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Humanistic Reflection on Toegye’s Detachment*

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Abstract

This paper attempts to give humanistic reflection on the detachment of Toegye. In the records of Toegye’s ana, Toegyesonseng Onheanglok (Below Onheanglok), you can find a sense of the detachment in everyday life of him. You can meet Toegye’s personality and attitude in real more than in theory and logic by reading Onheanglok. In Eonhaenglog, the followings are particularly noteworthy: Jonseong (存省; preserving and reflecting the mind), Nonjigyeong (論持敬; Discussing study to maintain Gyeong) (*Gyeong 敬: Being careful of attitudes, words and actions), Seongdeog (成德; Achieving virtue)’, Gyoin (敎人; Teaching people) in volume I (巻1), Gangbyeon (講辨; Preaching and Clarifying the reason of things), Japum (資品; talent and personality), Gigeoeomugjijeol (起居語黙之節; moderation of everyday life), Yulsin (律身; behavior)’, Gageo (家居; Stepping out of office and Spending time leisurely at home)’.

* Special Contribution

This paper is based on a paper in Korean, Jae-Mok, Choi, “Humanistic Reflection on Toegye’s Being Undisturbed”, Toegyehagnonjib Vol. 22, (Yeongnamtoegyehag-yeonguwon, 2018.06).
Toegye’s Detachment is based on Reverence. And it is related with Budongsim(不動心: a
imperturbable mind) of Mencius. Mencius’s budongsim is directly related to his virtues such as
Hoyeonjigi(浩然之氣: great spirit) and Yong-gi(勇氣: courage).

Up to now, to this point have not been paid much attention. Therefore, this study intends to discuss
this point intensively.

Key Words: Toegye, Detachment, Gyeong(敬), Budongsim(不動心), Mencius, Hoyeonjigi(浩然之氣),
Yong-gi(勇氣), Humanistic Reflection, Heehyun(希賢)

1. preface

The works of Toegye(退溪) Lee Hwang(李滉. 1501-1570)(hereafter referred to as
Toegye), which translated and interpreted Chinese philosophical thoughts
through text, brought the heterogeneous-unfamiliar-unknown-distant into the space
and time of Chosun and and made 'room' for them, It is ultimately a matter of
letters and translations.1) For example, the text of 『Simgyeongbuju(心經附註)』 in
which Toegye had a particular interest was transferred at unknown time to Chosun
and published in Gwangju before 18 years of King Jungjong(1523). When Toegye
studied at Sungkyunkwan(成均館), he first obtained the 『Simgyeongbuju』(when
he was 23 years old, 1523) at the inn. The problem was that all of the notes were
excerpts from Eolog(語錄: ana) of Zhengzhou(程朱), which made it difficult to
read even the phrases. However, Toegye has understood it after trying for several
months. Finally, 『Simgyeongbuju』 became a subject of respect for Toegye just
like Shinmyung(神明) and Eombu(嚴父). The strange and far-away thing of
foreign country was settled in the "ethos・mind" of Chosun.2) It is a very difficult
journey until it is understood that 'the distant ones'(characters) such as

1) These discussions are to be found in Antoine Berman, Translation and the letter, translated into Korean by Yoon
2) This section refers to the following: Choi Jae-Mok, "A Study on Lee Toegye’s Viewpoint of Yangming Studies
– an essay on the Process of the Formation of Toegye’s unique school of the Mind Study", 『Toegye Hakbo』
Vol. 113 (Toegyehag-yeonguwon, 2003.6), pp. 20-21; Choi Jae-Mok, "The Low Flow of the Korean Thought
and the Study on Toegye - an Essay on «the Ideology of the Chosun Confucianism, ‘Body-Face’»,
『Simgyeongbuju』 were brought to Toegye, understood as Chosun's, and settled in Chosun.

This problem is the same as Toegye comes and settles into the thinking structure of "myself". "For the great writers, the finished work is less weightful than short articles that have been working for a lifetime," said Walte Benjamin. In other words, more true things were contained in a fragmentary apology (including remarks, scribble, and graffiti) than in the logical and systematic writing of a thinker. Regarding Toegye's philosophical idea, it may also be that the truth-authenticity that has been 'swept away' across the changed space for a long time was melted in his memoirs which contains his life and scenery. One of the important things that Toegye's philosophical thought does not directly address is one's personality-character. There are no voices or expressions in the text. It is only a form and lacks its content. Then how do we hear the voice, and how do we read the expression? Finding vanished voices and facial expressions is translating text through intellectuality-emotion-spirituality.

Among many other things, this paper is about Toegye's detachment the author has early been interested in. In『Toegyesosang Eonhaenglog』(below『Eonhaenglog』, a chronicle that his disciples wrote Toegye's sayings and doings, you can find Toegye's detachment embodied in the everyday life. In『Eonhaenglog』, you can meet "Living Toegye" through words-attitude-personality rather than through theory-knowledge-logic. In『Eonhaenglog』, the followings are particularly noteworthy: Jonseong(存省: preserving and reflecting the mind), Nonjigyeong(論持敬: discussing study to maintain Gyeong)(*Gyeong

5) Gwon Dugyeong(權斗經), Toegyesonseang-enhaengluk, translated from Chinese characters into Korean by Hong Seung-Gyun; Lee Yun-Hui, corrected by Lee Won-Gang, (Toegyehag-yeonguwon, 2007). However, there are many places in this paper where the translation were revised by the author referring to the original text. In addition, where it is deemed important, expressed in "Korean translation(Chinese characters)".
6) See below for some of these, Choi Jae-mok, "On Ideological Similarities and differences of Yang-Myung and Toegye through comparison of their words and actions shown in『Jeonseublog』(傳習錄) and 『Toegyesonseang-enhaengluk』, Toegyehagnonjib, Vol. 5, (Yeongnamtoegyehag-yeonguwon, 2009.12)
敬: Being careful of attitudes, words and actions), Seongdeog(成德: achieving virtue), Gyoin(敎人: teaching people) in volume I (卷1), Gangbyeon(講辨: preaching and clarifying the reason of things), Japum(貢品: talent and personality), Gigeoeomugjijeol(起居語默之節: moderation of everyday life), Yulsin(律身: behavior), Gageo(家居: stepping out of office and spending time leisurely at home), Hyangcheo(郷處: a life of one's hometown) in volume II (卷2), Gyoje(交際: interpersonal relationship), Eumsig-ui bogjijeol(飲食衣服之節: moderation in food and clothing), Chulcheo(出處: stepping out of office) in volume III (卷3).

In this way, the detachment that can be grasped in Toegye's everyday life is related to the "Gyeong(敬)" which he emphasized, and it is also linked to the life boundary, Budongsim(不動心: an imperturbable mind) of Mencius. Mencius's budongsim is directly related to his virtues such as Hoyeonjigi(浩然之氣: great spirit) and Yong-gi(勇氣: courage). The fact that Toegye's Gyeong(敬) is linked to Mencius's Budongsim is a very interesting passage that can be confirmed through "Eonhaeng log". On Gyeong(敬) focused most of the conventional studies on Toegye, which did not pay much attention to this problem. Therefore, this paper examines the humanistic meaning and significance of Toegye's detachment while examining it's context.

According to the dictionary, "detachment" is "the state of being objective or aloof leaving out of the real world, not caring about the reality. Detachment has been deeply ingrained in our traditional culture. Jiho(志操: principle and belief) is one of those things.7) It means that "Sunbi(Korean confucian scholar) is better to freeze to death than to sit and warm himself over a fire on someone's side."

In addition, this can be seen in Yug-yeon(六然: the six right things). Yug-yeon(六然) is as follows: ①Jacheochoyeon(自處超然: be undisturbed yourself), ②Daein-aeyeon(大人靄然: treat others mildly), ③Musajing-yeon(無事澄然: clear your mind even when you have no case), ④Yusagam-yeon(有事敢然: be brave

7) Likewise, the first verse of the poem, "Maengghohaeng(猛虎行: a wild tiger-like behavior)" written by Yuggi(陸機 260-303) of Jin Dynasty, “Galbul-eumdocheonsu, Yeolbulsig-agmog-eum(渴不飲盜泉水, 熱不息惡木陰): Even if thirsty, a man of virtue does not drink the water of docheon(盜泉: a spring called "thief" water of which Confucius did not want to drink), nor does the heat rest in the shadow of the evil tree(惡木)" refers to the attitude of man of virtue as well.
when you get the case), ⑤Deug-uidam-yeon(得意淡然: even when you succeed, act mildly), ⑥Sil-uitaeyeon(失意泰然: act calmly even when you failed). Among these, ① and ⑥ belong to "detachment". It can be called "Dohak(道學: Taoism)" that has existed in Korea as well as in the East for a long time. <Nature-Taoism of Sein> has been pursued by the Doga(道家: Taoist), and <In-ryun(人倫: human morality)-Taoism of Sollen> has been pursued by Confucianists. The Sunbi's Taoism naturally belongs to the latter.

This kind of similar attitude is also found in the 'Budongsim(不動心: a imperturbable mind) = 'apatheia' of Xenon's Stoa(στοά)8) school of philosophers. The Stoic school of Greece takes the ascetic attitude of Logos to service and obligation to the community 'in accordance with the natural order, according to nature, in harmony and unity in the universe,' This, therefore, is in contrast to the "thorough personal freedom-hedonism-anarchist attitude" of the Epicurus schools9), which are the materialists who think that the world is an accidental combination of atoms. The ascetic view of the Stoic school is well represented in 『Encheiridion』10), the book of Epictetos(Epictetus. 55? -135?), who lived as slave in Rome and pursued philosophy, and in the『Meditation Record(Τὰ εἰς ἑαυτόν)』11) of Roman Emperor, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus(121-180), They are all, so to speak, Western Taoist scholars, They can be said to be close to <Taoism of nature-being>, but they also have the aspect of <Taoism of morality-sollen> because they have the service and duty to the community.

Reading 『Eonhaenglog(言行錄)』 from the viewpoint of Being Undisturbed will reveal many prominent passages. In this paper, I will try to clarify its humanistic meanings by proceeding to discuss these main passages.

‘Being Undisturbed’ is to show the vertical "depth orientation" of the inside, as opposed to the 'width orientation' of the outward observation or contemplation, that is ‘theoria’. The term 'Theoria' is originally used by Pythagoras to refer to

8) Stoa means a pillared corridor in the main architecture of the ancient Greek cities with the front part of the pillar and the back part of the wall. The name of the Stoic school is derived from the founder, Xenon, who lectured at main pillared corridors in Athens.
10) ‘Encheiridion’ means "a small thing in the hand", a selection of philosophical principles or moral rules, chosen by Arianos, a student of Epictetus, directly from his master’s book, Discourses of Epictetus.
11) ‘Τὰ εἰς ἑαυτόν’ means what one told oneself.
the contemplative spirit of looking at an object as it is, in a pure state where the human soul has removed all prejudices. Since then, it has had the meaning of observation, research or theory (theoria—theory). In the two traditions of the Orient, 'water' symbolizes 'a wise man' and 'mountain' symbolizes 'a benevolent man'. The former shows horizontal width orientation and the latter vertical depth orientation. 'Being Undisturbed' obviously, belongs to the latter.

In this paper, I will try to reflect on humanity of Toegye's detachment, analyzing <Toegye, 'the very man', 'solemn existence' just like a clay figure>, and <the birth of detachment, Budongsim(不動心) and Gyeong(敬), the panopticon 'for oneself'>

2. Toegye, 'the very man', 'solemn existence' just like a clay figure

In Andong in the past, 'teacher' usually refers to 'Toegye' without saying. It is just like that in ancient India, Buddha(覺者: the Enlightened) which was a common noun referring to anyone who reached to the status of Arahan, become a proper noun that is entirely for Gotama Siddhurtha after his enlightenment. In Andong, 'teacher' was 'the very man', 'Toegye'. He was "a good example" for ordinary people. When the historical context dominated by 'virtue(德)-being a human-personality' disappeared, naturally, is also lost commonly used 'teacher is Toegye, the very man' in Andong. This is a universal phenomenon not only in Toegye but in the East after the Modern times. Norm rather than virtue, Judgment of law rather than admiring and storytelling of virtuous persons were given priority.12)

As 'the book means the bible' among books, Toegye is 'Oh! the very man' among people, The name, 'bible' came from the ancient Greek word "to biblion"(τό βιβλίον, the very book)13), quran(qurān)14) is often referred to as Al

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13) The Greek word, 'biblos', meaning 'book', goes back to ancient Egyptian 'papyrus'. Papyrus became the origin of 'paper' in English.
14) 'Quran' or 'Qurān', 'Koran' in English means "reading" or "to be read" and is a compilation on parchment paper of the revelations received by the Prophet Muhammad for 23 years since 610 AD from
Kitap (the very book) in Arabic, and in China, 「Seo(書)」(Seogyeong(書經)), 「Sangseo(尚書)」 means “Ah! The book”. At a time when humanity (personality-virtue) prevailed over the words (language), there was Toegye, 'the very man', 'solemn existence' just like a clay figure.

What can be read first from Toegye is the image of 'dignity-strictness' and his aura. It was a general authority at the time.

Since young, he has been respected. Once the whole of the village's Confucians gathered and had a leisurely time in the mountain temple. they straightened their postures from being stretched or laid down, hearing that the teacher was coming. None of them dared to make a noise or play with each other in front of the teacher.

- U Seongjeon (禹性傳)

During my [U Seongjeon] long stay in Andong, I saw the people, even with low status who lived there looked up to the teacher with a heart, respect and admire.

The people of the country, even though they were not disciples of the teacher, were afraid of evil and desirous of good, did not dare to act thoughtlessly. They were afraid that Toegye would know their wrongdoings. His enlightenment was like this to people.

- U Seongjeon (禹性傳)

As you can see from the quotation, it is felt that Toegye had so majestic aura that not only disciples but also ordinary people could not be able to act thoughtlessly in front of the Toegye at the time. In 「Eonhaenglog(言行錄)」, there are a lot of specific passages that Toegye, 'the very man' always quietly sat upright on the site solemnly just like a clay figure.

It was like a clay figure for him to get up before the sun rise as usual, to sit up in the room quietly, and to get oneself together, reflect and contemplate. (The following part omitted) - U Seongjeon (禹性傳)

Though the body seemed unable to overcome the clothes, but there was no bending or flexing in dealing with things with his strong physique. - U Seongjeon(禹性傳)\(^{18}\)

The teacher was warm, polite, caring and quiet, and never had an angry face or rough posture. When looking at him from afar, he was so solemn that people could not honor him. When looking at him closely, he was so warm and virtuous that people could not love him. - Kim Seong-il(金誠一)\(^{19}\)

His courteousness was like a mountain, and his being deep and calm like a deep fountain(淵泉). Therefore, as soon as people saw him, they could see that he was a man of virtue. - Kim Seong-il(金誠一)\(^{20}\)

When he sat down, he was tidy and strict with his hands and feet not moved. When he was facing several students, he acted as if dignified guests were in the seat. When he sat down in front of students, students could not dare to look up at him, but when he gave instruction to students, he was warm, his lecture was sweet and kind, and there was nothing doubtful or unclear because it was mastered from beginning to end by him. - Jung Saseong(鄭士誠)\(^{21}\)

Even when the teacher was in his spare time(燕居), he sat neatly down all day(端坐), and though he was tired, he did not lean back or distract himself. (The following part omitted) - Lee Deok-hong(李德弘)\(^{22}\)

His everyday attitude like this was usually embodied, so consistently and naturally appeared. These characteristics seem to overlap well with the portrait of Toegye, which was recently released.\(^{23}\)

\(^{18}\) Ibid., p. 86.

\(^{19}\) “Jajilgwa pumseong(資品: talent and personality)”『Toegyeseonsaeng-eonhaenglog(退溪先生言行錄)』Vol. 2, p. 82.

\(^{20}\) Ibid., p. 82.


\(^{22}\) Ibid., p. 83.
In “Yeolhwa(悅話)” Vol. 20.(Andong: Jinseng-issidaejonghoe (眞城李氏大宗會), there is an article introducing and explaining the portrait of Toegye as follows: The portrait of Toegye is currently one of the most widely known portraits in Korea, as it is depicted on the Korean 1000 won note. This work was an imaginary picture of Toegye by the artist, Lee Yutae, which has been controversial. In the era of Japanese colonialism, the portrait of Toegye has been produced. It was also an imaginary picture of Toegye with a mirror image of the face of Moin, one of his descendants. The teacher once said that if it depicted even one hair differently from reality, it was not my true portrait. And his real portrait is said to be left behind.

Among the articles that can guess the real appearance of the teacher is “Jabgi(雜記):19Chig(則):1 "Toegyeseonsaeng-eonhaenglog(退溪先生言行錄),” which is as follows: “The teacher had wide, angular, and well padded forehead. Song Jae(uncle of Toegye) praised and loved this, and he usually called him ‘a broad forehead(廣顙),’ and he did not call his name. (先生，額角豊廣，松齋奇愛之，常呼曰，廣顙，而不名焉’ “(Lee Ando 李安道, Somyeongseohongtoegyeseonsaeng-eonhaenglog 小名瑞鴻退溪先生言行錄). However, last year, the real portrait of Toegye designated as "copied(臨模) by Hyesan(蕙山) Yusug(劉淑)" was discovered. He is the last painter who paints kings’ portraits(御眞). He is known as the teacher of Owon(吾園) Jang Seung-up(吾園 張承業). This portrait of Toegye is the oldest real portraiture ever, most closely to the expression by Gi Gobong(奇高峰) that the teacher is gracious and his appearance was devout.

In a situation in which the standard portrait of Toegye is not institutionalized, I would like to introduce this portrait, which is regarded as the most similar portraiture to reality(逼眞) to my clan’s yearly magazine... Lee Kun-hwan, “An Introduction to Portraits of Toegye” “Yeolhwa(悅話) Vol. 20.(Andong: Jinseng-issidaejonghoe, 2005).
As the story about his portrait comes up, there is one more thing to point out. It is about the costume of Toegye, specifically the replacement of 'Boggeon(幅巾) → Jeongjagwan(程子冠)'.

Earlier, Toegye's grandson, Lee Ando(李安道. 1541-1584) wrote:

The teacher had wide, angular, and well padded forehead. Song Jae(uncle of Toegye) praised and loved this, and he usually called him 'a broad forehead(廣顙)', and he did not call his name.("先生，額角豊廣 松齋奇愛之，常呼曰，廣顙,而不名焉.") - Lee Ando(李安道)

In his portrait it can be seen that like the record, his forehead is angled and wide.

There is one more thing to look at. It is the document about Toegye's costume written by his students Lee Deok-hong(李德弘) and Kim Seong-il(金誠一).

Kim Cheuryeo(金就礪) made Boggeon(幅巾) and Sim-ui(深衣) and sent them to the teacher. The teacher said, "Boggeon seems to be unworthy to wear because it resembles seung-geon(僧巾: a monk’s hood)." And then he wore Sim-ui and Jeongjagwan(程子冠). I did wear Sim-ui(深衣) and Jeongjagwan(程子冠) on the head when he lived in the study at old age, But when the guests came, he changed into casual clothes. - Kim Seong-il(金誠一)

In September 1570(丁午年), when the teacher was going to return to Gyedang(溪堂) from Dosan(陶山), with Jeongjagwan(程子冠) on his head and in Sim-ui he himself opened the twig gate and called out Deokhong(李德弘) and said, "Today, I would like to try the clothes and hood of the Old people."

- Lee Dukhong(李德弘)

According to the two records of Lee Deok-hong and Kim Sung-il, 'Boggeon(幅巾)-Sim-ui(深衣)' set in above portrait of Toegye should be replaced by 'Jeongjagwan(程子冠)-Sim-ui(深衣)' set. Toegye refused to wear Boggeon on his head among the traditions of the Confucian scholars’ wearing Boggeon-Sim-ui, saying that Boggeon seems to be unworthy to put on because it resembles Seung-geon.

In the picture of 「Nosangtagbal(路上托鉢：The monks receive alms on the street)」27) of Shin Yun-bok(申潤福), you can see that monks in those days routinely put on the head Seung-geon(僧巾)(the right) or Gad(the left, second from the left).

[Figure 2] 「Nosangtagbal(路上托鉢)」of Shin Yun-bok(申潤福) owned by Kansong Art Museum

It may be better to see the fact that Toegye replaced Boggeon(幅巾) with Jeongjagwan(程子冠) as a kind of 'interpretation with intention' attributed to his Buddhist complex that rejects Buddhism in Toegye’s mind rather than as a Confucian practice since ancient times just as he said to Lee Duk Hong, “Today, I would like to try the clothes and hood of the Old people.” Therefore, regardless of the favor of Toegye, Boggeon in Toegye’s portrait is portrayed according to the model of the traditional 'Boggeon(幅巾)-Sim-ui(深衣)' set of Confucian scholars.28) Anyway, Toegye's replacement of Boggeon with Jeongjagwan is a

27) One of 「Sin-yunbogil pungsogdo hwacheob」(申潤福筆 風俗圖 畫帖) designated Korean National Treasure No. 135 owned by Kansong Art Museum.
good example of how he was sensitive to Leehag (異學: study other than Buddhism) and rigorous in his daily life.

3. The birth of Detachment

- Budongsim (不動心), Gyeong (敬), and the panopticon 'for oneself' -

Toegye did not show any anxiety such as changing the "complexion" even when he was in a difficult or embarrassing situation. Keeping this unwavering mind is a principle of 'Gyeong (敬)', and it is inevitably associated with 'Gyeong (敬)' in Mencius.

