

Development of *Shilhak* and Western Studies in Eighteenth Century Korea

KIM Orun Kihyup

Department of History
Keimyung University

18세기 朝鮮에서 實學과 西學의 展開

金 基 協

啓明大 史學科

요 약

朝鮮 천주교회의 성립은 1784년의 일로 공인되어 있는데, 이것은 李承薰이 이태 초에 北京의 南堂에서 영세를 받고 돌아와 좁은 범위에서나마 규칙적인 종교의식을 가지기 시작한 사실에 근거를 둔 것이다. 그리고 이 종교의식의 범위를 구성한 사람들 중에는 南人 계열의 학자들이 많이 있었고, 이들의 학풍이 星湖 李瀼과 연결된다는 사실까지도 밝혀져 왔다.

實學의 두 단세에서의 泰斗로 꼽히는 星湖와 茶山이 직접·간접으로 西學과 연루된다는 사실만으로도 實學과 西學 사이의 상관관계에는 어느 정도의 개연성이 설정되어 왔다. 그러나 이 개연성을 학술적으로 확인하려는 지금까지의 작업은 두가지 중요한 문제를 넘어서지 못하고 있었던 것으로 보인다. 그 하나는 星湖의 계열에 속하는 학자들 가운데 두드러지게 西學에 반대한 사람들의 입장이 원만하게 설명되지 못한 점이고 다른 하나는 茶山을 비롯한 몇몇 중요한 인물들의 신앙에 대한 태도가 석연하게 이해되지 못한 점이다.

이 연구는 이 두가지 문제를 극복하는 방향을 모색하는 데 일차적인 목적을 두고 星湖와 茶山, 그리고 星湖의 제자로서 가장 뚜렷하게 反西學의 태도를 보인 河濱 愼後聃, 세 사람의 논설을 검토하여 하나의 學統 안에서 같은 주제에 대해 보여진 여러가지 태도를 일관성있게 해명하는 데 노력을 기울였다.

星湖가 보인 조심스러운 수용자세에서 茶山과 그 주변인물들이 기독교의 교리까지 받아들여려 하는 단계 사이에는 반세기의 세월을 지나는 동안 星湖가 보였던 개혁정신이 자연스럽게 성장한 것으로 이해할 수 있다. 한편 星湖가 각별히 그 제주를 아꼈던 제자 河濱의 경우 극단적인 西學비판에 유별나게 열을 올렸던 것은 河濱이 일다나 西學에 큰 기대를 걸고 짧은 동안이나마 정성껏 공부하였었는지를 역설적으로 드러내 보여 주는 것으로 이해된다.

星湖 이래 자취를 감췄던 西學이 1779년의 走魚寺 강학회에서 나타난 것은 끊어졌던 흐름이 어느날 갑자기 다시 나타난 것으로 보기보다는 보이지 않게 숨어서 흐르던 伏流가 1785년의 秋曹摘發로 드러난 뒤에 이 강

* Received November 5, 1989 accepted November 18, 1989.

** A different version was published in the *Korean Culture* 10-3, 1989, pp.5-13.

학회 무렵까지가 거슬러 밝혀진 것으로 보는 것이 합당할 것이다. 그렇다면 이 언저리에서 신앙운동의 성립을 위해 절대적인 역할을 맡았다고 전해지는 李薺의 경우도, 강학회 이전의 원래 흐름을 가리기 위해 조작 또는 과장된 것이었을 가능성이 있으며 茶山을 비롯한 星湖계열 정통학자들의 동기에 주목하는 것이 이 단계의 흐름을 파악하기 위해 더욱 긴요한 일로 떠오른다.

茶山の 언론·저술 가운데 신앙문제를 직접 다룬 대목들에 대해서는 많은 논란이 있어 왔다. 그러나 다른 여러가지 주제를 다룬 茶山の 글 속에서 유일신의 개념에 접근한 '天'에 대한 인식, '理'의 근원성·보편성에 대한 부정적 시각을 비롯해서 中國에서 활동한 예수회 補儒論者들의 입장이 많이 비쳐지는 것을 확인할 수 있다.

星湖의 학통을 이어받은 茶山과 그 주변의 학자들은 實學을 추구한 것과 같은 동기, 즉 위기에 빠진 현실을 극복하기 위해 필요한 전반적인 개혁의 선도적인 위치에서 학풍을 쇄신하려는 의지를 가지고 西學에 접한 것으로 보이며 이러한 경향이 1780년대 중반까지 西學의 분위기를 주도한 것으로 보인다. 그러나 1780년대말에 이르러서는 신앙을 결대시하는 새로운 경향이 대두되어 두 경향이 엇갈리는 가운데 1791년의 珍山사건을 겪으면서 원래의 학구적인 경향이 교회에서 물러나기에 이른 것이 아닐까.

1. Academic trends in Korea by the early 18th century

Though Confucianism was first known to Koreans during the latter part of the Three Kingdoms Period, it did not assume a prevalent position in Korea until toward the end of the Koryŏ Dynasty, when the Neo-Confucian version was imported from the Mongol Yuan Dynasty. An Hyang (1243-1306) was honored by later scholars as the "Confucius of the East", in recognition of his effort for the introduction and propagation of Neo-Confucianism in Korea.¹⁾

Following the introduction, Neo-Confucianism was popularized at a great speed among the newly rising literati class, and by the fall of the Koryŏ Dynasty in 1392, it had been established as the predominant school of thought in the country. This rapid growth is usually understood in terms of the social and political needs of the time. Buddhism, which had been prevailing in Korea for nearly a millenium, was fast deteriorating together with the aristocracy, to which it had been closely tied for centuries. The disintegration of the Mongol suzerainty also gave rise to an urgent need for a value system to uphold a new political order.

When the new dynasty of Chosŏn replaced Koryŏ and entered into a new tributary relationship with the Ming Dynasty, the position of Neo-Confucianism in the country was further strengthened. Ming rulers, relying less on material force and more on moral obligations than their Yuan predecessors, allowed Chosŏn more political autonomy and favored the development of Neo-Confucian ideology in Korea. The early kings of Chosŏn, trying to base the new dynasty on the support of the literati/middling landowners class, exerted a great effort to establish Neo-Confucianism as the state ideology.²⁾

Neo-Confucianism in Korea achieved a great development during the 16th and 17th centuries, along with the stabilization of the political and social order under the new Chosŏn dynasty. To be noted at this stage is the ardent adherence to Song scholarship, especially to that of Chu

1) For the introduction of Neo-Confucianism to Korea, see Yu Myŏng-jong, *Han'guk Sasangsa* 韓國思想史 (Taegu, 1981), ch. 8.

