

Materials on Korean Studies

An Annotated Translation of *Daily
Records of King Yeonsangun*, Chapter One
(the 25th Day to the 29th Day
of the 12th Month of 1494)*

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Introduction

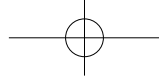
Yeonsangun 燕山君 (1476-1506; r. 1494-1506), whose given name was Yung 愷, was the first son born to King Seongjong 成宗 (r. 1457-1494) and his second consort Queen Jeheon 齊獻王后 (1455-1482), later known as the Deposed Queen Yun 廢妃尹氏. He was installed as the crown prince in 1483 and, after the death of his father, ascended the throne on the twenty ninth on the twelfth month of 1494. From the very beginning of his reign, he was at odds with the Neo-Confucian literati over trivial matters; these disagreements ultimately led to a series of purges against the literati. In the last years of his reign, he lost the support of his ministers, was forced from the throne, and exiled to Gyodong 喬桐, a small island near Ganghwado Island where he died on the sixth day in the eleventh month of 1506.

After being dethroned, the king was stripped of the title of king (*wang* 王) and demoted to prince (*gun* 君) on the second day of the ninth month of 1506. However, since he was inarguably the tenth king of the Joseon Dynasty, at least from a modern perspective, it makes more sense that he is called King Yeonsangun.¹ King Yeonsangun endured a biased view from later historiographers. For one example, the records of his reign were not called “veritable records” (*sillok* 實錄), as with other Joseon kings; they are merely “daily records” (*ilgi* 日記).²

The *Records*, which cover the twelve years of his reign, began to be compiled immediately after his death and were completed in the ninth month of 1509. Much of the content is short and simple; this is because a large amount of source material was lost as a result of King Yeonsangun’s persecution of literati

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1. One might call him King Yeonsan, but, given naming conventions, it is not still considered proper either. Posthumous titles, which usually end with *jo* 祖 or *jong* 宗, are fully mentioned for official translation. For example, the founder of the Joseon Dynasty is rendered into King Taejo, not just King Tae. Accordingly, a more accurate translation of Yeonsangun would be King Yeonsangun rather than King Yeonsan or Prince Yeonsan.
2. In Korean, *ilgi* means “diary,” which implies a personal journal, but in this case, *ilgi* should be taken literally as “a daily record” of court events as compiled by royal historians. In this paper, therefore, the text is translated as *Daily Records of King Yeonsangun* 燕山君日記 (hereafter, *Records*).



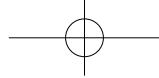
as well as historiographers, who he thought condemned his policy and life. In fact, the neutrality of the *Records* has long been questioned. Modern historians speculate that the violence attributed to King Yeonsangun was exaggerated by the historiographers, who were unfavorable to the king and thus conceal a number of facts, under his successor King Jungjong 中宗 (r. 1506-1544).

Despite these limitations, the *Records* carries great significance as a historical source because they include two important political incidents. The first is the conflict between the Old Meritorious Faction (*hungupa* 勳舊派) and the Neo-Confucian Faction (*sarimpa* 士林派), a feud which had already begun during the reign of King Seongjong. The second is the conflict between the court's power, centered around the royal-in-laws (the queens and their families), and that of the literati, centered around the State Council. Furthermore, the text has attracted much public attention as it was adapted into a variety of historical novels, dramas, and films about his life and reign.

The content of the *Records* can be divided into three parts. The first, spanning the years between the enthronement (1494) and the Muo Purge (1498), consists mainly of memorials submitted by the Office of the Inspector-General and the Censorate concerning their demand of Confucian statesmanship and opposition to the law for certifying Buddhist monks (*doseungbeop* 度僧法) and land ownership by Buddhist temples. The second part, spanning the years between the Muo Literati Purge (1498) and the Gapja Literati Purge (1504), includes not only memorials submitted by inspectors and censors but also the king's responses. The final part, spanning the years between the Gapja Purge (1504) and Yeonsangun's ultimate dethronement and exile (1506), deals mainly with the king's immoral life, such as his bizarre acts of revelry and persecution of the ministers involved in the purges. Apart from this, the text also includes copious amounts of the king's poetry and prose, along with poems written in response by his officials.

Modern Korean editions of the *Records* have been produced in both South and North Korea. The South Korean version, based on the Taebaeksan edition, was translated between 1972 and 1976 by the first graduates of the Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics 國譯研修院.³ The North Korean version, based on the Jeoksangsan edition, was published in 1982 by scholars from the

3. They include Kim Yongguk, Seong Nakhun, Shin Hoyeol, and others.



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The English translation introduced in this paper covers Chapter One, which begins with the twenty-fifth day and ends on the twenty-ninth day of the twelfth month of 1494. They are but a small portion of the *Records*, which comprise a total of forty-six chapters in sixty-three volumes. Nevertheless, its contents are noteworthy because they reveal not only the discord between King Yeonsangun and his vassals concerning Buddhist rituals, but also the clash between the Old Meritorious Faction and the Neo-Confucian Faction as seen in response to the memorials submitted by Yu Jagwang 柳子光 (1439-1512). Above all, this English translation offers foreign readers valuable information about the funeral rites of the Joseon dynasty, thanks to its detailed depictions of the processes involved in the funeral of King Seongjong 成宗 (r. 1457-1494). This sample translation is expected to provide the groundwork for a complete English translation of the *Records* in the future.

Translation

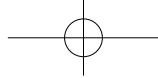
燕山君諱懽，成宗康靖大王長子，母廢妃尹氏，判奉常寺事起叟之女。以成化丙申十一月初七日丁未生。癸卯二月己巳，冊封世子，遣領中樞韓明澮等，請命于京師。五月丁酉，帝遣太監鄭同等賜勅封。少時不好學，東宮僚屬有勸戒者，深銜之。及即位，宮中所行多不善，外庭猶未之知。晚年，荒悖淫縱，大肆虐政，誅殺大臣，臺諫，侍從，殆盡。至有炮烙，斮胸，寸斬，碎骨飄風之刑，遂廢徙喬桐，封燕山君。居數月，以疾終。年三十一，在位十二年。

King Yeonsangun, whose given name was Yung,⁵ was born on the seventh day of the eleventh month of the Jeongmi Year (1476) in the Chinghua reign (1465-1487) as the first son of Great King Seongjong, Serene Stability.⁶ His

4. They include Baek Yunseon, Seo Yeongcheol, Choe Dongeon, Lee Haknam, and others.

5. Hwi 諱 refers to the king's real name, the use of which was tabooed to show reverence.

6. King Seongjong 成宗 (1457-1494, Jeonju Yi clan); ninth king (r. 1469-1494) of the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910); son of Deokjong and Queen Sohye (Queen Dowager Insu); father of Yeonsangun. His posthumous title Gangjeong 康靖, which was conferred by the Ming court, may be translated as "Serene Stability."



mother was Deposed Queen Yun,⁷ who was the daughter of Yun Gigeon,⁸ a supervisor in the Office of Ancestral Sacrifice (*Bongsangsi*). He was installed as the crown prince on the sixth day of the second month of the Gisa Year (1483). First Minister-without-Portfolio (*Yeongjungchubusa*) Han Myeonghoe⁹ was sent to Beijing to request a letter of investiture [from the Chinese emperor]. On the sixth day of the fifth month, the emperor conferred a letter of investiture through Palace Eunuch Jeong Dong.¹⁰ As a youth, Yeonsangun was not fond of studying, and was very disgruntled by officials in the East Palace¹¹ who admonished him to care of his studies. After coming to power as king, he was usually ill-behaved in the palace, but this behavior was not yet known outside the palace. In the later years of his reign, he indulged himself in wine and sensual pleasure, acted contrary to reason, and exerted tyrannical rule to a degree so extreme that he put most of his great vassals, censors, and royal attendants to death. He even punished them with branding, cutting open their chests, chopping them into pieces, and grinding their bones to be blown away in the wind. He was finally dethroned, exiled to Gyodong 喬桐,¹² and demoted to Prince Yeonsangun. After only a few months, he died from an illness at the age of 31. He reigned for 12 years.

Gyeongjin 25th Day of the 12th Month of the Year of Enthronement (1494)

Entry 1

庚辰/朝奠于殯殿，百官入臨。都監堂上李克墩等，啓于仁粹王大妃殿曰：“斂襲諸事，請詣正寢掌辦。”傳曰：“可。”

25th Day: All the officials attended the morning ritual held at the (deceased

7. Deposed Queen Yun 廢妃尹氏 (1455-1482, Haman Yun clan); also known as Queen Jeheon 齊獻王后; consort of King Seongjong; mother of Yeonsangun.

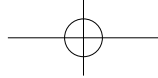
8. Yun Gigeon 尹起畎 (birth/death unknown, Haman Yun clan).

9. Han Myeonghoe 韓明澮 (1415-1487, Cheongju Han clan); father of Queen Ansun (Dowager Queen Inhye).

10. Jeong Dong 鄭同 (Zheng Tong in Chinese, birth/death unknown, clan unknown); ethnically Korean, but a palace eunuch of Ming China.

11. East Palace 東宮 refers to the quarters inside the larger palace complex in which the crown prince lives.

12. Gyodong is an island to the northwest of Ganghwado Island (part of present-day Incheon).



king's) mortuary. Chief Officer of the Directorate for the State Funeral (*Dogam dangsang*) Yi Geukdon,¹³ and other officials had it conveyed to Queen Dowager¹⁴ Insu¹⁵: “All the formalities of dressing and shrouding the deceased should be conducted in the king's residential quarters.” It was conveyed [from the queen dowager]: “Do as such.”

Entry 2

乙時, 襲. 百官入臨, 仁政殿庭, 遂舉哀.

At around seven in the morning, the body was dressed.¹⁶ All the officials entered the courtyard of Injeongjeon Hall¹⁷ and wailed in mourning.

Entry 3

襲畢將奠, 而諸事未完, 世子先出于外以待. 右議政愼承善請還入內待事辦而出, 世子不許. 左議政盧思愼啓: “人君之事, 異於匹夫, 請入內.” 從之.

After the body was dressed, the offering ritual had still to occur. Although the entire process was not yet over, the crown prince went out to wait. Third State Councilor (*Uuijeong*) Shin Seungseon¹⁸ asked him to go back inside and wait for the ritual to be completed, but the crown prince did not listen. Second State Councilor (*Jwauijeong*) Noh Sasin¹⁹ petitioned: “These are matters pertaining to His Majesty, which are different from ordinary people. You must come back inside.” The crown prince did so.

13. Yi Geukdon 李克墩 (1435-1503, Gwangju Yi clan).

14. In the context of Joseon, queen dowager (*wangdaebi*) is the term for the former queen after the crown prince ascends the throne. In other words, the queen dowager is usually the mother of the new king, but can also be the king's stepmother if his mother had died early or had been deposed. In this instance, it refers to the mother of the late king (Seongjong), as the crown prince has not yet been installed as king.

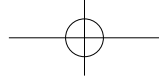
15. Queen Dowager Insu 仁粹王大妃 (1437-1504, Cheongju Han clan); also known as Queen Sohye 昭惠王后; daughter of Han Hwak and Lady Hong of the Namyang Hong Clan, consort of (Honorary) King Deokjong; mother of King Seongjong; paternal grandmother of Yeonsangun.

16. This step, called *seup* 襲, is the first step in the process of preparing the body for burial. After washing the body, the deceased is dressed in special burial attire.

17. Injeongjeon Hall is the main throne hall of Changdeokgung Palace.

18. Shin Seungseon 愼承善 (1436-1502, Geochang Shin clan); father of Deposed Queen Lady Shin (the consort of Yeonsangun).

19. Noh Sasin 盧思愼 (1427-1498, Gyoha Noh clan).



Entry 4

禮曹判書成倪啓：“先朝舊例，國恤七七日及大小祥，皆設齋于佛寺。然此不載禮文，而大行大王，亦不崇信佛教，今將何以？”世子使中官金孝江轉啓于王妃，王妃傳曰：“大行大王，雖不好佛，然無遺教止之。且祖宗朝皆行之，今不可廢。”倪以不當啓之事，敢取稟，世子不敢自斷，轉啓王妃，必以倪所啓爲不當而然也。其卒行之者，以其懿旨不敢違也。倪與其兄任，倪，皆有文名，而頗惑釋教，士林以此少之。今觀倪所啓，其家世佞佛，蓋不誣矣。

The Minister of Rites (*Yejo panso*) Seong Hyeon²⁰ petitioned: “According to the former practices of the earlier royal courts, rituals were performed at Buddhist temples on the forty-ninth day following the king’s demise²¹ and on the first²² and second²³ anniversary of the death. However, these practices have not been prescribed in any manual of rituals and the late king²⁴ did not believe in Buddhism. What shall we do this time?” The crown prince sent Eunuch (*Junggwan*) Kim Hyogang²⁵ to the queen²⁶ to seek her advice, and the queen had it conveyed: “Although the late king was not fond of Buddhism, he did not leave a will prohibiting the rituals. Also, the practices have been performed by all the royal ancestors, and there is no need to put an end to them now.” [Seong] Hyeon was impudent enough to ask the crown prince about the rituals,²⁷ but

20. Seong Hyeon 成倪 (1439-1504, Changnyeong Seong clan).

21. On the forty-ninth day after a death (*chilchilil* 七七日, lit. “seven-seven day”) a ritual is held for the deceased. It is at this time when a Water and Land Rite (a Buddhist ritual) would be held.