Hoyeonjigi (浩然之氣: magnanimousness or great spirit) refers to the 'big and broad aura' that touches the universe, or the unwavering strength of the spirit. However, it is not simply physical energy. It is the energy that comes from the combination of 'Ui (義: righteousness)' and 'Do (道: truth, reason, order)'. It is a courageous courage that comes from the inner glory that is keeping 'right' when 'Ui (義)' and 'Do (道)' get together. It is a physical force based on the right mind that is build up with stacked righteousness. When 'Ui (義)' and 'Do (道)' are not

28) In other words, Sim-ui (深衣) and Boggeon (幞巾) are one of Confucian garments (儒服), and they are important elements of Confucian rituals. In ancient China, Sim-ui was a casual dress for the emperors and lords, while it was best clothes next to the an official dress or uniform for the gentry and wedding costumes for the commons. Sim-ui has been introduced from Song Dynasty along with the doctrines of Chu-tzu (朱子) and has been worn as customary suits and court suits of the Confucian scholars. It is a jacket for a high-virtuous scholar, made of white cloth, and surrounded by black silk on the edge of the garment. It was important for Confucian scholars in Confucian-centric Chosun Dynasty, and there are many portraits of Confucian scholars wearing it. They wear Boggeon mainly on their heads. It is allowed to wear only for Confucian scholars, and it is still used as a uniform or as shroud according to the tradition of the family. There remains descriptions of Sim-ui by Confucian scholars of Chosun Dynasty such as Han Baeggyeom (韓百謙) and Ryu Hyeong-won (柳馨遠). Gugsapyeonchan-wiohonhoe pyeon, 'Oschalimgwa chijang-ui byeohnhwu, (Doosandong-a, 2006) p. 52; Ryu Huigeong (柳喜卿), 'Hangugbogsigsayeongu (韓國服飾史硏究)', (Ihwayeojadaehaggyo Chulpanbu, 1977), p. 379. On the other hand, Boggeon (幞巾) is one of the Confucian hat (儒巾) worn by Confucian scholars, such as Saeng-won (生員)・Hagsa (學士)・Sain (士人), was a convenient replacement for the hood that came from ancient China. This has become fashionable since Post-Han dynasty (後漢), and gradually became the casual clothes of Eunsa (隱士) and Doin (道人) throughout the Jin (晉)-Tang (唐) period. In the Song Dynasty, Sama Gwang (司馬光) wore Sim-ui and Boggeon as a bureaucratic dress when he was leisurely at home (燕居) and it became popular among Confucian scholars after Chu Hsi (朱熹) recommended it in his book, 'Galye (家禮) (Mungong-galye 文公家禮)'. However, it was not generalized in Korea, because it looked odd. Only a few Confucian scholars wore it. Unmarried men usually wore this as a robe, and now they are used as ornaments for a baby on his first birthday. Ryu Huigeong (柳喜卿), 'Hangubogsigsayeongu (韓國服飾史硏究)', (Ihwayeojadaehaggyo Chulpanbu, 1977), pp. 376-7.
in agreement, is not the case, Hoyeonjigi(浩然之氣) will shrink.29)

However, it is not simple to develop great spirit(浩然之氣). For it, it is needed not only to have a will to develop it but also to practice it in everyday life(有事). Mencius compared it to the farming of grain. First, we must concentrate on growing the grain. But we should not have a prejudice that this or that must be done. We should not forget it as let it be(勿忘). Nevertheless, forgetting the laws of nature that grow rice, we should not encourage them to grow too fast in the way of pulling them out(勿助長). It is cultivated through the process of "Yusa(有事) → Muljeong(勿正) → Mulmang(勿忘) → Muljojang(勿助長)".

The person who has great spirit(浩然之氣) is prestigious and undisturbed. In this being prestigious and undisturbed, naturally, lies Budongsim(不動心). Budongsim is not about 'body(身)' but about 'mind(心)'. For example, a person called Buggung-yu(北宮黝) did not flinch when he was stabbed by sword, did not blink his eyes even when someone else wanted to stab his eyes, and retaliated against anyone who spoke ill of himself by all means. In other words, he showed Budongsim with the courage(unconditional courage) to pursue victory regardless of the opponent.

On the other hand, a man named Mengseesha(孟施舍) has shown Budongsim by not looking at the objective situation, not paying attention to the results, but by having a fearless mind. In other words, he got Budongsim by cultivating a fearless mind, inner Ki(氣: spirit, energy), which do not mind winning or losing.

Mencius commented on these two: "Mengseesha(孟施舍) is similar to Zeng Zi(曾子), and Buggung-yu(北宮黝) is similar to Zi Xia(子夏). I do not know which of the courage of the two is better, but Mengseesha got the knack." Both Zi Xia and Zeng Zi are disciples of Confucius. Zi Xia focused on learning the example of external norms rather than reflections on inner side, and Zeng Zi focused on reflection on inner mind. Mencius’s commentary uncovers that Mengseesha knows what the key point to be, which is in 'inside the mind', unlike Buggung-yu, who has shown only his courage without any principle. Furthermore, there is a difference between Zeng Zi and Mengseesha. Mengseesha kept the knack in comparison with Buggung-yu, but when he is compared with Zeng Zi, he only

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29) Maengja(孟子: Mencius), Gongsonchu(公孫丑) Sang(上)
developed the physical, while Zeng Zi kept the knack.

In this way, Mencius's Budongsim(不動心) is based on Courage that Zeng Zi has heard from Confucius: "If you are not right in looking back on oneself, you will be afraid of a humble person who is ragged. If you are right in looking back on oneself, you will be brave enough to face thousands of troops and horses." It is the strength that comes from the glory of the heart. In other words, Mencius's Budongsim is a courage from the establishment of a clear and imposing mind. It is not Ki(氣), but Sim(心). It is internalization of the courage.

Toegye divides and explains each of the processes of "Yusa(有事) → Muljeong(勿正) → Mulmang(勿忘) → Muljojang(勿助长)". which Mencius said as a way to build up Hoyeonjigi(浩然之氣).

The teacher said, “Mencius's words, Yusa(有事), Muljeong(勿正), Mulmang(勿忘), Muljojang(勿助长)" should be divided into four processes. First, there must be a thing to have to do[有事], Second, do not expect it[勿正]. Third, do not forget[勿忘]. Fourth, do not forcibly encourage[勿助长].” - Lee Deokhong(李德弘)

Toegye divides what Mencius said into four processes in order of “Yusa(有事) → Muljeong(勿正) → Mulmang(勿忘) → Muljojang(勿助长)”. On this basis, Toegye constructed Gyeong(敬).

This is the way how to cultivate one's mind, how to master one’s body and mind. In short, it is to establish the status of 'Jujae(主宰: on one’s own presidency). Gyeong(敬) was front entrance of studying and entering the truth(入道之門).

For the first time in 1561(辛酉年), I came to see the teacher and asked him what to work. The teacher said, "Gyeong(敬) is gate of the truth(敬是入道之門). However, It should not be stopped with sincereness(誠). and gave my name, "Saseong(士誠)" and unofficial name(字) “Jamyeong(子明)” - Jeong Saseong(鄭士誠)

30) "Gyeong-eul jinineun gongbuleul nonham(論持敬: Discussing the study to maintain Gyeong)" 「Toegyeseonsaeng-chohaenglog(退溪先生言行錄)」 Vol. 1. p. 41.
31) "Salam-eul galeuchineun il(敎人: Teaching people)" 「Toegyeseonsaeng-chohaenglog(退溪先生言行錄)」 Vol. 1. p. 56.
This refers to the balance of 'holding the mind' and 'releasing it', that is, the balance of pushing-pulling and tightening-releasing. Just as in Buddhism saying "a life and a death is in a breath of breathing", Toegye also said that it is hard to catch the mind being scattered in a step. Just like this, his strategy of Gyeong is precise. It's like that Gadamer discovered the 'difference' and 'hope' between breathing while interpreting poems of the German Jewish poet Paul Celan. Gyeong in Confucianism is accompanied by tense tension and aims to embody it.

Gyeong was a Confucian practice corresponding to sitting in Meditation of Buddhism. Ju Lyeom Gye of the North Song Dynasty has summarized 'Il(一: one), Muyog(無欲: freedom from avarice)' as Jujeongseol and established it as a "method" to practice to be a saint which means "whole-heartedness-peace-calmness-concentration" of the mind. This has been practiced as a kind of Jeongjwabeob(靜坐法: sitting in meditation) in the days of Jeongmyeongdo and Jeongiecheon and then, summarized by Zhu Zi as a theory of 'Geogyeong(居敬: being in a state of gyeong)'. Of course, Gyeong theories of Toegye and contemporary scholars do not limit themselves to the Confucianism of Song Dynasty. They widely took in the Gyeong theories discussed in the later Yuan and Ming Dynasty. Zhu Zi synthesized the following four exercises that his seniors had performed: ① Jeongiecheon's Jeongjaeeomsug(整齊嚴肅: getting dressed neatly and making a solemn appearance), ② Juilmujeog(主一無適: do not let mind scattered.

32) “Gyeong-eul jinineung gongbuleul nonham(論持敬: Discussing the study to maintain Gyeong)”
33) Ibid., p. 34.
34) See below for this. Choi Jae-Mok, “Buddha, whom the way Rilke saw - An experimental discussion on the meaning of cultural ‘encounter’ between East and West”, Yuhag-yeongu Vol. 40. (Yuhag-yeonguso, Chungnam National University, 2017.8).
35) It is like the quietness that spreads in a flash when you keep breathe, when you breathe anew, vaguely heard at your ear. This is an experience of no sound between breath breathing and exhaling and split without movement that would mean a "turning point in the breathing." To put it all in, Celan connects the moment of breathlessness and breathing reversal, with not only the state of silence with no movement, but with any kind of suppressed hope, implied by all reversals. Fred Dallmayr, Beyond Orientalism: Essays on Cross-Cultural Encounter, (New York: Sate University of New York Press, 1996) p. 43.
36) Judon-i, Tongseo(通書), Seonghag(聖學) 20, “Seong-gahagho, Walga, Wal-yuyoho, Wal-yyu, Cheongmum-eon, Wal-il-wiyo, Muyog-ya(聖可學乎, 曰可, 曰有要乎, 曰有, 請聞焉, 曰一無適, 無欲也: Can we become the sage by learning? It is possible. Is there a point? Yes, there is. What is it? The concentration of the whole mind(一) is the point. That is, no greed.)}
around by concentrating), ③ Sasangchae（謝上蔡 whose name is lyangjwa良佐, a student of  Lee Jeong(程)'s Sangseongseongbeob(常惺惺法: always awaking the spirit), ④ YunHwaJeong(尹和靖 whose name is Don焞, a student of JeongCheon(程伊川)'s Gisimsulyeombulyongilmul(其心收斂不容一物: the mind(念) that is living and moving now, is well controlled and does not allow you to be led to any other misconceptions. that is, you become the master of your own mind.)

Let's set these four things into the order based on the Toegye's records. Toegye's Gyeong(敬) is deservedly based on these four doctrines of Song Dynasty(宋代).

As asked,
"If I hold on to my mind for a day, mind will not run away, but sometimes it goes away and the light spirit is gone."
Answered,
"It is because you are not accustomed to studying Gyeong(敬). Trying to hold on to it bring about this trouble. It makes yourself become dark just like that the waves sweep the sandbars and the valleys fog up."

As asked,
"Then how can I fix this trouble?
Answered,
"There is no other way around. Cheng Zi(程子) said, 'The mind to collect the distracted mind is the way how to gather the distracted mind'. If so, to practice to carry on Gyeong(敬) is the way to carry on Gyeong(敬). There are four ways to carry on Gyeong(敬) handed down from Seonyu(先儒: senior confucian scholars). The cause of this trouble, in general, is encouraging or forgetting it. By the way, there are more troubles caused by forgetting. The trouble to become dark will also disappear when troubles caused by encouraging or forgetting are solved."

- Lee, Deok-hong(李德弘)37)

At one time, Dukhong sat with his teacher at Amseoheon(巖栖軒). The teacher asked, "How can I establish the presidency?"

37) "Gyeong-eul jinineungongbuleul nonham(論持敬: Discussing the study to maintain Gyeong)"
answered, "to practice Gyeong(敬) makes the presidency."

asked, "The doctrine of Gyeong(敬) is multifaceted. How can I not fall in the troubles of forgetting or promoting?"

Answered, "There are many theories about it, but there is nothing more important than the theory of Jeong・Sa・Yun・Ju(程・謝・尹・朱) However, some learners try to do Seongseong-gongbu(惺惺工夫) or Bul-yong-ilmulgongbu(不容一物工夫). However, if they intend to arrange artificially something with a mind to find out something beforehand, there will be few who do not suffer from a disease called Almyo(揠苗: it means to extract the buds of plants to grow quickly, to hurry to make quick profit result in a loss.). On the contrary, if you do not mind a little to encourage it, you will be a person who does not plow a seeded field. For the beginners, there is nothing better than to study by Jeongjeeomsug(整齊嚴肅)-1. Do not try to find out something. Do not try to arrange something. Just make sure that your original mind is not disturbed at all, based on discipline and rules, refrained from dark cowardly and secret cases that others can not see. Then, over a long period of time, the mind will always be awake, and will not allow the intervention of external material, and never get into trouble caused by promoting or forgetting.

The Teacher said that Ichon((程伊川) said earlier, 'It is neither caring about nor not caring about.' In the letter replied by Zhu Zi(朱子) to Zhang Jingfu(張敬夫), written as: "If you make yourself presided by gyeong(敬), you will save your mind on your own with keeping inside and outside of your mind quiet, not forgetting and not promoting. But If you are trying to preserve your mind without yourself being presided over by gyeong(敬), you will not be able to keep the mind from trying to hold onto another. Thereafter, you will not be able to bear the dizziness by already hitting conflicts inside even when outside is calm. Even if you can hold your mind tight, it itself is already a big disease. What if you can not even hold it?" This theory of Cheng Zi(程子) and Zhu Zi(朱子) is so pressing and clear that it deserves to be deeply appreciated."
Continued to say, "There is nothing better than a lesson of Cheng Zi(程子) to keep dressed neatly and wearing a hood on the head, to unify thinking, to take majestic, solemn and well-mannered posture, not to deceive, not to be lazy, with movement and serenity together and with inside and outside together. How can you not keep it in mind and not commit to it?" - Lee Deok-hong (李德弘) (Marking done by the author. The same goes for the following)

Asked, "On the previous day, the teacher taught Deokhong to establish the presiding order, and that only Gyeong(敬) could establish the presiding order. The Gyeong(敬) theory is multifaceted. How can I avoid the illness of forgetting or promoting?"

Answered, "you can avoid the illness of forgetting or promoting by studying hard on the base of Jeongjeeomsug(整齊嚴肅), not allowing to seek and search, not allowing to arrange it this way or that way, staying so deeply in loyalty(義理) for a long time, naturally as a result being always awake(惺惺), not allowing a minor one(不容一物)."

(After part is omitted)

Asked, "According to Simhag(心學: mind study) there should not be a single substance in the mind, But to practice Eonchungsin(言忠信: words must be loyal and true), Haengdoggyeong(行篤敬: action must be intense and careful), we should think and think and not forget it. We are said to have to do it. If you compare it to the former one, is not it clear and a little too much to one side?"

The Teacher answered, "That's why the older Confucian scholars taught not to put strength into and not to put no strength into."

Told to Deokhong the next day, "Yesterday, I explained not to put strength into and not to put no strength into. But today seems better Ichon((程伊川)'s explanation
that it is not Chag-ui (着意: to keep in mind not to forget) and not no Chag-ui (着意)." - Lee, Deok-hong (李德弘) 39)

Toegye has his own unique interpretation of Gyeong (敬) in terms of Confucianism of the time, linking Mencius's four methods of obtaining Hoyeonjigi (浩然之氣) with the four principles of Gyeong (敬). On the basis of 'traditional since the Song Dynasty Gyeong (敬) and Mencius's Budongsim (不動心)', Toegye gave birth to a new manual of discipline. In other words, [Toegye's Gyeong (敬)] is a 'Do (圖: figure) drawn based on the existing 'Ji (地: ground) [traditional (since the Song Dynasty)] Gyeong (敬) and Mencius's Budongsim'.

Therefore, above mentioned <Jeongiciechon (程伊川) 's Jeongjaecomsug (整齊嚴肅: getting dressed neatly and making a solemn appearance) + ② Juilmujeog (主一無適: do not let mind scattered around by concentrating)>, <Sasangchac (謝上蔡)'s Sangseongseongbeob (常惺惺法: always awaking the spirit)>, <Yunhwajeong (尹和靖)'s Gisimsulyeombulyongilmul (其心收斂不容一物: the mind (念) that is living and moving now, is well controlled and does not allow you to be led to any other misconceptions. that is, you become the master of your own mind.) can be re-summarized as follows: ① Jeongjaecomsug (整齊嚴肅) is forming an external form, 'attention', ② Juilmujeog (主一無適) is proceeding into internal 'attention-concentration', ③ Sangseongseongbeob (常惺惺法) refers to a state of being awakened in which internal (psychological) attention and concentration are intensified according to the effect of practicing ①+②, ④ Gisimsulyeombulyongilmul (其心收斂不容一物) means that according to the achievements of ①+②+③, attention and concentration are internally and externally assimilated with the body and naturally implemented. In summary, ① external/attention -> ② progress into internal/attention-concentration -> ③ internal/attention and concentration intensified -> ④ internal-external/attention and concentration assimilated with the body.

Attention (注意) and concentration (集中) are different.40) 'Attention' is 'being

39) "Gyeong-yeon sinhadeul-i aloen uilon (筵臣啓辭: Righteous comments told by the servants the king at the place where the king and his servants discuss academic and government affairs) "Toegyeseonsaeng-eonhaenglog (退溪先生言行錄)" Vol. 1. p. 41.
interested in something or work (horizontal-observational-diffusive) and 'concentration' is attracting attention to one place or work (vertical-reflective-convergent). In terms of Buddhist practice, the former corresponds to Wipassana-Hye (慧) - Kwan (觀), and the latter corresponds to Sammata-Jung (定) - Ji (止). This method of practice can be contrasted with Gungli (窮理) and Geogyeong (居敬) in the doctrines of Chu-tzu (朱子學). Once again this context continues in Toegye, it is clearly revealed in the following example.

The teacher (Toegye) made students play Tuho (投壺: the game to throw arrows in a jar placed at a certain distance) and observed the students' virtue, And he had Lee Deok-hong make Seongioghyeong (旋璣玉衡), Honcheon-ui (渾天儀: an old astronomical observation device), observe the sky [天象]. - Lee Deok-hong (李德弘)

Here, Tuho (投壺) that Toegye made students play corresponds to 'concentration = Geogyeong (居敬)', and 'Hyeoncheon-ui' that Toegye had Lee, Deok-hong make and look through corresponds to 'attention-Gungli (窮理)'. It is surprising that Toegye was using the 'concentration-convergence method' and 'observation-diffusion method' as opposed to each other, to educate students at the same time.

(Picture 1) Tuho (投壺) and Hyeoncheon-ui (渾天儀) Archived in Dosan Seowon

41) "Nongyeogchi (論格致: Discussing on "gaining knowledge by the study of things")" "Toegyeseonsaeng-eonhaenglog (退溪先生言行錄)" Vol. 1. p. 28.
However, Gungli(窮理) and Geogyeong(居敬) of Zhu Zi(朱子) or Toegye is not the perfect match to the Buddhist Wipassana-attention, Sammata-concentration. As though Gungli(窮理) is an external study, it contains 'Samata-concentration' based on 'Wipassana-Attention'. As though Geogyeong(居敬) is an internal study, it contains 'Wipassana-Attention' based on 'Samata-concentration'. When you read a book, you have to pay your attention on it and concentrate, just as you walk your way, you have to pay your attention and concentrate on the road. Therefore, the above-mentioned Ju-ilmujeog(主一無適), Sangseongseongbeob(常惺惺法), Gisimsulyeombul-yong-ilmul(其心收斂不容一物) were discussed on both sides of "attention and concentration".

Eric Kandel said in his book, In Search of Memory(2006), that attention and concentration resemble the stabilization of spatial maps in the brain. Kandel mentioned "Voluntary and Involuntary Attention-Concentration" William James said in his book, The Principles of Psychology(1890), and noted that these two types[‘Voluntary’(Eg, pay attention to roads and traffic when driving), ‘Involuntary’(Eg. external attraction and stimulation such as big-bright-moving, by which attention is activated)] transformed into short-term and long-term memories in the brain, concentrate on the surrounding space-objects, look for the direction of the road to go, cope with the crisis (for example, just like stopping in a hurry when a car is suddenly interrupted). He also noted that in stabilizing spatial maps, women rely on 'near cues or distinctive spots', and men rely on 'internal geometric maps'. In other words, if woman is 'detailed-curvilinear-concrete-delicate' in the stabilization of spatial maps, man is 'schematic-linear-inclusive-geometric'. If we relate this point to the practice of Gyeong(敬), called "Jeongjaeoomsug(整齊嚴肅)+Ju-ilmujeog(主一無適)+Sangseongseongbeob(常惺惺法)+Gisimsulyeombul-yong-ilmul(其心收斂不容一物)" it can be said that these methods were irrelevant to women because they were 'masculine' practices designed and practiced by men studying Confucianism.

