between them. Some officials

¹⁵⁰ Han Ugŭn, “Paekho Yun Hyu yŏngu (il),” 8.

¹⁵¹ Yun Hyu, “kaemyŏngsŏl,” in *PHCS, kwŏn*, 26, 1081.

considered him, and others like him, a good offset to the milieu of discontented junior officials.

It was in that fashion that his name reached King Hyojong:

癸巳/上引見大臣及備局諸臣。上曰：臘月雷、三月雪，皆亡國之兆，而至於嶺東，海水合冰之災，甚可怪也。右議政沈之源曰：古者遇災異，則策免大臣。臣今尸居重任，請先策免，以答天譴。副提學金益熙曰：當此災異孔慘之日，大臣固宜策勵，交修不逮，何必策免，然後方可有益於修省之道乎。上曰：卿言善矣。益熙曰：《儀禮經傳》，新印頒賜矣。今若加印《續集》，則可為全書。抄選年少文官有才學者，使之講習，則好矣。上曰：卿言雖好，而年少文臣輩，徒事飲酒閑遊，追逐儕流，而至於專經，亦多不通者，有何學習禮經之望乎。之源曰：臣聞許穆、尹鑄**力學多藝**，行誼過人，如此之人，宜加擢用，以為勸獎矣。上曰：尹鑄何如人乎。兵曹判書元斗杓曰：鑄乃孝全之子，而多讀古書云。上曰：言于該曹，使之收用。禮曹判書李厚源曰：掌樂院所藏《樂學軌範》三卷，乃成廟朝成倪所撰也。廟庭之樂，皆用此制，而此非閭家所有之書。壬辰亂後，掌樂院開刊，而板本在本院。請令校書館印出累件，分藏史庫。從之。

The king met the great ministers and officials of the Border Defense Council.

The King said: It stormed on the New Year and snowed on the third month: These are omens of the downfall of a state. Now, as far as Ryōngdong 嶺東 the sea is dangerously iced, isn't that strange?

Third State Councillor Chim Ji Won 沈之源 said: When the ancients met with unusual disasters, their policy was to remove the ministers from office. Those who are in charge now should be dismissed from office as a response to the wrath of Heaven.

First counselor Kim Ik-hŭi said: At a time of a great disaster like this one, the great ministers are supposed to mutually work for the solution. There is no need to dismiss ministers. How they can help if they are dismissed and they only focus on cultivating the Way within themselves?

The king said: Your words are good.

Ik-hŭi said: A new version of the commentary on the *Book of Etiquette and Rites* (Yilŭ 儀禮) was printed. Now if we print the supplementary collection, we can make a comprehensive volume. If we can find a junior scholar with talent and have him lecture on it, will be good.

The King said: Your words are good, but the junior scholar-officials of the current generation are interested in nothing beyond eating and drinking and idle leisure. They only follow their age-group, and most of them have hardly any specialized knowledge of the Classics. What hope is there that one of them may have mastered The Rites?¹⁵²

¹⁵² Here the compound *cheryu* 儕流 is the same as *tongbae* 同輩 in the sense of peers from the same generation.

Ji Won said: I have heard that Hō Mok and Yun Hyu study hard and have notable talent, and their conduct is better than others. Why don't we give them that task and encourage them?

The King said: Yun Hyu – what kind of person is he?

The minister of War Wōn Tup'yo said: Yun Hyu is the son of Yubn Hyojōn (尹孝全), and has read many of the ancient books.

The King said: Talk to the appropriate ministry (*haejo* 該曹) and have them get him to work on that task

The Minister of Rites Yi Huwōn (李厚源) said: The Office for the Management of Music (掌樂院) stores three *kwōn* of the *Musical Canon* (*akhak gwebeom* 樂學軌範). It was written by Sōng Hyōn 成俔, 1439-1504) at the time of King Sōngchong 成宗 (r. 1469 – 1494). The music of the court *Myojōng* 廟庭, takes this as a standard, but this is not a book many scholars or officials have access to. After the *imjin* war, the Bureau of Music 掌樂院 reopened, and the woodblocks for that text are stored there. Order the Office of Publication (*kosōgwan* 校書館) to print and bind it, and keep a separate copy in the History Archive. That was done.¹⁵³

This is an unusual record: it shows a cabinet meeting which includes both civilian ministers and

¹⁵³ *Hyohong sillok*, 6th year (1655), 3rd month, 8th day, 14.16a. Yun Hyu was an avid *gōmungo* player, and his name is also associated with a text titled *kūmbo* 琴譜 (Scores for Geomungo), that was passed down as an heirloom in his family. See Sōng Yōng-ae, “Yun Hyu kamun-ūi ‘kūmbo’-e kuanhan yōngu [The Study on Geumbo of Yoon-Hyu’s House],” *The Korean Literature and Arts* 20 (Nov. 2016): 239-283.

military people, and which starts with the chaos that the “little ice age” brought to Chosŏn.¹⁵⁴ Kim Yŏnok, who mapped the “Little Ice Age” in Korea, has categorized that period into three main climatic events, and has noted that following the cold and humid period roughly between 1701 and 1750, came a period of extreme famine.¹⁵⁵ These observations coincide with main incentives for the royal meeting. However, the meeting ends up with only one action item: hire Yun Hyu, in spite of him being unaffiliated, of the wrong lineage and not an exam passer. There is no direct evidence of course, but this seems to be well orchestrated. First Kim Ik-hŭi suggests a new compilation of the *Yili* 儀禮 and its commentary as measures against what Confucian statecraft usually considers as a bad omen for a kingdom.¹⁵⁶ The King’s immediate response is a statement on the problematics of the junior scholars, to which the other ministers quickly agree. The King seems too much like a direct response to a future claim on Yun Hyu’s eligibility. The ministers are quick to vouch to Yun Hyu’s credentials, and the King orders to find how to hire that person. By the time that the new capital personnel list (*tomokchŏng* 都目政) is prepared, Yun Hyu is already registered as a consultant 咨議.¹⁵⁷ As far as a job interview goes, this one seems particularly simple.

Why would the King and high ministers arrange to hire a non-affiliated private scholar, into a system already overpopulated with unemployed scholars? Perhaps it is the fact the he was

¹⁵⁴ Geoffrey Parker, *Global Crisis: War, Climate Change and Catastrophe in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 318. Reacting to the weather of that year, Gaston Duke of Orléans and uncle of King Louis XIV said that “the monarchy was finished: the kingdom could not survive in its present state.” Even though Parker does not discuss Korea in his work, his argument applies to Chosŏn as well – the stress of the “little ice age” coupled with the unusual weather pattern of the 17th century (from increased seismic activity to the lack of sun spots) was reflected in unstable monarchies and bloody succession wars.

¹⁵⁵ Kim, Yŏnok, “Han’gugŭi sobinggi kihu: yŏksa kihuhakchŏk chŏpkŭnŭi ilsinon [The Little Ice Age in Korea: An Approach to Historical Climatology],” in *Chirihak-kwa chiri gyoyuk* 14 (1984): 1-16.

¹⁵⁶ *Sŭngjŏngwŏn ilgi*, Hyojong year 6 (1655), 2nd Month, 2nd Day, article 11/12. 48a (*chŏngsa*). A month before, Kim Chwamyŏng 金佐明 (1616 – 1671) suggested proof-reading for missing and erroneous characters in Chosŏn’s copy of *Zhu Xi’s Complete Exegesis of the Ritual and Its Commentaries* 儀禮經傳通解 and in the *Precious Mirror for Succeeding Reigns* 國朝寶鑑. That text was the basis for Zhu Xi’s Family Rituals, and as such had a very important role in Chosŏn.

¹⁵⁷ *Hyojong sillok*, 7th year (1656), 1st month, 16th day, 16.2b.

not affiliated that made Yun Hyu particularly useful for the internal factional strife.¹⁵⁸ There is one thing in common to all the people who dominate the conversation here: they were all of the *sandang* (山黨) faction within the *sŏin*, and all related to Kim Chip 金集 (1574-1656). Their faction had dominated the political scene since the first day of Hyojong's reign and were able to absorb and dominate the previous *sŏin* factions. By 1651 they were able to eliminate their political rivals (the *nakdang* 洛黨). By the time that this conversation was taking place, they were already struggling with the newly emerged opposition from within, the *handang* (漢黨). It was Yi Huwon 李厚源 (1598-1660), the minister of Rites, who recruited Song Siyŏl to the government. Kim Ik-hŭi 金益熙 himself, of the Kwangsan Kim clan, was also one of the chief players in that struggle.¹⁵⁹ Similarly involved were Yun Chŭng 尹拯, Yun Hyu's son-in-law, and all of the ministers of the time.¹⁶⁰ If indeed Hyojong and his high ministers recruited Yun Hyu as a form of counter-measures in a time of unusual restlessness, we can say that the "Little Ice Age" was indirectly responsible for his career.

Serving under Hyojong and in close affinity with *sŏin* officials gave Yun Hyu plenty of opportunities to prove himself. His name was mentioned to the King during the Mat Lectures by eminent scholars such as Min Chŏjŭng and Yi Kyŏng-hui 李慶徽, and with Wŏn Tup'yo's recommendation he was promoted that very year to be a Keeper of Records in the Office of Royal Genealogy (宗簿寺主簿).¹⁶¹ Over the next several years Yun Hyu went through a cycle of

¹⁵⁸ *Sŭngjŏngwŏn ilgi*, Hyojong 4th year (1653), 1st month, 17th day, article 2/14. Yun Hyu got a job as the Keeper of the Earth and Grain Altar (社稷參奉).

¹⁵⁹ Kim Chongsu, "Chosŏn chung,hugi 4 taehakp'aŭi ch'ŏrhakkwa hyŏnsirinsik ; soronhakp'a(少論學派)ŭi yŏnwŏn'gwa chŏn'gae, ch'ŏrhakkwa hyŏnsirinsik [Philosophy and Realism in the Four Schools of Middle and Late Chosŏn: The Origins and Development of the Soron School, its Philosophy and Realism]," *Han'guk ch'ŏrhak nonjip* 32.0 (2011), 113-159. He was also the brother of Kim Ik-hun 金益勳 (1619-1689), the uncle of Sukjong's queen, whose punishment became the deciding matter in the *soron* and *noron* split, in the 1680s. Song Siyŏl took his side in that struggle and became the leader of the *noron*.

¹⁶⁰ Kim Chongsu, "Chosŏn chung,hugi 4 taehakp'aŭi ch'ŏrhakkwa hyŏnsirinsik," 116-7.

¹⁶¹ Han Ugŭn, "Paekho Yun Hyu yŏngu (il)," 9. Hyojong Sillok, 7th year (1656), 3rd month, 19th day, 16.27b. Min Chŏjŭng and Yi Kyŏng-hui warn the King that Yun Hyu is brilliant but stubborn, so it may be difficult to get him to accept a government post.

resignations and reappointments, often advancing in rank with each appointment. The following table summarises Yun Hyu's advancing through ranks during Hyojong's reign, and hyŏnjong's first year:¹⁶²

¹⁶² Han Ugŭn, "Paekho Yun Hyu yŏngu (il)," 9-10.

Table 2-1 Yun Hyu's Government Positions During Hyojong's Reign

Date	Appointment	Term	Grade	Comment
Hyojong 4th year (1653), 1st Month	Keeper of the Altar to the Gods of the Earth and Grain	社稷參奉	9b	sŭngjŏngwŏn ilgi
Hyojong 7th year (1656), 1st month	Consultant to the Crown Prince Tutorial Office	侍講院咨議	7a	Hyojong sillok
Hyojong 7th year (1656), 3rd month	Keeper of Records in the Office of Royal Genealogy	宗簿寺主簿	6b	Hyojong sillok
Hyojong 7th year (1656), 6th month	Junior secretary at the Ministry of Public Works	工曹佐郎	6a	sŭngjŏngwŏn ilgi
Hyojong 9th year (1658), 9th month	Director of Ethics in the Crown Prince Tutorial Office	侍講院進善	4a	Paekho haengjang (Yun Hyu's necrology); Also mentioned in the sŭngjŏngwŏn ilgi.
Hyojong 10th year (1659), 7th month	First secretary at the Ministry of Public Works	工曹正郎	5a	Hyŏjong sillok, enthronement year (1659) 7th month, 11th day, 1.33a
Hyojong 10th year (1659), 8th month	Second Censor at the Office of the Inspector-General	司憲府持平	5a	Hyŏjong sillok, enthronement year (1659) 8 th month, 14 th day, 1.46a

By the time of Hyojong's death, Yun Hyu was well received within the inner circle of scholars respected by the king. It was around that time that he became involved with the controversy that surrounded the mourning garments and length of mourning of Queen Dowager Jai 慈懿 (1624–1688).¹⁶³ As mentioned earlier the Ritual Controversy of 1659 created a rift between the factions and branded Yun Hyu as a *namin* leader, along with several other *pugin* refugees, such as Hō Mok.¹⁶⁴ The core of the debate involved the lacuna that the Queen Dowager case exposed, since she was not Hyojong's mother, and Hyojong was not the first-born son of King Injo.¹⁶⁵ Two days after Hyojong's death, Yun Hyu already argued that the Queen Dowager should follow the mourning procedure for the main descendent, three years of mourning with untrimmed mourning clothes or *ch'amsoebok* 斬衰服.¹⁶⁶ Song Siyōl and Song Chun'gil, on the other hand, opted for a mourning period of one year, *kinyōnbok* 墓年服, since Hyojon was not Injo's first son. A third option, a form of a compromise, was promoted by Hō Mok, who argued for three years of mourning in trimmed clothing, *chaesoebok* 齋衰服. Since the differences between Hō Mok and Yun Hyu seemed mostly cosmetic, the *namin* lined behind them, whereas the *sōin* supported the one-year reading.

As the first year of mourning was getting close to its end, the controversy became urgent, since the passing of the first year would make the whole issue irrelevant. The King met with the parties again. Major scholars of both sides set forth their arguments. Yun Sōndo finally offered

¹⁶³ Queen Dowager Jai is Injo's second queen, Queen Changnyōl 莊烈.

¹⁶⁴ Han Ugūn, "Paekho Yun Hyu yōngu (il)," 10.

¹⁶⁵ Hyojong's elder brother, prince Sohyōn 昭顯 (1612-1645) died shortly after returning under suspicion after being held in captivity by the Qing. I include here the important historical details of the Rites Controversy of 1659, based on: Andrei Lankov, "Controversy over Ritual in 17th Century Korea," 49-64; Jahyun Kim Haboush, "The Ritual Controversy and the Search for New Identity" in *Culture and the State in Late Choson Korea*, ed. by JaHyun Kim Haboush and Martina Deuchler (Cambridge, Mass. ; Harvard University Press, 2001).

¹⁶⁶ Song Sun-kwan, "The Resilience and Decline," 157.

the opinion that what the “Two Songs” are voting for is very close to treason.¹⁶⁷ Yun Sōndo’s memorial was intercepted by a member of the Royal Secretariat (*Sŭngjōngwŏn* 承政院) Kim Suhang (金壽恒), a *sŏin* minister, who turned it down and prevented an escalation.¹⁶⁸ Following Kim’s criticism, the memorial was burned, and Yun Sōndo was banished.¹⁶⁹ After a few days King Hyōnjong finally ordered them to burn Yun’s memorial, which resolved the issue just at the turn of the first year of mourning. By that time the two Songs have fled the capital to the countryside.¹⁷⁰

Nevertheless, the matter was not decided for good, and into the next month, Yun Sōndo’s memorial remained the most urgent topic on the schedule.¹⁷¹ Kwon Si 權諤 supported the memorial, and so did others.¹⁷² Yun Hyu did not follow the issue as eagerly as others, and when he did have the opportunity he did not attack Song Siyŏl publicly as others did, for which he is criticized by the anonymous editor of the *sillok*.¹⁷³ Finally the King decided on the issued, based on the fact that the *Great Code* simply mentions a year of mourning for the mother, without further specifications, thus ruling in the favor of the *sŏin*.¹⁷⁴ Nevertheless, the public debate and retribution continued, and in the following year became something of an intellectual watershed.

¹⁶⁷ *Hyōnjong sillok*, 1st year (1660), 4th month, 18th day, 2.27b-32a. He is repeating Song Siyŏl’s theory: By calling someone chŏk 嫡, first son, it means that one has no equal among his brothers, and by calling him “legitimate”, it means that he is considered the legitimate holder of the main-line of his lineage, and the best possible choice, that is supposed to be the next generation of succession, therefore - is it possible that the legitimate heir be another? If that son receives his father’s Mandate of Heaven, performs the ancestral rituals after him, how can he not be the legitimate heir 嫡統? is he a false heir apparent 假世子? A regent 攝皇帝?”

夫嫡者, 兄弟中無敵耦之稱也, 統者, 修緒業首庶物, 承上垂後之號也, 立次長爲後, 則復容嫡統之在他乎? 次長承父詔受天命, 體祖主器之後, 猶不得爲嫡統, 而嫡統猶在於他人, 則是假世子乎? 攝皇帝乎?

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ *Hyōnjong Sillok*, 1st year (1660), 4th month, 14th day, 2.39a.

¹⁷⁰ *Hyōnjong Sillok*, 1st year (1660), 4th month, 28th day, 2.54a.

¹⁷¹ Song Sun-kwan, “The Resilience and Decline,” 162. In the next two months, the memorial was discussed more than 30 times.

¹⁷² *Hyōnjong Sillok*, 1st year (1660), 4th month, 24th day, 2.38a.

¹⁷³ *Hyōnjong Sillok*, 1st year (1660), 5th month, 3th day, 2.46a-46b.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

Some of the more notable reactions included a joint memorial from a thousand private scholars, as well as a detailed analysis of the debate by the students at the *Sōnggyun'gwan* 成均館. Haboush argues that these last two demonstrate how critical the issue became, and that they “mark a turning point in political discourse in late Chosŏn Korea.”¹⁷⁵

2.5.3 Retirement During Hyŏnjong's Reign

Starting the year following the debate, disappointed with public life, Yun Hyu started to divide his time between Yŏju and his grandfather's study in ssanggyedong 雙溪洞, at the outskirts of the capital, and started writing under the pen name *hagan* 夏軒, or “Summer Pavilion”, based on the name of that study.¹⁷⁶ His great-great-grandfather have received that study from his teacher, Ch'oe Myŏngch'ang 崔命昌 (penname songsŏk 松石), who retired there after the 1519 literati purges. Han Ugŭn describes this phase of his life as “shutting the door and remaining inside to read books” (杜門不出讀書). In Yŏju he became involved with a project of a community granary, based on Zhu Xi's theories.¹⁷⁷ Later, in 1672, he established a similar mechanism in Paekho itself.¹⁷⁸ According to his chronology, it was during this time that he expanded his studies to many other areas, such as geography or divination (by yarrow sticks, *sŏlsi* 揲著). He

¹⁷⁵ Kim JaHyun Haboush, “Constructing the Center: The Ritual Controversy and the Search for a New Identity in Seventeenth-Century Korea,” In *Culture and the State in Late Choson Korea*, ed. by J. K. Haboush and M. Deuchler (MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 60.

¹⁷⁶ Han Ugŭn, “Paekho Yun Hyu yŏngu (il),” 10. The original name of the study was *kuuhŏn* 九友軒, the Nine Friends Pavilion.

¹⁷⁷ “Haengjang [necrology],” in Yun Hyu, *PHCS, purok 2*, 1914-5.

¹⁷⁸ Han Ugŭn, “Paekho Yun Hyu yŏngu (il),” 11. Yun Hyu's contemporary, Yu Hyŏngwŏn 柳馨遠 (1622-1673) offered a very similar solution to the growing distress of farmers, and the corruption of the tax collectors. The Community Granary system was eventually reformed in the 19th century by the Taewŏn'gun, based on Zhu Xi's *she-cang* Institution,. See James B. Palais, *Confucian statecraft*, 700-3.

also developed a methodology of commenting on commentaries. He would bring various commentaries and assign them equal weight, comparing and criticizing them.¹⁷⁹

During that phase of reclusion Yun Hyu kept a tight network of scholastic relations with friends that he deemed worthy and loyal after the Rites Controversy. One of these friends was Yun Söngö 尹宣舉 (1610-1669). As mentioned earlier, they became acquainted when Yun Hyu first moved to the capital, a fact that later was criticized by Song Siyöl, and indeed was the major cause for the factional rift within the *söin*. Yun Söngö belonged to Song Siyöl group (*sandang*), being a student of Söng Hon (Yulgok's student), through Kang Hang 姜沆 (1567-1618).¹⁸⁰ Yun Hyu took his death in 1669 very personally, attending the funeral and writing back to his son Haje 夏濟 a long lament.¹⁸¹ He mentions in this lament that their friendship withstood the trial of Rites Controversy, a fact that later convinced Song Siyöl to attack his son, Yun Chöng 拯尹.¹⁸² In fact, his relationship with Song Siyöl were the first casualty of the controversy. In the following years after the debate, the gap between the two seemed to grow, on almost every topic. Song Siyöl rejected Yun Hyu's conclusions as well as his methodology. In 1671 he published two texts, *Additional Notes on the Ancient Version of the Great Learning* 大學古本別錄 and *Afterword to the Doctrine of the Mean and the Great Learning* 中庸大學後說.¹⁸³ The next year he summarized his main points in the ongoing debate with Song Siyöl in two articles. The first was titled *Explanations on Commenting at the age of 70* (七十老而傳說), whose title is based on

¹⁷⁹ Ibid. 自書契以來 禮樂刑政治亂得失 無不演其義而極其趣 至於天文地理 蕾撲穠 鈴之書 亦且研窮而思索之 至有疑奧未濃 箋解異同之處 則皆折衷而論述之 與學者論其得失 而不憚改易其所論 皆嶺前人所未發者也。

¹⁸⁰ JaHyun Kim Haboush, Kenneth R. Robinson, Introduction to *A Korean War Captive in Japan, 1597-1600: The Writings of Kang Hang* (New York, Columbia University Press: 2013), xxi-xxii.

¹⁸¹ PHCS, 1917-8.

¹⁸² Ibid. Han Ugün, "Paekho Yun Hyu yöngu (il)," 10.n26.

¹⁸³ Both texts have been incorporated as chapters in his *toksögi* 讀書記 (Notes Upon Reading).

a citation from the Rites.¹⁸⁴ The other, titled *Explanations of Easiness and Un-easiness of the Human Mind* (人心安不安說) narrates Yun Hyu's main points in topics of metaphysics, and is directly related to his unique interpretation to the Doctrine of the Mean.¹⁸⁵ Their relation finally reached a climax when Song Siyöl (following a rumor), accused Yun Hyu of associating with Prince Pokch'ang-gun 福昌君 (Yi Chöng 李楨, 1641-1680) the son of Prince Inp'yöng (Hyojong's younger brother).¹⁸⁶ In juxtaposition with the Rites Controversy, this accusation amounted to an accusation of treason. Yun Hyu's chronology gives a brief transcript of the questioning done by second inspector Kim Ching 金澄 (1623-1676) but that effort was intercepted by some of Yun Hyu's friends.¹⁸⁷

With this atmosphere, the Rites Controversy returned in 1674, this time over the death of Queen Insön, King Hyojong's widow.¹⁸⁸ This time, the Ministry of Rites changed its initial one year mourning period for the Dowager Queen over her daughter-in-law, to a nine-month mourning period or *taegongbok* (大功服).¹⁸⁹ A memorial by Do Sinjing 都愼徵 (1604–1678), half way through the mourning year, opened the controversy again.¹⁹⁰ This time the King ordered a detailed investigation, and the incoming report by Prime Minister Kim Suhŭng 金壽興 (1626–1690) reopened the original controversy again.¹⁹¹ Song notes that this time the controversy went through a very different life cycle, since Hyöjong was a seasoned king, and well versed in

¹⁸⁴ PHCS, “*ch'ilsimnoijönsöl* [Explanations on Commenting at the age of 70],” kwön 26, 1068. This is probably the citation of the Book of Rites 禮記, Rules of Propriety Part 1 曲禮上, verse 12.

¹⁸⁵ Yun Hyu, “*Insimanburansöl* [Explanations of easiness and un-easiness of the human mind],” in PHCS, kwön 26, 1071.

¹⁸⁶ PHCS, “*Haengjang* [Chronology],” 1919.

¹⁸⁷ PHCS, “*Haengjang* [Chronology],” 1919. The text names Chang söunch'ung 張善沖 (1619-1693), who became a decade later a minister in the resurgence of *sön* rule after 1680.

¹⁸⁸ Han Ugün, “*Paekho Yun Hyu yöngu (il)*,” 11. Song Sun-kwan, 164.

¹⁸⁹ *Hyöjong Sillok*, 15st year (1674), 2nd month, 27th day, 22.7a.

¹⁹⁰ *Hyöjong Sillok*, 15st year (1674), 7th month, 6th day, 22.24b.

¹⁹¹ *Hyöjong Sillok*, 15st year (1674), 7th month, 14th day, 22.248a – 22.30b. [Four entries].

Ritual Learning, and that he dominated the discussions. This time he firmly established his legitimacy through his insistence on one-year mourning. That was his last act as a ruler, since he died the very next month.¹⁹² In spite of his death the second round of the controversy marked the exclusion of *sŏin* from power, and the resurgence of *namin*.¹⁹³

Table 2-2 Yun Hyu's Government Positions During Sukchong's Reign

¹⁹² Song Sun-kwan, "The Resilience and Decline," 164-5.

¹⁹³ Han Ugŭn, "Paekho Yun Hyu yŏngu (il)," 11.

Date	Appointment	Term	Grade	Comment
Sukchong 1 st year (1674), 1 st Month	Director of Studies	司業	4a	
2 nd month	Royal Secretariat - Sixth Royal Secretary	承政院同副承旨	3a	
3 rd month	Ministry of Personnel - Second Minister	吏曹參議	3a	
4 th month	Hanseong City Administration - third magistrate	漢城府右尹	2a	
	1. Border Defense Council – planning participant 2. second magistrate in the State Tribunal	籌司[備邊司]參劃 同知義禁府事	--	Sukchong sillok, 1sy year (1674), 4 th month, 29 th day, 3.45a.

5 th month	1. Inspector General 2. Sönggyun'gwan's master of sacrifice	大司憲 成均館祭酒	2b	
Intercalary 5 th month	vice minister of Personnel	吏曹參判	2b	
	Inspector- General	大司憲	2b	
6 th month	Assistant State Councillor on the Left	左參贊	2a	35
	Inspector- General	大司憲	2b	
7 th month	Minister of Personnel	吏曹判書	2a	36
	Ordered to compose King Hyōnjong's bibliography	顯宗大王行狀撰進 之命	--	Resigned but was not allowed (辭而不許)

2 nd year (1675), 2 nd Month	Commander of the Five Guards Directorate	五衛都總府都總管	2a	Sŭngjŏngwŏn ilgi, 2nd year (1675), 2nd month, 3rd day, article 4/32.
3 rd month	1. Composed King Hyŏnjong's bibliography 2. Council of State Affairs - State Councillor on the Right	撰進 顯宗大王 行狀 議政府右參贊	-- 2a	Resigned but was not allowed (辭而不許)
4 th month	Assistant State Councillor on the Left	左參贊	2a	
5 th month	Inspector- General	大司憲	2b	

6 th month	Visit to Ho-ŭm 湖陰 Chŏng Saryong(鄭士 龍)	(湖陰僑舍)	--	38
7 th month	Temporary leave of duty	(許遞)		
8 th month	Moved to his country home in the Mapo area ¹⁹⁴	(移寓麻浦村舍)		
12 th month	Assistant State Councillor on the Left	左參贊	2a	
3 rd year (1676),1 st Month	Inspector- General	大司憲	2b	
2 nd month	Inspector- General	大司憲	2b	

¹⁹⁴ The Mapo 麻浦 is today a district of Seoul, generally northwest of the Han River, but at Yun Hyu time it was outside the city walls.

3 rd month	Assistant State Councillor on the Right	右參贊	2a	Tried to resign but resignation was not accepted (辭而不許)
6 th month	Inspector-General	大司憲	2b	40
10 th month	Classics Mat - special Entry officer	經筵 特進官 (41)	--	41
11 th month	Assistant State Councillor on the Right	右參贊	2a	
4 th year (1677), 1 st Month	Inspector General	大司憲	2b	
2 nd month	Minister of Public Works	工曹判書	2a	
3 rd month	Inspector General	大司憲	2b	
Intercalary 3 rd month	Inspector General	大司憲	2b	

6 th month	Assistant State Councillor on the Right	右參贊	2a	
10 th month	Inspector General	大司憲	2b	
11 th month	Assistant State Councillor on the Right	右參贊	2a	
12 th month	Inspector General	大司憲	2b	
5 th year (1678),1 st Month	Inspector General	大司憲	2b	
3 rd month	minister of Justice	刑曹判書 (卽遞)	2a	Immediately moved to another post
	Assistant State Councillor on the Left	左參贊	2a	
5 th month	Inspector General	大司憲	2b	Tried to resign but resignation was not accepted (辭不許)

6 th month	Assistant State Councillor on the Left	左參贊	2a	Tried to resign but resignation was not accepted (辭不許)
7 th month	Associate state councillor on the Right	議政府 右贊成	1b	Presented a memorial asking to be allowed to resign (上疏辭職)

2.5.4 Government Service During Sukchong's Reign

The success of Yun Hyu's position in the Rites Controversy of 1674 made him the unequivocal hero of the *namin*. It also gave him the opportunity to join the new government of Sukchong 肅宗 (r.1674-1720), who was only 13 at the time. He served under Sukchong intermittently for the next six years, usually appointed directly by the King's request to short-term ad-hoc assignments. The *sillok* and the *sŭngjŏngwŏn ilgi* list some 40 assignments during that time, and most of them of the second rank. Some assignments were a one-time assignment, clearly meant to apply Yun Hyu's mind as a generalist, like the call to participate in the meetings of the Border Defense Council (*pibyŏnsa* 備邊司).¹⁹⁵ One of these assignments was to compile the bibliography of King Hyŏnjong, from which he resigned twice. The top position that he received during that time was that of an Associate State Councillor on the Right or *uchinsŏng* 右贊成, a junior first rank position.¹⁹⁶ During that time, it was clear that the relationship between Yun Hyu

¹⁹⁵ *Sukchong Sillok*, 1st year (1679), 4th month, 29th day, 3.45a.

¹⁹⁶ *Sukchong Sillok*, 5th year (1679), 7th month, 6th day, 8.36b.

and the young monarch were amicable. In one case, the king sent a special messenger to comfort Yun Hyu, saying:

When the hardships and the worries of the state are more than my eyes can handle, how can a high-ranking official of talent suddenly change his mind and leave the business of the state for a countryside retreat, abandoning me the way one throws away an old shoe? You, Sir, must change your mind and come back quickly.¹⁹⁷

The *sillok* states drolly that Yun Hyu returned the very next day.

In 1680, Sukjong's sixth year, things turned against Yun Hyu, who was implicated in serious charges. The previous year Yun Hyu's close friend, Chief State Councillor Ho Chök 許積 (1610-1680) was accused by *sŏin* minister Kim Sökchu 金錫胄 of abusing his position and using the king's pavilion without permission.¹⁹⁸ Kim Sökchu was able to link the incident to the three sons of Prince Pokch'ang (pokch'ang-gun 福昌君), which marked the incident as treason. In 1675, after the failed attempt to implicate Yun Hyu with supporting the prince, queen Myöngsöng 明聖王后 punished the prince's brothers for an incident with her court ladies.¹⁹⁹ Prince Pokch'ang's three sons the "Three Poks" (三福) had significant influence in the court through their relationship with the *namin* and the eunuchs of the court, and the queen mitigated that with her own family relations, installing *sŏin* people such as her cousin Kim Sökchu of the ch'öngp'ung 清風 Kim clan. Kim Sökchu also implicated Hŏ Kyön 許堅, Ho Chök's son from a

¹⁹⁷ *Sukchong Sillok*, 3rd year (1679), 10th month, 8th day, 6.53b. 當國家艱虞溢目之日, 以卿之才, 何不幡然造朝, 與論國事, 而退臥江村, 棄予如脫弊屣乎? 卿須亟回遐心, 斯速入來。

¹⁹⁸ *Sŭngjŏngwŏn ilgi*, *Sukchong Sillok*, 6th year (1680), 4th month, 10th day, article 5/14.

¹⁹⁹ Han Chihüi, "Sukchong ch'o 'hongsu-üi pyön"-kwa myöngsöngwangu kimssi-üi chöngch'ijök yökhal [Sukchong's Disturbance of Hongsu and the Political Role of Queen Myöngsöng's Kim Clan]," in *Han'guksa hakpo* 31.0 (2008): 145-176. As recalled, Yun Hyu managed to escape charges of association with the prince back in 1674.

concubine, and later on Yun Hyu himself. Yun Hyu had been very ill at the end of 1679, and the king tried to postpone dealing with this matter, but by the fourth month of 1680 he was accused and exiled to Kapsan 甲山, in Southern Hamgyŏng province.²⁰⁰ He was ordered to take poison on the twentieth day of the fifth month.²⁰¹ He was not allowed to write his last words, but was allowed to drink alcohol (soju) before taking the poison.²⁰² The next day his sons were exiled, his eldest son interrogated and Yun Hyu's writing searched for incriminating materials, where two suspicious letters were found.²⁰³

Yun Hyu was later buried in the vicinity of the *ch'ŏngnyong-sa* (康熙寺). In the third month of 1689, as soon as the power exchange of the *namin* was completed, the court began discussing the rehabilitation of those persecuted a decade earlier by the *sŏin*. When Mok Naesŏn 睦來善(1617-1704) and a disciple of Hŏ Mok commented on the injustice dealt Yun Hyu, the King comments "I already know that Yun Hyu was wronged".²⁰⁴ Later Yun Hyu also received a formal offering 致祭, and the next year he was moved to his ancestral burial grounds in Changŭngdong, Yŏju. However, he was never fully exonerated, and his texts remained in the list of banned books until 1908.²⁰⁵

Why was Yun Hyu executed? Reading works on the ritual controversy and the political upheaval of 1680, one can assume that the main incentive was the huge ideological gap between Yun Hyu and his opponents, and particularly Song Siyŏl. The expression "despoiler of the way" (*samun nanjŏk* 斯文亂賊) is often associated with Yun Hyu, as well as with Pak Sedang 朴世堂

²⁰⁰ *Sukchong Sillok*, 6th year (1680), 4th month, 2nd day, 9.12b. "Haengjang ha[Chronology part 3]," in *PHCS, purok* 4, 2107.

²⁰¹ *Sukchong Sillok*, 6th year (1680), 5th month, 19th day, 9.44b.

²⁰² "Haengjang ha," 2128.

²⁰³ "Haengjang ha," 2128.

²⁰⁴ *Sukchong Sillok*, 15th year (1689), 3rd month, 3rd day, 20.21a. 予已知鑄冤。來善曰: "尹鑄固踈迂, 而照管二字, 用古文之故, 橫被構誣, 密筭又忤時輩, 竟致之死, 其亦冤矣" 上曰: "予已知鑄冤。"

²⁰⁵ *Sunjong Sillok*, 1st year (1908), 3rd month, 21st day, 2.8b.

(1629-1703), his contemporary who was similarly executed.²⁰⁶ This draws a somewhat romantic picture, of the once-friends fighting to death. However, there is little indication that Song Siyöl was a prime mover in this persecution, although his polemics clearly marked Yun Hyu as a traitor, as Miura Kunio clearly points out.²⁰⁷ He assesses both Yun Hyu and Yun Sön'go as “innocent victims to the factional strife,” driven into a corner by Song Siyöl’s persecution.²⁰⁸ However, it is important to note that the personal aspect of this rivalry was never discussed in court. In spite of all the criticism that Song Siyöl had against Yun Hyu, Yun’s writing were never destroyed (unlike Pak Sedang’s, for example).²⁰⁹ When he heard of Yun Hyu’s death he commented that “Sooner or later it will be asserted that Yun Hyu was falsely charged. Then another disaster will befall scholar-officials”.²¹⁰ In other words, even if Song Siyöl have promoted the image of Yun Hyu as a legitimate target, he did not actively participate in his persecution.

According to Yang Sönbi the ritual controversy changed the power dynamics between the king and the dominant political cliques, the *pungdang* (朋黨).²¹¹ The ritual controversy allowed them to link immediately ritual study and political action, depicting effectively the *sŏin* not only as wrong academically, but also as rebellious and dangerous. Sukchung was happy to use the controversy to his benefit, actively promoting a small group of *ch’öksin* 戚臣, a tightly connected group of loyal ministers, as a means to counter the influences of the political factions

²⁰⁶ Martina Deuchler, "Despoilers of the Way-Insulters of the Sages," 94-5.

²⁰⁷ Miura Kunio, "Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy in Seventeenth-Century Korea," 423.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Martina Deuchler, "Despoilers of the Way-Insulters of the Sages," 128.

²¹⁰ Songa taejŏn, "Tap Han Yösök [Response to Han Yösök]", 78:37a-37b quoted in Miura Kunio, 425.
希仲妙年自悟。有志於學。立心制行。不泥古人。讀書講義。不拘註說。而言論見識。實有超詣過人者。公以爲短長相補。要非世俗之儒。深與之。然未嘗不憂其才而戒其病。累以爲戒。而希仲竟不能從。以至於敗。

²¹¹ Yang Sönbi, "17segi chunguban yesong(禮訟)üi chön'gaewa chöngch'ijihyöng-üi pyönhwa [The Development of Ritual Controversy in the mid and late 17th Century and Change of Political Terrain]," in *Han'guk saron* 60.0 (2010): 239-294.

and perhaps also the power of the eunuchs and the courtiers.²¹² Yang Sŏnbi sees therefore the abrupt and violent change of office (*hwan'guk* 換局) as part of the new factional dynamic between the king and the ruling party, a means for the king to mitigate the almost absolute power that a ruling party wielded with such a firm ideological basis over court politics. The *namin* had a trump to play in order to have the King's ear: since the late years of King Hyŏnjong's reign, they were busy preparing to a proposed Northern Expedition against the Qing. This effort placed many *namin* figures in a position to mobilize and prepare military forces.²¹³ As early as 1670, Hŏ Chŏk proposed to draft drifters for this purpose.²¹⁴ He later became very involved in this project, recruiting his son from a concubine (*sŏja*) to the project. Yun Hyu himself was one of the main proponents of this approach, advocating aggressively for a military approach.²¹⁵ At the first year of Sukchong's reign he suggested that he can mobilize people to make ten-thousand chariots (萬乘) a suggestion that greatly alarmed Kim Mangi.²¹⁶ Yu Hyŏgyŏn 柳赫然 (1616~1680) became the commander of the Taehŭng Mountain Fortress 大興山城 in North P'yŏng'an, one of the most important fortification of Chosŏn.²¹⁷

The interrogation records of Yun Hyu himself confirms this claim. King Sukchong's original warrant to arrest Yun Hyu states that:

Furthermore, his crimes don't stop at his ignoring propriety, he also misused his authority to gain power, and committed evil in the world. An honest person will not dare to think

²¹² Yang Sŏnbi, "17segi chunguban yesong(禮訟)ŭi chŏn'gaewa chŏngch'ijihyŏng-ŭi pyŏnhwa," 275.

²¹³ Kim Uch'ŏl, "Yu hyŏgyŏn-ŭi taehŭng sansŏng kyŏngyŏnggwa kyŏngsinhwan'guk [Yu Hyŏgyŏn's Management of Taehŭng Mountain Fortress and the Political Change of 1680]," *Han'guk inmulsa yŏn'gu* 20 (2013): 3-35.

²¹⁴ *Hyŏnjong Sillok*, 11th year (1670), 3rd month, 12th, 22.33a.

²¹⁵ *Hyŏnjong Sillok*, 15st year (1674), 7th month, 1st day, 28.21a.

²¹⁶ *Sukchong Sillok*, 1st year (1674), 1st month, 24th day, 2.21a-23b quoted in Kim Uch'ŏl, 9.

²¹⁷ *Hyŏnjong Sillok*, 11th year (1670), 3rd month, 12th, 22.33a. The *sillok* notes that Yu Hyŏgyŏn and Hŏ Chŏk drafted soldiers, built fortification and had complete jurisdiction over the barracks. The anonymous editor notes that even after they were executed for treason, the fortress remained active.

the way he did. He was said to be ‘controlling the actions of the Queen’ carelessly, instead of advising the King filially, imitating the cunning ways of Yi Ich’öm 李爾瞻 and Chǒng Inhong 鄭仁弘.²¹⁸

This is an interesting accusation, and one that has nothing to do with Yun Hyu’s commentary on the classics. Yi Ich’öm and Chǒng Inhong mentioned here, both of the *taebuk* faction, foiled the plan of Yu Yǒnggyǒng 柳永慶 (1550-1608) of the *sobuk* who planned to hide King Sǒnjo’s statement recognizing Prince Kwanghae as his heir, and promote Prince Yǒngch’ang instead. Revealing the plan in time was one of the deciding factors in the success of Kwanghae and the *taebuk* faction. However, to members of both *sǒin* and *namin* factions, allowing Kwanghae-gun to rule was misguided. In other words, Yun Hyu is accused of being “too loyal”, meaning that he planned to put one of the Pok brothers on the throne. Ironically, per the *sǒin* interpretation of the Ritual Controversy, Prince Pokch’ang and his son were the correct heirs of the throne, because they were the main-line holders. In the first actual interrogation, Yun Hyu is primarily asked about his military connections, quoting a letter from Hǒ Kyǒn to Chǒng Wǒllo 鄭元老, the accuser, and Kang Manchǒl 姜萬鐵, linking Yun Hyu to the position of one of his two assistants.²¹⁹ Similarly, the interrogation mentions Yun Hyu’s discussion with Yi T’aeso 李台瑞 (1614-1680), on making him responsible for both the Military Training Agency (*hullyǒn togam* 訓練都監) and the capital guard unit (*ǒyǒngch’ǒng* 御營).

²¹⁸ *Ch’uan kǔp kugan, kyǒng-sin* (1680), 4th month, 28th day, 8:423. In *idu*: 罪不止於無禮者乎夤緣附托驟得大用世濟其惡罔念倫彝敢以管束慈聖動靜之語肆然陳達於聖孝之下無所顧忌欲襲爾瞻仁弘之餘奸若非。

²¹⁹ *Ch’uan kǔp kugan, kyǒng-sin* (1680), 5th month, 12th day, 8:445-6. The text mentions the position of assistant 副貳之任, and mentions two of them titled *hui* 希 and *yǒ* 麗,, with Yun Hyu designated to be *hui* 希.

2.6 Conclusion

How did Yun Hyu become a “despoiler of the Way,” and his writings the quintessential example of heresy? Pointing at the exegetical differences between him and his contemporaries is not sufficient, even though it is surely an important part of it. His writings, after all, were not banned completely as were those of Pak Sedang. In this chapter, I have looked at three aspects of the context that shaped Yun Hyu’s scholarship and thought: the challenges and changes that the seventeenth century brought, factional politics and Yun Hyu’s own involvement in factional politics, and finally his own history. The key to understanding Yun Hyu’s importance and challenge to his peers, even after his death, lies in ritual. With the rise of private academies in the sixteenth century, ritual became the most important issue at hand to all *yangban*. The role of the ritual books changed dramatically, a change that we can see in the rise of experts on ritual studies in the seventeenth century, and the attempt to print books such as the Ming edition of *Zhu Xi’s Complete Exegesis of the Classic of Ritual and Etiquette and Its Commentaries* 儀禮經傳通解. Yun Hyu himself was recruited to Hyojong’s government originally as a ritual expert. As I will demonstrate in the next chapters, Yun Hyu’s main asset was in his unusual methodology: his ability to access the old classics and learn by cross referencing between the classics. This, as I will show, was an essential part of his philosophy. In a world where exegesis was always limited by school loyalties, Yun Hyu did not belong to any faction or school, and had the freedom to correspond with many scholars and develop his own system. This too, as I have show, is directly related to ritual and ritual hegemony.

The background to this intellectual activity was two urgent crises. One was the extreme climate changes that the last phase of the “little ice age” brought. The other was the growing gap between King and *yangban*, on ideological grounds: while the *yangban* saw primogenital

inheritance as an increasingly important social marker and a link to the Confucian past, the monarchs held the right to select a descendent as their royal prerogative. Schools and factions did support different queens and princes in order to exert direct power over the monarchy, but this is essentially a matter of grave ritual importance. The entire Zhu Xi scheme of ritual depended on locating each person accurately in the familial scheme, and without it Zhu Xi's commentary on the books of rituals and Master *Zhu's Family Rituals* 朱子家禮 (*Chuja karye*) that was based on these commentaries, was useless. The answer to both seems to be an increased emphasis on ritual studies and ritual purity, and with them of course an increased sense of the importance of accurate exegesis of the rituals. In this aspect Yun Hyu had an unusual edge over his colleagues. He inherited the teachings of both the Yi Hwang and the Cho Kwangjo schools, and was well exposed to other major schools in his years of apolitical work. Yun Hyu developed a system of exegesis that examined early sources and tried to collaborate information by making references across sources. In the next chapter I will examine how this system of exegesis played to re-examine the classics, and particularly the "Great Plan" 洪範 chapter of the *Book of Documents* 尚書. I will argue that Yun Hyu's system indicates more than a methodological change, and that it bears ideological significance.

Chapter 3: The Great Plan

3.1 Introduction

Yun Hyu's expertise in the Learning of the Classics (*kyŏnghak*) is famous for the strong reaction that his commentary on the Doctrine of the Mean received. However, it is through his life-long involvement with the "Great Plan" chapter of the *Book of Documents* that we can truly assess his unique methodology and the importance he saw in the learning of the classics. First, because many aspects of his scholarship anticipate the "evidential learning" (*kojŭng*) which his faction members were known for during the eighteenth century. Chosŏn scholars often called these techniques *pukhak* or Northern Learning, denoting their foreign nature, but it seems that Yun Hyu stressed the orthodoxy of his methods and their origins in the Zhu Xi scholarship.¹ Typical of his writing are specific definitions of key terms at the opening of the discussion, as well as cross-references to other classics in order to get a fuller and more accurate understanding. Yun Hyu claimed, for example, that his ideas on the Great Plan came from the terminology used in the *Classic of Filial Piety*.²

Second, because for Yun Hyu the classics were an object for a continual exegesis, and a true source for definitive answers on both philosophical and practical issues. In other words, for Yun Hyu hermeneutics were by default the correct way to approach the classics.³ It produced answers for real life problems. Moreover, the Classics were opened for an ongoing exegesis by

¹ Martina Deuchler, "Despoilers of the Way - Insulters of the Sages," 133. More on the conceits of orthodoxy and heterodoxy in Don Baker, "A Different Thread: Orthodoxy, Heterodoxy, and Catholicism in a Confucian World," in *Culture and the State in Late Choson Korea*, ed. JaHyun Kim Haboush, Martina Deuchler (Cambridge, Mass.: University Press, 2001), 199-230.

² Yun Hyu, "Hongbŏm kyŏngjŏn t'ongŭi chon 洪範經傳通義存 [Introduction to Penetrating the Meaning of the Classic and Commentaries of the Great Plan] ," in *PHCS, kwŏn* 24, 995.

³ There are two issues here: one is the selection of exegesis as opposed to eisegesis. The other is the reliance on the entire corpus as a whole to draw meaning. In the Talmudic world this would be called the "Sepharadic" approach as opposed to the "Brisker" method. See also footnote 137 on page 267.

new generations of scholars. In this limited sense I would like to think of his approach as somewhat close in nature to the “sola scriptura” doctrine of the Protestant Reformation.

Finally, because Yun Hyu managed to transform the Great Plan from a text that was nominally important but with little significance for Cheng-Zhu scholars – into a zone of contention. For him the “Great Plan” chapter deserved the status of a Classic and was equal and complementary to the *Book of Changes*. Indeed, after Yun Hyu we see an explosion in the number of writings on the Great Plan.⁴ This was without doubt a direct reaction to the link that Yun Hyu drew between the text and some questions that were important in the late seventeenth century, such as the place of Korean culture vis-à-vis its Chinese origins, or the relationship between monarch, bureaucracy and state. We tend to group those questions under the umbrella term “identity” but this might be a misleading terminology.

Yun Hyu’s focus on the “Great Plan” is something of a conundrum. He wrote three different texts on the “Great Plan”, and two additional diagrams that were not dated and were grouped with his other diagrams in the PHCS. The three writings are generally considered all to be part of his *Toksŏgi* 讀書記 or *Notes Upon Reading*. This is an incorrect conclusion. Although all texts are of the *sŏl* 說 genre, they are of different natures. One of the texts, titled *Hongbŏm kyŏngjŏn t’ongŭi* 洪範經傳通義 (*Penetrating the meaning of the classic and commentaries of the ‘Great Plan’*), is methodological research. It moved away from the scope of simply reading notes, and makes some claims about the Cheng-Zhu tradition and its lack of insights regarding this text. Another text, written at the end of his career, is titled *Konggo chikchang tosŏl* 公孤職掌圖說, or “Diagrammatic Treatise on the System of Councilors and Mentor”. It provides a demonstration of the application of the Great Plan and Yun Hyu’s theories in real life. Only the

⁴ It is not surprising therefore that Kim Man-il’s study of the proliferation of commentaries on the *Book of Documents* in late Chosŏn begin with Yun Hyu. Kim Man-il, *Chosŏn 17-18-segi sangsŏ haesŏk ūi saeroun kyŏnghyang* [New Trends in the Explanations of the Book of Documents in 17-18 Century Chosŏn], (Sŏul T’ŭkpyŏlsi: Kyŏngin Munhwasa, 2007).

doksangsō 讀尚書 (Reading the Book of Documents) contains what we would expect of reading notes.

3.2 The Classic of Documents

The *Shujing* 書經 (Classic of Documents), often called the *Shangshu* 尚書, is a collection of speeches made by mythical and real rulers, from ancient times until roughly the middle of the Western Zhou Period 西周. Since the Han Dynasty it has been one of the Five Classics.⁵ The word *shang* itself is usually explained as a homophone of the word *shang* meaning both “ancient”, and “hallow”.⁶ Before the Han dynasty, all reference to the book (or perhaps the genre) was simply as *shu*. The name *Shangshu* was first applied in the fourth century to denote the part of the text conceived as the most ancient, but later became synonymous with the entire text.⁷ The name *Shujing* was first used in the tenth century, by a group of classicists who tried to defend the text’s authority. The text is roughly organized by dynasties, with the first two parts attributed to the mythical emperors Yao 堯 and Shun 舜, and the following parts dedicated to the Xia 夏, Shang 商, and Zhou 周 dynasties. From the language of the text we can attribute at least part of the *Shangshu* 商書 (i.e., the part dedicated to the Shang Dynasty) to the early Zhou dynasty, perhaps to the scribes of the state of Song, ruled by the descendants of that dynasty. Many of the titles of the chapters in the book are derived from a particular form of speech (such

⁵ For the historical-summery of the *Shangshu* here I used several sources, notably: Michael Nylan, *Five “Confucian” Classics* (CT: Yale University Press, 2001); Knechtges, David R., and Taiping Chang, *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature (vol. 2) a Reference Guide* (Leiden: BRILL, 2013), 814-830. Shaughnessy, Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide, ed. by Michael Loewe (SSEC and IEAS, 1993: 19.1), 376-89. Bernhard Kalgren, *Glosses of the Book of Documents*, Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1970.

⁶ Shih Hsiang-lin, “Shang shu 尚書 – (Hallowed writing on antiquity),” in *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature (vol. 2): A Reference Guide*, ed. David R. Knechtges and Taiping Chang (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 814-830.

