ASIA 501: Annotated Translation

King Kwong Wong

Introduction

Six days after the death of Yi Yun 李昀 (1688-1724), the Chosŏn king who was posthumously known as Kyŏngjong 景宗 (r. 1720-1724), his half-brother Yi Kŭm 李昤 (1694-1776), then the Crown Prince-Brother (*wangseje* 王世弟) and later King Yŏngjo 英祖 (r. 1724-1776), ascended the throne after having an elaborate ceremony at the Ch'angdŏk Palace 昌德宮 and making his inaugural instruction.[1] Immediately on the next day, the new ruler designated the members of the obituary mission, but the diplomatic mission did not set off the Qing capital Beijing until the next month when it also served to seek investiture from the Qing (1636-1912) emperor.[2] Yi Kŭm received the replies from the Yongzheng emperor (r. 1722-1735) about five months later, when the Qing envoys arrived in the Chosŏn capital Hansŏng to offer the emperor's condolence, bestow the deceased king his posthumous title, and grant the patent of investiture to Yi Kŭm as the next Chosŏn king.[3] What Yi Kŭm and the Yongzheng emperor did was following the investiture practice that began as early as the fourth century and gradually institutionalized in the subsequent centuries.[4] In this practice, whenever a ruler of Korea ascended the throne, he would request from a ruler of China the recognition in the form of investiture as the rightful ruler. This practice eventually continued for 1500 years, albeit with short interludes due to tense bilateral relations, and lasted into the nineteenth century.

Yi Kŭm's investiture as the king of Chosŏn was perhaps the best-documented example among all investiture communications and rituals between Korean and Chinese monarchs. The communication include Yi Kŭm's memorial of Yi Yun's obituary,[5] Queen Dowager Kim's (1687-1757) request of enfeoffing Yi Kŭm as the new Chosŏn king,[6] and the Yongzheng

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[1] http://sillok.history.go.kr/id/wua_10008030_001.

[2] http://sillok.history.go.kr/id/wua_10009001_001; http://sillok.history.go.kr/id/wua_10010006_002. According to Ta-tuan Ch'en's study of the investiture of Ryukyuan kings, when a ruler of a tributary state died, his successor would dispatch an obituary mission to the Ming and later Qing courts and a separate mission to petition his investiture. See Ta-tuan Ch'en, "Investiture of Liu-ch'iu Kings in the Ch'ing Period," in *The Chinese World Order: Traditional China's Foreign Relations*, ed. John K. Fairbank, (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1968), pp.136-137. In this instance, however, Yi Kŭm 李昤 (1694-1776, posthumous title King Yŏngjo 英祖, r. 1724-1776) combined both two missions, following the pre-established practice. According to precedence, the obituary mission simultaneously served other purposes, such as to request the posthumous title for the deceased king and to request the investiture for the current king. See http://sillok.history.go.kr/id/wua_10009002_003.

[3] http://sillok.history.go.kr/id/wua_10103017_001. The envoys were Jueluo Shulu 覺羅舒魯 (d. 1726?) and Akdun 阿克敦 (1685-1756). See https://sillok.history.go.kr/mc/id/qsilok_006_0270_0010_0010_0180_0010.

[4] The first recorded investiture of a Korean monarch by a ruler of China happened in 355, when King Kogugwŏn 故國原王 (r. 331-371) of Koguryŏ (37 BCE-668 CE) received military and noble titles as well as an office from the Former Yan 前燕 (337-370) emperor. See http://db.history.go.kr/id/sg_018_0020_0210.

[5] This obituary memorial is recorded in the *Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty* (https://sillok.history.go.kr/id/wua_10010006_002) and *Tongmun hwigo* 同文彙考. The title of this memorial given by the compilers of *Tongmun hwigo* is "告景宗大王昇遐奏" (http://db.history.go.kr/id/sa_049_0060_0010_0350). Both have slight differences in wording (such as 某 vs. 諱 and 症 vs. 證) and abridgment (云云 at the end of the *Tongmun hwigo* version), but they do not cause discrepancies in semantic meaning.

