

**The ‘Other’ and the ‘Self’ in Mutual Perspective:
The *Chaoxian fu* (1488) by Dong Yue (1430-1502)**

LAW Ho Sing

Abstract

Diplomatic communications between the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) and the Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910) served to facilitate good interstate relations. Dong Yue, a Chinese envoy sent to Chosŏn, wrote *Chaoxian fu* (朝鮮賦, Poetic essay on Chosŏn, 1488) after completing his envoy journey. Therein, he recorded his journey to Chosŏn, its landscapes, but also its people’s customs and culture. His descriptions of Chosŏn represent the official Ming perspective of Chinese-Korean relations in the late fifteenth century: the Great Ming is described as showing patronizing mercy to its neighbouring state which looks up to it. *Chaoxian fu* depicts Chosŏn’s loyalty and respect to the Ming, matching Chosŏn’s usage of Mencius’ “serving the great” policy. It thus constructed a harmonious picture of the Ming-Chosŏn relations. This article explores the mutual perspective of Ming and Chosŏn by studying *Chaoxian fu* and comparing it to records by Chosŏn officials such as Ch’oe Pu (崔溥, 1454-1504). Thereby, the varying Ming images of Chosŏn and vice versa come to the fore.

Keywords: Ming-Chosŏn relations; Chinese envoys; Ming perspectives of Chosŏn

LAW Ho Sing completed an M.A. in Modern Sinology from the University of Göttingen. Contact him at lhsleo1993@gmail.com.

Introduction

The relationship between the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) and the Chosŏn Dynasty (1392-1897) has been regarded as a typical form of the tributary system by historians such as Chen Shangsheng (陳尚勝), Ge Zhaoguang (葛兆光) and Fuma Susumu (夫馬進). The frequent exchanges and close relationship between the two dynasties have attracted many Chinese and Korean scholars to research into the Ming-Chosŏn contacts in the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries as well as into earlier contacts between Koryŏ (918-1392) and the Mongol Yuan (1279-1368). They have summarized the process of the establishment of Ming-Chosŏn diplomatic relations and how Chosŏn maintained and developed its relationship with the Ming under the guidance of *shidazhuyi* (事大主義, Serving the great) policy. Ye Quanhong (葉泉宏) explored how Koryŏ and Chosŏn established formal diplomatic relations with the Ming during the first century of the latter's rule.¹ Fan Yongcong (范永聰) analysed how Koryŏ developed diplomatic relations with the Northern Yuan Dynasty (1368-1388) and the Ming Dynasty at the same time.² Donald Clark discussed the development of Sino-Korean relation during Ming times.³ Furthermore, as there were numerous envoys that were sent back and forth by the Chosŏn and Ming courts, scholars tend to focus on Ming-Chosŏn diplomatic exchanges.

Some Chosŏn envoys wrote detailed records of their journeys to Zhongguo (中國)⁴. They were not only fascinated by the prosperity of the Ming cities, but they were also attracted by the well-established Chinese transport network. The envoys' reports are thus considered as very important historical materials for historians to discuss the image of Zhongguo in the eyes of others. Scholars such as Chen Shangsheng, Wu Zhengwei (吳政緯), Ge Zhaoguang, and Fuma Susumu produced fruitful analyses based on diverse reports. Chen Shangsheng can be considered as the pioneer of Chinese scholars on studying *Chaotian lu* (朝天錄) and *Yanxing lu* (燕行錄)⁵, records written by Chosŏn envoys who were sent to Zhongguo, to explore Zhongguo's image in Chosŏn's eyes.⁶ Wu Zhengwei used other Korean corpora to explore the Chosŏn discussion on the Ming Empire from late Ming to Mid-Qing times.⁷ Ge Zhaoguang and Fuma Susumu tried to figure out the Chosŏn image of Zhongguo by studying *Yanxing lu*, too.⁸ Park Lianshun (朴蓮順) discussed the cultural exchanges between two sides by studying *Chaotian lu*.⁹

Ming envoys left fewer records than their Chosŏn counterparts, which makes it more difficult to reconstruct and analyze the image Ming thinkers had of the Chosŏn kingdom.

¹ Ye Quanhong, *Mingdai qianqi Zhong-Han guojiao zhi yanjiu* (1368-1488) (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2001).