22. The first ancestral rite (*sosang* 小喪, lit. “small loss”) is offered on the first anniversary of the death of one’s parents. After this rite, male mourners remove their headband and female mourners remove their waistband and change into other attire as a symbolical expression of their sadness becoming lighter. They also no longer wail every day and night as they had done for the previous year. From this day on, the chief mourner, usually the eldest son, can eat vegetables and fruit (Gong 2013, 141-42; Gim 2012, 154).

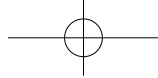
23. The second ancestral rite (*daesang* 大喪, lit. “large loss”) is offered on the second anniversary of the death of one’s parents. After this rite, the chief mourner can take off his mourning attire. This symbolizes the mourner returning to his ordinary routine (Gong 2013, 144-45).

24. Daehang 大行 here refers to King Seongjong. It means to the deceased king who has not been conferred the posthumous title.

25. Kim Hyogang (金孝江, birth/death unknown, clan unknown)

26. Queen Jeonghyeon 貞顯王后 (1462-1530, Papyeong Yun clan); daughter of Yun Ho; consort of King Seongjong; also known as Queen Dowager Jasun 慈順大妃; mother of King Jungjong.

27. This, along with the following comments about the Seong brothers, appears to include the retrospective judgment of the historians writing the diary, with their suggestion that Seong ought not to have raised the issue of Buddhist rituals to the crown prince, because it led to an extended disagreement between the crown prince and various high officials as can be seen in the following articles.



the crown prince did not dare to make his own decision and sought the queen's advice, because he would have considered what Seong mentioned inappropriate. In the end, [the crown prince] followed her advice, because he did not dare disobey. [Seong] Hyeon and his brothers [Seong] Im²⁸ and [Seong] Gan²⁹ were renowned for their writing, but they were deluded by Buddhism, and the Confucian literati considered them petty men. Given that Seong Hyeon had inquired about this matter [in this fashion], it was not a false accusation [to say] that his family flattered the Buddha.

Entry 5

丁時, 小斂. 盧思慎, 慎承善, 李克墩, 尹孝孫, 成侃及承旨金應箕 · 姜龜孫入斂, 百官哭臨. 行小斂奠, 百官哭臨.

At around one in the afternoon, the body was shrouded.³⁰ Noh Sasin, Shin Seungseon, Yi Geukdon, Yun Hyoson,³¹ Seong Hyeon, and Royal Secretaries (Seungji) Kim Eunggi³² and Kang Gwison³³ attended the shrouding and the officials wailed in mourning. The shrouding ritual was held, and all the officials wailed in mourning.

Entry 6

夕奠, 百官哭臨.

At the evening offering ritual,³⁴ the officials wailed in mourning.

28. Seong Im 成任 (1421-1484, Changnyeong Seong clan); older brother of Seong Hyeon.

29. Seong Gan 成侃 (1427-1456, Changnyeong Seong Clan); older brother of Seong Hyeon.

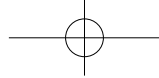
30. During this ceremony (*soryeom* 小殮, lit. "small mortuary preparation"), the corpse is cleansed with scented boiled water and shrouded with nineteen layers of cloth, regardless of the deceased person's social status. Then, the shrouded body is covered with two blankets which are placed under and above the body. The purpose of this shrouding is to cherish the corpse and alleviate people's disgust towards the corpse (Gong 2013, 131-32).

31. Yun Hyoson 尹孝孫 (1431-1503, Namwon Yun clan).

32. Kim Eunggi 金應箕 (1455-1519, Seosan Kim clan).

33. Kang Gwison 姜龜孫 (1451-1506, Jinju Kang clan).

34. According to ancient custom, the surviving family served the deceased by offering sacrificial food daily at dawn and dusk as if he or she were still alive. At each ritual, the progeny of the deceased wailed, stomped their feet, knelt, and prostrated themselves. This ritual was performed until the day of burial (Gong 2013, 136).



Entry 7

禮曹參判宋瑛，詣長生殿，奉移梓宮。

Vice Minister of Rites (*Yejo champan*) Song Yeong³⁵ had the royal coffin³⁶ brought in from Jangsaengjeon Hall.³⁷

Entry 8

以知中樞府事李克均，左贊成韓致亨，戶曹判書洪貴達，爲國葬都監提調；左參贊鄭文炯，工曹判書柳洵，廣陽君李世佐，爲山陵都監提調。

Administrator of the Central Council (*Jijungchubusa*) Yi Geukgyun,³⁸ Fourth State Councilor (*Jwachanseong*) Han Chihyeong,³⁹ and Minister of Taxation (*Hojo panso*) Hong Gwidal⁴⁰ were appointed to be Supervisors of the Directorate for the State Funeral (*Gukjang dogam*). Sixth State Councilor (*Jwachamchan*) Jeong Munhyeong,⁴¹ Minister of Works (*Gongjo panso*) Yu Sun,⁴² and Lord of Gwangyang Yi Sejwa⁴³ were appointed to be Supervisors of the Directorate for the Royal Tomb (*Salleung dogam*).

Sinsa 26th Day of the 12th Month of the Year of Enthronement (1494)

Entry 1

辛巳/黎明，王世子傳曰：“予於兩大妃，王妃殿，累請進粥，不聽。政丞等宜即共請。”時尙早，政丞皆未至。承政院啓：“政丞，昨日啓請勸粥云：‘帝王之孝，異於士庶人。’臣等又按《儀軌》，世宗嘗曰：‘世子生長深宮，居處飲食，異於平人，遭喪翌日，宜可勸粥。’聖訓昭昭。臣等意世子先自進粥，乃請于三殿，則庶可得請矣。”傳曰：“予則已矣，宜請于三殿。”承旨等啓：“當待政丞之來，共議啓請。然臣等意世宗於昭憲王后之喪，勸世子翌日進粥，明載《儀軌》，豈以居養異常，遽撤飲食，則慮或傷生，故有此訓也。請先進粥，仍請三殿，則豈不從之乎？”傳曰：“如不得請，則予

35. Song Yeong 宋瑛 (?-1495, Yeosan Song clan).

36. A royal coffin (*jaegung* 梓宮) is a coffin made for kings and queens. They were called *jaegung* because they were usually made from the Manchurian walnut (*jae* 梓) tree.

37. The Royal Coffin Hall, literally “Hall of Long Life” 長生殿。

38. Yi Geukgyun 李克均 (1437-1504, Gwangju Yi clan).

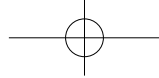
39. Han Chihyeong 韓致亨 (1434-1502, Cheongju Han clan).

40. Hong Gwidal 洪貴達 (1438-1504, Bugye Hong clan).

41. Jeong Munhyeong 鄭文炯 (1427-1501, Bonghwa Jeong clan).

42. Yu Sun 柳洵 (1441-1517, Munhwa Yu clan).

43. Yi Sejwa (李世佐, 1445-1504, Gwangju Yi clan).



當先之。”

26th Day: At dawn, it was conveyed from the crown prince: “I have repeatedly requested that the two queen dowagers⁴⁴ and the queen have some porridge, but they do not listen. The state councilors and others must collectively request [that they have some porridge] right now.” It was time for the morning assembly, but the state councilors had not yet arrived. The Royal Secretariat petitioned: “We looked up the royal protocol⁴⁵ [and saw] where the king once said: ‘The crown prince is raised in the palace quarters, so that his life and diet differs from those of ordinary people. It is recommended that he eat porridge.’ This instruction from King Sejong⁴⁶ is very clear. We suggest that the crown prince eats the porridge first, and then ask the queen and the queen dowagers⁴⁷ about it. In that case, it is very likely they will accept your proposal.” It was conveyed [from the crown prince]: “I am fine. We should first inquire to the queen and the queen dowagers.” The Royal Secretariat petitioned: “When the state councilors arrive, we will go and ask together about the issue. However, we would inform you that in the time of King Sejong, he recommended the royal prince to eat porridge the day following the queen’s funeral; this is clearly recorded in the royal protocol. The royal family’s lives and diet are different from those of ordinary people. If [the royal family] abruptly stops consuming food, we worry that it will be harmful. That is the reason there is such an instruction. So please eat first and then we will go and ask the queen and the queen dowagers. How could they not but follow your suggestion?” It was conveyed: “You go first, and if they still do not agree, then I will have [the porridge].”

Entry 2

告訃于社稷, 宗廟, 永寧殿.

The king’s death was reported at the Altar of Earth and Grain (*Sajik*),⁴⁸ National

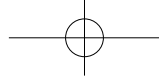
44. At this time, there were two queen dowagers, Insu and Inhye. Dowager Queen Inhye 仁惠大妃 (1445-1498, Cheongju Han clan); daughter of Han Baengnyung; consort to King Yejong; adoptive mother of King Seongjong.

45. This refers to the Royal Protocols (*Uigwe* 儀軌).

46. King Sejong 世宗 (1397-1450, Jeonju Yi clan); fourth king of Joseon (r. 1418-1450); son of King Taejong and Queen Wongyeong; father of King Munjong and King Sejo.

47. Here, in the original text, the queen (Jeonghyeon) and two queen dowagers (Inhye and Insu) are referred to collectively as *samjeon* (three halls 三殿).

48. *Sajik* 社稷 can refer to the Altar of Earth and Grain (*Sajikdan* 社稷壇) or the Gods of Earth and



Ancestral Shrine (Jongmyo),⁴⁹ and Yeongnyeongjeon Hall.⁵⁰

Entry 3

王妃傳曰：“人言‘成服日有妨於世子’可得進退耶？”殯殿都監提調李克墩啓：“凡喪制，一從禮文，小斂以前斂襲等事，若值炎熱，或有從權進退者。今則已經小斂，自後節次，當依禮文，時日吉凶不足信也。人子哀戚之情雖無窮，而亦不得不有節文，故聖人稱其情文，制爲喪葬之禮。天子七月而葬；諸侯五月而葬，自古及今，無有違其制者。況我祖宗朝，亦從禮文，而不以時日吉凶進退之。若拘於吉凶，則葬必不以時，請遵聖人之制，循祖宗之法，使合禮文。”王妃傳曰：“予豈知禮文哉？人有言者，故欲從世俗爾。當依所啓。”

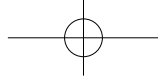
It was conveyed from the queen: “I was told⁵¹: ‘The date for mourning attire is inauspicious for the crown prince.’ Is it possible to change the date by moving it earlier or delaying it?” The director of the Directorate for the State Funeral, Yi Geukdon, petitioned: “Generally, the funeral rites follow the ritual texts without alteration. In the case of extremely hot weather, the washing, and shrouding of the body may either be done in advance or postponed. However, once the first ritual is underway, the remaining rituals must follow as planned. Since the first offering has already been given, the subsequent rites will proceed according to the ritual text. Furthermore, talk about the auspiciousness of dates is not credible. Despite the indescribable sadness, propriety needs to be respected; that is why the sage [Confucius] assessed human emotions and propriety, when establishing funeral rites. Accordingly, the burial of the Chinese emperor is held in the seventh month following his death; whereas, for lords, [their burials are] in the fifth month. From ancient times to now, there have not been any exceptions. Our previous kings naturally depended on the ritual texts and did not change performing dates based on auspicious and inauspicious days. If the fortune-telling were taken seriously, the burial would certainly not be held at this time. I beg of you to respect the sage’s regulation and follow the principles practiced by the previous kings, thus abiding by the ritual text.” It was conveyed from the queen: “How would I know the ritual texts? Someone suggested that

Grain, but can also be used as a general term meaning the country.

49. Jongmyo Shrine 宗廟 is the royal ancestral shrine of the Joseon Dynasty where the spirit tablets of deceased kings and their queens are kept and where the royal ancestral rites are held.

50. Yeongnyeongjeon is the secondary hall of Jongmyo Shrine.

51. Presumably, she consulted fortune-tellers about this issue.



the day was inauspicious, and I had intended to follow the common custom [of inquiring of fortune-tellers]. [Instead] I will listen to you.”

Entry 4

前武靈君柳子光上書: 臣遭母喪, 已成殯. 謹按《禮經》, 《會子問(曾子問)》曰: “大夫士有私喪, 可以除之矣, 而有君服焉, 其除之也, 如之何?” 孔子曰: “有君喪服於身, 不敢私服, 又何除焉?” 註曰: “君重親輕, 以義斷恩.” 曾子又問曰: “君既啓, 而臣有父母之喪, 則如之何?” 孔子曰: “歸哭而反送君.” 註曰: “歸哭親喪, 復往送君之喪.” 又曰: “若臣有父母喪, 既殯而後有君喪, 則歸君所; 父母喪有殷事, 則來歸家. 朝夕亦恒在君所.” 曾子又問曰: “父母之喪, 既引及塗, 聞君薨, 如之何?” 孔子曰: “遂既封, 改服而往.” 註曰: “不敢以私喪之服, 喪君也.” 此《禮經》所載, 正合臣事. 臣今若因私服, 而不更除君服, 是臣而不服君服. 然則親反重, 君反輕, 有違《禮經》, 有虧大義. 命議于政丞等. 李克培議: “令該司磨鍊以啓, 何如?”; 盧思慎議: “有古禮, 依子光所啓, 何如?”; 慎承善議: “雖有古禮, 以今觀之, 不無礙處. 然此乃臣子出於至情, 依所啓施行, 何如?” 命該曹議啓. 禮曹啓: “子光援引《禮經》, 欲服大行王喪, 其心志可喜. 但時移事殊, 不必盡用周制. 我朝參酌古今, 勒成《大典》. 凡爲人子者, 方守親喪, 遇君喪, 無改服之制. 君喪雖重, 母喪亦非輕. 亡母在殯未久, 而著紗帽, 網巾, 詣(關)[闕] 隨班, 駭人視聽. 今一開端, 後必效此, 遂成格例, 事勢實爲未便. 子光所啓, 宜勿施行.”