[6] Like the obituary memorial, this memorial is also recorded in both the *Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty* (https://sillok.history.go.kr/id/wua_10010006_002)and *Tongmun hwigo*, in which the title is "請世弟嗣位奏"

emperor's responses in an imperial admonition (*chiyu* 勅諭),[7] an imperial edict (*zhao* 詔),[8] and an investiture certificate granted to Yi Kŭm (*gaoming* 誥命).[9] All these texts are transcribed in the *Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty*, the *Veritable Records of the Qing Dynasty*, and *Tongmun hwigo* 同文彙考, a compilation of diplomatic documents between Qing and Chosŏn and between Chosŏn and Japan commissioned by King Chŏngjo 正祖 (r. 1776-1800) in 1788. Not only the textual content, the actual imperial admonition and investiture certificate as well as a list of gifts bestowed by the Yongzheng survive intact and are now preserved in the Jangseogak Archives in the Academy of Korean Studies, South Korea.[10] In fact, the imperial admonition and the imperial certificate are the only two extant imperial documents related to a Chosŏn king's investiture dated to the Qing period as well as two among seven Manchu-Sinitic imperial documents related to Yi Kŭm.[11] Furthermore, the vice envoy of the Qing mission in response to the Chosŏn king's obituary and request Akdun 阿克敦 (1685-1756) commissioned an album of twenty paintings that commemorated his fourth and last diplomatic trip to Chosŏn. This album, entitled *Fengshitu* 奉使圖, is the only extant pictorial account of an envoy of the Chinese dynasty about his to Korea and is now preserved in the rare book collection of the China Ethnic Library (*Zhongguo minzu tushuguan* 中国民族图书馆) in Beijing.[12] Compared with fragmentary records and accounts of the other occasions of Sino-Korean investiture, the investiture of Yi Kŭm was well-documented, especially with the pictorial account of Akdun and the survival of

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(http://db.history.go.kr/id/sa_049_0020_0010_1420). Again, there are slight differences in wording (奉 vs. 捧) and abridgement (具奏 missing in the *Veritable Records* version and 云云 at the end of the *Tongmun hwigo* version) but not in semantic meaning.

[7] This imperial admonition is recorded in the *Veritable Records of the Qing Dynasty* (https://sillok.history.go.kr/mc/id/qsilok_006_0270_0010_0010_0180_0010) and *Tongmun hwigo*. The title given by the compilers of *Tongmun hwigo* is "頒誥命彩幣勅" (http://db.history.go.kr/id/sa_049_0020_0010_1510). The two have slight differences in terms of typeface and abridgment, but they do not contribute to discrepancies in semantic meaning.

[8] This edict is only transcribed in *Tongmun hwigo*, in which it appears as "冊封詔" (http://db.history.go.kr/id/sa_049_0020_0010_1520).

[9] This investiture certificate is only transcribed in *Tongmun hwigo,* in which the compilers title it as "賜國王詔" (http://db.history.go.kr/id/sa_049_0020_0010_1530).

[10] For the actual documents, see Han'gukhak chungang yŏn'guwŏn Changsŏgak 한국학중앙연구원 장서각 ed, *Changsŏgak sojang komunsŏ taegwan 3 oegyoryu* 藏書閣所藏 古文書大觀 3 外交類 (Kyŏnggi-do Sŏngnam-si: Han'gukhak chungang yŏn'guwŏn, 2012), pp. 18-23. Alternatively, the imperial admonition can be found in https://archive.aks.ac.kr/link.do?dataUCI=G002+AKS+KSM-XJ.1725.1111-20101008.B009a_010_00015_XXX and the investiture certificate can be found in https://archive.aks.ac.kr/link.do?dataUCI=G002+AKS+KSM-XA.1725.1111-20101008.B009a_010_00011_XXX.