2) For the general history of Korea, see Yi Ki-baek, *A New History of Korea* (tr. E.W. Wagner, Cambridge, MA, 1984), and Han Woo-keun, *The History of Korea*, (tr. Lee Kyung-shik, Seoul, 1970).

Xi, at the expense of the contemporary Ming Neo-Confucianism.³⁾ Also to be noted are the achievement of a highly sophisticated metaphysical system⁴⁾ and the extraordinarily long service as state ideology.

Just as Neo-Confucianism in Korea reached its apex in the latter half of the 16th century, things began to bode ill for its further development. The flourishing of Neo-Confucian schools, coupled with the concentration of land-ownership, caused the overgrowth of the literati class, which in turn gave rise to severe conflicts among political and academic factions. The invasions of the Japanese (1592-98) and the Manchus (1627-37) planted in the minds of many people doubts as to the validity of the existing order. The succession of the Qing to the Ming Dynasty (1644) challenged the sino-centric components of Neo-Confucianism. Most important of all, there were socio-economic changes that began to take place beyond government control, which could not be easily coped with by the existing ideology.

As a result of these changes, the literati class went through a process of differentiation during the 17th century. The majority of the class tried to adhere even more strongly to the old order. Many members of this group indulged in the metaphysical or individualistic aspects of Neo-Confucianism, while others developed a blind allegiance to orthodoxy, accusing anything new of heterodoxy.⁵⁾ A smaller group was more ready to come to terms with reality and sought various ways to accommodate the new problems. Some of them tried to develop extensions from the existing order, while others tried to introduce new elements from contemporary China or from any other sources available.

2. Advent of *Shilhak* and earlier contacts with the West

The invasions by the Japanese and the Manchus seriously affected, among other things, the prestige of the sovereignty in Korea, and the royal power stayed at a low ebb for more than a century.⁶⁾ During most of the 17th century and the first half of the 18th century, the court was under the control of the conservative Western Faction and there was little chance of any kind of reform to be initiated in the political sphere. Under the situation, therefore, the struggle for social, political, and ideological reforms was left in the hands of a small number of individual scholars.

During the Japanese occupation (1910-45), nationalist historians of Korea started labelling

3) *Yang-ming-xue* was imported and taken up by a small group of Korean scholars during the 17th century, but was never widely popularised. See Kim Kil-hwan, *Han'guk Yangmyŏnghak Yŏn'gu* 韓國陽明學研究 (Seoul, 1981), and Yu Myŏng-jong, *Han'guk ŭi Yangmyŏnghak* 韓國의 陽明學 (Seoul, 1983).

4) For the flowering of Neo-Confucianism in Korea, see the articles in Wm. T. de Bary & J.K. Haboush, eds., *The Rise of Neo-Confucianism in Korea* (New York, 1985).

5) Perhaps the most dramatic incident was the persecution of Yun Hyu (1617-1680), one of the most celebrated scholars of the time. See Miura Kunio, "Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy in 17th century Korea; Song Si-yŏl and Yun Hyu" in de Bary and Haboush, eds., op. cit.

6) During this period, a king was dethroned (1622), a crown prince (1645) and a king (1724) are believed to have been poisoned to death, and the kings' personal concerns were repeatedly interfered in by the court. Another crown prince met a tragic death in 1763.

as '*Shilhak*' the works by a group of scholars from the 17th to the 19th centuries, defining them as the manifestation of the creative and progressive spirit of the nation. After the Liberation of 1945, this subject attracted more and more scholars and developed into a major field of study on its own.⁷⁾ Though the definition of *Shilhak* does not yet seem quite clear,⁸⁾ three propositions have been identified as basic constituents of the movement: reformism(經世致用), pragmatism(利用厚生) and scientism(實事求是).⁹⁾

Reformism stayed by far the most conspicuous trend of *Shilhak* during the 17th and 18th centuries. Among the 17th century scholars, Yi Su-gwang (1563-1628), Yu Hyŏng-won (1622-73), and Yun Chŭng (1629-1714) are noted as early proponents of *Shilhak*, though their works were not directly continued into an organized movement. Yi Ik (1681-1764), undisputedly one of the greatest masters of *Shilhak*, was active during the first half of the 18th century. Aside from extensive personal accomplishments, he influenced through teaching and writing a number of people who later developed various trends of *Shilhak*.

Griffis had good reason to call Korea the "Hermit Nation",¹⁰⁾ because she had taken more than two and half centuries more time than her neighboring countries to get into direct and regular contact with the West.¹¹⁾ Until the arrival of the French Catholic missionaries in 1836, her direct contacts with the West had been no more than the stays of two Jesuit missionaries in Japanese camps during the Japanese Invasion (1592-98) and a handful of shipwrecked Dutch sailors, as far as the record goes. Otherwise, there were more regular, but less direct contacts through her diplomatic relationship with China during the 17th and 18th centuries.

Cespedes and Laguna, Jesuit missionaries despatched from Japan to Korea during the Japanese Invasion, do not seem to have left any significant impression on Korean minds during their short stays on the Korean soil.¹²⁾ Nor do the shipwrecked sailors, though some of them lived or stayed in Korea for some lengths of time and one of them eventually left the first detailed account of Korea in an European language.¹³⁾ On the other hand, there are no traces of Koreans getting to Europe until the middle of the 19th century, but for a boy who is said to have been taken to Japan during the Japanese Invasion and sold at the slave market to a Jesuit mission-

7) A detailed account of the process is given in Ch'ŏn Kwan-u, "Han'guk Shilhak Sasangsa" (The history of *Shilhak* thoughts in Korea), *Minjok Munhwasa Taegye* 民族文化史大系 (Seoul, 1970).

8) For general discussions on *Shilhak*, Korean Historical Association, ed., *Shilhak Yŏn'gu Ipmun* 實學研究入門 (Seoul, 1973), and Yu Won-dong, *Han'guk Shilhak Kaeron* 韓國實學概論 (Seoul, 1984), may be consulted.

9) The English translations are arbitrary suggestions by the present author. For the exact comprehension of these phrases, refer first to the Chinese characters.

10) W. E. Griffis, *Corea, the Hermit Nation* (New York, 1882).