⁷ Michael Nylan, *Five “Confucian” Classics*, 126.

as *dian* 典", often translated as "canons", or *ming* 命 for "charge"), with others attributed specifically to a person's name (such as the *Jun Ya* 君牙 chapter).⁸

It is hard to trace the book before the Han Dynasty. Supposedly, some twenty eight chapters of the book were saved from the "burning of the books" by Fu Sheng 伏勝 and discovered later.⁹ During the Han period there were three versions of the texts, the Ouyang Tradition 歐陽氏學, the Great (or Senior) Xiahou Tradition 大夏侯氏學, and the Small (or Junior) Xiahou Tradition 小夏侯氏學, all of which were written in *Clerical Script* of the late Zhou dynasty.¹⁰ These versions were often called the "new" text 今文, and this is also the way that Yun Hyu refers to them. Of the three versions, the Ouyang Tradition served as the basis of the *Xiping Stone Classics* 熹平石經. In the years following the discovery of Fu Sheng's book, at least seven additional fragments of the text surfaced, all of them in *Seal Script*. Of these, the most notable is the text discovered in the Kong mansion by descendants of Confucius. Under the supervision of Kong Anguo 孔安國 (ca. 156 – ca. 74 BCE), a direct descendent of Confucius, this text was translated to the Han's *Clerical Script*. This version, often called the "old" version, contains sixteen additional chapters.¹¹ Finally, after several versions disappeared during the dynastic transitions, one Mei Ze 梅賾 submitted in the early fourth century the version that we know today, alongside with a commentary by Kong Anguo 孔安國 (ca. 156 – ca. 74 BCE). This version contained 33 chapters, but fragments from previous commentaries allowed the reconstruction of some of the missing chapters, resulting in the 58 chapters that served for the

⁸ Michael Nylan, *Five "Confucian" Classics* 125.

⁹ Michael Nylan, *Five "Confucian" Classics*, 128, 130.

¹⁰ Michael Nylan, "Introduction" to *Five "Confucian" Classics* 11-2.

¹¹ There is some debate and guesswork regarding the identity of the author of these additional chapters. Yoav Ariel, for example, argues that the author of these chapters is Wang Su (195-256). Yoav Ariel, *K'ung-Ts'ung-Tzu: the K'ung Family Masters' Anthology: A Study and Translation of Chapters 1-10, 12-14* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989), 67-8.

Tang Stone Classics 唐石經. The version that we have today is the result of the imperially commissioned work, which yielded in 653 the *Correct Meaning of the Five Classics* 五經正義.¹²

Given the heterogeneous nature of the text itself, Chinese intellectuals throughout the ages have been skeptical regarding the text. Mencius, for example, mentions it critically, particularly regarding the “Completion of War” chapter (Mencius 7b:3). Nylan notes that later classicists mistook this version as Kong Anguo’s version, perhaps because of the involvement of his namesake-descendent (d. 208 CE) in the production of another set. Later editors comment on the untrusted nature of this patch-work version. Yoav Ariel notes that the editors of the *Siku quanshu zongmu* 四庫全書總目 commented on the similarities between Kong Anguo’s version and the *Kongcongzi* 孔叢子.¹³ Seventeen century scholars such as Yan Ruoqu 閻若璩 (1636-1704) and Hui Dong 惠棟 (1679-1758) offered detailed proof that the pseudo-Kong chapters are a forgery.¹⁴ Others, such as Mao Qiling 毛奇齡 (1623-1707) were not so easily convinced.

3.3 The Great Plan

In her analysis of the “Great Plan”, Michael Nylan argues convincingly that the “Great Plan” chapter, and particularly what she calls the “core text” of the chapter (i.e., section 5), is a Warring States text, dated perhaps to the early-third or late fourth century BCE.¹⁵ Specifically, she suggests the working hypothesis that the text originated as a form of Confucian rebuttal of Legalist political thought, and as such makes a certain compromise between the Confucian concerns with virtue and the Legalist concerns with *realpolitik*.¹⁶ In her analysis of the

¹² Michael Nylan, *Five “Confucian” Classics*, 131.

¹³ Yoav Ariel, *K’ung-Ts’ung-Tzu*, 33-4.

¹⁴ Michael Nylan, *Five “Confucian” Classics*, 132.

¹⁵ Michael Nylan, *The Shifting Center: The Original “Great Plan” and Later Readings* (Nettetal: Steyler Verl., 1992).

¹⁶ Michael Nylan, *The Shifting Center*, 32.

differences between the normal Legalist stand and that of the “Great Plan”, Nylan points to several important attributes.¹⁷ The “Great Plan” places the center of attention in the ruler, and not the law. To all practical matters, the ruler is the law, hence terminology such as the “Kingly Way”. The “Great Plan” also downplays the importance of rule and punishment, and suggests an array of complementary ruling aids. This is a serious attack on one of the core arguments of the Legalists.¹⁸ On the other hand the plan also rejects *wu wei* 無爲, which Nylan translates as “non-purposive activity”. Both Legalists and Daoists advocated *wu wei* for different reasons, but since the Confucians place the king in the center, they cannot advocate non-doing completely. Instead, the plan glorifies the responsive nature of the ruler. Another place where the text attacks Legalists directly was the debate on the monarch’s source of power, a topic of controversy among legalists themselves. Since Confucians thought that heaven imbues the monarch with absolute power, the plan urges the monarch to be visible.

Nylan also sees two major upheavals in the role and place of the text. The first happened in Han times, where the plan became both the *locus classicus* text for the Han cosmological theories, and by the Eastern Han times – also as an outline for empire building.¹⁹ The plan envisioned the Son of Heaven at the center of the cosmos, manipulating cosmic patterns and applying the talents of his subjects to the welfare of the empire. This was not only expedient for the justification of the emperor’s rule, but also in tying various cosmological theories together. The Han revolution regarding the text was reflected in a shift of focus from the relationship between Ruler and Ruled, to the relationship between ruler and cosmos.²⁰ While the original text suggested a plan for any “great one” (*huang* 皇), during the Han dynasty the term (specifically in the context of section 5) became intimately associated with the emperor. In this way, for

¹⁷ Michael Nylan, *The Shifting Center*, 39-40.

¹⁸ Compare for example with Han Fei-zi’s Two Handles 二柄 argument.

¹⁹ Michael Nylan, *The Shifting Center*, 46-7.

²⁰ Michael Nylan, *The Shifting Center*, 47.

example, Fu Sheng 伏生 (fl. ca 220-170 BCE) glossed *huang* 皇 as *wang* 王, making the plan a matter related directly to the recipient of the Mandate of Heaven.²¹

The second revolution happened during the Song Dynasty, when the new elite were actively working to redefine their changing roles. Scholars of the twelfth century, such as Hu Yuan 胡瑗 (993-1059), Su Shu 蘇軾 (1009-1066), and of course Wang An-shi, helped to shift the focus of the Plan from the monarch to the literati.²² The term *huang-ji* 皇極 was no longer understood as the emperor mediating between the Heaven, Earth and Humans, but rather as a sign of a literati mediating between the monarch and the people. Thus, the term was now understood as Completion (成) or Cultivation (修) of the original moral Nature (性), while methods and terminology vary between various thinkers. The new understanding of the term associated it with social constructs, in the form of the Five Constants (五常) and so on. Another sign of the times was the focus on the importance of the *shi* 士 in advising the monarch, while downplaying all other roles (such as that of the common people and divination). A compatible argument is that the monarch himself is inactive and thus does not have a major role in the transformation of the people.²³ By the time of the Southern Song dynasty, Zhu Xi solidified this approach into a doctrine. To a great extent Zhu Xi was busy refuting Wang Anshi's legalistically minded approach to power. In his *Critique of huang-ji* (皇極辨) he stresses the term as an internal standard of perfection in the process of self-cultivation rather than a measure of power. Zhu Xi's reading of the "Great Plan" as a discussion on virtue and self-cultivation, and his own assessment of the plan, finally demoted it as inferior to the other classics.²⁴ His student Cai Shen 蔡沈 (1167-1230) compiled all known commentaries in six *juan*, under the title *Shu jizhuan* 書集傳, in turn integrated into the Ming Dynasty's *Wujing daquan* 五經大全, which served as a

²¹ Michael Nylan, *The Shifting Center*, 48. See Fu Sheng 伏生, *Shang shu da zhuan* 尚書大傳, 3:38.

²² Michael Nylan, *The Shifting Center*, 66-68.

²³ Michael Nylan, *The Shifting Center*, 77-9. Wang An-shi, for example, compares the monarch with the Year Star.

²⁴ Michael Nylan, *The Shifting Center*, 99.

textbook for candidates. This seems to be also the main source of information for Chosŏn scholars.

3.4 The Great Plan in Korea

Not surprisingly, the first half of the Chosŏn dynasty saw little reference to the “Great Plan”. Few works mentioned the subjects, and fewer still were dedicated to it.²⁵ Although one of the Five Classics, the *Documents* received only token interest from Chosŏn intellectuals. Kwŏn Kŭn 權近 (1352 - 1409) did not mention the book at all in his 1390 *iphak tosŏl* 入學圖說 (A diagrammatic introduction to learning), though he briefly draws on it.²⁶ That book, a primer on Confucian teaching of the Cheng-Zhu tradition, provided an array of diagrams from various sources, with each diagram accompanied by explanatory text and occasionally a “questions and answers” section. The *iphak tosŏl* provides a two-part diagram of the “Great Plan.”²⁷ In many cases Kwŏn Kŭn used diagrams from the Song Dynasty’s *Diagrams of the Six Classics* 六經圖, which was a major influence on Korean intellectuals. However, in this case he rejected the cosmological depiction that was based on the general scheme of the *Luoshu* 洛書. This representation of the plan had been the standard since Liu Xin 劉歆 (ca. 50 BCE – 23 CE) first came up with this association. This coupling is very intuitive, but Kwŏn Kŭn rejected it in favor of an exegetical tree-like structure, stemming from Heaven, branching through the different numerical descriptions, and ending in a clear dichotomy of good and evil. Kwŏn Kŭn’s short textual description does not give away any of his sources, and his terminology provides a general

²⁵ Kim Man-il provides a comprehensive list of the Chosŏn texts on *Book of Documents*. We can see there that after Kwŏn Kŭn, references appear only in the second half of the 16th century.

²⁶ For a general introduction on Kwŏn Kŭn see: The biography of Kwŏn Kŭn was taken from Michael C. Kalton, "The Writings of Kwon Kun: The Context and Shape of Early Yi Dynasty Neo-Confucianism." In Wm. Theodore de Bary and JaHyun Kim Haboush, eds. *The Rise of Neo-Confucianism in Korea*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985. 219-232.

²⁷ Kwŏn Kŭn, *Iphak tosŏl* [Diagrammatic introduction to learning], trans. Kwŏn Tŏk-chu (Seoul T’ŭkpyŏlsi: Ŭryu Munhwasa, 1974), 7.3a, 164.

reference to all the important Song dynasty scholars, such as Su Xun 蘇洵 (1009-1066), one of the Three Su 三蘇, and to Wang Anshi.²⁸ Nevertheless, his main line of inquiry is loyal to the commentary of Zhu Xi (through Cai Shen), coupling Man with Heaven, and focusing on the “Great Plan” as means of personal development, and ignores any reference to the unique placement of the monarch.²⁹ In the case of Kwŏn Kŭn, it is safe to assume that he was using Cai Shen’s text as a primer of the Confucian essentials work on the plan.

For the next two centuries, we hardly see any reference to the “Great Plan” in the writings of Korean intellectuals. It seems that Zhu Xi’s attack on the text, combined with Kwŏn Kŭn’s primer, were good enough to leave things as they were. Sixteenth century scholars, such as Yi Hwang 李滉 (1501-1570) and Yi I 李珥 (1536 - 1584), focused on issues of moral cultivation and the inherent tension between the high Confucian moral standards and the fallibility of human psychology.³⁰ When King Sŏnjo (r. 1567–1608) was crowned at the age of fifteen, Yi Hwang, a minister without portfolio at the time, was selected to educate the young king.³¹ Tired and ill, he soon retired, but left a summary of the essential Confucian teachings

²⁸ The distinction between “皇極建” and “皇極不建” is derived directly from Su Xun. See Su Xun 蘇洵 (1009-1066), *Hongfan luzhong* 洪範論中 “bingtu” 並圖 (combined diagram) chapter. The phrase “following heaven’s way” 繼天道 refers to Wang An-Shi 王安石 (1021-1086). See Wang An-shi 王安石, “Hongfan zhuan 洪範傳” in *Linchuan xiansheng wenji* 臨川先生文集, 65.2. <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=292656&remap=gb#p3>.

Su Xun wrote a short and very unusual text on the plan. He, and mostly his son, rejected Wang An-Shi’s grandiose plans, and his son also lost his political career for this cause, ending his life in a form of a house arrest. However, the few references to Wang An-Shi in the diagram are to those areas that Zhu Xi himself accepted as legitimate in his *Huangji bian* 皇極辨.

²⁹ Cai Shen does so however that “The Human *huangji* is ultimately constructed by the monarch.”

(人皇極者君之所以建極也。) See Cai Shen, *Shujing ji zhuan* 書經集傳, 4.19b

<https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=en&res=595>.

³⁰ Michael C. Kalton and Oaksook Chun Kim, *The Four-Seven Debate: An Annotated Translation of the most Famous Controversy in Korean Neo-Confucian Thought* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), xv-xxxv. See also Edward Y.J. Chung, *The Korean Neo-Confucianism of Yi T’oegye and Yi Yulgok: A Reappraisal of the ‘Four-Seven Thesis’ and Its Practical Implications for Self-Cultivation* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995).

³¹ Michael Kalton, *To Become a Sage: The Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 24-5.

under the title *Ten Diagrams of Sage Learning* (聖學十圖). The Ten Diagrams do not mention the “Great Plan,” but we can learn Yi Hwang’s line from an answer he gave as part of the Classics Mat Lectures in 1578.³² The topic of the lecture is the issue of privacy (私), perhaps better translated as *private-mindedness* or attending to personal matters. Yi Hwang’s text is true to his main concern with human nature and awareness of human fallibility. During the discussion he invokes the Great Plan, where he says:

箕子爲武王陳洪範。先言敬用五事。而後極讚皇極之道。則亦若無憂於有私邪矣。
Kija 箕子 transmitted the “Great Plan” to King Wu 武. First he talks about Reverence (敬) applied to the Five Ways of Conducting Yourself (五事), and after that praises highly the Way of the *Huangji*. Therefore, it was as if he did not worry about the corruption of self-centeredness.

This short introduction of the texts is very much in line with Yi Hwang’s own beliefs that focusing on reverence was the key for successful quiet sitting meditations.³³ While honoring the importance of Kija, it focuses on the problem of self-centeredness (私 sa), thus making the “Great Plan” an issue of self-cultivation even when it deals with the monarch directly. Followed by this introduction is a direct citation of the short poem from the “Great Plan”, which signifies

³² Yi Hwang “mujin kyōngyōn kyech’a yi 戊辰經筵啓筭二 [Second mat lecture of 1568]” in *Tosan chōnsō* 陶山全書 vol. 2, 7.188a-191a.

³³ Edward Chōng pointed this as one of several major differences between Yi Hwang (and indeed his school) and Yi I. See Edward Y. J. Chōng, *The Korean Neo-Confucianism of Yi T’oegye and Yi Yulgok: A Reappraisal of the “Four-seven thesis” and its Practical Implications for Self-Cultivation* (Albany, NY: State Univ. of New York Press, 1995), 134. See also Yi Hwang, “Ch’o Ŭiryō sōnsaeng chip’ pu Peaksa Yangmyōng ch’o hu poksō kimal 抄醫閔先生集。附白沙，陽明抄後。復書其末 [Notes on Baisha and Yangming appended to the end of notes on the *Yilixiansheng ji*],” in *T’oegye chip* 41. 420b.
http://db.itkc.or.kr/inLink?DCI=ITKC_MO_0144A_0410_010_0080_2004_A030_XML Yi Hwang provides an explanation on the origin of his quiet sitting as a synthesis of several sources.

the core message of the text and according to Nylan might be older than the text itself.³⁴

In Yi Hwang's other great work on the classics, the *Samgyöng sasö sögüi* 三經四書釋義 (The Meaning of the Three Classics and Four Books) he provides something that is less than a commentary. In that text he provides explanations for gaps that he found in existing material, focusing on those passages that did not have an undisputed interpretation. Yi Hwang did not challenge any existing commentary and did not need to provide a comprehensive method for understanding the classics.³⁵ His *sögüi* provided reading markers in vernacular Korean, and a large portion of his commentaries stemmed from translation issues. Nevertheless, he introduced some interesting textual techniques, such as using multiple sources to determine the meaning of specific sources.³⁶

It is only in the seventeenth century that we see a revival in the study of the "Great Plan". Besides Yun Hyu, we find that some other scholars who wrote significant texts on the "Great Plan", such as U Yö-mu 禹汝楸 (1591 - 1657), who wrote the *Hongböm uik* 洪範羽翼 (Assisting the Great Plan).³⁷ Others, such as Hō Mok and Song Siyöl seemed to respond to the growing interest by adding their own short note on the subject.³⁸ For the next two centuries we

³⁴ Michael Nylan, *The Shifting Center*, 27-8.

³⁵ Kim Man-il, *Chosŏn 17-18-segi sangsö haesök üi saeroun kyöngnyang*, 24.

³⁶ Kim Su-kyöng, "T'oegyeyüi sigyöng sögüi koch'are taehan pönyökhakchök t'amsaek [An Exploration on Toegye's Analysis of Previous Korean Seokuis from the view of Translation Studies]," in *han'guk hanmunhak yön'gu* 55 (2014): 5-28. Sim Kyöng-ho, "T'oegyeyüi sigyöng haesökkwa kü t'ükching [T'oegye's Philology in the Study of Shijing]," in *T'oegyehakkwa yugyomunhwa* 36 (2005): 31-66.

³⁷ Kim Man-il, *Chosŏn 17-18-segi sangsö haesök üi saeroun kyöngnyang*, 183. U Yö-mu, whose pen name was sokch'ön 涑川, passed his erudite examination at the age of 44, and consequently served in various government posts, most notably in the Office of the Inspector-General (Sahönbu), and as the magistrate of the Hadong county (河東, in Kyöngsang-nam Province). He is most known for his prodigious tome on the "Great Plan," titled *hongböm uik* 洪範羽翼, among other factors for his unusual usage of punctuation. Sokch'ön remained less-famous because of his mostly-rural activity, and his writings did not receive a proper woodblock print version. The Sönggyun'gwan published a facsimile version of this text in 1993, and it still awaits a proper study. Yi U-söng, Introduction to *Hongböm Uik*, by U Yö-mu (Söul T'ükpyölsi: Sönggyun'gwan Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 1993).

³⁸ Hō Mok "Hongböm söi 洪範說 [Explaining the Great Plan]," in *Misu kiön* 眉叟記, 31:8a. Hō Mok's text is merely one paragraph long.

see a plethora of writings on the *Book of Documents* in general, and on the “Great Plan” in particular. It is therefore important for us to keep in mind, when we discuss Yun Hyu’s approach to the classics, that he represents a continuation of some existing lines of inquiry just as much as he innovates and breaks tradition. We can truly appreciate his work only when we think of the way that he is situated within what he considered to be orthodoxy.

3.5 Notes upon Reading the Book of Documents

Notes upon Reading the Documents, or *toksangsŏ* 讀尚書 is a typical work of its genre: it is a non-thematic survey of various issues which supposedly arose when reading the Classic of Documents 尚書. It is supposedly a result of the intensive effort he made to study this classic in his year of seclusion in 1638.³⁹ As was the case with all of his systematic writings, Yun Hyu worked in iterations, reviewing and correcting his own text periodically. Of its fifty-eight chapters, Yun Hyu surveys twenty-three. Yun Hyu submitted this text for Hŏ Mok’s review and in 1666 received an outraged response from his colleague. Hŏ Mok starts his letter by addressing specific chapters of the Documents, namely the “Canon of Yao” and the “Great Plan.” He calls Yun Hyu’s attempt disgraceful 辱示, mainly because “pondering and deciding on these matters are not something done overnight, but a matter of extreme diligence”.⁴⁰ But he later goes on into specifics and says:

洪範九疇。雖曰禹之所敍。禹疇箕訓。孔子編書。孔子不分。毀改經文。蓋亦前古之未聞。聖人之言。可畏不可亂也。天下可誣也。聖人之言。不可亂也。與考定武成。其事不同。如此不已。則六經無全經。古文無全文。經文之害。焚滅一也。毀

³⁹ Yun Hyu, “Hangsang sang 行狀上 [Chronological Overview Part 1],” in *PHCS, purok 2, 7*.

⁴⁰ Hŏ Mok “Tabyojŏn, hongbŏm, chungyong kojŏngjisilsŏ 答堯典, 洪範, 中庸考定之失書 [Response on the ‘Canon of Yao,’ ‘Great Plan,’ and ‘Examining the Order of the Doctrine of the Mean’ you previously wrote],” in *Kiŏn*, 3.43b.

壞二也。豈不爲大可懼也。又不獨此也。既以六經古文。毀改無難。則其視曾子子思。固已淺尠矣。固已淺尠矣。然萬萬無此理。

Regarding the Great Plan in Nine Sections, although it is said to have been recorded by Yu, it was Yu himself who made the categories, Jizi (Kija) who explained them and Confucius who organized the text. Confucius did not separate the parts of the text while editing it. Reshaping the classics was unheard of in the dynasties of the past. The words of the sages should be held in awe, not corrupted. You can insult the people of the world, but do not disturb the words of the sages. Collating it in conjunction with the “Completion of the War” (*Wucheng*), you say the events in the two do not match up. If you will not stop what you are doing, the Six Classics will lose their status as perfect classics. If the ancient texts are not seen as perfect classics, they will be greatly damaged. That will be just as bad as when they were burned. This would be the second time they are destroyed. Is this not something to be feared? But it is not only this: once the Six Classics and the old texts are changed and this easily destroyed, the work of Zengzi and Zisi will truly be rendered insignificant. Thus, that would be the end of principle anywhere.⁴¹

Besides the emotional tone of his comment, it seems that Hǒ Mok is making several different claims, addressing different levels. First, he is accusing Yun Hyu of remodeling the classics, which for him is unthinkable. This failure is equivalent in his eyes to corruption of the words of the sages of the past. A different type of critique is on the issue of timing: the events described in the “Great Plan” and the “Completion of the War” - do not add up. This has directly to do with one of Yun Hyu’s more important commentaries. I will show that Yun Hyu and Hǒ Mok take

⁴¹ Hǒ Mok “Tabyojŏn, hongbŏm, chungyong kojŏngjisilsŏ,” 3.44b.

opposing sides in this matter. For Hō Mok the internal contradictions in the text make it not trust worthy. For Yun Hyu it calls for additional interpretation through the aid of additional texts.

Did Yun Hyu deserve such a rebuke? He did anticipate one, if we judge by the introduction. Yun Hyu's introduction for this text is almost standard for his notes: he begins by explaining the need for a commentary, saying:

聖人垂六經.先儒發其義而暢之.殆亦無遺憾矣.然生於數千載之後.而講
討於數千載之上.又烏能無待於後之人者.蓋天下義理無窮也.讀書之暇隨
得隨筆因前人未發.綴我謏聞.用作就正之地云爾.

The six classics the sages left for us - the scholars of the past transmitted their meaning clearly and freely, and with no regrets that they left anything out. However, living thousands of years later, and with thousands of years of discussion behind us, how can we wait for later generations to explain what is in them? Since under Heaven the principles of what is right can never be fully explored, when I have free time to read I casually note what predecessors have not yet explained; I enjoy weaving my limited knowledge to make corrections in what has been said.

Mentioning past scholars or *sŏn yu* 先儒, is the usual way to indicate a controversy or disagreement. This statement appears in many of Yun Hyu's commentaries, and particularly in the *Toksŏgi*.⁴² But this statement is not a mere disclaimer for Yun Hyu to provide before a controversial piece of commentary. It is essential for our understanding of Yun Hyu's whole system, since he presents not only challenging theses on the classics, but also on the method of

⁴² Compare with the introduction for his commentary on the Great Plan, Doctrine of the Mean and Book of Filial Piety. Yun Hyu, "Toksŏgi Chungyong [Notes upon reading the Doctrine of the Mean]," in *PHCS, kwŏn 36*, 1447; ; Yun Hyu, "Toksŏgi taehak [Notes upon reading the Great Learning]," in *PHCS, kwŏn 39*, 1552; Yun Hyu "Hyogyŏng oejŏn sokp'yŏn [Continuation of external commentaries on the Book of Filial Piety]," in *PHCS, kwŏn 40*, 1593 respectively. As I will show in the following chapters, it also indicates reverence.

addressing the classics. As Martina Deuchler showed, Yun Hyu characterized his role as a reader of commentaries as a repetitive process of re-reading and correcting.⁴³ This he understood as a direct demand of Zhu Xi's way of learning, as the opening of Yun Hyu's own commentaries on Doctrine of the Mean, titled *Toksŏgi chungyong* (Notes upon reading the Doctrine of the Mean) clearly indicates.⁴⁴ This tension is beyond the normal strain that different versions of the term "orthodoxy" meant to different power groups within Chosŏn *yangban*.⁴⁵ We are assured that the following text will be controversial and challenging to the particular *Namin* orthodoxy.

舊說云 武王伐紂 以箕子歸既二年作洪範 攷武王立十三年克殷 命召公釋箕子之囚 因即就見之而問道 是洪範之所為作也。 舊說蓋以書序武王十一年伐紂 十三年訪箕子故云爾 果然箕子之滯澗。 不亦有異於遼渡東走之心 而武王之求道亦無級汲之誠矣。 仁山前編亦序 訪箕子於武王返周之後。 亦因書序之誤爾。

The old explanation said that "King Wu conquered (King) Zhou. Two years later Jizi (K. Kija) submitted to his court and drew up the Great Plan." It took King Wu thirteen years to rise to power, after which he ordered the Duke of Shao (his brother) to release Jizi from his imprisonment, which is why as soon as they met and he (the king) asked about the Way, (Kija) was able to produce the "Great Plan." This is therefore why the ancients said in the introduction to the Documents that it took King Wu eleven years to attack

⁴³ Martina Deuchler, "Despoilers of the Way - Insulters of the Sages," 100. The term "orthodoxy" here comes from *chŏnghak* 正學 or "correct learning", and sometime it is contrasted with the Confucian *idan* 異端.

⁴⁴ Yun Hyu, "Toksŏgi chungyong 讀書記 中庸 [Notes Upon Reading the Doctrine of the Mean]," in *PHCS, kwŏn* 36, 1447. Part of Zhu Xi's way of working, as Yun Hyu characterize it, was to "collect many explanations and compile them into an acceptable explanation" (既集衆說而折衷之有成說矣).

⁴⁵ I am following here Duncan's insight on the Chosŏn Orthodoxies. John B. Duncan, "Examinations and Orthodoxy in Chosŏn Dynasty Korea," in *Rethinking Confucianism: Past and Present in China, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam* (2002): 65-94.

King Zhou (of the Shang). If that is indeed so, it took him 13 years to meet with Jizi. When Jizi was thus being ignored, he did not yet think about crossing the Liao River eastward. So, King Wu's asking about the Way was not sincere. In his original preface, Insan 仁山 also claims that after his visit with Jizi, King Wu returned to Zhou, and this is why the introduction to the Documents makes that mistake.

The first part of the text refers to the relationship between King Wu and Jizi and start with the theory that Jizi was indeed locked up under the Zhou admisintration and mostly ignored. This, as I will show below is tightly related with Chosŏn's veneration of Jizi, Kija in the Korean pronunciation, as a national progenitor. Next Yun Hyu follows the *Shangshu dazhuan* to reconstruct Kija's story:

書大傳箕子不忍於武王之釋而走之朝鮮 蓋箕子。未嘗至周 自紂都而東出耳 紂都朝歌 其地固與燕遼相接也。史記武王訪以箕子問殷之所以亡 箕子不忍言。武王亦醜之 乃訪問箕子以天道 箕子乃以洪範陳之。其所謂天道 即今見於經 惟天陰隲以下也。

According to the *Shangshu dazhuan* 尚書大傳 (The great commentary on the Documents), Jizi could not bear the explanation of King Wu for what he had done and went to Chosŏn.⁴⁶ He did not go back to Zhou. Instead, he simply went eastward straight from the capital of King Zhou, Zhāogē. Zhāogē itself was taken by the Yan state (of

⁴⁶ The *Shangshu dazhuan* 尚書大傳, was an alternative version of the *Shangshu* written by the Han scholar Fu Sheng 伏勝, and commented on by Zheng Xuan 鄭玄. It is lost, but several reconstructions of it exist today.

Zhou) and incorporated into Liao. The *Records of the Historian* say "When King Wu met Jizi he asked him why Yin lost, and Jizi could not bear to answer. King Wu was also ashamed of it thus he asked a question about the Way of Heaven, and therefore Kija laid out the 'Great Plan'." This so-called 'Way of Heaven' is what we see today in the classics as "Heaven secretly providing blessings".

Next Yun Hyu focuses on one aspect of the Great Plan which he sees as central to Kija's speech, that is term *ilun* 彝倫 which he sets out to explain. Yun Hyu sees the term as a standard of normative behaviour and a major component in his understanding of the text.

經中所謂彝倫 即率陶所謂天敘五典 帝舜所謂五品 孟子所謂人倫是也。曰彝者 若禮所謂五常 詩所謂秉彝也。傳言彝倫指九疇而言 收其名義 未見可驗於經者。況論治道而不及於倫綱 豈所謂經綸天下大經者哉。洪範者 敘彝倫之大法而非所謂彝倫也。彝倫者 即天之陰隲乎下民者也。其理則仁義禮智。道則君臣父子夫婦兄弟朋友之交也。

According to the Classics, what we call "*ilun*" 彝倫, is what Gao Yao (Shun's minister) called the "five duties from Heaven", and Shun called the "five orders of relationship" and what Mencius called "human relations". This normative behavior (彝), is what the Rites call "five constants" and the Book of Odes calls "the normative nature". *The Commentary* (Cai Shen's) says that the words "maintaining human relationships" 彝倫 suggests the nine categories 九疇, but I cannot find the meaning of this name from what I see in the classics. Moreover, while discussing the "Way of governing" 治道, if it doesn't mention "guidelines of human relations" 倫綱, what could the so-called "adjust

the great invariable relations of mankind" [Doctrine of the Mean] mean? The "Great Plan" talks about how great proper human relations are but doesn't specify what proper human relations specifically are. Human relations are therefore the mystery of heaven handed down to the people: Its principle is only humanity, righteousness, ritual and wisdom; Its way is only the interactions of monarch and minister, father and son, husband and wife, elder and younger, and that of friends.

Finally, Yun Hyu concludes his historical survey by criticizing the ideas expressed in the *Da Ming yelu* 大明野錄 (Private records of the Great Ming), blaming Zhu Xi's disciple Cai Shen in propagating misunderstandings pointing to what he sees as major failures in Cai Shen's commentary. This frontal attack on Cai Shen is the main purpose of this survey, and Yun Hyu's most daring argument since it points to major failures in the transmission of Zhu Xi's teaching. He says there:

得《大明野錄》高皇帝嘗讀洪範 以爲陰隲者天事也。若風雨霜露調均四時 五穀結實是也。相協厥居君道也。若敷五教明五刑使天下各安其居是也。斥蔡傳不能汲其意 遂命儒臣更撰 書傳會選 以示被世云云 海外下臣 無緣伏讀大訓 以窺聖謨之所極 謹竊論蔡傳之可疑者。以俟君子爾。

In the *Da Ming ye lu* 大明野錄 (Private records of the Great Ming), it says when the emperor (Hongwu) was reading the "Great Plan," he thought that "secretly providing blessings" 陰隲 refers to the work of heaven, such as bringing wind and rain, frost and dew properly in the four seasons, and making the five grains bear fruit, and that "helping

them live together harmoniously" is the Way of the King, such as spreading the 'Five Teachings' and explaining the 'Five Punishments' to ensure that everyone plays their proper roles. I blame Cai Shen's commentary for us not being able to discard this idea, which eventually led the Confucian minister (i.e., Liu Sanwu 劉三吾) to compile the *shuzhuan huixuan* 書傳會選, which has been passed down to later generations. This inferior minister across the sea without cause humbly studies these great teachings, exploring to their depths the plans of the Sages. I clumsily point out areas in Cai Shen's commentary which are questionable and wait for an exemplary person to clear them up.

In his discussion on the "Great Plan," Yun Hyu seems to be dealing with three different issues, the largest of which is a lengthy discussion on timing. Why is it important for Yun Hyu to find out the exact timing of Kija's journey to the East? Yun Hyu went to great pains to show us that it took two additional years between the Zhou's conquest of the Yin Capital and Kija's meeting with King Wu. To do so, he corroborates and cross referenced four different sources. First, there are two versions of the text itself, the popular addition of the *Documents*, and the *Shudazhuan* 書大傳, one of its alternative versions.⁴⁷ In addition there are also references from Sima Qian's *Records of the Historian* and from Master Insan 仁山. The latter is Jin Lüxiang 金履祥 (1232~1303), the Song and Yuan commentator who is the alleged author of two different volumes of commentaries on the *Documents* and criticized both Zhu Xi and the *Shujizhuan*.⁴⁸ Yun Hyu also quotes from *Shuzhuan huixuan* 書傳會選 that was compiled under the orders of

⁴⁷ As mentioned earlier, this is the *shangshu dazhuan* 尚書大傳, and alternative version to the *shangshu*. It was reconstructed by the Qing scholar Sun Zhilu 孫之騷 on the basis of fragments. Later, during the 18th century, it served as the basis for the version provided by Lu Wenchao 盧文弨. Sun's version is also called the Yayu Studio version 雅雨堂本, and it survived in his collected works (孫晴川八種). See Vankeerberghen Griet, "Rulership and Kinship: The 'Shangshu dazhuan''s Discourse on Lords." *Oriens Extremus* 46 (2007): 84-100.

⁴⁸ Kim Man-il, "Yun Hyu ūi toksangsŏ yŏn'gu [A Research on Paekho's 'Notes Reading the Documents']", *Yugyo sasang yŏn'gu* 23.0 (2005), 58.

Nurhachi. Kim Man-il deduces from this that Yun Hyu was influenced, or at least familiar with, contemporary Qing scholarship.⁴⁹

As far as the “Great Plan” is concerned, it seems that Yun Hyu is mostly concerned with the correct timing of the compilation of the “Great Plan” by Kija. According to Yun Hyu, this is the proper order of the events: In his eleventh year, King Wu defeats Zhòu, the last king of the Shang dynasty, and takes over the capital. Kija, a noble and relative of King Zhou who had been imprisoned by Zhou, remains in prison for additional two years, during which he compiles his famous text. Finally, at his thirteenth year, King Wu orders his brother, the Duke of Shao, to release Kija. The meeting that follows is awkward, not legendary. The King asks Kija why should Yin lose the throne post-factum, to which Kija cannot reply. Finally, King Wu asks about the Way of Heaven, and Kija provides his ready-made text. Once released Kija flees from Zhou eastward, across the Liao. Yun Hyu’s account is not only a matter of intellectual interest: in the past, Kija played an important role in the way that highly esteemed figures of Korean Confucianism imagined their own culture.

Han Young-woo explains that Kija worship has been an important aspect of Korean culture, in several roles.⁵⁰ According to Han, Chinese have already reported the worship of Kija as a deity during the Koguryō dynasty.⁵¹ In his survey he shows that the Kija worship throughout the Koryō and Chosŏn dynasties oscillated between two set of opposite poles, between political independence and subservience to China and between cultural distinctiveness and uniformity with China.⁵² Opposite to the worship of Kija, was the worship of Tangun 檀君, as an example

⁴⁹ Kim Man-il, “Yun Hyu ūi toksangsŏ yŏn’gu,” 58.

⁵⁰ Han Young-woo, “Kija Worship in the Koryō and Early Uì Dynasties: A Cultural Symbol in the Relationship between Korea and China” in *The Rise of Neo-Confucianism in Korea*, ed. W. M. Theodore de Bary and JaHayun Kim Haboush (New York: Columbia University, 1985), 349-74.

⁵¹ Han Young-woo, “Kija Worship in the Koryō and Early Uì Dynasties,” 350-1.

⁵² Han Young-woo, “Kija Worship in the Koryō and Early Uì Dynasties,” 371.

of a local mythology (naturally stressing cultural uniqueness and independence).⁵³ Han's survey ends with Yulgok (1536-1584), that is, a century before Yun Hyu, where he notes that during the sixteenth century Yulgok as a representative of the Kiho school 畿湖學派 affirmed the importance of Kija as a model of cultural assimilation.⁵⁴ Politically speaking, Yulgok tended to emphasize the importance of *Realpolitik*, in ways that were tightly connected with his opinion on matters of metaphysics, focusing on the importance of *ki* 氣. He used Kija in this sense to emphasize the role of Confucians in the realization of the Kingly Way or *wangdo* 王道.

The Yōngnam School 嶺南學派, on the other hand, stressed the importance of loyalty above all.⁵⁵ The Yōngnam School had in mind a dualism of *ki* 氣 and *li* 理 that had huge implications on their views on practical matters.⁵⁶ Yi Hwang 李滉 (1501-1570), the progenitor of the Yōngnam School, stressed the frailty of human morals. He has repeatedly given up prestigious offices in favor of life of contemplation in the countryside. In the framework of the Yōngnam School, Tangun makes a much better model of a ruler. Indeed, some Yōngnam scholars have made this link in the past.⁵⁷ In this sense we can see Yun Hyu as an unusual example of his school. Yun Hyu does provide Kija as the model of Korean assimilation of Chinese culture, but as a refugee. In his story Kija was not enfeigned by King Wu, but rather ran away from the complications of the dynastic change. It is clear to see that this story reflects the wide sentiments of Chosŏn Confucians following the collapse of the Ming Dynasty by the

⁵³ These dynamics seem to carry on in modern Korea. See for example Suh Youngdae, "Kūndae han'gugūi tan'gun insikkwa minjokchu'i [Ideas on Tangun and Nationalism in Modern Korea]" in *Tongbuga yōksa nonch'ong* [Journal of North-Eastern Asian History] 20 (2008): 7-51.

⁵⁴ Han Young-woo, "Kija Worship in the Koryŏ and Early Ui Dynasties," 366-371.

⁵⁵ Han Young-woo, "Kija Worship in the Koryŏ and Early Ui Dynasties," 367.

⁵⁶ Hwang Joon-yon, "Neo-Confucian Scholars of Chosun Dynasty and the Problems of Spiritual Cultivation in Case of the 'Four-Seven Debate,'" in *Tongyang ch'ŏrhak yŏngu* 25 (2001:6): 217-234. Hwang contrasts T'oegye and Yulgok as representatives of their schools, and shows how their differences in matters of metaphysics lead to practical differences in matters of self-cultivation.

⁵⁷ See for example Ch'oe Ip 崔竝, (1539-1612) who made this direct link in his text on the great plan in Ch'oe Ip, "Hongbŏm hakki 洪範學記 [Records of learning the Great Plan]," in *Kani chib*, 9.29a.

Manchus. Yun Hyu's Kija anticipates King Yǒngjo's sentiments that "the Central Plains [China] exude the stench of barbarians and our Green Hills [Korea] are alone".⁵⁸ It is also clear why this makes Hǒ Mok so uncomfortable. Hǒ Mok himself focused on Tangun as a dynastic model, and even wrote a text titled *tan'gun sega* 檀君世家 or the House of Tangun.⁵⁹ Hǒ Mok wrote a similar text on the House of Kija, titled appropriately *kija sega* 箕子世家 or "the house of Kija". It seems that the model that he provided was a hybrid mode of the Kija-like cultural assimilation and Tangun-like unique identity. This seems to be the consensus for the Yǒngnam people (Ch'oe Ip's text mentioned above is working along very similar lines).

From that point on it seems that Yun Hyu moves to talk about other topics. These however eventually join the discussion on Kija to make one solid argument. First he mentions the topic of *ilun* 彝倫 which James Legge translated as "unvarying principles" and I have rendered here as "normative human relationships".⁶⁰ Yun Hyu responds directly to the way that Cai Shen defines the term.⁶¹ In his great commentary, Cai Shen explains that the introduction to the "Great Plan" poses a real question, and that it is not immediately clear why the term *ilun* was the one being used.⁶² Cai elaborates and as an answer to the question of the term he tells the story of Great Yu and his battle in the flood. According to Cai, it was Gun 鯀, Yu's legendary father,

⁵⁸ Martina Deuchler and JaHyun Kim Haboush. *Culture and the State in Late Chosŏn Korea* (Cambridge, Mass. ; Harvard University Press. 2001), 70.

⁵⁹ Hǒ Mok, "Kiŏn tongsa sŏ 記言東事序 [Introduction to records of words on Eastern affairs]," in *Kiŏn* 32.1b.

⁶⁰ Some of Yun Hyu's contemporaries did dwell on this term. One interesting case is the Japanese Sekigo Matsunaga 松永尺五 (1592-1657) who wrote in 1640 his influential book *Irinsho* 彝倫抄. Yun Hyu has many similarities to Sekigo, such as his reliance on the explanations of terms and nuances, as well as the political affiliation of his text. There are no direct evidences in the text that Yun Hyu knew about Sekigo Matsunaga and his work, but it is obvious that both Tasan and Park Chaega knew about him and his work. For his influence on later Korean thinkers see Park Pyŏnsŏn, "Ch'ojŏng pakcheha, yunam ihŭigyŏngŭi toja insik", in *misul sahak yŏn'gu* 239.0 (2003): 213-234. See also John A. Tucker, "The Meaning of Words and Confucian Political Philosophy", in *Dao companion to Japanese Confucian philosophy*, ed. Huang Chun-chieh and John Allen Tucker (Springer, 2014), 31-68.

⁶¹ Cai Shen, *Shangshu jizhuan* 書經集傳, 4.19a.

⁶² Cai Shen, *Shangshu jizhuan*, 4.19a. "我不知其彝倫之所以絃者 如何也。"

who understood how to use the Five Phases in order to stop the water.⁶³ Yu however, was working under a different imperative derived from the “Great Plan”. He was furious at the active action against a force of nature. Heaven solved this problem by revealing the *Luoshu* 洛書. According to Cai, the words *ilun* were added to the text to solve this specific concern.

What we can understand from Cai Shen is the term *was added* to the “Great Plan”. In effect, the addition makes a distinction between Heaven, which deals in absolutes, and the human (or kingly) realm, which deals in normative behavior. For Yun Hyu, Cai Shen’s story seems like a narrow understanding of the text (i.e., the “Great Plan”), one that sees the focus of the text in one sphere alone. A similar critique is directed toward Cai’s understanding of the term *zhi dao* 治道 or Way of governing. For Yun Hyu the “Great Plan” is a meta-text - it does not inform you of the particulars of human relationships, but rather it shows you the great pattern. For Yun Hyu, on the other hand normative human behavior is also “revealed”, and one cannot draw a clear line between the world of absolutes and the relative, normative mundane. This is why he is saying that one needs Guidelines of Human Relations 倫綱 in order to understand the Way of Governing 治道.

Finally, we reach the last argument that Yun Hyu is making against Cai Shen’s understanding. Yun Hyu is reading one of the Ming Dynasty court records, from which he understands that the Hongwu emperor 洪武 (r. 1328 - 1398) was instructed on the “Great Plan.” It was Cai Shen’s understanding that reached the emperor, through the *shuzhuan huixuan* 書傳會選 compiled by the minister Liu Sanwu 劉三吾 (b. 1313). Yun is concerned that the specific reading that was inherited through the Ming emperor, is one that will discourage ministers from dealing in absolutes, but rather they will focus on technicalities, and thus discourage reading in the classics. The paragraph is dense, and there is more than one possible reading for it - perhaps

⁶³ Cai Shen, *Shangshu jizhuan*, 4.19b.

on purpose. However, one plausible reading is one that accuses Cai Shen for the eventual fall of the Ming!

We have the tendency to think about the learning of the classics in terms of intellectual capacities, the symbolic capital of the *yangban*. In this case we are reminded that these are revealed texts in the religious meaning of the word. Cai Shen's text is writing exactly about the creation myth of the text itself. Yun Hyu equates the "Great Plan" with the *Doctrine of the Mean*, suggesting that the one term *ilun* 彝倫 implies on the relationship between them – that of a general plan vis-à-vis detailed instruction. In fact, Yun Hyu's approach to the text implies a reverence reserved to a revealed text. Yun Hyu is using the *Names and Meaning* 名義 technique, to draw integrated meaning from several sources in the classics.⁶⁴ This implies that the classics as a body hold integrated coherent truth, as opposed to what Hō Mok says explicitly. It also it implies that the "Great Plan" has the status of an independent classic. This become even more evident in light of the second text we investigate, titled *Hongbōm kyōngjōn t'ongŭi* 洪範經傳通義 (*Penetrating the meaning of the classic and commentary on the Great Plan*).

3.6 Penetrating the Meaning of the Classic and Commentary on the Great Plan

Yun Hyu wrote the *Hongbōm kyōngjōn t'ongŭi* 洪範經傳通義 when he was twenty-six, and revised it with additional notes when he was forty-six.⁶⁵ This process is evident by the embedded comments, providing a sense of a commentary on the commentaries. The introduction of the text was published originally in the 1935 version (the *Paekho chip*) without the body of the text. In the *Paekho chōnsō* it remained separated from the main body of the text, and in many ways

⁶⁴ Yun Hyu mentions this fact I directly in his introduction to *Hongbōm kyōngjōn t'ongŭi* 洪範經傳通義 or Penetrating the Meaning of the Classic and Commentary on the Great Plan.

⁶⁵ Kūm Chang-tae, *Chosōn hugiŭi yuhak sasang* [The Neo-Confucian Thought of Later Chosōn] (Sōul-si: Sōul Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 1998), 118-9.

seems to be its own work indeed. Although the text itself is grouped with the rest of Yun Hyu's *Toksŏgi* 讀書記, it does not belong there. These are not occasional notes on a text, but rather a systematic review of the "Great Plan" as a classic. As noted in the conclusion, Yun Hyu himself consider this text to be of the *sŏl* 說 genre.⁶⁶ This introduction makes a quick summery of the main issue presented in the *toksangsŏ* without dwelling on details. It also makes an explicit challenge:

洪範者。聖人治天下之大法也。經曰天乃錫禹洪範九疇。彝倫攸敘。則彝倫者。五常之大倫也。洪範者。所以敘是道焉而已。疇以九之。法以用之。然後王道備焉。天德章焉。抑先儒所以發明之者。猶有待於後之人也。余既竊推前人說。考論洪範餘意。平原聖人之心法。又次序孝經內外傳義。以益闡敘倫之微言。庶幾二經相須。而明傳諸學者。亦有以識余之樂道堯舜之道而願學者焉耳。⁶⁷

The "Great Plan" is the sage's great rules for governing all under Heaven. The Classic [of Documents] say "To him [Great Yu] Heaven gave the 'Great Plan' with its nine divisions, and the unvarying principles (of its method) were set forth in their due order".

Accordingly, the term *ilun* 彝倫 refers to the Five Constants of the great human relationships.⁶⁸ The "Great Plan," is only that by which this order 敘 is explained as the Way 道. Only after dividing them into nine categories can they be applied. Only then is the Kingly Way (王道) complete and the Virtue of Heaven (天德) made the standard. In the way past scholars explained that, but there is still something that awaits clarifications

⁶⁶ PHCS, 1681.

⁶⁷ PHCS "Hongbŏm kyŏngjŏn t'ongŭi chon 洪範經傳通義存," kwŏn 24, 995.

⁶⁸ James Legge roughly translates the term *ilun* 彝倫 as "unvarying principles", but I chose to translate it here as normative human relationships

I humbly further develop the words of earlier men, discussing and pondering the meaning of the “Great Plan” further, to go straight to the mind of a sage (心法).⁶⁹ I have already put in order the external and internal commentaries to the Classic of Filial Piety (孝經). I used it to explain and express the intricacies of morality. The two similar classics need each other, and enlighten the commentaries of various scholars. Also, having this knowledge I take delight in the Way of Yao and Shun, and hope that those who wish to learn will listen to it.

What can we learn from this introduction? First, that for Yun Hyu the “Great Plan” is now considered a classic. Yun Hyu claims that he uses the “Great Plan” and the Classic of *Filial Piety* as two complementary texts. However, there is neither a direct reference to the *Filial Piety* in the text, nor the other way around. Even so, this shed some light on his methodology, cross-referencing different texts dealing with similar classics. Second, the reference to past scholar means that Yun Hyu makes a direct challenge. The nature of the challenge is kept to the opening of the text, where Yun Hyu says:

洪範九疇 先儒之說所以探象數之原 發聖人之蘊者 固以詳且備哉。⁷⁰

The ‘Great Plan in Nine Categories’ are the means by which the explanations of earlier scholars explore the origin of *Images and Numbers*, and reveal the Comprehensiveness of the Sage.

⁶⁹ The term *sinfa* 心法 or *simböp* in Korean, is Yuan term used throughout the Ming, to describe the mind of the sage (specifically denoting that the emperor is the sage)

⁷⁰ PHCS, “*Hongböm kyöngjön t’ongüi* 洪範經傳通義,” kwön 41, 1661.

And this is of course the challenge - The *xiang-shu* 象數 was one of the two major schools interpreting the Changes, and the one that Zhu Xi advocated.⁷¹ The *Comprehensiveness of the Sage* is the title of chapter twenty-nine of Zhou Dun-yi's *Tongshu* 通書, where Zhou Dun-yi correlates that expression with the hexagrams of the Book of Changes. Zhu Xi discusses the same expression in the *Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類 (Selected Conversations of Master Zhu), where he is providing a direct reference to Zhou, but also correlates this expression with the "numerological images" in the Diagram of Early Heaven. The phrase that Yun Hyu is using here – “reveals the Comprehensiveness of the Sage” (發聖人之蘊者) is a direct reference to the *Zhuzi yulei* book of Master Zhou 周子之書 where Zhu Xi is discussing Zhou Dun-yi and the *xiang-shu* thought.⁷²

Generally speaking, it seems that Yun Hyu is at odds with Zhu Xi on this topic. When discussing the issue of divination and the whole *xiang-shu* mysticism he is reluctant to give it any primacy. When his student Shu Qi 叔器 asks “Are the Good and Evil obtained by divining the yarrow stalks wrong?”⁷³ He goes on to remind Zhu Xi that the “Great Plan” clearly states the importance of divination by tortoise shells and yarrow sticks, Zhu Xi rebukes him and says:

然而聖人見得那道理定後，常不要卜。且如舜所謂『臍志先定，詢謀僉同，鬼神其依，龜筮協從』。若恁地，便是自家所見已決，而卜亦不過如此，故曰：『卜不習吉。』

⁷¹ Cheng Chung-ying, “The Yi-Jing and Yin-Yang way of thinking” in *History of Chinese Philosophy*, vol. 3. Ed. Bo Mou (NY: Routledge, 2009), 94.

This sudden interest in the topic might actually be a response to Jesuit challenges. See Joachim Kurtz, “Framing European Technology in Seventeenth Century China” in *Cultures of knowledge: technology in Chinese history*, ed. Dagmar Schäfer (Leiden: Brill, 2011). 216.

⁷² See also Li Jingde, *Zhu Xi Yulei* 朱子語類, 62:9 (Changes 2) – where Zhu Xi provides some additional insights on the topic.

⁷³ Li Jingde, *Zhu Xi Yulei* 朱子語類, 65.11b.

The sages however, always determine the Principles of the Way (道理) first before making any decision, and so never uses divination. Moreover, it is what Shun called for: first harden your determination, inquire and plan together, comply with supernatural beings and follow the divination of the tortious and stalks harmoniously. It seems such that one sees what he already decided, and divination is just the same. This is why it says: “It is not good to study divination”.⁷⁴

In the two “comprehensiveness” chapters of the *tongshu* 通書 (i.e., Chapters 29 and 30) Zhou Dunyi investigates the idea that by nature the Sage is incomprehensible to others, and that we need some external means in order to get access to his comprehensive access to reality. In the *Comprehensiveness of the Sage* chapter, it is Master Yan 言子 who gives us access to the sage.⁷⁵ In the *Essence and Comprehensiveness* chapter, the sage is Fu Xi 伏羲 and the Book of Changes gives access to his mind.⁷⁶ Zhu Xi understands “comprehensiveness” in this sense as moral content but argue that even if this moral content have already existed in Fu Xi’s writing in potential, it has not yet manifested (發見). Zhu Xi also focused on the importance of the *Zhouyi* as opposed to the *Ten Wings*. The act of divination was mainly a “way of learning” that was open to a broader audience (due to its visual nature) and that provided spiritual background to embrace change.⁷⁷

Yun Hyu understood the “Great Plan” and the *Changes* as two complementary texts, in a way that correspond with the two mythological diagrams: the *Hetu* 河圖 being responsible for

⁷⁴ Li Jingde, *Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類, 66.11a. The last verse is a quotation from the “Counsels of the Great Yu” chapter.