² Fan Yongcong, *Shida yu baoguo: Yuan-Ming zhiji de Zhong-Han guanxi* (Hong Kong: Xianggang jiaoyu tushu gongsi, 2009).

³ Donald N. Clark, "Sino-Korean Tributary Relations under the Ming", in *Cambridge History of China Vol. 8 The Ming Dynasty, 1368-1644 Pt.2*, edited by Denis Crispin Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 272-300.

⁴ I use the term "Zhongguo" instead of "China" for two reasons: on the one hand, Zhongguo literally means "central state" which reflects the Chinese *Weltanschauung*, the self as the centre of the world, whereas neighbouring people are seen as barbarians. On the other hand, China is commonly used to refer to the Republic of China and the People's Republic of China today which blurs the historical meaning.

⁵ Chosŏn envoy's record of their journeys to Zhongguo called *Chaotian lu* and *Yanxing lu* in Ming and Qing times respectively.

⁶ Chen Shangsheng, *Chaoxian wangchao (1392-1910) duihuaguan de yanbian* (Jinan: Shandong daxue chubanshe, 1999).

⁷ Wu Zhengwei, *Juanjuan Mingchao: Chaoxian shiren de Zhongguo lunshu yu wenhua xintai, 1600-1800* (Taipei: Xiuwei zixun keji gefen youxian gongsi, 2015).

⁸ Fuma Susumu, *Chaoxian Yanxingshi yu Chaoxian tongxinshi, shijie shiye zhong de Zhongguo, Riben*, transl. by Wu Yue (Shanghai: Shanghai huji chubanshe, 2010); Ge Zhaoguang, "Cong 'Chaotian' dao 'Yanxing': 17 shiji zhongye hou Dongya wenhua gongtongti de jieti", *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 1 (2006): 34-63.

⁹ Pu Lianshun and Yang Xin, "Cong Chaotian lu kan Chaoxian shijie yuwai wenren de wenhua jiaoliu", *Yanbian daxue xuebao (shehuikexue)* 6 (2008): 51-53.

Among the few Chinese records, *Chaoxian fu* (朝鮮賦, Poetic essay on Chosŏn, 1488) by Dong Yue (董越, 1430-1502, *jinshi* 1469) was relatively popular. While Japanese and Korean scholars have systematically studied this work, Chinese scholarship on Dong Yue is relatively superficial. Most Chinese scholars merely enumerate what Dong had seen and heard in Chosŏn or discuss the literary value of *Chaoxian fu*.¹⁰ Consequently, there is a lack of in-depth analysis of the *Chaoxian fu* and no comparison between *Chaoxian fu* and other Ming-time narratives of Chosŏn.

In recent years, historians like Ge Zhaoguang have begun to ask the question “What is China? And what is Chinese culture?” Studying the perspective of “others” towards Zhongguo can provide answers to these questions. Ge suggested that Chinese history between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries should be reconstructed through the eyes of neighbouring states.¹¹ In contrast to that, how did Ming scholars position themselves and their country? And how did they evaluate the Ming-Chosŏn relationship?

In fact, Ming scholars used approaches to Chosŏn to construct and strengthen the idea of a self-centred concentric world. Therefore, narratives about Chosŏn by Ming scholars provide an opportunity to study the self-image of the Ming. In this article, Ming images of Chosŏn as well as the self-image of Ming scholars are analysed, taking Dong Yue’s *Chaoxian fu* as the starting point, and complementing it by other sources, most importantly, Chosŏn official records, Ming official records, and other Ming scholars’ narratives about Chosŏn.

The image of Chosŏn in the *Da-Ming yitongzhi*

In 1458, the Tianshun (天順) Emperor (1427-1464, reign 1435-1464) issued an imperial edict for compiling *Da-Ming yitongzhi* (大明一統志, Comprehensive gazetteer of the Ming dynasty) in order to record the territory of Zhongguo and to show the greatness of the Ming Dynasty.¹² The *Da-Ming yitongzhi* was completed in 1461. It includes the history, geography, territories, and cities of Zhongguo and records of diverse ‘Yi’ (Barbarians). While the *Da-Ming yitongzhi* was admired by Ming scholars, it has been criticized by late-Ming and Qing scholars. Wang Yangming (王陽明, 1472-1529), a significant figure in mid-Ming, commented positively that the *Da-Ming yitongzhi* was comprehensive and detailed without being tediously long.¹³ Gu Yanwu (顧炎武, 1613-1682), a famous philologist and geographer in the late Ming, criticized that the book contained many factual mistakes.¹⁴ Nevertheless, the *Da-Ming yitongzhi* attracted scholarly attention and was reprinted and updated twice in Ming times.