[11] The imperial edict is not among those that remained in Korea. One possible explanation is that after the diplomatic mission, the envoys would carry the edict back to the Qing court as a customary practice and return it to the Board of Rites for archiving. See He Xinhua 何新华, *Qingdai chaogong wenshu yanjiu* 清代朝贡文书研究 (Guangzhou: Zhongshan daxue chubanshe, 2016), p. 17. For an overview of Manchu-Sinitic documents in Korea, see Hong Sŏnggu 洪性鳩, "Kungnae sojang manmun munsŏ sogae" 국내 소장 滿文 文書 소개, *Komunsŏ yŏn'gu* 古文書研究 47 (2015): 215-235.

[12] For an introduction to this painting album, see the library's website: http://www.celib.cn/a/259.html. This album and its accompanying volume of poem collection have been collated and given an introduction by Huang Youfu 黄有福 and Qian Heshu 千和淑, see Akedun 阿克敦, *Fengshitu* 奉使圖, (Shenyang: Liaoning minzu chubanshe, 1999). A Korean scholar has done extensive research on the paintings and activities depicted in these paintings, see Chŏng Ŭnju 정은주, "Agŭkton Pongsado yŏn'gu" 阿克敦《奉使圖》研究, *Misulssahak yŏn'gu* 美術史學研究 246-247 (2005): 201-245

diplomatic missives from the Yongzheng emperor. They provide a vivid example to examine Sino-Korean investiture.

The original texts of the communication between Yi Kŭm and the Yongzheng emperor are reconstructed by collating the various transcriptions or are based on the extant documents. Here are the collations I made to the original texts. The Yi Kŭm's memorial of Yi Yun's obituary and Queen Dowager Kim's memorial of investiture request are based on the texts in the *Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty* with the dates and other missing elements added from the texts in *Tongmun hwigo*. The texts of the imperial admonition and investiture certificate come from the extant documents, and the text of the imperial edict is based on the text of *Tongmun hwigo*, which is its only record.

Premodern Sinitic texts were written continuously without any semantic breaks or pauses. Yet, deciphering these texts requires one to break them down into smaller semantic components. In doing so, I opt for parsing instead of punctuation in arranging the original texts. Parsing has a couple of advantages over punctuation. First, punctuation is a foreign invention that did not exist in premodern Literary Sinitic, and it is not required to understand premodern Sinitic texts. Second, parsing allows one to divide the text into smaller semantic components and present them in a logical way. The examples in the communication between Yi Kŭm and the Yongzheng emperor show that some semantic components exhibit a clear topic-comment structure, and some serve as stock phrases. Especially, the imperial edict articulates the Yongzheng emperor's explicit comments on the late king Yi Yun, on the king's successor Yi Kŭm, and on himself as the emperor.

The diplomatic missives between Yi Kŭm and the Yongzheng emperor represent the well-elaborated communications and rituals between the Korean and Chinese monarchs in the context of investiture. Although the earliest records of investiture, especially those before the fifteenth century, are fragmentary and incomplete, records on investiture practice from the end of the fourteenth century are relatively complete with the example between Yi Kŭm and the Yongzheng emperor the most complete. They show specific rhetorical etiquette and protocol. A newly enthroned Korean monarch would send a diplomatic mission carrying his missive of requesting investiture to the emperor of China. Before the recognition of the emperor, the king only referred to himself in the missive as the acting monarch with a temporary title, such as *Kwŏnjiguksa* 權知國事 or *Kwŏnsŏguksa* 權署國事, to the monarchs of China and neighboring states. In his missives to the emperor both before and after investiture, the Korean king referred to himself as a minister (*sin* 臣). The emperor would respond, whether to grant or to deny, to the investiture requests in missives that were reserved to be used only by the emperor to convey imperial order. If the request was granted, the emperor would also bestow an investiture certificate and other gifts to the king. These missives constructed a space where both monarchs expressed their person-cum-political relationships that are full of allusions to the ruler-vassal relationships that are articulated in pre-Qin (221-206 BCE) Sinitic classics.