11) The Jesuits were first established in Japan in 1549 and in China in 1583.

12) J. Ruiz-de-Medina S.J., *Origenes de la Iglesia Catolica Coreana* (Rome, 1986).

13) Three survivors from a wrecked Dutch ship reached the Korean shore in 1628. Two of them died during the war with the Manchus in 1634, but Jan Waltevre was naturalized and lived at least 20 more years in Korea with the Korean name of Pak Yŏn. Another shipwreck in 1653 brought 38 more Dutchmen to Korea, who were confined in military camps for many years. Eight of them, including Hendrik Hamel, managed to escape to Japan in 1666 and returned to Holland. Hamel wrote *Relation du Naufrage d'un Vaisseau Hollandois*, the first detailed account of Korea in an European language. An English translation of the book was published in the *Transactions of the Korean Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 9, 1918.

In the absence of direct contacts with the West, Koreans relied solely on China for what knowledge they acquired of the West. Diplomatic relationship with China had been virtually the only channel for centuries between Korean scholarship and the outside world. After the establishment of the Jesuits in Peking at the beginning of the 17th century, members of Korean envoys to Peking began quite regular contacts with Jesuits in Peking, especially with those in charge of astronomical/observatory matters.¹⁵⁾ A particularly impressive case is Crown Prince Sohyŏn's association with Adam Schall von Bell during his stay in Peking in 1644. There is speculation that the occasion might have led to a great promotion of Western studies in Korea, but for his sudden and seemingly unnatural death shortly after his return to Seoul.¹⁶⁾

3. Yi Ik's initiation of Western Studies

Even though a little knowledge about the west was current among 17th century Korean scholars, few of them left serious remarks on it on record. Perhaps the most detailed account from this period is that of Ryu Mong-in (1559-1623):¹⁷⁾

"There was a man named Li Ma-dou,.....wrote a book comprising two volumes and eight chapters. It was entitled *Tian-zhu Shi-yi*¹⁸⁾ and claimed that the Master of Heaven was *Shang-di*. 'Shi' meant being not empty and implied its opposition to Buddhist and Taoist ideas of 'void' and 'emptiness'.....Even though it contains a lot of plausible arguments, how could it ever help falling into the sphere of heresy, what with its allegations about Heaven and Hell and what with its promotion of celebrity?"

Nothing much more noteworthy appeared until Yi Ik's time. His interest in things Western was extensive and his attitude was quite favorable in certain ways. As is shown in his review of *Tian-wen-lue*¹⁹⁾, he had a high esteem for scientific ideas from the West:²⁰⁾

"The Chinese calendar had reached its ultimate precision at the time of Guo Shou-jing²¹⁾, but

14) An Italian priest, Carletti, bought five Korean children at a slave market in Japan during his stay there in 1597-98. He baptized them, took them to Goa, and freed all of them there except the one he called Antonio Corea, who accompanied him back to Italy. See Ryu Hong-ryŏl, *Han'guk Ch'ŏnjuk-yohoesa* 韓國天主教會史 (Seoul, 1962), and Ruiz-de-Medina, S.J., op. cit.

15) Section 1 of Pak Sŏng-nae, "Western science and *Shilhak* scholars," *Korea Journal* 26-3, 1986, illustrates the role of envoys in importing Western things and ideas into Korea.

16) See Yamaguchi Masayuki, "Crown Prince Sohyŏn and Adam Schall von Bell" (昭顯世子と湯若望), *Ch'ŏnggu Hakch'ong* 靑丘學叢 5, 1931, and Kim Yong-dŏk, *Chosŏn-hugi Sasangsa Yŏn'gu* 朝鮮後期思想史研究 (Seoul, 1977), ch. 5.

17) *Ōu Yadam* 於于野談, ch. 2. "有利瑪竇者.....著書上下卷八篇, 題目曰天主實義, 言天主上帝也。實者不空也, 排老佛之空與無也.....語多有理, 而天堂地獄謂有, 以不事婚娶爲是, 烏得免挾左道惑世之罪也哉?"

18) The most widely circulated Jesuit book by Matteo Ricci. Written in the 1590s and first published in 1603. Recommends Christianity to Confucian scholars.

19) Jesuit book on astronomy by Emmanuel Diaz (1574-1659). First published in 1615.

20) Yi Ik, *Sŏngho Sŏnsaeng Munjip* 星湖先生文集 (*Sŏngho Chŏnsŏ* 星湖全書, 7 vols., Seoul, 1984), ch. 55, "Pal Ch'ŏn-mun-ryak" (跋天問略). "蓋中國曆法, 至太史郭守敬, 最號精通, 比諸西洋之書, 未或測其皮膚。故及西洋之書出, 而推算之術, 幾乎大成矣。"

21) Chinese astronomer who was in charge of the calendrical and observational reforms under the Yuan Dynasty. 1231-1316.

when compared to Western technology, it still had certain fallacies. Therefore, it was with the adoption of the Western method that the technology of calendrical computation came near to perfection."

In his review of *Tian-zhu Shi-yi*, too:²²⁾

"After coming to China, Ricci authored scores of books. The precision of the astronomy and mathematics contained therein was something the Chinese had never seen."

Yi also expressed his approval of the Western ethics as Presented in *Qi-ke*²³⁾, if with a slight reserve:²⁴⁾

"It contains certain points which have not yet been suggested by Confucian scholars, and they will be a great help in our efforts to restore the right order.....It is a pity that they are mixed up with the absurd allegations of the Master of Heaven and of demons. If we manage to discern the worthy parts from the rubbish, it will not be any different from Confucianism."

On the other hand, Yi was usually critical to religious doctrines of Christianity. But still, he was different from most other Confucian scholars of China and Korea whose opposition to Christianity was based on little more than the mere fact that it came from barbarians. We can discern his efforts to understand the background of the religion in another part of his review of *Tian-zhu Shi-yi*:²⁵⁾

"In my opinion, the customs in the Western countries also went through a course of degradation and people there gradually lost their faith in the moral principle of cause and effect. These circumstances gave rise to Christianity, which at first differed little from the teachings of the Chinese classics. Anxious that the people were unwilling to follow its teachings, however, Christianity tried to lead them with the theory of Heaven and Hell, a tradition to survive to this day. The various miracles of later times cannot be anything but the deeds of what they call demons deceiving people."