As the main research focus here is on the *Chaoxian fu*, only the first version of the *Da-Ming yitongzhi* is used in order to understand the differences between Dong Yue’s record and the official records before his journey to Chosŏn.

The first section of the “Waiyi chuan” (外夷傳, Biography of barbarians) of the *Da-Ming yitongzhi*, titled “Chosŏn” (朝鮮, C. *Chaoxian*), describes the history, customs, geography, and property of Chosŏn.¹⁵ Chosŏn people are categorized as “Eastern Yi” (東夷,

¹⁰ Liu Hui and Yang Xiuying, “Mingdai zhongqi shichen bi xia de Chaoxian: yi Dong Yue Chaoxian fu weili”, *Anyang shifan xueyuan xuebao*, 3 (2018): 37-41; Li Qinghong and Huang Yuan, “Hongzhi shiqi Chaoxian de shehui fengsu: yi Dong Yue Chaoxian fu weili”, *Yichun xueyuan xuebao* 5 (2015): 71-76.

¹¹ Ge Zhaoguang, *Zhaizi Zhongguo: chongjian youguan Zhongguo de lishi lunshu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2011).

¹² *Ming Yingzong shilu*, in *Ming shilu* (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 1966), vol. 294, 6281.

¹³ Wang Yangming, *Wang Wencheng gong quanshu* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1992), vol. 29, 402b.

¹⁴ Gu Yanwu, *Rizhilu jishi quan xiaoben* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2006), vol. 2, 1075-1078.

¹⁵ I translate *waiyu* (外夷) as ‘barbarian’, because Chosŏn as well as the other regions and peoples described in this chapter are measured against the standard of Chinese culture (華, C. *hua*) which considered itself as superior.

C. *Dong Yi*) and their customs as soft and unadorned (柔謹, C. *rou jin*).¹⁶ Similarities of customs in Zhongguo and Chosŏn are noted, for example, both Zhongguo and Chosŏn used similar sacrificial pots and rites.¹⁷ Chosŏn scholars studied the Chinese script and Confucian classics which were the basis of regularly held civil examinations. Furthermore, Chosŏn placed importance on filial piety and people who scolded their parents received capital punishment.¹⁸

Nevertheless, Chosŏn customs and society are described as uncivilized and backward. There was no rigorous separation between men and women. Women were allowed to go out at night to meet men. Men and women could get married without parental permission.¹⁹ Moreover, people often sought help from shamans when they got sick, and they began to use Chinese medicine only after it had been introduced from Zhongguo.²⁰ Finally, since Chosŏn lacked gold and silver, official salaries were paid in rice and other crops and the society relied mainly on barter economy.

In *Da-Ming yitongzhi*, Chosŏn was described as half-civilized, half-barbarian. The *Da-Ming yitongzhi* contains many references from *Hanshu* (Book of Han) and *Beishi* (History of the Northern Dynasties) as well as from other primary sources from Yuan and early Ming times and thus provides a summary of the status quo of Ming knowledge of Chosŏn.

Dong Yue's image of Chosŏn

The Ming court sent altogether 186 envoys to Chosŏn.²¹ Nevertheless, only seven Chinese travel diaries about Chosŏn are extant. There are two main reasons why records about Chosŏn by Chinese envoys are so rare: Firstly, during the early time of the Ming Dynasty, eunuchs were appointed as envoys and sent to Chosŏn. For instance, the eunuch Jin Liyuan (金麗淵, dates of life unknown) was delegated by the Hongwu (洪武) Emperor (1328-1398, reign 1368-1398) to escort 165 Korean nationals to Chosŏn.²² Another example is the eunuch Huang Yan (黃儼, dates of life unknown), who was sent to Chosŏn first in 1373 and again in 1409 and 1419.²³ Emperor Hongwu was afraid of the eunuchs' interfering in political affairs, so they were not allowed to gain a higher education and their knowledge was limited. This situation did not change until the rise of Wang Zhen (王振, d. 1449), the first eunuch with power in the Ming court. Therefore, it was difficult for eunuchs to leave accurate records in early Ming times. In fact, eunuchs did write some records, but they were not circulated because of the eunuchs' poor reputation and low social status. Secondly, travel notes were not popular during the early Ming Dynasty, and only during the Chenghua (成化) reign period (1464-1487), did Ming scholars started to write more travel reports.²⁴

