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li, qi / 이: principle of material force (pin ying)

i, gi (한국말)

The Eclectic Development of Neo-Confucianism and Statecraft from the eighteenth to the 19th Century

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Abstract

Zhu Xi's Neo-Confucian thought, which ~~had held~~ a firm status in Joseon as the dominant ideology, began to reveal its limitations in the second half of the seventeenth century, which were. ~~The limitations were~~ expressed as impracticality. Faced with this problem, the intellectual community of Joseon explored new directions, and with this effort concluding ~~it by~~ introducing an eclectic method of Neo-Confucianism and statecraft by complementing Neo-Confucianism with practicality, while acknowledging its useful? role.

The eclectic combination of Neo-Confucianism and statecraft meant was intended to confine the role of i— which had been believed for a long time to govern the order of nature as well as the human mind and human nature— to the purely ethical realm of pure ethics and incorporate it with the study of practical outcome, and ~~ultimately~~, the intention was to transform it into a state in which ethical consciousness could work better [better function?]. This was a sort of Neo-Confucian reform in the sense that the Neo-Confucian elements of righteousness and moral principle were at defined its core.

The eclecticism of Neo-Confucianism and statecraft, which wanted to prevent the possibility of distortion in the direction of socioeconomic development by paying keen attention to it, expanded to include Northern Learning and historical research [bibliographical study] as key subjects of incorporation. ~~There~~ seemed to ~~have be~~ no serious problems in the methodology. But because Western studies was an important object of incorporation, the limitations of the eclectic methodology which that had been hidden until then emerged to the surface as the approach of Eastern ways and Western machines was tried. For example, the Western parliamentary system could not go hand in hand with loyalty-based relations between the King and subjects. Now they had to either change the ways to fit the machines or limit the adoption of machines to maintain the ways. In this sense, the theory of "Eastern ways, and Western machines" was the highest and the final stage Neo-Confucian eclecticism could reach.

key word: eclecticism of Neo-Confucianism and statecraft, i, gi, Silhak, Bukhak, ways, machines, the theory of Eastern ways and Western machines

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Introduction

After taking firm roots in Joseon society in the days of Yi Hwang (1501-1570) and Yi I (1536-1584), Neo-Confucianism was established as mainstream thought in ~~the~~ intellectual circles during the seventeenth century. It was so well in place that some even noted, "Whether learned or ignorant, anyone who can read recites only Ch'eng-Chu (정주정자(정이 정호 형제)와 주자(주희)를 말함)'s thought, so that we do not know if there is any other thought in this country."¹

Neo-Confucianism, the main theoretical current of the intellectual community of Joseon, is based on the *i-gi* theory, the philosophical foundation ~~which-upon which rests supported~~ the entire thought system, including the notion of universe and ontology in Zhu Xi's philosophy. The core of the *i-gi* theory is ~~reason-principle~~ (*i*). According to Zhu Xi, reason is the ultimate state and principle that is internal in things. Reason is something ~~which-that~~ cannot be confirmed by sense but is always recognized as objectively valid. He states that "For everything that exists, there is reason that makes it exist. This law applies to each and every existing thing. Nothing ~~is-exists of-on~~ its own. It is simply not allowed. This law is from heaven and there is nothing that humans can do about it." Base on this conception of *i*, Neo-Confucianists

produced the idea of "unity between heaven and man" which means that human nature, the moral order of society, and the order of nature have had the same origin.

Emphasis of human nature as the basis of social and political ethics was a definitive characteristic and an achievement of Neo-Confucianism that made it distinct from conventional Confucianism. But it had limitations as well. What was particularly problematic was that it defined the ever-changing real world with the fixed idea of *i*. These features of Neo-Confucianism made it useful in leading the world in an intended direction but at the same time it posed a great danger of making it a tool to regulate reality. Another problem was that it tried to explain what was going on in the world with-in terms of the relations between *i* and *gi*, which were purely speculative concepts that were removed from reality. Therefore, without intentionally injecting the notion of statecraft, Neo-Confucianism was in danger of slipping into an empty system of thought separated from reality.

-This possibility became a reality in the second half of the seventeenth century as the Joseon society experienced economic development and turmoil in the class system. Neo-Confucianism was incapable of responding to these changes properly. Seizing power in 1694, Seoin (Western Parties), the political sect of the Song Si-yeol (the legitimate inheritor of the Yi I School) league, drove out Namin (Southerners), and became a dominant force in Joseon. The defeated Namin maintained the conservative line of Zhu Xi's philosophy by continuing to indulge in Yehak (the study of ritual) and engage in the discourse of *i, gi*, mind and human nature within the boundary of traditional Zhu Xi's thoughts focusing on Neo-Confucianism. Becoming the predominant force after Seoin was divided into Noron (Old Doctrine Faction) and Soron (Young Doctrine Faction) during the reign of King Sukjong, Noron solidified its camp by putting forth Zhu Xi's Neo-Confucian philosophy, 對明義理論 (발음대로 표기해 주세요) (doctrines of righteousness towards Ming) (명에 대한 의리론?) and 北伐大義論 (발음대로 표기해 주세요) (principles for great cause (반청적 북벌 대의론?) to conquer the north) (북벌대의론), and-as well as anti-Qing doctrines to attack Qing. In short, Neo-Confucianism in the eighteenth century Joseon had a strong tendency of internalization anchored on *i, gi*, mind and human nature.

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Now the intellectual community of Joseon had to explore a new direction. The prime question they wrestled with was whether to adhere to Neo-Confucianism and resolve the problems within its boundary or whether to break from Neo-Confucianism and find a new ideology to replace it. What eventually happened eventually was that Joseon did not have the emergence of an intellectual current to reject Neo-Confucianism squarely and find a new ideology. What was regarded as the best way was to recognize the intrinsic value of Neo-Confucianism and remedy its problems, and this took the form of combining Neo-Confucianism and the study of statecraft. Here the main concern was with how to merge the two, and differences in the method of merging-doing so resulted in theoretical diversification.

