IDEAS OF SELF AND SELF-CULTIVATION
IN
KOREAN NEO-CONFUCIANISM

by

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ABSTRACT

Ideas of Self and Self-Cultivation in Korean Neo-Confucianism

This study examines ideas of self and self-cultivation as developed during the first half of the Chosŏn Dynasty (1392-1911) by focusing on introductory texts or commentaries, diagrams, or Korean annotations on the Great Learning. Moreover, given that much of this material is pedagogical, how and to whom these ideas were presented will also be examined. The scholars examined here were leading thinkers during the first half of the Chosŏn Dynasty—Kwŏn Kŭn (1352-1409) helped introduce and lay the intellectual framework of Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism in the early period of the Chosŏn Dynasty. T'oegye (1501-1570) is often seen as the foremost Confucian scholar of the Chosŏn period. His ideas served as the foundation of a major school of thought during the Chosŏn Dynasty, the Yongnam school. The last scholar, Yulgok (1536-1584), is also seen as one of the great scholars of the period. His ideas form the basis of the other major school of thought in Korean Neo-Confucianism—the Kiho school. Examining the ideas of these thinkers will reveal how ideas of human nature and self-cultivation developed and changed over the early course of the Chosŏn Dynasty and how and to whom these ideas were presented.
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INTRODUCTION

I. Korea is not China: The Development of Neo-Confucianism

II. Self-cultivation and quiet sitting

III. Introductory educational texts

IV. What's done and what's left undone

We will examine ideas of self and self-cultivation in Korean Neo-Confucianism by focusing on three scholars from the first half of the Chosŏn Dynasty (1392-1911). We will also relate the ideas of self and self-cultivation these scholars put forward to their metaphysical worldview, concentrating on their introductory texts or on their commentaries on the Great Learning. In addition, these ideas will be examined in order to better understand how ideas of self and self-cultivation were adopted, changed, and presented during the first half of the Chosŏn Dynasty. The first scholar studied, Kwŏn Kŭn (Yang Ch'ŏn, 1352-1409), was a leading scholar during the transition from the Koryŏ Dynasty (935-1392) to the Chosŏn Dynasty. Part of this transition included a shift away from the predominance of Buddhism that characterized the Koryŏ to the Neo-Confucian thought that came to predominate the Chosŏn Dynasty. Kwŏn, as much as anyone, can be said to have laid the general framework out of which Neo-Confucianism developed in Korea over the next one to two
hundred years. The second scholar examined, Yi Hwang (T'oegeye, 1501-70), was one of the foremost Neo-Confucian scholars of the Chosŏn Dynasty. He played a prominent role in a debate over the Four Beginnings and Seven Feelings and their relation to principle and material force (the Four-Seven Debate), wrote a biting critique of Wang Yang-ming's thought, and wrote *Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning*, an educational treatise on self-cultivation. He was also one of the first scholars to write an annotation of the Four Books in mixed Chinese-Korean script. His ideas more than those of any other thinker influenced the development of a leading school of Korean Neo-Confucian thought, the Yongnam School. The last scholar studied, Yi I (Yulgok, 1536-84), ranks with T'oegeye as one of the top Neo-Confucian scholars in the Chosŏn Dynasty. He played a prominent role in a later round of the Four-Seven Debate, and his ideas played a formative role in the development of the other major school in Korean Neo-Confucianism-- the Kiho School. All three of these scholars had a deep interest in self-cultivation and wrote introductory texts or made diagrams for the express purpose of presenting these ideas. Examining their thought will be done in two steps. First, each scholar's ideas on major Neo-Confucian cosmological and psychological concepts will be examined in order to elucidate the intellectual framework within which they worked and to show the intricate relation between philosophical principles and self-cultivation. Second, we will examine their ideas by focusing on their introductory texts and their ideas on the *Great Learning*. But before we begin in
earnest, some background information is in order.

I. Korea is not China: The Development of Neo-Confucianism

When we speak of the development of ideas or social movements we often think of it in either of two ways. First, there is the attempt to find antecedents in past thinkers or social movements in order to explain what gave rise to the object of study. Second is the attempt to see how the institutions or ideas changed and adapted over time after their initial formation. Of course, development can also include both of these, and it is this that will be done here, at least to the extent feasible. A brief overview of Neo-Confucianism in China will provide a framework and a basis of comparison with developments in Korea.

Although different schools of thought developed later, in the simplest terms, Neo-Confucianism started as the Confucian response to Buddhism. During the Han Dynasty (206 BCE to 220 CE), Confucianism, closely linked with cosmological theories of correspondence, became the dominant philosophy of governance. With the fall of the Han, although much of the cosmological correspondence theory remained, Confucianism shifted its focus to education, with its primary goal being preparing candidates for government service. For satisfying their spiritual inclinations, people turned to Buddhism, which entered China around the middle of the second century, and brought with it a sophisticated metaphysics describing not only the impermanence of world at large but also psychology and the human
situation. One of its fundamental assumptions was that reality was based on permanence but the cosmos was made up of transitory, inter-dependent casual links and therefore was not truly real. It was "empty". This was as true for human beings as for the rest of the world. Buddhism did not deny the phenomenal self; although "not permanent even during the time the body survives, [the phenomenal self] is a convenient way of individuating and identifying a person".1) However, it would be a mistake to assume the existence of a permanent, metaphysical "self" when the self did not transcend the realm of transitory and therefore "unreal" phenomena. Only enlightenment (nirvana) was permanent. Increasing in popularity over time, Buddhism flourished during the Tang (618-907) while Confucianism continued to play a role in education and preparing people for government service, which increasingly meant preparing for the civil service examinations. The two were seen as complimentary, the one dealing with education and government in this world, the other with spirituality and things beyond the world.

Many scholars note the importance of a Confucian revival that started with Han Yü (768-824) during the Tang. Even though the type of Confucianism Han promoted pre-dates Neo-Confucianism, Han is important for two reasons. First, he is lauded for his staunch defense and reaffirmation of the value of Confucian moral principles during the Tang Dynasty, a time when Buddhism and Taoism both flourished. Han drew a sharp contrast between what he saw as the
humane, social contribution of past sage-kings and early Confucians, on the one hand, and the anti-social, amoral proclivities of both Taoism and Buddhism, on the other.

What the ancients meant by rectifying the mind and making the will sincere was to engage in activity [as against the inaction of the Taoists and Buddhists]. But now [the Taoists and Buddhists] seek to govern their hearts by escaping from the world, the state, and the family. They destroy the natural principles of human relations so that the son does not regard his father as a father, the minister does not regard his ruler as a ruler, and the people do not attend to their work.2)

One interesting claim Han made was his assertion that the transmission of the Confucian Way broke off after the death of Mencius (c. 371-289 BCE). In other words, Han saw himself rescuing the Confucian Way from oblivion after a thousand year interval during which it was not passed on.3) Although Han did not put forward theoretical arguments to refute Buddhist ideas of emptiness and no-self, he at least reasserts the Confucian idea that relationships are real and therefore reaffirms the ultimate reality of the self in everyday life. Theories for countering Buddhism would have to await the advent of Neo-Confucianism.

Most scholars trace the intellectual antecedents of Neo-Confucianism to the early Sung Dynasty (960-1126/1127-1279), though some find hints of it even earlier. The traditional outline
often presented, though depending on the school of thought not always, focuses on Chou Tun-i (1017-1073), Chang Tsai (1020-1077), and the Ch’eng brothers (Ch’eng Hao, 1032-1085 and Ch’eng I, 1033-1107), all from the early Sung. In retrospect, Chu Hsi (1130-1200) is seen as the grand synthesizer of the tradition during the Sung period, as well as the originator of School of Principle. The Ming scholar Wang Yang-ming (1472-1529) is seen as the foremost scholar in the School of Mind, though he saw himself as continuing a line of thought he traced back to Lu Hsiang-shan (1139-93) and, ultimately, to Ch’eng Hao.

Chou Tun-i and Chang Tsai helped lay the metaphysical and ethical foundations of Neo-Confucianism. Chou is credited with making two important contributions to the development of Neo-Confucian metaphysics. Foremost was his small and somewhat controversial essay, "An Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate", an essay that discussed fundamental cosmological concepts (e.g., "The Five Agents constitute one system of yin and yang, and yin and yang constitute one Great Ultimate.") and laid the metaphysical foundation for further developments within Neo-Confucianism. Chou’s other important work was his commentary on the Book of Changes, Penetrating the Book of Changes. Chu Hsi asserted that the entire book was really an elaboration of the ideas in Chou’s Explanation. Other Confucians had written commentaries on the Book of Changes in the past, but the central role the Book of Changes played in Chou Tun-i’s thought increased its
prominence and gave it a more important role in the development of Neo-Confucianism. In short, by giving the *Book of Changes* metaphysical significance, Chou asserted the world of change itself was real and, in so doing, provided one of the first metaphysical planks for refuting the Buddhist idea of emptiness.

Like Chou Tun-i, Chang Tsai is also most famous for two works. First was a short piece titled the "Western Inscription". It does not take much to see why it became the foundation for Neo-Confucianism ethics; it starts:

Heaven is my father and Earth is my mother, and even such a small creature as I finds an intimate place in their midst. Therefore that which fills the universe I regard as my body and that which directs the universe I consider as my nature. All people are my brothers and sisters, and all things are my companions.

Chang’s essay reaffirms the idea that the Five Relations (parent-child, ruler-minister, husband-wife, older and younger siblings, and friends) were part of the cosmic fabric, and, as such, were not only real but defined reality itself. Chang Tsai’s other major work was *Correcting Youthfulness* (正蒙). The works of both these scholars were very influential in Korea. Kwŏn used Chou’s essay on the Supreme Ultimate in making his first diagram, and T’oegye used it as the first diagram in his *Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning*. Moreover, the information in Chang’s "Western Inscription" appears in T’oegye’s second diagram.
The Ch’eng brothers, Ch’eng I and Ch’eng Hao, had a profound influence on the development of Neo-Confucian theory, but if their influence had to be summed up in one word, that word would be "principle" (理). The concept of principle can be "found in ancient Chinese philosophy, in Neo-Taoism, and in Buddhism, but the Ch’eng brothers were the first ones to build their philosophy based primarily on this concept."8 From a Neo-Confucian point of view, principle pervaded all relationships in a unified worldview where everything was seen in a relational context as part of a naturalistic, interconnected, and systematic universe. This sounds like the Buddhist description of the universe, but, for the Ch’engs, principle was real. More than that, principle is what constituted the system of the universe and therefore linked all the parts of the universe to the cosmic system as a whole. In constituting the pattern or network of interactive relationships, principle constituted reality. It is also what allowed material force to take shape; without principle material force would be formless. It is sometimes translated as "principle", sometimes as "pattern", or, sometimes as "universal principle". The first and last of these will be used here. Neo-Confucians used the idea of principle to counter the Buddhist idea of ‘Emptiness’. From the Neo-Confucian point of view, principle was real, constant, and eternal. Principle therefore affirmed both the reality and value of the patterns and relationships within the universe. Equally important, since Neo-Confucians defined human nature in terms of principle (people’s endowment of principle was their nature), the self was real,
despite being transitory. Moreover, all relations, including human relationships (e.g., the Five Relations), were a manifestation of principle and were therefore also real.

The Ch'eng brothers did not view principle as an abstract concept unrelated to life; rather it "means both natural principles and moral principles, and both general principles and specific principles. They were not much concerned with abstract reality, for they were primarily interested in the meaning of principle for man."9 It is this aspect of principle that becomes important in later debates over "extending knowledge" and "investigating things", concepts emphasized by Ch'eng I. These two terms became pivotal points in the development of his philosophy. In addition, de Bary notes two important points in one of Ch'eng I's statements juxtaposing human desires and a person's innate moral nature: "One [implication] is that the full dimensions of the human struggle are clearly delineated.... the other implication is that this encounter centers on the [mind-and-heart] and the individual's exercise of moral will."10 Moreover, like Han Yu before him, Ch'eng I also thought the true Confucian Way had again been forgotten or lost by successive ages of scholars and therefore had to be rediscovered and reclaimed.11

Chu Hsi is seen as the person who synthesized the various strands of thought from these philosophers and, in doing so, completed the foundation from which Neo-Confucianism developed over the next several hundred years. Chu Hsi adopts Ch'eng I's interpretation of "the extension of knowledge lies in the investigation
of things". The full weight of this is spelled out in Chu's redaction of the *Great Learning*, the text that more than any other encapsulates the entire Neo-Confucian project of self-cultivation. In his reconstruction of the fifth chapter of the *Great Learning*, Chu lays out three fundamental tenets: 1. everything within the cosmos is endowed with or participates in principle, 2. human beings have the capacity to fathom principle, and, 3. with continued, concerted effort over an extended period of time, people can reach a point where they not only comprehend the systematic, all-encompassing principle pervading the universe but incorporate it into their lives. In other words, whereas principle was used to counter the Buddhist concept of emptiness, the fifth chapter of the *Great Learning* described a Neo-Confucian version of 'enlightenment' that could be juxtaposed against the Buddhist concept of enlightenment. This juxtaposition highlighted the differences between Buddhists, whose methods of cultivation focused on the "emptiness" of the world, and Neo-Confucians, who methods of self-cultivation focused on realizing the reality of the pattern of interrelationships in the world.

Examining developments in the twelfth century and later will give us a glimpse at some of the parallel and divergent aspects of Neo-Confucian thought in Korea and China. In doing so we will rely on the work of Hoyt Tillman, Theodore de Bary, W. T. Chan, and others. Tillman's work, *Confucian Discourse and Chu Hsi's Ascendancy*, focuses on the development of the Ch'eng-Chu school of thought, which Tillman labels "Tao-hsüeh", "School of the Way". Tillman notes
that by the end of the Northern Sung Dynasty (960-1126) this school of thought was already beginning to be identified with a particular group of Confucian scholars.\textsuperscript{12} He goes on to divide the development of Ch’eng-Chu thought into four separate periods: the first period is from 1127 to 1162, the second period runs from 1163 to 1181, the third from 1182 to 1202, and the fourth period spans the period from 1202 to 1279. Moreover, besides the temporal framework, Tillman asserts that what became Ch’eng-Chu thought developed through dialogue and debate over three broader areas of inquiry: 1) speculative philosophy, 2) cultural values, and 3) policy issues.\textsuperscript{13} Some of the developments taking place in China are reflected in Korean Neo-Confucianism.

The two most noble scholars during the first period were Chang Chiu-cheng (1092-1159) and Hu Hung (1105-1161). Chang is noted for having written commentaries on the Four Books and for emphasizing the thorough investigation of things in order to comprehend their principles. Chang focused more on cultivating one’s virtue and studying the classics and history than on more speculative concepts like the Supreme Ultimate.\textsuperscript{14} Hu Hung focused on human nature or inner nature and saw this as the essence of Heaven and Earth; moreover, he also equated the Heavenly endowed inner nature with the essence of the Tao. Thus the inner nature was seen as all-encompassing and principle was seen as something specific to individual relationships. Whereas the inner nature was the essence or substance, the mind-and-heart was seen as function or manifestation of
that substance. Nor did Hu Hung draw a sharp distinction between principles and human feelings. Both were seen as having the same essence; it was only in functioning that they differed. But where Hu did draw a distinction was between the state of mind before the feelings are aroused and that after their arousal. The former state he equated with the nature; the latter he equated with the mind-and-heart. This distinction was rejected by Chu Hsi (1130-1200) who insisted that the mind-and-heart must be present in both states; Chu described the mind-and-heart in terms of being manifest or unmanifested, aroused or unaroused. Korean scholars followed Chu in maintaining that the mind-and-heart is present in both the aroused and unaroused states. Kwŏn Kŭn also holds this view, but, like Hu, Kwŏn also does not make a sharp distinction between principle and feelings; for Kwŏn, both are inherently good. This last point appears in his "Diagram of the Mind-and-Heart" and will be discussed in chapter 2.

More scholars associated with the School of the Way (Tao-hsueh) passed the civil service examinations during the second period (1163-1181) than had during the first period. Part of the reason for this was less political opposition. Four of the most important scholars during this period were Lu Chiu-ling, (1132-1180) Chang Shih (1133-1180), Lü Tsu-chien, and Chu Hsi. During most of the 1160s Chang Shih was probably the most influential scholar associated with the Tao-hsueh group. Besides commentaries on the Analects and Mencius and a long essay on humanness, he also asserted that nothing
was more important for becoming humane than overcoming one's selfish desires, one's ego. Chang Shih followed Mencius in asserting that a person's inner nature was inherently good because it possesses the beginnings of the four virtues. But whereas Mencius "identified the four beginnings with the originally good nature" and identified the four virtues with the manifestation of the nature (since they arose from the development of the four beginnings), Chang reversed the priority between these two sets—"He regarded the four virtues as nature and the four beginnings as mind."¹⁸ Moreover, buttressing his claim that the original nature is good, Chang "identified the four virtues in the nature as what Heaven imparts to people".¹⁹ Important here though is that "virtues" are not qualities of goodness in a traditional Western sense; rather they tendencies to act properly, i.e., selflessly and therefore sincerely. We will see a diagrammatic representation of this very thing in Kwŏn Kŭn's first diagram. Chang further distinguished between these two sets of four by associating the four virtues with the mind-and-heart before it was aroused and the four beginnings with the mind-and-heart after its arousal. This too is shown in Kwŏn's diagram. In short, although Chang did not ignore more externally oriented aspects of self-cultivation like the investigation of things, the concepts of mindfulness and sincerity played a more important role in his thought.

Lù Tsu-chien is perhaps best known for his collaboration with Chu Hsi titled, Reflections on Things Hand, a collection of sayings selected from the works of Chou Tun-i, the Ch'eng Brothers, and

¹³
Chang Tsai that Lü and Chu compiled and edited in order to introduce beginning students to the ideas of these four thinkers. Both Lü and Chu were also involved in promoting educational reform in the late twelfth century. In general, Chu Hsi focused more on general principles than did Lü, whereas the latter's writings focused more on actual practice, though neither ignored the other area.\(^{20}\) Lü also influenced Chu Hsi's interpretation of the *Book of Changes*. For Chu Hsi, the original purpose of the *Book of Changes* was divination not education; just the opposite was the case for the other classics. There were, however, also differences between Chu and Lü. While both Chu Hsi and Chang Shih disparaged the views of Su Shih (1036-1101) and the ancient prose style of literature (*ku-wen*), Lü thought the far greater error was what he saw as the false split between emphasizing principle, on the one hand, and emphasizing literary culture, on the other. Lü instead tried to preserve the Confucian tradition as a whole.\(^{21}\) We see the same type of thing in the early part of the Chosŏn Dynasty where Ch'eng-Chu and Ancient Style (*kuwen*) Confucianism intermingled.\(^{22}\)

During the third period (1182-1202), Chu Hsi faced two intellectual challenges. The group as a whole also became much more politicized during this period. The two major scholastic figures facing Chu Hsi were Chen Liang (1143-1194) and Lu Chiu-yüan (1139-93). From Chu Hsi's point of view, the former's utilitarian approach sacrificed morals for political and social expediency, while the latter's approach to personal cultivation seemed too much like the personal
enlightenment sought by Chan Buddhists.23)

Chu Hsi met Lu Chiu-yüan and his brother, Lu Chiu-ling, at the Goose Lake Monastery in 1175, a meeting that had been arranged by Lü Tsu-chien. Chu thought the Lu brothers were slighting the importance of textual scholarship in teaching and self-cultivation. Chu was also concerned they were promoting Chan Buddhist ideas behind a veil of Confucian terminology.24) Another major point of contention was Chou Tun-i's concept of the Supreme Ultimate. Because Chou had not used the term "Unrealized Ultimate" (無極) anywhere in his more later work, Penetrating the Book of Changes, Lu Chiu-ling had doubts about Chou's "Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate"; for Lu, the "Explanation" was a text someone else produced and Chou had merely transmitted or, if it was something Chou himself had in fact created, it was the product of an earlier, immature period in his intellectual development, and, whatever the case, it was something Chou did not refer to in his later works.25) Lu was also quick to point out that neither of the Ch'eng brothers mentioned the essay in their works. The concept and diagram of the Supreme Ultimate were very important in Korean Neo-Confucianism; all three of the scholars dealt with here recognized its fundamental importance for explaining the cosmos.

The fourth period (1202-1279) in the development of the School of the Way started in 1202, two years after Chu Hsi's death, with the revocation of the ban that had been imposed against the Tao-hsueh
group in 1195. Nor was this the only political change. The Mongols, following the advice of a Confucian official from the now defunct Chin Dynasty, "constructed a new Confucian Temple in the administrative center of North China and adopted the civil service examination system." The Southern Sung court, not to be outdone in a game of cultural one-upsmanship by what they saw as a bunch of barbarians, also tried to bolster its claim of carrying the mantle of Confucian orthodoxy. Some of the leading Ch'eng-Chu thinkers during this period were Huang Kan, Chen Chun, Chen Te-hsiu, and Hsü Heng.

Chu Hsi looked on Huang Kan (1152-1221) as his successor. Although Huang's "responsibility as Chu's immediate successor was to preserve the full legacy and essential spirit of his master", and he tried to be comprehensive in both preserving and transmitting Chu Hsi's teachings, he nonetheless, in the course of organizing Chu's ideas, had to decide what was most important. In doing so, he shifted the focus slightly by emphasizing self-cultivation over Chu's more speculative, philosophical concepts. At the core of his philosophy were the concepts of "abiding in reverent seriousness (mindfulness)", "fathoming principle", "overcoming the self", and "preserving sincerity". The first of these, abiding in mindfulness, laid the foundation for the others. Fathoming principle was how one went about extending knowledge; overcoming the self was how one extinguished one's own selfish desires, and preserving sincerity was how one achieved practical realization. Equally important though
was what did not receive as much attention. For instance, the philosophical concepts of principle and material force were not further developed in Huang’s thought.\textsuperscript{31} Kwŏn Kŭn’s position is much like that of Huang’s in that mindfulness, sincerity, and overcoming selfish desires played an important role in his thought, and while he too did not slight the importance of principle or material force, neither did he develop these concepts further. Kwŏn’s primary aim was explanation, not a more intricate development of key concepts. Besides a richer development of philosophical concepts, T’oegye also noted some of the differences between Chu Hsi’s and Huang Kan’s explanation of the eight basic diagrams and their relation to yin and yang.\textsuperscript{32}

The most important scholar in the next intellectual generation of the Ch’eng-Chu school of thought was undoubtedly Chen Te-hsiu (1178-1235). Chen passed the chin-shih exam at the age of 22 in 1199 and passed the Erudite Literatus’ exam just six years later in 1205. It was not until after passing this higher degree, i. e., after having already become an established scholar-official, that Chen became a follower of Ch’eng-Chu school of thought.\textsuperscript{33} His three most famous works are Classic on Governance, Extended Meaning of the Great Learning, and Classic of the Mind-and-Heart. These last two works in particular exerted an inordinate influence on the development of Neo-Confucianism in Korea. Only Chu Hsi’s work influenced T’oegye more than Chen’s Classic of the Mind-and-Heart.

Hsŭ Heng (1209-81) dominated the Yüan philosophical scene
and in doing so greatly influenced "the color and shape of the intellectual landscape, especially in the North." 34) Although Hsü commented on the investigation of things and principle, the vast majority of his work focuses on two concerns—moral (that is, self) cultivation and human relationships. 35) Hsü took the Elementary Learning and the Four Books together as a guide for self-cultivation and moral conduct; he also thought Elementary Learning should be read before starting the others. On the first of these, Hsü wrote the General Meanings of the Elementary Learning in order to explicate both "the goal and structure" of the text. 36) In fact, Yüan thinkers gave the Elementary Learning first priority in moral training. 37) Moreover, it was Hsü more than anyone else who was responsible for putting the Four Books into the main stream of Yüan thought. He wrote a number of treatises on the Great Learning and the Doctrine of the Mean, including among other texts: Straightforward Explanations of the Great Learning, Essentials of the Great Learning in Brief, and Plain Explanations of the Doctrine of the Mean. 38)

Although the Ming Dynasty is usually associated more with Wang Yang-ming than with the Ch'eng-Chu school of thought, during "the first century of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), Confucians were still overwhelmingly in favor of the Chu Hsi school." 39) Wing-tsit Chan examines four Neo-Confucian scholars during the Early Ming in order to show that the Ch'eng-Chu school "underwent significant changes, assumed a definite direction" and "in doing so prepared an
intellectual atmosphere conducive to the growth of the philosophies of Chen Hsien-chang and Wang Yang-ming" (Shou-jen, 1472-1529). The four scholars dealt with are: Ts’ao Tuan (Yüeh-chuan, 1376-1434), Hsüeh Hsüan (Ching-hsien, 1392-1464), Wu Yü-pi (Kang-chai, 1391-1469), and Hu Chü-jen (Ching-chai, 1434-84). The first two are associated with the North, or the Ho-tung School, "so called because Hsüeh came from Ho-tung", a region east of the Yellow River; the latter pair are associated with the South, or the Tsung-jen School, "so called because Wu was a native of Tsung-jen." Chan goes on to note that among these scholars:

Some of the most important subjects of the earlier Ch‘eng-Chu school have become insignificant or have disappeared in the discussions of these four philosophers, namely, those of the Supreme Ultimate, yin-yang, and relation between principle and material force. And when they did write on these topics they did not blindly follow Chu Hsi.

This is only partially true in the case of Korea. Chou Tun-i’s "Explanation of the Supreme Ultimate" was just as important in forming the first chapter of T’oegye’s Ten Diagrams On Sage Learning in 1568 as it was influential in Kwŏn Kŭn’s decision to use it in making the first diagram of his text, Diagrams and Explanations for Entering upon Learning, written in 1390. Yulgok also mentions the importance of the Supreme Ultimate in the course of the Four-Seven Debate. Moreover, the relationship between principle and material force was the subject of debate throughout most of the mid- to late
Chosŏn dynasty; debates over these concepts became particularly intense during both the 16th and early 18th centuries. The debates over these topics spurred further developments and refinements in Neo-Confucian theory, and other important concepts were also discussed in the course of these debates.

When it came to the relation between principle and material force, Hsiieh Hsiian thought of himself as upholding Chu Hsi’s doctrines, “but when it came to self-cultivation and the quest for sagehood, Hsiieh emphasized the mind-and-heart.” This can be seen in his notes on the Great Learning. Hsiieh slightly changes the focus and in two ways. First, he subordinates the intellectual elements to moral cultivation. Second, for Hsiieh, "principles are not only in things but also in the mind." The result is that it is no longer just the intelligent mind going out "to discover principles but the principles embodied in the mind-and-heart going out to form a union with the principles in things." T’oegye also proposes a theory that assumes principles are in both things and the mind; his position will be examined in chapter three. Related to his emphasis on the mind-and-heart, is Hsüeh Hsüan’s focus on mindfulness and returning to one’s original nature. As Chan points out, "whereas for earlier Neo-Confucians, [mindfulness] was one of many items for moral cultivation, for Hsüeh Hsüan it became the item". Since mindfulness is a quality of the mind-and-heart, the more it is stressed, the more important the mind-and-heart becomes. Mindfulness also plays an important role in T’oegye’s thought, though this is due to the
influence of Chen Tu-hsiu as much as anything.

After examining these four philosophers, Chan concludes that Neo-Confucian scholars in early Ming "grew less and less interested in intellectual aspects like metaphysical speculation and the doctrine of the investigation of things and more and more concerned with the mind, its cultivation and preservation, and mindfulness as the means of achieving that goal." This is not how it happened in Korea, at least there was not a decline in interest in metaphysical concepts. There was indeed an increasing concern with the idea of "mindfulness" in the philosophy of T'oege, but not at the expense of metaphysical speculation. This is a false bifurcation of intellectual development in Korean Neo-Confucianism; for example, as will be shown in chapters three and four, the scholars involved with the Four-Seven debate did not think metaphysical speculation over material force and principle was irrelevant to understanding the mind-and-heart, human nature, or self-cultivation. This material shows that while there were continuing refinements in fundamental cosmological and psychological concepts, these developments were not divorced from ideas of human nature and self-cultivation. In addition, T'oege's comments on the "investigation of things" in 1569 show that questions about this concept too had not completely gone away. In fact, given the rise of the Wang Yang-ming's philosophy in the Ming Dynasty, the topic was as relevant as ever, in some ways more so.

This highlights some of the intellectual currents at play in the Chinese milieu and gives an indication of how the Korean scholars
studied here adopted or developed some of these ideas; these developments will be examined further in the chapters ahead. But this material does not address any of the educational texts used in order to promote self-cultivation, nor does it address an important technique for practicing self-cultivation, quiet sitting. Both topics need to be examined before going on to examine the ideas of Kwŏn Kŭn, T’oegye, and Yulgok. The latter will be addressed first.

II. Self-cultivation and quiet sitting

Philip Ivanhoe points out that Taoism, Buddhism, and Neo-Confucianism all "tended to view human nature as having two fundamental aspects"; on the one hand, there was an original, pure mode that was unadulterated and, on the other hand, there was an adulterated, "instantiated mode".50 Neo-Confucians addressed this problem in terms of an "original nature" and a "material nature"; the former being "perfect and complete, the latter flawed and in need of refinement."51 Given this perspective, self-cultivation became a project of refining one’s material nature to the point where the individual’s pure, original nature can be fully realized. In other words, self-cultivation was seen as the process of realizing one’s true nature.52 This was as true for Wang Yang-ming (1472-1529) as it was for Chu Hsi; where they differed, and differed greatly, was over what exactly that meant and how to go about the task. For Chu the problem was to recover one’s inherent, naturally good human nature; for Wang it was a matter of discovering it.53 As noted above, it was Chu’s ideas,
and along with them his method of self-cultivation, that were adopted in Korea.

There were two foci to Chu Hsi's method of self-cultivation. One of these was inquiry and study. The focus here was on the "investigation of things" in order to understand the universal, ruling principle within the object of investigation; this included studying Confucian texts, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, it also involved the things and events of daily life. The foundation for this, noted earlier, was Chu Hsi's redaction of the Great Learning, the fifth chapter in particular. The second focal point consisted of "preserving the mind" by "honoring one's inherently virtuous nature". More than anything else, "the primary method for carrying out this half of the task" was the practice of "quiet sitting".

Quiet sitting was a contentious issue among some Neo-Confucians, its pedigree notwithstanding. Quiet sitting was discussed, practiced, and advocated by Chou Tun-i, Ch'eng Yi, and his brother Ch'eng Hao. Chu Hsi learned quiet sitting while a student of Li Yen-ping (1093-1163), who had learned it while a student of the Ch'eng brothers, but Chu Hsi later modified his views on quiet sitting due to the influence of Hu Hung and the Hunan school. Critics of the practice thought quiet sitting put the practitioner on the slippery slope toward Buddhist meditation. Chu Hsi, a strong critic of Buddhist ideas of emptiness, 'no-thought', and 'no-self', asserted that the purpose of quiet sitting was to focus one's thoughts, not obliterating thought altogether. For Chu, quiet sitting was a state that

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promoted investigating and scrutinizing principle; it was "understood as a period for focusing such attention, not eliminating it." In this sense, the moral effort involved with quiet sitting was much closer to that of study and the investigation of things than it was to Buddhist forms of meditation.

The point of quiet sitting was to calm the feelings so the principle constituting one's human nature can shine forth and guide a person without distraction. The sixteenth century Chinese scholar Kao P'an-lung (1562-1626) wrote of it as follows.

To sit quietly, clear the mind and be intimately aware of the heavenly norm [principle], means that at the time of sitting quietly this our mind, being cleared from all affairs, is identical with the so-called heavenly norm, and all one has to do at this time is to be silently aware of this inner self.

A simile often offered for describing why the mind-and-heart could be described as identical with the heavenly norm was so was a mirror. Since the mind-and-heart "is like a mirror, it is originally clear, and so it can reflect things. But if some previous image (e.g., feelings) remains in it after some occurrence," then the next time the mind-and-heart responds to stimuli, the response will be tainted by this image and the person will not respond appropriately. But the mind-and-heart does more than simply reflect, it also radiates. These qualities of the mind-and-heart is why Kao could state, in a later piece on quiet sitting, "Once the True Substance [the principle constituting our nature] manifests itself, false thoughts will disappear.
of their own accord... Simply recognize the original nature and the original form will become clear.\textsuperscript{62}

There were other fundamental differences between the Buddhist and Confucian forms of meditation. Whereas quiet sitting stilled the mind-and-heart so that disturbing egocentric thoughts could not interfere with the search for the moral principles in things and affairs that could, in turn, guide human conduct in society, Buddhist thought assumed the 'self' was an impermanent, and therefore unreal, mode of experience, and ideas of a permanent 'self' were one of the "egocentric thoughts" that must be dispensed with. For Buddhists, meditation would lead to the realization that there was, in fact, no 'self'. From the Confucian point of view, the true self was principle, and the Buddhist idea of "no-self" was therefore a denial that principle constitutes reality. Confucians rejected this as yet another Buddhist concept supporting Buddhism's asocial proclivities, especially the "selfish" Buddhist practice of severing ties with one's family and society in order to pursue one's own personal enlightenment.

The two aspects of Chu Hsi's theory of self-cultivation were linked through 'mindfulness', a reverential attitude that keeps one focused on the goal of self-cultivation (i.e., sagehood) and, hopefully, keeps one from going astray.\textsuperscript{63} Chu Hsi's ideas on self-cultivation were further developed in Korea, though the practice of quiet sitting was not adopted by all. How this applies to the three scholars examined here will be discussed more fully in the chapters ahead. Before doing so, however, we will first survey a number of texts used
during the Chosŏn Dynasty to promote Confucian moral principles and explain the Neo-Confucian philosophical support for them.

III. Introductory Educational and Moral Texts in the Chosŏn Dynasty

The world of Chinese cosmology, culture, and moral principles was introduced through simple elementary or moral texts. This was as true for Neo-Confucianism as it was for earlier forms of Confucianism. The increasing number of these texts during the middle part of the Chosŏn Dynasty reflects an increasing commitment to educating the elite and to disseminating Confucian ethical norms among the general population. Correlative with this was the rise of private academies in the mid- to late sixteenth century. There were a number of texts used during the course of the Chosŏn Dynasty (1392-1910) for educating people in classical Chinese, morals, and Confucianism. Granted, the overlap between these three areas is sometimes so great as to be almost inextricable. Nowhere is this more evident than in dealing with texts expounding upon the five relations (the relationships between father and son, ruler and subject, husband and wife, older and younger brother, and friends), especially those focusing on filial piety--it is one of the cardinal Confucian virtues, obviously moral, and in some cases the text involved could well serve as an educational text. The relationship between these themes is summed up nicely by Eric Zürcher, "True education, as defined by Confucian thinkers, cannot be separated from the moral
improvement of the individual as a social being; from the earliest times, the terms *hsueh* (學) "study" and *chiao* (教) "teaching" always have had strong ethical implications. Education was essential to self-cultivation. An overview of some of the more important texts will show just where the texts examined in this study fit within this larger tradition. The educational texts examined here were the primers used to provide a basic education in classical Chinese, though some of them were later reprinted with a Korean annotation. While for some people these texts may have been all that were studied, for many, certainly for all who aspired to a government post or even had aspirations of being properly educated, these texts merely laid the foundation for further work. We will also examine some representative moral texts and many, though not all, of the Confucian classics reprinted in Korea will also be mentioned. In this last case, however, the focus will be on Korean annotations (*onhae*, 언해) of these texts. Lastly, although plentiful, neither Buddhist texts nor literary works will be examined here, even though many of these texts may also address some of the above three themes.

Four educational texts will be examined here, one of Chinese origin (*Thousand Character Classic*), one of unknown authorship (*Collected Sayings*), and two written by Koreans (*Children's Primer* and *Collected Characters for Instructing Children*). The general structure of these educational texts starts with Heaven, moves on to discuss the Earth and earthly things, then finally deals with human beings. In
cases where the text was annotated with the native Korean script, they were not annotated until over 100 years after the invention of the script in 1446.

The most famous of the educational texts examined here is the *Thousand Character Classic* (천자문, 千字文). It is a Chinese text written by Chou Hsing-szu (周興嗣) during the Liang Dynasty (梁) in the sixth century when, according to legend, he was given a thousand different Chinese characters by the emperor Wu Ti and ordered to construct, within the course of a day, a coherent text without repeating any of the characters. The format of the text is based on 250 four-character phrases and is poetic with the rhyme on alternating lines. It is primarily a tool for teaching Chinese characters, and the poetic format made it easy to memorize. In general terms, the text starts off by addressing heaven or the heavens, then proceeds to things concerning the earth, and finally moves on to dealings about humanity, e. g., either human relationships or specific people, though this order is not strictly followed. The first couplet is: "Heaven and earth, the dark and the dun; The cosmos a mighty waste." One of the later verses dealing with personal conduct, the twenty-sixth couplet, states: "Fair conduct leads to sagehood, Self-conquest makes a sage." Another example of a verse dealing with human relationships is the forty-sixth: "In intercourse with friends, do your duty, file and polish each other to standard." The last part of this last line is reminiscent of a line from the *Book of Poetry*, a line which also appears in chapter 3.4 of the *Great Learning* ("There is our
elegant and accomplished prince— As we cut and then file; as we chisel and then grind: so he cultivated himself!

No one is sure exactly when the Thousand Character Classic entered Korea. The oldest extant version of the text with a Korean annotation and Korean readings dates from 1575, but the text almost certainly entered Korea long before then. The most widespread edition was the Han-ho Suk-bong (한호 韓諤, 석봉 石峯) edition, printed in Seoul in 1583. This version of the text gives a minimal amount of information aiding the student. It gives only the Korean pronunciation and a one word translation of the Chinese character, both in Korean vernacular script, right below the character itself. Several editions of this version were also published after the Japanese invasions. It was not until the middle of the 18th-century, 1752, that a more detailed annotation of the text, edited by Hong Sŏng-wŏn (洪聖源, 洪聖源), was printed. It was titled Explanations on the Thousand Character Classic (주해천자문, 註解千字文). There were also other versions of the text with the Korean readings and the meaning or translation of the character incorporated into the text; these were published in 1583, 1694, 1754, and 1804. Moreover, Korean translations with expanded annotations of the text are still available in print.

The Children's Primer (Dongmong sŏnsŭp, 동몽선습, 童蒙先習) was written in classical Chinese by Pak Sae-mu (박세무, 朴世茂, 1487-1554) as a primer for new students, though the original date of publication is unknown. There are no surviving texts from before the
Japanese invasions (1592 and 1597), but there is a copy of the 1759 edition. In any case, the text was written as a follow-up to the *Thousand Character Classic* and has often been called Korea's first textbook. The famous Neo-Confucian scholar Song Si-yŏl (송시열, 宋時烈, 1609-89) wrote an afterword in 1670, and King Yongjo (r. 1724-1776) wrote a forward for it in 1742. The text itself focuses on explaining the Five Relations and includes selections from the *Analects*, *Elementary Learning*, and tales from another classical Chinese text, *Tales of Faithful Wives*, which is reproduced at the back of the text. Like the *Thousand Character Classic*, it starts with discussions of Heaven, then earth, things in general, and finally people. The introduction starts as follows: "Between heaven and earth there is a multitude of created beings, but man alone is noble. He is noble because he has the Five Relationships.... If man did not know these five principles he would be little better than the wild birds and beasts." This is followed by a section dealing with each of the five relationships. The longest section, however, is the general conclusion that starts by recapitulating the introduction: "These five principles are laws ordained by heaven, and intrinsically understood by man. Man's behavior must remain within these five principles, but filial piety alone is the source of a hundred good works." This is followed by a comparison of filial and unfilial sons. The text ends with a summary history of the universe starting from the division of the Supreme Ultimate into yin and yang and the five elements and goes all the way down to the establishment of the Chosŏn Dynasty.
The *Children's Primer* shows the sage acting according to natural law. King Yongjo (r. 1724-1776) felt the text important and ordered its printing and promulgation. There were many printings from the 16th century onward, and it was widely read as a textbook for children and is even available today in modern Korean translation. But an annotated version of the text, *Children's Primer- Annotated* (*Dongmong sŏnsup onhae*, 동몽신습언해, 童蒙先習謨解), was not printed until 1797. Unlike many annotations of the Confucian classics, the *Children's Primer- Annotated* concentrates on the Korean annotations; not much of the original Chinese text is included. In this sense it is closer to being a translation than an annotation. There was also an illustrated annotation of the text published in the early 20th century, and, like the *Thousand Character Classic*, translations with expanded annotations of the *Children's Primer* are also still in print.

The author of the *Collected Sayings* (*Yuhap*, 유합, 類合) is unknown. It was an introductory text for teaching Chinese characters and was used together with the *Thousand Character Classic*. It appended both the readings for the Chinese characters as well as their meaning in Korean. This was supposedly a better text for introducing Chinese characters than the *Thousand Character Classic* because of its arrangement and because the Korean annotations were appended. The oldest extant version was printed in Ch'iljang Temple (七長寺) (near Ansung) in 1664. But, we know there were other editions from at least the mid-sixteenth century. There were editions produced at
different temples—Songkwang Temple (松巖寺), Sunam Temple (仙巖寺), Ansim Temple (安心寺), etc., though the arrangement of the Chinese characters varies a bit in these editions. There were also some regional (dialectal) variations due to differences in palatalization or rhyme. A revised version, the Revised Collected Sayings (신중유합, 新增類合), was made after complaints that the original had too much of a Buddhist flavor, though there is a chance that the complaints of the text having too much of a Buddhist flavor might be based as much on where the text was being printed and taught as on the actual contents. In any case, the revision was done by Yu Hŭi-ch’un (유희춘, 柳希春) in 1574, and, after an initial failed printing, the text was revised again and finally printed in 1576.

The Collected Characters for Instructing Children (Hunmong chahoe, 훈몽자화, 訓蒙字會) was written by Ch’oi Sae-jin (최세진, 崔世珍, ~1478-1543) as a primer for children learning Chinese characters. It was published in 1527 and "is the earliest systematic source for the pronunciation of Sino-Korean." The text itself had 3360 characters in all and was divided into three parts, each with 1120 characters. The focus was on "real world" Chinese characters like the names of birds, plants, trees, and animals, since Ch’oi thought that the Thousand Character Classic and the Collected Sayings were unrelated to everyday life. There were a few editions before the Japanese invasions in 1592 and 1596 and several thereafter. One interesting characteristic of the text is that the author also named all twenty-seven letters of the
Korean alphabet, though this was more for purposes of pronunciation than naming per se. Of the twenty-seven names given to letters by Ch’oi Sae-jin in 1527 nineteen of them are the names still used today. Ch’oi then follows each of the characters with an explanation, the pronunciation of the character, and an annotation.

In sum, these texts were all originally written in classical Chinese, and, even in the case of the Korean annotations, were, for the most part, accessible only to people among the elite yangban class. In addition, only one of these texts, the Thousand Character Classic, predates the Chosŏn Dynasty (1392-1910). Although the date for the Collected Sayings is unknown, chances are that it too, like both Children’s Primer and Collected Characters for Instructing Children, was not written until at least the early sixteenth century. In other words, it appears that Korean vernacular educational texts were not written in Korea until over a century after the founding of the Chosŏn Dynasty and half a century after the invention of the Korean script. In addition, annotations using the Korean vernacular script were also written in the sixteenth century and often reprinted thereafter, but, for the most part, they too were accessible only to the educated elite. Moreover, some annotations did not come until much later. Nonetheless, the creation and distribution of these texts also indicates a renewed recognition of the importance of education in sixteenth century Korean society. Nevertheless, even though these texts all assumed the reader had some knowledge of Chinese, that fact that the Thousand Character Text was supplemented by other texts shows an
increasing concern with education during the Chosŏn Dynasty. Lastly, while learning classical Chinese had been, and continued to be, essential for gaining access to Chinese culture and for preparing for the civil service examinations, the introduction of Neo-Confucianism meant that those who understood classical Chinese now also had access to a far more sophisticated, systematic, and comprehensive explanation of how the cosmos worked and the place of humanity within the world than had been available to earlier Confucians.

Confucian Texts—Classics and Compilations:

In examining Confucian classics reprinted in Korea, the focus will be on the Four Books (Analects, Mencius, Great Learning, and Doctrine of the Mean), Elementary Learning, and the Classic of Filial Piety. In particular, what happened to the text after it entered Korea will be noted. In general, annotations of Confucian classics using the Korean script were fairly late vis-a-vis the creation of the script itself, but the annotations coincide with the rise of the private academies. However, it is hard to say whether or not Korean annotations of the classics were used in the academies as a bridge to the classical Chinese versions of the texts.

King Sŏnjo (r. 1567-1608) originally ordered Yu Hui-ch’un (유회준, 柳希春) to make an annotation of the Four Books; in response Yu recommended Yulgok as better suited for the task. The King then ordered Yulgok to make annotations of the Nine Classics, something
Yulgok worked on until his death in 1584. But by the time he died he had only finished a draft of the Four Books. These were presented to the king who forwarded them to the printing bureau (교정청) where they were published around 1590; this set is housed at Tosan sŏwŏn (도산서원, 陶山書院).

Besides Yulgok's annotations of the Four Books, there were several other annotations as well. One of the earlier sets was written on order of King Sŏnjo in 1590. The Analects- Annotated (논어언해, 論語譯解) was published together with Mencius- Annotated (孟子언해, 孟子譯解), Great Learning- Annotated (대학언해, 大學譯解), Doctrine of the Mean- Annotated (중용언해, 中庸譯解). Many different versions of these texts have been printed, with editions of the Analects, and some of the others, published in 1590, 1612, 1631, 1810, 1820, and 1862. With the exception of format and print type, there are no significant differences among the later editions, but there are differences between the later editions and the Yulgok annotation. The latter does not use artificial readings for Chinese characters, and there some minor differences between the appended annotations. All the Korean annotations of the Four Books follow format of Chu Hsi's Four Books in Chapter and Verse, including his redacted version of the Great Learning. With a few different annotations in circulation, King Yongjo ordered Yi Chae (이재, 李瑞, 1680-1764) and Yulgok's grandson, Yi Chin-o (이진오, 李鎭五), to collect extant versions of the text, edit them, and make a consistent copy. Yulgok's version, Yulgok's Four Books- Annotated (사서율곡언해, 四書渠谷譯解), first printed in 1590,
was reprinted in 1749.

There were, of course, many commentaries on the Four Books written in classical Chinese, and, as noted above, annotations of these texts using the Korean script. Like Yulgok’s annotation, what makes the Glossary of the Four Books (사서석의, 四書釋義) so interesting is that these commentaries were some of the first annotations of the Four Books using the Korean vernacular script, that and the fact that these commentaries were written by Yi Hwang (T’oegye), an influential scholar usually associated with more sophisticated metaphysical or educational tracts written in classical Chinese, not commentaries using the Korean vernacular script. Glossary of the Four Books was written in 1569, just a year before T’oegye died, though his annotations were not published until 1609 after they were edited by Ch’oe Kwang-nae (崔瓘來). The commentaries start with Glossary of the Great Learning followed by those on the Doctrine of the Mean, Analects, and, finally, Mencius. The commentaries also follow the chapter divisions in Chu’s commentaries on the Four Books, the Four Books in Chapter and Verse (四書集註). T’oegye’s Glossary of the Great Learning Explained will be examined in greater detail in chapter three.

The Elementary Learning is a compilation Chu Hsi and Liu Ch’ing-chih (1130-1195) created by culling selections from the classics and other works. It was published in 1187. Theresa Kelleher points out that "[In] terms of vocabulary alone, not to mention its length or the sophistication of the issues dealt with in the latter half of the text,
the *Elementary Learning* is far more difficult to read than the Four Books for which it is supposedly to serve as a preparatory study." The text itself is divided into two roughly equal sections, the "Inner Chapters", chapters one through four, and the "Outer Chapters", chapters five and six. Furthermore, three themes run throughout both these sections; these are: "establishing the educational process", "clarifying the cardinal human relationships", and "reverencing the self". Other pivotal ideas include an emphasis on the Five Relationships and the idea that education "is a matter of learning and then carrying out the duties appropriate to each relationship...." In addition, self-cultivation is clearly shown as something done within a social context and not as some "selfish, individualistic pursuit". Because of this, human relationships receive greater attention than do the other two themes in the first part of text. But, despite what might look like a theoretical bias, there is also a very strong practical bent in the text: the idea being conveyed here is that "this is the way to act". For example, in chapter 3, the emphasis is on physical acts, manners, or behavior—how people eat and drink, how they dress, and the general way they carry themselves. The overriding theme here is "that one’s bodily needs are to be met in a way that is refined and yet disciplined, not in a selfish manner."

In the Outer Chapters, Chu Hsi stresses the constancy of both principle and human nature, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the need for the student to cherish and develop his innate virtue, since it is this that "enables him to discern principle and
respond appropriately to the problems of his age." Of the three themes discussed above, both education and self-cultivation get more attention in the latter half of the *Elementary Learning* than was the case in the first half of the text, though, in sheer numbers, there are still more selections dealing with human relationships in this section than with either of the other two themes. Also, there are a large number of passages dealing with the advice famous figures in the past passed on to their "sons, nephews, or students". The emphasis is on pointing out "the common pitfalls of youth-- the tendency to criticize others, seek ease, be fascinated with those in power-- and offer encouragement in such positive virtues as honesty, frugality, and hard work."

The *Elementary Learning* was annotated and published on order of King Sŏnjo (r. 1567-1608). A forward and epilogue were written by Yi San-hae (이산해, 李山海) in 1587 and appended to the text. But even earlier than the annotation (*Elementary Learning- Annotated* (소학언해, 小學諭解))<sup>88</sup>, a translation of the *Elementary Learning* was completed during the reign of Chungjong (r. 1506-1544); the latter was, however, a free translation (*Elementary Learning- Translated*, 번역소학, 翻譯小學). There was another annotation made during the reign of King Yongjo (r. 1724-1776)-- the *Royal Annotation of the Elementary Learning* (*여제소학언해*, 御製小學諭解). The preface of this version of the text was written by the King. The free translation was published in 1518, the Korean annotation was published in 1587, and the *Royal Annotation* was published in 1744. The importance of the text can be seen in the
fact that it was not only annotated but also translated, and that at a comparatively early date. It was one of the first Confucian texts annotated in Korea. Moreover, candidates for the civil service examination were required to memorize the *Elementary Learning* before being allowed to sit for the examination.89)

Unlike most other Korean annotations of classical Chinese texts which are based on the standard version of the text in question, the *Classic of Filial Piety- Annotated* (효경언해, 孝經誼解)90 is based on an annotation of the *Greater Principles of the Classic of Filial Piety* (孝經大義) and is primarily a summary that does not contain all of the original text. In 1589, Yu Sŏng-nyong wrote an epilogue for the text that explains the particulars of both the annotation and the *Greater Principles of the Classic of Filial Piety*. The annotation was first published in 1590 and was later reprinted in 1863. The annotation of the *Classic of Filial Piety* was used along with the *Thousand Character Classic* and the *Children’s Primer* (*Dongmong sŏnsüp*) as an introductory text. There was also a *Ladies’ Classic of Filial Piety* written during the Tang; it was reprinted with compendia six times during the Ming and three times during the Ch’ing, though we have seen no mention of this text in Korean sources.91)

In general then, even though the classical Chinese versions of the Four Books, along with their commentaries (also written in classical Chinese), were available in Korea before the founding of the Chosŏn Dynasty, it was not until almost 100 years after the invention
of the native Korean script in 1446 that annotations of these texts using the vernacular script were finally made, though the Elementary Learning was annotated earlier. One reason Confucians were so late in using the vernacular script was a bias against it in favor of the exclusive use of classical Chinese. Even when annotated, these texts still required enough knowledge of Chinese that it becomes clear that education in the Confucian classics remained accessible only to those among the elite class. The annotations in Korean, although making it much simpler for students to understand the meaning of the text, still assumed a far greater knowledge of Chinese than the vast majority of the population would have had. Nonetheless, one benefit of the annotations would have been to make it easier for those studying for the exams to pass the first, lowest level exam when the examination stressed the oral test first and relegated the more demanding written portion to a later phase of the examinations.

Other Moral and Ethical Tracts:

Other moral and ethical texts are better dealt with by dividing them into sub-genres. The first includes general texts; the second deals with texts focusing on one or more of the five relations, especially filial piety. The third sub-genre deals with texts that focus on training women.

Important Methods of Eliminating Ignorance (Kyongmong yogyol, 겟
Important Methods of Eliminating Ignorance was written in 1577 by Yi I, Yulgok (1536-1584) as an introductory text for teaching beginners and instilling Confucian moral values. Whereas the other introductory texts we have examined can be seen as primers teaching elementary Chinese that include Confucian concepts, *Important Methods of Eliminating Ignorance* can be seen as a primer introducing basic Confucian concepts but using classical Chinese to do it. The text itself is divided into ten chapters, a fuller description of which will be given in chapter four, which deals with Yulgok. The text came to be used along with other early primers, such as the *Thousand Character Text, Children's Primer, Collected Characters for Instructing Children* or, *Collected Sayings*. Moreover, like these other texts, translations into modern Korean are still available.