However, the practice of Gyeong(敬) is like Samata(graphic-linear-inclusive-geometric), and at the same time like Wipassana(detailed-curvilinear-concrete-delicate). If so, the practice of Gyeong(敬) is masculine+feminine. A good example is the attitude of Jang Keik-hyang(張桂香), a woman philosopher in the Chosun Dynasty,
who showed the attitude of Gyeong(敬) in her book, 『Umsikdimibang(飮食知味方)』 and in everyday life.\textsuperscript{42) The phenomenon in which the straight line becomes curvilinear, and geometric becomes subtle, reminds Kim Sang-joon's book, 『Yugyoui Jeongchijeog Muuisig(Political unconsciousness of Confucianism)』, which says, "A sharp metal weapon, Chang(矛: spear) is hidden in Yu(柔: softness)." Yu(柔) is a combination of Mok(木: a tree) and Chang(矛: spear). This Chang(矛) can be a leaf, a sprout, or a blade cutting off a tree. The softest and weakest (bud) and the sharpest and strongest (spear) are connected and overlapped in one letter(柔).\textsuperscript{43) In this way, the way of Gyeong(敬) is transformed from masculinity to femininity(Civilization-feminization) through the process of civilization, and the morality of men is transformed into the morality of women in the form and content, which can be called "transformation of the energy of the morality".\textsuperscript{44) As for “geometric” and “delicate”, Pascal said in Pensées, “True eloquence ridicule eloquence, and true morality mocks morality. In other words, the morality of judgments without rules mock the morals of intellect. This is because emotion belongs to judgment as science belongs to intellect. Delicacy is part of judgment, and geometry is part of the mind.”\textsuperscript{45) The difference between ‘geometric’ and ‘delicate’ is like the difference between ‘Brain-Brain Spinning-Brain Enhancement’ and ‘Sight-Visibility-Better Visibility’.\textsuperscript{46) From the viewpoint of the mind and sense(sensual judgment), the practice of Gyeong(敬) goes through the process of 'mind->sense' in the progress from Chinese ancient studies to Chinese modern studies, and from studying in China to studying in Korea and Japan. This can be said to be the segmentation or differentiation of the mind. The process of subdivision of the theoretical is the same as the process from <‘Ii-il(理一)=Il-bon(一本)=Sangdal(上達)’ to Bunsu(分殊)-Mansu(萬殊)-Hahag(下學)) just like the differentiation form of wol-incheongang(月印千江)-li-ilbunsu(理一分殊). It is

\textsuperscript{43) Kim Sangjoon, 『Yugyoui jeongchijeog muuisig』, (Geulhang-ali, 2014) p. 123.
\textsuperscript{44) Ibid., pp. 91-123.
\textsuperscript{45) Blaise Pascal, Pensées 『Pangse』 translated into Korean by Hyeon Miae(Eul-yumunhwasa, 2013) p. 317.
\textsuperscript{46) Ibid., p. 315.
good to note that the medieval German mystic thinker, Wydionisius, presented two ways in the perception of the Absolute Deity, God(神), the "path of affirmation" (positive theology) and "path of denial" (negative theology). "The higher we go up, the less we speak. If we go up further to the darkness, we will not get fewer words, but the words are gone. But the 'lower' we go down from 'higher', the more words and the more concepts. So, the 'higher' we go up from 'lower', the fewer words, and at the end you reach 'what you can not tell'."47) What comes down to reality is the theology of affirmation that goes to the figurative world, while what goes up to the god is the theology of the negative that goes to the abstract world. "Attention" is looking at the noisy-cumbersome-the world of language one by one, which is in positive theological direction, while "concentration" is withdrawing from the world of noise and complexity, getting into stillness-simplicity-non-verbal(silence), which is in negative theological direction.

If we approach this problem from the level of architecture or aesthetics in reality, we can recognize it as abstract German style and conceptual Latin style. I would like to remind you that the space and beauty of the two areas are different between the Alps. To the north of the Alps, there is a German culture made by people of calm personality, and in the south a Latin culture made by people of cheerful personality. The former proceeded from the early Christian → Romanesque → Gothic → Gothic Revival form of the medieval architecture system. The latter from Greek → Roman → Renaissance → Baroque → Neo-Classicism form of the classical architectural system originated in the Mediterranean world. The north style which lacked light was dark and blue. The plants are blurredly standing in the mist and darkness with the vision blurred and silhouette unclear. The deep forest embracing such a scene is mysterious but also horrifying at the same time. Here, abstraction, innerness and mystery emerge, and moreover, the transcendence of Christianity leads to the whole atmosphere to solemnity. In architecture, 'wall' develops like a shield, which concealed the weight that receives the gravity of the natural world by a plurality of vertical lines, 'Seonjoyoso(線條要素)'. It, instead, creates a celestial space and abstractly expresses the imaginary power of divinity and greatness. This is the point of Gothic architecture. On the other hand,

the south is abundant in light, and everything under the bright light reveals its appearance clearly. The southern style with unobtrusive view and a clear contrast between light and shade shows a simple stereoscopic. From the perception that the nature is not threatening, in harmony and order, rise intelligent attitude to find the principle. Here, consciousness, appearance, and solidity stand out, and we discover the sublime nature of the human body standing upright on the earth. Like the two legs of a human being who balance the body lifting the body by using the muscles of the whole body, 'Gidung(柱: pillars)' are developed in architecture, and Juyeol(柱列: columns) are prominent. Order is the key elements which is a set of relationships of 'ground-floor-pillars-beams-eaves' with the pillars as the main role that holds and is holded with each other, Order express the conceptual and harmonious beauty that accepts the gravity of the natural world as reality and holds it with the intellectual human body. This is the essence of Greek architecture. In this way, it is a good idea to liken 'Attention-positive theology' to Latin style and 'concentration-negative theology' to Germanic style.

The process of transition from the chaos to the phenomenon(logos) is a logical form that creates 'order'. The core of the order, however, is Gregory Bateson's "pick and distinguish," as he says in his book, *Ecology of the mind*. This problem progressed into social and political, will be accompanied by naming(命名・名稱), practice, and differentiation between this and that, me(us) and you(the other), and lead into discrimination(差別)-regulation(規制)-surveillance(監視)-exclusion(排除)-deletion(削除)-disgust(嫌惡).

For example, Toegye tries to judge and regulate by directly linking 'not drunk-drunk' to 'holding the mind[操]-releasing the mind[舍]'.

And said,

"I had been to Geummun-won(琴聞遠)'s house early. On my way to go, the mountain road was rough, so I took carefully the horse's reins and kept my mind on it, but on my way back, I was a little drunk, forgot the dangerous mountain way, and felt as if I was going on broad and level road. It is very scary to take

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hold of the mind[操] and to release it[舍]." - Kim Seong-il(金誠一)\(^5\)

Toegye earlier said, "Setting Mind is the most difficult for people. I have
experienced it myself early, It was hard to preserve the mind in one step
walk(一步之間)." - Kim Seong-il(金誠一)\(^6\)

In the end, the system of discipline is nothing but the physicalization of
'Jeongjaeomsug((整齊嚴肅)+Ju-ilmujeog(主一無適)+Sangseongseongbeob(常惺惺法)+gisimsulyeombul-yong-ilmul(其心收斂不容一物), in which the body follows the discipline of mind.

(The front part omitted) Asked, "What if I have a sickness that restrains my mind
and body when I sit still(靜坐)?"

The teacher answered, "How the body not be ill when a body of blood and flesh
has never been under control(檢束) since childhood suddenly undergo sitting
still(靜坐) and practicing(收斂)? It is only after a long time of enduring hurt and
sick that the sickness is gone. It is not possible for the beginner to be free from
being arrested and get it easily, while it is only possible for Sunghyun with keeping
a body polite and comfortable according to the order of the mind. In general, the
illness called Gusog(拘束: restraint) is always hidden in the mind which pursues
comfort and freedom, due to lack of study of the mind. With the mind always awake
and kept from laziness and self-indulgence, all parts of the body will converge on
its own(收斂) and will be subject to the regulation(檢束), and will follow the
commands of the mind."

And said, "A better way to study is to strive wholeheartedly for a long period of
time. With the spirit of going in-going out, doing-not doing, what can be done by
learning? So Zhu Zi(朱子) said to Teng Gong(滕公), "The discipline will be
accomplished over a long period of time with wholeheartedness. It becomes

\(^{50}\) "Ma-cum-oul bojonhago seongchalham(存省: Keeping Mind and Reflecting it)" Toegyeseonsaeng-eonhaenglog
(退溪先生言行錄) Vol. 1. p. 35.

\(^{51}\) Ibid., p. 35.
impossible to achieve it with the mind breaking into two or stopping.” - Kim Seong-il (金誠一) 52)

Asked, "Why do the mind become complicated?"
The teacher answered, "The mind of man is a combination of Li(理) and Ki(氣).
Therefore, if Li(理) is to become the presiding authority(主宰) leading Ki(氣), the
mind will calm down, thinking will be unified, and naturally there will be no place
for distracting thoughts. However, if Li(理) is unable to preside and is depressed
by Ki(氣), the mind is shaken and dizzy endlessly. Thus, wicked thoughts and f
utile imaginations flock to each other just like a spinning water pump, and even
one breath become not stable.

Continued to say, “Man can not be thoughtless. It is only a matter of removing
distracting thoughts. The point is merely to practice Gyeong(敬). Practicing
Gyeong(敬) unify the mind, unified mind becomes calm itself.” - Kim Seong-il (金誠一) 53)

Toegye's system of carrying out Gyeong(敬) is the birth of a kind of Panopticon.
Panopticon(see all), a combination of pan(all) and opticon(see) is a circular prison
designed by the British utilitarian philosopher Jeremy Bentham in 1791 to
effectively monitor prisoners. Although it is an unfinished design, its design places
a high watch tower in the center of the prison, and the room of the prisoners is
planned as a circle along the circumference of the watch tower. darkened watchtower
in the center of the panopticon and brightened prisoners' room will make the
prisoners feel being monitored and behave carefully. This is similar to that
Jeongjaeomsug(整齊嚴肅)+Ju-ilmujeog(主一無適)+Gisimsulyeombul-yong-ilmul
(其心收斂不容一物) leads to Sangseongseongbeob(常惺惺法) which is a method
"to keep always awakened." Bentham's panopticon attracts world attention as the
French philosopher Michel Foucault mentions in his book Discipline & Punish:
The Birth of the Prison. He said that panopticon is “the prototype of the modern

52) "Gyeong-eul jinineun gongbuleul nonham(論持敬: Discussing the study to maintain Gyeong)"
53) Ibid., pp. 41-42.
surveillance system” (that is, the power of discipline that does not reveal itself while watching the public thoroughly). By the way, Gyeong(敬) is not directed at the others but a surveillance system directed toward oneself. In other words, attention and concentration are not directed toward others but toward oneself, which includes the system-watchtower-panopticon in itself that governs itself.

On July 18th, 1568(戊辰年), I left early and went to Gwangjin(廣津) on the way to Seoul, where I met a rainstorm. As the waves were soaring, the ship was almost overturned, so the people on the boat were surprised, but the teacher had no fluctuation not changing his expression(神色). - Lee Ando(李安道)54)

This story reminds us of a story about British and French temperament.

Once upon a time a coach, containing some Englishman and some Frenchmen, was driving over the Alps. The horses ran away, and as they were dashing across a bridge the coach caught on the stonework, tottered, and nearly fell into the ravine below. The Frenchmen were frantic with terror; they screamed and gesticulated and flung themselves about, as Frenchmen would. The Englishmen sat quite calm. An hour later the coach drew up at an inn to change horses, and by that time the situations were exactly reversed. The Frenchmen had forgot all about the danger, and were chattering gaily; the Englishmen had just begun to feel it, and one had a nervous breakdown and was obliged to go to bed. We have here a clear physical difference between the two races a difference that goes deep into character. The Frenchmen responded at once; the Englishmen responded in time. They were slow and they were also practical. Their instinct forbade them to throw themselves about in the coach, because it was more likely to tip over if they did.55)

Returning to the story of Toegye, the people and Toegye on the same boat in Gwangjin, took different behaviors when the ship was shaking violently by the

55) The Englishman appears to be cold and unemotional because he is really slow. When an event happens, he may understand it quickly enough with his mind, but he takes quite a while to feel it. See Song Seongmun, "Seongman jonghab-yeong-eo", (Seongmunchulpansa, 1978) p. 19.
waves. At that time, Toegye kept calm in contrast to the people who screamed on the boat. This story is similar to the French and English story mentioned above. Nevertheless, in the case of Toegye, there is no circumstance that he "laid down with nervous breakdown" like the English.

It also reminds us of the passage in the Bible, Matthew 8: 23-27: 'Let Jesus Calm the Wind.'

23: And when he got into the boat, his disciples followed him
24: And behold, there arose a great storm on the sea, so that the boat was being swamped by the waves; but he was asleep.
25: And they went and woke him, saying, “Save us, Lord; we are perishing.”
26: And he said to them, “Why are you afraid, O you of little faith?” Then he rose and rebuked the winds and the sea, and there was a great calm.
27: And the men marveled, saying, “What sort of man is this, that even winds and sea obey him?”

If the detachment of Toegye according to the method of budongsim(不動心)+ yeong(敬) is 'intellectual', that of Jesus is 'religious' based on faith.

4. Conclusion: the Spirit and Life of Heehyun(希賢: hoping someone to become a wise person)

In Western, Philosophia is a combination of 'Philo'(=愛: love) and 'Sophia'(智: wisdom) in which the purpose of 'Philo' is 'Sophia'. However, in Toegye, the purpose of 'philo' was 'Sunghyun(聖賢)'. If the ultimate goal of philosophy is 'wisdom', then that of Toegye was 'ideal human'. Philosophy is aimed at sophia rather than skill, but Toegye goes beyond Sophia to Humanity. He makes human a big rock face, moves on to it, and tries 'to be like it/to be as it is.' The study of everyday life was aimed at such humanity as Sunghyun.

It is a well-known fact that Nishi Amane(西周. 1829-1897) translated the philosophy into "Huihyeonhak"(希賢學: scholarship for the sage), then changed
it to "Huicheolhag(希哲學)", and then removed the "Hui(希)" and changed it into "Philosophy(哲學)". However, it is unclear why he changed the 'Hyeon(賢)' into 'Cheol(哲)' and why he removed the 'Hui(希)'.56) However, it is necessary to mention here that there are two things have been lost, much to our regret, when Philosophy have been changed from Huihyeonhak(希賢學)→Huicheolhag(希哲學)→philosophy(哲學). The two things are the spirit of 'Hui(希 or 希求) and the key element of Hyeon(賢 or 賢者). Of course, the whole sentence would be "I want to be sage," but the context and meanings have been slashed in the translation into philosophy. It is not a translator's mistake, It is Nishi Amane’s trying to define ‘Philosophy’ in the context of the modern meaning of 'academic knowledge'(學知) from objective-scientific-empirical standpoints rather than abstract-ideal standpoints.57)

Since Nishi Amane, the concept of 'philosophy(哲學)' has spread out widely and popularly into China and Korea as well as in Japan. But Nishi Amane's translation of philosophy was originally intended to be positive and practical. This point should not be forgotten. The philosophy of idealism, such as the DeKanScho(Descartes, Kant, Schopenhauer) represented by Inoue Tetsujiro(井上哲次郎), who led a national school of philosophy at Tokyo Imperial University(東京帝國大學) along with Japanese academism penetrated throughout Asia, free to Korean academy of philosophy. In this flow, the concept of 'philosophy' has been accepted and inherited without filtering. However, It should not be forgotten that in Nishi Amane's translation of 'philosophy', the spirit of "Huihyeon(希賢)" was removed or lost.58)

It is often called "Toegye philosophy". But contemplating these terms make us hesitate in using them. Clearly to Toegye, philosophy was to be the so-called "Huihyeonhak(希賢學)" that sought to be Sunghyun(聖賢). Normally in texts and letters, the actual appearance and voice of a person who writes it is lost. However, Toegye was constantly looking for not only the wisdom but also 'the very person'

56) About this, see Sugawara Hikaru(菅原光), "ho-ron 1 'tetsugaku' no hatsumei", 「Nishiamane no seiji shisō (西周的政治思想), (Perikan-sha, 2010).
57) About this, see his 「Hakka Renkai(百學連環)」, Nishi Amane(西周), 『Nishiamane zenshū(西周全集), Okubo Toshi Ken(大久保利謙) Hen(編), (Munetaka shebō(宗高書房), Shōwa(昭和)56)
58) About this, see Choi Jae-Mok, "Pillosopia-eseo cheolhag-eul o(From philosophia to Cheolhag(哲學)", 「Gil wiui innanhang」, (Jisiggwa gyoyang, 2017) pp. 41-2.
who wrote it. He felt the character and voice of the person, became one with the person, and wanted to become the person himself. He read books and studied with personality versus personality. If philosophy is a desire for wisdom, Toegye’s was a desire for the person(聖賢). This is like Chen Bai(陳柏) of the Song Dynasty(宋)’s saying in his book, 『Sugheung-yamaejam(夙興夜寐箴)』 that "(I) wake up early in the morning, washed, combed, clothed myself fully, sat straight and still, unfold the book and faced each other with the saints, Sunghyun(聖賢), Then, Confucius(孔子) will be in his seat, Yan Zi(顔子) and Zeng Zi(曾子) in front of and behind him. Please listen carefully to the words of Sunghyun and repeat, refer, and correct the questions and answers of the disciples(問辯)."59)

Toegye was consistent in meeting directly with the main character of the book in personality when reading books, as shown below.

The teacher respected and admired Sunghyun(聖賢), as though Shinmyung((神命)) was on it. When he read the text, he was in great fear and awe of Sunghyun, avoided the name by simply reading the name 'mo(謀)' . (『Eolog(語錄: Quotations from Toegye)』, Gwon(卷: Book)1, Dogseo(讀書: Reading), Page 21) - Kim Seong-il (金誠一)60)

Asked the disciples, when he made both sides of the Amseoheon(巖栖軒) as a bookshelf, with only the western wall blocked halfway, and its middle part left empty, "What is the reason for doing this?"  

The teacher replied: "This is where I live and sleep. It is a pity to sit down and leave on my back Sunghyun's books. So I did this." - Geum Lansu(琴蘭秀)61)

59) Lee Hwang(李滉), 「Seonghagsibdo(聖學十圖)」, 「Jesib(第十) Sugheung-yamaejamdo(夙興夜寐箴圖)」: Maesangnaeheung (昧爽乃興), Jeul-uigwandanjwalyeomhyeong(櫛衣冠端坐斂形), Jechasim-yochul-il(提此心如出日), Eomsugjeongjeheomyeongjeong-il(嚴肅整齊虛明靜一), Naegyebangchaegdaewolseonghyeon(乃啓方冊對越聖賢), Bujajaejwaanjeunghuseon(夫子在坐顔曾後先), Seongsaso-eonchinjeolgyeongcheong(聖師所言親切敬廳), Jejamunbyeonbanbogsamjeong(弟子問辨反覆參訂).

60) "Dokseo(讀書: Reading)” 『Toegyeseonsaeng-conhaenglog(退溪先生言行錄)』 Vol. 1. p. 20.

In other words, it was from being human being("sein") to "become or become like human being(sollen)". Toegye was able to have a sense of detachment by personalizing the method of cultivating the Gyeong(敬) obtained by combining Mencius's Budongsim(不動心) and the Gyeong(敬). This corresponds to the "apatheia" of the Stoics. It was, in other words, a Confucian "panopticon" for oneself, not the other.

The strictness of converging the mind with having the vertical depth, and at the same time, controlling and examining all kinds of activities with securing the horizontal width tells us that life itself is a virtual reality game simulating "thorough Confucian moral training"(修身). By way of it, Gyeong(敬) has been somatized and internalized. This is like a way of playing the Geomungo(Korean musical instrument with six strings) in the music of the literati(文人音樂) that tune the 'ratio' of the sound by pushing the harpoons with their fingers. It shows that thorough and strict practice of everyday life to cultivate the mind could lead to the real society and politics. It is differentiating and examining body’s temperament and mind’s desire to keep the mind nether overflowing nor lacking, when the mind was exposed to the social and political scene, Life is philosophy and a field for acting philosophically. In other words, life was acting intellect, 'the act(發) of Li(理)’ itself.

Is an expert, in other words, a "fictitious qualification" that Descartes said? Descartes said in his book Discours de la méthode (Methodology) that "experts are fictitious qualifications to earn living with the mental misery of others." That is to say, experts are based on the misfortunes of others, making it a capital, making money, and being professional scammers. In the first place, such was the instrumental nature of scholarly pursuit of knowledge through 'characters'. Julyeomgye(周濂溪)’s saying in his book, 『Tongseo(通書)』that "The saint desires to be like heaven, the wise to be like the saint, and the Gentry(the leading social stratum, the intellectual) to be the wise. (聖希天，賢希聖，士希賢)" is like "a strong impulse(衝迫) in the mind" toward human being itself. It is still

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63) 『Tongseo(通書)』, 『Seonghag(聖學)』10th.
meaningful to ask what is the human, human life, which is the real hometown of humans in the modern human life that has lost this context. In such a case, it would be awkward and refreshing to ask again the humanistic meanings of the Spirit of Heehyun(希賢) and detachment for the higher humanity pursued by Toegye.