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Eclecticism of Neo-Confucianism and Statecraft, and Silhak in the 18th Century

1. Problems Facing Neo-Confucianism in the eighteenth-century Joseon Society

As I mentioned it above briefly, the greatest weakness of Neo-Confucianism ~~lied~~ lay in the ~~one-and-onlyness~~ singularity and absoluteness endowed on *i* (reason). Neo-Confucianism took up the idea of *i*, which was a value concept ~~as it was~~ often described as the principle of ~~being or~~ pure goodness, ~~and then~~ turned it into an absolute concept, ~~trying~~ At this point, all became a struggle (공허한 논리로 변질될 가능성이 크다?) to understand the ever-changing real world from the fixed perspective of ~~it~~ this fixed concept. Inevitably, it had a big gap from reality, which made it more vulnerable to degenerate into an empty idea. This is why Seo Gyeong-deok (1489-1546) raised a fundamental question ~~as to~~ regarding the *i-gi* theory early on, by claiming that *i* referred to the law of movement of *gi* rather than a force that created and dominated the material world. Yi Su-gwang (1563-1628) also ~~said that~~ said, "Dao lies in the daily life of people. Wear hemp in summer and wool in winter. Eat when you are hungry and drink when you are thirsty. That is *dao*. Anyone who says otherwise is wrong." This is a radical claim in that it espouses that *dao* ~~does~~ did not exist *a priori* and it should be sought in reality. However, claims like this never became dominant under the shadow of the powerful Neo-Confucian current, but questions and doubts were continuously raised ~~on~~ regarding it.

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As intellectual streams were closely associated with ~~the~~ political factions in Joseon, the manner of raising questions about Neo-Confucianism differed between ~~the~~ factions ~~them~~. In the Soron faction, Jeong Je-du (1649-1736) took the lead in the Learning of Yangming? ~~Or study of the teachings of Wang Yangming?~~, establishing the Ganghwa School, which ~~aa~~ adopted Wang Yangming's ~~philosophy~~ philosophy as the topic of family education. In the capital faction of Namin, which was based in the ~~vicinities~~ vicinity of Seoul, Heo Mok (1595-1682), Yun Hyu (1617-1680) and Yu Seong-won (1622-1673) systematized the theory. ~~and on~~ It was on this foundation that Yi Ik (1681-1763) formed a school in the early eighteenth century. In the empowered Noron, some held a critical view of Neo-Confucianism's preoccupation with the studies of human nature, righteousness, and reason, and made an effort to embrace ~~d~~ new ideas. An example was the formation of the Bukhakpa (Northern Learning School) led by Hong Dae-yong (1731-1783), Bak Ji-won (1737-1805) and Bak Je-ga (1750-1805). All these endeavors can be grouped under Silhak (Practical Learning). ~~It is difficult to~~ While trying not to over-generalize ~~it~~, but it is safe to say that one thing ~~that they~~ these scholars had in common was that they took issue with the excessive attention Neo-Confucianism ~~given~~ gave to the study of the mind and human nature ~~in Neoconfucianism~~. Jeong Yak-yong (1762-1836) noted on this tendency of Neo-Confucianism in those days as follows:

"—These days Neo-Confucianists say so many things about *i*, *gi*, human nature, emotion, body, usage, etc. and they debate whether *i* is at work, whether *gi* is at work, whether *i* has been already at work or it has yet to work ... After some quiet thinking in their foolish mind, with veins on the neck bulging thick with anger, they say this as if they were awakened to the noble, subtle principle of heaven and earth. Striking to the east and banging to the west, holding the knob and burying the head, posting a flag at each door and building a base at each house, they cannot determine what is really important until they die and pass their regrets to the next generation, unable

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to resolve them themselves.² (국문 자체도 아-이해가 안갑니다. 번역에 적합하도록 국문을 다시 쉽게 풀어 주시기 바랍니다. 의역.. 풀기가 어려우시면 아예 이 부분을 빼고 그냥 비판했다라고만 처리하는 방안은 어떨지??감..)

오늘날 성리학을 하는 자는 이리 저리한 성리학적 이론을 주장한다. 이-기-성-정-체-용이나 하고 본연기질을 말하여 이가 발한다, 기가 발한다, 의미 발했다, 발하기 전이다... 그저 머리 속에서 만들어 낸 것일 뿐인데 그리고도 마치 자기가 이 세상의 모든 법칙을 터득하기라도 한 것처럼 의기양양하여 저마다 학파를 하나씩 결성한다. 서로 자기 이론이 맞다고 싸우는데 그 싸움이 후대에까지 이어져 원망이 쌓여간다. 어리석은 마음으로 잠잠히 공리하고는 성낸 기운으로 목줄기를 뉘히며 스스로 천하의 고묘한 의치를 다 깨달았다 하여 동쪽으로 두드리고 서쪽으로 부딪치며 고리만 잡고 머리를 빠뜨린 자가 문마다 旗 하나씩 세우고 집마다 陣 하나씩 쌓아서 세상이 다하도록 그 訟事를 능히 결단하지 못하고 대를 전해가며 그 원망을 능히 풀지 못한다.

This is a sharp criticism ~~of the then situation that leveled against the~~ Neo-Confucianists, who were allegedly preoccupied with mind ~~and human~~ nature (심성?) and engaged in empty disputes. Many intellectuals commonly viewed that Neo-Confucianists, wrapped up in the discussion of the mind-nature ~~mind and human nature~~, ignored real, worldly problems and were unable to respond to them. Bak Ji-won, the mental support of the Northern Learning School, stated that there were only two kinds of reading and studying [learning] -- what was useful for practical purposes or what was not, and ~~He~~ criticized the attitude of Neo-Confucianists who indulged in ~~the this~~ discourse of ~~about~~ human nature, the debate over *i* and *gi*. He believed that the traditional attitude of scholars engaged in the discussion of 性命 (~~human nature and the mandate of Heaven~~)(성명?) made them ignorant ~~of~~ to the economy and ineffective with governance.

The various criticisms leveled against the impracticality of Neo-Confucianism revolved around two main points. One was a critique of Neo-Confucianism itself that the speculative debates of Neo-Confucianism represented by the *i-gi* theory were meaningless. As King Jeongjo put it aptly as a prince, "No matter how fully one discusses the *i-gi* theory, one can never taste the concrete nature of mind, body and use in daily life."³ Because debates on *i* and *gi* were removed from reality, they were no help with developing the mind-nature ~~human mind and body~~ (심성?), n-di (~~nor?~~) they serve any or serving practical use. The other point was a critique of the attitude of Neo-Confucianists. One was supposed to study *i* to "cultivate one's body, manage one's household and govern one's nation to achieve peace in the world." But scholars only spin-spun empty words all their lives and did not exert-strive to cultivate themselves, so few could manage studies and governance together.⁴ In other words, Neo-Confucianists were incapable of managing the affairs of state properly, wrapped

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~~up~~ up as they were in the vain disputes of *i*, *gi*, mind, and human nature.