*Precious Mirror for Enlightening the Heart (Myōngsim Pogam, 명심보감, 明心寶鑑)* is a collection of aphorisms and quotations from the Chinese classics and other works, the compilation of which is generally ascribed to Nodang Ch’u Chok (1246-1317), a scholar active during the reign of King Ch’ungnyǒl (1274-1308). However, Fritz Vos concludes that the *Myōngsim Pogam* was originally a Chinese work first published in 1393 and that its compiler was Fan Li-pen. In short, it was not originally a Korean text. The quotations contained therein stem from a variety of sources, including some paragraphs made from combining material originally appearing in different sources, and "many of the aphorisms where the source is unknown
have presumably been coined by the author."96) Moreover, although a number sayings "have been taken from Taoist sources (or at least would-be Taoist sources) and there are also a few Buddhist entries in the text, the prevailing spirit of the text is one of Confucian moralizing."97)

An examination of the traditional version of the text, i.e., ignoring the supplementary material in some of the modern editions, shows that the Chinese versions of Myŏngsim Pogam contain 771 or 774 paragraphs while the Korean edition has a minimum of 256 and a maximum of 265 paragraphs. In short, the Korean version of the text is roughly one third the size of the original Chinese text. However, despite the differences in overall size, the Chinese texts and the Korean editions all consist of twenty sections, though there are variations between titles in the different versions.98)

One feature of most post-war editions of the book is the addition of more material:

"[from] one to five sections, comprising a maximum of twenty paragraphs, have been added to the original twenty chapters (p'yŏn). The titles of these sections are: 'Supplement', 'Eight Songs for Contemplation', 'Filial Piety, continued' (Hyohaeng p'yŏn sok), 'Integrity and Justice', and 'Exortation to study, continued'.99"

The most important question here is where the material for these extra sections came from; for instance, is the 'Filial Piety, continued' section the same as the Hyohaengnok (효행록) referred to by Kwŏn Kŭn in 1405 and for which he wrote a preface? In any case, Vos points out that some of the people who appear in the 'filial piety,
continued' section of the text also appear in thirteenth century Korean texts like Samguk sagi and Samguk yusa, so even some of the modern editions have material that is quite old. But there are still unanswered questions concerning the text, for example, even if the Chinese original was written by Fan Li-pen we still need to know who made the abridged version-- was it also the work of Fan Li-pen or was it written by another Chinese scholar? Or was it abridged by a Korean scholar in Korea or China?

We have seen constant references to the Five Relations. It was mentioned in the Thousand Character Classic, Dongmong 'sonsüp, and Elementary Learning, among others, so it is not surprising that there is a genre of texts devoted to one or more of the Five Relations. These relations do not become less important in the shift from older types of Confucianism to Neo-Confucianism; they are as important as ever, having been reinforced by a stronger philosophical foundation. There were several texts, written in either classical Chinese or the Korean vernacular script, or a combination of both, that focus on the Five Relationships or on one or more specific relationships among them. Some of these texts include the following: Samgang haengsildo (三綱行實圖), Iryun haengsildo (二倫行實圖), Oryun haengsildo (五倫行實圖), Dongguk sinsok Samgang haengsildo (東國新續行實圖), Record of Filial Acts (孝行錄), and Twenty-four Exemplars of Filial Piety (二十四孝圖). The last of these texts is the oldest.

The Twenty-four Exemplars of Filial Piety (二十四孝圖) is a collection of twenty-four tales, each of which describes the filial act of
a child toward a parent or parents (or sometimes an in-law). According to Alexander Woodside, the text was written by Kuo Chü-ching, a scholar during the Yuan Dynasty (1206/1271-1368). And, if this is the case, one reason for writing it might have been to introduce the Mongols to the Chinese idea of filial piety. It was translated into Vietnamese by Ly Van Phuc (1785-1849). There was also a version made for women, as well as poetic and illustrated versions. Some of these tales repeat other, older tales and some later works repeat or vary the stories in this text. There were different versions of the text; for instance, there were Later and Former editions of Twenty-four Exemplars of Filial Piety (前二十四孝圖 and 後二十四孝圖). As noted below, copies of the Twenty-four Exemplars of Filial Piety (二十四孝圖) entered Korea by the middle of the fourteenth century, i.e., by at least the late Koryŏ period (918-1392).

Record of Filial Acts was first printed in the late Koryŏ Dynasty using wood-block prints. The text itself was originally written by Kwŏn Bo for his son, Kwŏn Chun, during the reign of King Ch’ungmok (r. 1344-1348). The elder Kwŏn was prompted to compile the text in response to his son’s gift of an illustrated version of Twenty-four Paragons of Filial Piety for which Yi Jae-hyon (이재현, 1287-1367) had written laudatory poems. Kwŏn Bo then selected thirty-eight filial tales and had Yi Jae-hyon write laudatory poems for each of these stories too. This can be seen as one of the first examples of a Korean text, albeit
still written in classical Chinese, used to inspire children with examples of filial piety in a format that they could sing as well as memorize. This is also a quality of the *Samgang haengsildo* (삼강행실도, 三網行實圖). The *Record of Filial Acts* was later corrected by Sŏl Sun (설순, 植循) and others in 1428 and then reprinted. Although the forward in the original edition was written by Yi Jae-hyon (이제현, 李齊賢), an afterword and explanation were later written in 1405 by Kwŏn Kŭn (권근, 權近), the scholar we will examine in chapter two.

The classical Chinese version of the *Samgang haengsildo* was compiled by Sŏl Sun under orders from King Sejong in 1432. A Korean annotation was first published in 1489. The King’s original order was in response to an incidence of patricide in 1428. The text depicts the acts of thirty-five filial children, thirty-five loyal ministers, and thirty-five faithful wives. The stories themselves were selected from a larger work; the filial children tales were selected from 110 stories, the loyal minister tales from 112 stories, and the tales of faithful wives from a selection of 112 stories. There are four Koreans depicted among the filial children, six Koreans among the loyal ministers, and six among the faithful wives. The *Iryun haengsildo*, published in 1518, covers the relationships between superior and subordinates and among friends. The *Oryun haengsildo*, first published in 1797, is an abridgement of these two texts; it has thirty-three stories dealing with filial children, twenty-five dealing with loyal ministers, thirty-five dealing with faithful wives, twenty-four dealing with the relationship between superior and inferiors, seven dealing with the
family, eleven dealing with friends, and five stories dealing with the relationship between teacher and student. *Dongguk Sinsok Samgang haengsildo* was compiled by Yi Sung and others on order of the King in 1614, and published in 1617. It continues in the style of the *Samgang haengsildo* except that it focuses on Korean examples of the Three Bonds, selecting exemplary people from the Silla (6-935), Koryŏ, and Chosŏn Dynasties. It is also a very large text, over 18 kwŏn.

Since many of the texts with noteworthy examples of filial piety draw on more extensive accounts of tales, it is not surprising that stories found in one text may also appear in other texts. This can be seen in the *Twenty-four Exemplars of Filial Piety* and the *Samgang haengsildo*. The section of the latter dealing with filial children has 35 stories, four of which are of Korean children. The remainder of the filial children described are Chinese; most of these stories also appear in one version or another of the *Twenty-four Exemplars of Filial Piety*. Both texts, however, are themselves drawing from larger collections of tales. Some of the fables common to both include a son who was forced by his step-mother to wear unpadded garments during the winter, a daughter who strangled a tiger to save her father, a child who broke ice to get fish for his parents, a son who made wooden statues of his deceased parents, and a son who carried rice on his back so his parents could eat well even though he ate poorly. There is an interesting variation on one of the fables in the *Hyohaengnok*, which appears in the additional sections added to the post-war editions of the *Myongsim Pogam*. The story is a variant of
the story of Kwa-go, the man who starts to bury his son because the child is eating food his mother needs to live, a story which also appears in both the Twenty-four Exemplars of Filial Piety and the Samgang haengsildo. The story in the Myongsim Pogam deals with Son-sun who lived during the Silla Dynasty (6-935). Son-sun's family, his mother, wife, and son, were poor. Moreover, the son eats food his mother needs for nourishment and, like the story it is modeled on, Son and his wife decide to bury their son. However, in the process of burying him, they dig up a bell that has a marvelous sound. Since this is an auspicious sign, they decide not to bury the child and return to their house with the bell. One day when the King is out in the town, he hears the marvelous sound of the bell and inquires as to its origin. On hearing the story, the King recounts the story of Kwa-go and his finding a kettle of gold when he was trying to bury his son and remarks how history repeats itself. The king then grants Son-sun fifty sacks of rice a year.

Stories, texts, and paintings dealing with the Five Relationships predated the development Neo-Confucianism in China, but the development of the more sophisticated cosmological and psychological explanations that came with Neo-Confucianism did not lessen the importance of the Five Relations. It strengthened them. These relations were now set against and incorporated into the newer philosophical worldview whereby they became part of the very fabric of the universe, since they were principle and principle constituted reality. A good example of this will be seen in the second diagram
Another sub-genre dealing with education and self-cultivation is that concerning the education of women. Although not covered in detail here, it will be covered in brief because Yi Hwang (T'oegye), the scholar covered in chapter three, also wrote an educational tract for women. Generally speaking, texts falling within this category can be divided into classical Chinese texts written in China, those written in Korea, and annotations of these texts. In addition, whereas the educational texts previously mentioned could have been used in the home or in an academy, because there were no government sponsored schools or private academies for educating women, texts for women would have only been used in the home. The more famous Chinese texts for women include: Instructions for Women, Women's Deportment, Tales of Faithful Wives, Four Books for Women, and Precepts for the Inner Quarters. Women’s Deportment (Yŏbŏm, 여법, 女規) was written during the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) by Wang Hsiang and originally called Concise Guide to Women’s Deportment. It puts forward a Confucian theory for educating women based on yin-yang theory (female-male) with the woman’s role defined accordingly. It is divided into eleven sections and has examples from a number of classics.

Precepts for the Inner Quarters (Nei-hsun, 내훈, 内訓) was written by the mother of Sung-jong (昭惠王后) in 1475 for educating women. It is made up of excerpts from Tales of Faithful Wives,
Elementary Learning (소학, 小學), Female Education (여교, 女敎), and Myŏngsim-pogam (명심보감, 明心寶鑒). The text covers the four womenly acts of virtue, speech, conduct, and effort or work. Some of the topics included in the first section are: meals and eating, what to do in the presence of men, and what to do when entering a man’s room. Section two covers how to be filial to one’s parents while they are alive as well as afterwards. Section three covers wedding ceremonies, manners, and material or articles needed for weddings. Section four deals with relationships between husband and wife; section five covers relations with one’s mother and mother-in-law. Section six focuses on how to maintain a harmonious household, and section seven covers miscellaneous topics, such as how to be frugal and remain unsullied, how to greet guests, and helping one’s husband advise the throne. Copies of later editions of the text, 1573, 1611, and 1656, are still extant but copies of the original 1475 edition are not. The Royal Precepts for the Inner Quarters (Ojae Nae-hun, 어제내훈, 御製內訓) was published in 1736. A Chinese version by the same name was written during the Ming by a Ming Empress.

Instructions for Women (Nü-chieh, 女誡) was written during the Later Han (25-220) by Tsao Ta-chia (Pan Chao) (曹大家). She wrote the text for her daughters in order to teach them the Customs required of married women. The text has seven chapters. The first chapter is on humility— "Let a woman modestly yield to others; let her respect others; let her put others first, herself last." The second
chapter covers the relationships between husband and wife. Here this relationship is seen in cosmic terms— "The Way of husband and wife is intimately connected with Yin and Yang, and relates the individual to gods and ancestors. Truly it is the great principle of Heaven and Earth, and the great basis of human relationships." The third chapter deals with respect and caution. The fourth chapter is on womanly qualifications, specifically the four qualities every woman should have— "womanly virtue, womanly words, womanly bearing, and womanly work". The fifth chapter focuses on whole-hearted devotion, the sixth on implicit obedience, and the seventh chapter is on harmony with one's younger brothers- and sisters-in-law. The gist of chapter six on implicit obedience can be summarized in one line: "Nothing is better than an obedience which sacrifices personal opinion." The emphasis in this section though is on obedience to one's parents-in-law, as can be seen in the following: "Let a woman not act contrary to the wishes and opinions of (her) parents-in-law about right and wrong; let her not dispute with them what is straight and what is crooked. Such (docility) may be called obedience which sacrifices personal opinion." The last section deals with maintaining harmony with one's younger brothers-and sisters-in-law. Even here, the relationships with the parents-in-law is not lost: "In order for a wife to gain the love of her husband, she must win for herself the love of her parents-in-law. To win for herself the love of her parents-in-law, she must secure for herself the goodwill of younger brothers- and sisters-in-law."
Not to be confused with the traditional Confucian *Four Books*, the *Four Books for Women- Annotated* (여사서연해, 女四書詮解) was written by Yi Dŏk-su (李德壽) on order of King Yongjo (r. 1724-96) in 1736. The Chinese *Four Books for Women* was made up of selections from *Instructions for Women* (女訓, 女訓), written during the Later Han (25-220) by Tsao Ta-chia (曹大家), the *Analects for Women* (여논어, 女論語), written by Sung Jo-chao (宋若昭) during the Tang (618-907), *Precepts for the Inner Quarters* (內訓, 內訓), written by Queen Jen-hsiao-wen (仁孝文皇后) during the Ming, and the *Concise Guide to Women’s Deportment* (女氾捷錄) written by Wang Hsiang during the Ming Dynasty. These four texts were all written by women for women. Both the Chinese version of the *Four Books for Women* and Queen So-hye’s version of the *Precepts for the Inner Quarters* had Korean annotations (onhae) made for wider distribution, but in making the *Royal Annotation of the Four Books for Women* the arrangement of the selections was also changed: instead of *Instructions for Women, Precepts for the Inner Quarters, Analects for Women, and Women’s Deportment*, the new arrangement was *Instructions for Women, Analects for Women, Precepts for the Inner Quarters, and Women’s Deportment*. In other words, the placement of the middle two books, *Precepts for the Inner Quarters* and *Analects for Women*, was switched. The first section, *Instructions for Women*, addressed raising women, marrying them off, and their maintaining good relations in their new household.
Handbook for Women's Quarters (Kyujung-yoram, 규중요람, 閔中要覽) was written in classical Chinese by T'oegye in 1544. The text is divided into five chapters. Chapter one deals with women's deportment, chapter two focuses on self-cultivation, chapter three address how to manage a household, chapter four addresses women's rules, and chapter five deals with filial acts. Like other texts for educating women during this period, this one also discusses the four actions of women (womanly virtue, speech, demeanor, and conduct) and generally promotes the same goals of what an educated woman should be like. Nor was T'oegye the only Korean scholar to write such a text. Song Si-yŏl (1607-89), Yi Dŏk-su, and Yi Dŏk-mu also wrote texts for women.

We have seen that the annotations of Confucian texts still required enough knowledge of Chinese that these texts would have been inaccessible to those outside the elite. The same might be said of some of the morality books dealing with one of the Five Relations, but by no means all. In some cases almost the opposite is true; a good example of this is the Samgang-haengsildo. In cases like this, even though the Chinese version of the story was appended, the emphasis was clearly on the Korean summation of the story that accompanied the illustration. The potential audience for some of the morality texts was thus far greater than that of the annotated classical Confucian texts, and they therefore played a much larger role in disseminating Confucian morals among commoners.
Even though the above texts do not form a complete list of all educational or moral texts used during the Chosŏn Dynasty it nonetheless gives a representative sample. It also indicates some of the common concepts that influenced and shaped other, later texts. This can be seen in both educational and moral texts, for example, the four texts used to make up the *Precepts for the Inner Quarters*, the copying or adaptation of filial fables, and the material taken form other sources for *Myŏngsim Pogam* and the *Elementary Learning*. The influence of the Confucian canon is readily apparent.

As with the moral and educational texts above, the list of Confucian texts is not all-inclusive. Nonetheless, it shows that by the late 16th century, basic Confucian texts like the Four Books, and *Classic of Filial Piety*, were annotated using the Korean vernacular script, and the *Elementary Learning* even earlier. These annotations do not necessarily mean these texts become available to a significantly larger audience. Even with the annotations, the number of people who would be able to read these texts would still constitute a tiny fraction of the overall population, simply because of the assumed familiarity with Chinese characters. On the other hand, the number of texts for women, either in classical Chinese or in an annotated version, suggests that girls and women in Korea, at least among the elite, were also being educated, albeit not in government sponsored schools or private academies. In fact, the duties foisted upon women as part of running the household, which included overseeing the early
education of children, practically dictated a certain level of education. Moreover, even though the "Confucianization" of Korea may have increased the marginalization of a woman's social status, the fact that educational texts for women were being written by some of the leading Neo-Confucian scholars of the Dynasty at a time when Confucianism was supposedly at its height indicates that educating women was still seen as something important, if for no other reason than to instill in them the very ideas that justified marginalizing their status.\(^{118}\)

Of all the texts outlined above only a few of those addressing self-cultivation will be more fully examined here. T'oegeye's *Glossary of the Great Learning* will be examined in chapter three. In addition, parts of Yulgok's text, *Important Methods for Eliminating Ignorance*, will be examined in chapter four.

Equally important is a type of text not mentioned above---the diagrammatic handbook. These texts aim to introduce fundamental Neo-Confucian concepts and theories through a series of diagrams and accompanying explanations. There were of course Chinese scholars who used diagrams to explain ideas, for instance Chou Tun-i's essay on the "Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate" or Ch'eng Lin-yin's diagram of Chang Tsai's "Western Inscription", the former laying the foundation for Neo-Confucian cosmology, the latter laying the foundation for Neo-Confucian ethics. Another important diagram was Ch'eng Fu-hsin's "Diagram of the Mind-and-Heart". All three of these diagrams were written by Chinese scholars. In the case of *Twenty-four
Paragons of Filial Virtue we have seen a combination of both text and diagrams in a single Chinese text used to promote a cardinal Confucian virtue, but other than this there does not seem to be either a general or thematic collection of diagrams compiled by Chinese scholars for the purpose of explaining Neo-Confucian concepts. It is not that there were not compilations, for there were famous collections compiled expressly for introducing Neo-Confucian concepts. Reflections on Things at Hand (近思錄), compiled in order to introduce students to the thought of the Ch'eng brothers, Chang Tsai, and Chou Tun-i, is a good example of this. Another example is Ch'en Ch'un's Neo-Confucian Terms Explained (北溪字義), which gives definitions of and comments on basic Neo-Confucian terms. In short, with Chinese scholars, the choice seems to be either one or two diagrams with accompanying explanations or larger compilations that do not include diagrams. This diagrammatic urge—the use of a series of diagrams and explanations to introduce fundamental Neo-Confucian ideas or themes—seems to be a particularly Korean approach. Two such texts will be examined here—Kwŏn Kŭn's Diagrams and Explanations for Entering Upon Learning and T'oegye's Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning. In the first case, Kwŏn's text attempts to provide his readers with a general introduction to the entire Confucian project. In general terms, T'oegye also examines the principal concepts, but, this having been said, his focus is nonetheless on self-cultivation. T'oegye's ideas will be discussed in chapter three. Kwŏn Kŭn's will be examined in chapter two.
IV. What’s done and what’s left undone.

Our goal is to examine ideas of human nature and self-cultivation, including the cosmological assumptions undergirding both these concepts, in Korean Neo-Confucianism. This is obviously a large topic, the scope of which must be narrowed and focused. We will do this in two ways, first, by limiting the number of scholars studied to three—Kwon Kun, T’oebye, and Yulgok. The collected works, or, more accurately, even a small portion thereof for each of these Confucians can be, and in many cases has been, the subject of study resulting in articles, books, and theses. Given the breadth of their works, we will, with one exception (material from the Four-Seven Debate), further narrow our focus by concentrating on their introductory texts and their commentaries on the Great Learning. For Kwon Kun this is done by looking at the first few diagrams of his Elementary Diagrams and Explanations for Entering Upon Learning. They explain the new Neo-Confucian cosmological concepts and ideas of human nature and self-cultivation to beginning students who were more familiar with earlier types of Confucianism. Of the work on Kwon Kun in English, more has been done by Michael Kalton than by anyone else. This includes two articles dealing with Kwon’s place in the transition between the Koryo Dynasty and Choson Dynasty, specifically how his ideas helped shape early Korean Neo-Confucianism. Part of one article includes the translation of the
first diagram from Kwŏn Kŭn’s *Diagrams and Explanations for Entering upon Learning* and some material from questions appended to that diagram. There is more in Korean but not a lot more. Of the three people studied here, the least amount of research has been conducted on Kwŏn. A conference on Kwŏn Kŭn held in 1982 resulted in a volume with a number of articles on a range of Kwŏn’s thought, including his ideas on governing, literature, education, and philosophy. The volume resulting from this conference also has a list highlighting important events in Kwŏn’s life, though Pak Ch’o’ng-ju’s article on Kwŏn’s official career is much more detailed. More specialized studies on Kwŏn’s literary works and on the relation between Heaven and Man in his thought, but the study closest to the approach taken here is Chŏng Ch’an-ju’s thesis on Kwŏn’s ideas of education. In the course of his study, Chŏng touches on some of the material in the second and third diagram of Kwŏn’s *Diagrams and Explanations for Entering Upon Learning*, but does not go into great detail. The chapter on Kwŏn Kŭn in this study will build on the work done by Kalton and Chŏng by completing the material on the first and second diagrams not done earlier and then examine Kwŏn’s third diagram, the "Diagram of the Great Learning". It will also provide background information as needed and explore the relationship between Kwŏn Kŭn’s cosmology, on the one hand, and his ideas on self-cultivation, on the other.

More work has been done on Yi Hwang (T’oegye) than any other Korean Neo-Confucian scholar. Although many aspects of
T'oebye's philosophy have been examined by others, most of the attention centers on what most people agree are his two most important works. First are works examining the development of his metaphysics in the Four-Seven Debate, a debate over the Four Beginnings and the Seven Emotions and their relation to principle and material force; second is his book, *Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning*, a handbook for self-cultivation that was presented to the young king, right before T'oebye retired from office. Several articles in English on the Four-Seven Debate have been written, as have two books. One of the books, titled *The Four-Seven Debate*, by Michael Kalton, et al., translates pertinent material from the letters exchanged between Yi Hwang and Ki Tae-sung (Kobong) that formed the first part of the debate and the letters between Yi I (Yulgok) and Song Hon (Ugye) that formed the latter part of the debate. Introductory and explanatory material is also included. This is the best work on the subject in English. The other book, *The Korean Neo-Confucianism of Yi T'oebye and Yi Yulgok*, by Edward Chung, gives a traditional analysis of the ideas put forward by the respective scholars and goes on to situate this within the overall development of Korean Confucianism, again from a traditional point of view. A good example of the Korean literature on T'oebye is Yoon Sa-sun's *A Study on T'oebye's Philosophy*, still a standard reference for T'oebye's thought. It provides insight into a wide range of important concepts in T'oebye's thought and has two long appendices that make up almost one-third of the book, one translating material on the Four-Seven Debate and
the other translating Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning. This work has been translated by Michael Kalton as Critical Issues in Neo-Confucianism Thought: the Philosophy of Yi T'oebye. Keum Jang-tae's more recent book, T'oebye's Life and Thought (퇴계의 삶과 철학), does not give as detailed an analysis of T'oebye's philosophy as given in Yun but, not surprising given the title, gives more biographical information on T'oebye and covers a wider range of topics. For instance, Keum Jang-tae devotes an entire chapter to T'oebye's criticism of Wang Yang-ming's thought. There have also been numerous studies on particular aspects of T'oebye's thought, too numerous to mention here. Some of these examine T'oebye's educational ideas or his support for private academies (sowôn), the former sometimes promoting the value of T'oebye's ethical ideas for modern Korean education.

Chapter three examines key cosmological and psychological concepts and their relation to self-cultivation in T'oebye's thought, but, unlike the case with Kwôn Kûn where the focus was on one text, here these ideas are spread out over different texts. The material from the Four-Seven debate, though not introductory material, shows the intricate link between cosmological concepts and human nature; it also provides a basis of comparison with Kwôn's ideas. Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning deals with concepts of cosmology and human nature, then goes on to give specific advice on self-cultivation. In one sense it is as broad as Kwôn Kûn's text in the scope of the material covered, everything from cosmology down to self-cultivation, but its focus is much narrower in that it aims to provide the King
with a handbook focusing on self-cultivation, whereas Kwŏn Kŭn tries to show the relationship between classical Confucian concepts and the new Neo-Confucian vision. Examining T'oegeye's *Glossary of the Great Learning* reveals three things. Like the questions asked by students in Kwŏn's text, it indicates where students were having problems and, related to this, indicates topics T'oegeye thought needed additional comment. It also provides a contrast on how students at the academy were taught as opposed to how the King was taught (or at least different ways material was presented).

Besides the material on Yulgok included in books on the Four-Seven Debate mentioned above, there have been a number of articles dealing with his thought in this debate as well as the studies on other aspects of his thought, for instance, Yulgok's political ideas or those on the community compact. Furthermore, Young-Chan Ro has also written a small book outlining some of the key ideas in Yulgok's thought. As is the case with T'oegeye, a great deal of research has been done on Yulgok by Korean scholars. Yulgok is also noted for the ideas he put forward in the Four-Seven Debate and for his major work, *Essentials of Sage Learning*, but, unlike T'oegeye, Yulgok's political ideas are as likely to be included in general discussions of his philosophy. As important as studies concentrating on either T'oegeye or Yulgok are numerous works in Korean comparing the two. Most of these compare some combination of their ideas on the cosmological and psychological concepts in the
Four-Seven debate, their main works, *Ten Diagrams of Sage Learning* and *Essentials of Sage Learning*, or important concepts, for instance, 'mindfulness' in T'oegye's thought and 'sincerity' in Yulgok's.\(^{132}\)

Chapter 4 on Yulgok includes the material from the Four-Seven debate for the same reason it is included in the chapter on T'oegye, i.e., for the cosmological and psychological concepts covered and as a comparative base for examining the ideas of both T'oegye and Kwŏn Kŭn. Although it does not deal with the cosmological and psychological concepts undergirding ideas of human nature as is done in some of the other texts, Yulgok's introductory text, *Important Methods for Eliminating Ignorance*, is important because it gives specific advice on self-cultivation; it also makes a good comparison with the last part of *Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning*. Only one chapter from *Important Methods for Eliminating Ignorance* has been translated into English, chapter 4 on reading texts.\(^{133}\) This is dealt with in the introduction to *Important Methods*, but the material in the forward and the first three chapters examined here has not been translated into English.

So much has been done on T'oegye and Yulgok and their ideas in the Four-seven debate that nothing new will come from the sections on the Four-Seven debate in chapters three and four, but the material is simply too important to ignore. Even when studies deal with *Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning* they do not show how this text fits in with other introductory texts; the same can be said of Yulgok's
Important Methods for Eliminating Ignorance. In addition, although T'oegye's "Diagram of the Great Learning" has been compared to Kwŏn's there has not been a detailed examination of T'oegye's revisions; that will be done here. Moreover, the full extent of T'oegye's modifications to Ch'eng Fu-hsin's "Diagram of the Mind-and-Heart Combining and Governing the Nature and the Feelings", usually ignored in studies on the Ten Diagrams, will also be examined. Finally, next to nothing has been done on T'oegye's Glossary of the Great Learning; important passages from this text will also be translated and analyzed. One result of examining philosophical ideas and introductory texts seems to be that despite differences in metaphysics (and psychology), the basic emphasis of these scholars for beginning students is restraining oneself (i.e., you must discipline the body before you can discipline the mind). It seems that while scholars have either focused on philosophical ideas (sometimes including self-cultivation) or on specific texts, or on education, the approach taken here will not only build on and advance the work done by others on Kwŏn Kŭn, T'oegye, and Yulgok, it will also broaden the perspective of how ideas of self and self-cultivation developed over the first part of the Chosŏn Dynasty.
ENDNOTES


16) Taylor, "Chu Hsi and Meditation", p. 49.


18) Tillman, *Confucian Discourse and Chu Hsi's Ascendancy*, p. 49.


26) Tillman, *Confucian Discourse and Chu Hsi's Ascendancy*, p. 231. The reasons for the ban are discussed by Tillman on pp. 139-144. The gist of the matter is political intrigue at court that increased after Kuang-tsung's (r. 1189-94) succession after Hsiao-tsung's abdication; particularly the former's refusal to lead mourners at the latter's funeral. Nor did things abate early in Ning-tsung's (1194-1224) reign where the combination of continued moralizing aimed at the throne by some of Tao-hsueh group and accusations by opponents of the group that they were a "faction" culminated in a ban against the group in 1195.


30) de Bary, *Neo-Confucian Orthodoxy*, p. 12.

31) de Bary, *Neo-Confucian Orthodoxy*, p. 12.

32) T'oegye noted differences between the two in a diagram, "Diagram of
Differences between Chu's and Huang's Explanation [of the Relation Between yin-yang and the Eight Diagrams] (朱子黃氏說不同圖). This is actually made up of two diagrams, one on Chu, the other on Huang; they appear in 道德學叢書 (陶山書院), vol. 4, pp. 424-25.


37) W. T. Chan, "Chu Hsi and Yüan Neo-Confucianism", p. 211.

38) W. T. Chan, "Chu Hsi and Yüan Neo-Confucianism", p. 214.

39) Tu Wei-ming, "Towards an understanding of Liu Yin's Confucian Eremitism", page 256.

40) Chan, W. T., "The Ch'eng-Chu School of Early Ming", pp. 29 and 32-33.


42) Chan, W. T., "The Ch'eng-Chu School of Early Ming", p. 33.

43) de Bary, Message of the Mind in Neo-Confucianism, page 75.

44) Chan, W. T., "The Ch'eng-Chu School of Early Ming", pp. 34-35.

45) Chan, W. T., "The Ch'eng-Chu School of Early Ming", p. 35.


47) Chan, W. T., "The Ch'eng-Chu School of Early Ming", p. 35.
48) Chan, W. T., "The Ch’eng-Chu School of Early Ming", p. 38.

49) Chan, W. T., "The Ch’eng-Chu School of Early Ming", p. 42.

50) Philip Ivanhoe, Confucian Moral Self Cultivation, p. 46.

51) Philip Ivanhoe, Confucian Moral Self Cultivation, p. 46.

52) Philip Ivanhoe, Confucian Moral Self Cultivation, p. 46. Neo-Confucian ideas of self-Cultivation are also addressed extensively in Metzger’s Escape from Predicament.

53) Philip Ivanhoe, Confucian Moral Self Cultivation, chps. 4 and 5 deal with self-cultivation in the thought of Chu Hsi and Wang Yang-ming, respectively. Ivanhoe also discusses Wang Yang-ming’s ideas of self-cultivation in Ethics in the Confucian Tradition, though here the comparison is with Mencius. Chu's and Wang's ideas on a number of subjects are also dealt with in Metzger, Escape From Predicament, especially, pp. 60-81 and pp. 93-160.

54) Philip Ivanhoe, Confucian Moral Self Cultivation, p. 49.

55) Philip Ivanhoe, Confucian Moral Self Cultivation, p. 49.


57) Rodney Taylor, "Chu Hsi and meditation", p. 53.


60) Donald Munro, Images of Human Nature, p. 86.

61) This aspect of the mind-and-heart is also discussed in Munro.

63) Ivanhoe, *Confucian Moral Self Cultivation*, p. 49.

64) Ch’oe Yong-ho examines the academies in his article, “Private Academies and the State in Late Chosŏn Korea”.


66) 安秉禧, 國語史 資料研究, p. 548; "천자문 千字文", in 한국민족문화대백과사전, 한국학중앙연구원, 성남시, 경기도, R.O.K., 1979, v. 21, p. 876, and Richard Rutt, "The Chinese Learning and Pleasures of a Country Scholar", *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch*, v. 36, 1960, pp. 1-100, especially pp. 33-35 and 66-75. All quotes from the text are those of George Rainer and appear in Rutt’s article, pages 69-75. As thought needed, some of Rainer’s translations have been slightly modified.

67) The quote is taken from Legge’s translation of the *Great Learning*.


73) "사사율곡언해, 四書集説解" in 韓國民族文化大百科事典, v. 10, p. 864.

74) 安秉禧, 國語史 資料研究, p. 554; "논어언해, 論語譯解" in 韓國民族文化大百科事典, v. 5, p. 770.

75) 安秉禧, 國語史 資料研究, p. 554; "맹자언해, 孟子譯解" in 韓國民族文化大百科事典, v. 7, p. 769.
76) 안승희, 邑史 資料 研究, p. 554; "大鶴演解, 大學諧解" in 한국민족문화대 백과사전, v. 6, p. 522.

77) 安聖熙, 邑史 資料 研究, p. 554; "中庸演解, 中庸諧解" in 한국민족문화대 백과사전, v. 21, pp. 127-28.


79) Information on the Elementary Learning is based on Theresa Kelleher's essay, "Back to Basics: Chu Hsi's Elementary Learning (Hsiao-hsiieh)", which appears in Neo-Confucianism Education, de Bary, ed., pp. 219-251.

80) Kelleher, "Back to Basics: Chu Hsi's Elementary Learning (Hsiao-hsiieh)", p. 223.


84) Kelleher, "Back to Basics: Chu Hsi's Elementary Learning (Hsiao-hsiieh)", pp. 233-34.


89) The best work on different annotations of the Elementary Learning in


101) 訴海, Ocean of Words.


104) 浮海, Ocean of Words.

105) "孝行錄" in 한국민족문화대백과사전, v. 25, p. 662.


110) All quotes from the text or taken from Nancy Lee Swan, Pan Chao: Foremost Woman Scholar of China, pp. 82-90.

111) Nancy Lee Swan, Pan Chao: Foremost Woman Scholar of China, p. 84.

112) Nancy Lee Swan, Pan Chao: Foremost Woman Scholar of China, p. 86.

113) Nancy Lee Swan, Pan Chao: Foremost Woman Scholar of China, p. 88.


117) "규중요람, 閏中要覽" in 한국민족문화대백과사전, v. 4, p. 67.

118) An excellent work on the "Confucianization" of Korea is Martina Deuchler’s The Confucian Transformation of Korea.
119) One possible exception might be the Yuan scholar Ch’eng Fu-hsin (1279-1368) who wrote a diagrammatic text on the Four Books (四書章圖).

120) It might be worth seeing whether one might find something similar in some of the Taoist texts.


125) The translation leaves out the material on the Four-Seven Debate and Ten Diagrams because this material was about to become available in English translation.


127) Examples of the former include 퇴계의 敎育思想에 대한 연구, by 윤덕준 (Studies on T’oegye’s Educational Thought, by Yu, Dukjoon), 퇴계의 敎育思想에 관한 연구, by 성낙곤 (A Study of T’oegye’s Educational Thought, by Song, Nak-kon) which focuses on the Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning, and 퇴계의 윤리思想연구, by 이창규 (Studies on T’oegye’s Ethical Thought, by Lee, Chang-kyu) which focuses on mindfulness.

128) Although most comparisons involving T’oegye focus on Yulgok, there are a few comparing his ideas with those of Kwŏn Kŭn in 都煥淳 (도광순), ed., 權陽村思想의 研究, 교문사, Seoul, 1989 (To, Kwang-sun, ed., Research on Kwŏn Kŭn’s Thought, Kyomun-sa).

129) Sakai Tadao has written on the community compact in "Yi Yulgok and the Community Compact"; Shin, Hye-Kyoung examines Yulgok’s ideas on private academies in relation to his educational thought in her MA thesis, Yi Yulgok’s Theory of Private Academies (中惠卿, 畢谷 李傑의 設院論).

131) Hwang, Chun-yŏn, for instance, examines all three topics in his *Understanding the Philosophy of Yulgok*; Hwang, Ui-dong, on the other hand, concentrates on Yulgok’s philosophy and then goes on to look at Yulgok’s political and social ideas in his book, *Studies on Yulgok’s Philosophy*.

132) Tsai Maosung, *A Comparative Study of T’öegye and Yulgok’s Philosophy*, Sung Kyun Kwan University Press, Seoul, 1995, takes this approach; Song, Byung-kwan compares their ideas on education is his MA thesis.

133) Chapter four was translated by JaHyun Kim Haboush and appears in *Sources of the Korean Tradition*. 
Kwŏn Kŭn (권근, 權近, 1352-1409) was one of the most important Neo-Confucian scholars in Korea during the transition from the Koryŏ Dynasty (高麗, 918-1392), during which Buddhism flourished, to the Chosŏn Dynasty (朝鮮, 1392-1910), which was founded on Neo-Confucian ideology. Kwŏn was a student of Yi Saek (이색, 李碕, 1328-96), a well respected scholar who passed the civil service examination in Koryŏ at the age of fourteen; then, during a six-year stay in Yuan China (元, 1271-1368), Yi went on to pass the next two higher civil service examinations administered by the Yuan court. After returning to Korea, Yi Saek became the leading figure of a political faction loyal to the Koryŏ Dynasty. Kwŏn Kŭn, like his teacher, was also closely associated with the loyalist faction, and his ties to this group resulted in his exile in 1389, after he vigorously defended Yi Sungin (이숭인, 李崇仁 1349-92), himself "a leading loyalist minister." Kwŏn returned from exile in late 1390 and then retired to the village of Yangch’ŏn (양촌, 陽村). He took the name of this village as his pen name. Although he had originally planned to remain in retirement after returning from exile, but all this changed after "a personal interview with [the new King] Yi Sŏnggye convinced him to devote his talents and prestige to the new Dynasty."  

As is the case with most Confucian scholars, Kwŏn Kŭn’s position as a Confucian scholar is based on his textual studies. And it is on
these studies that his philosophy is based. Although he wrote a number of textual studies, only two of his major works are still extant—Diagrams and Explanations for Entering upon Learning (入學圖說) and Superficial Reflections on the Five Classics (五經淺見論). Though no longer extant, we still know something of his other works. Kwŏn Kŭn was influential in developing ritual studies in Korea. He developed his explanation of ritual based on the basic assumption that mindfulness was a fundamental characteristic of ritual. Related to this, he emphasized the role of ritual in maintaining social order. In addition, Kwŏn Kŭn rearranged the Book of Music into two parts. The first part he took as a classic, the second part was seen as commentary. He also related the mind-and-heart and the heavenly-endowed nature to ritual and music. For Kwŏn the mind-and-heart gives rise to music; heavenly-endowed nature institutes or enacts ritual. Both ritual and music, as well as governing and punishing, were seen as a means of controlling or channeling human desires.

In his two surviving textual studies Kwŏn applies the theory of substance and function to the Four Books (Analects, Mencius, the Great Learning, and the Doctrine of the Mean) and the Five Classics (Book of History, Book of Poetry, Book of Rites, the Spring and Autumn Annals, the Book of Changes). Kwŏn Kŭn analyzes the Book of Changes using the same framework used to explain the other works. In this case, Kwŏn used the substance-function structure to clarify the correspondence between the nature of the mind-and-heart and heavenly principle within human nature. In so doing he asserted that the only difference between the sage and other people is the type of material force (ch'i) each receives.
It is only the turbidity of their ch'i that keeps people from realizing that Heaven and Man combine as one.\textsuperscript{11}

The substance-function dichotomy has a long history in Chinese thought, one usually traced back to Wang Pi (226-249), a scholar usually associated with neo-Taoism.\textsuperscript{12} David Gedalicia traces how the relationship between the concepts 'substance,' 'function,' and Supreme Ultimate developed in Chu Hsi's thought from the time of Chu's initial divergence from Wang Pi to his final position. In doing so he notes four stages of development, each stage another attempt at grappling with the same persistent problem-- how to explain the relationship between the transcendent and the immanent. It is the final stage of Chu's position that concerns us here. Whereas in the third stage Chu Hsi identified substance with the Supreme Ultimate, which he had already identified with principle, and identified function with activity and quiescence, which in turn relied on principle for existence, in the fourth and final stage of development Chu makes the Supreme Ultimate, still identified with principle, "more transitive and imminent in initiating the process of activity and quiescence".\textsuperscript{13} He accomplishes this by ascribing two characteristics to the Supreme Ultimate. First, the Supreme Ultimate "operates creatively within activity and quiescence by springing them or 'stepping on the trigger,' yet becomes neither entangled in nor circumscribed by these alterations of matter which it triggers...." The reason for this is that the Supreme Ultimate "necessarily transcends the modes of activity and quiescence and preserves its discrete identity."\textsuperscript{14} Gedalicia goes on to point out that in developing this position, Chu Hsi was ultimately drawn away from the substance-function framework.\textsuperscript{15}

In describing and explaining the Supreme Ultimate Kwŏn Kŭn
follows Chu Hsi’s position, but in the former’s Diagrams and Explanations for Entering upon Learning, the substance-function framework is still very important in explaining Confucian or Neo-Confucian concepts, for instance his use of this framework to explain the relationship between the Five Classics. As an explanatory device, the substance-function framework does not simply fade away in Kwŏn Kun’s thought. Given the importance of this concept in Kwŏn’s work, more information on the relationship between these two concepts is needed.

Wing-tsit Chan notes that although "Chu Hsi never wrote a comprehensive or systematic treatise on the subject" of substance and function, six general principles can be gleaned from his work on the relationship between these two concepts.\(^{16}\) One is that substance and function are different; another is that these two are not separate although, in referring to the latter characteristic, Chu Hsi pointed out that, "With reference to substance and function, there must be substance before there can be function."\(^{17}\) A third characteristic of the pair is that substance and function come from the same source. Here, though, Chan is quick to point out that when Chu says "the same source", he "does not mean the same origin; it means that there is function in substance and substance in function. In other words, substance and function involve each other."\(^{18}\) Another characteristic is that everything has its own substance and function. The fifth characteristic is that substance and function have no fixed position. Finally, substance unifies while function differentiates; in other words, even though things may be the same in substance, they may differ in function.\(^{19}\) Another way sometimes used to explain substance and function is in terms of latency, being unactivated, unmanifest, or unrealized, on the one hand, and activation,
application, manifestation, or realization, on the other hand.

There were two versions of *Diagrams and Explanations for Entering upon Learning*, one with twenty-six diagrams and the other with forty. The version with twenty-six diagrams is used in this study. The three diagrams examined here deal with fundamental Neo-Confucian cosmological and psychological concepts and are common to both versions of the text. No matter which version is used, Kwŏn Kūn's "Diagrams reflect the elements of Neo-Confucianism that stood out most clearly and impressively in the minds of Koreans at the critical point in their history," namely, during the initial phases of establishing a Dynasty based on Neo-Confucian ideas, when most scholars were used to earlier forms of Confucianism that prevailed during the Koryŏ. All the major concepts of Neo-Confucianism are addressed within its pages. More than this, Kwŏn Kūn deals with traditional material antedating the development of Neo-Confucianism, and he does so in a way that confirms the continuity between the older tradition and the newer material. In short, Kwŏn's *Diagrams and Explanations for Entering upon Learning* attempts to put forward and explain key elements from the entire Confucian tradition, but he does so from a Neo-Confucian point of view.

In importance and worth *Diagrams and Explanations for Entering upon Learning* deserves exhaustive study. Our purpose here, however, is more modest. It is, in fact, threefold. First, we will confirm that Kwŏn Kūn aims to present the entire Confucian tradition to his students by drawing on material ranging from as far back as China's mythic past right up to Chu Hsi's commentaries on the *Four Books*, but that he does so with a Neo-Confucian focus. Second we will place *Diagrams and
Explanations for Entering upon Learning, essentially a diagrammatic handbook, within the overall context of educational texts that were outlined in the introduction. Third, and most important for our study of self and self-cultivation, we will give a detailed examination of the first few diagrams in Kwŏn's text in order to show the cosmological foundations and assumptions undergirding the Neo-Confucian project as it was introduced to Korea and to show the relationship of these assumptions to Kwŏn’s ideas of self and self-cultivation.

The diagrams in the text can, in a sense, be seen as independent diagrams addressing a particular topic. On the other hand, given that some of them deal with the same topic (e.g. ritual or cosmology), one would not be unjustified in dividing parts of the text up into thematic sections. The first diagram, "Heaven and Man, Mind and Nature, Combine as One," provides an overview of the most important cosmological and psychological concepts in Neo-Confucianism. It is, as it were, an anthropo-cosmological snapshot of the Neo-Confucian universe. The second diagram, "Diagrammatic Analysis of Heaven, Humanity, the Mind-and-Heart, and the Nature," is actually a series of diagrams dealing with each of these topics individually. The first diagram in the series of diagrams making up the second diagram is then followed by a number of questions and answers addressing with specific concepts dealt with in the diagrams up to this point. These diagrams and questions and answers can be seen as constituting a section illuminating the fundamental concepts of Neo-Confucianism. All this material will be translated and explained below.

The next two diagrams deal with two of the Four Books— the Great Learning and the Doctrine of the Mean. The first of these, the "Diagram of
the *Great Learning,* illustrates the key concepts of the text and provides a diagrammatic summary outlining the basic steps of Neo-Confucian self-cultivation. The latter diagram is titled "Diagrammatic Analysis of the First Chapter of the *Doctrine of the Mean*"; it deals with one of the most important documents dealing with Neo-Confucian psychology. Each of these diagrams is also followed by a series of questions and answers. The material dealing with the *Great Learning* will also be translated and analyzed below.

The next three diagrams can be seen as a set or section dealing with ritual, since all three deal with some aspect of ritual performances, although each could stand on its own. The first diagram in this section ("Diagram for high officials placing spirit tablets for five ancestors", 諸侯昭穆五廟都宮之圖) gives the layout and procedures for feudal lords carrying out ancestral rites at ancestral shrines or halls. Specifically, it shows the arrangement and proper placement of the two rows of spirit tablets in the ancestral shrine. The next diagram ("Diagram for the triennial sacrifice", 時祫之圖) deals with the layout for the triennial sacrifice to the ancestors. The third diagram ("Diagram [for the placement of tablets] in a room", 一堂之圖) illustrates the way the spirit-tablets and the person offering the sacrifice should be facing within the room. As in the above sections, there are also questions and answers appended at the end of this section.

The next section turns again to texts, this time to the *Analects, Mencius,* and the *Five Classics.* The *Analects* and *Mencius* are both dealt with in one unillustrated page of text giving an extremely terse highlight. In contrast to the apparent short shrift in dealing with these two books, the next two diagrams illustrate and explain the relationship of the *Five
Classics using the substance-function framework. The first of these two diagrams is titled, "Diagram of the Five Classics as One in Terms of Substance and Function" (五經用合一圖). The second of these diagrams is titled "Diagram of the Five Classics Each Having Their Own Respective Substance and Function" (五經各分體用之圖). The difference between these two diagrams is a matter of detail. The former gives a rough schematic with the Book of Changes at one pole associated with substance and gives the Spring and Autumn Chronicles at the other pole associated with function. The latter diagram lists all five classics in a column and then notes the attributes associated with each Classic in terms of substance and function.

The next diagram ("Diagrammatic analysis of the Chou and Shang divisions of the year, 春王正月橫看分釋之圖) is divided into two sections, with the upper part dealing with the four seasons in relation to the Heavenly cycle and the lower part dealing with the twelve months in relation to the kingly (i.e., earthly) cycle. The "Heavenly cycle" refers to the division of the year into four seasons by the Shang, while the "earthly cycle" refers to the division of the year into months by the Chou.

The next two diagrams deal with two of the traditionally oldest writings influencing early Confucian thought-- the "River Diagram" and the "Lo Writing". The "River Diagram" was important because of the influence it had on early cosmology and numerology. The Diagram "was allegedly borne out of the Yellow River on the back of a dragon-horse and contained the Eight Trigrams or the data from which the trigrams were constructed. It was dated to the time of the mythical culture hero Fu-shi, the 'Animal Tamer', himself."22) In his diagram ("Diagram of the
River Diagram and the mutual production cycle of the Five phases, Kwŏn Kun discusses the "River Diagram", the mutual production cycle of the Five Phases, and the relationship of one to the other. The "Lo Writing" is traditionally attributed to a turtle that emerged from the Lo River with the diagram on its back, during the legendary reign of King Yū (att. c. 2000 BC) when he was controlling the floods. Whereas Kwŏn Kun related the mutual production cycle of the Five Phases to the "River Diagram", in his diagram dealing with the "Lo Writing" ("Diagram of the Lo River and the mutual conquest cycle of the Five phases", 落書五行相剋之圖) Kwŏn examines its relationship to the mutual conquest cycle of the Five Phases.

The next section deals with the Supreme Ultimate, the development of the yin yang cosmology, and the 64 hexagrams. The first of these diagrams ("Diagram of the Great Ultimate giving rise to yin and yang, the four digrams, and the three trigrams", 太極生兩儀四象八卦之圖) shows the Supreme Ultimate giving rise to yin and yang and their development into the Four Forms (i. e., four digrams) and then the development of these four into the Eight Trigrams. In doing so, it also shows the eight Chinese characters that correspond to the first eight trigrams in the Book of Changes. In addition, the relationship between the Four Forms and the use of the Eight Trigrams in divination is explicit. It is also worth noting that Chu Hsi, in response to a student's question on the subject, also drew a very simple diagram showing the diffusion of the Great Ultimate into yin and yang and then into Four Forms and Eight Trigrams. Kwŏn Kun's diagram, however, is much richer in that it provides much more detail on the way yin and yang develop as the progression unfolds. The next diagram ("Diagram of the..."
Round and Square of the Prior Heaven" (先天方位圖方圖) is circular and deals with the effusion of the Supreme Ultimate into the Eight Trigrams and then on into the 64 hexagrams. In this case though, it is not the hexagrams themselves that are drawn but the Chinese characters denoting them. The third diagram dealing with these concepts represents the 64 possible combinations of the first Eight Trigrams. This is done by creating a vertical column, right down the middle of the Diagram, made up of the eight Chinese characters associated with the Eight Trigrams; flanking each of the eight characters in the vertical column are branches that go off horizontally to both sides and connect the character in the vertical column to one of the eight characters which are repeated in the horizontal rows, i.e., four characters on each side. Two other diagrams deal with the Eight Trigrams; both are octagonal. In the first diagram, the Eight Trigrams form an octagon that has been arranged in what has been called the "prior Heaven" sequence. The other Diagram is similar in construction except that it follows the "later Heaven" sequence.

The next three diagrams can be taken together as a section dealing with cosmology, numerology, and the development of yin and yang, though these diagrams could also be seen as a continuation of the information presented in the previous section. The first of these diagrams (陰陽六九為老之圖; "Diagram of six as mature yin and nine as mature yang") actually consists of two different diagrams. The first, upper diagram is a circle with a horizontal line across the diameter. This diagram is associated with Heaven, yang, and the number three (and by association odd numbers in general); at the center of the diagram is the Chinese character for 'Classic' (經; literally- warp (as in fabric)). The second, lower diagram is a square with a horizontal line
across the middle and the Chinese character 'Classic/ warp' on the far right side of the diagram. In both these cases, the literal meaning of the character should be remembered. The square diagram represents Earth, yin, the number two (and by association all even numbers). In other words, these two diagrams represent two halves of the cosmos that, taken together, form the basis of everything. Also noted in the explanation of this diagram is that the numbers six and nine correspond to "greater (mature) yin" and "greater yang", respectively; hence the title. The connection between numbers and yin and yang is explicit in the next diagram, which, if translated literally, could be titled, "The Diagram of Heaven and Earth Completing the Numbers". It shows the first five numbers (one through five) on the production end of the creative process and shows the last five numbers (six through ten) completing this process. It also shows that yin is within yang and that yang is within yin. The last diagram of this section ("The Lo Diagram and the even and odd numbers", also deals with yin and yang and numbers. It divides yin and yang between the numbers six through nine and also shows the degree of yin and yang being lesser (literally, younger) or greater (literally, older) and their association with each particular number.

The penultimate diagram ("Diagram on being without Idleness") deals with the Nine Divisions of the "Great Plan" as seen in the Book of History, as well as with 'Heaven' and 'Man'. It is quite complex and is divided into two full diagrams-- upper and lower. The title roughly translates as "Diagram of Heaven, and Man Combined as One as provided by the Nine Divisions of the Great Plan".

Kwon's last diagram ("Diagram on being without Idleness", 無逸之
is probably based on Sung Ching's (662-737) "Diagram on Being without Idleness". Sung based his diagram on information in the fifth chapter of the Book of Documents, "a chapter in which the Duke of Chou lectures the young ruler on [idleness]." Among the contents of Kwŏn's diagram is a note that the superior man does not idle away his time in luxury and ease. It also gives an admonition to revere Heaven and to protect the common people. In addition, it includes information on examples set by some ancient kings and worthies.