Translations

景宗大王四年十月丙子	The sixth day of the tenth month in the fourth year of King Kyŏngjong's reign.
告訃兼奏請正使密昌君樴　副使李眞儒　書狀官金尙奎拜表而行　其奏文曰	The obituary and petition envoy Prince Milch'ang Yi Chik,[13] vice envoy Yi Chinyu,[14] and mission secretary Kim Sangkyu[15] departed to submit the memorials. The memorials read:
朝鮮國權署國事臣姓某謹奏爲告訃事 臣兄先臣諱 自本年七月二十日　偶得微感　症勢彌留 至八月二十三日　猝然添劇 乃於同月二十五日丑時薨逝 緣係告訃事理 爲此謹具奏聞 雍正二年十月初六日	The Acting Monarch of Chosŏn[16], Your minister Yi Kŭm,[17] memorializes the obituary [of the Chosŏn king]. Your minister's brother, the late minister Yun,[18] since the twenty-second day of the seventh month this year, had accidentally contracted a mild cold, and the symptoms lingered till the twenty-third day of the eighth month when they abruptly became severe. Thereupon, he passed away on the twenty-fifth day of the same month between one and three midnight; this is the reason for this obituary. For this matter, I respectfully memorialize. The sixth day of the ten month, the second year of the Yongzheng reign.

[13] Yi Chik (1677-1746), whose title was Prince Milch'ang was a royal kinsman. He was a great-grandson of Yi Kong 李珙 (1588-1628), Prince Insŏng 仁城君, who was the seventh son of Yi Yŏn李昖, King Sŏnjo 宣祖 (r. 1567-1608). The noble title of *kun* 君 (prince) was bestowed to royal princes and kinsmen, and in some cases to royal in-laws and merit subjects.

[14] Yi Chinyu (1669-1730) was a Vice Minister of Personnel (*Ijo ch'amp'an* 吏曹參判, Rank 2b) at the time of the diplomatic mission.

[15] Kim Sangkyu (1682-1736) was a Second Censor (*Sagan* 司諫, Rank 3b) of the Office of the Censor-General (*Saganwŏn* 司諫院) at the time of the mission.

[16] Before receiving the patent of investiture from a Ming or Qing emperor, the Chosŏn king referred to himself as the Acting Monarch of Chosŏn (*Chosŏn'guk Kwŏnsŏguksa* 朝鮮國權署國事).

[17] The compilers of the *Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty* replaced the name of the Chosŏn king by *sŏng* 姓 (a generic stand-in for family names) and *mo* 某 (a generic stand-in for given names) to avoid directly mentioning the king's personal name as a form of taboo and respect. In the actual memorial, the Chosŏn king referred to himself in his personal name, Yi Kŭm. This act implies a political closeness to the Qing emperor. See Zhenping Wang, *Ambassadors from the Islands of Immortals: China-Japan Relations in the Han-Tang Period* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), p. 143.

[18] In the *Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty*, the given name of Yi Yun 李昀 (1688-1724), whose posthumous title was Kyŏngjong 景宗 (r. 1720-1724), was replaced by the character of *hwi* 諱, which is another stand-in for the king's personal name.

