

JUNIOR CONFERENCE PANEL 1: KOREA BETWEEN TRADITION AND MODERNIZATION

The Songs of Flying Dragons and Frogs from the Bottom of a Deep Well: The Yangban Society, the Sirhak Literati, and the Emergence of Korean National Identity During the Chosŏn Dynasty*

BIANCA ANGELIEN ABAN CLAVERIA

*MA History
Department of History,
Ateneo de Manila University*

Abstract

Korea's society during the Chosŏn Dynasty (1392-1910) was embroiled in disorder and confusion, and as the dynasty faced the modern world of the nineteenth century, having a solid national identity was their beacon of light—the country's key unifying force. In order to appreciate how such national identity emerged, this paper seeks to review the respective influences of the yangban society, the Sirhak literati, and the enlightenment movements of Chosŏn Korea, to the

* This paper was awarded as one of the two outstanding papers presented in the conference.

identity and modernization of the country. From the rise to power by Yi Sŏng-gye, to the continued influence of the yangban society, and to the emergence of the Sirhak literati and enlightenment movements, each of these are crucial pillars of the Chŏson dynasty legacy. It is significant to consider that though each had distinct initiatives in forming Chŏson's society, their influence in building and molding the Korean national identity strengthened and prepared its people in facing the uncertainties brought by the modern world—as one nation.

After enduring years of military pressure and political instability, both caused by local and foreign forces, the Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392) of Korea finally succumbed to the might of Yi Sŏng-gye, a celebrated military commander who paved the way to the establishment of the Chŏson dynasty (1392-1910) during the 14th century (Lee, K-b., 1984, pp. 153-159). Apart from taking the royal name “King T'aejo”, Yi Sŏng-gye sought other means to secure his dynasty's legitimacy, as he took great care in deciding the dynasty's name, and saw it fitting to name it after the most ancient kingdom of Korea, “Chŏson.” Furthermore, he moved the capital to Hanyang (now called Seoul), and ensured that the city will emerge as a strong center of Korea, in terms of politics, culture, and economy (Lee, K-b., 1984, pp. 165; 172).

Like a breath of fresh air, the Chŏson house of Yi (the family of Yi Sŏng-gye's ancestors) was seen as a new force to lead

Korea following the decay left behind by the Koryŏ house of Wang. Yet it is interesting to note that though Yi Sŏng-gye, as the dynasty's founder, may be initially perceived to hail from an originally famous and influential family, in reality his ancestors actually began as migrants from Chŏnju, North Cholla province, and through generations have worked their way up the social strata to become a powerful gentry family in Hanhŭng (Lee, K-b., 1984, p. 165). To justify this dynasty's establishment, the virtue of the ancestors of the Yi house was likened to "a deep rooted tree" and "a spring of deep waters," as it was written in the prelude of the famous Chŏson dynasty panegyric *Songs of Flying Dragons* (Lee, P. H., 1975; Lee, K-b., 1984, pp. 164-165):

The tree that strikes deep root
Is firm amidst the winds.
Its flowers are good.
Its fruit abundant
The stream whose source is deep
Gushes for the even in a drought.
It forms a river
And gains the sea.

To better appreciate the establishment of this dynasty, it is also necessary to consider that apart from the strength given by the military, the continued influence of the literati class, the *yangban* society, actually played a crucial factor in the establishment as well as sustainability of the dynasty. *Yangban* is a term usually used to refer to the hereditary social status elite during the Chŏson dynasty. A stricter use of such term would limit its reference to the Chŏson elite who were deemed

eligible for civil service examinations. Considered as the dominant social class which highly influenced Chōson society and polity, the members of the *yangban* were given the privilege to hold positions both in civil and military offices; and this interesting privilege caused them to be identified as members of the “two orders” of officialdom in Chōson’s bureaucracy (Lee, K-b., 1984, pp. 172-173; Palais, 1971).

The manner through which this particular social class has been perceived in South Korean historiography actually sheds light on how historians seek to find out whether there was a drastic change in the social background of Korean society, following the founding of the Chōson dynasty, or there was just continuity. A commonplace argument following the progressionist interpretation of social change in history, would explain that there was indeed an emergence of a new scholar-official class following the fall of the old Koryō dynasty. But considering comprehensive studies that have closely examined the composition and social origins of the social stratification of the early Chōson, their conclusions actually challenge the progressionist interpretation—there was an evident continuity from the late Koryō aristocracy to the Chōson dynasty (Duncan, 1988-1989, pp. 39; 78).