In sum, Kwŏn Kŭn's Diagrams and Explanations for Entering upon Learning introduces his students to the most important texts and concepts of Neo-Confucianism and gives a Neo-Confucian reading to earlier traditional texts. Besides the first diagram which gives a general overview and the last diagram giving exhortations and examples to be vigilant in one's efforts, Kwŏn's Diagrams includes five diagrams dealing with cosmology (either the Supreme Ultimate, yin and yang, or numerology), three diagrams dealing with ritual, two diagrams dealing with the Five Classics, and one diagram apiece dealing with the "River Diagram", the "Lo Writing", and the "Nine Divisions of the 'Great Plan'". Moreover, much of the material in these later diagrams is also closely related to one of the Five Classics, for instance the close association between the cosmological diagrams and the Book of Changes. This and the fact that the Five Classics are covered more thoroughly than the Analects and Mencius might give one the impression that Neo-Confucianism is slighted in the presentation of the entire Confucian tradition or that it is, at best, presented as just one part of a much larger tradition. However, closer examination reveals that Neo-Confucian concerns are at the forefront of Kwŏn's thought and that his examination
and explanation of the Confucian tradition for his students presents that tradition through a Neo-Confucian lens.

Of all the diagrams, the material explaining the first four makes up over half the book. In other words, the material associated with less than twenty percent of the diagrams comprises over fifty percent of Kwŏn's text. Moreover, these are the four diagrams that present and explain the major Neo-Confucian terms and concepts— the first giving a comprehensive overview, the second going into more detail on specific terms and concepts dealing with cosmology, psychology, and human nature, and the third and fourth dealing with the two most important texts for the development of Neo-Confucianism, the Great Learning and the Doctrine of the Mean. In short, Kwŏn Kŭn's Diagrams and Explanations for Entering upon Learning both explains and justifies Neo-Confucianism to students who, up until that time, were more familiar with traditional Confucianism. It is to Kwŏn's introduction of Neo-Confucianism and the idea of self-cultivation that we now turn, but only after placing Diagrams and Explanations for Entering upon Learning in the context of the educational texts examined in the introduction.

An assortment of educational and ethical texts in classical Chinese and early Korean were examined in the introduction, ranging from annotations of Confucian classics to those focusing on women or one or more of the five virtues. Compilations such as the Elementary Learning and Four Books for Women, as well as works like Reflections on Things at Hand, are all good examples of thematic texts that draw from a variety of sources in order to instruct and promote fundamental Confucian ideas. In addition, other texts, such as the Twenty-four Exemplars of Filial Piety or Samgang-haengsildo, are good examples of works that combine a series of
diagrams with text in order to promote particular virtues. But what we do not seem to find are many diagrammatic handbooks on Neo-Confucianism—texts that combine a series of diagrams and explanations introducing the major concepts of Neo-Confucianism. *Diagrams and Explanations for Entering upon Learning* may be unique in being the first text to combine a series of diagrams and explanatory material for introducing such a wide range of Confucian concepts. Moreover, in creating it Kwŏn Kŭn not only created a model for other texts of this type in Korea, he also laid the intellectual foundations for the development of Neo-Confucianism in Korea, for it is from within the parameters of this broad outline that Korean ideas about Neo-Confucianism evolved.

Three of Kwŏn Kŭn's diagrams will be dealt with here: "Heaven and Man, Mind and Nature, Combine as One", "Diagrammatic Analysis of Heaven, Humanity, the Mind-and-Heart, and the Nature", and the "Diagram of the Great Learning". The first diagram is complex, perhaps not surprising in a diagram that tries to include not only the cosmological concepts that undergird the Neo-Confucianism universe but also tries to show how these philosophical and psychological concepts of that same universe are used to understand and explain the nature of human beings:

The first diagram is a diagram of the entire universe and of the human moral predicament. They are inextricably intertwined, for in this vision analysis of the human psyche leads in one direction into the metaphysical structure of the universe and in the other direction into questions of morality. Just about every major Confucian or Neo-Confucian concept is included
somewhere in the diagram. This includes cosmological, philosophical, or psychological concepts like principle (li, 理), material force (ch’i, 氣), yin and yang (陰陽), the Five Phases (五行), the Heavenly Mandate (天命), heavenly-endowed nature (性), and the mind-and-heart (心), the Seven Feelings (七情), the Four Beginnings (四端), the intent (will) (意), mindfulness (敬), and sincerity (誠).

By way of general orientation, from top to bottom the first diagram parallels Chou Tun-i’s *Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate* but is far more complex. (Chou’s "Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate" is reprinted in the next chapter on T’oegye.] Both start with Heaven, and the Supreme Ultimate at the top followed by yin and yang and the Five Phases; in Kwŏn Kŭn’s diagram this makes up the "head", "neck", and "torso" of the diagram. The anthropomorphic parallel is no accident. The same material and concepts that form and explain the universe also form and explain the individual. In the middle of the torso is the mind-and-heart and within it the philosophical and psychological concepts dealing with what it is to be a human being:

[Here] we find the words 'will', 'mind', 'nature', and 'feelings' in fact [form] the shape of the Chinese character for 'heart' or 'mind' [心]. In the midst of the universe, embodied in the physical stuff of the earth, we find the mind/heart of men... the diagram suggests that the mind of men is also the mind of the universe.\(^{34}\)

Below that on each side are the diagram’s "legs". Here we see the issuance of the mind-and-heart in the world and the results of the interaction of everything else in the diagram. On the right side the development of the Four Beginnings and sincerity leads to sagelness; on the left side the focus is on desires and the toll they may take.

Reading the diagram from right to left is less complex than going
from top-down, though both readings are needed. The far right side of the diagram represents li (all-encompassing principle), as well as ch'i (individualizing matter/energy) in its most rarefied, balanced, and easily penetrable form. The further to the left one goes the more unbalanced and blocked ch'i becomes. The enclosures at the top of the "legs" of the diagram juxtapose the Four Beginnings (humanity, propriety, righteousness, and wisdom), on the right side, against aggression, passions, desires, and dullness on the left, which if allowed to draw us away from the correct path can damage our inborn nature. The three enclosures arranged horizontally across the middle of the lower half of the diagram deal with 'sincerity' (labeled 'integrity' in the diagram), 'mindfulness', and 'desire', respectively. Yet, each of these three enclosures is directly linked to the enclosure in the upper right of the "leg" containing the Four Beginnings. This indicates that although both human potential and the natural tendency of the Four Beginnings is for the good, their development can be either nurtured or corrupted. In the very bottom layer of the diagram, the two enclosures juxtaposed there represent extreme cases, one good, the other not. All these concepts are explained in such a way that there is a direct link between cosmology, on the one hand, and the moral obligations and development of human beings, on the other.

We might see a twofold point in Kwŏn Kŭm's choice of the title for his diagram, "Heaven and Man, Mind and Nature, Combine as One"; first, he wishes to establish the unity of men and Heaven, a unity which runs through the whole universe; second, he wants to describe that unity in terms of a doctrine of mind and nature which implies the necessity of moral cultivation and social responsibility.35)

Moreover, the general structure of the diagram also reflects the
Confucian concept of the mind-and-heart as either being quiescent or active and in doing so provides, on the one hand, a moral metaphysics and, on the other hand, a moral psychology. From this perspective, the head, neck, and rectangular torso of the diagram represent the mind-and-heart in its quiescent state. While in this state, the person's nature, mind-and-heart, feelings, and intent are all present in their full potential, but, because the mind-and-heart has not been activated, this potential is still unrealized. In terms of substance and function, the substance or potential is present but has not been activated, i.e., is not functioning in the world, or, in other words, the potential is still unrealized. Furthermore, precisely because it is quiescent the mind-and-heart has not manifested itself in a way that tends toward good or evil. Here then the mind-and-heart is, in a sense, morally neutral. In addition, the relationship of these quiescent aspects of the mind-and-heart and their relationship to the other fundamental, cosmological concepts in the diagram provide the foundation of Neo-Confucian moral metaphysics.

It is in the lower half of the diagram--the "legs"--that we see the mind-and-heart in an active state reacting to affairs in the world. It is here that one's potential is either realized or atrophies. It is also where distinctions between good and evil are made. This can be seen on the Diagram itself. In the space between the two "legs" of the Diagram we see that good and evil separate, i.e., they must now be distinguished. Second, we see that there is a direct relation between the manifestation or function of one's potential (substance) and affairs, for it is here that "all affairs arise".

Examining the first diagram, one sees that Kwŏn Kŏn posits five
general personality types. First is the sage, that rare person who develops their potential in accordance with the Way, and, in the end, always acts according to Heaven's principle. The right "leg" of the diagram represents this course of development. Second is a person who starts correctly but, tempted by selfish desires, veers from the correct path, and only through constant vigilance and mindfulness is able to recover his full potential and become a sage. Third is a person who starts correctly but, not being mindful, is tempted by selfish desires and veers toward evil. The next two personality types involve people who start off on the wrong foot. In one case, even though the person starts off on the wrong foot, because the potential for good is never diminished but only obscured, the person is able to realize the error of his ways and, through constant vigilance and mindfulness, recover and then develop his potential to become a sage. Last is a person who starts off wrong and, because such a person only seeks to fulfill his selfish desires, obscures their potential and, in the end, can scarcely be called human. One of the most important aspects in the development of this moral psychology is the fundamental role played by mindfulness in preserving, developing, or recovering a person's potential. Mindfulness, in one sense, functions as a filter for a person's thoughts and actions, so that there is a direct correlation between how mindful person is and how likely that person is to achieve his full potential. Lastly, if Kwŏn Kŭn's moral metaphysics and moral psychology are examined in terms of substance and function, we see that evil is not a matter of substance per se, but rather that evil is a matter of function, and even here it is not necessarily so.
After a brief introduction explaining why he wrote *Diagrams and Explanations for Entering upon Learning*, Kwŏn Kŭn follows the diagram with a brief commentary. Then, after the first two diagrams and the subsidiary diagrams associated with the second diagram, Kwŏn appended seventeen questions and answers concerning these diagrams and explanations. The seventeen questions Kwŏn deals with here were questions students put forward and therefore provide a glimpse of problematic or contentious points in the introduction of Neo-Confucianism to Korea. The introduction as well as the comments, and questions and answers on the three diagrams are all translated and analyzed below, starting with Kwŏn's forward. Introductory comments are also included where needed. These are usually separate from the translation itself; where comments have been inserted within the translation, they have been offset by brackets or parentheses ([...]). Lastly, Kwŏn Kŭn's comments have been indented to more clearly set them off from the rest of the text.

*Diagrams and Explanations for Entering upon Learning, Forward*36

After I was exiled to the Kumma district during the fall of the year 1390, a few beginning students who were studying the *Great Learning* and the *Doctrine of the Mean* came to me, but even after I repeatedly explained things in detail they still did not understand those texts clearly. Therefore, drawing on Chou Tun-i’s *Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate* and adhering to the approach taken in Chu Hsi’s commentaries I made these diagrams using the words and phrases of former worthies to again explain their meaning. Moreover, the answers to each of the students’ questions are provided one by one and the content
of these exchanges recorded and appended at the end of the diagram; I am therefore calling the text "Diagrams and Explanations for Entering upon Learning". Besides these texts, there were other classics also worthy of being outlined diagramatically; these too have been drawn and, here and there, I have occasionally appended my own wild speculations. Moreover, even though I would like to receive the corrections of my superiors and teachers, I am stuck here in my place of exile way out in the country where there are not many people like that around. I can’t wait for the day when they are. I hope the reader will please forgive all the text’s mistakes and find something worth learning in its pages. Even without a teacher at one’s side, studying this text will give the reader an understanding of the main points of Neo-Confucianism.

Chu Hsi says that "Heaven creates the myriad things through the transformations of yin and yang and the five phases, bringing about their formation; material force (ch’i) gives things their material form, but everything is also endowed with unifying principle (li)." Now, it is based on this idea that I have drawn this diagram.

The diagram is based on Chou Tun-i’s Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate and on the explanations contained in Chu Hsi’s commentary on the Doctrine of the Mean (Doctrine of the Mean in Chapter and Verse). I tried to clearly elucidate the differences between good and evil and li and ch’i in the parts of the diagram showing both the Heavenly-endowed nature and the mind-and-heart in order to show these basic concepts to students. This being the case, the diagram does not go so far
as to explain the phenomenon of the creation of the myriad things. When we speak of people and things coming into being then they have the same unifying principle (li); the differences between things depend only on the differences in the quality of the material force (ch'i) that gives them form-- whether it is penetrating or blocked, off-center and unbalanced, or centered and balanced. When the material force received is centered and balanced it becomes a person; when it is unbalanced or blocked it becomes a thing. Thus, according to this diagram, the area around the Chinese character for "sincerity" (integrity) includes the sage because the ch'i here is the most refined, ethereal, and penetrating; that is why principle penetrates most thoroughly. [Ch'i has two aspects related to its quality; these are density, i. e., how ethereal or refined it is, and, related to this, penetrability, that is, both how well it lets principle flow through or penetrate it and how well it flows, i. e., how lumpy it is. The more refined it is the better principle can penetrate (and therefore unify) and the more sagely a person will act.36] The area around the Chinese character for "mindfulness" refers to the mass of ordinary people, since the purity of ch'i here is correct and penetrating. The area around the Chinese character for "desire" refers to the myriad things because the ch'i here is unbalanced and blocked. Below that at a lower level of purity are things like beasts and animals, and at a still lower-level of purity where the ch'i is even more blocked and more unbalanced come plants and vegetation. Thus, all the creative transformations of the myriad things are also represented in this diagram.

Generally speaking, because Heaven and Earth create ceaselessly-- that which is in motion comes to rest, that which
comes into existence goes out of existence, to be followed by another—people and animals, plants and trees, the billions of different things are each given their own principle to follow, each one being an effusion of the Supreme Ultimate. Thus, it is because each one of the myriad things is endowed with the same unifying principle that all come forth from one common origin and that there is nothing in Heaven or Earth that has a different fundamental nature. This is why the *Doctrine of the Mean* states in Chapter 22, "Able to perfect his own heavenly-endowed nature, he can perfect the heavenly-endowed nature of other men. Able to perfect the nature of other men, he can perfect the heavenly-endowed nature of things. Able to perfect the heavenly-endowed nature of creatures and things, he can assist in the transforming and nourishing activity of Heaven and Earth." How great are these words!  

This ends Kwŏn's comments on the first diagram and, although this seems like very little in the way of explanation considering the complexity of the diagram, the ideas involved therein are also the topic of the next diagram, "Diagrammatic Analysis of Heaven, Humanity, the Mind-and-Heart, and the Nature". This diagram is actually a set of diagrams and might be better titled separately as three distinct diagrams: "Diagrammatic Analysis of Heaven", "Diagrammatic Analysis of Humanity", "Diagrammatic Analysis of the Mind-and-Heart". What would be titled "Diagrammatic Analysis of the Nature" is not really a diagram, but rather comments on the Chinese character (性) and what it means; in this, it is more like the section on "nature" in Ch'ên Ch'ŭn's *Neo-Confucian Terms Explained*, though not as long. In addition to Kwŏn's explanations of these diagrams, the questions appended at the
end of the diagrams also expound upon the material presented in the diagrams.

As noted above, the second diagram, titled "Diagrammatic Analysis of Heaven, Humanity, the Mind-and-Heart and Nature" is actually broken up into several sub-diagrams. The first of these diagrams makes two important points. One is that Heaven is not so much a 'thing' as it is a dynamic process; the other is that human beings are inextricably tied to this process and participate in it through 'sincerity' and 'mindfulness'. Although made up of sub-diagrams, these two themes are assumed throughout the diagrams and therefore provide a unifying thread.

The Diagram starts at the top with a simple phrase expressing both the unity and the expansiveness of Heaven-- "Heaven is One. It is Vast." "Heaven", in this case, refers to the universe or the cosmos. This phrase (天為一大) is all the more forceful because the Chinese character for "Heaven" (天) is made up of the Chinese character for "one" (一) placed on top of the Character for "large, big, vast" (大). In short, the unity and vastness of Heaven is inherent in its character, both figuratively and literally. Below that the diagram is divided into four sections; all but the last has complementary parts located on the other side of the diagram. The uppermost section highlights characteristics of the oneness and all-encompassing nature of Heaven. Oneness is addressed in terms of both principle and practice (action). Here the reference is to principle as the unifying force or tendency in the universe and to its role as the cosmic pattern for not only the things of the universe but also for the network of interactions within the universe. In
this principle is unique. Simply put, there is nothing anywhere without principle in it. Moreover, this principle unifies and connects. Although the reference to action may encompass principle, it also implicitly includes ch'i, the ever dynamic, individualizing, material force or tendency that forms the stuff of the universe. However, one is not present without the other.

The vastness of heaven is spoken of in two senses and in a way that parallels the substance-function framework that pervades much of Kwŏn Kūn’s work. First, in terms of substance, it is clear that everything in the universe is made up of stuff within the universe itself; there is no help from the outside; there is nothing beyond the universe itself. This also links substance as potential to unactivated principle and uncoagulated ch'i. The second sense refers to the manifestation or realization of substance, i. e., function. In this case, this includes the interactions of yin and yang and the five phases, all of which are ceaselessly creating, transforming, and dissipating, only to repeat the entire process. In short, the unity of Heaven is linked to its being all-encompassing. Moreover, its all-encompassing substance corresponds to the ubiquitous nature of principle, and its unceasingly active nature corresponds to its creative transformations. This is why, in the subsequent section of the diagram, both these aspects, the vastness of Heaven and its unity, are linked to the source or origin of the myriad transformations in the universe, on the one hand, and to the foundation of the myriad differences, on the other hand.

The penultimate section of the diagram is sandwiched between sincerity, which separates, but also links, the second and third parts of the diagram, and mindfulness, which both separates and links the third
and last parts of the diagram. These two concepts, usually translated 'sincerity' or 'integrity' (誠) and 'reverence' or 'mindfulness' (kyŏng, 敬), respectively, are probably the two most important terms in the Neo-Confucian vocabulary of self-cultivation. Furthermore, how one translates these terms often depends on whether one is referring to Heaven or to Humanity. Although the basic classical meaning of the latter term was "reverence", the term was, according to Michael Kalton, transformed into a technical term designating an essential practice of self-cultivation that referred to a particular state of mind. Kalton sums this up as "the animating force of this rigorous mental discipline is a fundamentally reverent disposition that recognizes that everywhere and always we are involved in something ultimate". According to Wing-tsit Chan 'seriousness' in ancient Confucianism was often interchangeable with 'reverence' (kyŏng) but in Neo-Confucianism the two words differ sharply. Following Ch'en Ch’un (1153-1217), Chan thinks 'reverence' has to do with one’s appearance and expression in respect for others and 'sincerity' has to do with one’s effort: "the former is external and the latter internal". Chan goes on to state that, in this case, "The main difference seems to be that reverence implies an object whereas sincerity is a state of mind." Of course, Kalton’s 'mindfulness' also denotes a state of mind. One might be tempted to think the main difference lies in the focus of the terms, 'mindfulness' directed outwardly and 'seriousness' inward, but even this distinction is inadequate. It is probably better to see both as internal states of mind and that either may have an internal or external focus. In this case, the difference is qualitative and in a way directly related to the 'will' (or one's determination). With 'reverence' or 'mindfulness' the person must make
a conscious effort to act or think appropriately, whereas with sincerity the more sincere the person becomes the more natural the process becomes, i.e., the less conscious effort is needed. A good example of this is seen in the Analects. In Book II, Chapter four, lines one through six, we learn the following about Confucius:

The Master said, "At fifteen, I had my mind set on learning. At thirty, I stood firm. At forty, I had no doubts. At fifty, I knew the decrees of Heaven. At sixty, my ear was an obedient organ for the reception of truth. At seventy, I could follow what my heart desired, without transgressing what was right."\(^{45}\)

Given the above, we can say that Confucius was mindful when he was young and, as he grew older, he became more and more sincere.

But all this only deals with these two terms in this particular context, i.e., self-cultivation. In the case of 'mindfulness', the original meaning of 'reverence' does not entirely fade away. Even in this diagram, the phrase at the bottom left, "Always maintaining an attitude of awe at Heaven's majesty," implies a sense of reverence, even though the character itself is not used here. In the case of 'sincerity', the proper translation may often, but not always, hinge on whether the reference is to Heaven or to Humanity. The 'integrity' (誠) of Heaven cannot but be complete in and of itself and is, therefore, an impersonal and universal principle; in a situation like this, 'integrity' may sometimes be a better translation than 'sincerity'. Both these terms provide a good example of a tendency in Chinese thought where the more important a term becomes the more meanings it is likely to acquire.
Diagrammatic Analysis of Heaven, Humanity, the Mind-and-Heart, and the Nature

**HEAVEN**
- is ONE.
- It is VAST.

**VASTNESS**
- In terms of creative transformation, it is limitless.
- In terms of substance, it is all-inclusive.

**ONENESS**
- In terms of action, it is unceasing.
- In terms of principle, there is nothing comparable.

**INTEGRITY/ SINCERITY**
- Foundation of the myriad differences.
- Origin of the myriad transformations.

**MINDFULNESS**
- Always maintaining an attitude of awe at Heaven's majesty.
- However lofty it may be, it oversees this day in and day out.

Heaven and Humanity Combine as One

Diagram 2.2 from Kwŏn Kŭn's Iphakdosoıl (入學圖說).46

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Finally, at the base of the diagram, the fourth and last part is a restatement of the one of the most fundamental assumptions of the whole Neo-Confucian enterprise—Heaven and Humanity are, in a very real sense, united. But this also means that, given the oneness and all-encompassing nature of Heaven at the top of the diagram, the unity of Heaven and Humanity can only come about through the individual embodying the concepts of sincerity and mindfulness. In other words, unity of practice reflects the metaphysical unity of the universe.

The next section contains the diagram dealing with what it is to be human. This is the simplest of Kwon’s diagrams. At the center of the diagram is the Chinese character for human being (人). This character is then flanked on the left and right sides by the Chinese characters for evil (惡) and for good (善), respectively. Above the character for human being are two characters stating, "Principle is one". The implication here is clear. Human beings start with a unified endowment of Heavenly principle and are therefore not predisposed toward evil. Furthermore, the problem of good and evil as such is a Human problem, not a Heavenly one.

Diagram 2.2a: Humanness: Principle is one; human beings are capable of both good and evil.47

Diagram 2.2a: Humanness: Principle is one; human beings are capable of good & evil.47
Kwon appends the following comments to this diagram:

To be human is to be benevolent (i.e., to possess the ability to empathize with other human beings as well as with all other things in heaven and on earth). Benevolence is the principle of Heaven and Earth whereby they give life to creatures. When people are created this principle is the mind-and-heart. Therefore, Man is the most spiritual/luminous of all creatures and benevolence is the greatest of all goods. Combine the highest spirituality/luminosity with the highest virtue, benevolence, and one is speaking of the Tao.48

The term 'spiritual' here has connotations in English, especially vis-a-vis matter, that are absent in the Chinese. Kalton defines 'spirit' in this context as, "a highly subtle, refined, active, penetrating yang aspect of the same stuff that in its more inert, course, dense yin aspect we call 'matter', that is, spirit and matter are not a dichotomous duality but two extreme conditions of the one stuff of existence, ch'i."49 In other words, spirituality is a type of material force that is so ethereal, so rarefied, that it can easily intra-mingle with and inter-penetrate the other myriad things. This is why principle shines through material force and why it is linked to benevolence; spirituality lacks anything that can unbalance or block the principle that is also inherent in people. Moreover, on a cosmic level, benevolence is the principle behind the cosmic fecundity of heaven and earth. Human beings share in this cosmic fecundity--that is why people are endowed with the mind-and-heart. And it is because people possess a mind-and-heart of benevolence that they are the most spiritual/luminous of all entities in the universe. One other meaning of
the Chinese character usually translated 'spirit' is clarity of insight. This, of course, would also lead to benevolence, since in Confucianism if you see clearly, you see how to act as the part of the harmonious cosmic pattern pervading the universe, and to act in such a way is to act in accordance with benevolence. Kwŏn then addresses how this plays out in people:

A sage is someone who is completely sincere. The Way of a sage and the Way of Heaven are one and the same. The superior person is able to cultivate his Tao through reverence. The common man, falling prey to his desires, is led astray and follows what is bad. Principle is the same in every human being, but one's physical endowment of material force, as well as what one actually does, differs. In these differences lie the difference between good and evil. This is why I show the Chinese character for "person" (亻) bifurcated by good and evil. This warns us to be cautious. When a person is able to fully embody benevolence, the person's 'li' is filled with virtue, insuring that the life-giving li is always within the person. Then, and only then, will the person never do anything they might regret; nor will they feel they have acted in a way that is less than truly human. If this is not the case, then the principle animating the person dies out and they will no longer be human. This is why Confucius said "The virtuous are long-lived." And, it is why he said, "Man is born for righteousness. If a man loses his righteousness, and yet lives, his escape from death is the effect of mere good fortune." In this passage, Kwŏn seems to equate li with the life-animating
force of ch’i, saying that if your mind-and-heart is filled with life-giving principle and you preserve it forever without losing it, then you will live a long time, i.e., live out your allotted life-span. If, however, you ignore this inherent principle, it will lose its animating force and you will die. In other words, it is being perfectly engaged and relating that makes us human. If we stop acting in accord with the Heavenly endowed principle that links us to the rest of the world, we stop being fully human. It also means we will not be able to live out the life-span allotted to us as human beings. Kwŏn’s position also has an important philosophical implication: "metaphysically Kwŏn Kŭn appears to be an absolute monist in that he derives material force from principle... he seems to have taken the derivation of material force from principle more or less for granted."\(^{52}\) It is this that, in the end, keeps some of his philosophical and psychological theories from diverging into dualism. Furthermore, the active role of principle (li, 理) assumed here by Kwŏn Kŭn becomes hotly contested in the Four-Seven debate, one of the most important intellectual controversies within Korean Neo-Confucianism. Kwŏn, however, is not unsupported in this; Chu Hsi obviously means the same thing when he states, "Li produces ch’i [material force]."\(^{53}\) Moreover, Chu also said,

Fundamentally, principle and material force cannot be spoken of as prior or posterior. But if we must trace their origin we are obliged to say that principle is prior. However, principle is not a separate entity. It exists right in material force. Without material force, principle would have nothing to adhere to.\(^{54}\)

The development of and relationship between these concepts will be examined more thoroughly in the next two chapters.
Kwŏn Kŭn's "Diagram of the Mind-and-Heart" (Diagram 2b, below) complements the information given about the mind-and-heart in the first diagram. The general orientation of the diagram also parallels that of the first two diagrams; principle is purest at the right side of the diagram and the further left one goes the more prominent is the role played by material force (ch’i). Starting at the top of the diagram are the two phrases, "What originates with material force," and "What originates with principle." This shows the inextricable link between principle, material force, and the formation of the mind-and-heart. On the right side of the diagram, the subtlety of the Tao Mind within the feelings is also noted; this is one of the reasons why Kwŏn Kŭn holds that the feelings are not necessarily bad. Opposite that on the left, the precarious nature of the Human Mind is noted, as is the fact that our desires can lead us astray. This is another aspect that makes the feelings precarious. The dot in the center of the diagram represents the Heavenly-endowed nature. That it is perfectly round indicates that a person’s heavenly-endowed nature is, from the very beginning, complete. Just to the right of that, and still within the strokes of the character, is the phrase, "Shoots up like flames." This makes explicit the correspondence of the mind-and-heart to Fire, the most yang and active of the Five Agents/Phases. At the bottom right of the diagram is the phrase, "Feelings do not have anything that is not good". This is important because it shows that for Kwŏn Kŭn one’s feelings could be
trusted; they were not the source of evil. Rather, as is shown opposite that on the bottom left side of the diagram, if evil springs from anywhere it springs from the will. In between these two, as if to decide which way the mind-and-heart would go, is mindfulness. Here again mindfulness acts as a filter. It is mindfulness that either stabilizes the

Diagram 2.2b. The Mind-and-Heart
precarious balance between our feelings, which are inherently good, and our selfish desires, which are destabilizing, and thus directs a person's proper moral development, or it fails to stabilize this situation and the person's moral development is warped. Kwŏn Kŭn explains the diagram as follows:

The heart-and-mind is what we receive from Heaven and it presides over the person. It is the wondrous combination of both principle (li) and material force (ch'i). It is "intelligent awareness in its pure, naturally given, cosmically indivisible form"; it is spiritual [and free of any material force that is either unbalanced or distorted].

That is, it is the site of the most rarefied, penetrating, and clarifying ch'i. When it controls the heavenly-endowed nature and the feelings, the mind-and-heart is referred to as illustrious virtue, and since it is endowed with all-encompassing principle it responds to the myriad things and affairs. The mind-and-heart that is endowed with material force can be obfuscated by desires for things; that is why the mind-and-heart is sometimes darkened (blocked). Students who don't see this clearly must align themselves through mindfulness in order to dispel the darkness and restore their original luminosity.

The very form of the Chinese character for mind-and-heart is like a centrally placed square. The point in the very center of the image, the central point, represents the source of principle and heavenly-endowed nature. It is perfectly round and just right, having nothing off-center and nothing distorted. It epitomizes the mind-and-heart. Below it is a concave area that is empty of any concrete, specific content and therefore
symbolizes being empty [of self] and full of principle.\textsuperscript{56}

Kwôn is referring to the mind-and-heart before it is activated or aroused, but, for Kwôn, "empty" here is not an absolute void; it is just the lack of form. Furthermore, he goes on to describe the characteristics of the diagram below, and, in doing so, Kwôn mentions the feelings, Tao mind, the Human mind and the intention (Will). However, there are important differences between many Western ideas of the Will and what Kwôn Kûn means by the term; the latter, often translated ‘Will’ can in different contexts be translated ‘intention’ or ‘determination’. In general terms, it seems to fall within one Western conception of the ‘will’ as, "the faculty of choice or decision, by which we determine which actions we shall perform", but a closer look reveals distinct differences.\textsuperscript{57} Aristotle, for example, distinguishes between theoretical and practical intellectual activity, but one result of this is that, "Knowing what is true and deciding what is morally good result from two different activities of the human intellect."\textsuperscript{58} There is none of this in Kwôn Kûn’s idea of ‘intention’; for Kwôn true knowledge includes moral knowledge and, what is more, knowledge itself has motivating force.\textsuperscript{59} Aspects of the Stoic view at first seem more germane, for example the idea that "man has been endowed with the same reason that governs the universe and is, therefore, able to ascertain the salutary and perfect order of nature."\textsuperscript{60} The problem here is that substituting Neo-Confucian concepts for Stoic "reason" ignores too many fundamental differences. Moreover, whereas Kwôn assumes the feelings are basically good but can go astray, the Stoic view is more pessimistic-- "The Stoic defined every affection, including anger, as the impulse toward a morally wrong action which originates
solely from an intellectual misjudgment without the contribution of any irrational faculty of the human soul...." There are also difficulties when comparing the Christian concept of the will. For instance, Kahn notes two characters in Augustine's doctrine of the human will. One is "the will of man, with its freedom of choice, provides the explanatory cause for evil and sin," the second, "the will of man is the stage on which the drama of God's grace is to be acted out...." The first characteristic may seem pertinent, but a closer examination of the ideas of "sin", and even "free choice", belie this. The second characteristic reinforces the incongruity between Western concepts of the will and Confucian ideas of intention or determination.

Kwôn's comments on the mind-and-heart follow.

The long downward stroke [within the character 心] symbolizes the ch'i aspect of things combining with the li aspect of things to form the mind-and-heart. And, starting from the very bottom tip and going upwards, since of all the Five Phases the mind-and-heart (心) is fire, it looks like flames of fire shooting upwards. That is why it is able to illuminate things, initiate movement (i.e., become active), and respond to the myriad things and affairs in the world.

The point to the right symbolizes the nature manifesting itself as feelings; the feelings are a function of the mind-and-heart. The point to the left portrays the mind-and-heart issuing as intention; intention is also a function of the mind-and-heart. When we speak of its substance it is one; when we speak of its functioning it is two. That is, the mind-and-heart has only one substance-- unactivated it is whole,
but when functioning it can go in one of two different directions. In short, the mind-and-heart is one, but it can manifest itself in good or bad ways. If it originates from, is a manifestation of, the nature Heaven has bestowed on us, then we call it the Tao Mind and it belongs to the realm of feelings. In their basic manifestation, feelings have nothing about them that is not good, but since the moral threads are almost imperceptible in their subtlety (i.e., since the threads of virtue are extremely subtle), they are difficult to fathom. Hence, the saying, "The Tao mind is extremely subtle." Therefore, you must always abide in mindfulness in order to amplify these subtle threads of virtue. On the other hand, if it originates in the psycho-physical endowment [that makes us individuals], then we call it the Human Mind. The Human Mind falls under the general category of intention. In the incipient phase of their issuance [paralleling that of the moral threads] when the intention first arises, the potential is there to either develop correctly or to go astray. This is an extremely precarious condition. Desires can lead us astray. Hence the saying, "The Human Mind is extremely precarious."

Kwŏn Kŭn here asserts that it is not in our feelings that the danger lies. We see this quite clearly in his diagram (2.2b)-- "The emotions have nothing that is not good." Our feelings will not lead us astray. Kwŏn's reasoning here assumes that the emotions actually originate at the same level as the Tao Mind. Therefore, it is not our emotions per se but our intentions that, unwatched and uncontrolled, have the potential to lead us awry. This, as we shall see, is different from the position held by both T'oegye and Yulgok in the Four-Seven
Debate. It is, however, closer to the position held by Tasan (1762-1836), who held that good and evil are determined by the choices we make, though the reasoning supporting their respective positions differs: "In Tasan's view man's moral problem has nothing to do with the perfection or imperfection of his psycho-physical endowment; man, by his constitution, is necessarily poised between the higher and lower aspects of his being." Despite their differences, the moral prescription put forward by all four of these scholars is the same—ever constant vigilance in maintaining a state of mindfulness.

Kwŏn goes on to address the need for maintaining mindfulness in order to keep our intentions and desires on the right track, lest they tempt us and lead us astray:

Moreover, we must always abide in mindfulness in order to completely control any excess that may lead us off the moral path, and to do this our desires must be checked while still in the incipient stage. If you amplify Heavenly principle to the fullest extent and always put the Tao Mind (i.e., the moral mind) in charge, then the Human Mind will follow the direction of one's heavenly-endowed nature and the precarious condition of the Human Mind will become secure and stable and the Tao Mind will be strongly evident in the intersection between movement and stillness (i.e., in the moment when the person or mind which was quiet begins to stir). If you make no mistake at that crucial juncture, then you can be like sages or worthies who form a triad with Heaven and Earth. This should be taken as a model of behavior. If, on the other hand, you do
not do this, human desires will increase daily and the heavenly-endowed principle within you will grow weaker day by day, and your mind will never go beyond mere emotions and desires aimed at gaining profit and avoiding harm. Although the form of such a person is human, they are not far removed from birds and beasts. Therefore, dare we not develop an attitude of mindfulness? 

The next section deals with the heavenly-endowed nature (性). In this case, the large character above is all there is in the way of a "diagram". Moreover, Kwon Kun’s comments on the character are equally simple. Kwon notes that this particular Chinese character is formed by combining two other characters-- the character for ‘life’ (生) and the one for ‘mind-and-heart’ (心). This was a common way of explaining the meaning of this character. We see the same thing in Ch’en Ch’un’s ‘Neo-Confucian Terms Explained— "The character hsing (nature [性]) consists of two parts, sheng (to produce [生]) and hsin (mind [心])." More important though is Kwon’s affirmation linking an individual’s endowed nature with the nature of Heaven-- "If we know our nature then we know Heaven." Kwon Kun’s comments on nature, as well as a brief restatement of why he wrote Diagrams and Explanations for Entering upon Learning, are as follows:

Nature is what Heaven decrees and people receive. The
principles we are endowed with at birth are complete in our mind-and-heart. Therefore, this character, the character for nature (性), is clearly a combination of the characters for the 'mind-and-heart' (心) and the character for 'life' (生). Principle is the same in both people and the myriad things; it is the differences in their physical endowments that distinguishes them. In Book Six of Mencius, Kao Tzu (告子) states, "What is inborn is called nature". Han Yu (韩愈) said "It is what people receive at birth". The Buddha said, "What we do is the nature". They are speaking in terms of ch'i and are omitting principle. The Doctrine of the Mean states, "What Heaven endows is the nature". Mencius says, "Exhaustively knowing one's mind-and-heart, one knows his nature. If we know our nature then we know Heaven."

The above diagrams were made for beginners. Thus, they explain the meaning of Heaven, man, the mind-and-heart, and the nature by analyzing the meaning of those characters in terms of their dots and strokes. This may seem a mistake to my teachers and superiors but beginners can easily see and understand at a glance the import of the character's meaning. [All these ideas are based on the words of Chu Hsi and the Ch'eng Brothers.] None are my own wild speculations.

As a teacher of beginning students, one cannot speak of abiding in a state of mindfulness in the mind-and-heart (敬心) without implying preserving and fostering one's spontaneously moral feelings (存養). I did this to get them started on what underlies moral effort. How in the world could this be understood as something separate from fostering mindfulness! I hope scholars who share my intent will append their thoughts to the text.
Also worth noting is the comparison between Kwŏn’s comments on nature and Chu Hsi’s "Diagram on Nature" below.

**Diagram 2.3 Chu Hsi’s Diagram on Nature**

Chu’s "Diagram on Nature" is much closer to Kwŏn Kŭn’s "Diagram on Humanness" than it is to Kwŏn’s comments above on the heavenly-endowed nature. In the first two of these, there is the unequivocal assertion that a person is by nature good and that the key to self-cultivation is the proper cultivation of this potential in accordance with the Way (Tao). Moreover, evil is not rooted in the good; rather, evil occurs because a person deviates from the path of proper moral development. In other words, a person’s tendency toward evil is directly linked to the betrayal of their own inherently good, heavenly-endowed nature. In short, evil has no separate ontological status as does the good; this means ‘good’ is defined by saying what it is and evil is defined by saying what it is not. It is in pursuing one’s own selfish desires that a person betrays both their nature and the Tao and in doing so thereby retards their own moral development.
Questions and Answers:

The above diagrams and explanations introduce the basic concepts of Neo-Confucianism to students who were accustomed to earlier forms of Confucianism and who were struggling to understand how the various aspects of the Neo-Confucian project related to each other as well as to what they had previously learned about Confucianism. Moreover, given the number of cosmological concepts explained in the text and the direct relationship of these concepts to the psychological ideas needed for self-cultivation, there were, not surprisingly, a number of students who had questions. But there may well have been other reasons to use the question and answer format. It could be used to answer possible critics or just to introduce or highlight a particular problem of interest to the author. The next part of Kwŏn Kŭn's Diagrams and Explanations for Entering upon Learning deals with seventeen of these questions and Kwŏn's responses. The questions and answers that follow cover a full range of material and further elucidate the concepts put forward in the above diagrams. In fact, almost all the topics from the initial presentation receive a more detailed explanation below.

The first question deals with the status of the Unrealized Ultimate (無極). In Chou Tun-i's "Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate" there is an empty circle above the Supreme Ultimate that represents the Supreme Ultimate before its potential has been activated. Here this is translated as the "Unrealized Ultimate", though it has also been translated as the "Indeterminate", "Supreme Ultimate Unrealized", and "Ultimate of Non-being". The problem for the student though is what becomes of
this in Kwŏn Kun’s diagram. In Chou’s diagram it is obvious, but here it seems to be missing. Kwŏn replies that it is not missing in his diagram; rather it has been incorporated into the top, center part of the diagram. An important assumption in Kwŏn’s reply is Chu Hsi’s identification of li, the universalizing principle of the universe, with the Supreme Ultimate.

1. Question: Looking at the diagram titled, "Heaven and Mind Combined as One", you say it is based on Chou Tun-i’s "Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate", but in his diagram Chou mentions the Unrealized Ultimate. Why is it absent in your diagram?
Answer: The Unrealized Ultimate refers to the principle (li) within the Supreme Ultimate and does not refer to anything other than that. There is no Unrealized Ultimate apart from or outside the Supreme Ultimate. In this diagram the circle with the Chinese character for Heaven (天) in it at the top of the diagram represents this.77

The second question refers to the same area of Kwŏn’s diagram as the first, except here the question concerns the relationship between four virtues mentioned in the Book of Changes and sincerity. ["Sincerity" is translated in Diagram 1 as "Integrity".] It is not that sincerity is not also mentioned, but rather that, since these four are the result or product of the constant generation of principle it is hard to see how ‘sincerity’ could be separate, yet this seems to be the case in the diagram. Hence the student’s question. Kwŏn Kŭn’s answer draws on a passage of Chou Tun-i’s where the latter refers to ‘faithfulness’ in relation to the Five
Constant Virtues, just as Kwŏn Kŭn here adds sincerity to them. But, an even better passage for making this point is the second chapter of Chou Tun-i's *Penetrating the Book of Changes*, where it states: "Sagehood is nothing but sincerity. It is the foundation of the Five Constant Virtues (humanity, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, and faithfulness) and the source of all activities. When tranquil, it is in the state of non-being, and when active, it is in the state of being." Equally important here is a reference to sincerity not outside of, but within the virtues as something that ensures that the virtues develop correctly, for the next lines of Chou's text are, "[Sincerity] is perfectly correct and clearly penetrating. Without sincerity, the Five Constant Virtues and all activities will be wrong. They will be depraved and obstructed." Why Kwŏn did not refer to this section of the text to reinforce his point is unclear. In any case, the background for all this lies in the Han synthesis where the original Four Virtues were linked to the Five Phases; this meant supplementing the Four in order to complete their correlation with the Five phases. Part of this was an association between faithfulness' or 'trustworthiness' (信) and 'reality' or, better in this case, 'reliability' (實); the latter was also associated with 'sincerity' (誠), the term for both the reliability and integrity of Heaven and for the reliability of the functioning of the four virtues.

2. **Question**: The *Book of Changes* refers to just the four virtues of origination (元), flourishing (亨), benefitting (利), and steadfastness (貞) alone; [since these are the actualization or fruit of the constant generation of Heaven's principle in the world there is nothing beyond them that we can call sincerity (誠) (Integrity)], but you nevertheless add sincerity in your diagram.
Why is that?

Answer: The mandate of Heaven is deep and profound. From beginning to end the four virtues, origination, flourishing, benefiting, and steadfastness, circulate endlessly because of its having the reliability of principle, and that’s all. That is why in chapter five of the *Doctrine of the Mean* it states, "Sincerity is the Way of Heaven". That is, its talking about the reliability (實) of the rotation of four virtues; likewise there is nothing outside the four virtues [that is sincerity]. That is why Chou Tun-i had already referred to faithfulness (信) as being among the Five Constant Virtues. So, this is not something I just dared to add [on my own].

The third question refers to the slim column in the "neck" of the diagram, located right below the circle discussed in the previous two questions and right above the Chinese character for 'nature' (性). The question deals with the relationship between the Mandate, the heavenly-endowed nature, and principle. One thing we see here is the tendency to refer to something by a different name when it appears in a different context or its function differs. In this case it is the Heavenly Mandate as the heavenly-endowment that is referred to as either principle or nature, depending on the context. The Mandate is the origin of both. But while the term used may differ, it would be a mistake to think that a different reality was referred to. Rather, it is the same reality popping up in a different way.

3. Question: Why did you put the Heavenly mandate above
the character for nature (性) and refer to it as what originates with principle (礼)?

Answer: The Doctrine of the Mean states, "What Heaven endows is called the nature". Chu Hsi explains this as meaning that Heaven creates the myriad things with yin and yang and the Five Agents. Material force forms into concrete configurations, and principle (礼) is endowed therein as if it were ordered there by the Mandate of Heaven (命). Thus, this thing called the 'endowment' (mandate) that Heaven bestows when people or things are created is called principle. It is in the midst of yin and yang but is not admixed with them. This endowment is thus what originates the nature and is principle. Sŏng Tang (成湯) spoke of what originates with principle as, "Sincerity is the eternal nature", and Yi Yun (伊尹) referred to "The illustrious mandate of Heaven". In addition, Yu Hyang (劉向) said, "It is the Mean of Heaven and Earth". In Book Five of the Analects, Confucius said "Continuing in goodness is what completes the nature". All these people are referring to the same thing. In the Doctrine of the Mean it says "Exhausting one's foundation and perfecting one's goodness, the myriad principles will all be complete; then Heaven's principle will be like Man's and Man's will be like Heaven's".81)

The fourth question again concerns the inner enclosure at the top, center part of the diagram that was discussed in the first two questions. It is as it were a follow-up question. In Chou Tun-i's "Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate" the circle at the top of the diagram representing the Unrealized Ultimate is empty. There is nothing in it. But, having now learned that this part of Kwŏn Kŭn's diagram represents the Unrealized
Ultimate, the question is why so much has been stuffed into it. In responding, Kwŏn points out that though empty, in the end, the Unrealized Ultimate is realized as the Supreme Ultimate and from this the myriad things are created through the interaction of yin and yang and the Five Phases. Furthermore, these changes correspond to the Four Virtues and the Four Seasons. In the background is another problem: Kwŏn, and other Neo-Confucians, had to explain the essential unity of the cosmos, something crucial for self-cultivation as they conceived it, in a way that set them apart from the Buddhists. Lastly, we see here something Kwŏn Kŭn stresses time and time again—in a different contexts, the same thing may be referred to using a different term.

4. Question: Heaven above has no sound nor smell. That is why Chou Tun-i drew the image of the circle with nothing in it and called it the Unrealized Ultimate (Indeterminate). If you had just written the character for Heaven, that would have been sufficient. Why did you have to go and write the names of the Four Virtues, plus sincerity and the Heavenly Mandate? Why did you have to use so many different terms? Couldn’t you have limited it to the mysterious single foundation?

Answer: Heaven as Heaven is so vast. Even though we say Heaven makes no sound and has no smell, it is still the center on which all creation depends, and it is the root of the myriad things. How could it not have the wherewithall to do this? The undifferentiated, single principle ceaselessly and flowingly acts, and they (yin and yang, the five phases, the four seasons, and the myriad things) all come from this. It is the principle of origination that gives birth to things in spring and in human beings manifests as benevolence. It is the principle of
flourishing that causes things to grow in summer and in human beings this manifests as propriety. It is the principle of benefiting that causes things to reach their maturity in autumn and in human beings this manifests as righteousness. And it is the principle of steadfastness that preserves things in winter, and in human beings this virtue manifests as wisdom. These four virtues all flow from this origin. Therefore origination includes the four virtues just as benevolence governs the five constants. When we speak of the reliability of their constant and universal generation we call it 'sincerity'. In people we call it faithfulness. When we speak of it being put in things it is called the Mandate. In human beings we call it the heavenly-endowed nature. Although there are many different terms and each term refers to the particular activity or function, they all emerge from the undifferentiated [harmonious operation of] li/ Heaven. So, how does using different terms for all the stuff that emerges out of unity harm the [wondrous], single foundation? Moreover, because the drawings are for beginning students, if I had not drawn the diagram this way and spoke only of Heaven, then students might be led astray by over emphasizing the vast emptiness of Heaven without a controlling force and would lose sight of the fact that Heaven is the origin of the myriad things. On the other hand, if the focus were just on these terms, students might be led astray by too much emphasis on the great variety and extent of things produced as a result of the transformations of ch'i and lose sight of the fact that behind the myriad phenomena lies the mysterious and marvelous source of their single foundation. Furthermore, they would not know that when I talk about human nature, I am talking about something that originates in Heaven and that the principles originating
there are complete in us. Not understanding what I am trying to say, students may confuse it with the 'void' of Buddhism or the chaos of Yang Chu.\footnote{122}

The fifth question deals with perspective and position, specifically the position of East and West and yin and yang in the diagram and why these may appear in different places. Kwŏn responds that it is all in the eye (and position) of the beholder. Kwŏn Kŭn's answer is interesting in that it implies that he, being in Korea in the North, and Chou Tun-i, being south of the Yangtze River, are both looking at the "center" of the world from their respective positions and, therefore, need to adjust accordingly. Whether or not this can be used to argue that right from the beginning Korean Neo-Confucians tried to view Neo-Confucianism from a Korean rather than a Sino-centric perspective is debatable, literally. It could easily be argued that, at the least, they adapted Neo-Confucianism to their own perspective; it could just as easily be argued that they saw themselves on the periphery between a civilized China at the center and barbarians even further beyond the periphery, hence the need to take China as a model. Or, it could be a combination of these two things.

5. **Question:** In Chou Tun-i's "Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate" the character 'yang' (陽) is on the left and the character for 'yin' (陰) is on the right. Furthermore, the direction established for each on the diagram is correct. Why did you take the right as the East and the left as the West?

**Answer:** I took Chou's Diagram diagram as the authoritative guide. It is because I am here in the North looking South and
Chou Tun-i is down in Southern China, south of the Yellow River, looking North that there seems to be a difference. That is why in this diagram the left is East in the west's normal position and the right is West in the position usually occupied by the East. If we look at the same phenomena as though the chart were to the North and we were looking at it from the South, then the East would appear to be on the right and West would appear to be on the left. It is not that yin and yang are in different positions; rather it is only that positions of those observing yin and yang has changed.83)

Question six deals with the five phases (or agents) in the "neck" of the diagram, as well as the Chinese characters for 'root of yang' (陽根) within yin and 'root of yin' (陰根) within yang. The problem appears to be that the elements 'fire' and 'water' are in positions opposite of what they hold in Chou's Diagram. In Chou's diagram water is on the yin side of the diagram and fire is on the yang side. Moreover, earth is in the center of the other four phases and there links fire and metal, but, as an agent or phase, it is still whole. In Kwon Kun's diagram, however, "earth" is written twice, as though it were split by the neck of the diagram. The root of the problem is probably because in Chou's diagram the inter-penetration of yin and yang is shown separately from the five phases; there yin and yang are inbetween the empty enclosure representing the Supreme Ultimate and Unrealized Ultimate, which is above, and the Five Phases, which are below. In Kwon's diagram the inter-penetration of yin and yang and the five phases is all dealt within the same section. Hence the confusion.
6. **Question:** In Chou Tun-i's "Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate" the elements water, fire, metal, and wood are all below the section dealing with yin and yang and the element 'earth' is in the middle with 'water' on the yin side and 'fire' on the yang side, but now in your diagram water is in the 'root of yang' section within yin and fire is in the 'root of yin' section within yang. Moreover, you split the element earth in two and insert it in among the other four phases. Why is this?

**Answer:** Although in Chou Tun-i's Diagram the Five Phases are arranged below yin and yang, he says that the five phases are one with yin and yang. So, there is no yin and yang outside the five phases. ["By the transformation of yang and its union with yin, the five agents of Water, Fire, Wood, Metal and Earth arise.... The Five Agents constitute one system of yin and yang..."84] Perhaps the viewer does not see this. Generally speaking, water resides in the first of the earthly branches and, since that is where yang arises, water is yin at the extreme. Thus yang already occurs in the yang within yin. That is why it is drawn in the midst of yin as the root of yang. Fire resides in the seventh earthly branch and that is where yin arises. Fire is the completion of yang, the fullest form of yang, and the first sprouts of yin are already present, namely as the yin in the midst of yang. Therefore it is in the midst of yang and resides as the root of yin. Wood is yang in its early phases and is pure yang. Therefore it is in the east. Metal is yin in its early stages and is pure yin. Thus it is in the West. [Note: Wood is pure yang, and metal is pure yin. This is because wood generates fire, the most intense form of yang, and metal generates water, the most intense form of yin. Wood is between early yang, which arises out of water but before fire,
which is the form of yang that contains the sprouts of yin. Similarly, metal arises out of fire and earth, which is yin; this in turn generates water, the most intense form of yin, but it also contains the sprouts of yang. That is why these two are the purest forms of yang and yin, respectively.

In general, Earth, as one of the Five Phases, has no one definite position and is connected to the other four phases. That is why it can be divided in two and inserted in between them. The circle represents Earth is not as large as those of the four phases, and when you see that it is not clear whether its substance is yin or yang and that it is partly hidden, then you can see that it is actually same size as the other four phases. This shows that it functions as an intermediary agent. It is only when it joins another agent that its role becomes clear. Its orientation as either yin or yang only becomes clear through its interaction with another one of the Four Agents. That is why it is not represented as an independent agent the same size as the others. However, since the li of the Heavenly Mandate runs right through the middle of the diagram and is the controlling force, how could we allow the element Earth to cover up the li of the Heavenly Mandate? Therefore, since I had to reconcile Earth belonging to both the yin and yang sides of the diagram and I could not have Earth covering the Heavenly Mandate, I had no choice but to show its influence in two separate locations, on both sides of the channel for li as the Heavenly Mandate.85)

Question seven deals with the nature of ch'i itself and its relationship to yin and yang. Material force is here described using two different Chinese characters to elucidate different aspects of it. One of
the characters is, of course, the Chinese character ch'i (氣), usually translated "material force". The other character, 質 (K: jil, Ch: chih), is sometimes rendered "psycho-physical force" and sometimes just "matter". These two characters are located on the "shoulders" of the diagram; the character ch'i (氣) is in the right shoulder, in the white area representing yang (陽). The other character, jil (質), is in the left shoulder, in the dark area representing yin (陰). (These two characters are also in the phrases flanking the "torso" of the diagram, and while alluded to here, they are dealt with in greater detail in question thirteen.) The latter character, jil (質), is defined in Mathews as either, 1.) "disposition" or 2.) "matter, substance, or elements". Moreover, Mathews glosses 氣質 as "a man's moral character" and 性質 as "a man's disposition". The Font of Words (源辭) gives a broader range of meanings for both these terms. It defines the Chinese character jil (質) as: 1.) "substance" or, more literally "body" (體); 2.) "lead", "leader", "ruler", "principal" (主) or "root", "foundation" (本); 3.) "nature" (神性); 4.) "correct, straight, true, exact, right" (正), and 5.) "genuine, true, real, substantial" (實), among others. In addition, it defines ch'i (氣) as: 1.) "The unifying part of an object; in solid and fluid bodies it is said to have substantial nature (體質), but has not solidified", or 2.) "It is something without form, but jil (質) is present and it responds, reacts". In short, ch'i (氣) has a more active, dynamic, and less solidified character than jil (質), and jil (質) has a concrete, less dynamic character than ch'i (氣). Fung Yu-Lan (or at least Bodde's translation of Fung) defines jil (質) as "corporeal matter" and either transliterates ch'i (氣) or translates it as "Ether". Of the latter character, he states that here, ch'i "is the basic material from which concrete things are produced, and to which li or Principle supplies the pattern or form.";
jil (質), on the other hand, "is this same 'material' when it appears in more solid and tangible form." In the Diagram as presented here, the concrete aspect is translated "matter" (質) and the more general aspect is translated "force" (氣). Question seven turns around a distinction within material force (the individualizing aspect) itself, specifically the relationship between those aspects of material force represented by these two Chinese characters. On the one hand, there is the raw force of the material (the general aspect (氣)) and, on the other, is the specific, concrete instance (質) of that same material. But, this being the case, what is the difference between the two? Kwŏn Kŭn answers the question in a way that indicates these concepts refer to different aspects of the same thing.