Actually, these two points were ~~not separate~~ [interconnected] because the tendency of indulging in academic discussions (~~공리공담적 태도~~) derived largely from the Neo-Confucian conception of *i* for *i*'s sake. Thus, the key to resolve the problem ~~lies~~ lay in overcoming the idealism of Neo-Confucianism itself. The idealism of Neo-Confucianism was noted even in the days of Zhu Xi. In a rigorous sense, Neo-Confucianism had no direct relationship with practical, worldly activities as its core ~~lies~~ lay in morality, righteousness, and reason. China experienced the formation of an intellectual current that emphasized practical activities, which ~~was~~ more ~~interested in~~ had to do with social and political issues such as government policy and the stable livelihood of people than ~~in they did~~ the refinement of human nature. This tradition was inherited by Chen Liang and Ye Shi in the times of Southern Song and came to have conflicts with Neo-Confucianism.⁵

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Because Neo-Confucianism was not concerned with practical activity, this element had to be imported from outside. Out of this understanding ~~was attempted~~ ~~eclecticism~~ came an attempt to reconcile Neo-Confucianism ~~and with~~ statecraft. The mode of eclecticism, ~~an attempt to take the best of both, [this is the best I could think of]~~ ~~사제?~~ ~~m~~ took different fashions depending on which one of the two was put at the center, ~~but~~ Still, the dominant form was that of Neo-Confucianism, which was at the center, ~~and with~~ statecraft was having been added to it.

2. Eclectic Logic for Neo-Confucianism and Statecraft in Silhak

Because the core problems of Neo-Confucianism derived fundamentally from the ~~one and onlyness~~ primacy and absoluteness of *i*, Silhak scholars took issue with, among others things, *i* and *gi*, ~~and~~ Particularly, these scholars were at odds with *i*, which was conceived as the ~~way of heaven~~ ~~[heavenly way]~~ (~~천리?~~) Heavenly Principle or the principle of the universe governing all beings and moral norms. They could not accept *i* as it was. Starting with this conception, they came up with a new logic.

Yu Hyeong-won, who refined the theoretical system of Silhak ~~of followed by~~ the Namin faction, criticized the existing concept of *i* and put forth his own, more practical theory. ~~of practical i.~~ Unlike the existing concept of *i* as either the origin of the world or the universal principle applying that could be applied to all physical phenomena, his concept of practical *i* ~~can~~ could have been summarized as the "principle of things," which This refers to the principle governing every individual thing on earth, ranging from natural phenomena to social and political institutions. This approach rejects the traditional way of understanding things based on speculation and inference deriving from *i* and *gi*, and ~~endorses~~ ~~suggested~~ instead that one to observe and analyze them based on practical theory of phenomena and essence ~~in order to save their phenomena and nature. [hmm...this is a little unclear.]~~. In other words, it takes ~~brings/requires?~~ things and phenomena from the world of thought and speculation to the world of real experience.

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~~그것은 종래 리와 기의 분개에 의해 사변, 추론 중심으로 이루어지던 사물의 이해방식을 지양하고 實事의 현상과 본질을 실리라는 차원에서 관찰, 분석하는 것으로 말하자면 사물현상을 관념 사변의 세계로부터 현실 경험의 세계로 이끌어 내은 것이다.~~ Meanwhile, Yi Ik negated the concept of *i* as the law of all existing things and produced instead the idea that there was each-a principle operating to each individual thing, rejecting a view that marked his rejection of the the world of the body (근원적인 또는 본체의 세계?본질적인 세계를 뜻합니다.) that was separated from the world of experience.

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Bukhak (Northern Learning) scholars were discontented-unsatisfied with the existing way of understanding *i*. Bak Ji-won strongly criticized strongly the outdated mode of thinking that justified everything with the concepts of heaven and *i*. He claimed that even if heaven created all things with the force of *i* and *gi*, it could not be said that the world was created as heaven intended, and insisted that the world move on its own and be in constant change. In a word, he doubted the absoluteness and the one-and-onlyness primacy of *i*. (유일성?)

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Negation of the absoluteness and one-and-onlyness singularity of *i* had a significant meaning, as it provided the momentum to conceive a new conception of humanity that had been subjugated to *i* until then. In the Neo-Confucian ideology, humans had their nature and ability endowed upon them by heaven, irrespective of their-individual will; it was like a-fate. They were forced to eliminate human desires to surpass their fate and recover the principle of heaven (천리?). Heavenly Principle. -But now-presently they were portrayed as subjective, autonomous beings, and their with an innate desire for wealth was looked upon as the driving force needed to develop human society. Acceptance of human desires for wealth had a connection with economic reform theories and stimulated the development of trade and handicraft, which had been theretofore viewed negatively in society.

It was not just humans that-who had been were liberated from the shackles of *i*. Nature was-had been liberated as well. In Zhu Xi's theory, nature was thoroughly bound within the ethical interest of *i*. Now its bondage to *i* broken, nature was at last recognized as an independent world-realm at last. Moreover, the independent world-realm was-had been made a subject of examination by humans, who were-had been newly awakened to their subjectivity. Yu Hyeong-won maintained that one can-could obtain a clear understanding of the law of things by directly experiencing or studying them. To Hong Dae-yong, to obtain knowledge through concrete experience meant to "advance one's knowledge by experiencing and studying the principle of things."⁶

Even if-with tons-of ceaseless criticism was-assailing mounted at the *i-gi* theory of Neo-Confucianism, the concepts of *i* and *gi* themselves were not discarded. Hong said that "The world is full of *gi* and *i* is in it" and Bak uttered that "The world is like a big bowl. It is filled with *gi* and *i* is the reason behind it."⁷ As revealed in these assertions, *i* and *gi* were important concepts to Silhak scholars. What they took issue with was the tendency to explain everything with-the notions of i and gi solely in terms of these two concepts.

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Having reviewed inged the *i-gi* theory of Neo-Confucianism, Silhak scholars had

great interest in statecraft. Their interest was closely related to their commitment to the goal ~~to~~ of accurately characterizing (~~revealing / manifesting~~ 인간의 도덕적 심성의 발현?) ~~express~~ the humans' moral nature ~~of humans~~. In the existing then-extant Neo-Confucian philosophy, humans were born with a nature through a disposition endowed by heaven. Silhak scholars theorists rejected this notion and believed that human nature was affected by the social environment. Thus, the environment emerged as an important factor. ~~Here the main issue was the relationship between human nature and the social environment.~~

Yi Ik asserted that Chen Liang Jin Ryang (~~한자 알려주시기 바랍니다. 중국식 발음으로 표기해야 함으로~~)'s theory of seeking practical result without trying to cultivate oneself was defective because excessive emphasis on practical result would result in chaos, ~~while He also viewed~~ Zhu Xi's theory ~~was also defective as~~ flawed because it overstressed studying and debating *dao* and ignored real problems, such as governance of the nation and bringing peace to the world. Then he claimed that these two goals should be put together combined to complement each other.