There can be no question of the importance of Yi Sōnggye’s military coalition in the early Chōson. Yi Sōnggye and his allies not only supplied the muscle to overthrow the old dynasty, they also provided the new royal family. It would be easy to dismiss the dynastic bureaucracy as a collection of essentially powerless individuals

serving the military coalition. The evidence, however, indicates otherwise.

During its first decade, the new dynasty did not abolish the political institutions that had served as the home of official power in the Koryŏ. Neither did the new dynasty try to circumvent them by creating extraordinary agencies, except for the Consolidated Military Command [...] established to centralize control over the various military forces. To the contrary, existing governmental agencies, staffed [...] by both old Koryŏ officials and the Yi military group, continued to wield considerable power during the early years of the Chŏson dynasty.

The Privy Council [...], the center of aristocratic power in the late Koryŏ, continued to play a major role throughout the 1390s. The *Veritable Records* [...] are replete with examples of Privy Council political activity in the early dynasty, such as in the second month of 1394 when the Privy Council considered the reform of procedure for selecting border region military officials, reform of the land and stipend system, and the prohibition of falcon hunting, or the first month of 1400, when the king deferred to the Privy Council on the vexatious issue of ratification [...] of the king's appointment of high ranking officials. The central role of the Privy Council in early Chŏson politics was summed up by Kwon Kŭn in the fourth month of

1400: “The number of various ministerial officials now exceeds forty. They all sit in the Privy Council to deliberate on state affairs.”

Further evidence of the ability of the regular dynastic institutions to assert themselves presents itself in remonstrance activity. The *Veritable Records* also contain numerous instances of strong remonstrance by the Censorate and the remonstrance officials [...] during the early years of the Chōson, such as in the second month of 1394 when they went on strike because of T’aejo’s refusal to accede to their demands for punitive measures against the old Koryō royal family (Duncan, 1988-1989, pp. 41-42).

Compared to the *yangban* of Koryō and earlier dynasties, the ruling classes of the Chōson had a broader base. The growing number of members of the *yangban* class could be attributed to the greater recognition of lineages during the Chōson dynasty, in stark contrast with the limiting system of the true-bone aristocracy of Silla or the small hereditary aristocracy of the Koryō dynasty. In order to set a system to regulate the growing social class, and also to sustain a certain balance between the interests of the aristocracy and bureaucracy, the *yangban* had to undergo state examinations that dwelt heavily on Confucian doctrines, in order for them to participate in government service (Lee, K-b., 1984, pp. 173-174; Palais, 1971, p. 427).

The ruling class of this society was neither thoroughly aristocratic nor thoroughly bureaucratic because government officials were selected by means of a Chinese-style civil service examination based on impersonal testing of one's knowledge of the Confucian classics and Chinese history and literature. At the same time, most of the successful examination candidates and high officials came from clans and even families with records of degree and office holding that went back for hundreds of years. The hereditary aspects of the Korean ruling class had only been weakened by the examination system, not destroyed as it had been in China after the fall of the T'ang in the tenth century (Palais, 1971, p. 427).

With this system, members of this class cannot just merely rely on their family's prestige and background. Perceived as a "gateway to success," and given the restrictions imposed on the protected appointments to sons of government officials coming from the second rank and above, passing the examinations was indeed a crucial endeavor for the *yangban* (Lee, K-b., 1984, pp. 173-174, p. 180). Though they enjoyed privileges such as exemption from manual labor and military duty, they were expected to focus more on their Confucianist academic training, self-cultivation, and other academic preparations needed before entering the field of government service—"and so the privilege that enabled them to become officials took the place of other service obligations to the state" (Lee, K-b., 1984, pp. 173-174).

Returning to the prelude of the panegyric *Songs of Flying Dragons* (Lee, P. H., 1975; Lee, K-b., 1984, pp. 164-165), similar to how the tree deepened its roots, and the waters of the river flowed to the wide expanse of the sea, and how in the same way this prelude was related to the emergence of the Chōson dynasty through the house of Yi, so can one relate it to the persistence of the *yangban* society. Their influence in the dynasty's administrative, social, cultural, and economic structures was deeply rooted and all-encompassing—an elite class that had the power to truly dominate society, no wonder Yi Sōng-gye needed them to stand as crucial pillars of his dynasty.

