

NOTES

A Note on Formatting

The following endnotes provide abbreviated citation material (e.g., author last name and article or book title). For complete author names, publication dates, and other publication information on the works cited in endnotes, see the bibliography.

All references from the *Taejo Sillok* refer to the English edition of the *Taejo Sillok* translated by Choi Byonghyon (2014 translation, Harvard University Press). The reference style for material taken from that edition of the *Sillok* is as follows: *Fascicle: Year of Reign* (e.g., 14:7) followed by the date material, using the following format: *year.lunar month.day* (e.g., 1398.6.12).

All references to *Joseon Wangjo Sillok* materials other than those of King Taejo refer to the Korean language *Sillok* materials provided by the Korean National Institute of History and available here: <http://eSillok.history.go.kr/>. The reference style for these materials is *fascicle: article number* (e.g., 3:5), followed by the date entry in brackets, using the following format: *[Year] (reign year.lunar month.day)*. Example reference: *Taejong Sillok*, 6:3 [1403] (12.17.1).

References to the *Koryosa* (History of Goryeo) refer to the digital version of this text, made available by the National Institute of Korean History. Those materials are available at: <https://db.history.go.kr/KOREA/item/level.do?itemId=kj&types=r>. The reference style for those materials is as follows: *Koryosa, Volume number, month.year, URL location*. Example reference: *Koryosa*, v. 30, 11.1375.
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NOTES

Preface

- ¹ Palais, J., "Record Keeping in 19th Century Korea," p. 584.
- ² *Ibid.*, p. 583.
- ³ For details on the production process of the *Joseon Sillok*, see Choi, B. "Translator's Introduction," *The Annals of King Taejo*; Reynolds, "Culling Archival Collections in the Koryŏ-Chosŏn Transition"; Kim, J. "Archives, Archival Practices, and the Writing of History in Premodern Korea"; Vermeersch, "Archival Practice in Premodern Korea: Record-Keeping as Archive and Historiography"; Yi S., "Introduction to the Uigwe Royal Documents of the Joseon Dynasty"; Hur, "Veritable Records (*Sillok*) of the Joseon Dynasty."
- ⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁶ Reynolds, "Culling Archival Collections in the Koryŏ-Chosŏn Transition" 2019, p. 214.
- ⁷ For details on the production process of the *Joseon Sillok*, see Hur, *op. cit.*; Choi, B. "Translator's Introduction," *The Annals of King Taejo*; Reynolds, *op. cit.*; Kim, J. "Archives, Archival Practices, and the Writing of History in Premodern Korea," 2019; Vermeersch, "Archival Practice in Premodern Korea: Record-Keeping as Archive and Historiography," 2019; Yi S., "Introduction to the Uigwe Royal Documents of the Joseon Dynasty," 2008.
- ⁸ Choi, B. *op. cit.*
- ⁹ Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 242
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 238.
- ¹² *Taejo Sillok*, 14:7 (1398.6.12). This same reference applies for the remainder of the King's conversation.
- ¹³ *Ibid.*

Chapter 1

- ¹ *Taejo Sillok*, "Cheongseo." ["General Introduction"], Kindle loc. 420.
- ² For an excellent discussion of these regional politics, see Robinson, D., *Empire's Twilight*.

³ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo.” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 341.

Chapter 2

¹ Grayson, J., *Myths and Legends from Korea*, “Part II.E: Foundation Myths,” esp. p. 31; Janhunen, J., “Tracing the Bear Myth in Northeast Asia”; Cho, H., “The Significance of Perceptions of Baekdusan in Baekdu-related Myths,” Allen, C., “Northeast Asia Centered Around Korea.”

² Palka, E. and Galgano, F. *North Korea: A Geographical Analysis*, Chapters 3 & 9.

³ Alston, D., “Emperor and Emissary: The Hongwu Emperor, Kwŏn Kŭn, and the Poetry of Late Fourteenth Century Diplomacy,” p. 131.

⁴ *Taejo Sillok*, 2:1 (1392.9.26).

⁵ Lee, D., Ha, T., Hong, S., and Song, H., *Jeonbukjiyeokui Joseon Tajoe Eujeok* [The Remains of King Taejo in North Jeolla Province], pp. 199–221.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 107–114.

⁷ Kota, N., “Ssangsŏng Ch’onggwambu as the Border between Koryŏ and Yuan Dynasty.”

⁸ Ulhicun, A. and Shi, J., “Manchuria from the Fall of the Yuan to the Rise of the Manchu State (1368–1636),” p. 28;

Weatherford, J., *Genghis Khan and the Making of the Modern World*, Part I.

⁹ Schmid, A. “Rediscovering Manchuria: Sin Ch'aeho and the Politics of Territorial History in Korea”; Seth, M., *A Concise History of Korea*, pp. 72–73; Kim, A. and Min, K., “The Problem of the Ethnic Composition of Palhae State”; Yun, P. “Manchuria and Korea in East Asian History”; Crossley, P., “Bohai/Parhae Identity and the Coherence of Dan gun under the Kitan/Liao Empire”; Choi M., “*Yongbieochunga Natanan Yeonalseonchoui Yongtojeonjenggwa Byeongeong*” [“A Study on the Territorial Wars and Northern Border in Yongbieocheonga”], p. 117.

¹⁰ Hwang, K., “From the Dirt to Heaven,” p. 148.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Cited in Kang, J., *The Land of Scholars*, p. 114.

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¹³ Choi M., op. cit.

¹⁴ Hwang, op. cit.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 153.

¹⁶ Robinson, D., *Empire's Twilight*, p. 100.

¹⁷ Kong, B., "Mongolui Chimryakgwa Goryeo Muinjungwon mit Sambeolchoui Doseohaeyangjeonryak-geu dongasiajeok uiui" ["The Mongol Invasion of Goryeo and Goryeo's Island-Marine Military Strategy"].

¹⁸ Agrawal, B., "Korea as a Focal Point of the Security Concerns of Northeast Asia," p. 40. See also Hulbert, H., *History of Korea: Volume I*, p. 199.

¹⁹ *Koryosa*, v. 17, 8.1253; 12.1254.

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²⁰ *Koryosa*, v. 17, 10.1254.

http://db.history.go.kr/id/kj_017r_0010_0040_0100_0030

²¹ Kota, op. cit.

²² For a book length treatment of, see Henthorne, W. *Korea: The Mongol Invasions*. For a short review, see Kang, J., *The Land of Scholars*, pp. 130–137.

²³ National Museum of Mongolia, "Mongolian Empire Exhibit."

²⁴ Kota, N., op.cit.; Robinson, D., *Korea and the Fall of the Mongol Empire*.

²⁵ Ulhicun, A. and Shi, J., op. cit., p. 30.

²⁶ Robinson, D., *Empire's Twilight*, pp. 28–34.

²⁷ Choi, M., op cit., p. 106.

²⁸ *Taejo Sillok*, "Cheongseo." ["General Introduction"].

²⁹ *Taejo Sillok*, "Cheongseo." ["General Introduction"], Kindle loc. 349.

Chapter 3

¹ Lee, H., "Yi Seong-gyeui Jeonseunggwa Uimi Yeongu" ["The Tradition of Yi Seong-gye's Myth and Meaning Analysis"]; See also Yi Seong-gye Leadership Center, *Jeonbukuiro Tteonaneun Yi Seong-gye Yeoksa Yeohang* [The Historical Travels of Yi Seong-gye through Jeonbuk], p. 191.

² Seth, M., *A Concise History of Korea*, p. 120.

- ³ Im, Y. *Joseongukwang Iyagi I* [The Story of the Kings of the Joseon Dynasty], p. 17.
- ⁴ Kang, J., *The Land of Scholars*, p. 126; *Koryosa*, v. 11. 4.1170; 5.1170.
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http://db.history.go.kr/id/kj_011r_0010_0250_0050_0030
- ⁵ *Koryosa*, v. 11. 4.1170.
http://db.history.go.kr/id/kj_011r_0010_0250_0040_0070
- ⁶ *Koryosa*, v. 11, 8.30.1170.
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- ⁷ Kang, J., *The Land of Scholars*, pp. 125–27.
- ⁸ *Koryosa*, v. 11, 9.1170.
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- ⁹ Throughout 1174, for example, the *Koryosa* is filled with entries regarding rebellions against Yi Ui-bang and his allies. See, for example, *Koryosa*, v. 12, 1.1174; 9.1174; 10.1174.
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- ¹⁰ *Koryosa*, v. 12, 12.1174.
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- ¹¹ For details on the story of Yi Ui-bang, see Kamata, S., “Buddhism During Koryo,” pp. 50–51; Jang, S., “*Goryeo Myeongjong Okripui Jeongchiseryeoke daehan Jemunje*” [“Problems around the Political Powers Who Enthroned King Myeongjong in Goryeo”]; New World Encyclopedia, “Jeong Jung-bu.”
- ¹² People and History Editing Committee, *Hwanggeum Daedulbo Jaeguk Yi Seong-gye* [Yi Seonggye: The Cornerstone of the Golden Kingdom], p. 16.
- ¹³ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 353–370; *Songs of the Dragons Flying to Heaven*, Canto IV; Yi Seong-gye Leadership Center, *Jeonbukuiro Tteonaneun Yi Seong-gye Yeoksa Yeohang* [The Historical Travels of Yi Seong-gye through Jeonbuk], p. 28.
- ¹⁴ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 368.

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¹⁵ Crossley, P., op. cit.

¹⁶ Kim, B. *Wangjeongui Jogeon: Damronuiro Ikneun Joseonsidaesa* [The Conditions of Monarchy: Reading Joseon History Through Discourse], pp. 119–123; Bohnet, A., *Turning Towards Edification*, p. 14; Hwang, K., “From the Dirt to Heaven,” p. 149; Choi, M., op.cit., pp. 113–114.

¹⁷ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 370.

¹⁸ For examples of the Mongol slaughter across the mainland, see *Koryosa*, v. 16, 7.1231. 11.1231;

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See also Henthorne, W., *Korea: The Mongol Invasions*, 1963;

Kong, B., “The Mongol Invasion of Goryeo and Goryeo's “Island-Marine Military Strategy.”

¹⁹ *Koryosa*, v. 16, 6.1232.

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²⁰ *Koryosa Choryo*, abridged by S. Lee, p. 376.

²¹ *Koryosa*, v. 17, 4.1355.

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²² *Koryosa*, v. 16, 5.1233.

http://db.history.go.kr/id/kj_016r_0010_0040_0030_0020;

see also v. 17, 3.1255.

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²³ See, for example, *Koryosa*, v. 17, 2.1255; 3.1255.

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²⁴ *Koryosa Choryo*, abridged by S. Lee, p. 376.

²⁵ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo.” [“General Introduction”], Kindle

loc. 370–382.

²⁶ Robinson, *Empire's Twilight*, pp. 28–24; Kim, J., Lee, J., and Lee, J., “‘Goryeoyang’ and ‘Mongolpung’ in the 13th and 14th Centuries”; Kota, N., op. cit.

²⁷ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo.” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 341–348, 379.

- ²⁸ Lee, J., “Special Issue: Changes in the Korean Political System; Establishment of the Ssangseong General Office and its characteristics”; Han, I., op. cit., p. 20; *Koryosa*, op. cit., p. 363.
- ²⁹ Ibid. See also Ulhicun, A. and Shi, J., op. cit., p. 96.
- ³⁰ *Taejo Sillok*, 4:2 (1393.9.18)
- ³¹ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo.” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 370–400. See also Kim, J., *Jeong Do-jeon Sidaerul Ilda* [Reading the Age of Jeong Do-jeon].
- ³² *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo.” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 370–427. See also Kim, J., op. cit.
- ³³ Turnbull, S., *The Mongol Invasions of Japan 1274 and 1281*; Conlan, T., *In Little Need of Divine Intervention*.
- ³⁴ Neumann, J. “Great Historical Events that were Significantly Affected by the Weather.”
- ³⁵ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo.” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 420.
- ³⁶ Ibid.
- ³⁷ Ibid., Kindle loc. 430.
- ³⁸ Ibid., Kindle Loc. 483.
- ³⁹ Ryu, K. and Kim, K., “*Joseon Taejodaewang Taesilui Hyungsikgwa Tteukseong*” [“A Study on the Type and Characteristics of the King Taejo’s Taesil in Joseon Dynasty”]; Shim, H. “*Joseonwangsil Tasilseokhamui Hyunhwanggw Yangsikbyeonchun*” [“Taesil Seokham Styles of the Joseon Royal Family”]; Choi, H., “*Joseonsidae Taesile Gwanhan Yeongu*” [“A Study of Taesil Culture of Korea”].
- ⁴⁰ *Songs of the Dragons Flying to Heaven*, p. 113.
- ⁴¹ Little Korea, “National Intangible Cultural Property No.47 Gungsijang.”
- ⁴² *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 620. *Songs of the Dragons Flying to Heaven*, Canto 27.
- ⁴³ Im, J., *Tajoegohwangje: : Joseongukwangpyongjeon 1* [King Taejo: First King of the Joseon Dynasty], p. 24.
- ⁴⁴ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 583.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 629.
- ⁴⁶ Ibid.

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⁴⁷ Kim, J., Lee, J. and Lee J., "'Goryeoyang' and 'Mongolpung' in the 13th–14th Centuries," p. 170; Kim, D. op. cit., p. 145.

⁴⁸ Robinson, D., *Korea and the Fall of the Mongol Empire*, p. 33.

⁴⁹ Kim, J., op. cit., p. 170.

⁵⁰ *Taejo Sillok*, "Cheongseo" ["General Introduction"], Kindle loc. 530.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² As described in *Taejo Sillok*, "Cheongseo" ["General Introduction"] Kindle Loc. 341.

⁵³ Lee, D., Ha, T., Hong, S., and Song, H., *Jeonbukjiyeokui Joseon Tajoe Eujeok* [The Remains of King Taejo in North Jeolla Province], pp. 199–221.

Chapter 4

¹ Lee, H., "Yi Seong-gyeui Jeonseunggwa Uimi Yeongu" ["An Analysis of the Meaning of Myths about Yi Seong-gye"], Myth number 8–6.

² Cited in Duncan, J., *The Origins of the Chosun Dynasty*, p. 93.

³ Robinson, D., *Korea and the Fall of the Mongol Empire*, pp. 2–6.

⁴ Many of the details in the story of Empress Ki in this chapter were drawn from: Hwang, K., *A History of Korea*, Chapter 6; Robinson, D. *Empire's Twilight*, pp. 118–129.

⁵ Robinson, D., *Empire's Twilight*, p. 121.

⁶ Robinson, D., *Empire's Twilight*, pp. 118–121. McMahon, K., *Celestial Women*, pp. 58–60.

⁷ Lee, H., "Political Power Groups of Koryŏ Dynasty after the Period of Yuan China's Intervention."

⁸ Robinson, D., *Korea and the Fall of the Mongol Empire*, pp. 75–76.

⁹ Ibid., p.124.

¹⁰ Duncan, J., op. cit. pp. 89–98.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 91.

¹² *Koryosa*, v. 16, 5.1233.

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¹³ Robinson, D. *Korea and the Fall of the Mongol Empire*, pp. 2–3.