64) Johannes Hessen, Lehrbuch der Philosophie 「Seoyangecheolhag ibmun」, translated into Korean by Huh Jae-yoon, (Imunchulpansa, 1997) p. 32.
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Toegye 退溪 and The Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning: A Humanistic Guide to the Kingly Way*

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Abstract

This paper examines one of the most important works in Korea’s intellectual history, by one of its most respected scholars, Toegye 退溪 Yi Hwang 李滉 (1501-1570), synthesised the Song dynasty 宋朝 metaphysics of Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200) in his magnum opus, Seonghak sipdo 聖學十圖 (The Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning). This work reflects the maturity of Korea’s Neo-Confucian tradition, shaping its future trajectory on the Korean peninsula, while also influencing the development of Neo-Confucian thought in Japan. I will delineate the scope of The Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning, while assessing Toegye’s ‘Humanistic’ guiding discourse, which attempts to develop one’s sense of Humanity (仁, K. in), in the Confucian sense, through a rigorous process of self-cultivation, one of the salient features of East Asian thought. Toegye elucidates our place in the ‘moral’ universe, where (wo)mankind is expected to act responsibly towards other members of the family and the larger society, interconnected through a series of relationships, emphasised in his diagrams on learning, which also calls on us to put that learning into actual practice in our daily lives. The text highlights the special role of the king who is expected to be a moral exemplar to his people, representing the essence of ‘sagehood’. The text also facilitates Toegye’s sophisticated meta-psychological analysis of the Heart-and-Mind (心, K. sim) in diagrammatic form, making it more accessible, while also being visually impactful. It was ultimately aimed at developing the psychological character of a ‘sage king’, leading him to cultivate an impartial mind and attitude – reflecting the completion of a man of the Confucian Way – epitomising Humanity for his people.

* Special Contribution
Key Words: Toegye, sagehood, Humanity, meta-psychology, sage king, self-cultivation

1. Introduction

In Japan, Toegye 退溪 Yi Hwang 李滉 (1501-1570) was described by the Neo-Confucian scholar Yamazaki Ansai 山崎 闇斎 (1618-82) as, “the greatest Confucian in Korea” (Pak 1983, 69). In relation to Toegye the man, there are two crucial points that should be acknowledged in order to understand him, and consequentially, the motivation of his writings. Firstly, he was “passionately committed to his teaching,” and secondly, he was “a seeker of the [Confucian] Way” (道, C. Dao, K. Do) (Kalton (trans.) 1988, 19-21). His teaching consisted of more than just transmitting intellectual knowledge and facts, it also outlined a pathway for the moral (trans)formation of others, through an engaging recalibration of the main tenets of the Neo-Confucian thought found in the writings of the great Song dynasty 宋朝 master of metaphysics, Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200), and his predecessors.1) Through “seeking” the correct expression of the Way (道), it required a profound investigation of our place in the universe, which was considered to be guided by a moral Principle (理, C. li, K. li), while requiring dedication to one’s personal cultivation, leading to the perfection of the primary Confucian virtue of Humanity2) (仁, K. in), often translated as benevolence, humaneness or human kindness.

To further understand the motivation for the work examined here, it is initially necessary to look briefly at the historical background leading up to the presentation of Toegye’s Diagrams to King Seonjo 宣祖 (r.1567-1608) in order to illustrate its socio-cultural relevance. During the Joseon dynasty 朝鲜 (1392-1910), especially from the late fifteenth century until the mid-sixteenth century, whilst Confucian ideology and its values had come to shape the state, there had also been

1) Zhu Xi synthesised the ideas of previous Song dynasty scholars in his important work, Reflections of Things at Hand (近思錄, C. Jinsilu), a text that was compiled along with Lu Zuqian 呂祖謙 (1137-1181). This was also extremely influential in Korea.

2) In this text the capitalised form of Humanity refers to the main virtue of Confucianism to distinguish it from the English word humanity, which lacks the deeper strands of meaning associated with the term in East Asian thought.
a series of purges of scholar officials (known as Sahwa 土禍 in Korean). The monarch sometimes felt undermined by the power of the scholars who were even in charge of his personal (moral) conduct. During this time, it is also important to note that Buddhism had a brief revival, led by the influential monk Pou 普愚 (1515-1565). During the reign of King Myeongjong 明宗 (r.1545-67), the government was actually controlled by his mother, Queen Regent Munjong 文定王后 (r.1546-53), a devout Buddhist follower. Not only was the Buddhist examination system revived, but monk Hyujeong 休靜 (1520-1604) was an adviser to the royal family and the anti-buddhist policy of the previous reigns were reversed. These facts must have directly influenced Toegye and in retrospect there is a sense of urgency in his seminal text, Seonghak sipdo 聖學十圖 (The Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning) (Deuchler 1985, 384; Grayson 2002, 122; Nahm 1988, 116-117; U 1983, 43).3)

Toegye presented The Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning to King Seonjo prior to his retirement, just two years before his own death. Intellectually, it represents the culmination of his life’s study. His study revolves around the importance of teaching, which was his true vocation, and his final treatise on ‘Sage Learning’ (聖學, K. Seonghak) teaches and instructs, it does not merely recapitulate the ideas of his important Chinese predecessors. It is a philosophy for living a better life, not an exposition of philosophical theories that could never ameliorate the human condition. Therefore, it signifies hope for humanity.

The term ‘Sage Learning’ needs to be explained at this point, to enable the reader of the Diagrams to comprehend their intended functions. Michael Kalton (1988, 25) describes it as:

A term frequently used in a genre of Neo-Confucian literature designed for the instruction of rulers. Its usage reflects the particular duty of the ruler to learn from and model himself after the sage rulers of the past.

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3) From this point I will refer to this text as The Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning. An online version of the English translation is available at: https://faculty.washington.edu/mkalton/contents_webpage.htm. This includes the original Classical Chinese text with the original diagrams.
The role of the king was therefore to draw on the Confucian texts as the basis of his education, and by reflecting (or investigating) on their meanings, he could discover his duty as ruler whilst attempting to achieve sagehood by following “the Way [Dao] of the Former Kings” (Waley (trans.) 1989, 86). As this Way was no longer being followed, Toegye then has attempted to undertake the task of renovating this “former” guiding discourse. The essential framework of this new interpretation of the Way is crystallised in his diagrams.

The education of the monarch was a central concern of the Joseon dynasty, aimed at establishing the perfection of the monarch, with the belief that the ruler set a superior example to all (Kim 1985, 161). This idea was not new, but with Toegye’s application of it in Korea, it was to raise the level of ethical consciousness of the king above all others. He must also have been motivated to ensure that future kings would try harder to fulfil their moral responsibility. One must then also highlight Toegye’s conscious movement to educate a royal household that he obviously felt had been misleading the state through moral negligence, leading to disharmony among the people.

The idea of the king as a unifying factor is an integral aspect of the Confucian Way, which is reinforced by Humanity. The Great Learning⁴) also illustrates the role of the Sage and probes the interconnectedness of the state, family and the individual. It is up to the king to cultivate this Humanity in his people and guide the Way. As explained by Mencius 孟子 (372-289 BCE), Humanity, “when embodied in man’s conduct, it is the Way” (Chan (trans.) 1973, 81).⁵) The concept that the ‘Sage King’ can establish Humanity is to be found in the Analects of Confucius himself: “if a Kingly Man were to arise, within a single generation Humanity would prevail” (Waley (trans.) 1989, 174: emphasis added). Arthur Waley (1989, 49) interprets the role of the king as somewhat of a “Saviour King.” The goal of this king is show the people the moral Way, and this also the goal of The Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning.

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⁴) The Great Learning is one of the four main texts in the Confucian canon. The Four Books: the Lunyu (論語) [The Analects], the Daxue (大學) [Great Learning], the Zhongyong (中庸) [Doctrine of the Mean], and the Mengzi (孟子) [The Mencius].

⁵) Mencius is the most famous Chinese philosopher after Confucius himself, and his ideas on human nature prompted some of the most complicated metaphysical debates in Korean Neo-Confucian Philosophy.
2. Toegye’s Cosmology: Macrocosemic and Microcosmic Harmony.

In his preface to On the Genealogy of Morals, Friedrich Nietzsche (1998, 3) asserts that:

We remain unknown to ourselves, we seekers after knowledge, even to ourselves: and with good reason. We have never sought after ourselves, so how should we one day find ourselves?

It seems that Toegye may have had some advice for Nietzsche! In order to understand the universe, we first need to understand ourselves, and only then can we understand our place in it. In the conclusion to his Critique of Practical Reason, Immanuel Kant (1996, 191) states that there are two things that we constantly reflect upon, “the starry heavens above and the moral law within.” This is closer to what Toegye himself was interested in reflecting upon. The first two diagrams in The Ten Diagrams on Sagehood aim just to do that, and embody the metaphysical framework of Neo-Confucianism, which is clearly and coherently consolidated by Toegye.

The first diagram in Toegye’s masterpiece belongs to the famous Song dynasty 宋朝 (960-1279) philosopher Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017-1073), and is titled, Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate. In this diagram one encounters many terms that embody Eastern philosophy for the Western novice: Yin (陰) and Yang (陽), representing passivity and activity, as well as The Five Elements (五行): fire (火), water (水), earth (土), wood (木), and metal (金). Heaven and Earth, the first two trigrams from the Book of Changes (周易),7 are also presented along with humans as a sort of interrelated trinity. However, it is the inter-relatedness of these concepts that give meaning to the diagram and to the metaphysical world of Neo-Confucianism. Zhou Dunyi initiates his explication of the Supreme Ultimate as, “The Ultimate of Non-being and also the Supreme Ultimate” (Chan (trans.)

6) In the Korean context, ‘Yin’ is pronounced ‘eum’.
7) This text is one of the original five Confucian Classics: The Five Classics: the Yijing (易經) [Book of Changes], the Shujing (書經) [Book of Documents], the Shijing (詩經) [Book of Poetry], the Liji (禮記) [Records of Rites], and the Chunqiu (春秋) [Spring and Autumn Annals].
1973, 463). What is necessary to understand is that the ‘Ultimate of Non-being’ and ‘The Supreme Ultimate’ interpenetrate each other. It is my interpretation that: the former represents the full potential of the latter, and the latter is the realisation of the full potential of the former. This reminds us of the non-being of Laozi (also written Lao Tzu) 老子 (dates unknown; between 6th-4th century BCE), the great Daoist philosopher, but this non-being exists by value of its vacuity, but it is not non-existent. Therefore, the ‘Ultimate of Non-Being’ represents the essence of existence, and without this essence, existence lacks the possibility of its own realisation. This may be linked with the important Neo-Confucian concept of Principle or  dismisses this in the sense that Toegye is so preoccupied with, and if this is the case, then  does indeed precede everything, including ‘material force’ (氣, C. qi, K. gi), discussed later.

However, it is the human being who represents the embodiment of the fullest moral potential (Kalton (trans.) 1988, 37-42). After the creation of the physical form, which is issued only if such potential exists, good and evil are generated, through the interpenetration of one’s externality and one’s internality. The Sage, who embodies the perfection of this innate potential, must guide others to realise the perfection of their naturally occurring goodness which is at one with the Supreme Ultimate. Toegye has included this diagram first as it shows the beginning of the Way of Heaven, as [Wo]Man is a microcosmic replica of the macrocosmic universe. Toegye himself, quoting Zhu Xi, refers to this diagram as “the source of proper understanding of the Dao through all ages” (Kalton (trans.) 1988, 41). Having received the cosmological underpinnings of Neo-Confucian metaphysics, and having been instructed of its source, we are carefully introduced to its all-inclusive meta-ethical discourse.

The second diagram is of The Western Inscription of Zhang Zai 張載 (1020-1077), another important Song dynasty scholar who also influenced Zhu Xi. This diagram describes Heaven as the father, and Earth as the mother of all things, whereby all things are interrelated through one Principle. There is a tendency to attribute to Cheng Yi 程顥 (1033-1107) the famous Neo-Confucian statement that

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8) Principle written in this way refers to the term  in Chinese/Korean metaphysics.
9) These ideas clearly stem from the Mencius, and the idea that ‘human nature’ (性, K. Seong) is inherently good. Ref.
‘Principle is one but its manifestations are many’, but it is also a pivotal point for understanding Zhang’s Diagram (Chan (trans.) 1973, 544). Nevertheless, the origins of such ideas are to be found in the metaphysically complicated Huayan 華嚴 Buddhism of the Tang dynasty 唐朝 where:

The terms interdependence, interpenetration, simultaneous co-arising, and nonduality express this basic notion of how the diverse elements of the universe are interdependent and interrelated with each other (Tanabe 1999, 471).

Whilst the sources may be Buddhist, its application hinges upon Confucian ethics and the ultimate goal of attaining and actualising one’s ultimate nature, realised through Humanity. This is in an attempt to reduce selfishness, (the ego), and aid the individual to view one’s existence as part of the whole. Harmony is the basic principle of the world, and the world includes all phenomena that exist due to interdependent forces, which obviously contrasts with European dualism. Toegye’s commentary on this diagram is quite brief, but it explains concisely the animus of his teaching, “the learning of the sages consists in the seeking of Humanity” (Kalton (trans.) 1988, 57: emphasis added). Therefore, Humanity is something we must seek and strive to attain. Only when one has attained “the substance of Humanity” can one become a sage (Kalton (trans.) 1988, 58). To attain this essence requires the correct education. This education is merely another step along the Way.

3. Learning to become a Sage.

I have highlighted that Toegye was passionately dedicated to teaching, but he was also profoundly motivated by concern that the Way was being abandoned, and that this had led to the social disharmony Joseon had experienced during the reign of previous kings. Toegye sought to prevent further disorder by illuminating the Way for the new king. This is delineated in the step-by-step approach of the ten diagrams. Like Confucius, Toegye saw his role as a “transmitter” of
teachings, and these teachings operated on a basic level as a bastion of social guidance. This was the initial step in a process that would lead to a deeper penetration and insight into the Confucian teachings, and their eventual practice in real-life.

The Diagram of Elementary Learning, the Diagram of the Great Learning, and the Diagram of Rules of the White Deer Hollow Academy are all concerned with education. This education embodies Confucian morality which is the basis for understanding more complex issues of the Heart-and-Mind (心, K. Sim) and the Nature (性, K. Seong). The basic concern for learning is given in The Analects itself: “He who learns but does not think is lost; he who thinks but does not learn is in danger” (Waley (trans.) 1989, 90). This initial learning comes in the form of the Diagram of Elementary Learning, which is an original diagram by Toegye himself and reflects Zhu Xi’s conceptual framework of the learning process, which highlights the mutual relatedness of both diagrams: ‘Elementary Learning’ and the ‘Great Learning’. The Elementary Learning is the first stage of a guiding discourse aimed at young learners. It focuses on ‘The Five Relationships’ (五倫, K. oryun) and ‘The Three Bonds’ (三綱, K. samgang). The Five Relationships are referred to in the Doctrine of the Mean (v.20) as the, “five universal ways [in human relations]” (Chan (trans.) 1973, 105). Therefore, these relationships should manifest themselves universally to perpetuate order in the state, the family and so that the individual can find order through harmonious social ordering. For young people, this social ordering is interpreted through filial piety (孝, K. hyo). Filial piety is a central theme of The Analects and it embodies ‘propriety’ (禮, K. ye). It is also a central theme of the Elementary Learning, and

10) Confucius (The Analects 7:11) said that he did not create, but rather, he transmitted the teachings of the ancient sages.

11) From this point I will use ‘the Nature’ to refer to the Confucian term Seong, highlighting the idea that human nature is good. This term is frequently used and discussed in Neo-Confucian literature.

12) This was based on a text compiled by Zhu Xi of the same name, which was very popular in Korea during the Joseon dynasty. For a modern Korean translation of The Elementary Learning (小學) with Classical Chinese see: Park 1987.

13) The Three Bonds originate in Chapter 51 of Han Feizi (Liao (trans.) 1959: vol. 2, 312): “Minister serving ruler, son serving father and wife serving husband”.

14) The Five Relationships: between father and son there should be affection; between ruler and minister there should be righteousness; between husband and wife there should be attention to their separate functions; between old and young there should be proper order; and between friends there should be faithfulness (Chan (trans.), 1973, 69-70).
of fundamental necessity to guide young students. Confucius (The Analects, 1:2) describes filial piety as, “the root of Humanity” (Chan (trans.) 1973, 20: emphasis added). The root then requires further cultivation in order to develop and grow. This is the goal of teachers according to Zhu Xi, who in his comments on The Elementary Learning, indicates that the sage (to be understood in Toegye’s work as the king) should, “set up schools and establish teachers in order to fertilize the roots and make the branches arrive at their full growth” (Kalton (trans.) 1988, 68). The Mencius also employs similar imagery and evokes a seed of Humanity, but, “the value of Humanity depends on its being brought to maturity” (Chan (trans.) 1973, 60). Therefore, the Way is a progressive one that needs to be cultivated and nurtured. The initial nurturing process as illustrated in the Diagram of Elementary Learning is “Establishing Instruction, Clarifying Relationships, and Making One’s Person Mindful” (Kalton (trans.) 1988, 67). The Four Books are an integral part of this process and provide the theoretical framework of the complex vision of Neo-Confucianism. Elementary Learning was a prerequisite to following Toegye’s guiding discourse and without it one would not, “have the means to recover his errant mind and heart and foster the good qualities of his nature in order to lay the foundation for the Great Learning” (Kalton (trans.) 1988, 69).

There is a logical progression from ‘Elementary Learning’ to ‘Great Learning’. Toegye informs us that the Diagram of the Great Learning was by Gweon Geun權近 (1352-1409), an influential Korean Neo-Confucian master who supervised editions of the Confucian Classics and who had also published a diagrammatic treatise in the early Joseon dynasty. He had influenced Toegye, and one may argue that the greatest influence may have come from his diagram entitled Heaven and Man, Mind and Nature, Combine as One, (天人心性合一圖) (Kalton 1985, 107-108). Toegye, who represents the maturation of early Joseon dynasty Neo-Confucian philosophy, though using Gweon’s diagram, is still loyal to Zhu Xi’s commentary on The Great Learning, embroidering his ideas into a broader tapestry of the living experience that grants us the chance for progression and development as humans.

The Diagram of the Great Learning constitutes a more serious approach to the ethical issues inculcated in the previous diagram and describes the intellectual
application of these ethical norms through effort and with sincerity. In the context of Toegye’s work, this chapter plays a crucial role in the education of the sage. It is a representation of The Great Learning, one of The Four Books, which gives, “the Confucian educational, moral and political programs in a nutshell” (Chan (trans.) 1973, 84). This book was originally Chapter 42 of the Records of Rites, one of the earlier Five Classics. It was reorganised by Zhu Xi who provided ten chapters of commentary on the text, which he attributed to Confucius himself. This helps to illustrate the influence of Zhu Xi as a literary giant whose authority was rarely disputed (Kalton (trans.) 1988, 81). Toegye includes the text of the first chapter of The Great Learning directly after the diagram, which carefully and masterfully explains the method by which the ancients followed the Way of great learning. In The Great Learning, one of the most important passages in all of Confucianism, the illustrious guiding discourse of the king is presented:

Those who wished to bring order to their states would first regulate their families. Those who wished to regulate their families would first cultivate their personal lives. Those who wished to cultivate their personal lives would first rectify their minds. Those who wished to rectify their minds would first make their wills sincere. Those who wished to make their wills sincere would first extend their knowledge (Chan (trans.) 1973, 86).

Confucianism emphasises that the king himself needed to cultivate the Way in order to then transmit it to his people so that the state, family and the individual were all regulated and at peace. True knowledge, in the Confucian context, begins with refining oneself through learning from the classical literature of the masters from the past. The Doctrine of the Mean states that, “cultivating the Way is called education” (Chan (trans.) 1973, 98), therefore education and learning should be applied to oneself before it is applied to others. As the Book of Changes states, “If the self is secure, then the empire and state can be preserved” (quoted in De Bary (ed.) 1999, 861). In their individual commentaries on this diagram, both Zhu Xi and Toegye insist that ‘seriousness’ (敬, K. gyeong) is the method by which one applies effort and subsequently reaps its benefits. Kalton (1988) translates the
term ‘gveong’ as ‘mindfulness’ to reinforce Toegye’s point that this guiding discourse is a continuous path that stresses a serious attitude towards the mastery of the mind. Meanwhile, Kim Hyoungchan (2018: 27) translates the term as ‘reverent mindfulness’, combining the notion of seriousness and mindfulness, ideas which interpenetrate each other. The objective of this particular form of education is that the knowledge acquired through learning is manifested in action. Hence, constant mindfulness is necessary to sustain the correlation between knowledge (知, K. ji), and action (行, K. haeng). *The Elementary Learning* teaches the younger students how to act in accordance with social relations, whilst *The Great Learning* teaches how the ultimate goal of all learning should be to make Humanity manifest through constant effort in order to achieve real-life practical results (Kalton (trans.) 1988, 82-87; Yun 1998, 83). Teaching morality should result in moral actions and help us fulfil who we really are to our greatest innate potential, whereby instead of *having* knowledge, we *become* knowledge.

Toegye felt that, “Learning is becoming deeply versed in something and truly putting it into practice” and that it “is a matter of basing oneself on what one knows and personally cultivating it” (Yun 1990, 31). Practice makes perfect, and Confucius in *The Analects* emphasised that “By nature [wo]men are alike. Through practice they have become far apart” (Chan (trans.) 1973, 45). One must become ever mindful of one’s practice in order to embody the Way. The *Diagram of Rules of the White Deer Hollow Academy* may represent a further goal in the *The Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning*: Toegye, by relating to King Seonjo the story of Zhu Xi’s reestablishment of the White Deer Hollow Academy, he was undoubtedly (though indirectly) requesting the king’s endorsement of such academies in Korea. The first *seowon*, or private academy (書院) was founded in 1542 and dedicated to the great Korean scholar, An Hyang 安珦 (1243-1306), for his role in bringing Neo-Confucian learning to Korea. In 1543, King Injong 仁宗 (1515-1545) accepted Toegye’s proposal that it be entitled *Sosu Seoweon* 紹修書院 (literally: The Academy of Handing Down Cultivation), and this was the first royally chartered private academy. Toegye, so much concerned with teaching, saw the private academies as the place where future scholars would bloom, and through his influence on the king, he was indirectly responsible for their growth in Korea,
securing the dominance of Neo-Confucian teaching in Korea. At the end of King Seonjo’s reign there were more than one hundred seowon that occupied a similar place of esteem as had the Buddhist temples during the previous Koryŏ dynasty (Eckert 1990, 140-141; Kalton (trans.) 1988, 117; Pratt & Rutt 1999, 446).