Song of the Confucian Academicians: The Yangban Society and Confucianism

The *Song of the Confucian Academicians* (*Hallim pyōlgok*) is an example of a *kyōnggi*-style poem (“long poems”), which is a literary form written by the literati during the Chōson dynasty. Though these poems are written in the Chinese language, the purpose of these poems is to praise the lands and lore of Korea. The *Song of the Confucian Academicians* was a poem written by young Confucian officials, and this literary work boasted the triumphant emergence of the literati onto the arena of politics (Lee, K-b., 1984, p. 168). Given the example of this poem, and considering the centrality of the Chōson's examination system on the doctrines of Confucianism, it would be an understatement to say that Confucianism just influenced the *yangban*'s way of living—it basically was their way of living, and one can even push the argument further, by saying

that apart from just influencing the *yangban*, Confucianism molded the entire dynasty identity.

As Chōson emerged victorious following Koryō's fall, Confucianism replaced Buddhism and was adopted as the state's familial and state philosophy, and its doctrines and rules were extended to all of Chōson's Korean subjects by the later years of the dynasty. Confucianism's influence to the values of Koreans, specifically how they relate socially and ethically, is indeed deeply ingrained in their society, then and even until now (Park & Cho, 1995, pp. 118-119):

Korea has a long-standing religious heritage. For the past two centuries, the values of Confucianism, if not Confucianism as a formal religious institution, have pervaded the consciousness of Koreans (Yoo Seung-Kuk, 1973:77). These values can be observed in Korean hierarchical social relations, such as those between ruler and subject, parent and child, and husband and wife.

Confucianism posits the family as the fundamental unit of society, incorporating the economic functions of production and consumption as well as the social functions of education and socialization, guided by moral and ethical principles (Lee Kwang-Kyu 1989). In its teaching, Confucianism has traditionally deified ancestors, institutionalizing ancestor worship, and delegated the duties of ritual master to the head of the male lineage—that is, to the father and husband. In this respect, Confucianism

may be viewed as a familial religion, and it seems that no other cultures have placed such emphasis on the family as have the Confucianist cultures of East Asia (Lee Kwang-Kyu 1989).

In Korea, the values and traditional family system of Confucianism were given new impetus during the late Chosun dynasty (1650-1910), although the origins of that belief system date back to the historical and social conditions of two millennia before. The ideal of male superiority within the patrilineal family became more prominent in the late Chosun dynasty than it had been during the early Chosun dynasty (1392-1650). The rule of “three obediences”—of daughters to their fathers, of wives to their husbands and mothers to their sons in later years—was observed, and the stem family began to be considered an ideal type. These later developments continued until just prior to industrialization (Park & Cho, 1995, pp. 118-119).

Other than being a basis of morality, filial piety, and ethics, the exposure of the Koreans during the Chōson dynasty to the doctrines and principles of Confucianism, allowed them to adapt to a particular cultural and political framework closely patterned to those of the Chinese. This similarity was very much evident to how the *yangban* literati immersed themselves into Chinese language, writing, classics, and histories (Palais, 1971). Furthermore, as it was earlier mentioned in this paper, the chances of a member of the *yangban* in passing the civil service examinations were very reliant on his profound

understanding of the Confucian classics and Chinese history. Though achievement in the examination would not necessarily lead to the disappearance of the hereditary principle among the *yangban*, it is still worthy to note that, this examination, as was mentioned earlier, actually served as a means to somehow balance the *yangban*'s aristocratic and bureaucratic interests (Palais, 1984, pp. 427-428, p. 446):

The balance achieved between aristocratic and bureaucratic tendencies in the Chōson ruling class was not just the product of economic and political forces; it was also the result of the influence of Confucianism on Korean society. Korea's elite culture had been dominated by Buddhism from about the late fourth century until the Neo-Confucian revival began to affect the Koreans in a serious way in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. At the end of the fourteenth century, Neo-Confucian ethics and reformist political thought played major roles in the movement that led to the overthrow of the Koryō dynasty and the establishment of the Chōson dynasty. While Buddhism died hard, by the sixteenth century almost all the elite were Confucians, and a good many had a thorough grasp of Chu His's [...] metaphysics as well. This was truly Korea's Confucian age, which meant that not only were educated Koreans affected by Confucian ideas in their behavior, but also that Korean society was somehow subtly influenced by

Confucianism as well. This subtle influence manifested itself in the emergence of a balance between aristocratic and bureaucratic forces and in the creation of a ruling class that was semi-aristocratic and semi-bureaucratic in nature (p. 428).