His criticism gets harsher when he compares Christianity to Buddhism in still another part of the same review:²⁶⁾

"I have no objections to their antagonizing Buddhism and Taoism, but ironically enough, they do not seem to realize that they also belong to the same falseness.....Their religion puts the Master of Heaven at the top. He is alleged to be one and same as *Shang-di* of Confucianism, but it is in the same way as the Buddhists that they revere and awe Him."

More than two decades after Yi Ik's death, one of his most faithful disciples, An Chŏng-bŏk (1712-91), pressed by the general hostility of the time to the religious movement, wrote

22) Yi Ik, op. cit., ch. 55, "Pal Ch'ŏn-ju-shil-ŭi" (跋天主實義). "利氏至中國, 著書數十種. 其偉觀偉察推數授時之妙, 中國未始有也."

23) Jesuit book on Christian ethics by D. Pantoja. First published in 1614.

24) Yi Ik, *Sŏngho Sasŏl* 星湖雜說 (*Sŏngho Chŏnsŏ*, v. 5), ch. 10, "Ch'il-gŭk P'yŏng" (七克評). "問有吾儒末所發者, 是有助於復禮之功, 大矣. 但其雜之以天主鬼神之說, 則駭焉. 若刊汰砂礫, 採取名論, 便是儒家者流耳."

25) Yi Ik, *Sŏngho Sŏnsaeng Munjip*, ch. 55, "Pal Ch'ŏn-ju-shil-ŭi". "西國之俗, 亦屢變偷遷, 其吉凶應報之間, 漸不尊信. 於是有天主經之教, 其始, 不過如中國詩書云云. 憫其不率也, 則濟之以天堂地獄之說, 流轉至今. 其後來種種靈異之跡, 不過彼所謂魘鬼誑人之致也."

26) "其所以斥竺乾之教者, 至矣, 猶未覺畢竟同歸於幻妄也. 其學, 專以天主爲尊. 天主者, 卽儒家之上帝, 而其敬事畏信, 則佛氏之釋迦也."

about Yi's attitude towards Western studies : ²⁷⁾

"I saw the master for the first time in 1746. At the time, he talked about the classics, history and virtually all the academic subjects. At the end a little was mentioned about the Western things as well. I asked him if there was anything among the Western things that was worth talking seriously about, and he said yes. Then he told me about the theories of the three animas, of the immortality of the spirit, and of Heaven and Hell, and then remarked, 'It is obviously a kind of heterodoxy, no more than a branch of Buddhism.' That is what I heard from him at the time. He also wrote a review article on *Tian-zhu Shi-yi*. If you study the contents of that article and my quotations of what he said, you will have no more doubt if he really put any faith in it."

4. Shin Hu-dam's criticism to the Western religion

Shin Hu-dam(1702-61) was an extraordinarily gifted student of Yi Ik's. He met Yi for the first time early in 1724, when he was 22 years old.²⁸⁾ At the time, he was bracing himself up to return to the orthodox learning from many years of wandering through all kinds of intellectual adventures as a boy. Within a year's time, he read through the several Western books that Yi offered him, and wrote a lengthy treatise to refute them.²⁹⁾

In *Sō-hak-pyōn*³⁰⁾ Shin discussed closely the contents of three Jesuit books. More than half the volume, nearly 7000 characters, was given to *Ling-yan Li-shao* by Francis Sambiasi(1592-1649), a Thomistic explanation of the human soul. The other parts were given to *Tian-zhu Shi-yi* by Matteo Ricci(1552-1610) and *Zhi-fang Wei-ji* by Giulio Aleni(1582-1649), a cultural geography of the World. Shin was so arduous and so brilliant in his criticism to Catholicism that, more than half a century later, when the controversy over Western studies broke out, *Sō-hak-pyōn* was treasured by anti-Western scholars as a masterly example. Even to this day, it is reckoned as the most representative piece of anti-Christian literature from the period.³⁰⁾

27) An Chōng-bok, *Sun'am Munjip* 順庵文集 (*Sun'am Chōnjip* 順庵全集, 4 vols, Seoul, 1984), ch. 17, "Ch'ōn hak-Mun-dap" (天學問答). "余於丙寅歲始謁于先生. 先生與之談論經史諸說, 可謂無所遺矣. 末稍至西洋學. 余因問, 「洋學, 有可以學術言之者乎?」先生曰, 「有之矣.」因言三魂之說, 及靈神不死, 天堂地獄之語, 曰, 「此決是異端, 專是佛氏之別派也.」當時所聞, 如此. 先生又作「天主實義跋」, 今, 以先生與余問答之語, 及此跋文, 觀之, 其果尊信之乎?"

28) For Shin's life, refer to *Habin Sōnsaeng Nyōnbo* 河濱先生年譜, published in *Asea Yōngu* 亞細亞研究 15-2, 1972, pp.197-219.

29) Contained in Yi Man-ch'ae, comp., *Pyōk-wi-pyōn* 闕衛編 (Seoul, 1931). The title of the compilation originated from the work by Yi Ki-kyōng (1756-1819), who aimed at organizing anti-Christian literature to make more effective attacks on the religion. The task of updating and reorganizing the compilation seems to have been continued in the Yi family for more than a century.

30) Historical and philosophical studies on *Sō-hak-pyōn* include; Hong Yi-sōp, "Shilhak ūi i'nyōmjōk ilmo: Habin Shin Hu-dam ūi *Sō-hak-pyōn* ūi sogae" (One aspect of *Shilhak* ideas: an introduction to Shin Hu-dam's *Sō-hak-pyōn*), *Inmun Kwahak* 人文科學 1, 1947, Pak Chong-hong, "Sōgu sasang ūi toip, pip'an kwa sōpch'wi" (Introduction of Western ideas to Korea and the Koreans' criticism and reception thereof), *Asea Yōngu* 12-3, 1969, Ch'oe Tong-hŭi, "Shin Hu-dam ūi *Sō-hak-pyōn* e kwanhan yōngu" (A study on Shin Hu-dam's *Sō-hak-pyōn*), *Asea Yōngu* 15-2, 1972, Yi Won-sun, "*Chikpang-oegi* wa sōyang kyoyuk non" (*Zhi-fang Wei-ji* and discussions on Western education), *Yōksa Kyoyuk* 歷史教育 11/12, 1969, and Don L. Baker, "The use and abuse of the *Sirhak* label: A new look at Sin

Throughout *Sŏ-hak-pyŏn* Shin criticizes Christian ethics as being based on the selfish aspects of the human mind and attacks the arbitrariness of Christian doctrines. Following are a few typical examples of his arguments :