Zhu Xi comments that the rules of his academy illustrate “the great fundamental principles according to which all the sages and wise men have instructed others regarding learning” (Kalton (trans.) 1988, 104). These rules re-articulate and reinforce the teachings of the previous two diagrams, and therefore make apparent the paramount importance of mastering them. One must become completely accomplished in these fundamentals to develop psychologically and reflect on the sophisticated epistemological inquiries into the Heart-and-Mind and the Nature, before they can become realised through action. Toegye’s schematic representation of Zhu Xi’s rules clearly delineates the function of the Five Relationships, and then shows how they interpenetrate the ‘Five Steps’ he highlights in the process of learning. The first steps consist of study and inquiry and suggest mindfulness. However, in order to develop one’s person in adherence with the Way of Humanity the mind is of utmost importance, and for Toegye ‘mindfulness’ becomes a focal point in his complex meta-psychological theory that is revealed in the final five diagrams.

4. Toegye’s Four-Seven Meta-Psychological Theory.

The previous diagrams may be perceived as propaedeutic, or preparatory instructions that represent the basic steps of a much more complicated process. The complexities of this process are encompassed in the meta-psychological theories concerning the Heart-and-Mind and the Nature, and the sixth diagram conveys their theoretical framework. This may be interpreted as the fruit of the Four-Seven Debate, interpreted by Michael Kalton as “the single most important

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16) For an in-depth analysis of the Four-Seven Debate see: Chung (1995), The Korean Neo-Confucianism of Yi Toegye and Yi Yulgok: A Reappraisal of the “Four-Seven Thesis” and Its Practical Implications for
intellectual controversy of the Yi dynasty” (Kalton (trans.) 1988, 119). The source of this controversy was Zhu Xi’s’s ambiguous metaphysical comments on Principle (li) and material force (qi) and their relation to his ethico-psychological theories concerning the Heart-and-Mind, the Nature and feelings. The debate itself consists of two cycles of correspondences between Toegye and Ki Daesung 奇大升 (1527-1572), and later between Yi I 李珥 (1536-1584), known by his pen name Yulgok 栗谷, and Seong Hon 成渾 (1536-1598) that indicate the diverging theories of Toegye and Yulgok who represent the zenith of Neo-Confucian thinking in Korea.

However, the ‘debate’ has somewhat overshadowed the other philosophical and meta-psychological concepts of both Toegye and Yulgok. One thing that needs to be clarified is the doubtless role of Toegye in instigating such a penetrating intellectual investigation into the role of these speculative concepts. Toegye’s influence is most noticeable in Yulgok’s Essentials of the Learning of the Sages (聖學輯要, K. Seonghak Jipyo), written in 1575, which is also based on the Zheng-Zhu school of meta-ethics and philosophy, and the goal of this work echoes Toegye’s in The Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning. Though Yulgok did not agree with Toegye à propos his interpretation of the Four-Seven theory, Toegye’s influence is easily seen in Yulgok’s Diagrammatic Treatise on the Human Mind and the Moral Mind (人心道心圖說, K. Insim dosim doseol). The source of this diagram is undoubtedly the sixth diagram in Toegye’s text (Chung 1995; Kalton (trans.) 1988, 140).

The Four Beginnings are referred to by Mencius (2A:6) and the Seven Feelings are referred to in the ninth chapter of the Book of Rites. Toegye originally believed that the Four Beginnings and Seven Feelings had different origins and this instigated the original debate with Ki Daesung who did not agree with Toegye’s dualistic approach: that li [Principle] was the source of the Four Beginnings and that gi [material force] was the source of the Seven Feelings. However, Toegye did revise his theory but still gave primacy to li and saw it as

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18) The Four Beginnings: humanity, righteousness, propriety and wisdom
The Seven Feelings: joy, anger, sadness, fear, love, dislike and liking.
preceding gi. His logical explanation for this is in li’s role in what I term potentiality for actualisation. As mentioned previously, Toegye perceived li to represent the essence of the possibility for existence, whereby the essence precedes its realisation and represents the innate goodness of the Nature (性). Yulgok by contrast noted that gi was both the activating factor of the Seven Feelings and Four Beginnings; however, he also noted that while the Seven Feelings included the Four Beginnings, the Four Beginnings did not contain the Seven Feelings. Toegye saw li as the substance of the mind and gi as the function (on which li mounts); substance represented natural goodness, whereas function included the natural potentiality for actualisation of goodness, as well as the possibility for evil due to the negative aspect of feelings that disturbed the innate ‘Original Nature’ (본성K. Bonseong). Such ideas are also developed in the next diagrams as well, hence an explanation of the Four-Seven debate is a fundamental step in comprehending Toegye’s meta-psychological theory (Cawley 2019, Chapter Four; Chung 1995; Ro 1989, 45-55).

The Diagrams (A, B, and C) of the saying The Mind Combines and Governs the Nature and the Feelings correspond with Toegye’s final evaluation of the Four-Seven debate. Diagram A separates the mind(s) and presents the nature “as the not yet aroused state” and the feelings as “the aroused state.” Diagram B and C then develop these meta-psychologies, but their relationship is non-exclusive as they are two aspects of one mind. In this sense they are only phenomologically exclusive (Ro 1989, 50). The first of the three diagrams was by Cheng Fuxin 程復心 (1279-1368) a Yuan dynasty 元朝 (1271-1368) scholar, whilst the other two diagrams are by Toegye himself and as mentioned above summarise his views of li and gi in relation to the Four Beginnings and Seven Feelings.

Toegye has incorporated Zhang Zai’s notion of the combination of “physical nature” with “original nature,” and it is this physical nature that gives rise to the occasion for evil (Chan (trans.) 1973, 511). He has fused these different aspects of the mind into his complex meta-psychological theoretical framework that aims to guide one to recover one’s Original Nature. The physical nature then gives rise to the Seven Feelings and the potentiality for bad (non-good). Knowledge is required to guide one’s path back to one’s Original Nature that is innately good.
The hope offered by Toegye in his constant reminders of innate goodness contrasts deeply with the concept of ‘Original Sin’ in Christianity and intertwined with its genealogy of guilt as described by Nietzsche (1998) in On the Genealogy of Morals. Toegye’s guiding discourse does not lead to repentance: there is no need for forgiveness, but there is a need to recover one’s pure potentiality for goodness encapsulated in a profound need for Humanism.

5. Socialistic Humanism

Humanism by definition is concerned with “human rather than divine or supernatural matters” (Nelson-Jones 2004, 3). Toegye, too, is deeply concerned with the human condition within a social context and through propounding a socialistic guiding discourse that is humanistic in essence, and which strives to ameliorate society. Social beings penetrate the consciousness of others and so humans are linked externally (through conduct) and internally (through thought). *Humanity* is a unifying approach that holds the potential to solve human problems, internally, and externally, as well as help people obtain the perfection that is innately theirs. Toegye recognised that Humanity is a synergistic mode for achieving the full humanness of good people in a good society.

The seventh diagram is entitled *Diagram of the Explanation of Humanity* and represents a focal point of Zhu Xi’s teachings and is of paramount importance to Toegye’s approach to being humane. Humanity can be defined as the Way that is to be recovered:

From things close at hand such as our nature and feelings, physical form, and the relationships of daily life, all the way to the complexities of Heaven and Earth and all creatures [...] a principle of full actuality, a norm of what fully ought to be (Yun 1990, 168).

The inborn tendency for goodness may be reduced to passivity and through seeking Humanity we aspire to activate it and allow the unhampered operation
of the original mind manifest itself through our character in action. Whilst everyone may be moved by commiseration if they see a child falling into a well (as Mencius suggests) they may not act upon this: following the Way of Humanity aims at the actualisation of such humanistic action.19)

For over two thousand years Humanity, “has been the virtue of all virtues in the Confucian tradition” (Kalton (trans.) 1988, 141). Humanity is much more than a mere virtue, and encapsulates the totality of our potential for goodness embodied in our Original Nature, not dissimilar to the Buddhists, who seek Buddhahood in order to reveal one’s original ‘Buddha Nature’ (佛性, K. Bulseong). In The Analects (12:1) Confucius said, “To master oneself and return to propriety is Humanity. To practice Humanity depends on oneself” (Chan (trans.) 1973, 38: emphasis added). Humanity is also path to be followed that depends greatly on our own effort and is reliant on propriety. Propriety then does not (in theory) consist of rules to contain people, but to enable people to function together reflecting the optimum level of their capacity for goodness, assisting them to obtain their original nature, which is goodness, and this goodness should be reflected in our actions towards others in order to embody socialistic humaneness.

Zhu Xi’s description of the mind in this diagram is quasi-psychoanalytical as it divides the mind into different states and accords each state-of-mind with different qualities. However, in describing what is mind, he is careful to illustrate that the function of the mind should be the manifestation of love and this he describes as “the function of Humanity” (Kalton (trans.) 1988, 145). Love functions in a social setting and so the rules of propriety as portrayed in the Five Relationships are to assist with the realisation of love through filial piety and respectfulness. Altruism reinforces the need to extend one’s goodness, one’s humanity, towards others as it is “the means by which it is extended to others [in practice]” (Kalton (trans.) 1988, 147). Cheng Hao 程颢 (1032-1085)20) aptly describes this as “putting oneself in their (others’) position” (Chan (trans.) 1973, 541). Therefore, the ruler needs to become a man of Humanity in order to extend

19) To read the important passage in Mencius (2A:6) relating to one’s innate good nature and of one being moved by a child about to fall into a well, see: Chan (trans.) 1973, 65.
20) Cheng Hao was the brother of Cheng Yi mentioned earlier, both their ideas greatly influenced Zhu Xi, especially in regards to Principle (li).
its practice to his people and assure their happiness and peace. The sage must then initiate the flow of humanity like water flowing naturally downwards, if the source does not embody Humanity, then it will be impossible for the people to follow it, and the success of the ruler depends on the people. Toegye also insists that it is a fundamental requirement that the king rectifies his own self so that he may provide his people with the seeds of hope to cultivate Humanity for themselves. Toegye’s comments on this diagram are very brief but reinforce Zhu Xi’s comments that expressed the notion of Humanity in action, as opposed to a passive mental process interpreted in terms of consciousness alone. Toegye beseeches the king to follow the Dao of Humanity and to transmit it to the people (Kalton (trans.) 1988, 149-150). However, in order to understand Humanity correctly, one needs to understand the mind, as “HUMANITY is the mind of Heaven and Earth whereby they produce and give life to creatures and this is what [WO]MAN receives as his own MIND” (Kalton (trans.) 1988, 144: original emphasis, slightly adapted). Here is the embodiment of a new Confucian trinity: Humanity, [Wo]Man and Mind. Subsequently a further investigation into the interpenetration of this trinity is required to comprehend the important and necessary method of self-cultivation which is centred in the mind(s).

6. The Two Components of Mind: Mind of Dao and Human Mind

So far Toegye has provided a guide to foster better skills for better living that is dependent on the belief that human nature is good and the notion of human sympathy or altruism. These skills are deeply rooted in propriety and the display of filial piety. For Toegye the goal of mental cultivation is the attainment of sagehood. The Diagram of the Study of the Mind was originally by Cheng Fuxin (mentioned previously), but represents the meta-psychological conditions of Toegye’s ideology. The mind consists of two interpenetrating entities: the Mind of Dao/Original Mind/道心 and the Physical Mind/ Human Mind/人心. Toegye’s ideas have been profoundly influenced by the Classic of the Heart and Mind (心經, C. Xinjing, K. Simgyeong) by Zhen Dexiu 真德秀 (1178-1235) that deals
almost exclusively with inward cultivation and emphasizes “mindfulness” or gyeong. Toegye had been acquainted with this book since his early twenties as opposed to Zhu Xi’s Complete Works that were first available to him when he was middle-aged, so whilst Toegye depends on Zhu Xi for so much, one must note that his intellectual dynamism relies greatly on Zhen Dexiu. Zhen developed the theory of self-cultivation with an over-riding focus on morality embodied in Korean Neo-Confucian philosophy by the term Simhak (心學, C. Xinxue). Simhak may be translated as “school of the mind” or “Learning of the Heart-and-Mind,” but should not be confused with the alternative to the Cheng-Zhu school of Neo-Confucian thought represented by Lu Xiangshan (陸象山, 1139-1192), and subsequently by Wang Yang-ming 王陽明 (1472-1529), which was also called the “school of the mind.” (Chung 1995, 124-125; Kalton (trans.) 1988, 159).

Originally Simhak was considered an alternative to Chan Buddhism because of the emphasis on mental cultivation. However, Buddhist meditation and self-cultivation seek to annihilate the concept of the self, but Simhak seeks to refine the self and uncover the ‘Mind of Dao’ or Dosim which contains the ultimate human potential for becoming fully humane. The Sage King should follow the Way of Humanity and it is centred in the mind(s). Confucianism like Buddhism is homo-centric, not theo-centric and both seek to reveal the original goodness that is contained in (wo)man. In the ‘Study of the Mind’, Toegye attempts to correct cognitions, render them undisturbed, and to recapture the innate goodness that one has before it is disturbed by the physical mind. The concept of various minds may at first seem like complete meta-psychological nonsense, but Daniel Goleman (1995) in his book Emotional Intelligence views people as having two minds: an emotional mind and a rational one, that need to work in harmony and be balanced. When psychologists consider the mind in action they investigate two distinct components: the conscious and the unconscious. Hence, we can see that modern science and psychology are keenly aware of the different aspects of the same mind.

According to Cheng Fuxin’s explanation of the diagram, he considers that as (wo)man has a body it is only natural that it should be endowed with a human mind, but existing as an interpenetrative component of the entire universe that has

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21) Chan (禪) Buddhism is known as Seon Buddhism in Korea, and Zen Buddhism in Japan.
as its source the Supreme Ultimate, then (wo)man also possesses an original mind from Heaven, known as the Mind of Dao (Kalton (trans.) 1988, 160). The trinity of Heaven, Earth and [Wo]Man receive their unity in the mind(s). Due to the manifestations of li and gi, goodness may be disturbed and therefore the study of the mind is a guide for discerning and selecting the good. The lower part of the diagram provides a humanistic cognitive guide to attaining a mind that is “not moved” (like Mencius) and that can “follow inclinations” (like Confucius). The left side requires “blocking [selfish] human desires,” whilst the right side aims at preserving the goodness contained in the principle of Heaven. This guide requires effort, which is ultimately by ‘reverent mindfulness’ (gyeong) (Kalton (trans.) 1988, 161-162; Lee 2005, 91-92). In Toegye’s comments he notes that “recovering the lost mind” may be considered as “not being able to avoid deviating [from the perfect observance of humanity]” (Kalton (trans.) 1988, 163). Toegye’s meta-psychological justification of the different minds was formulated by him as follows:

One can sum up its essence as nothing other than blocking [self-centred] human desires and preserving the principle of Heaven, just these two and that is all ... All the matters that are involved in blocking human desires should be categorised on the side of the human mind, and all that pertain to preserving the principle of Heaven should be categorised on the side of the mind of the Dao (Kalton (trans.) 1988, 169).

This is particularly reflective of the observance of Humanity in Toegye’s guiding discourse and the effort required to recover the Dosim “道心.” This represents an ascetical aspect of this guiding discourse, but a necessary one to achieve deeper insight. This insightfulness is centred on mindfulness, which is considered a constituent of mental discipline and is the focal point of the final two diagrams

The penultimate and ultimate diagrams both focus on the importance of mastering mindfulness so that it becomes a natural part of oneself, free from requiring effort. They are intrinsically linked with Toegye’s cognitive perspectives on the Mind(s): “Mind of Dao,” and “Human Mind.” Considering the positioning of the Study of the Mind after the Explanation of Humanity, and after contemplating the different concepts of mind, one can deduce that there is an overpowering need to unify the totality of goodness in the “Mind of Dao” with the inherent goodness of the “Human Mind.” In Zhu Xi’s Treatise on Humanity, he notes that “[Humanity] is man’s mind” (Chan (trans.) 1973, 594). Considering Toegye’s indebtedness to Zhu Xi, as well as the overwhelming influence of Zhen Dexiu’s Classic, it seems that the sage should seek to reveal a “Mind of Humanity,” or “仁心” (K. insim). The final diagrams are concerned with this quasi-spiritual task, though this spirituality is humanistic, and not theistic, and whilst Buddhist meditation aims at eradicating illusions and attaining enlightenment, the goal of Neo-Confucian mindfulness for a king is to attain a Heart-and-Mind of Humanity, that will help him to reign as a Sage King.

The Diagram of the Admonition for Mindfulness underscores the need for constant mindfulness to be applied to external deportment and internal attitudes, in addition to quiescence and action. This is far removed from the quiet sitting of Buddhists and is concerned with the effects of one’s actions on others, that they be, “without offence,” and that the interior of one’s mind corresponds with the resulting actions of one’s body, with the result that this interpenetrating pair are, “mutually correcting” (Kalton (trans.) 1988, 176-180). The body should reflect uprightness which is another of the many facets of propriety (禮). Propriety, which is reflected through the proper observances of one’s relationships, is also an externalistic tool for self-cultivation. Self-cultivation must incorporate the two aspects of a unified entity: body and mind. In Eastern philosophy due to the unity of the body with the Heart-and-Mind (hence, reason and emotion) rather than say “I have a body and I have a mind,” one could say “I am body and I am mind.”
Considering the harmonious interpenetration of all things one simply “is” the sum of all the individual components that make a human. Therefore, if the internal requires self-cultivation, so does the external.

External self-cultivation has deeply penetrated Korean culture and the “social face” or chemyŏn 體面 “has been considered a phenomenon reflecting cultural and psychological characteristics of Koreans [where the face] is an external expression of one’s inner nature” (Choi & Kim 2004, 31). Though the diagram’s directives for properly ordering ones clothing and standing in a correct manner may seem superficial, from the Confucian standpoint of propriety, it expresses a system of social codes. Social codes are of particular interest to semiologists as they represent nonverbal codes that function in a social framework and reveal rank within the social hierarchy. Subsequently, these codes reflect rules of social relations that determine one’s interactions, but which are ultimately unifying as opposed to divisive, and inculcate a sense of belonging (Guiraud, 1975, 82-98). In The Analects we note that “Among the functions of propriety [ye] the most valuable is that it establishes harmony” (Chan (trans.) 1973, 21; emphasis added). Mindfulness of propriety assures that the exterior reflects humanistic actions, and whenever internal negative feelings threaten to externalise themselves Confucius stated that, “The superior person […] restrains [her]himself with the rules of propriety. Thus [s]he does not violate the Way [of Humanity]” (Chan (trans.) 1973, 30: emphasis added, slightly adapted).

The Diagram of the Admonition for Mindfulness Studio constantly reminds one to focus at the work one is doing: this concentration is focused at bringing each action to completion without departing from one’s goal of expressing oneself virtuously, at home, or even in another country, the Mencius (2A:2) also reminds us, “Let not the mind forget its objective” (Chan (trans.) 1973, 63). In his answer to the question, “Can one become a sage through learning?” Zhou Dunyi (discussed in relation to the first Diagram) explained that:

The essential way is to concentrate on one thing. By [concentrating on] one thing is meant having no desire. Having no desire one is […] straightforward while in action […] Being straightforward while active, one becomes impartial and hence
all-embracing. Being [...] all-embracing, one is almost a sage. (Chan (trans.) 1973, 473).

The internal aspect of concentration requires mindful focus, which reminds us of the famous quote from the Book of Changes used by Cheng Hao, “Seriousness [mindfulness] is to straighten one’s internal life and righteousness is to square one’s external life” (Chan (trans.) 1973, 538). Similarly, Cheng Yi believed that mindfulness (or seriousness) could prevent the negative aspect of the feelings from being aroused and that concentration on this path could lead to a state of equilibrium (Chan (trans.) 1973, 552). This is reflected in the diagram where the absolute need for constant concentration is of paramount importance because, “If one should falter for a single moment, selfish desire will put forth 10,000 shoots,” therefore, “Be mindful [...] Let your mind be undivided” (Kalton (trans.) 1988, 177). Toegye concludes his comments of this penultimate diagram with this remark, “mindfulness constitutes the beginning and the end of sage learning” (Kalton (trans.) 1988, 180).