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Bak Ji-won believed that there was much to save in Guan Zhong and Shang Yang's idea of emphasizing practical outcome and interest, which was under severe attack from Neo-Confucianists. Bak asserted that their idea should not be discarded, ~~because as~~ it was quite useful for establishing institutions, enforcing the law, strengthening the King's power, preventing powerful families from pursuing private interests, building a rich country, and making providing people with live a comfortable life.⁸ Saying Proclaiming that Guan Zhong and Shang Yang ~~were had been~~ condemned because the King put practical outcomes over humanity and righteousness in adopting their idea, ~~he Bak~~ made it clear that humanity and righteousness should take precedence over practical outcomes. In the same vein, he argued that one must engage in propriety, enjoyment, punishment and governance (administration?) ~~예악약형정2(의례, 음악, 형벌, 정치로 풀면 될 듯 합니다.)~~ on the basis of the certain moral norms ~~of piety, brotherhood, loyalty and trust saying He said~~ that "filial piety, brotherhood, loyalty and trust are the outcomes of learning, whereas propriety, enjoyment, punishment and governance are the usages of learning⁹."

The relationship between righteousness and practical outcome becomes clearer in Hong Dae-yong's explanation. According to Hong, without righteousness and principle the study of statecraft emphasized ds practical outcome excessively, whereas the study of righteousness and principle loses lost its grounds unless it is combined with the study of statecraft. Thus, neither ~~should be discarded~~ were necessary to discard, but righteousness is was more fundamental.¹⁰ Because the study of righteousness was ~~concerned with principles to be upheld without fail, and with~~ the study of statecraft definiges the means to practice such principles, ~~he Hong~~ viewed the study of righteousness as more fundamental.

In the eighteenth century Silhak defined the gist of Neo-Confucian philosophy as the study of righteousness and principle, ~~and while trying~~ ied to incorporate the idea of statecraft on a Neo-Confucian ~~the foundation of Neoconfucianism~~. As Neo-Confucianism formed the basis, Silhak can be called a "Neo-Confucian eclecticism." The fact that Neo-Confucianism formed the basis means that Silhak was

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to be realized through statecraft rather than it ~~regulated-being that which regulated~~ statecraft. This provided considerable flexibility in the content of statecraft to be incorporated with Neo-Confucianism, ~~and this~~ This flexibility gave them the room to accept the civilization of the Qing dynasty as the subject of adoption. From the Neo-Confucian perspective, it was unthinkable to adopt the civilization of Qing, which ~~had~~ invaded the Joseon dynasty and dismantled ~~the Ming Dynasty~~ that of the Ming. Silhak scholars ~~could-were able to have-gain the~~ leverage by taking the position that they ~~must-had to~~ learn the civilization of Qing in order to truly avenge ~~for the~~ Ming. As a strategy of adoption, they separated science and technology of ~~the~~ Western civilization from Catholicism. As long as ~~the~~ Neo-Confucian norms did not contradict the content of the study of statecraft, the eclecticism of Neo-Confucianism and statecraft ~~could-would have been able to~~ function as a useful social ideology.

Eclecticism of Neo-Confucianism and Statecraft and the Theory of Eastern Ways and Western Machines in the 19th Century

1. Expansion of eclecticism in the early 19th century (~~사제?~~) and the theory of Eastern ways and Western machines ~~[this section heading is pretty much just #2 in reverse! Should we do away with both of them?]~~

~~Entering~~ By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Bukhak (Northern Learning) theory became very common becoming the mainstream thought in the intellectual community around the capital. Most Noron officials, who seized power in the early to middle nineteenth century and managed affairs of state, endorsed (~~accepted?~~) Bukhak theory. Unlike in the eighteenth century, ~~the~~ Bukhak of the nineteenth century focused on bibliographical study of Chinese classics, which ~~was-had been~~ in mode in the Qing dynasty. (It was also called Han Learning ~~hak~~ (study of ~~Han or the Chinese character~~ (classics?) to differentiate it from ~~the~~ Neo-Confucianism of the Song dynasty.) Developed ~~as a methodology of historical research of Chinese classics during the last days of Ming and the early days of Qing~~ by anti-Qing intellectuals such as Gu Yanwu and Huang Zongxias ~~a methodology of historical research of Chinese classics during the last days of Ming and the early days of Qing~~, the bibliographical study ~~originally~~ had a strong undercurrent of statecraft ~~originally~~. But the bibliographic study of Qing ~~which-that~~ Bukhak scholars adopted at that time was weak in the element of statecraft. Because of this, it was limited in resolving the problems facing the intellectual community of the late eighteenth century Joseon; however, the significance of the fashionable bibliographical study was not negligible. As demonstrated in the criticism that preoccupation with abstract concepts defying verification ~~-such as nature of all things in the universe or the principle of ki-~~ led people to think that ~~Neo-Confucianism was empty~~ (prime examples being the debate over the nature of all things in the universe, or the principle of *i-gi*) and bibliographical study ~~impractical~~ (prime examples being the debate over the nature of all things in the universe ~~만물지성?~~, or the principle of *gi* ~~기질지리 리의 기질? 원리?~~), ~~--* 성리학은 공허한 반면 고증학은 실용적인 평가를 듣게 되었다는 뜻이어서 and 가 적절한지 모르겠습니다. ¹¹ ¹²~~ it was believed that the constitution (~~habitude?~~) of the

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Neo-Confucian circle was the root cause ~~responsible for~~ of the fad of bibliographical study. The intellectual circle of Joseon was still faced with the task of how to improve its constitution ~~(habitude?)~~, ~~which an issue that still had~~ was yet to be overcome. Movements to wrestle with this task arose in ~~several~~ three distinct groups, ~~which could be divided into three.~~

The first group belonged to the existing *sallim* (rustic literati) ~~that who~~ criticized their own constitution ~~(habitude?)~~ and founded a new scholarly tradition. It was represented by Yu Sin-hwan (1801-1859), a disciple of O Hui-sang (1763-1833) of Giho *sallim* based in Gyeonggi and Chungcheong provinces, Sin Gi-seon (1851-1909) who studied under Im Heon-hoe (1811-1876) of Giho *sallim*, and Ha Baek-won (1781-1845), a follower of Song Hwan-gi (1728-1807) of Hoseo *sallim* covering Jeolla provinces.