“The Western learning is but another branch of Buddhism, modified and mystified to look more plausible. It will never manage, however, to conceal its selfish mentality of craving for life and abhorring death.”³¹⁾

“Their theories of Heaven and Hell and of the immortality of the spirit are clearly the same as the Buddhist theories and do not correspond at all to our Confucianism. I do not see at all how they differ from Buddhism or what they share with our Confucianism. They just put together pieces of Buddhist theories and claim to be against it. Matteo Ricci and his flock are not only criminals to our Confucianism but traitors to Buddhism as well.”³²⁾

“These people of Western learning fail to cultivate their inherent virtues on the basis of their human nature bestowed by Heaven. They also fail to complete their moral obligations by observing the principles displayed by Heaven. If they revere or awe Heaven just because good and bad fortunes depend on it, their reverence and awe will never come from their hearts. It will not be anything but the pursuit of good fortune and the evasion of bad fortune. This practice, depending totally on the selfish minds of people, cannot be compared to the sincere attitudes of Confucian sages and scholars toward Heaven. Once this practice is released, I can foresee people being swept away in the torrent of the pursuit of profit, which nothing will be able to stop.”³³⁾

“There have been numerous currents of heterodoxy, but they all come from the same origin of ‘selfishness.’”³⁴⁾

“I cannot understand the Master of Heaven’s special blessing on the French king. Were He to give a special blessing, He would have done much better to bless him with the reverent virtue of Yao, or with the wise virtue of Shun. Instead of with these fair virtues, why should He have blessed the king with the ability to heal skin diseases?”³⁵⁾

“As to their allegation that the World was created by the Master of Heaven, it cannot be supported by any logic, nor does it have any reference in the classics. It is nothing but the result of wild imagination. They try to demonstrate it with the analogy with an architect building a house, but I cannot imagine that the creation of the World could be compared to the building of a house.”³⁶⁾

Hu-dam and his Sohak Pyon”, *Kyohoesa Yŏn’gu* 教會史研究 3, 1981.

31) “至於西泰，則又因佛氏之餘論，而變而神之，愈爲近理。然，不能自掩其貪生惜死之利心。”

32) “彼天堂地獄精靈不滅之說，明是佛氏之說，而未嘗略見於吾儒之書。吾未知異於佛氏者，何事也；同於吾儒者，何事也。區區援拾乎佛氏之餘論，而反以斥佛爲名：瑪竇諸人，不徒吾儒之罪人，抑亦佛氏之反賊也。”

33) “今爲其學者，不能原其天賦之性，而充其固有之德矣；又不能察其天叙之倫，而盡其當行之道。其所以敬且畏之者，徒以禍福修短之係乎天：則其所謂敬之也，非誠心而敬之也；其所謂畏之也，非誠心而畏之也；求福而已，恤禍而已。其學之全出於利心，而不足與論於聖賢對越之誠，概可見矣。此說行，吾見天下之滔滔趨利，不可返也。”

34) “大抵異端之學，其流則有萬不同，而其源則皆出於利。”

35) “天主之特賜寵異於佛郎察王者，何歟？必欲特賜，賜之以欽明之德，如堯，可也；賜之以潛哲之德，如舜，可也。何不賜之以堯舜德性，而只以撫人癰瘡之手歟？”

36) “至謂「天地之成，由於天主之制作」，則此乃於理無徵，於經無稽，而特出於妄度之論也。彼雖引工匠成房屋之事以證之，然，吾恐，天地之開闢，不如房屋之出於人爲也。”

Despite the extreme rigor of Shin's criticism on the Western learning, the elaborate treatise betrays both the high level of his rationalism and the closeness with which he examined his subject. Much seems to be still left to fully understand his attitude to Western studies, and I am waiting for the long announced publication of the collection of his works.³⁷⁾ Nevertheless, what has been revealed seems to suffice here to present certain aspects of the intellectual atmosphere of the period.

5. The founding of the Korean Catholic Church

Yi Ik left a number of comments and articles on Western studies, and though many of them are not closely dated, his interest in Western studies is assumed to have persisted to his last years, on the ground of some of his correspondence with his students.³⁸⁾ After his death, however, no trace has been found of the continuation of his interest in this direction even among his students, until 1779, when Kwon Ch'öl-shin (1736-1801), the youngest of Yi's direct disciples, presided over a seminar where Western subjects were seriously discussed.³⁹⁾ During the following years, these subjects seem to have gained more and more currency among younger scholars of Yi's lineage, and in 1784 one of them, Yi Sŭng-hun (1756-1801), received baptism on his trip to Peking and started religious meetings after returning to Seoul. This is what is now officially recognized as the foundation of the Korean Catholic Church.

One curious thing at this stage is the role of Yi Pyŏk (1754-86). He has been indicated by various sources as the person the most responsible for all the major steps toward the establishment of the religious movement.⁴⁰⁾ They say that he intruded into the 1779 seminar, to persuade the people there to study and discuss Western subjects. They also say that during the next few years, he induced to the religious movement all the prominent members, including brothers Kwon Ch'öl-shin and Il-shin (?-1792), brothers Chŏng Yak-chŏn (1758-1816), Yak-chong (1760-1801) and Yak-yong (1762-1836), Yi Ka-hwan (1742-1801) and Yi Ki-yang (1744-1802). Finally he is said to have instructed Yi Sŭng-hun to seek baptism in Peking, and he was administering a religious meeting when it was detected by the police in the spring of 1785.⁴¹⁾ All in all, he is assumed to have done more for the founding of the Church than everybody else put

37) Yŏ gang Publishing House has been announcing the publication of *Habin Chŏnrip* (河濱全集) since 1987.

38) See Yi Won-sun, "Sŏngho Yi Ik ūi sŏhak segye" (Yi Ik's world of Western studies), *Kyohoesa Yŏn'gu* 1, 1979, and chapters 2 and 3 of Ch'oe Tong-hŭi, *Sŏhak e taehan Han'guk Shilhak ūi Pan'ŭng* 西學에 대한 韓國實學의 反應 (Seoul, 1988).