⁷⁵ Joseph A Adler, *Reconstructing the Confucian Dao: Zhu Xi's Appropriation of Zhou Dunyi*, (Albany, NY, USA: State University of New York Press, 2014), 284-5.

⁷⁶ Joseph A Adler, *Reconstructing the Confucian Dao*, 285-6.

⁷⁷ Geoffrey P. Redmond and Tze-Ki Hon, *Teaching the I Ching (Book of Changes)* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 178-9.

the *images*, while the *Luoshu* is related to the *numbers*.⁷⁸ since the two diagrams were long associated with the *eight trigrams* 八卦 and the numerology of the *Nine Halls* 九宮, respectively.⁷⁹ In this sense, even when not stated so directly, they should be read in tandem.⁸⁰ Indeed, this is exactly what Yun Hyu is doing. He spends a large part of his text elucidating the generally overlooked second verse, where each number is acted upon (*yong* 用) in a different action. Yun Hyu negotiates these actions by contrasting them with the changes. He is using primarily the *Xicizhuan* 繫辭傳 (*Commentary on the Appended Statements*) of the Ten Wings.⁸¹ The association of the “Great Plan” with the commentary is natural, since the *Xicizhuan* was the first to correlate the two diagrams with the two mystical systems.⁸²

Yun Hyu uses the two texts and the two numerological system to explain each other, by focusing on the symbolic meaning of the numbers. His usual technique is to select specific verses to explain each other, using for example synonymous verbs to illuminate a specific snippet of his text. We can see a good example of this technique in his treatment of the seventh item – the “examination of doubts” (稽疑). This item is associated in the “Great Plan” with the two divination techniques, the turtle shells and the yarrow stalks. First Yun Hyu outlines the epistemological problem that he associates with this section:

蓋天下之事理有所不可測。有所不可測、心有所不能知、一人之知識有限也。

⁷⁸ Yun Hyu, “Toksōgi Chungyong [Notes upon reading the Doctrine of the Mean]” in *PHCS*, *kwōn* 36, 1677-8.

⁷⁹ A good general survey of the diagrams and their usage is available in Stephen L. Field, “The Numerology of Nine Star Fengshui: A Hetu, Luoshu Resolution of the Mystery of Directional Auspice,” in *Journal of Chinese Religions*, 27:1 (1999): 13-33.

⁸⁰ Yun Hyu, “Toksōgi Chungyong,” 1677-8.

⁸¹ This fact alone denotes that Yun Hyu sees that Ten Wings as a stage in the evolution from graphic representation to abstract moral thought, as Wang Bi and Cheng Yi thought. See Redmond, Geoffrey P. and Tze-Ki Hon, 178.

⁸² Stephen L. Field, “The Numerology of Nine Star Fengshui,” 18.

有心知謀。或不能無適莫之私也。苟非明目達聰。以考乎天下之公議。極數觀變、
以決乎爻象之貞朕、則固無以開物成務定天下之吉凶也。

Generally, there are under Heaven things whose why and wherefore is impenetrable. There being impenetrable matters, there is that which the mind cannot understand, hence the knowledge of any single person is limited. The mind has to ability to learn and strategize but some people are unable to avoid having their perspective biased by self-centeredness. If one does not perceive and understand things clearly even if you take into account all impartial discussions under Heaven and observe carefully the changes in the ultimate of numbers 極數 and even if you use the hexagrams in the *Changes* to try to predict the future, still you will not be able to comprehend what is happening around you clearly enough to foretell good and bad fortune anywhere in the world.⁸³

The concern over the fragility of the human mind was always a main concern of the *namin* School. The disciples of Yi Hwang (T'oegyē) were worried about private or selfish 私 interests (as opposed to being public minded 公).⁸⁴ Here Yun Hyu is bothered by the epistemological aspect of this issue, in a way that is very Cartesian in nature: what if your selfish thoughts mislead you (to take the wrong action)?⁸⁵ To a degree, it seems that Yun Hyu takes the position that no matter how objective your sources are, selfish biases will hinder your ability to see them

⁸³ Yun Yun, "Toksōgi Chungyong," 1667.

⁸⁴ Donald L. Baker, "A different thread: Orthodoxy, heterodoxy, and Catholicism in a Confucian world," *Harvard East Asian Monographs* (1999), 212-3.

⁸⁵ In the first meditation, Descartes recognizes that the senses have deceived him on occasion and thus doubts them entirely. Even though there is no "misleading demon" here, it is interesting to note the process of doubt in the physical as a foundation of philosophy. John Cottingham, "Meditatio Prima: De iis quae in dubium revocari possunt," in *René Descartes: Meditations on First Philosophy: With Selections from the Objections and Replies*, ed. John Cottingham, ed. John Cottingham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 22-31.

clearly. However, we can also read this paragraph as suggesting that the *shapes* and *numbers* offer some objective “anchor” in reality. In other words, the power of numerology is conceived here as a natural force and therefore consistent. This, of course, will not help against delusional thoughts.

Using the *Xicizhuan* in the context of divination makes particular sense, since it offers a reading on both images 象 and numbers 數. In his analysis of the *Xicizhuan*, Willard Peterson shows that the text is making a claim of completeness: not only does the *Book of Changes* replicate universal processes at work, the commentary itself claims completeness and all-inclusiveness.⁸⁶ If Peterson is correct, this claim is similar in nature to the argument that Yun Hyu is trying to make on the “Great Plan.” From the *Xicizhuan* Yun Hyu selected two verses that are close in nature to the verse that he examines, mainly by suggesting to the ruler (or sage) a methodology of inspecting each strata of society in its own respectful way. He is also mirroring the various terminology that both texts use to say “examine”. From the “Great Plan” he is quoting the verb “to inspect, to check” 稽, and the verb “to plan, to consult” 謀.

故其謀及乃心盡乎已也。謀及卿士 欲其詢乎人而公也。謀及庶民 為其合聽之則聖也。⁸⁷

Therefore, the classic said “consult with your own mind” to the fullest extent, “consult with your high ministers and officers” if you wish to inquire about the people and the common good, and “consult with the people.” Being able to hear from all of them together is sageliness.

⁸⁶ Peterson, Willard J. "Making Connections: "Commentary on the Attached Verbalizations" of The Book of Change." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 42, no. 1 (1982), 116.

⁸⁷ Yun Hyu, “Toksōgi Chungyong,” 1667.

In this case the verb *chin* 盡, translated here as “fully express” (following Legge’s translation) serves as an axis point connecting the text with the *Xicizhuan*. He follows this explanation with a longer citation from the *Xicizhuan*, which echoes the same sentiments on the need to consolidate sources of information using other synonymous expressions:

故曰明於天之道。察於民之故 是興神物鍛前民用。然非清明在躬 志氣如神 使吾方寸之間 湛然無一毫之蔽 有足以熱契乎神明 。亦安能極深研幾 探蹟索隱 有以通天下之志 決天下之疑也哉

Hence it is said that “Therefore (those sages), fully understanding the way of Heaven, and having clearly ascertained the experience of the people, instituted (the employment of) these spirits and things, as a provision for the use of the people.”

That being the case, if you don’t have a clear and bright mind and god-like spirit 志氣 (resolution), you will have to clear your mind of all impediments to understanding, so that you will be able to link your mind with that of the spirits of heaven and earth .

Also, a calm and quiet mind will allow you to engage in a deep and detailed investigation of things,⁸⁸ “explore what is complex”, “penetrate forthwith to all phenomena and events under heaven”, and “resolve all doubts”!⁸⁹

In this case the process of divination serves a dual purpose of “fully understanding the way of Heaven,” but also bringing the mind to a certain equilibrium and clearness that are required for

⁸⁸ Here “極深研幾” is an idiom denoting a deep and detailed investigation. The terms derives from the *Xici* 繫辭 (The Great Treatise), verse 10.

⁸⁹ Here I draw on James Legge’s translation. James Legge, “The Great Treatise I”. <http://ctext.org/book-of-changes/xi-ci-shang>

deep investigation. As mentioned, this later meaning is the primary action of divination according to Zhu Xi – but not for Yun Hyu. For him the numbers are the various processes of divination are mystical means to assert the will of heaven. As such, he is also giving them a great importance as part of the “various verifications” (庶徵) segment of the “Great Plan,” linking the two together:

曰其以範數為合於河圖者 亦豈數之自然乎？曰然。自一至九以虛數合之而為大衍之數 自 五行至一福極 以實數抱之而為天地之數者 朱子之說也。擔實數為五十 別六極用十數亦古人之說也。

是固皆有說也。 抑竊謂稽疑為四為九。 曰卿士也。 曰庶民也。 曰龜也。 曰筮也。

又曰 一卿士也。 庶民也。 五也。 占二也。 庶徵也。 為九曰： 雨也。 暘也。 燠也。 寒也。 風也。 歲也月也。 日也。

When we say that the numbers of the plan coincide with what we see on the River Map, do we mean that they are the way they are in and of themselves? Yes, from one to nine, the imaginary numbers 虛數 are combined to make the numbers of the Great Expansion; from the Five Phases (article one) to happiness and perfection (numbers nine and five), the real numbers 實數 are brought together to make the numbers of Heaven and Earth that Zhu Xi spoke of. The Real Numbers add up to fifty [the sum of all the numbers in the River Map], which are different from the six (occasions of) Suffering and the method of counting by tens that the ancients write about.

There are indeed theories about all of this. Humbly I claim that what we call the Investigation of Doubts is conducted with four and nine types. [The four are] the high ministers and officers, the common people, the turtle shells and the yarrow talks. That is to say, the high ministers and officers, the common people, the five (divinations in turtle

shell) and the two methods of forecast (with yarrow stalks). The numerous phenomena are made of nine, namely rain, sunshine, warmth, cold, wind, harvest, moon, sun, and stars.

Here we add the final layer of this mystical arrangement, as Yun Hyu understands it. The mystical two diagrams are correlated each to a different classic (the *Changes* and the *Great Plan*).⁹⁰ The numbers in the *Luoshu* are called here “imaginary” or “empty” (虛) and correlated with the *numbers*. They form the plan or blueprint, aspect of nature. The numbers of the *Hetu* 河圖 are called here “real” (實), and correlated with the *images*, or detailed aspect of the divination. The terms that Yun Hyu used are not used here as a reference to real and imaginary numbers, in their mathematical sense. In late Koryŏ and early Chosŏn the terms were used to describe the “real” Confucian teaching as opposed to the “empty” (虛) Buddhist teachings.⁹¹ It is interesting to note that in this specific context the term appears only once, in the writing of Chŏng Chedu 鄭齊斗 (1649-1736), better known under the pen-name Hagok 霞谷, and infamous for his involvement in the teaching of Wang Yangming in Korea.⁹² Talking about the two diagrams, Chŏng Chedu refers to the “real” and “empty” points of the compass, meaning the four cardinal points and the four interim points as they correlate with the *p'algwae* 八卦.⁹³ Like Yun Hyu, Chŏng Chedu connects the two diagrams, and the *numbers and images* with the *Book of Changes* and the “Great Plan”. However, it doesn’t seem that there was any link between the

⁹⁰ Here in italics to denote its status as a separate classic.

⁹¹ Michael Kalton, “An Introduction to Sirhak,” *Korea Journal* 15: 5 (May, 1975): 29-46. See for example the memorial presented by Kwŏn Kŭn (1352–1409) to King T’aejong: T’aejong Sillok, 1:388 (the 24th day in the 3rd lunar month of 1407).

⁹² Chŏng Chedu, “harak yŏksang 河洛易象 [The River Diagram and the Images of the Changes],” in *Hagok chip*, 20.508b.

⁹³ Chŏng Chedu, “harak yŏksang,” 20.510a. He is saying for example that “In the diagram Heaven, Earth, Water and Fire are located in the four real points, whereas Lake, Thunder, Wind and Mountain are located in the four empty points”. 在圖乾坤坎離居四實。兌震巽艮居四虛。

two. Just the opposite – he was a student of Kim Chib 金集, and belonged to the same intellectual lineage as Song Siyöl.

Yun Hyu starts his analysis of the Great Plan and its commentary, tracing the numerical elements in the plan from the second to the ninth.⁹⁴ According to Kŭm Chang-tae, Yun Hyu sees the Great Plan as unique in the sense that it illustrates the relationship between the principles shown in the classics and their application.⁹⁵ Indeed, on the first half of the text, Yun Hyu focuses on the eight of the nine numerical elements of the Great Plan, focusing on the *application* 用 of each.⁹⁶ However, the status of the first clause, dealing with the Five Phases, is unique because it does not use the term *application* (or “use”) to describe it.⁹⁷ Instead he thinks of the Five Phases as having unique status, originating in heaven and manifesting on earth. He therefore regards some physical manifestations to be beyond mere physical expressions of the Principle within the limitations of Material Force:

… 然經之於五行也 不言其用 又止言潤炎之性 酸甘之味而已何哉 曰五行者 天道之綱陰陽之事也 其氣運於天 而不息 則四時之謂也 其理賦於人 黑而不武 則五常之謂也⁹⁸

… However, what is the reason for not using the word mentioning the use (*yong* 用) of the Five Phases in the Classic, and instead just talking about the Nature of dry or moist, and the taste of sweet or sour? I Say: It is because the five phases are the guiding principle of the Way of Heaven and the affairs of Yin and Yang. Its *ki* 氣 moves in the

⁹⁴ Yun Yun, “Toksögi Chungyong,” 1662-1669.

⁹⁵ Kŭm Chang-tae, *Chosŏn hugiüi yuhak sasang*, 118-9.

⁹⁶ Yun Yun, “Toksögi Chungyong,” 1678.

⁹⁷ Yun Yun, “Toksögi Chungyong,” 1669.

⁹⁸ Yun Yun, “Toksögi Chungyong,” 1669.

heavens ceaselessly, and so we call it the four seasons. Its Principle is bestowed on men, hidden and non-violent, and so we call it the Five Constants.

What is the significance of the omission of the character *yong* 用? Since Yun Hyu regards the Great Plan chapter as a classic, a received text, each character is important. The Five Phases represent the direct influence of Heaven in various forms, for those who can decipher them – from the Five Constants to the various elements of weather. Hence the importance of the direct reference to weather patterns that Yun Hyu is making further along this paragraph.⁹⁹ While the discussion on this aspect of the Great Plan remains theoretical in this text, we do have a chance to see its application, during the short period that Yun Hyu was a government official, in 1675.

3.7 Practical Implications – The Application of the Great Plan in Real Life

In 1674 king Hyŏngchong (r. 1659 - 1674) died and his son, King Sukchong 肅宗 (r. 1674 - 1720) came to the throne with a grudge against the *Sŏin* faction.¹⁰⁰ The new king installed a *Namin* administration in the last month of 1674, and Yun Hyu started his government tenure as the Third Magistrate of Seoul (*hansŏngbu uyun* 漢城府右尹).¹⁰¹ He was quickly promoted to be rank of Inspector General (*taesahŏn* 大司憲). On the agenda were two events of immense importance to the new regime. First were the news on Wu Sangui's 吳三桂 (1612 - 1678) rebellion against the Qing empire, which renewed the hopes for a Northern campaign among Koreans and others.¹⁰² In this context, Yun Hyu consistently promoted a hawkish line, urging the

⁹⁹ Yun Hyu, "Toksŏgi Chungyong," 1669.

¹⁰⁰ JaHyun Kim Haboush, "Yun Hyu and the Search for Dominance: A Seventeenth-Century Korean Reading of the Offices of Zhou and the Rituals of Zhou," in *Statecraft and Classical Learning*, pp. 309-329. Leiden: Brill, 2009.

¹⁰¹ "Yŏnbo 年譜 [Necrology]", in *PHCS*, purok 5, 2147.

¹⁰² Haboush, "Yun Hyu and the Search for Dominance," 317-9. Haboush also mentions the diplomatic letter from the governor of Tsushima to the Chosŏn court, which expressed similar sentiments. *Sukchong Sillok* (2nd day of the 6th month, 1675) 4.16a.

king to seize the opportunity and attack the Manchus. The young King Sukchong (he was thirteen at the time) seemed to view Yun Hyu's line unfavorably, and hesitated to attack.¹⁰³

The second item on the national agenda was the foreboding weather that threatened to color the tenure of the new king and his new government. In the early spring of 1675 it was already clear that it was a bad year, with a combination of drought and cold.¹⁰⁴ Being the first year of King Sukchong (r. 1674–1720), the weather was particularly concerning. Yun Hyu got his opportunity to publically address the issue of the drought when presented to the king. The events described in the Veritable Records demonstrate how Yun Hyu applied the Great Plan in real life, but also tell us something about the court life of Chosŏn. According to the entry, Hŏ Mok, a member of the State Council, handed his resignation letter to the King – taking personal responsibility for the draught. The King, unaware of the ritual nature of Yangban resignation notes, accepted the resignation and unknowingly created a minor crisis.¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, the members of the Royal Secretariat who met with the King made their appointments look as if they were presenting the formal opinion of the secretariat, even though Second Royal Secretary Yi

¹⁰³ Haboush, "Yun Hyu and the Search for Dominance," 318.

¹⁰⁴ King Sukchong addressed this issue. See *Sukchong sillok*, 1st year (1675), 9th day, 4th month), 3.27b.

¹⁰⁵ *Sukchong sillok*, 1st year (1675), 5th month, 2nd day, 3.45b.

庚申/左副承旨李宇鼎、右副承旨趙威明、同副承旨金賓，請對留許穆，上不許。

再請，上乃命以勿爲下往之意，自政院敦諭，三人喜而起。金賓往諭穆，穆不行。時，司憲李翊相發論之後，上不卽罪翊相，穆黨勸穆以去要君，實無行意。上不知其意而許之，穆狼狽。

Kyŏngsin. Fourth Royal Secretary Yi U-jŏng 李宇鼎, Fifth Royal Secretary Cho Ui-myŏng 趙威明, Sixth Royal Secretary Kim Bin, asked the King to reject Hŏ Mok's 許穆 resignation but the king did not approve their request

Once again, they made that request. The king then ordered him (Hŏ Mok) to withdraw his resignation, as requested by the Royal Secretariat. The three left satisfied. Kim Bin ordered Hŏ Mok not to proceed so Hŏ Mok did not withdraw from court. At this time, after Great Inspector General Yi Yik-Sang (李翊相) presented his opinion on the matter, the king condemned Yik-sang., Hŏ Mok's supporters encouraged him to leave, but he actually did not want to leave. The King did not know all this and allowed it (the resignation), putting Hŏ Mok in a difficult situation.

Dong-no (李東老) and Third Royal Secretary Yi Ha (李夏) were never consulted.¹⁰⁶ Fourth Royal Secretary Yi U-jǒng 李宇鼎 used the occasion of the meeting to introduce Yun Hyu. Prompted by the King, Yun Hyu addresses the issue of the draught directly.¹⁰⁷

The following dialog between Yun Hyu and the King provided an opportunity for Yun Hyu to practice the same theories he preaches in his discussion on the Great Plan.¹⁰⁸ He focuses on various elements of public policy that can all be traced to elements in the Great Plan itself but are mainly pragmatic. For example, he focuses on prisoners' amnesty, particularly of those prisoners who burden the judicial system but will face light punishment anyway. Finally, he says:

鑄曰：前史有三月雪而無四月雪，甚可畏也。以臣之思，政令間豈有召災之事，而乃如此？此乃北方之氣，前頭似將有北人之憂，故朔氣先見，宜可念也。謹按人君警懼，只在於天災，於此忽焉，無可幾矣。此《洪範》之五咎徵，垂戒於百王；而金陵之三不足，流毒於當時者也。¹⁰⁹

According to the history books, there is cause for concern when there is snow in the third month but not in the fourth. According to the thinking of your servant, if there happen to be any government decrees that invite (召) disasters, still would it be like this? Now wind (氣) from the north makes it look like some people from the north will cause us to be

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. 宇鼎等固請得允，而後乃退。左承旨李東老、右承旨李夏未嘗與議，而宇鼎等詐以院中僉議白上。Yi U-jǒng and the others made their request only after the position was vacated. Second Royal Secretary Yi Dong-no (李東老) and third royal secretary Yi Ha (李夏) were never consulted, and U-jǒng and the others.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. 是日上曰：“見備局座目則開坐矣。事有稟定者，則使之入侍，如無可言之事，則勿爲入侍事諭之……”宇鼎又言右尹尹鑄請對，上引見，鑄曰：“遇旱疏決，乃國家故事。On that occasion the king said: "By looking at the list on the seats of officials I can see officials began working. Thus, if they have something to decide by reporting to me, allow them to come to see me. If they don't have something to talk to me about, let them know that they don't need to come to see me." ... U-jǒng ordered Third Magistrate Yun Hyu to speak promptly. Pulling up his gaze Hyu said: "One of the old practices of the country, was to pardon prisoners..."

¹⁰⁸ *Sukchong sillok*, 1st year (1675), 5th month, 2nd day, 3.45b-46a.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

concerned.¹¹⁰ But it is prudent to wait until a northern cold air (朔氣) is coming before we think about what to do. It is prudent for rulers to be concerned only about natural disasters. If you ignore the warning signs, then you won't understand what they are a portent of. Now the Great Plan talks about the five warning signs, telling future generations of kings to take notice of strange weather patterns as a response by nature to a lack of virtue. Yet, Nanjing's "three insufficients" (Wang Anshi's text) did a lot of harm in his time.¹¹¹

Yun Hyu's brief comment touches upon one major controversy of the eleventh century. Michael Nylan described the major disagreements between Wang Anshi and his major opponents.¹¹² Nylan suggests that Wang Anshi saw his commentary to the Great Plan as an ideological underpinning to his famous reform.¹¹³ Moreover, she claims that Wang wanted to convince his patron, the Emperor Shenzong of Song (r. 1067-1085), that inauspicious omens reported by political opponents is not necessarily an indication to a malfunctioning government.¹¹⁴ He used the "three insufficients" 三不足, a term that Wang Anshi borrowed from Buddhist terminology, to summarize this exactly idea:

天變不足畏 祖宗不足法 人言不足恤¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ Traditionally in Chosŏn the north was associated with Jurchens (*yŏjin* 女眞) and other invading tribes. See for example *T'aejo sillok*, "General Introduction (*ch'ongsŏ*)," 1.17a.

¹¹¹ The three things that we can never have enough of are clothing 衣, food 食, and sleep 睡眠. See Charles Muller, "Sān Bùzú [三不足]," *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*. July 19, 2002. Accessed March 30, 2016. <http://www.buddhism-dict.net>.

¹¹² Michael Nylan, *The Shifting Center*, 81.

¹¹³ Michael Nylan, *The Shifting Center*, 66.

¹¹⁴ Michael Nylan, *The Shifting Center*, 81.

¹¹⁵ Tuo Tuo 脫脫, *Songshi* 宋史 (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1974), 327. 10550. <http://hanchi.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/ihpc/hanjiquery/?@18^1721183553^807^^^60202020000400860001^24@@@1454806050>

The change of Heaven is not sufficient enough for us to fear, the rule of the ancestors is not sufficient enough for us to model ourselves upon, and the criticism of other people is also not sufficient for us to feel concerned with.

Most of Wang Anshi's work on the Great Plan, including three commentaries, was lost.¹¹⁶ We can learn its importance from what we have left, as well as the extensive refutations that some of his contemporaries provided, as well as the fact that Zhu Xi himself used some of his theories. In spite of his disclaimer, Yun Hyu does share many of Wang An-shi's ideologies. Like Wang, he is also focusing on the centrality of the monarch as a symbol and in essence, and like Wang he is also taking a mid-way approach on omens.¹¹⁷ Wang addressed the criticism of his time by attacking the equation of morality and politics, by coupling major terms in opposition.¹¹⁸ The first of each term serves as a precondition to the second, its dialectic oppositions (反). As we have already seen, this is in essence the basis of Yun Hyu's approach to the text.¹¹⁹ Specifically, Yun Hyu does not see omens as an immediate indication for government failure. It seems that he suggests that it is the role of the ministers and not of the King to interpret the omens.

The author of the *Sillok*-entry picked up on the similarities between Yun Hyu and Wang An-shi. Following Yun Hyu's statement above, the author has added his own commentary on the text, rebuking his approach. In his comment he says:

今鑄不以修省之道陳戒于上，而反謂政令無闕，噫！當時政令，果皆無可言者歟？人君忽災之意，斯言有以啓之，面諛之態，可勝痛哉？¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ Michael Nylan, *The Shifting Center*, 66.

¹¹⁷ Michael Nylan, *The Shifting Center*, 80.

¹¹⁸ Michael Nylan, *The Shifting Center*, 87.

¹¹⁹ We have seen earlier how Yun Hyu treats the dyad sang-su 象數 (xiang-shu in Chinese) in much the same way. Other couplets, such as Chǒng-ch'i 政治 receive a very similar treatment.

¹²⁰ *Sukchong sillok*, 1st year (1675), 5th month, 2nd day, 3.45b-46a.

Now, Hyu did not present to the king the way of self-examination and cultivation, regarding instead the government-ordinance as if there is nothing to improve. Alas! Is it really the case that government policy at that time has no issues that deserve to be discussed? One can explain that a disaster means that the monarch failed by neglecting his duties, rather than adopt this deplorable attitude of praise in the King's face.

Followed by this comment is Yun Hyu's own recommendation to the King.¹²¹ He argues that the King should be able to make his own decisions; otherwise the whole concept of regal sovereignty is meaningless. Furthermore, it is the king's prerogative to choose or deny advice from his counselors, regardless of the consequences. Since this sentence follows directly his statement on the Great Plan and Wang An-shi, we can only understand from that that he indeed sees Wang's reading of the Great Plan as valid. In other words, for the king must have moral and judicial autonomy in order to fulfill his role in the Great Plan. This is the core of the Song Dynasty debate on the Great Plan, which Yun Hyu revives since it has significant implications for the situation in the late seventeenth century Korea.

It is only appropriate to conclude this survey with Yun Hyu's last text on the Great Plan. In 1679, less than a year before his exile and death, Yun Hyu presented the king Sukchong with a text titled *A Diagrammatic Treatise on the System of Councilors and Mentors*, a three *kwŏn*

¹²¹ Ibid. 鑄又曰：“御樓一事，上有意則問于大臣而行之，不爾則只令行其事，如御樓也。向日禮論，朝廷罪異論者，承旨沈光洙以當行三年之說，廢錮而死。此乃學行之人，而先王禮遇之臣似當褒贈。士人李櫛亦以禮論見廢，宜一體褒贈，議于大臣，何如？”

Hyu said again: If the king has the intention to do something, he will consult the high officials, and then will do it. Otherwise, he just orders that those matters be executed, and it will be done. If the king has to ask for recommendations every time he has to decide if someone is guilty or innocent, then it is not the law of the king that rewards the good and punishes evil, and he cannot pardon a person who committed a crime against the state. In the past, the court condemned 沈光洙 (1598 - 1662) as heterodox on the issue of Ritual Theory, because he argued for a mourning period of three-years [in the ritual controversy of 1659]. He was banned from government office and died. This was only a man of learning, yet ancient kings gave differential treatment to ministers and bestowed praise and presents upon them. The scholar Yi Yu 李櫛 was likewise eliminated for his part in the ritual controversy. He should also be bestowed honors. How about doing that?

reform proposal. Yun Hyu based his text on the “Officers of Zhou” (Zhouguan 周官) chapter of the *Book of Documents*, which was also the source for the system of Three Councilors (*samgong* 三公) and Three Mentors (*samgo* 三孤) system. Yun Hyu addresses the obvious contradictions between the systems proposed in the “Officers of Zhou” and in the *Rites of Zhou* (Zhouli 周禮), and between those two and the actual systems implemented in Chinese history. JaHyun Kim Haboush surveyed the text systematically, focusing on its relevance for Yun Hyu’s political reformation.¹²² Haboush juxtaposed the text with Yun Hyu’s earlier *Leisurely Writings* 漫筆 (manp’il), a three *kwŏn* long survey of Korean History.¹²³ According to Haboush, Yun Hyu’s reaction to the imminent threat of the Manchu “barbarians” was an examination of Korean history and its failures. One of Yun Hyu’s insights was that both the Chosŏn political system and the examination system failed by narrowing the channels of speech (*ŏllo* 言路) to the king.¹²⁴

In *Diagrammatic Treatise* Yun Hyu suggests a reading of the *Documents* that supports his political reform by applying his methodology for the Learning of the Classics into a real-life problem. It is therefore an opportunity to see his theory in action, but also to see how the place and importance that he gives to scriptures in general. What we learn from this particular case is that Yun Hyu’s approach is more than a system to analyze the classics. He promotes the Great Plan to a status of a general text, applicable due to the universal power of its numerology (which is in essence a natural-law like element) to every mundane case, or as a general guide to understand the other classics.

According to Haboush, Yun Hyu’s main task was to attack the Chosŏn administrative system, showing that the current political system was bankrupt. This was well within his jurisdiction as the Inspector-General 大司憲. As mentioned above, Yun Hyu claimed that the

¹²² Haboush, “Yun Hyu and the Search for Dominance,” 309-329.

¹²³ Haboush, “Yun Hyu and the Search for Dominance,” 323.

¹²⁴ Haboush, “Yun Hyu and the Search for Dominance,” 324.

complex hierarchies of the Chosŏn government prevented a clear channel of speech (*ŏllo* 言路) to the king.¹²⁵ His reform required consolidation of authorities at the higher levels of the government. Yun Hyu's concern was not baseless: in the Rites Controversy of 1660, it was the Royal Secretary Kim Suhang (1629-89), the protégé of Song Siyŏl, who skewed the debate by actively controlling the memos that reached the King.¹²⁶ On the other hand, in 1674 it was the support of the Royal Secretariat that tipped the scales toward the *Namin*, and caused the replacement of a *Sŏin* Councilor and many censors with *Namin* people.¹²⁷ However, Yun Hyu needed a good reference from the classics if he wanted to change a political system that was based, with changes, on a Chinese model. He chose to focus on the apparent contradiction between the system proposed in the "Officers of Zhou" chapter of the *Documents* and the *Rites of Zhou*. The "Officers of Zhou" was attributed to the Duke of Zhou, but according to the *Rites of Zhou* he was in fact the only one in power. Yun Hyu's solution was that *de facto* the Duke of Zhou embodied all the positions by himself, and that this had some benefits.¹²⁸

For the purposes of this study, the interesting aspect of Yun Hyu's solution is that it exposes some of his presuppositions on the classics. Specifically, that he assumes the integrity and completeness of the classics. In other words, for Yun Hyu the classics as a whole contain answers and moral insight for every case. This is directly related to the mentioning of the Comprehensiveness of the Sage chapter (of Zhou Dun-yi's *T'ongshu*) in the introduction to the *toksangsŏ*.¹²⁹ We can understand from the text of the introduction as well as Hŏ Mok's response that this is a direct challenge to the teaching of Zhu Xi. Indeed, for Zhu Xi the term

¹²⁵ Haboush, "Yun Hyu and the Search for Dominance," 324.

¹²⁶ Andrei Lankov, "Controversy over Ritual in 17th Century Korea," *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies* 3 (December 1990), 55.

¹²⁷ Andrei Lankov, "Controversy over Ritual in 17th Century Korea," 58.

¹²⁸ Yun Hyu, "Konggo chikchang tosŏl sang 公孤職掌圖說上 [Diagrammatic Treatise on the System of Councilors and Mentors]," in *PHCS, kwŏn* 28, 1180.

¹²⁹ Yun Hyu, "Konggo chikchang tosŏl sang," 1681.

“comprehensiveness” means that the hexagrams (attributed to Fuxi) may be used perhaps to outline every moral concern, but definitely do not contain by themselves moral teachings.¹³⁰ Zhu Xi’s metaphor is that of a worn-out robe, one that covers perhaps the wearer, but do not do him justice. Yun Hyu however, holds the same position of the *xiang-shu* 象數 school, meaning that the classics and the hexagrams are whole and complete in a way that is mystical.¹³¹ This holistic approach to the text seeks to explain apparent contradictions in terms of the text itself.

Yun Hyu, takes a unique approach in regards to the Song Dynasty controversy around the term *huangji* 皇極 (*hwanggŭk* in Korean). Scholars of the twelfth century (Notably Wang An-shi, which Yun Hyu quotes on the matter) shifted their reading of the term from the emperor to the literati.¹³² According to this reading, the Great Plan is all about the power of the literati to mediate between the monarch and the people. Furthermore, in his *Critique of huang-ji* (皇極辨) Zhu Xi goes further toward making this a text on self-cultivation, by stressing its role as an internal standard.¹³³ Yun Hyu uses the language of sovereignty and rulership in regards to the term, saying that establishing the *huang-ji* means “the authority to govern the world alone and to wield the power of punishment or leniency”.¹³⁴ The term receives a scant reference and it is obvious that both here and in *Penetrating the Meaning* it is relatively marginalized. If that was the only treatment that issue received in the text, we could have said that Yun Hyu takes a fundamentalist approach, in the sense of going back to the historical (and perhaps imaginary)

¹³⁰ Joseph Alan Adler, *Reconstructing the Confucian Dao: Zhu Xi's Appropriation of Zhou Dunyi* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014), 286-7.

¹³¹ This mirrors a basic understanding of Jewish rabbinical teaching. Tractate Avot (“Forefathers”) of the Mishna says: “Turn it, and turn it again (the Torah), for everything can be found therein” (Mishna, Avot 5:25). This is traditionally understood as permission for continuous exegesis of the text.

¹³² Michael Nylan, *The Shifting Center*, 66-68.

¹³³ Michael Nylan, *The Shifting Center*, 99.

¹³⁴ Yun Hyu, “Konggo chikchang tosŏl sang,” 1195. 皇極建用 御世惟權 而威福運於上矣。

foundations of Confucianism.¹³⁵ In this sense we could have assumed that Yun Hyu returns to Kong Anguo's reading of the text as a guide to the Emperor as a mediator between the Three Greats (Heaven, Earth and Humanity).

However, Yun Hyu brings back the term Prime Minister 冢宰 (*zhongzai* in Chinese, *ch'ongjae* in Korean) from the Rites of the Zhou 周禮 the chapter with the same name.¹³⁶ In terms of his proposed political reform, Yun Hyu is suggesting the Duke of Zhou as the epitome of that specific model, wielding the positions of all three councilors and three mentors. The benefit of that, according to Yun Hyu, is that it exactly solves the problems that he sees in the current political system. For example, he claims that in the old days the Prime Minister and the king would control expenses directly, whereas now the separation between the Royal Treasury 內需司 and private funds mean that the King has no real knowledge of what happens outside of court.¹³⁷ Philosophically speaking, the introduction of the Prime Minister to the discussion marks a middle-path between placing the monarch or the literati as the main players of the text.

On the other hand, Yun Hyu need to show that the text is not monarch-specific, if he wants to keep claiming that together with the *Changes*, the “Great Plan” is a framework for all the other classics (as he did in the introduction to *Penetrating the Meaning*). He achieves that by showing that there is no single, monolithic concept of the Way 道. Instead, he demonstrates several different “Ways”, relevant to the various readers of the text. First and foremost, the most important Way is the Way of Heaven 天道, which is directly relevant for the Sage. Yun Hyu

¹³⁵ Lindsay Jones, “Evangelical and Fundamental Christianity” in *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 2nd ed. (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007), 2887. The term is mostly used now pejoratively in the Western culture, but it seems to me that Yun Hyu's ideals and methodology of reading the classics make that term applicable to him.

¹³⁶ Yun Hyu, “Konggo chikchang tosöl sang,” 1203.

¹³⁷ Yun Hyu, “Konggo chikchang tosöl sang,” 1270-1. He says there “Also, in the old days, it was the Prime Minister (冢宰) and the King who governed over issues such as food and clothes, money etc’, since what we call the private treasuries 私藏 did not exist; Now, there is no involvement between the outer court (outside court?) and the Royal Treasury, and meanwhile because private illegal and illicit activities cannot be detected, national dignity is damaged and it causes complaints from there as well.”

uses the Way of Heaven to bring again the term *ilun* 彝倫, as a cardinal aspect of the Sage's involvement:

臣又按 洪範九疇者，聖人治天下之心法也。所以克相上帝敘民彝倫者也。彝倫者五品之大倫也。言用不言用者。又所似用夫九疇之道也。故不言用者所以見天道之自然其言用也。所似言人事之有為也。¹³⁸

The Great Plan in Nine Sections is the Sage's way of promoting the cultivation of the mind of all under heaven. It is that by which he is able to assist the Lord on High 上帝 to teach *ilun* 彝倫 morality to the people. This *ilun* is the great principle of the five cardinal relationships. Whether the word “use” is mentioned or not, all these cases are example of the application of the Way of the Nine 九疇 [i.e., in the case of the first section dealing with the Five Phases 五行]. It did not say “use” because the Way of Heaven 天道 will have shown its usage by itself. That term is being used only when Human Action is needed [i.e., for the other eight categories].

As far as the Way of Heaven is concerned, Yun Hyu correlates it directly with the nine items of the Great Plan. Of these, the first item, concerning the *Five Phases*, is not accompanied by the word *yong* 用, and thus (claims Yun Hyu) it is not related to the realm of human actions which compose the activities of the Sage. We can also understand from this, that they are not covered by the Doctrine of the Mean.¹³⁹ As far as Yun Hyu is concerned, the Way of Heaven is directly related to the normative regulation of human relationships. But there are other “Ways” in the text. Yun Hyu uses a case from Mencius to negate a connection between the Royal Way 王道

¹³⁸ Yun Hyu, “Konggo chikchang tosöl sang,” 1270-1.

¹³⁹ Which might explain why there is no reference to the theory of Five Phases, or any other *ki* 氣 related theory in the Doctrine of the Mean.

with Way of Ruling by Might 霸道.¹⁴⁰ Similarly there are references to other ways, such as “the way of raising the People” 畜民之道.¹⁴¹ He goes on and explains the teachings of various Confucian figures (such as Yanzi and Mencius) and texts (such as the *Classic of Filial Piety*) in terms of a Way.

¹⁴⁰ Yun Hyu, “Konggo chikchang tosöl sang,” 1198. Yun Hyu is addressing Mencius’s response to the question of King Xiang of Liang on Duke Huan of Qi and Duke Wen of Jin (Mencius 1A7). In this case, Mencius responds that none of Confucius’ disciples discussed these two, who were important feudal lords, and the first two of the so-called Five Hegemons 五霸. Mencius’s comment that he “heard nothing” of these two cannot be taken literally: He is making a case to distinguish “true” monarchy from lord-protectors. See P. J. Ivanhoe and Irene Bloom, *Mencius* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 6 n.19.

¹⁴¹ Yun Hyu, “Konggo chikchang tosöl sang,” 1192.

3.8 Conclusion – Commentary, Hermeneutics and Scriptures

In this long survey of Yun Hyu's writings on the Great Plan, I was aiming to expose what I see as the unique aspects of Yun Hyu's theory. While noted for his infamous commentary on the Doctrine of the Mean (the official reason for his capital punishment), his long-term work on the Great Plan tells us a lot on how he imagined the study of the classics should work. Yun Hyu attempted to revitalize Neo-Confucianism, and the Great Plan reveals a lot of details of this attempt. I would like to suggest that Yun Hyu's approach to the classics is fundamentalist in nature. In this I do not mean the modern derogatory usage of the term, but rather a system of ideas about text and textuality that were prominent in the American Christian movement with the same name in the early twentieth century. In his *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, George M. Marsden notes that in the first two decades of the twentieth century, the Bible played a role for which there is no European parallel.¹⁴² The Protestant Church, says Marsden, was uniquely united behind the principle of *Scriptura Sola* [sic], the principle that the scriptures should be held as the supreme authority in all matters. The principle of *Scriptura Sola* was an important theological teaching of Martin Luther himself, but here it was held as the sole key for what Marsden calls Biblical primitivism.

As we have seen, Yun Hyu asserts the importance of the Great Plan specifically in three different ways. In his *Penetrating the Meaning* he introduces the Great Plan as a classic, as the name itself reveals, and tightly connects it to the *Changes*. In that introduction, he ties the Great

¹⁴² George M Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 223-4.

Plan to the “Comprehensiveness of the Sage” chapter of the *Tongshu* 通書. In fact, he is already hinting his proposal by saying that the Great Plan “reveals the Comprehensiveness of the Sage” (發聖人之蘊者). As I have shown, he later suggests that the Great Plan is an overlaying structure, whereas the *Changes* provide the details. In this sense, these two are the two primary classics, whereas the other texts provide the details in their relative realms: ethics, history, ritual and so on. This is a simple and elegant structure, one that draws its logic exactly from the *Xiangshu* School’s mode of reasoning. Here, the Great Plan provides the *shu* 數, the numerical element, while the *Changes* naturally provide the *xiang* 象 or images.

This brings up the issue of textual authorities. This is the real importance of Yun Hyu’s interest in Kija’s captivity, and his calculation of the time Kija spent in King Wu’s imprisonment, since it allows him to stress Kija as the real source of moral authority for his suggested canon. John B. Henderson comments on the importance that Confucian scholars gave to the arrangement of authorities in writing, hence also the importance of anthologies.¹⁴³ As an example he brings the case of Yi Hwang’s reading of the Western Inscription, noting that we should consider the role of each reference in its new position. Specifically, Confucian scholarship arranges textual authority in layers of antiquities. Mark Lewis, another author on textual authority, notes that this division of antiquities comes each with a figure of authority, the apotheosis of that age.¹⁴⁴ He traces for example, the authority of the *Book of Changes* from Fu Xi, as a representative of the non-political age of early antiquity, to the Duke of Zhou in the so-

¹⁴³ John B. Henderson, *Scripture, Canon, and Commentary: A Comparison of Confucian and Western Exegesis*. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991), 82.

¹⁴⁴ Mark Edward Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China* (Albany: State Univ. of New York Press, 1999), 165-8.

called middle-antiquity, and finally Confucius as a representative of a late antiquity. According to Lewis, the evolution of relationship between textuality and kingship, is a process of gaining textual authority by converting these figures to pure textual entities. Establishing a canon and the idealization of a textual antiquity was the first step in the creation of an empire.¹⁴⁵

Reading Yun Hyu's treatment of Kija and the Great Plan in this light, it seems that he is trying to redress the existing canon by going back to antiquity earlier than the Confucius of Zhu Xi, in this case Kija, as a representative of an alternative authority. As we have seen, Yun Hyu believes that Kija's sagely advice allowed King Wu to rule, and it is clear that morally Kija is the superior in this story. This is in effect of the same essence as what Marsden calls the Biblical primitivism. Yun Hyu is not exactly a pioneer with this approach: Zhu Xi's own reformation was done in much the same way, relaying on Zisi 子思 as his source of authority. As Martina Deuchler noted, Yun Hyu based his entire approach to the learning of the classics on Zhu Xi's own efforts, thus consciously putting himself in Zhu Xi's shoes.¹⁴⁶ That is exactly the purpose of Yun Hyu repeatedly narrating the transmission of his *daotong* 道通.¹⁴⁷

Finally, in his discussion on textual authority, John Henderson brings up another aspect of textual authority: the canonization of commentaries is also an important aspect of authority.¹⁴⁸ Henderson tracks the similarities between several traditions, from Chinese Confucianism to Islam, noting on the similar aspects of this specific process of regarding an author as the

¹⁴⁵ Mark Edward Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China*, 338.

¹⁴⁶ Martina Deuchler, "Despoilers of the Way Insulters of the Sages," 99-100.

¹⁴⁷ Such as the one depicted in the chapter titled *kun 'guk ch 'ungmin chido* 君國畜民之道. See Yun Hyu, "Konggo chikchang tosöl sang," 1192.

¹⁴⁸ John B. Henderson, *Scripture, Canon, and Commentary*, 84.

apotheosis of commentaries. For our purposes, the difference the mediaeval Hinduism is making between *shruti* and *smriti*, revelation and recollection, provides useful terminology. The unique power of the Bible for the fundamentalists, the origin of *Scriptura Sola*, is exactly in its revelatory nature. Yun Hyu's reversal to the *xiang-shu* colors the Great Plan as a revelation of natural laws, reflected in the unchanging natural nature of numbers.

Chapter 4: Serving Heaven – Discussing the Doctrine of the Mean

4.1 Introduction

Yun Hyu is notoriously a “despoiler of the Way”, a translation of the derogative *samun nanjök* 斯文亂賊. The term, as it appeared in the *sillok*, was directly associated with Yun Hyu’s commentary on the Doctrine of the Mean. The *sillok* states specifically that Song Siyöl rebuked him as a “despoiler of the Way”, along with others who went against Zhu Xi, for his traitorous commentary on the *Doctrine of the Mean*.¹ However, on first glance there is nothing controversial in Yun Hyu’s Notes Upon Reading of the Doctrine of the Mean. Yun Hyu begins with the traditional apologetic introduction, and continue on with the usual issues associated with the text: its structure, terminology, and so on. The discussion itself is not radically new or outrageous. A reader might ask – why was Yun Hyu dubbed a traitor over such a text?

In this chapter, I will explore Yun Hyu’s main text on the *Doctrine of the Mean*, his Notes Upon Reading of the Doctrine of the Mean (*toksögi chungyong*), and demonstrate how Yun Hyu provides a radically different reading of the text. To do so, I will analyze the text in parts, under the presupposition that these are separate texts joined together. According to his chronology, as well as his own introduction to the text, Yun Hyu studied the *Doctrine of the Mean* throughout his life, often returning to his old texts to add comments or corrections. This makes the analysis of his text asynchronous in nature. In my analysis, I would therefore focus less on the relationship between the text and the *realpolitik* of his time, and more on the way that

¹ *Sukchong sillok*, 42nd year (1716), 12th month, 29th day, 58.52b. 惟其如是，故凡於背朱子之說，輒皆嚴辭痛闢，當賊鑷之改註《中庸》也，時烈斥之以斯文亂賊，而獨拯之父宣舉，力加庇護，至謂之高明之過。

Yun Hyu conceived the intellectual politics of the Song dynasty, no doubt while paralleling his time's politics. In this text Yun Hyu demonstrates his innovative approach to the study of the classics, applying many methods that we usually associate with later scholars of the so-called "Practical Learning". I will focus specifically on Yun Hyu's approach to the *li-ki* scholarship that in the Cheng-Zhu school is tightly associated with this text. I will then show how Yun Hyu adopted some Heaven-related terminology from Yi Hwang, making it the centerpiece of his analysis. Yun Hyu focuses on "fear" related expression, demonstrating that it is the fear of Heaven that constructs the Exemplary Person and allows self-cultivation. Finally, I will focus on the Heaven-Centered aspects of Yun Hyu's commentary and show how he advocated Neo-Confucianism in a way that is extremely religious, while trying to consolidate two very different approaches to Confucianism: The approach stemming from the "Classical" Confucianism and the Neo-Confucianism of the Cheng-Zhu school, as it was understood in Korea.

4.2 Notes Upon Reading the Doctrine of the Mean

Yun Hyu's *Notes Upon Reading* 讀書記 of *The Doctrine of the Mean* 中庸 is a composite text. It takes up the entire 36th *kwŏn* of PHCS, and is composed of several different texts. Moreover, as per Yun Hyu's regular method of writing, the text was re-edited with additional comments embedded at a later date. This editing reflects the nature of the text as personal learning journal (as its name reflects) rather than an edited text. The text starts with a short preface 序, immediately followed by a section titled *Chungyong changgu ch'aje* 中庸章句次第 or *The Sequence of the Doctrine of the Mean in Chapter and Verse*, a simple transcription of the version of *The Doctrine of the Mean* that Yun Hyu is using.² It is followed by a lengthy essay on the

² Yun Hyu, "Toksŏgi chungyong 讀書記中庸," in PHCS, kwŏn 36, 1447.

divisions of the text, titled *punjang taeji* 分章大旨.³ That, in turn is followed by *Chungyong Chuja changgu porok* 中庸朱子章句補錄 (Supplement to Master Chu’s Mean in Chapters and Verses), the main core of Yun Hyu’s exegesis and arguments on the text, which contains its own short preface.⁴ Finally, the text ends with a short conclusion that can be seen either as a part of the last chapter or as a conclusion to the entire text.⁵ Of these, only the introduction to the last part is dated to 1668.⁶ According to Yun Hyu’s chronology, in 1644, when he was 28 years old, he wrote the *chungyongsöl* 中庸說, which is likely to be the first iteration of this text.⁷

4.2.1 The Introduction

Yun Hyu introduces his text in a personal tone, that imitates, I think quite consciously, the opening of Yi Hwang’s *chasöngnok* 自省錄.⁸ This perhaps is incidental, but the tone and content of the opening seem to reflect the well-known opening of that diary. Whereas in the rest of the text and in other treatises on the subject Yun Hyu is not particularly loyal to Yi Hwang’s system, here in the introduction he is playing to his *namin* audience. In spite of the first impression, it is not an apologetic introduction. It presents the gist of Yun Hyu’s argument on the role of exegesis as presented before. The introduction is dense and presents a mature Yun Hyu. I chose to bring here the full introduction as it is to provide the full impact of Yun Hyu’s own words:⁹

³ Yun Hyu, “Toksögi Chungyong,” 1456.

⁴ Yun Hyu, “Toksögi Chungyong,” 1461.

⁵ Yun Hyu, “Toksögi Chungyong,” 1499-1500.

⁶ See discussion below.

⁷ Yun Hyu, “Yönbo 年譜,” in *PHCS*, purok 5, 2135.

⁸ Edward Y.J. Chung, *A Korean Confucian Way of Life and Thought the Chasöngnok (Record of Self-Reflection)*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press: 2016), 49. T’oegye sönsaeng sokchip, “Chasöngnok sosö 自省錄 小序,” 8.205a.

⁹ Whereas separate sentences allow analysis, I think that only the text as a whole provides the flow of Yun Hyu’s argument, and allows a glimpse into his unique writing style.

始余既讀中庸 略錄所見大指序次章句 姑以備遺忘 俟討論焉耳 讀去讀來餘歟十年 鑽仰 研究 未嘗志于心也。 而顧見其無甚異同也。 甚愧余學之無進也。 抑古人所謂挽弓不開 更難 求之力分之外者也歟。 今姑更疏平日記取於心者。 并前後錄為一編。 思以就正於有道。 且來 者有日。 未知自此以往。 更加十年之功。 又復如何也。

昔程叔子嘗著中庸解。 既自以為不滿意 而焚之。 古人之不自滿足。 無輕言道如此。 此是余之有愧于古人者也。

抑晦翁之釋諸經書也。 既集眾說 而折衷之 有成說矣。 然猶每與門人講習 而身體驗之 或有說未透見未到行未得處 又必為之討論更定。

不住修改 至于屬續而未已焉 常曰比因朋友辨質 始覺某前說有未安者 如是者 不一不再 其取善求是 不憚遷徙 又如此 此又余之所則效而思勉焉者也

中庸章句次第 天命之謂性率性之謂道修道之謂教道也者不可須臾離也可離/非道也是故君子戒慎 白湖全書卷之三十三雜著一¹⁰

After reading *The Doctrine of the Mean* for the first time, I wrote down the general meaning and order of the “Chapters and Phrases” so that I would not forget. I have read and read about it for decades and have always studied it without forgetting it, but it is not much different from what I saw at first. I was very embarrassed to learn that my studies were not progressing.

¹⁰ Yun Hyu, “Toksŏgi Chungyong,” 1447.

The ancients said that “if you cannot pull a bow, looking for external force is even harder”, and this is exactly the case.¹¹ Now, that I had some time, I went back and added to my notes some things from memory, and bound it all into one book. Thinking to submit it for comments to someone who attained the Way, one day in the future, not yet known in the past, after studying for a decade, I will inspect it again.

A long time ago Chǒng Sukja 程叔子 (Cheng Yi) wrote the *Zhongyong jie* 中庸解, but later became dissatisfied with it and burned it. The people of the past were not easily satisfied with themselves and did not speak about the Way carelessly. It makes me ashamed in front of the ancients. This is why Huiweng 晦翁 (Zhu Xi) compiled the theories of many people in his commentaries, gathered the various ideas and found the middle way by their persuasion. However, to do so, one has to be instructed by learned people, and experience everything for himself. If there is any explanation that one cannot come up with, or one’s opinion is still insufficient, it should be revised. But if you do that, you will always have to study with educated people and experience for yourself. If there is any explanation that you cannot find, or your opinion is still insufficient, you need to discuss it again until all loose ends are weaved together. He always said: “Only with friends can I discuss and correct the discrepancies of my former theories,” until there is not a single discrepancy. Thus, I also seek what is good and true, and do not hesitate to correct my mistakes for the sake of honor. This is also what I wish to imitate and inspire me.