As it was well demonstrated in Ha Baek-won's statement that "Those who studied under *sallim* were born after the brothers Cheong Hao, ~~and~~ Cheong Yi, and Zhu Xi, so there is no need to worry that they are not knowledgeable in *i, gi, mind and human nature*. All they need to do is just follow what they hear [learn] and do [practice] what they know,"¹³ they had absolute belief in Zhu Xi's philosophy. Yet they criticized the tendency of overemphasizing Neo-Confucian tenets and called ~~to~~ balance it for it to be balanced with the study of statecraft. Yu Sin-hwan asserted to urged a focus on the four disciplines ~~which that~~ Confucius had stressed 공문사과? 무슨뜻인가 공문사과는 공자 문화의 제자들이 주로 중사했던 네 학과라는 뜻입니다.² virtuous deeds, language, political affairs (public administration) and literature. This was an attempt to embrace various disciplines on the basis of virtuous action, which corresponded to the study of Neo-Confucianism, so it was an extension of the eclectic scholarly tradition of the eighteenth century. Following his emphasis on political practice, many of his disciples entered politics.

The second group was comprised of scholars based in Seoul and ~~the its~~ vicinity^{ies}, represented by Yi Seo-gu (1754-1825), Seo Yu-gu (1764-1845), Kim Jeong-hui (1786-1856), Bak Gyu-su (1807-1877), Nam Byeong-cheol (1817-1863) and Kim Yeong-jak (1802-1868). Yi Seo-gu and Seo Yu-gu, from powerful families of the Noron line, were avid followers of Bak Ji-won. ~~and~~ Bak Gyu-su was actually a grandson of Bak Ji-won. Nam Byeong-cheol's maternal grand grandfather, Nam Gong-cheol (1760-1840), was also a disciple of Bak Ji-won, so it could is safe to say ~~that be said that~~ this group was under the influence of Bukhak.

Although it is difficult to put a uniform scholarly tag on them, it can be argued that ~~since because~~ they inherited Bukhak theory, ~~they these scholars~~ followed the scholasticism of Hong Dae-yong and Bak Ji-won, who had respect for the study of Neo-Confucianism in the vein of traditional Zhu Xi's philosophy, ~~and at At~~ at the same time, they tried to transcend the tendency ~~of focusing to focus~~ on the mind and human nature, and ~~had instead placed~~ the study of statecraft at the core of learning. This ~~is was~~ demonstrated by the accounts of Bak Gyu-su, in his book ~~telling that told~~ of a scholar going who had gone to China to pay attention to practical instruments and books.¹⁴ [I think this was the meaning in which "telling" was used. Instead of "telling the scholar to do something" in the book, the book merely "told a tale", right?]

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The third group of reformer was comprised of the intelligentsia out of office (~~hermit?~~) who were different from *sallim*. Among this group were Yi Gyu-gyeong (1788-1860) and Choe Han-gi (1803-1877). As it can be expected from the fact that Yi Gyu-gyeong was a grandson of Yi Deok-mu (1741-1793), a forerunning Bukhak scholar in the second half of the eighteenth century, they were basically baptized basically by in Bukhak theory. Not holding any public office, they could express their views freely without the interference of the central power bloc and thus, they had displayed a relatively strong bent-streak of critical consciousness. Their critical consciousness came from a sense of crisis that the Joseon society was deteriorating and was incapable of responding to changes in the world, and this had its roots the roots of this problem being in the unsound intellectual climate. Yi Gyu-gyeong viewed that the fundamental cause for Joseon's backwardness lied lay in the sole emphasis of engaging in a discourse on the mind and the nature of heaven and man (심성론?), and which had resulted in a disregard for practical affairs, which made them unable to address concrete matters.¹⁵ Choe Han-gi held a similar view. Claiming that preoccupation with the theory of mind and human nature resulted in ignoring the study of administration of righteous people,¹⁶ he strongly criticized the prejudice of scholars who approved only of their own school and disapproved the expressed disapproval of others.¹⁷ Firmly grounded on this awareness, they tried to explore ways to improve the scholarly environment of Joseon and overcome its backwardness.

The three groups were different differed in their specific arguments, but their basic attitude was did not. They all had an undiminishing-unflagging trust in the study of Neo-Confucianism, or the study that of human nature and order (that of principle of human nature?), and at the same time, they tried to complement it with other disciplines, such as the study of statecraft. This manner of combination inherited the methodology of Silhak scholars of from the previous eras. The subjects of combination combined into different methodologies were different differed between scholars, but a general consensus was formed around the use of (delete?) on four disciplines—, i.e., the study of Neo-Confucianism, bibliography (historical research) (bibliographical study?), the study of statecraft, and as well as the study of writing and literature. On top of this Moreover, the adoption of Seohak (Western Learning) became a key issue at this time. Because the Western civilization was entirely different from the that of the Qing, civilization which was the object of adoption among Bukhak scholars, they had different attitudes their attitudes toward it differed. (diversified?)

Yi Gyu-gyeong attempted to combine Neo-Confucianism with the study of [what materials?] materials and mathematics (명물도수학? 명물학은 뜻 풀이 주시기 바랍니다 사물에 이름을 붙여주는 학문이며 도수학은 수를 가지고 우주현상을 설명하는 학문입니다.), thinking that Western science and technology comprized comprised the core of the study of [??] materials and mathematics. He had great interest in the question how to integrate the two and found the key to the

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logic of integration in the concept of the Way and machine.¹⁸ He viewed that while the East valued the metaphysical "dao" (Way), ~~with stress on~~ while stressing the study of principle, *gi*, human nature and order (이기성명? ~~I, gi principle of human nature and the mandate of Heaven?~~ : 이기와 성명을 뜻하는데 성명도 이기처럼 표기하면 좋을 듯 합니다. 앞에도 성명이 나오니 거기에서 표기하고 내용은 괄호 안에), the West attached importance to physical "machines", ~~with focus on~~ emphasizing the study of investigation and measurement. ~~Thusly did the West and thus,~~ developed the material civilization. Believing that Joseon could similarly achieve an advanced material civilization by obtaining advanced knowledge of physical "machines," Yi sought to integrate Eastern ways and Western machines. However, he presented the theory of the "Chinese origin of Western studies", arguing that the West imported astronomy and the study of celestial movement from China ~~astronomy and the study of celestial movement~~, and claimed that ~~the study on~~ the usage of *gi*, which ~~helped was to help in the~~ understanding of machines, originated from Daoism. Thus, his eclecticism was, in fact, a breed of the theory of Eastern ways and Eastern machines.