39) Chŏng Yak-yong, *Chŏng Tasan Chŏnsŏ* 丁茶山全書, 3 vols., (Seoul, 1960), tome 1, ch. 15, "Nok'am Kwon Ch'öl-shin Myo-ji-myŏng" 鹿菴權哲身墓誌銘 and "Sŏn-jung-ssi Myo-ji-myŏng" 先仲氏墓誌銘. Ch. Dallet, *Histoire de l'Eglise de Corée*, 2 vols (Paris, 1874), also gives a detailed account of the incident, but with a different date of 1777 (v. 1, pp. 14-15). As all Korean sources point to 1779, Dallet's date is now considered an error. See Kim Ok-hŭi, "Sŏhak ūi suyong gwa kŭ ūshik-kujo" (The receptions of Western studies and the mentality involved), *Han'guk Saron* 韓國史論 1, 1973.

40) The sources include a number of Chŏng Yak-yong's writings, statements by members of the religious movement at official interrogations and Ch. Dallet's book mentioned in the previous note.

41) See Yi Man-ch'ae, comp., op. cit., ch. 2, "Ŭl-sa Ch'u-jo chŏk-pal" (乙巳秋曹摘發).

together.⁴²⁾

The interesting thing is that Yi Pyŏk came from a family of military, rather than scholarly background, even though he was connected by marriage to the more scholarly family of Chŏng Yak-yong. All the sources refer to his outstanding physical features rather than his intellectual features, with the exception of a small piece by Chŏng Yak-yong, written more than 30 years after Yi's death.⁴³⁾ On the other hand, all the persons that are said to have been induced by Yi to the religious movement were among the most highly promising or accomplished scholars of the time and most of them were closely related to Yi Ik.⁴⁴⁾ My speculation is that the religious movement of the 1780s was a development of the hidden flow of Western studies that had started in Yi Ik's time and when it was uncovered in 1785, it was traced back as far as to the 1779 seminar. Yi Pyŏk's role was probably exaggerated to a certain extent after his death, during the long course of persecution, when the threat of severe punishment prompted the suspects to try to mitigate the matter by leaving the blame on the dead man.

In this context, I hold that more has to be studied about the motivation of the academic group of Yi Ik's lineage to understand the true nature of the religious movement, instead of explaining it away with the personal revelation of Yi Pyŏk. Most of the key members of this group, however, never had much chance to express themselves freely, because at first, during King Chŏngjo's reign, the movement was always an object of public hostility ever since its exposure in 1785, and after the king's death in 1800, there followed an even harsher oppression under which many members lost their lives. That is one of the reasons that a great portion of recent researches have been centered on Chŏng Yak-yong, who lived on 35 years after the 1801 persecution and left a vast amount of writings, some of which have been considered relevant to his religious attitude.⁴⁵⁾

42) For Yi's thoughts and activities, see Kim Ok-hŭi, *Kwang'am Yi Pyŏk ūi Sŏhak-sasang* 曠庵李栗斗西學思想 (Seoul, 1979), and Kim Sŏng-bae, *Yukyo wa Kŭrisŭdogyo: Yi Pyŏk ūi Hangukjŏk shinhak wonri* 儒教와 基督教: 李栗斗 韓國의 神學原理 (Waegwan, 1979).

43) Chŏng Yak-yong, op. cit., tome 2, ch. 4, "Chung-yong kang-ŭi" (中庸講義).

44) This point is well displayed in Ch'oe Sang-ch'ŏn, "Chŏngjo-jo Ch'ŏnju-gyohoe undong ūi sŏnggyŏk" (Features of the Catholic Church under King Chŏngjo's reign), *Ch'oe Sŏk-u Shinbu Hwagap kinyom Han'guk kyohoesa nonchong* 崔奭祐神父華甲紀念韓國教會史論叢 (Seoul, 1982).

45) Chŏng Yak-yong, widely referred to by his literary name Tasan(茶山), was born in 1762 in a small village about 20 miles off Seoul, as the fourth and youngest son of a moderately placed scholar-official. Obtained the Chinsa(進士) degree in 1783 and received the notice and favor of King Chŏngjo while studying in government institutions. Won the final Mun'gwa(文科) degree in 1789 and served as a royal secretary or as a provincial magistrate for most of the time until 1801, when his official career ended abruptly. Since 1785, he had been repeatedly accused of involvement in the religious movement, but the king's unchanging trust in him usually spared him from severe punishment until the king's sudden death in 1800. Chŏng was tried again in 1801, and without the king's protection, he was condemned guilty this time. He was exiled to a place in the southwestern corner of the country, where he was to live 18 years until he was allowed to return to his birthplace to spend the rest of his life until his death in 1836. During the 35 years of seclusion (1801-1836), he authored a vast amount of writings, which consist of three primary genres; belles lettres, classical studies and political treatises. A good part of his writings of more or less [established] import have been published in at least three analogous compilations: *Yŏyudang Chŏnsŏ* 與猶堂全書, comp. 1935-1937, *Chŏngbo Yŏyudang Chŏnsŏ* 增補與猶堂全書, comp. 1970 and *Chŏng Tasan Chŏnsŏ* 丁茶山全書,

6. The case of Chŏng Yak-yong

Almost all the scholars today agree that Chŏng Yak-yong was the greatest of the *Shilhak* masters. This is not merely because he left a vast amount of writings on a variety of topics, but because it is acknowledged that he manifested a wider range of *Shilhak* spirit than anybody else. By the time he was involved in the religious movement in his early twenties, he had been deeply influenced by the reform ideas of Yi Ik. It is not clear how much of Yi's interest in Western studies was passed on to Chŏng, but the circumstances seem to indicate a certain level.⁴⁶⁾ In the same way as Yi had done, Chŏng believed that reform in scholarship was essential for reform in general. And for this, on the extension of Yi's line, Chŏng tried to overcome, or bypass, the predominant metaphysics of Neo-Confucianism to get back to the old, genuine teachings of Confucius and Mencius.⁴⁷⁾

It was obviously very well in line with the 'theory of complementing Confucianism' of Jesuit accommodationism. As we find in many parts of Chŏng's writings his belief in the personified image of Heaven and his dismissal of the fundamental and universal nature, the ultimacy of *li*, we find it difficult to assume that he was not affected by the Jesuit writings he had read. He records a dialogue with King Chŏngjo, where he identifies Heaven as the 'Omniscient Controller':⁴⁸⁾

"(King) Heaven and Earth exist together. Why do they talk only about the 'Order of Heaven'? (Chŏng) I think that, when they refer to the high and bright Heaven, it means the blue, shaped heaven, and when they refer to the endless Order of Heaven, Heaven the Omniscient Controller is meant. That is why the supreme deeds of the Controller Heaven is praised after the grandeurs of the heaven, the earth, the mountains and the rivers are enumerated."