¹¹ I was not able to find the quote. However, even today there are several idioms in Chinese that share that structure.

Soffel and Tillman mention this story of Cheng Yi's allegedly burning the *Zhongyongjie* as a way to legitimize rhetoric which allows a certain degree of textual skepticism.¹² In particular they are interested in this story in relation with issues regarding transmission of the Way.¹³ Soffel and Tillman note that Zhu Xi was aware of two different accounts on this matter, and reasons that Zhu Xi could probably not accept a report that downplays Cheng Yi's opinion on the *Zhongyong*.¹⁴ Yun Hyu accepts the story and uses it to explain that questioning your predecessors is the proper transmission of the Way. He is doing so again in his discussion on the division of the text, as discussed below.

4.2.2 The Division of the Text

As mentioned before, the first of the two treatises, *punjang taeji* 分章大旨, deals primarily with the breakdown of the text into chapters. This topic is not incidental and have been indeed one of the main point of contention both in Chosŏn and in China, an intellectual mine-field into which Yun Hyu enters knowingly. Since Zhu Xi's original compilation of the classics was his *sishu zhangju jizhu* 四書章句集注, the division of the classics into segments was an inherent aspect of Neo-Confucian thought from the Song dynasty.¹⁵ As an object of intellectual disputes, *The Doctrine of the Mean* did not even offer a clear structure (as *The Great Learning* does) and instead offers a possibility for many alternative structures. From the beginning of the Chosŏn dynasty, Korean scholars have been aware of the various divisions of the text and the important influence that these differences had on meaning.

¹² Christian Soffel and Hoyt Cleveland Tillman, *Cultural Authority and Political Culture in China: Exploring Issues with the Zhongyong and the Daotong During the Song, Jin and Yuan Dynasties* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 2012), 55-6.

¹³ It is quite likely that Yun Hyu was aware of the rhetorical usage of the story on the burning of the *zhongyongjie* and uses it here as leverage to propose his on divergence from Zhu Xi. It coincides with the way that Yun Hyu justifies his changes in other places.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Soffel and Tillman, *Cultural Authority and Political Culture in China*, 71.

Zhu Xi divides the text into essentially four parts, culminating in the introduction of Sincerity (*sǒng*) as they linchpin of the text. He sees chapters 1 to 11 as a direct transmission of Zisi's own teaching, at least in spirit, followed by citations of Confucian tradition (chapters 12 to 20). Inside that part, the text first discusses the Minuteness of the Way of the Exemplary Person, followed by its greatness. Those two finally merge in chapter 20, with the introduction of Sincerity. The next part (chapters 21 to 32) compares the Way of Humans (*indo*) with the Way of Heaven (*chǒndo*), allowing Zhu Xi to introduce his metaphysics. Finally, Chapter 33 is considered as a separate chapter, due to its different style of writing. Riegel quotes the late Gustav Haloun, thinking of this division as two distinct aspects – the Confucian “logia” (λογία) until chapter 20, and schólion (σχόλιον) or commentary from chapter 21.¹⁶

In the late Song Dynasty, Zhu Xi's disciples were not shy about offering their own divisions, and respective understandings of the text. Wang Bo 王柏 (1197-1274), a three-times removed disciple of Zhu Xi, also provided a break-down of the text.¹⁷ Wang summarized his own division in the *tupulüe* 圖譜略, dividing the text into “branches” 支. This division was not however, his most daring attack on his Zhu Xi's breakdown of the text. In the now-lost text titled *guzhongyong* 古中庸, he attempted to reconstruct the original text, re-arranging it, and presenting it as two manuscripts (which he calls *gang* 綱) joined at the hip.¹⁸ Wang Bo's reconstruction is in essence the same insight as Gustav Haloun's. According to his report in his *Zhongyong lun* 中庸論, he received the insight for this reconstruction of the old text while reading *Hanshu* 漢書 (The History of Former Han), which was clearly talking about the text in two parts. Another influential commentator was Rao Lu 饒魯 (Penname Shuangfeng 雙峯), who

¹⁶ Jeffrey K. Riegel, “The Four “Tzu ssu” Chapters of the Li Chi: an Analysis and Translation of the Fang chi, Chung yung, Piao chi, and Tzu I” (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1978), 85-100.

¹⁷ Soffel and Tillman, *Cultural Authority and Political Culture in China*, 71-86.

¹⁸ Soffel and Tillman, *Cultural Authority and Political Culture in China*, 78-81.

broke the text into six segments 節.¹⁹ This was by no means unusual, and other students of Zhu Xi had similar reservations on the structure offered by Zhu Xi.²⁰

Chosŏn scholars were immersed in debates, since the early years of the dynasty. The year following Yi Sŏnggye's ascent to the throne, Kwŏn Kŭn 權近 (1352-1409) compiled his *iphak tosŏl* 入學圖說, as a primer for his students. Kwŏn Kŭn offered two breakdowns, roughly based on Wang Bo's commentary. One was a rough breakdown of three parts, and the other a finer structure of five parts. Others of his time offered different structures. In fact, in his exhaustive study of that diagram alone, Ch'oe Sŏkki introduced more than fifty diagrams of the structure of *The Doctrine of the Mean*, each offering the logic and legitimization for a specific breakdown.²¹ Generally speaking, it seems that Chosŏn thinkers were particularly fond of the three specific breakdowns of the text offered by Zhu Xi, Wang Bo and Rao Lu, and attempting to consolidate the three or to choose a favorite were the main efforts expressed in these diagrams. By the seventeenth century, there was a tradition of divisions, and the few new diagrams produced in his time were mostly rendering of Kwŏn Kŭn's diagram, based in turn on Wang Bo's diagrams.²² Even in the late nineteenth century, prominent scholars such as Yi Chinsang were still trying to consolidate these division systems, as I have discussed in other places.²³

Seen in the context of what other Chosŏn commentators, Yun Hyu's division is indeed daring and scandalous, as it strays away from common wisdom to the point of breaking the text

¹⁹ Soffel and Tillman, *Cultural Authority and Political Culture in China*, 79.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ch'oe Sŏkki, *Chosŏn sidae Chungyong tosŏl* [Chosŏn era's diagrammatic treatises on the *Doctrine of the Mean*], Sŏul: Pogosa, 2013.

²² Ch'oe Sŏkki, *Chosŏn sidae Chungyong tosŏl*, 9. See for example the diagram that Ko Yŏhŭng 高汝興 (1617-1678) titled simply *Chungyongjido* 中庸之道. It is basically Kwŏn Kŭn's diagram, which means that he accepted the structure from the *iphak tosŏl* with no challenge.

²³ Yi Chinsang, "Chungyong saji yukjŏl [The Diagram of Four Branches and Six Sections of the Zhongyong]," in *Hanju chŏnsŏ*, 4:120a.

mid-chapter, as was done by pre-Song commentators.²⁴ Yun Hyu opens his text with what looks like a reference list, but is in fact an index of his textual division. Simply put, each chapter is given a title followed by a list of key words which identify its main topics and the perimeters of the paragraph. Followed is an explanation, stating that “listed above, is the corrected breakdown of The Doctrine of the Mean from chapter ten to chapter twenty-eight”.²⁵ Usually, commentators divide the text into the Classic 經 part, supposedly containing the knowledge transmitted by Zisi and the “Commentary” 傳. The classic part is the head chapter, which includes what is thought to be a direct transmission of Zisi’s teachings. Yun Hyu describe this chapter as the learning of Zisi, thus a direct transmission from Confucius:

其首章則蓋子思子述傳受之大旨也而天人之道 學問之功聖神之能事備矣

The first chapter broadly outlines what Zisi have learned, about the Way of Man and Heaven, the achievements of learning and the abilities of sages and spirits are all well written.²⁶

Whether or not that text was actually Zisi’s own text was often doubted, but was often accepted at least as a transmission of his teaching. Soffel and Tillman noted the fact that stressing the authenticity of Zisi in the text, is by default decreasing the importance of the Mencius, for example.²⁷ Yun Hyu stresses the authority and authenticity of the text as Zisi’s transmission, by literally saying that “Zisi Zi narrated the great theme of the oral tradition passed down to him” (子思子述傳受之大旨).²⁸

As mentioned earlier, the core of the text is divided into seven chapters, each with a title and a list of key words. These are described in terms of key words which also dictate the range of

²⁴ Soffel and Tillman, *Cultural Authority and Political Culture in China*, 79.

²⁵ Yun Hyu, “Toksōgi Chungyong,” 1457. 右校中庸章序如此 凡十章二十有八節。

²⁶ Yun Hyu, “Toksōgi Chungyong,” 1457.

²⁷ Soffel and Tillman, *Cultural Authority and Political Culture in China*, 84.

²⁸ I read *chōnsu* 傳受 as *chōnsu* 傳授 which fits the rest of the text.

verses included. Later on, comes a detailed description of that range as well. The first structural revision that Yun Hyu makes to distance himself from the structures offered by all three “classical” commentators is to divide the *piŭn* 費隱 (“everywhere, yet inconspicuous”) into three parts, and adds a fourth chapter from the following chapters. These four new chapters reflect, according to Yun Hyu, the three key sentences in the opening statements (Zhu Xi’s first chapter). Thus, the *piŭn* 費隱 chapter itself covers chapters 11 to 13 and is discussing how “That which is called the Way cannot be separated from for an instant”.²⁹ The second part is called *haengwŏn* 行遠 (“to go far”) and is similarly discussing the “Nothing is more visible than the hidden” sentence. The last part is dedicated to King Wen 文王, covering chapters 17 and 18, and corresponds with the Mean 中 and Harmony 和 phrase.³⁰ Finally the next chapter, titled “study it broadly” (博學) deals with the closing statement of the original first chapter.³¹ This division is challenging in the sense that it makes the first half of the text an elaboration on the first chapter, and a closed self-referential unit.

Yun Hyu’s reading of his fourth chapter focuses on the transmission of the Way (*tot’ong* 道統), making King Wu and the Duke of Zhou cardinal figures in the realization of the Way, but notes also the Duke of Ai as a key point in the transmission of the Way. Nevertheless, it is the Duke of Zhou who provided the key for the actualization of the way, by formalizing the rituals. These rituals, according to Yun Hyu, help us extend the filial piety of King Wen to Heaven and Earth (our father and mother, as per the Zhang Zai’s Western Inscription), thus deducing the Way. This is an interesting approach because it aims to resolve the idiosyncrasy of the text, and incorporate Neo-Confucian tenets into a Pre-Han text. He says on that chapter that:

²⁹ Yun Hyu, “Toksŏgi Chungyong,” 1458-9.

³⁰ A. Charles Muller Tr., “The Doctrine of the Mean”, “The Mean is the great root of all-under-heaven. “Harmony” is the penetration of the Way through all-under-heaven”. 中也者、天下之大本也。和也者、天下之達道也。

³¹ Yun Hyu, “Toksŏgi Chungyong,” 1459.

四曰文王論大本達道也。文王之孝 光乎祖宗 而子孫保之。周公之禮 達乎貴賤 而天下行之 此蓋天下之達道 而所謂天命之本體者 實不外乎是也。由是焉而之 敬所尊 而愛所親 以至乎父天母地 義有所本也。由是焉而充之 思知人思知天 似達乎為天下國家 道有所推也。富有之謂 大 旁通萬物出焉 天下由之 此之謂大本達道也。

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The fourth called “King Wen” discusses the “great source” and “penetration of the Way,” King Wen’s filial piety, glorifying his ancestors and protecting his descendants. The Duke of Zhou’s ritual reached noble and low-born, and the conduct of everything under heaven. This, generally speaking, is the penetration by the Way of everything under heaven, and what is called the essential root (本體) of everything under Heaven, and really nothing but that. What follows from this is respect for our elders and love for our parents, reaching to our father-Heaven and mother-Earth, which is the root of righteousness. Expanding from this, knowing men and knowing Heaven, as though reaching all nations under Heaven, we deduce (推) the Way. Full of what is called Great, penetrating everything, reasoning all under Heaven, is what we call the great source of the all-pervading Way.

I find this insight of Yun Hyu to be the linchpin of his reading of text. Located in the middle of the text physically, and metaphorically between Zisi Zi at the beginning and Confucius at the end, it is this reference to the length of mourning at the end of the 18th chapter that shows how to actualize the Way. At the same time, this statement, composed well after the first Rites Controversy, reaffirms the importance of the discussion over death rituals to the Confucian

³² Yun Hyu, “Toksŏgi Chungyong,” 1459.

vision – since chapter 18 is mentioning the mourning period explicitly as the main achievement of the Duke of Zhou.

The other major potentially controversial structural decision that Yun Hyu makes is to break down the second half of the text. Zhu Xi calls the section that runs from chapter 21 to 32 Heaven and Man 天人. This part of the text is where Zhu Xi introduces the idea of Sincerity as the central point of his system, but Yun Hyu takes the interpretation away from that aspect. Zhu Xi explains that the character zì 自 (*cha* in Korean) means here “spontaneous” 由. For Zhu Xi the “Way of Heaven” is our natural tendencies, and education is a process of internalization and realization of this nature.³³ Yun Hyu on the other hand highlight the expression “self-completion” 自成 instead of Zhu Xi’s expression “comes from sincerity” 自誠, claiming the term indicates a double meaning – being sincere to oneself and completing others, just as the self-Way (or what comes from the Way) is cultivating oneself and showing the Way to others.³⁴

六曰自成 論天地位萬物育也

自成者 誠己而成物也。自道者 修己而道物也。誠之配天不息而無疆也。天地之所以位也。道之及物 不貳故不測也。萬物之所以育也。蓋天未始不為人 而人未始不為天也。我未始 不為物 而物未始不為我也。故天地之道 不貳不息而已矣 聖人之

³³ Zhu Xi, "Zhongyong Zhangj [The Doctrine of the Mean in Chapter and Verse]," in *Sishu zhangju jizhu* 四書章句集注 2.8a. 自誠明，謂之性；自明誠，謂之教。誠則明矣，明則誠矣。自，由也。德無不實而明無不照者，聖人之德。所性而有者也，天道也。先明乎善，而後能實其善者，賢人之學。由教而入者也，人道也。誠則無不明矣，明則可以至於誠矣。

The enlightenment that comes from sincerity is our own nature. The sincerity that comes from enlightenment is called “education.” If you are sincere you will be enlightened. If you are enlightened, you will be sincere.

“Comes from” 自 means “originates from” 由. The Virtue that is truly solid and bright is the Virtue of the Sage. That which is in our natural tendencies is the Way of Heaven. First illuminating what is good, and after that enabled to realize goodness, is the learning of the Excellent Person 賢人. What arises after education is internalized is the Way of Man. If you are sincere, then you will be enlightened to everything. If you are enlightened, then you can achieve sincerity.

³⁴ Yun Hyu, “Toksŏgi Chungyong,” 1459.

心純亦不已而已矣。學者之事敬時慎幾而已矣。故「勃天之命 惟時惟幾」天德王道 其要謹獨而已 此之謂一言 而已可也。

The sixth chapter is called “Selfhood” 自成 (Not 自誠 as Zhu Xi phrased it), arguing that when Heaven and Earth are established in their place all things grow.

The term “completing oneself” means to be sincere to oneself, and to complete others. The term “Way of oneself” means to cultivate oneself (修) and lead others (to the Way).³⁵ Sincerity is pairing one’s actions with Heaven without a break and without limits; It is that which establishes Heaven and Earth. The Way extends to others, is loyal and therefore is unchanging. The Myriad Things are thus reared. Generally, one cannot say that Heaven is not Man, and that Man is not Heaven. One cannot say that I am not others and that others are not me. Therefore, the Way of Heaven and Earth is unchanging and without limits. The mind of the Sage is pure without a stop. The actions of the Scholars are in all times with reverence and caution. Therefore “We must deal cautiously with the favouring appointment of Heaven, at every moment and in the smallest particular”. The Virtue of Heaven or the Kingly Way is to be “Cautious when alone”.³⁶ This is the single expression that sums it up.³⁷

This is the core of the text, and Yun Hyu places his focus on the reciprocal nature of self-cultivation. Completion, he says, is self-cultivation but is also nurturing others, and only this

³⁵ Yun Hyu explains the opening statement of the 25th chapter that “A sincere person had made himself so, and the Way is the Way in and of itself” (誠者自成也、而道自道也), by clearly separating the self-cultivation aspect from the cultivation of others.

³⁶ The Book of Documents, “Yi Ji 益稷,” 6.

³⁷ This is a reference to chapter 26 of *The Doctrine of the Mean*: “The Way of Heaven and Earth can be perfectly expressed in a single phrase” (天地之道、可壹言而盡也。).

double-perspective leads to the three aspects of the Way that he recognizes in the text: The Way of Heaven and the Kingly Way (which here look synonymous), the mind of the Sage and the Learning of the scholars.

What I see as the most important difference between Yun Hyu's structure and other versions, is his treatment of the chapters ranging from chapter 21 to chapter 32. Zhu Xi made that one chapter titled *tian ren* 天人 or Heaven and Man, and as mentioned used that chapter to introduce some of his key terminology. Following Wang Bo, Kwŏn Kŭn and others have often adopted the division of the second half of the text into the Way of Heaven 天道 and Way of Human 人道. It even appeared as a separate diagram topic, as well as a key feature of various debates, as it related to many of the major debates of Neo-Confucian thinkers.³⁸ A complementary theme, the Mind of Heaven 天心 and the Mind of Man 人心, stand in the center of Zhu Xi's system, who opens the *zhongyong zhangju* with a quote from the Book of Documents: "The mind of man is restless, prone to err; its affinity to what is right is small. Be discriminating, be uniform, that you may sincerely hold fast the Mean."³⁹ Yun Hyu, on the other hand, broke that range into the chapters *chasŏng* 自成 (self-completeness), *chunghwa* 中和 (the Mean and harmony), and *Chungni* 仲尼 (Confucius). His text is devoid of any reference to these terms, and instead focuses primarily on the Exemplary Person 君子 and the Sage 聖人. It seems that Yun Hyu moves away from the metaphysical discussion on *li* 理 and *ki* 氣 and so on, toward a breakdown of the gradual process from the Way (on the first chapters) down to the Sages, ending with Confucius himself.⁴⁰

³⁸ Ch'oe Sŏkki, *Chosŏn sidae Chungyong tosŏl*, 11-17. For example, Kim Manhyu 金萬然 (1625 - 1694) and Kim Manyŏng 金萬英 (1624 - 1671), both contemporaries of Yun Hyu, each produced a different diagram on the topic. A century later Yu Wimok 柳懿睦 (1785 - 1833) returned to the topic with a much more elaborated diagram. Many more included it in their actual breakdown or under the title *ch'ŏnsim insim* 天心人心.

³⁹ Zhu Xi, "Zhongyong Zhangju," 2.1a. Zhu Xi is citing from the *Shangshu*, book 2, chapter 2 (大禹謨 Counsels of the Great Yu), here in Jame Legge's translation.

⁴⁰ In the first phrase of his introduction, Zhu Xi quotes from the Book of Documents the citations which he sees as the key for the understanding of the text "The mind of man is restless, prone to err; its affinity to what is right is

The text concludes with a reference to the *Book of Odes*, thus bracketing the main body of the text with canonical references. Since both the *Odes* and Zisi's teachings are related directly to Confucius, they have a different epistemic value. I have mentioned elsewhere the difference that Yun Hyu sees in a directly transmitted text, somewhat similar to the difference between *Śruti* and *Smṛti*.⁴¹ Yun Hyu refers to the ode mentioned at the opening, seeing it as a direct explanation of the introduction:

末章則因尚綱之義 而發君子戒慎之意 以極乎天命之理而一篇之大義終焉

The last chapter is therefore the paragraph “covered her brocade gown with a plain robe,” explaining why the Exemplary Person should always be “cautious in the place where he is not seen,” this chapter narrates the *li* 理 of the Mandate of Heaven, so this is the concluding chapter.

Yun Hyu regards the text as a coherent whole, with an internal logic. He explains the internal structure in its own terms, by providing cross-references between chapters, as the last quote demonstrated. In that Yun Hyu is making a statement on authorship and exegesis. We can cautiously say that his approach to the text is hermeneutic in the sense of Friedrich Schleiermacher's approach: Understanding the text as a coherent whole, while recognizing its parts. This is definitely different from Wang Bo's approach (seeing the text as different texts “glued” together), or even Zhu Xi who raised questions of authenticity and authorship by manipulating the text. The following table presents Yun Hyu's own division vis-a-viz other important divisions.

small. Be discriminating, be uniform, that you may sincerely hold fast the Mean (人心惟危，道心惟微，惟精惟一，允執厥中),” (in Legge's translation).

⁴¹ In short, that one is a received text and the other transmitted. In the context of this discussion it is enough to say that one is considered unmediated, and therefore more sacred.

Table 4-3 The Division of the Doctrine of the Mean

Ch.	Yun Hyu	Zhu Xi	Rao Lu	Wang Bo, Kwŏn Kŭn	
1.	天命之性	中和	一	中和	
2.			二	中庸	
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.					
7.					
8.					
9.					
10.					
11.	費隱	費隱	三	費隱	
12.					
13.					
14.	行遠				
15.					
16.					
17.	文王				
18.					
19.	博學				四
20.					
21.		天人	天道		
22.					

Ch.	Yun Hyu	Zhu Xi	Rao Lu	Wang Bo, Kwŏn Kŭn
23.				
24.				
25.	自成			
26.				
27.	中和		五	人道
28.				
29.	仲尼			
30.				
31.				
32.				
33.		極致	六	反包首章天命

4.2.3 The Minor Introduction

The second half of the *toksŏgi*, the so called *Chungyong Chuja changgu porok*, is a later composition, and one that attracted without doubt the majority of criticism. Its introduction places it in 1668, at the peak of Hyŏnjong power, and Yun Hyu's influence in that court. The text is fragmented and layered, in the form of insights on Zhu Xi's *Zhongyong zhangju*, and comments on those insights. The introduction, however, is a coherent and single text, where Yun Hyu can present his approach to the text and to the interpretive work of a commentator. The apologetic style conceals a frontal attack on Chosŏn literal adherence to Zhu Xi. It presents an alternative approach to the transmission of the Way, one that sees later scholars as a source of

new ideas, rather than strict adherence to the sages of the past. In short, it is looking forward rather than backwards. As I did before, I bring here the full text of the introduction:

中庸之書 孔門傳道之書也。烏可易以言哉 況伊洛諸君子 既發明之 晦菴朱夫子 從而訓釋之 無遺蘊矣 是又奚以言為也哉 然鑄自早歲 受讀潛心 受積三十年于今矣 每於諷誦之際 恍然有會於心 不自知世之久近 地之遠邇也。書不盡言 言不盡意 即其章句文字之間 猶可 以得前聖授受之意者 而殆先儒未之究言也。

蓋天下之義理無窮 而聖賢之言 旨意淵深。前人既創通大義 後之人又演繹之。因其所已言 而益發其所未言 此文武之道 不墜在人而道之所以益明也。言之 固非以求多于前人不言 又非前人俟後人之意也。

今輒據所見 第其文弘 其義 庶幾哉子思傳道之意 朱子羽翼斯文之旨 益闡以明於千載之下 而或者有裨於來學 雖愚且僭 有不敢避也。後之君子 其亦有以識余之心矣乎。

其朱子章句既有成書 不敢援引分裂 有所取舍於其間 且其宏綱大體既已舉之矣。今只略錄愚諛聞淺見 發其餘詢遺義 名之以朱子章句補錄 用致余祖述前賢之意 且欲與同志討論焉。

倘同志之士 恕余狂簡 而與之共評其得失 實亦朱子所謂天下公義理 且從大家商量之 旨云爾

崇禎後著雍裙灘正月日天水後人書于漢陽之夏洞⁴²

⁴² Yun Hyu, "Toksŏgi Chungyong," 1461-2.

The book of The Doctrine of the Mean is a text of the School of Confucius containing lectures on the Way. What can be easily said about it? Moreover, what the exemplary men of the Yi-Luo school have created, Master Zhu Xi succeeded in explaining it fully and without omissions.⁴³ What more is there to say? But I have been reading this book from childhood, 30 years by now, but whenever I recite it something suddenly comes to my mind that I did not know myself: The distant becomes near and the ancient becomes recent. I have more to say that can be written here. Words cannot fully express what is in my mind. Namely, inside the text of these Chapters and Phrases, I exchange ideas with some future sage, but only with the words that earlier sages have not yet investigated. Generally, the principles of righteousness under heaven are inexhaustible, and the words of the sages point us toward the profound. Our ancestors understood great righteousness, and those who come later can once again infer it, based on what have been said, and what have not yet been said. This Way of King Wen and King hasn't abandoned people, but has become more illuminated. In fact, this is neither saying anything beyond what the ancients said, nor did the ancients anticipate the ideas of those who followed them.

Now, according to my observation, originally this text was created by Zisi as a commentary on his ideas on the Way, and Zhu Xi tried to clarify what it means. Even though I might be overstepping my authority, I cannot avoid the thought that the text was not interpreted until more than a thousand years after it was written, and perhaps there is something to benefit from what was learned since. I wonder if some Exemplary Person in the future will be able to understand me. Because Zhu Xi's Chapters and Phrases is

⁴³ The Yi-Luo 伊洛 is a reference to Zhu Xi's *Yi-Luo yuanyuan lu* 伊洛淵源錄 "The Sources and Origins of the Rivers Yi and Luo," the text recording the conversations of Zhou Dunyi, the Cheng brothers and Shao Yong. The names of the rivers Yi and Luo are a reference to Luoyang 洛陽. The opening statement is therefore that the Doctrine of the Mean is a product of the Luoyang school.

already complete and published, I don't dare to take excerpts out of context. I merely lay out my humble opinion, and wrote down what I read and understood, so I call it "Supplement to Zhu Xi's Doctrine of the Mean in Chapters and Sentences." Therefore, I would like to discuss my opinions with others, while explaining my idea of what wise men of the past said. If my fellow scholar will forgive my being so uncouth, and will be willing to publicly discuss the merits and demerits of this, this is really what Zhu Xi would have called "A covenant with all the people of the world."

1668, New year day, Seoul, Hadong

After Chongzhen, the year 著雍涇灘 *chǒng kunt'an* (musin 戊申 in the Erya year counting 爾雅歲名 used by Sima Guang), Ch'önsuhuin in hanyang's hadong

This introduction evokes, as Yun Hyu did in other places, three main theses. First, that the iterative nature of self-reflection and commentary is a core value of Confucianism. Second, that the transmission of the Way is done through careful application of new insights and occasionally raw criticism of existing commentaries. Thus, he says that "the principles of righteousness under heaven are inexhaustible" and continues to say that "those who come later can once again infer it, based on what have been said, and what have not yet been said".⁴⁴ Finally, he suggests that he is the real successor of the great scholars of the Song dynasty, and he is encoding that statement into his very signature.

The signature at the end of the text is unusual. Literally it states "After Chongzhen, the year *chǒng kunt'an* 著雍涇灘, New Year day, the successor of *tianshui* 天水, written in

⁴⁴ Yun Hyu, "Toksögi Chungyong," 1461.

Hanyang's hadong".⁴⁵ The most apparent thing in this signature is that it is dated to the calendar of Emperor Chongzhen of Ming, some twenty-four years after his death. No doubt that this is a loyalist statement, and very typical of Yun Hyu, but it also sets the backdrop for some mythological concepts of time.⁴⁶ The next words verify it, because the years are counted in the *Erya* year counting 爾雅歲名 that is typical to the historical writing of Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019-1086).⁴⁷ Finally, the name *ch'önsu huin* 天水後人, can only see as a reference to the *Tianshui* 天水 in modern-day Gansu province, the home of the Song emperors. It is therefore a calculated provocation.

Yun Hyu was indeed fascinated with the figure of Sima Guang, for several reasons. First, Sima Guang's *Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* (通鑑舉要歷) was an extensive discussion of the relationship between rulers and their ministers, which of course was a major concern of Yun Hyu throughout his career. More important to the issue at hand, he was the first to separate the *zhongyong* and the *daxue* as independent texts (in his *Zhongyong guangyi* 中庸廣義 and *Daxue guangyi* 大學廣義), which Zhu Xi have adapted through the Cheng brothers.⁴⁸ Zhu Xi have also adopted his method of writing history by providing an outlining narrative (*gang* 綱) and filling in the details (*mu* 目). Zhu Xi edited his version of Sima Guang's masterpiece, calling it *tongjian gangmu* 通鑑綱目. Nevertheless, Sima Guang was not included in Zhu Xi's Transmission of the Way, perhaps because of his detailed-oriented

⁴⁵ 崇禎後著雍裙灘正月日天水後人書于漢陽之夏洞.

⁴⁶ JaHyun Kim Haboush "Contesting Chinese time, nationalizing temporal space: temporal inscription in late Choson Korea," in *Time, Temporality, and Imperial Transition: East Asia from Ming to Qing*, ed. by Lynn A. Struve (University of Hawaii Press, 2005): 115-41. One might think that the Chosŏn adoption of Ming era names for their calendar was an act of veneration of the (lost) Ming Dynasty, but Haboush argues that it was more an **assertion** of the Chosŏn independence and the hegemony of the *yangban* elite.

⁴⁷ Kim t'aewand and Kwŏn Yongch'ae, "kapkolmun-e poinŭn sibijiji-wa yŏltu tti. [The sexagenary cycle and Chinese zodiac of oracle bone inscriptions]," *Tongbuga munhwayŏn 'gu* 25 (2010): 459-478.

⁴⁸ Tsai Cheng-fang, "Chong Yangyong's Four Books Learning" in *Confucian Ethics in Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. by Qingsong Shen, Kwong-loi Shun, 229-304 (Washington, D.C.: Council for Research in Values and Philosophy, 2008). Hartman, Charles. "Zhu Xi and His World." *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 36 (2006): 107-131.

approach. True to the Zhu Xi adherent approach, Sima Guang's text were hard to come by in Chosŏn, a fact that Yun Hyu laments. He tells, for example, on his hardships in getting a hold of Sima Guang's historical writing in Korea, in a text titled *A Preface for Research into Antiquity of the Year ŭlmi*:

朱夫子嘗亟稱涑水稽古錄 不可不讀 而恨吾東僻陋罕文籍 顧難得一窺遺篇 則未嘗不歎息 遐想于斯焉。問得前人記述 知仁山金先生吉父 亦著通鑑前編 接於朱夫子綱目以前 又無錄獲觀全篇 以窺其損益討論之意也。遂未免搜考諸書 緝成一篇, 以授家間兒單 以資其稽古之力 故名曰稽古編。蓋又致余思見二書 而不得之意云爾。抑既僻陋 無文籍可資 博攷 前人紀載 僅以殘編斷簡 拾遺補綴 多少失得上古事 其軼乃或時 時見於外傳緯記者 又不得遽以出於六經之外 而遺之也。得無為博古莊士者嗤哉! 疑以傳疑 信以傳信 知其不可知有所損無所增 此又今日編輯之例也。觀者宜亦知之 昔者劉益友遭宋訖 錄述朱子綱目書法 說者謂益友之為此書 中有無窮之憂 嗚呼 居今之世 而尚論乎千載之上 又寧無昔人之感也哉 溯自大古 訖于三代。⁴⁹

Master Zhu have often praised Sushui's 涑水 *Jigulu* 稽古錄 (Research into Antiquity), saying that it must be read. Here on the East, due to the rarity of books, it is hard to take a look at rare manuscripts (遺篇), but from early age I have never been sick of imagining it from distance. Asking to have something written by our predecessors, I knew Kim Insan (Jin Lüxian 金履祥 1232-1303) Kilbu 吉父 had already connected (Sima Guang's) *Zizhi tongjian* with master Zhu's *gangmu* 綱目 (i.e., *Tongjian gangmu* 通鑑綱目). However, there was no way to get hold of the entire article to read and discuss the pros and cons of its main ideas. I couldn't help but search many books, and finally found one listed as a teaching book for children, a resource for learning from the

⁴⁹ Yun Hyu "kyegop'yŏn sŏ ŭlmi 稽古編序乙未," in *PHCS*, *kwŏn* 24, 996-7.

ancients, which was called *kyegop 'yŏn* 稽古編. Generally speaking, if I want to look at the two books mentioned, I cannot do that, and because of our biases, there was no reason [for Chosŏn scholars] to use it as a resource. What I have gathered is only an incomplete fragment, allowing us to be more or less involved in the actions of the ancients, but every once in a while, miss a part, even though it exists perhaps in external biographies and other unofficial writings, because it was not directly related to the Six Classics. To a well-informed and serious scholar, this is no laughing matter. I doubt what was passed down in a dubious way, and trust what was transmitted (from teacher to disciple) in a trustworthy fashion. I recognize what can not be known and I know what has been lost and cannot be recovered. So I am forced to work with the edited version that has come down to us. Those who read this text should also know this fact.

In the past, Liu Yiyou 劉益友 of the late Song dynasty found the manuscript of Zhu Xi's *Outlines and Details* 綱目.⁵⁰ This is why they say that Yiyou is the reason for this book. Oh! Living in the world now and discussing those living a thousand years ago, what would the Ancients feel? This article goes back from ancient times and finishes in the Three Dynasties.

Yun Hyu is therefore well aware of the importance of Sima Guang to the transmission of the Way to Zhu Xi himself, and to his disappearance from Chosŏn scholarship. Indeed, the entire introduction is an essay on the meaning of the transmission of the Way. Yun Hyu's main thesis in this short text is that the nature of the transmission of the Way is related to the fact that each generation needs to infer the meaning out of the text again. This is the purpose of the

⁵⁰ This is a reference to Zhu Xi's *Tongjian gangmu* 通鑒綱目 or Outlines and Details of the Comprehensive Mirror. Zhu Xi's *Tongjian gangmu*, is a historical critique based on Sima Guang's *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒 (*Comprehensive mirror to Aid in Government*).

introduction and the reference to Sima Guang. Yun Hyu received that as an important element of Zhu Xi's way: "I cannot avoid the thought that Zhu Xi's interpreted the text more than a thousand years after that," he says, and suggest that the same will happen with his own learning. Moreover, Zhu Xi himself have learned from Sima Guang (both his historical system and the idea that the *zhongyong* is a separate text), but changed a lot of what he learned. Soffel and Tillman argue that this is exactly what Wang Bo did, and calls that his "move to redefine orthodoxy".⁵¹ In fact, they suggest that one of the main aspects of the learning of the *zhongyong* is intimately related to the so called *daotong*, the transmission of the Way.⁵²

4.2.4 Metaphysical Issues

One of the most striking elements of Yun Hyu's text is its being almost devoid of the *li* and *ki* metaphysics that usually came with any discussion on the *Doctrine of the Mean*. This is uncommon for mid-Chosŏn authors: In the case of Zhu Xi, the *li* and *ki* metaphysics appear in the very first sentence of his *zhongyong zhangju*, and play a prominent role in the text.⁵³ Subsequently, prominent Chosŏn authors based their reading of the *Doctrine of the Mean* on their school's metaphysics. Song Siyŏl, for example, summarizes the range of opinions on the topic in a text titled "Testing Similarities and Difference in Opinions on Zhu Xi" (朱子言論同異攷).⁵⁴ While Yun Hyu provides some references to *li* and *ki* in his *toksŏgi*, those are sporadic in nature. None of them defines the terms properly vis-à-vis other major elements in

⁵¹ Soffel and Tillman, *Cultural Authority and Political Culture in China*, 84.

⁵² Soffel and Tillman, *Cultural Authority and Political Culture in China*, 87-109. Soffel and Tillman dedicate the entire third chapter (titled "The DAOTONG and the ZHONGYONG") to this question.

⁵³ Zhu Xi, *zhongyong zhangju*, 1.1a. Zhu Xi says "'Mandate' is like an order. 'Nature' is namely *li*. Heaven changes the myriad things with yin and yang and the five phases. *Ki* then turns them into specific physical objects, and then they are endowed with *li*, when is like a command telling them what to do." 命，猶令也。性，即理也。天以陰陽五行化生萬物，氣以成形，而理亦賦焉，猶命令也。

⁵⁴ Song Siyŏl, "Chuja ōllon tongi ko 朱子言論同異攷 [Examining similar and different opinions from Zhu Xi]", in *Songja taejŏn* 130.414a.

the text. Furthermore, in all cases the terms *li* and *ki* appear as part of a compound. A good example is his comment on the phrase “Zilu asked about strength,” in the opening of the tenth chapter of the *Doctrine of the Mean* (referencing *Analects* 5:7). Yun Hyu comments:

“Zhong You (Zilu) liked daring, so he asked about strength. Confucius answered to that that he did not followed the biased learning to *ki* 氣習, but rather the strength of the *li* of righteousness 義理”.⁵⁵

These are not *li* and *ki* in their fullest metaphysical meaning. In the original line from the *analects*, Confucius comments that Ziyou likes bravery 勇 more that Confucius, but he himself lacks discretion 取材.⁵⁶ *The Doctrine of the Mean* expounds on this and opposes the strengths of the North and the South, that is – military might and fair governance. In the most immediate sense, Yun Hyu uses the term *kisŭp* 氣習 to describe material skills, such as martial arts, and the term *ŭiri* 義理 to denote moral righteousness. While not outright cancelling the metaphysical meaning of the terms, they are certainly being demoted in importance and scope.

Yun Hyu does not ignore the metaphysical meaning of the term. In places, he stays loyal to Zhu Xi’s interpretation, occasionally highlighting one comment or conversation over others. For example, when commenting on the words “The hawk flies high in the sky; the fish dances in the deep”, a quote from the *Odes*, at the end of chapter 11, he says that:

察著也 言化育流行 上下昭著 無非天理發見之自然 所謂隱也 程子曰:必有事焉 與鳶飛魚躍同意 此易所謂成性存存 道義之門也 此章之旨 亦當以此求之

⁵⁵ Yun Hyu, “Toksŏgi Chungyong,” 1467.

⁵⁶ As per A. C. Muller’s translation.

The character *chal* 察 (“to observe”) means to make known (*chǒ* 著). It says “transforming and propagating”.⁵⁷ Above and below – bright and visible. Nothing but what the *li* of Heaven issues can be naturally seen – this is what we call “hidden”. Master Cheng (one of the Cheng brothers) said that “You must constantly practice it” and “The hawk flies (up to heaven); the fishes leap (in the deep)” are the same idea.⁵⁸ This is what the *Changes* call “The nature (of man) having been completed, and being continually preserved, it is the gate of all good courses and righteousness”.⁵⁹ Naturally this is how the purpose of the chapter should be regarded.

This is almost an exact summary of the conversation between Zhu Xi and the anonymous disciples recorded in the *yulei*. Yun Hyu subsequent comment is:

風行則鳶高 氣至則魚奮 最不見共 用力而可 以默契乎天機之流動者也
故詩人以況文王作人之神功 而此又引之以見天理流行之妙用也

The wind blows and the hawk flies high. *Ki* reaches it and the fish dances. The least visible, it is possible to use it and have a rapport with the movement of the deep mysteries of Heaven. This is why the author of the Odes takes this as a metaphor for King Wen’s mysterious power, and here too it draws attention to the subtlety of the *li* of Heaven by quoting this.

⁵⁷ The transformation and sustenance 化育. In Legge - transforming and nourishing powers.

⁵⁸ These are references to *Mencius* 2b:2 and to the verse from the *Book of Odes*. The Cheng brothers’ citation itself is a reference to Li Jingde, *Zhuzi yulei*, 63.30b, as well as other places.

⁵⁹ James Legge, *Xi ci shang* 繫辭上 [The Great Treatise I], verse 7, <https://ctext.org/book-of-changes/xi-ci-shang>.

Yun Hyu draws on the term *chǒn-li* 天理 and extends the original reasoning of the Cheng brothers, as quoted several times in the *yulei*.⁶⁰ The Cheng brothers couple the verse from the *Odes* with a commentary on the *Changes* to explain how self-cultivation works toward the rediscovery and maintenance of Nature. The *li* of Heaven, says Zhu Xi, is invisible but all effecting, which he uses to explain the “observable” which appears twice in that verse. Yun Hyu, on the other hand, thinks of the term in a more analytical fashion, emphasizing the distance between the depth of the sea and Heaven.⁶¹ As noted before, observing Heaven and being observed by Heaven is always in the center of Yun Hyu’s imagery. In Yun Hyu’s comment, he deconstructs the text and apply a certain physical explanation: *ki* acts as a conduit, which transmits invisibly the *li* of Heaven, which causes fish to dance in the depth of the sea. As I will show, this term – the *li* of Heaven, always applies to the state of affairs after emotions have been aroused, and counterbalances Nature.

These applications of the *li* and *ki* terminology, while novel, are hardly ground breaking. In fact, his main text is mostly devoid of any interesting metaphysical consideration, and his commentary remains focused on intertextuality and the unpacking of the *Doctrine of the Mean*. In order to get a better understanding of his unusual opinions on Cheng-Zhu metaphysics, I will examine a different text, dedicated to that issue. The text *sadan ch’ilchǒng insim tosim sǒl* 四端七情人心道心說 (*Explanation on the mind of man and the mind of the Way in the Four and*

⁶⁰ Li Jingde, *Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類 36.11b.

⁶¹ Yun Hyu attempts to analytically resolve some of the contradiction within Zhu Xi’s thought, regarding this term. Here and in other places he goes back to the classics, and thinkers before Zhu Xi, to better define the relationships between terms. See for example the gap between “Never do heavenly principle and human desire permeate each other” and “desire naturally contains heavenly principle”. Daniel K. Gardner, *Learning to be a Sage: Selections from the Conversations of Master Chu, Arranged Topically* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 181.

Seven Debate), was written in the spring of 1638, when Yun Hyu was only 22 years old.⁶² This was shortly after he renounced the examinations, after hearing of Injo's capitulation to the Manchu invasion. The text itself is organized as a discussion with an anonymous correspondent.⁶³ It begins with a clear summary of the two four-seven debates of the sixteenth century.⁶⁴ It is followed by the presentation of Yun Hyu's own views, challenged by his peers. This is an early text, and in both style and content are unusual for Yun Hyu: He later discarded the dialogue style of writing, and in the much later *toksŏgi* there is little space for this sort of metaphysics.

Since the main issue is the relationship between the Four Fonts from *Mencius* and the Seven Emotions from the *Rites*, Yun Hyu begins by analyzing those two texts. His arguments can make sense only if you remember that he considers the corpus holistic, that is a coherent whole.

He says:

孟子論四端而不言七情則七情之不外乎四端也。子思論七情而不及四端則四端之不出乎七情也然而以仁義禮智而論四端則情之循理者可知也。以未發既(既)發而論七情則性之乘氣者可知也。在天地而論之則七情者猶天之風雨陰陽也。四端者猶天之春夏秋冬也。故風雨陰陽得其序則四時順而萬化成矣。喜怒哀樂中其節則四端達而萬事治矣。⁶⁵

⁶² “Yŏnhaeng [chronology],” in PHCS, *purok* 2, 1891.

⁶³ Ibid. The chronology names Kwŏn Si 權認 (1604-1672, Pen name t'anong 炭翁) as the main correspondent and transcriber of the text.

⁶⁴ The 1553 debate between Yi Hwang and Ki taesŭng, and its 1572 follow-up debate between Yi I and Sŏng Hon.

⁶⁵ Yun Hyu, “*Sadan ch'ilchŏng insim tosim sŏl* [Explanation on the mind of man and the mind of the Way in the Four and Seven Debate],” in PHCS, *kwŏn* 25, 1026.

Mencius discussed the Four Sprouts and did not talk about the Seven Emotions; therefore, the Seven Emotions are not something outside the Four Sprouts. Zisi discussed the Seven Emotions and did not extend his discussion to the Four Sprouts; therefore, the four fonts are not excluded from the Seven Emotions. Mencius mentioned, however, humanity 仁 righteousness 義, propriety 禮 and wisdom 知, and discussed the four fonts, so we can know that emotions follow *li*. With Zisi's discussion on the Seven Emotions before and after they issued (or aroused), we can know that the Nature mounts *ki*. When discussing Heaven and Earth, the Seven Emotions are wind and rain, yin and yang; the Four Sprouts are spring, summer, fall and winter. This way wind and rain, yin and yang have their order, and so the four seasons follow, and the myriad things are complete.

This is a phenomenal text when I think of Yun Hyu as essentially a follower of Yi Hwang's teachings: While fully accepts the Neo-Confucian presuppositions (albeit somewhat closer to the Yulgok line of argument), he reaches the opposite conclusion from his teachers. The four fonts are a type of emotions, well balanced and in check, but emotions nonetheless. The same rules apply to them as to the Seven Emotions that Zisi discussed. In Zhu Xi's language, it means that the Seven Emotions must follow *li*, if the four fonts do. Similarly, we can know that nature "mounts" *ki*. In other words, according to Yun Hyu, the human moral nature has a concrete shape, just as any emotion has some element of *li* in it. He follows on to extrapolate from nature, based on Zhu Xi's own discussion: If we accept that meteorological phenomena are then natural equivalent of the Seven Emotions, they also have *li* – they follow a natural order. Similarly, the four seasons which, according to Zhu Xi are the equivalent of the four fonts, have a concrete shape. If we follow this paragraph alone, we can deduce that in its most simple form, Yun Hyu was using *li* as a way of denote a natural order, which acts as a law of nature, while *ki* denotes a

concrete shape. This statement, a direct opposite of T'oegye's statement, cannot go unchallenged, and indeed the next few paragraphs are dedicated to that idiosyncrasy. His correspondent asks: "You said that '*ki* is riding and *li* is following.'" T'oegye said '*li* is riding and *ki* is following.'" Can you explain this discrepancy?"⁶⁶ The listener wants Yun Hyu to explain whether this is a deviation from Confucian teaching, a heresy. Yun Hyu explains:

曰情之能動 性之為本也 性之能發 情之為用也。七情 情也氣也。然所以為七情者 固原乎天命之本然也。故性之乘氣也 四端 亦情之動 而氣之發也。然所以為四端者 固循四德而發也。故曰情之循理者也。豈曰循理兼氣 理先發氣先囊云乎 然四德純乎理而言也。子思所謂天命之性也。七情純乎氣而言也。朱子所謂應物之妙用也。四端者 謂性之發情之動 而運乎心也。故孟子論之 則曰德之端 曰善之情 曰人之心也是已。此正朱夫子所謂其別只在毫釐之差 精以察之 乃可見者也。

Emotions are able to act (move) because nature provides the foundation. Nature is able to issue. Emotions make things actualized. The Seven Emotions are both emotions and *ki*. So, that by which the Seven Emotions are made, certainly originates in the source of the Mandate of Heaven. Therefore, the Nature rides *ki*.

The four fonts are also the movement of emotions and issued by *ki*. So, that by which the four fonts are made, certainly follows the Four Virtues 四德 and is issued. Thus, it says "those among the emotions which follow *li*."

⁶⁶ Yun Hyu, "*sadan ch'ilchōng insim tosim sōl*", in PHCS *kwōn* 25, 1027 然子之所謂乘氣循理之說與退陶所謂理乘氣隨者 奚以見其異乎

But how can it say “follows both *li* and *ki*”, and say “the *li* issued first, the *ki* issued first,”? When it says “the Four Virtues are completely within *li*” - this is what Zisi called “The Mandate of Heaven is the Nature.”⁶⁷ When it says “The Seven Emotions are completely within *ki*” this is what Zhu Xi called “the extraordinary power of things”.⁶⁸ The Four Virtues are issued by Nature and are put in motion by emotions but they both operate in the mind.

In the words of Mencius, it is called “the principles of virtue”, “the emotion of goodness”, and “the human mind is none other than this.” This is what Zhu Xi called “The distinction is only hair-wide, so it can be seen only by observing closely.”

The ideas and phrases are straight from the first verse of Zhu Xi’s writings but Yun Hyu applies key terminology differently.⁶⁹ For example, the symmetry between the verbs “provides” (為) and “to be able” (能), to denote potential and actualization. Even though the word *yong* 用 appears in that sentence, it seems that these two terms replace Zhu Xi’s dual terms for potential (*ti* 體) and actualization (*yong* 用). But those are merely technical tools for Yun Hyu to demonstrate that emotions and Nature are opposite and complementary. Here I think that Yun Hyu is already moving away from other thinkers in his understanding of the term Nature and its role, and that is the source of the idiosyncrasy. Ames and Hall have commented that translating *xing* 性 as Nature

⁶⁷ This is a paraphrase on the opening statement of *The Doctrine of the Mean*.

⁶⁸ This seems to be a miss-quote. It is a Daoist term, taken for example from the Daoist Cannon *daozang* 道藏. See “Gaoshang yuhuang benxing jijing 高上玉皇本行集經,” in *daozang*. Accessed June 27, 2018. <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=241056>

⁶⁹ Li Jingde, Zhu Zi Yulei 朱子語類, 53.13a. Li Jingde, Zhu Zi Yulei, 87.26b.

is a misnomer, since it indicates a transcendental source and perhaps also end.⁷⁰ They translate the term as “natural tendencies”. However, they also deduce from the relationship between natural tendencies and emotions that human potential is not fixed but rather is some kind of negotiable potentialities. In somewhat the same spirit, Tu Weiming has translated the term as a given human nature.⁷¹ In his argument on the four and seven, Yun Hyu repeatedly places human experience in a wider range of experiences. His comment on “wind and rain” or the dance of fish in the depths of sea (as quoted from the *Odes*), seem to indicate that the natural tendencies are not solely human, aligning the term more with nature. Yun Hyu even brings ghosts and spirits into the picture.⁷²

This paragraph also indicates that Nature and *li* are not exactly synonymous terms. On one hand he equates the opening statement that “The Mandate of Heaven is Nature” with “the Four Virtues are completely within *li*”. On the other hand, he states that the Four Virtues are issued by the Nature. I suggest that the for Yun Hyu the term *li* applies not only to the mind when it is still but also after emotions have been aroused. The term *Heavenly li* is a wider category, applied to a wider range of experiences. In this sense “harmonious moderation” is a better translation of *li* than “Principle”. He says there:

人生而靜天之性也。喜怒哀樂之理具焉。感於物而動性之欲也。喜怒哀樂於是乎發焉。此之謂性之乘氣者然也。以是而發之乎善 則達道之所以行也。以是而出之不以正 則人欲之所以悖乎性也。⁷³

⁷⁰ Roger T. Ames and David L. Hall, Introduction to *Focusing the Familiar: A Translation and Philosophical Interpretation of the Zhongyong* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 28.

⁷¹ Tu Weiming, *Centrality and Commonality: An Essay on Confucian Religiousness* (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1989), 5-6.

⁷² Yun Hyu, “*sadan ch'ilchǒng insim tosim sǒl*”, 1026.

⁷³ Yun Hyu, “*sadan ch'ilchǒng insim tosim sǒl*”, 1025.

When people are born and (their mind is) still, this is what we call the Nature of Heaven; The *li* of the four emotions of happiness, anger, sorrow and joy is present. Stimulated by things and moving, this is what we call the desires of Nature. This is where the four emotions exist and are already issued, so “Nature is riding *ki*”. When it is issued out of goodness, that is how we act to embody the Way. When this is improper, human desires (人欲) oppose Nature.

It is easy to see why Yun Hyu’s commentary on the *Doctrine of the Mean* received so much criticism, as he is challenging some basic presuppositions. At the basis of the great debates of the sixteenth century (The Four-Seven debate and its successors) stand two different view points regarding the relationship between Nature 性, emotions and moral behavior. While the T’oegye school holds a strong dualistic approach to *li* and *ki*, the Yulgok school advocated *ki* monism. The difference in these approaches held a significant impact on the political approach of each school. Yun Hyu seem to identify two types of emotions – either balanced or imbalanced. According to this world view, Nature is inherently balanced emotions which yield moral behaviour. This is why Yun Hyu insists that Nature is riding *ki*, contradicting the T’oegye school.

Nature has an intimate relationship with Heaven, since according to *The Doctrine of the Mean* Nature is “what Heaven mandates”. The study of Heaven was a major concern for Yun Hyu and he focus of his exegesis. For Yun Hyu, understanding Heaven became the most important step in self-cultivation. In the next section I will focus on the study of Heaven in Yun Hyu’s exegesis.