- ¹⁴ See, for example, Ahn Hyang, “The Spread of Neo-Confucianism” and Jeong Mong-ju, “The Development of Neo-Confucianism” in *Sources of Korean Tradition*, edited by P. Lee, W. de Bary, and Y. Choe, pp. 253–54; Kang, J., *The Land of Scholars*, pp. 152–158, 205–217.
- ¹⁵ Jeong Do-jeon, “A Literary Mirror to Order the World (1395).” In Robinson, D., *Seeking Order in a Tumultuous Age*, p. 167.
- ¹⁶ Cited in Kang, J., op. cit., p. 158; see also pp. 111–112.
- ¹⁷ Ibid., p. 191.
- ¹⁸ Ibid., p. 155.
- ¹⁹ Duncan, J., op. cit., p. 174.
- ²⁰ Ibid., p. 175; Robinson, D., *Korea and the Fall of the Mongol Empire*, p. 81.
- ²¹ Ibid., p. 165.
- ²² Cited in Robinson, D., *Empire’s Twilight*, p. 55.
- ²³ Schamiloglu, U. “The Impact of the Black Death on the Golden Horde: Politics, Economy, Society, Civilization.”
- ²⁴ Kota, N., “Ssangsöng Ch’onggwambu as the Border between Koryö and Yuan.”
- ²⁵ Robinson, D., *Korea and the Fall of the Mongol Empire*, p. 27.
- ²⁶ Ibid., p. 87.
- ²⁷ Chong, K., “Revitalization of Ancient Institutions,” p. 79.
- ²⁸ Lee, H., “Political Power Groups of Koryo Dynasty after the Period of Yuan China’s Intervention”; Kim, D. *Yi Seong-gyewa, Cho Chun, Jung Do-jeonui Joseon Wangjo Gaechan* [The Foundation of Joseon Dynasty by Yi Seong-gye with Cho Chun and Jeong Do-jeon], p. 59; Lee, S., *Gae-gyeongbutteo Hanyangkaji 1: Gweonryeoktjenguiro bon Joseon Tansenggi* [From Gaegyeong to Hanyang Vol. I: Power Struggle in Joseon], p. 99.
- ²⁹ Kang, J., *The Land of Scholars*, p. 166; Lee, H. op. cit., p. 30.
- ³⁰ *Koryosa*, 131:15a5-16a4, See also Robinson, D., *Empire’s Twilight*, p. 135; Robinson, D., *Korea and the Fall of the Mongol Empire*, p. 77; Lee, H. op. cit., p. 30.

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³¹ Bae, S. *Joseon Geonguk Janhoksa: Seolgyeja Yi Bangwonui Nanghokhago Oeroun Seontaek* [The Cruel History of the Foundation of Joseon], p. 45.

³² *Koryosa*, v. 26, 7.1356.

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³³ *Koryosa*, cited in Chong, K., p. 36.

Chapter 5

¹ “A dragon rises from a shallow stream” is a Korean proverb describing a situation where a person of humble background achieves great things. For more information on Yong-wang and Korean dragon folklore, see Mason, D., “King of the Dragons”; *Encyclopedia of Korean Folklore*, “Dragon King.”

² Robinson, D., *Twilight of Empire*, p. 43.

³ Robinson D., *Korea and the Fall of the Mongol Empire*, p. 108.

⁴ See Weatherford, J., *Genghis Khan and the Making of the Modern World*, pp. 300–301; Tsai, W., “Ethnic Riots and Violence in the Mongol Empire: A Comparative Perspective,” p. 95; Robinson, D., *Korea and the Fall of the Mongol Empire*, p. 14.

⁵ Kota, N., “Ssangseong Chonggwanbu as the Border between Koryo and Yuan Dynasty”; Park, H., “*Joseon Geonguk Cho Junganggun Yeongu*” [“A Study on the Central Army in the Early Joseon Dynasty”].

⁶ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo.” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 535. See also *Koryosa*, v. 26, 12.1355; 3.1356.

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⁷ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo.” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 535.

⁸ Robinson, D., *Empire’s Twilight*, p. 124; Lee, H., “Political Power Groups of Koryo Dynasty after the Period of Yuan China’s Intervention,” p. 33.

⁹ *Koryosa*, v. 26, 5.1356.

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See also Robinson, D., *Empire’s Twilight*, p. 118. Kim, D., *Yi Seong-gyewa, Cho Chun, Jung Do-jeonui Joseon Wangjo Gaechan*

[The Foundation of Joseon Dynasty by Yi Seong-gye with Cho Chun and Jeong Do-jeon], p. 47.

¹⁰ Robinson, D., *Korea and the Fall of the Mongol Empire*, p. 134.

¹¹ *Koryosa*, v. 26, 6.1356.

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¹² *Koryosa*, v. 26, 7.1356.

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¹³ Lee, J., “Special Issue: Changes in the Korean Political System; Establishment of the Ssangsung General Office and its Characteristics.”

¹⁴ Robinson, D., *Empire’s Twilight*, p. 51.

¹⁵ Yun, P., “Manchuria and Korea in East Asian History,”

p. 2–3; Choi, M., “A Study on the Territorial Wars and Northern Border in Yongbieocheonga.”

¹⁶ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 544; Robinson, D., *Korea and the Fall of the Mongol Empire*, p. 134–139.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Robinson, D., *Korea and the Fall of the Mongol Empire*, p. 141.

¹⁹ For details on the military and diplomatic maneuvering after Goryeo’s capture of Ssangseong, see Kota, N., *op. cit.*; Lee, J., “The Development of Diplomatic Relations and Trade with Ming in the Last Years of the Koryŏ Dynasty,” 2006; Robinson, *Empire’s Twilight*, pp. 128–9.

²⁰ Robinson, D., *Korea and the Fall of the Mongol Empire*, p. 143.

Chapter 6

¹ Lee, H., “*Yi Seong-gyeui Jeonseunggwa Uimi Yeongu*” [“The Tradition of Yi Seong-gye’s Myth and Meaning Analysis”], Myth 4.

² *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo.” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 547.

³ Jo, M., *Joseonui 2 yi Injadeul: Geudeulun eotteokke Gwollyeokjaga Doeotneunga?* [Joseon’s Two Right-Hand Men: How Did They Gain Power?]

⁴ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 638.

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- ⁵ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 641.
- ⁶ For this quote and all the preceding details on this *kyokku* match, see *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo.” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 629–658.
- ⁷ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 547–573.
- ⁸ Duncan, J., “The Social Background to the Founding of the Chosŏn Dynasty: Change or Continuity?” p. 57.
- ⁹ Choi, M., “*Yongbieochungae Natanan Yeonalseonchoui Yongtojeonjenggwa Byeongeong*” [“A Study on the Territorial Wars and Northern Border in Yongbieocheonga”], p. 119.
- ¹⁰ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 568.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹² *Ibid.*, Kindle loc. 577.
- ¹³ Kota, N., “Ssangseong Chonggwanbu as the Border between Koryo and Yuan Dynasty.”
- ¹⁴ Kang, D. and Jueng, W., “Semiotic research about dominant and counter-part Myths.”

Chapter 7

- ¹ Lee, H., “Yi Seong-gyeui Jeonseunggwawa Uimi Yeongu” [“The Tradition of Yi Seong-gye’s Myth and Meaning Analysis”], pp. 25–29. Yi Seong-gye Leadership Center, *Jeonbukuiro Tteonaneun Yi Seong-gye Yeoksa Yeohang* [The Historical Travels of Yi Seong-gye through Jeonbuk], p. 91.
- ² *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 659.
- ³ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 667; Bieler, S., “Private Armies in the Early Korean Military Tradition (850–1598).”
- ⁴ Clark, D., “Joseon’s Founding Fathers: A Study of Merit Subjects in the Early Yi Dynasty,” pp. 26–28; Kang, J., *The Land of Scholars*, p. 168; Bohnet, A., *Turning Towards Edification*, pp. 35–36;

- ⁵ Hwang, K., “From the Dirt to Heaven: Northern Koreans in the Chosŏn and Early Modern Eras.”
- ⁶ Clark, op. cit.; Bohnet, op. cit., p. 36; Chong, D., “Making Joseon’s Own Tributaries”; Yoon, H., “*Goryeo Mal Yi Seong-gyeui Ghwaldonggwha Joseon Geonguk Judo Seryeokui Gyeoljip Yangsang*” [“Military Action of Yi Seong-gye and the Gathering Base of Support in the Late Goryeo Dynasty”], p. 141.
- ⁷ Robinson, D. *Korea and the Fall of the Mongol Empire*, p. 205.
- ⁸ Robinson, D., *Empire’s Twilight*, p. 166; Im J., *Tajoegohwangje: Joseongukwangpyongjeon 1* [Taejo: King of the Joseon Dynasty], pp. 43–44.
- ⁹ Kang, J., op. cit., p. 159.
- ¹⁰ Robinson, *Empire’s Twilight*, p. 147.
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⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 1111.

⁵³ Lee, D., Ha, T., Hong, S., and Song, H., *Jeonbukjiyeokui Joseon Tajeo Eujeok* [The Remains of King Taejo in North Jeolla Province], pp. 68–69.

⁵⁴ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo.” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 1126; *Koryosa*, v. 31, 9.1380.

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⁵⁵ Yi Seong-gye Leadership Center, op. cit., p. 21–24; 207; Lee, D., Ha, T., Hong, S., and Song, H., op. cit., p. 44. A re-enactment of the founder of the Han Empire (Liu Bang) reciting this song is in the historical drama *Wind Song*. A clip is available here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cISuzHPdy00>.

⁵⁶ Yi Seong-gye Leadership Center, op. cit., pp. 104–05, 222.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 207.

⁵⁹ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 1125–1135; *Koryosa*, v. 31, 10.1380.

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⁶⁰ All the poems below are in *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 1135–1160.

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¹ For one version of this study see Mark, J., “Mencius.”

² Lee, S., *Gae-gyeongbutteo Hanyangkkaji* [From Gaegyeong to Hangyang Vol. I], p. 154.

³ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 1194.

⁴ *Ibid.*; *Koryosa*, v. 31, 8.1383.

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⁵ For details here and in subsequent paragraphs regarding Yi’s encounter with Hobaldo, see *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 1194–1203; *Koryosa*, v. 31, 8.1383.

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⁶ Im J., *Tajoegohwangje: : Joseongukwangpyongjeon 1* [King Taejo: First King of the Joseon Dynasty], p. 110.

⁷ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 1855.

⁸ Kim, D., *Yi Seong-gyewa, Cho Chun, Jung Do-jeonui Joseon Wangjo Gaechan* [The Foundation of Joseon Dynasty by Yi Seong-gye with Cho Chun and Jeong Do-jeon], p. 156.

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¹ Kim, S., “*Goryeosidaeu Jeonjeng, Jeonyeombyunggwa Ingu*” [“Wars, Epidemics and Reduction of Population during Goryeo Dynasty”], p. 59.

² Kim, D., *Wangjeongui Jogeon: Damronuiro Ikneun Joseonsidaesa* [Conditions of the Monarchy: Reading Joseon History Through Discourse], p. 230.

³ See, for example, *Koryosa*, v. 34, 12.1389.

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Kim, J., *Jeong Do-jeon Sidaerul ilda* [Reading The Age of Jeong Do-jeon], p. 44; Kim, D., *op. cit.*; Lee, S., *Gae-gyeongbutteo Hanyangkkaji 1*: [From Gaegyeong to Hangyang Vol. I].

⁴ Lee, S., *op. cit.*, p. 514. Some studies find that Yi In-im himself wished for a more meritorious and balanced approach to government, but that his most influential allies among the

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gwonmun se jok (influential families) were hopelessly corrupt and had the political power to push Yi In-im to support their malfeasance. See Go, H. "The late Goryeo and Lee In-rim."

⁵ Duncan, J., *The Origins of the Joseon Dynasty*, especially chapter 1.

⁶ Duncan, J., op.cit., p. 229; Kim, D., op. cit.

⁷ Kim, J., op. cit., p. 116.

⁸ Ibid.; *Taejo Sillok*, 4:2 (1393.7.26).

⁹ Kim, J., op.cit., p. 152.

¹⁰ *Taejo Sillok* 6:3, 6.11.1394.

¹¹ See, for example, *Koryosa*, v. 30, 3.1377.

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¹² Lee, H., "Political Power Groups of Koryo Dynasty after the Period of Yuan China's Intervention," p. 42.

¹³ *Koryosa*, v. 31, 8.1380.

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¹⁴ *Koryosa*, v. 31, 10.1380.

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¹⁵ *Koyosa*, v. 32, 3.1386.

http://db.history.go.kr/id/kj_032r_0010_0040_0030_0010

¹⁶ *Koryosa*, v. 32, 2.1384.

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¹⁷ *Koryosa*, v. 31, 4.1381.

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¹⁸ *Koryosa*, v. 31, 12.1380; v. 32, 8.1384; v. 32, 1.1385.

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¹⁹ See, for example, *Koryosa*, v. 32, 8.1387.

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²⁰ *Koryosa*, v. 32, 6.1384.

http://db.history.go.kr/id/kj_032r_0010_0020_0060_0050;
8.1384.

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²¹ *Koryosa*, v. 31, 3.1380.

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²² See, for example, *Koryosa*, v. 31, 11.1381.

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²³ *Koryosa*, v. 31, 8.1380.

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²⁴ Cited in Kim, D., op. cit, p. 121. For examples of top advisors urging the King to refrain from constant licentious play, hunting, and rudeness, See *Koryosa*, v. 31, 7.1380.

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11.1380.

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²⁵ *Koryosa*, v. 33, 12.1388.

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²⁶ *Koryosa*, v. 32, 8.1384.

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²⁷ *Koryosa*, v. 31, 3.1381.

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6.1381.

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²⁸ *Koryosa*, v. 31, 3.1383.

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²⁹ *Koryosa*, v. 31, 6.1382.

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For another such entreaty, see *Koryosa*, v. 31, 11.1382.

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³⁰ *Koryosa*, v. 31, 7.1383.

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³¹ Kim, J., op. cit., 152.

³² Ibid., p. 124.

³³ *Koryosa*, v. 31, 5.1382.

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2.1382.

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³⁴ Jeong Do-jeon, "A Letter of Gratitude (1385)." In Robinson, D., *Seeking Order in a Tumultuous Age*, p. 56.

³⁵ Jeong Do-Jeon, "Answering a Farmer (1376)." In *Sambongjip*, Vol. I, p. 116.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Chong, K., "Revitalization of Ancient Institutions," p. 20.

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- ⁴⁰ Kim, J., op. cit., p. 133.
- ⁴¹ For a review of Jeong Do-jeon's time in exile and how he came to terms with its beneficial lessons, see Chang G., "*Naja hoejin Yubaesijeol Sambong Jeong Do-jeonu Yubaeji Saramgwau Sotong Gwajeong-Nongmine Daehan Insik Beonhwa Mich Jeongchaeseong Chajagagi*" ["Sambong Jeong Do-jeon's Mutual Understanding with a Place of Exile-Naju Sojaedong"].
- ⁴² Jeong Do-jeon, "Answering an Elderly Farmer." In Robinson, D., *Seeking Order in a Tumultuous Age*, p. 88.
- ⁴³ Jeong Do-jeon, "A Letter Regarding Naju (1375)." In *Sambongjip*, Vol I., pp. 95-97.
- ⁴⁴ Kim, J., op. cit., p. 133.
- ⁴⁵ Jeong Do-jeon, "Answer to a Farmer (1376)." In *Sambongjip*, Vol I, pp. 116-119.
- ⁴⁶ Jeong Do-jeon, "Family Woes." In Robinson, D. *Seeking Order in a Tumultuous Age*, p. 91; See also "Chinese Mid-Autumn Festival (1375)." In *Sambongjip*, Vol. I., p. 136.
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- ⁴⁸ Jeong Do-jeon, "Naju (1375)." In Robinson, D., *Seeking Order in a Tumultuous Age*, p. 64.
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- ⁵¹ Cited in Kim, J., op. cit., p. 242.
- ⁵² Cited in Park, B., *Joseon Cheogoui Sasangbeom [The Best Ideological Outlaw of Joseon]*, p. 193.
- ⁵³ Jeong Do-jeon, "Staying with Sansa (1375)." In *Sambongjip*, Vol. I, p. 76. See also "Apology to a Goblin (1375)," p. 101.
- ⁵⁴ Jeong Do-jeon, "Overcoming Muyeolsan Mountain (1376)" and "Chinese Mid-Autumn Festival (1375)." In *Sambongjip*, Vol. I., pp. 110, 136.
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- ⁵⁶ Jeong Do-jeon, "Note to Gokbang (1377)." *Sambongjip*, Vol. I, p. 152.