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Being critical of Yi Gyu-gyeong's eclecticism, Nam Byeong-cheol presented based his idea of eclecticism on the premise that ~~the~~ Westerners should get the credit for their achievements. In his theory, which was established on the foundation of the four disciplines (the study of poetry and ancient classics, the study of annotation, the study of statecraft, and the study of divine celestial movement and numbers), he had now placed the West's study of astronomy and the study of celestial movement ~~of the West was included in into~~ the study of study of divine celestial movement and numbers. Yet as ~~the~~ Western forces rapidly made inroads into Joseon ~~rapidly~~, Western studies ~~was came~~ under his focal attention ~~[increased scrutiny?]. (he also has keen interest in Western Learning.??)~~. He wrote extensively on ~~our [Korea's?]~~ attitude in the adoption of Western studies, and with his main point ~~was being~~ that practical achievements of the West ~~should needed to~~ be adopted actively, but the study of the ~~wise man~~ Man's wisdom should be the basis.¹⁹ Although he said that Westerners were advanced only in one field ~~→~~ astronomy and the study of celestial movement ~~→~~, his idea that ~~we [Korea?]~~ should adopt all practical achievements of the West based on the learning of sages was not ~~very all too~~ different from the theory of "Eastern ways and Western machines."

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Choe Han-gi was quite unique in the scholarly circles of the nineteenth century. To him, all things could be compared from the standpoint of utility, and every useful thing should be an object of adoption. In his thinking, Neo-Confucianism was not something to be adhered to. However, through the comparison of the Eastern and Western civilizations, he reached ~~a the~~ conclusion that measurement, computing windmills, ships, and cannons were all of particular importance in the civilization of the West in terms of utility, ~~whereas Nevertheless,~~ in that of of the worldview [??] of (사제?) Joseon period, morality, humanity and righteousness in Confucian ethics were untradable universal ways aspects of civilized life. So, each had something to adopt from ~~each the~~ other, making. This stance ~~was~~ similar to that of "Eastern ways and Western machines." Yet the distinction ~~of between~~ East and West was actually

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meaningless to him, as everything was the object of comparison and selection from the standpoint of utility. ~~and in this~~ From this universalistic point of view, Western ways should not be excluded. His thought transcended the theory of 'Eastern ways and Western machines' and had the potential to develop into a notion that allowed for a changeability a malleability of ways ways of life and thinking. 變道論 : 도 자체를 변화시켜야 한다는 논리 무슨뜻?

Entering the 1880s, of the various ~~modes stances towards of adopting methods of incorporating~~ Western studies knowledge, the dominant one was ~~to that of~~ adopt Western machines while adhering to Eastern ways. Yet the theory of Eastern ways and Western machines was very unstable due to the mechanical combination of two heterogeneous things.

2. *The development of the theory of Eastern ways and Western machines in the late 19th century and the limitations of eclecticism* [see above comment – should we just get rid of both section headings?]

~~Watching With~~ China's defeated ~~to the~~ Great Britain in two wars, ~~and~~ Japan's succumbing ~~surrender to the pressures from the~~ United States pressure to open ~~up~~ its ports in 1853, and ~~experiencing after the experience with~~ France's invasion of Korea in 1866, the people of Joseon felt a ~~prevailing an~~ [overwhelming] sense of crisis apprehension (crisis?) towards the West. With the French invasion, the intellectual community of Joseon was divided into two ~~groups;~~ with a the pro-war group called calling for immediate confrontation with the West, ~~whereas the~~ and a pro-peace group wanted that wanted to avoid immediate confrontation and strengthen the nation's power in the long term. These two camps developed contradicting political ideologies, ~~ie., one advocating a~~ heterodoxicaly rejection of the West ~~thought vs. that advocating enlightenment thought, (one rejecting heterodoxy thought vs. one advocating enlightenment thought?)~~ and had tense confrontations with each other. The heterodoxy rejection camp had a superior position under the regency of Heungseon (1864-1873), father of King Gojong, but ~~the~~ circumstances changed as King Gojong began to rule directly. The King and his confidantes viewed it as inevitable to open up to the West and actively sought state policy to boost national wealth and power for security and protection. The theory of "Eastern ways and Western machines" provided the ideological basis for the policy.

King Gojong stressed the mandate for deploying ~~the~~ Eastern ways and Western machines policy in a royal order written by Kim Yun-sik (1835-1922) in August 1882. ~~by noting that~~ In it, he ask "In ~~the~~ situations ~~that in which an~~ difference in power [imbalance of power] is visibly evident, how can we prevent humiliation and protect our nation if we do not adopt their machines?" This passage shows that adoption of Western machines was an inevitable universal trend of the times and ~~the~~ machines ~~that~~ machines could be selectively adopted selectively in separation outside from the realm of Catholicism. Since Western studies had first been imported to Joseon, ~~There had been a long-running~~ controversy over whether it was possible to separate Western ~~law (Western Wways or Western principle??/), and hence, thinking, [thought]~~ from the influence that machines would bring since Western studies ~~was imported to Joseon~~. Scholars urging ~~to the~~ rejection of heterodoxy viewed the separation as impossible and ~~asserted to reject the~~ unilaterally rejected Western civilization. King Gojong, who wanted to implement an enlightenment

policy, felt uncomfortable with their view and presented the theory of “Eastern ways and Western machines” as the basis ~~in-for~~ adopting the Western civilization.

Sin Gi-seon, a major theorist of “Eastern ways and Western machines” in the second half of the nineteenth century, put forth ~~the-a~~ theory in reaction to the movement to reject Western studies. Based on the idea of a “separation of ways and machines,” he criticized the view that religion and ~~ways law~~ were one, arguing that “A great deal of what we know as farming came from ~~the law of the West~~ Western knowledge. But some say that the ~~law-way~~ of ~~the~~ Westerners is Catholicism, so learning ~~the law~~ their ways is the same as submitting to their religion. ... They say this ~~as-because~~ they do not know that ways and machines are separate.” Shin basis for distinguishing distinguished between “ways” and machines ~~was~~ based on ~~whether they were changeable or not~~ the extent to which either was changeable. Ways ~~do-did~~ not change for all times and places, and examples are the Three Bonds and Five Relations ~~three basic principles and the five moral disciplines in human relations~~, piety, brotherhood, loyalty and trust. Machines are things that can change frequently, ~~such-as as-in~~ the areas of propriety, music, the penal system, clothing (복식, 기용 : 복식은 의복과 음식, 기용은 일상적으로 사용하는 기계나 물건들을 뜻합니다.?), ~~and-as well as the actual~~ use of machines. For changeable machines, utility ~~is-was~~ the only criterion to use to decide whether to adopt it or not. If something ~~is~~ could be beneficial to peoplesociety, it should be actively adopted ~~even if it is foreign~~ actively. Shin takes-took up “ways and machines” ~~which are~~ that were separate, ~~and combine~~ combining them into the form of ‘Eastern ways and Western machines’ as follows:

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“Generally speaking, the Chinese people have extensive knowledge in metaphysics, so their ~~ways-Way~~ holds sway in the world. Westerns have extensive knowledge in physical science, so their machines have no match in the world. If Western machines are put ~~into-to~~ use in Chinese ways, there is nothing that cannot be achieved on earth. But the Chinese people are not good at combining Western machines with their ways. They ~~are in nothing but the name~~ [they are not up to their names] are not living up to their own prior greatness –and are about to crumble and collapse. That is why they cannot fight back to the West even ~~if-after they~~ suffering humiliation. If our ~~ways-Way is are~~ truly put to action, utilizing Western machines will be as easy as flipping the palm. Ways and machines are waiting for each other to avoid separation.”²⁰

The basic structure of ~~the-this~~ eclecticism followed the logic of ~~utilizing-“Eastern Way and Western machines”~~ machines on the basis of ways – that is, accepting “accepting ways as the principles and machines as their concrete outcomes – and this was justified based on the notion of inseparability of ways and machines. In the sense that Shin started off by separating ~~ways-Way~~ from machines, he inherited the tradition of the study of statecraft ~~in mode~~ that had been been-in fashion in-during the second half of the eighteenth century, which ~~was-had been~~ characterized by incorporating Neo-Confucianism and the study of economystatecraft.

Advocates of Eastern ways and Western machines made it clear that Eastern

ways were never to change. Shin emphasized this by saying that the ~~Three Bonds and Five Relations~~ ~~three basic principles and the five moral disciplines in human relations in human relations~~, and piety, brotherhood, loyalty, and trust were unchangeable. ~~Later recollecting~~ ~~In later reflections~~ on the Reformist Revolution of 1884, Kim Yun-sik noted that "Enlightenment theorists adored Europe and discredited the ~~ways~~ ~~Way~~ of King Yao and King Shun of ancient China and of Confucius and Mencius, calling the ~~Wayways~~ of humanity barbarian. They often thought it ~~was to be~~ enlightenment to change our ~~Wayways~~ ~~with into~~ Western ~~waysones~~." This reveals that ~~Gim-Kim~~ viewed the ~~Wayways~~ of King Yao and King Shun, and those of Confucius and Mencius as constant and absolute.

Thinking that ~~waysways~~ were constant and machines were under the control of the ways ~~was~~ grounded on the theory of Eastern ways and Western machines ~~[what is the subject here?]~~. Byeon Ok confined the objects of adoption to those that were not against the ~~Wayways~~ of humanity. This is revealed in his remarks that "Catholicism should be banned thoroughly. Machines, medicine and farming and their usefulness and marvelous effects must be learned as long as they do not harm the ~~Wayways~~ of humanity, and are beneficial to people and production."²¹ Even though the theorists of Eastern ways and Western machines ~~consciously put~~ ~~outlined the~~ limits ~~of adopting Western machines, consciously~~ as Byeon Ok did, the scope of adoption was ~~naturally~~ limited ~~naturally~~ by taking the stance of putting machines into use on the basis of ways. So ~~they their thinking was were~~ conservative ~~in thinking, though though it was~~ progressive compared with those who rejected heterodoxy. To take an example, Shin Gi-seon accused ~~Yoo-Yu~~ ~~Gil-joon-jun~~ (1856-1914), who participated in the Reformist Movement of 1895, ~~for of~~ insulting the military, ~~for~~ changing the laws of the deceased King, and embracing foreign law. He also criticized the cabinet system and clauses of the Constitution made in the Reform ~~Measures~~ of 1894, ~~saying claiming~~ that it ~~had~~ stripped the King of his power and ~~converted it to people's power~~ ~~given it to the people~~. Because they viewed ~~the~~ loyalty of ~~subjects to~~ the King ~~subjects~~ as an unchangeable ~~way~~ ~~Way~~, it was natural that they rejected any institution ~~which that~~ could hurt loyalty-based relations. Kim Yun-sik revealed a conservative tendency in his criticism that adopting the political system of the West ~~was exerting~~ ~~constituted an effort~~ to ~~only~~ learn ~~only~~ the trivial, instead of the core, ~~aspects~~ of ~~the~~ Western civilization.

~~In fact,~~ ~~the~~ limitations of the theory of Eastern ways and Western machines could be overcome only by acknowledging the ~~changeability~~ ~~malleability of ways,~~ ~~which hinged upon~~ the premise of unity between ways and machines. If ~~the this~~ changeability of ~~ways ways~~ was unacceptable, the universal applicability of the ways across all times and spaces should ~~be proved~~ ~~have been at least~~ ~~provable at least~~. Even if it was not easy to expect this of the ~~theorists of~~ "Eastern ~~waysways~~ and Western machines" ~~theorists~~, who believed that Eastern ~~ways ways~~ could be transfused to the West and were actually in transfusion, they were not ~~completely~~ trapped ~~in by the this~~ theoretical boundary ~~entirely~~. ~~[please check my logic and let's talk about this paragraph during a discussion.]~~

Shin Gi-seon was a case in point. In his late years Shin said that "School politics in Europe and America is improving day by day. The main goals and norms of

education are different from those of East Asia, but the focus is on three things: righteousness and virtue, profitable usage ~~[what is the Korean here?]~~, and benefit to people." (1906). This quote shows the he tried to have the leave room to accept even school politics, believing that the West pursued the same goals. In one of his writings published while serving on the writing board of the Giho Society School, he urged to actively adopt the active adoption of Western Studies, by asserting He asserted the imperativeness how imperative it was to begin of learning various new studies of fields that existed in the West, such as political science, law, astronomy, geography and mathematics. Particularly, on political science, he implored to study it stressed its importance by saying that the Westerners "adopt views commonly held by the public, govern the world and enact laws in mutual harmony, and interrogate the government on its policy." This sounds appears to have been like a great shift of thinking.

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In *Yeonamjip seo* (Preface to the Selected Works of Bak Ji-won) (1902), Kim Yun-sik notes that there are were none of no the good laws of the West which that do did not correspond with to the six Chinese classics, and based Based on this notion, he puts placed Bak Ji-won's thought on the a par with "New Learning of the West." In *Shinhak yukyeseol* (New Learning and Six Proper Procedures 육예? : 반드시 배워야 할 여섯 가지 일을 뜻하는데 禮(의례) 樂(음악) 射(활쏘기) 御(말타기) 書(글씨쓰기) 數(산수) 를 뜻합니다.) written in 1907, he expressed ds his view that the New Learning of the West has had many things in common with the six proper procedures, claiming that the political science, law, engineering and economics of the New Learning corresponded to the good things of propriety (예의 선물? 훌륭한 혹은 본받을 만한 좋은 예의) included in the six proper procedures of the East, and He also asserted that the New Learning of the West could have some freedom from the constraints of Eastern ways by earning the same status as the six proper procedures and the six Chinese classics. Later he showed sed a positive view of Western religion, saying that people tended to think that the principle of freedom of religion came from the West, but However, he argued, this principle was it is also found in the ways asserted by the late King late king, and there is was no need to reject Western religion as long as one can could keep one's own nature and do did not lose fail to [maintain] the usual an original state of mind. He takes took this position based on the belief that machines and ways seek sought the same goals.