朝鮮國僖順王妃妾金氏謹奏爲承襲事 伏以男先臣王 於本年七月二十日　偶得微感 至八月二十三日　症勢猝劇 同月二十五日　將世弟某　托以國事 是日丑時薨逝 蓋世弟某 聰明孝友　寬弘仁恕 夙有長人之德　爲國人所願戴 已經聞奏天庭　特蒙聖祖仁皇帝 誕降恩典於康熙六十一年五月 欽差勅使　賫奉誥命　封爲世弟 而世弟某曾聘故達城府院君徐宗悌女爲妻 先臣王 奄忽之際　欽遵成命　令世弟權署國事 妾於斯時 有不可以婦人避嫌者　謹遵典禮 具奏欽請冊世弟某承襲國王 妻徐氏爲王妃 伏惟皇上 天地父母　特令該部誕降誥命 使小邦臣民　獲覩寵光　不勝幸甚 除顒俟慶賴外　緣係承襲事理 爲此謹具奏聞	Queen Dowager Kim[19] of Chosŏn memorializes the matter of succession. My son, Your late minister and the Chosŏn king, had accidentally contracted a mild cold on the twenty-second day of the seventh month this year until the twenty-third day of the eighth month when the symptoms abruptly became severe. On the twenty-fifth day of the same month, he entrusted state affairs to Crown Prince-Brother Kŭm[20] and passed away between one and three midnight. Because Crown Prince-Brother Kŭm is wise and filial to his parents and brothers, magnanimous and benevolent, and long possesses the virtue of being a ruler, he is desired and supported by the people, and this matter had already been memorialized to the celestial court. He specially received the grace bestowed by the Sagacious Ancestor, the Benelovent Emperor[21] in the fifth month of the sixty-first year of the Kangxi reign when the imperial envoys carried the investiture certificate[22] to enfeoff him as the Crown Prince-Brother.[23] And the Crown Prince-Brother had taken the late Lord of Talsŏng Sŏ Chongche's daughter[24] as his wife. Your late minister the Chosŏn king on his deathbed respectfully followed the issued

[19] Queen Dowager Kim (1687-1757) was referred to as *Hŭisunwang bi* 僖順王妃 (King Hŭisun's consort). Hŭisun was the posthumous title bestowed by the Kangxi emperor (r. 1661-1722) in 1720 to Yi Sun 李焞 (King Sukchong 肅宗, r. 1674-1720). She was the third primary consort of Sukchong and the stepmother of Yi Yun and Yi Kŭm.
[20] Yi Kŭm was designated as the Crown Prince-Brother (*wangseje* 王世弟) by his half-brother Yi Yun and received the investiture by the Kangxi emperor in 1722.
[21] Sagacious Ancestor (*Shengzu* 聖祖) was the temple name of the Kangxi emperor, while Benelovent Emperor (*Ren huangdi* 仁皇帝) was his posthumous title.
[22] The investiture certificate (*gaoming* 誥命) was a kind of imperial edict used by the Qing emperor to ratify the appointment of an imperial minister.
[23] Yi Yun requested the investiture of Yi Kŭm as the Crown Prince-Brother on the twenty-eighth day of the tenth month in 1721. See http://sillok.history.go.kr/id/kta_10110028_001. For his memorial of investiture request, see *Tongmun hwigo* (http://db.history.go.kr/id/sa_049_0020_0010_1190). The imperial envoys arrived in Chosŏn on the twenty-seventh day of the fifth month in 1722. See http://sillok.history.go.kr/id/kta_10205027_001.
[24] Sŏ Chongche (1656-1719) married his daughter to Yi Kŭm in 1704 and was posthumously enfeoffed as Lord of Talsŏng when Yi Kŭm enthroned in 1724. See http://sillok.history.go.kr/id/kua_10009022_002. The noble title of *puwŏn'gun* 府院君 (lord) was bestowed to royal fathers-in-law and Rank 1a merit subjects, often named after the recipients' hometown.

雍正二年十月初六日	imperial mandate and appointed the Crown Prince-Brother as the Acting Monarch. I, at this time, could not avoid the suspicious of being a woman [meddling in politics] and respectfully observed the preestablished rites to prepare a memorial requesting the investiture of Crown Prince-Brother Kŭm as the king and his wife Lady Sŏ as the queen-consort. I humbly request that Your Imperial Majesty, being the parents of Heaven and Earth, order the responsible ministries[25] to bestow the investiture certificate so that the ministers and people of this humble state can witness Your illustrious grace. This will be our greatest fortune indeed. Aside from respectfully waiting for Your benevolent ruling, this is the reason for this request of succession. For this matter, I respectfully memorialize. The sixth day of the ten month, the second year of the Yongzheng reign.