- ⁵⁷ Jeong Do-jeon, "Moving Houses (1382)." In *Sambongjip*, Vol. I, p. 188. See also Im, Y., *Joseongukwang Iyagi I* [The Story of the Kings of the Joseon Dynasty], p. 52; Park, B., op. cit., p. 36.
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- ⁶⁰ Jeong Do-jeon, *Sambongjip*, Vol. I., 6.1375, p. 77.
- ⁶¹ Park, B., op. cit., p. 349.
- ⁶² Kim, H., "Goryeomal gwonmunsejokgwa Sadaebuui Gaehyeokan Bigyo" ["Comparison between the Gwonmunsejok and Sadaebu at the end of Goryeo"].
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- ⁶⁵ Jeong Do-jeon, "Sambong in Autumn (1383)." In *Sambongjip*, Vol I, p. 196.

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- ² Pockock, J., *The Machiavellian Moment*; Kim, J., *Jeong Do-jeon Sidaerul Ilda* [Reading the Age of Jeong Do-jeon], p. 204.
- ³ Park, B., *Joseon Cheogoui Sasangbeom* [The Best Ideological Outlaw of Joseon], p. 68.
- ⁴ Im, J., *Tajoegohwangje: Joseongukwangpyongjeon 1* [King Taejo: First King of the Joseon Dynasty], p. 98.
- ⁵ *Taejo Sillok*, 9:5 (1396.12.25).
- ⁶ *Taejo Sillok*, "Cheongseo" ["General Introduction"], Kindle loc. 1172.
- ⁷ *Taejo Sillok*, "Cheongseo" ["General Introduction"], Kindle loc., 1124, 1476.
- ⁸ Ibid., loc. 1180.
- ⁹ Ibid., loc. 1177; See also Yi Seong-gye Leadership Center, *Jeonbukuiro Tteonaneun Yi Seong-gye Yeoksa Yeohang* [The Historical Travels of Yi Seong-gye through Jeonbuk], pp. 94–95.
- ¹⁰ *Taejo Sillok*, "Cheongseo" ["General Introduction"], Kindle loc. 1367.

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- ¹⁵ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 1213.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, loc. 1256; For other historical records of the same recommendations, see *Koryosa*, v. 31, 8.1383.
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- ¹⁹ Kyongran, C., “Revitalization of Ancient Institutions: The 1394 Governance Code for the Joseon Dynasty of Korea,” p. 21.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*; Kim, B. *Wangjeongui Jogeon: Damronuiro Ikneun Joseonsidaesa* [The Conditions of Monarchy: Reading Joseon History Through Discourse], pp. 89–91.
- ²¹ Pocock, J., op. cit.
- ²² Kang, J., *The Land of Scholars*, p. 184.
- ²³ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 1301.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, loc. 1282.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.* See also *Songs of the Dragons Flying to Heaven*, p. 88; Im, J., op. cit., p. 107.
- ²⁶ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 1282.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, loc. 1291.

Chapter 14

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- ⁶ Lee, J., “The Development of Diplomatic Relations and Trade with Ming.”
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²⁷ *Koryosa*, v. 33, 2.1388.

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² Lee, J., “The Development of Diplomatic Relations and Trade with Ming in the Last Years of the Koryo Dynasty”; Kim, D., *Yi Seong-gyewa, Cho Chun, Jung Do-jeonui Joseon Wangjo Gaechan* [The Foundation of Joseon Dynasty by Yi Seong-gye with Cho Chun and Jeong Do-jeon], p. 184.

³ Yi Seong-gye Leadership Center, *Jeonbukuiro Tteonaneun Yi Seong-gye Yeoksa Yeohang* [The Historical Travels of Yi Seong-gye through Jeonbuk], pp. 99–100.

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¹⁰ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 1371.

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- ¹⁵ For details on this moment of conflict and differing views on how to handle relations with China’s new Ming dynasty, see Lee, K., “*Yeomalseonchoui Gukjejeongse Byunhwawa Daeojeongbeol*” [“The Changing International Circumstances & Foreign Conquest From Late Koryo to Early Joseon Dynasty the Goryeo to Joseon dynasties”]; Kang, J., *The Land of Scholars: Two Thousand Years of Korean Confucianism*, pp. 165–176.
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- ²⁵ For details on King U’s erratic behaviors, see *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 1411–1425; Lee S., *op. cit.*, p. 304.
- ²⁶ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 1513.
- ²⁷ Duncan, J., *The Origins of the Joseon Dynasty*, pp. 183–4.
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³⁰ Lee, S., op. cit.

³¹ *Koryosa*, v. 33, 4.1388.

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³³ *Ibid.*, Canto 32; Yoon, H., “Lee Je-hyeonui

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³⁸ Pocock, J., *The Machiavellian Moment*.

³⁹ Park, H., “Yi Seong-gyeui Wihwado Hoegun Natanan Lideosip Moment Yeongu” [“Yi Seong-gye’s Leadership Moment Shown at Wihwado Return”], p. 224.

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⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Yi Seong-gye Leadership Center, *Jeonbukuiro Tteonaneun Yi Seong-gye Yeoksa Yeohang* [The Historical Travels of Yi Seong-gye through Jeonbuk], p. 108.

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- ⁵² See, for example, People and History Editing Committee, op. cit., p. 98.
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- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1529–1539.
- ⁵⁵ Kim, D, op. cit., p. 177; Bae, S., *Joseon Geonguk Janhoksa* [The Cruel History of the Foundation of Joseon]; Kang, H., *Tombstones without a Tomb*, 2017, p. 46–47.
- ⁵⁶ Ji, D., *Tajoedaewanggwa Chininchuk* [King Taejo and his Relatives: The First Royal Family of Joseon], p. 169.
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- ⁵⁸ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 1478.
- ⁵⁹ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo.” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 1490; *Songs of the Dragons Flying to Heaven*, Canto 10; *Koryosa*, v. 33, 6.1.1388.
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- ⁶⁰ Kim, D., op. cit., p. 179.
- ⁶¹ People and History Editing Committee, op. cit., p. 97; Bae, S., op. cit., p. 72.
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- ⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 1499. See also Kim, D., op. cit., p. 179. Lee, S., op. cit., p. 222.
- ⁶⁴ Robinson, D., *Korea and the Fall of the Mongol Empire*, pp. 127-129.
- ⁶⁵ *Koryosa*, v. 30, 7.1376.
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- ⁶⁶ Robinson, D., *Korea and the Fall of the Mongol Empire*, p. 222.

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⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, loc. 1521; *Koryosa*, v. 33, 6.6.1388.

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⁶⁹ *Koryosa*, v. 33, 6.9.1388.

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⁷⁰ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 1573.

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¹ Lee, H., “*Yi Seong-gyeui Jeonseunggwa Uimi Yeongu*” [“An Analysis of the Meaning of Myths about Yi Seong-gye”], Legend 3.

² Lee, S., *Gae-gyeongbutteo Hanyangkaji 1* [From Gaegyeong to Hanyang Vol. I], p. 320; Jo, M., *Joseonui yi Injadeul* [Joseon’s Two Right-Hand Men].

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⁴ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 1580–1590.

⁵ *Koryosa*, v. 34, 3.1389.

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⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 1582.

⁸ Im, J., *Tajoegohwangje: Joseongukwangpyongjeon 1* [King Taejo: First King of the Joseon Dynasty], p. 34.

⁹ Kim, Y., “*Joseon Taejo~Taejongdae Jeongchiwa Jeongchiseryeok*” [“Taejo and Taejong: Political Forces of Joseon”], p. 47

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 19; Kim, D., “*Goryeomal Lee Seong-gyeui Jeongjeock*” [“Yi Seong-gye’s Political Opponents in Late Goryeo”].

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¹⁷ Jeong Do-jeong, *op. cit.*; Duncan, J., *op. cit.*, p. 207.

¹⁸ Im, J., *op. cit.*, p. 22; Sin, D., *G2 Sidae Leadershipuiro Bon Joseonwang Seongjeokpho* [The Scorecard of Joseon Kings Seen Through the Leadership of the G2 Era], p. 54.

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²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Kim, B., *op. cit.*, p. 193.

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For modern retellings of this incident, see Bae, S., *Joseon Geonguk Janhoksa* [The Cruel History of the Foundation of Joseon], pp. 84–85; Kim, Y., “*Joseon Taejo~Taejongdae Jeongchiwa Jeongchiseryeok*” [“Taejo and Taejong: Political Forces of Joseon”].

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²⁶ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”].

²⁷ Kim, J., *op. cit.*, pp. 264–5.

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²⁹ *Ibid.*; *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 1620–30.

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³¹ Kim, B., *Wangjeongui Jogeon: Damronuiro Ikneun Joseonsidaesa* [The Conditions of Monarchy: Reading Joseon History Through Discourse], p. 90.

³² *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 1753.

³³ Im, J., *op. cit.*, p. 276.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 82. See also *Koryosa*, v. 34, 11.15.1389.

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³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 29; *Koryosa*, v. 34. 1.1390.

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⁴⁰ For details on the Nine Meritorious Retainers of Hongguksa and their merit rewards, see *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo.” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 1620–1680.

⁴¹ *Koryosa*, v. 34, 12.1389.

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- ⁴² *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 1601; See also *Koryosa*, v. 34, 12.1389.
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- ⁴³ Lee, S., op. cit., p.284.
- ⁴⁴ Im, J., op. cit., p. 296.
- ⁴⁵ Cited in Kim, B., op. cit, p. 87.
- ⁴⁶ *Koryosa*, v. 34, 1.1390.
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- ⁴⁸ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 1716–1782.
- ⁴⁹ *Koryosa*, v. 34, 1.1390.
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- ⁵⁰ Kim, B., op. cit., p. 96.
- ⁵¹ For details on the Yun I/Yi Cho incident, see *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 1797–1877. For a scholarly treatment, see Lee H., “*Gongyangwangdae Yunitpsicho Sageon*” [“King Gongyang’s Yoon Yi Cho Incident”].
- ⁵² *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 1818–1829. See also Kim, D., op. cit.
- ⁵³ Kim, D., op. cit.
- ⁵⁴ Im, J., op. cit.
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- ⁵⁶ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 1818.
- ⁵⁷ *Koryosa*, v. 34, 8.1390.
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- ⁵⁸ Shin, E., “*Shindonjipgwonggiui Jungchiwa Geu Uimi*” [“Politics and Its Implications of Shindon Regime”], pp. 37–42.
- ⁵⁹ Kim, J., op. cit., p. 272.
- ⁶⁰ *Koryosa*, v. 34, 11.1390.
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⁶² *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 1828–1937.

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⁶⁶ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 1941–1945.

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³ Cited in Lee, D., *Bujauil Gil: Yi Seong-gye and Yi Bang-won* [Path of Father and Son: Yi Seong-gye and Yi Bang-won], p. 129; See also *Koryosa*, v. 34, 8.1389.

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⁴ Im, J., *Tajoegohwangje: Joseongukwangpyongjeon 1* [King Taejo: First King of the Joseon Dynasty], p. 56.

⁵ Kim, D., *Yi Seong-gyewa, Cho Chun, Jung Do-jeonui Joseon Wangjo Gaechan* [The Foundation of Joseon Dynasty by Yi Seong-gye with Cho Chun and Jeong Do-jeon], pp. 508–521.

⁶ Jeong Do-jeon, “The Sambong Chip: On Land,” pp. 576–577.

⁷ *Koryosa*, v. 34, 4.1389.

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⁹ Im, J., *op. cit.*, p. 51.

¹⁰ Han, H., “The Establishment of National Rites and Royal Authority during Early Chosŏn.”

¹¹ Kim, J., *Jeong Do-jeon Sidaerul Ilda* [Reading the Age of Jeong Do-jeon], p. 258.

¹² Kim, B., *Wangjeongui Jogeon: Damronuiro Ikneun Joseonsidaesa* [The Conditions of Monarchy: Reading Joseon History Through Discourse], p. 83.

¹³ Kang, J., *The Land of Scholars*, 170. For a more mixed review of the depth and importance of this act of burning the land records, and associated land reforms, see Duncan, J., *Origins of the Joseon Dynasty*, chapter 5 (especially pp. 208–211).

¹⁴ Yoon, H., “The Eight Periods in the History of Korean Geomancy,” p. 45; Hwang, I., “*Bulgyogye Goseunggwa Gukdo Chundo-Goryo mit Joseonui Gukdoryul Jungsimuiro*” [“Prominent Buddhist Priests and the Moving of the National Capital City—Focusing on the Capital Cities of Goryeo and Joseon Dynasties”].

¹⁵ Im, J., *op. cit.*, p. 120.

¹⁶ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 1982.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1992.

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¹ Masters of Buddhism, “The Short Story of Maitreya.”

² Suh, S., “Reliquary Set Offered by Yi Seonggye.”

³ Joo, K., “*Yi Seong-gye Balwon Bulsaijangeumguui Yeongu*” [“A Study of Buddhist Reliquaries Donated by Yi Seong-gye”]. See also Robinson, D., *Empire’s Twilight*, p. 74.

⁴ Baker, D., “Rhetoric, Ritual, and Political Legitimacy: Justifying Yi Seong-gye’s Ascension to the Throne,” p. 128.

⁵ *Taejo Sillok*, 5:3, 1394.10.17; 3:2, 1393 12 (intercalary); 14:7, 1398.5.10–12.

⁶ This mountain and its Buddhist monastery were renowned for their unique spiritual energy. For this reason, Empress Ki (the Goryeo-born consort of Yuan Emperor Toghon Temur) had once commissioned monks of the Geumgang monastery to pray for her child’s (Ayushiridara) long life. See An, C., *Legends of the Kumgang Mountains*; Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Culture, “Mt. Geumgang”; Robinson, D., *Korea and the Fall of the Mongol Empire*, p. 65.

⁷ *Ibid.*

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⁸ Lee, H., “*Yi Seong-gyeui Jeonseunggwa Uimi Yeongu*” [“Analysis of the Meaning of Myths about Yi Seong-gye”], Legend 8–4. See also Yi Seong-gye Leadership Center, *Jeonbukuiro Tteonaneun Yi Seong-gye Yeoksa Yeohang* [The Historical Travels of Yi Seong-gye through Jeonbuk], p. 160.