4.2.5 Heaven

If *li* and *ki* are somewhat demoted in Yun Hyu's discussion, then Heaven 天 is elevated. Kŭm Chang-t'ae notes that Yun Hyu conflates the term Heaven with Lord on High 上帝, thinking of them as two parts of the same term.⁷⁴ According to Kim Hyoung-Chan he is following T'oegye in this, although in the case of T'oegye, the identification of the Lord on High (an ultimate or transcendental being) with Heaven (as a normative natural law) created a deep paradox.⁷⁵ The general thrust of the Cheng-Zhu tradition was to move away from absolute being to natural laws. As for Yun Hyu, in the *sogiyak* (小記略) chapter of his *hyogyŏng oejŏn* 孝經外傳 (Unofficial Commentary on the Classic of Filial Piety) he explains that by saying:⁷⁶

郊祀配天,明堂配上帝,天與上帝之號元屬昊天⁷⁷

The *Suburban Ritual* is oriented toward Heaven, the 'Bright Hall' is oriented toward the Lord on High, the names Heaven and Lord on High were originally joined as the term for the sky.

⁷⁴ Kŭm Chang-t'ae, *Chosŏm hugi-ŭi yuhak sasang*, 132.

⁷⁵ Kim Hyoung-chan, "Toegye's Philosophy as Practical Ethics: A System of Learning, Cultivation, and Practice of Being Human," *Korea Journal* Vol.47. No.3 (2007), 176-7. T'oegye might not have believed in Heaven as a transcendental being, but "certainly recognized the social usefulness of heaven as such".

⁷⁶ Yun Hyu, "Toksŏgi hyogyŏngoejŏn sang 讀書記 孝經外傳上 [Notes upon reading the unofficial commentary on the Classic of Filial Piety, part 1]," in PHCS, *kwŏn* 39, 1553-4. Yun Hyu explain the name of this text as his idea, but a title of a similar name appeared in 1676 by the Qing scholar Yi Zhisu 李之素. Since there is no direct reference to Yi Zhisu, it remains an open question whether Yun Hyu knew about his Chinese contemporary or not. See Lü Miao-fen 呂妙芬, *Xiao zhi tian xia: "Xiao jing" yu jin shi Zhongguo de zheng zhi yu wen hua* 孝治天下: 《孝經》與近世中國的政治與文化 (Taipei: Zhong yang yan jiu yuan, 2011). 250.

⁷⁷ Yun Hyu, "Toksŏgi hyogyŏngoejŏn chung 讀書記 孝經外傳 中 [Notes upon reading the unofficial commentary on the Classic of Filial Piety, part 2]," in PHCS, *kwŏn* 39, 1573.

Yun Hyu worked to re-associate Heaven with the Lord on High, to gain access to the classics that discuss that term. According to Kūm Chang-t'ae, Song Siyöl was a good representative of the way the term was commonly used: His concept of Heaven is limited to the scope of the Confucian debate in *ki* and *li* (理氣論).⁷⁸ Yun Hyu on the other hand was able to make it a central element in his understanding of the most basic Confucian teaching by accessing the Book of Documents, the Book of Filial Piety and other classics. For example, he concluded that the concept of Heaven was the main object of worship in the Book of Documents. In the “Counsel of Gao Yao” 皋陶謨, he finds the text refers to four compounds containing the character Heaven 天, namely what Heaven narrates 天敘, what Heaven orders 天秩 (Yun Hyu uses the homonym 質), what Heaven mandates 天命, and what Heaven demands 天討. In a text titled *Samgong samgo to* 三公三孤圖 (*Diagram of the Three Councilors and Three Mentors System*) he carefully maps these expression to show that Heaven basically maps to all aspects of Confucian teaching.⁷⁹ We must also remember that he sees both the Way and *li* as originating from Heaven, and therefore sees Heaven as having a better explanatory value than either term.⁸⁰ This makes the Heaven-related terminology essential for the understanding on any classic.

It is perhaps the fact that the “Counsel of Gao Yao” refers directly to the same sentiment, saying “cautious of himself and always cultivate his thoughts” (慎厥身, 修思永), that Yun Hyu drew parallels from it to the *Doctrine of the Mean*.⁸¹ Whatever it was, Yun Hyu was able to reuse the terminology from the *Book of Documents* to further explores key statements from the text,

⁷⁸ Kūm Chang-t'ae, *Chosöm hugi-ŭi yuhak sasang*, 132.

⁷⁹ Yun Hyu, “*Samgong samgo tosöl* 三公三孤圖說 [*Diagram of the Three Councilors and Three Mentors System*],” in *PHCS*, kwön 28, 1193-4. For example, he explains 天敘 as the source of the five relationships. For example: “Narrates” is the source from which the order of relationship between minister and ruler, father and son, old and young, husband and wife and friends are born and put in order. 敘者,本其生,而第之君臣父子長幼夫婦朋友之倫理也.

⁸⁰ Yun Hyu, “*Samgong samgo tosöl* 三公三孤圖說,” 1173. Generally Speaking, Heaven is what *li* originates from. The great origin of the Way comes out of Heaven. 蓋天者 理之所從出道之大原出乎天

⁸¹ *Shangshu*, “The counsel of Gao Yao”, verse 1.

which were key to his understanding. For example, the phrase “The ancients said: Without actualizing virtue, the perfect Way cannot be actualized” (故曰。苟不至德、至道不凝焉).⁸² Here he employed the same insight from the “Counsel of Gao Yao”, as phrased in the *samgong samgo tosŏl*, saying:

至德 指其人而言 道則天敘天秩位育之事。⁸³

The term “actualizing Virtue” 至德 refers to humans; the term Way, therefore, refers to the act of rearing what Heaven narrates 天敘 and what Heaven orders 天秩.

Yun Hyu was particularly interested in two key terms – “fear and apprehension” 戒懼 and “cautious when alone” 慎獨.⁸⁴ He thought that these refer to the way of “conserving the mind and cultivating oneself”.⁸⁵ Specifically, he used terminology from other classics to unpack these two expressions, making them the two main aspects of the training required from the Exemplary Person. While the term “fear and apprehension” is directed outward, the term “caution when alone” is an inward notion.⁸⁶ Specifically, he explains caution when alone as being aware of

⁸² This is from chapter 27 of the *Doctrine of the Mean*.

⁸³ Yun Hyu, “Toksŏgi Chungyong,” 1491.

⁸⁴ Kim You-Gon, “Chungyong-kwa taehak haesŏge nat’anan yunhyu-ŭi sach’ŏnjihak-ŭi kujo-wa sŏnggyŏk [The Structure and Characteristic of Yun Hyu's the Theory of Serving Heaven in Interpreting on the Doctrine of the Mean and the Great Learning],” *Tongyang ch’ŏrhak yŏn’gu* 76 (2013): 7-36. He argues that “Serving Heaven” 事天 is the main thrust of Yun Hyu’s system.

⁸⁵ Yun Hyu, “Toksŏgi Chungyong,” 1499. 右第十章。此章因戒慎恐懼之義以論天命之性者也。首言君子立心為己之義次言慎獨之事次言戒慎恐懼之事皆所以事天也。 Above is chapter 10. This chapter discusses the “Nature of Heaven’s Mandate according to the meaning of ‘fear and apprehension’ and ‘cautious when alone’”. At first it is talking about the idea of the Exemplary person conserving the mind and cultivate himself. After that it is talking about the work of “fear and apprehension”. After that it is talking about the work of “cautious when alone”. All these are that by which Heaven is served.

⁸⁶ In this, Yun Hyu’s interpretation resembles that of the Ming scholar Liu Zongzhou 劉宗周 (1578 - 1645). Cheng Chung-yi, “Liu Zongzhou on Self Cultivation,” in *Dao Companion to Neo-Confucian Philosophy*, ed. by John Makeham (Dordrecht: Springer, 2010), 339.

private thoughts, thoughts that appear and that no one can tell.⁸⁷ This allows the Exemplary Person to find a unique state of mind which is “both action and stillness” 兼動靜. That state, of constantly examining one’s private thoughts, allows him to stay vigilant to the difference between good vs. evil and between true vs. false.⁸⁸ In many ways we could describe this as a mental technique: Constantly observing one’s thoughts and motives is not different from the *dhyāna* meditation that gave *sŏn* its name.⁸⁹ The important point, however, is the philosophical process: Yun Hyu is able to connect the *cautious when alone* notion to what Heaven mandates and what Heaven dictates through the *Book of Documents*, and from that he deduces that being watchful when alone allows one to read what Heaven dictates.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ Yun Hyu, “Toksŏgi Chungyong,” 1463. “The hard work of the Exemplary Person’s attitude of reverence, starts from what he cannot see or hear, that by which he is holding in both action and stillness, the ultimate source and origin. With it he stores the origin of the *li* of Heaven, and is not able to separate from it even slightly.”

君子欽敬之功，自其未有聞見之際，所以兼動靜，極本原，以存天理之本然而勿使有須臾之間也。

⁸⁸ Ibid. “This examination results in distinction between good and evil, real and false, without the possibility to err even once. This is what is called avoiding what is wrong and conserving what is sincere.”

審其善惡真僞之分於此際，而勿使其或差，所謂閑邪存其誠也。

⁸⁹ Rodney Leon Taylor, “Meditation and Ming Neo Orthodoxy,” in *The Religious Dimensions of Confucianism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), 93-114.

There is surprisingly very little on the Confucian meditation techniques, with the sole exception of Gao Panlong 高攀龍 (1562-1626) and his writings on Quiet-Sitting. A recorded answer by Song Siyŏl, does confirm that quiet sitting was an important issue for Chosŏn scholars: 問。程門以靜坐爲爲學之工。然終日跪坐。人所難能也。雖不跪坐。而正身平坐何如？先生曰。跪而靜坐。固善矣。平坐不傾身而安靜。亦善矣。所謂靜坐者。非必跪也。朱子一生有脚氣疾不能跪。乃爲僧家跏趺坐。跏趺坐者。兩膝相疊而爲坐云爾。

“Question: Master Cheng told his student that quiet-sitting makes the process of learning. But sitting down all day is difficult for a person. What about sitting without kneeling, but holding your body straight and peaceful? The master answered: Quiet-sitting while kneeling is good. Sitting peacefully without leaning your body, but keeping peaceful and quiet, is also good. What is called quiet-sitting is not necessarily kneeling. Zhu Xi had a life-long back problem and could not kneel down, so he did as the monks do and sat in lotus position, folding both knees and sitting like that.”

Song Siyŏl, “Ch’oesillok ha 崔慎錄下,” in *Songja taejŏn* 18.556a.

⁹⁰ This might sound very close to the Wang Yangming school notion that the Mind is one with Heaven and *li*. See Yun Hyu “Sadan ch’ilchŏng insim tosim sŏl 四端七情人心道心說,” in *PHCS*, *kwŏn* 25, 1043. Yun Hyu records his answer to a similar allegation at the end of the *sadan ch’ilchŏng insim tosim sŏl*. He answers there that Wang Yangming theory of “Mind only” is one-sided so the whole thing is lost (專心者 學之偏 而全體喪矣).

As for fear and apprehension, Yun Hyu say that the underlying reason that the *Exemplary Person* (君子) practices it is the fear of heaven. Yun Hyu’s basic reading is that the Exemplary Person develops an attitude of reverence (or apprehension) as a way of self-cultivation, explaining that maintaining the state-of-mind of fear of Heaven and cultivating the way of serving Heaven is exactly what the *Doctrine of the Mean* called “education”.⁹¹ According to Kim Yu-gon, Yun Hyu’s main construct is the idea of “Serving Heaven”, or *sa ch’ŏn* 事天.⁹² Yun Hyu understands serving Heaven as practicing holding the Mean 中庸, which he sees as composed of two elements - the heaven given correct li 正理 and constant Way 常道. However, the prerequisite for serving Heaven is an attitude of reverence – the fear of Heaven. He explains the sentence “Zhongni said ‘The Exemplary Person holds to the mean, the lesser people go against it’,” as referring to the fact that the Exemplary Person can practice “fear and apprehension” while lesser people are not afraid to violate it.

In other words, Yun Hyu sees the main message of the *Doctrine of the Mean* as focusing on a state of mind: Outward in the form of the fear of Heaven, and inward as constant watchfulness and self-examination. He matches these two with complementary objectives, Serving Heaven 事天 and Actualizing Oneself 爲己. The ability of the Exemplary Person to perform these two comes from his constant awareness, and results in a unification with Heaven and an intimate ability to discern what Heaven dictates. He explains that this is the hidden meaning of “She covered her brocade gown,” at the end of the text.⁹³ He therefore says that

⁹¹ Yun Hyu, “Toksŏgi Chungyong,” 1463. “Fear and apprehension and caution when alone, the Exemplary Person’s mental state of reverence to Heaven, and the service of cultivating the Way are what we call education” 戒愼恐懼, 君子畏天之心, 修道之事, 所謂教也. See also PHCS, 1473.

⁹² Kim Yu-gon “‘Chungyong’-kwa ‘Taehak’ haesŏge nat’anan yunhyuŭi sach’ŏnjihak-ŭi kujowa sŏnggyŏk [The Structure and Character of the Doctrine of Serving Heaven in Yun Hyu’s Interpretation of The Great Learning and the Doctrine of the Mean],” *Tongyang ch’ŏrhak yŏn’gu* 76 (2013), 24.

⁹³ The ode *Feng* 丰 from the *Book of Odes* is the *classicus locus* of the first phrase of chapter 33, referred here.

至於致中和天地位萬物育云者又所以極夫君子修道擴充之功
而有以著夫事天為己自然之效也⁹⁴

... reaching to “when the Mean and Harmony are actualized, Heaven and Earth are in their proper position, and the myriad things are nourished” means that the Exemplary Person cultivates the Way and expands his studies to reveal the nature of Serving Heaven 事天 and Actualizing Oneself 為己.

He goes on to explain that when the Exemplary Person is Serving Heaven out of reverence and awe, he is following the Way in a fashion that unifies man and Heaven, or in Zhu Xi’s terminology the potential 體 and actualization 用, and that this is exactly what the Doctrine of the Mean decreed.⁹⁵

Kim Hyoung-chan argues that Yun Hyu inherited from T’oegyŏ a methodological problem, which is related to the veneration of Heaven.⁹⁶ He shows that toward his later years, T’oegyŏ increasingly emphasizing the role of Heaven as the focus of the Neo-Confucian Reverence. However, he was also increasingly plagued with the theoretical gap between Heaven and *li*. Kim Hyoung-chan calls this the problem of communication between subject and object.⁹⁷ Yun Hyu attempted to solve this problem in part by focusing on the Investigation of Things 格物, suggesting that when *li* approaches on its own 理自到 (*ijado*), it closes the gap between

⁹⁴ Yun Hyu, “Toksŏgi Chungyong,” 1457.

⁹⁵ Yun Hyu, “Toksŏgi Chungyong,” 1457. “This Way of the Exemplary Person is that by which he unites Heaven and Man, so this is the completion of potential and actual. This is the great decree if the Doctrine of the Mean.” 此君子之道所以合天人該遠近而具體用之全者也此中庸之大旨也

⁹⁶ Kim Hyoung-chan, “Hamnijŏk ihaewa kyŏnggŏnhan sŏmgim -Paekho Yunhyu-ŭi T’oegyehak kyesŏnge kwanhan koch’al [Rational Understanding and Pious Service - A Study of Paekho Yun Hyu’s Succession of Toegyŏ’s Philosophy],” *T’oegyehakpo* 125 (2009): 143-73.

⁹⁷ Kim Hyoung-chan, “Hamnijŏk ihaewa kyŏnggŏnhan sŏmgim,” 140-54. Yun Hyu calls this problem the problem of interaction 感應 and influence 遂通, often truncated to the term *kam-t’ong* 感通.

object and subject.⁹⁸ In the *Doctrine of the Mean*, Yun Hyu links his sixth chapter to the investigation of things.⁹⁹ However, his main theory on the Investigation of Things is detailed in the *Great Learning*. There, Yun Hyu clarifies how he connects the investigation of thing as a tool to reach out (至) to things, with Reverence as a way to provide “response and communicating” or *kamt’ong* 感通 in his terminology.¹⁰⁰ This term stands for *kamŭng* 感應 and *sot’ong* 疏通, response and communication which he frames as the ability to penetrate the gap between subject and object. Yun Hyu thought that the method of investigating the *li* of things came from Confucius, but that only the Northern Song Neo-Confucians unlocked its mysteries.¹⁰¹ Drawing on various classics and Neo-Confucian scholars, he claims that the various forms of reverence and self-cultivation are prerequisites to knowledge.¹⁰² He demonstrates that by providing references from the Four Books. In other words, he is claiming the reverential attitude toward

⁹⁸ Kim Hyoung-chan, “Hamnijök ihaewa kyönggönhan sömgim,” 158. Yun Hyu, “Toksögi Taehak [Notes Upon Reading the *Great Learning*],” in *PHCS*, *kwön* 37, 1518.

⁹⁹ Yun Hyu, “Toksögi Chungyong,” 1459-60.

¹⁰⁰ Yun Hyu, “Toksögi Taehak,” 1516. 裕物之義 先儒以為窮理之事 而訓格為至 今乃以誠敬感通之義 何也

The idea of the Investigation of Things is explained by ancient scholars as the work of investigating things to their fullest extent (窮理), but this tells us that “investigating” means “to reach.” (至). Now, does this mean that we must respond and communicate 感通 with things with sincerity and reverence?

¹⁰¹ Yun Hyu, “Toksögi Taehak,” 1516-7. 曰窮理之說 見於大易 明善之訓 夫子言之 子思述之 而孟子申之

蓋學問之大端也 而自漢以來 學者無有知 從事於此 而殷明其義者 至宋伊洛諸君子 乃始開關啟鑰 首奭斯義 以示學者 於是聖賢 教人之法 始明於天下 誠學者造道之指南也

“The theory of the exhaustive learning of *li* (the Investigation of Things), observing the great changes, and the lesson of illuminating goodness – Confucius talked about it, Zisi retold it and Mencius explained it, so it is a very important issue in learning. However, since the Han Dynasty, there were no scholars who worked on its meaning until the Song Dynasty, where the members of the Yi-Luo unlocked the key and opened the door, and showed it to scholars for the first time.”

¹⁰² Ibid. 然考程朱論學問明理之方 則又未嘗不以居 敬持志 立誠存養 為致知之先務 愚既略載其說於篇中矣 “Therefore, the method of learning of Cheng-Zhu for illuminating principle, requires that one one has to abide in reverence (居敬) without learning to abide in reverence 居敬, maintain his determination 持志, establish his sincerity 立誠 and cultivate his mind 存養 in order to extend his knowledge as much as possible (致知). I have also written this theory down in my text.”

Heaven is a prerequisite to the Investigation of Things as the esoteric knowledge embedded in the Four Books.

While Yun Hyu agrees with T'oegyue on the importance of Heaven as the focus of reverence, he is focusing on reverence toward Heaven in daily life. To some extent, this is the reason why for him part of Serving Heaven is Daily Practice 日用. The heavenly source of Nature constantly resides between the Human Mind and daily practice, and the fear of Heaven makes one conscious of it.¹⁰³ He also thinks that Serving Heaven flows naturally from serving one's parents 事親, and particularly the three-years mourning period.¹⁰⁴ The service that comes out of piety for one's most beloved, is essentially the same bestowed toward Heaven. He therefore couples the term "Serving Heaven" with the "Fear of Heaven", but also complements it with the "Joy of Heaven" 樂天.¹⁰⁵ In an unusual comment he states that "Practicing archery is like practicing to be an Exemplary Person" (chapter 15) is complementary to the earlier comment (chapter 13) that "The Way is not something separate from man". From this he learns that the contribution of the exemplary person is to make Earth peaceful and Heaven Joyful.¹⁰⁶ Yun Hyu contrasts this sentiment directly with the Fear of Heaven, saying:

上言戒懼主靜也 此言夫婦正始也

¹⁰³ Yun Hyu, "Toksögi Chungyong," 1464. Kim Yu-gon, "'Chungyong'-kwa 'Taehak' haesöge nat'anan yunhyuüi sach'önjihak-üi kujowa sönggyök," 23.

¹⁰⁴ Yun Hyu, "Toksögi Chungyong," 1478-9. 禮樂即上文所言序昭穆以卜之事也。其者指先甲而言之 所尊謂長上賢德 所親謂父子弟 死以亡者言 亡以生者言 如事生 如事存 若所謂舜仰慕堯三年 立則見堯於牆 食則見堯於羹者 蓋孝子事親 以父母之心為心 誠敬之至 愛慈之道 不問於存沒者如此 此所以能通神明 而北四海者也。上言繼述之事 此則繼述之心所臚行其事者也。有其事有其心 方可以盡事親之道 而為教於天下矣。故曰達孝矣乎。

¹⁰⁵ Kim Hyoung-chan, "Hamnijök ihaewa kyönggönhan sömgim," 165. Yun Hyu, "Toksögi Chungyong," 1472-3.

¹⁰⁶ Yun Hyu, "Toksögi Chungyong," 1472. The passage above was discussing the idea that "the Way is not something separate from man". Therefore, it talks about how the Exemplary Person makes the peace of Earth and the joy of Heaven. 此一節因上文不遠人之意 又言君子安土樂天之事

上言心性也 此言德行也 上言敬義也 此言忠恕也 上言畏天也 此言樂天也¹⁰⁷

Above it talks about caution and abiding in stillness. This is saying how a married couple can have a correct beginning. Above it talks about the mind and the Nature, and here it talks about virtue and conduct; above it talks about reverence and righteousness and here it talks about devotion and forgiveness; above it talks about the fear of Heaven and here it talks about the joy of Heaven.

The idea of Joy of Heaven is quite rare in Yun Hyu's writing, but not necessarily a late development: The term appears once in a poem, dedicated to a friend (Song Chun'gil 宋浚吉) in 1640 (the year *kyŏngjin*) when he was only twenty-four years old.¹⁰⁸ It also appears once in Yun Hyu longest commentary, his notes on the classic of Filial Piety.¹⁰⁹ What is perhaps most striking about the rare comment here, is the fact that Yun Hyu conceives a state of doctrinal balance between fear and joy, which reflects the other Neo-Confucian bifurcations. Thus, the fear of Heaven belongs to the part of Neo-Confucianism advocating stillness in the form of mind and the Nature learning. This is the aspect of Neo-Confucianism that we can call *sŏngnihak* 性理學, to which Four and Seven and similar debates belong. The other aspect is a life-affirming aspect of Confucianism, talking about Virtue but also about devotion and forgiveness. When discussing the Joy of Heaven, Yun Hyu reveals direct influences from the Four Classics, so perhaps it would be appropriate to say that this is the *Yuhak* 儒學 aspect of Now-Confucianism.

¹⁰⁷ Yun Hyu, "Toksŏgi Chungyong," 1472.

¹⁰⁸ Yun Hyu "Urak Chaemyŏng 憂樂齋銘 [A minor preface on sorrow and pleasure]," in *PHCS*, *kwŏn* 24, 1021.

¹⁰⁹ Yun Hyu "Toksŏgi Hyogyŏng oejŏn sang [Notes upon reading unofficial commentaries on the Book of Filial Piety, part 1]," in *PHCS*, *kwŏn* 39, 1556.

Several scholars consider Yun Hyu an important link in the lineage that connects Yi Hwang with Yi Ik 李滉 (1681-1763) and Chŏng Yakyong 丁若鏞(1762-1836).¹¹⁰ Kim Hyoung-chan indicates that both thinkers have inherited Yun Hyu’s ideas on Heaven and shared many of his insights on the *Doctrine of the Mean*, often modifying and criticizing them in the process. They also seem to share many of his methodological insights, such as the emphasis on a concise definition of terms, often referencing back to the classics. As such we can consider Yun Hyu a precursor of Practical Learning (*silhak* 實學 in Korean), with all the problematic nature of the term.¹¹¹ Baker claims that the term *silhak* itself seems to be constructed by modern Korean historiographers, whereas for pre-modern thinkers it seems to indicate scholarship with “real” ethical value, but never a school of thought the way we conceive it today. Yi Ik’s knowledge of Yun Hyu’s theory came through his father, Yi Ha-jin 李夏鎭, who was exiled together with Yun Hyu, a fact that seems to have left a deep impact on the young Yi Ik.¹¹²

The terminology of *Serving Heaven* carried on among some of the *namin* scholars with the same distinctions that Yun Hyu made. A century after Yun Hyu, Chŏng Yagyong says that the way to *Serve Heaven* is to interact appropriately with your fellow human beings. He also talks about the need to cultivate an attitude of fear and apprehension out of awareness that Sangje.¹¹³ He claimed that it is only the awareness that sangje is watching that makes people act morally in the privacy of their own home, and that emotion cannot come from an impersonal

¹¹⁰ Kim Hyoung-chan, “Hamnijŏk ihaewa kyŏnggŏnhan sŏmgim,” 143-4.

¹¹¹ Donald L. Baker, “The Use and Abuse of the Sirhak Label: A New Look at Sin Hu-dam and his Sohak Pyon,” *kyohoesa yŏn’gu* 3 (1981): 183-254.

¹¹² Han Ugŭn, “Paekho Yun Hyu yŏngu (il),” 1.

¹¹³ Chŏng Yakyong, “Chin ki sim cha chi ki sŏng chang 盡其心者知其性章 [The chapter ‘If you fully explore your mind, you will know your nature’],” in *Yŏyudang chŏnsŏ*, 6.145b. Tasan’s commentary refers to Mencius 7A:1 on the phrase “If you know your nature, you know Heaven 知其性則知天矣” and introduces the same ideas on the Joy and the Fear of Heaven, including the reference to *sangje* 上帝.

li.¹¹⁴ At about the same time the Yi Sangjǒng 李象靖 (1710-1781) of the *namin* faction used the terms in a similar fashion.¹¹⁵ Finally, in the nineteenth century the *namin* scholar Yi Chinsang 李震相 (1818-1886), better known by the pen name Hanju 寒洲, incorporated all three terms into his scholarship.¹¹⁶ Yi Chinsang's son, Yi Sūnghui 李承熙 (1847-1916) established the Korean branch of Kang Yo-wei's Confucian Religious Association in 1913. Yi Sūnghui was involved with the Korean Independence Movement, and was aiming to restructure Confucianism as a religion in the Western mold.¹¹⁷ Thus, it seems that even if the trio of Heaven-related terms resurfaced in later *namin* scholars, it never became a prominent element of Neo-Confucian thought. Nevertheless, what is perhaps common to all the scholars mentioned here is the fact that they all had an interest in the religious expression of Confucianism. Yun Hyu provides perhaps the most deistic expression of Heaven, and it is no wonder that Chǒng Yakyong (Tasan 茶山) who became involved with the earliest expressions of Christianity in Korea, and Yi Sūnghui who responded to the Christian challenge, both chose to use this terminology.

¹¹⁴ Chǒng Yakyong, "Chungyong Chajam 中庸自箴 [Self-admonition on the Doctrine of the Mean]," in *Yōyudang chōnsō*, vol. 2, 3.4b-5a.

¹¹⁵ Yi Hwang, "Kyōngyōn kangūi 經筵講義 [Classics Mat Lectures]," in *T'oegye sōnseng munjip* vol 1, 7.524. Yi Sangjǒng, "Tap Kim Chaya 答金子野 [Answer to Kim Chaya]," in *Taesān chip*, 33.113a. Yi Sangjǒng says there: 君子之事天也，果能樂天踐形 … 方是畏天時保之事，不可以語於事天之極功也。 "When the Exemplary Person serves Heaven, he is able to rejoice in the will of Heaven ... because he fears Heaven and preserves it, it is impossible to say that it is a great effort to serve Heaven."

¹¹⁶ Hanju chip, "Sang Ch'oe Haeam [A letter to Ch'oe Haeam]" 5.134b. In this long letter to Ch'oe Haeam explaining his metaphysical methodology, Yi Chinsang is using the term "Serving Heaven" to relate a similar sentiment.

¹¹⁷ Kūm Changtae, "The Confucian Religion Movement in the Modern History of Korean Confucianism," *Korea Journal* 5 (May 1989), 5.

4.3 Conclusion

What kind of Neo-Confucian vision rises from the *toksŏgi*? In my analysis I have followed the assumption that this is essentially a hybrid text, composed of several and originally separate texts, including separate introductions. Moreover, the iterative nature of Yun Hyu's work, means that the text was reedited, and commented upon, repeatedly. Nevertheless, we can identify several recurring themes, which validate perhaps the general instincts of *sŏin* scholars that this is a radical and subversive text. The three main themes that I have discussed are the transmission of the Way (*dotong*), the structure of the text and the metaphysical shift.

The *Doctrine of the Mean* is the most religious text in the Confucian canon, and involves the core of the Confucian plan for self-cultivation.¹¹⁸ Zhu Xi used the *Doctrine of the Mean* to present his *li-qi metaphysics*, and as Soffel and Tillman show that even during Song Dynasty issues involving the structure and interpretation of the text were used to ask serious questions on transmission of the Way.¹¹⁹ Yun Hyu taps into the same tradition, and starts his exegesis by restructuring the text. This serves two purposes. On the methodological level, Yun Hyu shows that the transmission of the Way involves active participation in the content itself. Thinking about Zisi as the originator of the *Doctrine of the Mean*, he says that he “cannot avoid the thought that Zhu Xi's interpreted the text more than a thousand years after that.”¹²⁰ Yun Hyu further emphasizes the role of earlier scholars, before Zhu Xi, in shaping Neo-Confucianism. In various places he refers to Sima Guang, who originally separated the Zisi texts as separate canonical articles, as well as the Yi-Luo 伊洛 school, in modern days' Luoyang 洛陽 district, as the school of thought which created Zhu Xi. Finally, he also repeats the story of Cheng Yi

¹¹⁸ Chen Yong, *Confucianism as Religion: Controversies and Consequences* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 45, 58. Chen Yong notes how controversies on the *zhongyong* became public debates on the religious nature of Confucianism. I will explore this topic in deeper details in the next chapter.

¹¹⁹ Soffel and Tillman, *Cultural Authority and Political Culture in China*, 31.

¹²⁰ Yun Hyu, “Toksŏgi Chungyong,” 1462.

burning his own Zhongyongjie 中庸解, as a reference to Zhu Xi on actively updating tradition as part of the transmission. The entire text indicates a growing frustration with Chosŏn adherence to past scholars. It is not surprising that Yun Hyu signs his introduction as the *chŏnsu huin* 天水後人, indicating that he is the true successor of the Song dynasty scholarship.

On the practical level, Yun Hyu's own division allow him to push Zhu Xi's focus on Sincerity 誠 to the background, and emphasize self-cultivation and the importance of Confucius as a model for enlightenment. For example, Zhu Xi titled chapters 21 to 32 as *tian-ren* 天人, focusing on Sincerity as the culmination of self-cultivation. Following Wang Bo, Chosŏn scholars such as Kwŏn Kŭn broke this section down to *chŏndo* 天道 and *indo* 人道. As shown before, the abundance of diagrams on this specific topic, perhaps more than any other, show its importance and prominence. Yun Hyu, on the other hand, broke down those chapters into four smaller chunks, titled "Broad Learning" 博學, "self-completeness" 自成, "Mean and Harmony" 中和 and "Zhongni" 仲尼. Yun Hyu presents the second half of the *Doctrine of the Mean* as a series of steps for self-cultivation, and the Cheng-Zhu metaphysics move to the back seat.

Finally, Yun Hyu pushes back on the all importance of the *li-ki* terminology and its associated debates, and promotes a Heaven-centric view. In this he is following the direction that Yi Hwang himself took toward the end of his life. As I have shown in the previous chapters, his usual methodology is to examine the usage of terms across a wide range of classics, while assuming that the Confucian canon is inherently holistic. This allows Yun Hyu to present both his system and his mastery in the learning of the classics. Yun Hyu takes the two "fear" related expressions in the *Doctrine of the Mean*, that the Exemplary Person is "cautious in the place where he is not seen, and apprehensive in the place where he is not heard" and that he is "cautious when he is alone" and develops them into a two-pronged approach. Internally, constant watchfulness, and externally the fear of Heaven. These two are not only meditative objects, but a state of mind that is a preliminary requirement for the Confucian plan, allowing the investigation of things and self-cultivation. By equating Heaven with the Lord on High, and focusing on its

adherence, Yun Hyu resists the concept of a universal moralizing force and accepts Heaven as an anthropomorphic moralizing force. It is not surprising that a century after his death, *namin* scholars were the first to pursue Christianity, exactly out of the need for a personified and moralizing higher force.

Yun Hyu concludes with the introduction of a third term, the joy of Heaven, mitigating fear and stillness with compassion and action. This perhaps is the most elegant aspect of his theory, since it solves several issues. One is the reclusiveness and pessimism of the T'oegye school, with its emphasis on introspection and separation. T'oegye's solution to the Four-and-Seven debate, highlighted the idea that *ki* is easily corrupted, and that the public sphere is the realm of *ki*. Being a *namin* but also active in the public sphere, Yun Hyu had to find a compromise between the reclusive ideal and the vision of a Confucian scholar as a public servant. Talking about two types of complementary Confucianism, which I have dubbed *songnihak* and *yuhak*. It is important that Yun Hyu is able to recognize these two different forces within Neo-Confucianism. He sees them as naturally complementary which is quite unusual. Indeed, although major *namin* scholars of later generations follow his lead, and obviously respond to his methodology and terminology, none builds an entire system around it. In this too, Yun Hyu predicts the impact of Christianity on Confucianism.

Chapter 5: Ghosts and Spirits

5.1 Introduction

Did Neo-Confucians believe in the afterlife? In light of the energy and details focused on ancestral rites, the question seems almost redundant, but things are not as simple as it seems. A famous quote from the *Analects* states that the Master never spoke of ghost-stories.¹ Another tells that when Chi Lu asked about serving the spirits, Confucius answered “If you cannot yet serve men, how can you serve the spirits?”² In spite of the adage, seventeenth-century scholars have discussed the spirits and their service, and the answers are revealing as far as they indicate a wide range of belief systems than we can reasonably place under one roof of Confucian orthodoxy.

In this chapter I would like to focus on Yun Hyu’s approach to the afterlife, ghosts and the spirits of the deceased. This is relevant for my over-arching theme, presenting the religiosity of Yun Hyu’s Neo-Confucianism. It is also instrumental in understanding the core of his philosophy, and is related to a wide range of topics from metaphysics to ritual. To find out about Yun Hyu’s ideas on the afterlife, I will juxtapose two moments in his intellectual life. The first was an ongoing debate on the existence of ghosts, which was an extension of the famous Four-Seven debate. I will trace the position of Yun Hyu and others from his own account. The second was the so-called rites controversy over the mourning arrangements for King Hyojong. This debate took place immediately after the death of King Hyojong, in 1659, but a second iteration

¹ *Analects* 7:21

² *Analects* 11:12.

started after the death of his Queen in 1674. I will provide a broad description of the actual events, followed by an analysis of Yun Hyu's position vis-à-vis the positions of his opponents, led by Song Siyöl.

The two events were seemingly unrelated: One was a private discussion and the other a public political strife. Yet, I would like to suggest that the two are connected at the core. In the case of the rites controversy, without taking into account the different beliefs of the different sides, the controversy does not make sense. In other words, reading the rites controversy through a religious lens, while remaining aware of the two sides' differences in belief, we can appreciate the intensity of the debate. Finally, I would like to suggest the rites controversy as a prime example of what we might call the incommensurability of religious language.

5.2 Yun Hyu on Ghosts and Spirits

The writings of Yun Hyu are teeming with ghosts, spirits and other apparitions.³ This is not surprising perhaps, when we think of the political atmosphere of his time, both internally and outside of Korea. In his poems, the ghosts seem to express a range of suppressed emotions. They scatter, and move about, frightened by fireworks or are not able to feel joy.⁴ In his philosophical discussion, he expresses the essential similarity between ghosts and the Seven Emotions 七情 of the *Book of Rites*. But the similarity doesn't stop at the level of metaphysical discussion. In other places, he equates ghosts with lingering emotions – fear, loss, and grudge. While not unique in

³ I am translating the term *guisin* 鬼神 as “ghosts and spirits,” and the term *yong* 容 as “apparition”. This translation helps me being consistent when the terms *gui* 鬼 or *sin* 神 appear separately.

⁴ See for example PHCS “*kyöngsin kyech'un gimun* 庚辰季春記聞 [A Record of what I heard in the last month of Spring of the Year *kyöngjin*]”, kwön 2, 36.

his interest, Yun Hyu theory on ghosts unifies his entire philosophical framework— from the metaphysics of the Four-Seven Debate down to his method to study the classics.

According to Kim U-hyŏng, the intellectual debate over ghosts was a prominent feature of 17th and 18th century Chosŏn.⁵ He explains that the debate stemmed directly from the scholarship of Yi Hwang and Yi I in the 16th century. Both relied on Zhu Xi to discuss ghosts in relation with questions on *ki* and *i*, particularly in relation to the “Four-Seven Debate”.⁶

Assessing the status of ghosts and other supernatural entities, was a good test case for one’s metaphysical methodology, since it had implications on many adjacent areas, such as ritual or the Confucian answer to shamans and Buddhists. Yi Hwang, for example, criticized the theory of Sŏ Kyŏngdŏk 徐敬德 (1489-1546, Pen name Hwadam 花潭) that the belief in ghosts is not far from Buddhist doctrines, and smacks too much of incarnation.⁷ He assigned ghosts a special status, as he believed that they neither exist nor do-not exist. He claims that the *li* of ghosts cannot be known by observation, and is left for our reasoning powers to deal with.⁸ Specifically, since he considered a ghost only as a phenomenon of *ki*, he agreed that in a case of sudden death it may

⁵ Kim U-hyŏng, “Chosŏn hugi kwisillonŭi yangsang - 17 18 segi yugwiron’gwa mugwironŭi taeripkwa kyunyŏl [Aspects of late Chosŏn discussion on ghosts – opposition and factions in the 17th and 18th century debate whether ghosts exist or not],” *Myŏngyanghak* No. 19 (December 2007): 183-226.

⁶ Kim U-hyŏng “Chosŏn hugi kwisillonŭi yangsang - 17 18 segi yugwiron’gwa mugwironŭi taeripkwa kyunyŏl,” 186-7.

⁷ Ibid. See also Yi Hwang’s response letter to Nam Sibū (答南時甫), in *T’oegye chib* 14.366a.

⁸ T’oegye states that “The *li* of ghosts cannot be known by observation, but can only be understood by the reasoning mind” 鬼神之理，非聞見之知，料度之想所及. Yi Hwang “Tap Nam Sibū 答南時甫 [Response to Tap Nam Sibū],” in *T’oegye chip* 14.366c. In this, T’oegye mirrors the observation of Zhu Xi, who read Analects 7:21 as explaining that the master never discussed those things because they cannot be apprehended through the Investigation of Things – even when it was not improper to do so (*fei bu zheng* 非不正). See Li Jingde, *Zhuzi yulei*, 3.37a.

take some time for *ki* to dissipate, resulting in a temporary apparition, but he did not think that such constructs could survive for very long.

Another by-product of the approach of the T'oegye school, was that various sacrificial rites 祭儀, were independent of the question of afterlife. Surprisingly, Yulgok shared the same line of argument with Yi Hwang. According to Yulgok, when a person dies his “anima” or *hon-ki* 魂氣 (i.e., that spiritual *ki* which activates the body) goes to Heaven, while his “corporeal soul” or *chǒngbaek* 精魄 (the part which makes possible physical sensation) was absorbed in the ground and scattered, although some traces always remain.⁹ This is the standard Confucian formula which explains the souls in terms of light and dark souls and formulates the rituals accordingly. Zhu Xi himself have discussed the topic extensively, as is evident from his conversations with students.¹⁰ When discussing the issue of ancestral rituals, he says that although we cannot know if a certain ancestor remains or not (*youwu* 有無), the similar *qi* (*ki*) of the descendant is enough to allow “affective resonance”.¹¹

It is important to note perhaps that by Zhu Xi’s time, the term *guishen* 鬼神 and its synonyms were understood as “ghosts” or “spirits” only in the context of ritual sacrifice, but otherwise were mostly used to describe inexplicable natural phenomena.¹² Wing Tsit-Chan notes that during the Song dynasty, Neo-Confucian thinkers such as Cheng Yi and Zhang Zai,

⁹ Kim U-hyǒng “Chosǒn hugi kwisillonŭi yangsang - 17 18 segi yugwiron’gwa mugwironŭi taeripkwa kyunyǒl,” 187. The term “corporeal soul” follows Thomas Wilson. Thomas Wilson, “Spirits and the Soul in Confucian Ritual Discourse,” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 42, no. 2 (2014): 185-212.

¹⁰ The entire third chapter of the *zhuzi yulei* is dedicated to the topic.

¹¹ Li Jingde, *Zhuzi yulei*, 3.36-37. See Thomas Wilson, “Spirits and the Soul in Confucian Ritual Discourse,” *Journal of Chinese Religions*, 42:2 (2014): 203.

¹² Allen John Wittenborn, *Further Reflections on Things at Hand: A Reader* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1991), 196n68.

recognize *guishen* as natural forces of creation or activities of *qi* (*ki*).¹³ The Cheng-Zhu school accepted the existence of ghosts and spirits, but understood them as a natural phenomenon, and Zhu Xi specifically said that they are purely a manifestation of *qi* - the growth and dispersion of the *yin* and *yang* forces.¹⁴ For Zhu Xi this seems to solve the main issue with the Confucian mourning rites, but for Yulgok the rites posed a problem: What is the meaning of an ancestral rite, if the *chǒngbaek* responsible for sensory perception is long dispersed, and nothing remains to see, hear or taste the offering? Yulgok's solution, based on Zhu Xi's claims, was that it is a matter of resonance of *ki* within the person performing the ritual.¹⁵

In Yun Hyu's time, it was Song Siyŏl who followed that line of argument. He mentions ghosts and spirits often, but rarely provides insights or theories on the matter.¹⁶ As far as Song Siyŏl, and the *sŏin* were concerned, metaphysical questions on the relations between ghosts and the *ki-li* problem were the only interesting aspect of the problem, an interest that started with Song Siyŏl's friend and faction member Yi Hŭijo 李喜朝 (1655-1734, Pen name chich'on 芝村), and his writings on the *Doctrine of the Mean*.¹⁷ In his answers on the topic, Song Siyŏl relies mostly on Zhu Xi's commentary on the sixteenth chapter of the *Doctrine of the Mean*, but

¹³ Wing-Tsit Chan, Introduction to *Reflections on Things at Hand: The Neo-Confucian Anthology*, Ed. Lü Zuqian, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), xxi.

¹⁴ Joseph A. Adler, "Chance and Necessity in Zhu Xi's Conceptions of Heaven and Tradition," *European Journal for Philosophy of Religion* 8:1 (2016), 153.

¹⁵ Kim U-hyŏng, "Chosŏn hugi kwisillonŭi yangsang - 17 18 segi yugwiron'gwa mugwironŭi taeripkwa kyunyŏl," 187. See also *Yulgok sŏnsaeng chŏnsŏ sŭbyu*, "Sasaeng kwisin ch'aek 死生鬼神策 [Treatise on Death and Life, Ghosts and Spirits]", 4. 542b.

¹⁶ Kim U-hyŏng, "Chosŏn hugi kwisillonŭi yangsang - 17 18 segi yugwiron'gwa mugwironŭi taeripkwa kyunyŏl," 193-4.

¹⁷ The text name is *Chungyong hongmun ũŭi* (中庸或問疑義) or *Doubts on [Zhu Xi's] Inquiries on the Doctrine of the Mean*. See Kim U-hyŏng, "Chosŏn hugi kwisillonŭi yangsang - 17 18 segi yugwiron'gwa mugwironŭi taeripkwa kyunyŏl," 194.

whereas Zhu Xi focuses mainly on *qi* in that phrase, Song Siyŏl focuses on *li*.¹⁸ That specific debate became quickly another factional conflict, with many prominent thinkers of all factions participating.¹⁹

Hŏ Mok led the *namin* opposition to the dominant approach of the *sŏin*. While Song Siyŏl claimed that there are two forms of *ki* (based on Zhu Xi's comment in the *Zhongyong Zhangju*), Hŏ Mok claimed that the *ki* itself is unified.²⁰ He says for example:

天曰神 日月星辰 皆是也。地曰示 山河草木 皆是也 人曰鬼 皆一氣也。

In the heavens we call it *sin* 神, the sun, moon and stars are all like that. On earth, we call it *si* 示, mountains and rivers, grass and trees are all like that. With people we call it *kui* 鬼, and these are all of the one *ki*.²¹

As far as Hŏ Mok was concerned not only were ghosts and spirits a concrete phenomenon of *ki*, they were of the same *ki*. His terminology claims that we differentiate the types of ghosts, based on their sphere of influence among the “Great Three”. Related to the heavens we call them *sin*, usually translated as gods or spirits, while as an earthly phenomenon we call them *si* or manifestation. Finally, when they are related to us we call them ghosts – but all three are of the same basic mechanism. This opinion was controversial, even among the *namin* since it

¹⁸ Kim U-hyŏng, “Chosŏn hugi kwisillonŭi yangsang - 17 18 segi yugwiron'gwa mugwironŭi taeripkwa kyunyŏl,” 184. See Song Siyŏl, “Tap Yi Tongbo 答李同甫 [Answer to Yi Tongbo]”, in *Songja daejŏsn* 95.17a.

¹⁹ Some of the important names of the time who wrote on that include Kwŏn Sang'ha 權尙夏 (1641-1721, Pen name Suchuk 遂蓄), Kim Changhyŏp 金昌協 (1651-1708, Nung'go 農顧) and of course Hŏ Mok of the *namin* faction.

²⁰ Hŏ Mok, “*Kuisin sŏl* 鬼神說 [Explanation on Ghosts],” in *kiŏn*, 31.20b-21a.

²¹ Ibid.

challenges Yi Hwang's own insight. Yun Hyu had similar ideas, based on his study of the classics, but his ideas were an even more controversial version on the argument that ghosts do exist.

Yun Hyu argued for the existence of ghosts or *yuguinon* 有鬼論 in the strong sense of the term.²² That is, he is arguing that ghosts are made of *ki* and exist not as leftovers of traumatic death until the *ki* dissipates, but rather continuously.²³ He provides the fullest theory on ghosts in his discussion on the Four and Seven debate. Since Song Siyöl follows Yulgok in his non-dualistic line, arguing for the primary role played by of *ki*, part of his ghost theory was that there are two distinctive types of *ki*.²⁴ Yun Hyu attacks this approach indirectly, by separating the actions of *ki* into two realms, Heavenly Way 天道 and Human Affairs 人事, but affirming that both have the same *ki*. This classifies ghosts not only as a concrete phenomenon, but also a natural one. He says that “Wind, rain, snow and dew bears the marks of the changes of *ki*. Transitions and changes, extension and contraction are accredited to *kuisin* 鬼神.”²⁵ This is the

²² I am using the terminology *yuguinon* 有鬼論 and *muguinon* 無鬼論 for the sake of consistency with existing scholarship, but it is an anachronism: The term *yuguinon* appeared only a century after Yun Hyu, and the term *muguinon*, being the mainstream view, did not need a term.

²³ The other option is what I would call the weak argument for the existence of ghosts. See for example Yi Hwang, “Tap Nam Sibō 答南時甫 [Reply to Nam Sibō],” in *T'oegye chip* 14.365b. He repeats there his formula that ghosts neither exist nor do not exist.

²⁴ Song Siyöl, “Tap Yi Tongbo 答李同甫 [Reply to Yi Tongbo],” in *Songja taejŏn*, 95.282a. He says there “ghosts are said to have two *ki*. They are said to have a real *li*.” (鬼神有以二氣言者。有以實理言者); The term non-dualistic to describe Yulgok's system is taken from: Ro Young-chan, *The Korean Neo-Confucianism of Yi Yulgok* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 2.

²⁵ Yun Hyu “Sadan ch'ilchŏng insim tosim sŏl,” in *PHCS, kwŏn* 25, 1025. He says there: “Generally speaking, the *Heavenly Way* and *Human Affairs* are similar, how can they be divided into two? I will further discuss this. The terms origin (元), prosperity (亨), benefit (利) and chastity (貞) are of the *Heavenly Way*. The seasons are the way that the heavenly way operates. Wind, rain, snow and dew bear the marks of the changes of *ki* (氣化). Transitions and changes, extension and contraction are accredited to *kuisin* 鬼神. Humanity (仁), righteousness (義), ritual (禮), and wisdom (智) are personal character ... It is the actions of ghosts that causes alternation between wind and rain, yin and yang...”

core of Zhu Xi's theory, in his own words, and an attempt in what Daniel Gardner calls "‘naturalizing’ the spirit world or ‘spiritualizing’ the natural world".²⁶ The two terms are synonymous in this context, since in Chosŏn times (just like in the Song dynasty) there was no boundary between the natural world and the spirit world. For Zhu Xi, ghosts are a creative process that doesn't always leave a trace.²⁷ Yun Hyu however uses the same word, "trace" 迹 (a variant on Zhu Xi's 跡), to denote that ghosts and spirits are themselves a trace of the activity of *ki*.

When we examine the debate on the existence of ghosts in Yun Hyu's time, we engage in a metaphysical debate that acts on three levels. First, it acts as an extension of the Four-Seven debate, and as such allows each side to impose his own theory on the matter. Second, it acts as an extension of the Rites Controversy. Finally, it is a direct dialog with Zhu Xi's theory, and therefore a debate on the boundaries of orthodoxy. Song Siyŏl responds to Yun Hyu's quoting of Zhu Xi's answer to a student (*zhuzi yulei* 3.3), invoking an interesting three-sided debate between Song Siyŏl, Kwŏn Si 權認 (1604 - 1672, Pen name Sasŏng 權思誠) and himself, which Yun Hyu quotes verbatim. This conversation is a crystalized form of the three opinions in play.

The debate starts when Song Siyŏl rejects the assignment of the Seven Emotions to *ki* and the four beginnings to *li*.²⁸ He uses the sorrow and happiness of Emperor Shun and King Wu of Zhou for emotions that are more of *ki* than *li*, because per his system *ki* and *li* cannot be separated. He then goes on and says that:

²⁶ Daniel K Gardner, "Ghosts and Spirits in the Sung Neo-Confucian World: Chu Hsi on Kuei-shen," in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115, no. 4 (1995), 601.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Yun Hyu, "Sadan ch'ilchŏng insim tosim sŏl," 1027.

宋英甫曰：七情純氣則下所引舜文之喜怒非理耶。愚以為雖桀紂之喜怒謂之非理之本然則可謂之無理則不可蓋理氣不相離故也。

竊嘗聞希仲與李拳之論鬼神而曰鬼神純氣。恐與此伺一關捩耶蓋既以七情配風雨故如是立論然風雨亦豈無理之物耶。²⁹

Song Yǒngbo said: Although we can concede the oft-cited statement that the Seven Emotions are nothing but *ki*, can we take that to mean that the joy and anger of Emperor Shun and King Wen lacked any relationship to *li* at all?. In my opinion, it is possible to say that in the case of the joy and anger (喜怒) of King Jie 桀 of Xia and King Zhou 紂 of Shang, they do not originate in *li*, but it is impossible to say that there is no *li there*, because *li* and *ki* cannot be separated from each other.

I have heard that Hūijung 希仲 (Courtesy name of Yun Hyu), when discussing ghosts with Yi T'aeji (Courtesy name of Yi Yut'ae 李惟泰 1607~1684), said that 'ghosts are nothing but *ki*'. I am afraid that this is saying the same thing (as what I criticized above). If you link the Seven Emotions with wind and rain, then this would make sense. But how can you say that means wind and rain have no connection with *li*?"

In this, Song Siyōl is consistent with Zhu Xi's own argument in the *Zhuzi yulei*, but not with his own school.³⁰ It seems that he is taking the side of T'oegue, while Yun Hyu's theory is more in line with Yulgok's own statements. Kwōn Si picks up on this, saying:

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Both Song Siyōl and Yun Hyu demonstrate knowledge of the other factions' scholarship, and are willing to stretch outside of their comfort zone in the discussion, indicating perhaps that at the time factional boundaries were not yet as fixed as we imagine them.

七情氣 鬼神氣也。與栗谷九容氣何異 但其源頭與栗谷不同。³¹

The Seven Emotions are *ki* and so are ghosts. This (Song Siyöl's statement) is different from Yulgok's statement that the Nine Manifestation are of *ki*. In this Song Siyöl's main argument is very different from Yulgok's in its fundamental assumptions.