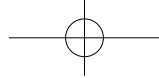
The former Lord of Muryeong, Yu Jagwang,⁵² submitted a personal petition, saying: “My mother passed away and the funeral hall has been prepared.⁵³ In the *Book of Rites (Lijing)* Zengzi asked:⁵⁴ ‘If a great officer or ordinary officer be in mourning for a parent he may [finish the ritual] by taking off his mourning clothes; and if he be in mourning for his ruler, under what conditions will he conclude his mourning?’⁵⁵ Confucius said: ‘If he has the mourning for his ruler

52. Yu Jagwang 柳子光 (1439-1512, Yeonggwang Yu clan). He received the title in the third year of King Yeonsangun’s reign (1497).

53. Funeral hall was made as temporary mortuary for keeping the corpse. This temporary burial (*seongbin* 成殯) occurs on the same day as *daeryeom*. Stones are used to surround the coffin and symbolically bury it. This is kept in place until the royal tomb is prepared and the coffin can be moved to the royal tomb site (For further detail, see Picture 1: Royal Funeral Hall, from *Gukjo sangrye bopeon* 國朝喪禮補編).

54. “Zengzi Wen” 曾子問 is the name of Chapter Seven of the *Li ji*. It is also the beginning part of the passage 7/28.

55. English translations of the Confucian classics were taken from James Legge (via CText) unless otherwise indicated. “Put off” (*je* 除) means *jebok* 除服, “to perform the ritual to finish one’s mourning by putting off his mourning clothes.”



on his person, he will not venture to wear any private mourning; and what else does he need to take off for finishing the ritual?⁵⁶ The annotations read: ‘One’s king is of greater significance whilst one’s father is of lesser significance. [Therefore,] affection for parents must be cut short for the sake of what is proper.’⁵⁷ Zengzi asked again: ‘If, when they have begun to move the coffin to the tomb site, the minister be called to the funeral rites for his father or mother, what course will he pursue?’⁵⁸ Confucius said: ‘He should go home and wail, and then return and accompany the funeral of the ruler.’⁵⁹ The annotations read: ‘Return home and wail in mourning for your father’s death and then go again and see to His Majesty’s passing.’ Confucius said again: ‘When an official happens to mourn for his ruler while mourning for his parents, and if it is the case that his father or mother is already encoffined then placed in the funeral hall, he will return to the king’s mourning. On occasion of the great services (for his parent), he will go home. [Other than this] he will always stay in the ruler’s every morning and evening.’⁶⁰ Zengzi asked again: ‘If one, occupied with the funeral rites of a parent, has (assisted in) drawing the bier to the path (to the grave), and there hear of the death of his ruler, what should he do?’⁶¹ Confucius said: ‘He should complete the burial; and, when the coffin has been lowered in the ground, he should change his dress, and go to (the ruler’s).’⁶²

56. *Li ji*, “Zengzi Wen” 28.

57. *Li ji*, “Sang Fu Si Zhi” 喪服四制 5: “9/5: Si Zhilation (of the mourning) within the family circle, the affection throws the (duty of public) righteousness into the shade. In the regulation (of that which is) beyond that circle, the (duty of public) righteousness cuts the (mourning of) affection short. The service due to a father is employed in serving a ruler, and the reverence is the same for both—this is the greatest instance of (the conviction of the duty of) righteousness, in all the esteem shown to nobility and the honour done to the honourable. Hence the sackcloth with jagged edges is worn (also) for the ruler for three years—the regulation is determined by righteousness” 門內之治, 恩掩義; 門外之治, 義斷恩. 資於事父以事君, 而敬同, 貴貴尊尊, 義之大者也. 故為君亦斬衰三年, 以義制者也. 以義制者也.

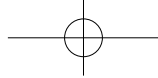
58. *Li ji*, “Zengzi Wen” 29.

59. *Li ji*, “Zengzi Wen” 29.

60. Yu Jagwang altered the text for his convenience. Cf. *Li ji*, “Zengzi Wen” 29: “If,” said (Zengzi), “before the ruler has been coffined, a minister be called to the funeral rites for his father or mother, what should be his course?” Confucius said, “He should go home, and have the deceased put into the coffin, returning (then) to the ruler’s. On occasion of the great services, he will go home, but not for those of every morning and evening” 曰: “君未殯, 而臣有父母之喪, 則如之何?” 孔子曰: “歸殯, 反于君所, 有殷事則歸, 朝夕否.”

61. *Li ji*, “Zengzi Wen” 33.

62. *Li ji*, “Zengzi Wen” 33.

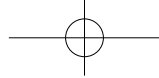


The annotations read: ‘One cannot wear the mourning clothes worn for one’s parents when attending the funeral of one’s ruler.’ This is recorded in the *Book of Rites* and it applies directly to my [current situation]. Now, if I do not rectify the custom of putting off the ruler’s mourning because of the funeral for my parents, it would be the case that as a subject I do not wear mourning for the deceased king. If so, my father would be held in esteem and my king would be neglected more. This is not in accordance with the *Book of Rites* and is inappropriate in terms of the great righteousness.” The crown prince commended that it be consulted with the state councilors and others. Yi Geukbae⁶³ was of the opinion: “How about inquiring of the relevant office?” Noh Sasin was of the opinion: “Since there is a tradition, how about doing as was suggested [by Yu]?” Shin Seungseon was of the opinion: “Although there is a tradition, the current situation is not without its complications. However, this is said out of the deep emotions of an official. How about doing as was suggested?” [The crown prince] inquired of the relevant ministry. The Ministry of Rites petitioned: “Yu Jagwang has consulted the *Book of Rites* and is planning to wear mourning clothes for the late king. [We] gladly approve of this desire. However, times have changed and there is not necessarily a need to follow the regulations of the Zhou dynasty. Considering both the past and the present, our dynasty developed the *National Code* (*Gyeongguk daejeon*). There is no regulation requiring one mourning his father to change his attire if the king should die before the mourning period is complete. Although the king’s funeral is most significant, the funeral of one’s mother is not insignificant. Not much time has passed since his mother’s body was placed in the funeral hall, and now if he enters the palace and falls into rank wearing an official’s hat and headband, people will think it bizarre. If this is done once, later it will become an awkward precedent to which people always refer. Therefore, you should not proceed as [Yu] Jagwang has suggested.”

Entry 5

司憲府掌令康伯珍, 司諫院正言李懿孫啓: “伏聞爲大行大王, 行水陸齋之教. 大行王嘗不好佛, 且今新政之初, 臣民望治之時, 宜去邪道, 以從禮文.” 傳曰: “先王豈皆好佛! 然水陸之設, 自祖宗朝已然, 而大行王亦無遺命止之, 今不可遽廢.” 伯珍等更啓: “大行大王於佛道, 本不崇信. 今於七七之日, 若設水陸齋, 則非

63. Yi Geukbae 李克培 (1422-1495, Gwangju Yi clan).



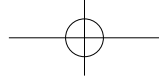
孝子奉先之意，請勿行。”傳曰：“先王皆行之。大行王雖不好佛，亦為先王而行之。予亦當為大行王而行之。”弘文館副提學成世明等書啓曰：伏聞為大行大王，將設佛齋，令本館製疏以進，不勝驚愕。此雖出於哀痛罔極之誠，然非禮之舉，實非所以盡孝之道也。大行大王在平昔，不信佛教，臣民所共知。今欲為大行盡誠，而反於平昔，則甚非所謂‘如事生之道’也。況正始之初，尤所當謹！在今擗踊哀痛之時，敢此籲號者，誠以所關者大也。傳曰：“其以語臺諫者，語之。”伯珍等更啓，不從。世明等更啓：“大行大王，自即位以來，不信佛教。如度僧之法，乃先王所定，《大典》所載，而一朝斷然革去，使良民不復為僧，新創寺社，一切禁止。且於經筵，語及佛事，每教群臣曰：‘予之不信，爾等所知。’天語丁寧，炳然在耳。今在嗣服之初，事事宜遵先志，而反舉大行所不信之事，佞佛求福，則大行在天之靈，其肯之乎？況正始之初，萬化所出，萬民所觀，在所尤謹，而乃教曰：‘為先王設齋。大行王亦嘗不廢，又無遺教止之。’不勝失望。大行之有此舉，特勉從先志耳，非其本意。且不有遺教者，初不知有今日之舉也。”傳曰：“前言已盡。”

Third Inspector of the Office of the Inspector-General, Kang Baekjin,⁶⁴ and Fourth Censor of the Censorate, Yi Uison,⁶⁵ petitioned: “We have heard that a Water and Land Rite⁶⁶ will be performed for the late king. He was never fond of Buddhist teachings, and as it is the start of a new reign, the subjects are hoping for a good ruler. Therefore, you must do away with the improper path and follow the ritual texts.” It was conveyed [from the crown prince]: “One cannot say that all the previous kings were fond of Buddhism. But [nonetheless] it was already that way from the beginning of the dynasty. The late king left no orders to do away with [the ritual], therefore it cannot be suddenly abolished now.” Kang Baekjin and others submitted a petition again: “The king did not by nature believe in the Buddhist path. If we hold the Water and Land Rite on the forty-ninth day, it will not signify a filial son respecting his father. Therefore, I beg you do not hold the ritual.” It was conveyed: “Previously [the ritual] was done for kings, and although the [late] king did not favor Buddhism, he held [the ritual] for the previous kings; so, I shall do it also for the [late] king.”

64. Kang Baekjin 康伯珍 (?-1504, Sincheon Kang clan).

65. Yi Uison 李懿孫 (birth/death unknown, Goseong Yi clan).

66. The Water and Land Rite (*surjukjae* 水陸齋) is a Buddhist ritual dating back to the Goryeo period (918-1392) which was performed to placate the spirits in water and on land. The National Water and Land Rite, with which the king served the people, was abolished in the middle of the Joseon Dynasty. This was one of the seven major national Buddhist rituals.

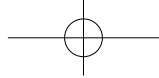


First Advisor of the Office of Special Advisors, Seong Semyeong,⁶⁷ and others submitted a memorial: “I heard that the king allowed the Office of Special Advisors to compose and dedicate a memorial for the Buddhist rituals for the late king. This deeply surprised me. Coming from a state of deep and endless heartbreak, doing that which does not accord with propriety is truly not the way to fulfill filial duties. That the king did not believe in Buddhism his whole life is something everyone knows. If, in trying to follow the proper course of action for the king, you go against the king’s everyday thoughts, then it is quite unbecoming to the devotion with which you had served the deceased while he was alive. Even more so, since this is the beginning of your reign, should you not show some restraint? That I dare to make my request in this way, hitting my chest and stomping my feet,⁶⁸ now in this heartbreaking time, is because it is a critical issue.” It was conveyed: “Tell them [Seong Semyeong and others] exactly what I said to the Censorate.” Kang Baekjin and others raised the issue again, but the crown prince did not accept. [Seong] Semyeong and others submitted another memorial: “After coming to the throne, the late king did not believe in Buddhism. The law for certifying Buddhist monks⁶⁹ was enacted by the previous kings, but even though it was in the *National Code* (*Gyeongguk daejeon*), the late king reformed it overnight and prevented commoners from becoming monks. He stopped the building of new temples entirely. Furthermore, if what had been said at the royal teachings had any Buddhist influence, I distinctly remember him often saying to the officials, ‘You know this is something I don’t believe in.’ Now as the royal power is being transferred, the first tasks must follow the meaning of the previous kings. But if something the king did not believe in is undertaken and fortune is sought by flattering the Buddha, would the spirit of the king in the sky say that it is proper? Moreover, having a proper beginning which sets the [new leadership] in a proper direction for the future, is what all the subjects are expecting. Therefore, restraint should

67. Seong Semyeong 成世明 (1447-1510, Changnyeong Seong clan).

68. Hitting one’s chest and stomping one’s feet were traditionally a part of the mourning process in Korea, and as such are actions which express great grief.

69. The law for certifying Buddhist monks (*doseungbeop* 度僧法) was a system of certification of Buddhist monks which began in late Goryeo period (918-1392) in order to limit the number of monks who were excused of labor tax so that the government could gain manpower. Through King Seongjong’s abolishment of this law, he made it so that no commoner could legally become a monk.



be used. You said: ‘The late king [himself] did not abolish holding the ritual for the previous kings and there was no order left by him to do so.’ If so, my disappointment will not easily be overcome. The late king held the ritual because he relented in following the previous kings’ intentions. Furthermore, the fact that no order was passed down, was because, from the outset, he did not have any inclination that it would even become an issue.” It was conveyed: “I have already said everything [I am going to say].”

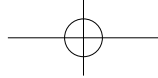
Entry 6

承旨姜龜孫啓: “太宗於大行王, 爲高祖. 故於祭告, 稱皇祖考. 今於世子, 爲五世. 攷於古文, 稱號無據. 世子時未卽位, 故不指曰某祖, 而泛稱. 明日卽位之後, 則將何以稱之? 請令大臣及禮曹, 同議稱號, 又令弘文館, 博考古文.” 傳曰: “可.”

Royal Secretary Kang Gwison petitioned [the crown prince]: “King Taejong⁷⁰ was the great-great-grandfather (*gojo*) of the late king.⁷¹ Therefore he was referred to as Hwangjogo (August Ancestral Father) at the memorial service. Now, the crown prince is the fifth generation. Despite consulting old documents, [we cannot find] a precedent for referring [to King Taejong]. Prior to the crown prince ascending the throne, [he] referred to [King Taejong] simply as an ‘ancestor.’ After the ascension in the coming days, what should we call him? We have charged the great vassals and the Ministry of Rites with the discussion of his title. In addition, we shall have the Office of Special Advisors extensively look over the old documents.” It was conveyed [from the crown prince]: “Do as such.”