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¹⁰ Moon, J., “*Joseon Geongukgwa Yi Seong-gae Seolhau* *Jeongchijeok Hamui*” [“Foundation of Joseon and Political Significance of Tales about Yi Seong-gye”], p. 9.

¹¹ Baker, D., op. cit., p. 134.

¹² Ibid.; Joo, K., op. cit.

¹³ Baker, D. op. cit., p. 134.

¹⁴ Joo, K., op. cit., p. 48.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 35.

¹⁷ Robinson, D., *Empire’s Twilight*, p. 75.

¹⁸ Cited in Moon, J., op. cit., p. 19.

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¹ *The Story of Hong Gildong*, Translated by Kang, M., pp. 4–5.

² *Koryosa*, v. 35, 5.1391.

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For a review of the large number of officials who returned to office not long after impeachment, dismissal and exile during the first years after the Wihwado Hoegun, see Kim, D., “*Goryeomal Lee Seong-gyeui Jeongjeock*” [“Yi Seong-gye’s Political Opponents in Late Goryeo”]; Kim, J., *Jeong Do-jeon Sidaerul Ilda* [Reading the Age of Jeong Do-jeon], p. 300.

³ Im, J., *Tajoegohwangje: Joseongukwangpyongjeon 1* [King Taejo: First King of the Joseon Dynasty], pp. 148–152.

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⁵ For discussion of the widening gap between the moderates and the radical during this time, see Yi Seong-gye Leadership Center, *Jeonbukuiro Tteonaneun Yi Seong-gye Yeoksa Yeohang* [The Historical Travels of Yi Seong Gye through Jeonbuk], pp.

32–40; Im, Y., *Joseongukwang Iyagi I* [The Story of the Kings of the Joseon Dynasty], p. 51.

⁶ For example, in June of 1391, Yi Seong-gye submitted yet another of his frequent resignation requests to the King. These requests were always turned down. See *Koryosa*, v. 35, 6.1391. http://db.history.go.kr/id/kj_035r_0010_0010_0060_0120

⁷ See, for example, *Koryosa*, v. 35, 7.1391.

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⁸ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 2006.

⁹ *Koryosa*, v. 35, 7.1391.

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See also Im, J., op. cit., p. 159.

¹⁰ Im, J., op. cit., pp. 160–182.

¹¹ Jeong Do-jeon, “A Literary Mirror for Ordering the World (1395).” In Robinson, D., *Seeking Order in a Tumultous Age*, p. 177.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ See, for example, Jeong Do-jeon, “An Appeal to the King (4.27.1391)” and “A Public Appeal (7.1.1391).” In *Sambongjip*, Vol. III, pp. 61–71.

¹⁴ Jeong Do-jeon, “A Letter to the Privy Council (1391)” and “Memorial (1391).” In Robinson, D., *Seeking Order in a Tumultous Age*, pp. 46–55, 67–74. See also *Koryosa*, v. 35, 5.1391; 7.1391.

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¹⁵ *Sambongjip*, Vol. III, pp. 86–87.

¹⁶ *Koryosa*, as cited in *Sambongjip*, Vol. III, p. 91.

¹⁷ *Koryosa*, v. 25, 9.1391.

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²⁰ Im, J., op. cit., p. 173.

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²¹ Ibid., pp. 175–77; Cho, M., “Goryomal-Joseoncho Guknaejungchijibaeseryeokui Daejunginsik” [“Diplomatic Relations with China in The Period of Late Goryeo and Early Joseon Dynasty”], p. 502; *Koryosa*, v. 35, 10.1391.
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²⁴ Cited in Kim, J., op. cit., p. 317.

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¹ Moon, J., “Joseon Geongukgwa Yi Seong-gae Seolhau Ji Jeongchijeok Hamui” [“Foundation of Joseon and Political Significance of Tales about Yi Seong-gye”], p. 23.

² *Koryosa*, v. 35, 3.1392.

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⁵ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 2040; Im, Y., *Joseongukwang Iyagi I* [The Story of the Kings of the Joseon Dynasty], p. 38.

⁶ *Koryosa*, v. 35, 4.1392.

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⁷ Im, J., *Tajoegohwangje: Joseongukwangpyongjeon 1* [King Taejo: First King of the Joseon Dynasty], p. 94; Kim, J., *Jeong Do-jeon Sidaerul Ilda* [Reading the Age of Jeong Do-jeon], p. 324.

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¹⁰ Jeong Mong-ju, “*Danshimga*,” in Jang, G., “In Search of the Essence of Shijo”; See also *The Book of Korea Shijo*, translated by O’Rourke, K., p. 31.

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¹³ *Koryosa*, v. 35, 4.1392,

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¹⁵ *Koryosa*, v. 35, 4.1392.

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¹⁶ Kim, B., op. cit., p. 56.

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¹⁸ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 2124.

¹⁹ *Koryosa*, Book 117, in McCann, D., op. cit.

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²¹ *Songs of the Dragons Flying to Heaven*, Canto 78.

²² Cited in Kim, J., op. cit., p. 284.

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⁵ Cited in Park, B., *Joseon Cheogoui Sasangbeom* [The Best Ideological Outlaw of Joseon], p. 217.

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⁹ *Taejo Sillok* 1:1 (1392.7.17).

¹⁰ Kim, J., *Jeong Do-jeon Sidaerul Ilda* [Reading the Age of Jeong Do-jeon], p. 224.

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² *Taejo Sillok*, 4:2 (1393.7.26).

³ *Taejo Sillok*, 1:1 (1392.7.17).

⁴ *Taejo Sillok*, 4:2 (1393.7.26).

⁵ Jeong Do-jeon, “A Note on Composing and Submitting an Explanation of the King’s Virtue (1392),” in Robinson, D., *Seeking Order in a Tumultuous Age*, p. 58.

⁶ *Taejo Sillok*, 1:2 (1392.12.16).

⁷ *Taejo Sillok*, 4:2 (1393.9.18).

⁸ *Taejo Sillok*, 2:1 (1392.9.16).

⁹ *Taejo Sillok*, 1:1 (1390.2.7.18).

¹⁰ *Taejo Sillok*, 1:1 (1392.8.23); Kim, D., *Yi Seong-gyewa, Cho Chun, Jung Do-jeonui Joseon Wangjo Gaechan* [The Foundation of Joseon Dynasty by Yi Seong-gye with Cho Chun and Jeong Do-jeon], p. 360.

¹¹ *Taejo Sillok*, 1.1 (1392.8.23).

¹² Clark, D., “Joseon’s Founding Fathers: A Study of Merit Subjects in the Early Yi Dynasty,” p. 17.

¹³ Ibid.; Park B., *Joseon Cheogoui Sasangbeom* [The Best Ideological Outlaw of Joseon].

- ¹⁴ *Taejo Sillok*, 2:1 (1392.9.21); Im, J., *Tajoegohwangje*: : *Joseongukwangpyongjeon 1* [King Taejo: First King of the Joseon Dynasty], p. 184.
- ¹⁵ Kim, J., *Jeong Do-jeon Sidaerul Ilda* [Reading the Age of Jeong Do-jeon], p. 8; Clark, D., op. cit., pp. 17–18; Kim, Y., “Joseon Taejo~Taejongdae Jeongchiwa Jeongchiseryeok” [“*Taejo and Taejong: Political Forces of Joseon*”], pp. 56–57.
- ¹⁶ Clark, D., op. cit.; Hwang, K., “From the Dirt to Heaven: Northern Koreans in the Joseon and Early Modern Eras.”
- ¹⁷ Kim, J., op. cit., p. 389; Yi Seong-gye Leadership Center, *Jeonbukuiro Tteonaneun Yi Seong-gye Yeoksa Yeohang* [The Historical Travels of Yi Seong-gye through Jeonbuk], p. 146.
- ¹⁸ *Taejo Sillok*, 2:1 (1392.9.21).
- ¹⁹ Im, J., op. cit., p. 186.
- ²⁰ *Taejo Sillok*, 2:1 (1392.9.28).
- ²¹ *Taejo Sillok*, 2:1 (1392.9.26).
- ²² *Taejo Sillok*, 2:1 (1392.9.26).
- ²³ For details on many of the royal relatives of King Taejo see Ji, D., *Tajoedaewanggwa Chininchuk* [King Taejo and his Relatives: The First Royal Family of Joseon].
- ²⁴ For details in the subsequent paragraphs regarding King Taejo’s choice of a successor, see *Taejo Sillok*, 1.1. (1392.8.20), especially footnote number 143; Kang, H., *Tombstones without a Tomb*, pp. 56–60.
- ²⁵ *Taejo Sillok*, 1.1 (1392.8.20), see especially footnote 143; Im, J., op. cit., p. 259.
- ²⁶ Bae, S., *Joseon Geonguk Janhoksa* [The Cruel History of the Foundation of Joseon], p. 198.
- ²⁷ *Taejong Sillok*, 8:4 [1404] (9:26.2).
- ²⁸ Kang, H., op. cit., p. 50; See also *Taejo Sillok*, 1.1 (1392.8.20).
- ²⁹ Lee, D., Ha, T., Hong, S., and Song, H., *Jeonbukjiyeokui Joseon Tajoe Eujeok* [The Remains of King Taejo in North Jeolla Province], pp. 215.
- ³⁰ *Taejong Sillok*, 3.6.1405. In *Sambongjip*, Vol. III, p. 271-2.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*
- ³² Kang, H., op. cit., p. 60.
- ³³ Im, J., op. cit., p. 188.

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- ³⁴ For details on the anger of King Taejo's sons (by Lady Han), see Kang, H., op. cit., pp. 58–60; Kim, Y., "*Joseon Chogi Sangwangui Junchijeok Euisang*" ["The Status of the Abdicated King in the Early Joseon Dynasty"]; Kim, J., op. cit.
- ³⁵ *Taejo Sillok*, 2:1 (1392.10.22).
- ³⁶ *Taejo Sillok*, 2:1 (1392.12.28).
- ³⁷ *Taejo Sillok*, 3:2 (1393.1.1).
- ³⁸ *Taejo Sillok*, 1:1 (1392.7.20).
- ³⁹ Huh, T., "*Joseonwangjo-ui Geongukgwa Gukho Munje*" ["The Foundation of Joseon dynasty and Problem of Naming"], p. 24.
- ⁴⁰ Kang, J., *The Land of Scholars*, p. 177.
- ⁴¹ Ibid.
- ⁴² *Taejo Sillok*, 3:2 (1393.2.15).

Chapter 23

- ¹ Moon, J., "*Joseon Geongukgwa Yi Seong-gae Seolhau Jeongchijeok Hamui*" ["Foundation of Joseon and Political Significance of Tales about Yi Seong-gye"], Legend 7.
- ² *Taejo Sillok*, 1:1 (1392.8.23).
- ³ *Jeonseogak Archives*, "Do Eung Wangji".
- ⁴ Ibid.
- ⁵ Ibid., p. 141.
- ⁶ Reynolds, G., "Culling Archival Collections in the Koryŏ–Chosŏn Transition."
- ⁷ *Taejo Sillok*, 14:7, 1398.6.12. This same reference applies for the remainder of the King's conversation.
- ⁸ Ibid.
- ⁹ *Taejo Sillok*, 3:2 (1393.3.21).
- ¹⁰ *Taejo Sillok*, 5.3 (1394.4.17).
- ¹¹ Duncan, J., *The Origins of the Joseon Dynasty*, p. 65.
- ¹² For a detailed treatment of the debates and decisions regarding what to do about the members of the Royal Wang family, and the executions that followed, see Park, E., *A Genealogy of Dissent*.
- ¹³ *Taejo Sillok*, 1:1 (1392.8.20).
- ¹⁴ Kang, J., *The Land of Scholars*, p. 175.
- ¹⁵ *Taejo Sillok*, 5:3 (1394.2.11).

- ¹⁶ Bae, S., *Joseon Geonguk Janhoksa* [The Cruel History of the Foundation of Joseon], p. 186.
- ¹⁷ Ibid.
- ¹⁸ *Taejo Sillok*, 5:3 (1394.1.16).
- ¹⁹ *Taejo Sillok*, 5:3 (1394.2.25–28) (1394.3.1–4, 7, 14).
- ²⁰ *Taejo Sillok*, 5:3 (1394.4.10).
- ²¹ Park, E., op. cit., pp. 36–7.
- ²² To review this debate, see entries on the following two dates, and several dates between: *Taejo Sillok*, 5:3 (1394.2.25) (1394.4.14).
- ²³ *Taejo Sillok*, 5:3 (1394.4.15); Park, E., op. cit., pp. 36–40.
- ²⁴ *Taejo Sillok*, 5:3 (1394.4.20).
- ²⁵ Park, E., op. cit., p. 41.
- ²⁶ *Taejo Sillok*, 5:3 (1394.4.20).
- ²⁷ Park, E., op. cit. pp. 45–47; Kang, J., *The Land of Scholars*, p. 175.

Chapter 24

- ¹ Bae, S., *Joseon Geonguk Janhoksa* [The Cruel History of the Foundation of Joseon], p. 16.
- ² Moon J., “*Joseon Geongukgwa Yi Seong-gye seolhau jeongchijeok hamui*” [“Foundation of Joseon and Political Significance of Tales about Yi Seong-gye”]; Cho, H., “*Jeonseol Gyoyuk Siron–Chimadae Jeonseoleul Jungsimuro*” [“The Significance of Perceptions of Baekdusan in Baekdu-related Myths”].
- ³ Moon, J., op. cit.
- ⁴ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 578.
- ⁵ For a review of the function of these Cantos in legitimizing the Yi Dynasty with the sheen of magical divinity, see McCann, D., “Song of the Dragons Flying to Heaven: Negotiating History,” in *Early Korean Literature: Selections and Introductions*; Translator’s Commentary in *Songs of the Dragons Flying to Heaven*, Translated by J. Hoyt.
- ⁶ *Songs of the Dragons Flying to Heaven*, Canto 87.

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⁷ Ibid., Canto 84. For another report of this phenomenon, see *Koryosa*, v. 35, 12.1391.

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⁸ *Taejo Sillok*, 1:1 (1392.7.17); Moon, J., op. cit., p. 15; Lee, H., “*Yi Seong-gyeui Jeonseunggwa Uimi Yeongu*” [“Analysis of the Meaning of Myths about Yi Seong-gye”].

⁹ Moon J., op. cit.

¹⁰ Moon J., op. cit., p. 6.

¹¹ Walraven, B., “Religion and the City: Seoul in the 19th Century,” pp. 178–208.

¹² Lee, I., “*Yi Seong-gyewa Jeonju*” [“Yi Seong-gye and Jeonju”], p. 200.

¹³ Jung, Y., “*Dwokgchui Geollipgwa Byeoncheone Daehan Yeongu*” [A Study of the Construction and Changes of Isanmyo].

¹⁴ Ryu, K. and Kim, K., “*Joseon Taejodaewang Taesilui Hyungsikgwa Tteukseong*” [A Study on the Type and Characteristics of the King Taejo’s Taesil in Joseon Dynasty].

¹⁵ *Taejo Sillok*, 1:1 (1392.8.8).

¹⁶ *Taejo Sillok*, 4:2 (1393.9.18).

¹⁷ *Taejo Sillok*, 1:1 (1392.7.28).

¹⁸ For an excellent discussion of these sentiments, see Deuchler, M., *The Confucian Transformation of Korea*, e.g., p. 7.

¹⁹ *Taejo Sillok*, 2:1 (1392.11.6).