While Song Siyöl holds his line of argument by stating that there are four special emotions that are not "psychological" in nature (i.e. love 愛, respect 恭, recognizing what is appropriate 宜, and making proper distinctions 別) because they stem from the Four Virtues (Humaneness 仁, righteousness 義, Propriety 禮, and wisdom 智), neither Yun Hyu nor Kwön Si can accept prioritizing *li* this way. Yun Hyu expands that argument *as absurdum* saying:

余曰謂舜文之喜怒 循理而發則可 謂喜怒為理可乎？若然則性情一物耶？謂鬼神有理則可 豈可指鬼神為理耶？³²

It is right to say that that the emotions of Shun and King Wu issue in accordance with *li*, but is it appropriate to say that they belong to the realm of *li*? If that were the case, wouldn't that imply that the *Nature* and *Emotions* are the same thing? We can say ghosts have *li* in them, but how can you say that ghosts are essentially *li*?

The rest of the reported debate indicates that the three are different in terms of ghost theory, with Yun Hyu and Kwön Si taking the same side, but following a different line of argumentation. It also an example of the different methodological approach that each of them takes. Song Siyöl follows a logical line of inquiry that is loyal to the letter of Zhu Xi's text, and reminds us of the Confucian Rectification of Names. He says, for example, that *li* denotes a unifying element while

³¹ Ibid.

³² Yun Hyu, "Sadan ch'ilchöng insim tosim söl," 1028.

ki denotes distinguishability. A person's name, he says, is the thing that indicates its difference.

Kwŏn Si's argument is surprisingly religious, referring to Zhu Xi's meditation. He says that:

權曰所謂豈謂截然不相入者 可占四七名理之不同也。³³

In regard to you asking how we can say that they are totally separate and don't intermingle at all, if you look at them carefully (占), you can see that the Four Fonts and the Seven Emotions are different both in their names and in their principles.

Kwŏn is using the term *chŏm* 占 to indicate that he observes through meditation. He is also using Zhu Xi's term *mingli* 名理 – “from names to principle”, which denotes moving from something's external description to its appropriate place in the cosmic network of appropriate interactions (*li*), through the *investigation of things*. In other words, Kwŏn Si says that he knows that ghosts are of *ki* by observing and meditating, and by the same practice he can learn something about *li*.

As mentioned above, the question of ghosts and spirits was associated with the *Doctrine of the Mean*, since it dealt with the Neo-Confucian metaphysical framework. This association seems to be true for Yun Hyu as well.³⁴ However, per his usual methodology, he explores the practical implication of his ghost theory through the other classics. In his commentary on the *Doctrine of the Mean*, he notes that the term “travelling far” 行遠 in chapter fifteen is

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Kim U-hyŏng, “Chosŏn hugi kwisillonŭi yangsang - 17 18 segi yugwiron'gwa mugwironŭi taeripkwa kyunyŏl,” 200. Kim U-hyŏng mentions the lack of scholarship on Yun Hyu's theory on ghosts, but refers mostly to Pak Sedang 朴世堂 (1629-1703) and particularly his *sabyŏnnok* 思辨錄. For a possible explanation of the meaning of *sabyŏnnok* see Deuchler and Haboush ed., *Culture and the State in Late Chosŏn Korea*, 252n40. While Pak Sedang and Yun Hyu share many views, Yun Hyu is not mentioned in the text, or in any consequential note, and I chose to ignore that as irrelevant.

synonymous with ghosts and spirits, and with “great filial piety” 大孝.³⁵ In other words, when the *Doctrine of the Mean* explains that the Way of the Exemplary Person is like traveling in that “To go far, you must start from close by,” it is a reference to ritual: To reach the correct effortless fluency in honoring your parents (presumably through *chesa*), you should start by honoring ghosts and spirits. This approach is consistent throughout his writings. It appears again in his suggestion for a radical makeover of the Chosŏn bureaucracy, in an essay with the title *Konggo chikchang tosŏl* 公孤職掌圖說 (Diagrammatic Treatise on the System of Councilors and Mentor). There, he applies the discussion on the Zhou government system from the Rites of Zhou 周禮, to assess not only the existence of ghosts, but also the need to address them at a government level:

宗伯掌邦禮治神人和上下 [春官卿掌邦之三禮 然其禮以宗廟為主
故曰宗伯]³⁶

The Overseer of Ritual Affairs (*zongbo* 宗伯) oversees the court’s rituals, governing ghosts and people, and thus harmonizing above and below. [The (seventy) Spring Officials are responsible for the implementation of the provisions in the Three Rituals. However, in the case of the royal ancestral shrine (*chongmyo* 宗廟) the text assigns it to the Overseer specifically.]

³⁵ Yun Hyu, “Toksŏgi Chungyong,” 1456.

³⁶ Yun Hyu, “Konggo chikchang tosŏl 公孤職掌圖說 [Diagrammatic Treatise on the System of Councilors and Mentors],” in *PHCS*, *kwŏn* 28, 1178-9.

In the Zhouli 周禮, the Spring Officials or *chunguan* 春官 were headed by the Overseer of Ritual Affairs or *zongbo* 宗伯, all included in the so-called “ritual offices” (*liguan* 禮官), that the Chosŏn government shared. The 70 officials care for religious matters and the education of state officials.

For Yun Hyu, not only were ghosts real, they were part of the natural order. They had to be managed carefully, just like the people of the kingdom. Hyu Hyu's model of Confucianism centered around the King, not only as a ritual center but also as a metaphysical symbol of the entire Neo-Confucian construct. Just like the king is the focus of his diagram on the Great Plan, the king received the Mandate of Heaven and was able to apply the true *li* of heaven.³⁷ This is a unique role that no one else can fulfill. This was an essential part of Yun Hyu's theory, and chronologically speaking also one of the first elements that he introduced. As early as 1636, some twenty-five years before the Rites Controversy, he wrote:

惟天生民，作之君師以司牧之，故王者代天以理物，作萬民父母。君也者，鬼神之主，百姓之依，萬物之所賴以成者也。

任大而守重，責洪而務廣，萬機之所聚，一有所失。則禍敗從之。

It is Heaven that raises the people and makes the monarch the master who is in charge of governing. Therefore, the king acts on behalf of Heaven when ordering [lit. *li*-ing] the myriad things, being the father and mother of the myriad people. The ruler is the master of ghosts and spirits, as well as what the common people depend on, and what the myriad things rely to become what they should become. His responsibilities are indeed great and wide-ranging, and he must preserve and protect that which is most important: great affairs and his numerous duties. If one thing is lacking in the network of interactions of the myriad things, disaster and failure will follow.³⁸

³⁷ Yun Hyu “kija sōju to 箕子序疇圖 [The diagram of Kija's sequence of categories]”, in *PHCS, kwōn* 35, 1435.

³⁸ Yun Hyu, “Üisangso 擬上疏 [Draft memorial],” in *PHCS, kwōn* 4, 121.

Yun Hyu acknowledges that the monarch has a unique position on the Neo-Confucian system. Many scholars have noted before the unique religious role of the Son of Heaven. In *The Problem of God in Confucianism*, Julia Ching notes that the high god of the Confucian system, the Lord-on-high, is accessible only to the emperor himself: “The cult was itself an exclusive one, performed by the emperor, Son of Heaven, alone, with the assistance of his Confucian ministers.”³⁹ If we talk about Neo-Confucianism as a religion, then Ching narrows down the actual contact with the divine to a singularity: The emperor is the only one with the power to contact Heaven, a hierophant of sorts, and others can only access divinity through him. This is certainly not the case even within Neo-Confucianism with its many rituals for various gods and spirits. Ching’s view on Confucianism leaves Korean Confucians with no real access to divinity, since Chosŏn monarchs were not allowed to perform that ritual. This is perhaps the most elegant aspect of Yun Hyu’s system: The fact that Heaven is accessible to everyone does not diminish the importance of the monarch. As mentioned in the previous chapter, for Yun Hyu *Serving Heaven* 事天 was the way to become the Exemplary Person. The notion of serving Heaven and the theory supporting it is the centerpiece of Yun Hyu’s metaphysics. However, the King has a unique responsibility to embody the connection with Heaven, through what is called the Kingly Way 王道. Yun Hyu sees more than a simple issue of authority to perform a ritual, referring back to opening statement of *The Doctrine of the Mean*. Since it states that “what Heaven Mandates is called the Nature”, and the Nature is a construct of *li*, it means that only the King who received the Mandate of Heaven 天命 has a complete access to the Nature, and therefore *li*.

³⁹ Julia Ching, "The Problem of God in Confucianism," *International Philosophical Quarterly* 17, no. 1 (1977), 13.

In other words, only the monarch can *li* the myriad things, among them supernatural entities. This bears amazing significance, since Yun Hyu depicts the monarch as what Mircea Eliade would call psychopomp – a guide of souls.⁴⁰

5.3 Methodological Concerns

One might ask what caused the popularization of ghost theories in the seventeenth century. It is true that some Confucian thinkers of earlier generations did show some interest in ghosts, but there is no doubt that we can see a rise in the number of texts on ghosts, as well as in their length and complexity. The growing interest is even apparent in the number of references of the term “ghost” in the collected works of various authors.⁴¹ Considering the religious aspects of Chosŏn Neo-Confucianism, this calls for the application of methodological analysis. Starting from the nineteenth century, scholars of religion have noticed that our notions of death and afterlife are key to the understanding of religion.⁴² However, both anthropologists and sociologists were interested in death as an aspect of society, and thus provided very little theory that focuses solely on ghosts and the afterlife.⁴³ To make things more complicated, any attempt for a more-general theory required some cross-cultural consideration, which in turn invokes the need for a topology

⁴⁰ Mircea Eliade, *Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), 259.

⁴¹ Consider, for example, the 15 references of the terms *kuisin* 鬼神 or *kui* 鬼 in the *T'oegye chip* 退溪集 (49 *kwŏn*) vis-à-vis 63 in the *Peakho chŏnsŏ* (46 *kwŏn*).

⁴² Mu-chou Poo, introduction to *Rethinking Ghosts in World Religion*, ed. by Mu-chou Poo (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 2. Certainly not all scholars of religions would agree, but this idea is prevalent enough to consider worth answering here.

⁴³ Mu-chou Poo, introduction to *Rethinking Ghosts in World Religion*, 4.

of ghosts.⁴⁴ The culturally-dependent topology of the afterlife, tends to be inherently unstable, making ghosts highly variable by nature.⁴⁵ In other words, even within the scope of academic discourse ghosts occupy a liminal space.

There are some intellectual approaches to ghosts that seem to be more agile in nature, thus more easily applicable to the case of seventeenth-century ghost theory. One such approach is to focus on the relationship between ghosts and collective memory. In her introduction to the book *Ghosts of Memory*, Janet Carsten notes the duality of ghosts and memory.⁴⁶ On one hand, ghosts act as a site of collective memory in the way that they maintain and produce shared emotions, memories and rituals. On the other hand, the ghosts are “a presence without memory”, since they are fixed in the past, unchanging.⁴⁷ Thus, the same qualities of ghosts that make them facilitate memory, also facilitates forgetting. On the other hand, ghosts serve as a reminder to otherwise unmentioned events, preserving and reminding living people of those events by making them resurface, thus constructing their memory.⁴⁸ Carsten notes that ghost stories, reports and sightings increase in times of social instability and rapid changes.

⁴⁴ Mu-chou Poo, introduction to *Rethinking Ghosts in World Religion*, 7. Based on the works of this edited volume, Poo, an Egyptologist in training, offers a topological listing of ghosts and other after-life apparitions, and shows that these do not always map coherently to one another.

⁴⁵ Mu-chou Poo, introduction to *Rethinking Ghosts in World Religion*, 5. Poo is focusing on the reading that Peter Berger provided in *The Sacred Canopy*, denoting that ghosts are so mutable because they are not dependent on biological nature. This statement is not without its own problems, since the imagining party does have a physical and biological nature.

⁴⁶ Janet Carsten, introduction to *Ghosts of Memory: Essays on Remembrance and Relatedness* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 1-35.

⁴⁷ Janet Carsten, introduction to *Ghosts of Memory*, 10-11. Carsten is quoting W. G. Sebald's *Campo Santo*.

⁴⁸ The most astounding example from recent years is perhaps the way that the shamans of Cheju Island reinvoke the otherwise unmentionable victims of the 1948 Cheju Uprising. See Laurel Kendall, *Shamans, Nostalgias, and the IMF: South Korean Popular Religion in Motion* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2009), 23.

Writing on Chinese ghosts, P. Steven Sangren suggests a psychoanalytical approach to ghosts and apparitions.⁴⁹ Sangren's reading is particularly applicable to the Korean case, since he is discussing Chinese ghosts, which share much of their topology with pre-modern Korean ghosts.⁵⁰ Sangren draws links between ghosts and social relationships, particularly familial ones. Following Freud, he argues that the ambivalence toward ghosts is directly related to the ambivalence we feel in our relationship. In *Totem and Taboo* for example, Freud suggests that the taboo for the dead, particularly the father, rises from this ambivalence.⁵¹ Without accepting the entire Freudian structure (problematic no doubt and continuously contested during the twentieth century), I would like to dwell on some general observations that Freud is making. One is that the dead are connected to a form of anxiety directly related to unresolved emotions. This is doubly true for the ambivalence we feel toward a father-figure.⁵² As recalled, in *Totem and Taboo*, it is this ambivalence toward the spirit of the deceased father-figure which invokes the *taboo*, and gives birth to religion. Another is what Sangren (following the British anthropologist Emily Martin Ahern) calls the "inheritance-guilt-fear" hypothesis – that these three are the prime motivators in the treatment of the ancestors.

If we accept these two premises, we are led to accept that notion the Yun Hyu's interest in ghosts is not arbitrary but reflects a deeper socio-cultural current. It means that Yun Hyu and

⁴⁹ P. Steven Sangren, "Chinese Ghosts: Reconciling Psychoanalytic, Structuralist, and Marxian Perspectives," in *Rethinking Ghosts in World Religion*, ed. Mu-chou Poo (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 299.

⁵⁰ In other words, Sangren solves for me the problem of inconsistent ghost topologies that Poo addressed in his introduction.

⁵¹ P. Steven Sangren, "Chinese Ghosts," 209. Cf Sigmund Freud, *Totem and Taboo*, trans. James Strachey (New York: Routledge, 2015).

⁵² P. Steven Sangren, "Chinese Ghosts," 301-2.

his peers react to something by discussing ghosts and by proxy the topics of kinship, death and memory. In Freudian terms, we need to ask ourselves – who is this dead father whose ghost worries Yun Hyu so much? Too simple, perhaps simplistic solutions offer themselves offhand. The first is that the missing yet evident father-figure is the Chinese emperor. Martina Deuchler wrote extensively on the relationship between the demise of the Ming empire and Yun Hyu’s own writing.⁵³ According to Deuchler, in the wake of the Ming dynasty Yun Hyu sought to define Korea as an autonomous and separate entity, independent from the “fallen civilization” of the Ming dynasty.⁵⁴ She sees a large part of his writing as reacting directly to this stress. The fallen father whose ghost haunts Yun Hyu is therefore the ghost of the Ming emperor.

Later generations made the link obvious with the so-called Sacrificial Ceremony for the Three Emperors, or *sam hwangje paehyang* 三皇帝 配享.⁵⁵ About a decade after the death of Yun Hyu, shortly before his own exile and execution, Song Siyŏl managed to propagate the idea of venerating the late Ming Emperor Chongzhen (r. 1627 - 1644) using the *paehyang* sacrificial rite in Chojongam 朝宗巖 and in Mandong-myo 萬東廟.⁵⁶ Song Siyŏl read the late emperor’s suicide as the utmost act of *ŭi* 義. This one-time effort became in later generations a more permanent thing in the form of a sacrificial ritual to three emperors: Chongzhen himself, the last Ming emperor, Hongwu (r. 1368 - 98), and Wanli (r. 1572 – 1620), who helped Chosŏn and launched a successful campaign against the Japanese invaders during Hideyoshi’s invasion of

⁵³ Martina Deuchler, “Despoilers of the Way - Insulters of the Sages,” 91-133.

⁵⁴ Martina Deuchler, Martina Deuchler, “Despoilers of the Way - Insulters of the Sages,” 76.

⁵⁵ David A. Mason, “The Sam Hwangje Paehyang (Sacrificial Ceremony for Three Emperors): Korea’s Link to the Ming Dynasty,” *Korea Journal* 31, no. 3 (1991): 113-137.

⁵⁶ David A. Mason, “The Sam Hwangje Paehyang,” 122.

Korea. By 1704 King Sukchong established the Taebodan 大報壇 shrine for the ritual.⁵⁷ Two generations later, King Yǒngjo (r. 1724 - 76) started holding the ritual regularly. No doubt, the veneration of the late Ming emperors had many reasons. It was an act of rebellion against the Ming's Manchu conquerors as well as a way of reaffirming Korean identity. Nevertheless, they fit the rubric of "the ghost of the late father" most perfectly, and seemed to haunt Chosŏn enough to require a ritualistic solution.

Yun Hyu did not survive to see the *paehyang* ritual enacted. It is also not clear that this was his original intent. However, it is clear from his writings that he was highly aware of the looming presence of these ghosts – and their Korean counterparts. The fall of the Ming required action. He is more concerned, however, with the presence of the Korean counterparts of these kings, and what he sees as Sukchong's possible deviation from the hardline against the Manchus. In 1674 he says:

我國之於中朝 君臣之義有不須言 而再造之恩 實同父母。我宜祖大王 終身未嘗背西而坐。我仁祖大王 中朝而 流涕望闔 而痛笑。以至終天 列聖繼承 共傳此心 其餘澤遺惠 至于今淪民腦膚 發於樞吟 而獨不及降。將海寇之一有所出 而反有甚焉者。此非皇天之意 祖宗之心 鬼神之所談 百姓之所願也。勢之不可 固不可輕慮而妄動。

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As far as our nation's relationship with China, it goes without saying that it should reflect the righteousness of the sovereign and his subjects, but the grace of having that relationship restored is truly like basking in the love of a parent for a child.

⁵⁷ David A. Mason, "The Sam Hwangje Paehyang," 125.

⁵⁸ Yun Hyu, "Haengjang ha行狀 下 [Chronological Overview Part 3]," in *PHCS*, purok 4, 2061.

Our King Sŏnjo never in his whole life turned his back to the West when sitting (never did anything he would be ashamed for China to know about). Our King Injo cried when [remembering the Ming when] dealing with China, cried when performing the ritual of paying homage to the imperial palace (望闕禮), and throughout his entire life, he continued to follow the Way of the Sages.

He interacted with everyone with this sage-like mind of loyalty and, as a result, all the people benefited from his radiant virtue. It penetrated within their skins and bones 髓膚 so much so that they wanted to sing. However, it has yet to extend to the war-lords (Manchus) and pirates (Japanese). On the contrary. Their attacks have gotten worse. This is clearly not what August Heaven intends. This is not what the spirits beg for. It is not what the “hundred names” [the people] want. However, because right now the situation is not right, we cannot rush indiscriminately into action.

It is not an accident that Yun Hyu mentions the spirits of those two kings. King Sŏnjo (r. 1567 – 1608) was the one who called Emperor Wanli to his aid against the Japanese invaders, while Injo (r. 1623 - 1649) deposed his predecessor, Prince Kwanghae, with the promise to restore what is correct (*panjŏng* 反正 in Korean) and assist Chongzhen against the Manchus. Here we also see a kind of ghostly hierarchy, from the implied Ming emperors to the late Chosŏn Kings and down to common ghosts. The supernatural power of the ghosts is then manifested in the mundane.

Three months after writing the text above, Yun Hyu is writing again about supernatural warning signs from the spirits, saying that among other troublesome omens, a great wind broke the *Sajik-dan* 社稷壇 (The Grain and Earth Altar) along with a mud-slide that took a part of the mountain ridge above it (This is probably Bukhan Mountain, overlooking both the palace and the altar

from the North).⁵⁹ He reads this as an omen from the spirit world, and a sure sign of an immediate disaster.

5.4 Dead Kings

The concern over the spirits of dead Kings invoke another major event in Hun Hyu's career – the so called “Rites Controversy” (禮訟) of 1659 and the subsequent controversy of 1674. Yun Hyu's adamant position in the debate, and his detailed analysis have branded him as a leader of the *namin*. It is also responsible for the end of his two-decades-long friendship with Song Siyöl, turning them into bitter enemies politically and academically. The Rites Controversy is a nexus of all that is important to seventeenth-century *yangban*. It connects issues of inheritance, the power-balance between King and *yangban*, school-related traditions, and major differences in everything that is related to the afterlife. It is also related to the spirit of a dead King. Andrei Lankov analysed the controversy as a catalyst for factional and inter-factional friction, depicting the major milestones of the debate and the major political and intellectual achievements involved.⁶⁰ JaHyun Kim Haboush has analyzed the Rites Controversy in two separate but related ways: one in relation to the emerging national consciousness of Koreans, and the other in relation to what she called “a new episteme of the world and self.”⁶¹ Haboush invokes Clifford Geertz's identification of rituals as “cultural performances,” and extends Geertz's own notion to define

⁵⁹ “Haengjang ha,” 2063.

⁶⁰ Andrei Lankov, “Controversy over Ritual in 17th Century Korea,” 49-64.

⁶¹ JaHyun Kim Haboush and Martina Deuchler, introduction to *Culture and the State in Late Chosŏn Korea*, ed. JaHyun Kim Haboush, Martina Deuchler, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001), 10.

the controversy as a site where “ethos and worldview are being redefined”.⁶² Yet, even Haboush comments that “One may dispute whether Confucian rituals were fully religious.”⁶³

Nevertheless, I would like to suggest that the controversy has all the bearings of a religious social drama.⁶⁴ Explanations that ignore the religiosity of the event fail to explain convincingly the extremes to which each side went in the debate. The *yangban* embrace of strict laws of agnatic primogenital inheritance was part of a religious process that the *yangban* community was collectively accepting, and had ritual significance. Moreover, I suspect that controversy demonstrates a true case of incommensurability based on religious beliefs. Specifically, whereas all participants use the same canonical texts, they reach different conclusion. They differ in matters of belief to the point that they cannot understand each other.

5.4.1 The Ritual Controversy

The ritual controversy of 1659 (*kihae yesong* 己亥禮訟) broke out upon the death of King Hyojong, around the mourning rituals appropriate for the Queen-Dowager Jaeui (1624–1688).⁶⁵ Queen Jaeui was the second wife of King Injo, marrying him when he was forty-four years old and she was only fifteen. Injo’s son, Prince Pongnim (the future King Hyojong), was only five years older than her.⁶⁶ The peculiar status of Queen Jaeui was therefore three-fold: First, she was

⁶² JaHyun Kim Haboush, “Constructing the Center: The Ritual Controversy and the Search for a New Identity in Seventeenth-Century Korea” in *Culture and the State in Late Chosŏn Korea*, 49-50.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ I use Victor Turner’s term only briefly here. See Victor Turner, “Social Dramas and Ritual Metaphors,” in *Dramas, Fields and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), 23-59.

⁶⁵ Andrei Lankov, “Controversy over Ritual in 17th Century Korea,” 53-4.

⁶⁶ Song Sun-kwan, “The Resilience and Decline,” 156-7.

not the mother of the late King Hyojong. Second, she was younger than both he and his wife. Finally, King Hyojong himself was marked as the heir apparent after the suspicious death of his older brother, the Crown Prince Sohyŏn, after his return from his long captivity in Beijing. At the time of Hyojong's death, Prince Sohyŏn's grandson, Prince Kyŏngan (1644–1665) had a relevant claim to the throne. Thus, from the onset of the controversy, it had significant ramifications on the legitimacy of the throne.

Two days after the death of King Hyojong, the court was already divided around the question of the Queen's proper mourning arrangements.⁶⁷ While Yun Hyu advocated that the Queen Dowager should mourn the full three years with unhemmed hemp cloth (斬衰三年), Song Siyŏl and the Prime Minister Chŏng T'aehwa 鄭太和 (1602–1673) advocated for a mourning period of one year (朞年). While Song Siyŏl explained his point using the theory of Four Exceptional Cases (四種之說) in the Rites, Chŏng was concerned with the political ramifications of the statement and eventually both he and Song agreed on a different route, by relying on the Great Code.⁶⁸ After consulting with the ministers, Hyŏnjong conceded and the *sŏin* point won the day. It was only a few weeks before the end of the mourning period that the debate restarted because of Hŏ Mok's memorial to the King.⁶⁹ Hŏ Mok claimed that once his older brother died, Hyojong became a "Second Eldest Son" (次長子).⁷⁰ Song Chungil 宋浚吉 (1606–1672) argued against him, with Yun Hyu and Song Siyŏl supporting each side respectively. Hŏ Mok advocated

⁶⁷ *Hyŏnjong sillok*, Coronation year (1659), 5th month, 5th day, 1.1a.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Hyŏnjong sillok*, 1st year (1660), 3rd month, 16th day, 2.10b.

⁷⁰ *Hyŏnjong sillok*, 1st year (1660), 4th month, 16th day, 2.25a. The term was apparently invoked before. See *Hyŏnjong sillok*, Coronation year (1659), 5th month, 5th day, 1.1a.

for a three year mourning period with cut and hemmed hempen cloth (齊衰), which was very close to Yun Hyu's recommendation for three years with unhemmed clothes, but came to that conclusion through a different reasoning process.⁷¹ Song Chungil held the position that the royal family never observed such a ritual, and that it doesn't matter anyway since Prince Sohyön left no living sons.⁷² He conceded to sending historians to check for precedents in the *sillok*, but in a few days that examination did not yield any significant result.⁷³ Hō Mok maintained that the reason for the three-years mourning period was because the King succeeded his father and grandfather. It is interesting to note that the *sillok* editor commented that many courtiers thought that Hō Mok was correct but did not dare speak.⁷⁴

At this point the first year of the mourning period was quickly approaching its end, and the debate became a full-fledged political battle. Yun Sōndo 尹善道 (1587–1671) sent a memorandum to the throne explaining the subtext of the argument: Song Siyöl's argument means a direct challenge against Hyojong's legitimacy.⁷⁵ Finally, it dawned on the two Songs that they are likely to be accused of treason, and Song Chungil fled immediately from

⁷¹ Song Sun-kwan, "The Resilience and Decline," 158.

⁷² *Hyōnjong sillok*, 1st year (1660), 3rd month, 21st day, 2.14b.

⁷³ *Hyōnjong sillok*, 1st year (1660), 4th month, 16th day, 2.25a.

⁷⁴ *Hyōnjong sillok*, 1st year (1660), 4th month, 10th day, 2.21a-23b. "At the time all the courtiers thought that Hō's words were irrefutably correct, but were afraid to be seen as disorderly in the court, so no one dared comment and it went unspoken, but there was none who did not detest that."

是時群臣，皆以穆言爲不易之正論，而恐見忤於時議，無一人論辨，而終不行其說，識者莫不痛恨焉。

⁷⁵ *Hyōnjong sillok*, 1st year (1660), 4th month, 18th day, 2.27b-32a. He asks there: "[according to Song] the second son continues his father's decree, receives the Mandate of Heaven and performs the Ancestral Rites, but is not legitimate. So, is he a false heir apparent or a regent?"

次長承父詔受天命，體祖主器之後，猶不得爲嫡統，而嫡統猶在於他人，則是假世子乎？

Hanyang.⁷⁶ Fortunately for them Kim Suhang 金壽恒 (1629–1689), a protégé of Song Siyöl, had intercepted the memorial and after consideration the King ordered to it burned.⁷⁷ Song notes that even though Yun Söndo’s memorandum was burned and he himself was banished from court, the court dealt with that memo every two days on average for the next couple of months.⁷⁸ Eventually the King called all sides for a conference on the topic, but Yun Hyu did not overstress his point, which the editor of the *sillok* notes as cowardly behaviour.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, the topic refused to die, and remained relevant as ever in the court.

The next round started about a year later with a memorandum from Cho Kyöng 趙綱 (1586–1669, penname Yongju 龍洲) defending Yun Söndo.⁸⁰ It was followed quickly by counter memorials criticizing Cho Kyöng and his opinion.⁸¹ The next attempt for the *namin* came in 1666 when Yu Se-ch’öl 柳世哲 provided some 1400 signatures from scholars in Kyöngsang

⁷⁶ *Hyönjong sillok*, 1st year (1660), 4th month, 19th day, 2.32a.

⁷⁷ *Hyönjong sillok*, 1st year (1660), 4th month, 24th day, 2.38a.

⁷⁸ Song Sun-kwan, “The Resilience and Decline,” 162.

⁷⁹ *Hyönjong sillok*, 1st year (1660), 5th month, 3rd day, 2.46a-b. The editor’s footnote says: Wön Tup’yo’s memorial was a complete presentation of Yun Hyu’s ideas. That fair-minded argument should have been sufficient to break the paradoxical sophistication of their prevailing logic. Since the topic was discussed again, had Yun Hyu agreed with the other people such as Hō Hu and Shim Kwang-Su and agreed with the same contents and clarified the facts clearly so that his ideas would be realized without any hindrance, the argument of Song Siyöl and Song Chungil, which had fooled even the brightest would have been torn down on the spot, and they could not find any excuse again. Unfortunately, he was too afraid to say anything. He has not been able to open his heart to the King for a long time, which resulted in making the bad decision of a single year of mourning. “【謹按元斗杓之筭，全用尹鑄之意，其堂堂之論，足破一時諛淫之辭。當此更議之日，如使鑄與許、沈諸人，同辭合議，明白敷陳，使聖上之心，廓然大覺，則時烈、浚吉眩亂禮意，欺蔽天聰之情狀，可以立辨，而無所遁矣，惜其含糊畏忌，不敢盡言，只以數句文字，略略塞責，而無所開發，終歸於其制之舛謬，而莫之改焉，姑舍光洙與厚，而鑄亦獨何哉。】”

⁸⁰ *Hyönjong sillok*, 2nd year (1661), 4th month, 21st day, 4.14a.

⁸¹ *Hyönjong sillok*, 2nd year (1661), 4th month, 23rd day, 4.15a. Similar

province collectively criticizing the solution provided and particularly Song Siyŏl.⁸² The attempt was refuted two days later by a memorial from the National Academy, the Sŏnggyun'gwan 成均館, officially signed by Hong Tŭgu 洪得禹 (1641-1700, Penname Sujolchae 守拙齋).⁸³ Another similar attempt failed in 1670, proving that the ritual controversy as it was now called (*yesong* 禮訟) was much more than a technical issue, and went beyond the narrow interest of courtiers to become a national issue. Haboush argued that this stage of the controversy “marked a turning point in political discourse,” and that both private academies and the National Academy were redefining their role in the public sphere.⁸⁴ The academies were certainly taking a clear political position, being proactive politically in a way that was not seen before.

Just four years later, in 1674, the issue exploded again with the death of Hyojong's widow, Queen Insŏn 仁宣大妃, creating in a sense a mirror image of the original controversy.⁸⁵ Only that this time it was impossible to use the vagueness of the Great Code to dissolve the issue. The Great Code was vague on the mourning of the sons, but specifically noted that the mother mourns the wife of her first son differently than the other sons.⁸⁶ Most ritual texts (with the sole exception of the *Zhouli* 周禮) have clarified that the mother mourns a full year for the wife of her first son and nine months for all her other daughters-in-law. When the Ministry of Rites accepted

⁸² *Hyŏnjong sillok*, 7th year (1666), 3rd month, 23rd day, 12.4b-20b. Andrei Lankov, "Controversy over Ritual in 17th Century Korea," 57.

⁸³ *Hyŏnjong sillok*, 7th year (1666), 3rd month, 23rd day, 12.4b-20b.

⁸⁴ JaHyun Kim Haboush, "Constructing the Center: The Ritual Controversy and the Search for a New Identity in Seventeenth-Century Korea," in *Culture and the State in Late Chosŏn Korea*, ed. JaHyun Kim Haboush, Martina Deuchler (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 60.

⁸⁵ Andrei Lankov, "Controversy over Ritual in 17th Century Korea," 57-8.

⁸⁶ Song Sun-kwan, "The Resilience and Decline," 164.

a nine months period for Queen Insŏn, it was an admission that King Hyojong was a second son.⁸⁷ When the issue was pressed five months later, King Hyŏnjong ordered a complete investigation of the 1659 case, and the results of the investigation were reported by Minister Kim Suhŭng 金壽興 (1626–1690).⁸⁸ In brief, he reported that the two Songs argued for a mourning period of one year, while Hŏ Mok counter-argued for the full three years, and that finally the issue of King Hyojong’s position was never decided. It took Hyŏnjong only four days to decide on the matter, firmly affirming the status of his lineage by deciding on a full year mourning, and demonstrating his own proficiency in Rites in the process.⁸⁹ King Hyŏnjong’s death a month later probably saved the *sŏin* from the brunt of this decision.

5.4.2 The Main Arguments

Philosophically speaking, the crux of the matter was that the *Yili* was ambiguous on the matter of the mothers’ mourning. What we see here are three sides of the argument, represented by Song Siyŏl, Hŏ Mok and Yun Hyu, that differ not only in approach, but also in incentives. As mentioned earlier, I approach this as a prime example for the incommensurability of religion, and search for the difference in belief that facilitated misunderstanding. As mentioned earlier, the *Yili* states that a period of three years in untrimmed hemp clothes (斬衰三年) is assigned in four cases: For a father, the Son of Heaven, the ruler and the eldest son.⁹⁰ The Tang Dynasty’s *Zhouli*

⁸⁷ *Hyŏnjong sillok*, 15th year (1674), 2nd month, 27th day, 22.7a. The editor comments on the explosive nature of this decision.

⁸⁸ *Hyŏnjong sillok*, 15th year (1674), 7th month, 13th day, 22.28a – 30b. These are four separate entries.

⁸⁹ *Hyŏnjong sillok*, 15th year (1674), 7th month, 17th day, 22.36b.

⁹⁰ *Yili*, “Sangfu (Mourning Garments), “verse 1.

yishu 周禮義疏 by Jia Gongyan 賈公彥 is remarkably ambiguous, providing two contradictory messages on the topic.⁹¹ One is that if the eldest son dies, it is possible to designate the second eldest son (次長子) to replace him.⁹² The second was the Four Exceptions 四種 which Zheng Xuan enumerates as those cases when the three years are not relevant, using the terms *zheng* 正 and *ti* 體 (in Korean *chǒng* and *che* respectively), to denote legitimacy (as the eldest) and blood relation (being one's son).

Song Siyŏl provided two main arguments for his decision. The first was that a person cannot wear unhemmed clothes twice (不貳斬), in the sense that a person cannot mourn two people as a parent.⁹³ According to this, an adopted child should mourn the three years period only for his adopted parents, and not his biological parents. Song applied this principle backward to the parents, and argued that the Queen Dowager have already mourned the full length once. As noted before, Yun Sŏndo had provided a lengthy refutation of that argument.⁹⁴ He claimed

⁹¹ Gu Qian. "The Study on the Inheritance and Surpass about Jia Gongyan's 'Zhouli Zhushu' to the Former Commentaries in Southern and Northern Dynasties - With the Study on Its Function in the Transit of Confucian from Tang to Song Succeed," *Journal of KNU Institute of East-West Thought*, 7 (2009.8): 181-202. During the Song Jia Gongyan's *Zhouli yishu* was incorporated into the *Zhouli zhushu* 周禮注疏, together with Zheng Xuan's 鄭玄 (127-200) the *Zhouguanli zhu* 周官禮注. The third source mentioned in the debate is Sun Yirang's 孫詒讓 *Zhouli zhengyi* 周禮正義. All three are referred to regularly, but Jia Gongyan is really the only one who commented on the issue at hand.

⁹² Song Sun-kwan, "The Resilience and Decline," 167-8.

⁹³ *Hyŏnjong sillok*, 1st year (1660), 4th month, 16th day, 2.25a-27b.

⁹⁴ *Hyŏnjong sillok*, 1st year (1660), 4th month, 18th day, 2.27b-32a. "Siyŏl claims that you cannot mourn twice with unhemmed clothes, but the Rites do not claim that, only that two cannot be the venerated 尊者 at the same time. Before and after the mourning are not the same time, and their seniority is nothing but the same. How can it be therefore cut and unhemmed earlier but not the latter? This is why I claim that in the case of a second eldest son, it should also be a mourning of three years, in accordance with the natural order of things and the writings of the sages. "

時烈又以不貳斬爲據，禮經不貳斬之說，非此之謂也，此不過一時無二尊之義也。

there that Song Siyöl's argument does not apply to the case of parents, which will wear the three-years unhemmed mourning garment as many times as necessary. Song Siyöl's other argument was a careful application of the four exceptions above to this particular problem.⁹⁵ The four cases are:⁹⁶

1. Someone in the direct line and potential to inherit who did not retain the heirship (正體而不得傳重), such as the eldest son who could not become the heir, due to illness for example.
2. Someone who inherited the line but was not of the direct line of inheritance (傳重非正體) – such as the grandson through a concubine (*sōson* 庶孫).
3. Someone with the potential to inherit but not from a direct line (體而不正) – such as a son of a concubine (*sōja*), that inherited the mainline.
4. Finally, someone from a direct line of inheritance but with no potential to inherit (正而不體) – such as a primary grandson who inherited the line.

Here lies the main technical point that differentiates Song Siyöl and Hō Mok: Song understood the third case to be *sōja*, the son of a concubine of a king in the main line.⁹⁷ Hō Mok, on the other hand, understood it to be the son of a concubine 妾子 (*ch'ōpcha*) who was not in the main

前後喪非一時，而其尊無異同，則豈可獨斬於前喪，而不斬於後喪乎？此疏所以有立次長，亦為三年之說，而其言允合於天理聖經矣。

⁹⁵ JaHyun Kim Haboush, “Constructing the Center,” 54.

⁹⁶ Song Siyöl, “Yō Yi T'aekchi pyōngo iwöl 與李擇之 丙午二月 [Sent to Yi T'aekchi on the Second Month of 1666],” in *Songja Taejōn*, 71. 389b-390a. The four categories are listed from the *Liji zhushu* 禮記注疏 and subsequently from the *Liji zhengyi* 禮記正義.

⁹⁷ Song Siyöl, “Yō Yi T'aekchi pyōngo iwöl,” 71.389b. “The second is ‘of the substance, but not right’ such as the son of a concubine who inherited the line.” 二是體而不正。謂庶子為後也。

line. Both agreed that the fourth case was applicable for the last surviving son of Prince Sohyŏn, the Prince Kyŏng'an 慶安. Song Siyŏl is treading in dangerous waters here: It is quite likely to see his line of argument as a commentary on the eligibility of the late Hyŏjong to the throne. Song Siyŏl however argued that the mourning period is a different matter than the issue of legitimacy.

As mentioned, Hŏ Mok understood Hyojong to be a second eldest son, since in reality he was the heir to the throne. His argument with Song was only on the extent that the term could be applied: While Song Siyŏl focused on inheritance laws alone, Hŏ Mok also looks at the question of legitimacy, while remembering the guideline that it is forbidden to mourn twice (i.e., the full three years) for two sons:

又作三上疏曰。右贊成宋時烈上議。臣老悖反復思量。終不通曉。朝廷已定之論。強言不已。以畢前說。罪合萬死。第一子殤而死。其禮固不含不贈不立主不爲之服。立嫡妻所生第二長者爲後。此所謂立嫡以長。死則當服三年。若第一子成人且有子。死而既服長子之喪。而嫡孫或他故或殤而死。立第二長者爲後。則此非立嫡以長耶。既曰嫡妻所生。皆名嫡子。毋論殤與不殤第一第二。苟爲正體傳重。其服在三年條下。今以孝考之喪。強而引之曰。立庶子爲後不服長子之服可乎。所謂不貳斬之證。臣尤不知其所謂也。⁹⁸

I have petitioned again for three years mourning, saying:

⁹⁸ Hŏ Mok, "Chasŏ 自序 [Autobiography]," in *Misu ki'ŏn*, 65.466b.

Associate Councillor on the Right, Song Siyŏl, has already submitted his ideas, and I have been reconsidering it again and again, but cannot see the sense of it. Since the court has already decided on the matter, I will speak my mind at the risk of a great punishment. If the first child dies before the age of twenty, he will be buried without placing rice in his mouth (*panham* 飯含), without conferring posthumous honors (*chŭng* 贈), without ancestral tablets or making special burial clothes, and the (next) legitimate son will become “second eldest son” and be the legal heir. This is what we call “making a legitimate son the eldest”. If he dies, he will be mourned for three years.

If the first son dies as an adult, and his son dies young and with no connections, you will make a second eldest son the heir, even if the new heir is the child of a concubine, but the wife of the first son, her parent and her son are all still recognized in relation to the “eldest son”. Whether he has died as a child or not, and whether he is the first or the second, there is no argument the appropriate mourning will be of three years.

Now with the mourning of Hyojong I have repeatedly asked “is it right to raise a *sŏja* as the heir but deny him the mourning garments of the eldest child?” I think that this is not a matter of what we call “Not mourning for three years twice”.

In short, while Song Siyŏl argued that Hyojong cannot be recognized as a second eldest son, because his elder brother still had one living son (Prince Kyŏng’an) when he died, Hŏ argued that inheritance was directly related to legitimacy, and that inheriting the throne made Hyojong a second eldest son by default. Moreover, he claimed that being a second eldest son does not remove the legitimacy of the first, or them both deserving a three years mourning. Song Siyŏl, on

his side, thought the Ho Mok confused *sōja* (庶子) with *jungja* (衆子).⁹⁹ In spite of their differences, Hō Mok and Song Siyōl agree on the principle, and share both methodology and presupposition. They were both concerned with the applicability of the **agnatic primogeniture** inheritance rule that was codified for the Zhou dynasty to the *realpolitik* of Chosŏn.¹⁰⁰

With Yun Hyu, the situation was somewhat more complicated. His opinion for a three-years mourning period with unhemmed clothes was very close to Hō Mok's own three-years with hemmed clothes, but his reasons were different. Originally, he claimed that the mother of the king was first and foremost a subject, and cannot possibly mourn him for less than three years.¹⁰¹ This argument was not popular and attacked widely, in part because according to the students of the National Academy Yun Hyu was wrong about the *Analects*.¹⁰² By the second round of the controversy in 1674, Yun Hyu had his arguments organized and rephrased to tackle both options. In his interpretation he focuses on the unique position of the monarchy both in the ritual system and as representative of the entire nation. The interpretation of a second primary son, he says, comes from Zheng Xuan 鄭玄(127-200) who knew more about the practices of righteous kings.¹⁰³ Besides, this mourning arrangements saves the late Hyojong from the

⁹⁹ *Hyōnjong sillok*, 1st year (1660), 4th month, 16th day, 2.25a-27b.

¹⁰⁰ Agnatic principle or *chongpōp* 宗法, means that the lineage is traced through a shared male ancestor, and that families are organized around a male head of the family. The Korean law recognizing the primacy of the male head of the family or *hojuje* 戶主制 was only abolished in 2005.

¹⁰¹ *Hyōnjong sillok*, 1st year (1660), 5th month, 1st day, 2.44b-45b.

¹⁰² *Hyeonjong Sillok*, 7th year (1666), 3rd month, 25th day, 12.26a. This is a long text from the students of the National Academy, that briefly attacks (among others) this position as promoted by Yun Hyu and Kim Su-hong (金壽弘).

¹⁰³ *Yun Hyu*, “Nonbokcheso yunowōlch’oiril 論服制疏 閏五月初一日 [Memorial on the mourning clothes system, Leap fifth month, first day],” in *Peakho chip*, 6.106b.

及 先王改正之時 實用禮註鄭玄立弟二適子亦名長子之說 改期年而為齊哀三年 是則嫡庶之說 既已明矣。

humiliation of being called a *sōja*.¹⁰⁴ He goes on to provide three arguments for his decision.

First, the law for monarchy is not the same as the law for commoners or nobles:

但王朝之禮 自有大經 既尊居九五 則不論長幼嫡庶 而有為長為君之認 內外親戚百官庶士 皆服斬衰三年 雖母后之尊 亦以繼統之義 而與天下同其服 此天地 之常經 古今之通義 而百工不易之道也。故禮曰 為君斬衰 與諸侯有五屬之親者 皆服斬。¹⁰⁵

However, the rites of the royal family have their own regulations, and the one who occupies the throne, with no regards to being first or second, or son of a first wife or concubine, is recognised as the first. Inside and out, relatives, government officials, and ordinary officers all wear cut but unhemmed hemp cloth for three years (斬衰三年), even the royal mother queen should follow the same right conduct and wear the same as the rest of the world. This is the common law for all ages, and unchangeable. Therefore, the Rites say: “Wear cut but unhemmed for the King.” The various royal relatives, (諸侯) to five degrees of relations, should all wear cut but unhemmed hemp.

Second, some of the commentaries claim that the rules of agnatic succession do not apply to some people. For example:

So, in the time where former kings ruled rightly, the exegesis of Zheng Xuan 鄭玄(127-200) on the Yili 儀禮 explained that the second brother is allowed to act as a first born, adding to the year of mourning and making it three years. If so, then the explanation regarding primary son or *sōja* is already clear.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. 恭惟 孝宗大王 以第二嫡子 尊居九五 而免於庶子之名

This is a praise to the Great King Hyojong, who was the second son of the first wife and the royal personage [The Nine and Five refers here to the royal prerogative] thus was thus spared from being called a *sōja*, being demoted altogether.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

漢人之言亦曰 諸侯奪宗 聖庶奪嫡 是也。而若此等義 班班見於經傳史策者非一。¹⁰⁶

A Han personage (Mei Fu 梅福 of the Former Han dynasty) also said: “The nobles take the male lineage succession, a sage’s son of concubine can take the legitimate line”, conveying a similar idea. We have seen this in the commentaries on the classics and the histories, and not just once.

Finally, Yun Hyu goes to address to the position held by Song Siyöl and Hō Mok. The first, he says, focused on the status of the son whereas the issue here is the grandson. The grandson is honored in the full ritual because he is the one who holds the future of the lineage; therefore, it makes sense that once designated the primary male descendent of the lineage, the heir will receive full honors.¹⁰⁷ The whole line of argument around the four exceptions is therefore not relevant to the discussion. His own friends from the *namin* were answering Song Siyöl’s argument out of expediency, yet “with the fate of the lineage, clearly it is impossible to say sōja

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Yun Hyu, “Nonbokcheso yunowölch’oiril,” 6.107a. 而向日言者之所引 亦名長子白正體 日母為長子齊衰者 皆以未受重者言也。故傳曰 為長子 何以三年也。 以其將所傳重也。謂之將所傳重 則於其已傳重者 固不可以是班之也。

Indeed, the sayings quoted that “only the first born is the correct and truthful” and that “The mother wears hemmed hemp cloths for the first born” (Song Siyöl’s argument), are all not relevant when discussing the eldest grandson (chōnjung 傳重 is chungson 重孫, meaning the eldest grandson from the eldest son). Therefore, it says in the commentary: “As for the eldest son, why is it three years? Because the future is the chōnjung.” Saying that the future is the chōnjung, therefore one who is already a chōnjung, surely, he cannot be denied that rank.

of the late King”.¹⁰⁸The *sŏin* discrepancy is therefore not only an error of ritual but also “the crime of disturbing the royal bloodline and spoiling the Rites” (亂統壞禮之罪).¹⁰⁹ As for the issue at hand, the 1674 controversy involved the late queen, on which he says:

周禮嫡孫婦大功 至唐魏徵 始升為朞 今之朞 雖為嫡婦 猶古之大功也 亦為士庶服也。¹¹⁰

The Rites of Zhou 周禮 mentions nine months (*taegong* 大功) for the wife of the primary grandson (first son of the first son), and that was the case until the Tang dynasty’s Wei Zheng 魏徵(580–643), and only then it rose to a full year. The full year of these days, even though it is about the wife of the first son, it is just like the old days’ nine months, just as nobles and commoners wear.

As mentioned earlier, during the seventeenth century, and even before, the *yangban* were in the process of slowly modifying the inheritance dynamics to implement Zhou dynasty’s agnatic primogeniture among themselves. This was a slow process: *Sŏja* were already banned from taking the exams during the reign of T’aejong (1367-1422), but by the seventeenth century

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. 許穆尹善道等所謂正體三年之說 因足以破宋時烈等體而不正庶子朞年之說 而明宗統之所歸 庶名之不可加於 先王 其義因章章也

Hŏ Mok 許穆, Yun Sŏndo 尹善道 and others, explain that which is called the three-years mourning of the “correct and truthful” son, because it was good enough to break Song Siyŏl and the others’ argument of the “correct but untruthful” one year mourning of a *sŏja*, yet with the fate of the lineage, clearly it is impossible to say *sŏja* of the late King, that much is clear.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

families would adopt a primary son from a male relative of the same generation when only a *Sōja* was available in the direct line.¹¹¹ The undertone of the controversy therefore revolved around the question of the monarchy's place within this system of meaning. The obvious wish to incorporate the monarchy completely into the Zhou dynasty's ritual system contradicted the unique place that the King and the royal family took in spiritual life of Chosŏn. However, it is quite amazing that both sides seem to ignore the issue of the afterlife completely: With the sole exception of Yun Hyu, the spirits of the deceased are not mentioned even once.

Yun Hyu's contemporaries acknowledged the spirits, and even assigned them the power to harm, but did not acknowledge as a rule the shamanic style of association with spirits, which was dubbed *ũmsa* 淫祀 irregular worship.¹¹² Song Siyŏl himself even wrote a short biographical piece on his aunt, who upon encountering a ghost one night "laughed and addressed it contemptuously, whereupon it quickly disappeared."¹¹³ For Confucians, the *yōdan* 厲壇 or altar for abandoned spirits, covered the more mundane cases of restless spirits, whereas the *chongmyo* 宗廟 took care of the royal family.¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, the rites controversy completely ignores the question of the spirits: The debate is about the living, not the dead. It is therefore eye opening to see that Yun Hyu states that a proper resolution is so needed because "it also resolves the resentment of people and spirits, and comforts the spirit in Heaven".¹¹⁵ This terminology is

¹¹¹ Mark A. Peterson, *Korean Adoption and Inheritance: Case Studies in the Creation of a Classic Confucian Society* (Ithaca, NY: East Asia Program, Cornell Univ., 1996), 81.

¹¹² Boudewijn Walraven, "Confucians and Shamans," in *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* Vol. 6 (1991), 28.

¹¹³ Boudewijn Walraven, "Confucians and Shamans," 28-9.

¹¹⁴ Boudewijn Walraven, "Confucians and Shamans," 33.

¹¹⁵ Yun Hyu, "Nonbokcheso yunowŏlch'oiril," 6.106b. 其亦足以解神人之憤 而慰在天之靈矣。

repeated throughout Yun Hyu's official responses and memorial to King Sukchong, one of his first communications on the topic:

殿下果能於今日。克自警動。大加振作。上畏皇天之威怒。下憫赤子之顛隳。懍乎常存祇栗欽翼之心。如皇天上帝臨之在上。宗社神靈。質之在傍。¹¹⁶

Now Your Highness is able to be watchful and diligent on his own and to motivate himself to do the right thing, to fear the anger of Heaven 皇天 above, and worry about the difficulties of people below, to always maintain the state of mind of proper veneration at the altar at the spirits of the earth, as if the Heavenly Lord-on-High 皇天上帝 was looking from above and the Ancestral Spirits 宗社神靈 were at your side.

This is a beautiful summary of Yun Hyu's spiritual system. First, he is using the double term *Hwangch'ŏn Sangje* 皇天上帝, which I have translated as the Heavenly Lord-on-High, and reflects the identification that Yun Hyu makes between the personal *Sangje* 上帝 and the impersonal *ch'ŏn* (天).¹¹⁷ Yu Hyu does hedge his statement on the actual existence of an anthropomorphic entity by using the "as if" formula (如...在) that also appears in the analects.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Kim You-Gon linked this more anthropomorphic

¹¹⁶ Yun Hyu, "Ŭng chiso chŏngwŏl isibiil 應旨疏 正月二十二日 [Answer the King, First month twenty second day]," in *Paekho chip*, 6.100a-b. This is echoing the language and sentiments of *Analects* 3:12 ("Sacrificing as if present").