頒誥命彩幣勅	The imperial admonition of bestowing investiture certificates and gifts.
皇帝勅諭朝鮮國王世弟李昤 覽奏爾兄王昀薨逝　朕心惻然 據僖順王妃金氏奏稱 爾 聰明孝友　寬弘仁恕 夙有長人之德　爲國人所願戴 請冊承襲 朕 俯順輿情　特允所請 玆遣官齎詔誕告爾國	The emperor admonishes Yi Kŭm, the Crown Prince-Brother of Chosŏn. I read your memorial saying that your brother King Yun had passed away. My heart is dolorous. According to Queen Dowager Kim's memorial, you are wise and filial to your parents and brothers, magnanimous and benevolent, and long possess the virtue of being a ruler, and are desired and supported by

[25] The term *gaibu* 該部 was a stock phrase in imperial communication referring to two or more ministries responsible for the matter discussed, vis-à-vis *moubu* 某部, which refers to a specific ministry.

封爾爲朝鮮國王　繼理國政 封爾妻徐氏爲國王妃　佐理內治 幷賜爾及妃誥命彩幣等物 爾宜 永矢靖共　懋纘承於侯服 迪宣忠順　作屛翰於天家 爾其欽哉　毋替朕命　故諭 雍正三年 正月二十二日 [The script on the seal: 勅命之寶]	the people. She thus requested the investiture for you to succeed. I follow the popular opinion and specially grant her request. Now, I send envoys who carry my edict to widely declare within your state that I enfeoff you as the king of Chosŏn to continue administering state affairs and your wife Lady Sŏ as the queen-consort to assist you in managing your household and bestow you and your consort the investiture certificates,[26] colored silk, monies, and other gifts.[27] You should swear to forever be solemn and prudent in your duty and do your utmost to inherit your domain;[28] you should continue to manifest loyalty and obedience and be a screen and buttress[29] to the Heavenly house. Respect this [admonition]. Don't violate my order. I thus instructed. The twenty-second day of the first month, the third year of the Yongzheng reign. [The script on the seal: The state seal of imperial admonition]

冊封詔	The edict of investiture.

[26] The text of Yi Kŭm's investiture certificate is transcribed in *Tongmun hwigo* (http://db.history.go.kr/id/sa_049_0020_0010_1530). Lady Sŏ's investiture certificate, however, can not be found.
[27] The envoys also carried a list of gifts with the other diplomatic missives. See Note 18.
[28] The term *houfu* 侯服 (the domains of the nobles) first appears in the "Tribute of Yu" (禹貢) chapter of the *Book of Documents* (尚書), in which the author articulates the worldview during the Xia period. It was a concentric circle of five layers centered on the Xia royal domain. The *houfu* is the closest layer to the royal domain. A similar concept is also articulated in the *Rites of Zhou* (周禮). In this case, the nine layers outside of the royal domain are called *jiufu* 九服, and the *houfu* is also the closest layer to the royal domain.
[29] *Ping* 屛 (screens) and *han*翰 (buttresses) alludes to Stanza 7 of Ode 10 (板) in Book II (生民之什) of the *Book of Odes* (詩經) Part III (大雅): 价人維藩、大師維垣、大邦維屛、大宗維翰、懷德維寧、宗子維城。無俾城壞、無獨斯畏。The author of this ode takes on the persona of an experienced minister and gives counsel to all the other ministers admonishing them to defend and support their ruler. Later writers used the compound *pinghan* to admonish one to protect and support the ruling house.