²⁰ *Taejo Sillok*, 2:1 (1392.11.7).

²¹ *Taejo Sillok*, 2:1 (1392.11.7); 3:2 (1393.2.10); 4:2 (1393.12.11); 5:3 (1394.2.18); 6:3 (1394.7.11).

²² *Taejo Sillok*, 1:1 (1392.8.9).

²³ Deuchler, M., op. cit., pp. 73–79; Janelli, R. and Janelli D., *Ancestor Worship and Korean Society*; Kang, H., *Tombstones without a Tomb*.

²⁴ *Taejo Sillok*, 2:1 (1392.9.30).

²⁵ *Taejo Sillok*, 2:1 (1392.10.9).

²⁶ For one detailed review of King Taejo’s search for a new capital, see Kim, H., “Controversy over the capital of Hanyang at the beginning of the Joseon Dynasty.”

²⁷ Many entries in the *Taejo Sillok* around this time describe the search for the site of a new capital in detail.

²⁸ For an excellent review of pungsu (geomancy) theory and practices in Korea, see the edited volume by Yooh, H., *Pungsu: A Study of Geomancy in Korea*.

²⁹ Lee, H., "Geomantic Discourse of the Joseon Confucian Literati," p. 338.

³⁰ *Taejo Sillok*, 2:1, 1392.9.30; Oh, S., "The Recognition of Geomancy by Intellectuals during the Joseon Period," p. 122; Yoon, H. "Principal Characteristics of Korean Geomancy," p. 106; Han, J. and Park T., "A Study on the Site Analysis of the Jongmyo Area," p. 43. Partly because the *ki* energy of Gaeseong was thought by some to be running out towards the end of the Goryeo dynasty, there were several unsuccessful attempts to shift the Goryeo capital to Seoul, long before Yi Seong-gye overthrew the Goryeo king. See Yoon, H., "The Eight Periods in the History of Korean Geomancy," p. 45.

³¹ Mason, D., "Pungsu-jiri"; Baldacchino, J., "Moral geometry, natural alignments and utopian urban form," p 58; Yoon, H., "The Role of Pungsu (Geomancy) in Korean Culture."

³² *Taejo Sillok*, 6:3 (1394.7.11).

³³ *Taejo Sillok*, 3.2 (1393.2.5).

³⁴ Moon, J., op. cit., p. 16.

³⁵ Kim, H., op. cit.

³⁶ *Taejo Sillok*, 3:2 (1393.2.1).

³⁷ *Taejo Sillok*, 6:3 (1394.8.12). For the detailed text of Jeong Do-jeon's reasoning on the site for a new capital, see "Appeal Against Muakcheondo (1394)." In *Sambongjib*, Vol. I., pp. 380-384.

³⁸ *Taejo Sillok*, 6:3 (1394.8.24).

³⁹ Rii, H., "Jongmyo (Royal Shrine): Iconography of Korea". References to these geomantic forces cradling the capital city can be found in the *Taejong Sillok*, 17:27b [9.4.13].

⁴⁰ This phrase was used by the Confucian scholar Yi Im, in favorably commenting on the geomancers' choice of Hangyang as the new capital. See Yoon, I., "Geomantic Ideas in Taengniji Manuscripts," 353.

⁴¹ *Taejo Sillok*, 6:3 (1394.8.16).

⁴² *Taejo Sillok*, 6:3 (1394.12.3).

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⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ The concept of “geomantic migration” is discussed in Yoon, H., “Government Affairs Related to Geomancy During the Time of Pre-Modern Korea,” p. 77.

⁴⁵ Kim, J., *Jeong Do-jeon Sidaerul Ilda* [Reading the Age of Jeong Do-jeon], p. 371.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 369.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 371.

⁴⁸ Mason, D., “Ingwan-san Seon-bawi.”

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Hwang, M., “The Mudang: Gendered discourses on shamanism in colonial korea,” p. 33.

⁵¹ Choi, G., “Changes in the Landscapes and Park of Namsan Mountain.”

⁵² This story is told on the Seon-bawi “Seoul Folklore Material No. 4” informational plaque installed at the base of the rocks on Inwangsan.

⁵³ *Taejo Sillok*, 8:4 (1395.9[Intercalary].19).

⁵⁴ *Taejo Sillok*, 9:5 (1396.1.9); 9:5 (1396.2.27); Park, B., *Joseon Cheogoui Sasangbeom* [The Best Ideological Outlaw of Joseon], p. 62.

⁵⁵ *Taejo Sillok*, 7:4 (1395.3.9).

⁵⁶ *Taejo Sillok*, 4:2 (1393.10.6).

⁵⁷ *Taejo Sillok*, 5:3 (1394.2.15).

⁵⁸ *Taejo Sillok*, 2:1 (1392.9.3).

⁵⁹ Quoted in Deuchler, M., *The Confucian Transformation of Korean Society*, p. 197.

⁶⁰ Quoted in Deuchler, M., op. cit., p. 133.

⁶¹ Lee H., “Geomantic Discourses of the Joseon Confucian Literati,” p. 341.

⁶² Choi, W., “Historical Geography and Pungsu(Fengshui) Discourse of Royal Tombs in the Joseon Dynasty”; Han, J. and Park, T., op. cit.; Lee, W., and Jin, Y., *Joseon Wangreung: Jamdeulji Mothaneun Yeoksa* [Royal Tombs of Joseon: A Sleepless History]; Zho, I., “Geomancy and Traditional Architecture During the Joseon Dynasty,” p. 166.

⁶³ Zho, I., op. cit., p. 167; Yoon, H., “Government Affairs Related to Geomancy During the Time of Pre-Modern Korea,” p. 48;

- Yoon, H., *The Culture of Feng–Shui in Korea*, pp. 3–4;
 Baldacchino, J., op. cit., p. 58.
- ⁶⁴ Cited in Lee, H., op. cit., p. 338.
- ⁶⁵ Kang, M., and Lee, H., *Jongmyowa Sajik [Jongmyo and Sajik]*.
- ⁶⁶ Kim, Y., “Jongmyoeseo boda maneun ideuri ilmureul jeopal su itgil baramnida: Jongmyojeryeilmu jeonsugyoyukjogyo, gimyeongsuk” [“I hope that more people will be able to experience the dance at Jongmyo”]; Deuchler, M., op. cit.
- ⁶⁷ Details on the King’s purification rituals are reported in the *Taejo Sillok*, 4:2 (1393.6.28). The impeachment of the officials is reported in the *Taejo Sillok*, 7:4 (1395.9.27).
- ⁶⁸ These ritual activities associated with the enshrinement of King Taejo’s ancestors at Jongmyo are described in the *Taejo Sillok*, 7:4 (1395.9.26–10.5). For a description of the expectation of fasting, see *Taejo Sillok*, 3:2 (1393.6.28).
- ⁶⁹ Rii, H., op. cit., n.d.
- ⁷⁰ Son, M., *Like Life: Royal Portraits of the Joseon Dynasty (1392–1910) in Ritual Context*, 2018, pp. 41–53.
- ⁷¹ *Taejo Sillok*, 3:2 (1393.6.28).
- ⁷² For descriptions of these rituals in detail, see Son M., op. cit, pp. 41–53. Joseon developed its rituals based on guidance from ancient Chinese texts such as the *Li Chi, Book of Rites: An Encyclopedia of Ancient Ceremonial Usages, Religious Creeds, and Social Institutions*, trans. James Legge, pp. 364–372. See also: Son, M., “Jongmyojehyangeul Wihan Geureutgwa Dogu” [“Ritual vessels and utensils for the royal ancestral rites of Jongmyo”]; Son, M., “Joeonui Gukgauriye, Orye” [“State Rites of the Joseon Dynasty: Five Rites”].
- ⁷³ *Taejo Sillok*, 7:4 (1395.10.5).
- ⁷⁴ *Taejo Sillok*, 8:4 (1396.12.25).
- ⁷⁵ *Taejo Sillok*, 7:4 (1395.10.5).
- ⁷⁶ Ibid.
- ⁷⁷ Jeong Do-jeon, “Kyöngbuk Palace.” In Robinson, D., *Seeking Order in a Tumultuous Age*, pp. 83-84.
- ⁷⁸ *Taejo Sillok*, 13:7 (1398.4.26).
- ⁷⁹ Alston, D., “Emperor and Emissary: The Hongwu Emperor, Kwon Kun, and the Poetry of Late Fourteenth Century Diplomacy,” p. 127.

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⁸⁰ *Taejo Sillok*, 9:6 (1397.3.8); See also Alston, D., op. cit, p. 124.

⁸¹ Im J., op. cit, p. 260; For another of Jeong Do-jeon's references to Confucian scholars as clouds "following the dragon" of King Taejo, see *Sambongjip*, Vol. I, "Introduction," p. 20.

⁸² *Taejo Sillok*, 8:4 (1395.10.5).

⁸³ Jeong Do-jeon, "Gyeonguk Palace (1395)." *Sambongjip*, Vol. I, pp. 396–397.

⁸⁴ *Taejo Sillok*, 8:4 (1395.10.7).

Chapter 25

¹ *Joseon Gyeongukjeon* (Governance Code of Joseon [1394]), SB7:1a, Quoted in Chong, K., "Revitalization of Ancient Institutions," p. 39.

² Cited by Yi Seong-gye Leadership Center. *Jeonbukuiro Tteonaneun Yi Seong-gye Yeoksa Yeohang* [The Historical Travels of Yi Seong-gye through Jeonbuk], p. 45.

³ Yoo, K., "Foundation and Management of the Joseon Dynasty."

⁴ Jeong Do-jeon, "Memorial (1391)." In Robinson, D., *Seeking Order in a Tumultuous Age*, p. 46.

⁵ Deuchler, M., *The Confucian Transformation of Korean Society*; Deuchler, M., "Neo-Confucianism: The Impulse for Social Action in Early Yi Korea."

⁶ Yoo, K., op. cit., p. 134.

⁷ Cited in Kang, J., *The Land of Scholars*, p. 160.

⁸ Yoo, K., op. cit., p. 136.

⁹ *Taejo Sillok*, 1:1 (1392.7.28).

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ The text of the Governance Code of Joseon can be found in the *Sambongjip*, Vol. II. The 1394 Code aligned with principles outlined by Jeong Do-jeon in his related text, "A Literary Mirror to Order the World (1395)." See Robinson, D., *Seeking Order in a Tumultuous Age*, pp. 95–177.

¹² Chong K., op. cit., p. 81

- ¹³ Ibid., pp. 2–3, 39–40, 57–60; See also Kang, J., *The Land of Scholars*, pp. 185–186; Park, B., *Joseon Cheogoui Sasangbeom* [The Best Ideological Outlaw of Joseon], pp. 81–84.
- ¹⁴ Chong K., op. cit., p. 85.
- ¹⁵ Kim Y., “*Joseon Taejo~Taejongdae Jeongchiwa Jeongchiseryeok*” [“Taejo and Taejong: Political Forces of Joseon”], p. 59.
- ¹⁶ Duncan, J., “The Social Background to the Founding of the Chosŏn Dynasty: Change or Continuity?” pp. 50–75.
- ¹⁷ Park, B., op. cit., p. 193.
- ¹⁸ Ibid., p. 153.
- ¹⁹ *Taejo Sillok*, 5:3 (1394.3.27).
- ²⁰ *Songs of the Dragons Flying to Heaven*, “Translator’s Introduction,” Hoyt, J., p. 16.
- ²¹ *Taejo Sillok*, 1:1 (1392.7.28); 3:1 (1394.1.18); 8:4 (1395.7.30), 15:7 (1398.9.12).
- ²² *Taejo Sillok*, 1:1 (1392.7.26); 1:1 (1392.9.21); 1:1 (1392.9.24); 3:2 (1393.4.27); 5:3 (1394.2.8); 5:3 (1394.4.11).
- ²³ *Taejo Sillok*, 5:3 (1394.4.11).
- ²⁴ Ibid.
- ²⁵ *Taejo Sillok*, 3:2 (1393.3.19).
- ²⁶ *Taejo Sillok*, 4:2 (1393.11.28).
- ²⁷ *Taejo Sillok*, 3:2 (1393.3.12).
- ²⁸ *Taejo Sillok*, 1:1 (1392.8.22).
- ²⁹ *Taejo Sillok*, 11:6 (1397.4.28).
- ³⁰ *Taejo Sillok*, 15:7 (1398.9.12).
- ³¹ *Taejo Sillok*, 11:6 (1397.2.11); 13:7 (1398.2.16)
- ³² *Taejo Sillok*, 2:1 (1392.9.24).
- ³³ Kim, S., “The Dispatch of Central Government Envoys (*Pongmyeong sasin*) during Early Joseon,” p. 43.
- ³⁴ Kang J., *The Land of Scholars*, p. 207.
- ³⁵ Duncan, J., *The Origins of the Joseon Dynasty*, pp. 209–210.
- ³⁶ Ibid; Park, B., op. cit., p. 229.
- ³⁷ Robinson, D., *Empire’s Twilight*, pp. 208–209.
- ³⁸ *Taejo Sillok*, 2:1 (1392.12.27).
- ³⁹ Ibid.

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⁴⁰ Ibid. See also Kim, B., *Wangjeongui Jogeon: Damronuiro Ikneun Joseonsidaesa* [Conditions of the Monarchy: Reading Joseon History Through Discourse], p. 202.

⁴¹ For example, in the summer of 1397, the Directorate for Adjudication of Slave Lawsuits submitted nineteen proposals concerning the ongoing problems of slave lawsuits. Every year of King Taejo's reign, multiple proposals were submitted to address this intractable issue. *Taejo Sillok*, 12:6 (1397.7.25).

⁴² *Taejo Sillok*, 3:2 (1393.1.15).

⁴³ Yi Seong-gye Leadership Center, *Jeonbukuiro Tteonaneun Yi Seong-gye Yeoksa Yeohang* [The Historical Travels of Yi Seong-gye through Jeonbuk], p. 236.

⁴⁴ Kim, B., op. cit, pp. 230–231.

⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 180–189.

⁴⁶ Choi, M., “*Yongbieochungae Natanan Yeonalseonchoui Yongtojeonjenggwa Byeongeong*” [“A Study on the Territorial Wars and Northern Border in Yongbieocheonga”], p. 113.

⁴⁷ *Taejo Sillok*, 2:1 (1392.12.16); 8:5 (1396.12.14)

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¹ 3B.2, In *Mencius: An Online Teaching Translation*, translated by R. Eno, p. 64.

² Kim, D., “*Goryeomal Lee Seong-gyeui Jeongjeock*” [“Yi Seong-gye's Political Opponents in Late Goryeo”], pp. 434–436.

³ Ibid. For a summary of this perspective, see Kim, I., “*Goryeomal Sadaebu Gyenyumui Yeoksaseonggwa Jeongchijeok Bunhwa Daehan Nonui*” [“A study of Historical Concepts Regarding the *Sadaebu* and Political Power”]. See also Duncan, J., *The Origins of the Joseon Dynasty*.

⁴ Mencius, “The Well-Field System of Landholding” In *Sources of the Chinese Tradition*, edited by W. Bary, W. and Bloom, I., p. 129.

⁵ Deuchler, M., *The Confucian Transformation of Korean Society*, p. 101.; See also Kang, J., *The Land of Scholars*, chapters 11–12; Yim, M., “The Establishment of Literati Governance Society in Early Joseon, and Its Continuation.”