¹¹⁷ Kŭm Chang-t'ae, *Chosŏn hugi-ŭi yuhak sasang*, (Seoul: Sŏul taehakkyo ch'ulp'anbu, 1998), 132. Kŭm Chang-t'ae notes on the dual nature of this figure of speech, as I have noted earlier. The term itself goes early as the *Liji* and in Ming ritual texts such as the *Da-Ming huidian* 大明會典 but was hardly used by Chosŏn scholars, and thus its importance here.

description of heaven to the idea of a pious service.¹¹⁸ However, the fact that other scholars (including Song Siyöl) used this compound term, indicates that it was not esoteric and might have served different people in various ways.¹¹⁹

The second is Yun Hyu's note on the King's *chongsa sillyöng* 宗社神靈, the spirits of his ancestors. The accurate translation of the term *chongsa* can be rendered as "the state as symbolized by the royal ancestral shrine and the temples".¹²⁰ If indeed Yun Hyu thinks of the mourning debate as a matter that concerns spirits as well as people, he is following a well-established tradition of Neo-Confucian thinkers who lived in an environment that accepted the involvement of spirits in daily life as a matter of fact, and had to either incorporate spirit-related practices into Confucianism or reject them as nonsensical.¹²¹

In the case of the controversy, Yun Hyu is clearly the only one even mentioning the supernatural. In this sense Hō Mok and Song Siyöl represent one side of the debate, whereas Yun Hyu represents the other.¹²² I suspect that this is exactly a case of incommensurability of

¹¹⁸ Kim You-Gon, "Chungyong-kwa taehak haesöge nat'anun yunhyu-üi sach'önjihak-üi kujo-wa sönggyök [The Structure and Characteristic of Yun Hyu's the Theory of Serving Heaven in Interpreting on the Doctrine of the Mean and the Great Learning]," *Tongyang ch'örhak yön'gu* 76 (2013): 7-36

¹¹⁹ *Hyojong sillok*, 9th year (1658), 10th month, 18th day, 8.13a. Following an unusual thunder-storm that coincided with the King's illness, Song Siyöl presents a memorial to the king where he uses the term *Hwangch'ön Sangje* 皇天上帝. This, however, seems to be used more as a rhetorical device than ideological framework.

¹²⁰ *Lin Yutang's Chinese-English Dictionary of Modern Use*, s.v. "tsung 宗 (62.01-3)," accessed March 20, 2018, <http://humanum.arts.cuhk.edu.hk/Lexis/Lindict/>.

¹²¹ Boudewijn Walraven, "Confucians and Shamans," 27-32. As mentioned above, Song Siyöl himself accepted the existence of ghosts, although with a certain contempt. Similarly, Tasan 茶山 Chōng Yanyong 丁若鏞 (1762-1836) has written on interactions of past Confucians with both spirits and shamans, occasionally intimidating or punishing both.

¹²² As mirrored in the metaphysical debate above.

religious language, as discussed by Wittgenstein in his “Lectures on Religious Belief”, describing the inherent inability for mutual understanding that is based in the differences in belief. Wittgenstein’s own position on the question of incommensurability is extreme. Lecturing on this kind of discussions where belief is the barrier to understanding, he says:

“These controversies look quite different from any normal controversies. Reasons look entirely different from normal reasons. They are, in a way, quite inconclusive.”¹²³

In this lecture, Wittgenstein described some situations where both sides of the discussion understand each other’s words but not the meaning, making mutual-understanding impossible. Thus, he thinks that incommensurability on grounds of belief differences is possible. Others of course argued against Wittgenstein’s interpretation, most notably Hilary Putnam.¹²⁴

I would like to suggest that the rites controversy is exactly the case that Wittgenstein had in mind. We hinted that this is the case when Yun Hyu uses such different language from the others, but Yun Hyu wins the 1675 controversy by his arguments for a centralized monarchy, not ghosts. The evidence lies in the discussion on ghosts and spirits, as demonstrated earlier. The debate between Yun Hyu, Song Siyöl, and Kwön Si mirrors the rites controversy. Since Song Siyöl believes that value of the *chesa* is in its ability to evoke the appropriate *ki* in the performer, he is naturally more focused on the identity of the ritual performer. Yun Hyu, on the other hand,

¹²³ Ludwig Wittgenstein, “Lectures on Religious Belief,” in *Lectures and Conversations on Aesthetics, Psychology, and Religious Belief*, ed. Cyril Barrett (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 55-6. 35-73.

¹²⁴ Hilary Putnam, *Renewing Philosophy* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1992). Putnam suggests that the differences between the religious and atheist speakers in Wittgenstein’s lectures are not an issue of semantics but rather of differences in social practices.

seems to think that the whole point of the *chesa* are the spirits, and says so. Discussing for example the *Rites of Zhou* he says that “first, the *chesa* controls the spirits”.¹²⁵

In fact, both debates are confusing exactly because there are three different types of disagreements between the debaters. The first is on the metaphysical side. In this respect Song Siyŏl accepts Yulgok’s general type of *ki* non-dualism whereas Yun Hyu embraces a type of dualism that is stronger than Yi Hwang’s, as demonstrated earlier. Both Hŏ Mok and Kwŏn Si were closer to Yun Hyu in terms of ideology and beliefs, a fact reflected in their similar opinions.¹²⁶ As mentioned, the question of existence of ghosts and spirits is perhaps derivative of the Four-Seven debate, but the debate itself seems to bear different meanings to the various participants. Specifically, with Song Siyŏl’s emphasis on Zhu Xi’s understanding of spirits, comes the general treatment of them as inexplicable natural phenomena.¹²⁷ Yun Hyu, on the other hand, talked about ghosts and spirits proper. Thus, when Song said he was shocked to hear Yun Hyu talking about spirits as purely *ki*, he means to say that inexplicable phenomena are still a natural part of the order of things. Yun Hyu, on the other hand, meant to say that ghosts are real, concrete, and have *ki* like people (in a sense).

¹²⁵ Yun Hyu, “*konggo chikchang tosŏl* 公孤職掌圖說,” in *PHCS*, *kwŏn* 28, 1024. “一日祭祀馭其神”,

¹²⁶ Kim Tae-sik, “Injo-hyojong sigi myŏngyudŭl-ŭi haksul kyoryu- songsiyŏl, yunhyu, yunsŏn’gŏ tŭngŭl chungsimŭro [The study on the Process of Academic Exchanges by Well-Known Confucians in Chosun Dynasty of 17th Century],” *Kyoyuk sahak yŏn’gu* 27 No. 1 (May 2017), 2-4. According to Kim Tae-sik who studied the knowledge networks of the early seventeenth century, Kwŏn Si was a disciple of Park Chi-kye 朴知誠, who was related to Cho Kwangjo 趙光祖 through Sŏng Ho 成渾, while Hŏ Mok was a disciple of T’oegye through Chŏng Ku 鄭述. Kim argues that for a certain period during Injo’s reign, it was possible for scholars to work across schools and lineages.

¹²⁷ Allen John Wittenborn, *Further Reflections on Things at Hand: A Reader* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1991), 196n68.

The third layer of incommensurability is related to differences in methodology. Here Yun Hyu accessed a wide range of sources, stressing those who predated Zhu Xi, an approach which I have called Neo-Classical. Yun Hyu attempted to highlight what he saw as the original sense of the Rites, in their Zhou dynasty context. The most astonishing example is provided in his *Notes Upon Reading* in which he dedicates a chapter to the chapter “The Three Years Question” *samnyŏnmun* 三年問.¹²⁸ There he presented his research on the topic of mourning rituals in the *Rites*, which was also an opportunity to present the breadth of his knowledge on the *Rites* (which was, admittedly, the original reason for his admission into Hyojong’s government). Yun Hyu’s normal methodology was to examine a term or idea across sources, often placing contradictory ideas side by side for comparison. Song Siyŏl, on the other hand, was extremely devoted to Zhu Xi, and often disregarded other commentaries.

Yun Hyu’s exegesis on the “samnyŏnmun” is based primarily on two major authors, Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200) and Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574–648). From Kong Yingda he took *The Correct Meaning of the Record of Rites* 禮記正義 (*yegi chŏngŭi* in Korean), which was used as one of the sources in his analysis of the 1674 controversy.¹²⁹ Zheng Xuan was the author of the *Treatise on the Six Classics* 六藝論 (*yugyeron*). However, it is more likely that the version that Yun Hyu used was the Tang Dynasty compilation titled *Liji zhushu* 禮記注疏 (*yegi chuso* in Korean), a compilation of Kong Yingda’s text together with that of Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200).

¹²⁸ The fact that the entire commentary on the *Rites* was included under the title *A Supplement on “Domestic Regulations”* 讀書記內則外記 (*toksŏgi - naech’igoegi*) is somewhat confusing, and is probably the result of a later editing.

¹²⁹ See or example: Yun Hyu, “Tap Kim Saeng-hwang 答金生滉 [Reply to Kim Saengwang],” in *PHCS*, *kwŏn* 17, 739.

Thus, for the opening statement of the chapter “What purposes do the mourning rites for three years serve?”, Yun Hyu is quoting the longer version from *Xunzi* saying:

三年之喪，何也？曰：稱情而立文，因以飾群，別親疏貴賤之節，而不可益損也。
故曰：無適不易之術也。¹³⁰

What purposes do the mourning rites for three years serve? I say: It matches emotions with outward appearance, in order to avoid any mistakes. It distinguishes gradations of familial relationships and of status, and cannot be augmented or decreased. Therefore, I say: It is without match, and cannot be changed.

He goes on and adds a comment to Zheng Xuan’s words, saying that allows us to “To balance emotions and establish external signs, to balance the emotions of people according to the appropriate severity, and to control their ritual”.¹³¹ As mentioned, this is Yun Hyu’s usual methodology, because it allows him to juxtapose several authors on what would be best described as “equal terms”.

Yun Hyu’s exegesis is not limited to the issues of the three years of mourning directly, but rather covers a wide arrange of topics around funeral arrangements and afterlife. These reflect his need to mediate between the beliefs and practices of ancient China, the Song dynasty and his own contemporary Chosŏn. As mentioned earlier, one such topic is the existence of shamans, common to both Zhou dynasty and Chosŏn perhaps.¹³² This was a valid and important

¹³⁰ Yun Hyu, “Toksŏgi naech’igoegi 讀書記內則外記 [Notes Upon Reading –A Supplement on the ‘Patterns of the Family’ Chapter]”, in *PHCS, kwŏn* 44, 1737; cf. *Xunzi* “Li lun 禮論 [Discussion on Rites]” verse 24.

¹³¹ Yun Hyu, “Toksŏgi naech’igoegi,” 1737; cf. Kong Yingda, et al, *Li ji zheng yi*, Shi San Jing Zhu Shu, Zheng Li Ben. (Tai bei shi: Tai wan gu ji, 2001), 1816.

¹³² In Yun Hyu’s discussion he uses the term *mu* 巫 as equivalent to a Korean Shaman (*mudang* 巫堂) although these are not similar.

part of Korean management of the afterlife, in spite of the Neo-Confucian rejection of the phenomena.¹³³ To illustrate the tension and duality of shamans, Yun Hyu provides a quote from the “Tan Gong” chapter of the *Rites*, saying:

君臨臣喪，以巫祝桃茷執戈，惡之也；所以異于生也。喪有死之道焉。先王之所難言也。¹³⁴

When a ruler went to the mourning rites for a minister, he took with him a shaman with a peach-wand, an officer of prayer with his reed-(brush), and a lance-bearer, disliking the presence of death.

In a subsequent comment, he goes on to explain the phenomena, providing a second quote from the *Correct Meaning*, saying that:

為有凶邪之氣在側，君聞大夫之喪，去樂卒事而往末襲也。其已襲，則止巫去。桃茷，鬼所惡。茷，萑苕，可掃不祥。¹³⁵

With the miasma of evil by its side, when the ruler hears of the passing of a minister, he stops the music and puts on the outer mourning garments. Wearing mourning garments the shaman comes with peach branches and reeds which the ghosts dislike. The reed grass can dispel the bad luck.

While the citations are all from orthodox sources, their concentration as part of the discussion on the three years of mourning, give us the impression that Yun Hyu is constantly aware of the dead

¹³³ Boudewijn Walraven, “Confucians and Shamans,” 25. Walraven describes how upon King Hyojong’s death, the Queen Dowager ordered a shamanic funeral ritual, which was stopped halfway by the Inspector-General. Shamanic practices in the royal palace continued even in the early days of the twentieth century. This is perhaps an aspect of the Rites Controversy that is often disregarded.

¹³⁴ Yun Hyu, “Toksögi naech’igoegi,” 1740; cf. *Liji*, “Tangong 2 檀弓下,” verse 153.

¹³⁵ Yun Hyu, “Toksögi naech’igoegi,” 1740.

even when focusing on the role of the mourning ritual to the living.¹³⁶ The commentary stresses that these “shamanistic” practices are not harmful for either living or dead, due to their different nature.¹³⁷ In other words, Yun Hyu acknowledges the existence of ghosts and the occasional need for a specialist, without actually endorsing shamans. Just like he did with the *Book of Documents*, Yun Hyu uses references from the classics to invoke an authentic meaning of the term. In this sense he is a Neo-Classicist. For example, he is looking at the treatment of ghosts through the concepts of *myōnggi* 明器, sham vessels that are buried with the dead (which Legge translates as “vessels to the eye of fancy”). As a topic it demonstrates the fine line that Yun Hyu walks, as he is not happy with the thought of this practice. He quotes again from the “Tan Gong” chapter of the *Rites* saying that

孔子謂：「為明器者，知喪道矣，備物而不可用也。」¹³⁸

Confucius said, 'He who made the vessels which are so (only) in imagination, knew the principles underlying the mourning rites. They were complete (to all appearance), and yet could not be used.

Following this praise to the *myōnggi*, Yun Hyu seems to appreciate the practice. In his commentary, he notes that the deceased are not the same as the living. On the other hand that he

¹³⁶ Although both Yun Hyu and Song Siyōl accept Pre-Ming sources as “Orthodox” it seems that they have different approaches to them. Song Siyōl stresses the adherence to Zhu Xi and uses other sources only when there are no other alternatives, whereas Yun Hyu is more of a Neo-Classicist.

¹³⁷ Yun Hyu, “Toksōgi naech’igoegi,” 1741. 神與人異道 則不相傷 “Spirits and people have different Way, so that do not hurt each other”.

¹³⁸ Yun Hyu, “Toksōgi naech’igoegi,” 1741; Cf. *Liji*, “Tangong 2 檀弓下,” verse 155.

is worried that practicing *myōnggi* is a slippery-slope leading to using living-people to be buried with the dead.¹³⁹

5.5 Conclusion

What kind of religion is Chosŏn's Neo-Confucianism? In the context of the afterlife it seems that several contesting ideologies coexist, and struggle for dominance. As I have shown, the *yangban* community of the seventeenth century was deeply involved in the long-term project of applying Zhou dynasty ritual purity to their own community, based on the relevant adaptations to their own reality. The monarchy did not necessarily share these ideologies, and neither did all *yangban*. The two separate debates that I have shown are two aspects of this struggle. The debate over the existence of spirits was an extension of the Four-Seven debate of the previous century. It was a struggle for intellectual dominance between separate intellectual lineages, and a way to challenge each other's metaphysical theories. As we have seen, Koreans accepted the existence of supernatural activity as a matter of life but did not necessarily accept that ghosts or spirits really exist.

As we have seen, it is possible to perform the *chesa* and debate over minute details of funeral rituals without believing in the afterlife. Song Siyŏl, who advocated for the veneration of the late Ming Emperor Chongzhen (the *paehyang* sacrificial rite, which later became the

¹³⁹ Yun Hyu, "Toksŏgi naech'igoegi," 1741. 神明, 死者異於生人也 "The spirits are dead and different from living people". 殆幾也 殉用其器 殺人以衛死者曰 者漸幾於用人 "It is dangerous. Making a utensil to be buried may lead eventually to killing people in order to guard the dead, namely – it means gradually turning to servants (instead of utensils)".

Sacrificial Ceremony for the Three Emperors, the *sam hwangje paehyang*), thought that the *chesa* matters only for the performer who carry some of the *ki* of his ancestors, not for the deceased whose *ki* have long scattered. This renders the *sam hwangje paehyang* completely meaningless, beyond the political profit it renders. Yun Hyu, on the other hand, made every sign of accepting the existence of ghosts and spirits. His statements on the matter sounds absurd, even nonsensical to Song Siyŏl. Yun Hyu understand spirits as a phenomenon of *ki*, real but in a different way from that of the living. In his Notes Upon Reading the “Problem of Three Years” chapter, he repeatedly states that the spirits and the living have a different Way. It might be that “Equal but Separate” is somewhat inappropriate but accurate way to describe his belief.

Finally, there is the matter of the Rites Controversy. As a religious issue, it involved the core rituals of the state. Here I think that we see the incommensurability of religious language determining the process and conclusion of the debate, since the official *sŏin* approach (represented by the Two Songs) focused on ritual purity as detached from other considerations, whereas Yun Hyu considered the significance of the ritual to both performers and deceased spirits, representing past and future. In a way, we can say that Song Siyŏl is interested in the symbolic capital whereas Yun Hyu is concerned with spiritual effectiveness. The fact that both are using the same words does not mean that they speak the same language. The voice of the central figure of the debate is missing from the discussion: The thoughts of the Queen Dowager, who stood in the center of both iterations of the debate and had been in the palace through the reign of four Kings, were never detailed in the official written records. The fact that she summoned shamans to perform the funeral makes sense, and perhaps tells us her position on the matter.

Chapter 6: What Kind of Religion is That?

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters I have provided deep reading of a selection of Yun Hyu's writing. This selection of writings represents Yun Hyu's interests, the most debatable issues of his time, and as I have shown, was quite controversial even in his time. Whereas opponents such as Song Siyŏl considered his views as heretical in nature, others such as Yi Hajin 李夏鎭 (the illustrious father of Yi Ik 李瀼) and Kwŏn Si 權認 saw him as the true heir of the T'oegye line of transmission.¹ In this chapter I would like to consider this corpus as a whole. Whereas previous scholarships, and particularly those written in English, tended to discuss texts separately, they fail to address Yun Hyu's system of thought as a whole and provide an adequate answer to the rift that it created. As discussed in previous chapters, Yun Hyu's commentary on the classics, his stated opinion on the Rites Controversy, and his opinions on statesmanship, received some criticism and evoked a political response. After his death, the *sŏin* linked his execution directly to his writings. As I have noted in the introductory chapter, existing scholarship on Yun Hyu tends to explain this away as either a result of a political dissent or faction-related dynamics. In other words, as either political or social. These explanations fall short in two ways. They tend to focus on a narrow reading of Yun Hyu's texts, often looking at a specific text, in spite of the complex interconnected nature of Yun Hyu's writing. They also lack in explanatory power when it comes

¹ Sin Hangsu, "The Kŭn'gi Namin Faction's Acceptance of the T'oegye School and the Establishment of the Sŏngho School," in *International Journal of Korean History* 12 (Aug. 2008): 113-32.

to the long-lasting heritage of Yun Hyu as a “Despoiler of the Way,” a designation which was unprecedented and survived well into the nineteenth century.²

In this chapter I would like to suggest that for the purpose of assessing Yun Hyu’s work as a whole, methodologies from religious studies have greater explanatory power than either the social or the political explanations. What other accounts explained away as idiosyncrasies correlate well with what we know of religious behaviour. Even if we accept the precept that Neo-Confucianism is not a religion in any way, we must consider the association between the Rites Controversy and the Debate over the Existence of Ghosts, Yun Hyu’s placing of the “Great Plan” as equal to the classics, and Song Siyöl’s ritual for the Ming Emperor Chongzhen (or its later form as the Sacrificial Ceremony for the Three Emperors, the *sam hwangje paehyang*). All these are relevant to the issue at hand. However, when Haboush claims that “one may dispute whether Confucian rituals were fully religious” she goes on to ignore all of these other associations (i.e., the larger picture of the scholarship of Yun Hyu and his cohorts). This allows her to assess that the controversy as a site where competing ideologies contest.³

This is not a trivial argument, since the religious nature of Neo-Confucianism is much debated. However, by accepting the family resemblance of Neo-Confucianism to religion, I will suggest that there is enough resemblance to make theories used in religious studies relevant for this case as well. To that end I will review some theories of religion, with an emphasis on behavioural-cognitive aspects of religion and attempt to show that many idiosyncratic elements of Yun Hyu’s work fit within existing explanation of religion, regardless of their actual

² See for example: *Ch’öljong sillok*, 6th year (1855), 8th month, 2nd day, 7.8b-10b.

³ JaHyun Kim Haboush, “Constructing the Center,” 49-50.

religiosity perhaps.⁴ This is an inclusive understanding of religious behaviour, based on a family resemblance.⁵

Finally, I will conclude by presenting Yun Hyu as a “literalist” fundamentalist Neo-Confucian, if the term is possible at all, that is a fundamentalist movement that draws its motivation from a literal interpretation of a canon. This explanation ties Yun Hyu’s thought and exegesis back to the major social and political shifts of the seventeenth century and presents him rather than an oddity as a by-product of his time. More importantly, a contemporary reader can easily relate with this reading, since Yun Hyu’s situation and challenges are not un-similar to our own: Breakdown of global power, rapid social changes and climate change.

6.2 The Problem with Confucianism

Can we use methodologies from Religious Studies to talk about Korean Neo-Confucianism? This question has two parts: First, whether Neo-Confucianism can be considered a religion at all, and second, what kind of methodologies are useful for this case. As far as thinking of Neo-Confucianism as a legitimate religion (vis-à-vis “humanism” for example) – the question has been the topic of academic debate for well over a century now. Chen Yong opens his book *Confucianism as Religion* with a quote from Wilfred Cantwell Smith stating that this have been

⁴ Norenzayan Ara et al., "The Cultural Evolution of Prosocial Religions," *Behavioral and brain sciences* 39 (2016): 1-65. I will attempt to show that the reasoning presented by Norenzayan et. al. works in the case of Yun Hyu better than more traditional approaches.

⁵ Jan Platvoet provides a similar understanding of ritual. He is making the case that exclusive terminology tends to render any definition as a ‘working definition’, with many other possible alternatives. Jan G Platvoet, “Secular and religious rituals,” in *Theorizing Rituals, Volume 1: Issues, Topics, Approaches, Concepts, 1966-2005*, ed. Jens Kreinath, Joannes Augustinus Maria Snoek, and Michael Stausberg (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 200.

“a question that the West was never able to answer, and China was never able to ask”.⁶ During the Hundred Days of Reform of 1898 Kang Youwei characterized Confucianism as this-worldly 阴教 religion, thus presupposing that its religiousness was determined already.⁷ I will discuss Kang Youwei later in this chapter. Chen Yong mentions that in 1978 Ren Jiyu, the director of the Institute for Research on World Religions, presented Confucianism as a religion. Later on, a symposium on the Confucian religion was held by Wen Shi-zhe in 1998. Li Shen’s 2000 book *Zhongguo rujiao shi* 中国儒教史 or History of Chinese Confucianism, invoked a fierce online debate in 2002, and a call to reconstruct Confucianism as a religion in 2004.⁸ In short, the fact that the debate over the classification of Confucianism as a religion refuses to die, suggests that there are some major methodological issues with it.

The debate over the religiousness of Chinese Confucianism seems to focus solely on the Chinese expressions of Confucianism, and as the title of Li Shen’s book suggests, do not differentiate between the so called “Confucianism” of the Zhou and Han dynasties, and the later “Neo Confucianism” of the Song Dynasty. We might want to note that none of these debates seem to focus on Korean Neo-Confucianism in its more religious expressions, which for this discussion we can call *sōngnihak* 性理學 (the term Koreans use for Neo-Confucianism). In other words, in spite of their shared origin and discourse, we cannot assume that the same rules of analysis apply to both the Korean case of late Chosŏn’s *sōngnihak* and the Chinese *xinglixue* 性理學. Currently in Korea, Confucianism appear in the national census under the heading of

⁶ Chen Yong, *Confucianism as Religion: Controversies and Consequences* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

⁷ Chen Yong, *Confucianism as Religion*, 45.

⁸ Chen Yong, *Confucianism as Religion*, 58.

“religious orientation,” and in the 2015 census more than 75 thousand people defined themselves as “Confucian” (they answered *yugyo* 儒教).⁹ On the other hand, Korean schools tend to treat Confucian ethics as cultural values, devoid of any religious context.¹⁰ Baker further notes the ambiguity of the term “chonggyo” (religion) in Korean, as apparent from the ambiguity in the self-definitions of Korean New Religious Movements.¹¹ That may explain why only 75 thousand of the country’s 50 million checked that category, counting for 0.15% of the population. Baker notes that much of what Koreans would consider essential elements of Confucianism are neither required nor relevant for the modern life.¹² The gap between the state’s own eagerness to acknowledge Confucianism as a religion and the people’s reluctance to do so can be explained in terms of the Korean adoption and adaptation of what was originally a foreign term to its own uses.¹³ The fact remains that Confucianism is surprisingly resistant to definition.

In fact, this resistance is not surprising. The current Korean term for religion, *chonggyo* 宗教, is a modern construct and did not appear in the context of the 17th century. Yun Hyu discusses Neo-Confucianism in terms such as *to* 道 or *kyo* 教. When Yun Hyu wants to accuse Song Siyŏl of heterodoxy he blames him for the crime of disrupting the rituals (壞禮之罪).¹⁴ He

⁹ Korean Statistical Information Service, “Sŏng, yŏllyŏng mit chonggyobyŏl in’gu - sigun’gu [Population by Gender, Age, and Religion - City/Country],” *2015 Census*. Accessed July 22, 2018. http://kosis.kr/statHtml/statHtml.do?orgId=101&tblId=DT_1PM1502&conn_path=I2

¹⁰ Donald L. Baker, "A Slippery, Changing Concept: How Korean New Religions Define Religion," *Journal of Korean Religions* 1, no. 1 (2010), 68.

¹¹ Donald L. Baker, "A Slippery, Changing Concept," 69-71.

¹² Donald L. Baker, "The transformation of Confucianism in contemporary Korea," *Hangukhak nonjib* 44 (2011): 425-455.

¹³ Donald L. Baker, "A Slippery, Changing Concept," 78.

¹⁴ Yun Hyu, “Nonbokcheso yunowŏlch’oiril 論服制疏 閏五月初一日 [Memorial on the mourning clothes system, leap fifth month, first day],” in *Paekho chip*, 6.106b.

himself is accused of being a despoiler of the true Way, literally “deceitfully harming this culture of ours” (斯文亂賊).¹⁵ The issue of heterodoxy or *idan* 異端 is never defined simply in terms of competing belief systems but rather in terms of praxis.¹⁶ One Korean scholar suggested that contemporary Korean scholars of Confucianism rarely accept it as a religion, since they associate the term *chonggyo* with Buddhism, and particularly with spiritual entities (*sin* 神).¹⁷ Traditionally, Chosŏn scholars have described their system in terms of “Cultivating Oneself and Governing Others” 修己治人.¹⁸ He concluded that the question is controversial, and does not attempt to propose a clear answer on the issue. Rather, he suggests that the issue has more to do with the application of a modern term to a pre-modern context.

As far as the Western concept of Confucianism as a religion is concerned, the water is even muddier, and seems to go far back almost to the time of Yun Hyu himself. Lionel Jensen suggested that the terms Confucius and Confucianism themselves were Western inventions, constructed by the Jesuit Mission.¹⁹ He further suggests that in Europe the term was “fetishized” as a foreign object of marvel.²⁰ Thus, he suggests that the term Confucianism served as a European product, detached from its original meaning. In the eighteenth century, the term

¹⁵ *Sukchong Sillok*, year 13 (1687), 2nd month, 4th day, 18.4b.

¹⁶ Donald L. Baker, "A Different Thread: Orthodoxy, Heterodoxy, and Catholicism in a Confucian World," in *Culture and State in Late Chosŏn Korea*, ed. Martina Deuchler and JaHyun Haboush, (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 1999), 199-230.

¹⁷ Yu Hŭn'ū, “Yugyo Chonggyosŏng nonjaengŭi kich'o munje: chugŭmgwan-kwa sinbich'ehŏm [Preliminary Examinations on the Controversy over Confucianism as a Religion: Concept of Death and Mystical Experience],” *tongsŏbigyo munhakchŏnŏl* 12 (2005): 231-262.

¹⁸ Yu Hŭn'ū, “Yugyo Chonggyosŏng nonjaengŭi kich'o munje,” 237.

¹⁹ Lionel M. Jensen, "The Invention of “Confucius” and his Chinese Other, “Kong Fuzi”,” *Positions* 1, no. 2 (1993): 414-449. This is a recap of Lionel M. Jensen, *Manufacturing Confucianism: Chinese Traditions and Universal Civilization* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997).

²⁰ Lionel M. Jensen, "The Invention of “Confucius” and his Chinese Other, “Kong Fuzi”,” 439.

became immensely useful for a line of Enlightenment figures, each for his own reasons.²¹ In Voltaire's *Essai sur les moeurs et l'esprit des nations* (1756) the term represents a genuine, non-European ethics that did not require deistic presuppositions. In Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes* (1721) and *De l'esprit des lois* (1748) it was used a marker of despotism.²² Although the idea of the secular Confucianism was constructed by a small group of Jesuit missionaries in China for a certain purpose, it was Enlightenment thinkers like Voltaire who propagated this notion as a marker of otherness and a symbol of certain values. In other word, Jensen argues that Western audience is motivated to promote the idea of Confucianism as a non-religious ethical system, which made Confucianism a sort of intellectual "commodity" in the West.²³

More contemporary scholars have ranged in their opinions, but surprisingly enough seem to buy into Voltaire's 'ethical system without religion' trope. Max Weber took it under the premises of sociology. More than a century after it was first published, *The Religions of China* is influential and much quoted, in Western scholarship as well as in Korea.²⁴ As always, he approached the analysis of Confucianism from a single question: Why didn't (Confucian) China develop capitalism? Not seeing any familiar urban self-government, legal rights, guilds or fraternities, he concludes that Confucianism is merely "the inner-worldly morality of a laymen".²⁵ He compares Confucianism to Buddhism, and finally concludes that it is essentially

²¹ Lionel M. Jensen, *Manufacturing Confucianism*, 8-9.

²² It is interesting to think that Montesquieu wrote his letters at about the same time that Yi Ik wrote his theory on heterodoxy.

²³ Lionel M. Jensen, *Manufacturing Confucianism*, 271.

²⁴ Max Weber, *The Religions of China: Confucianism and Taoism*, tr. By Hans H. Gerth (Glencoe, IL: The Free Press, 1951).

²⁵ Max Weber, *The Religions of China*, 152.

“indifferent to religion”.²⁶ In Confucianism, he claims, congregational elements were either eradicated or were considered a private business.²⁷ Although Weber is extremely useful for modern scholars of religion, his system is misleading. First, he was interested in religion as an *ideal type*, namely – the opposite of a generalization: Not a list of minimum requirements, but rather a maximal list of qualities that may or may not exist in real life. In the context of religions, Weber holds Christianity as an ideal type. Second, Weber was interested in religions only as mechanism of explaining economic processes, and particularly commerce and capitalism. For him the lack of commercial capitalism meant that Confucianism as a “State Religion” remains passive in its role.

Another influential view on contemporary Confucianism was that of Herbert Fingarette, who in the 1970s examined Confucianism from the stance of a professional Western philosopher. Much like Weber, Fingarette followed Voltaire’s line of argument, accepting its lack of religiousness as given. Methodologically speaking, his analysis relies on Austin’s “Performative Utterances” when discussing linguistic aspects of the Ritual, and thus he finally categorizes Confucianism as system that saw certain secular rituals as sacred.²⁸ Fingarette focused solely on the *Analects*, and claimed that Confucian ritual is an extension of the small rituals of daily life.²⁹ According to his reading of the *Analects*, a ritual has a performative power to create the sacred, and it is therefore the base to create what he calls the *perfect community of men*. I find it

²⁶ Max Weber, *The Religions of China*, 146.

²⁷ Max Weber, *The Religions of China*, 229.

²⁸ Herbert Fingarette, *Confucius: The Secular as Sacred* (New York, Harper & Row, 1972).

²⁹ Herbert Fingarette, *Confucius: The Secular as Sacred*, 11.

interesting to note that Fingarette is using the metaphor of a Holy Vessel to show how only a non-utilitarian action like *ritual* can create meaning for human life, in the same way that a holy vessel is a tool used in a non-utilitarian fashion.³⁰ As noted previously Yun Hyu's comments on the Rites Controversy are very close in nature, when addressing the mourning garments for example, but reached contradictory conclusions.

The two most famous sinologists to address the issue of Confucianism as a religion were Tu Weiming and Julia Ching. Each addressed the seeming imbalance between the Western perception of Confucianism as inherently non-religious and its role in the private and public sphere, in which it covered many of the same areas as religion. Both have yielded, to a degree, to terminology and ideas driven from Christian doctrine and feel it necessary to confront those places where Neo-Confucianism does not conform with the Christian scheme.

In *Centrality and Commonality* Tu provided his most coherent attempt to depict Confucianism as a religion.³¹ This is a study of the *Doctrine of the Mean* (*zhongyong*), and thus most appropriate to our case. In Yun Hyu's case the *Doctrine of the Mean* was central to his understanding of Confucianism as a system, and served, according to Song Siyöl's criticism – as the main evidence of his heterodoxy.³² Introducing the topic, Tu explain that he chose an interpretive approach (rather than exegetical), because he was regarding the text as a coherent whole and assumed that hermeneutical analysis will expose the language game of the text.³³

³⁰ Herbert Fingarette, , *Confucius: The Secular as Sacred*, 77.

³¹ Tu Weiming, *Centrality and commonality: An Essay on Confucian Religiousness* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1989).

³² *Sukchong sillok*, 5th Year (1679), 3rd month, 12th day, 8.11a-16b.

³³ Tu Weiming, *Centrality and commonality*, 2.

This, in essence, mirrors Yun Hyu's own approach, as I have demonstrated earlier (when discussing the "Great Plan"). The main difference perhaps between the approaches of Tu and Yun, is that Yun Hyu attempts to regard the Four Books and the Six Classics as a coherent whole, as we can see from his tendency to examine key terms across the classics. Tu's own comments suggest that this is a religious rather than a scientific approach to the text.³⁴

Tu focused his reading on three main ideas: The Exemplary Person 君子, moral metaphysics and finally what he calls "fiduciary community".³⁵ Tu finds the core of the text in chapter twenty-two, where the three elements join through the Exemplary Person (Profound Person in Tu's terms), the only one who can realize an ideal society.³⁶ This is consistent with Zhu Xi's original structure, placing this chapter as the opening of the *tianren* 天人 section of the text. Yun Hyu, as explained earlier, placed chapter twenty-two within a section titled *pak-hak* 博學 (Broad Learning) ranging from chapters nineteen to twenty-four.³⁷ Thus, Yun Hyu is both more critical of Zhu Xi and perhaps suggesting a different type of process than what Tu called "ever-deepening subjectivity".³⁸

In spite of all this Tu does not define religion. He focuses primarily on the social aspect of Confucianism by stressing what he calls "inclusive humanism".³⁹ He carefully describes Confucianism as a religion with Christianity as a model for what a religion looks like, with the

³⁴ Tu Weiming, *Centrality and commonality*, 11.

³⁵ Tu Weiming, *Centrality and commonality*, 23.

³⁶ Tu Weiming, *Centrality and commonality*, 79.

³⁷ Yun Hyu, "Toksögi chungyong," 1459.

³⁸ Tu Weiming, *Centrality and commonality*, 73.

³⁹ Tu Weiming, *Centrality and commonality*, 116.

exclusion of theistic elements.⁴⁰ His depiction of the Confucian religion, as well as his presuppositions, all rely heavily on contemporary Christian theologians such as Paul Tillich.⁴¹ Thus, he is confirming the Western gaze, and eventually re-iterating the same message that Voltaire proposed more than two centuries before:

In our examination of Confucian religiosity, we need to address the intriguing issue of transcendence. We must ask ourselves whether the idea of the theistic God, which features so prominently in Judaism, Christianity and Islam, is at all relevant to the Confucian mode of being religious.⁴²

Julia Ching was consistently interested in the religious nature of Confucianism. While mainly concerned with the comparison between Confucianism and Christianity, she does discuss the religious nature of Confucianism. In "The Problem of God in Confucianism," she tried to address the lack of a deity in Confucianism.⁴³ Her main argument there is that traditional Confucianism has both theistic and agnostic explanations. The nature of divinity in Confucianism has changed from a personal god in traditional Confucianism to a concept of change in Neo Confucianism.⁴⁴ In the book *Chinese Religions*, she argued that Confucianism is a functional equivalent for the Western term.⁴⁵ She thinks that a belief in a transcendent element amounts to a belief in God,

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Tu Weiming, *Centrality and commonality*, 9-10, 126.

⁴² Tu Weiming, *Centrality and commonality*, 116.

⁴³ Julia Ching, "The Problem of God in Confucianism," *International Philosophical Quarterly* 17, no. 1 (1977): 3-32.

⁴⁴ Julia Ching, "The Problem of God in Confucianism," 3-4.

⁴⁵ Julia Ching, *Chinese Religions* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1993), 2.

even if it is not named so directly.⁴⁶ The Confucian God, she says, is paradoxical, being transcendent and immanent.⁴⁷

When we try to apply any of these theoretical frameworks to Yun Hyu we find that it fails us. First, because Fingarette, Tu and Ching all address China specifically, whether it is the earlier Confucianism of the Zhou or Han dynasty, or the Neo-Confucianism of Zhu Xi. We cannot assume that Yun Hyu's *sōngnihak* works the same as Zhu Xi's *xinglixue*. They also all look at the theoretical model that they read in the text itself, not the application of the text through individuals' expressions. The Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure coined the terms *langue* and *parole* to differentiate between two complementary and positional perceptions of language.⁴⁸ As a paraphrase on that idea, we could say that *religion* is always a violation of *theology*, just as *theology* is an abstraction of *religion*. In other words, very few of the authors' discussions of Neo-Confucianism as religion actually discuss what people do or how they do it.⁴⁹

To solve these issues, I would like to suggest a third option: To identify religion by the virtue of what Wittgenstein calls "Family Resemblance."⁵⁰ Namely, that there is no single common denominator between all the activities we call "religion," but they relate to each other in

⁴⁶ Julia Ching, *Chinese Religions*, 3.

⁴⁷ Julia Ching, *Chinese Religions*, 19.

⁴⁸ Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics*, Tr. Roy Harris (London: Bloomsbury, 2016). According to Saussure, the *Langue* or spoken language is always in violation of *Parole* (language as a static set of grammatical rules), whereas *Parole* is only an approximation of *Langue*.

⁴⁹ With the exception of Rodney Taylor's 1990 *The Religious Dimensions of Confucianism*. Taylor claims that the tendency to see Confucianism as a humanistic tradition ignores an important aspect of it, and tries to show its religious through various elements that frame it as such. Rodney L. Taylor, *The Religious Dimensions of Confucianism*, 1.

⁵⁰ Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, tr. G. E. M. Anscombe (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986).

many different ways.⁵¹ Scholars of religion such as Benson Saler have argued that Wittgenstein's idea of family resemblance made us free of a certain "bewitchment" and opened the way to discuss religious categories in a broader way.⁵² Timothy Fitzgerald on the other hand, agreed on the importance of family resemblance to avoid an essentialist definition of religion (i.e., "belief in God"), but also pointed to the potentially wide-range of such a family.⁵³ Some scholars have used the idea of family resemblance as the core for a possible inter-cultural dialogue.⁵⁴ In a similar fashion, some scholars used terms such as *fuzzy sets* and *polythetic classes* in the process of similar definitions.⁵⁵ In this context, *fuzzy* denotes a gradual range (and not simply a binary dichotomy), whereas *polythetic* denotes a list of characteristics which may or may not occur in a particular case. In other words, most of us today recognize religions because we expect to see a certain set of components in them, such as a sacred text, a holy day or rituals.

Modern religions in Korea have more-or-less aligned themselves to according to these *polythetic classes*.⁵⁶ In addition, Christianity has introduced the idea that religion is congregational and confessional, that it is faith based and revolves around lay communities who

⁵¹ Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations* §65. In PI §66 Wittgenstein gives the example of all the different things we call game, board-games, card-games, ball-games, Olympic games, and so on, in spite of having no single common trait.

⁵² Benson Saler, "Family Resemblance and the Definition of Religion," *Historical Reflections* (1999): 391-404.

⁵³ Timothy Fitzgerald, "Religion, Philosophy and Family Resemblances," *Religion* 26, no. 3 (1996): 215-236.

⁵⁴ Galia Patt-Shamir and Ping Zhang, "A Confucian-Jewish Dialogue," in *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Inter-Religious Dialogue*, ed. Catherine Cornille (Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 450-467.

⁵⁵ Joannes Augustinus Maria Snoek, "'Ritual': Definition and classification," in *Theorizing Rituals: Annotated Bibliography of Ritual Theory, 1966-2005*, ed. Kreinath, Jens, JAN Snoek, and Michael Stausberg (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 4.

⁵⁶ Donald L. Baker, "The Religious Revolution in Modern Korean History: From ethics to theology and from ritual hegemony to religious freedom," *The Review of Korean Studies* 9, no. 3 (2006), 255-6.

meet regularly to attend rituals.⁵⁷ In the early twentieth century, some Koreans have responded to the pressure of imperialism and the doctrinal pressure of Christianity by intuitively trying to adapt Confucianism to this specific model.⁵⁸ Korean Neo-Confucian individuals who identified the need have responded to an unwritten list. However, the success of this check-list does not indicate directly anything about the nature of religion, only about the success of Christianity to imply what religion entails. Thus, traditional approaches of religious studies to a priori definitions of religion fall into circular definitions, either relying on Christianity as an ideal-type for religion or rebelling against it.⁵⁹

In the case of Neo-Confucianism, we can find a good correlation with some of the elements of the religion check-list. For sacred texts, the tradition of the Cheng-Zhu school on a canon (unchanging, describing universal truths) that was accepted in Chosŏn is a good example of a sacred text.⁶⁰ As I have shown earlier, Yun Hyu have challenged Zhu Xi's canon but did not challenge the actual sense of a sacred collection. Another element that we expect to see in a religion is the existence of religious sites. In this case Neo-Confucianism conforms well to our expectations. Again, I have noted earlier that Yun Hyu's first government position was the Keeper of the Altar to the Gods of the Earth and Grain or *Sajikch'ambong* 社稷參奉. In his writings he mentioned deep concern over sacred sites and was alarmed over the damage that

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Kŭm Changtae, "The Confucian Religion Movement in the Modern History of Korean Confucianism," in *Korea Journal* 29, no. 5 (1989): 4-12.

⁵⁹ See also Tomoko Masuzawa, *The Invention of World Religions: Or, How European Universalism was Preserved in the Language of Pluralism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

⁶⁰ Donald L. Baker, "The Religious Revolution in Modern Korean History," 255. I am roughly following Baker's list, which serves the same purpose.

some unusual weather caused the the *Sajik-dan* 社稷壇 (The Grain and Earth Altar).⁶¹ Sites such as the *Chongmyo* 宗廟 (where the ancestral rite for the royal family is performed) still dominate the landscape of modern Seoul as they did during the seventeenth century. We can also note a collection of other elements that are generally obvious, such as rituals, dietary restrictions and so on.

On the other hand, the lack of a clearly defined deity in Neo-Confucianism poses a major hinderance in the way of discussing it as a religion. As noted above, both Tu and Ching dedicated some thought to this problem, as did other thinkers. Baker shows that in contemporary Korea, there is “a growing tendency toward theology, and mono-devotionalism”.⁶² In other words, even religions that traditionally recognize many gods, tend to focus more on a single patron in a way that resembles what they consider a “proper” religion. Baker focuses on the two aspects of the modern, intuitive understanding of the term religion, namely that a religion is devotional and congregational, which he claims separates modern Korea from the Chosŏn era. In this sense, Yun Hyu complements our discussion on the religiosity of Confucianism since his commentary emphasizes the Lord-on-High aspect of Heaven 皇天上帝, as a personalized anthropomorphism rather than a natural-force, which is closer to what we expect to see in a religion. Yun Hyu uses terminology such as the Fear of Heaven 畏天 or Serving Heaven 事天, which help to further emphasize the devotional aspects of Neo-Confucianism.

Wittgenstein’s “Family Resemblance” moves away from an essentialist view of religion, in two ways. First, it shows that there is no one essential element that makes a religion. Religions

⁶¹ “Haengjang ha,” 2063.

⁶² Donald L. Baker, “The Religious Revolution in Modern Korean History,” 256.

may not have a defining feature, and still be proper religions. The other is that, of course, it is the similarities that make something a religion, although no two religions may share the same set of exact similarities. This is important for us since it means that according to the “Family Resemblance” strategy we do not ask if Confucianism is “truly” a religion, but rather – whether it shares enough mechanisms with other religions.⁶³ In order to demonstrate that, I would like to borrow some observations from the modern cognitive-science take on religion and show how some elements of Yun Hyu’s Neo-Confucianism match our observations on religions in general.

6.2.1 Evolutionary Perspectives on Religion and the Case of Yun Hyu

Evolutionary theories on religion try to explain the seemingly universal tendency for religion in biological and evolutionary terms. The most common explanation is that religious behaviour is related (a by-product of) some other evolutionary developments. However, recently, we see also the argument that religious behaviour is directly designed to increase our fitness. One aspect of that is the attempt to explain certain forms of human behaviour, ones that we might expect to see in the religious context, either as evolutionary by-products or in terms of cognitive adaptations. Theories also differ in the way that they explain the efficiency of religions for survival and the actual mechanism involved. In the last decade this became a topic of popular discourse with spokesmen such as Richard Dawkins.⁶⁴ In his book *The God Delusion*, Dawkins argues that religion is not adaptable at all.⁶⁵ Dawkins invented the term “meme” to describe a unit of cultural

⁶³ Timothy Fitzgerald, "Religion, Philosophy and Family Resemblances," *Religion* 26, no. 3 (1996): 215-236.

⁶⁴ Dawkins was not involved in the cognitive-evolutionary debate, but his position is widely known and serves as a good representation of the position that holds religion as reducing fitness.

⁶⁵ Richard Dawkins, *The God Delusion* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 2006).

transmission, and argued that religion is in fact a sort of a complicated meme: A culturally transmitted parasite, which uses the “host” (believer) to transmit with no additional value, and perhaps even cause damage, in terms of fitness.⁶⁶ Dawkins focuses his attention mostly on the Abrahamic religions, stating that he is not concerned with religions such as Confucianism and that “Indeed, there is something to be said for treating these not as religions at all but as ethical systems or philosophies of life.”⁶⁷ In other words, Dawkins reiterates the ideas of Voltaire, and perhaps quite consciously.⁶⁸

Another line of argument identifies religious behavior as a by-product of other survival mechanisms, which have to be adaptive traits since religious behavior tends to be costly. However, these are not necessarily adaptive in the religious context.⁶⁹ Boyer and Bergstrom have suggested that the cognitive processes associated with religion do serve originally in myriad capacities, providing either personal benefits or benefits to the group.⁷⁰ Generally speaking, manifest behaviors are the result of functional systems, which are the result of natural selection processes.⁷¹

This approach finds a surprising echo in Yun Hyu’s thoughts on ritual and Neo-Confucianism.⁷² For example, they suspect that the intimate relationship the people feel toward a

⁶⁶ Richard Dawkins, *The God Delusion*, 193.

⁶⁷ Dawkins, *The God Delusion*, 59.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Pascal Boyer and Brian Bergstrom, "Evolutionary perspectives on religion," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 37 (2008): 111-130.

⁷⁰ Boyer and Bergstrom, "Evolutionary perspectives on religion," 124.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² I will provide more details on this in the next sections.

god, or even the attributes associated with a god, exploit the psychological systems that govern relationships and social behavior.⁷³ In particular, they mention “attachment relationships,” saying that qualities we see in God are the very same we see in our parents. This will not come as a surprise to any Confucian, who will quote back Zhang Zai’s 張載 *Western Inscription* (*ximing* 西銘), saying that “Heaven is my father and Earth is my mother; even such a small creature as myself finds an intimate place in their midst”.⁷⁴ That statement and its sentiment were considered such an essential core of Neo Confucianism that Yun Hyu says that “what is following from this is respect for our elders and love to our parents, reaching to our father-Heaven and mother-Earth, which is the root of righteousness.”⁷⁵ Laor argues that one of the main effects that religion has on a group, in terms of selection, is to reduce variations within the group by promoting homogenization and standardization.⁷⁶ Again, the idea that ritual promotes more cohesive behavior is the core of Yun Hyu’s concerns, as we have previously seen.

Some scholars have linked the belief in a supreme force with the mental mechanisms designed to cope with the lack of control. As such, the belief in a supernatural power is depicted as a defensive source of compensatory control.⁷⁷ Furthermore, some researchers have pointed out what they called a “hydraulic relationship” between God and government: The less subjects believed in the control of either a supernatural power or the government, the more agency they

⁷³ Boyer and Bergstrom, “Evolutionary perspectives on religion,” 122.

⁷⁴ Yi Junghwan, “Counterbalancing Egalitarian Benevolence: A History of Interpretations of Zhang Zai’s Western Inscription in Song China and Joseon Korea,” *The Review of Korean Studies* Volume 13 Number 3 (September 2010), 120.

⁷⁵ Yun Hyu, “Toksögi Chungyong,” 1459. 敬所尊而愛所親 以至乎父天母地。

⁷⁶ Yuval Laor, “Cultural Uniformity and Religion,” *Religion, Brain & Behavior* 3, no. 3 (2013): 233-253.

⁷⁷ Aaron C Kay, Danielle Gaucher, Ian McGregor, and Kyle Nash. “Religious belief as compensatory control.” *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 14, no. 1 (2010): 37-48.

tended to assign to the other.⁷⁸ This implies that threatening one of the systems caused people to automatically endorse the other. This opens many interesting speculations about the nature of events such as the Rites Controversy of 1659, when the implications of the debate were compromising the belief in both agencies. Sigmund Freud already noted the link between anxiety and rituals in his famous “Obsessive Actions and Religious Practices.” Here he also notes the direct relationship between anxiety and ritual.⁷⁹ This is the kind of anxiety that Yun Hyu expresses when he writes to the King that by prescribing the wrong ritual the *sōin* were “ignoring the King and committed the crime of disturbing the royal bloodline and spoiling the rituals.”⁸⁰

The one common denominator between the various approach presented here, is that even if the authors disagree on the actual effects of religion on a group, they do not think that religion itself is an adaptive trait. They might think that it is a “parasite,” as Dawkins claimed, or that it has some roundabout benefits, as Laor thinks. However, some think religion is actually adaptive. The last definition that I would like to explore is this: What we call religion is either a combination of various, independent adaptive traits, or it is adaptive as a whole.

6.2.1.1 Surveillance Theory and the Fear of Heaven

⁷⁸ Aaron C Kay et. al., "For God (or) Country: the Hydraulic Relation Between Government Instability and Belief in Religious Sources of Control," *Journal of personality and social psychology* 99, no. 5 (2010): 725.

⁷⁹ Sigmund Freud, "Obsessive Actions and Religious Practices," *Standard edition* 9 (1907), 122.

⁸⁰ Yun Hyu, “non pokche so yun owōl ch’oil il 論服制疏 閏五月初一日 [A memorial on the mourning garments, presented in the first day of the fifth leap month],” *Paekho chip*, 6.107a. “…不自知其入於無君之域 亂統壞禮之罪也。”

According to surveillance theory, people are sensitive to cues on social monitoring, note minute nuances of social expectation and tend to anticipate a world where social rules are enforced and governed.⁸¹ In the context of religion it has been hypothesized that the suggestion that there is a supernatural agent with moral concerns, and particularly with greater surveillance capacities, will promote adherence to social norms. In China, supernatural monitoring might have played an important role in the development of early Chinese civilization.⁸² As I have mentioned in earlier chapters, this is part of the nature of the shift from an anthropomorphic *Lord on High* 上帝 to the impersonal *Heaven* 天.⁸³ Yun Hyu himself was aware that the term Heaven was not sufficient without the term *Lord on High*. Combining the two, he explained that “Sky and the Lord on High are both references to the August Heaven”.⁸⁴ It seems that one of the earliest elements in Yun Hyu’s thought was the awareness of the affective influence of Heaven and Earth. In *Daily Records of the Year kyōngjin* 庚辰日錄 (*kyōngjin illok*), a diary he wrote at the age of twenty four, he says that:

人道尊天而親地 隆也特有間焉爾 故郊天尊也社地親也。⁸⁵

The Way of Man is to respect Heaven and be close to Earth ... so performing the *kyoje* 郊祭 (the suburban sacrifice) for Heaven is showing respect, and performing the *saje* 社祭 (sacrifice for the Land gods) means being close.