Despite this, however, these scholars did not exceed the boundary of the theory of Eastern ways and Western machines in their thinking. Shin Gi-seon created Daedong hakhoe Hakhoe (Korea Educational Association) in an attempt to put new studies into use on the basis of Confucian ways. In the first issue of the *Daedong hakhoebo* (Monthly monthly Bbulletin of the Korea Educational Association), published in 1908, Kim Yun-sik urged [whom?] people to seek economic enrichment improvement of life through practical utilization on based on the the principles of humanity benevolence, righteousness, morality and virtue, and combine the two [which two things?] together. They made clearly defined their position on the theory of Eastern ways and Western machines with the concept of principle and its concrete phenomena. Ultimately, the logical limitations of the theory did not go away entirely. Heterodoxy rejection theorists like Yoo In-seok (1841-1915) retained a critical tone, about them remarking that "Some want to take Chinese ways as

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principle and Western law as its concrete phenomena, but this does not make sense. Principle and concrete phenomena, have one foundation. How can the two mix together to become one?"²²

Conclusion

Neo-Confucianism dominated the intellectual community of the Joseon ~~Dynasty~~ dynasty not only in the eighteenth century, but also for a significant part of the nineteenth century. Joseon intellectuals deeply believed in Neo-Confucianism. Of course, both the conception of and ~~the~~ approach to Neo-Confucianism changed somewhat ~~showing a little difference~~ from the then-existing current of Neo-Confucianism. Yet they did not reject Neo-Confucianism *per se* and thought that it had some use, especially ~~the part of~~ in terms of its constant seeking search for order, righteousness and principle (의리학이지학나, 성명지학적 측면? 학 분야). They understood that the ultimate goals of human life, in order to be pursued unconditionally, ~~must needed to~~ be established, and with concrete policies ~~must~~ accompanying these goals in order to attain them. Therefore, the effort to overcome Neo-Confucianism in the eighteenth to the nineteenth century had ~~a the~~ scholarly character of eclecticism ~~combining that combined~~ Neo-Confucianism and statecraft. The eclectic tendency ~~of to complementing the a~~ Neo-Confucian basis with statecraft expanded to include the study of literature, and writing, and bibliographical study ~~[historical research]~~ bibliographical study as it evolved. This eclectic mode created no big problems because the content of statecraft basically revolved around the elements of feudal reform ~~basically~~. However, it revealed limitations as it was transformed into the theory of Eastern ways and Western machines, ~~by as it~~ incorporated ing Western studies as a subject of combination.

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This was because Western machines, the objects of new incorporation, ~~were~~ heterogeneous coming came from a heterogeneous historical tradition which was different from the East. According to the logic of ways and machines, if there ~~were~~ had been Western machines, there must surely would have been Western ways that went with them. ~~So Thus, combining the combination of~~ Western machines with Eastern ~~ways ways~~ was unnatural thought to be ~~[-unreasonable]~~. The limitations of the eclectic theory of Eastern ways and Western machines became concrete in such situations as introducing the parliamentary system. The parliamentary system, a Western machine, contradicted relations based on loyalty, an Eastern ways.

There were only two ways to resolve such problems: ~~to~~ acknowledging the changeability of Eastern ways, or ~~to stop~~ making the choice to not adopting Western machines. The first option was to transcend Neo-Confucian eclecticism, and the second was the ~~to~~ return to conservative Neo-Confucianism, ~~which they were~~ critical of of which they had been critical. In this sense, the theory of Eastern ways and Western machines was the highest and the last stage of Neo-Confucian eclecticism.

Foot notes

- 1) Jang Yoo, *Gyegok manpil* (Essays of Jang Yoo), gwon 1.

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- 2) Jeong Yak-yong, *Yeoyudang jeonjip* (Full Collection of Yeoyudang's Works) Complete Works of Jeong Yak-yong), Set 1, *jip*-Vol., *gwon* 11-, Ohaknon (five Five dDisciplines to Learn: 다섯 가지 학문에 대한 이론이라는 뜻입니다).
- 3) Hong Dae-yong, *Damheonseo* (Works of Hong Dae-yong), *gwon*-Set 1, 2-, Vol. 2, Gyeong ilgi (Diary of the Crown Prince's Quarters), 18 February 18, 1774.
- 4) Nam Gong-cheol, *Yeongonggo* (Manuscripts of Nam Gong-cheol), *gwon* 2-Vol. 2, *Peongsokgi-Pungsokgi* (On Customs).
- 5) Yi Beom-hak, 1989, "Formation and Development of Zhu Xi's Philosophy in the Song Dynasty," *Gangjwa Joongguksa* (Lectures on Chinese History). Vol 3, (Seoul: Jisik Sanupsa, 1989), pp. 226-231. *aneupsa*: Seoul, pp. 226-231.
- 6) Hong Dae-yong, *Damheonseo* (Works of Hong Dae-yong), *gwon* Set 2 Vol. 1, Yeojo eumseo (Love phrases-Phrases and like-like books-Books).
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- 15) Choe Han-gi, *Injeong* (Governance of People), *gwon* Vol.-16, - (선인문 3 은 삭제했습니다.) *Cheoninmungan sam* ("WootanseongeoWutanseon-geo.:사람들이 걱정하고 한탄하는 선거제도"
- 16) Choe Han-gi, *Chuchukrok* (Inference), *gwon* -Vol-6, *Jeongson wen-ikhak yeonunghyeok*.: 정치의 손익과 학문의 연혁

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- 17) The concept of ~~ways~~ "ways and ~~machines~~ machines" is mentioned in the Book of Change, section of Gyesa, Book of Change, which says that "what is metaphysical is called a way and what is physical is called a machine."
- 18) Nam Byeong-cheol, *Gyujae Seonsaeng-seonsaeng munjipgo* (Selected Works of Nam Byeong-cheol), gwon Vol-5, Seo-chu-bo-sok-hae-hoeu. :추보속해라는 책의 뒤에 쓴 후기
- 19) An Jong-su, "Sigang-won munhak dongyang sin-gi seonseo," *Nongjeong shinpyeon* (New Methods of Farming), Sigangwon munhak dongyang shingiseon-seo, (1881).
- 20) *Seungjeongwon ilgi* (Diaries of the Royal Secretariat), 7 October 1882 (19th year of King Gojong).
- 21) Yoo In-seok, Woojeo-Wuju mundap (Dialogue on the Universe).

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