But by the later years of the dynasty, the stability of the Chōson society was continually put through the test by local and foreign pressure, and in not finding solutions to their particular grievances against the government and society, a great number of scholars sought answers from other schools of Yi Confucianism, such as the *Sirhak* School or “Practical Learning” (Lee, K-b., 1984, p. 232). The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the later years of the dynasty, were very turbulent times for the people of Chōson. Political power had centralized itself on but a handful number of *yangban* houses, the tragic events of invasions of Chōson by the Japanese and the Manchus challenged the power of the dynasty, and there were many *yangban* who were left out from the selected *yangban* lineages, and thus lost their privileged status. These social changes were present both in the urban areas and the countryside, and with the numerous problems the dynasty left unresolved, many members of the *yangban* started to reconsider and criticize their government’s efficiency (or rather the lack of it) (Lee, K-b., 1984, p. 232):

The historical impulses behind the *Sirhak* may also have sprung largely from Korea’s national misfortunes. Korean scholars, looking back on the tragic events of the invasions of Hideyoshi (1592-

98), and the Manchus (1627 and 1636-37), had good reason to ponder the shortcomings of their government. A tendency to criticize the Korean Chu His literacrats began: factional strife, rigid class distinctions, ultra-traditionalism, isolation, ritualism, and lack of socio-economic thinking came under some fire. As time wore on, the scarcely concealed disdain of Yi officials for the new Manchu regime also began to be questioned; some Korean scholars felt that even the “barbarian” Manchus might be accomplishing results more impressive than those of the Ming and Yi monarchs (Yang & Henderson, 1959, p. 268).

Reflecting back on the essence of the *Song of the Confucian Academicians*, it was a poem that celebrated the triumph of Chōson Korea, as it embraced Confucian principles and doctrines (Lee, K-b., 1984. p. 168). The impact of Confucianism molded the lives, identity, and morality of not only the *yangban* society, but also other Koreans of that dynasty. But just like the ebb and flow of the tide, and the rise and fall of dynasties, the *yangban* literati of the later years of the Chōson dynasty found themselves in a chaos of political and social order, that they even went to the extent of questioning their own political, economic, and social institutions—the very institutions that were deeply rooted in Confucianism. Though *Song of the Confucian Academicians* also boasted about the triumphant emergence of the *yangban* literati onto Chōson politics, it is worth nothing that by the later years of the

dynasty, the *yangban literati* would no longer be the crucial pillars of this dynasty. The burden of being at the helm of social change will fall upon the shoulders of another group of scholars, and they would strive to seek other schools of thought in order to provide political, social, and economic changes to a dynasty that needed to be steered towards modernity and a reformed national identity—just like the rising and the setting of the sun, the pillars of Chōson’s legacy had also changed, transferring from the shoulders of the *yangban* to the shoulders of the Chōson Korean scholars (Lee, K-b., 1984, pp. 232-233).

**Frogs Emerging from the Bottom of a Deep Well:
The Sirhak Movement’s Influence to the
Modernization and Nationalism of Chōson Korea**

Considered as the most independent and original of all the other Korean Confucian schools, *Sirhak* or “Practical Learning” came about as a response to the social and political changes in Chōson Korea (Lee, K-b., 1984, p. 232; Yang & Henderson, 1959, p. 268). Driven by the vision of having an ideal utopic society and ascertaining how such can be attained, *Sirhak* scholars have extended their scholarship to fields of politics, economics, Chinese classic studies, historiography, geography, and even natural sciences. Characterized as a scholarship that linked practice and theory, *Sirhak* scholars always aimed at attaining explicit verification of their theories, therefore emphasizing a pragmatic methodology in their scholarly endeavors (Lee, K-b., 1984, p. 233).