Before Dong Yue wrote *Chaoxian fu*, two envoys had recorded their journeys to Chosŏn, Ni Qian (倪謙, 1415-1479, *jinshi* 1439) and Zhang Ning (張寧, 1426-1496, *jinshi* 1454). Their works were later included in the *Siku quanshu* (四庫全書, Complete Library in

¹⁶ *Da-Ming yitongzhi*, vol. 89, 1a-4b, available at <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=138593&page=71> (accessed on 30/08/2020).

¹⁷ Dong Yue, *Chaoxian fu*, 12, available at https://archive.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kosho/he18/he18_02663/he18_02663.html (accessed on 30/08/2020).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹⁹ *Da-Ming yitongzhi*, vol. 89, 2a.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 89, 2b.

²¹ Clark, "Sino-Korean Tributary Relations under the Ming", 282-284.

²² Fan, *Shida yu baoguo*, 111.

²³ Shih-shan Henry Tsai, *The Eunuchs in the Ming Dynasty* (New York: State University of New York, 1996), 136.

²⁴ Zhou Zhenhe, "Cong Mingrenwenji kan wan Ming luyou fengqi jiqi yu dilixue de guanxi", *Fudan xuebao (shehuikexue ban)* 1 (2005): 72-78.

Four Categories). However, their records were not as detailed as Dong Yue's *Chaoxian fu*. Ni Qian wrote two monographs on Chosŏn, *Chaoxiao jishi* (朝鮮紀事, Records about Chosŏn, 1450) and *Fengshi Chaoxian chang he ji* (奉使朝鮮倡和集, Collection of poems on an embassy to Chosŏn, 1450).²⁵ *Chaoxian jishi* is a short, simple diary that records the activities of Ni Qian and his entourage. *Fengshi Chaoxian chang he ji* contains poems exchanged between Ni Qian and the Chosŏn officials who received him. Zhang Ning's *Fengshi lu* (奉使錄, Record of an embassy, 1460) included edicts on Chosŏn by the Ming emperor and poems by Zhang.²⁶ Moreover, it is noted that these poems were written in Zhongguo and mention the natural landscapes in northeast of China, which is not useful to understand Zhang's activities in Chosŏn.

Although Dong Yue was not the first Ming envoy to leave a record of his diplomatic mission, he was the first to record Chosŏn customs. His work thus provides precious historical materials for studying Ming-Chosŏn relations as well as the society and customs of Chosŏn during mid-Ming times. In 1488, he was appointed as Ming envoy to Chosŏn to announce the succession of the Hongzhi Emperor. After his journey, he wrote *Chaoxian fu* and *Shidong rilu* (使東日錄, Records of an embassy to the east, 1514). *Shidong rilu* consists of a travel report and poems on the natural landscapes in Liaodong which belonged to Zhongguo at that time. Therefore, this book is not useful in deepening our understanding of Chosŏn. As for *Chaoxian fu*, the *Ming Xiaozong shilu* (明孝宗實錄, Veritable Records of the Hongzhi Emperor) gave praise to it, commenting that *Chaoxian fu* was significant to understand Chosŏn.²⁷ *Chaoxian fu* was republished during the Zhengde (正德, 1505-1521) and Wanli (萬曆) reign periods (1572-1620).²⁸ However, Dong Yue himself did not plan to publish *Chaoxian fu*. According to Fuma Susumu, Dong's subordinate, Wang Zheng (王敞, 1453-1515), accidentally read the manuscript of *Chaoxian fu*. He made suggestions and helped Dong to publish his work.²⁹ Later, a scholar called Gu Jie (顧玠, date of birth unknown) even sorted out the notes and annotations of *Chaoxian fu* to edit another book, *Chaoxian zazhi* (朝鮮雜誌, Miscellanea on Chosŏn, 1488).³⁰ *Chaoxian fu* was widely spread among and had great influence on Chinese scholars at that time. It was commonly referred by Ming scholars so as to understand the situation of Chosŏn in addition to the *Da-Ming yitongzhi*.