奉天承運皇帝詔曰 分茅胙土　萬國之車書攸同 式訓守或　一方之民社永奠 況忠貞之世篤　帶礪常存 念禮義之開基　屏藩首重 爰稽彝典　宜沛新綸 故朝鮮國王姓某 前猷克紹　臣職彌恭 保障三韓　方貢與丹忱而偕至 旬宣八道　天威與正朔而同嚴 用彰翊戴之誠　久著忠勤之節 方期遐壽　遽殞長年 世弟姓某 家傳孝友　性秉賢良 篤生文物之邦　允愜臣民之望 特俞奏請襲封爲朝鮮國王 寵命維新　鴻庥伊始 撫河山而飭王度　壯鞏固於東藩 明天澤而勵臣心　抒悃忱於北極 特茲詔示　咸使聞知	The emperor who reveres the Heaven[30] and receives its fortune orders: We [the Qing emperors] enfeoff land to our vassals so that the script and vehicle of myriad states are the same. [The Chosŏn kings] follow the imperial instructions and guard their domain so that the people and altars[31] of your country are forever put in place. Moreover, [the Chosŏn kings] for generations have maintained loyalty and faithfulness, like the constant existence of the Yellow River and Mount Tai.[32] Considering [the Chosŏn kings] have laid the foundation of rites and righteousness [between the Qing and Chosŏn], they are the first and foremost important screen and buttress [of the Qing].[33] Therefore examining the old institution, it is appropriate to bestow a new imperial mandate.[34] The late Chosŏn king Yi Yun was able to carry on the merits of his predecessors and long observed the duty of being a minister. He safeguarded the Three Han[35] so that local tributes came with wholehearted sincerity. He widely promulgated the prestige of Heaven and the imperial calendar in the Eight Provinces[36] so that both were respected. He put forth all his strength to reveal his sincerity of supporting [the Qing court] and long manifested his integrity of loyalty. Just as I

[30] The term *fengtian* 奉天 alludes to a line in the *Book of Documents*: 惟天惠民, 惟辟奉天。This line states that Heaven loves the people, and the ruler should revere this mind of Heaven.
[31] The term *she* 社 refers to the altars of the deity of the land and grain (社稷), which were commonly used by premodern writers to refer to the state.
[32] The term *daili* 帶礪 (belt and whetstone) alludes to Sima Qian's 司馬遷 comment in the *Records of the Grand Historian* (史記): 封爵之誓曰:「使河如帶, 泰山若厲。國以永寧, 爰及苗裔。」He comments that even though the Yellow River had become as narrow as a belt and Mount Tai as small as a whetstone, the vassal states would be forever peaceful, and imperial grace would continue to their successors.
[33] This refers to the fact that Chosŏn became the first tributary state of the Qing in 1637.
[34] The word *lun* 綸 here refers to the term *lunfu* 綸綍 (silk thread and rope), which has its origin in the *Book of Rites* (禮記): 王言如絲, 其出如綸;王言如綸, 其出如綍。Later writers used this term to allude to the ruler's command.
[35] The Three Han refers to the old tribal confederations on the Korean peninsula: Mahan 馬韓, Chinhan 辰韓, and Pyŏnhan 弁韓. Premodern writers used the Three Han to refer to the Korean states.
[36] The Eight Provinces refers to the eight provincial administrative divisions of Chosŏn. In the northwest was the P'yŏngan Province (平安道), northeast the Hamgyŏng Province (咸鏡道), southeast the Chŏlla Province (全羅道), and southwest the Kyŏngsang Province (慶尚道). In the center was the Kyŏnggi Province (京畿道). North of the capital was the Hwanghae Province (黃海道), east of the capital the Kangwŏn Province (江原道), and south of the capital the Ch'ungch'ŏng Province (忠清道).

	expected him to have longevity, he suddenly perished during his prime.[37] Yi Kŭm, the Crown Prince-Brother: Your family imparted to you filial piety to parents and brothers, and your natural instincts are talented and virtuous. You were fortunately born in a state with rites and institutions and truly met the expectations of your minister and people. I specially approve the memorial of requesting the investiture of you as the Chosŏn king. The renewal of imperial favor marks the beginning of the great shadow and care from the ancestors. Pacify your territory and respect the law of your predecessors so that you can be greatly consolidated in the Eastern Fief. Illuminate [the proper places of] Heaven and Earth and exert yourself in the mind of being a minister so that you can express your sincerity to the northern extreme. I now specially instruct through this edict to make you all notified.