- ⁶ *Sinjung Tongguk Yoji Sungnam*, “Royal Confucian Academy,” in *Sources of the Korean Tradition: Volume I*, edited by P. Lee, W. de Bary, and Y. Choe.
- ⁷ Deuchler, M., *The Confucian Transformation of Korean Society*, p. 94; Clark, D., “Joseon's Founding Fathers: A Study of Merit Subjects in the Early Yi Dynasty.”
- ⁸ Kang, J. *The Land of Scholars*, p. 211.
- ⁹ Gales, J., as cited in Cumings, B., *Korea's Place in the Sun*, p. 79.
- ¹⁰ Deuchler, M., *The Confucian Transformation of Korean Society*; Han, H., “The Establishment of National rites and Royal During Early Joseon.”; Chun, H. and Kwon, L., “A Study on the changes of the Five-class Mourning Costume-System in the Koryo Dynasty and the Early Years of the Joseon Dynasty”; Horlyck, C., “Confucian Burial Practices in the Late Goryeo and Early Joseon Periods”; Lukaczynski, J., “Korean legal thought under Yi dynasty as a reflection of Confucian worldview adopted in early Joseon period.”
- ¹¹ Cited in Robinson, D., “Seeking Order in a Tumultuous Age, p. 44.
- ¹² Lovins, C., “The King's Reason: Yi Song-gye and the Centralization of Power in early Joseon,” p. 56.
- ¹³ Wang, S., “Co-constructing Empire in Early Chosŏn Korea: Knowledge Production and the Culture of Diplomacy, 1392–1592,” pp. 32, 118–119, 323–324; Bohnet, A., *Turning Towards Edification*, pp. 2–3.
- ¹⁴ Chong K., “Revitalization of Ancient Institutions,” pp. 41, 64.
- ¹⁵ *Taejo Sillok*, 1:1 (1392.7.20).
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁷ Cited in Deuchler, M., “Neo-Confucianism: The Impulse for Social Action in Early Yi Korea,” p. 82.
- ¹⁸ *Taejo Sillok*, 1:1 (1392.7.28). See also Hahm, C., “Ritual and Constitutionalism: Disputing the Ruler's Legitimacy in a Confucian Polity,” pp. 152–159.
- ¹⁹ Lovins, C., *op. cit.*, p. 54; Park, H., “Munseum: Appointment by Lineage and Birth”; Kim, H., “*Goryeomal gwonmunsejokgwa Sadaebuui Gaehyeokan Bigyo*” [“Comparison between the Gwonmunsejok and Sadaebu at the end of Goryeo”].
- ²⁰ Lovins, C., *op. cit.*, p. 57.

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²¹ Palais, J., "Reviewed Work(s): *Chosŏn ch'ogi yangban yŏn'gu* [A study of the yangban in the early Chosŏn period] by Yi Sŏng-mu; *Kwagŏ* [The examination system] by Yŏksa hakhoe," pp. 194–195.

²² Kang, J., op. cit., p. 108.

²³ Ibid., pp. 213–214.

²⁴ Bohnet, A., op. cit., p. 10; Palais, J. op. cit.; Duncan, J. "The Social Background to the Founding of the Joseon Dynasty: Change or Continuity?"

²⁵ Kang, J., op. cit., p. 211.

²⁶ Bohnet, A., op. cit., p. 10; Palais, J. op. cit.; Duncan, J. "The Social Background to the Founding of the Joseon Dynasty: Change or Continuity?"

²⁷ Park, H. and Chizhova, K., "The Special Examinations (*pyeolsi*) in Early Joseon."

²⁸ Ibid.; Kang J., op. cit., pp. 207–209.

²⁹ For details on the exam process, see Kang J., op. cit., pp. 210–217; *Taejo Sillok*, 1:1 (1392.7.28).

³⁰ Hyeon, S., "On the Civil Service Exams," in *Sources of the Korean Tradition: Volume I*, edited by Lee, P., de Bary, W., and Choe, Y., p. 301.

³¹ *Taejo Sillok*, 1:1 (1392.7.28).

³² See, for example, Nivison, D., "Introduction" and de Bary, W., "Some Common Tendencies in Neo-Confucianism," both in *Confucianism in Action*.

³³ Deuchler, M., "Neo-Confucianism: The Impulse for Social Action in Early Yi Korea."

³⁴ *Taejo Sillok*, 6:3 (1394.6.1) (1394.6.26); Kim, E. and Kim Y., "*Hangukinui Bakuipungsoke Naejedeon Miuisik*" ["The Aesthetic Consciousness Latent in the Korean People's White Clothes Customs"].

³⁵ Kim J., *Jeong Do-jeon Sidaerul Ilda* [Reading The Age of Jeong Do-jeon], p. 341.

³⁶ *Taejo Sillok*, 6:3 (1394.6.1).

³⁷ Cited in Kang, op. cit., p. 360.

³⁸ Chong K., "Revitalization of Ancient Institutions," p. 83.

³⁹ *Taejo Sillok*, 1:1 (1392.8.28).

⁴⁰ *Taejo Sillok*, 4:2 (1394.11.16).

- ⁴¹ Deuchler, M., “Neo-Confucianism,” op. cit., p. 83; Han, H., “The Establishment of National Rites and Royal Authority during Early Chosŏn,” p. 94.
- ⁴² Seong, H., “Heobaektong chip,” 10:12a–13b, In *Sources of the Korean Tradition: Volume I*, edited by P. Lee, de Bary, W. and Choe, Y., p. 314.
- ⁴³ *Taejo Sillok*, 1:1 (1392:7.28).
- ⁴⁴ Yi, S., “Euigwe and the Documentation of Joseon Ritual Life”; Son, M., “Like Life: Royal Portraits of the Joseon Dynasty (1392–1910) in Ritual Context”; Joseonwangsilchukjae Design Yoso 1, “*Yiggwaerul tonghebon Joseonui Wangsilchukjae*” [“Royal Festival of Joseon Through Uigwe”]; Hahm, C., “Ritual and Constitutionalism: Disputing the Ruler’s Legitimacy in a Confucian Polity. By 1474, these rituals had been compiled into an authoritative code, the *Kukcho Oryeui* (“*Manual on the Five Rituals of Our Dynasty*”), with detailed guidance on how to conduct five categories of state rituals.
- ⁴⁵ Nivison, D., op. cit., p. 6
- ⁴⁶ Janelli, R. and Janelli D., *Ancestor Worship and Korean Society*, p. 177
- ⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 6–7. For another review of the ideological transformation of Joseon and the growing ritual hegemony of Confucianism, see Deuchler, M., *The Confucian Transformation of Korean Society* and Kim, B., *Wangjeongui Jogeon: Damronuiro Ikneun Joseonsidaesa* [The Conditions of Monarchy: Reading Joseon History Through Discourse], pp. 90–109.
- ⁴⁸ Deuchler, M., *The Confucian Transformation of Korean Society*, p. 128.
- ⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 81.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 109.
- ⁵¹ Ibid.
- ⁵² Kang, J., op. cit., p. 190.
- ⁵³ *Taejo Sillok*, 2:1 (1392.11.12).
- ⁵⁴ *Taejo Sillok*, 2:1 (1392.11.14).

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¹ *Sambong chip*, 7:5a, Cited in Chong, K., “Revitalization of Ancient Institutions,” p. 57.

² For a review of the Dodang Council’s political role in late Goryeo–early Joseon, see Duncan, J., *Origins of the Joseon Dynasty*, pp. 100–106; Lee, H., “Political Power Groups of Koryo Dynasty after the Period of Yuan China’s Intervention.”

³ *Sambong chip*, 7:5a, op. cit.

⁴ For a detailed description of this theory of government, see Jeong Do-jeon, “A Literary Mirror to Order the World (1395).” In Robinson, D., *Seeking Order in a Tumultuous Age*, pp. 95–178.

⁵ Kang, J., *The Land of Scholars*, pp. 189–190.

⁶ Duncan, J., op. cit., p. 101. In 1400, King Taejong abolished the Dodang and replaced its deliberative function with a smaller-sized State Council. See Duncan, J., op. cit., pp. 229–231.

⁷ *Taejo Sillok*, 1:1 (1392.7.28).

⁸ Jeong Do-jeon, “Literary Mirror to Order the World (1395).” In Robinson, D., *Seeking Order in a Tumultuous World*, p.120.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

¹⁰ Kang, H., *Tombstones without a Tomb*, pp. 117–118; Haboush, J., “The Confucianization of Korean Society,” pp. 84, 94–97; Nivison, D., “Introduction” in *Confucianism In Action*, pp. 13–24.

¹¹ Jeong Do-jeon, “Literary Mirror to Order the World (1395).” In Robinson, D., *Seeking Order in a Tumultuous World*, p.152.

¹² Park, S., “*Tajoeui Gongron Jeongchi: Hyunanhaegyeol Saryereul Jungsimuiro*” [“Kongron Politics of the King Taejo: A Case Study of Solving Three Issues”]; Youn, D., “*Joseon Tajoe–Tajong Chise ‘Gong’ui Gyonggye Jitgireul Duleossan Gyeongjaeng: Gunsingan Geurigo Yangsagan Ginjanggwa Galdeung*” [“Competition over Drawing the Boundary of the ‘Public’ Sector in the Early Joseon Dynasty”]; Lee H., “*Joseonchogiui Gongronjeongchi Gongronui Jonjaeyangsikgwa Gongronjeongchiui Teuksusungeul Jungsimuiro*” [“Gong–Lon

Politics in early Joseon: Focusing on the Existence and Specificity of Form in Gong-Lon Politics”].

¹³ *Taejo Sillok*, 4:2 (1393.9.17).

¹⁴ *Taejo Sillok*, 14:7 (1398.5[Intercalary].16).

¹⁵ Park, S., op. cit. Youn, D., op. cit., Lee H., op. cit.

¹⁶ Youn, D., op. cit., p. 26.

¹⁷ Lee, H., op. cit., pp. 12–14; See also Lee, P., de Bary, W., and Choe, Y., *Sources of the Korean Tradition: Volume I*, p. 263; Lukaczynski, J., “Korean legal thought under Yi dynasty as a reflection of Confucian worldview adopted in early Joseon period.”

¹⁸ Lee, H., op. cit., p. 11

¹⁹ Prk, B., *Joseon Cheogoui Sasangbeom* [The Best Ideological Outlaw of Joseon], p. 186.

²⁰ *Taejo Sillok*, 8:4 (1395.10.7)

²¹ *Taejo Sillok*, 8:4 (1395.9.22). See also Yi Seong-gye Leadership Center, *Jeonbukuiro Tteonaneun Yi Seong-gye Yeoksa Yeohang* [The Historical Travels of Yi Seong-gye through Jeonbuk], pp. 135–145.

²² *Taejo Sillok*, 3:2 (1393.5.7)

²³ *Taejo Sillok*, 7:4 (1395.4.25); 5:3 (1394.1.13).

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Taejo Sillok*, 9:5 (1396.1.24)

²⁶ *Taejo Sillok*, 9:5 (1396.6.9).

²⁷ *Taejo Sillok*, 8:4 (1395.10.7).

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Taejo Sillok*, 8:4 (1395.10.7)

³⁰ For an example of one such prohibition of falconry and alcohol, see *Taejo Sillok*, 10:5 (1396.8.17).

³¹ *Taejo Sillok*, 8:4 (1395.7.5).

³² *Taejo Sillok*, 7:4 (1395.4.25).

³³ *Taejo Sillok*, 7:4 (1395.5.28).

³⁴ *Taejo Sillok*, 12:6 (1397.10.5).

³⁵ *Taejo Sillok*, 13:7 (1398.3.4).

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Taejo Sillok*, 14:7 (1398.6.11).

³⁸ *Taejo Sillok*, 14:7 (1398.3.29).

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¹ This poem is by Jeong Inji, a prominent scholar–official of the 1400s, who supervised the production and enshrinement of a Royal Portrait of King Taejo in Taejo’s birthplace up in Yeongheung prefecture. In the portrait, King Taejo sits on a dragon throne. He wears a red dragon robe, in a black silk cap with double crests. He stares straight ahead, in symmetrical pose, black beard, strong body, calm visage. On the back of this portrait Jeong Inji inscribed this poem, which was quoted by many later scholars. For examples of scholars quoting the poem, see *Ijae yugo* [Collective works of Hwang Yunseok (1729–1791)] vol 25 (1829); *Gwanam jeonseo* [Collective works of Hong Gyeongmo (1774–1851)] vol 22; *Bungno neungjeon ji* [Records of royal tombs and halls in Hamgyeong Province] (1758); *Yeollyeosil gisul* [Historical account of Yi Geungik (1736–1806)] vol. 1. All these works are summarized in Son, M., “Like Life: Royal Portraits of the Joseon Dynasty (1392–1910) in Ritual Context,” p. 144.

² Choi, M., “*Yongbieochungae Natanan Yeonalseonchoui Yongtojeonjenggwa Byeongeong*” [“A Study on the Territorial Wars and Northern Border in Yongbieocheonga”], p. 143.

³ Bohnet, A., *Turning Towards Edification*, pp. 35–47; Chong, D., “Making Joseon’s Own Tributaries.”

⁴ *Songs of the Dragons Flying to Heaven*, Canto 38.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Canto 9. See also Canto 118.

⁶ Duncan, J., “The Social Background to the Founding of the Joseon Dynasty: Change or Continuity?” pp. 57–58.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Taejo Sillok*, 9:5 (1396.12.14).

⁹ Bohnet, A., *op. cit.*, pp. 30–34.

¹⁰ Liu, J., and Piao, Y., “Expansion, Contestation, and Boundary Making: Chosŏn Korea and Ming China’s Border Relations over the Yalu River Region,” pp. 105–7.

¹¹ Choi, M., *op. cit.*, pp. 129–131.

¹² Ulhicun, G. and Shi, J., “Manchuria from the Fall of the Yuan to the Rise of the Manchu State (1368–1636)”; Kota, N., “Ssangsong Chonggwanbu as the Border between Koryo and

Yuan Dynasty.”; Bohnet, A., op. cit., p. 37; Choi M., op. cit., pp. 108, 135.

¹³ *Taejo Sillok*, 4:3 (1394.1.28).

¹⁴ Hwang, K., “From the Dirt to Heaven”; Choi, M., op. cit., pp. 131–139; Han, S., “Joseonjeongi (朝鮮前期) Dumangangyuyeok(豆滿江流域)ae natananeundu gaeui Joseon(朝鮮)” [“Two ‘Joseons’ Appearing in the Tumen River Basin in early Joseon”].

¹⁵ Bohnet, A., op. cit., p. 14.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

¹⁸ Yi, G., “Joseon Chogi (Taejodae– Sejongdae)jui Daoejungbo sujiphaldong” [‘Collecting Foreign Information during the early days of the Joseon Dynasty (from Taejo’s Reign to Sejong’s),’ p. 30.

¹⁹ *Taejo Sillok*, 3:2 (1393.5.23).

²⁰ *Taejo Sillok*, 3:2 (1393.5.25).

²¹ *Taejo Sillok*, 3:2 (1393.6.1).

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.* In later communications, King Taejo repeated these same claims. See *Taejo Sillok*, 5:3 (1394.2.19).

²⁴ *Taejo Sillok*, 4:2 (1393.8.29).

²⁵ *Taejo Sillok*, 4:2 (1393.7.28).