One interesting thing about the distinctions being made here is that material force is described in terms of yin and yang and in terms of general (氣) and specific (質) forms, but there has been no attempt to relate these two separate descriptions to each other. It would be redundant to simply equate yang (陽) with ch’i (氣) and yin (陰) with jil (質). Chu Hsi states: "The yin and yang are Ether [氣]; the Five Elements [Phases] are corporeal matter. There being this corporeal matter, (individual) things and objects thereby appear." It may be possible to tie this question in with the previous one, at least in one respect. There, the 'root of yang' was embedded within yin and the 'root of yin' was embedded within yang. The same type of thing may be going on here. The concrete aspect (質), normally associated with yin, is embedded in yang, and the general, more dynamic aspect (氣), normally associated with yang, is active in yin.

Lastly, the relationship between ch’i and li is more thoroughly
explored in the Four-Seven debate, in the mid-sixteenth century. But, in some ways an even more thorough examination of this particular point (i.e., the internal characteristics of li and ch’i) in Korean Neo-Confucianism was during the Horak debate, e.g., the ideas of Han Wŏn-jin (한원진, 韓元震, 1682-1750) and Yi Kan (이간, 李東, 1677-1727).

7. Question: In order for people or things to take a specific physical form, yin and yang, the two forces of ch’i, must come together and coagulate to give concrete shape. Now, you have gone and split the ch’i (氣) as general stuff (force) from specific matter (質), putting one on the right and the other on the left. The result is that this then separates ch’i as material force into two different things. How can something assume specific material form without this general matter (ch’i, force) coagulating?

Answer: The formation of things really is from the accumulation of yin and yang. They definitely cannot be separated. But, when we examine their origin then we see that in the beginning material forms are born out of yin, and spirit (神) is generated by yang. We have to distinguish between these two aspects. My putting them on the right and left certainly does not mean to separate them as two distinct things. This is to let students know the difference between yin and yang so that they will understand physicality. Therefore, although ch’i (氣, force) is on the right, the specific, concrete coagulation (質) of ch’i is complete within it. And, even though the specific coagulation of matter (質) is on the left, ch’i (氣), as force, operates within it. Likewise, they are never not combined and are thus always as one. Moreover, although the diagram
shows [both aspects of material force], ch'i is generally the ch'i residing within the concrete coagulation and it manifests externally as yang. [In other words, as analytically separable, ch'i is taken as the exterior and as what is made visible through the manifestation of the internal, concrete coagulation of ch'i.]

Question eight deals with the relationship between principle and material force in the mind-and-heart, specifically how, in responding to things in the world, the mind-and-heart combines both principle and material force. Implied in the question is the contrast between the mind-and-heart in the quiescent state before it is aroused, or responds to phenomena in the world, and the mind-and-heart after it is aroused. For Kwŏn, it is at the moment of issuing forth, i. e., when it first responds to something, that the mind-and-heart combines principle and material force. Equally important, the direction or tendency of the mind-and-heart from this point forward that determines whether the person will act correctly or go astray. Finally, Kwŏn Kŭn reminds his students that it is material force that allows the innate potential of the mind-and-heart to be realized, but, at the same time, it also permits evils to arise.

8. Question: The mind-and-heart represents intelligent awareness in its pure, naturally given, cosmically indivisible form, empty of any consciously specific concepts or sensations but is, at the same time, fully endowed with the myriad principles. When it responds to the manifold affairs in the world, how does the mind-and-heart combine principle and material force?

Answer: Li itself is without activity; that whereby it is able to
be spiritual and function and penetrate the myriad things and interact with them is ch'i [material force/the individualizing aspect]. The proclamation (命禹) of Yu states, "The Human mind is precarious, the Tao mind is subtle." That means it is definitely a matter of making a distinction in terms of both principle and material force when speaking about the mind-and-heart. We can detect differences of good and evil when the mind-and-heart is on the verge of manifesting itself (forming thoughts, feelings, etc.). If the manifestation were a matter of pure li and not admixed with ch'i, then how could it manifest anything other than what is totally good? In addition, the mind-and-heart, as one of the Five Vital Organs (heart, lungs, liver, spleen, and kidneys), is subsumed under the agent Fire, so we can see how it must have been formed from a coagulation of ch'i.

Question nine deals with the mind-and-heart located right in the middle of the Diagram. Specifically the question addresses the relationship between the substance and function of the mind-and-heart and the relationship of these two things to other Neo-Confucian concepts, namely Will, Nature, Feelings, Mind, Seven Emotions, and Four Beginnings. The first four of these terms are in a separate enclosure, but taken together these four enclosures have the shape of the Chinese character for mind-and-heart (心). For the questioner, the quiescent state of the mind-and-heart is seen as having nothing in it. Therefore, Kwŏn Kŭn's writing these concepts within the mind-and-heart seems to slight its quiescent state; and, in doing so, undercuts the foundation for the very concepts Kwŏn mentions therein. In his answer, Kwŏn Kŭn again
points out that what on the surface looks like different terms that refer to different entities, may in reality refer to the same thing in a different context, or different functions of the same substance may be referred to with different names. Moreover, Kwŏn Kŭn cautions his students about focusing on only one aspect of the mind-and-heart (here the quiescent state) at the expense of more complete knowledge of the mind-and-heart as a whole.

9. **Question:** The mind-and-heart is fundamentally empty of any specific content, but it nevertheless functions as the organ of intelligent awareness that is indivisible. That is why we can say that before it responds to stimuli (i. e., when it is unengaged) it is still and empty with no specific, nameable content, but when it responds to things (i. e., when it is engaged) it is able to resonate with the principles in things and affairs, for it is then able to interact with them without encountering any barriers whatsoever. So, why have you taken this unitary mind-and-heart and separated the heavenly-endowed human nature (性), the mind-and-heart (心), the feelings (情), and the will (意) into different parts of the character for the mind-and-heart, and then, on top of this, placed the Five Constants, the Four Fonts, the Seven Emotions, and yin and yang below them? All these different terms for the one mind-and-heart fragment its individual, intelligent awareness. You left no place in your diagram for the still and empty substance within the mind-and-heart and have instead presented it as a collection of bits and pieces which do not adhere to one another and have, therefore, made it impossible for the mind-and-heart to penetrate and integrate with myriad
phenomena in the world in a unified fashion. Why did you do this?

Answer: The intelligent awareness of the mind-and-heart in its pure, naturally given, cosmically indivisible form, empty of any consciously specific concepts or sensations is definitely one. That is all there is to it. But, this having been said, when you talk about what it is that makes this intelligent awareness capable of also being the substance of the mind-and-heart, it is nothing other than our heavenly-endowed human nature composed of the Five Constants. As such, it embraces the multitudinous principles in the myriad phenomena of the world. When you talk about what it is that makes this intelligent awareness capable of being the mind-and-heart's function, then there is nothing other than its responses to the myriad phenomena as the Four Fonts (Beginnings) and the Seven Emotions. This is why there are no patterns of change in the myriad things and events that the mind-and-heart does not manage.

If you only think of the mind-and-heart as still and empty and do not realize that the heavenly-endowed human nature, composed of the Five Constants, is the substance, then you will be misled by your recognition of the fact that the mind-and-heart has no boundaries and no concrete entity. This misunderstanding will lead you into accepting the nihilism and isolation of the Taoists and Buddhists. Then the Great Foundation on which the mind-and-heart can stand will not be established. If you only think of the mind-and-heart as intelligent awareness and do not make sure you watch carefully when the Four Fonts and the Seven Emotions are on the verge of manifesting themselves and distinguish between good and bad
when they first appear, then your mind will end up under the control of the phenomenal world and your emotions will be driven by your selfish desires. If that happens, you will never be able to act in accordance with the Tao.

Students must recognize that the substance of the mind-and-heart is to be found in complete stillness in order to preserve the original, correct orientation of that incipient stage. They must also be aware that the functioning of the mind-and-heart is to be found in the close attention paid when the mind-heart is responding to the phenomenal world in order to ensure that their emotions do not deviate from the path they should follow. Only then can both substance and function be realized completely, and only then can students successfully cultivate both their external behavior and their inner thoughts. Only then can their studies lead them to the Way.93

The idea of correspondences, that things or ideas correspond with something else or most often several other things within the universe, was very important in Chinese thought. The first full-scale, systematic attempt at finding correspondences was the Han synthesis. The underlying assumption was that patterned correspondences reflected a deeper unity and that differences were merely different manifestations of the one Tao. The same assumption holds true for the later Neo-Confucian synthesis. Question ten deals with the Four Virtues and whether they correspond to the Four Directions or the Four Seasons. However, there was more than one set of correspondences and it is to this Kwŏn Kŭn refers in replying. A. C. Graham gives several examples of different correspondences. For example, one of the more common sets
of correspondences appears in the *Lu-shih ch'un-ch'iu* (呂氏春秋):  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Wood</th>
<th>Fire</th>
<th>Soil</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Water</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Four Seasons</td>
<td>Spring</td>
<td>Summer</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>Autumn</td>
<td>Winter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four Directions</td>
<td>East</td>
<td>South</td>
<td>(Center)</td>
<td>West</td>
<td>North</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This chart shows the basic correlation - "the Four Seasons with the Four Directions", plus the Five Phases. In the chart below Graham shows why these are standard:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>C</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spring</td>
<td>Autumn</td>
<td>East</td>
<td>West</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summer</td>
<td>Winter</td>
<td>South</td>
<td>North</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this chart the Four Seasons are on the left-hand side and the Four Directions on the right side: "These two sets correlate because in both of them A/C and B/D are the opposite positions of the sun in its recurring cycles, its temporal positions through the year and its spatial [orientation] through the day." Although the Five Phases seem arbitrarily aligned they too are "bound by the structural relations"; "once it is recognized they have to fall into two pairs and the remainder". While there is reason for the agreement between the three categories listed above (Phases, Seasons, and Directions) across different correspondence charts, other things may correspond to different things in different schemes of correspondences. For instance, musical notes, tastes, and smells may correspond to different things in different charts. In the case here, the difference in sequence then is due to the correspondence of one arrangement of the Four Virtues to the Four Directions, on the one hand,
and a different arrangement to the Four Seasons, on the other. The point Kwŏn is emphasizing here is that these correspondences are relative, not concrete.

10. **Question**: When the philosophers in the past mentioned the Heavenly-endowed nature (性) they always spoke of benevolence (仁), propriety (義), ritual (禮), and wisdom (智), but now you speak of benevolence, ritual, propriety, and wisdom. Why the difference in order?

**Answer**: Philosophers in the past referred to them in terms of the Four Directions, East, West, South, and North. Now, if we take them as corresponding with Heaven we refer to them in terms of the Four Seasons, spring, summer, autumn and, winter.98

Question eleven deals with the long bottom stroke of the Chinese character for the mind-and-heart (心) in the center part of the diagram and the circle right above it. At the top of this circle is the Chinese character for the heavenly-endowed nature (性) and below it are the Four Virtues (righteousness, humanity, wisdom, propriety). Below this is the Chinese character for mind-and-heart (心), and arranged below it are the Seven Emotions (goodness, anger, fear, joy, sadness, wickedness, and desire). This arrangement makes it seem like the Four Virtues issue from the nature and the Seven Emotions issue from the mind-and-heart, but earlier scholars, e. g., both Han Yü and the Ch'eng Brothers, had the Seven Emotions issuing from the heavenly-endowed nature. In this sense, the question implies that Kwŏn Kŭn is not following this tradition. In his reply Kwŏn Kŭn shows why this is not so. He does so by noting
that when the feelings first issue they may either be in equilibrium or out of equilibrium. If the former is the case, then the feelings are in accord with the Tao (i.e., with principle) and are indeed an issuance of the heavenly-endowed nature. On the other hand, if they are unbalanced, i.e., lose their equilibrium, then it is not accurate to say they issue from the nature. They do, of course, still issue, but in this case it is more accurate to say they issue from the mind-and-heart. The reason for this is because the mind-and-heart combines both principle and material force, and it is the latter that can cause feelings to go astray. Looking at it from this point of view, it seems that the relationship between the Heavenly-endowed nature and the four virtues is analogous to that between the mind-and-heart and the Seven Feelings, and that the relation between the feelings and the Heavenly-endowed nature is similar to that between the will and the mind-and-heart.

11. **Question:** When the T’ang scholar Han Yu discussed the original nature he based it on the *Book of Rites* and took the Seven Emotions mentioned therein, goodness (善), anger (怒), fear (哀), joy (乐), sadness (爱), wickedness (恶), and desire (欲) as issuing from the nature. The Ch’eng Brothers did likewise. Now you are taking the Four Beginnings as issuing from the heavenly-endowed nature and the Seven Emotions are arranged below the mind-and-heart. Why is this?

**Answer:** The proper functioning of the Seven Emotions depends on their manifesting themselves in moderation. According to the fundamental, original nature, this is what they are supposed to do. If it is like this, they all are in accord with the Mean. Isn’t this what the *Doctrine of the Mean* is talking about when it
refers to cosmic harmony arising from action in accordance with the Tao? In that case, how could they not be seen as a manifestation of human nature? If perhaps what is issued has something off-kilter then you cannot exactly refer to it as a manifestation of the true nature, nor can the Four Beginnings be included amongst the Seven Emotions. Therefore, I placed them in the bottom part of the heart-and-mind in order to show students that the issuing of the Heavenly-endowed nature may be right on target (i.e., in equilibrium) or miss the mark (be out of equilibrium). So, students must be watchful of their emotions when they issue in order to make sure they are correct. Moreover, the Ch'eng Brothers said that when the mind-and-heart is stimulated internally by contact with external things, it then generates the Seven Emotions internally. When those emotions are at their most intense, the original nature is damaged. In a case like this, we do not see them as a manifestation of the original nature.99)

The thrust of question twelve reflects an important Neo-Confucian modification in the interpretation of the Confucian tradition. The question deals with the relationship between the four virtuous instincts (or dispositions) and the four virtues. Two things are noted here; first, the question itself asks, since these two sets are so closely linked, why are they in two separate enclosures rather than both contained within one enclosure? More important though is that Kwŏn's diagram reflects a reversal of the traditional interpretation first put forward by Mencius.

The question refers to the far right enclosure in the 'torso' of the diagram and the enclosure right below it, outside the 'torso'. In the top of the upper enclosure is the Chinese character for 'emotions, feelings'
Below the character, but still within the enclosure, are the feelings or dispositions that correspond to the Four Virtues (四端). Moreover, these two enclosures are on different sides of the line between the mind-and-heart in its quiescent and active states. The upper enclosure and the feelings associated with the four virtues are in the part of the diagram representing the mind-and-heart in an inactive, quiescent state; the lower enclosure is outside in an area representing the mind-and-heart as active and responding to affairs. These feelings are inherent virtuous instincts; they are the disposition of commiseration, the disposition of shame and dislike, the disposition of yielding and deference, and the disposition of right and wrong. These four feelings correspond to their respective virtue in the enclosure directly below, namely benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and wisdom. The earlier interpretation held that the feeling of commiseration was the beginning (端) of benevolence, the disposition of shame and dislike was the beginning of righteousness, the disposition of yielding and deference was the beginning of propriety, and the disposition of right and wrong was the beginning of wisdom. [Only the last part of each pair is shown in Diagram 1 as presented here.]

In Mencius, the beginnings (端) were a potential that could be nurtured and developed; nurturing (but not forcing) one's moral sprouts was essential for self-cultivation. All this changed with the Neo-Confucian assertion of principle. Because a person's endowment of principle (the person's nature) was complete, there was no "potential" to develop; the problem became one of realizing and activating one's latent, but wholly complete, nature. Therefore, rather than indicating a "beginning" (端) that could then be developed, the focus shifted to "the other end of the thread": the four virtues were now seen as "clues"
hinting at the dispositions they manifest. The "tip" (點) in this instance was the "end", not the "beginning"; this is why the character is sometimes translated as 'clue'. Therefore, benevolence as a manifestation was a 'clue' (點) hinting at the disposition of commiseration, the manifestation of righteousness was a clue hinting at the disposition of shame and dislike, the manifestation of propriety was a clue hinting at the disposition of yielding and deference, and the manifestation of wisdom was a clue hinting at the disposition of right and wrong. As noted in the introduction, the Chinese scholar Chang Shih also made this modification, but the rationale behind the switch is rooted in the Ch'eng brothers' adoption of principle. It is this transformation that Kwŏn Kŭn had to keep in mind when answering. Thus part of his answer includes trying to impress upon his students that different terms refer to different manifestations or functions of the one all-encompassing principle, not to ontologically different things.

12. **Question:** The feeling of commiseration is benevolence (humaneness); the feeling of reverence and respect is propriety; the feeling of shame and dislike is righteousness, and the feeling of right and wrong is wisdom. These are not two separate sets of things, yet now, in this diagram, you have arranged the Four Beginnings below the feelings. Moreover, you created a separate enclosure and put the Four Beginnings or Fonts in it, separate from the feelings engendering them. Why did you do this?

**Answer:** The four-fold nature is all mixed together with the heavenly-endowed human nature, but when they are activated in response to different stimuli, they can be distinguished as the four virtuous dispositions (心): commiseration, the sense of
shame and dislike, the feeling of respect and reverence, and the sense of right and wrong. This is why we can say that these four dispositions are the manifestation of the four-fold nature. Truly, they are not two [separate entities]. In so far as they arise internally, we call them the dispositions, and when they are externally manifested, we call them manifestations. Don’t think of these as different things. When Mencius refers to these, sometimes he calls them Beginnings (端), and sometimes he does not. When Chu Hsi, in referring to the meaning of this character (端), says it is like something being within and a clue, then the meaning is clearer and (the difference) must be discerned.100

Question thirteen continues the line of thought from question twelve and works its way down the right side of the diagram, focusing on the middle enclosure in the "leg" of the diagram, i.e., on the lower right side of the diagram. On this side of the diagram, all-encompassing principle, li, is predominant. It is purely good without anything bad. But, because it is on this side of the diagram, it is also farthest away from material force which is what gives things form. And, this is the basis of the question, specifically since the Chinese character for sincerity (誠) is on the li side of the diagram it appears to be ethereal, without form and the sincerity of the sage is like that of Heaven, what then accounts for the material form of the sage? Adding to the problem, it appears that the Human Mind has been replaced by the Tao Mind and is no longer present. Kwŏn Kŭn is quick to point out that the sage, like everyone else, does indeed have material form. What makes the sage different is that although the Human Mind is present, it now operates in
accord with Heavenly principle. Therefore, it is the Tao Mind that governs the sage's actions.

In answering, Kwôn refers to two different parts of the diagram, the two pairs of phrases flanking the "torso" of the diagram and the three enclosures across the middle of the lower half of the diagram. Each of the flanks has two separate phrases. (These were alluded to in question seven.) Farthest to the right it says, "Matter (質) is present in the midst", and, closer to the body of the diagram it says, "spirit (神) is activated through yang". The phrase on the left, to the outside of the diagram, says, "force (氣) acts externally;" the one to the inside says, "form (形) arises through yin." The pairs on each side are complementary, i.e., between form and force and between matter and spirit. But, another comparison can also be made. This is between the two outer-most phrases, on the one hand, and the two inner-most phrases, on the other hand. This would contrast "matter (質) is present in the midst" with "force (氣) acts externally" and "spirit (神) is activated through yang" with "form (形) arises through yin". This would also imply that the phrase "matter is present in the midst" complements the phrase "form arises through yin" and that the phrase "spirit is activated through yang" complements "force acts externally".

In discussing the three enclosures across the middle of the lower part of the diagram (desires, mindfulness, and sincerity) Kwôn notes that all three are present in the sage. The difference between the wise and the wicked is due to the fact that the actions of the former, unlike the latter, are governed by sincerity.

13. Question: People have a body composed of ch‘i regardless
of whether they are a sage or a simpleton, a worthy or wicked; there is no difference. That is why Chu Hsi said, "There is no human being without material form." Thus, although it is above the Chinese character for wisdom there is no one who does not have the Human Mind. Now you nevertheless have the character for 'sincerity' in an enclosure that is exclusively li and which does not include material force, so are you saying that the sage then has no form (body) and therefore has no Human Mind?

Answer: No, it’s not like that. When people and things are born they all receive ch’i. Ch’i is what gives them a material form. They also all receive principle as their nature. Since principle, li, is the nature, I placed it below the Supreme Ultimate in the diagram. That is also why I placed the different aspects of material force (ch’i 氣 and jil 質) on the outer edges of the diagram. Moreover, I put the mind-and-heart in the inside because it is made up of both li and ch’i. It is here that there are differences between the sage and the simpleton.

If there are these three enclosures, sincerity, mindfulness, and desire, it is only that they come to life in the mind-and-heart of the sage. It’s not that only sincerity is present. In acting in the world of affairs, those acts can be good or bad, moral or base, because there are these three locales from which a person acts. It’s not that the body of the sage is not formed through material force, because it is. And, it’s not that the Human Mind is absent; that’s there too. Moreover, it is not that what we are referring to here as the Human Mind is not obtained; it is only that it is steadfast and correct. Therefore, the Tao Mind governs the sage’s actions. This is why the Human Mind of the sage is as pure as Heavenly principle. He has not one iota of selfish
Question fourteen deals with the sincerity of the sage and its being equal to that of Heaven. For Kwŏn Kŭn, the sage is someone who naturally and habitually acts in accordance with Heavenly principle. The reason for this is that the sage and Heaven share the same principle. Moreover, in the case of the sage, all selfish desires, i.e., those that deviate from Heavenly principle, are prevented from taking root, so that, in the end, the sage's heavenly-endowed principle is in perfect alignment with Heavenly principle, and it is on the basis of this that the sage acts. Kwŏn also reminds his students that as part of the practical framework of self-cultivation, sagehood is a goal they can achieve.

14. Question: The *Five Classics*, the *Analects*, and *Mencius*, all these texts praise the manifold virtues of the sage. In the enclosure dealing with 'sincerity', you refer to those virtues of the sage as solid and true, lacking any falsehood. Why did you do this?

Answer: The virtue of the sage is as expansive and great as Heaven's, without a single defect. There are countless ways to sing the praises of both the sage and Heaven, but if you want to talk concretely about what it is Heaven and the sage have in common, then the important thing is that both are manifestations of unceasing sincerity (integrity) of the highest order, and that is all. That is why I made the Chinese character for 'sincerity' so large. Even if I add more comments about the virtue of the sage underneath the character, there would still be things I would have to leave out. Moreover, even if I did this, beginning students would find the description of the sage too
intimidating and would give up their pursuit of sagehood as a goal.

That is why I only speak of the virtue of the sage being solid and true, lacking any falsehood. Although it would be closer to the truth to say that the virtue of the sage is as broad and as great as Heaven’s and that there is nothing that the virtue of the sage does not encompass, I wanted students who look at the diagram to feel sagehood was an achievable goal. I wanted to encourage students to think they could learn about sincerity and, through their own efforts, maintain the hope that they too could achieve sagehood.\(^{102}\)

Question fifteen deals with the middle enclosure in the "leg" on the left side of the diagram. The usual comparison is between the sage, the superior man, and the inferior or petty person. Kwŏn Kŭn speaks of the sage in relation to sincerity and of the superior man in terms of mindfulness, but in the enclosure dealing with desire, he has not written "inferior man"; rather he has penned in "ordinary man". The question here then is why this switch.

15. **Question:** Chou Tun-i’s "Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate" speaks of the auspiciousness (luck) of the superior man’s cultivation and the inauspiciousness (ill fortune) of the petty man’s perversity. Now you already have "the superior man cultivates the self" below the Chinese character 'mindfulness' but below the character 'desire' you have "ordinary man" and not "the petty man". Why is this?

**Answer:** People, although unworthy, think of themselves as worthy and wise and do not think of themselves or their actions
as those of the inferior person. If I say "inferior person" then the person looking at the diagram will think of some other person's affairs as excessive and uncouth but will not bother to examine himself. Therefore, in saying "ordinary people" like this, people who see the diagram will examine themselves and respond appropriately.103)

The question here in number sixteen is simple enough, is Kwŏn Kŭn's Diagram, "Heaven and Man, Mind and Nature, Combine as One", the equal of Chou Tun-i's "Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate"? But, this also implicitly asks whether or not Kwŏn Kŭn ranks himself as the equal of Chou Tun-i. After a quick "No", Kwŏn Kŭn goes on to describe the difficulty of the task ahead and that his reason for making the diagram is to introduce the basic concept of Neo-Confucianism to his students.

16. Question: Master, do you dare compare this diagram to that of Chou Tun-i?
Answer: No. How can you say that! Although Chou Tun-i's Diagram is as sublime as it is complete, there are still some things in it that beginning students will have trouble understanding. So too with Chu Hsi's commentary on the Doctrine of the Mean in Chapter and Verse, although it is crystal clear, there are nevertheless beginning students who will have trouble understanding the fundamental points he is making. Moreover, beginners cannot see that this is nevertheless the foundation of the moral sense (principle of righteousness). If the foundation is not understood and what is learned is ignoble then this is an extremely great loss. That is why I made these diagrams based on Chou Tun-i's "Diagram of the Supreme
Ultimate" and Chu Hsi's *Doctrine of the Mean in Chapter and Verse*—to give beginning students a good start toward understanding the ideas of Chou and Chu, nothing more. Is this really daring to be like the past sages?\(^{104}\)

Question seventeen concerns Kwŏn Kun's explaining some of the fundamental Chinese characters by breaking down the constituent strokes and explaining their meaning. Kwŏn explains the need for this on pedagogical grounds and defends of this practice as based on precedent.

17. **Question:** The thorough way you analyse the meaning of the characters 'Heaven', 'person', 'mind-and-heart' and 'nature', even to the point of breaking down the way the characters are written really delves into their meanings; what is this based on?

**Answer:** Tearing the characters apart and delving into their meaning is necessary in order to help new students more easily and enjoyably learn their meanings. But this was also done by our predecessors. For example, this is done with logical combinations where a character is made up of two other characters to arrive at a new meaning, e. g., the character for "Heaven" (天) being made up of the character "one" (一) plus the character "vast" (大), or the character for "earth" (地) as the combination of "land" (土) and "this is" (也). Likewise in the case of imitative symbols like the characters like "mountain" (山) or "sacrificial vessel" (鼎) that look like the object depicted. This was also the case for indicative symbols, characters that get their meaning from the two characters they are composed of, like 'fidelity' (忠) from center (中) and mind-and-heart (心), or
'altruism' (恕) from 'like' (如) and mind-and-heart (心). In this last case, it is almost as if the character were a two-character compound. This method explains a lot and there is no harm in it (lit: any harm is minimal), so it is pardonable.\(^{105}\)

The Great Learning

Whereas the first diagram provides an overview of the entire cosmos and relates this to Confucian ideals as well as human psychology and the second diagram shows the link between Heaven, on the one hand, and sincerity and mindfulness, on the other, thus reaffirming the link between humanity and Heaven, the third diagram, dealing with the Great Learning, goes into the nuts and bolts of self-cultivation. It also contains a sentence linking it with the previous diagrams: "Externally it is as expansive as Heaven, internally are the eight specific steps". In between the two parts of this phrase, and obviously linking them together, is a reference to the three essential themes or principia (三綱). The Chinese characters used here are the same as those usually translated as the "three bonds" or "three relations" (三綱). In this sense there may be an implied reference to the relationship between father and son, king and minister, and husband and wife. And, to the extent such an implication exists, it would also tie in with the previous diagrams showing the link between Heaven and Humanity. But here the term is probably just a contraction of a reference to three themes (三綱領) that provide a framework for the Great Learning, just as the three relations provide a framework for all relationships. These three principia are
"illuminating luminous virtue", "renewing the people", and "abiding in the highest good". Read across the top of the diagram from right to left we have "illuminating luminous virtue" where the virtue endowed in the person by Heaven is developed; here the focus is on the self. Next is "renewing the people" where the focus is obviously on others, whether that be within the family, society, or nation, and, finally, is "abiding in the highest good", the goal of the previous two. But that is not all. Again, going from right to left across the top of the diagram, we also see the fundamental characteristics of each theme or Principia. For "illuminating luminous virtue" we see it is the "root substance" and for "renewing the people" we see it is the "branch function". Or, taking each word separately, we see that illuminating luminous virtue is the substance and renewing the people is its functioning or manifestation, and renewing the people is derivative of illuminating luminous virtue which is seen as fundamental, this last point tying in with the idea of things having a essential and derivative aspects. In the enclosure at the top, far left of the diagram is "abiding in the highest good". It is the goal of both illuminating one's virtue and enhancing that of others, but it also undergirds them.

Below the top three enclosures containing the Principia are the "eight items", also called the "eight specific steps". These are the practical steps the person must follow in order to develop one's potential and help others develop theirs. These steps are: investigating things, extending knowledge, making thoughts sincere, rectifying the mind, self-cultivation, regulating the family, governing the country, and pacifying the world. The first five items, all of which deal with self-cultivation, are all arranged below the enclosure for "illuminating
luminous virtue". Two of these, "the investigation of things" and "the extension of knowledge", deal with thought; the other three, "making one's thoughts sincere", "rectifying the mind", and "cultivating oneself", are labeled as actions, though the distinction between thought and practice blurs, because the distinction here between these two should not be seen sequentially but as simultaneous. Under "renewing the people" are the remaining three of the eight items: "regulating the family", "governing the country", and "pacifying the world". These last three show the fields of application for the first five items and reflect the idea that the further you are along the path the better able you are to help others proceed. In sum, the first five items are things the person must do for or to himself; the last three are the affects one has on others because everyone is bound through relationships. One layer down and still on the far right of the diagram is an enclosure with the Chinese character for 'thought, knowing' (知) in it. Here, we see the intellectual goal of investigating things and the extension of knowledge is, ultimately, abiding in the highest good (perfect goodness): "to know wherein to abide in perfect goodness". And, we see this is also the goal of action, of making one's thoughts sincere, rectifying one's mind, and self-cultivation. But whereas with 'knowing' it was the pursuit of this goal deriving from the investigation of things and the completion of knowledge, directly above it in the diagram, here it is done through illuminating luminous virtue. Likewise for actions that go beyond oneself, here labeled 'ultimate action', though it may be better to think of it as the ultimate realization of action of practice. Below these three enclosures and their accompanying elaborations is the moral effort needed to bridge the gap between attempting and achieving. This is represented
here by the enclosure below the line linking 'knowing' and 'acting'. At the bottom right half of the diagram, are the eight specific steps, now fulfilled. In other words, whereas the eight particular steps at the top of the diagram refer to chapter four of the classic version of the text, here they refer to the fifth chapter. In the last layer of the diagram on the right, the completion of "knowing where to stop", "illuminating luminous virtue", and "renewing the people" is defined in terms of abiding in the highest good.

The relationship between both illuminating illustrious virtue and renewing the people to abiding in the highest good is implied in the diagram when read across the top; this relationship becomes explicit when read from top to bottom. Reading the diagram from top to bottom, going down the left side under the enclosure "abiding in the highest good", shows the same relationship, but from a different perspective. Here the link between abiding in the highest good and renewing oneself and people is explicit. Below this enclosure is a line linking "knowing where to stop" with being able to abide in the highest good. While there is a direct connection between these two in the diagram, Kwŏn Kŭn goes into more detail about how this starts and ends in the next lower level. Beginning is the result of the investigation of things and the completion of knowledge. This corresponds with the upper and middle right side of the diagram. Completion is defined in terms of illuminating illustrious virtue and renewing the people in a way that all can reside in perfect goodness. This then, ties in with the lower right-hand side of the diagram and the moral results discussed there. In between these two poles, beginning and finishing, are four mental or attitudinal states developed in the process of self-cultivation; these are
determination, tranquility, repose, and deliberation.

The questions and answers that Kwŏn Kŭn appended to his "Diagram of the Great Learning" also appear in his commentaries on the Book of Ritual. In his Superficial Reflections on the Book of Ritual, the entirety of Kwŏn's comments on the "Great Learning" chapter of the Book of Ritual consists of the same six questions and answers he appends to this diagram. In other words, rather than comment on the original version of the Great Learning as it appeared in the Book of Ritual, Kwŏn Kŭn substitutes material that explains Chu Hsi's commentary on the redacted version of the text and uses it in both Superficial Reflections on the Book of Ritual as well as Diagrams and Explanations for Entering Upon Learning. The repetition of these questions here has another important implication. Earlier we mentioned that the question and answer format may indeed reflect actual questions posed by students but could also have been used to highlight topics the author thought important, to address critics, or simply offer the author a venue for putting forward his own ideas on a given topic. Since Superficial Reflections was written prior to Diagrams and Explanations and the target audience of the former was not students but other scholars, we know the questions used here were probably not asked by students but were appended because Kwŏn thought them important, because they addressed controversial topics, or for some other reason. In short, for these questions, and probably some of the others, Kwŏn himself was most likely the source of the question.

Kwŏn's commentary on the Great Learning starts directly below;
the questions and answers he appends to the text follow Diagram 3. This in turn is followed by Chu Hsi's "Diagram of the Great Learning" and comments on some of the differences between the two diagrams.

Forward to Kwôn Kŭn's "Diagram of the Great Learning"

In my humble opinion, the Great Learning fully outlines the basic guidelines and details the categories and items based on them. Its sentences being simple, it is easy to understand. Also, it clearly illuminates the sequence of study as well as a complete and detailed method for applying one's effort. Thus, this text should be one of the first ones students work on. But, even despite one's best efforts it is not always easy to recognize the difference between substance and function, the root and the branch, knowledge and action, and effort and its fruits, so I am now making this diagram. Look over the Diagram in its entirety first, then, after having looked at it, turn to the text itself. Then, even if you do not overly concern yourself, you will understand its procedures. If you can always keep an eye to this, then deep within the mind-and-heart you will become more familiar with this, and the Great Learning will occupy a place at the center of the mind-and-heart.106)
Diagram 2.4 Diagram of the Great Learning (大學之圖)\textsuperscript{107}

The Great Learning Lies in

- **Abiding in the highest good**: Ultimately renewing oneself and the people.
- **Renewing the People**: Derivative function.
- **Illuminating illustrious virtue**: Essential function.

The goal of both substance and function.

- **Pacify, govern, regulate, self-rectify, make, extend, investigate**, world, country, family, cultivate, mind, thought, knowledge, things.
- **Sincere, renewing, derivative, the function**.
- **People, illuminating, illustrious virtue, substance**.

- **Being able to stop (abide)**.

- **Knowing where to attain it**.

- **Finishing - Beginning**: Deliberation - settled, peaceful - tranquil.

- **These four**: The results of interconnections between investigating, knowing of things, wherein to abide and completing, attaining, knowledge.

- **Illuminating illustrious world country family self mind thought knowledge things virtue and pacified gov'ned regulated cultivated rectified made extended investigated**.

- **Renewing the people, all to attain residing in perfect goodness**.

- **Renewing the People**: The process of their having attained to abiding in the highest goodness.

- **Illuminating illustrious Virtue**: The ability to abide in the highest good.

- **Having known wherein lies ultimate goodness**.

**Moral Results**
Questions and Answers

The first question of this section deals with the first two paragraphs or verses of the classic section of the *Great Learning* and with the fourth chapter of the commentary, the chapter on "hearing litigations". The problem with the former is that, according to Kwŏn Kŭn, both scholars mentioned in the question, Tung Chung-shu and Huang Kan, emphasize the first and last parts of the process of self-cultivation, i.e., knowing where to stop and being close to the Tao, but slight the intermediate steps linking these. The placement of chapter four of the commentary on hearing litigation is related to this problem because it is supposed to explain the root and the branch, which is exactly the content of the third verse of the classic section of the text: "Things have their root and their branches. Affairs have their end and their beginning." The traditional pre-Neo-Confucian interpretation had what is here chapter four in Chu Hsi's redacted text as the conclusion to the chapter on making one's thoughts sincere. However, the chapter on making thoughts sincere is chapter six in Chu Hsi's redaction. Legge explains it thus:

According to the old commentators, this is the conclusion of the chapter on having thoughts made sincere, and that [making one's thoughts sincere] is the root. But, according to Chu Hsi, it is the illustration of illustrious virtue which is the root, while the renovation of the people is the result therefrom.\(^{108}\)

This also corresponds to the substance-function theory and can be explained in those terms.

1. **Question**: Among former worthies, Tung Chung-shu (179-104
BCE) took the two phrases from the *Great Learning*, "Knowing where to stop, one becomes determined" all the way up to "then one is close to the Tao", as part of the commentary on "investigating things and extending knowledge". Huang Kan (1152-1221) also holds this position. Are you saying Chu Hsi did not understand this point?

**Answer:** Every time I have seen this over the years I have never lacked admiration for the excellence and profundity of the intention behind it. But, now when I look at it I am uncomfortable. Normally the investigation of things leads to complete knowledge of the principles within things, which in turn leads to a sincere mind, but Tung Chung-shu's interpretation would have the investigation of things leading directly to knowledge of where to stop in order to abide in the highest good. This bothers me because it leaves out the intermediate steps. Several commentaries speak of the process [requiring] moral effort. To suddenly have the results here without the intermediate steps seems inappropriate.

The term "being able to attain" refers to "illuminating luminous virtue" and "renewing the people" both reaching ultimate goodness. To suddenly refer to the commentary on completing knowledge and abiding in the highest good here is unreasonable. Moreover, if we take this section as part of the commentary on completing knowledge then where should chapter four on hearing litigation be attached? Chu Hsi would not have been that careless. Also, if we take the investigation of things as searching out the principle deep within things and there are no obstructions from outside hindering the investigation of things, then there is no room for any argument about it. Thus, you can see that the passage about the
investigation of things should be followed by the passage on making the mind sincere.

We have already mentioned paragraph three from the classic portion of the text, "Things have a root and a branch, affairs have a beginning and an end. If you know which comes first and which later then you are close to the Tao." The Great Learning also says, "Extension of knowledge lies in investigating things". If there are no more external objects, i.e., if you internalize (penetrate) everything, and encounter no obstructions to your investigation of things, this then leads to the extension of knowledge. There is no need to add any intermediary steps. Even if a commentary fails to make this connection, students can easily see in the text of the Great Learning itself that the investigation of things leads directly to the extension of knowledge.109)

Question two discusses the relationship between knowing where to stop and abiding in the highest good (perfect goodness), on the one hand, and the eight particular steps of moral self cultivation, on the other. The specific differences addressed concern the order between these two as they appear in chapter five of the Great Learning, which deals with the investigation of things, and as they appear in the classic portion of the text. Also discussed is the relationship between the first two of the three Principia, illuminating luminous virtue and renewing the people, and the last one, abiding in the highest good. The problem is that in the classic portion of the text abiding in the highest good precedes the eight particular steps, but in chapter five the opposite order is assumed. In answering, Kwŏn Kŭn relates all the verses of the classic
portion of the text with either moral effort or with moral results. This then sets up a structure whereby a paragraph or verse dealing with moral effort has a corresponding verse that deals with the moral results or effect of this effort. Lastly, Kwŏn's answer shows he sees chapter six on making one's thoughts sincere linking the chapters that precede it to those that follow.

**Question 2:** You take "knowing where to stop", and thus "abiding in the highest goodness", as the fruit or result of the investigation of things and the extension of knowledge, so it appears you do not think it needs to be mentioned when you first start talking about exerting moral effort. The phrase "the perfection of knowledge" in the last line of the commentary in chapter five of the *Great Learning*, deals with the investigation of things. But, it appears there is a hiatus here in the text and that in reality this phrase should refer to the fruits of the extension of knowledge, i.e., abiding in the highest good. On the other hand, this same verse, "the perfection of knowledge" and abiding in the highest good, is also in the classic portion of the text, written by Confucius. There, however, this phrase is mentioned before the eight particular steps of moral effort. Isn't there a contradiction here?

**Answer:** Yes, it is true that there is a hiatus in the text and a reference should have been made to the moral efforts of which knowing where to abide in the highest good is the result. After all, you cannot talk about a result without some reference to what it is the result of. That is why Chu Hsi, following the intent of the text, filled in the missing parts of the commentary on chapter five.
The reason abiding in the highest good is mentioned at the very beginning of the text is in order to point out, in the discussion of the essential principles underlying moral effort, that illuminating luminous virtue and renewing the people will lead to abiding in the highest good. Although it comes before the eight items and is at the beginning of the chapter, it is nonetheless in the correct spot. It refers to the results of moral effort in terms of illuminating luminous virtue and renewing people both culminating in abiding in the highest good. That is why the first chapter of the classic portion of the Great Learning refers to the three Principia in between moral effort and moral result. Taking this as moral effort then the verse starting, "Things have their root and branches...," refers to the result. The first set of the eight particular steps in the fourth paragraph of the classic section of the text refers to moral effort being exerted, the second set of the eight particular steps, those listed in the fifth paragraph of the classic portion of the text, refers to the fruit of moral effort. Paragraph six of the classic portion of the text, starting, "From the son of Heaven down to the masses..." is linked to moral effort, and the next paragraph, the seventh, starting, "It cannot be, when the root is neglected..." refers to moral effect. If we look at it like this, the phrase "knowing where to stop" (and thereby, abiding in the highest good) is in the correct position, even though it precedes the eight particular items.

The correct order has a section on moral effort, followed by a section on the results that moral effort will accomplish. However, in the classic portion of text, the phrase on knowing where to abide in the highest good is in the right place, even though it precedes the eight steps. Moreover, even though
illuminating one's luminous virtue is the most important of the three Principia, abiding in the highest good is the core of these three. That is why there is no reference to illuminating one's luminous virtue and renewing people at the beginning of the list of the eight particular steps. Knowing where to abide in perfect goodness includes the other two Principia. If knowing where to abide in perfect goodness were put at the end instead of the beginning of the eight particular steps, it would appear to be separate and distinct from the first two Principia and not something included therein.

You first have to distinguish between keeping one's luminous virtue illustrious and renewing the people before you mention their common core, abiding in perfect goodness. That is the order you follow in talking about the effort entailed in becoming a sage. If, however, you want to focus on the results you will get as you take the particular steps that must be followed in order to reach sagehood, then you first bring up the common core, which includes the first two Principia. You do not need to mention these two explicitly.

Chu Hsi's redaction of Tseng's commentary divides it into three categories knowledge and action (chapters 1-3), root and branch (chapters 4), and the important and less important, i. e., the particulars, (chapters 5-10). Chapter six just deals with one of the eight particulars instead of all of them. Sages of old recognized long ago that if you do not include "making your thoughts sincere" in the section on the completion of knowledge, you make the distinction between it and knowledge and action. Moreover, they recognized that if it is not put together with the section on rectifying the mind, then you make clear that making your thoughts sincere is the first stage, i. e., the beginning of
one's self-cultivation, and results in much more than simply a rectified mind.

The conclusion of chapter eight on self-cultivation and regulating the family does not say, "Regulating the family depends on (consists of) cultivating oneself"; the redacted text says, "If the self is not cultivated one cannot regulate the family". In my humble opinion, this picks up the conclusion of the classic portion of the text and separates the root from the branch. The classic portion of the Great Learning says "From the son of heaven down to the common men this is one thing. Everyone takes self-cultivation as the root. There has never been a case where the root is chaotic and the branches were ordered." That is why the commentary states "this refers to a person being unable to regulate his family if his self is not cultivated".

The beginning of chapter nine on regulating the family and governing the kingdom does not say, "Governing the kingdom consists of regulating one's family." The redacted text says, "Those who would govern the kingdom must first regulate their families. There is no one who can teach the people if they cannot teach their family". In my humble opinion this follows the saying at the end of the canonical text and separates the essential from the derivative. The classic portion of the text says, "There has never been a case where what was important was slighted and what was trivial made much of." Therefore, the commentary states, "This is what is referred to as, 'Those who would govern the kingdom must first regulate their families; if they cannot teach their families there is no way they can teach other people.'" These two verses should be tacked onto the conclusion of the classic portion of the text. If you
look at it this way, then we can see how the commentary establishes the intent of the classic.\textsuperscript{110}

The sixth chapter of commentary deals with making one’s thoughts sincere. Of the eight particular steps in the process of moral self-cultivation, this one alone constitutes an independent chapter. The question here deals with why this is so, and, from this, why it appears that Chu Hsi is here distinguishing between knowledge and action. Kwŏn Kŭn’s answer is that the separation in this case is apparent not real.

3. **Question:** Why did Chu Hsi make chapter six, the one on "making the thoughts sincere" an independent chapter, separating it from "knowing and acting"? And, why did he not give any of the other eight particular steps their own separate chapters?

**Answer:** These two things, knowing and acting, are like the wheels on a cart. Putting forth effort and progressing ought to advance in tandem, just as the wheels roll and the cart progresses. That is why they go hand-in-hand. We exert ourselves and progress; progress and exert ourselves. Moral effort clearly distinguishes between knowledge and action. It is as if, although having substance and diverse functions, the root and the branches are in reality seen as one. Likewise with what is important and less important. Despite the distinction between close and distant relatives, in reality the obligation to serve them is the same.\textsuperscript{111}

The ninth chapter of commentary deals with regulating the family and governing the kingdom. But, at least to the questioner, there seems
to be a discrepancy between the goal promoted in the first two verses. In the first verse, filial piety, fraternity, and kindness are mentioned. The second verse would have us, "Act as if you were watching over an infant.", the idea being that even if we do not know exactly what the infant wants, we will at least be close to meeting its needs. For Kwŏn Kŭn, the important thing in the second verse is the attitude one has when performing an act.

4. **Question:** Chapter nine on regulating the family and governing the kingdom refers to filial piety, brotherly submission, and kindness in the first verse, but below that, in the second verse, quotes the text of the "Announcement to Kang", about watching a young infant. What is the connection here?112

**Answer:** This is a very important verse. Even though we may speak of a person in a household who is not filial or not brotherly, there is no one who does not love children. Sages of old already said this long ago. When we speak of governing the kingdom, even if everyone is diligent and sincere in serving the King and their superiors, the moral principles for governing the people might be neglected. But, if loyalty and filial piety are as enshrined in our hearts as love for children, and if we show the people the same love we show our children, i. e., love them as if they were our children, then this attitude would take root in the people.113

Question five deals with chapter eight on self-cultivation and regulating the family. The question here is whether or not the first verse of chapter nine should be included in chapter eight, since the content of
this verse is related to the content of chapter eight. Kwŏn Kŭn reminds the "questioner" that the same type of thing occurs in a chapter seven, and that it is not important. He then goes on to mention the results of self-cultivation in the regulation of the family. This question seems to indicate that some people were unfamiliar with the text and commentary of Chu Hsi’s redacted version of the Great Learning.

5. **Question:** You quote the classic portion of the text, taking it as evidence that chapters eight and nine of the commentary separate knowledge from action, as well as the important from the unimportant. If we look at it from the point of view of Tseng Tzu’s commentary, then the text of chapter eight has the saying about people being partial to what they feel affection for and biased against those they despise. Moreover, this is followed by the adage about a man not knowing the wickedness of his son or the bounty of his sprouting grain. That is why the concluding passage says, "This is what is meant by the saying that if a person is not cultivated he cannot regulate his family." This is above the line of commentary saying that this is the end of chapter eight, but is this last line in the right spot? The very first verse of chapter nine also refers to the content at the end of chapter eight. Should this verse also be included in chapter eight? Now isn’t what you are saying far-fetched?

**Answer:** Well, I am saying this based on Tseng Tzu’s text. Why do you say it deviates? It is also like this in chapter seven, which deals with rectifying the mind and cultivating the self. Chapter seven also states that the person who is under the sway of emotions like fear will not be able to rectify his mind.
It goes on to say that if you are not mindful and attentive, then you will look but not see or eat but not know the taste of the food. But, the concluding verse of this chapter does not say, "If the mind is not rectified one cannot cultivate the body." Rather, it says self-cultivation lies in rectifying one's mind. Generally speaking, these two chapters establish the text's intent and are similar to one another. Yes, their concluding verses differ, but that difference is not significant.

The eight particular steps are already arranged in the classic portion of the text and it too takes the self and the family as its result. The result of the self being cultivated is the ultimate in luminous virtue and is the basis of pacifying the world. The result of the family being regulated is as the beginning of the renewal of the people and also as the reason or cause of pacifying the world. Isn't the commentary herein? I am not making it up.114)

Question six deals with the preface and postscript to the classic portion of the Great Learning. The problem has to do with who taught the classic portion of the text and who recorded it, specifically whether Confucius really recited it and Tseng Tzu recorded it or whether Tseng Tzu recited it and his disciples recorded it. Another problem related to this is where the classic portion of the text stops and the commentary starts. In his preface to the classic portion of the Great Learning, Chu Hsi, following the Ch'eng brothers, says, "The Great Learning is the book transmitted by Confucius (孔氏之遺書)...". But, in the postscript to the Classic section, Chu Hsi says, "The preceding chapter of classical text is in the words of Confucius, handed down by Master Tseng (孔子之言而曾子流之). The ten chapters of commentary which follow contain the views
of Tseng, and were recorded by his disciples." The former quote, Legge translates as, "... transmitted by the Confucian school" rather than "... by Confucius". His justification for doing so is that something similar is done in the *Analects* with another surname. But, his reason for doing so is that so little of the text is actually ascribed to Confucius: "For how can we say that 'The Great Learning' is a work left by Confucius? Even Chu Hsi ascribes only a small portion of it to the Master, and makes the rest to be the production of the disciple Tseng, and before his time, the whole work was attributed generally to the sage's grandson."[115] Here, however, it does mean Confucius, at least that is how it is understood in the Korean text. Gardner also translates it this way. Moreover, Gardner takes Chu Hsi's theory of authorship on the *Great Learning* as his "second significant contribution to scholarship on the [Great Learning]."[116] He goes on to say:

Throughout his life, Chu Hsi associated Confucius with the authorship of the Classic chapter, but he never decisively determined Confucius's role in the actual writing.... While Chu Hsi did at times vary slightly his views of the authorship of the Classic portion of the text, he steadfastly maintained until the day he died that the commentary was the work of Tseng Tzu and his disciples.[117]

What is more, the question and answer here regarding authorship is similar to one asked of Chu Hsi and recorded in *Questions and Answers on the Great Learning*. The question there is, "You... said that 'The Classic proper may be taken as the words of the Sage, transmitted by Tseng Tzu. The chapters of commentary contain the ideas of Tseng Tzu, recorded by his disciples.' How do we know this to be so?" Likewise, Kwŏn Kŭn's answer is also quite close to the one in *Questions
and Answers on the Great Learning; the latter states: "The phrasing of the Classic is succinct, but the principles are all there. The words are easy to understand, but the import is far-reaching. Only the Sage could have done it. Yet, there is no corroborative evidence..."

The second problem, where the classic stops and commentary starts, is a problem that must be faced, regardless of who did the recording. If Confucius taught it and Tseng Tzu recorded it or Tseng Tzu taught it and his disciples recorded what was said, there would still be the question of whether or not Chu Hsi, in his reconstruction of the text separated the two correctly. In one sense, Kwôn Kûn’s answer can be seen as another defense of Chu Hsi’s redaction of the Great Learning to students who may have been more familiar with the traditional version of the Great Learning.

6. Question: In his preface to the Great Learning, Chu Hsi has Confucius reciting (孔子誦) the text and Tseng Tzu making the commentary in order to elucidate its meaning. We cannot verify the classic portion as Confucius’s words. Moreover, Chu’s comments says the commentary is Tseng’s ideas and that his disciples wrote down what he said. Why the contradiction between these two versions concerning who taught the text and who recorded it?