70. King Taejong 太宗 (1367-1422, Jeonju Yi clan); third King of Joseon (r. 1400-1418); son of King Taejo and Queen Sinui; father of King Sejong.

71. Confucian shrines traditionally hold ancestral tablets, which enshrine the deceased’s spirit, of four previous generations: father (*bu* 父), grandfather (*jo* 祖), great-grandfather (*jeungjo* 曾祖), and great-great-grandfather (*gojo* 高祖). When a new generation dies, the great-great-grandfather’s tablet is removed. However, in the case of the royal family, all generations of the dynasty must be enshrined. Yet, there was no term beyond great-great-grandfather, which presents a problem as the death of Seongjong means that for the first time in the dynasty, five generations of tablets will be held in the shrine. Therefore, the officials are at a loss as to how to refer to ancestors from the fifth generation and beyond.



Entry 7

以尹弼商, 盧思愼, 愼承善, 李克墩, 金應箕, 爲山陵看審使。

Yun Pilsang,⁷² Noh Sasin, Shin Seungseon, Yi Geukdon, and Kim Eunggi were appointed Managers of the Royal Tomb (*Salleung gansimsa*).

Entry 8

世子傳曰: “大行王有遺教曰: ‘宜與政丞, 議斷國事.’ 今聞政丞等, 或有不詣闕者, 其竝召之。”

It was conveyed from the crown prince: “The following is mentioned in the late king’s proclamation: ‘Discuss matters of state and make decisions with the state councilors.’ However, I was told that some of the state councilors do not come to the palace these days. Call on all of them to attend.”

Entry 9

傳曰: “先王命婦, 當服喪否?” 政院與禮曹議啓: “兩殿壓尊, 不可服衰, 當以白衣終制矣。”

It was conveyed [from the crown prince]: “Should noble women titled by the late king wear mourning attire?” The officials of the Royal Secretariat and the Ministry of Rites submitted the opinion: “As there are two queen dowagers, the royal concubines are not allowed to wear the official morning attire. They should wear white to observe the mourning period.”

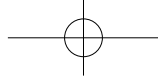
Imo 27th Day of the 12th Month of the Year of Enthronement (1494)

Entry 1

壬午/承政院啓: “世宗大王遺教曰: ‘三日後可進食.’ 請從是教.” 傳曰: “予已歔粥. 進食則當待成殯後酌爲之.” 更啓, “若不進膳, 則王妃亦豈肯進膳? 請勿違先王遺教, 爲王妃強進.” 傳曰: “先王遺教大矣, 予勉從之.”

27th Day: The Royal Secretariat petitioned: “The proclamation passed down by King Sejong the Great says: ‘After three days, have [the royal family] eat a [full] meal.’ I beg you to follow this decree.” It was conveyed [from the crown prince]: “I have already had porridge. I will consider eating a meal after the funeral hall is prepared.” [The Royal Secretariat] submitted a petition again: “If you do not

72. Yun Pilsang 尹弼商 (1427-1504, Papyeong Yun clan).



have a meal, how is it possible for the queen to have hers? I beg you not to go against the decree of the previous king, [instead] please compel yourself to eat a [full] meal for the sake of the queen.” It was conveyed: “Since the decree of the previous king is of central importance, I will try my best to follow it.”

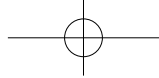
Entry 2

司憲府掌令康伯珍, 司諫院正言李懿孫啓: “佛事於先王, 若小有利益, 臣子當先啓請. 臣等當擗踊之時, 固爭不已者, 以其虛誕無益, 有累正始之道也.” 命示于政丞等, 仍傳曰: “祖宗朝皆行, 豈爲好佛而然歟? 大行大王不好佛, 亦爲先王不敢廢也. 今者, 臺諫累日論啓, 卿等以予不可從之意, 開諭何如?” 尹弼商等啓: “伏聞上教, 是出於哀痛迫切之至. 其聽與不聽, 斷在聖心. 臣等不敢開諭.” 伯珍等更啓: “不作佛事, 昭載禮文. 況初政, 不從禮文, 而從邪道, 中外缺望.” 不從.

Third Inspector of the Office of the Inspector-General, Kang Baekjin, and Fourth Censor of the Censors Office, Yi Uison, petitioned: “If Buddhist rituals had benefited the earlier kings, we would have requested the king [to hold them]. The reason we continue to ask [you not to], especially during this time of grief, is because [the ritual] is entirely untrustworthy and unprofitable; it would hinder the way to a proper beginning.” The crown prince ordered the petition to be shown to the state councilors. It was conveyed [to them] as follows: “All the previous kings performed [the ritual]. But how does this necessarily mean that they favored it? Even though the late king did not like Buddhism, he did not forgo [the ritual] for the previous king.⁷³ Recently, the Censorate has tried for several days to persuade me [to forgo it]. You shall tell the Censorate that I will not listen to their opinion. How is this?” Yun Pilsang and others petitioned: “Prostrated, we heard your words. [Your order to hold the ritual] comes out of grief and inner conflict, so whether or not you listen to what the Censorate said is up to Your Highness. Thus, we would dare not admonish them.” [Kang] Baekjin and others submitted a petition again: “It was made clear in the ritual texts (*yemun*) that Buddhist rituals should not be performed [at a royal funeral]. If, especially at the start of your reign, you do not follow the ritual texts, you will go down an evil path. Those inside and outside the palace⁷⁴ will be

73. In other words, Yeonsangun is arguing that it is not a matter of liking Buddhism or not, but of following precedent.

74. This refers to both the government officials (who work inside the palace) and the common people (who work outside the palace).



disappointed.” The crown prince did not listen.

Entry 3

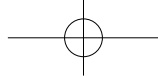
弘文館副提學成世明等書啓曰：我世祖大王，常教群臣曰：“予雖信佛氏，然不欲勞民傷財，後王不可法我。”大行大王，每於經筵，教曰：“予之不信佛教，爾等所知。”夫以崇信佛教，如光廟而猶有是教，不信佛教，如大行而丁寧教戒如是者，皆爲後嗣計也。今乃媚佛追薦，則是不有祖訓也。孔子曰：“三年無改於父之道，可謂孝矣。”上賓未幾，遽爾自用，敢改先志，可謂孝乎？況在正始之初，中外咸仰，以觀新化，而反崇異道，以示愚民，虧損聖德，無甚於此。傳曰：“爾等謂予爲不孝耶？予若行先王所不行之事，而不遵先王之教，則言之可也。今無遺教，祖宗朝所行之事，予何獨不然。”世明等書啓曰：自昨日至今日，累陳不已，而迄無領可竊惑焉，大行王高明之德，二十六年之間，無有一事瑕玷，而上賓之後，遽加以非禮之事，以累盛德，甚非孝子事之如生之意也。且今日，所當觀法者，不必遠求，惟大行之初服是效耳。大行之或爲先王追薦者，誠以當先王崇信之後，不忍遽改其志耳，非其本意也。今可獨循故事，而忍違先志乎？孝子之於親，當思其所嗜，思其所樂，大行之所嗜，所樂者，爲何事乎？《詩》曰：“念茲皇祖，陟降庭止。”伏惟留心焉。傳曰：“爲先王也。”

First Advisor (*Bujehak*) of the Office of Special Advisors, Seong Semyeong, and others submitted a memorial: “Our Great King Sejo⁷⁵ often taught his great vassals and officers, saying: ‘Although I believe in the Buddha, I have no intention to bother my people by wasting their assets. My successors must not follow me as an example.’ Furthermore, whenever he held royal lectures, the late king would proclaim: ‘You know that I do not believe in Buddhism.’ Those who believe in Buddhism, such as King Sejo, left the preceding remarks despite being believers themselves; One who did not believe in Buddhism, such as the late king, clearly warned his people, emphasizing disbelief [among his criteria] when considering his successor. Now, your offering of a ritual to flatter the Buddha,⁷⁶ is certainly neglectful of your ancestors’ teachings. Confucius said: ‘If the son for three years does not alter from the way of his father, he may be called filial.’⁷⁷ However, Your Highness is willfully diverging from your father’s way even though the period of mourning has hardly begun. How can this be called

75. King Sejo 世祖 (1417-1468, Jeonju Yi clan); seventh king of Joseon (r. 1455-1468); son of King Sejong and Queen Soheon; father of King Yejong.

76. This refers to *chucheon* 追薦, a Buddhist blessing for the deceased.

77. *The Analects*, “Xue Er” 學而 11.



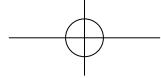
filial piety? Moreover, your reign has just begun and all eyes are fixed on your new policies. Against this expectation, if you manifest a belief in unorthodox doctrine, there could be no worse damage to your sacred virtue in the eyes of the people.” It was conveyed [from the crown prince]: “Are you saying that I am unfilial? If I am disobeying my father’s will by doing what he had not done in his lifetime, then you may be right. However, there is no doctrine passed down from the late king concerning this, and all my ancestors offered Buddhist rituals. How could I go against this convention?” [Seong Semyeong] and others submitted a memorial: “Yesterday and today we have repeatedly petitioned you, but you have not assented. This is concerning. The deceased king was so bright and virtuous that during the last twenty-six years there was not a single fault. Yet, after he passed away, a sudden impropriety [now] takes place, disgracing his sacred virtue. This is a far cry from the conduct of a filial son who respects his deceased father as if he were alive. Furthermore, concerning exemplary conduct [for today], there is no need to search far in the past for it. You need only look at the how the late king’s reign began. When he offered a Buddhist ritual to bless his father, that was to respect his father’s belief. He did not want to suddenly change [go against] his father’s will. This [offering of a Buddhist ritual] was not what he truly intended. Now, is it right to only follow the old custom and disobey your father’s will? A filial son should consider what his parents care for and enjoy. What did the late king care for and enjoy? It is written in the *Book of Poetry* (*Shijing*): ‘Thou didst think of my great grandfather, [Seeing him, as it were,] ascending and descending in the court.’⁷⁸ We humbly ask you to keep this in mind.” It was conveyed: “[What I do, I do] for my father.”

Entry 4

傳于承政院曰：“柳子光居母服，而請服君喪，政丞等云‘可從其願，’禮曹則以爲‘不可聽，’將何以處之？更問于政丞等。”尹弼商啓：“不可以此開端，依禮曹所啓，何如？”盧思愼啓：“若有事，則雖在喪者，當起復詣闕。子光之請，於義無妨。”愼承善啓：“依前議，何如。”傳曰：“爲先王之誠，予實嘉之。然國有成法，不可聽，其以是意諭子光。”

It was conveyed [from the crown prince] to the Royal Secretariat: “Yu Jagwang is in mourning for his mother at the moment; however, he pleads to wear

78. *Book of Poetry*, “Sacrificial Odes of Zhou” 周頌, “Decade Of Min Yu Xiao Zi” 閔予小子之什.



mourning attire for the late king. With regard to this matter, the state councilors are inclined to grant his wish, but the Ministry of Rites stridently opposes [his request]. Ask the state councilors again how this matter should be taken care of.” Yun Pilsang petitioned: “Lest this become a tradition, why not follow the Ministry of Rites’ position?” Noh Sasin petitioned: “In the case of a state emergency, officials in the middle of mourning will, nevertheless, have to return to their work at the palace. In this respect, [Yu] Jagwang’s plea is not disturbing, but righteous.” Shin Seungseon petitioned: “Why not follow the precedent?” It was conveyed: “I deeply appreciate his sincerity toward the late king. Since the dynasty has established rules, it is not possible to listen to him. Instruct him to follow [the Ministry of Rites].”

Entry 5

弘文館直提學表沿沫, 典翰楊熙止, 應教權柱, 副應教洪瀚, 副修撰金勸書啓曰: 臣等, 今方撰大行王行狀于景福宮藝文館. 此雖國家及期大事, 然嗣服惟新之初, 臣民想望之日, 行此佛齋, 大累聖德. 敢撤所事來啓耳. 釋氏誕妄, 今不暇論. 《記》曰: “孝子不忍死其親.” 大行王痛關佛教, 無一毫崇信之意, 非徒嗣王所灼知, 一國臣民, 無不知之. 今大行新陟, 未就梓宮, 聲音笑貌, 洋洋如在, 而當擗踊哀痛之際, 以大行所不爲之事, 爲大行追薦, 其於孝子不忍死其親之心, 安乎? 必繇徒設幄, 呼唱靈駕, 大行在天之靈, 必怫然怒矣. 其肯下享乎? 其肯曰: “我有後嗣而善繼其志乎?” 臣等以經幄舊臣, 今觀此舉, 感念疇昔, 不勝痛哭. 伏願亟命停罷, 以追先志, 以謹初服, 幸甚. 傳曰: “爲先王事, 何以敢言乎?” 沿沫等更啓: “太宗不信佛教, 至革寺社, 故獻陵獨無齋宮. 大行王平昔亦不好佛. 今乃以所不好之事, 追薦(寅)(冥) 福, 可謂孝乎? 新服之初, 四方瞻望, 而先示邪道, 是豈正始之道乎?” 傳曰: “太宗賓天後, 其不設齋耶? 他陵皆有齋宮耶? 問于政丞.” 政丞啓: “太宗果革寺社矣. 設齋與否, 年久未記, 他陵皆有齋宮矣.”