²⁶ *Taejo Sillok*, 4:2 (1393.9.2) (1393.9.17) (1393.9.21) (1393.10.21) (1393.12.7).

²⁷ *Taejo Sillok*, 5:3 (1394.1.12).

²⁸ All the quotes in the following paragraphs are taken from Taejo’s two communications with Ming, falling about a month apart. See *Taejo Sillok*, 5:3 (1394.1.16) (1394.2.19).

²⁹ *Taejo Sillok*, 5:3 (1394.4.4)

³⁰ *Taejo Sillok*, 5:3 (1394.5.20).

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Taejo Sillok*, 6:3 (1394.6.6).

³³ *Taejo Sillok*, 6:3 (1394.7.13).

³⁴ *Taejo Sillok*, 7:4 (1395.2.1).

³⁵ Lee, S., *Gae-gyeongbutteo Hanyangkkaji 1* [From Gaegyeong to Hanyang Vol. I], p. 276.

³⁶ Lee, D., *Bujai Gil: Yi Seong-gye and Yi Bang-won* [Path of Father and Son: Yi Seong-gye and Yi Bang-won], p. 424.

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- ³⁷ *Taejo Sillok*, 7:4 (1395.11.19).
- ³⁸ Kang J., *The Land of Scholars*, p. 179.
- ³⁹ Kim, B., *Wangjeongui Jogeon: Damronuiro Ikneun Joseonsidaesa* [The Conditions of Monarchy: Reading Joseon History Through Discourse], pp., 166–170.
- ⁴⁰ *Taejo Sillok*, 9:6 (1397.5.6).
- ⁴¹ Song, J., 2019. “*Joseoncho Waegu Hwaldonggwa Joseon–Ilbon Gwangye Yeongu*” [“A Study on the Japanese Pirates’ (Wakou) Activities and the Chosun–Japan Relations in Early Chosun”].
- ⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 143.
- ⁴³ *Koryosa*, v. 34, 2.1389.
http://db.history.go.kr/id/kj_034r_0010_0020_0020_0030
- ⁴⁴ Kang J., *The Land of Scholars*, pp. 201–204; Song, J., *op. cit.*
- ⁴⁵ *Taejo Sillok*, 6:3 (1394.9.9) (1394.10.11).
- ⁴⁶ *Taejo Sillok*, 10:5 (1396.12.3).
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁸ *Taejo Sillok*, 11:6 (1397.5.22); 4:2 (1393.7.13).
- ⁴⁹ *Taejo Sillok*, 5:3 (1394.4.1) (1394.5.5); 9:6 (1397.5.5).
- ⁵⁰ *Taejo Sillok*, 14:7 (1398.5.5).
- ⁵¹ *Taejo Sillok*, 5:3 (1394.4.1)
- ⁵² *Taejo Sillok*, 12:6 (1397.7.11) (1397.8.23).
- ⁵³ *Taejo Sillok*, 10:5 (1396.12.9).
- ⁵⁴ *Taejo Sillok*, 11:6 (1397.11.2).
- ⁵⁵ Song, J., *op. cit.*, p. 88; *Taejo Sillok*, 13:7 (1398.2.17).
- ⁵⁶ Song, J., *op. cit.*, pp. 81–84.
- ⁵⁷ *Taejo Sillok*, 10:5 (1396.12.12).
- ⁵⁸ Song, J., *op. cit.*, pp. 81–84, 57.
- ⁵⁹ Bohnet, A., *Turning Towards Edification*, pp. 41–42.
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁶¹ *Songs of the Dragons Flying to Heaven*, Canto 75.
- ⁶² Chong, D., “Making Joseon’s Own Tributaries”; Bohnet, A., *op. cit.*, pp. 35–47
- ⁶³ *Taejo Sillok*, 7:4 (1395.1.19) (1395.2.7); 8:4 (1395.9[Intercalary].8); 10:5 (1396.10.18).
- ⁶⁴ *Taejo Sillok*, 5:3 (1394.5.3).
- ⁶⁵ *Taejo Sillok*, 8:4 (1395.12.14).
- ⁶⁶ *Taejo Sillok*, 3:2 (1393.4.25).
- ⁶⁷ Bohnet, A., *op. cit.*, p. 49.

- ⁶⁸ *Taejo Sillok*, 8:4 (1395.12.14).
⁶⁹ *Ibid.*
⁷⁰ *Ibid.*
⁷¹ Chong, D., *op. cit.*
⁷² *Taejo Sillok*, 8:4 (1395.12.14).
⁷³ *Songs of the Dragons Flying to Heaven*, *op. cit.*, Canto 56.
⁷⁴ Bohnet, A., *op. cit.*, p. 44.
⁷⁵ *Taejo Sillok*, 4:2 (1393.9.11).
⁷⁶ *Taejo Sillok*, 3:2 (1393.6.16).
⁷⁷ *Taejo Sillok*, 8:4 (1395.12.14) (1395.12.14); 9:5 (1396.3.29).
⁷⁸ *Taejo Sillok*, 6:3 (1394.7.13).
⁷⁹ *Taejo Sillok*, 9:6 (1397.4.26).
⁸⁰ *Taejo Sillok*, 6:3 (1394.7.6); 13:7 (1398.3.17).
⁸¹ *Taejo Sillok*, 6:3 (1394.7.5).
⁸² *Taejo Sillok*, 13:7 (1398.1.1).
⁸³ For an example of this court reasoning, see *Taejo Sillok*, 8:4 (1395.12.14); For a scholarly treatment, see Bohnet, A., *op. cit.*
⁸⁴ Im, J., *Tajoegohwangje: Joseongukwangpyongjeon 1* [King Taejo: First King of the Joseon Dynasty], p. 266.

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- ¹ 3b.7, In *Mencius: An Online Teaching Translation*, translated by R. Eno, p. 67.
² *Sambong Chip*, 7:5a, Cited in Chong, K., “Revitalization of Ancient Institutions,” p. 57.
³ *Taejo Sillok*, 8:4 (1395.10.30).
⁴ *Ibid.*; Park, B., *Joseon Cheogoui Sasangbeom* [The Best Ideological Outlaw of Joseon], p. 284.
⁵ *Taejo Sillok*, 9:5 (1396.2.9) (1396.6.11).
⁶ Such highly regulated congratulatory memorials were called *piao* by Ming. Diplomatic messages—also highly regulated and ritualized—were described as *pyomun*. See Wu, S. Wu, S., “Transmission of Ming Memorials, and the Evolution of the Transmission Network, 1368–1627,” pp. 59–85.
⁷ Wu, S., *op. cit.*; Wilkinson, E., *Chinese History: A Manual*, pp. 534–535.

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- ⁸ Wang, S., “Co-constructing Empire in Early Chosŏn Korea: Knowledge Production and the Culture of Diplomacy, 1392–1592,” pp. 62–83.
- ⁹ *Taejo Sillok* 5:3 (1394.2.19).
- ¹⁰ Wang, S., op. cit., p. 63.
- ¹¹ Alston, D., “Emperor and Emissary,” p. 115.
- ¹² *Taejo Sillok*, 8:4 (1395.7.8).
- ¹³ *Taejo Sillok*, 9:5 (1396.2.5).
- ¹⁴ Lee, D., op. cit., p. 430.
- ¹⁵ *Taejo Sillok*, 9:5 (1396.3.29).
- ¹⁶ *Taejo Sillok*, 9:5 (1396.3.29) (1396.4.8).
- ¹⁷ *Taejo Sillok*, 9:5 (1396.6.11); 10:5 (1396.8.6).
- ¹⁸ *Taejo Sillok*, 10:5 (1396.7.4).
- ¹⁹ *Taejo Sillok*, 10:5 (1396.7.19).
- ²⁰ *Taejo Sillok*, 10:5 (1396.7.17).
- ²¹ *Taejo Sillok*, 11:6 (1397.4.20).
- ²² *Taejo Sillok*, 10:5 (1396.7.20).
- ²³ *Taejo Sillok*, 10:5 (1396.8.9).
- ²⁴ *Taejo Sillok*, 10:5 (1396.8.13); Im, J., 2002. *Tajoegohwangje: Joseongukwangpyongjeon 1* [King Taejo: First King of the Joseon Dynasty].
- ²⁵ *Taejo Sillok*, 10:5 (1396.8.13 & 17).
- ²⁶ *Taejo Sillok*, 10:5 (1396.8.14–23).
- ²⁷ Kang, H., *Tombstones without a Tomb*, 2017, p. 73.
- ²⁸ In addition to eating no meat himself, King Taejo stripped the titles of some officials who chose to eat meat during the period immediately after Queen Sindeok’s death. See *Taejo Sillok*, 10:5 (1396.9.13); 10:5 (1396.8.16).
- ²⁹ *Taejo Sillok*, 11:6 (1397.1.1–2).
- ³⁰ *Taejo Sillok*, 11:6 (1397.1.2–3).
- ³¹ *Hyeongjong Sillok*, (1669.1.14).
- ³² *Taejo Sillok*, 10:5 (1396.11.9).
- ³³ *Taejo Sillok*, 10:5 (1396.11.9) (1396.11.23).
- ³⁴ The *Taejo Sillok* reports on the successful travels of the poet envoy Gwon Geun, and provides a record of his poems, here: 11:6 (1397.3.8). For a detailed scholarly treatment of this journey, see Alston, D. op. cit.
- ³⁵ Alston, D., op. cit., pp. 118, 135.

- ³⁶ Ibid., p. 135.
- ³⁷ Ibid., p. 117.
- ³⁸ *Taejo Sillok*, 12:6 (1397.11.30).
- ³⁹ *Taejo Sillok*, 9:6 (1397.3.8).
- ⁴⁰ *Taejo Sillok*, 9:6 (1397.3.8); See also Lee, D., Ha, T., Hong, S., and Song, H., *Jeonbukjiyeokui Joseon Tajoe Eujeok* [The Remains of King Taejo in North Jeolla Province].
- ⁴¹ *Taejo Sillok*, 9:6 (1397.3.8).
- ⁴² Ibid.
- ⁴³ *Taejo Sillok*, 10:5 (1396.11.4).
- ⁴⁴ *Taejo Sillok*, 11:6 (1397.3.8).
- ⁴⁵ *Taejo Sillok*, 11:6 (1397.4.20).
- ⁴⁶ *Taejo Sillok*, 11:6 (1397.4.14).
- ⁴⁷ Yonglin, J., *The Mandate of Heaven and the Great Ming Code*.
- ⁴⁸ Ibid.
- ⁴⁹ *Taejo Sillok*, 11:6 (1397.4.17).
- ⁵⁰ *Taejo Sillok*, 11:6 (1397.6.23).
- ⁵¹ *Taejo Sillok*, 14:7 (1398.5.14).
- ⁵² Ibid.
- ⁵³ *Taejo Sillok*, 14:7 (1398.6.3).
- ⁵⁴ *Taejo Sillok*, 14:7 (1398.6.23–24).
- ⁵⁵ Ibid.
- ⁵⁶ Ibid.
- ⁵⁷ *Taejo Sillok*, 14:7 (1398.7.8).
- ⁵⁸ *Taejo Sillok*, 14:7 (1398.6.24). Jeong Do-jeon had also wrote up some guiding principles of military success that he titled “A True Method” of winning in war. See “A True Method (1392)” in *Sambongjip*, Vol. I, pp. 317–328.
- ⁵⁹ *Taejo Sillok*, 14:7 (1398.8.1).

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- ¹ Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Culture, “Legends of Rivers and Waterfalls.”
- ² *Taejo Sillok*, 9:6 (1397.3.26).
- ³ *Taejo Sillok*, 9:6 (1397.4.12).
- ⁴ Park, H., “*Joseon Geonguk Cho Junganggun Yeongu*” [“A Study on the Central Army in the Early Joseon Dynasty”], p. 93; Do,

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H., “Development of Sagonghak during the Transition from the Koryŏ to the Chosŏn Dynasty”, p. 87; Kang, J., *The Land of Scholars*, pp. 183–84.

⁵ Kim, Y., “*Joseon Taejo~Taejongdae Jeongchiwa Jeongchiseryeok*” [“Taejo and Taejong: Political Forces of Joseon”], p. 88.

⁶ *Taejo Sillok*, 4:2 (1393.8.22). King Taejo was described as favoring Jeong Do-jeon’s *Pictures of Hunting Scenes* on several different occasions as a good foundation for military study and training. See *Taejo Sillok* 7:4 (1395.4:1); 10:5 (1396.11.30); 11:6 (1397.6.14).

⁷ *Taejo Sillok*, 4:2 (1393.11.12).

⁸ Park H., op. cit.

⁹ For episodes of the princes and other military commanders resisting Jeong Do-jeon’s and King Taejo’s efforts to impose centralized military training on the provincial forces and private armies of notable elites (including the princes), see: *Taejo Sillok*, 14:7 (1398.7.25) (1398.8:1) (1398.8.4) (1398.8.7) (1398.8.9).

¹⁰ *Taejo Sillok*, 5:3 (1394.1.27–28).

¹¹ *Taejo Sillok*, 6:3 (1394.11.4).

¹² *Taejo Sillok*, 10:5 (1396.11.30).

¹³ *Taejo Sillok*, 7:4 (1395.4.1).

¹⁴ *Taejo Sillok*, 12:6 (1397.8.9).

¹⁵ *Taejo Sillok*, 11:6 (1397.6.14).

¹⁶ *Taejo Sillok*, 12:6 (1397.10.16).

¹⁷ *Taejo Sillok*, 12:6 (1397.9.27).

¹⁸ *Taejo Sillok*, 12:6 (1397.12.22).

¹⁹ Park, B., *Joseon Cheogoui Sasangbeom* [*The Best Ideological Outlaw of Joseon*]. p. 323.

²⁰ *Taejo Sillok*, 12:6 (1397.12.22).

²¹ *Taejo Sillok*, 13:7 (1398.8.1) (1398.1.24).

²² *Taejo Sillok*, 13:7 (1398.2.26)

²³ Park, H., “The Province Official's Roles and Uniforms in the Enshrinement Rituals of the Royal Portrait of King Taejo in the Early Joseon Dynasty –Focused on the Sejong Chronicles.”

²⁴ A full diorama of this entire procession is presented at the Gyeonggijeon Royal Portrait Museum. The procession is also

described in Yi, S., "Introduction to the Uigwe Royal Documents of the Joseon Dynasty."

²⁵ Cho, I., "*Gyeonggiyeon Tajoe Eojingwa Jinjeonui Seonggeuk: Junggukgwau Bigyonjeok Gwanjumeul Jungsimuiro.*" ["The Nature of Gyeonggiyeon Tajoe Royal Portrait and the Portrait Hall: Comparative Analysis with Chinese Examples"].

²⁶ *Taejo Sillok*, 13:7 (1398.4.4.).

²⁷ For the following poems, see *Taejo Sillok*, 13:7 (1398.4.26) and *Sambongjip*, Vol. I, pp. 432-433.

²⁸ *Taejo Sillok*, 13:7 (1398.2.5).

²⁹ Kim, D., *Yi Seong-gyewa, Cho Chun, Jung Do-jeonui Joseon Wangjo Gaechan* [The Foundation of Joseon Dynasty by Yi Seong-gye with Cho Chun and Jeong Do-jeon], p. 216.

³⁰ Cited in Lee, J., "*Yodongjiyeoe Dehan Joseoninui Insik: Sejongsilrokjirijiwa Donggukyeojiseungrameu Jungsimeuro*" ["Koreans' Perception of the Liaodong Region During the Joseon Dynasty"].