Answer: Chu Hsi takes the text of the classic part to be of such high quality that it could only have been written by a sage. That is why he takes it as the words of Confucius. But, there’s no way to prove this. Some people think that the Great Learning was the work of somebody who preceded Confucius, so they doubt Chu Hsi’s claim that Confucius wrote it. But, we can’t verify this either. In my humble opinion, Confucius was
lamenting the fallen state of affairs of his age by comparing it with the past, for example, sayings like "What the ancients studied was self-cultivation.", "The ancients were simple, but honest", and, "What the ancients said was not excessive." Also, in the *Great Learning* there is the saying, "The ancients desired to illuminate luminous virtue throughout the world." In all these cases Confucius used the word 'ancients' to lament the fact that his contemporaneous era was not like that of the past, in that before Confucius’s time there were no sages who were as neglected as Confucius was and could not obtain a government position. When he speaks of the past, he is comparing it to the present. This affirms what we were saying about this being the work of Confucius. This is sufficient to prove it is his words.

The ten chapters of commentary quote the text of the *Book of Poetry* to establish a commentary for elucidating the meaning of the classic portion of the *Great Learning*. All of this is in Tseng Tzu’s words, as transcribed by his disciples. The commentary has been attributed to Tseng Tzu, but he did not write it himself. The reason for the attribution is that his disciples wrote it down. However, although they did the writing it is not their words they recorded. Rather, it is Tseng Tzu’s comments, so the commentary is Tseng Tzu’s. The entire commentary, all ten chapters, is nothing but the words of Tseng, and it is only there to elucidate the meaning of the classic portion of the text, nothing more. Of all verses in the commentary, only one ("Tseng Tzu said, 'What ten eyes behold, what ten eyes point to, is to be regarded with reverence!'") starts off with "Tseng Tzu said". This was done here in order to emphasize the importance of the verse that precedes it. In this one verse, Tseng Tzu is focusing our attention on the
saying "The superior man must be watchful over himself when he is alone," to make an important point. This was done in order to show future generations of scholars the importance of this section and that they should heed these words. Even now, people read this and are amazed that it is as awe inspiring as the *Doctrine of the Mean*. The commentary brings out the hidden meaning and obscure details, "Nothing is left hidden, nor is anything left undone." Tzu-ssu must have read Tseng Tzu's commentary before writing the *Doctrine of the Mean*, which embodies the ideas of the *Great Learning*.119

Kwon Kūn's "Diagram of the Great Learning" is different from Chu Hsi's diagram of the text, significantly so. The top section of Chu Hsi's diagram has five of the eight items on the top left, those dealing with one's own actions, (investigation of things, extension of knowledge, making one's thoughts sincere, rectifying the mind, and cultivating the self) and the remaining three, those dealing with others, at the top right (regulating the family, covering the kingdom, and pacifying the world). This is a fundamental framework in the diagram—things dealing with the self on the left and those dealing with others on the right. Two sentences lie in the middle of these two columns. The upper one addresses the relationships between the three Principia: "Both illustrating illustrious virtue and renewing the people should abide in the highest good." The second line deals with three of the Five Relations and the affection expected of both parties: "Kindness of the ruler, respect of the minister, affection of the father, filial piety of the son, and faithfulness of friends are its items." This implies that the feelings associated with the three relations are as much a manifestation of abiding in the highest
good as are the other two *Principia* and, for that matter, correspond to the eight items as well. Kwŏn does not list any of the Five Relationships in his diagram. In Chu's diagram, "Renewing the people" corresponds to "illustrating illustrious virtue" and "Being able to attain the end" corresponds to "Knowing where to abide", i.e., 'achieving' corresponds to knowing it and seeking it. Kwŏn Kŭn deals with "abiding in the highest good" throughout his diagram of the *Great Learning*. Under the phrase "illuminating illustrious virtue" it appears in the middle of the diagram under the two terms "knowledge" and "action", and in the column below "Renewing the People" it is under "ultimate action". Furthermore, the distinction between "Knowing where to abide" and "Being able to attain" is dealt with on the left side of his diagram, in the column beneath "Abiding in the highest good". The bottom layer of Kwŏn's diagram also addresses abiding in the highest good, this time in terms of moral result.

The bottom level of Chu Hsi's diagram repeats the eight items that appeared at the top and does so in the same format, five on the right, three on the left. Again, Kwŏn's diagram is different. Besides the material dealing with 'abiding in the highest good' just mentioned, Kwŏn lists the eight items, but the difference is that whereas he listed them in terms of moral effort in the top half of his diagram, in the bottom half he lists them in terms of moral result -- things having been investigated, knowledge having been extended, etc.. Chu Hsi does not make this distinction in his diagram. Chan is right in saying Kwŏn's diagram is better at laying out a systematic, practical framework for self-cultivation than is Chu Hsi's, which focuses on "an analysis and new structure of the teachings of the *Great Learning*." It is hard to say whether or not Kwŏn read Chu
Hsi's *Collected Conversations* while he was in China during the Yuan Dynasty. Regardless of whether he had access to this work, he definitely had access to Chu Hsi's commentaries on the Four Books (*The Four Books in Chapter and Verse*) and on this basis produced a diagram much different than that produced by Chu Hsi.

Diagram 2.5 Chu Hsi's "Diagram of the Great Learning"\(^{121}\)

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<tr>
<th>INVESTIGATION OF THINGS</th>
<th>REGULATION OF THE FAMILY</th>
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<td>EXTENSION OF KNOWLEDGE</td>
<td>GOVERNING THE KINGDOM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAKING THOUGHTS SINCERE</td>
<td>PACIFYING THE WORLD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RECTIFYING THE MIND</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>CULTIVATING THE SELF</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

All these are matters of **ILLUSTRATING ILLUSTRIOUS VIRTUE**

Both illustrating illustrious virtue and renewing the people should abide in the highest good.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KNOWING WHERE TO ABIDE</th>
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This means to know where the highest good is and to seek to abide in it. To be calm, tranquil, peaceful, and to deliberate lie between abiding and attaining.

<table>
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<tr>
<td>CULTIVATING THE SELF</td>
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</table>

If one knows where to abide, one will find it anywhere.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BEING ABLE TO ATTAIN THE END</th>
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</table>

Kindness of the ruler, respect of the minister, affection of the father, filial piety of the son, and faithfulness among friends are its items.

If one can attain the end, one can attain anything.
Given Kwŏn's concern with actual practice, for instance his afterward for Hyohaengnok, the text on filial piety, his emphasis on the Elementary Learning, and his works on ritual, one might think he also promoted or practiced quiet sitting, but this does not appear to be the case. Part of this may be due to the situation scholars at the turn of the century were facing, foremost among them, the pressing need for establishing the dynasty. Kalton notes that,

The earliest thinkers of the Koryŏ-Chosŏn transition period such as Kwŏn Kŭn (1352-1409) and Chŏng Tojŏn (?-1398) showed a good grasp of the metaphysical theory, but evidenced little concern for the meditative dimensions of self-cultivation practice that were an important Neo-Confucian development.122)

It is not that Kwŏn was unaware of the practice of quiet sitting. There is a passage in his Collected Works regarding Kang Inbu, a one-time Buddhist and later a Neo-Confucian court official, that clearly mentions quiet sitting: "In his residence he set aside a room which he cleaned spotlessly and made fragrant with incense; every time he returned from the palace, he would there is settle his mind and sitting still and erect would rid his mind of thoughts."123) In the end, we simply do not know for sure. If he did practice quiet sitting Kwŏn did not mention it in his writings.

It would be hard to overestimate the influence of Kwŏn Kŭn's work in laying the groundwork for Neo-Confucianism in Korea. Besides his work on other Confucian classics, e. g., the Book of Music, Book of Changes, or ritual, or even the rest of the diagrams in his Diagrams and
Explanations for Entering upon Learning (入學圖說), every major Neo-Confucian cosmological, philosophical or psychological concept is dealt with in the first two diagrams. This includes: principle (li, 理), material force (ch'i, 氣), yin and yang (陰陽), the Five Phases (五行), the Heavenly Mandate (天命), heavenly-endowed nature (性), and the mind-and-heart (心), the Seven Feelings (七情), the Four Beginnings (四端), the will (意), the Human Mind (人心), the Tao Mind (道心), mindfulness (敬), and sincerity (誠). Moreover, it is these concepts that lay the metaphysical foundation for self-cultivation, and many of them are also used to elucidate the three Principia (三綱) and the eight particular items (八條目) that appear in the Great Learning, the two concepts that form the conceptual woof and the warp of Neo-Confucianism self-cultivation. While Kwon Kŭn is well within the Ch'eng-Chu school of Neo-Confucianism, it is important to note that he is working with the concepts as developed in the earlier stages, before the split into the Ch'eng-Chu and Lu-Wang schools of thought. Therefore, concepts like principle, material force, the investigation of things, mindfulness, or sincerity, that become the focus of attention in later scholars are all dealt with here in pretty much the same way--as important concepts that each have a role in explaining the Neo-Confucianism universe and the place of human beings in it. A concrete example of Kwon's influence on other Korean Neo-Confucian scholars is his "Diagram on the Great Learning". This diagram forms the basis of the diagram T'oegye drew for his "Diagram on the Great Learning" which appears in his Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning. It is to T'oegye that we now turn.
ENDNOTES


2) Background information on Yi Saek is derived from "목은 이색" in 한국인물유합사, ("Mogun Yi Saek", by Lee, Ki-dong in Confucian Scholars of Korea), pp. 219-232.

3) Kalton, "The Writings of Kwŏn Kŭn", p. 92. The Korean, Chinese, and dates have been added to the original quote.

4) Kalton, "The Writings of Kwŏn Kŭn", page 92.

5) Kuem, Confucian Thought in Early Choson, p. 151.


7) Keum, Confucian Thought in Early Choson, p. 179.

8) Keum, Confucian Thought in Early Choson, p. 181.


10) Keum, Confucian Thought in Early Choson, p. 189.


12) This section on substance and function draws on the work of David Gedalicia, "Excursion into substance and function: the development of the t'i-yung paradigm in Chu Hsi", Philosophy East and West, vol. 24, no. 4, October 1974 and on Wing-tait Chan's, "Substance and Function", which forms chapter 15 of his Chu Hsi: New Studies.

13) See David Gedalicia, "Excursion into substance and function: the development of the t'i-yung paradigm in Chu Hsi", page 445 for information on the third stage, and page 446 for information on the final stage.
14) Both quotes are from David Gedalicia, "Excursion into substance and function: the development of the i'i-yung paradigm in Chu Hsi", page 446.

15) David Gedalicia, "Excursion into substance and function: the development of the i'i-yung paradigm in Chu Hsi", p. 446.

16) The following explanation of the six general principles is based on Wing-tsit Chán, "Substance and Function", which forms chapter 15 of Chu Hsi: New Studies, pages 222-234.

17) Wing-tsit Chan, "Substance and Function", page 224. The quote, translated by Chan, is from Chu Hsi's Wen-chi, chapter 53, section 42.


20) 권덕조 (譯), (入學圖說, Kwŏn, Dŏk-jo, trans., Diagrams and Explanations for Entering upon Learning), Introduction.


22) Julia Ching, The Religious Thought of Chu Hsi, page 15. The importance of this diagram in traditional Chinese numerology is discussed in the first chapter of Ho Peng Yoke's Li, Qi, and Shu: An Introduction to Science and Civilization in China.

23) Information on the Lo Writing is cobbled together from Julia Ching, The Religious Thought of Chu Hsi, page 15 and Ho Peng Yoke's Li, Qi, and Shu: An Introduction to Science and Civilization in China, pp. 7-9. The latter also notes that the Lo Writing is "the earliest known magic square in the world."

24) An explanation of these concepts is provided in chapter 5 of Ho Peng Yoke's Li, Qi, and Shu: An Introduction to Science and Civilization in China.


26) For more on this see Needham, Science and Civilization in China, v. 5, pp. 50-53.

27) For more on this see chapter 6 of Ho Peng Yoke's Li, Qi, and Shu: An Introduction to Science and Civilization in China. The basic form of these last two diagrams is also reprinted at the end of chapter 6 but not in the detail we see
in Kwŏn Kŭn's diagrams.

28) Sung Ching's *Diagram on Being without Idleness* (無逸圖) is mentioned in Kalton, *To Become a Sage*, page 30 and in note number 8 on page 223.

29) Ch'eng Fu-hsin (1279-1368) may be a possible exception. He wrote a diagrammatic treatise on the Four Books.

30) Much of the material in these diagrams was presented at the Association of Asian Studies ASPAC 2000 (Asian Studies on the Pacific Coast) Annual Conference, University of Oregon, June 2000 and during a graduate seminar on Confucianism at the University of British Columbia. The comments of both audiences are greatly appreciated.


32) Chou's "Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate" is reproduced in chapter three.

33) We see a similar idea expressed in Ch'en Ch'ŭn's *Neo-Confucian Terms Explained*, "Take the human figure. It corresponds with heaven and earth. The head is on top, resembling heaven, and if the feet are at the bottom, resembling earth." (Page 39.)

34) Kalton, "Yi Dynasty Neo-Confucianism", p. 15.


36) This translation is based on 入學圖說, 權德周, p. 21.


39) This passage appears in Legge, though the translation here has been influenced by Kalton, "Yi Dynasty Neo-Confucian", p. 21. The beginning of the passage, which is not in the section Kwŏn cites, is: "Only he who exerts himself with complete sincerity can perfect his nature." The translation is based on the original Chinese text, reproduced in 入學圖說, 權德周, pp. 137-38.

40) For more on this see Ch'en Ch'ŭn's *Neo-Confucian Terms Explained*, Wing-tsit Chan, translator.

41) Kalton, *To Become a Sage*, p. 212.
42) Kalton, To Become a Sage, p. 213.

43) Chan, A Sourcebook in Chinese Philosophy, p. 785.

44) Chan, A Sourcebook in Chinese Philosophy, p. 785.

45) The translation is Legge’s, Analects, pp. 146-7.

46) Translation of the diagram is based on the original Chinese text, reproduced in 入學圖說, 權德周, p. 139.

47) Translation of the diagram is based on the original Chinese text, reproduced in 入學圖說, 權德周, p. 140.

48) This paragraph has also been translated in Kalton, "Yi Dynasty Neo-Confucianism", p. 15; this the original Chinese text, reproduced in 入學圖說, 權德周, p. 140, are the basis of the translation here. Like so many passages, this one builds on a conflagration of phrases from other works. The first sentence is from Mencius (7A1), the second from the Book of Changes.


50) The full quote is as follows: "The master said, 'The wise find pleasure in water; the virtuous find pleasure in hills. The wise are active; the virtuous are tranquil. The wise are joyful; the virtuous are long-lived.'" Analects, Book Six, chapter 21. The translation is Legge’s.

51) Translations of the lines from the Analects are from Legge, Analects, Book Six, chapter 17. Translation of the rest of this passage is based on the original Chinese text, reproduced in 入學圖說, 權德周, p. 140.


54) Wing-tsit Chan, Chapter 9, "Li and Philosophical Categories", in Chu Hsi: New Studies, pp. 139-40.

55) Metzger, Escape from Predicament, page 289.

56) The translation of the diagram and this passage is based on the original Chinese text, reproduced in 入學圖說, 權德周, pp. 141-42.

58) Albrecht Dihle, The Theory of Will in Classical Antiquity, pp. 59-60. Aristotle thought on the matter do not really correspond to modern concepts of the will; Dihle's contention is that the latter start with Augustine. Charles Kahn also gives an excellent overview of this in his article, "Discovering the will".

59) The following statement by Hall and Ames also applies to Korea: "Any interpretation of the self that would lead to the separation of idea and action, or action and disposition, would be highly controversial among the Chinese.


62) Charles Kahn, "Discovering the will", p. 258.

63) Here Kwôn is quoting part of a famous phrase from the "Counsels of the Great Yu", translated in Legge's Shoo King, p. 62.

64) Here Kwôn is quoting the other part of the phrase from the "Counsels of the Great Yu", translated in Legge's Shoo King, p. 62. The translation is based on the original Chinese text, reproduced in 入學圖說, 權德周, pp. 141-42.


66) The translation is based on the original Chinese text, reproduced in 入學圖說, 權德周, pp. 141-42.

67) Ch'en Ch'un, Neo-Confucian Terms Explained, p. 47.

68) The quote is from Mencius 7A1.

69) Chan, A Sourcebook in Chinese Philosophy, p. 52.


71) The quote is taken from the first chapter of the Doctrine of the Mean.
72) The quote is from Mencius 7A1.

73) Kwŏn means this in a very real sense; he borrows extensively from early scholars.

74) This is based on Metzger's translation of 存養 as "preserve and nourish one's spontaneously moral feelings", Escape from Predicament, p. 295. The phrase appears in Mencius 7A1. There was a debate over these two characters, specifically, over trying to divide them between active (存) and meditative (養) aspects.

75) The translation is based on the original Chinese text, reproduced in 入學圖說, 權德周, p. 143.

76) This diagram is reproduced from Chapter 18, "Analogies and Diagrams", of Wing-tsit Chan's Chu Hsi: New Studies, page 282.

77) The translation of this passage is based on the original Chinese text, reproduced in 入學圖說, 權德周, p. 144.

78) Chan, A Sourcebook in Chinese Philosophy, p. 466.


80) The translation of this passage is based on the original Chinese text, reproduced in 入學圖說, 權德周, p. 144.

81) The translation of this passage is based on the original Chinese text, reproduced in 入學圖說, 權德周, pp. 144-45.

82) The translation of this passage is based on the original Chinese text, reproduced in 入學圖說, 權德周, pp. 144-45.

83) The translation of this passage is based on the original Chinese text, reproduced in 入學圖說, 權德周, p. 145.

84) Chan, A Sourcebook of Chinese Philosophy, p. 463.

85) The translation of this passage is based on the original Chinese text, reproduced in 入學圖說, 權德周, pp. 146-47.


89) The translation of this passage is based on the original Chinese text, reproduced in 入學圖說, 權德周, pp. 147-48.


91) The original source for this quote is the "Counsels of the Great Yu", which is translated in Legge's *Shoo King*, p. 62.

92) The translation of this passage is based on the original Chinese text, reproduced in 入學圖說, 權德周, p. 148.

93) The translation of this passage is based on the original Chinese text, reproduced in 入學圖說, 權德周, pp. 148-49.


98) The translation of this passage is based on the original Chinese text, reproduced in 入學圖說, 權德周, pp. 149-50.

99) The translation of this passage is based on the original Chinese text, reproduced in 入學圖說, 權德周, p. 150.

100) The translation of this passage is based on the original Chinese text, reproduced in 入學圖說, 權德周, pp. 150-51. On the last point in the translation, Legge notes that Chu, in his commentary on *Mencius*, explains the term 端 as 端緒 ("the end of a clue", that point outside, which may be laid hold of, and will guide us to all within."). See Legge's translation of *Mencius*, p. 203.

101) The translation of this passage is based on the original Chinese text,
102) The translation of this passage is based on the original Chinese text, reproduced in 入學圖說, 權德周, pp. 151-52.

103) The translation of this passage is based on the original Chinese text, reproduced in 入學圖說, 權德周, p. 152.

104) The translation of this passage is based on the original Chinese text, reproduced in 入學圖說, 權德周, pp. 152-53.

105) The translation of this passage is based on the original Chinese text, reproduced in 入學圖說, 權德周, p. 153.

106) The translation of this passage is based on the original Chinese text, reproduced in 入學圖說, 權德周, p. 156.

107) This diagram forms the basis of T’oegye’s "Diagram of the Great Learning", and much of the material is the same; the latter is has been translated by Michael Kalton in To Become a Sage. The translation here draws on this work. The translation of this diagram also draws on the original Chinese text, reproduced in 入學圖說, 權德周, p. 155.


109) The translation of this passage is based on the original Chinese text, reproduced in 入學圖說, 權德周, pp. 156-57.

110) The translation of this passage is based on the original Chinese text, reproduced in 入學圖說, 權德周, p. 157-60.

111) The translation of this passage is based on the original Chinese text, reproduced in 入學圖說, 權德周, p. 160.

112) The original quote is from the Book of Documents and is translated in Legge’s Shu Jing, p. 381.

113) The translation of this passage is based on the original Chinese text, reproduced in 入學圖說, 權德周, p. 160.

114) The translation of this passage is based on the original Chinese text, reproduced in 入學圖說, 權德周, pp. 160-61.


118) Gardner, *Chu Hsi and the Ta-hsueh*, p. 41.

119) The translation of this passage is based on the original Chinese text, reproduced in A-PtHiL WM®, pp. 161-63.

120) Chan, *Chu Hsi, New Studies*, page 284.

121) Changes have been made in order to make the vocabulary consistent with that used in the rest of the thesis, but otherwise this diagram is based on the work of Wing-tsit Chan, which appears in *Chu Hsi: New Studies*, page 283. The original is from Chu Hsi's *Yu-lei*, chapter 15, section 157.


Although Kwŏn Kŭn died in 1409, political tensions that characterized the political climate of his day lived on. In fact, as time went on they solidified. Whereas Kwŏn had witnessed the establishment of the new dynasty, experienced exile, and witnessed an attempted coup, the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries witnessed power struggles between factions and their alignment with governing institutions, broadly speaking aristocrats and bureaucrats in the former case and the Censoring organs and the throne in the latter. Establishing the Chosŏn Dynasty (1392-1910) did not mean a sharp break between the ruling classes of Koryŏ and Chosŏn. Many of the Confucian scholars who made up the ruling elite of the early Chosŏn Dynasty period had previously been lower level bureaucrats in the Koryŏ Dynasty. Equally important in the establishment of the new dynasty were Merit subjects, people who acquired their position and status not through the civil service examination but through direct appointment by the king as a reward for assisting the throne,
assistance that helped insure the king’s position, e.g., in establishing the dynasty or in resolving succession disputes. Moreover, Merit Subjects were often military men. Therefore, right from the start the king had to balance competing claims to power, competing not just between the Merit Subjects and the bureaucrats but also between these groups and the king himself: "the stability of the Chosŏn Dynasty was in large measure the result of the state of equilibrium produced by the interrelationship between monarchical, bureaucratic, and centralized government structure and the aristocratic and hierarchical social system." Moreover, even though the balance of power might shift from one pole to another the equilibrium itself was never completely destroyed, if for no other reason than because the king was needed to legitimize the bureaucracy and it was bureaucracy and social elite that guaranteed the continuation of the monarchy.

During the Chosŏn Dynasty, power did not reside solely with the throne. Scholar-officials had two institutions with which to check unbridled power in the monarchy, namely the Censorate and lectures at the classics mat. In the former, Confucian bureaucrats would send memorials to the throne in order to give advice on ruling the kingdom according to Confucian principles, or to remonstrate the king for violating or neglecting those principles, or even to criticize other officials. The lectures at the classics mat were given by a scholar who would discuss a passage or topic from the Confucian classics with the king and explain its relevance for governing in contemporaneous society. Both institutions, in theory, helped insure the kingdom was run according to Confucian principles. The problem
was that, as with other political institutions, abusing these powers was not unheard of. Literati purges can be seen as the climax of sustained conflict between the above forces competing with and reacting against each other. As the power of the censoring organs grew over time, bureaucrats wielded that power "with decreasing wisdom and with increasing intolerance and partisanship, until the process was joltingly arrested by violent means." There were Literati Purges in 1498, 1504, 1519, and 1545 where the king used force to reassert control over the Censorate and the bureaucratic structure in general or those who would use these institutions to further their own ends. But even though these short term measures led to a temporary decrease in the power of the Censorate, purges also gave those who were killed the status of martyrs. Thus, in the long run, specific events that restricted remonstrance in particular cases led to an aura of inviolability for the principle of remonstrance in general.

Besides the personal suffering wrought by the purges, one other result of these events is that literati purges also reinforced ideals of forgoing the pursuit of official office in favor of rustication and study, ideas most often associated with the group of scholars known as the "sarim" (literally, "mountain forest/grove"). The early formation of this group is often traced from Chǒng Mong-ju (1337-92) up through Cho Kwang-jo (1482-1519). The former was noted for his loyalty to the Koryŏ throne and his refusal to serve the new Dynasty, a decision that cost him his life; the latter has traditionally been seen as a Confucian idealist who, in his zeal to use the
Censorate to implement Confucian policies, ultimately challenged entrenched bases of power (Merit subjects directly, the throne indirectly) and wound up paying with his life.12) Both are seen as dying for Confucian principles, and, especially among sarim scholars, their deaths imbued these principles with still higher status. This situation often spurred an uneasy choice. On the one hand were intellectually appealing ideas of withdrawing from political life in order to study and concentrate on self-cultivation and, on the other hand, was the traditional Confucian progression of passing the examinations and then serving in the government as a civil official. Given a political situation wherein this latter choice, taken as a given by earlier Confucians, could now literally cost one one's life, it is only natural that the political climate would further promote and legitimize ideals of rustication at a social level.13) It was into these turbulent times that T'oegeye was born. The year was 1501. Only three years prior a purge had been carried out in 1498; another was to follow only three years later in the year 1504 and yet another was carried out in 1519.14) Moreover, a purge carried out in 1545 resulted in the eventual death of his brother, Yi Hae, in 1550.15) Not surprisingly, the political climate only served to reinforce T'oegeye's preference for retirement and study over the pursuit of government posts.

T'oegeye started reading the Thousand Character Classic at the age of six and started the Analects at the age of fourteen.16) He later entered the Confucian Academy, Sŏnggyun'gwan, but eventually withdrew and returned home because the atmosphere there at the time was not conducive to study. Nonetheless, he passed the first
level examinations at the age of 28 and went on to pass the next two higher level examinations at the ages 32 and 33, respectively. In 1535, at the age of 34, T'oegye embarked on a civil service career. Considering his later scholarship and fame, his years as a scholar-official are rather undistinguished. In fact, referring to the period of time during which he served as an official, one disciple remarked, "even his friends did not realize he was the Confucian of the School of the Way", another noted that most people thought of T'oegye primarily as a poet.\(^\text{17}\)

T'oegye quit his official position in 1549 and retired in order to study and teach but was nonetheless under constant pressure to resume government office and, in fact, served again from 1552 to 1555.\(^\text{18}\) This was followed by his return to retirement, but this too was interrupted by the resumption of official duties for a few months in 1558. It was not until 1567 that he again returned to the capital; this time, however, the King died just three days after his arrival and T'oegye once again left the capital, hoping to fade into retirement. This was not to be. He soon returned in order to assume the position of Royal Lecturer. It was during his tenure as Royal Lecturer that T'oegye wrote two famous texts. One, the *Six Section Memorial*, offered advice to the young new king on policy matters as well as behavior. The second text, the *Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning*, was a "summation of Neo-Confucianism proffered to the king on the eve of T'oegye's return to retirement" in the hope that it would provide guidance to the king in his quest for self-cultivation.\(^\text{19}\) The latter is
an introductory text that will be examined below.

Two other texts will also be examined. As famous as T’oegeye was for his Ten Diagrams of Sage Learning, this text actually came very late in his career; he died two years after he wrote it. Instead, as much as anything else, what thrust T’oegeye and his scholarship into the limelight was his participation in the Four-Seven debate, one of the intellectual turning points of the Chosŏn Dynasty. Although the correspondence making up the corpus of the debate is beyond our purview vis-à-vis educational texts and the Great Learning, the material therein is germane to the theme of human nature and self-cultivation, and, equally important, will serve to explicate cosmological and psychological concepts that permeate his Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning. Many of the ideas developed in the course of the debate received diagrammatic representation in Ten Diagrams. Furthermore, examining the ideas appearing here will shed light on the development of major Neo-Confucian concepts introduced by Kwŏn Kŭn in his Introductory Diagrams.

The other text examined is an educational text for explaining the Great Learning, though one without the fame associated with some of T’oegeye’s other works. It is his Glossary of the Great Learning. It was not written for kings; rather its intended audience was the students at his academy, Tosan sŏwŏn. It does, however, have the distinction of being one of the earliest annotations of the Great Learning using the Korean native script. Examining this text will also shed light on some of T’oegeye’s ideas of self-cultivation.
I. Four-Seven Debate

The Four-Seven Debate is one of the most important intellectual events of the Chosŏn Dynasty. Its importance for the intellectual history of Korea notwithstanding, the Four-Seven debate is sometimes seen as a dry, scholastic debate over philosophical principles that has little, if anything, to do with everyday life and how we live it. Nor is this attitude limited to contemporary critics; even some Confucian scholars during the latter part of the Chosŏn Dynasty criticized this debate for this very reason, just as many Ch'ing scholars criticized the earlier work of Neo-Confucians from the Sung and Ming Dynasties for similar reasons. But the debate is important here because, for the scholars involved, these concepts were not irrelevant to everyday life; they were literally the stuff of life itself. More important for the topic at hand, the topics addressed in the course of the debate deal with the intricate relationship between the cosmological and psychological concepts seen in Kwŏn Kŭn's Introductory Diagrams, specifically, those addressed in his first two diagrams and in his responses to questions eight, nine, and eleven. Comparisons to this material will be made below.

The debate started when Ki Tae-Sŭng (pen name Kobong, 1526-1572) expressed doubts about changes T'oegye had made in his "Revised Diagram of Heaven". T'oegye made a revised version of the diagram because he thought the distinction between principle and material force and the Four Beginnings and Seven Feelings seen in Chŏng Chi-un's (1509-1561) "Diagram of Heaven" was far too sharp.
All four of these concepts, as well as many others appearing in the Four-Seven debate, were introduced in Kwon Kun’s *Introductory Diagrams*, but in this case many were fine-tuned during the course of the debate. The relation of each of these concepts to the others was debated through a series of letters exchanged between T’oegeye and Ki Tae-sūng over the course of several years. What is more, the importance of this debate extends far beyond Korea; it is also important within the overall context of the development of Confucianism in East Asia.

This protracted interchange produced a unique body of correspondence: the continuity... complexity, detail, and careful process of point-by-point argumentation, reasoned agreement and disagreement, and development and modification of initial positions is simply unparalleled in Neo-Confucian literature.21)

Both concepts, the Four Beginnings and the Seven Feelings, can be traced back to classical sources. The former is found in a passage in *Mencius* dealing with dispositions, the beginnings, and their necessity for being truly human.

From this one can see that if one does not have the disposition of commiseration, he is not human; if he does not have the disposition of shame and dislike [for evil], he is not human; if he does not have the disposition of yielding and deference, he is not human; if he does not have the disposition of approving [the good] and disapproving [evil], he is not human. The disposition of compassion is the beginning of humanity, the disposition of shame and dislike is the beginning of righteousness, the disposition of yielding and deference is the beginning of propriety, the disposition of
approving and disapproving is the beginning of wisdom.\footnote{22}

A list of the Seven Feelings, on the other hand, appears in the *Book of Rites*. These are: desire, hate, love, fear, grief, anger, and joy. They represent the range of all human feelings.\footnote{23} Equally important, though, was the association among Korean scholars of the Seven Feelings on this list with a passage in the *Doctrine of the Mean*—"The condition before joy, anger, grief, or pleasure are aroused is called equilibrium; after they are aroused and each attains proper measure, it is called harmony. Equilibrium is the great foundation of the universe; harmony is its universal path."\footnote{24} This passage played a pivotal role in the development of Neo-Confucian psychology and also had important implications for self-cultivation. All three scholars examined here mention the importance of the Great Foundation (i. e., equilibrium) which is also mentioned in this chapter of the *Mean*. Furthermore, Korean scholars viewed the four feelings listed in the above passage from the *Doctrine of the Mean* as referring to the Seven Feelings mentioned in the *Book of Rites*. In other words, the list of feelings in the *Doctrine of the Mean* was seen, as it were, as an abbreviation of the list in the *Book of Rites*. This association, however, was not made in China:

[When] Neo-Confucians in China talked about feelings, they always referred to the four feelings of joy, anger, sorrow, and pleasure in the *Doctrine of the Mean*, not the seven feelings mentioned in the "Evolution of Rites" of the *Book of Rites*. In addition, Chu Hsi talked often about the Four Beginnings but seldom about the seven feelings.\footnote{25}
The goal here, however, is not a full explication and analysis of the Four-Seven debate. This has been done by others. Rather, the goal here is threefold. One is to see how Korean Neo-Confucian ideas of cosmology and human nature developed in the early Chosŏn Dynasty, and, second, to examine these developments within the context of the framework laid out by Kwŏn Kŭn over 150 years earlier, and, lastly, to examine the relationship between these ideas and self-cultivation.

As mentioned above, T'oegeye modified Chŏng's "Diagram on Heaven" because he thought the distinction made there between principle and material force overemphasized the differences between them. To overcome this problem he first put forward the following position— "The issuance of the Four Beginnings is purely a matter of principle and therefore involves nothing but good; the issuance of the Seven Feelings includes material force and therefore involves both good and evil." T'oegeye's initial position as set forth here explains the Four Beginnings in terms of principle and notes this is why they are purely good. The Seven Feelings are explained in terms of material force and, since material force is by definition the individualizing force in the universe and therefore has the potential to deviate from the all-encompassing principle within things, T'oegeye therefore states the Seven Feelings include both good and evil.

Kobong, on the other hand, starts by examining the mind-and-heart in two different states— before and after it is aroused. Furthermore, he does not explain these two states in terms of principle and material force per se; rather the former state he equates
with a person’s heavenly endowed nature; the latter state he equates with the feelings—"For before a person’s mind-and-heart is aroused, the condition is considered the nature, and after it is aroused, it is considered the feelings. In that case, the nature involves nothing but good, while the feelings involve both good and evil."

In other words, here at least, Kobong distinguishes between good and evil in terms of whether or not the mind-and-heart is aroused and not in terms of either principle and material force or the Four Beginnings. He does, however, go on to make these associations in the following passage.

For if in the issuance of the nature material force does not interfere the original goodness [of the nature] can be directly manifested, and this is truly what Mencius described as the Four Beginnings. These are definitely purely a matter of that which heavenly principle issues. Nonetheless, they cannot emerge as something apart from the Seven Feelings; rather they represent the systematic sprouts of those among the Seven Feelings that issue and are perfectly measured.

When Kobong talks about material force not interfering with the original goodness of one’s nature, he does not mean that material force is absent altogether; rather, he is thinking of material force in its most rarefied, ethereal form, a form that allows complete and unfettered penetration of principle. He then goes on to speak of the Seven Feelings and distinguishes when they are good and when they veer toward evil. The key here is whether they issue in accordance with one’s nature or whether in issuing their development is warped by one’s material force—"[those of the Seven Feelings] that are good
are the original condition of the Heavenly Mandate, while those that are evil are a matter of excess or deficiency in the psychophysical endowment of material force.\textsuperscript{31)

Kobong also examines the issue in terms of principle and material force. This explanation is analogous to the substance-function theory. Simply put, Kobong states that when material force acts (functions) in accord with the principle that makes up one's initial endowment of nature (substance), the Four Beginnings and those of the Seven Feelings that have issued correctly are in a very real sense of the same-- "principle is not external to material force, and cases where material force has its natural manifestation without excess or deficiency are the same as the original substance of principle."\textsuperscript{32)

T'oegye does two things. He agrees that principle and material force are inseparable in every respect, whether it be in regard to substance (potential) or function (manifestation, realization). This is nothing new; it is a view he (and Kobong) held throughout. But he also maintains that the two can be discussed separately, that is, when we speak of principle and material force we are not just talking about two different terms referring to the exact same thing.

Principle and material force are fundamentally mutually necessary as substance and are interdependent as function; there definitely can never be principle without material force or material force without principle. Nevertheless,... from ancient times, sages and wise men have discussed them as two.\textsuperscript{33)

T'oegye then notes that other scholars have also done this in the past.
and quotes Chu Hsi as an example: "The Four Beginnings, these are the issuance of principle; the Seven Feelings, these are the issuance of material force."\textsuperscript{34}

In response, Kobong reasserts the identity of the Four Beginnings with those of the Seven Feelings that issue as perfectly measured. For him they are the same. He then goes on to speak of the dangers of making what he sees as false distinctions between these two concepts.

Principle itself is present in the midst of what are called the Seven Feelings...; when they issue and are perfectly measured, they represent the nature that is the Heavenly Mandate and the original substance, and are the same reality with a different name as what Mencius called the Four Beginnings.\textsuperscript{35}

He then goes on to add that making this mistake can only cause confusion over what these concepts really mean.

If one speaks of the Four Beginnings and Seven Feelings as a contrasting pair, and thus displays them in a diagram that describes the one as "nothing but good" and the other as "including both good and evil," then people will look at it and wonder whether there are two kinds of feelings.\textsuperscript{36}

These two quotes provide an excellent example of how ambiguities in Kwŏn Kŭn's first diagram can be read to support more than one position. In the case of the first quote, Kwŏn positions the Seven Feelings in the diagram where they clearly include both
principle and material force. Looking at the neck of Kwŏn’s diagram, there is a clear link between the Heavenly mandate, li, nature, the mind-and-heart, and the Seven Feelings. Furthermore, the diagram shows two possible routes for the Seven Feelings to issue forth; one of these is up and off toward the right through the enclosure labeled "feelings". The other is off toward the left, where, according to Kwŏn’s diagram, the will distinguishes between good and evil. On the other hand, Kwŏn does indeed represent the Seven Feelings, located at the bottom of the top half of the diagram, and the feelings which manifest themselves as the Four Beginnings as two distinct types of feelings in that each has a separate physical location within the diagram. Kwŏn would, of course, avoid the charge in Kobong’s second quote because for him all the feelings are inherently good. For Kwŏn, distinctions between good and evil arise in the intention (will), not in the feelings; in this Kwŏn differs from both Kobong and T’oegye.

In reasserting his belief that, because both the Four Beginnings and the Seven Feelings issue forth from the mind-and-heart, each can be traced back to one and the same source (i.e., one’s nature), Kobong maintains that any distinctions made between the Four Beginnings and those of the Seven Feelings that are perfectly good is unfounded and unsustainable—"the Four Beginnings certainly issue from the nature comprised of humanity, righteousness, propriety, and wisdom, but the Seven Feelings also issue from the nature comprised of humanity, righteousness, propriety, and wisdom." Again, there is some support for this in Kwŏn’s first Diagram. At the bottom of the
top half of the Diagram one can see the 'Nature' and directly under it are the Four Beginnings (here as part of the five virtues); these in turn may issue in accordance with principle and in Kwŏn Kŭn's diagram are labeled as the feelings being a manifestation of the Four Beginnings. On the other hand, Kwŏn's diagram also shows the Seven Feelings directly below the "Nature", in an area of the diagram where material force plays a more dominant role.

Since anything that issues must by definition consist of both principle and material force, the Four Beginnings, which all agree are good, must have principle and material force. Moreover, since there is a potential that some of the Seven Feelings may issue in accordance with principle, Kobong insists that those of the Seven that do issue properly are the same as the Four Beginnings. The reasoning here is fairly straightforward: 1. All that issues has both principle and material force; 2. Both the Seven and the Four issue; 3. Things that issue in accordance with principle are good; 4. The Four Beginnings issue in accordance with principle and are therefore good; 5. Some of the Seven may issue in accordance with principle and those that do are also good; 6. The subset of the Seven Feelings that issues in accordance with principle is the same thing as the Four Beginnings. This is seen in the following excerpt.

Both the Four Beginnings and the Seven Feelings issue from the mind-and-heart. Since the mind-and-heart is a conjunction of principle and material force, feelings certainly combine both principle and material force. It is not the case that there is a particular distinctive kind of feelings that only issues from principle and not from material force.38)
Here again Kobong bases this on the presupposition that the mind-and-heart inextricably combines both principle and material force, and since both the Four Beginnings and Seven Emotions issue from the mind-and-heart when it is aroused they too must also include both principle and material force. Furthermore, Kobong suggests there are no unmanifested feelings, since feelings are by definition a manifestation (function) of one's nature as the endowment of Heavenly Principle. This is also seen in the following.

When it [principle] is within, it is definitely pure Heavenly Principle. However, at that time it can only be called the nature; it cannot be called the feelings. But the moment it is aroused, it becomes feelings, with the differentiation of harmonious and unharmonious. For in the not-yet-aroused state, it is exclusively principle, but when it is aroused, it mounts material force to become active.39)

Kobong's statement hangs on distinguishing between not two different things, but one thing in two different states, in this case nature and feelings. The contrast here with T'oegye's position is very clear. In this passage, Kobong's position repeats his initial position where the distinction made was between the mind-and-heart in the unaroused and aroused states and the relation of these two to nature and the feelings. In short, Kobong is identifying the (unaroused) Seven Feelings with the nature, i. e., he sees the Seven as identical to nature when unaroused, and since he also identifies the Four Beginnings with the nature, this is why he defines the Four as a sub-set of the Seven.
In this case, Kobong's position appears to be at odds with the information conveyed in Kwŏn Kŭn's first Diagram. In Kwŏn's first diagram there is a direct link between Heavenly principle and 'Nature' in the upper half of the Diagram that represents the mind-and-heart in an unaroused state. In this both agree. Where they disagree is that whereas Kobong states they cannot be called "feelings" while in this state, Kwŏn clearly uses this label within the upper half of the diagram, the part of the diagram representing the unaroused state of the mind-and-heart. On the other hand, it is not quite as clear cut as it first appears. In Kwŏn's diagram, the "Feelings" are off to one side, although they are still within the part of the diagram representing the mind-and-heart in an unaroused state. The difference between these two positions centers around the answer to one question-- "Can something be both aroused and, at the same time, not-yet-issued?" If the answer is yes, then Kobong's statement may indeed fit within the framework presented in Kwŏn's diagram; if no, then there is initial agreement but, in the end, Kobong follows a different approach.

Depending on how one answers this question, there seems to be a contradiction in Kobong's position and it is on this that T'oegye focuses. Kwŏn Kŭn also assumed the answer to this question was "yes" and says as much in the answer to the eighth question on his first diagrams: "We can detect differences of good and evil when the mind-and-heart is initially manifesting itself." T'oegye also appears to answer the above question affirmatively-- there is an intermediate stage, an incipient state in reacting to affairs, where the mind-and-heart is aroused but the feelings have not yet issued. Given
this, the problem is to avoid confusing the association of principle and material force with their relation to the Four and Seven in the different stages of arousal. For T'oegye, Kobong's position is confused in exactly this way.

It does not make sense to say that [the Four Beginnings] are within us as pure principle, but, at the moment they issue, they are mixed with material force, or that what is externally aroused [i.e., the Seven Feelings] is physical form, but its issuance looks back to principle not to material force.  

Comparing this to Kwŏn Kŭn’s first diagram, there seems to be general agreement. At the bottom of the neck in the upper half of the diagram, the Four Beginnings are listed right below ‘Nature’. Going off to the right, toward the side of the diagram where principle predominates, Kwŏn illustrates the feelings as a manifestation of the Four Beginnings, where the latter are displayed in the lower half of the Diagram, i.e., after they have issued. In short, Kwŏn shows both the potential and manifestation of the Four Beginnings in different, respective parts of the diagram. This reading supports T'oegye's contention that,

although neither of the two [the Four and the Seven] is separable from principle and material force, on the basis of their point of origin, each points to a predominant factor, so there is no reason why we cannot say that the one is a matter of principle and the other a matter of material force.  

In the above two passages T'oegye points out that just because principle and material force are never really separable does not mean
the terms cannot be used to emphasize specific aspects of something in terms of one or the other of these two terms. T'oegye goes on to show how this applies to the relationship between the Four Beginnings and principle, on the one hand, and to the Seven Feelings and material force, on the other. The second term in each pair is seen as the most accurate way to explain the issuance of the first concept of each pair—"if we contrast the Seven Feelings with the Four Beginnings and discuss each in terms of its distinctive characteristics, the Seven Feelings are related to material force in the way the Four Beginnings are related to principle." It is not that T'oegye sees it as all or nothing; rather that despite whatever combination of material force and principle a thing may have in the case of the Four Beginnings and Seven Feelings, each can be best explained by focusing the learner's attention on one aspect.

This is another point where there is support for T'oegye's position in Kwŏn Kŭn's first diagram. The Four Beginnings are listed below "li is origin" and "Nature" in Kwŏn's diagram, and there is a direct conduit toward the side of the diagram where principle predominates. They are shown again on this side of the diagram as manifesting according to principle. The Seven Feelings, on the other hand, are listed below the "Mind-and-Heart" and in the same enclosure as "material force's origin". T'oegye's position, below, could almost be read as a description of this part of Kwŏn's diagram.

In the one case, principle is the predominant factor, and so one speaks of it from the point of view of principle; in the other, material force is the predominate factor, and therefore
one speaks of it from the point of view of material force. This is what it means when, even though the Four Beginnings are not without material force, one speaks of the issuance of principle, or when one only speaks of the issuance of material force, even though the feelings are not without principle.\textsuperscript{43}

This is the reasoning behind what was to be T'oebye's final phrasing of the matter, a theory that became known as the 'mutual issuance' theory— "In the case of the Four Beginnings principle issues and material force follows; in the case of the Seven Feelings material force issues and principle mounts it". It is this theory T'oebye incorporates into the third section of diagram six in his \textit{Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning}, "Diagram of the Saying 'The Mind Combines and Govern the Nature and the Feelings'". A good summary of this position is seen in the following passage.

Generally speaking, there are cases where principle issues and material force follows, so one can speak of these in a way that takes principle as the predominant factor, that is all; that does not mean that principle is external to material force. The Four Beginnings are such case. There are cases in which material force issues and principle mounts it, so one may speak of them in a way that takes material force as the predominant factor; but that does not mean material force is external to principle. The Seven Feelings are this kind of case.\textsuperscript{44}

Whereas T'oebye's position was modified and refined in the course of the debate, Kobong is consistent to the end in maintaining that the Four Beginnings are essentially a subset of the Seven Feelings. The following gives a good summary of his position.
The Seven Feelings combine principle and material force and include both good and evil. Therefore, those of them that issue and are perfectly measured are rooted in principle and are never not good. Those of them that issue and are not perfectly measured are admixed with material force and sometimes devolve into evil. And the Four Beginnings themselves are a matter of principle and are good. Therefore, I regard them as the same reality with a different name as those of the Seven Feelings that issue and are perfectly measured."

At first glance, the first part of this statement seems close to T'oegeye's position in one sense, primarily because Kobong addresses the Seven Feelings as being both good and evil and in terms of principle and material force, and also states that the Four Beginnings are good and are "a matter of principle", but, in doing so, makes no mention of material force. The key though is Kobong's continued identification in the last sentence of those feelings within the larger category of the Seven Feelings that issue correctly, i. e., those manifesting in accord with principle, with the Four Beginnings. His reasoning here is that since both the Four Beginnings and the sub-set of the Seven Feelings that issues correctly must all issue from the nature and are also good because they issue in accord with principle, both these terms must therefore both refer to the same thing. In short, they are just two different names for the exact same thing.

The pith of Kobong's argument can be summed up in a line-"the Four Beginnings and Seven Feelings alike both issue from the nature, so I fear that one cannot approach each from the point of view of its issuance and distinguish them." Though not explicit,
Kobong’s statement can easily be understood in terms of the substance-function theory; it is an assumption running throughout his argument and underlies his position on the topic. In this case, a person’s Heavenly endowed nature is seen as the "substance"; the feelings, which Kobong takes as including both the Four and the Seven, are then seen as the function or manifestation of one’s nature and potential. In other words, since both the Four and the Seven come from the same potential source it is misleading to maintain that different manifestations of that source have any real difference when they manifest themselves in the same way, e.g., in accord with principle.

Despite their differences, there are also some common themes between T’oegye and Kobong. For instance, both scholars trace the potential for evil to material force in the Seven Feelings. This, as we have seen, differs from the position put forward by Kwŏn Kŭn. While like other Neo-Confucians, Kwŏn thought the potential for evil was rooted in material force, he holds that the feelings do not have anything that is not good and instead assigns evil to the intention. This is probably why Kwŏn lists both the Four Beginnings and the Seven Feelings within the central part of the Diagram that represents the mind-and-heart before it is aroused. Kwŏn Kŭn asserts that rather than being rooted in the feelings, distinctions between good and evil can first be made in the incipient phase of the intention (will). The fact that both Kobong and T’oegye do not emphasize the role of the will in the course of the Four-Seven debate may seem to imply a
fundamental shift in self-cultivation away from the will or intention and toward the feelings, i.e., a general shift in the practice of self-cultivation where a person focuses not on what we will but on the emotions and feelings behind what we will, but this is not the case. T'öegye notes that not only the nature and the feelings but also the intention (will) are all fundamental aspects of the mind-and-heart.

The mind is the thing that combines principle and material force and governs the nature and the feelings. Therefore it is not only the intention that issues from the mind; the issuing of the feelings is also done by the mind. Principle is without form or concreteness; as it fills and is perfectly held by the mind, it is the nature. The nature is without form or concreteness; as it is broadly manifested and issues forth as a function in dependence upon the mind, it is the feelings. That which, based on the issuing of the feelings, manages, calculates, and asserts that it must be like this or must be like that, is the intention.47

All three scholars also agree that principle and material force are inextricably linked, but not admixed. Equally important, one point of agreement between all three of these scholars is the intimate relationship between fundamental philosophical ideas, both cosmological and psychological, and self-cultivation. The relationship between cosmological ideas and the task of self-cultivation was not an empty one. Rather, these concepts are inextricably intertwined, the former both undergirding and outlining the framework needed for the latter, even though there are differences of opinion over what those cosmological concepts mean.
Nonetheless, in examining the ideas of these three scholars, T’oegye’s thought seems closer to advancing theories first presented in Kwŏn Kŭn’s *Diagrams and Explanations for Entering Upon Learning* than is the case with Kobong. In the case of Kobong, there may be initial agreement, but, in the end, divergence seems as common as convergence. Lastly, most of the ideas examined and expanded on in the course of the Four-Seven debate also receive diagrammatic expression in T’oegye’s *Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning*.

II. *Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning*.

T’oegye wrote *Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning* as a handbook on self-cultivation for the young King. The text encapsulates the most important concepts of Ch’eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism and introduces the entire Neo-Confucian project, everything from cosmology and psychology right down to how to behave. Commenting on the depth and comprehensive scope of the material covered in T’oegye’s *Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning*, Wing-tsit Chan notes that, "It is not a distortion to say that the ten diagrams embody the complete teachings of Chu Hsi."[48]

The basic structure of *Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning* consists of a diagram followed by the comments of a famous Neo-Confucianism scholar, usually, though not always, Chu Hsi; this in turn is followed by T’oegye’s own comments on the topic at hand. The *Ten Diagrams* as a whole has traditionally been analyzed in one of two ways,
primarily because T'oegye himself mentioned both these methods within the text itself. One way is to divide the diagrams into two parts, the first part being made up of the first five diagrams which address metaphysics, society and ethics, and learning. The latter five diagrams, which deal with self-cultivation and "begin with an analysis and characterization of man's inner life (psychology) and conclude with concrete practice (ascetical theory)," are seen as comprising the other half. The second method of examining the text is based on a tripartite structure. The chapters on learning ('Diagram of the Elementary Learning', "Diagram of the Great Learning", and "Diagram of Rules of the White Deer Hollow Academy") are taken as the core of the text and the first two diagrams ('Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate" and "Diagram of the Western Inscription") are seen as the foundation upon which the core is constructed. The remaining chapters are seen as expounding on and detailing "the fruition of learning in the actual process of self-cultivation." No matter which interpretive framework one uses, the structure of Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning, an educational text for the young king, parallels the general structure of some of the educational texts described in the introductory chapter, for instance the Thousand Character Text, in that cosmological issues are presented first and those dealing with humanity are presented last. Of course, it is Neo-Confucian cosmology that is presented in the Ten Diagrams and not earlier Confucian ideas on the subject.
1 Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate

Diagram 3.1, "The Supreme Ultimate" is taken from Michael Kalton, To Become a Sage and reprinted with permission of the publisher, Columbia University Press.
As seen above, the Four-Seven Debate started from questions concerning revisions to the "Diagram of Heaven". However, T'oegye does not use this Diagram to lay out the conceptual framework for this text. Instead, T'oegye begins his Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning with one of the most important texts explaining and outlining Neo-Confucian cosmology, Chou Tun-i's "Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate". But he adds to it. Besides the basic diagram itself, T'oegye also appends Chu Hsi's interpretive comments along both sides of the diagram explaining what the symbols in the diagram actually mean. Also included in this section are Chou Tun-i's text, "Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate", some of Chu Hsi's comments, and, lastly, T'oegye's own notes on the topic. Among the last is T'oegye's reason for placing this diagram at the beginning of the text: "one who would learn to be a sage should seek the beginning here in this [diagram] and apply his efforts to the practice of [what is presented in] such works as the Elementary Learning and the Great Learning." In short, T'oegye, like Kwŏn Kŭn, first lays out the cosmological parameters of the Neo-Confucian project before going on to develop specific details therein. Not only that, the relationship between cosmological ideas and their practice in the task of self-cultivation is explicit.