The final diagram of the ten signifies the culmination of self-cultivation that should be reflected upon on a daily basis. The ultimate concern for Toegye is that the king’s daily life represents the totality of the learning and the mindfulness reinforced throughout the previous diagrams. One’s daily life may seem to have a sense of ordinariness about it, this may cause one to lapse and not keep watch over the ‘two’ minds and the negative feelings. However, this constant mindfulness reiterated throughout the previous teachings and its actualisation on a daily basis is what distinguishes the Mind of Humanity of the Sage King. The final diagram then may be seen inadvertently as a warning to the king, that if he falters in his task, the people will falter in their adherence to the Way of Humanity. This diagram is then a corrective for the ordinariness of daily life which easily dulls the awareness of the responsibility that is imbedded in Sage Learning (Kalton (trans.) 1988, 189-191). The importance of daily cultivation is highlighted by Zhu Xi:

So long as in one’s daily life the effort at seriousness and cultivation is fully
extended and there are no selfish desires to disturb it, then before the feelings are
aroused it will be as clear as a mirror and as calm as water, and after the feelings
are aroused it will attain due measure and degree without exception. This is the

As an essential task in daily life, then the final diagram constitutes a fitting
conclusion.

The final diagram was designed by Toegye as a complementary supplement to
the previous Admonition for Mindfulness Studio. It arranges one’s day according
to different stages, organising one’s different activities according to these stages
and propounds an uninterrupted flow of Dao throughout all one’s daily activities.
This flow of Dao is to assure a flow of Humanity from the king to the people
as reflected in all his actions and words. Both “Quiet” and “Activity” should reflect
a moral unity of Humanness, and in this unity “lies the essence of becoming a
sage” (Kalton (trans.) 1988, 196). The diagram also reflects Toegye’s innate
character as a teacher, as this diagram systematically provides a daily routine from
“Rising Early” until “Retiring Late” and harmonises it through constant reminders
to be faithful to what one has learned and to practice constant mindfulness. There
is something holistic in this final diagram that is full of encouragement, as well
as soothing in essence. The language is gentle and seeks to replenish the spirit
with words such as “recollect your mind,” “Nurture your mind,” “Recollect your
spirit and dispel distracting thought,” “relax your mind,” “Purify, refresh, order

The Address Presenting the Ten Diagrams warned that:

At first [in trying to practice mindfulness] one may not be able to avoid an
uncomfortable feeling of constraint [...] one should absolutely not give up on this
account, but rather with all the more confidence devote even more effort to the
practice” (Kalton (trans.) 1988, 35).

Though constant mindfulness may be a difficult pathway to follow, the final
diagram highlights the salient features of the previous diagrams: to make apparent
the gentle fluidity of the Way if one is willing to make initial efforts. Study and practice will finally interpenetrate each other, and become spontaneous as is the nature of all things, and finally Humanity will be transmitted like water flowing from the top of a waterfall — this is the responsibility of the Sage King and the goal of Sage Learning.

8. Conclusion

The objective of this paper was to outline the development and significance of Toegye’s humanistic guiding discourse for a ‘Sage King’ as delineated in The Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning. For Toegye, the Sage King represented the pinnacle of Humanity. Drawing on Neo-Confucian social guiding tenets combined with the practice of mental cultivation, these ideas are reinforced throughout Toegye’s diagrams. This Way is not an obscure ideology but dependent on practical learning that subsequently requires daily actualisation. Toegye firstly endeavours to restore the mandate of moral responsibility to the king, by elevating his prestige to that of “The Sage Emperors and Wise Rulers of old” (Kalton (trans.) 1988, 30). The king represented the centre of an anthropo-cosmic sphere represented in the first two diagrams. The nature of man and that of the universe are inextricably linked and therefore no view of the universe is complete without human participation in the process of universal change (Ro 1989, 113). The sage is the earthly manifestation of the purest form of heavenly Principle (li), therefore he should lead humanity. The Diagram of the Western Inscription reinforces the position of the sage as the ultimate force amongst men, to be respected as a parent, who should guide the people to put “Humanity into practice” (Kalton (trans.) 1988, 53: emphasis added).

Toegye presents a systematic progression to the stage of ‘learning’, which epitomises the spirit of Confucian morality that he shows is regulated through mutual social respect, while beginning with filial piety (hyo). This is the basis for developing greater learning, which should culminate in greater ethical development. The Great Learning is a guide for the king to regulate the state,
and the family only after he has managed to examine and cultivate his own moral being, which requires constant effort, and is embodied in “mindfulness.” Toegye, primarily a teacher, circumspectly addressed the need for Confucian academies through his endorsement of the *Rules of the White Deer Hollow Academy*, and as noted, was very successful in their proliferation. In this manner he was comparable to Zhu Xi who “made a special point of strengthening education in the colleges” (Creel 1984, 206).

The meta-psychological culmination of the Four-Seven debate provided the foundation for the final investigation of the Heart-and-Mind, which greatly influenced Yulgok. Though he arrived at dissimilar conclusions, his goals were ultimately inspired by Toegye, directed towards the betterment of humankind. Whether shaped by *li* or *gi*, the Original Nature contained a transcendental potential for goodness and the Physical Nature, if refined and cultivated, was also a testament to the original goodness of (wo)man that enclosed the seeds of Humaneness, which is expounded in the *Diagram of the Explanation of Humanity*. *Humanity* should be exemplified in the undertakings of the king who should exert himself to ennoble society and develop a Humanistic social conscience.

This Humanistic social conscience should ultimately reveal itself in the supra-normal cognitive powers of the Sage King. The second half of Toegye’s text is arguably influenced more by Zhen Dexiu’s *Classic of the Heart and Mind* than by Zhu Xi. It embodies *Simhak* which seeks to develop one’s mind skills and arouse a level of mental cultivation that promotes a truly Humane *Way-of-Being*. This cultivation is centred around the meta-psychological harmonious coadunation of the Mind of Dao (道心) with the Human Mind (人心) characterised by “mindfulness” or “*gyeong*. Quotidian mindfulness requires concentration on intensive internal and external cultivation, which ultimately leads to the completion of the self, and finally, the attainment of sagehood. Toegye considers it the ultimate responsibility of the king to lead the *Way*, but he himself needs to become a ‘Person of *Humanity*’ (仁之人). Toegye’s humanistic discourse provides a guide for social and personal moral rectification reliant on his meta-psychology, and embodied in a socio-political doctrine to transform the king who could then illuminate the proper *Way* that epitomises *Humanity* for his people.
We must conclude that Toegye’s dedication to teaching his ideas so that they promoted beneficial social changes show us that, “like Zhu Xi he was an active participant of the realpolitik of his time” (Tu 2004, 77). The psychological character of the ruler would in turn affect the state, hence he was concerned that the king’s conscience and actions reflected Humaneness, so that the people would benefit and “based on this view, peace, solidarity and responsibility [could] be realized” (Kim 2002, 96). Toegye’s Diagrams, therefore, asserts a Humanistic guiding discourse, which promotes the concept of self-cultivation, and which contrasts with the institutionalised Neo-Confucian pursuit of learning which had become confused with the pursuit of government careers (Kalton (trans.) 1988, 208-209). For Toegye, Simhak represented a noble savoir vivre and symbolised “true” learning, the goal of which was to benefit others, and this in itself was the key to becoming a Sage.
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Toegye’s and Motoori Norinaga’s concepts of the ideal human: A study in accordance with two main lines of thinking - Qing (情) and Li (理)*

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Abstract

Toegye and Motoori Norinaga are considered practical philosophers whose lives were almost contemporaneous. During their lifetimes, both struggled to solve the gap between the ideal and the real. In particular, they were fully aware of the importance of the Neo-Confucian concepts of Li (理) and Qing (情). Neo-Confucianism was the universal knowledge, ideology, and political system of the time, and thus it can be assumed that they shared the same ideological background. Nevertheless, they developed their central ideas in different directions of the Li–Qing axis even if ultimately they shared...
the same objective, that is, to achieve the absolute stability of society. Based on these similarities, it is appropriate to make a comparative study of the two philosophers’ ideas. 

The world according to Toegye’s thinking is one that considers Gong (公) and Si (私) as opposites. Individuals are always worried as they struggle between Si and Gong, but eventually they must sacrifice their own self-centered interest, Si, and move towards Gong. Toegye concludes that all the basic elements of this world, placed on individuals as a world, are composed of “the Four Sprouts and Seven Emotions.” Thus, in order to solve the conflict between Gong and Si, as well as between Jun-zi (君子) and Xiao-ren (小人), Tian-li (天理) and Ren-yu (人慾), and others alike, it is necessary to suppress and rule over personal emotions and desires, so that the personal world can be fostered in a good and honest way. When these processes are realized, people can overcome all their Si and eventually be united in Tian-li, to become the ideal human called Sheng-ren (聖人, sage).

On the other hand, the world according to Norinaga’s thinking is one without any awareness of the boundaries between Gong and Si. Because faith is a premise in every individual mind, they already form a good and honest community. This community has two implications; first, since they are under the protection of their own gods, all of their acts in the community can be ensured of legitimacy from the god. Consequently, individuals have made their god responsible for their moral distresses between good and evil, while they must simply complete their daily tasks. In this case, the existence of other countries outside of the good and honest community represents the absolute evil to their society; this influences the existence of their community, increasing the cohesion between inhabitants and boosting their values, particularly related with goodness and honesty. The second implication is the utilization of every person’s Qing as a way to unify the community. Qing is the unavoidable presence of emotions that every human possesses. The world amplified by personal emotion is called the “World of Gong” and in this world, the presence of Li loses its importance both within and outside of the human being, and merely retains significance as an ironical concept proving the superiority of Qing. Thus, Norinaga eliminates all Li from his theory, and aims for a people who express their personal feelings without hesitation as the conceptual ideal human being.

The opposite conceptual ideal human being from Toegye and Norinaga still provides many implications for modern society. In the history of mankind, there has always been a conflict between Gong and Si, “morality and personal desire” and “discipline and emotions.” The two concepts of the ideal human, fulfilled with Li and Qing, provide us with a deeper train of thought as we struggle every minute with the conflict of personal desire.

Key Words: Toegye, Motoori Norinaga, Qing情, Li理, Ideal Human Type

1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to examine the ideal human image as formulated by Toegye Yi-hwang (退溪 李滉, 1501-1570) and Motoori Norinaga (本居宣長, 1730-1801) through the perspectives of Qing (情, emotion) and Li (理, principle).
Toegye and Norinaga are considered practical philosophers whose lives were almost contemporaneous. During their lifetimes, both struggled to solve the gap between the ideal and the real. In particular, they were fully aware of the importance of the Neo-Confucian concepts of *Li* and *Qing*. Neo-Confucianism was the universal knowledge, ideology, and political system of the time, and thus it can be assumed that they shared the same ideological background. Nevertheless, they developed their central ideas in different directions of the *Li–Qing* axis even if ultimately they shared the same objective, that is, to achieve the absolute stability of society. Based on these similarities, it is appropriate to make a comparative study of the two philosophers’ ideas. To this end, this paper examines how the two thinkers attempted to solve the difficulties of the times through the *Li–Qing* axis and explores the implications of their ideal human characters and ideas for modern society.

The ideal human type, which is the object of this discussion, is not merely an ideal at which individuals aim, but is, rather, a complex concept that derives its meaning from all aspects of the time, society, and ideological system. In order to investigate this ideal human figure with multiple meanings, it is necessary to understand the time and ideological background of the two philosophers. To this end, I review both thinkers’ views of the world and of man, and the theory of self-cultivation. Through this examination, I anticipate that the actual meaning implied by the respective human images they formulated will be revealed.

2. Toegye’s Sage: the one who embodies *Li*

Toegye lived in the so-called time of *Sahwa* (士禍, the time of the literati purges), when the Sarim (士林, forest of literati) frequently fell victim to unjust persecution by treacherous officials. Toegye described the chaos of the time as follows.

*Si*(私) is the fabric that gnaws away the mind, and the root of all evil. Since ancient times, the days when the country was well governed were few while there
were always chaotic days, which eventually ruined the body (or oneself) as well as the country. This is because the king could not dispel one letter of “Si.”

According to him, this chaos derives from the fact that those who were supposed to pursue the public interest (公, Gong) instead indulged their own private interests (私, Si). In the ideological system of the time, the tight confrontation between Gong and Si was a phenomenon that contravened the fundamental discipline of society from Heaven (天) to mortal realms (人).

Meanwhile, Neo-Confucian scholars during the Song (宋, 960-1279 C.E.) dynasty, who had a direct influence on Toegye, had worked meticulously on combining the structure of real society with the Heavenly Principle (天理, Tian-li), and a detailed model of this can be found in Cheng-Zhu (程朱) philosophy. According to Er Cheng yishu (二程遺書, The Surviving Works of the Two Chens), Cheng Yi (程顥, 1033-1107) noted that “What Heaven commands is called the Mandate of Heaven (天命, Tian-ming), the right thing in principle is called the ultimate principle (理, Li), and these two are the same.” This implies two facts: First, Li is defined by the absolute authority of Heaven, while at the same time embodying its fundamental ideal as a concrete action to be pursued in the empirical world. Second, the moment Li and Heaven are united, Li is given the power of the almighty Heaven. Ultimately, Li is granted authority and validity from the Mandate of Heaven and is equipped with the ability to command human behavior with its infinite power. Zhu Xi (朱熹, 1130-1200) went even further and focused on the system of Heaven, namely Li. According to Zhuzi yulei (朱子語類, The Classified Dialogues of Master Zhu), he said: “There being Li, then there was this world. Without this Li, there could not be a world (Heaven and Earth), man and creatures [...] Since Li exists, Qi (氣, vital force) moves and gives rise to the myriad things.”

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2) Cheng Yi. Er Cheng yishu (二程遺書)
3) Zhu Xi朱熹. Zhuzi yulei (朱子語類).
he replies, “Heaven is Li (天即理也).” 4) This transition from Heaven to Li means that the object that maintained idealistic completeness has become stereotyped as a metaphysical substance.

Toegye went one step beyond Zhu Xi’s standpoint and attempted to prove the superiority of Li as realized in the practical world, in order to solve the tense confrontation between the spheres of Gong and Si and the further problems of the confused time in which he lived, when the private spheres were overflowing into the public sphere. This attempt derives from his conception that if he succeeded in this endeavor, self-regulative coercion would be imposed on the stereotyped Li and exercised as a practical mechanism. The following is a part of Mujin Yukcho so (戊辰六條疏, The Mujin six provisions memorial to the Throne), a letter that Toegye presented to King Sŏnjo (宣祖, 1552-1608).

Only look back at the bright Mandate of Heaven and try to behave with decency [...] [You] must build the Mean (中, centeredness) for the people and set the standard above them, so that no personal wills (or selfishness) can intervene in between.5)

This statement suggests that Toegye was focusing on self-centered interests as a fundamental cause of the negative situations of reality. This Si, however, is an unpredictable matter that arises in every moment, so an indirect strategy is required to deal with it. Therefore, as the most effective method, he suggested the “cultivation (敎化, Kyohwa)” of the sage ruler. Because “It is essential that after a king actualize [Li] himself and learn it from the heart, [he] lead the people to use it in daily life and practice the right teachings of human relations (人倫), while it is just a trifling matter to transform the era by following the legal system and culture as well as imitating the old idea as a model.”6)

Likewise, under the strategy of “cultivation,” the object of all these discussions is concentrated solely on the ruler. In other words, Toegye transformed the social

4) Chŏng Chi-un 鄭之雲. Ch’ŏnmyŏng ttosŏl (天命圖說).
5) Yi Toegye 李退溪. Mujin Yukcho so (戊辰六條疏).
6) Ibid., Mujin Yukcho so.
and ethical issues of Gong and Si into a personal task to be solved by the king alone. Because the mission of “becoming a sage” can be transmitted to each individual person by a king, and can further be extended to the duty of every individual who constitutes society, so, for Toegye, the realization of the ideal human type becomes an urgent practical task that goes through politics, ethics, and morality, and becomes a duty to be followed by everyone, regardless of whose responsibility it is, the king’s or the people’s.

How, then, can a king reach the status of ideal human being of a sage? In order to transform the human type from its present status, the human character must undergo a process of modification, and for this, it must first be understood “what the human is” that is the object of modification. In this regard, Toegye first clarified that human beings are special existence that have the inherent ability to recognize and manifest the ultimate principle of heaven Li.

In other words, he gave priority to the possibility of improvement. Therefore, in Toegye’s view, Li not only provides the rightful legitimacy of the structuring of the practical world based on the law of Heaven, but simultaneously becomes an ontological basis for the life of every individual. Yet, the problem lies in how human beings manifest this ability in reality, where many complex problems are entangled.

According to the Neo-Confucian view, humans have the ability to realize Li; namely, the Heart-Mind (心, Xin) is a place of recognition where communication occurs between the inner and outer aspects of man. Of course, the concept of recognition here differs from the act of perceiving the world in the epistemology of Western philosophy. So-called Sil Sim (實心), the Confucian idea of the human mind, means the ability to realize Li, which is located in the depths of one’s mind-heart, rather than simply accepting the senses.

The Xin to which Toegye refers to is an extension of Confucianist ideology but ultimately takes a different route. Toegye leads human beings into a more

7) Wei-ming Tu noted that only human beings are defined as de facto creators in that only humans can participate in the transformation process of Heaven and Earth as well as form the trinity together with Heaven and Earth through self-awareness. (See Wei-ming Tu. “Toegye-ŭi Ch’ŭmin kwan (退溪의 天人觀) [Toegye’s Anthroposomic Vision: An Interpretation],” Toegyehak Yŏn’gu nunch’ong, 9 : Sŏyang-ŭi Toegye Yŏn’gu, 1997, p.264).
subjective existence by bringing $Li$, which was previously located outside of me, within.\textsuperscript{8)} Moreover, $Li$ applies not only to human beings but to all concrete substances, which commonly have $Li$ within them by nature. Thus, individuals can develop their own $Li$ and accompany the principle of the universe themselves, no longer swayed or controlled by $Li$, which is not related to me. However, the problem here is that the existence of humans is a complicated entity based on $Li$, and is not simply filled with pure and perfect $Li$. Therefore, there are various difficulties that humans encounter if attempting to live on the basis of $Li$ alone. For this reason, Toegye sincerely asks people to find the $Li$ contained in each individual’s and object’s interior and to live with this as a principle/law.

Likewise, it can be said that Toegye’s idea is very unique in that he leads the ultimate principle $Li$ from the outer self to the inner self. This means that the mechanism that regulated me from outside has lost its personal characteristics and has become instead a principle of universal validity that dwells within me. In other words, his idea of $Li$ is very subjective in that $Li$ is redefined as a self-regulating nature that one applies to oneself, not an enforced principle that one should follow under pressure from others or for fear of someone. This self-regulating mechanism that determines human actions is well-expressed in Toegye’s practical methodology of $Kyŏng$ (敬, Reverence).\textsuperscript{9)} $Kyŏng$ is a method for manifesting $Li$, which is a core concept of his iconic work $Sŏnhak sipto$ (聖學十圖, The Ten Diagrams on Sacred Learning).

According to Toegye, once the universal principle of $Li$ inherent in human nature is manifested, it can be applied as an absolute standard in all acts, views, 

\textsuperscript{8)} Since the point of Toegye’s philosophy lies not in the “world” itself but in the “human,” it has many “Xin-Xue” elements. Hong won-sik has published a study in which he shows that the main focus of Toegye’s learning is on “human beings.” Thus, the philosophy of Toegye should basically be regarded as Xin-xue (Learning of Heart-Mind) rather than Li-xue (Learning of Principle), based on the fact that Toegye had focused on Jeong Ming-jeong’s work of Xinjing fuzhu (心經附註, The supplementary annotation to the classic of Mind-heart). (See Hong Won-sik. “Toegye Simhak kwa Sŏnhak puju” Minjok Munhwachonch’ong, 30, 2008, p.81.).

\textsuperscript{9)} Toegye emphasized that “the principle of sincere learning and practice (the learning of a sage) begins and ends with $Kyŏng$”(真知實踐之設 敬以始之 敬以終之) (Toegye Chŏnsŏ退溪全書 Vol.6, p.48), which implies that the practical methodology of his thought is concentrated on the idea of $Kyŏng$. He also mentioned that “As the basis of $Kyŏng$, perfecting knowledge by investigating the ultimate principle $Li$, and putting it into practice with self-scrutiny is a key point to subtilize the marvelous law and transmit the Daoxue (敬以僞本 而窮理以致知 反躬以踐實 此乃 妙心法 而傳道學之要).” Ibid. He emphasized that the whole process of studying and realizing $Li$ and moving to practice according to it ($Li$) derives from $Kyŏng$. (See Hong Won-sik, Ibid., 2008, p.81).
and thoughts, and render humans free from temptation and desire without being deceived. However, since this principle is invisible and is hidden in the depths of the inner self, a series of practical cultivations must be engaged in to realize it, which Toegye called Kyŏng. Kyŏng means recognizing that Li is located in the depths of both the inner and outer self, and then applying this as a standard for every knowledge, value, and behavior at all times in daily life.10)

This methodology of Kyŏng as espoused by Toegye can be compared to a mirror.11) That is, Toegye’s Xin xue (心學) is a philosophy of Kyŏng,12) whereby one becomes solemn and reverent by regarding the universal principle Li shining clearly in one’s mind and outside of oneself, as a mirror and reflecting the mind in that mirror.13) Every individual, through their own mirror, can interpret the principle of Heaven, and again express it in the social structure or broadly in nature. Thus, the mirror that is central to all acts, namely Li, does not remain in

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10) In some cases, some have likened this process to Michel Foucault’s (1926-1984) model of the Colosseum prison proposed in Surveiller et punir (1975), yet this is thought to be a hasty conclusion based on their similarity. In the context of the whole flow of philosophical history, Foucault’s Colosseum is not simply focused on the externally coercive regulation and the following consequence that “being tamed: the formation of self-regulation” of human beings. The point is that he considered man to be an empty mechanical structure. The way in which hollow human beings, whose insides are empty, lead lives is to call the criteria that determine their behaviors from the outside and live with them as a principle. Thus, over time, prisoners of the Colosseum come not to feel the pain because they have already fallen into the lifestyle of “external coercive regulation → self-regulation → custom (or habit).” (see Michel Foucault. Oh Saeng-keun (trans). Kamsiwa Chŏnbok: Kamokŭksa (Surveiller et punir, 1975), Paju: Nanam, 2003).
12) The particularity of Toegye’s mirror can be compared to the mirror of structuralist Jacques-Marie-Émile Lacan (1901-1981) because the example of Lacan’s mirror is a clear contrast with Toegye’s mirror in the viewpoint of human beings. Lacan’s “the stage of mirror” is a theory in which the baby forms the self through identification with the image, and this process is defined by the outside world rather than the inner self. Here, the process of the formation of human fundamental desires is also included. Until the baby touches others, it is conscious of its body not as a complete body but as fragmented pieces, and even its first desire is formed from the smile of his mother looking at him reflected in the mirror, not in himself. Namely, Toegye and Lacan both live with a mirror, but the direction in which the mirror is facing is completely opposite. For Toegye, the mirror always faces the inner side of me, and through that mirror, I am not only aware of the principle of Li that lies within myself, but also check and control the desires and wickednesses every moment. On the contrary, Lacan’s mirror always faces the outside of me. Since the concept of I, self, is itself designated by the other, I do not need to control myself and only need to live face to face with the world. In this respect, Lacan’s view of self resembles Zhuangzi’s mirror (莊子). A more detailed discussion of Lacan’s mirror stage and subject formation can be found in the following articles: Peter Widmer. Hong Joon-Kee, Lee Seung-mee (trans.). Yŏnŏng ŭi Chŏnbok (Subversion des Begehrens), Seoul: Hanul Academy, 2007; Bruce Fink. Lee Seong-min (trans.). Lacang ŭi chuch’e (The Lacanian Subject: Between Language and Jouissance,1997), Seoul: Pi, 2010.
a fixed object that lasts forever, but it does become a living thing that leads to the actions that occur in every moment. For this reason, Toegye advised to “consider the word of the sage as a sage itself,” thereby treating the teachings of a sage with the same reverence as if the sage were present before one.