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Taejo Sillok*, 13:7 (1398.3.20).

³³ *Taejo Sillok*, 13:7 (1398.2.29).

³⁴ *Taejo Sillok*, 14:7 (1398.5[Intercalary].29)

³⁵ *Taejo Sillok*, 14:7 (1398.7.25-29).

³⁶ *Taejo Sillok*, 14:7 (1398.6.19).

³⁷ *Taejo Sillok*, 14:7 (1398.5.3).

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Taejo Sillok*, 14:7 (1398.5[Intercalary].11).

⁴¹ *Taejo Sillok*, 14:7 (1398.6.21).

⁴² *Taejo Sillok*, 14:7 (1398.6.26).

⁴³ *Taejo Sillok*, 14:7 (1398.6.6)

⁴⁴ *Taejo Sillok*, 14:7 (1398.5[Intercalary].11).

⁴⁵ *Taejo Sillok*, 14:7 (1398.7.5).

⁴⁶ *Taejo Sillok*, 14:7 (1398.7.11).

⁴⁷ *Taejo Sillok*, 14:7 (1398.5.16).

⁴⁸ *Taejo Sillok*, 14:7 (1398.5.18).

⁴⁹ *Taejo Sillok*, 14:7 (1398.8.1-9); See also (1398.7.25 & 27) (1398.8.1, 4 & 7); Park, B., *op. cit.*, p. 324.

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⁵⁰ Kim, Y., “Joseon Taejo~Taejongdae Jeongchiwa Jeongchiseryeok” [“Taejo and Taejong: Political Forces of Joseon”], p. 90.

⁵¹ *Taejo Sillok*, 14:7 (1398.8.14).

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¹ King Tanjong, “Listening to a Nightingale,” in *The Moonlit Pond*, edited by Lee, S., pg. 46.

² *Taejo Sillok*, 8:4 (1395.3.4).

³ *Taejo Sillok*, 2:1 (1392.9.26).

⁴ *Taejo Sillok*, 14:7 (1398.8.14). For other entries regarding the King’s lingering illness, see (1398.7.29) and (1398.8.3 & 6).

⁵ *Taejo Sillok*, 14:7 (1398.8.26).

⁶ *Taejo Sillok*, 14:7 (1398.8.22, 23 & 25).

⁷ *Taejo Sillok*, 14:7 (1398.8.26).

⁸ Jeong Do-jeon, “Sambongjip: Founding Joseon,” p.287.

⁹ *Taejo Sillok*, 15:7 (1398.9.1).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Taejo Sillok*, 15.7 (1398.9.5).

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Taejo Sillok*, 15.7 (1398.9.7).

¹⁴ *Taejo Sillok*, 15.7 (1398.9.10).

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¹ Pak, W., “Untitled,” in *The Moonlit Pond*, edited by Lee, S., p. 52.

² Im, Y., *Joseongukwang Iyagi I* [The Story of the Kings of the Joseon Dynasty], p. 80; *Taejo Sillok*, 15.7 (1398.9.5).

³ *Taejo Sillok*, 15.7 (1398.9.5).

⁴ *Taejo Sillok*, 15:7 (1398.12.17).

⁵ *Taejo Sillok*, 15:7 (1398.9.12).

⁶ *Taejo Sillok*, 15:7 (1398.10.11) (1398.12.24); *Jeongjong Sillok* 2:1 [1399] (5.1.1) (10.19.7).

⁷ *Taejo Sillok*, 15:7 (1398.10.9).

⁸ *Taejo Sillok*, 15:7 (1398.12.15).

⁹ *Taejo Sillok*, 15:7 (1398.10.10).

- ¹⁰ *Taejo Sillok*, 15:7 (1398.11.28).
- ¹¹ Kim, Y., “*Joseon Taejo~Taejongdae Jeongchiwa Jeongchiseryeok*” [“Taejo and Taejong: Political Forces of Joseon”], p. 91; Park, H., “*Joseon Geonguk Cho Junganggun Yeongu*” [“A Study on the Central Army in the Early Joseon Dynasty”], pp. 94–95.
- ¹² Gong, J., *Joseon Wangsil Iyagi* [Stories of Joseon Dynasty].
- ¹³ *Taejo Sillok*, 15:7 (1398.12.23).
- ¹⁴ For details on this rebellion, see excerpts of the *Jeongjong Sillok*, provided in *Sambongjip*, Vol. III, pp. 242-253.
- ¹⁵ Cited in Kim, B., op. cit., p. 198.
- ¹⁶ *Taejo Sillok*, 15:7 (1398.11.7).
- ¹⁷ Kim B., op. cit., p. 41.
- ¹⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁹ Cited in Kim, J., *Jeong Do-jeon Sidaerul Ilda* [Reading the Age of Jeong Do-jeon], p. 171.
- ²⁰ Gong, J., op. cit., p. 25.
- ²¹ For evidence of Taejo’s desire to return to more simple and pleasurable times in the north, see *Taejong Sillok*, 1:1 [1401] (4.10.1) (4.16.1). For details on the Taejo’s November 1402 journey to Hamhung and associated events, see Gong, J., op. cit., pp. 28–29.
- ²² Ibid.
- ²³ Gong, J., op. cit., p. 26; People and History Editing Committee, *Hwanggeum Daedulbo Jaeguk Yi Seong-gye* [Yi Seonggye: The Cornerstone of the Golden Kingdom], pp. 177–178.
- ²⁴ Kim, B., op. cit.; Gong, J., op. cit., p. 26.
- ²⁵ Yi Seong-gye Leadership Center, *Jeonbukuiro Tteonaneun Yi Seong-gye Yeoksa Yeohang* [The Historical Travels of Yi Seong-gye through Jeonbuk], p. 57.
- ²⁶ Gong, J., op. cit., pp. 31–38.
- ²⁷ Ibid., p. 30–31.
- ²⁸ Ibid., p. 34.
- ²⁹ Gong, J., op. cit., pp. 32–35; Kim B., op. cit. p. 182.
- ³⁰ Gong, J., op. cit., pp. 32–33.
- ³¹ Ibid.

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³² Yi Seong-gye Leadership Center, *Jeonbukuiro Tteonaneun Yi Seong-gye Yeoksa Yeohang* [The Historical Travels of Yi Seong-gye through Jeonbuk], pp. 51–52.

³³ Gong, J., op. cit., p. 35.

³⁴ *Taejong Sillok*, 1:1 [1401] (4.26–28.1).

³⁵ Ji, D., *Tajoedaewanggwa Chininchuk* [King Taejo and his Relatives: The First Royal Family of Joseon], p. 67.

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¹ Im, J., *Tajoegohwangje: Joseongukwangpyongjeon 1* [King Taejo: First King of the Joseon Dynasty], pp. 326–331.

² *Taejong Sillok*, 10:5 [1405] (11.8.1).

³ *Taejong Sillok* 5:3 [1403] (1:1:1).

⁴ *Taejong Sillok*, 8:4 [1404] (10.20.1).

⁵ *Taejong Sillok*, 2:1 [1401] (11.17.1) (12.1.11) (12.17.1) (12.21.2); Baker, D., “Rhetoric, Ritual, and Political Legitimacy: Justifying Yi Seong-gye’s Ascension to the Throne,” p. 141.

⁶ Kang, H., *Tombstones without a Tomb*, 2017, p. 83.

⁷ Kim, B., *Wangjeongui Jogeon: Damronuiro Ikneun Joseonsidaesa* [Conditions of the Monarchy: Reading Joseon History Through Discourse], op. cit., p. 378.

⁸ *Taejo Sillok*, 1:1 (1392.7.20).

⁹ *Sejong Sillok*, 23: 27 a–b; 30a–32–b.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ *Sejong Sillok*, 23:30a–32b; Sin, C., “On the Deceitfulness of Buddhism,” in *Sources of the Korean Tradition*, edited by Lee, P., de Bary, W. and Choe, Y., p. 313; Deuchler, M., *The Confucianization of Korean Society*, p. 105.

¹² *Taejo Sillok*, 2:1 (1392.12.6).

¹³ Vermeersch, S., “Yi Seong-gye and the Fate of the Goryeo Buddhist System (918–1392).”

¹⁴ *Taejo Sillok*, 1:1 (1392.8.2&5).

¹⁵ Baker, D., “Privatization of Buddhism in the Joseon Dynasty,” p. 155; *Taejo Sillok* 4:2 (1393.7.23).

¹⁶ *Taejo Sillok*, 7:4 (1395.5.28).

¹⁷ Baker, D., “Rhetoric, Ritual, and Political Legitimacy,” p. 140; Joo, K., “A Study of Buddhist Reliquaries Donated by Yi Seong-gye,” p. 37.

¹⁸ *Taejong Sillok*, 3:2 [1402] (2.2.2) (4.22.1).

¹⁹ Vermeersch, op. cit. The scale of this proposed reduction on Buddhist temples was immense. The old Goryeo capital of Gaegyeong alone featured about seventy temples before the Goryeo dynasty was overthrown by Yi Seong-gye, so King Taejong’s proposal to allow only seventy temples across the entire Korean peninsula would force a dramatic reduction of Buddhist presence and influence. See Kim, J., *A History of Korea: From “Land of the Morning Calm” to States in Conflict*, p. 148.

²⁰ *Taejong Sillok*, 4:2 [1402] (8.2.3–4, 7)

²¹ Ibid. After the influential Monk Muhak died in 1405, King Taejong would renege on parts of his promise to his father. He brought back a revised proposal to eliminate many Buddhist temples. This time the proposal allowed 242 temples (instead of the original cap of 70) and it also allowed new temples to be opened, so long as an old one closed to make room under the quota. King Taejo’s influence couldn’t prevent all harassment of Buddhism but made a significant difference in protecting Buddhist temples from the worst attacks of the Joseon Confucians. See Baker, D., “Rhetoric, Ritual, and Political Legitimacy.”

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¹ Yi Saek, “At Pu–Byeok Pavilion,” In *The Moonlit Pond*, edited by Lee, S., p. 30

² Bohnet, A., *Turning Towards Edification*, p. 52.

³ *Taejong Sillok*, 11:6 [1406] (4.4.3).

⁴ *Taejong Sillok*, 10:5 [1405] (9.7.1) (9.11.2).

⁵ Im, J., *Tajoegohwangje: Joseongukwangpyongjeon 1* [King Taejo: First King of the Joseon Dynasty], p. 32.

⁶ *Taejong Sillok*, 15:8 [1408] (1.19–20.1); Kang, Y., *Joseonwangdeului Sengrobyeongsa* [Kings’ Life, Illness and Death in Joseon], pp. 29–31.

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- ⁷ *Taejong Sillok*, 15:8 [1408] (1.20.1) (1.22.1) (1.28.1) (3.2.1).
- ⁸ Kang, Y., op. cit., p. 32.
- ⁹ *Taejong Sillok*, 15:8 [1408] (2.14.2) (3.2.1) (3.21.1) (3.24.1) (4.3.1).
- ¹⁰ *Taejong Sillok*, 15:8 [1408] (4.19.1).
- ¹¹ *Taejong Sillok*, 15:8 [1408] (5.2.1).
- ¹² *Taejong Sillok*, 15:8 [1408] (5.24.2).
- ¹³ Yi, S., “Introduction to the Uigwe Royal Documents of the Joseon Dynasty,” p. 13.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 13–14; Lee, W., “A rare look at Joseon king's funeral.”
- ¹⁵ For details on these royal burial rituals, see Seok, C., “*Joseon chogi Yugyojeong Guksanguiryeyi Geohaengyangsanggwaeu Teukjing*” [“The Progression and Features of Confucian National Mourning Rites in the Early Joseon Dynasty”]; Wachiratiengchai, M., “Dynamic Aspects of Death Wisdom Associated with Royal Funeral Rites”; Lee, W., “*Joseonsidae Mangjareul Wihan Eumsik: Guksangeul Jungsimuiro.*” [“Food Offering for the Dead during the Joseon Period: Focused on the State Mourning Ritual”]; Yi, S., “Introduction to the Uigwe Royal Documents of the Joseon Dynasty.”
- ¹⁶ Lee, W., and Jin, Y., *Joseon Wangreung: Jamdeulji Mothaneun Yeoksa* [Royal Tombs of Joseon: A Sleepless History].
- ¹⁷ Wachiratiengchai, M., op. cit.
- ¹⁸ *Taejo Sillok*, 1:1 (1392.8.28); Seok, C., op. cit.; Deuchler, M., *The Confucianization of Korean Society*, p. 192.
- ¹⁹ Lee, W., and Jin Y., op. cit. For an example of a royal order to prohibit liquor and slaughtering of animals during this period, see *Taejong Sillok*, 15:8 [1408] (8.5.24).
- ²⁰ See, for example, *Taejong Sillok*, 15:8 [1408] (5.24.2); 18:2a (9.7.9).
- ²¹ *Taejong Sillok*, 16:44a (8.12.3).
- ²² *Taejong Sillok* 16:8 [1408] (7.9.1).
- ²³ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 341.
- ²⁴ Yi, S., op. cit.
- ²⁵ Robinson, D., *Empire's Twilight*, p. 266.
- ²⁶ *Taejong Sillok*, 16: 11b (8.9.9).

²⁷ Yi, S., op. cit., p. 14–15.

²⁸ Details of Taejo’s enshrinement at Jongmyo are reported in the *Taejong Sillok*, 20:7a [10.7.26]. For other details on the enshrining process, see Wachiratienchai, M., op. cit., p. 9 and Yi, S., op. cit.

²⁹ *Taejong Sillok*, 16:8 [1408] (9.4.2).

³⁰ *Taejong Sillok*, 16:5b [8.7.29]; Gim, Y., *Sheaves of Korean Buddhist History: Joseon Bulgyosa-go*.

³¹ *Taejong Sillok*, 17:9 [1409] (1.18.3).

³² *Arirang News*, “Royal Tombs of Joseon Dynasty: Memory of Royals Live On”; Yim, S., “Peek Inside Korea’s Impeccable Royal Tombs,” *Korean Joongang Daily*.

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¹ *Taejo Sillok*, “Cheongseo” [“General Introduction”], Kindle loc. 1144.

² Kim, B., *Wangjeongui Jogeon: Damronuiro Ikneun Joseonsidaesa* [Conditions of the Monarchy: Reading Joseon History Through Discourse], pp. 386–387.

³ Kweon, C., “Preface to Compilation of Native Korean Prescriptions,” in *Sources of the Korean Tradition*, v. I, edited by Lee, P., de Bary, W., and Choe, Y., p. 309–10.

⁴ For a collection of statements from world scholars about the impact of Hangul, printed upon the occasion of “Hangul Day” being designated a Korean national holiday in 2013, see Chung, A. “Hangeul now more than words,” 2013.

⁵ *Songs of the Dragons Flying to Heaven*, Translated by J. Hoyt, Canto 1.

⁶ *Ibid*, Canto 2.

⁷ Kang, J., *The Land of Scholars*; Deuchler, M., “Neo-Confucianism: The Impulse for Social Action in Early Yi”; Yim, M., “The Establishment of Literati Governance Society in Early Joseon, and Its Continuation.”

⁸ Kim, S., and Wales, N., *Song of Ariran: A Korean Communist in the Chinese Revolution*.

⁹ *Ibid*, “epilogue.”