The textual basis for the second diagram, "Diagram of the Western Inscription", was written by Chang Tsai (1020-1077), though the actual diagram was not drawn until much later by Ch'eng Fu-hsin (1279-1368), who based it on Chang's text. The diagram is divided
into two parts. The first part illustrates how "Principle is one but its manifestations are diverse."\(^{55}\) It starts with basic concepts and shows that in terms of principle, everything is united and there is, therefore, a fundamental affinity between all creatures. Nevertheless, it also makes evident that a clear and fundamental distinction exists between mankind and creatures, and, within the former, there are important distinctions between older and younger, ruler and minister, sages and worthies, and nobles and the base. In short, this section of the diagram reaffirms both the Confucian idea that universalizing principle pervades everything in the universe thereby unifying them while, at the same time, justifying different types of treatment toward people based on social relationships and status. The second part of the diagram "discusses the sincerity of one's service to one's parents as a basis for clarifying the Tao of serving Heaven."\(^{56}\) It does so by weaving together cosmological references from Confucian classics like "the Book of Changes [and then links them] with well-known passages dealing with filial piety."\(^{57}\) The result then is to superimpose the virtue of filial piety within the overall cosmic framework, thereby endowing it with the status of a universal principle.\(^{58}\) Besides reproducing Chang Tsai's text, comments by Chu Hsi and other Chinese scholars (e. g., Yang Shih (1053-1135) and Ya Lu (fl. 1256)), as well as those of T'oege ye himself, also accompany the diagram.

The general approach T'oege ye and Kwŏn Kŭn use in laying out their first couple of diagrams is different. Whereas Kwŏn's first diagram presented an overview of the entire Neo-Confucian universe, from the point of view of a cosmological, moral metaphysics and
continued all the way down to a moral psychology, T'oegye uses two different diagrams, the first providing the Neo-Confucian cosmological framework and the other focusing on ethics. Moreover, this last diagram is much more specific in that the latter part of it focuses on one virtue—filial piety. It is not that filial piety was unimportant to Kwŏn. After all he wrote an afterward for a late Koryŏ collection of filial tales, the Hyohaengnok; rather, the differences have more to do with the purpose of each text. Also important is the fact that by the late sixteenth century the ideas Kwŏn introduced had been around for 150 years and the thinking on them developed and became more refined. Ideas that were presented in general terms in Kwŏn's text have received a more thorough development. An example of this is the ambiguities in Kwŏn's diagram that could be read to support different positions in the Four-Seven debate. Of course, they may not have been seen as ambiguities in Kwŏn's time; this would have become apparent over time only when the argumentation had to be refined in response to the corresponding need for more detail regarding particular points if they were to be better understood.

The next two diagrams deal with two prominent Neo-Confucian texts—Elementary Learning and Great Learning. Unlike the first two diagrams in the text which were drawn by other scholars, the "Diagram of the Elementary Learning" was drawn by T'oegye. That this text was seen as worthy of being drawn and included here gives a good indication of the status the Elementary Learning had achieved by the mid-Chosŏn Dynasty. In fact, largely
due to the influence of Kwŏn Kŭn earlier in the dynasty, candidates for the lowest level civil service examinations had to memorize the *Elementary Learning* before being allowed to sit for the civil service examinations. T'oebye follows the diagram with Chu Hsi's "Introduction to the Subject Matter of the Elementary Learning" and select comments from Chu's *Questions and Answers on the Great Learning*. The latter material, however, is used to emphasize the relationship between the *Elementary Learning* and the *Great Learning* rather than going into greater detail on the contents of the *Elementary Learning*. T'oebye then concludes this section with a brief explanation of why he made the diagram and why he used Chu's *Questions and Answers*. His aim here is not so much to "explore the contents of the *Elementary Learning*, but rather [to] constitute an interpretive framework for the *Great Learning* that precludes" Wang Yang-ming's interpretation of the text.

As noted above, T'oebye thought the *Ten Diagrams* could be viewed from a tripartite arrangement, with the diagrams on the Supreme Ultimate and the Western Inscription forming the foundation, the diagrams on the *Elementary Learning* and the *Great Learning* providing the basis of self-cultivation, and the remaining six diagrams illustrating the application of these concepts. This is made explicit in his comments at the end of this diagram.

The two diagrams which preceded these deal with the ultimate [framework]: seeking out the foundation, broadening and perfecting it, embodying Heaven and totally fulfilling the Tao. They present the ultimate goal and basic foundation of Great Learning and Elementary Learning. The six diagrams

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that follow deal with applying one's efforts: understanding the good, making one's person sincere, exalting virtue, and broadening [the self-cultivation] project. They represent the field [of application] of Great Learning and Elementary Learning, that which is to be worked upon.\textsuperscript{62)

Whether or not Kwŏn Kŭn had access to Chu Hsi's Collected Conversations is debatable. T'oegye definitely had access to Chu's Conversations. Nonetheless in making the fourth diagram, "Diagram of the Great Learning", T'oegye modeled this diagram on Kwŏn's drawing of the Great Learning rather than on that of Chu Hsi. In fact, of the eight diagrams in the Ten Diagrams where T'oegye drew on the work of other scholars when making a diagram, this is the only instance where that scholar was Korean; in all the other cases T'oegye drew upon the work of Chinese scholars. Wing-tsit Chan speculates on T'oegye's reasoning for doing so, especially since, as Chan notes, T'oegye was well versed in Chu Hsi's work, including the Collected Conversations (Yu-lei), and therefore must have known that Chu's "Diagram of the Great Learning" appears in the fifteenth chapter of his Collected Conversations.\textsuperscript{63) Given T'oegye's high regard for Chu Hsi, Chan wonders, "Why would a loyal follower like T'oegye bypass Chu Hsi's diagram in favor of another?"\textsuperscript{64) The question is actually a bit misleading, primarily because the choice was not between faithfully following Chu Hsi or, in following Kwŏn Kŭn, deviating from Chu Hsi's thought. Since T'oegye thought of Kwŏn as being well within the framework of Ch'eng-Chu Confucianism, the problem of adhering to or deviating from Chu Hsi's thought was not really an issue here.
Diagram of the Great Learning

Diagram 3.2, Toegye's "Diagram of the Great Learning," reprinted from M. Kaiton, To Become a Sage, with the permission of the publisher, Columbia University Press.

4 Diagram of the Great Learning

Making illustrious virtue manifest

Making the will sincere
Rectifying the mind
Cultivating one's person

Regulating the family
Ordering the state
Making the world tranquil

Knowing wherein to abide
Established direction
Tranquil
Peaceful repose
Deliberation
Completion

Making illustrious virtue manifest and renewing the people means both oneself and the people attain to abiding in the highest good.

These four are the interconnections between knowing wherein to abide and attaining; all are spoken of as results.

Making illustrious virtue manifest and renewing the people is the result of knowing wherein lies the ultimate good.

The ultimate in renewing oneself and renewing the people

Making the will sincere
The will is sincere
The mind is rectified
One's person is cultivated

The family is regulated
The state is ordered
The world is tranquil

Making illustrious virtue manifest

Habiting known wherein lies the highest good

The process of having attained to abiding in the highest good

RENEWING THE PEOPLE

CARRYING OUT

EFFORT

RESULT

the goal of both substance and function

Investigating things
Extending knowledge

Knowledge

Seeking to know wherein lies the highest good

Making illustrious virtue manifest:

Seeking to attain abiding in the highest good

Things are investigated
Wherewith to abide is known

Having known wherein lies the highest good

The process of having attained to abiding in the highest good

Making illustrious virtue manifest

ABIDING IN THE HIGHEST GOOD

the ultimate in renewing oneself and renewing the people

Knowing wherein to abide

Beginning

Established direction
Tranquil
Peaceful repose
Deliberation
Completion

Making illustrious virtue manifest and renewing the people means both oneself and the people attain to abiding in the highest good.

Making illustrious virtue manifest and renewing the people is the result of knowing wherein lies the ultimate good.

These four are the interconnections between knowing wherein to abide and attaining; all are spoken of as results.
Chan is right, however, in noting that the purpose of Chu's and Kwŏn's diagrams differs. As noted in the last chapter, whereas Chu Hsi's "Diagram on the Great Learning" put forward "an analysis and new structure of the teachings of the Great Learning", Kwŏn's was made with a much more practical goal in mind--providing a framework for the practice of self-cultivation to his students. Given that T'oebye's intent was identical to Kwŏn's, though in this case the instruction of the young king rather than students at large, Chan notes his selection of the more pragmatic diagram is understandable.66 One other reason T'oebye may have had for choosing Kwŏn Kun's Diagram over Chu Hsi's is that other Koreans may have been as familiar with Kwŏn's diagram as they were with Chu's. Nonetheless, in adopting Kwŏn's diagram as the basis for his own version of the diagram, T'oebye did not adopt it as is; he modified it slightly.

T'oebye's revision of Kwŏn Kun's "Diagram of the Great Learning" focuses on two main areas. [References to locations on the diagram are to T'oebye's version above, not to Kwŏn's version which appears in chapter two.] The first of these deals with "making illustrious virtue manifest", which is listed three times across the top of the diagram. In the first instance, at the top left, there is no change; the two cases where T'oebye modifies the diagram are at the top of the diagram, to the right of the enclosures "action" and "knowledge" and above "Effort", on the one hand, and at the top right, above "Result", on the other hand. In Kwŏn's Diagram the phrase "illuminating illustrious virtue" appears in the middle column,
Diagram 3.3  T'oegye's "Diagram of the Great Learning- Revised"67

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Beginning</th>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Knowledge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Making Illustrious Virtue Manifest and Renewing the people is the result of knowing wherein lies the ultimate good.</td>
<td>Making Illustrious Virtue Manifest</td>
<td>Seeking to know wherein lies the highest good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The process of having attained to abiding in the highest good.</td>
<td>Having known wherein lies the highest good.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The column under "action". As seen above, T'oegye moves this phrase between the two columns associated with "action" and "knowledge" and then directly links it to both columns. The result is that T'oegye makes explicit that increasing one's knowledge of where to abide and putting this knowledge into practice and attaining the highest good are inextricably linked to a person's making illustrious virtue manifest. In other words, "seeking to know wherein lies the highest good" is just as much an example of illuminating illustrious virtue as is the action of "seeking to attain abiding in the highest good". The same type of modification is made in the second case, though here "making illustrious virtue manifest" links the two respective columns associated with "action" and "knowledge" that themselves provide a bridge
between one's "moral effort" and the moral fruits (results) of an individual's efforts. In short, T'oegye makes explicit the idea that making illustrious virtue manifest links both knowledge and action throughout the entire process of self-cultivation, i.e., from a person's initial attempts all the way through sagehood.

T'oegye's second modification deals with the phrase to the right of "Beginning" and is located on the top line to the far right of the row dealing with "Abiding in the Highest Good". Kwŏn Kŭn's comments here may be read as either, "The results of the investigation of things and completion of knowledge" or, "Things being investigated is the result of knowledge being extended." In place of this T'oegye writes, "Making illustrious virtue manifest and renewing the people is the result of knowing wherein lies the ultimate good." The phrase in this position is associated with the Chinese characters written above it-- "Knowing [where to] stop" and "Begins/ Beginning". Whereas Kwŏn Kŭn deals with this in terms of the results of moral effort (i.e., "things being investigated" and "knowledge being completed" that in turn result from illuminating illustrious virtue through both "knowledge" and "moral effort" as seen on the right side of his diagram), T'oegye relates this to the three Principia across the top of the diagram. [In T'oegye's diagram these are down the left column.] In other words, where Kwŏn Kŭn sees knowing where to stop (i.e., abiding in the highest good) as a function of the completion of knowledge and the investigation of things, T'oegye recapitulates the idea that not only are making illustrious virtue manifest and renewing the people part of the process leading to abiding in the highest good,
but that this last point is also the foundation that supports the two actions leading up to it. This change could be due to the influence of Chu Hsi’s diagram.

There are also three other minor differences between the diagrams of T’oegye and Kwŏn Kŭn. In the middle of the diagram, to the right of "Renewing the People" and to the left of the enclosure labeled "Carrying Out", the first Chinese character has been replaced. In Kwŏn’s diagram the first character was "ultimate, ultimately" (極); T’oegye replaces this character with one meaning "furthering, advancing" (推). In other words, whereas Kwŏn Kŭn understands regulating the family, governing the kingdom, pacifying the world, and renewing the people, in terms of "Ultimate Action" where people seek to achieve a point where they too abide in the highest good, T’oegye sees all this as furthering or "carrying out" action. A second difference has to do with the character "ultimate" (極) that is positioned near the bottom left of the first column of the diagram and just above the phrase "Abiding in the Highest Good". In Kwŏn Kŭn’s diagram this character is contained within the same enclosure as part of the phrase itself, implying that "Abiding in the Highest Good" is the ultimate. But this character is also above the phrase outside the diagram, meaning "self renewal [and] renewing the people". T’oegye moves the character "ultimate" outside of the enclosure and attaches it to the beginning of this phrase; the result is "the ultimate in renewing oneself and renewing the people". This, of course, is a subtle change in emphasis that does not change the overall meaning. The difference is more one of emphasis. The last difference between the two
versions of the diagram concerns the character "one, unify (—)" at the very bottom of the far right column in T'oebye's diagram (far left in Kwŏn's). It is absent in Kwŏn Kŭn's version of the diagram; T'oebye adds this character to the phrase, though doing so hardly changes the meaning. Kalton translates this line "Making illustrious virtue manifest and renewing the people means both oneself and the people attain to abiding in the highest good." The modification seems to make explicit what is implicit in Kwŏn's Diagram-- that illustrating illustrious virtue, renewing the people, and abiding in the highest good are part of the process leading to self-cultivation and these three are fundamentally linked. Again, although minor, T'oebye's modification making this explicit may be due to his reading of Chu Hsi's diagram.

The fifth diagram, "Diagram of Rules of the White Deer Hollow Academy", T'oebye drew himself. The inspiration for the diagram was the rules Chu Hsi drafted for the White Deer Hollow Academy, an institution Chu was instrumental in restoring while he served as Prefect of Nan-k'ang. Moreover, this also provided an example that T'oebye in turn used to urge Royal sponsorship of private academies in Korea.69 This diagram links the basic Confucian idea of the Five Relations as explained in the Elementary Learning with the concepts of investigating things and self-cultivation seen in the Great Learning and thus reinforces the inextricable link T'oebye saw between these two texts and the process of self-cultivation-- "Therefore in the rules the investigation of principle and diligent practice are both based upon the Five Relationships."70 T'oebye follows the
diagram with Chu Hsi's remarks on the "Rules" and appends his own comments on the topic. He then ends with a final note on the relationship of the first five diagrams in the text to the Tao and the relationship between cultivating proper relationships and self-cultivation: "The above five diagrams are based upon the Tao of Heaven, but their application consists in manifesting proper human relationships and devoting one's effort to the cultivation of virtue."\(^{71}\)

T'oegye includes two diagrams dealing with the mind-and-heart in his *Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning*, namely, "Diagram of the Saying 'The Mind Combines and Governs the Nature and the Feelings'" and "Diagram of the Study of the Mind, the sixth and eighth diagrams, respectively. However, in many ways the latter diagram is the less problematic and will be dealt with in sequence. The "Diagram of the Saying, 'The Mind Combines and Governs the Nature and the Feelings'", is actually made up of three separate diagrams, treated individually here, and presents "a schematic presentation of the major elements of Ch'eng-Chu psychological theory".\(^{72}\) The first of the three is a modified version of a diagram drawn by the Chinese scholar Ch'eng Fu-hsin (1279-1368); it portrays the mind-and-heart in the not-yet aroused state where the nature is described in terms of substance and then goes on to show the mind-and-heart in the aroused state where the feelings are seen as part of its functioning. In other words, the diagram shows the potential of the mind-and-heart and the realization or manifestation of that potential.

The next two "sub-diagrams", both drawn by T'oegye, provide
a more detailed illustration of the mind-and-heart in the aroused and unaroused states, respectively, and the relationship between these two states and the heavenly-endowed nature, the Four Beginnings, the Seven Feelings, as well as principle and material force. It is also in the last of these diagrams that T'oebye's 'mutual issuance' theory receives diagrammatic representation— that is, "the Four Beginnings issue as principle and material force follows, whereas in the case of the Seven Feelings, material force issues and principle at mounts it." The diagrams are followed by reprinting Ch'eng Fu-hsin's discussion of the first diagram, to which T'oebye appends a small note explaining a difference between a statement by Ch'eng I and what appears here in Ch'eng Fu-hsin's diagram and why the information in the diagram should be followed. T'oebye then goes on the write detailed explanations of the other two diagrams.

Since T'oebye modified the first part of "Diagram of the Saying..." and drew the second and third parts of the diagram himself, this diagram more clearly reveals the reasoning behind T'oebye's ideas on the mind-and-heart. Of the first part of "Diagrams of the Saying...", T'oebye notes, "In [Ch'eng Fu-hsin's] diagram there were some points which were not exact, and I have slightly revised it." T'oebye copied Ch'en'gs original version of the diagram in his Collected Works. Both diagrams, Ch'eng's original and T'oebye's modification, are below (Diagram 3.4). However, T'oebye's version of the diagram does not look like a "slightly revised" version of Ch'eng's diagram, although the contrast may not be as stark as it first appears. One of the reasons for modifying the diagram is similar to T'oebye's
reasoning for modifying Chông Chiun's "Diagram of the Heavenly Mandate"— he thought the distinctions made between the Four Beginnings and the Seven Feelings within the diagram were too sharp.

Ch'eng's "Diagram of the Mind-and-Heart Governs and Combines the Nature and Feelings" deals with the mind-and-heart in two states, the unaroused state which is identified with the nature and the aroused state which is identified with the feelings. In his modification of Ch'eng's diagram, T'oegye draws an enclosure representing the mind-and-heart and, like Ch'eng, places it at the top of the diagram. T'oegye also inserts the Four Chinese characters meaning "the mind-and-heart combines and controls the nature and the feelings". On one side of this, rather than Ch'eng's "Unaroused it is the nature", T'oegye writes "The Mind as perfectly still and not active is the nature." In this instance the meaning is similar despite the change. On the other side, instead of Ch'eng's "Aroused it is the feelings," T'oegye writes "As stirred and going forth penetratingly [it] is the feelings."74 Despite these changes, T'oegye maintains Ch'eng's basic distinction between the mind-and-heart in its aroused and unaroused state's, but, as described below, he nonetheless makes significant structural changes in the diagram and even makes some changes in content.

The next layer of Ch'eng's diagram deals with nature and feelings as analyzed in terms of principle and material force. Ch'eng lays out four possible combinations dealing with the principle and material force of the nature and the principle and material force of feelings. This is dropped in T'oegye's diagram. One reason T'oegye
probably makes this switch is that on the left side of the original diagram under "Feelings", Ch'eng has written "Principle issues as the Four Beginnings" and "Material force issues as the Seven Feelings." This, of course, almost duplicates the phrasing that led to the Four-Seven debate in the first place. Interestingly, although the distinction between the Four Beginnings and the Seven Feelings is not this sharp in Kwŏn's diagram; this section of Ch'eng's diagram nonetheless seems closer to the middle section of Kwŏn's first diagram than either of these two seems to the more detailed explanations of T'oebye.

T'oebye also modifies what essentially makes up the middle part of Ch'eng's diagram. Part of the change is structural. Whereas Ch'eng displays the contents in parallel columns, T'oebye lays them out with one part above the other, so the part of Ch'eng's diagram dealing with the 'nature' makes up the second layer of T'oebye's diagram. T'oebye also notes that in "the unaroused state, nature is the substance (potential) of the mind-and-heart". The section of Ch'eng's diagram on 'nature' is divided into two sub-sections, one dealing with the principle of the nature and the other with material force of nature. Under the former, T'oebye slightly modifies the part dealing with the Five Constant Virtues.

The middle part of Ch'eng's diagram under 'nature', the sub-section dealing with material force, however, is dropped altogether and replaced by one dealing with the five phases which are then paired with the Five Constant Virtues. But the new section T'oebye inserts is actually based on Ch'eng's explanation of
Diagram 3.4. Ch'eng Fu-hsin's "Diagram of the Mind-and-Heart Combining and Governing the Nature and Feelings" (right) and Toegye's revision (left).
the diagram, which T’oegye appends to the diagrams in this section of his *Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning*. He quotes Ch’eng’s

The saying, "The mind combines and governs the nature and the feelings," refers to man’s being born endowed with the Five Agents in their highest excellence. In their excellence, the Five Natures [i.e., humanity, propriety, etc.] are fully present; when they move, the seven feelings become manifest.76

On the left side of Ch’eng’s diagram, "feelings" is also divided into principle and material force; this parallels the breakdown under the concept ‘nature’ on the other side of the diagram. The material in this section of Ch’eng’s diagram is also modified, and even more so than was done on the right side of the diagram when dealing with the nature. First of all, this section becomes the lower layer in T’oegye’s diagram, which he then flanks with the saying "In the aroused state, the feelings are the function (manifestation) of the mind-and-heart." In addition, the contents of this section are also modified somewhat. Whereas Ch’eng relates the Four Virtues with the Four Beginnings in this section of his diagram, T’oegye relates the Five Constant Virtues with their corresponding beginnings. Moreover, the content of this section of T’oegye’s diagram is very close to that shown in the two enclosures on the right side of Kwŏn Kŭn’s first diagram, one labeled "Feelings" and the one directly below it with the Four Beginnings, except that in T’oegye’s case he draws a correlation with these plus adds fidelity to round out the Five (i.e., the beginnings of the Five Constant Virtues rather than the Four Beginnings per se). In doing so the Five Virtues as substance and
manifestation or realization are more clearly indicated.

The bottom section of Ch'eng's diagram is dropped altogether, though in this case it may be more because of a dearth of space than differing opinions, for example, T'oegye would agree with Ch'eng's statement, "As balanced and measured the feelings are impartial and good, and as unbalanced they are selfish and evil."

The diagram T'oegye drew for the middle part of "Diagram on the Saying 'The Mind Combines and Controls the Nature and the Feelings'" is similar to that of Kwŏn. It is not drawn in the shape of the Chinese character mind-and-heart (心) as it is Kwŏn's first diagram, but the information revealed in both is almost identical. Both diagrams deal with the mind-and-heart in the unaroused state. The round enclosure at the top of T'oegye's diagram and the one that forms of the top, center "stroke" of Kwŏn's show the 'nature' within the mind-and-heart; the main difference between these two is that where Kwŏn places the Five Constant Virtues here, T'oegye drops "fidelity", leaving only "humanity, righteousness, wisdom, and propriety". T'oegye also notes the "empty and spiritual" character of the mind-and-heart, and while this is not labeled as such in Kwŏn's diagram, it was addressed in one of the follow-on questions asked of Kwŏn Kǔn.

The lower section of T'oegye's middle diagram deals with the Four Beginnings and the Seven Feelings. In other words, just as is done in Kwŏn's diagram, the mind-and-heart is shown containing both the Four Beginnings and the Seven Feelings within the unaroused state of the mind-and-heart. In addition, T'oegye flanks this part of
the diagram with the phrases "Considering only the good side" and "With regard to the wellsprings of good and evil". The first is not explicitly mentioned in Kwŏn's diagram, but it is assumed on the right, principle (li) predominant, side of his diagram. The latter phrase also appears in Kwŏn's diagram; it is in the enclosure making up the left most 'stroke' of the mind-and-heart in the middle section of his first diagram -- "The Will is the wellspring of good and evil." It is to this concept, the Will (intension, determination), that T'oegye refers in this part of his diagram, though the reference here is obviously implicit rather than explicit.

T'oegye's third sub-diagram deals with the mind-and-heart as embodied by material force. The structure of the top half of this diagram parallels the previous diagram. In fact, at the very top of both diagrams is the saying-- the mind-and-heart "unites principle and material force and combines and governs nature and feelings" and therefore presides over the person and includes the myriad of changes. Because it is embodied within material force, two aspects of 'nature' are now shown-- the original nature and the physical nature. Also, T'oegye places all five of the Five Constant Virtues within the enclosure representing the mind-and-heart (i. e., fidelity, absent in the previous diagram, is present here). Moreover, since it involves material force, gradations of material force (fine or course, good or bad) also appear. In the lower half of the diagram, T'oegye gives his Four-Seven thesis diagrammatic form-- "When the mind-and-heart issues as the Four Beginnings, principle issues and material force follows; when it issues as the Seven Feelings, material force issues and
principle mounts it." This parallels the preceding diagram in that the li predominant section is above the section of the diagram where material force is more active. Although we find parallels for the top half of the diagram in Kwŏn's work we do not see the later refinements resulting from the Four-Seven debate. As seen earlier, Kwŏn discusses these topics in his questions and answers but that discussion does not reach the same level of refinement as that brought on by the Four-Seven debate. In short, T'oegeye's diagrams reveal a more complex and nuanced explanation of the mind-and-heart than is offered by either Kwŏn or Ch'eng Fu-hsin. The better comparison for the last part of T'oegeye's diagram is with Yulgok's "Diagram of the Mind-and-Heart", something that will be addressed in the next chapter.

The seventh diagram is a copy of Chu Hsi's "Diagram of the Explanation of Humanity". The diagram is followed by a reprint of the text making up the diagram, Chu Hsi's "Treatise on Humanity", and T'oegeye's comments; he essentially says Chu's comments are complete in and of themselves. The diagram explains the traditional Confucian idea of 'humanity' or 'benevolence' within the context of the Neo-Confucian framework, i.e., in terms of substance and function and the aroused and unaroused states of the mind-and-heart. In a sense, this diagram parallels the second section of the Western Inscription in that each diagram presents a basic Confucian concept as a fundamental cosmic law, filial piety in the former and humanity in the latter.
Like the sixth diagram, the eighth diagram, "Diagram of the Study of the Mind", was also drawn by the Chinese scholar Ch'eng Fu-hsin. Only Chu Hsi has more diagrams incorporated into T'oeugye's Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning. This diagram also serves as the introductory piece in Chen Te-hsiu's Classic of the Mind-and-Heart, one of the most important works influencing T'oeugye's intellectual development. When T'oeugye borrowed diagrams for his Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning he often modified them slightly, but he did not make any changes in this case. He used this diagram as it is. The diagram presents two aspects of the mind-and-heart. The upper part of the diagram shows the mind-and-heart in the unaroused state and explains it in terms of the Human Mind and the Tao Mind. This is similar to Kwŏn Kŭn's second diagram where both the Tao mind and the Human mind are also included. The lower portion of the diagram deals with mindfulness after the mind-and-heart has been aroused. This part of the diagram "is meant as a schematic presentation [of the process of self-cultivation]" and "is concerned with the efforts to block [selfish] human desires and to preserve the principle of Heaven [which is our nature]." Although Kwŏn's first diagram shows 'mindfulness' acting as a filter on the activities of the mind-and-heart, this diagram is much more specific-- the Chinese character 'mindfulness' is surrounded by specific traits, e. g.-- "watchful when alone", "cautious and apprehensive", and "the mind is present". This last is also the topic of one of T'oeugye's extended comments in his Glossary of the Great Learning. The diagram is followed by Ch'eng's explanation of the diagram as it appears in
Chen's *Classic*; this is then followed by T'oegye's own comments. It would be hard to underestimate the influence of this diagram on the development of T'oegye's thought.

The last two diagrams in the text are the most pragmatic in the text; both give specific advice on how to conduct oneself. The ninth diagram, "Diagram of the Admonition for Mindfulness Studio", was drawn by Wang Po (1197-1274), based on Chu Hsi's "Admonition"; Chu wrote his version of the text after being inspired by the "Admonition on Concentrating on One Thing" written by Chang Shih (1133-1180). Other diagrams dealt with specific virtues, such as filial piety or humanity, or have dealt with more general concepts, like mindfulness, the Five Relations, or the development of the Supreme Ultimate. This diagram gives specific advice on how to act and how to behave and then links this with the greater consequences of one's actions. Examples of the former include: how to dress ("properly order your clothing and cap"), how to look upon things ("make your gaze reverent"), how to hold one's hands ("the disposition of the hands must be respectful"), and moderating one's speech ("stop up your mouth like the opening of a bottle"). Admonitions on general attitude and diligence are also included: "Always conscious and fearful, never venture to slacken;" "Guard your intentions as you would the city wall;" and "Always reverent and sincere, never treat anything frivolously." At the center of all this activity is the mind-and-heart. Moreover, the consequences for failing to properly carry this out are dire, both individually and cosmically.
Failure on a personal level means the individual will be swamped with selfish desires—"If one should falter for a single moment, selfish desire will put forth 10,000 shoots." But personal failure also brings cosmic consequences—"If there is a hair's breadth disparity, Heaven and Earth will change their places..." In short, there is no room for failure. Just how daunting was the task of self-cultivation and how heavy the burden must have surely been impressed upon the reader, all the more so the more seriously it was taken.

The diagram is followed by the text of Chu Hsi's "Admonition for Mindfulness Studio", as well as more comments by Chu Hsi and other Confucian scholars and then T'oegye's own remarks. These last are modest, a concise history of the text and a brief note, among which is T'oegye's suggestion that "this exposition of the topics offers a good foundation for the actual practice [of mindfulness]." This reinforces the idea of the mind-and-heart being in a pivotal position incorporating cosmological concepts, on the one hand, and influencing individual actions, on the other.

T'oegye made the last diagram, "Diagram of the Admonition on Rising Early and Retiring Late", based on the "Admonition" written by a Sung scholar, Ch'en Po, though the design is obviously modeled on the previous diagram. The diagram presents what can easily be construed as an ideal day in the life of a Neo-Confucian scholar. One starts by waking at cock's crow and composing one's thoughts; having done this, "sometimes reflect on your past faults; at others follow out what has been newly apprehended." Next comes getting up,
washing up, and getting dressed; then, "sitting erect, compose your body and recollect your mind, making it as luminous as the rising sun." The middle section of the diagram shows the relationship between reading books and responding to affairs. In the former one enters "the presence of the sages and wise men", and, in carrying out the latter, one puts into actual practice what one has been studying. There is another reminder to stay focused, but at last there is also time for a break— "In the time left over from reading, from time to time take a swim to relax your mind and to refresh and nourish your feelings and nature." At night, a person should maintain vigilance and not slacken their efforts or lose their focus, even when getting ready for bed— "When the night is late, go to bed, [lying] with your hands at your sides and your feet together. Do not let your mind wander in thought, but make it return to abide [in repose]."

The diagram is followed by the text of Ch’en’s "Admonition" and T’oegye’s own comments. T’oegye also appends a final note on the last five diagrams in the text reaffirming the link between general concepts like the mind-and-heart, nature, and how people conduct themselves in every-day life: "The above five diagrams are based on considerations of the mind and the nature; their central theme is the exercise of diligence in cultivating oneself in the course of daily life, and esteem for the practice of mindfulness and reverent fear."[84]

T’oegye’s Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning first gives the reader an overview of fundamental Neo-Confucian cosmological and psychological concepts, and then goes on to show how they apply to
education and self-cultivation. Regarding the last of these, the focus revolves around two foci—mindfulness, which cultivates the right attitude, and behavior, how all this should be practiced in daily life. The former is addressed in the sixth, seventh, and eighth diagrams; the latter is addressed in the last two diagrams, though both aspects are seen as necessary, reinforcing parts of practicing self-cultivation.

Related to mindfulness and action, and in a way combining them, is the idea of "quiet-sitting". This practice T'oegye encouraged in his students. In response to a question by one of his students, T'oegye stated,

Only after [practicing] quiet-sitting can one's mind and body become recollected and moral principles finally all come together and be anchored. If one's form and bones are heedlessly relaxed and without restraint, then the body and mind are darkened and disordered and moral principle no longer has a place to which to gather and be anchored.\(^{85}\)

But there are also limits to quiet-sitting, especially avoiding the temptation of Neo-Confucian quiet-sitting collapsing into Buddhist meditation. T'oegye cautions a student, "[you] should not get fed up with the complexity of broad study and restraining oneself with propriety, and exclusively devote oneself to concentrating on quietness."\(^{86}\)

Kwon's *Diagrams and Explanations for Entering Upon Learning* and T'oegye's *Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning* are both diagrammatic, introductory texts written in classical Chinese and both follow the same general format seen in some of the other introductory texts,
initially outlining broader cosmological and psychological concepts in
the Neo-Confucian worldview, then applying these to human concerns.
But there are also obvious differences in content and focus. In
Kwŏn's case, his general overview is followed by more detailed
diagrams on key concepts (nature, mind-and-heart) and the relation
between these, after which he turns to self-cultivation with his
"Diagram on the Great Learning" and then to the rest of the Four
Books. But then Kwŏn again turns to broader themes, explaining the
Five Classics in terms of substance and function and illustrating
various aspects of yin-yang theory and numerology as seen in the
Book of Changes. He finally ends with a diagram on promoting
vigilance. In T'oegye's case, the general overview provided in his first
two diagrams is followed by three diagrams on dealing with
education and self-cultivation. But whereas Kwŏn turned to broader
issues, T'oegye narrows the focus still further with three diagrams on
the mind-and-heart and its relation to fundamental cosmological and
psychological concepts and self-cultivation and then ends with two
diagrams giving practical suggestions on how to behave. In short,
T'oegye stays focused on self-cultivation while Kwŏn explores a
broader range of topics. It is not that T'oegye was not interested in
these broader topics, for he made a number of diagrams covering the
same material seen in later parts of Kwŏn's Diagrams and Explanations.
In one sense, T'oegye's Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning can be seen as
an amplification of the information in the first few and very last of
Kwŏn's diagrams.
Although it could literally be titled *Meaning of the Great Learning Explained*, T'oegeye's annotation of the *Great Learning* is a glossary and commentary on particular parts of the *Great Learning* and not really an explanation of the entire text or its meaning. Because *Glossary of the 'Great Learning'* more accurately describes its contents it is the title used here. T'oegeye wrote the *Glossary of the 'Great Learning'* in 1569, one year after *Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning* and, as it turned out, just one year before his death. However, the text was not published until 1649, after one of his disciples edited it. T'oegeye wrote one such annotation for each of the Four Books. This one is the shortest of his "Glossary of ..." mixed Korean-Chinese commentaries on the Four Books, the longest being the one on the *Analects*, followed by the those on the *Doctrine of the Mean* and *Mencius*, respectively.

Each of T'oegeye's elementary texts aims at a particular type of reader. Whereas the *Ten Diagrams* was essentially an introductory handbook written entirely in classical Chinese outlining major Neo-Confucian concepts of cosmology and self-cultivation for a young king and also shares the same structure as some of the other educational texts noted in the introduction, T'oegeye's annotations of the Four Books, *Glossary of the Four Books*, were written using both Chinese and Korean for the purpose of explaining or commenting on particular passages and concepts in each of the Four Books in order to better the understanding of students in his academy, Tosan Sowŏn.
The Glossary of the Great Learning is also different from other texts examined so far in one very important respect— it is one of the earliest examples of a Neo-Confucian text annotated using the Korean vernacular script. Moreover, although it was clearly written for pedagogical purposes, it is not like the other educational texts in another sense. This text does not share the general structure of introductory texts like the Thousand Character Classic which have an overall framework of Heaven, Earth, Humanity; nor does it address themes in the same way as educational texts like Samgang haengsildo or some of the educational texts for women. Although it obviously has a single purpose, expounding on topics appearing in the Great Learning, the approach is topical, giving a gloss or explanation of different philological or philosophical points in the text. Lastly, T'oegye's Glossary of the "Great Learning" is not like the standard Korean annotations (onhae, 엔해) of the Great Learning either, Yulgoks' (栗谷大學論解) or the others.

The Korean script used in annotating the Great Learning was invented in 1446 but was probably never "diffused among the common people to any meaningful extent during the 15th century." Gari Ledyard notes that "on the level of upper class gentry and officials, we can be reasonably certain that the alphabet penetrated hardly at all." If this is so then that would leave only lower-level gentry and clerks who might have used the script (plus, of course, Buddhists, women, etc.). Granted, there were not many copies of basic educational works and ethical texts, e. g., the Samganghaengsildo.
(三経行實圖), in circulation, but there were some in circulation and some of these used the Korean vernacular script. Whatever the case may have been in the late 15th century, by the mid- to late-16th century the Korean alphabet was used by some of the most famous scholars to teach their students, as evidenced here by T'oegye's *Glossary of the 'Great Learning'* (대학석의, 大學釋義) and by Yulgok's *Great Learning, Annotated* (대학언해, 大學詮解). Thus, in the course of a century, the Korean script "became a tool in the hands of editors and translators of Chinese books, and among school masters teaching their charges not how to read and write Korean, but Chinese."\(^90\) Nor was it just these two scholars. By the beginning of the 16th century, "the alphabet was well established as a pedagogical tool for the teaching of Chinese characters. Not only could these be glossed with native words familiar to young students, but the pronunciation could be indicated with great precision."\(^91\) It is from this use that the alphabet naturally developed into the tool for glossing and interpreting Chinese texts.\(^92\) These vernacular annotations of Chinese texts are called 'onhae' (언해).

Before proceeding to T'oegye's *Glossary of the 'Great Learning'*", an overview of the structure of the *Great Learning* will prove useful. Excluding Chu Hsi's redaction of chapter 5, there are a total of 65 verses in the *Great Learning*, seven in the "classic" portion of the text and 58 in the commentary.\(^93\) The text includes over two dozen quotations from other sources; almost half of these, twelve, are from the *Book of Poetry*. There are four quotations from the
Announcement to the Prince of K'ang and one each from the Canon of Emperor Yao, T'ai Chia, and the Book of Ch'u. There are also a number of quotations from noteworthy people; there is one quote attributed to Confucius and one attributed to his disciple Tseng Tzu. Other people quoted in the Great Learning include Duke Wan's Uncle Fan, the Officer Mang Hsien, and the Duke of Chin, each being cited once. Lastly, the inscription about continuous self renewal that appears on the washbasin of T'ang as well as one common adage are also quoted.

The general format of Glossary of the 'Great Learning' follows the chapter divisions of Chu Hsi's redacted version of the Great Learning. However, in terms of overall structure, the format of T'oegye's annotation differs from the commentaries of Chu Hsi and Huang Kan on, and Yulgok's onhae of, the Great Learning in that the commentaries or annotations of these scholars include every passage of the text. In the case of the Glossary of the 'Great Learning', select terms from the text are noted and then explained with Korean annotations of the classical Chinese. In a few cases, there are terms or phrases that have longer comments; these comments are for the most part in classical Chinese and any annotation in Korean is fairly limited, often just using Korean particles to indicate the function of a particular character.

There are 101 annotations in the Glossary of the 'Great Learning', some of these are extended comments on a particular passage or idea. Not all passages are annotated; in other cases, a
passage may have several annotations. In general we can examine these annotations in one of three ways—philologically, philosophically, and pedagogically. Of course, the sheer fact that this text is one of the earliest annotations of a Confucian classic using the Korean vernacular script and that these annotations instruct the students how to read the text, philological annotations also have an obvious pedagogical value. However, given our focus on ideas of self and self-cultivation, only the second of these concerns us here. Despite their value in other areas, giving a full philological analysis of passages that merely render the Chinese text into a mixed Korean-Chinese annotation would be repetitive and would not add much to our knowledge of the philosophical ideas. Rather, after a brief overview of how T’oegye dealt with some of these passages, we will concentrate on some of his more important comments.

Of all the quotes incorporated into the Great Learning, only a few are not annotated. There are 12 quotations from the Book of Poetry on which T’oegye has 25 separate annotations. All of them have some part excerpted and annotated in order to make the Chinese more easily understood by Korean students. In many cases, these annotations are a bit longer than average (not counting the extended comments). This is probably because of the difficulties associated with verses from this terse text. The same thing occurs when dealing with the four passages quoted from "Announcement to the Prince of Kang", though T’oegye annotates only three of the four verses quoted. Moreover, it is the shortest three that are annotated. In these cases
the annotations are mainly philological, either giving the readings or maybe even alternative readings. Annotations dealing with the inscription on the wash-basin of T'ang (2), the Book of Ch'u (2), Duke Wan's Uncle Fan (1), the Declaration of the Duke of Chin (6), and the quote from the Officer Mang Hsien (2) are all also routine in that they merely show how the Chinese passage should be read. In these cases, just as with most of the verses from the Book of Poetry, the annotations probably indicate what students were having trouble understanding philologically and do not necessarily indicate important points in T'oegeye's philosophy. On the other hand, four of the verses quoted from other sources are not annotated at all— (Canon of Yao (1.2), Tai Chia (1.3), the quote from Tseng, (6.3), and the common adage about not knowing the faults of things one likes (8.2). In all four of these cases the Chinese is fairly straightforward.

This accounts for nearly half of the annotations (46 out of 101). Most of the remaining annotations follow the same format. From here it is better to focus on those few verses that, for one reason or another, T'oegeye thought merited special attention rather than examining all the annotations that merely serve to instruct students on philological matters. Eight such verses fall into the former category (the fifth chapter of the classic portion of the text and the following verses from the commentary, 4.1, 9.8, 10.22, two annotations each from verses 7.2 and 10.23). The annotations from the classic portion of the text address the investigation of things, namely the results— "things having been investigated". The focus is on the
relation between the mind-and-heart and the investigation of things. The statements attributed to Confucius that make up part of chapter 4 of the commentary are similar to the annotation in the classic portion of the text in that two of the three annotations give Korean renditions of the excerpted Chinese and one, dealing with instilling awe in the people, is dealt with more extensively. The annotations on verse 7.2 dealing with the mind-and-heart not being present reinforce the vital role the mind-and-heart and mindfulness play in T'oegye's thought and in his ideas of self-cultivation. The commentary on the first excerpt from verse 9.8 reinforces the importance of setting a personal example but shows that this must be done through the intermediate institution of the family. The last three annotations on parts of 10.23 address the idea that righteousness, not profit, should be the true goal of the leader and that reversing this focus will, in the end, preclude obtaining the very thing desired. This also reinforces the more general sentiment in the seventh verse in the classic section of the Great Learning.

The fourth verse of the classic portion of the Great Learning contains the first reference to the 'eight particular items' (investigating things, extending one's knowledge, making one's thoughts sincere, rectifying one's mind, cultivating one's self, regulating the household, governing the kingdom, and pacifying the world) and discusses the desire of the ancient sage-Kings to have everyone in the kingdom maintain unobstructed virtue. Although the level of difficulty is similar for all eight of these, T'oegye focuses on only three: rectifying the mind, making one's thoughts sincere, and investigating things.
The fact that T'oegye's focuses on these three is noteworthy. The first two of these are pivotal in T'oegye's thinking on self-cultivation. Investigating things became a topic of much debate, especially via-a-vis its relation to principles and the mind-and-heart. The annotations dealing with rectifying the mind-and-heart and making one's thoughts sincere merely focus on conveying the meaning of the Chinese characters.

The third annotation on this verse deals with the investigation of things (格物), a matter of some controversy, and receives an extended comment. The problem centers around the first of the two Chinese characters (格). A. C. Graham states it can mean "to correct", "to arrive at", or "to oppose". He also notes that Ssu-ma Kuang read the character in the third sense ("to guard against things", that is, against having one's desires excited by them) and that Ch'eng Yi read the phrase as "to arrive at things", the implication being that one should arrive at the principles within things. Ch'eng Yi's brother, Ch'eng Hao (Ming-tao), took a more subjective approach—"Exhausting the principles' is not to be taken merely as a matter of knowledge. If you can really exhaust the principles, nature and the decree are also disposed of." However, at this stage in the development of Neo-Confucian thought, the differences were merely a matter of emphasis, but the topic later became a matter of great controversy between Chu Hsi and his school, which adopted Ch'eng Yi's more objective approach, and Lu Chiu-yuan (1139-1192) and Wang Yang-ming (1472-1528), who preferred Ch'eng Ming-tao's more subjective interpretation. Although it may not be readily apparent,
the investigation of things was a crucial step in the development of self-cultivation. Graham sums this up nicely:

[The] whole purpose of the Investigation of Things is moral self-development; the principles which really matter are moral principles, and investigation is mainly concerned with uncovering them in human affairs. There is no idea of adding to a common stock of knowledge; the object of investigation is to discover how to live...¹⁰⁰)

The problem T'oegye addresses is essentially epistemological: given the principles inherent in our mind-and-heart and those in things in general, do the principles in things reach the mind-and-heart or is it the other way around? T'oegye subscribed to an intermediate theory that will be discussed later. The annotation is particularly interesting because the way the Korean particles were used to mark the sentence actually has important philosophical implications.

There are two annotations dealing with this topic, one short one and one longer comment. T'oegye here makes an important distinction in the investigation of things. He marks the Chinese character 'things' (物) with an object marker (~을) and uses the substantive form of the verb 'to do' (~을) to annotate the character 'investigate' (格), i. e., "in investigating...". He then states that the theory marking 'things' with a dative particle (~에) instead of the object particle is incorrect. The reasoning behind this has to do with whether or not, or what role,
the mind-and-heart plays in plumbing the principle in things.

T'oegye develops this further in his longer comment on the topic. It ("things being investigated..." (物格)) is the only term in the fifth passage of the classic portion of the text that receives extended comment. In fact, it is more commentary than annotation; except in one or two instances, the entire commentary here is in classical Chinese. Almost no Korean is used. In his commentary on this concept T'oegye refers to two other scholars, Sin Kwang-han (신광한, 申光漢, 1484-1555) and Yun T'ak (尹卓, 1472-1534). Sin Kwang-han (pen name Nak-bong, 駱峰) passed the first level examinations in 1507 and passed the next higher level examination three years later, in 1510. He went on to hold a succession of posts after 1513 but was denounced, demoted, and later exiled during the purge of 1519. Sin wrote a number of scholarly works and was also a prolific poet. His scholarship was based on Mencius and the Tang scholar Han Yu; his poetry was influenced by the famous Chinese poet Tu Fu. Yun T'ak (pen name P'yon-g-wa, 平窓) was also a scholar and official during the early to mid-Chosŏn period. He was sent into exile during the literati purge of 1504 but was reinstated after King Chung-jong (r. 1506-44) deposed Yŏnsan-gun in 1506. He then held various posts until he was again dismissed from office during the purge of 1519. From 1527 on Yun once again held a succession of posts, including a post at the National Confucian Academy, where he taught and lectured a number of young students who went on to become influential scholars, among them Cho
A third scholar, Yi Hu-gil (李後古), is also mentioned, but I have yet to find any biographical data on him. T'oegye's comments on this topic are as follows:

Things having been investigated. There is nowhere the principle of things does not reach. Sin Kwang-han reads this as, "There is nowhere the principle of things has not reached." Moreover, this refers to the end of the tenth chapter of commentary of the Great Learning. Suppose we read the Great Learning from the very beginning to the end of the commentary, then this aspect will be completely exhausted (i.e., principle will be thoroughly understood). If only we understand the intent of this idea then analyzing this (with a dative particle) to mean "to the ultimate aspect" will not cause any harm. Furthermore, these three characters (the ultimate aspect of principle being reached) mean thoroughly investigating things to reach (their principles), nothing more.

I once saw Yi Hu-gil's (李後古) theory about the mind-and-heart reaching the ultimate aspect of the principle in things. His theory is incorrect. If we say the mind-and-heart is what reaches (and not the principle in things) then this means knowledge does not stop at the investigation of things (literally, knowing where to stop is not the investigation of things). Now Master Sin's theory about this is profound, finely nuanced, and comprehensive. I asked Yun T'ak (尹大成倬) about this before, namely, "Is it not the mind-and-heart that reaches the ultimate aspect of principle and things?" He said no. At that time I did not understand, but now I realize this is correct. Moreover, the analysis here relies on this understanding of the topic. That is why when we analyze the term "investigation of things", using the
dative particle to annotate the Chinese character "things" (物 乃) is incorrect.

In giving a more detailed account of why it is the principle in things and not those in the mind-and-heart that "reach", T'oebye compares the views of Sin and Yun, which support his own, with that proposed by Yi Hu-gil, whose theory proclaims the opposite. T'oebye returns to this topic later when dealing with the attentiveness of the mind-and-heart, though the focus there will shift slightly.

Like T'oebye and other, later scholars, Kwŏn Kŭn also had to explain the concept of the investigation of things. But there is a difference. Although the term is not singled out for special attention in the seventeen questions covering topics in Kwŏn's first diagrams, he does address the topic in responding to the first of the questions on his "Diagram of the Great Learning". But it is clear from the context there that Kwŏn is explaining the investigation of things to students who were still not used to Chu Hsi's redated version of the text. The topic addressed in T'oebye's comment, whether the principles in the mind-and-heart reach or those in things reach, does not come up in Kwŏn's Diagrams and Explanations for Entering Upon Learning. The most likely reason for the different focus when dealing with this concept in the mid-Chosŏn Dynasty is the development of the Lu-Wang school in the Ming (1368-1644) and how the investigation of things was addressed therein. In this case, we see a broader parallel with intellectual developments in China but in a way that deals with issues according to the Ch'eng-Chu interpretation of these ideas.
An interesting aside is what this passage may tell us about the development in Korea, or in this case the lack thereof, of ideas associated with Wang Yang-ming. Wang’s interpretation of the term *ko wu* differed sharply from that presented above, for him *ko wu* itself was "the process of moral self-cultivation" and involved "constant internal scrutiny". In addition, Wang believed universalizing principles (*li*) were "not to be found in the outside world"; he proposed something far more radical: the mind-and-heart was itself principle. The two were identical. Given this point of view, Wang did not see *ko wu* as the "the investigation of things"; his identification of mind-and-heart with principle meant the focus was now on the "rectification of thoughts".

T’oegye’s harsh critique of Wang’s ideas in 1566, *(Postscript to a Conveyed Copy of Ch’en Hsien-chang’s Instructions Through Poetry and Wang Yang-ming’s Instruction for Practical Living* and, more important, *Critique of Wang’ Yang-ming’s Instruction for Practical Living*) is often seen as a major bulwark against the development of Wang’s ideas in Korea, and it was indeed important in this regard, but this passage also shows that earlier Korean Neo-Confucian scholars who were contemporaneous with Wang Yang-ming (1472-1529) were still well within the Ch’eng-Chu framework laid out by Kwŏn Kŭn, though many of these ideas received a more thorough examination than was originally given by Kwŏn. From this perspective, T’oegye’s critique of Wang is better seen as the "nail in the coffin" rather than a first, decisive strike preventing the spread of Wang’s ideas during the middle part of the Chosŏn Dynasty.
From T'oegeye's point of view, Wang was greatly mistaken and on two fundamental points. First, whereas principle is identified with the Heavenly endowed, original nature and the mind-and-heart combines both principle and material force in the Ch'eng-Chu school of thought, in Wang these distinctions collapse and the mind-and-heart is identified with principle. As noted above, the investigation of things is transformed into rectifying one's thoughts so they are in accord with one's heavenly-endowed nature, but in doing so the process of self-cultivation becomes subjective and self referential. External standards have now given way to subjective interpretation. Moreover, shifting the focus of investigation to internal principles obviated the need to investigate things and affairs in the world at large. This, for T'oegeye, was no different than the Buddhist approach. He accused Wang of wanting "to get rid of all affairs and things with a thesis that takes them all and drags them into the original mind. How is this any different from Buddhist views?" Equally mistaken was Wang's collapsing the distinction between knowledge and action. Many Confucians thought true knowledge leads to action, but for Wang true knowledge was instinctive. The most often cited example is taken from the Great Learning—"like loving a lovely color or hating an awful odor". Once we perceive the color we love it, and as soon as we smell the bad odor we hate it. Both actions are spontaneous, requiring no contemplation. True knowledge instinctively leads to action. What was more, there was no more. In Wang's view all knowledge and actions follow this pattern. For T'oegeye the
mind-and-heart having instinctive knowledge is not wrong, but it is not the whole of it. Knowledge was not reducible to instinct, for instance, any time knowledge is gained through learning, knowledge must precede action. The two complemented each other and corresponded with one another, but they were not synonymous. In reducing knowledge to instinct, Wang’s view "completely ignores the other component of the mind, that part which is connected with the rational principle, and therefore denies the rational capability of man." In short, this problem stemmed from the first, the identification of principle with the mind-and-heart, and, as far as T’oegye was concerned, any theory of the moral self or of self-cultivation built upon such ideas was bound to miss the mark.

Chapter 4 has only one paragraph. It deals with knowing the root (i.e., what is important), a statement attributed to Confucius, and centers on the need to create an environment that precludes the necessity of litigation. T’oegye has three annotations on this passage; two regular glosses on how to read the Chinese and a longer one. Only the last of these will be examined here; it deals with striking awe into the hearts of the people. (大畏民志 乃志 ㅣ지혜니今按若作志云則似涉有心作感使民畏之故寧不顧文勢而必云志 ㅣ近世諸先生於此等文字例以此意釋之雖避有心以就無心則似矣奈文勢語脈不相應何當作志乎畏케 희애니古亦有此說)

A great awe would be struck in the people’s minds. Contemporary commentators say that the use of the Chinese character "determination/will" (志) makes it look as if this
line is saying you should deliberately cause others to hold you in awe. However, they go on to suggest that it would be better not to take this line literally. Therefore, a lot of scholars today read this line as saying you should not deliberately strike awe into the minds of people even though this is what the passage seems to say. But, we cannot take a line to mean the opposite of what it actually says. We should understand this line as saying we should deliberately cause people to hold government officials in awe. That is also the way people in olden days understood it.