The *Sirhak* methodology considered actual social conditions as a starting point, and the agricultural conditions in farming villages was the first issue *Sirhak* physiocrats focused upon. They turned their goals and reforms towards an agricultural economy which provides the existence of an independent and self-employed farmer (Lee, K-b., 1984, p. 233). Through analyzing the problem of farming villages, reforms such as “public land system,” “village land system,” and “equal field system” were geared towards a utopian agricultural state, providing the farmers independence and self-employment in the lands they tilled. Clearly, these *Sirhak* physiocrats espoused the futility of social status distinctions, and focused more on the essentiality of the existence of equal opportunities in terms of education and the significance in meritocracy for selecting government officials, in the hopes of responding the problems arising in the rural areas due to the rise of commerce and the shift to monetary economy (Lee, K-b., 1984, pp. 234-235). Yi Ik (1681-1763), a *Sirhak* scholar, is well-known for his work *Kwagu-rok* (*Records of Concern for the Underprivileged*), which established the main principles for his ideas on societal reforms, and established his views on the various institutions of the dynasty. Commended for his detailed proposals and meticulous research methods, Yi Ik’s works proposed significant changes in Chōson’s government, economy, as well as its basic unit—the family (Lee, K-b., 1984, p. 234). Similar to Yi Ik, more *Sirhak* scholars sought proposals to enrich and reform the nation, and be the voices and identity of those who were not allowed to

participate in the dynasty's politics—those who were not as privileged as the *yangban*.

Given this shift of perspective, and the pragmatic scholarship of the *Sirhak* school, these scholars clearly did not intend to just blindly follow and accept the past traditions and views of their predecessors. Firmly grounded in the realities their society faced at that time, their scholarship clearly had a “Korea-centric thrust” into it—a drastic change from what used to be the *yangban*'s classical Confucian idea of practicality and its focus on the moral cultivation of the self (Lee, K-b., 1984, pp. 234-236; Setton, 1989, p. 377).

In terms of economic reforms, the Northern Learning School or the “economic enrichment” school was a school of thought which developed within *Sirhak*, and was directed towards reforms for the development of an efficient agriculture-based society, similar to the *Sirhak* physiocrats' attention toward the agricultural economy, as discussed earlier (Lee, K-b., 1984, p. 235). Another similarity is found in their criticism of the social status distinctions exemplified by the *yangban* class who were not involved in productive labor. In their reforms, they encouraged the involvement of every person, regardless of social status, and reiterated the essentiality of equal opportunities as well in education, and that meritocracy and ability should be considered in the division of labor. Yet the difference arises as the Northern Learning School's proposals and reforms were grounded on the development of commerce and industry. In the goal of enriching society, their proposals included the expansion of

production with the utilization of new technology, and the development of transport in and out of the country (Lee, K-b., 1984, p. 236).

The revolutionary influence of the *Sirhak* School continued to persist through the years, and as Chōson Korea entered the nineteenth century, there was a continued effort to seek solutions for societal problems. Branching out from the *Sirhak* tradition, the “enlightenment thought” (*kachwa sasang*) now emerged as a crucial scholarship (Lee, K-b., 1984, p. 255). Veering away from the orthodoxy ideology espoused by the Confucian literati, “enlightenment” thought emerged as a movement in response to Chōson Korea’s involvement with Western powers such as the French and the Americans during the mid-nineteenth century, and following the signing of the Kanghwa Treaty which resulted in the opening of the country’s ports in 1876. Not only did this movement consider the modernization of Chōson Korea through the adaptation of the military and naval power of the Western countries, it sought to adapt to their sociopolitical thought as well. The “Progressive Party” (*Kaehwadang*) was the political force that developed from this movement, and they saw the need to establish new government organizations, modernize the school and hospitals, and provided modern agricultural reforms. Prioritizing the need to learn from the accomplishment of modern foreign countries, the enlightenment advocates saw the need to send students and parties abroad, and they further emphasized the need of providing a wider education for the Korean people (Lee, K-r., 1986, pp. 4-5). An excerpt from

Hansŏng Sunbo, Chŏson Korea's first modern newspaper, shows these initiatives (Lee, K-r., 1986, p. 5):

The general atmosphere today is more open and the capabilities of the human intelligence are expanding daily. Steamships now plow the great oceans and electric wires connect the four corners of the world. We need to be in touch with the strange-looking foreigners responsible and concerned over the affairs of our day. We must know how things change, and how civilized institutions develop. Thus our government has recently established a bureau where officials translate foreign news and publish it together with domestic information in a newspaper widely circulated at home and abroad. If our people are nearsighted and remain in the dark about new knowledge by adhering to the former ways, they will become "frogs in the bottom of a deep well." Let us be aware of the affairs of the world, as well as of our freedom of choice, in order to be fair and just (Lee, K-r., 1986, p. 5).