Second Deputy Director (*Jikjehak*) Pyo Yeonmal,⁷⁹ Third Advisor (*Jeonhan*) Yang Huiji,⁸⁰ Fourth Advisor (*Eunggyo*) Kwon Ju,⁸¹ Junior Fourth Advisor (*Bueunggyo*) Hong Han,⁸² and Junior Sixth Advisor (*Busuchan*) Kim Gam⁸³ all from the Office of Special Advisors submitted a memorial: “At the Office

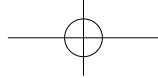
79. Pyo Yeonmal 表沿沫 (1449-1498, Sinchang Pyo clan).

80. Yang Huiji 楊熙止 (1439-1504, Junghwa Yang clan).

81. Kwon Ju 權柱 (1457-1505, Andong Kwon clan).

82. Hong Han 洪瀚 (1451-1498, Namyang Hong clan).

83. Kim Gam 金勸 (1466-1509, Yeonan Kim clan).

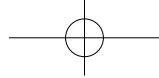


of Royal Decrees (*Yemunghan*) in Gyeongbokgung Palace, we have been composing a sourcebook for the biography of the late king.⁸⁴ This is a great government responsibility that needs to be completed within due time. Offering a Buddhist ritual at the very beginning of your reign, when all the subjects and people have a high expectation of you, is a disgrace to your great virtue. [For this reason,] we have dared to leave our task to come here and submit a petition. Needless to say, Buddhism is a vague and false teaching. In the *Book of Rites* it is written: ‘A filial son does not accept that his father has passed away.’⁸⁵ The late king eliminated Buddhism, and did not give a single indication that he believed its doctrines. Just as you clearly understand this, so do the people all over the country. Now, the former king has passed away, yet his body has not been put into the royal coffin and [we can imagine] his smiling face and voice as if he were still here [with us]. At this time of sorrow and grief, that which the late king had not done in his lifetime is [now] going to be done as a way to bless him? How could a filial son, who is reluctant to believe his father’s passing, be comfortable with this? When a group of monks set up their tents and sing songs to the spirits, surely the late king’s spirit in heaven will become furious. How could he deign to appreciate that? Would he be willing to say: ‘My successor is truly following my will?’ Having participated in the royal lectures with the late king, we cannot stop crying as we think about the past and observe what is currently happening. We humbly ask you to quickly order it stopped so that you can continue the will of the late king and behave prudently at the beginning of your reign. If so, it would be very fortunate.” It was conveyed [from the crown prince]: “How dare you speak [in this fashion] about what I do for the late king?” Pyo Yeonmal and others submitted another memorial: “King Taejong did not believe in Buddhism and even suppressed Buddhist temples and shrines. Therefore, his tomb, Heonneung, is the only one without a Buddhist ritual hall.⁸⁶ Likewise, the late king had no interest in Buddhism during his lifetime. How could you bless him by doing what he did not like,

84. A sourcebook for the biography of the late king (*haengjang* 行狀) records detailed historical facts that will serve as a reference for his posthumous title and epitaph.

85. *Shu ji*, “Shun dian,” Zhu Xi’s Commentary.

86. Buddhist ritual halls (*jaegung* 齋宮) could be found in the vicinity of royal tombs and ritual facilities where ancestral rites were held. Such halls were under the jurisdiction of the Jongmyo Shrine and the National Confucian Academy (*Seonggyungwan*).



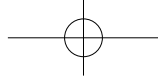
and still say such behavior is filial? As you are about to be enthroned, all the people are looking to you with great expectations. Nonetheless, you are showing them a false path. Is this the right way to begin your rule?" It was conveyed: "After the passing of King Taejong, did they not offer a Buddhist ritual? Are there any Buddhist ritual halls at the other royal tombs? Ask the state councilor." The state councilors petitioned: "King Taejong did indeed suppress the Buddhist temples. Whether a Buddhist ritual was offered at his funeral or not is unknown because it was a long time ago. The other royal tombs all have Buddhist ritual halls."

Entry 6

弘文館修撰孫澍啓：“令臣製設齋疏文以進，本館方論設齋未便，而臣若反製疏文，其於事體，何如？臣不敢奉教。”傳曰：“予既命之，何不製歟？”澍啓：“館中時方論啓，臣亦知其非而製之，則於事體未便，不敢奉教。”傳于政丞等曰：“孫澍承命，不製疏文，可乎？強辭至再，然則已之歟？”政丞等啓：“孫澍不奉教命，於禮似慢。然其心以謂時方論請，而反製佛疏，則事與心異，故敢辭耳。”傳于澍曰：“其在先朝，非不設齋，其速製進。”

Sixth Advisor of the Office of Special Advisors, Son Ju,⁸⁷ petitioned: "You ordered me, your subject, to compose and offer a memorial for the ritual, yet the Office of Special Advisors has just now suggested that it would be inappropriate to go through with it. Moreover, how is it reasonable, under such circumstances, for me to compose the memorial? I cannot dare to follow this decree." It was conveyed [from the crown prince]: "I have given the decree. Why have you not done it yet?" [Son] Ju petitioned: "The Office of Special Advisors has just discussed it. I would have to compose [the memorial], knowing full well that given the circumstances, it would be wrong to do so. Thus, I cannot follow the decree." It was conveyed [from the crown prince] to the state councilors: "He has obstinately refused two times. Must I acquiesce?" The state councilors petitioned: "Son Ju does not follow the decree and this makes him appear negligent in propriety [his duty]. In his opinion, if he composes the memorial while the Office still discusses stopping the decree, his actions would go against his beliefs; that is why he has refused." It was conveyed [from the crown prince] to [Son] Ju: "Buddhist rituals have always been performed by previous kings. Compose and submit [the memorial] at once."

87. Son Ju 孫澍 (?-1539, Pyeonghae Son clan).



Entry 7

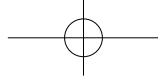
藝文館奉教李宵等啓：“臣等雖無言責，久侍經幄，歷知大行大王深斥佛教。祝壽之齋，自祖宗朝行之已久，而罷之；度僧之法，載在大典而亦罷之。至於經筵嘗曰：‘予之不好佛，爾等咸知。’臣等追念聖教，洋洋在耳。嗣王亦豈不知？今者賓天未幾，小大皇皇，擗踊奔走之時，撞鍾擊鼓，飯佛齋僧，題疏緘曰：‘朝鮮國王’云云，非徒臣民缺望，深恐在天之靈，亦必有所憾也。孔子曰：‘三年無改於父之道，可謂孝矣。’未審此舉，可謂孝乎？況當嗣服之初，臺諫，侍從之言，一切拒之，首舉非禮之事，率一國以左道，非所以自貽哲命之道。伏望勉從輿望，以示惟新之化。”不從。

Education Administrator of the Office of Royal Degrees, Yi So,⁸⁸ and others petitioned: “We are not responsible for remonstrations, but from the long time we spent [with the late king] at royal lectures, we know full well that he shunned Buddhism. He put an end to the Ritual for Longevity⁸⁹ although it had been held since the beginning of the dynasty. He [also] abolished the law for certifying Buddhist monks even though it is in the *National Code* (*Gyeongguk daejeon*). [Furthermore], he said at the royal lectures: ‘You know I dislike Buddhism.’ When remembering his teachings, it is as if we still hear his words ringing in our ears. How can the next king be unaware of this? Little time has passed since the death [of the king] and everyone is at a loss. If, at such a time of grief, bells and drums are played, and food is offered to the Buddha and the monks, and the frontispiece of the memorial reads ‘King of Joseon etc.’, not only will the officials be disappointed, but we are deeply concerned that the [late king’s] spirit in heaven will also be displeased. Confucius said: ‘If for three years he does not alter from the way of his father, he may be called filial.’⁹⁰ Can this be considered filial devotion? Rejecting the words of the Censorate and the Royal Chamberlain, let alone [doing this] when [you] first come to power? You will lead the country down an improper path with an unpropitious act at the very outset; this is out of line with your duty to be kind and wise from the beginning. As we prostrate ourselves, we beg of you: Please follow the wishes of the people urging you. Please make a fresh start.” The crown prince did not listen.

88. Yi So 李宵 (birth/death unknown, clan unknown).

89. This ritual (*chuksujae* 祝壽齋) is a Buddhist ritual praying for long life.

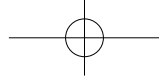
90. *The Analects*, “Xue Er” 學而 11.

**Entry 8**

弘文館副提學成世明等啓: “教曰: ‘爲大行之事.’ 臣等未解. 繼(太)[大]行之志, 述大行之事, 則可謂爲大行矣. 今乃違大行之志, 反大行之事, 而謂爲大行, 可乎? 大行王, 凡國事必與大臣商議, 今何不歷問大臣乎? 大臣, 引君當道者也. 正當謹始之初, 誰肯以齋僧, 飯佛, 爲嗣服首事乎? 若此事所關, 不甚重大, 則當此五內摧裂之時, 安敢累瀆不已乎?” 傳曰: “予已歷問大臣矣.” 領議政李克培, 令其弟吏曹判書克墩啓: “臣爲首相, 義當朝夕哭臨, 而病日益深, 起居須人. 成服卽位, 終始之大事, 而又不得趨班, 不勝痛悶. 辭職乞骸, 固非其時, 然勢迫敢啓.” 傳曰: “前者, 卿累請辭職, 而大行皆不允. 如有大事, 當就而議之, 其勿趨班, 安心調保.”

First Advisor of the Office of Special Advisors, Seong Semyeong, and others petitioned: “You proclaimed: ‘This is for the sake of the late king.’ We do not understand this. [If you] were following the will of the late king by doing what he had done before, it would be possible to say that this is for the sake of him. Now [you are] going against his will and are doing things opposite [to what he would have done], yet you regard this as being for his sake. Is this proper? The late king discussed every matter of national importance with his great vassals, but now you do not consult us on these issues. Your great vassals’ duty is to lead the king down the right path. Who, at the very beginning of a reign, would agree to offer a ritual to feed the Buddha? If this issue were not related to such an important matter, would we dare bother you repeatedly during this time of great grief?” It was conveyed [from the crown prince]: “I have already asked the great vassals’ opinion.” Chief State Councilor, Yi Geukbae, ordered his younger brother, Minister of Personnel, Yi Geukdon, to petition [the crown prince]: “As chancellor,⁹¹ I have a duty to wail in mourning day and night, but because of my illness which is getting worse day by day, I can barely manage myself [and must] rely on others. Wearing mourning attire and attending the enthronement ceremony carries a grave importance for the beginning and end of national affairs. Since I am unable to attend to my ceremonial duties in person, I am overcome with unbearable sorrow. Due to the urgency of the situation, I [must] dare ask your favor in allowing me to resign; although, I am fully aware that it is an inappropriate time to do so.” It was conveyed: “Previously, you repeatedly asked the late king to accept your resignation, but he refused each and every

91. Chancellor here means the First State Councilor. Yi Geukbae took the position temporarily about for three months from the twelfth month of 1494 to the third month of 1495.



time. If an important matter arises, I will ask your opinion. You do not have to come to the palace to attend these ceremonies. Set your mind at ease.”

Entry 9

忠清道 沔川, 瑞山, 唐津, 地震.

An earthquake struck Myeoncheon, Seosan, and Dangjin in Chungcheong-do Province.

Gyemi 28th Day of the 12th Month of the Year of Enthronement (1494)

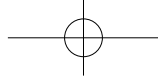
Entry 1

癸未/弘文館大提學魚世謙啓: “館員皆以言事詣闕, 大行行狀修撰稽緩, 敢取稟.” 傳曰: “其問政丞等.” 尹弼商啓: “拜表日近, 事甚緊急, 廢而來啓, 事體未便. 臺諫凡有所啓, 則掌務官獨來啓之. 請依此例, 一員留啓, 其餘皆還本館, 何如?”; 盧思慎啓: “事有緩急, 今一飯佛, 而國之興亡, 在於朝夕, 則言之, 可也. 爲先王設齋, 皆祖宗朝故事, 不可以此爲崇佛也. 擗踊哭泣, 非言事之時, 而舍其所事, 全集闕下, 論難不已, 臣甚非之. 臣意以爲, 大事外, 如此事, 不必答之.”; 慎承善默然不言, 但云: “吾意亦如思慎之言.”

【史臣曰: “正始之初, 飯佛, 齋僧, 過孰大於此, 而思慎以謂: ‘非大事, 不必答.’ 不知思慎以何事爲大.” 應教洪瀚歎曰: “使許琮, 洪應在, 端不爲此言矣.”】

28th Day: Director of the Office of Special Advisors, Eo Segyeom,⁹² petitioned: “As all the officials from our office went to the palace for remonstrations, the sourcebook for the biography of the late king has not been compiled. Therefore, I am inquiring [about this].” It was conveyed [from the crown prince]: “Ask the state councilors and others about this.” Yun Pilsang petitioned: “The date to deliver a memorial to the Chinese emperor is nearing, and composing the late king’s biography is an urgent matter. Nevertheless, all the officials, abandoning their duties, came here to make a petition. Such behavior is unreasonable. When the Censorate has something to memorialize, only the official in charge of the matter can come to do so. Following this rule, I ask you: return all the officials to their posts except one. How is that [for a response]?” Noh Sasin petitioned: “Matters can be done either urgently or slowly. If feeding the Buddha just once today really has something to do with the rise and fall of the nation, it is

92. Eo Segyeom 魚世謙 (1430-1500, Hamjong Eo Clan).



possible to discuss this matter. However, such a ritual has been conventionally offered to all the ancestral kings and this does not necessarily imply one's belief in Buddhism. Now is a time of great sorrow and grief; it is inappropriate to raise this issue at this moment. Nevertheless, these officials gathered in front of the palace have abandoned their duties to provoke a dispute. I cannot disagree more. In our humble opinion, there is no need to reply to their petition unless it is related to an important matter." Shin Seungseon, after remaining silent, said simply: "I agree with [Noh] Sasin." Comment from the Royal Historian: There is no greater fault than offering a Buddhist ritual at the very beginning of a king's reign. However, Noh Sasin said [to the crown prince]: "This is not an important matter. There is no need to reply." I do not know what he regards as more important than this. Junior Fourth Advisor (*Eunggyo*), Hong Han, lamented [over this situation]: "If Heo Jong⁹³ and Hong Eung⁹⁴ were here, they would never have commented like that."