This is interesting because it seems to belie a commonly held belief concerning Neo-Confucian self-cultivation, namely, given a proper example, people will instinctively strive to better themselves. That this passage assumes external pressure is as or more important for many people than setting a virtuous example definitely implies most commoners were seen as having a poorer endowment of material force than officials and therefore were more likely to make the wrong moral choice without outside intervention to assist them in controlling selfish desires and passions. T’oegye may have been thinking of Han Yü who was explicit about the varying potential associated with different grades of material force: "The nature of the superior grade becomes more intelligent through education. The nature of the inferior grade comes to have few faults through an awe of power. Therefore the superior nature can be taught and the inferior nature can be controlled."112

In Chu Hsi’s version of the Great Learning, chapter 5 has two sentences plus his notes about parts missing from the text and his redaction of the missing material. T’oegye does not comment on
anything in this chapter; nor are there any comments on Chu Hsi’s redaction of the chapter. One reason may be that the topic of this chapter, the investigation of things, was dealt with earlier. It may also be that since Chu Hsi essentially wrote all of chapter five T’oegye thought it was clear enough without further elaboration. In other words, just as Kwŏn Kŭn did, T’oegye accepts Chu Hsi’s redaction of the Great Learning as the standard version of this text. T’oegye starts again with annotations of chapter six.

Chapter six deals with making thoughts sincere. It has four verses, only one of them, verse 3, a quote by Confucius’ disciple Tseng Tzu, is not annotated. T’oegye makes eight annotations on this chapter; two of these eight deal with a single concept—being cautious when alone. (慎獨 그독에慎き는나라) Depending on how this is annotated, it could imply one should be cautious when alone or one should be cautious of being alone. On the other hand, a difference in particles here may merely indicate differences in emphasis. In this case, the dative particle is used rather than an object particle, yielding—"Be cautious (when) alone." T’oegye’s reason for stressing this is to make the student aware of what he saw as the even greater potential for succumbing to one’s personal desires when there is no one else around to make a person think twice. This is also addressed in verse 6.2, which deals with the petty person and contrasts him with the superior person, from whom the petty person shrinks. (慎獨獨음) The annotation of this excerpt consists solely of marking the Chinese character ‘alone’ (獨) with the object particle (~~~~~~~~). T’oegye’s use of the object particle here instead of the dative particle used
above may emphasize that one must be cautious when alone. In short, he reinforces the idea that being alone is a very precarious situation, and we have to be even more cautious than we are when we are with other people. It also reinforces the idea, mentioned in the ninth diagram of Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning, of the "10,000 shoots put forth by selfish desire".

Chapter seven deals with rectifying the mind-and-heart and cultivating one's self. It has three verses. T'oegye's annotations here, though only two in number, are some of the longest in the entire text. He does not comment on the third verse at all which merely restates the idea that self-cultivation depends on rectifying the mind-and-heart. The first annotation from this section refers to being under the influence of passion. The highlighted portion of the annotation consists of only two characters, though the passage it appears in, chapter 7 verse 1, contains over forty. Furthermore, although the excerpt only highlights these two characters, the annotation really explains four characters from the verse (有所忿懣). Here is another passage where the particles used to annotate the classical Chinese make a difference in emphasis, the question centering around whether to use the transitive or intransitive verb of existence and the corresponding object or subject particles. The first part of the annotation uses a relative clause to which a subject particle is appended; it also uses the transitive form of the verb 'there is', 'there exists'. This translates as
"If there is anger or resentment...." To this T'oegye adds the following comment.

Contemporary comments about this saying are wrong. It ought to be read differently. Later Confucians analyzing this expect (期待) it to say "will be angry or resentful" (literally, "will [have] anger and resentment"). A more hidebound rendering is (偏蔽) [in the present tense] as saying, "[being] angry and resentful", and the more staid (留滞) reading is in past tense- "(having been) angry and resentful". In all three cases, the Chinese character "exists, there is/ there are" (有) ought simply be read as "have, there are" (有). This phrase is precise (the way it is, so do not make it any harder than it needs to be).

The difference here is not so much one of meaning as it is one of emphasis. T'oegye uses this form of the verb to add greater emphasis to the importance of restraining our passions. Again T'oegye clarifies the meaning of a passage, but here the focus is on self-control, and he hints at the damage anger and resentment can do to the process of self-cultivation. The effects of going wrong, hinted at here, were also made explicit in T'oegye's Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning, specifically, in the "Diagram of the Admonition for Mindfulness Studio".

The next term appears in chapter 7.2 and deals with the results of the mind-and-heart not being present; that is, not being attentive. T'oegye's comments here reinforce the central role mindfulness played in his conception of self-cultivation. Moreover, the importance of this for T'oegye can also be seen in fact that his commentary on this phrase is far longer than the chapter from which it is pulled. (心不在
The basic annotation states that if the mind-and-heart is not present (i.e., not attentive or focused), it is in the middle of nowhere (i.e., not clearly focused). As in the previous passage, much is made here of the transitive/intransitive distinction between verbs of existence, something clearly shown in the Korean verb and in the object or subject particles used to annotate the selection. This is followed by a longer, more extensive explanation and commentary. It deals with the same question addressed earlier—the relation between principles in the mind-and-heart and those in other things. However, the focus then shifts to the mind-and-heart being attentive and the absolute necessity of this for self-restraint and self-cultivation.

The Mind-and-Heart not being attentive. If the mind-and-heart is not attentive it is scattered (unfocused). Some people say principles are within the mind-and-heart; other people say they exist in the things we see and hear. Now we should incorporate these two theories. If it is reasonable that the mind-and-heart exists in our physical body then it is possible for principles to be in things we see and hear. Furthermore, the mind-and-heart rules us internally and responds to external stimuli; it is not that the mind-and-heart exists both within us and externally. If the mind-and-heart is not within our physical bodies then it is impossible for it to attend to the principle in the things we see and hear. The reason is that if the mind-and-heart itself is what proceeds to things, then it cannot provide oversight (over the feelings). That is why Ch'eng Hao says it is better to forget the distinction between external and internal than to think internal is correct and external incorrect. If
we closely examine the original idea in Chu Hsi’s Great Learning in Chapter and Verse, Chu says there are times when the mind-and-heart is not present (i.e., not attentive). Some people explain this to mean we do not have our mind-and-heart (and therefore do not have our original nature). This is wrong. This ought to say the mind-and-heart is not there (attentive or focused). Given this, Chu Hsi’s comment nevertheless simply indicates the times when our mind-and-heart loses control and says this is a major problem.

In the beginning, if people are not warned that one can never be too anxious (about maintaining control of the mind-and-heart), they will develop this weakness (problem). Therefore, the Great Learning in Chapter and Verse simply explains the meaning of rectify (正) noting that if the mind-and-heart is present but is not attentive, then there is nothing to restrain oneself. In addition, Chu goes on to say the superior person must always watch over himself and be mindful to rectify it (the mind-and-heart), and so on. Up to here he is reading between the lines in order to make people increase their effort for reflecting on their mind-and-heart and for holding fast in order for them to try to avoid the problem of having their mind-and-heart lose control. The Great Learning in Chapter and Verse is precise in this way; we cannot think Chu was using the term haphazardly to explain its being in the body. The T’ung K’ao (通考) has a story about Mr. Chi (the fourth brother) from the kingdom Wu, which says if you seize gold and do not see the people in the market your mind-and-heart is not attentive to the people in the market, and if you listen to classical music and worry about falling asleep, your mind-and-heart is not attentive to the music. If one should eat and lose one’s utensils, the mind-and-heart is not attentive to the utensils.
Looking at it from this point of view, if those who want to cultivate themselves cannot control their mind-and-heart and make their mind-and-heart attentive [they will be unable to cultivate themselves]. Therefore, we can trust the statement that the mind-and-heart oversees within and responds to external stimuli.  

And, as if the extensive comment above were not enough, T’oegye goes on to record a small part of Chu Hsi’s commentary on this passage to reinforce his point and then comments on that. (注) 必察乎此 此字指心不在之病處 Chu Hsi’s says, "We must always watch over (the mind-and-heart and be attentive)."  

T’oegye explains this by saying, "This phrase indicates that not being attentive is a major problem (weakness)."

Chapter 9 is made up of nine verses and deals with regulating the family and governing a kingdom. There are 15 annotations, one of which is an extended comment on being a model for others which appears in the eighth verse. This verse starts with a quote from the Book of Poetry and, like other quotes from that text, it is annotated, but the real focus in this verse is on the line following the quote—"Only when one is a worthy model as father, son, elder brother, and younger brother, will the people model themselves after him."

The problem addressed in T’oegye’s commentary is whether the example one sets directly influences people and this in turn leads to a well governed kingdom or whether the example one sets influences one’s family and this then has the desired ripple effect that leads to a well governed kingdom. (為父子兄弟足法) Moreover, this is the
second time this phrase has been annotated, though here it is actually
an extended comment on the passage and not an annotation per se.
T'oegeye's longer commentary on this passage draws a clear distinction
between these two different theories, one theory holding that an
individual's example is enough to transform the world without
working through the intermediate group of one's family, the other
theory supporting the idea that the example a person sets must first
pertain to the person's family before it is effective on the world at
large. According to T'oegeye, explanations of this passage that ignore
the importance of the family are incorrect. His commentary is
translated below. It is the longest annotation in the text. The
exceptional treatment given this topic indicates the importance of both
setting a personal example and the role of the family.

**Being a model father, son, and brother.** Some
say this means when the relationship between a
father and a son and between older and younger
brothers is sufficient to serve as a model for the
people to follow, then the people will follow that
element. Others say "You directly model and the
people will follow." The character *wei* (為) refers
to 'act as'. Now I think both readings of this line
are saying the same thing. Only when in my
family my behavior as a father and as a son, as an
elder brother and as a younger brother is proper
enough to serve as model for others will the
people in the kingdom follow my example. This
refers to the effects of the kingdom being governed
after the family is regulated; surely it cannot truly
be otherwise! Look at Chu Hsi’s *Questions and Answers on the Great Learning*; someone asked about the explanation for Yao and Shun not being able to transform their sons and about the Duke of Chou not being able to harmonize relationships with his brothers. We see an explanation of this in Chu’s text. For some reason, people now have come up with completely different explanations of this passage. Some say if you are a sufficient model as a father, son, or older or younger brother then you can provide an example for the people on how to act, and so on. In other words, if I follow the proper Way for fathers and sons and for older and younger brothers, then this will be sufficient to provide a model for the entire world. This, however, is not the case. Although this interpretation seems new and clever it is really not so. Being a proper father, son, elder or younger brother will result in a well-run family. If the people take such a family as a model then the whole kingdom will be well governed. If however you do as others do and take this phrase to refer to individual behavior alone then the two characters phrase "sufficient to be a model" only refers to being a model for individual cultivation and it does not talk about how such individual behavior can lead to a well-run family.

However, this phrase (為父子兄弟足法) originally appears in the section of the *Great Learning* on the family being regulated so that the kingdom will be well governed. The other interpretation of this passage completely misses the part about the regulation of the family. How can an interpretation go directly from self-cultivation to
"the people following individual examples" as leading to a well-governed kingdom without the intermediate institution of the family?

If we follow this second interpretation and read this passage as talking about individual behavior and individual manners, the punctuation for this line ought to be as follows— This is a sufficient model for those who want to be a proper father, son, etc.. This is too narrow an interpretation and is not the right way to read this passage (i.e., too far off the mark).

There are those who interpret this line as saying that if fathers and sons, older brothers and younger brother’s model proper behavior then this is enough to set an example to be followed. I interpret this line to say that if I act properly toward my father, my son, etc. and others see this, then this is an example they can follow. This reading of that line is similar to the way that fellow Mr. Chin from Sin-an reads it.

The main point of this section is how the kingdom can be well-governed. It is true that it talks about the people following a model of proper behavior. However, we must not forget what the true subject and object of this section are; that is why that fellow Mr. Noh tells us that individual good behavior alone is not enough to order the kingdom. He grasps the full meaning of the passage. An interpretation which focuses on individual family members and does not talk about the family as a whole is incomplete. In going from the individual straight to people of the kingdom without including the family, this theory skips a step. Therefore, we should follow Mr. Noh’s
Chapter 10 is the longest chapter in the *Great Learning* and has 23 verses. It deals with governing the kingdom and pacifying the world. There are 38 annotations on this chapter, three of which give longer comments. It is on these three that we will focus.

The last passage in this chapter, 10.23, has comments on more items than any other passage in the *Great Learning*. This passage reaffirms the idea that people, not profits, should be the focus of the leader, whether he be the leader of a family or the kingdom; it also addresses the influence of the petty person on the leader. There are seven total annotations on this passage, five annotations and two longer, separate comments. The former follow the regular pattern of using the native Korean script to make the meaning of the Chinese passage explicit; it is the latter that concern us here.

In annotating the phrase dealing with the leader of the kingdom and the family, T'oebye's comments revolve around the meaning of the Chinese character *jang* (長). This character has several meanings but the two that concern us here are "lead, leader" and "increase (or derivatively, "profit")". T'oebye insists that the former meaning, not the latter, is the one that must be used here.

(長國家 國家에長은의야而這 pourquoi 희도의야今按通考吳季子曰卿大夫士一家之長也天下諸侯一國之長也細而長一家大而長一國云此說是又一說國家로長益호며한이此說誤案曾見有一古書有長國家三字而其解正以長益解之皆忘記何書姑識於此以(疑?)更詳之)
Leading the kingdom and the family. Being the head of the family and the kingdom is like saying becoming the leader. Now the T'ung kao quotes Mr. Chi of the kingdom Wu, as saying the top officials in the country tae-bu-sa (대부사), are the leaders of their respective families, and the Son of Heaven and the feudal lords are the leaders of the kingdom. When you are looking at the small scale, the 'leader' (jang 長) is the head of a family. When looking at the large scale, 'leader' (jang) refers to being the leader of a kingdom. This explanation is correct. On the other hand, the explanation that takes jang (長) to mean increase or profit the family or country is incorrect. I have forgotten which text it was, but I once saw an ancient text with these three characters in a different context, and, in that context, it took the character jang to be profit (but that is not the case here).

The last line from 10.22 follows a long quote attributed to Meng Hsien-tzu, who Chu Hsi identifies as a "worthy officer from the kingdom of Lu". It deals with the kingdom not regarding profits as beneficial, but rather taking righteousness as beneficial. The annotation reads: "This is what is referred to as not taking profit as beneficial, but taking righteousness as beneficial." This topic is also the subject of an extended comment at the end of 10.23 and both reinforces and greatly
expands on the annotation of this phrase here. Besides emphasizing the idea of not focusing on profit in order to gain prosperity, it also suggests that to do otherwise is to preclude the very goal one is after.

A Kingdom should not take profit as beneficial. The first part of this verse is about taking righteousness as beneficial and not taking profit as something worthwhile; on the other hand, the second part of this verse talks about seeing righteousness as unprofitable and taking profit as worth pursuing. Comparing these two sections of the passage, the first part talks about the advantages which accrue to a kingdom that makes righteousness rather than profit something it considers worthwhile. The second part talks about the damage that befalls a kingdom that puts righteousness aside and instead considers profit worthwhile. The passage addresses both sides of the issue, but the meaning is the same. Those who only see the latter part read the first part as meaning "not taking profit as righteousness" and therefore suspect that the conclusion of the (two parts of the) passage is not alike. This therefore incorrectly gives rise to unfounded speculation that takes the Chinese character "not" (不) and reads it as part of the second part of the phrase and then analyzes it in such a manner. If by chance this were the case, the text would have said "This refers to the Kingdom taking profit as profit and not taking righteousness as worthwhile." Since the Chinese character "not" appears before "take profit", it is completely ungrammatical to read the passage as confusing profit with righteousness. This interpretation is laughable. This is how we should interpret the first section of the passage.\textsuperscript{118}
Reflecting on the eight longer comments T’oegye makes on excerpts from the Great Learning, the majority focus on controlling one’s desires or passions and setting an example. His comments on the mind-and-heart being attentive are also relevant for self-control. In addition, the annotations in general do two other things. First, they give an indication of what problems students were having with particular passages or ideas and, in the case of the extended comments, give some idea of what T’oegye thought about key concepts. It becomes much easier to understand for the beginning student (or for that matter anyone whose classical Chinese is weak, e.g., some of the local level officials serving as clerks). One other point should be noted. Although T’oegye’s Glossary of the Great Learning highlights some key concepts in his philosophy and has an obvious pedagogical value for presenting the ideas in the text to students, it is equally clear that, general Confucian ideas about human potential notwithstanding, the text focuses on teaching an elite group of students and not on those unfamiliar with classical Chinese. This contrasts with educational texts like the Samgang haengsildo where knowledge of Chinese was not required, though it is similar to other texts, the Thousand Character Classic for instance.

Even this cursory examination limited to a narrow body of work from Kwŏn Kŭn and T’oegye shows both common concerns and later developments in Neo-Confucian thought in the first half of the Chosŏn Dynasty. Both scholars wrote introductory texts in classical
Chinese, and these introductory texts follow the same general outline seen in other elementary text; they start with cosmological concerns and then move on to address those dealing with human beings. In addition, the importance of Chou Tun-i’s "Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate" in both Diagrams and Explanations for Entering upon Learning and Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning is clear. In the former, Kwŏn incorporates this material into his first diagram; in the latter case, T’oegye appends Chu Hsi’s comments to both sides of the "Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate" itself and includes Chou’s text among his comments on the diagram. Furthermore, both texts end with diagrams focusing on everyday practice. There are also differences in scope and refinement between Kwŏn’s Diagrams and Explanations and T’oegye’s Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning. Of course, part of this is due to the focus of the text. T’oegye was concerned with providing an outline that focused on self-cultivation within the broader context of the Neo-Confucian framework, whereas Kwŏn Kŭn had to include these themes within an even broader outline introducing students who were familiar with earlier Confucian ideas to new material in order for them to understand fundamental Neo-Confucian ideas and the relation of these ideas to earlier Confucian concepts.

T’oegye also had access to one thing unavailable to Kwŏn-- the native Korean script, invented in 1446. T’oegye used this new tool for commenting on particular passages from the Four Books. As well as making it easier for students to understand the texts, this had philological, pedagogical, and sometimes philosophical importance, as
seen in T'oegeye's *Glossary of the Great Learning*, above. Moreover, his longer comments in this text highlight specific concerns related to self-cultivation.

There are also similarities regarding both filial piety and the *Elementary Learning* but differences concerning 'quiet sitting'. The importance of filial piety is seen in the second part of the second diagram of *Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning*, "Diagram of the Western Inscription"; it is also seen in the afterword Kwŏn wrote for the *Hyohaengnok*, an elementary text mentioned in the introduction that deals with filial children. The importance of the *Elementary Learning* is seen in T'oegeye's diagram of the text and in Kwŏn's push to make its memorization a prerequisite for writing the civil service examinations. The focus of these texts is very practical; they deal with specific actions need for self-cultivation or show the results of self-cultivation. Quiet sitting also falls within this category, and T'oegeye emphasizes its importance for self-cultivation. We do not, however, see a similar emphasis in Kwŏn's work; in fact, we do not see it there at all.

Lastly, comparing T'oegeye's work in the Four-Seven debate with Kwŏn Kŭn's *Diagrams and Explanations for Entering Upon Learning* also reveals important developments within Neo-Confucian philosophy. These include more refined ideas on the relationship between principle and material force and the Four Beginnings and the Seven Feelings. Many of these ideas are far more detailed or nuanced than was seen in Kwŏn Kŭn, though all are still well within the framework set out in Kwŏn's original *Diagrams and Explanations*. Much the same can be said of Kobong's basic ideas, though some of his ideas seem to go
beyond the framework outlined in Kwŏn's *Diagrams and Explanations*. Furthermore, there is disagreement between the two later scholars and Kwŏn on the nature of the feelings and whether good and evil are related to the feelings or the will. The relationship between the intention and the feelings, as well as the implications of this for self-cultivation (whether we should focus not on what we will but on the emotions and feelings behind what we intend), will also be examined in the next chapter which deals with Yulgok and includes how he addressed the topic.
ENDNOTES

1) Information on the precarious balance between aristocrats and bureaucrats is based on James Palais, "Confucianism and the Aristocratic/Bureaucratic Balance in Korea", Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, and Politics and Policy in Traditional Korea. Edward Wagner discusses the rise of the censoring organs and their clashes with the throne in his The Literati Purges. It goes beyond the period of time covered here, but another good work dealing with factionalism during the Choson Dynasty is JaHyun Kim Haboush's A Heritage of Kings, which focuses on the eighteenth century.

2) John Duncan discusses the transition from Koryo to Choson in a number of works, including "The Social Background to the Founding of the Choson Dynasty: Change or Continuity", Journal of Korean Studies, vol. 6, 1988-89, "The Koryo Origins of the Choson Dynasty: Kings, Aristocrats, and Confucianism", and more recently in The Origins of the Choson Dynasty. The topic is also covered in a number of Deuchler's works, most notably her The Confucian Transformation of Korea.

3) Wagner, The Literati Purges: Political Conflict in Early Yi Korea, p. 3.

4) Palais, Politics and Policy in Traditional Korea, p. 4.

5) Palais, Politics and Policy in Traditional Korea, p. 5.

6) Palais, Politics and Policy in Traditional Korea, p. 11.

7) Wagner, The Literati Purges: Political Conflict in Early Yi Korea, p. 121.

8) Wagner, The Literati Purges: Political Conflict in Early Yi Korea, p. 3.

9) Wagner, The Literati Purges: Political Conflict in Early Yi Korea, p. 121.

10) Edward Chung translates the term as "Mountain Grove" in his The Korean Neo-Confucianism of Yi T'oebye and Yi Yulgok.

11) Background information on the sallim school is taken from 조선 유학의 학파들, pp. 59-89 and 한국성리학의 昔, pp. 50-56 and 71-78. Information on Chong Mong-ju can be found in 한국인물유학사, v. 1, pp. 239-261 and 금장태, 조선 전기의 유학사상, pp. 43-60. Information on Cho Kwang-jo can be found in 한국인물유학사, v. 1, pp. 417-437 and 금장태, 조선 전기의 유학사상, pp. 237-255.
12) Cho Kwang-jo’s rise and fall are covered in Wagner, *The Literati Purges*, pp. 70-120.


14) Information on literati purges is taken from Wagner, *The Literati Purges: Political Conflict in Early Yi Korea*.


17) The two statements are from Pak Sun and Chŏng Yuil, respectively and are quoted in Kalton, *To Become a Sage*, page 17.

18) This paragraph is based on Kalton, *To Become a Sage*, pp. 14-28.

19) Kalton’s *Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning*, p. 18.

20) General background information on the Four-Seven debate in English can be found in Kalton, et. al., *The Four-Seven Debate*, especially pages xxvii-xxxiv. Yun Sa-soon gives a good description of the debate and its intellectual background in his 한국유학사상론, pages, 284-312. Yun also reproduces the diagrams that sparked this debate. Not surprising given its importance, there is also a voluminous amount of secondary literature on the topic in Korean.


24) This quote is from chapter 1, v. 4 of the *Doctrine of the Mean* and is translated in Kalton, et. al., *The Four-Seven Debate*, xxvii. Chan examines this association between the two different lists of feelings in China, or more precisely, the lack of this association and gives it has one of two reasons
why this debate did not occur in Chinese Neo-Confucianism. The explanation is unconvincing. See his Chu Hsi: New Studies, pp. 249-251.

25) Chan, Chu Hsi: New Studies, pp. 249-250. Chan also gives a couple of reasons why he thinks the debate occurred in Korea and not in China.


27) Kalton, et. al., The Four-Seven Debate, pp. 8 and 50. The original diagram and T'oegye's revision appear in 退溪學叢書 (陶山書院), vol. 3, pp. 235-36.

28) Kalton, et. al., The Four-Seven Debate, p. 1. This translation of the material from the Four-Seven debate, a collaborative work by Michael Kalton and Oaksook Kim, Sung Bae Park, Youngchan Ro, Tu Wei-ming, and Samuel Yamashita, is the standard work in the field. All quotations are taken from this work.

29) Kalton, et. al., The Four-Seven Debate, p. 3.

30) Kalton, et. al., The Four-Seven Debate, p. 5.

31) Kalton, et. al., The Four-Seven Debate, p. 6.

32) Kalton, et. al., The Four-Seven Debate, p. 6.

33) Kalton, et. al., The Four-Seven Debate, p. 8.


35) Kalton, et. al., The Four-Seven Debate, p. 21.

36) Kalton, et. al., The Four-Seven Debate, p. 23.

37) Kalton, et. al., The Four-Seven Debate, p. 31.

38) Kalton, et. al., The Four-Seven Debate, p. 32.

39) Kalton, et. al., The Four-Seven Debate, p. 33.

40) Kalton, et. al., The Four-Seven Debate, p. 52.
41) Kalton, et. al., The Four-Seventy Debate, p. 53.

42) Kalton, et. al., The Four-Seventy Debate, p. 65.

43) Kalton, et. al., The Four-Seventy Debate, p. 62.

44) Kalton, et. al., The Four-Seventy Debate, p. 72.

45) Kalton, et. al., The Four-Seventy Debate, pp. 8283.


47) The quote is from a letter to Yi Koengjung and is quoted in Kalton, To Become a Sage, page 129.


49) Kalton, To Become a Sage, p. 26.


51) This diagram appears on page 39 of To Become a Sage and is reprinted with the permission of the publisher, Columbia University Press. The full translation, plus the original Chinese text, is now available online at: http://webdoc.gwdg.de/ebook/h-k/2001/sage/mkalton.html.

52) Information on the first diagram is taken from chapter one of Kalton’s Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning, pp. 37-50 and the accompanying notes.

53) Kalton, To Become a Sage, p. 42.

54) Information on the second diagram is taken from chapter two of Kalton’s Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning, pp. 51-64 and the accompanying notes.

55) Kalton, Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning, p. 60.

56) Kalton, Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning, pp. 54-55, top.

57) Kalton, Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning, p. 62.


59) Information on the third diagram is taken from chapter three of Kalton’s
Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning, pp. 65-80 and the accompanying notes.


65) This diagram appears on pages and is reprinted with the permission of the publisher, Columbia University Press.


67) The translation is based on the original diagram appearing in the 退溪學叢書, 陶山書院 edition of T’oebye’s collected works, vol. 2, p. 507.

68) Translations of material from T’oebye’s "Diagram of the Great Learning" follow that in Kalton’s *To Become a Sage*.

69) Information on "Diagram of Rules of the White Deer Hollow Academy" is taken from chapter 5 of M. Kalton’s *To Become a Sage*, pp. 101-117.

70) Kalton, *To Become a Sage*, p. 105.

71) Kalton, *To Become a Sage*, p. 106.


74) Quotes from T’oebye’s diagrams are taken from Kalton, *To Become a Sage*, pp. 119-123; most of those from Ch’eng Fu-hsin are from de Bary, *The Message of the Mind in Neo-Confucianism*, p. 62.

75) Ch’eng Fu-hsin’s diagram is taken from 退溪學叢書 (陶山書院), vol. 2, p. 281.
76) Kalton, *To Become a Sage*, page 124.

77) Information on "Diagram of the Study of the Mind" is taken from chapter 8 of M. Kalton's *To Become a Sage*, pp. 159-173.


79) Information on "Diagram of the Admonition for Mindfulness Studio" is based on chapter 9 of Kalton’s *To Become a Sage*, pp. 175-189, plus the accompanying notes.

80) All the quotes from the diagram, both these and those that follow, are taken from Kalton, *To Become a Sage*, pp. 176-77.


82) Information on "Diagram of the Admonitions on 'Rising Early and Retiring Late'" is taken from chapter 10 of Kalton’s *To Become a Sage*, pp. 191-209.

83) This quote, and those that follow, are taken from Kalton’s *To Become a Sage*, pp. 192-93.

84) Kalton’s *To Become a Sage*, p. 196.


87) Buddhists had already been using the script, and it made its way into some early ethical texts.


93) The number of verses is based on Legge’s translation.
94) Quotes from Announcement to the Prince of K'ang are excerpted from the Book of Documents (Shang shu). The same is true of both Canon of Emperor Yao, T'ai Chia.

95) The quote from the Officer Mang Hsien appears in the Tso chuan; the quote from Duke Wan's Uncle Fan appears in the Book of Rites, and that of Duke of Chin appears in the Shang shu. Specifics are given in Gradner, Chu Hsi and the Ta-hsueh.

96) Background information on the investigation of things is taken from Graham, Two Chinese Philosophers, pp. 74-82.

97) Graham, Two Chinese Philosophers, p. 74.

98) Graham, Two Chinese Philosophers, pp. 74-75.

99) Graham, Two Chinese Philosophers, p. 75.

100) Graham, Two Chinese Philosophers, p. 79.

101) Information on Sin Kwang-han is taken from "신광한 申光漢", by 최완 기, in 한국민족문화대백과사전 (한국정신문화연구원, 1979), v. 13, p. 681.

102) Information on Yun T'ak is taken from "윤탁 尹倜", by 김용탁, in 한국 민족문화대백과사전 (한국정신문화연구원, 1979), v. 17, p. 330.

103) As above, information on Yun Tak is taken from "윤탁 尹倜", by 김용탁, in 한국민족문화대백과사전 (한국정신문화연구원, 1979), v. 17, p. 330.

104) Due to its length, the original text for this section has been moved to the notes and is as follows below. The penname of Sin Kwang-han (신광한, 中光漢, 1484-1555) is 駱峯.

物格 物이格혼○物理之極處無不到駱峯申先生釋云物理의極
處 니르디아니혼디업다仍按指傳十章之末曰假如言讀此書自卷
初至此處 之不盡也苟知此意則雖釋云極處로亦無妨又曰極處到
者窮格到此耳曾見李復古說心到極處此說非也若謂心到則是屬知
止非格物也○今按申公此說甚精微況向問此於尹大成倬先生曰所
謂到者心到極處否公曰非也當時未曉今方覺是又按若因此又釋
格物云物에格혼따즉不可

T'oegye also wrote a comment on this topic in idu. This has been
discussed by Yun Sa-soon in his book *Studies on the Philosophy of T'oegye* and translated by Michael Kalton in *Critical Issues in Neo-Confucian Thought: the Philosophy of T'oegye* (page 34). That translation is as follows.

[Investigation of Things.] kyŏk mul (mulŭl kyŏk) [Chu Hsi's] note: it means that its ultimate aspects (-ae) have been completely arrived at. mul kyŏk (mulae kyŏk) [Chu Hsi's coat] note: it means that the ultimate aspects (-ae i) of the principle of the thing have been completely arrived at.

The character kyŏk means "completely arriving at". In the case of kyŏk mul ("investigate things") the weight is on this side of "completely" and so we appended the objective -ul suffix. In the case of mul kyŏk [things having been investigated], the weight is on "arriving", and so we attended the dative -ae suffix. And another explanation that would append a nominative -ga suffix to "aspects", making a nominative phrase of "the ultimate aspects of the principle of things" is also possible.


106) See P. J. Ivanhoe, *Ethics in the Confucian Tradition*, p. 82.

107) See P. J. Ivanhoe, *Ethics in the Confucian Tradition*, p. 82.


110) This aspect of Wang's thought is covered in Ivanhoe, *Ethics in the Confucian Tradition*, pp. 80-88.


112) This is translated in Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, p. 453.

113) Due to its length the original part of this passage has been reproduced below.

心不在焉 心을두디 아니면在即在腔子中○或云軀殼内或云在
視聽上今按此兩說當通看盖心在軀殼則能在視聽上乃主於內而應於外非兩在也若心不在軀殼則未有能在視聽上之理心已遂物而不
Gardner quotes Chu Hsi's *Collected Conversations* to explicate the meaning of this verse: "If the mind is not preserved, there is no means by which the person (身) may be regulated. Hence, the superior man will always keep watch of the mind; through his attentiveness he will maintain correctness." Gardner, *Chu Hsi and the Ta-hsueh*, p. 108.

The quote is taken from Gardner, *Chu Hsi and the Ta-hsueh*, p. 113.
隔一重而非非復自然之文法義理矣故陳氏示法之說不必拘當從盧氏
說為直截明白也


118) The full text for this passage is: (國不以利為利　上章國是利以
利以利之義下章國是利以利之義而今結所
以以義為利之意下章主言約利之義而反結必須以義為利之意語有
順意則一也須者於下上文所言非以義為利之意遂疑其結語
不類乃曲生態見被取上句不字下合於以義為利之意釋曰云云苛如
此說其文當曰此謂國以利為利不以義為利也何故不字在於以利之
上乎此全不成文理可笑今當依上章所釋)
Yulgok: Cosmology, Human Nature, and Self-Cultivation (II)

Introduction
Four-Seven Debate
Diagram of the Mind-and-Heart
Important Methods for Eliminating Ignorance

Yi I (1536-84), pen name Yulgok, was one of the most influential scholars during the middle part of the Chosŏn Dynasty. He is often seen, along with T'oe gy e, as representing one of the two great peaks in the range of intellectual thought in Chosŏn Neo-Confucianism. Moreover, just as the ideas of T'oe gy e influenced the development of the Yongnam school of thought, the ideas of Yulgok nourished scholars in the other major school of thought that developed during this period, the Kiho school. Much of the intellectual universe that unfolded in the latter half of the Dynasty gravitates around the ideas of these two scholars.

Yulgok passed the civil service examination at age 23 and is famous for placing first in a number of examinations, but because of fractional strife rife at the time, he did not finally assume a government position until he was 29 years old. Yulgok is well-known for a number of other reasons as well. One of these is the philosophical ideas developed during the latter round of the Four-Seven Debate which took place through an exchange of letters
with Sŏng Hon (1535-1598, pen name Ugye) over the course of a year. Some of the ideas developed during this debate are examined below. His interests, however, were not limited to philosophical theory; or, more accurately, his philosophical ideas permeate a broad range of fields. There is, of course, an overlap between areas, but this having been said, Yulgok's other works touched on education and academies, politics, national defense, ghosts and spirits, and the classics. Simply put, he did not make sharp distinctions between many diverse fields of knowledge. Besides Important Methods for Eliminating Ignorance, mentioned in the introduction, Yulgok also wrote Model for an Academy. This latter text, written in 1582, put forward recommendations for running schools and academies, but even here the majority of the text is devoted to instructions for students. Yulgok also wrote a long Memorial to the throne in 1574, the Ten-Thousand Character Memorial, promoting a variety of political and social policies. He wrote community compacts as well, one for Sowŏn in 1571 and one for Haeju in 1577. Moreover, Yulgok wrote about the Book of Changes and also wrote annotations of the Four Books using the Korean vernacular script. The importance of these works notwithstanding, Yulgok's magnum opus is considered by most to be Essentials of Sage Learning. Written in 1575, this work systematizes his ideas on key concepts of Neo-Confucianism, self-cultivation, learning, and governance. The overall framework of this text parallels that of Chen Te-hsiu's Extended Meaning of the 'Great Learning'.

Yulgok honed many of his philosophical/psychological ideas
during his correspondence with Ugye in the second round of the
Four-Seven Debate. As noted in the third chapter, the debate started
with an exchange of letters between T‘oegye and Ki Tae-sŭng over the
relationship of li and ch‘i to the Four Beginnings and the Seven
Feelings. The debate was rekindled after Ugye ran across a passage
in Chu Hsi’s work that seemed to support T‘oegye’s position and
wrote Yulgok to inquire about the validity of T‘oegye’s position.
However, Ugye’s role in this round of the debate was not nearly as
important as was that of Kobong in the debate with T‘oegye.\(^5\)

I. The Four-Seven Debate

For understanding Yulgok’s ideas of human nature and the
relationship of these ideas to his cosmological concepts, examining the
material from the Four-Seven debate is even more important than it
was for understanding T‘oegye’s ideas on these topics. Since
T‘oegye’s Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning follows the same progression
used in some of the other introductory texts (i.e., starting with ideas
of Heaven and moving down to people), we were able to use material
from the Four-Seven debate merely to expand on the presentation of
his ideas on cosmology and human nature that appear in his Ten
Diagrams on Sage Learning. In Yulgok’s case, however, we must rely
on the material from the Four-Seven debate in order to understand his
ideas on cosmology, human nature, and the relation between them
because this material is not included in the introductory text examined
here, *Important Methods for Eliminating Ignorance*, even though this text focuses on self-cultivation. All these topics are, of course, covered in Yulgok’s *Essentials of Sage Learning*, but the sheer size of this work precludes examination here.

In his first letter, Ugye asks a question of Yulgok very similar to the fourth question asked of Kwŏn Kŭn by some of his students. In the latter case, the question concerned all the different concepts referring to the mind-and-heart Kwŏn had inserted within the section of his diagram dealing with the mind-and-heart. Ugye’s question, on the other hand, deals with just two different terms—given that the mind-and-heart is one, why are there two different terms referring to it? "The mind-and-heart with its empty spiritual character and its consciousness is one, and that is all. How is it, then, that there are two terms for it, the "human mind" and the "Tao mind"?

Yulgok makes two points in his reply. First, both concepts, the Human mind and the Tao mind, refer to both a person’s feelings and intention (will). The second point he makes is not new; Yulgok reaffirms Kobong’s position that the Seven feelings refer to all the feelings issued from the mind-and-heart whereas the Four Beginnings refer only to those of the Seven that are good.

For the human mind and the Tao mind refer inclusively to both the feelings and the intention [will]; they do not refer only to the feelings. The "Seven Feelings" are a comprehensive reference to the movement of a man’s
mind-and-heart as composed of these seven. The "Four Beginnings" are a selective reference only to the good side of the Seven Feelings.7

We see something here that is not mentioned in Kwon Kun. Kwon does not address the will (intention) in terms of both pairs of terms, the Four Beginnings and the Seven Emotions as well as the Human mind and the Tao mind. In his diagram of the mind-and-heart (Diagram 2b) Kwon mentions the Tao Mind on the right side of the diagram--"The Tao Mind within the feelings is hard to see." In this case, the link between the Tao Mind and the feelings is clear enough, but, when it comes to the intention (will) there is no obvious link between it and the Tao mind in Kwon’s diagram. Kwon also states that the incipient phase of the will has both good and evil. This reference to both good and evil precludes the type of reference Yulgok seems to make regarding the Tao Mind. For Kwon, intention or will is not associated with the Tao Mind; it is associated with the Human Mind. Moreover, a similar argument may be put forward regarding the Four Beginnings. While the link between the Will and the Seven feelings is apparent in Kwon Kun’s diagram, a relation between the Will and the Four Beginnings is not readily apparent.

Yulgok then shows that the choice of terms you use depends on what aspect of the mind-and-heart you are trying to explain.

[If] one wants to explain things in terms of the two-sided contrast, he should follow the human mind/Tao Mind thesis; if he wants to explain only the good side, then he should follow the Four Beginnings thesis; if he wants to explain both
good and evil inclusively, then he should follow the Seven Feelings thesis.  

He goes on to draw a similar analogy between the Four Beginnings and Seven Feelings, on the one hand, and the original nature and the psycho-physical nature, on the other.

The Four Beginnings and Seven Feelings are just like the original nature and the psycho-physical nature. "Original nature" is the term that does not include a reference to the psycho-physical endowment. "Psycho-physical nature," however, does include the original nature.  

Yulgok also wrote of the relationship between mind-and-heart, feelings, and will and in a way very similar to that of T'oebye. "In general, the condition before [the mind-and-heart] is aroused is the nature; after it is aroused, it is feelings. When it is aroused and engages in consideration and calculation, it is will. The mind-and-heart is the master of the nature, feelings, and will." The first part of this we also see in Kobong; he too assumed a relation between nature and the quiescent state of the mind-and-heart and between the feelings and the aroused state, but Yulgok goes on to explicate the relation of the will to the mind-and-heart. The aspect of the mind-and-heart that reflects on and evaluates the feelings is one's determination or intention. The determination to be made here is not a choice between which feelings to follow but determining which feelings issued properly; once this is done it just a matter of acting accordingly. From this it is clear that the will, like the feelings,
is related to the aroused state of the mind-and-heart, but this makes sense given that the feelings only appear in the aroused state of the mind-and-heart and are what the will acts on.

The concept of the intention (will) plays an important role in Yulgok’s ideas on self-cultivation. We see this here in his discussion with Ugye— "The exercise of careful discernment, the yea or the nay, are entirely a matter of the will; therefore, in cultivating oneself nothing has priority over making the will sincere."[11] In other words, nothing takes priority over subduing selfish desires and aligning one’s intention with all-encompassing principle. In many ways the exercise of one’s intention in this situation is more like exercising one’s judgement. We will see this emphasis on establishing one’s intention again in Important Methods for Eliminating Ignorance; it also appears in the first chapters from Essentials of Sage Learning.

Yulgok also describes the relationship between nature and the mind-and-heart. On the one hand, he states that nature is the Heavenly-endowed principles contained within the mind-and-heart: "The not-yet-aroused condition is the nature in its original state, the wondrousness of the Supreme Ultimate, equilibrium, the Great Foundation."[12] On the other hand, this distinction disappears when the mind-and-heart issues and the focus then shifts to the feelings which combine both principle and material force. Moreover, anything that issues from the mind-and-heart originates in the nature; this includes the Human mind and the Tao mind. What distinguishes these two terms is not where they originate ("although the human
mind and the Tao mind bear two different names, their origin is just the one mind-and-heart\(^{13}\)), but what happens to them in the course of issuing—things issuing in accord with principle follow the Tao mind, and anything that deviates from principle concerns the human mind.\(^{13}\)

The nature is the principle within the mind-and-heart. The mind-and-heart is the vessel filled with and holding the nature. How could there be the distinction between the issuance of the nature and the issuance of the mind-and-heart?! The human mind and the Tao mind are both issued by the mind-and-heart by means of the nature; those that are disrupted by material force are the human mind and those that are not disrupted by material force are the Tao mind.\(^{14}\)

This position is close to the one put forward by Kobong. Both scholars identify nature with principle and equate it with the substance (potential) of the mind-and-heart. Moreover, the feelings are the function or manifestation of that potential. Examining the first diagrams of his *Elementary Diagrams and Explanations for Entering Upon Learning*, it appears that Kwŏn Kŭn places all these terms in this section of the Diagram representing the unaroused state of the mind-and heart, i.e. the feelings also, not just the nature. On this there is a clear difference. On the remainder there would be general agreement.

Kwŏn and Yulgok also seem to differ over the idea of a person’s intention or determination (the will). Looking at Kwŏn’s
"Diagram of the mind-and-heart", it may be that the incipient phase is part of the aroused state since that phase is below the character 'mind-and-heart', but a glance at the first diagram shows the will is clearly positioned within the borders of the diagram representing the unaroused state. Yulgok differs from Kwŏn, or at least seems to, over the concept of the will. In the middle part of the diagram, on the left side, Kwŏn writes, "The will is the wellspring of good and evil." And, as noted above, Kwŏn stated, "the will in the incipient phase has both good and evil." Yulgok would agree that the will (determination or intention) has good and evil, but the two seem to differ over whether or not the will has a place in the unaroused state of the mind-and-heart. The divergence of opinion is over the last part of this passage which mentions the incipient phase of the mind-and-heart issuing. Kwŏn's diagram seems to reveal a time or phase in the unaroused state of the mind-and-heart when there might be the potential for evil, but it may just be the purpose of the will as what distinguishes good and evil and not evil per se that is implied. Yulgok also discusses this in his response to Ugye's second letter: "It is permissible to say that [the mind-and-heart] may be disrupted by the psycho-physical constitution and so cannot establish its Great Foundation. But it is a great mistake to say that at the time before it is aroused, there are likewise the incipient shoots of evil."15) Another way of looking at this is from the theory of substance and function or, perhaps better in this case, substance and manifestation or realization. Kwŏn's diagram implies the Seven Feelings and the
intention are present within the unaroused state of mind and the potential for both good and evil is therefore also present, but, precisely because it is still unaroused, this substance has not yet been realized, for either the good or the bad. Regardless of how substance manifests, Yulgok seems to deny a possible source for evil within the mind-and-heart itself when it is unaroused; instead Yulgok regards both the Seven Feelings and the intention (will) as part of the functioning of the mind-and-heart, that is as aspects of the mind-and-heart in the active, aroused state. Finally, one other notable difference between the two is that Yulgok, unlike Kwŏn, does not use the term intention at all in his "Diagram of the mind-and-heart". He includes the mind-and-heart, the nature, and the feelings but not intention (will).

As the next excerpt shows, there is a general agreement between the positions of Kwŏn and Yulgok regarding human nature but divergence over the Four Beginnings and Seven Feelings.

Human nature is constituted of humanity, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, and fidelity -- these five and that is all. Beyond these five, there is no other human nature. The feelings comprise pleasure, anger, sorrow, fear, love, hatred, and desire -- these seven and that is all. Beyond these seven, there are no other feelings. The Four Beginnings are just alternative terms for the good feelings; if one says "the Seven Feelings", the Four Beginnings are included in them. It is nothing like the case of the human mind and Tao mind, which are terms set up to contrast with each other.16)
Kwŏn’s diagrams supports part but not all of the ideas presented here. For instance, Kwŏn’s diagram shows that the five constant virtues making up human nature are the basis for the Seven feelings (directly below) and the Four Beginnings (off to the side). Where there is potential for conflict is the specific relation between the Four and the Seven in Kwŏn’s diagrams. This was also seen in the case of Kobong. And, as in that case, it shows differences in development over the points that, in retrospect, could still be seen as ambiguous in the framework outlined in Kwŏn’s Elementary Diagrams and Explanations for Entering Upon Learning.

Yulgok later makes clear that the concept and practice of self-cultivation is limited to human beings. Both Heaven and Earth are complete in themselves and have a nature that by definition does not change. Other creatures also have a nature that does not change, but in this case it is because they receive partial, hindering material force that prevents them from changing the endowment they received.

Since Heaven and Earth have obtained the perfectly whole and perfectly penetrating material force, they therefore have a fixed nature that does not change. The myriad creatures have received partial and blocked up material force, so they likewise have fixed natures that do not change. Therefore, Heaven and Earth and the myriad creatures can never have techniques for the practice of self-cultivation.17

Just why it is human beings alone are capable of self-cultivation is then explained more detail. It is not that human
beings always act in perfect accord with principle as do Heaven and Earth because they do not, even though they are endowed with the myriad principles. Ironically, it is the variations in the quality of material force that hinder the penetration of principle and may therefore retard self-cultivation but, at the same time, it is these very variations within otherwise whole ch'i that create the possibility for self-cultivation. Moreover, despite individual variations in the quality of material force animating human beings and its effect on preventing or permitting the penetration of principle, the Neo-Confucian ideal of human nature precludes the possibility that the quality of material force human beings are endowed with can ever be so bad as to completely prevent improvement through the practice of self-cultivation.

Only human beings have received integral and penetrating material force and at the same time have innumerable variations as to the degree of clarity or turbidity, being pure or mixed. They do not have the pure uniformity of Heaven and Earth; but the mind-and-heart, being empty, spiritual, and penetrating, is fully endowed with the myriad principles. Thus the turbid can change and becomes clear, the mixed can change and become pure. Therefore the practice of self-cultivation belongs only to men, and the ultimate perfection of that practice extends even to bringing it about that Heaven and Earth assumed their proper positions and all creatures are properly nurtured.  

Given the variations in Kwŏn Kŭn's and Yulgok's ideas on
cosmological principles and their relation to the mind-and-heart, will, and feelings (and therefore variations in their ideas of human nature) one might expect these differences to be reflected in broader descriptions of different personality types, but this is not really the case. In the description of Kwŏn’s first diagram in chapter 2, five possible personality types were outlined. Similarly, in his reply to Ugye’s fourth letter, Yulgok mentions four general personality types. First is the sage, a person whose "psycho-physical endowment ... is perfectly pure, and his nature is in integral possession of its substance without a single bit of the self-centeredness of selfish human desire." Next is a worthy. In this case, the person’s psycho-physical endowment is pure, but the material force is not perfectly clear; it has "a slight admixture of turbidity" and must therefore "be supplemented by the application of further cultivation before it regains the full perfection of the original nature." At the other end of the moral scale is the person who, according to Kwŏn, can scarcely be called human. Yulgok gives a vivid depiction of such person:

One who has no semblance [of his original perfection] has a psycho-physical endowment that has a lot of the turbid and little clear, much that is impure and little that is pure. The original condition of nature is overwhelmed, and moreover, there is no application made to cultivate and perfect it. What issues forth in such a case is for the most part because of physical constitution; here the human mind is in control. Intermittently, the Tao mind emerges mixed in with the human mind, but he does not know how to discern and preserve it, so he consistently gives himself over to the
self-centered proclivity of his physical constitution. When this reaches the point of one's being conquered by the feelings, concupiscence burns hotly, and the Tao mind is reduced to the human mind.  

In between these polar opposites lie those in the moral middle ground, the people who can go either way—"The middle sort of person's nature falls between that of the worthy and the person who bears no semblance [to his original condition]. One can understand it by following it out along these lines." This includes the ordinary person, the person whose "psycho-physical endowment is not perfectly pure, so when the issuance of the human mind is not controlled by the Tao mind, it devolves into evil." One interesting thing is that despite different ideas on fundamental cosmological and psychological concepts there is general agreement on the characteristics associated with what it is to be a sage, a worthy, or ordinary people, even when these types are understood using the very concepts over which there may be differences.

The greatest point of contention between Yulgok's and T'oegye's positions is over whether or not principle, the universalizing force in the universe, issues forth of its own accord. Yulgok flatly denies that principle can, of itself, issue; he insists it has no active aspect—"principle is non-active; rather, it is material force that has [concrete] activity." His reasoning is fairly straightforward: "principle is above forms; material force is on the level of form. The two cannot be separated from each other. If they cannot be
separated, then their issuance as function is single, and one cannot speak of them as mutually possessing issuing functions. Moreover, Yulgok also rejects T’oegeye’s interpretation of the quote he borrowed from Chu Hsi in order to support his position:

Master Chu’s point indeed was nothing more than saying that the Four Beginnings refer exclusively to principle, while the Seven Feelings refer inclusively to material force. That’s all he was saying. He was not saying that, in the case of the Four Beginnings, principle first gives issue then, in the case of the Seven Feelings, material force first gives issue.

From Yulgok’s point of view, confusion over just this, the idea that principle, like material force, issues of its own accord is the major flaw in T’oegeye’s thought—"The problem with T’oegeye is essentially a matter of just the two words ‘mutual issuance.’"

Yulgok examines four different possibilities pertaining to the issuance of material force and how these relate to the human mind and the Tao mind. In the first instance, material force in its purest, most refined form issues in accordance with principle in its original, undiminished form so the result is material force at its purest; in this case, it is called the Tao mind. In the second instance, there are times when material force hinders the pervasiveness of principle and therefore issues in a way that is either deficient or excessive. In this case, it is the Human mind. In the third instance, the Tao mind is in control when material force issues and prevents it from issuing either excessively or deficiently. In this case, material force will issue
correctly and its potential will be realized. In the fourth instance, the Tao mind does not have control in the beginning and material force therefore issues either excessively or deficiently, but the Tao mind regains control and material force returns to a state of equilibrium.

The human mind and the Tao mind are both the issuance of material force. But material force in some cases is submissive to principle in its original condition, so the material force is also then in the original condition of material force. Therefore, when principle mounts this material force that is in its original condition, it is the Tao mind. Material force in some cases changes principle from its original condition, so it is itself changed from the original condition of material force. Therefore, principle likewise mounts on the changed material force and is the human mind, which is at times excessive and at times deficient. Sometimes at the beginning, when it has just issued forth, the Tao mind is already in control, and it does not allow it to become excessive or deficient. At other times, after there has been excess or deficiency, the Tao mind likewise takes control and makes it quickly return to equilibrium.28

These conditions also correspond to the first three personality types outlines above. In one sense, this seems tautological because in discussing the various grades of material force Yulgok seems to imply that less than perfect material force alters principle and in doing so also alters itself, but this does not explain why material force was flawed to begin with.

In discussing the Four Beginnings and the Seven Feelings,
Yulgok denies we can differentiate between feelings that originate from within and others that are stimulated externally; he also points out a fundamental difference between his position and T'oegye's. From Yulgok's point of view, T'oegye thinks the Tao mind emerges from within whereas the Human mind is stimulated externally and contrasts this with his own view that both the Tao mind and the human mind emerge from within and do so because they are externally stimulated.