賜國王詔	The edict bestowing to the king.
奉天誥命[38]	The investiture certificate of revering Heaven.
奉天承運皇帝制曰 鴻圖無外　敷聲教於海邦 寵命維新　溥懷柔於東土 奕世篤忠貞之美　職貢勤修 累朝嘉恭順之誠　彝章洊錫 當纘服之伊始　宜綸綍之重申 爾朝鮮國王世弟李昤 器識淵深　躬行純茂 夙擅岐嶷之譽　克紹家聲 式遵禮義之風　丕承前烈	The emperor who reveres the Heaven and receives its fortune orders: Considering none as an outsider in the great enterprise, we [the Qing emperors] promulgate our reputation and teaching to foreign countries. Upholding the renewal of imperial favor, we spread the act of cherishing and pacifying to the eastern land. [The Chosŏn kings] for generations have maintained the goodness of loyalty and faithfulness and have diligently carried out the duty of tribute.

[37] Yi Yun passed away at the age of 36.
[38] This is the title in the actual document.

念此刻符之舊　爰隆賜爵之文 茲特封爾爲朝鮮國王 屏翰東藩　虔恭正朔 綏安爾宇　永夾輔於皇家 精白乃心　用對揚於天室 欽哉　勿替朕命 雍正三年正月二十二日 [The script on the seal: 制誥之寶]	Consecutive [Qing] reigns have praised their sincerity of being respectful and obedient and repeatedly bestowed them the imperial edicts. At the beginning of succession, it is appropriate to reiterate the imperial mandate. You, Yi Kŭm, the Crown Prince-Brother of Chosŏn: Your magnanimity and knowledge are profound and deep; Your person and behavior are pure and outstanding. From early on, you have owned the praise of being prodigious and have been able to carry on your family reputation. Setting an example by following the custom of propriety and righteousness, you grandly undertook your predecessors' merits. Considering the old of this diplomatic tally, I, therefore, honor the ritual of conferring noble titles. I now specifically enfeoff you as the king of Chosŏn. Act as [my] screen and buttress in the Eastern Fief. Respectfully observe my calendar.[39] Pacify and calm your realm and eternally assist the imperial house. Sincerely purify your heart and mind so as to repay[40] Heaven's court. Respect [this]. Don't violate my order. The twenty-second day of the first month, the third year of the Yongzheng reign. [The script on the seal: The state seal of imperial order]

[39] The term *zhengshuo* 正朔 (imperial calendar) refers to the custom of bestowing a correct calendar during the new year to All-under-Heaven by the Son of Heaven as part of his role as a mediator between Heaven and the human realm. This idea was based on the "Canon of Yao" (堯典) in the *Book of Documents*: 乃命羲和, 欽若昊天, 歷象日月星辰, 敬授人時。In this chapter, Yao ordered his officials to calculate the movement of the constellations by observing the sky so that he could deliver the seasons for his people to follow.

[40] The term *duiyang* 對揚 alludes to an episode in the *Book of Documents*, "Charge to Yue" (說命), in which King Wu Ding 武丁 of the Shang dynasty found among commoners Fu Yue 傅說, who was able to assist him to rule like the sage kings. The king appointed Yue as the prime minister to preside over all the officials and instructed Yue to support him to become a worthy successor of the Shang founder. Yue then responded affirmatively to the king's charge. This term was later often used in ministers' responses to the ruler's appointments and bestowals.