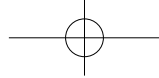
Entry 2

弘文館副提學成世明等啓: “昨日臣等所啓之意, 初欲訪問于政丞, 而教曰: ‘承旨知之矣.’ 臣等問于承旨, 答曰: ‘但問太宗時設齋與否及他陵齋宮有無而已.’ 此與臣等所啓之意有異. 請以臣等之言, 廣問大臣, 則可知其是非矣.” 傳曰: “言可聽, 則當問諸大臣. 不可聽, 故不問耳.” 世明等啓: “臣等所啓, 是非判然, 而不問於大臣, 獨自斷之, 臣切痛心. 大行遇事, 必謀及大臣, 請議于大臣.” 不從.

First Advisor (*Bujehak*) of the Office of Special Advisors, Seong Semyeong, and others petitioned: “Yesterday, we were originally going to go to the state councilors and ask the meaning of what was said. The proclamation read: ‘The Royal Secretariat knows.’ So we inquired of the Royal Secretariat, who replied: ‘All that was asked was whether the Buddhist rituals were held at the time of King Taejong and whether there are Buddhist ritual halls at other royal tombs.’ This is different than the meaning intended by us. I beg of you, if you ask various great vassals, you will know what is right and wrong.” It was conveyed [from the crown prince]: “If it were something worth following, I would ask the great vassals [about it]. Since it is not something worth following, I will not ask [about it].” [Seong] Semyeong and the others petitioned: “What is right and

93. Heo Jong 許琮 (1434-1494, Yangcheon Heo clan).

94. Hong Eung 洪應 (1428-1492, Namyang Hong clan).



wrong is clear. Yet, you do not inquire of the great vassals; instead, you make the decision yourself, which distresses us thoroughly. The late king always consulted the great vassals when confronted with a task. Therefore, I beseech you to ask the great vassals.” The crown prince did not listen.

Entry 3

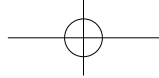
司憲府掌令康伯珍啓: “設齋事, 若不關於大體, 當(僻)[擗]踊之時, 豈敢如此煩瀆? 今嗣服之初, 中外望治之日, 尤不可以左道表率。” 不從。

Third Inspector of the Office of the Inspector General, Kang Baekjin, petitioned: “Were [it the case that] celebrating the ritual was unconnected to the fundamental issues of the nation, I would not dare bother to ask [you about this] at such a sorrowful time. Now is the time for ascending the throne. The officials and people are longing for benign governance, thus, you should not be a model of the wrong way.” The crown prince did not listen.

Entry 4

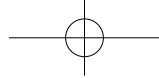
弘文館修撰孫澍書啓曰: 嗣服正始之初, 首舉佛事, 違先志, 累聖德, 無甚於此。故館中, 時方論啓, 而反製供佛疏文, 則非但有累事體, 抑且言與行違也。雖人主之命, 若大關事體, 則古之人, 有封還詔書者。方擗踊哀痛之際, 煩瀆聖聽, 豈忍爲哉? 第念大行大王, 高明光大, 不信佛教。而上賓未幾, 媚佛邀福, 舉非禮之事, 此非但蠹汚大行大王廿餘年之聖化, 其有累於初政, 尤甚大, 則豈可承順而製疏文哉? 所言非所行, 所行非所言, 則是下負所學, 上負大行大王盛德, 豈忍爲哉? 傳曰: “累命製進, 固辭不從, 此何如耶? 其問政丞等。” 尹弼商啓: “製進後諍之, 可也。澍乃固辭, 是不欲變其初心, 亦不可謂非也。且於此時, 不宜治罪, 姑令他員製進何如?” 慎承善曰: “孫澍之事, 果爲無禮。然不可此時治罪, 令他員製進, 何如?” 盧思慎曰: “我朝太祖, 太宗, 世宗, 既皆行之, 今不可廢也。然孫澍則既已抗論, 雖死必不製矣。此事甚急, 姑令承政院製送何如? 澍之事當於後日, 在上裁耳。” 承旨姜龜孫曰: “政院亦職帶(經)[經]筵, 而立心, 且不下於孫澍, 澍不從命, 而政院其肯製之乎?” 思慎強啓, 傳曰: “政院製送。” 承旨等, 令香室入直正字, 謄寫舊疏而送。

Sixth Advisor (*Suchan*) of the Office of Special Advisors, Son Ju, submitted a memorial: “If a Buddhist ritual is offered at the very beginning of your rule, it would violate your ancestors’ will and there could be no worse damage to your sacred virtue. For this reason, we have been raising this issue in the Office of Special Advisors. Nonetheless, if we were to write a memorial for the Buddha, not only would it be unreasonable, but our words and actions would be in



discord. Even if it is a royal command, if it is a critical issue, some advisors in the past would seal it and send it back [even though it was an order from the king]. Now that you are mourning, how dare we bother you with our nagging? Looking back, the late king was so bright and intelligent that he had no faith in Buddhism. Nonetheless, if we were to perform an inappropriate ritual by flattering the Buddha and seeking blessings so soon after the late king's death, not only would more than twenty years' worth of his virtuous policies be discredited, but also your reign would be seriously damaged at the outset. [If this is the case] how could we obey your command to compose a memorial? If one's words are in discord with one's actions and vice versa, that man is neglecting what he has learnt, on the one hand, and ignoring the deceased king's sacred virtue on the other. How could we do this?" It was conveyed [from the crown prince]: "Although I commanded you several times to write a memorial, you have refused to obey me. How could you do this? Ask the state councilors about this." Yun Pilsang petitioned: "Son Ju should have first followed your command and then he possibly could have made a remonstrance. He disobeyed your order because he did not want to betray his beliefs, so he cannot be blamed, either. At the present time, it is unsuitable to punish him. Why not order other officers to write the memorial?" Shin Seungseon said: "Son Ju is indeed disrespectful to refuse your order. However, it is not possible to punish him at this moment. Why not have other officers write the memorial?" Noh Sasin said: "All the previous kings including Taejo,⁹⁵ Taejong and Sejong offered Buddhist rituals for their ancestors' funerals; thus, we cannot abolish this convention today. However, Son Ju has already disagreed and will not compose the memorial even if it costs him his life. Since the funeral must be conducted urgently, why not order the Royal Secretariat to write a memorial? Son Ju must be punished for his wrongdoing later. It is up to you." Royal Secretary Kang Gwison said: "The Royal Secretariat is also in charge of royal lectures. As for making a determination, we are no less insistent than Son Ju. [If] Son Ju will not heed your order, do you think the Royal Secretariat would be [any more] willing?" Noh Sasin strongly insisted on his opinion and it was conveyed [from the crown prince]: "I want the Royal Secretariat to compose and deliver the

95. King Taejo 太祖 (1335-1408, Jeonju Yi clan); founder of the Joseon Dynasty (r. 1392-1398); also known by his real name, Yi Seonggye 李成桂; father of Kings Jeongjong and Taejong.



memorial.” The Royal Secretariat ordered a correcting editor stationed at the incense room⁹⁶ to transcribe a previous memorial and submit it.

Entry 5

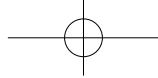
掌令康伯珍, 正言李懿孫書啓曰: “祝壽齋, 先世例事, 大行王廢之; 度僧之法, 著在令甲, 大行王亦不遵守. 《語》云: “三年無改於父之道, 可謂孝矣.” 今此飯僧, 媚佛, 曾是以爲孝乎? 傳曰: “今云三年無改父之道, 大行王爲睿宗, 非不行也. 又無遺教禁止, 予爲先王, 何爲不行哉!” 伯珍等又書啓曰: “今初政, 中外臣民, 引領拭目, 想望風化. 命設水陸, 大張飯佛, 非徒駭人聽聞, 甚妨於正始.” 傳曰: “若可聽之事, 則予何不聽. 當此擗踊之時, 煩瀆如此, 政院其勿出納.” 侍講院輔德李琚等上笏曰: “臣等俱以庸劣, 嘗侍書筵, 上於學問, 日就高明, 理之邪正, 事之是非, 無不灼知. 臣等常謂, 他日必無過舉. 今嗣位之初, 首舉佛事, 夫飯佛齋僧, 人主之惡德. 況今初服, 萬民望治之日, 其所爲乃至於此, 臣等失望. 臣等初聞是事, 卽欲來啓, 然臺諫, 侍從方言之. 臣等以謂, 殿下當從諫弗拂, 去邪勿疑, 以新初政, 至于今日, 俞音未下. 臣等久侍東宮, 雖無輔導之功, 伏覩過舉, 不可不言, 敢干天聽. 伏望命停佛事, 以副臣等宿昔之望.” 不從.

Third Inspector, Kang Baekjin, and Fourth Censor, Yi Uison, submitted a memorial: “As for the Ritual for Longevity, which was commonly practiced during previous generations, the late king abolished it. As for the law for certifying Buddhist monks, although it was recorded in the *National Code*, the late king did not keep it. The *Analects* says: ‘If the son for three years does not alter from the way of his father, he may be called filial.’⁹⁷ You are about to feed the monks and flatter the Buddha. Can this be considered an act of filial piety?” It was conveyed [from the crown prince]: “You have just said that for three years one should not alter from the way of his father. The late king did not end the rituals for King Yejong⁹⁸ and he did not leave any instructions prohibiting the ritual. So why should I not practice the ritual for the late king?” [Kang] Baekjin and others submitted a memorial again: “Now, at the beginning of your reign, both officials in the palace and commoners outside its walls eagerly

96. The incense room (*hyangsil* 香室) is a room in the palace where incense and other materials for rituals are stored. It was under the charge of the Office of Publication (*Gyoseogwan* 校書館) and officials from the Office of Publication would be stationed there.

97. *The Analects*, “Xue Er” 學而 11.

98. King Yejong 睿宗 (1450-1469, Jeonju Yi clan); eighth king of Joseon (r. 1468-1469); son of King Sejo and Queen Jeonghui, brother of Deokjong; uncle of King Sejongjong.



await and remain vigilant for a moral transformation. At this time, feeding the Buddha by performing the Water and Land Rite would be shocking to people and gravely detrimental for a proper beginning.” It was conveyed: “If those words were sensible enough to listen to, why would I not listen? During a heartrending time like this, they are making cumbersome demands. This should not be acknowledged by the Royal Secretariat.” First Tutor of the Crown Prince Tutorial Office Yi Geo⁹⁹ and others submitted an official letter:¹⁰⁰ “We, your subjects, though lacking in talent, provided the royal lectures for the crown prince. Your learning progressed each day, reaching brilliant heights, to the point that nothing escaped your discernment regarding true and false principles, right and wrong. We used to say that you would never do anything wrong in the future. However, the beginning of your reign is starting with a Buddhist ritual. It is considered immoral for the king to serve the Buddha and feed monks, especially when this is done at the time of a new reign when people are wishing for virtuous governance. However, on such a day [as today], you fall short of these expectations. We are disappointed. When we first heard this news, we wanted to come and have an audience with you. However, we found that the Censorate and the royal attendants were already engaged discussing this matter with you. We expected that Your Highness was willing to listen to us starting fresh by getting rid of evil practices. However, as of today, we have not received your permission. We served you for a long time in the East Palace. Although we failed to contribute to your learning, when we observed your wrongdoings, we could not just stand by and say nothing. Therefore, we have dared to raise this issue. We sincerely beg of you, in accordance with our long-standing hopes, to put a stop to the Buddhist ritual.” The crown prince did not listen.

Entry 6

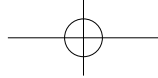
禮曹啓: “太宗《大王》, 於世次當祧, 在廟稱號爲難. 今姑泛稱太宗, 後令弘文館考古制, 施行.” 令示政丞, 政丞等啓: “當如禮曹所啓.” 從之.

The Ministry of Rites petitioned: “According to the order of generations, the spirit tablet of King Taejong the Great should be moved.”¹⁰¹ However, as his

99. Yi Geo 李瑠 (?-1502, Jeonju Yi clan)

100. *Zha* 笱 is a type of official letter. It is often short and delivered without enveloping.

101. To the secondary shrine, Yeongnyeongjeon Hall.



spirit tablet still remains in Jongmyo Shrine, it is difficult to properly state his title, and, for the time being, we refer to him simply as Taejong. Please order the Office of the Special Advisors to consult the precedents and carry out the correct procedures.” The crown prince ordered the memorial to be presented to the state councilors. They petitioned: “We should do what the Ministry of Rites suggested.” The crown prince followed the advice.

Entry 7

丁時, 大斂, 百官哭臨. 辛時, 成殯, 遂設奠, 百官哭臨.

At around one in the afternoon, the shrouded body was swathed with textiles and laid in the coffin.¹⁰² All the officials wailed in mourning. At around four in the afternoon, the coffin was temporarily buried and the offering was finally held. All the officials wailed in mourning.