For T'oegye regarded what emerges from within as the Tao mind and what is externally stimulated as the human mind. For my part, I regard both the human mind and the Tao mind as emerging from within and the movement in both cases as being stimulated externally.29)

In the course of the Four-Seven debate Yulgok dealt with almost every important cosmological and psychological concept Neo-Confucianism. Like others, he reaffirmed the inherent inseparability of principle and material force, but, in contrast to T'oegye, Yulgok also insisted that material force and material force alone had an issuing function. When it comes to issuance, principle was passive:

Principle and material force are originally inseparable and seem to be a single thing; that in which they are different is that principle has no concrete form but material force does, principle is non-active, but material force is active.... Principle is formless, and material force has form; therefore principle
pervades, and material force delimits. Principle is non-active, and material force is active; therefore material force issues and principle mounts it.\textsuperscript{30}

The phrase "Principle pervades and material force delimits," Yulgok considered as his own discovery, though it sounds reminiscent of Ch'eng I's "Principle is one but its manifestations are many." Moreover, his association of the Tao mind with material force he also considered his own idea. "Principle pervades and material force delimits -- these four words I consider my own discovery.... Taking the Tao mind as material force in its original condition likewise seems to be a new expression."\textsuperscript{31} Yulgok also reaffirms the relationship between principle and immateriality and that between material force and form. In the former case, principle is 'formless' because it has no concrete, material form except through the vehicle of material force. It, principle, is however what determines the form things take. In this sense, it is form itself, though it has no form of its own; that is why principle is universal and pervasive. Material force, on the other hand, is the stuff of form or the stuff out of which form is shaped, but it must be "influenced" by principle before any actual form can materialize or take shape. The "material" of material force is not only responsible for the actual materialization of form, it is also why material force 'delimits', i. e., why it is the individualizing and particularizing aspect of the universe. In other words, material force \textit{has} form while principle supplies the pattern for form and does so in a way that ties the individual into the cosmic system. This is what
Chu Hsi means when he says, "In the universe there has never been any material force without principle or principle without material force. When a form is created by material force, principle is found in that form at that very moment." Finally, like Kobong but unlike T'oegeye, Yulgok held that the Four Beginnings were really only a subset of the Seven Feelings—"Outside the Seven Feelings, there are no other Four Beginnings. That being the case, the Four Beginnings selectively refer to the Tao mind, while the Seven Feelings combine both the human mind and the Tao mind." A more detailed description of the relationship between these concepts is presented in the following excerpt.

It's just that in the case of the human mind and the Tao mind, the one has to do with the psycho-physical constitution and the other has to do with morality.... such is not the case when it comes to the Four Beginnings and Seven Feelings. The Four Beginnings are the good side of the Seven Feelings and the Seven Feelings are the comprehensive term that includes the Four Beginnings.

Lastly, we have seen that the will plays an important role in the thought of all three scholars examined herein, although over this topic there was disagreement between Kwŏn Kŭn and the other two.
II. Diagram of the Mind-and-Heart

Yulgok's "Diagram of the Mind-and-Heart, the Nature, and the Feelings" was included in his response to Ugye's second letter and summarizes in graphic form many of the ideas presented above. At the top right of the diagram is a large circle representing the mind-and-heart; it is made up of the psycho-physical material and therefore has different degrees of purity, of clarity and turbidity, which in turn produces manifold differences in individuals. But in the center of this enclosure resides the Heavenly-endowed nature. It is in a separate circle in the middle of the mind-and-heart and represents, on the one hand, the idea that the nature in its original form is principle and, because of this, the nature is originally without any evil, at least before its arousal or response to other things. On the other hand, the nature is inextricably linked to (but not admixed with) the psycho-physical material making up the mind-and-heart and anything that issues from the mind-and-heart is therefore influenced by both the nature and one's psycho-physical constitution. Directly below the enclosure for the nature and the mind-and-heart is the enclosure for the feelings. This includes all feelings, whether good or bad. One important assumption is that regardless of what stimulates (i.e., internal or external stimuli) the mind-and-heart to respond, that response is described in terms of 'feelings' or 'affections'. What determines whether the feelings are good or bad depends on the individual's Heavenly-endowed nature, psycho-physical endowment,
and, to some extent, even on the stimuli the mind-and-heart moves in response to. If the psycho-physical endowment is pure and the mind-and-heart responds to things according to its true nature, then the feelings generated in response to the affairs of the world are good. Even if the psycho-physical endowment is not perfectly pure, as long as it is the person's Heavenly-endowed nature that directs or moderates how the mind-and-heart issues and it is not overwhelmed, then, despite the imperfections in the person's psycho-physical endowment, the feelings manifested in responding to the world will still be good. It is only when the response of the mind-and-heart is either deficient or excessive that the feelings issued tend toward evil. In either case, for Yulgok, unlike T'oegye, the feelings that issue when the mind-and-heart responds to internal or external stimulation are always described in terms of the Seven Emotions: pleasure, anger, sorrow, fear, love, hatred, and desire. When these issue forth in accord with one's original nature they are good, and the result is the Four Beginnings, the beginning of humanity, righteousness, propriety, and wisdom. This is described in his diagram as follows.

This represents the issuance of the feelings when they are not disrupted by the psycho-physical constitution but directly flow from the nature in its original condition and therefore are good and perfectly moderated. One can see how they are the beginnings of humanity, righteousness, propriety, and wisdom. They issue directly forth [from the nature] and so I have drawn them on a direct line.59
Canted off to the left, away from the main flow of the diagram, are the Seven Feelings, in this case tending toward evil. Here, pleasure and anger, rather than giving rise to the beginning of humanity are either excessive or deficient and therefore betray one’s humanity. And sorrow and fear, rather than giving rise to righteousness, are either deficient or excessive and therefore go against righteousness. As for love and hatred, rather than giving rise to propriety as they should, they end up going against propriety because of a deficiency or excess in issuing forth from the mind-and-heart. Lastly, desire, rather than giving rise to wisdom, becomes twisted and thereby harms the nature, again due to the disruption of the nature caused by the psycho-physical endowment. Off to the side of the Seven Emotions that tend toward evil Yulgok states:

This represents the issuance of the feelings when they are disrupted by the psycho-physical constitution and lose the original condition of the nature. Therefore they are evil and are not perfectly moderated. One does not see how they are the beginnings of humanity, rightness, propriety, and wisdom. They emerge crossways and so I have drawn them crossways.

An overview of Kwŏn Kŭn’s, T’oege’s, and Yulgok’s diagrams should throw light on how their ideas of the mind-and-heart (and therefore their ideas of human nature) developed. Kwŏn deals with the mind-and-heart as part of his first diagram and also as an independent diagram. Many of the essential concepts related to the mind-and-heart are shown in both diagrams. For instance, he shows
the relation between the origins of both principle and material force to
the mind-heart, places the pure original nature at the center of each
diagram, states that the intention (will) is the wellspring of good and
evil, and shows the link between the mind-and-heart and the
agent/phase fire. There are also a few differences between his two
diagrams. Probably for lack of space, the Five Constant Virtues
(righteousness, humanity, propriety, wisdom, and fidelity) that appear
below the nature in the first diagram are dropped in the second. In
the second diagram we learn there is nothing not good in the feelings
and it is here that Kwŏn Kŭn introduces the concept of the Tao mind
as well as the Human mind and its precarious state. He also
mentions the mind-and-heart being mindful in the second diagram.
Moreover, the distinction between the mind-and-heart in its aroused
and unaroused state, something obvious in the first diagram, is
missing in the second, though the latter assumes the mind-and-heart
to be unaroused. Lastly, the Four Beginnings and the Seven Feelings
are in the first diagram but do not appear in the second.

In one sense, Yulgok’s diagram of the mind-and-heart is more
focused than is the case with Kwŏn Kŭn’s diagrams. Yulgok’s
diagram mentions principle and material force but the focus is on four
major concepts— nature, mind-and-heart, the Four Beginnings and the
Seven Feelings. The diagram also includes the mind-and-heart in both
the unaroused and aroused states, although in this case, it is assumed,
not explicit. Moreover, the Tao mind, human mind, and will or
determination are all absent in diagram, although all are discussed in
numerous occasions in the course of the Four-Seven Debate. Part of the reason for these differences may be the nature of texts themselves, Kwŏn's being an introductory text and Yulgok's being part of a more sophisticated debate over key concepts. As seen above, however, there are also real differences between these two scholars over the Four Beginnings, Seven Feelings, the will, and the Tao mind.

In comparing Yulgok's "Diagram of the Mind-and-Heart, the Nature, and the Feelings" to T'oebye's diagrams on the mind-and-heart, the best comparison is with third section of the sixth diagram in Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning, especially the lower part of it. Both T'oebye and Yulgok center 'nature' within the enclosure representing the mind-and-heart and both mention the differing grades of material force (e. g., clear, turbid, etc.). Furthermore, Yulgok, like T'oebye, gives diagrammatic expression to his Four-Seven thesis in the lower section of the diagram which deals with the feelings. This is most clearly seen in the part of the diagram dealing with the good feelings. In Yulgok's diagram, the Seven Feelings are divided into four headings and the Four Beginnings are placed directly below them. In other words, we see a diagrammatic representation of Yulgok's idea that the Four Beginnings are merely a subset of the Seven Feelings.

The material from the Four-Seven debate gives a clear picture of Yulgok's ideas on fundamental cosmological concepts, including principle, material force, Tao mind, Human mind, and of course the Four Beginnings and Seven Feelings, some of which received
diagrammatic treatment in "Diagram of the Mind-and-Heart". It also
details their relation to the mind-and-heart, thereby showing the
intricate relationship between fundamental cosmological and
psychological concepts. From this we can grasp Yulgok's ideas of
human nature and understand important assumptions about
self-cultivation in general, but it really does not tell us much about
the actual practice of self-cultivation—What do we actually have to do
to become a sage? Even quiet sitting, a practice Yulgok thought
highly of and encouraged, does not come up here. But Yulgok did
indeed address the actual practice of self-cultivation and in very
concrete terms. One of the best places to see this is in his
introductory text, Important Methods for Eliminating Ignorance. It is to
that that we now turn.

III. Important Methods for Eliminating Ignorance

*Important Methods for Eliminating Ignorance* (*Kyŏngmong yogyŏl*, 작
동요결, 聰蒙要訣) was written by Yulgok in 1577 as a classical Chinese
primer and has ten chapters. It was sometimes used as a primer
along with the *Thousand Character Text* (千字文) and *Dongmong chasūp*
(동몽자습), though its structure differs greatly from these two texts in
that the structure in both these texts starts with Heaven, earth, then
mankind, whereas Yulgoks' text puts forward practical advice on
topics related to self-cultivation—what must be done to prepare for
learning, what to read, and how to behave. Copies of the text are
still available in Korea, though contemporary editions have been translated into modern Korean and have explanatory notes as well as a reprint of the original text. In addition, some of the contemporary editions of the text also have an appendix dealing with the etiquette of entering and leaving or have charts showing the proper arrangement for ceremonies.

The first chapter is on fixing one’s resolve. This is often translated as "establishing the will", but a better translation would be "establishing one’s intent" or "fixing one’s resolve". For Yulgok this is the first priority, a necessity upon which all else depends. It is a topic also addressed in the first chapter of his Essentials of Sage Learning. The second chapter is on reforming old habits; if you are having trouble studying, it is because bad habits keep getting in the way. The third chapter deals with controlling oneself in order to restrain the passions that can lead one astray; if this is done properly, the student is able to maintain a proper attitude. Chapter four addresses reading texts. Here Yulgok gives a list of books to be read and the order in which to read them. Moreover, most of the titles are followed by a brief synopsis of what trait or goal the text is supposed to instill. For example, the first text listed is the Elementary Learning; from that we see the Way of serving our parents, revering our older brother, being loyal to our leader, honoring our superiors, respecting our teachers, and being affectionate toward our friends. After reading the Elementary Learning, one should turn to the Great Learning, which instills the Way of investigating principle, rectifying
the heart-and-mind, cultivating the self, and governing people. Next come the *Analects* and *Mencius* and then the last of the Four Books, *The Doctrine of the Mean*. Once the Four Books are complete, the student then starts on the Five Classics. First among them comes the *Book of Poetry*, followed by the *Book of Ritual*, and then the *Book of Documents*. After these are done, the student moves on to the *Book of Changes* and finally to the *Spring and Autumn Chronicles*. Once the student has grasped the *Elementary Learning*, the Four Books, and Five Classics, he should then turn to *Reflections on Things at Hand*, *Family Ritual*, the *Classic of the Mind-and-Heart*, the works of the Ch’eng Brothers, and Chu Hsi’s *Collected Works*, as well as his *Collected Sayings*. In short, self-cultivation assumes a knowledge of the classics and other Neo-Confucian works.

The fifth chapter, on serving one’s parents, starts with the sentence, "Everyone knows they must be filial towards their parents." This is followed by a lament that people are not as filial toward their parents as they should be and a reminder of the proper conduct. Chapter six deals with mourning ritual. The seventh chapter also deals with ritual but in this case the focus is on sacrificial rituals and ceremonies. Chapter eight is on home life, and chapter nine deals with greeting or receiving people. The last chapter deals with conducting oneself in the world at large.

Yulgok’s *Important Methods for Eliminating Ignorance* sets the tenor of the text with a line stating that in order to be truly human
one must study. This is reminiscent of the first line of the Analects: "The Master said, 'Is it not pleasant to learn with constant perseverance and application?". Although the basic structure does not follow that of some of the other educational texts, its purpose is enlightening students of the bare necessities of living a respectable, truly human life. Yulgok's reason for writing this text is similar to Kwŏn Kŭn's reason for writing Elementary Diagrams and Explanations for Entering Upon Learning. Both scholars were far from the capital and encountered students who were interested in learning but were having difficulties. Of course, their reason for being far from the capital differs greatly, Kwŏn Kŭn being in exile and Yulgok having resigned his position voluntarily. More important, the difference between what is taught is equally great. Kwŏn Kŭn wrote an introductory text for explaining to students unfamiliar with Neo-Confucian concepts, the basic ideas of Neo-Confucianism cosmology, self-cultivation, and the relation of this to older Confucian ideas, whereas Yulgok provides very pragmatic advice on learning and self-cultivation and does not address the broader issues mentioned in Kwŏn Kŭn's work.

Important Methods for Eliminating Ignorance

Forward

We are all born into the world, but to truly be human one must study. What you should learn is nothing other than simply learning to distinguish between right and wrong in the affairs and things of everyday life. It is only that as a
father one ought to be affectionate; as a son filial, as a minister loyal, as husband distinguishing one’s proper role from that of the wife, as older and younger brother being affectionate, as younger respectful of one’s elders, and as a friend faithful. All of these are our ethical responsibilities towards others in moments of quietude as well as in the hustle-and-bustle of everyday life. In carrying out affairs each receives its due, that is all. It is not some mysterious thing hidden in the recesses of your mind-and-heart. If a person is uneducated, his mind-and-heart is impoverished and his discernment narrow; therefore people must read and study the principles in texts. Having done this, the correct path will become clear, and they will be able to act appropriately without being biased. But nowadays people do not realize learning is an everyday affair, so they foolishly think that acting is difficult, postpone learning, and abandon themselves. Isn’t this a shame?

While I was on a sea-side mountain near Haechu there were one or two students who asked about learning. Although I was reluctant because I am not worthy of being a teacher, I was afraid that their ignorance of how to approach their studies, along with their inattentiveness and hesitancy, and their being unable to help each other might lead to their being ridiculed, so I nevertheless wrote this small text describing in outline form the method for establishing the mind-and-heart, admonishing oneself, supporting one’s parents, and greeting others. It is called Important Methods for Eliminating Ignorance (Kyöngmong yogyödl). For those who would learn, they can read this, cleanse the mind-and-heart, and, based on this, perhaps start studying. I too am bound by old habits and desire to awaken myself. Written in late
fall, 1578.38)

Yulgok reminds his students that, in the end, ordinary people like themselves have the same basic nature as a sage and, imperfections in one’s endowment of material force notwithstanding, they too can indeed achieve sagehood if they will only firmly resolve themselves to the task. Nothing is more important for this than establishing one’s determination (will). It is the foundation upon which self-cultivation rests. Yulgok goes on to mention Mencius’s theory that human nature is good and points out that former sage-kings like Yao and Shun were after all only men. Furthermore, Yulgok reminds his students that although they cannot change imperfections in their physical characteristics, they can certainly transform their moral sensibility. Lastly, he addresses the superficial way in which ordinary people claim to be determined but are really so in name only. In so doing he reinforces the importance of truly establishing one’s will (determination) if there is to be any chance of achieving sagehood.

Chapter 1 Establishing one’s intention39)

Right when you first start learning you must set your mind on following the right path and set your goal on becoming a sage. Moreover, you must not underestimate yourself in the slightest or you will become discouraged. Ordinary people and sages share the same basic nature, although, when it comes to variations in the quality of material force, there cannot but be differences in clarity and
turbidity and purity and impurity, but as long as you are able to really understand that you can become a sage and act on this knowledge, then you can purge your old inadequacies and restore your nature to the way it originally was. Then without adding anything to your original nature, the manifold goodness you are endowed with is complete. How can ordinary people not take becoming a sage as a personal goal! That is why Mencius said human nature is good and supported that assertion with the examples of Yao and Shun, saying "Anybody can become a Yao or Shun." Oh, how could anyone think Mencius would mislead us!

You should always redouble your efforts, saying, "Human nature is originally good. Without distinction between past and present or between wise and stupid, how is it sages alone become sages and I alone became an ordinary person?" The reason is because you have not made a firm decision to follow the right path and you are not clear about what you want to do, and your actions are not sincere. Making up your mind to do what is right, finding the right course of action to follow and then sincerely acting in accordance with that righteous determination and that moral insight, all these are within us. Why seek them someplace else? Yen Hui (Tsze-yüan), a favorite disciple of Confucius known for his virtue, said, "Shun was just a man; I am just a man. He who presses on will become like Shun." I also take Yen Hui's wishing to become a sage as a model.

No one's countenance can be transformed from ugly to attractive; their physical strength cannot be changed from weakness into strength; a person's height cannot be changed from short into tall; all of these are one's fate and cannot be
changed. Only your mind-and-heart and will (determination) can be transformed. You can transform stupidity into wisdom and unworthiness into worthiness. This is because of the spiritual quality of the mind-and-heart regardless of one’s endowment. There is nothing more beautiful than wisdom and nothing more precious than being worthy. Why be unworthy and unwise and harm the original nature bestowed on you by Heaven! If people with this determination are steadfast and do not turn back then they are near the Way.

Ordinary people tell themselves they have established their will but they do not immediately apply any effort; they are irresolute and have established their will in name only. The truth of the matter is they are not really sincere in their quest for learning. If we would only sincerely focus our will on learning, then benevolence will flow from us. If we want it badly enough we can do it, so why seek it in others? Why wait until later rather than doing it right now? The most valuable thing about a strong determination is that it will lead you study hard lest you fall short of your goal. Our only fear should be failing to achieve it. Constantly bear this in mind and never turn back. If you are not sincere about following the path of virtue and you are not firm in your determination you will spend your days heedlessly following your old routine and waste your life. Then how will you ever be able to achieve sagehood?

The second chapter addresses distractions hindering the student’s concentration, namely their former ways or bad habits. These bad habits are like parasites bleeding the life out of the
student’s resolve; they tempt the student away from the path of learning and must therefore be held at bay. Moreover, these habits not only prevent one’s concentrating on learning they also hinder thinking clearly and undercut the sincerity of one’s actions. While admitting the number of potential distractions may be innumerable, Yulgok enumerates eight in the list below. They deal with, among other things, laziness, conformity, loving flattery, wasting one’s time, and being immoderate. Until these are dealt with, the student will not be able to concentrate no matter how conducive the environment is to this task.

Chapter 2 Reforming Old Habits

If by chance a person intends to study but cannot consistently follow through on that decision, then their bad habits (former ways) are disturbing them. A list of bad habits follows. If you cannot put your mind-and-heart to it (encourage your intention to study) and completely break your old habits then, in the end, there will not be any place you can study without being distracted.

1. You find it hard to keep your mind-and-heart focused on the hard task ahead and instead find yourself slacking off, you do not maintain an appropriate posture, you only think about relaxing and enjoying yourself, and you detest being restricted by rules and regulations.

2. You always think of moving around or doing something and you cannot keep still, or you are running
around here and there, or you spend the day jabbering away.

3. You want to be like everyone else and hate being different, you go with the flow and follow the group, and if perchance you want to restrain yourself you worry about going against the crowd.

4. You like being praised for fancy writing and for your skill at citing the classics in order to adorn your otherwise superficial prose.

5. You put a lot of energy into writing letters, making music and drinking; you pass your time wasting your youth and you think yourself a pure soul.

6. You get together with others and play Go; you gamble all day long, gorge yourself everyday, and vie with each other.

7. You are envious of wealth and rank, despise poverty, and are ashamed of poor clothing or food.

8. You indulge yourself without restraint when having a good time and think money, song, or women are as sweet as honey.

Old habits that harm the mind-and-heart are like this. Moreover, the remaining habits are simply too many to count. These habits erode one's determination (will) so that your behavior is not as it should be. Things you do today you will do tomorrow (old habits die hard), and regretting something done in the morning you nonetheless do it again.
in the evening. Therefore, you must be firmly determined to act properly and, as if slashing a bud in one fell stroke, cleanse your mind-and-heart so that not even one iota of your bad habits remain. If you continually increase your efforts of self-reflection, then you will be ready to start discussing (the moral effort required for) learning.

As noted above, the third chapter deals with self-restraint and is translated in full below. Depending on how the passages are divided, this chapter consists of between thirteen and sixteen passages; here the chapter is divided into sixteen passages. This chapter presents in concrete, practical terms Yulgok’s ideas on what a person must do in order to cultivate himself. It mentions types of demeanor and thinking; it addresses diligence and self-restraint but underlying it all is maintaining the correct attitude. The behavior mentioned here essentially exemplifies mindfulness. One important method mentioned here for stilling the mind-and-heart and maintaining the proper attitude is quiet sitting. Moreover, much of the advice given here parallels that given by T’oegye in the last two diagrams of his Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning.

Chapter 3- Self-Restraint

Passage 1: Students must follow the Way with a sincere heart. If you do not let your determination become distracted by the ways of the world and the many things going on around you, you will establish a firm foundation for learning. That is why Confucius said, "Emphasize loyalty and trust". Chu Hsi explains this as, "If a person is disloyal
and not trustworthy then everything they do will come to naught. Doing evil is easy; doing what is good is difficult. So, we should always take fidelity as the guiding principle. We must always look upon fidelity as the foundation of self-cultivation. If we diligently put this into practice then we will be successful (i.e., be the true human beings we are capable of being). Huang Kan (1152-1221), the Sung Dynasty scholar and disciple of Chu Hsi, said, "If your heart is true and you work hard at cultivating it, then you will be completely loyal and trustworthy."

Passage 2: You should always rise early and go to sleep late at night. Your cap and clothing should always be worn correctly; your countenance should be serious; you should sit up straight with both hands held respectfully; you should walk slowly and deliberately; always choose your words carefully; in movement and at rest do not act frivolously or rashly. If you do this, you will wind up acting inappropriately.

Passage 3: To restrain and control your mind and body nothing is better than the nine ways of presenting yourself. For advancing learning and increasing wisdom, nothing is better than the nine ways of thinking. What is referred to as the nine demeanors is: 1) Walk with gravity-- don’t haphazardly lift your feet, and if you pass in front of an adult then you may not refrain from minding your manners. 2) Hold your hands respectfully-- don’t move them haughtily or willfully. If you are not doing anything then you ought to hold your hands correctly and do not move them recklessly. 3) Look properly-- The way your eyes look at things should be correct. Do not stare or look askance at
people. 4) Keep your mouth shut-- If you are not saying something or eating or drinking, do not open your mouth. 5) Speak softly-- Your voice should be moderated and quiet. Don't make coughing or belching sounds. 6) Hold your head up-- You should always keep your head straight. Don't droop or lean your head to one side. 7) Breathe gently-- Breathe through your nose. Do not make any noise. 8) Stand correctly-- Don't stand with your legs going every which way. Stand up straight in a dignified way. 9) Have a solemn countenance-- Your countenance should be composed without being disrespectful or rude.42)

The nine ways of thinking are: 1) When looking at something, do so with a clear mind-- If you look at things without bias or desire, then you will see clearly. 2) When listening, focus on what you are listening to-- If you listen without distracting thoughts, then you'll be able to hear when listening. 3) As for your countenance think of geniality-- Your countenance should be composed and without anger or harshness. 4) As for your appearance, it should be respectful-- Carry yourself with composure; you must be proper and correct in deportment. 5) As for speaking, think of fidelity (to the truth)-- every word you utter must be true. 6) In conducting affairs, think of reverence-- In everything you do you must be reverent. 7) When in doubt, think of questioning-- If you have a doubt in your mind, you must find somebody who knows and ask in order to find out. 8) When angry, think of trouble-- When you are angry, you must restrain yourself; use reason to gain control over yourself. 9) When you see something you want, think of propriety-- When you see something you want, you must make sure it is proper to have it. If it is in accord with
propriety, then you may have it. Always take the nine
demeanors and nine thoughts to heart and remain vigilant.
You must not let your guard down for even a second.
Furthermore, write this down and paste it in a corner of the
room so you can always see it while you’re sitting.

Passage 4: Look at nothing that goes against propriety; listen
to nothing that goes against propriety; say nothing that goes
against propriety; do nothing that goes against propriety. These four things are the essence of self-cultivation. It is
hard for beginners to distinguish between what is in accord
with ritual and what violates it. That is why you must
thoroughly investigate principle and illuminate it. If you just
go ahead and do what you want without thinking it through
clearly, you have already missed the mark.

Passage 5: We study in order to apply what we learn to
everyday life. If you abide in equanimity, if you abide in an
attitude of reverence, if you approach all tasks with respect,
and if you are always proper in your relations with others,
then you can be said to have learned something. Those who
study need to keep this principle clear in their minds.

Passage 6: Clothing should not be magnificent or
extravagant; it should keep the cold at bay and nothing more.
Food should not be tasty or pretty; it should save you from
starvation and nothing more. Your house doesn’t have to be
very comfortable. All you really need is a home that will
protect you from the elements, nothing more. But, as for the
effort you put into self-cultivation is concerned or in regard
to how appropriate techniques for cultivating the
mind-and-heart are and how correct your sense of decorum
is, then you must work hard every day and not let yourself be satisfied with anything less.

Passage 7: We must exercise self-restraint in our daily lives. Selfishness is the tendency in our mind-and-hearts to like what is not in accord with Heavenly principle. Therefore, we must always keep an eye on our mind-and-heart. Do you like sensual pleasures? Do you thirst for gain or fame? Do you want a government post or to retire in leisure? Do you enjoy good food and music? Do you want precious things? All these things we like, if they are not in accord with principle then cut yourself off from all of them. If you eradicate all desires that are not in accord with principle, then what your mind-and-heart will first be drawn to is moral principles, and there will then be no 'self' to worry about controlling.

Passage 8: If you talk too much or fill your head with miscellaneous thoughts, you will harm your mind-and-heart and become ill-natured. If you have nothing to do, you should engage in quiet-sitting and still the mind. If you meet someone, then you ought to weigh your words very carefully; when you do this and then speak you must not be careless. If you are not careless but instead choose your words carefully, you are close to the Tao.

Passage 9: If your clothing is not in accord with the norms of former Kings, do not dare wear it. If your words are not in accord with those of former Kings, do not dare say it. If your actions are not in accord with the virtuous deeds of former Kings, then do not dare act that way. Keep this in mind until the bitter end.
Passage 10: Students should continually focus on the Tao. Do not let the world outside gain victory over you. If things are not in accord with Heavenly principle do not let them take root in the mind-and-heart. If people in the neighborhood gather to play Go, or Chinese chess, or other games, don’t look. Just get away from there. And if there is singing and dancing avoid that too. And if for some reason your elders will not let you leave then just sit there and maintain a pure heart. Do not be lewd or rowdy. If you go to a feast, do not drink so much that you become drunk. And don’t eat so much that you become sick. Your speech and laughter should be tempered. You should not be so loud that you lose decorum. And your actions should not be so careless as to be rude.

Passage 11: In managing affairs, respond to the principles in them. In reading, be sincere in plumbing the principles therein. Besides these two things, engage in quiet-sitting and watch over your mind-and-heart so that there are no disturbing thoughts. Always stay attentive so there are no defiling thoughts. This is like the saying, "Mindfulness keeps the mind-and-heart on track."

Passage 12: You must rectify your mind-and-heart and body so that you are the same internally and externally, i. e., in your mind and in your behavior. When in a dark, secluded place, act as if in a bright, open place. When alone you should act as if among people. Make your heart as clear as the clear blue sky, as if it can be seen by everyone.

Passage 13: Always bear in mind that you should act as if
doing something unrighteous is like killing an innocent person and that to achieve peace in the world one must not harbor any thoughts of doing something unrighteous.

Passage 14: Take abiding in mindfulness as the root and investigate the principle of things in order to illuminate the guides to appropriate action which lie within the good. Exert effort in order to practice this. Work on these three things (mindfulness, principle, action) until the end.

Passage 15: "Have no deviant thoughts" and "Always be mindful". These two phrases cannot be exhausted in one's lifetime. You should paste these two phrases on your wall so you never forget them, not even for a second.

Passage 16: You should thoroughly and frequently scrutinize yourself every day to see if your mind-and-heart is focused, to see if your studies are advancing, and to see if you are putting forth enough effort. If the answer is no, you can correct yourself; if yes, you should still increase your efforts until the day you die and not be lazy.

The advise given in this third chapter is similar to that given in "Diagram of the Admonition for Mindfulness", the ninth diagram in T'oegeye's Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning. Both address a range of specific behavior and actions--to wear your cap correctly, to hold your hands properly, how to talk and how to walk--as well as one's attitude--being sincere, reverent, mindful, and diligent. Both also endorse the practice of quiet sitting in order to still the mind and reclaim the individual's inherently good original nature.
Although this is but a sample of the entire text, the rigorous
tenor of the text is palpable. In addition, even though the text was
an elementary primer, only a very small percentage of the population
would have even been capable of reading it. Whether or not its
strictures were meant to apply to everyone is debatable, or perhaps
more accurately, whether everyone was seen as being able to attain
such a high standard questionable. In any case, this text was one of
the texts sometimes used to prepare students for learning the classics.

As mentioned in the introduction, Yulgok also wrote
annotations of the Four Books (栗谷四書説解) using the native Korean
script. His annotation of the Great Learning (栗谷大學説解) is
representative of this effort. In almost all cases the Korean
pronunciation of the Chinese characters is indicated and native Korean
particles are inserted to make the grammatical relationship between
Chinese characters explicit. In addition, the word order is usually
rearranged in order to reflect Korean grammatical order. There are
two main differences between Yulgok's annotation of the Great
Learning and T'oegye's Glossary of the Great Learning. Yulgok annotates
every passage in some way, unlike T'oegye who annotated only select
terms or phrases. Second, Yulgok does not give extended comments
on any passages or phrases, something T'oegye did do. Both texts,
however, have one thing in common; despite their use of the Korean
script to annotate the Confucian classics, it is clear that a minimum
knowledge of Chinese is still assumed on the part of the reader, so
even the Korean annotations would not have been accessible to the vast majority of the population. Lastly, since Yulgok’s annotation does not include any extended comments it will not be analyzed here. Its philological and pedagogical importance aside, the text does not really shed much light on the philosophical topic at hand, illuminating ideas of human nature and self-cultivation.

Given the more abstract and detailed elaboration of cosmological and psychological concepts explained in the course of the Four-Seven debate and the very practical advice put forward in *Important Methods for Eliminating Ignorance*, Yulgok’s ideas on self-cultivation may at first glance seem disjointed, especially in comparison to the introductory texts by Kwon Kŭn (*Diagrams and Explanations for Entering upon Learning*) and T’oegye (*Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning*), both of which follow the traditional format used in other introductory texts, i. e., starting with broader ideas of Heaven then dealing with earthly and human topics. But to Yulgok these two things (theoretical concepts and practical advice) go hand in hand and should really be seen as two fundamental and indispensable aspects of the same process of self-cultivation, just as is the case with the general diagrams of T’oegye’s *Ten Diagrams of Sage Learning* and those dealing with specific topics or actions. Lastly, one interesting point is that despite the differences in their cosmological theories and ideas of the mind-and-heart, T’oegye and Yulgok recommend the same type of training for beginning students. This includes not only the behaviour...
associated with that promoted in *Important Methods for Eliminating Ignorance* and the last two diagrams in particular in *Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning* but also in their call to practice quiet sitting in order to still the mind-and-heart.
ENDNOTES

1) Background information on Yulgok is based on the following, unless noted otherwise: "울곡 이이" by 황의동, in 한국인물유학사, ("Yulgok Yi I" by Hwang, Ui-dong, in Confucian Scholars of Korea) vol. 2, pp. 751-781, and chapter 13 of 금상태's 조선 전기의 유퓨사상 (Keum Jang-T'ae, Confucian Thought in Early Chosŏn), and Michael Kalton, et. al., The Four-Seven Debate.


3) For more on the community compacts, see Sakai Tadao "Yi Yulgok and the Community Compact", pp. 323-348, in de Bary and Haboush, editors, The Rise of Neo-Confucianism in Korea.


6) Kalton, et. al., The Four-Seven Debate, Page 110. Quotations of material from the Four-Seven debate are taken from this translation by Michael Kalton, et. al.; it is the standard in the field.

7) The Four-Seven Debate, Michael Kalton, et. al., p. 114.

8) The Four-Seven Debate, Michael Kalton, et. al., p. 114.

9) The Four-Seven Debate, Michael Kalton, et. al., p. 114.

10) The Four-Seven Debate, Michael Kalton, et. al., p. 115.

11) The Four-Seven Debate, Michael Kalton, et. al., pp. 115-16.
12) *The Four-Seven Debate*, Michael Kalton, et. al., p. 120.

13) *The Four-Seven Debate*, Michael Kalton, et. al., p. 130.


15) *The Four-Seven Debate*, Michael Kalton, et. al., p. 119.


17) *The Four-Seven Debate*, Michael Kalton, et. al., p. 127.

18) *The Four-Seven Debate*, Michael Kalton, et. al., p. 127.

19) *The Four-Seven Debate*, Michael Kalton, et. al., p. 151.

20) *The Four-Seven Debate*, Michael Kalton, et. al., p. 151.


22) *The Four-Seven Debate*, Michael Kalton, et. al., p. 152.


24) *The Four-Seven Debate*, Michael Kalton, et. al., p. 147.

25) *The Four-Seven Debate*, Michael Kalton, et. al., p. 146.

26) *The Four-Seven Debate*, Michael Kalton, et. al., p. 131.

27) *The Four-Seven Debate*, Michael Kalton, et. al., p. 149.


29) *The Four-Seven Debate*, Michael Kalton, et. al., p. 182.

30) *The Four-Seven Debate*, Michael Kalton, et. al., p. 175.


32) Chiu, Hansheng, "Zhu Xi’s Doctrine of Principle", p. 117. This article forms chapter 9 of *Chu Hsi and Neo-Confucianism*, Wing-tsit Chan, editor.
33) *The Four-Seven Debate*, Michael Kalton, et. al., p. 135.

34) *The Four-Seven Debate*, Michael Kalton, et. al., p. 131.

35) *The Four-Seven Debate*, Michael Kalton, et. al., p. 119.

36) Chapter 4 of *Important Methods for Eliminating Ignorance* has recently been translated by JaHyun Kim Haboush and appears in *Sources of the Korean Tradition*, volume 2, pp. 35-36.

37) The quote is from Legge’s translation of the *Analects*, Book 1, chapter 1.

38) The Chinese text this translation is based on is from Yulgok’s *Collected Works* (栗谷集), vol. 1, p. 746.

39) The Chinese text this translation is based on is from Yulgok’s *Collected Works* (栗谷集), vol. 1, pp. 746-47.

40) The Chinese text this translation is based on is from Yulgok’s *Collected Works* (栗谷集), vol. 1, p. 747.

41) The Chinese text this translation is based on is from Yulgok’s *Collected Works* (栗谷集), vol. 1, pp. 74-49.

42) The nine demeanors are also mentioned by the Ch’ing scholar, Yan Yuan (1635-1704). He sees them as external manifestations of the six patterns of conduct— "filial piety, devotion to brothers, affection towards one’s associates, marital constancy, forebearance, and compassion". See Fung Yu-Lan, v. 2, pp. 646 and 634. In discussing the nine demeanors mentioned by Yan Yuan, Fung and Bodde state they can find no reference to what these nine are. It seems then that either the nine were framed in China, made it into Korea and were then subsequently forgotten in China, or they were originally a Korean invention that later made it into China. Either of these theories would explain why the nine demeanors are mentioned by a seventeenth century Chinese scholar when there was no earlier reference to them in China.

43) This same phrase is also seen in one of Nam Myōng, Cho Sik’s (1501-72) diagrams (박약도, 博約圖).
Conclusion

The relationship between Buddhism and Confucianism during the Koryŏ Dynasty was similar to that in Tang China. Buddhism prospered, while Confucianism accepted the subordinate role of educating and preparing people for government service. The overthrow of the Koryŏ and the establishment of the Chosŏn Dynasty brought with it a shift away from the dominance of Buddhism that characterized the Koryŏ Dynasty and its replacement by Neo-Confucian ideology, which reached its zenith during the Chosŏn Dynasty.

One of the key elements in the development of Neo-Confucianism was its reaction to Buddhism. Whereas Buddhists held the cosmos was made up of transitory, inter-dependent casual links and therefore was not "real", Neo-Confucians used the idea of principle to counter the Buddhist idea of 'Emptiness'. From their perspective, principle was real, constant, and eternal. Principle formed all appropriate relationships in the cosmos and therefore affirmed both the reality and value of the patterns and relationships within the universe. The same type of dynamic held true for human beings as for the rest of the world. Whereas Buddhists asserted the belief in "no-self", Neo-Confucians defined human nature in terms of principle and countered that the self was real, despite being transitory. In addition, Confucians vehemently denounced the Buddhist practice of withdrawing from society in order to pursue personal enlightenment. The Neo-Confucian equivalent of enlightenment, based on Chu Hsi's
redaction of the fifth chapter of the *Great Learning*, required acting within society and reaffirming one's social relationships. The campaign to replace the Buddhist rejection of the mundane world with the Neo-Confucian affirmation of society and social obligations began at the very end of the Koryŏ Dynasty.

Although there were other Korean scholars before him who taught Neo-Confucianism, Yi Saek for example, it was Kwŏn Kun who, in a very real sense, laid the foundations of Neo-Confucianism in early Chosŏn Korea. Besides his work on other Confucian classics, like the *Book of Music*, *Book of Changes*, and ritual texts, Kwŏn presents all the basic Neo-Confucian cosmological, philosophical, and psychological concepts in the first few diagrams of his *Diagrams and Explanations for Entering Upon Learning* (入學圖説), including principle (li, 理), material force (ch'i, 氣), yin and yang (陰陽), the Five Phases (五行), the Heavenly Mandate (天命), heavenly-endowed nature (性), and the mind-and-heart (心), the Seven Feelings (七情), the Four Beginnings (四端), the will (意), the Human Mind (人心), the Tao Mind (道心), mindfulness (敬), and sincerity (誠). These concepts not only lay the metaphysical foundation for ideas of human nature but also for ideas of self-cultivation. Moreover, many of them are also used to elucidate the three Principia (三綱) and the eight particular items (八條目), the two concepts that form the conceptual woof and warp of the *Great Learning*, the quintessential text outlining Neo-Confucian self-cultivation.

Kwŏn Kun was well within the Ch'eng-Chu school of Neo-Confucianism, and, what is more he worked with the concepts as
they were in the earlier stages of Neo-Confucianism, before the split into the Ch'eng-Chu and Lu-Wang schools of thought. Therefore, concepts like principle, material force, the investigation of things, mindfulness, or sincerity, that become the focus of attention in later scholars are all dealt with by Kwŏn in pretty much the same way— as important concepts that have a role in explaining the Neo-Confucian universe and the place of human beings in it. As noted in the introduction, there are parallels in the level of development between some of the concepts Kwŏn explains in his *Diagrams and Explanations* and the ideas of Chinese scholars like Huang Kan. Kwŏn also had a practical focus on self-cultivation. While he may not have promoted quiet sitting, his "Diagram of the Great Learning" presents a systematic outline of the text and how to go about the task of self-cultivation. Both in scope and depth, Kwŏn's diagram goes well beyond the presentation of material seen in Chu Hsi's "Diagram of the Great Learning." This diagram also serves as a concrete example of Kwŏn's influence on other Korean Neo-Confucian scholars; T'oegye used it as the basis for the "Diagram on the Great Learning" appearing in his *Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning*. Moreover, Kwŏn's emphasis on the *Elementary Learning* as well as his afterword for the *Hyohaeng-nok* evidence a concern for actual practice.

Whereas Wing-tsit Chan concluded that Neo-Confucian scholars in early Ming became "less interested in intellectual aspects like metaphysical speculation and the doctrine of the investigation of things" and became "more concerned with the mind, its cultivation and
preservation, and mindfulness as the means of achieving that goal," in Korea, increasing concern with self-cultivation was not at the expense of metaphysical speculation. As shown in chapters three and four, the scholars involved with the Four-Seven debate recognized that metaphysical speculation over concepts like material force and principle was vitally important for understanding the mind-and-heart, human nature, or self-cultivation. This material confirms the inextricable link between cosmological ideas and ideas of human nature and shows that while there were continuing refinements in fundamental cosmological and psychological concepts, these developments were never divorced from ideas of self-cultivation. Moreover, T'oegeye's comments on the "investigation of things" in 1569 show that questions about what exactly "self-cultivation" was had not completely gone away. In fact, given the rise of Wang Yang-ming's philosophy during the Ming Dynasty and the possibility of its spread into Korea, the topic was as relevant as ever, in some ways more so. The main reason Wang Yang-ming's ideas did not gain many followers in Korea was the development of the full range of Ch'eng-Chu thought within Korean Confucianism; specifically, the parallel development of cosmological ideas, on the one hand, and ideas of human nature and self-cultivation, on the other hand, occurred in a way that precluded the need for many of Wang's ideas. Kalton notes that unlike the relationship between Koryŏ and Yüan which involved frequent contact, that between Chosŏn and the Ming remained strained through the fifteenth century. One result of this relative intellectual isolation was
that

Koreans worked to deepen their comprehension of the complex Neo-Confucian synthesis... with relatively little contact or respect for Ming scholarship.... When the new interpretations introduced by Wang Yang-ming swept China and even overshadowed the Ch'eng-Chu school, Korea was sufficiently distanced and intellectually independent to prove largely resistant to the tide of the times.2)

Examining even a limited narrow body of work from Kwŏn Kŭn, T'oegye, and Yulgok reveals both common concerns as well as later developments in Neo-Confucian thought during the first half of the Chosŏn Dynasty. All three scholars wrote introductory texts in classical Chinese, though only two of these introductory texts follow the same general outline seen in other elementary texts, starting with cosmological concerns and then moving on to address those dealing with human beings. For example, the first diagrams in both *Diagrams and Explanations for Entering upon Learning* and *Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning* reveals the importance of Chou Tun-i's "Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate". In Kwŏn's case, this material was incorporated into his first diagram, while T'oegye annotated the "Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate" itself with Chu Hsi's explanations of it and then appended Chou's text in the comments on the diagram. Both these texts end with diagrams focusing on everyday practice. But there were also differences in scope and refinement between Kwŏn's
Diagrams and Explanations and T'oegeye's Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning. One reason for the differences is the focus of each text. T'oegeye was concerned with providing an outline that focused on self-cultivation within the broader context of the Neo-Confucian framework, whereas Kwŏn Kun put forward a broader outline of material in order to introduce students familiar with earlier Confucian ideas to fundamental Neo-Confucian ideas and the relation of these ideas to earlier Confucian concepts. These two texts may represent a type of introductory Confucian text unique to Korea—the diagrammatic handbook, an introductory text combining a series of diagrams and explanations. Although not covered in this study, another Korean scholar, Cho Sik (Namyŏng, 1501-72), also wrote an introductory, diagrammatic text.

T'oegeye's other introductory text examined here, Glossary of the Great Learning, does not follow the format seen in any of elementary texts noted in the introduction. Nor does it follow the format of other Korean annotations of Confucian texts. T'oegeye used the native Korean script, invented in 1446, along with classical Chinese, in order to make it easier for students to understand particular passages from the Great Learning. These annotations also had philological, pedagogical, and philosophical importance. For instance, his longer comments in this text highlight specific concerns related to self-cultivation.

As mentioned in the introduction, Yulgok also wrote annotations of the Four Books (栗谷四書諺解) using the native Korean
script. His annotation of the Great Learning is representative of this effort. There are two principal differences between Yulgok’s annotation of the Great Learning and T’oegye’s Glossary of the Great Learning. While T’oegye annotated only select terms or phrases, Yulgok annotated every passage. Second, whereas T’oegye gave extended comments on some passages or phrases, Yulgok did not. Both texts, however, have one thing in common; despite their use of the Korean script to annotate the Confucian classics, it is clear that a minimum knowledge of Chinese is still assumed on the part of the reader, so even the Korean annotations would not have been accessible to the vast majority of the population.

All three scholars examined here stressed the importance of actual practice. Each dealt with filial piety and the Elementary Learning, but there were differences over the practice of ‘quiet sitting’. The importance of filial piety is seen in the second part of the second diagram of Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning, "Diagram of the Western Inscription"; it is also seen in the afterword Kwŏn wrote for the Hyohaengnok, an elementary text dealing with filial children. Yulgok addresses the topic in a later section of Important Methods for Eliminating Ignorance. The importance of the Elementary Learning is seen is T’oegye’s diagram of the text and in Kwŏn’s push to make its memorization a prerequisite for writing the civil service examinations. Yulgok mentions the Elementary Learning in chapter 4 of his Important Methods for Eliminating Ignorance, where he states it should be read
before starting on the Four Books. The focus of these texts is very practical; they deal with specific actions related to self-cultivation or show the results of self-cultivation. Quiet sitting also falls within this category. T’oegeye and Yulgok emphasize its importance in self-cultivation for stilling the mind and focusing one’s attention, but we do not see a similar emphasis in Kwôn’s work.

Finally, comparing T’oegeye’s and Yulgok’s work in the Four-Seven debate with Kwôn Kun’s *Diagrams and Explanations for Entering Upon Learning* also reveals important developments within Korean Neo-Confucian philosophy. These include more refined ideas on the relationship between principle and material force and the Four Beginnings and the Seven Feelings. Many of these ideas are far more detailed or nuanced than was seen in Kwôn Kun, though they are still within the broad framework set out in his original *Diagrams and Explanations*. One of the main differences between them is the divergence between later scholars and Kwôn on the nature of the feelings and whether good and evil are related to the feelings or to the intention (will). The intention was no less important for T’oegeye and Yulgok, but the origin for good and evil seems to have shifted from the intention to the feelings in these two scholars. Nonetheless, in their respective diagrams on the mind-and-heart, only Kwôn includes ‘intention’. In their diagrams, both T’oegeye and Yulgok portray the relationship between principle and material force and the Four Beginnings and Seven Feelings without including ‘intention’. For
Kwŏn the feelings, all of them, not just the Four Beginnings, are inherently good.

Yulgok's *Important Methods for Eliminating Ignorance* does not follow the traditional format used in other introductory texts, i.e., starting with broader ideas of Heaven then dealing with earthly and human topics; nor does it use diagrams to introduce material as was done by Kwŏn Kŭn (*Diagrams and Explanations for Entering upon Learning*) and T’oegye (*Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning*). Nonetheless, Yulgok thought the more abstract and detailed elaboration of cosmological and psychological concepts explained in the course of the Four-Seven debate and the very practical advice put forward in *Important Methods for Eliminating Ignorance* were really two fundamental and indispensible aspects of the same process of self-cultivation, just as was the case with the general diagrams in the first part of T’oegye’s *Ten Diagrams of Sage Learning* and those in the last part dealing with specific topics or actions. Comparisons of T’oegye and Yulgok often focus on philosophical differences over cosmological concepts and the effect of these differences on their ideas of human nature, but they do not compare their introductory texts to see if these differences make a difference in the actual practices or actions they suggest as part of the process of self-cultivation. This study has shown that, despite differences in their cosmological theories on the relation between principle and material force and the resulting differences in their ideas on the mind-and-heart, T’oegye and Yulgok recommend the same type
of training for beginning students. This includes not only the behaviour associated with that promoted in *Important Methods for Eliminating Ignorance* and the last two diagrams in particular in *Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning* but, as noted above, also in their call to practice quiet sitting in order to still the mind-and-heart.

Concentrating on the introductory texts or commentaries on the *Great Learning* written by Kwŏn Kŭn, T’oegye, and Yulgok has shown the direct link between their metaphysical worldview and their ideas of self and self-cultivation. It has also indicated how Neo-Confucian ideas of self and self-cultivation were adopted, changed, and presented during the first half of the Chosŏn Dynasty. The leading scholar during the transition from the Koryŏ to the Chosŏn Dynasties, Kwŏn Kŭn, laid the general framework of Neo-Confucianism with his *Diagrams and Explanations for Entering Upon Learning*. Confucian ideas in Korea developed during the early part of the Chosŏn Dynasty from within this framework. Yi Hwang, one of the foremost Neo-Confucian scholars of the Chosŏn Dynasty, played a prominent role in the Four-Seven Debate, wrote a harsh critique of Wang Yang-ming’s ideas, and wrote an influential educational treatise on self-cultivation—*Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning*. He also wrote one of the first annotations of the Four Books in mixed Chinese-Korean script. Furthermore, his ideas influenced the development the *Yŏngnam* school of thought, one of the leading schools of thought during the Chosŏn Dynasty. Yi I, another eminent Neo-Confucian scholar, also played a prominent role in a later round of the Four-Seven debate, and his ideas formed the
core from which the second major school of Korean Neo-Confucianism, the Kiho school, developed. The introductory texts of these three scholars and their comments on the Great Learning reveal a deep concern for self-cultivation that depends on and reaffirms the importance of fundamental Neo-Confucian cosmological and psychological concepts.

For all that has been done, more remains to do, not only on each of these scholars but also on the intellectual background in which they worked. Like most research, this study will hopefully lay a foundation for further study. Not examined here, but equally important for examining ideas of human nature is the Doctrine of the Mean. Kwŏn's "Diagram of the Doctrine of the Mean" as well as T'oegeye's Glossary of it, and maybe even Yulgok's Korean annotation of the text, await examination. Completing the study of Kwŏn Kŭn's Diagrams and Explanations for Entering Upon Learning will go a long way to further our awareness of early Korean Neo-Confucianism. Although this study builds on Michael Kalton's work on the first diagram by examining three more diagrams, it is still only a fraction of the twenty-six that make up the complete text. Moreover, other questions about Kwŏn remain. For instance, why did he not promote quiet sitting? Was it because of the stronger anti-Buddhist polemic early in the Dynasty or could it be related to his optimistic view of the feelings as being good?

Likewise with T'oegeye, even though more has been done on
him that any other Korean scholar, much remains to be done. Examining T'oebye's *Glossary of the Great Learning* shows the value of including middle-Korean texts within the purview of T'oebye's intellectual development, as well as giving insight into specific topics he thought needed to be addressed. And this the shortest one. There are similar annotations on the *Analects, Mencius*, and the *Doctrine of the Mean*. An examination of these works may be worth incorporating into broader research on T'oebye's other commentaries on the Four Books. More on the topic at hand, what do T'oebye's autobiographical writings and his *Collected Conversations* have to say about ideas of self and self-cultivation.

As for Yulgok, a thorough study of his *Important Methods for Eliminating Ignorance*, only started in this study, needs to be concluded. Moreover, although a link between Yulgok's philosophical ideas and the practical suggestions in *Important Methods* was noted, no text is more important for coming to terms with how Yulgok understands the link between cosmology and self-cultivation than his *Essentials of Sage Learning*, only mentioned in passing here. This text is essential for a complete understanding of Yulgok's thought. As is the case with T'oebye, we can ask what Yulgok's autobiographical writings and *Collected Conversations* have to say about ideas of self and self-cultivation.

Besides the work on particular scholars, broader thematic research also needs to be carried out. The introduction mentions a correspondence between producing more introductory texts and writing
Korean annotations of Confucian texts, on the one hand, with the increasing number of private academies, on the other, and the body of the thesis shows the development of increasingly sophisticated argumentation over key Neo-Confucian concepts, but, as Deuchler has demonstrated, there was also an active legislative agenda promoting the "Confucianization" of Korea during the first part of the Chosŏn Dynasty. More needs to be done to relate these three parallel developments. In addition, the interaction between Chinese and Korean scholars and ideas needs to be more thoroughly examined. For example, what would examining the development of Neo-Confucianism in north China and the affect of these developments on Yi Saek, Kwŏn Kŭn, and other leading scholars from late Koryŏ and early Chosŏn tell us about Confucianism in early Chosŏn? One example in this regard is the work of the Yūan scholar, Ch’eng Fu-hsin. T’oege shall used some of his diagrams in making Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning; did Kwŏn also have access to Ch’eng’s diagrams of the Four Books? Moreover, if Ch’eng is the only Chinese scholar who made a diagrammatic handbook, why did the genre continue in Korea but not in China? These topics outline a broad agenda, albeit for only a narrow part of Korean studies, but, given where Korean studies in the West is now compared to where it can and should be, a lesser goal seems uninspiring.
ENDNOTES

1) Chan, W. T., "The Ch'eng-Chu School of Early Ming", p. 42.

2) Kalton, et. al., *The Four-Seven Debate*, p. xix.
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