In another article, he further specifies the Omniscience of Heaven:⁴⁹⁾

"The Omniscience of Heaven penetrates every corner of the human mind. It never misses any hidden thing and illuminates the smallest particles. Those who are aware of Its everyday presence looking into their rooms cannot but behave themselves, however bold they may be."

He shows a rather amusing way of describing the Controller Heaven in another place:⁵⁰⁾

comp. 1960. Another great mass of newly discovered pieces was added to his credit in 1987 under the title of *Yŏyudang Chŏnsŏ Poyu* 與猶堂全書補遺, and its compilers, the Tasan Society, are working hard for still more.

46) See Ch'oe Sang-ch'ŏn, op. cit.

47) Reformists in Confucian societies repeatedly denounced the current scholarship and proposed to return to the 'genuine' Confucianism of antiquity. See Chang Hao, "Song-Ming yi-lai Ru-jia jing-shi-si-xiang shi-shi" (宋明以來儒家經世思想試釋) and Huang Chun Chieh, "Cong Meng-zi-wei kan Kang You-wei dui Zhong-Xi si-xiang de tiao-rong" (從「孟子微」看康有為對中西思想的調融) in *Proceedings of the Conference on the Theory of Statecraft of Modern China* (Taipei, 1984).

48) Chŏng Yak-yong, op. cit., tome 1, ch.8, "Chung-yong ch'aek" (中庸策). "並言天地, 而獨言天命者." "臣以爲高明配天之天, 是蒼蒼有形之天, 維天於穆之天, 是靈明主宰之天. 是故列序天地山水之廣大, 而贊歎功化於主宰之天."

49) Ibid., tome 2, ch. 3, "Chung-yong cha-jam" (中庸自箴). "天之靈明, 直通人心, 無隱不察, 無微不燭, 臨照此室, 日監在茲. 人苟知此, 雖有大膽者, 不能不戒慎恐懼矣."

50) Ibid., tome 2, ch. 15, "Non-ŏ ko-gŭm-ju" (論語古今注). "言語之於化民, 末也. 教之誨之, 勞唇敝舌, 而

"Talking is not a very effective way of dealing with people. Teach them, admonish them, tire your lips and torture your tongue, and there will still be those who wouldn't follow you. If you stop talking and keep working yourself, and try to show your mind through your deeds, the people will look and feel for themselves. It is just the same with the way of Heaven. The motions of the sun, the moon and the stars are arranged in such a way that the seasons never fail to accord. The deliveries of wind, thunder, rain and frost are provided in such a way that all the living things thrive on them. They are nothing but the effects of the silent Controller. If you try to explain them as the manifestation of *li*, you will never get at it, however hard you may try, because *li* by itself does not know what it does."

He sounds even nearer to Matteo Ricci when he discusses *li* and *qi*:⁵¹⁾

"*Qi* is substance and *li* is attribute. Attribute must rely on substance. Therefore, *qi* must be there before *li* comes out. Then it is all right to say that *qi* appears and *li* mounts it. But one could not say that *li* starts and *qi* follows it."

Compare it to a passage of *Tian-zhu Shi-yi*:⁵²⁾

"Concepts can be divided to substance and attribute.....Take an example of a white horse. They say 'white' and they say 'horse'. 'Horse' is substance and 'white' is attribute. Even if there is no 'white', 'horse' can exist. But without 'horse', 'white' cannot exist.....If *Tai-ji* cannot be explained by anything but the so-called *li*, it cannot be the origin of the universe. *Li* is an attribute itself, which cannot exist on its own. How could it ever support the existence of still another concept?"

7. The mirage of 'Accommodationism'

There is little doubt that Chǒng Yak-yong relied on certain Jesuit concepts and arguments in fighting the predominant Neo-Confucian metaphysics of the time. But it does not follow that he embraced Western studies as his principle of faith. Of the eight chapters of *Tian-zhu Shi-yi*, the second and the fourth seem to have been Chǒng's favorite. These two chapters were devoted to attacking Neo-Confucianism and attempting new interpretations of the Chinese Classics. Whether he accorded with the contents of other chapters as well and to what extent, it is not so clear and seems to need a great amount of further investigation to get at any idea, if we take into account the subtlety of the question and the vast amount of his writings.

It is not likely, anyway, that Chǒng should have given up being a Confucian scholar so as to take up Western studies. He was born in a Confucian society, to a Confucian family, sought a career based on Confucian values, and carried out an enormous amount of work on Confucian

民猶有不從者，默然躬行，見諸行事，而民猶有觀感者。但以天道驗之，日月星辰之運，而四時不錯，風雷雨露之施，而百物以蕃，亦默自主宰而已。若但以理之發見而言之，則理本無知，雖欲言語，得乎？”

51) Ibid., tome 2, ch. 4, "Chung-yong kang-ñi". "蓋氣是自有之物，理是依附之品，而依附者，必依於自有者。故纔有氣發，便是有理。然則，謂之，「氣發而理乘之」，可謂之，「理發而氣隨之」，不可。”

52) Li Ma-dou, *Tian-zhu Shi-yi* (Li Zhi-zao, ed., *Tien-zue Chu-han*, Taipei, Student Books, 1965), v. 1, ch. 2. "夫物之宗品有二；有自立者，有依賴者。……且以白馬觀之。曰白，曰馬；馬乃自立者，白乃依賴者，雖無其白，猶有其馬；如無其馬，必無其白。……若太極者，止解之以所謂理，則不能為天地萬物之原矣。蓋理亦依賴之類，自不能立，曷立他物哉？”

studies. Perhaps it was his yearning for the elevation of his Confucian scholarship, combined with his realization of the urgent need for a social and political reform, that led him to Western studies, as was the case with Yi Ik.⁵³⁾ Whereas Yi stopped at picking up useful and harmless pieces of Western studies, Chŏng went steps further and employed some of the Jesuit concepts and arguments in attacking the basic premises of the prevailing Neo-Confucian metaphysics. As I already remarked in the previous section, Chŏng's attitude was quite well in line with the Jesuit 'theory of complementing Confucianism'.