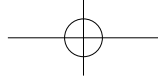
Entry 8

輟市五日. 閭巷小民, 無不哀痛, 至有垂泣而言曰: “何不以我, 代上之身乎?” 倭人之到館者, 見我人衣白, 不食肉, 問其故, 對之以實. 倭人相與泣曰: “聖主之薨, 胡適我輩之來?” 悲慟不止.

The market was closed for five days. All the commoners on the street were in grief and some even said through tears: “Why couldn’t I die instead of the king?” Some Japanese arrived at the Hall of Eastern Peace¹⁰³ and asked why our people were wearing white robes and abstaining from meat. When the reason was explained to them, they cried one another: “Alas, the king has passed away! Why did we come here, now of all times?” They did not stop lamenting.

102. This *daeryeom* 大殮 (the placement of the corpse in a coffin, lit. “large mortuary preparation”) is held a day after the *soryeom* (the washing and clothing of the corpse), although in this case it is held three days later. The corpse is swathed with blankets which are secured to the body with a wide silk sheet. The swathed corpse is then placed in a coffin. The reason for waiting to hold this ceremony on the third day after a death is to ensure that the person has truly died. It is also a time for the surviving family to accept their beloved one’s death, to prepare for the funeral, and to contact their relatives who live far away (Gong 2013, 134).

103. The Hall of Eastern Peace (Dongpyeongwan 東平館) was where emissaries from Japan stayed when visiting Joseon. It was located in present-day Inhyeon-dong, Seoul, near Deoksu Middle School.

***Gapsin 29th Day of the 12th Month of the Year of Enthronement (1494)*****Entry 1**

甲申/承政院，書世祖，睿宗，大行王即位頒赦之例以啓。傳曰：“一從大行王例。”政丞等啓：“凡定屬者，或爲官奴，或爲驛子，以實邊圉。若皆放之，則兩界及驛路虛疎。臣等意，定屬，不可放也。但充軍者，放之何如？且大行王以旁支，入承大統，故特加百官一階。今則以正承襲，不可用此例加百官階。”傳曰：“充軍者勿論輕重，皆放之，定屬勿放。百官亦勿加階。”

29th Day: The Royal Secretariat reported on the precedent set by King Sejo, King Yejong, and the late king when, on the occasion of their enthronements, they proclaimed amnesty [for slaves]. It was conveyed [from the crown prince]: “Follow the precedent of the late king without exception.” The state councilors petitioned: “Generally, the family members of a criminal are made public slaves or post station aides to help strengthen the border areas. Should they all be released, the two military border districts¹⁰⁴ and the network of post stations would be unguarded and remote. In our opinion, only the family members who have served as military slaves should be released. How is this? In addition, the late king succeeded the throne via a secondary lineage and [on account of this] promoted the officials by one rank. The current succession will be via direct lineage, and thus there is no need to follow the precedent and offer such promotions.” It was conveyed: “Release all family members serving as military, regardless of the degree of their relative’s crime, be it petty or grave. Do not release the [other] enslaved family members. Do not offer promotion to the officials, either.”

Entry 2

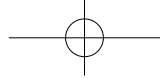
遣承旨(宗軼)(宋軼), 行水陸齋于藏義寺.

Royal Secretary Song Jil¹⁰⁵ was sent to Janguisa Temple¹⁰⁶ to hold the Water

104. The two military border districts (*yanggye* 兩界) refer to the northern and eastern military border districts which were special regional administrative areas serving as defensive barriers for the peninsula dating back to the Goryeo period (918-1392). The north district (*bukgye* 北界) was comprised of Pyeongan-do Province, while the east district (*donggye* 東界) was comprised of Hamgyeong-do and Gangwon-do Provinces.

105. Song Jil 宋軼 (1454-1502, Yeosan Song Clan).

106. Also written as Janguisa 莊義寺, Janguisa Temple 藏義寺 is a Buddhist monastery said to have been founded in 659. During the early Joseon Dynasty, it became the representative temple of



and Land Rite.

Entry 3

成均館及四學儒生等，詣闕門外哭臨。

Confucian scholars of the National Confucian Academy (Seonggyungwan) and the Four Schools (*Sahak*) wailed in mourning outside the palace gate.

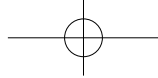
Entry 4

未時，成服。王世子服衰經，王子及宗親，文武百官皆服衰，入就位，俯伏哭。代奠官酌酒奠訖，王世子以下還廬次，百官以次出。王妃及王世子嬪，內外命婦服喪，如儀禮訖。都承旨陳遺教函于欝宮南，尙瑞院官，陳大寶于其南。宗親，文武百官，變服朝服，就門外位。左議政盧思慎，詣殯殿東南隅，西向俯伏。王世子釋衰服，具冕服出。左通禮引王世子，由東門入就位。思慎詣欝宮南案前跪，奉大寶西向立。王世子陞自東階，入詣香案前跪。思慎以大寶，授王世子，王世子以授近侍，降就位四拜訖，出西門，近侍奉大寶前行，宗親，文武百官以次出。王御仁政殿簷下，受百官賀如儀，還入廬次，釋冕服，反喪服。宗親，文武百官出門外，服衰服，還入庭中。頒赦于中外，教曰：予惟我大行大王，以聰明睿智之聖，承祖宗艱大之業，宵衣(肝)(肝)食，勵精圖治，蓋二十有六年于茲矣。文教蔚興，武功赫然，民安物阜，德澤洽于四方。禮備樂和，治化光于前烈，巍巍蕩蕩，不可名焉。大德必得其壽，期享福之無(疆)(疆)，皇天降割我家，慟攀(胡)(呼)之莫及。豈惟宗社之大感，實是臣民之不幸。呼天叫地，哀我何怙，方榮榮而在疚，遽忍安於踐祚。第以大統不可久曠，神器不可暫虛，茲不獲已，乃於十二月二十九日甲申，即位於昌德宮。尊仁粹王大妃，仁惠王大妃爲大王大妃，尊大行王妃爲王大妃，以嬪慎氏爲王妃。茲當嗣服之初，宜布作解之恩。自是日昧爽以前，除謀反，大逆，謀叛，子孫謀殺，歐罵祖父母·父母，妻妾謀殺夫，奴婢謀殺主，蠱毒，魘魅，但犯強盜外，已發覺未發覺，已決正未決正，咸宥除之。敢以宥旨前事，相告言者，以其罪罪之。收職牒者還給，徒，流，付處，充軍者，並皆放釋。於戲！惟天惟祖宗，全付予有家。若涉淵(水)(水)，罔知攸濟。尙賴臣隣之助，永底隆平之治。

Around two in the afternoon, the crown prince changed into mourning attire of unhemmed hemp and head band.¹⁰⁷ The other princes and royal relatives,

Hanyang, but was destroyed in 1506 by King Yeonsangun. It was located to the northwest of Bukaksan Mountain on the site of present-day Segeomjeong Elementary School.

107. Wearing mourning attire (*seongbok* 成服) follows *daeryeom*; For royal funerals, the royal family changed into this attire on the sixth day after the death. There are five categories of mourning attire according to the wearer's social status and relationship to the deceased: mourning attire



and all the civil and military officials also dressed in mourning attire. They prostrated themselves at their designated positions and wailed. After the officiant (*daejeongwan*) finished the offering ritual by pouring a libation, the crown prince and royal family returned to the thatched mourning hut and all the officials exited in order. The queen and the crown princess,¹⁰⁸ along with the noble ladies, changed into mourning attire in accordance with propriety. The chief royal secretary brought a box containing the will of the late king and placed it to the south of the royal coffin container.¹⁰⁹ An official of Office of Seals and Documents (*Sangseowon*) placed the royal seal to the south [of the will]. The royal relatives and all the civil and military officials changed into ceremonial attire and went outside. Second State Councilor (*Jwauijeong*), Noh Sasin, proceeded to the southeastern corner of the funeral hall¹¹⁰ and knelt down. The crown prince changed from mourning attire and head band into full ceremonial attire¹¹¹ and coronet with a strings of beads and went out [of his provisional thatched house]; the chief of the Ceremonial Bureau (*Jwatongnye*) led the crown prince through the east gate [of the funeral hall] and to his position. [Noh] Sasin proceeded to the table that had been placed to the south of the coffin container and knelt before it. He received the royal seal then stood up, facing west. Then the crown prince ascended the eastern stairs, proceeded to the incense table, and knelt down before it. As soon as [Noh] Sasin passed the crown prince the royal seal, the crown prince gave it to a nearby royal attendant. The crown prince went forward to his position, prostrated four times, and exited through the west gate [to Injeongjeon Hall]. A close royal attendant went first, with the royal seal in his hands. The royal relatives and all the civil and military officials exited. The

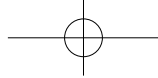
made of the roughest raw hemp cloth (*chamchoe* 斬衰), hemmed mourning attire made of raw hemp cloth (*jaeche* 齋衰), and the three others (*daegong* 大功, *sogong* 小功, *sima* 緦麻) are all made of boiled hemp cloth, but slightly different in their quality as well as the width of headbands and waistbands. The closer one's relationship to the dead, the rougher the cloth and wider the bands worn (Gong 2013, 135; *Joseon wangjosillok sajeon*).

108. Lady Shin.

109. The royal coffin container (*changung* 橫宮) is a large structure in the funeral hall in which the royal coffin was placed after the *daeryeom*. See Picture 2: Coffin Container.

110. Injeongjeon 仁政殿 is the main building of Changdeokgung Palace. On the east side of it, Seonjeongjeon 宣政殿 served as the funeral hall (*binjeon* 殯殿) for King Sejongjong. See Picture 3: Injeongjeon and Seonjeongjeon.

111. The full ceremonial robe refers to dragon robe (*gonryongpo* 袞龍袍), which is worn by king for official meetings.

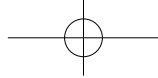


[newly installed] king sat under the eaves of Injeongjeon Hall, received greetings from all of the officials and then returned to the thatched mourning hut to change from the full ceremonial attire and coronet with a strings of beads back into mourning clothes. The royal relatives and all the civil and military officials exited the courtyard, changed back into their mourning attire, and reentered. Then, the king proclaimed an amnesty to the whole nation as follows: “Looking back [we recognize that] the late king was intelligent and wise. He inherited a great responsibility from his ancestors. Dressing before dawn and unable to sit down to a meal before dusk, he endeavored to do his duty well over the last twenty-six years. [During his reign], cultural development [was fostered] and the national defense was strengthened; the people lived in safety and their production was plentiful. Thanks to this, there was peace all over the country. A code of proper conduct was established and music gained a harmonious sound; [these accomplishments] point to how his rule was more bright than the reigns of his ancestors. His achievements were so lofty and vast that I cannot dare describe them. Those with great virtue cannot but live a long life, so I took it for granted that we would enjoy this blessing endlessly; however, Heaven has visited this calamity upon my family and I cannot bear this endless sorrow.¹¹² How can this great grief be limited to just the royal ancestors and the gods of earth and grain? Indeed, the situation is unfortunate for all the officials and the people. Crying out to heaven and earth, I am filled with grief. In whom shall I put my trust? Being full of loneliness and anxiety from this trouble, [how could I] be at ease having to suddenly ascend the throne? The throne cannot be left vacant for long and the royal seal cannot be abandoned for even a moment. For this reason, I reluctantly ascend the throne on this day of Gapsin, the 29th day of the 12th month, at Changdeokgung Palace. I install Queen Dowagers Insu and Inhye as grand queen dowagers,¹¹³ the previous queen¹¹⁴ as queen dowager, and the crown princess, Lady Shin, as queen. Since my inherited rule has just begun, I must promulgate an amnesty. All crimes before the dawn of this day will be pardoned whether or not they have been discovered or adjudicated with the exception of the following crimes: treason, destruction of the palace and other

112. *Tongbanho* 櫛攀呼 literally means “to cry, to hold one’s beard, and to call the deceased one.”

113. Grand Queen Dowager refers to the title to which a Queen Dowager is elevated upon the installment of the crown prince as the new king.

114. This refers to Queen Jeonghyeon.



royal buildings, betrayal of the country; verbal or physical abuse or attempted murder of a parent or grandparent by a descendant; attempted murder of a husband by a wife or a concubine; attempted murder of a master by a slave; the use of poison,¹¹⁵ evil incantations,¹¹⁶ and robbery.¹¹⁷ If there is any accusation of a previous crime that has already been forgiven, I will punish the accuser for that offense. Anyone whose letter of appointment was revoked [due to a crime] will receive it again. Anyone who was sentenced to forced labor, distant exile, near exile with family, or forced military service will all be exonerated. Alas! Heaven and my ancestors have granted me this country. It feels as if I am about to traverse a pond thinly covered by ice, but I do not know how to [safely] cross.¹¹⁸ Only with the aid of my great vassals, will I be able to achieve a peaceful reign.”