⁸¹ Norenzayan Ara et al., "The Cultural Evolution of Prosocial Religions," 4.

⁸² Norenzayan et al., "The Cultural Evolution of Prosocial Religions," 134.

⁸³ Julia Ching, *Religious Thought of Chu Hsi* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 57.

⁸⁴ Yun Hyu, "toksōgi hyogyōngoejōn chung," 1573. 天與上帝之號元屬昊天.

⁸⁵ Yun Hyu, "Kyōngjin illok [Daily Records of the Year *kyōngjin*]," in *PHCS*, kwōn 33, 1352.

But Heaven was not only an emotional father-like figure, but also awe-inspiring. Part of the power of Heaven is that Heaven is both providing the law (in the sense of the *Mandate of Heaven* 天命), and watching over its observance.⁸⁶ And in this role, the anthropomorphic *Lord on High* is more effective than *Heaven*. In the same diary, he mentions that

古之人皇皇翼翼 怵惕靡寧 凜凜乎若臨之在上 質之在旁 一則曰上帝 二則曰上帝
行一事則曰上帝所命 作不善則曰上帝所禁。⁸⁷

The ancients were anxious and cautious, alarmed and uncomfortable, trembling with fear **as if watched from above**, and as if being interrogated by someone nearby, calling once and again on the *Lord on High*, saying that every good deed done was decreed by the *Lord on High*, and every bad action was prohibited by the *Lord on High*.

In chapter 4 I have surveyed the role of the term *oech'ŏn* 畏天 in Yun Hyu's scholarship, where I suggested the translation "Fear of Heaven" in this context.⁸⁸ Juxtaposed with the terms "fear and apprehension" 戒慎 and "caution when alone" 恐懼 from the *Doctrine of the Mean*, Yun Hyu understood the Fear of Heaven as a crucial component of self-cultivation. I have shown that Yun Hyu continued Yi Hwang's line of thought and even emphasized more the anthropomorphic, watchful aspects of Heaven. The quotes above demonstrates how easily Yun Hyu used existing elements of Confucian thought to create the sense of a watchful Heaven. First by emphasizing

⁸⁶ It seems that Yun Hyu means here law in a limited sense, since Heaven is not usually conceived of as a law-giver in Confucian political thought.

⁸⁷ Yun Hyu, "Kyŏngjin illok," 1346. My emphasis added.

⁸⁸ Yun Hyu, "Kyŏngjin illok," 1463. "Fear and apprehension and caution when alone, the Exemplary Person's mental state of reverence to Heaven, and the service of cultivating the Way are what we call education" 戒慎恐懼, 君子畏天之心, 修道之事, 所謂教也.

the role of Heaven and Earth as parents through its careful wording (i.e., *chun* 尊 or reverence, *ch'in* 親 or being related, etc).⁸⁹ The second directly related to the sense of being watched as a way to promote moral behaviour. The fact that these diary entries were written when Yun Hyu was only twenty-four suggest that this is a core component of his thought.

6.2.1.2 Terror Management Theory

Yun Hyu's Fear of Heaven is related to another complementary aspect of religious belief – the ability of a belief in a supernatural power to mitigate the arbitrariness of our environment and promote the sense that the world is an orderly place.⁹⁰ There is a growing body of evidence that shows that the ability of religious belief to buffer people from uncertainty and promoting mental health, while sustaining a set level of anxiety.⁹¹ This is particularly true for the hydraulic relationship between government and supernatural powers, as noted above: Some scholars have suggested that the Terror Management aspect of religion plays several roles in the psychology of the individual.⁹² They suggest that it has existential value in response to mortality: The creation and modification of a cultural world view that mitigates the fear of death specifically.⁹³ The fear of death is not only a major human concern but also has been shown to reduce fitness.⁹⁴

⁸⁹ we can read that as a continuation of Zhang Zai 張載 and his Western Inscription or *ximing* 西銘,

⁹⁰ Michael Inzlicht, Alexa M. Tullett, and Marie Good, "The Need to Believe: A Neuroscience Account of Religion as a Motivated Process," *Religion, Brain & Behavior* 1, no. 3 (2011): 192-212.

⁹¹ Inzlicht, Tullett, and Good, 192-3. See more on the tension between the two in Sigmund Freud, "Obsessive Actions and Religious Practices," *Standard edition* 9 (1907): 115-127.

⁹² Kenneth E. Vail et al., "A Terror Management Analysis of the Psychological Functions of Religion," *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 14, no. 1 (2010): 84-94.

⁹³ Kenneth E. Vail et al., "A Terror Management Analysis," 85.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

As noted earlier, Yun Hyu reacted dramatically to the Manchu invasions, a fact which left a significant impact on his political ideology. I have theorized in previous chapters that his obsessive with the topic of death, both through the public debate on ghosts and spirits and through the Rites Controversy, is a direct response to the half a century of invasions (both Manchu and Japanese) on a scale that Korea had not known since the Mongol invasions in the thirteenth century, as well as the prevalence of famine and disease that came with the so-called small ice-age of the seventeenth century. This seems to be in-line with Freud's original hypothesis that religious behavior shows the symptoms of an obsessive reaction to anxiety and seems to be a natural outcome.⁹⁵

6.2.1.3 Religious influence on Group Dynamics

Certain forms of religious behavior also promote synchronicity and cooperation within the group, and thus contribute to the group's ability to compete with other groups.⁹⁶ We can further divide these to several separate components.⁹⁷ First, religious behavior seems to be related with charitable actions and voluntarism.⁹⁸ This effect seems to be shared by various societies,

⁹⁵ Sigmund Freud, "Obsessive Actions and Religious Practices," *Standard edition* 9 (1907): 115-127. In this context, it is important to note the Freud's original goal was to show that compulsive behaviour is a natural response, rather than the opposite.

⁹⁶ Norenzayan et al., "The Cultural Evolution of Prosocial Religions," 4.

⁹⁷ Norenzayan et al., "The Cultural Evolution of Prosocial Religions," 10.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

including foragers, pastoralists, and horticulturalists.⁹⁹ On the other hand, in cases of a strong trust toward secular institutions, the effect is to lessen such activity.¹⁰⁰

Second, religious priming seems to increase fairness and cooperation within the group.¹⁰¹ A meta-analysis of the literature suggest that overall religious belief reliably promotes social behavior.¹⁰² The prosocial behavior seems to extend as far as as fairness to strangers and cooperation in anonymous conditions. This has a direct link with Surveillance Theory and the believers' feeling that they are being watched.¹⁰³ Finally, prosocial religions also seem to encourage self-control. Studies have shown that religious priming can increase people's ability to endure discomfort and delay gratification.¹⁰⁴ This is directly related to prosocial behavior, since in its core social behavior requires participants to delay gratification and endure discomfort for future benefits.¹⁰⁵

Ritual also influences group behaviour in profound ways, particularly costly behaviour such as Credibility-Enhancing Displays (CREDS), and they work to promote group solidarity by suppressing free riders.¹⁰⁶ Belief in particular is easy to fake and an insincere individual poses a

⁹⁹ Joseph Henrich et al., "Most People are not WEIRD," *Nature* 466, no. 7302 (2010): 29.

¹⁰⁰ Norenzayan et al., "The Cultural Evolution of Prosocial Religions," 10. The authors note the limiting reliance of studies conducted with Western, educated, industrialized, rich, and democratic (WEIRD) samples. This, of course, should be even more of a concern when dealing with pre-modern sources.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Azim F Shariff et al., "Religious Priming: A Meta-Analysis With a Focus on Prosociality," *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 20, no. 1 (2016): 27-48.

¹⁰³ Norenzayan et al., "The Cultural Evolution of Prosocial Religions," 10-11.

¹⁰⁴ Rounding et al., "The Cultural Evolution of Prosocial Religions," 12.

¹⁰⁵ Norenzayan et al., "The Cultural Evolution of Prosocial Religions," 11.

¹⁰⁶ Joseph Henrich, "The Evolution of Costly Displays, Cooperation and Religion," *Evolution and Human Behavior* 30, no. 4 (2009): 244-260.

risk of propagating fake beliefs within the group.¹⁰⁷ In other words, performing difficult, painful or otherwise expensive rituals is a test to sincere belief, since it will deter anyone who is not a believer. Religious communities that shared rituals and beliefs survived much longer and had lower chances of breaking up in their first years.¹⁰⁸ Attending rituals regularly also served as an extended re-enforcement that tilted the *Nash Equilibrium* in games that are prone to defection.¹⁰⁹ In other word, Sosis calculated its effect on the natural tendency to cheat, and shows that attending rituals results in less deceit altogether.

It affirms our intuition that shared rituals facilitate altruism and commitment within the groups, and thus that rituals, costly ones in particular, make stronger and longer-lasting groups. Confucianism, as a general rule, does not promote self-harming but it is not free of costly rituals. The learning requirements Chosŏn *yangban* placed on themselves and the exasperating physical and mental demands of the exams (Korean examinees were exposed to the elements) often caused exam passers of a certain year to form peer groups called *tongnyŏnhoe*.¹¹⁰ Some of the restrictions on the *yangban* included a ban on touching money, cutting hair and restrictions on certain foods. Involvement in public life presented another form of costly display and came with enormous expenses.¹¹¹ Participation in public debates such as the Rites Controversy placed one's

¹⁰⁷ Norenzayan et al., "The Cultural Evolution of Prosocial Religions," 12.

¹⁰⁸ Richard Sosis, "Religion and Intragroup Cooperation: Preliminary Results of a Comparative Analysis of Utopian Communities," *Cross-Cultural Research* 34, no. 1 (2000): 70-87.

¹⁰⁹ Joseph Bulbulia, "Religious Costs as Adaptations that Signal Altruistic Intention," *Evolution and Cognition* 10, no. 1 (2004): 19-38.

¹¹⁰ Choe Yong-ho, *The Civil Examination and the Social Structure in Early Yi Dynasty Korea* (Seoul, Korean Research Center: 1987), 79-80.

¹¹¹ James B. Palais, *Confucian Statecraft and Korean Institutions: Yu Hyŏngwŏn and the late Chosŏn Dynasty* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014), 182. Yu Hyŏngwŏn laments the lavish parties and expenses that

position and scholarship under scrutiny in which failure in scholarship could result in exile or punishment, and I consider it a form of CRED since this sort of knowledge cannot be faked. In years-long education as well as long hair, it is very hard to fool the observers for a long period of time.

As I have noted in the first chapter, from the middle of the sixteenth century we see the rise of private academies (*sowŏn*). Private academies, along with the natural biases of Neo-Confucian ideology and the socio-economical interest of land owners, promoted the creation and radicalization of factions.¹¹² As noted, the loyalty to private academies had immediate implications on ritual practices. Yun Hyu was born into a world where factions became increasingly prominent. His family (belonging to the *pugin* faction,) barely escaped the results of Injo's *coup d'état*, and he himself was constantly under the suspicion of both *pugin* and *namin*.¹¹³ In this environment, CREDs play a role in the transmission of commitment in multiple domains, and not just the religious context.¹¹⁴ Durkheim suggested that collective rituals promote shared arousal, which he called collective effervescence.¹¹⁵ This quality, and particularly synchronous movement and chanting, all common to many Confucian ceremonies, were shown to increase cooperation among strangers.¹¹⁶

were expected upon passing the Civil Service exam, and often from a newly appointed civil servant. This is in addition to the expenses of tutoring and private schools.

¹¹² Donald L. Baker, "Factionalism in Perspective: The Nature and Cause of Political Struggles During the Chosŏn Dynasty," in *Factionalism in Perspective*, ed. by Baek Eaun-jin (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1993): 2-10.

¹¹³ Han Ugŭn, "Paekho Yun Hyu yŏngu (il)," 5-6.

¹¹⁴ Henrich, "The Evolution of Costly Displays," 246.

¹¹⁵ Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, tr. Joseph Ward Swain (New York: Free Press, 1968), 171.

¹¹⁶ Scott S. Wiltermuth and Chip Heath, "Synchrony and Cooperation," *Psychological Science* 20, no. 1 (2009): 1-5.

While ritual helps to strengthen bonds within the community, it also serves to clearly mark group boundaries. In particular, costly behaviour helps provide clear demarcation of non-believers, and thus potentially can serve to fuel intergroup conflict and hostility.¹¹⁷ There are several paths that lead religious commitments to violence and these are not fully understood. However, at least one way that religiousness promotes violence is through sacred values.¹¹⁸ Unlike instrumental values, sacred values are associated with a moral stand and are immune to trade-offs.¹¹⁹ When violence sparks over sacred values, the *rational actor* model does not apply, and instead we look at a *devoted actor*.¹²⁰ Norenzayan explain that the involvement of sacred values makes otherwise mundane disputes (for example – over territory) nonnegotiable and they potentially can persist, violently, for centuries. Rational negotiation is impossible in this state, since the participants see the position in these questions as one with moral and spiritual implications. Offering of material compensation, for example, may actually result in a harder line toward compromise.¹²¹

Yun Hyu's life and career have been tightly linked with factionalism, and he himself was often characterised in these terms.¹²² The fact that the seventeenth century was marked by radicalization of faction politics is undisputed. However, there have been several explanations

¹¹⁷ Norenzayan et al., "The Cultural Evolution of Prosocial Religions," 13-4.

¹¹⁸ Norenzayan, *Big Gods*, 166-7.

¹¹⁹ Norenzayan borrows this term from Scott Atran. See Scott Atran, *Talking to the Enemy: Faith, Brotherhood, and the (un)making of Terrorists* (New York, NY: Ecco Press, 2010).

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ Norenzayan, *Big Gods*, 167-8.

¹²² Mark Setton, "Factional Politics and Philosophical Development in the Late Chosŏn," *The Journal of Korean Studies* 8 (1992): 37-80. Han Ugŭn, 2-6.

regarding the cause and dynamics of those factional disputes. In *Under Ancestors' Eyes*, Deuchler suggests that after Injo's Restoration of 1623, the power base of the aristocratic family (*sajok* 士族) shifted from the offices that they held (the "political") to their local power base (the "social").¹²³ According to this account, the story of factional strife is mostly related to the resilience of the aristocracy against the attempts of the government to centralize power in the wake of the *Imjin* war.¹²⁴

Another theory attributes factionalism to "disagreement over issues related to the delegation of political power."¹²⁵ According to this view, factions were not only political but also geographical, and represent the struggle between power centers in the peninsula.¹²⁶ Setton's theory is in line with Deuchler's earlier texts, focusing on the emergence of Neo-Confucian hegemony.¹²⁷ According to this view, in a gradual process that took the first half of the Chosŏn dynasty, Korea matured as a Neo-Confucian state, and what we see in the seventeenth century is a result of that process.¹²⁸ Finally, JaHyun Kim Haboush has framed this turbulent period and particularly the Rites Controversy as a marker of the emergence of national identity.¹²⁹ Haboush

¹²³ Martina Deuchler, *Under the Ancestors' Eyes: Kinship, Status, and Locality in Premodern Korea* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015), 408.

¹²⁴ Deuchler, *Under the Ancestors' Eyes*, 319-321.

¹²⁵ Mark Setton, *Factional Politics*, 45. See a similar line of argument regarding the Rites Controversy in Andrei Lankov, "Controversy over Ritual in 17th Century Korea," *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies* Vol. 3 (1990): 49-64.

¹²⁶ Mark Setton, *Factional Politics*, 47.

¹²⁷ Martina Deuchler, *The Confucian Transformation of Korea: A Study of Society and Ideology* (Cambridge, MA.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1992), 45. On the tension between these two works, see: Javier Cha, "The Dynamics of Elite Domination in Early Modern Korea," *Sungkyun Journal of East Asian Studies* 17, no. 1 (April 2017): 93-109.

¹²⁸ Deuchler, *The Confucian Transformation of Korea*, 286.

¹²⁹ Kahyun Kim Haboush, "Constructing the Center: The Ritual Controversy and the Search for a New Identity in Seventeenth-Century Korea," in *Culture and the State in Late Choson Korea*, ed. JaHyun Kim Haboush and Martina Deuchler (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 46-90.

suggested that Yun Hyu, Hŏ Mok and Song Siyŏl were suggesting three alternatives for the development of a distinguishable national identity in Chosŏn.

What is most astounding about the Western discourse on the Rites Controversy and factional disputes of the seventeenth century is that of all three options presented above, none suggested that this might have been a religious strife. The events were described as political, intellectual and ideological, but not as religious. However, as I proposed in the previous sections, everything about this suggest that this is a religious event *par excellence*. It deals with the core issues of religion, such as ritual purity, the afterlife, and supernatural agency. Reading the debate as a religious event help us to identify the non-negotiable core values that defy rational models and provide us more tools to assess seemingly irrational behaviour.

The factional struggle and the Rites Controversy are radicalization over what Scott Atran called sacred values, which explains why none of the sides was willing to consider a trade-off. For the *sŏin*, insisting on the shorter mourning period for Queen-Dowager Jaeui is not the ideal strategy since that implies that the King was a *sŏja*. Furthermore, winning the original debate yielded little or no practical results to the *sŏin*, who were in power anyway. The continuation of the debate beyond the original mourning period had no practical implications on court life and had some risks for both sides. Politically speaking, traditional issues such as the appointment of key personnel or the involvement of the King's in-law family in politics were much more lucrative. In terms of group dynamics, Yun Hyu's family was related to both sides (as shown earlier), and he had much to lose in any event. It is clear the *yangban* united had more power vis-à-vis the King, whereas factional rivalries gave Hyŏnjong and Sukchong much power over the factions.

Finally, the Rites Controversy ended with the execution of Yun Hyu in 1680 and Song Siyöl in 1689, with the former titled a “Despoiler of the Way,” and the latter enshrined in the Confucian temple. Considering the closeness of the two in terms of training and ideology, this makes little sense. However, once we acknowledge the fact that this is a strife over sacred values, we can accept that accepting one position as sacred (Song Siyöl’s position) means the other is profane (Yun Hyu).

No less important, a religious approach allows us to ask a different type of questions, and particularly allows us to unite the seemingly unrelated characteristics of Yun Hyu’s thought system into one coherent framework.

6.2.1.4 Analyzing Yun Hyu’s Religiousness

Can we call Yun Hyu’s system a theology? And more importantly, what kind of theology it is? Some of the elements of Confucianism are religious by nature, such as its canonical scriptures or complex ritual system. Yun Hyu in particular was putting three stresses on the Neo-Confucian vocabulary which made it more religious than seen in other commentaries. The first is his emphasis on the role of Heaven. The insistence on the classical term Lord-on-High and the repeated emphasis on the “surveillance” aspect of Heaven, mark Heaven as the kind of moralizing supernatural agent that Norenzayan talks about. Furthermore, the terms Fear of Heaven 畏天 and Joy of Heaven 樂天 are paired in a way that emphasize the reciprocal nature of

these relationships with heaven. In the first poem presented in his *collected works*, written when he was twenty-four, he says:¹³⁰

蓋天眷之不忘兮

亦予益之忠諒

意專專而勿貳適兮

式孚佑之在上

Without forgetting Heaven's care

I will add loyalty and trust

Focus on that alone, don't wander a second path

Do you believe in help from above?

In terms of belief, this sounds more like devotional poetry in the Bhakti style than a reference for an “impersonal but self-ordering order to which the world conforms, or an extreme form of immanence,” of the Whitehead tradition.¹³¹

In terms of ritual, Neo-Confucianism is usually considered “religious” enough, since the ritual system it offers is extensive and all-encompassing. However, Confucian ritual is not universal. In the mid-Chosŏn context the rituals were performed as arranged in three tiers, and almost entirely performed by men: The eldest sons, officials and of course – the King.¹³² This is not unheard of, but a ritual without observers loses something of its efficacy. Yun Hyu is highly aware of that. In what was one of his first appearances in Sukchong's court, in 1675, he

¹³⁰ Yun Hyu, “Sugyasa kyŏngjin 夙夜辭 庚辰 [The Ballad of Day and Night, 1640),” in *Paekho chip*, 1.18a.

¹³¹ Julia Ching, *Chinese Religions*, 249.

¹³² James H. Grayson, *Korea - A Religious History* (London: Routledge, 2002), 182.

commented on the unusual weather of that year (a combination of draught and snow in the late spring). Among other suggestions, he recommends that the king make a public appearance of the ritual for his parents.¹³³ Not only is it that Yun Hyu thinks that the King could use this ritual opportunity to ask Heaven for rain, through the mediation of his royal ancestors, but also that making it public is of great importance to the behaviour of the people. This is not exactly ritual for the laity, however, and indeed one of the world-shattering ideas the Christianity offered to Korea was the idea of confessional and congregational laity.¹³⁴

A third element of Yun Hyu's religiousness was his attitude to the study of the classics, always an important topic in the Confucian tradition. Yun Hyu's "Learning of the Classics," was revolutionary and is perhaps the lynchpin of his system. As Martina Deuchler showed, Yun Hyu thought that part of his role as a commentator was an iterative process of re-reading and correcting.¹³⁵ This he understood as a direct demand of Zhu Xi's way of learning, as the introduction to the *toksögi* clearly indicates.¹³⁶ As I have shown in the previous chapters, Yun Hyu also kept referring to pre-Zhu Xi commentators, both as role models like Sima Guang and legitimate sources of interpretation like Wang Anshi. In my discussion on Yun Hyu's commentary on the "Great Plan," I note that he addressed the Confucian canon as a closed unit,

¹³³ *Sukchong sillok*, 1st year (1675), 5th month, 2nd day, 3.46a. 鑿曰: "此雖美事, 舉措爲重, 故臣不敢更請, 而若自上決行, 則亦好矣。 親禱事, 爲敬天勤民之事, 上穹高遠, 亦難知其感通得雨, 而其在至誠爲民之道, 宜可行矣。" 上曰: "令禮曹不卜日舉行。" 鑿曰: "古云圭璧既卒, 自昔有祭神, 祈雨之事。 此亦不可已, 而然若不修德而徒事祭祀而已, 則不可。 今若先下罪己之教, 又行臣所陳問民疾苦之事, 而後親祭方爲應天之道矣。"

¹³⁴ Donald L. Baker, "The Religious Revolution in Modern Korean History," 255-6.

¹³⁵ Martina Deuchler, "Despoilers of the Way - Insulters of the Sages," 100.

¹³⁶ Yun Hyu, "Toksögi taehak," 1447. He says there that Zhu Xi's way of working was to "collect many explanations and reconcile them with an acceptable explanation" (既集衆說而折衷之有成說矣).

both using one text to explain the other (a pre-cursor of the later *pukhak* 北學 scholars) or as parts of a greater whole. A prime example is his idea that the *Book of Changes* and the “Great Plan” chapter (which he considered an independent work) complement each other as *su* 數 and *sang* 象, numbers and images, or content and form. I have called this approach *sola scriptura* before, since it seems that Yun Hyu considers the classics (and not only the Four Books) as a complete and self-contained system.

In previous chapters I have prepared the background for the depiction of Yun Hyu as a fundamentalist. To do so, I showed separate aspects of his work that I see as relevant to that definition. Thus, I presented Yun Hyu as a Neo-Classicist, attempting to retrieve the original attitude of the ancients, either directly from the classics or from historical precedents. In the third chapter I have argued that Yun Hyu’s analysis of the “Great Plan” relies on the assumption that the entire classic corpus is coherent and sufficient for the purpose of interpretation. I compared this with the Protestant principle of *sola scriptura*, the reliance on the text alone for commentary, which is important to the revisionist aspects of modern protestant movements.¹³⁷ The *sola scriptura* principle is particularly important for the American Protestant fundamental movement of the early twentieth century.¹³⁸ Another characteristic of Yun Hyu’s thought that matches fundamental Protestant ideology is the marriage between universal values and local communities. In the case of Yun Hyu, we saw his commitment to his village communities,

¹³⁷ This approach is not unique to Protestant Christianity. For the sake of comparison, we can mention the analytic-conceptual “Brisker” approach to Talmudic study that was developed in Lithuania and became prominent in the yeshivas of the West bank settlements (As well as in the US). See Mordechai Breuer, *Oholei Torah: ha-Yeshivah, Tavnitah, ve-Toledoteha* (Jerusalem: The Zalman Shazar Center for Jewish History, 2003).

¹³⁸ George M Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 223-4.

through various community projects, as well as his commitment to his factional-scholarly community.¹³⁹

A third element that connects Yun Hyu with fundamentalism is the important place of militarization and violence in his thought. Contemporary Western scholarship associates violence with Fundamentalism.¹⁴⁰ Both Western media and scholarship often correlate violence with fundamentalism beyond the original scope of Protestant fundamentalism.¹⁴¹ As mentioned in the second Chapter Yun Hyu was involved with the idea of Northern Expedition (*pukpōl* 北伐) against the Qing. Furthermore, he followed up on the original proposal of his friend and colleague Hō Chōk to draft drifters for this purpose.¹⁴² He later became very involved in this project, recruiting his son from a concubine (*sōja*) to the project, and advocating it aggressively to the King.¹⁴³ At the first year of Sukchong's reign he suggested that he can mobilize people to make ten thousand chariots (萬乘), a suggestion that greatly alarmed Kim Mangi.¹⁴⁴ As mentioned in the first chapter, Yun Hyu was involved with the financing and commanding of the Military Training Agency (*hullyōn togam* 訓練都監) and the capital guard unit (*ōyōngch'ōng* 御營) through his connections with Hō Kyōn (Hō Mok's *sōja*), as well as Taehŭng Mountain

¹³⁹ See for examples on his involvement in Yōju while living there: “Haengjang sang,” 1914-5. Han Ugūn, “Paekho Yun Hyu yōngu (il),” 11.

¹⁴⁰ George M Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 251. Marsden noted the concept of state violence as a religious duty, which seems to be essential to fundamentalism.

¹⁴¹ See for example Steve Bruce, *Fundamentalism*. 2nd ed. (Cambridge, UK; 2008), 1-5. Bruce notes the role of media in the depiction of the fundamentalism and violent, even when it is not so. See also the discussion on Martin Riesebrodt's discussion ahead.

¹⁴² *Hyōnjong Sillok*, 11th year (1670), 3rd month, 12th, 22.33a.

¹⁴³ *Hyōnjong Sillok*, 15st year (1674), 7th month, 1st day, 28.21a.

¹⁴⁴ *Sukchong Sillok*, 1st year (1674), 1st month, 24th day, 2.21a-23b quoted in Kim Uch'ōl, 9.

Fortress 大興山城 (the most important fortification of Chosŏn) through his links with Yu Hyŏgyŏn 柳赫然.¹⁴⁵

It is not clear that we can actually use fundamentalism as a category for a premodern and non-Christian (not even Abrahamic) religion. The term itself was coined in the early twentieth century, by at least two independent Protestant leaders.¹⁴⁶ As a category, fundamentalism is widely used (and misused), and often seems to focus on the sensational aspects of religious groups, and particularly in the context of militant groups and the desire of certain religions to colonize all aspects of culture.¹⁴⁷ Leslie Dorrough Smith and others have noted the academic tendency to be involved with methodological problems regarding its definition and circumference.¹⁴⁸

Martin Riesebrodt discusses the resurgence of Fundamentalism as a global phenomenon and reaches the conclusion that since similar expressions of fundamentalism emerged under similar conditions, they imply similar processes.¹⁴⁹ He suggests that at its core fundamentalism is a religious revival movement, and identifies three core elements in it: It is primarily a religious phenomenon, it is a reaction to social changes that are experienced as a dramatic crisis, and

¹⁴⁵ *Hyŏnjong Sillok*, 11th year (1670), 3rd month, 12th, 22.33a. The *sillok* notes that Yu Hyŏgyŏn and Hŏ Chŏk drafted soldiers, built fortifications and had complete jurisdiction over the barracks. The anonymous editor notes that even after they were executed for treason, the fortress remained active.

¹⁴⁶ Leslie Dorrough Smith, "Will the Real Fundamentalist Please Stand?," in *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion: Working Papers from Hannover*, ed. Steffen Führding (Leiden, Brill: 2017), 111. These were the reforms introduced by Lyman Stewart and pastor Curtis Lee. Both agreed on the divinity of Jesus, the power of resurrection and literal reading of the Bible (*Sola scriptura*) as the most "fundamental" aspects of Christianity.

¹⁴⁷ Leslie Dorrough Smith, "Will the Real Fundamentalist Please Stand?," 108.

¹⁴⁸ Leslie Dorrough Smith, "Will the Real Fundamentalist Please Stand?," 115-8.

¹⁴⁹ Martin Riesebrodt, "Fundamentalism and the Resurgence of Religion," *Numen* 47, no. 3 (2000): 266-287.

finally it is a defensive movement designed to restore an imagined or idealized past.¹⁵⁰ Thus, it is looking backward at the past and not forward to the future like other reform movements. While some fundamentalist movements are charismatic in nature, other are what Riesebrodt calls literalists. Finally, Riesebrodt identifies four core features of fundamentalism: A radical traditionalism, a radical patriarchalism, its organization as a cultural milieu, and its mobilization of lay people.

I suggest therefore, that Yun Hyu's flavor of Chosŏn Neo-Confucianism was very much a fundamentalist movement of the literalist version. It was a reaction to what he conceived as a crisis of multiple systems: The Manchu invasion and the fall of the Ming empire, which he had experienced first-hand, the ongoing ecological crisis that came with the small ice-age of the seventeenth century, the weakening of the monarchy and the literati's own falling into factional disputes and cross-purposes. As evidence, he addressed various elements of this crisis innumerable times directly to the King. We cannot read Yun Hyu's various texts and commentaries independent from that – they are part of a larger picture. His reaction corresponds directly to the three core elements that Martin Riesebrodt described: It is a reaction to a social change, it is religious in nature and in its core, it is a defensive movement.

6.3 A Grand Narrative

I would like to describe what I see as the grand narrative of this moment in the seventeenth century, and how Yun Hyu fits into the larger scheme of things. From the middle of the sixteenth

¹⁵⁰ Martin Riesebrodt, "Fundamentalism and the Resurgence of Religion," 271-2.

century we see in Chosŏn some interesting social dynamics. Aristocratic families, and particularly those holding positions in the central government, were increasingly organized into cliques, and the establishment of the private academies (*sŏwŏn*) clearly helped to accelerate this movement. Private academies created an environment where *yangban* could make connections of marriage and discipleship. For all practical purposes, we can consider these cliques to be sects according to the definition of Stark and Finke.¹⁵¹ That is, they are smaller groups with higher than average tension. Stark and Finke suggest that the movement from low tension to higher tension happens more in unregulated religious environment, and perhaps also in the presence of external stimulation: The higher tension groups tend to move to smaller niches and are more expensive to maintain but offer more rewards.¹⁵²

We have seen several reasons to the movement from larger groups to smaller, radicalized sects. The weakening of the monarchy in late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries left the Neo-Confucians in a state that was more-or-less an unregulated religiously. This corresponds well with Stark and Finke's theory. Groups of *yangban* families had another reason to compete: James Palais noted the growing stress felt by the *yangban* class from the middle of Chosŏn. Citing Shitaka Hiroshi, who was one of the first to study Chosŏn demographics, he suggested that by the 19th century half or more of the *yangban* were below the poverty line.¹⁵³ It is hard to estimate the number of *yangban* families, but it is clear that from the sixteenth century they were

¹⁵¹ Stark and Finke, *Acts of Faith*, 144.

¹⁵² Stark and Finke, *Acts of Faith*, 216, 286.

¹⁵³ James B. Palais, *Confucian Statecraft and Korean Institutions*, 108.

on the rise, whereas the number of government positions did not change significantly.¹⁵⁴ In a similar spirit, Edward W. Wagner found that of 750 clans, 36 clans produced 53 percent of the total exam passers.¹⁵⁵ That means most yangban no longer had the traditional prerequisite for being yangban—a government post.

In addition, a number of external stimuli gave further incentives for costly behaviour and Credibility-Enhancing Displays. Among these we can count the growing competition between *yangban* families and schools, the weakening of the King, external political threats (which included major shifts in regional politics) and climate-change induced catastrophes. In the previous chapters I have shown Yun Hyu responding directly to all of these separately. In the terms presented before, these stresses offered incentives to enhance in-group credibility in order to compete with other groups, as well as focus on a stricter form of belief to compensate for the “hydraulic” effect. While various schools could choose different niches and various forms of CREDS, learning-based proficiency seem to be one common denominator, particularly when ritual related.

Yun Hyu’s vision is therefore a response to a crisis. As a revisionist he envisioned a “return to antiquity” kind of reform, focusing on a more literal interpretation of the classics, and a more devotional belief system concentrating primarily on Heaven. He believed that Heaven is watching and ordering, and that compliance with heaven is the one edict that the Exemplary

¹⁵⁴James B. Palais, *Confucian Statecraft*, 486. The census that Yi Samyŏn, the Second Minister of War, completed in 1678, estimated 1.2 million households, which Palais estimates at 6 million people while Tony Mitchell estimates at about twice as much. He excluded 420,000 households as being none tax payers (either aristocratic or slaves). If we accept Shitaka Hiroshi’s estimate of 8 percent yangban in the population by 1690, it means that some 96,000 households were competing. This corresponds with Edward W. Wagner’s estimate above.

¹⁵⁵ James B. Palais, *Confucian Statecraft*, 39. See also Edward W. Wagner, "The Ladder of Success in Yi Dynasty Korea," *Occasional Papers on Korea* 1 (April 1974): 1-8.

Person 君子 must follow. This, he suggested, was not only theoretical but actually a matter of constant awareness. Yun Hyu envisioned a different set of classics than was the standard, with the *Book of Changes* and the “Great Plan” from the *Book of Documents* attaining higher status. It is hard to tell from his writing on the “Great Plan” if his interest in the numerical aspect of both texts was for the sake of that exegesis or part of a greater theory that we are not aware of – not enough of Yun Hyu’s writings survived for that. Finally, Yun Hyu supported a Northern Expedition against the Manchu throughout his political career, and as his interrogation records show, this element was the main concern of his political opponents.¹⁵⁶ Although nothing in his writings ascertain that he was radicalizing in a violent way, this was definitely the working assumption of his political enemies. The day after his execution, his sons were exiled or interrogated and his writing searched for incriminating materials.¹⁵⁷ Well connected, accumulating military power and developing a unique doctrinal mix, Yun Hyu is exactly what we envision when we say fundamentalist.

6.4 Coda

This work raises more questions than it answers. Many of them deserve deeper examination and a longer survey. Of these, the most interesting is perhaps the structure and internal dynamics of the group of aristocratic *literati* families we call *yangban*. The traditional representation of *yangban* in broad binaries such as *kiho* school 畿湖學派 (Kyōngi and Hosō School) vs. *yōngnam*

¹⁵⁶ *Ch'uan kŭp kugan, kyōng-sin* (1680), 4th month, 28th day, 8:423.

¹⁵⁷ Yun Hyu, “Haejang ha,” 2128.

school 嶺南學派 (Kyōngsang School), *sarim* 士林 (Rustic Literaty) vs. *hun'gu* 勳舊 (Meritorious Subjects) or factional distinctions seem to fail to adequately depict the intricate dynamics of the landed aristocracy.¹⁵⁸ Yun Hyu's own family connections with both his political allies and opponents indicate that much. Another related topic was the natural formation of schools, smaller than the definition of faction, which I have called cliques and treated as "cults" in the sense the Starke and Finke give to the word. It seems that these tended to be the disciples of a specific teachers, occasionally grouped around on a prominent student.¹⁵⁹ It might be prudent to describe these relationships in an abstract network-like format to expose their patterns and changing dynamics.

Another set of questions relate to the religiousness of Yun Hyu and his generation. Was Yun Hyu unique in his approach, or did he represent a growing group of discontent Neo-Confucian believers? Were they influenced by Catholic teachings that came from the Jesuit missionaries in China? There are some reasons to ask about Catholic influence, since that would explain a sudden need to update Confucian teachings to match a Christian model. However there is little or no evidence for such an influence. In 1645, King Injo's son, the Crown Prince Sohyōn 昭顯世子 came back from his Manchu captivity with some Christian education, and died shortly

¹⁵⁸ Loosely speaking the *kiho/yōngnam* dichotomy relates to scholars and schools whose power base is situated around the capital, vs. those who are located in today's Kyōngsang province. Similarly, the term *hun'gu* 勳舊 or Meritorious Subjects refer to scholars whose political involvement awarded them some royal benefit, whereas the term *sarim* 士林 or Rustic Literaty often came to signify scholars that expressed their dedication by avoiding public life (and the temptations that came with it). These are common distinctions but somewhat anachronistic, as I discuss here.

¹⁵⁹ Song Siyōl, for example, was a disciple of Kim Chip 金集 (1574-1656), a student of Yi I 李珥 through Kim Chang-saeng 金長生. The disciples of Kim Chip called themselves *sandang* 山黨 and persecuted mercilessly the *hangdang* 漢黨 group, disciples of Kim Yuk 金瑨 and Sin Myōn 申冕. All were members of the "Pure" Westerner faction 清西派, and fourth generation disciples of Yulgok.

after. The first reports we have on Jesuit writings are from Yu Mongin 柳夢寅 (1559-1623), of the *pugin* faction. A century later we find that the first Christians are of the same group of people.¹⁶⁰ The first Korean martyr was Paul Yun Chich'ung 尹持忠, a direct descendant of Yun Sōndo 尹善道, Yun Hyu's close friend, who was persecuted in 1680 along with Yun Hyu and Hō Mok.¹⁶¹ If Yun Hyu's spiritual search was unique it was definitely not unusual. Thinking of Chosŏn Confucianism as a religion might help to highlight the continuity of the processes the Koreans went through, religiously speaking, rather than accentuating the similarly abrupt nature of their occurrence. In 2006, Chu Weon-Yeol, a Presbyterian theologian from the Boston School of Theology, published a book titled *The Confucian Roots of Fundamentalist Ethos in the Korean Presbyterian Church*, presenting Yun Hyu as an originator of the modern Church, at least in his ethos of fundamentalism.¹⁶² Chu's line of argument is theological rather than historical, and anachronistic in a sense, since Yun Hyu predates the significant encounter of Korea encounter with Christianity. Even if anachronistic, there is something interesting about modern, contemporary Christians recognizing Yun Hyu as the original fundamentalist.

¹⁶⁰ The first "Convert" of Yi Pyok to Christianity, in 1784, was Kwon Ch'ol-sin, of the Andong Kwon clan, related to Yun Hyu's wife family.

¹⁶¹ Don Baker, "The Martyrdom of Paul Yun: Western Religion and Eastern Ritual in Eighteenth-Century Korea," *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch* 54 (1979): 33-58.

¹⁶² Chu Weon-yeol, *The Confucian Roots of Fundamentalist Ethos in the Korean Presbyterian Church* (Lewiston, N.Y.: E. Mellen, 2006).

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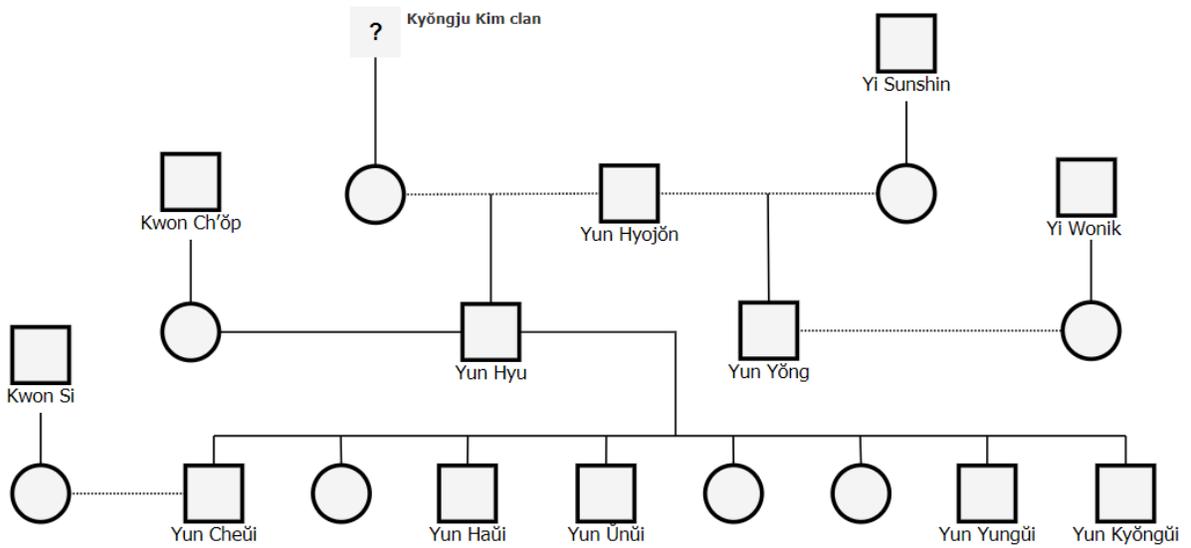
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Appendices

Appendix A Yun Hyu's Family Tree



Appendix B Translation of Yun Hyu's Memorial to King Sukchong

Peakho chip, “nonbokcheso yunowölch’oiril 論服制疏 閏五月初一日 [Memorial on the mourning clothes system, Leap fifth month, first day],” 6.106a-107b.

再疏

五月二十四日

伏以臣有臧區所懷 久欲一陳於 聖明之下 而關係人禮 有不敢輒吐瞽說者 茲心耿耿 未敢自寧 及今禮論未已 橫議間作 臣又有不得已於言 以負此心者。

I did not want to discuss my trivial thoughts unduly. I have not been able to speak yet because it is related to the Great Rituals, even though I am not comfortable staying silent because I am deeply worried about it. But now, the controversy over the Rites (禮論) has not ceased, and some unbalanced discussion is still taking place, and I could not remain silent with this burden on my mind.

臣竊謂向者 孝宗大土服制之議 宋時烈等實亂大經。

蓋其所聞者 士庶之事 而不聞有王朝之大禮也。

所知老長少之序 而不知有宗庶之大分也。

I will speak directly: In the discussion on the mourning garments over King Hyojong, Song Siyöl and the others really are confused about the Great Classics! What is commonly known refers to the business of common people, so we do not get to hear about the Great Rituals of the royal family. We know about the order of first and following sons, by age, but not the distinction between the sons from the primary wife and concubines.

合明白易見之成文 而守疑晦難明之疏說 大禮既謬 私意膠固 因循積漸 馴致差跌 遂不自知其入於無君之域 亂統壞禮之罪也。

It is easy to see that they abandoned the clear letter of the law, and insisted on novel ideas which are hard to understand. They already distorted the Great Ritual and were adamantly and stubbornly insisting on only their opinions for a long time, gradually falling to error. As a result, they unconsciously reached the point of ignoring the King and committed the crime of disturbing the royal bloodline and spoiling the rituals.

及 先王改正之時 實用禮註鄭玄立弟二適子亦名長子之說 改期年而為齊哀三年 是則嫡庶之說 既已明矣。

So, in the time where former kings ruled rightly, the exegesis of Zheng Xuan 鄭玄(127-200) on the *Yili* 儀禮 explained that the second brother is allowed to act as a first born, adding to the year of mourning and making it three years. This being the case, then the explanation regarding primary son or *sōja* are already clear.

恭惟 孝宗大王 以第二嫡子 尊居九五 而免於庶子之名 貶降之總其亦足以解神人之憤 而慰在天之靈矣。

This is a praise of the Great King Hyojong, who was the second son of the first wife and sat on the throne [The Nine and Five refers here to the royal prerogative] and was thus spared from being called a *sōja*, being demoted altogether. It also resolved the resentment of people and spirits, comforting the spirits in heaven.

但王朝之禮 自有大經 既尊居九五 則不論長幼嫡庶 而有為長為君之認 內外親戚百官庶士 皆服斬衰三年 雖母后之尊 亦以繼統之義 而與天下同其服 此天地 之常經 古今之通義 而百工不易之道也。

However, the rites of the royal family have their own regulations, and the one who occupies the throne, with no regards to being first or second, or son of a first wife or concubine, is recognised as the first. Inside and out, relatives, government officials, and ordinary officers all wear cut but unhemmed hemp cloth for three years (斬衰三年). Even the royal mother queen should follow the same right conduct and wear the same as the rest of the world. This is the common law for all ages, and unchangeable.

故禮曰 為君斬衰 與諸侯有五屬之親者 皆服斬。

Therefore, the Rites say: “Wear cut but unhemmed for the King.” The royal relatives within five degrees of relation, all wear cut but unhemmed clothing。

漢人之言亦曰 諸侯奪宗 聖庶奪嫡 是也。而若此等義 班班見於經傳史策者非一。

The Han person (Mei Fu 梅福 of the Former Han dynasty) also said: “The nobles take the male lineage succession, a sage’s son of concubine can take the legitimate line”, conveying a similar idea. We have seen this in the commentaries on the classics and the histories, and not just once.

我 國朝五禮儀

亦實用古制 大王喪則凡在斬衰齊衰人功小功綵麻之科者 皆服斬衰 內喪則有服 齊衰三年者 有服齊衰期年者 無他功總之服 其義可知也。是知國君斬衰之服 非徒古禮則然 國朝之成憲 亦然。

Our nation's Ceremonies of the Five Rites 五禮儀 (*oryeŭi*) indeed are an application of the ancient system.

When mourning the great King therefore, everyone tears their clothing according to regulations appropriate to their relationship to him, from wearing cut but untrimmed hemp appropriate for mourning parents, wearing cut and hempen cloth appropriate for mourning grandparents, wearing clothing appropriate for mourning siblings, wearing clothing appropriate for mourning aunts and uncles, and wearing clothing appropriate for distant relatives. Everyone wears mourning clothing. Those closest to him wear those clothes for three years. Those not as close mourn for three years or less. That much is clear. This means that wearing untrimmed hemp clothes for the King, doesn't only fit with the Ancient Books of Rites, but also with the standard practices of our ruling dynasty.

而向日言者之所引 亦名長子曰正體 日母為長子齊衰者 皆以未受重者言也。

Indeed, the sayings quoted that “only the first born is the correct and substantial” and that “The mother wears hemmed hemp cloths for the first born” (Song Siyŏl's argument), are all not relevant when discussing the eldest grandson (*chŏnjung* 傳重 is *chungson* 重孫, meaning the eldest grandson from the eldest son).

故傳曰 為長子 何以三年也。 以其將所傳重也。 謂之將所傳重 則於其已傳重者 固不可以是班之也。

Therefore, it says in the commentary: “As for the eldest son, why is it three years? Because the future is the *chǒnjung*.” Saying that the future is the *chǒnjung*, therefore one who is already a *chǒnjung*, surely, he cannot be ranked below others.

許穆尹善道等所謂正體三年之說 因足以破宋時烈等體而不正庶子暮年之說 而明宗統之所歸 庶名之不可加於 先王 其義因章章也

Hö Mok 許穆, Yun Söndo 尹善道 and others’ explanation of that which is called the three-years mourning of the “correct and substantial” son is good enough to destroy Song Siyöl and the others’ argument of only one year of mourning for the “correct but insubstantial” söja, yet with the fate of the lineage, clearly it is impossible to place the label of söja on the late King, that much is clear.

然臣謂得共一而猶未得其二 嫡庶之義固明 而君臣之大義未著也。

However, I understand only of one of these arguments and not the other. The meaning of children from first and second wife was illuminated of course, but the great righteousness of the minister and ruler relationship was not yet clarified.

然則前在 孝宗大王之喪 大王大妃之服 亦宜在斬衰三年之科。

This is why in the past, in the mourning for King Hyojong, the dress of the dowager queen was also suitably the unhemmed hemp cloth of the three years mourning.

今顯宗大王之喪 大王大妃之服 亦宜在斬衰三年之科 諸公主出嫁者之服 亦同是科 孝宗大王之服 既往者不可追 諸公主之服已誤者 間既正之 惟 大王大妃之於顯宗大王之服 尚未盡正。

Now, for the mourning for King Hyōnjong, the dress of the dowager queens should also be unhemmed, and the mourning garments of all married princesses should also be the same. Hyojong's mourning has passed, and its mourning garments cannot be changed: All the princesses wore the wrong garments. It is too late to correct it. Only the garments of the dowager queen for King Hyōnjong mourning still have time to be corrected.

蓋顯宗大王之於大王大妃 雖若在孫服朞年之列

而既居君位而股至尊 則當服斬衰三年之服 不宜降在齊衰 與士大夫比也

Generally speaking, as of King Hyōnjong's queen-mother, even though it seems that she should follow a mourning of a single year for her grandson, since he already assumed the throne and became sovereign it is inappropriate to lower his rank with hemmed mourning garments as you would do for a scholar-official.

士大夫家 母為長子 齊表三年 為長孫朞 為孫婦大功 今之齊衰 雖為嫡孫 猶士庶服也。

In scholar-official families, the mother mourns for three years with unhemmed garments for the first child, and one year for the eldest grandson of the first son, and nine months for the

grandson's wife. Now with hemmed hempen mourning garments, it is just like the first wife of the grandson in a scholar-official family.

周禮嫡孫婦大功 至唐魏徵 始升為朞 今之朞 雖為嫡婦 猶古之大功也 亦為士庶服也。

The *Rites of Zhou* 周禮 mentions nine months (*taegong* 大功) for the wife of the primary grandson (first son of the first son), and that was the case until the Tang dynasty's Wei Zheng 魏徵(580–643), and only then it rose to a full year. The full year of these days, even though it is about the wife of the first son, it is just like the old days' nine months, just as nobles and commoners wear.

此臣所謂禮之未盡正 大義未盡明者也 惟其如是 故大經不甚明 而民心疑惑 邪說又潛騰 而國是搖動 此實國家 之大憂也。

This is why I said that the rules of propriety were not followed fully and the right course of action was not yet illuminated. Because of this, the correct procedures not clear, public opinion was shaky, harmful teachings are secretly piling up, and the foundations of the court are unstable shaken. This is indeed a great worry for the nation.

方今雖 聖明在上 使君子有所恃而不恐 小人有所畏而不敢逞。

But now, either an enlightened sage on the throne will give the Exemplary Person something to rely on without apprehension, and small-person something to fear so as to not run wild.

抑安知他日小人讒說者不交亂其間 而反擾其事乎。

Or else, some day in the future, the malicious ideas of small-people will be causing trouble, and how can we know that it will not disturb matters again?

臣愚謂宜俟朔日或大練之時 大王大妃服 改以斬衰以終三年

I humbly suggest to wait for New Year's Day, perhaps at the ritual of the Yŏnje 練祭 (thirteen months from the funeral) to change the clothes to unhemmed three years mourning garments for the rest of the three years.

因使廷臣有文辭者 作為一大誥 曉諭中外 垂之來者 以明王家大經 以追古誼以復 國朝先王之舊典。允合事宜 大協神人之望。

Because it will be possible to order the court ministers to notify the spirits eloquently, to make this doctrine known at home and abroad and to future generations, to show that the procedures of the royal family are following the ritual practices of the ancients and restoring the old rituals of past Kings. This would indeed be worthy of this matter and will be in accordance with the expectations of spirits and people.

若是則大禮正而宗統明。使天下著於君臣之義。而人心淑邪說息。求有辭於來世矣。

In this way the precedents will be correct, and the lineage (male-lineage system 宗統, the primogenital principle) will become clear, and make the whole world aware of the righteousness of the aristocracy, so that popular sentiments will become virtuous and harmful teaching disappear, and the words will remain for posterity.

臣曾前有典禮私議。藏之篋笥。不敢上瀕。亦望命禮官取之。仍下大臣及儒臣等。與共參訂。以定大禮。

I have previously written private commentaries on the Rites (*chölyesaüi* 典禮私議), stored it in a box and did not dare to show it. I was also waiting to see an order to the Rites officials to look at it, Then the ministers and the scholar-officials can discuss it together so that it can be set as the Major Ritual.

今不敢煩言以勞 聖聰。臣只撮其中大要。以俟 財幸。臣無任恐懼屏營之至。

Now I dare not speak for sages and the wise, I only point to the main points of the matter, to be adopted in discretion. Your minister cannot bear the fear and trembling heart.

答曰。省疏具悉卿懇。予雖未窮禮經。今觀卿疏。誠合予意。當令大臣儒臣議定焉。

Reply: I have looked at your appeal and recognize your noble and earnest sentiments. Although I am yet to master the classic of Rites fully, I read your appeal and indeed I concur. Indeed, I will discuss this issue with the ministers and scholars and we will decide.