There are more things that connote Chŏng and his friends' inclination toward the Jesuit accommodationism, which had been long lost in China by their time.⁵⁴⁾ Yi Sŭng-hun is said to have sent a letter to the Peking Church in 1789 to inquire into a few liturgical matters, including the appropriateness of holding religious services without the presence of an ordained priest and the compatibility of traditional rites with the Catholic creed.⁵⁵⁾ After receiving negative answers to the two questions, with which he and his colleagues had been having their own ways for years, they dropped out of the religious movement. Though some Church historians have been trying to attribute the incident to their ignorance of the clerical codes, it is difficult to imagine that Yi had not been taught about such basic matters before receiving baptism, especially when the Rites Controversy had been such a sensitive matter in China for a long time. It looks more likely that they had consciously ignored certain instructions from Peking, so as to make the movement more feasible in Korea, until they were pressed by a newer sector of the movement to straighten out the matters.⁵⁶⁾

We should also take into account the fact that the group's acquaintance with Western studies had relied heavily on Jesuit publications until Yi Sŭng-hun's baptism in 1784. Considering also the fact that the thriving of Jesuit publication in China was based on the policy of accommodationism, it maybe justifiable to assume that most, if not all, of the books they had read were based on the principle of accommodationism, rather than on the reversed, later position of the Peking Church.⁵⁷⁾ Chŏng Yak-yong said in 1797, in an effort to clear himself of the charge of

53) For more details of Yi Ik's attitude to Western studies, see Yi Yong-bŏm, "Yi Ik ūi chidongsŏl kwa kŭ non'gŏ"(Yi Ik's heliocentricism and the ground thereof), *Chindan Hakpo* 震檀學報 39, 1972, Yi Won-sun, "Sŏnggho Yi Ik ūi Sŏhak segye", *Kyohoesa Yon'gu* 1, 1977, and Han Woo-keun, *Sŏnggho Yi Ik Yŏn'gu* 星湖李瀾研究 (Seoul, 1980), chapters 1 and 2.

54) For the outline of the Rites Controversy in China, K.S. Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, (London, 1929), ch. 7 may be consulted.

55) Some of the contents of this letter were quoted, in Latin translation, in a report by Bishop Alexander de Gouvea, "Extractum Epistolae Excellentissimi Admodumque Reverendi Episcopi Peki-nensis, ad Illustrissimum Admodumque Reverendum Episcopum Caradrensem", reproduced in *Kyohoesa Yŏn'gu-jŏ* 3, 1970.

56) It seems that the first group of the movement passed the message on to another group of people, of relatively inferior academic and social standings. The second group included people of the Chung'in(中人) class in Seoul and some landowner/literati class people in the provinces. It seems to have been Ryu Hang-gŏm (1756-1801), a great landlord of Chŏlla Province, that urged Yi Sŭng-hun to write the letter, because it was he that arranged and financed the messenger to deliver the letter to Peking. For Ryu's activities, see Chu Myŏng-jun, "Ch'ŏnjugyo shindo-dŭl ūi Sŏyang sŏnbag ch'ŏngwon"(On the intention of Korean Catholics to appeal for the despatch of Western ships), *Kyohoesa Yŏn'gu* 3, 1979.

57) The extent of Western books imported to Korea has been undertaken by Pae Hyŏn-suk, "Chosŏn

involvement in the religious movement:⁵⁸⁾

"I was at the beginning of my manhood when I came by these books. At the time, it was quite fashionable.....I don't dare to enumerate [here once again the immoral and outrageous arguments in these books, lest they should pollute the sage ears of your Majesty. But as to the argument of abolishing ancestor worship, I could not find it in any of the books that I had read.....I was distressed that the 1791 incident should break out among my relatives.⁵⁹⁾ The incident infuriated me and hurt me so badly that I made up my mind to hate it as if it were my personal foe and to fight it as if it were the worst rebellion to your Majesty."

It clearly shows the way how Chŏng was fascinated by Western studies during his youth and how he was disillusioned later, as he learned about the prohibition of ancestor worship by the Church. Questions have been raised as to the sincerity of this statement, by those who are eager to decide Chŏng's position between the two extremes; a true Christian or an anti-Christian. I do not approve of such a dichotomic question and hold that Chŏng was a Confucian in his own way as far as he was a Confucian, and a Christian in his own way as far as he was a Christian. As we take what he said just as it is, we will probably find in it the exact extent of his commitment to Western studies. He adopted the Jesuit 'theory of complementing Confucianism' in challenging the predominance of Neo-Confucian metaphysics and forwarding the movement to return to the true Confucianism of antiquity. It was perhaps the extent, too, to which the *Shilhak* spirit could get together with Western studies.

e chŏnlae-doen Chŏnjugyo sŏjŏk" (Catholic literature imported to Korea), *Han'guk Kyohoesa Nonmunjip* I (Seoul, 1984) and by Ch'oe So-ja, *Tong-sŏ Munhwa-gyoryu-sa Yŏn'gu: Myŏng-Ch'ŏng-shidae Sŏhak-suyong* 東西文化交流史研究：明清時代 西學受容 (Seoul, 1987), div. 3. It is also to be noted that the Western section of Yi Ik's library, which originated from his father's trip to Peking in 1586, was a major source of materials for the religious movement at its early stage. See Ch'oe Sang-ch'ŏn, "Yi Ka-hwan kwa Sŏhak" (Yi Ka-hwan and Western studies), *Han'guk Kyohoesa Nonmunjip* II (Seoul, 1985).

58) Chŏng Yak-yong, op. cit., tome 1, ch. 9, "Pyŏn-bang sa-dong-busŭngji so" (辨誘辭同副承旨疏). "臣之得見其書，蓋在弱冠之初，而此時，原有一種風氣……其書中傷倫悖理之說，固不可更僕數之，亦不敢汙穢天聽，而至於廢祭之說，臣之舊所是(見?)亦未所見。……辛亥之變，不幸近出，臣，白玆以來，憤悲傷痛，誓心盟志，疾之如私仇，討之如凶逆。"

59) The 1790 instruction from Peking in answer to Yi Sŭng-hun's inquiry of 1789 led Yun Chi-chung (1759-91) and his cousin Kwon Sang-yŏn to refuse the conventional rites when Yun's mother died in 1791. They also had buried their ancestor-tablets in the ground. This incident gave rise to a severe criticism to the religious movement and put Chancellor Ch'ae Che-gong (1720-99), more or less a sympathizer of the movement, in a very difficult position. Ch'ae managed to settle the matter at the level of provincial execution, which was an exceptionally lenient measure for what appeared to constitute the vilest conceivable crime against the existing social order. Yun was a cousin of Chŏng Yak-yong's.