Entry 5

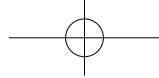
成均館儒生趙有亨等上書曰：伏以大行大王，至仁育物，如天地之覆燾，父母之撫鞠，吾東方萬世之福也。一朝不幸，奄棄群臣。雖深山窮谷愚夫愚婦，莫不奔走哀號，如喪考妣。既臣等，涵泳教育恩乎！今殿下新登寶位，凡所施爲，罔不在初。中外臣庶(器)(哭)泣之餘，揮涕延頸，願聞新政之何如？臣等伏聞，國家爲先王求福，設齋禱佛，臣竊痛焉。先王有盛德大業，福祿如天，何必諂佛妄求，然後爲福也。此非福先王也，乃累先王也。臣聞《書》曰：“若生子，罔不在(厥)初生。自貽哲命，今天其命哲，命吉凶，命歷年，知今我初服。”《詩》曰：“不愆不忘，率由舊章。”自古人主，未有不能正其始而能善其終者也。正始之要，不過曰：“遵先王之法而已。”恭惟我大行大王，聖神文武，扶植斯道，滅絕異端，祝壽之齋，度僧之法，一切停罷。教化大行，至於閭巷細民，行父母之喪，一遵《家禮》，咸知禱佛之無益於親，

115. *Godok* 蠱毒 here refers to the use of poison, made from venoms of snakes, centipedes, toads, etc., to murder someone by surreptitiously feeding it to the victim so that the victim dies after going insane or losing consciousness from stomach pain, chest pain, vomiting of blood, bloody discharge, dropsy, and/or other symptoms (National Institute of Korean History, Unpublished Paper, 235).

116. This is a type of incantation (*yeommae* 魘魅) wishing ill upon someone through the use of a curse or black magic. *Yeom* refers to the practice of making a replica of the human form, stabbing its heart, and digging out its eyes with iron rods after binding it. *Mae* refers to the practice of curing someone by making a demonic form and then imprecating curses upon a person; it is a form of sorcery (*ibid.*).

117. The meaning of *dan* 但 in the passage is “and” (*geup* 及), because the character *je* 除 is already used for excluding unpardonable crimes.

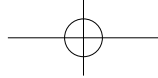
118. Cf. *The Book of Poetry*: “We should be apprehensive and cautious, as if on the brink of a deep gulf, as if treading on thin ice, I and so have I been” 戰戰兢兢，如臨深淵，如履薄冰。



而且恥爲之。故麗季汚俗，一朝革去。今殿下卽位之初，人心之邪正，習俗之美惡，社稷之安危，無不係焉。此正念慕羹牆，思所以慰先王在天之靈，而無故(陞)(墜)先王已隆之教，爲小民所恥之事，臣等爲殿下不取也。大行大王，至聖至明，(同)(洞)知佛氏之足以亂國家也。故撫位二十六年，斥而去之，終始如一，使惑世無賴之徒，太半爲民矣。豈肯依無賴之徒，求福於土木之塊乎？萬萬無此理，天地神明所知，中外臣(臣)民所痛，臨之在上，質之在旁，不可誣也。殿下此舉，非徒有累於正始，適足以欺先王在天之靈，啓愚民邪妄之心。孔子曰：“三年無改於父之道，可謂孝矣。”傳曰：“人能以父母之心爲心，則可謂孝矣。”今去先王棄弓之日，未經一句，欲改先王之道之心，而之崇信虛無怪誕之事，可謂孝乎？伏願殿下，決邪正之機，澄出治之源，明先王精一之學，快慰臣民如渴之望。傳曰：“自祖宗朝例行之事。”不從。

Classics licentiate (*saengwon*) from the National Confucian Academy, Jo Yuhyeong,¹¹⁹ and others, submitted a personal petition: “We prostrate [ourselves]. The profound benevolence of the late king, which touched the people like a protective cover from heaven above and like a warm embrace from earth below; our eastern state’s good fortune for ten-thousand generations was like the comforting touch of one’s parents. [But,] overnight, this fortune was lost and all of us were abandoned. All the people, even those uneducated people living in remote mountain valleys, are wailing as if they had lost their own parents. Still far more deeply affected are we, having been given the opportunity to study thanks to his grace; we are now speechless from the depth of our sorrow! Now, Your Majesty is newly enthroned, and, in general, political affairs depend on the start [of the reign]. Officials and commoners alike, crane their necks in the midst of tearful grief, wanting to hear how the new reign will begin. Prostrated, we heard that the state is holding Buddhist rituals to seek good fortune for the late king. Hearing this, our hearts ached. Thanks to the late king’s saintly virtue and great deeds, our fortune and gratitude are as vast as heaven. So, why should it be necessary to hold such rituals which vainly seek happiness? This will not allow the late king to rest in peace; instead, it will cause harm. The *Book of Documents* (*Shujing*) says: ‘Oh, it is as on the birth of a son, when all depends on [the training of] his early life, through which he may secure his wisdom, in the future, as if it were decreed to him. Now Heaven may have decreed wisdom [to the king]; it may have decreed good fortune or bad;

119. Jo Yuhyeong 趙有亨 (birth/death unknown, clan unknown).



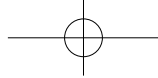
it may have decreed a [long] course of years; we only know that now is with him the commencement of his duties.’¹²⁰ The *Book of Poetry* says: ‘Erring in nothing, forgetful of nothing. Observing and following the old statutes.’¹²¹ Since ancient times, without exception, there was no king who began with incorrect deeds and accomplished [any] good in the end. The essence for a proper start is none other than ‘following the previous king’s rules.’ Our late king—sacred, divine, refined, and brave—revered this culture of ours,¹²² eschewed heresy, and completely suppressed the Ritual for Longevity and the law for certifying Buddhist monks. As a result, education has spread widely, and all the people, even poor villagers, hold funerals for their parents based on the *Family Rituals* (*Jia li*). People understand that praying to Buddha does not help their deceased parents, and would feel ashamed if they were to do such things. Therefore, the filthy customs [that sprung up at] the end of Goryeo (918-1392) were eradicated in just one day. Now, at the time of Your Majesty’s ascension to the throne, honesty and the defilement of people’s hearts, good and bad customs, and the stability and danger of the state depend on this moment. This means you ought ceaselessly to think of the late king, as if you were seeing him in person, so as to console his spirit in heaven. For no [good] reason, you are diminishing the level of education that the late king had elevated [among the people]; even commoners regard this as shameful. We could barely imagine Your Majesty doing this. The late king, being extremely wise and saintly, was aware that the Buddha would bring disorder to the country. So, throughout his twenty-six-year reign, he vigorously expelled Buddhism, from the start to the end [of his reign]. Among the miscreants who brought chaos to this world, more than half of them returned to secular life. Knowing this, how could you rely on those miscreants and seek blessings from pieces of earth and wood?¹²³ Never should it have been this way. This is what the heavenly and earthly deities know, and is what causes all the officials and people to feel pain. Since, [they] observe from above and ask around, deception is not possible. Your Majesty, your actions only bring harm to a proper beginning, deceive the spirit of the late king in heaven, and encourage people to have evil and false minds. Confucius

120. *Shang Shu*, “Zhou Shu” 周書, “Announcement of the Duke of Shao” 召誥, 10.

121. *Book of Poetry*, “Greater Odes of the Kingdom” 大雅, “Decade Of Sheng Min” 生民之什, # 2.

122. “This culture of ours” refers to Confucianism.

123. Here, “earth and wood” refers to statues of the Buddha or other Buddhist idolatry.



said: ‘If for three years he does not alter from the way of his father, he may be called filial.’¹²⁴ There is a saying: ‘When one takes his parents’ mind as his own, that is called filial piety.’ Now, it is less than ten days since the late king’s passing and you are about to veer from the late king’s ways by revering vain and wicked things. How can this be called filial? Prostrated, we beg of you to determine a proper foundation [for your rule], explicate the origin [principles] of your governance, and illuminate the erudite learning of the late king. [Doing this you will] readily give comfort to the officials and people who desperately wish for it.” It was conveyed [from the king]: “The rituals have been practiced through many generations for previous kings.” The king did not listen.

Entry 6

正言李懿孫啓: “自古醫侍君疾, 妄投湯劑者, 皆置法. 今外間皆曰: ‘大行大王有腫證, 宋欽, 金興守等, 不謹(脗)(診)候, 誤進藥餌, 以致大故.’ 不勝痛憤. 世宗朝, 盧仲禮, 全循義等, 以奉藥無效, 皆受重罪. 請置欽等極刑, 以懲後.” 傳曰: “大行大王, 精於藥理, 在不豫時, 令醫考方付(標)(標)以入, 自察其藥, 合於證候, 而服之. 固非醫員擅進也. 常不接醫, 至疾革, 大妃累請, 然後使醫(脗)(診)候. 予之所憾, 曷勝言哉! 如可治罪, 則固當重論. 然不可加以曖昧之罪, 其議于政丞等.”

Fourth Censor (*Jeongeon*) Yi Uison, petitioned: “Since antiquity, the royal physicians who misused medicinal decoctions for the kings were punished by law. These days, there is a rumor circulating outside the palace that the late king had boils, and that Song Heum¹²⁵ and Kim Heungsu¹²⁶ caused the king’s death by making a false diagnosis and issuing the wrong curatives. This lamentable situation is unbearable. During the reign of King Sejong, Noh Jungnye¹²⁷ and Jeon Sunui¹²⁸ received severe punishments, as their prescriptions did not work. I request that you sentence Song Heum and others to death as a warning to others.” It was conveyed [from the king]: “The late king was familiar with medical principles. When he did not feel well, he ordered the royal physicians to submit a prescription and examined whether the medicine was appropriate to his symptoms before following the prescription. Therefore, it is not true that

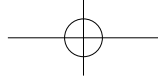
124. *The Analects*, “Xue Er” 學而 11.

125. Song Heum 宋欽 (1459-1547, Sinpyeong Song clan).

126. Kim Heungsu 金興守 (birth/death unknown, clan unknown).

127. Noh Jungnye 盧中禮 (birth/death unknown, clan unknown).

128. Jeon Sunui 全循義 (birth/death unknown, clan unknown).



the physicians carelessly administered medicine. Usually, he did not call for a physician, but when his condition became critical the queen dowager made continuous requests and, only after that, would he let the physicians examine him. Words cannot express my regret! If we judge it, this wrongdoers should be severely punished, but not for a dubious crime. Discuss it with the state councilors.”

Entry 7

傳于承政院曰：“大行(太)[大]王教予云：‘予踐位之初，有院相。汝初政，令政丞等，常坐政院，同議國事。’當依遺教施行。”

It was conveyed [from the king] to the Royal Secretariat: “The late king advised: ‘When I first came to the throne, I had provisional executive ministers (*wonsang*).¹²⁹ At the beginning of your reign, you shall always have the state councilors sit at the Royal Secretariat and discuss national affairs together.’ Thus, I say to you: properly follow through in accordance with his words.”

Entry 8

掌令康伯珍，正言李懿孫啓：“昨日啓水陸齋不可事，命勿啓臺諫之言。人主高居深宮，若不聞臺諫之言，則朝廷得失，民間疾苦，何由得知？不勝失望。”傳曰：“予非謂他事也。此事爲先王也，決不可聽，而敢言之，故使不啓耳。”

Third Inspector, Kang Baekjin, and Fourth Censor, Yi Uison, petitioned: “Yesterday, we petitioned you against holding a Water and Land Rite for the king, yet you forbade the submission of any memorials composed by the Censorate. If you do not heed what the Censorate tells you while sitting on a lofty place deep inside the palace, how will you understand the losses and gains of the government and the hardship of your people? We cannot bear the disappointment.” It was conveyed [from the king]: “I am not concerned with other issues. This Water and Land Rite is for the late king. On no account could I listen to you, but you still you dared to raise the issue. That is why I forbade you to submit a memorial.”

129. During the mourning period for a late king during which the new king cannot work, high ranking state councilors take on the role of provisional executive ministers (*wonsang*), overseeing state affairs in lieu of the king.

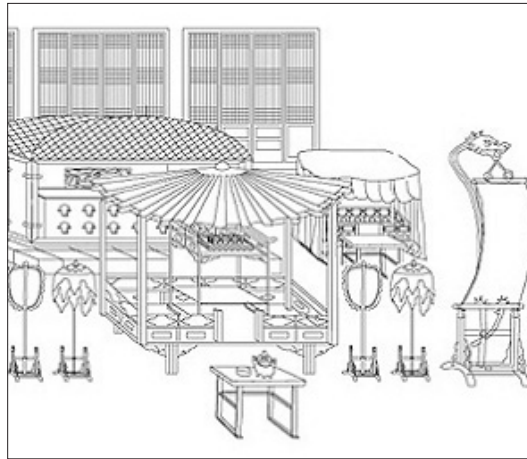
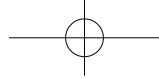


Figure 1. Royal Funeral Hall

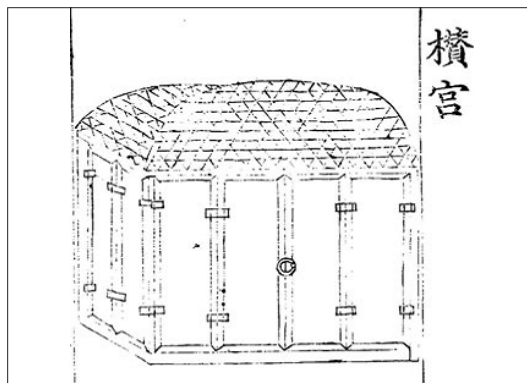


Figure 2. Coffin Container

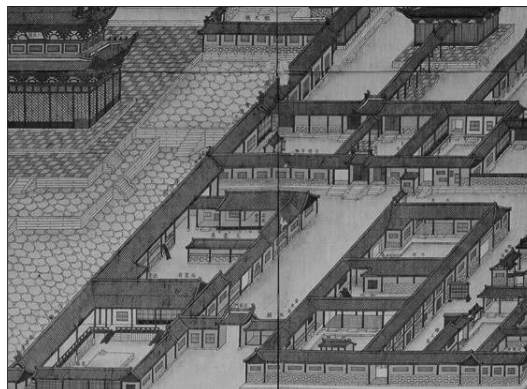


Figure 3. Seonjeongjeon

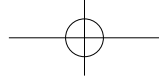
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