Ultimately, the key issue in the concrete process of managing life based on the attitude of Kyŏng comes down to the matter of how to control the human mind that is filled with desires and selfish cravings. In fact, the dichotomous confrontation between Li and Xin (the human mind composed of the elements that make Li into delusion), was one of the main issues of Xingli xue (Neo-Confucianism). Toegye inherited this flow of theory creatively, as is dramatically revealed in the Four-Seven Debate. According to his discussion, the Four Moral Sprouts (四端, Siduan) were already defined as purely good, while the Seven Emotions (七情, Qiqing) are incomplete since emotion can either be good or evil, and they exist only as a possibility because they are not yet manifested. Thus, in order to derive correct action, it must be ensured that all possibilities of the Seven Emotions flow in a positive direction. Accordingly, in this respect, using the method of Kyŏng can be the best way to control and guide the unpredictable Seven Emotions to manifest into a world of good.

The primitive confrontation between the Four Sprouts and Seven Emotions embedded in individual minds extends beyond the self to human relationships, society, and the whole world; for instance, the structure of Li and Qi (氣, Material Force or Energy), Dao-xin (道心, the mind of Dao/Moral mind) and Ren-xin (人心, Human mind), Tian-li (天理, Heavenly principle) and Ren-yu (人欲, Human desires), and Jun-zi (君子, Gentleman) and Xiao-ren (小人, Petty man). Put differently, it can be said that Toegye’s originality is evident insofar as he led all problems, including Gong and Si in the empirical world, back to the matter of the inner mind of individuals.

However, since it is difficult for all members of society to simultaneously change their minds in a complicated social structure, Toegye recommended that various measures such as edification and welfare (為民, Wei-min, benefiting the people) be designed step by step, and eventually the responsibility is returned to the duty of individuals. Therefore, the image of a sage ruler established in this
structure can be said to be an ideal human type that all individuals must attain. This ideal model leads individuals to the practice of self-cultivation. In this regard, the only task that remains for individuals is to realize Li at every moment through the Four Sprouts from the inner mind or Confucian scriptures of sage from the external mind, and then to consider these as a mirror with which to consistently check oneself and thus to manifest the Seven Emotions in a positive direction.

3. Motoori Norinaga’s Hikaru Genji: the one who expresses Qing

Motoori Norinaga was a Japanese scholar who was active during the Tokugawa (德川時代, 1603-1867) period. In this time, following the Rei-Bun Chuka Shugi (禮·文 中華主義, the ritual and cultural Sinocentrism), while accepting Chinese culture as it is and simultaneously dreaming of the development of Japan itself, the idea of a “Japan-centered civilization (日本型華夷思想)” emerged in tandem with the confusion that followed the Ming-Qing transition. On the other side of this ideological movement, however, Zhuzi xue (Neo-Confucianism), the governmental school of the Edo period, continued to play a role in the socio-political context. In the gap between ideological ideals and reality, the idea of Suika Shintō (垂加神道, fusion of Shintō with Chinese elements) of Yamazaki Ansai (山崎闇齋, 1619-1682) and the philosophy of Kamono Mabuchi (賀茂眞淵, 1697-1769), the master of Kokugaku (國學, National study) who led Norinaga to establish his own ideological system, had a great impact throughout Japan at the time. In fact, from this time on, attempts were already being made to bring the principles of Neo-Confucianism into Japan’s own territory and recreate them into Japanese thought. Among these attempts, there was a unique

14) This is also called the Edo period (江戸時代), and refers to the final period of the Japanese feudal era in which domestic peace was built and political stability and economic growth were achieved under the Shogunate system established by Tokugawa Ieyasu (德川家康, 1543-1616).
15) The typical example is the Cultural Sinocentrism of Ogyū Sorai (荻生徂徠, 1777-1828).
16) Yamazaki Ansai, Yamaga Sokō (1622-1685), and Kumazawa Banzan (1619-1691) claimed it.
17) Yamazaki Ansai (山崎闇齋) made the Zhuzi xue as a concise moral system and combined it with Japanese traditional Shinto theory.
interpretation of Toegye’s idea of *Kyŏng*, and Ansai was particularly deeply influenced by Toegye’s thought and frequently cited his works. The attempt to convert Neo-Confucianism, including Toegye’s thought, to Japanese *Shintō* began to unfold in earnest through the national studies and Norinaga occupied an important position in this development.

*Kokugaku* began in earnest from the reform movement of the poetics (*歌學, Kagaku*) of Genroku (元祿, 1688-1703), whose attempts to acquire the purpose and origin of life, basically through song, were succeeded by national scholars. In order to elevate the song to the position of the source of life, the national scholars proceeded to break down the logic of the Confucianism that had defined human life until that time. Consequently, this led to a direct attack on the most noble and universally reasonable premise of the *Xing ji Li* (*性即理*, Nature is principle) through the introduction of skeptical thoughts, which asked the following: first, did Confucian attempts to unify the human with Heaven (*天人合一*) succeed in stabilizing the world? Second, can *Li* be universalized from Heaven to the sage ruler, and from the sage ruler to individuals by means of edification? Third, can we really define human nature as *Li*? (or can we really say that human nature is *Li*-like?). Through the first stage of critical thinking, they pointed out that China had never been stable except for during the Yao Shun (堯舜) period, and consequently reached the conclusion that it is virtually impossible to realize the unity of Heaven and Human that the Confucians had pursued. Regarding the second question, they then began to reveal the uselessness of edification since the purpose thereof is to allow the *Li* of a sage to be delivered to individuals, and from the national scholars’ perspective, *Li* was not so easily

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18) The theory of *Yin* and *Yang* and the five elements (陰陽五行說), which was a concept of Confucian ideology, was reborn as a content of *Shintō* myths such as “Do-kin-setu (土金說)” by Yamazaki Ansai. The theory tells us that the origin of the world is on the *Do* (土) and *Kin* (金). *Do* (土) is *Tutsi* (つち, soil or earth) and *Kin* is the *Do* firmly gathered and hardened (しまる, Shimaru, crimping). As such, the source of the world, *Do* and *Kin*, become associated with Toegye’s idea of *Kyŏng*, and were used for explaining the world, which is so-called *Tsutsushimu* (つつしむ, to be discreet or careful), which means the process of *Tutsi-Shimaru* (つちしまる, hardening soil).

19) At the age of 33, Yamazaki Ansai learned a great teaching from Toegye’s work of *Chasŏnglok* (自省錄, Record of Self-Reflection) and pored over the *Jujasŏg-jŏyo* (朱子書節要, Synopsis of Zhu Xi’s Letters). Ansai highly appreciated the fact that Toegye had developed the theory of *Zhu xi* practically, and he actively accepted Toegye’s theory of *Kyŏng* and its method of self-cultivation. For more information on this, see: Abe Yoshio. Kim Seog-gun (trans.). *Toegye wa Ilbon Yuhak* (近世の心身論, 1990), Seoul: Chŏntong kwa Hyundaesa, 1998, pp.113-122.
conveyed. This second criticism ultimately led to a final attack on the key point of Neo-Confucianism in asking, “Is it really true that human nature is Li-like?” Thus, national scholars came to a total denial of Li.

Consequently, this separation between Heaven and Li dismantled societal structures from the king to individuals. Amidst this wreckage, Norinaga found Qing as another unity of Gong and Si that could surpass Li, and he turned against the rational trend of rushing towards Gong and began instead to move towards the personal emotion, Qing. In other words, he abandoned the unity of the public sphere that accompanied the sacrifice of self-interest, and requested the hand of salvation from the private sphere filled with private interests. Eventually, the moment Li was denied in human nature, the distinction between good and evil based on the authority of Li lost its usefulness, while Qing, which had had to be concealed thus far, had been liberated from its misfortune. In other words, Norinaga re-created human beings as beings of personal emotions.

Nevertheless, how can the sphere of Gong be filled solely with personal interests? Norinaga explains that this is possible because actions based on Li are virtually false (虚威, pretense or hypocrisy), while the “personal emotions” that can be expressed at every moment in the practical world are “sincere.”

It is all true feelings of human beings that everyone wants to eat delicious food, to wear good clothes, to live in a big house, to hold money in the hands, to be respected by people, and to live a long life. However, there are so many people who consider that these are not good, and value the attitudes that do not want anything, or they even pretend to not to wish and desire for anything. It is nothing but a Chinese style of effusive hypocrisy and falsehood. ("Tama katsuma (玉勝間) 4")

From Norinaga’s perspective, all physical and social desires including physiological needs, which are perfectly natural and inherent aspects of human beings, are beyond the realm of good and evil. Nevertheless, since Confucians,

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in the name of Li, dismissed this as evil and behaved as if there was no desire and passion, so Norinaga wondered, “I do not understand at all that they dislike the desire of man as a mind that is out of the way [...]. Isn’t the human desire also the manifestation of the principle of Heaven?” 21)

For Norinaga, personal interests include not only these desires but also all emotions that individuals feel. These human emotions, comprising private feelings (私情) such as sadness, anger, joy, and resignation, cannot be controlled by humans; namely, since the mind is uncontrollable, thus it is sincere.

Yet, the question remains: no matter how sincere the desires and feelings are, how can they be extended to the sphere of Gong? To cut to the point, Norinaga envisions a public world as a unified unity of the individual world, which is entirely different from the Neo-Confucian type of extinction of the private world derived through edification from those in public positions. This is largely based on two reasons. First, Qing, which human beings inherently possess and live with, cannot be edified with any other theory including Li. Second, sincere and pure Qing is a private matter in terms of the process of its manifestation, but its underlying substance is the same for everyone. Here, through the former idea, Norinaga eliminates the possibility of compromising with Qing in the first place. Next to this, according to the latter idea, he begins to unify each individual into a unified body based on Qing as “common sense”22) that everyone possesses and lives with.

It can be said that Norinaga’s decisive proposition that “If there is no Qing, a person [is] of the likes of stone or wood,”23) comprises a reversal following the intense dispute between Qing and Li that had been underway in secrecy. Moreover, for Qing, it means the “first victory.” How, then, does the process of

21) Motoori Norinaga. Ōno Susumu (ed.). “Naobi no Mitama (直毘霊, the rectifying spirit)”, Ibid., Vol.2., 1968.
22) Common Sense is a concept first introduced by the Italian philosopher Giovanni Battista Vico (1668-1744) in academia. This follows the context of the discussion of body-mind correlations from Aristotle (B.C., 384-322) to Renee Descartes (1596-1650). Common sense has two meanings: that is, basically a common knowledge system shared by all human beings, and a common sense system. Comprehensive research on common sense has been conducted in Hans Georg Gadamer’s Truth and Method as an analytical method, while recently a Japanese scholar Kimura Bin (1931-) has also demonstrated interesting research results in Cogito and I: A Bio-logical Approach.
Qing as the common sense embracing the public world proceed? The answer is that all of these processes derive from Qing’s own characteristics. “Everything that lives in this world has Qing and the fact that there is Qing means that there is something to be felt when touching things.”24) This statement suggests that every living being has Qing as a form of common sense, and it goes beyond the senses that humans might feel and perceive when they get in touch with things. Norinaga made this concrete in his poetical treatise *Isonokami Sasamegoto* (石上私淑言, Personal Views on Poetry) through the concept of *Mono-no-Aware* (もののあはれ), which literally means “the pathos of the [mind of] things.”25) Moreover, as he said, “Those who know Mono-no-Aware have a heart; while those who do not are called a heartless person.”26) Thus, Mono-no-Aware is universal for everyone. Here, Aware (あはれ) represents the sound of sighing “Ah!” If we consider what kind of situation causes us to emit such a sigh, we can easily grasp the implicit meaning of the lamentation. A sigh is a sound that comes from deep inside when a person feels a strong and unbearable stirring of the heart and the emotion reaches its extreme through contact with the external world.

Likewise, Norinaga focuses on the “admiration” phenomenon, namely Mono-no-Aware, which emanates from the resonance that occurs when a human senses an object with Qing. Consequently, he realized that Qing blooms to the phenomenon of “singing” in the final step of emotional amplification. As a result, through this amplification process, from Qing to song, Norinaga came to the conclusion that “when we cannot endure Mono-no-Aware, we cannot help singing.”27) This great discovery provided Norinaga with a methodology to solve the problems that must be faced in the practical world. In other words, the song is located at the contact point between the private and public spheres.

Through the song, Norinaga induces the individual’s personal emotion to move beyond the private realm to the public realm. In fact, Mono-no-Aware, namely the occasion of singing that is located at the extreme of the amplification of

emotion, seems to be a very personal event. However, since this event is based on a common sense of Qing that all humans possess, the possibility of its being extended to the public sphere is already guaranteed. In contrast to Confucius’ way, Norinaga’s strategy claims to be able to achieve emotional edification rather than the rational edification pursued by the Confucians.

The political notion of emotional edification (as an ironic expression) in Norinaga’s view is more specifically revealed in his definition of “rule [or govern] (Sirosimesuしろしめす, Kikosimesuきこしめす).” He defines the act of “ruling” as “accepting things into the body like seeing, hearing, knowing of, and eating of it,”28) at the same time as the act of singing, which is also “feeling deeply in touch with what you see, what you hear, and what you do.”29) Namely, in this respect, his idea is that song and politics are both consistent with emotion.30) To reiterate, this connection between song and politics means equality between them, which does not mean that song is used as a means for politics. This is the case because Qing has already eliminated the possibility of being edified in any way. Thus, Norinaga set up the Waka (和歌) as his political methodology, which is a unique form of Japanese poetry that had been sung before other ruling ideas were introduced from other nations.

The essence of Waka is not for helping politics nor for self-cultivation. It only expresses what comes to mind […] It is Waka that singing what is feeling in the heart regardless of the matter of good and evil. (“Ashiwake Obune (排蘆小船)”31)

In accordance with this essence of Waka, together with the manifestation of Qing, when the person lives in resonance with private desires and emotions, the human mind can be infinitely expanded to the public sphere and “can remain in

28) Ibid., Vol.2. “Kojiki-den (古事記傳, Commentary on Kojiki).”
30) The view of singing as a universal act of man is in fact directly influenced by national scholars. In the preface of the poetry book of Kokinshū (古今集, Collection of Ancient and Modern Poems), which Kino Turayuki (紀貴之) and others had published, there is a verse that says “all living beings recite a song.” It can be interpreted as a universally valid proposition that if we have life, we cannot live without singing.
harmony (和), so that it will be accompanied with all creatures and there is no resisting over the whole world; furthermore, all things in the universe will also enclose like a fence. In following the mind, there is no place that cannot be reached."32) Accordingly, the public sphere can also, in the end, move to a stable world.

Nevertheless, although human emotions and feelings, which make up human nature, are free from the control of reason, the theory that the public realm can be stabilized only when humans surrender their lives to the guidance of emotion seems plausible. However, there remain some questionable points. First, when Qing is expressed as an act, how can it be justified that all the acts will be correct? In response, Norinaga attempted to apply a new type to replace the previous structure of confrontation between good and evil. This was the composition that makes a distinction between the inner and outer of the self-same community, by generating the idea of the others (他者). This can be said to be a good use of the fact that when an individual is thoroughly tied to a self-same community, the others represent evil to their society.

Here, we may solve the questions surrounding Norinaga: that is, how could a scholar who stood firm in his thorough historical research and rational analysis fall into such an extreme? nationalism. For him, this was so far the only way to ensure stability of action beyond the principles of good and evil. Furthermore, the emergence of the notion of absolute evil, the other lands that guarantee the legitimacy of all acts of good and honest community, forces a return to a stable and peaceful ancient Japan, “not in China or any other lands,”33) before it was adulterated with doctrines from other countries. Norinaga’s obsession with good community and pure Japanese nationality transformed and positioned Japanese myths as historical facts, and simultaneously his later ideas assumed mythical and religious overtones over time. According to Kojima Yasuori (小島康敬), this tendency of surreal mysticism originated from Ogyū Sorai, before being passed down from Norinaga to Hirada Atsutane (平田篤胤, 1776-1843).34)

As all the classics including myths had been presented as historical facts, Hikaru Genji (光源氏), a character in the novel, Genji Monogatari (源氏物語, The Tale of Genji), who left a lasting impression on Norinaga, became an ideal human image in his thought. Norinaga was impressed by the most humane appearance of human beings in, through the grieving of Hikaru Genji in the face of his beloved’s death. Norinaga realized that the feelings of sadness that emerge when confronted with death comprise the most sincere and intense of emotions. For him, the image of Hikaru Kenji who is desperately saddened, or the image of a man who release sad feelings unceasingly when it is right to be sad and who makes no bones about venting personal feelings, was the ideal human type that members of the good Shinkoku (神國) (land of the gods) should ultimately attain.

4. Conclusion

Following Norinaga’s comment below, it is evident that the ideal human types pursued by Toegye and Norinaga were totally different in structure.

The god is significantly different from the Confucian idea of sage. This god is so mysterious and marvelous that in many cases it cannot be fathomed by human wisdom. [...] Also, although it is called god, since it varies, it is difficult to define it based on a single standard.35)

Norinaga implicitly mentions that the ideal human figure for which they are aiming is set in a different direction than ever by targeting precisely the existence of a sage, which had until then been the ideal human being. The sage was the ideal human type that Toegye was attempting to attain through the process of self-cultivation, reflecting on the Li located both within and outside of himself at every moment, and its ultimate purpose to be unified with and manifest the Heavenly Principle.

On the other hand, the god to which Norinaga refers has no standard, unlike Heaven, and is a being that cannot be attained through human reasoning ability. In that structure, therefore, the birth of the sage itself is impossible. Thus, in order to understand Norinaga’s view of the ideal human image, it is necessary to design a new composition based on the existence of “god (神, Kami)” by discarding the composition whereby Li is transferred to “Heaven - Sage [Ruler] - individuals.” This is because the ideal human figure is not only dependent on individuals but is, in fact, demanded by the time, society, and ideology simultaneously. The Shinkoku (神國, land of the gods) of which Norinaga dreams is a structure that consists of “God (神) - Emperor (Tennō, Emperor of Japan, 天皇) - individuals (個體).” Since the Emperor is given absolute authority from the god, both are virtually the same and transcend moral values. Therefore, the composition of Shinkoku does not follow the direction of “from Heaven to individuals,” which is the process of becoming a Confucian sage. This is the case because Norinaga’s ideal human image is not simply focused on the sage alone but is aimed at every individual who constitutes the Shinkoku. In this composition, the ideal human type that an individual must ultimately attain can be expressed as follows:

![Diagram of ideal human types]

The world according to Toegye’s thinking is one that considers Gong and Si as opposites. Individuals are always worried as they struggle between Si and Gong, but eventually they must sacrifice their own self-centered interest, Si, and move towards Gong. Toegye concludes that all the basic elements of this world, placed on individuals as a world, are composed of “the Four Sprouts and Seven Emotions.” Thus, in order to solve the conflict between Gong and Si, as well as between Jun-zi and Xiao-ren, Tian-li and Ren-yu, and others alike, it is necessary
to suppress and rule over personal emotions and desires, so that the personal world can be fostered in a good and honest way. When these processes are realized, people can overcome all their Si and eventually be united in Tian-li, to become the ideal human called Sheng-ren (聖人, sage).