Like frogs emerging from the bottom of a deep well, these enlightenment activists continued to seek societal reforms in Chŏson Korea's political, social, and economic structures, in order to seek reformation and reexamination of their slowly decaying society. Though this movement did not concretely resolve the issues of the country's self-identity, and as it failed to encourage a wider support from the people (Lee, K-r., 1986,

p. 6), its initiatives and efforts could still be considered as crucial pillars of Chōson Korea's legacy towards modernization and sense of nationalism. Through the efforts of both the *Sirhak* and enlightenment scholars, movements which sparked attacks against the traditional Confucian social system, and accepted political theories and institutions of Chōson Korea, the country was able to move forward, step by step, towards a creation of a modern national identity (Robinson, 1986, pp. 35-36):

Korean nationalism was spawned between 1880 and 1900 by the intense debate over how to reform the traditional Korean political and social system. In their search for a solution to Korean weakness vis-à-vis predatory imperialists, Koreans began a systematic examination of the sources of Western strengths, while simultaneously criticizing their own tradition as a source of weakness. Indeed Korean Enlightenment brought new ideas and a new world view to the intellectual world of Korea; and the resulting collision between these new ideas and the Korean tradition created the heat and energy necessary for the molding of a new intellectual synthesis—Korean nationalism (Robinson, 1986, p. 35).

Returning to the prelude of the panegyric *Songs of Flying Dragons* (Lee, P.H., 1975; Lee, K-b., 1984, pp. 164-165), similar to how the tree deepened its roots, and the waters of the river flowed to the wide expanse of the sea, how it was related to the

emergence of the Chōson dynasty through the house of Yi, and to the influence of the *yangban* society, one can push the comparison further by relating it also to the influence of the *Sirhak* scholars and the enlightenment movements to the modernization of Korea and the formation of Korean nationalism. They deepened their roots and attempted to reach out to the general populace. From the rise to power by Yi Sōng-gye, to the continued influence of the *yangban* society, and to the emergence of the *Sirhak* literati, each of these are crucial pillars of the Chōson dynasty legacy. It is significant to consider that though each had distinct initiatives in the molding of Chōson's society, their influence in building and molding the Korean national identity strengthened and prepared its people in facing the uncertainties brought by the modern world, as one nation.

References

- Duncan, J. (1988-1989). The social background to the founding of the Chosŏn Dynasty: Change or continuity? *Journal of Korean Studies* 6, 39-79. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jks.1988.0007>
- Lee, K-b. (1984). *A new history of Korea*. (E. Wagner & E. Shultz, Trans.). Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Lee, K-r. (1986). The rise of nationalism in Korea. *Korean Studies* 10, 1-12. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1353/ks.1986.0006>
- Lee, P. H. (1975). *Songs of flying dragons: A critical reading*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

- Palais, J. B. (1971). Records and record-keeping in nineteenth-century Korea. *The Journal of Asian Studies* 30(3), 583-591. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2052462>
- Palais, J. B. (1984). Confucianism and the aristocratic/bureaucratic balance in Korea. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 44(2), 427-468. <https://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2719038>
- Park, I. H., & Cho, L-j. (1995). Confucianism and the Korean family. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 26(1), 117-134. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41602370>
- Robinson, M.E. (1986). Nationalism and the Korean tradition, 1896-1920: Iconoclasm, reform, and national identity. *Korean Studies* 10, 35-53. <https://doi.org/10.1353/ks.1986.0001>
- Setton, M. (1989). Tasan's practical learning. *Philosophy East and West* 39(4), 377-392.
- Yang, K. P., & Henderson, G. (1959). An outline history of Korean Confucianism: Part II: The schools of Yi Confucianism. *The Journal of Asian Studies* 18(2), 259-276. <http://doi.org/10.2307/2941686>

* * *

Bianca Angelien Aban Claveria is a graduate student of History of the Ateneo de Manila University, and concurrently works for the Department of History as a Teaching Assistant. She completed her elementary education at Miriam College Grade School, and her secondary education at Miriam College High School, graduating in the years 2005 and 2009 respectively. She graduated with honors in 2013 from the Ateneo de Manila University, with a degree of AB History, Minor in Philosophy. She worked as a Social Studies Teacher at Saint Pedro Poveda College, High School Department, from 2013 to 2014, before pursuing a law degree at San Beda

College of Law, Manila. After completing two years of law school, she decided to return once more to the academe and pursue her passion in teaching and research work. Her research interests include philosophy, environmental history, studies on disaster awareness and prevention, and international relations and law.