On the other hand, the world according to Norinaga’s thinking is one without any awareness of the boundaries between Gong and Si. Because faith is a premise in every individual mind, they already form a good and honest community. This community has two implications; first, since they are under the protection of their own gods, all of their acts in the community can be ensured of legitimacy from the god. Consequently, individuals have made their god responsible for their moral distresses between good and evil, while they must simply complete their daily tasks. In this case, the existence of other countries outside of the good and honest community represents the absolute evil to their society; this influences the existence of their community, increasing the cohesion between inhabitants and boosting their values, particularly related with goodness and honesty.

The second implication is the utilization of every person’s Qing as a way to unify the community. Qing is the unavoidable presence of emotions that every human possesses. The world amplified by personal emotion is called the “World of Gong” and in this world, the presence of Li loses its importance both within and outside of the human being, and merely retains significance as an ironical concept proving the superiority of Qing. Thus, Norinaga eliminates all Li from his theory, and aims for a people who express their personal feelings without hesitation as the conceptual ideal human being.

The opposite conceptual ideal human being from Toegye and Norinaga still provides many implications for modern society. In the history of mankind, there has always been a conflict between Gong and Si, “morality and personal desire” and “discipline and emotions.” The two concepts of the ideal human, fulfilled with Li and Qing, provide us with a deeper train of thought as we struggle every minute with the conflict of personal desire.
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The Loyalty of Seonbi and Samurai: What to Die For

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Abstract

Even today, we look back at Korean seonbis and Japanese samurais to seek our spiritual grounds. While their values served similar functions in the historical context of each country, the socio-political backgrounds of seonbis and samurais vary significantly, and so does the form of their existence. It goes without saying that these two groups of men highly regarded moral values such as loyalty and sincerity, but there is a significant difference in the ways in which their values were executed. Through comparing the two nationally acclaimed drama, Sayuksin of Korea and Chūshingura of Japan, this article discusses the distinction between their ethics by asking the question: what did they die for?

Key Words: Seonbi, Samurai, Sayuksin(死六臣), Chūshingura(忠臣蔵), Loyalty, Sincerity, Instrumental Rationality, Value Rationality
1. Introduction

The seonbi spirit, to this day, is a pillar and a meme for Koreans. There is even a theme park called "Confucian Land" in Andong, North Gyeongsang Province, a home to many seonbis, where one may experience the philosophy with some fun on the side. 1) Seonbis, who are the embodiment of Confucian ideals, are iconic figures of Korean culture and tradition.

If we were to look for their counterpart in Japan, samurais should perhaps be considered. They too are icons of Japanese culture. Part of their spiritual world was depicted and introduced globally in the 2003 film The Last Samurai; the national soccer team is dubbed Samurai Blue; 2) the national baseball team, whose slogan reads "all generations unite under the name of samurai," are officially nicknamed Samurai Japan. 3)

The seonbi/samurai spirit, to their respective people, function simultaneously as psychological home grounds and source of values. Needless to say, however, their origins, historical backgrounds, and social context differ significantly. While both ideas pursued virtues such as loyalty and fidelity, the contrasting ways in which these virtues were put into practice need further studying. This paper aims, therefore, to clarify the different views on loyalty demonstrated by seonbis and samurais, and in what ways their ethics varied. Among the important sources of this paper are Sayuksin (死六臣) and Chūshingura (忠臣蔵), stories cherished widely by the people of Korea and Japan.

1) http://www.confucianland.com/
2) http://www.jfa.jp/samuraiBlue/
3) http://www.japan-baseball.jp/
2. The seonbi

An interesting public opinion survey was conducted in 2014 by Asan Institute for Policy Studies. One thousand adults (over 19 years old) of both genders were asked: "how does the seonbi spirit relate to us today?" To this, 74.5% answered that the seonbi spirit is either "important" or "very important" (31.2%) to them. Overall, 68.5% had positive views on the seonbi spirit, which overwhelmed the 12.1% who disagree. Also, to the question "how much do you think the seonbi spirit is affecting the Korean society?" 41.5% answered that there is an influence, while 45.7% denied such influence. From the survey, therefore, we could surmise that approximately seven out of ten Koreans believe in the positive significance of the seonbi spirit, yet people have more varied opinions on whether it affects their reality in today's society. People of Korea admit the importance of the seonbi spirit as their heritage, but do not necessarily believe in its influence on the actual society.

Of those who positively evaluated the seonbi spirit, more than half (55.1%) claimed that it helps "character building," while a quarter (23.7%) of them valued its ideal of "integrity." On the contrary, 43.3% of those who negatively evaluated the mentality blamed its "authoritarianism," followed by "factional dispute" (22.8%) and "stubbornness" (17.8%).

Perhaps most of the people surveyed had a similar understanding of the seonbi spirit: it is not surprising that certain quality of things may simultaneously be commended by some and criticized by others.

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Survey on the Seonbi Spirit
(conducted by Asan Institute for Policy Studies in 2014)

**How Important is the Seonbi Spirit for Koreans?**
- Very important: 31.20%
- Important: 43.30%
- Not important: 25.50%

**Do You Approve or Denounce the Seonbi Spirit?**
- Approve: 68.50%
- Denounce: 12.10%
- Don’t know: 19.40%

**Why Do You Approve the Seonbi Spirit?**
- Character building: 55.10%
- Integrity: 22.20%
- Other: 22.70%

**Why Do You Denounce the Seonbi Spirit?**
- Authoritarianism: 43.80%
- Factional Dispute: 22.80%
- Stubbornness: 17.80%
- Other: 15.60%

**Influence of the Seonbi Spirit on Korean Society**
- There is influence: 41.50%
- There is no influence: 45.70%
- Can’t say: 19.40%

(Created from the data presented in Issue 363 of JoonAng Sunday, Japanese edition.)
Let us reconfirm who seonbis were. Typically, seonbi is a term used to describe men who strived to realize Confucian ideals during the Goryeo and Joseon dynasties, by upholding appropriate intelligence, integrity, and mannerisms as part of their social responsibility. As part of the Yangban class, they took upon themselves a strong sense of noblesse oblige. Perhaps what characterizes them the most is their passion for learning. They believed that learning built men; it was through learning that men developed his character and the ideal ways to match one's personality with what one has learned. To them, studying was more than a convergence of knowledge; it was never a pastime or a hobby. It, moreover, was not (or at least, not supposed to be) a means to gain fortune, fame, or status. Of course, for most of the Yangban class, the scholarship was the key to prosperity. They lived in a society where scholarship functioned as a pathway to success. Even so, many of the seonbis dedicated themselves to studying for a higher purpose; and these were the people who earned the highest respect in society.

Why do we make an effort to learn? Today, most of us would reply that we study to further the studies per se, and that is the way it is supposed to be. What underlies this logic is a Western idea that "science" (investigation of truth) is separate from "character" (and its building). But this is not the case in Confucianism, in which learning has always been a crucial part of character building. Ideally speaking, the two had to blend in harmony. As we can see in Great Learning (大學), it is crucial to work on self-development (sincerity, righteousness, self-cultivation) through learning (gaining knowledge of natural laws) in order to realize social order and peace (managing the family, governing the state, bringing peace to the land). It is never easy to decide how to lead a "correct" way of life unless we know what being "correct" means. This is the reason why Great Learning highlights the importance of learning. And seonbis are the people who dedicated their lives to this lesson.

No seonbi indulged in studies to satisfy his personal taste. Seonbis learned whatever they could to make themselves useful to society. They would tackle the imperial examination to become a member of the bureaucracy, in order to become
a part of the ruling force who serves the sage as his vassal. The relationship between the sage and his vassals are not characterized by the absolute control as one would see in slavery. It rather centers on yi (義), thus justifying the concept 君臣義合 (loyalty between the ruler and his subjects) rather than 父子天合 (filial piety). In the Qu Li (窮理) chapter of Book of Rites (禮記), it is suggested that if the father is making an error, his son should "respectfully advise" him three times, but ultimately "follow him in tears" when the advice does not affect him. On the other hand, if the sage is making an error, his subjects must "leave the service" when the advice is not heard. It was an important duty for a vassal to stop his lord's wrongdoing, with his life if necessary, rather than following his every command. What is especially interesting to me, is that such attitude towards the sage was properly embodied as part of the bureaucracy system of Joseon dynasties as the Office of Censor General (司諫院), whose chief task was to rebuke political faux pas. No similar office existed in Japanese society under the samurai rule. While the retainers did occasionally rebut their lords' wrongdoings, such action was based on personal relationship. In Japan, there was no official system that allowed vassals to make remonstrances against their lords.

Seonbis disapproved flattery and adulation at the cost of their beliefs and principles. The Neo-Confucian idea of li (in various forms, such as 道理, 義理, or 天理), was one of the backbones of such a rigid mindset. The universal duty of commitment to li surpasses the duty to follow the ruler's orders. Yi Hwang (李滉), for example, has submitted 44 appeals in his career, out of which 36 (81%) was written to turn down the invitation from his lord. Even after his resignation, a seonbi will not terminate his studies nor his commitment to society. He would often host learning sessions to educate the next generation of scholars.

5) Ro (2001), 49.
3. The samurai

Incidentally, in Japan, the Tokugawa regime defeated the Toyotomi rule and reorganized the country under the four occupation system. The ruling samurai class came to be called *bushi* (武士). Under peaceful Tokugawa rule, the samurai kept reevaluating their identities. While they studied Confucian ideas to serve the regime as intellectual bureaucrats, they never ceased to be warriors at their core; they never defined themselves wholly as men of letters or Confucian scholars. Let us take a look at the insightful comment made by Shin Yuhan (申維翰), the secretary of the Joseon mission, who visited Japan in the fourth year of Kyōhō (1719):

> Although Japan adopts the four category system of gentry scholars, peasants, artisans, and merchants (士農工商), in its actuality it is soldiers who are on top (兵農工商)... Outside the four categories, there are Confucian scholars, monks, and medical practitioners; the doctors are held in highest esteem, followed by monks, and scholars at the bottom. Confucian scholars are well learned in letters, but they have no opportunity to serve their domain as anything but secretaries since there is no imperial examination to make promotion possible. There is no use for imperial examination in Japan where all ranks are passed down in each family from one generation to the next. No talented men will enter the scene from outside.

As Shin Yuhan correctly observed, Confucian scholars had no access to play a central role in the administration since there was no imperial examination in the warrior-run Tokugawa society. An interesting contrast pertaining to this point may be found in *Owari Meisho Zue* (尾張名所図会), in which the difference between members of the Joseon mission and Samurais are depicted visually in a scene where they exchange poems. The Korean delegates are garbed in a Confucian-style robe with a relaxing atmosphere, as opposed to the samurais who wear rigid-looking, formal kimono with swords under their belts. This can be seen as a typical difference between men of letters and warriors.
Seonbis and samurais are both defined as gentry scholars (士), but their role in the respective society varied significantly. While they are both vassals of their lords (kings in case of Korea, shoguns and domain leaders in case of Japan), the manners in which they managed themselves within their capacity, and their views on loyalty, both had different tendencies.

Historically, the life of samurai was based on his land (village). However, since the Edo period, they were gathered in cities protected by castles, away from their native land. In other words, samurai became something much closer to office workers of today. And like many office workers, it was not easy for them to resign even if they were not happy with the situation. When the samurai leaves his lord, there will be no land to farm, nor there will be a house to live. Without economic foundations, naturally, samurais were reluctant to challenge the views of their lords. If anything, they became more obedient. In Analects (論語), when inquired by Duke Jing of Qi what the quintessence of politics was, Confucious promptly replied: "Let the lords be lords, the subjects be subjects" (Yen Yuan 顔淵), meaning they have separate responsibilities. This further suggests that, if the prince is not leading a right path, the minister is no longer obliged to be loyal. But such an
idea did not disseminate in Japan. Instead, after *Classic of Filial Piety* (孝経), it was widely believed that "Even when the prince is not prince, the minister must be minister." It goes without saying that such belief reinforces almost blind subordination, suggestive of even a masochistic worship towards one's superior.

4. The "loyalty" of the forty-seven *rōnin*

There is a clear tendency in Japan to appreciate selfless dedication of subjects to their master. A typical example would be *Chūshingura*. This work of fiction, based on a historical account known as the Akō incident where the forty-seven *rōnin* avenged their master, has been reproduced in various media throughout the Edo period until today, including woodblock prints, *bunraku*, *kabuki*, films, and TV series, making the story a cultural meme.

![](An image of a print by Hiroshige)
Utagawa Kuniyoshi, Chūshin Gishi Ryōgoku–bashi Hikitori

A cover of Chūshingura DVD
Why is Chūshingura so popular? Perhaps one could also survey the mind, value, and aesthetics of the Japanese people while pondering on this question.

Let me briefly illuminate the historical facts behind Chūshingura. In the 1st month of the 14th year of Genroku (1701), a retainer named Asano violently attacked and injured Kira, who was in charge of ceremony direction, during an important new year's event hosted at the Edo castle. The reason for the attack is unclear. Tokugawa Tsunayoshi, then shogun, promptly sentenced Asano to death by seppuku on the same day and ordered confiscation of Asano's territory. On the other hand, there was no punishment for Kira. This enraged Asano's men: according to the principle of kenka ryōseibai (喧嘩両成敗), it is only natural that both parties of the conflict are punished. At this moment, Kira became the target of revenge. The 47 of Asano's former subjects, now masterless rōnin, started to construct a meticulous plan to take Kira's life. And after a painstaking effort, they attacked Kira's household in the early morning of the 14th day of the 12th month of the following year. After severing Kira's head, the men offered it to Asano's tomb and turned themselves in. The shogunate, for a while, did not know what to do with the perpetrators since such incident was unprecedented. In the end, however, the men were charged with disobedience to the public order and were sentenced to death by seppuku.

The contemporaries soon started to praise these 47 men with words such as "men of honor," "loyal," "embodiment of bushidō," and "exemplary samurai." Artists did not waste any time to adopt the incident into bunraku and kabuki: and this was only the beginning of their long-lasting fame. People still watch their courageous attempt in kabuki theaters and on TV, especially during December.

After the incident, several Confucians shared their views. Some praised their doings, while others condemned them. As I have demonstrated on another occasion, it is possible to illuminate the characteristics of Japanese view on ethics by comparing and contrasting their views. However, since this is outside the scope of this paper, here are the simple summaries of each opinion.
Hayashi Hōkō (林鳳岡), a Confucian officer who served the shogunate, advocated and even praised the actions of the men on the grounds of a passage from Book of Rites: "With the enemy who has slain his father, one should not live under the same heaven" (Qu Li). He further stated that their actions have spurred the sense of loyalty in the whole samurai class that had the tendency to live nonchalantly in time of peace; the samurai have learned from them that "the lord will learn to be loyal to his vassals when vassals trust their lord," and "are now ready to show their loyalty thanks to the actions taken by these men." Similarly, Muro Kyūsō (室鳩巣), who served the Kaga domain, wrote the volume Akō Gijin Roku (赤穂義人録, The Record of the Righteous Men of Akō) in their appraisal.

There was, on the other hand, a significant amount of censure. For example, Satō Naokata (佐藤直方), a leading disciple of Yamazaki Ansai, who admired Yi Hwang, had a different view. According to him, one would only see their actions as vengeance because he is drowned in emotions and therefore not able to critically assess the li. Rationally, it is clear that this was not an act of revenge, because Kira never harmed Asano. The situation was quite the opposite; Kira did not even unleash his sword. Because of this, it is blatantly clear that there is no space to adopt the principle of kenka ryōseibai. In fact, Asano is the criminal who violated the most important law. And Asano's men, who ransacked Kira's home regardless of their master's sin, are "also sinners." It is pointless to disregard such obvious reasoning and view the incident from the standpoint of the 47 men; at least, such an attitude is not scholarly at all. Naokata, as a student of Neo-Confucianism, repeatedly states that it is important to prioritize the assessment based on li rather than superficially praising the loyalty of the samurai.

Ogyū Sorai (荻生徂徠), another scholar, stated that the 47 men must be strictly punished as violators of the law, even if their actions embodied the ideal of bushidō. Sorai's view is unique in the way he distinguishes "moral" and "law," and it is on the latter dimension that Sorai saw the need to punish the men. His disciple Dazai Shundai (太宰春台) even furthered this idea and concluded that
47 men were not in the position to hold a grudge against Kira, but were eligible to reproach the shogunate for its unfair judgment. Interestingly, Dazai seems to suggest remonstrance against the ruler as a possible means.

Such negative evaluations of the 47 men were once again countered by people such as Matsumiya Kanzan (松宮観山), Goi Ranshū (五井蘭洲), Akamatsu Sōshū (赤松滄洲), and Yokoi Yayū (横井也有). They shared the view that the emotional tie between the master and his men are so worthy of appraisal that whether or not they have followed the Confucian ideal (especially that of yi) becomes secondary in its importance. To many Japanese, the 47 men of Akō are not considered loyal because they have followed the ideal of yi, but because they have expressed their own version of yi through their pure attachment to the lord.

The purity of one's actions has been an important source of samurai's ethos, and it often surpassed the significance of thoughtfulness or responsibility; perhaps this is because the samurai is by nature warriors on the battlefield who risked their lives on a daily basis. Professor Tōru Sagara, a pioneering scholar of Japanese history of thought, points out that Confucians of the Edo period valued loyalty (誠) higher than respect (敬), and this reflects the traditional Japanese ethics that endorse the purity of one's mind. Indeed words such as "true heart" (誠心), "sincerity" (誠意), and "integrity" (誠実) are widely preferred by the Japanese; the Shinsengumi, a special police force of the Bakumatsu period, printed the word "utter sincerity" (至誠) on their banner. Sagara, while admitting the inclination towards loyalty as a unique characteristic of Japanese ethics, expresses a doubt as to whether this "Japanese loyalty" is truly flawless or not.

5. The "loyalty" of Sayuksin

It is crucial to examine closely if actions, alongside with motivations, are ethically intact. One may learn a lot from the seonbi spirit on this point since it

seeks the realization of universal *li*. For the author, the Sayuksin are the people who embody the seonbi spirit, for they have sacrificed their lives to protect this ideal. The Sayuksin, or the six martyred ministers (Seong Sammun 成三問, Pak Paengnyeon朴彭年, Ha Wiji河緯地, Yi Gae李塏, Yu Eungbu俞応孚, and Yu Seongwon柳誠源), were executed for planning the restoration of their king, Danjong (端宗) of Joseon, who was dethroned by Sejo (世祖). The incident was dramatized and aired in 2007, as a result of the collaboration by South Korea's Korean Broadcasting System and North Korea's Korean Central Television. Two years later in 2009, the series circulated in Japan in a DVD format with subtitles, under the title *Shirokushin* (死六臣). The tagline reads: This is Korea's *Chūshingura*.
Sayuksin, like the 47 men of Akō, touched people's heart by their loyal sacrifice. There are, however, some difference between what they considered "loyal" and what they valued higher than life.

Let us remind ourselves what seonbis cherished more than their lives through an emotional line uttered by Pak Paengnyeon in the drama Sayuksin.

In the scene where Sin Sukju (申叔舟) tries to convince Pak Paengnyeon to ask for mercy from Sejo, Sin suggests Pak to "serve Sejo, so you can make use of your scholarship to better the world." To this, Pak replies:

Pak: You don't understand. We pursue learning for the sake of the people, not of ourselves. Therefore a seonbi must live for the future. Let us say I miserably beg forgiveness. What would remain? Today is over soon. But the future has a long way ahead. My soul will live on forever.

Sin: There is no use in letting your great scholarship go to waste. Use it for your country, and for your posterity.

Pak: Don't be foolish. How can a scholarship without cause direct this country? How can it express love for the people?

Here we see a noble demonstration of the seonbi spirit, which aspires to correct the wrong through the scholarship established on the "cause," an equivalent of duty and principle.

Both sayuksin and the 47 rōnin are martyrs of "great cause" (大義). But what is included in this category of "great cause" vary. For the sayuksin, the "cause" was fulfilled by loyalty for ideals, norms, and principles. The loyalty towards "reason" (道理) surpassed that towards the "master" (君, 国王). Therefore it was only natural for sayuksin to sacrifice their lives in order to protect their beliefs.
The 47 men, on the other hand, were praised for a more emotional form of loyalty they have displayed for their master, rather than the objective norm of following their cause. For them, their life meant nothing unless they could avenge their master; and such motivation was enough to move the hearts of people.

Such differences in the interpretation of loyalty perhaps mirror the difference in social and historiographical context between the two vassals. While the seonbi strived to realize objective and universal ideals in the society, it was far more crucial for the samurai to serve his lord as an individual.

6. Conclusion

Which of the two spirits should we consider as a key to the future? The samurai spirit forces one to rush headlong towards his goal. His serious intent would often arouse sympathy. But there is always a room for caution. The history teaches us the dangers of a mindless march, however pure the motivation be.

Max Weber explains the difference between instrumental rationality and value rationality. The former focuses on the search of best means to reach a certain purpose. Here, the righteousness of the purpose is not always scrutinized. The latter, on the other hand, evaluates the value of the purpose itself, and whether the purpose is universally valid. For us living in the 21st century, it is perhaps the value rationality that needs to be pursued. And it is perhaps this sort of rationality that seonbis tirelessly aspired to.

Throughout history, seonbis practiced a process of evaluation on the relevancy of the purpose. Even when the purpose was imposed by the nation, seonbis did not hesitate to peruse it to see whether it was appropriate from the eyes of a universal "li" and their conscience. In a globalizing world of today, where values are becoming all the more diverse, it is crucial for us to have the courage to critically assess the affairs accordingly with our reason reinforced with our beliefs.
in universal *li*. And this is the kind of attitude the seonbi has left behind as their heritage.

[translated by Robert Ono]
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