According to Fuma Susumu's analysis of the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* (朝鮮王朝實錄, Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty)³¹, Dong entered Chosŏn on February 25, 1488, and left on April 4, 1488. From March 13 to 18, Dong Yue stayed in Hansŏng (漢城), the Chosŏn capital (today Seoul).³² Although Dong stayed in Chosŏn for only about 40 days, he figured out a version of Chosŏn different from that presented in *Da-Ming yitongzhi*.

The *Da-Ming yitongzhi* claimed that men and women could get married consensually even without the permission of their parents. Contrary to that, Dong Yue wrote that there were

²⁵ Ni Qian, "Fengshi Chaoxian chang he ji", in *Luo Xuetang xiansheng quanji* (Taipei: Datong chubanshe, 1972), vol. 18, 7329-7351.

²⁶ Zhang Ning, "Fengshi lu", in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu* (Tainan: Zhuangyan wenhua shiyu gongsi, 1997), vol. 36, 644-660.

²⁷ *Ming Xiaozong shilu*, in *Ming shilu* (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 1966), vol. 51, 3440.

²⁸ Zhongguo guji shanben shumu bianji weiyuanhui, eds., *Zhongguo guji shanben shumu (shibu)* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1993), vol. 3, 1079.

²⁹ Fuma, *Chaoxian Yanxing shi yu Chaoxian tongxin shi*, 15.

³⁰ Dong Yue, *Chaoxian zazhi*, in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu* (Tainan: Zhuangyan wenhua shiyu gongsi, 1997), vol. 78, 247-256.

³¹ *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* are the annual records of the Chosŏn Dynasty, which covered the 472-year history of the Chosŏn Dynasty from the first ruler, King T'aejo (1335-1408), to the twenty-fifth ruler, King Ch'ŏlchong (1831-1864). The records are arranged by chronological order, including the events of every single day.

³² Fuma, *Chaoxian Yanxing shi yu Chaoxian tongxin shi*, 10.

stricter marriage rules in place when he visited Chosŏn. Men and women could only marry with the permission of their parents and only when their families' social status was similar.³³ Moreover, Dong Yue reported that the Koreans no longer worshipped ghosts and shamans as stated in the *Da-Ming yitongzhi*, but venerated their ancestors, using Chinese rituals.³⁴

Regarding the selection of talented scholars for official posts, Dong wrote that the Chosŏn examination system was greatly influenced by Zhongguo. He particularly referred to Sungkyunkwan 成均館, the foremost educational institution in Chosŏn established in 1398. Sungkyunkwan had a significant impact on the education system of Chosŏn, usually hosting about 500 students who studied to become appointed as officials when they passed the exams.³⁵

Dong Yue also showed his appreciation to Chosŏn for making huge efforts in learning about Chinese culture and adopting the Chinese institutional system. According to him, the Koreans paid attention to filial piety and respected the elderly. Even the king and queen would hold a banquet for the elderly during the Mid-Autumn Festival every year.³⁶ The Koreans also followed the rites of mourning. Sons and daughters would mourn their parents for three years. Even servants had the right to mourn for their parents.

Besides, the court not only showed respect to the elderly, but also had sympathy for eunuchs:

“The punishment of castration does not exist. Eunuchs are not necessarily castrated [on purpose]. The court tries to employ disabled people [= eunuchs by nature or by accident] as eunuchs. Therefore, only a few eunuchs serve in court.”³⁷

Dong Yue describes the Korean society as a barter economy which is orderly, because the simple lifestyle contributed to the lack of corruption. He states that

“[p]eople work hard on their farms and in their workshops. Gold and silver are banned from trade. People trade with their crops and products. The wealth of people depends on how much crops they have accumulated.”³⁸

In addition, possibilities of entertainment were limited for the ordinary people. For example, they were not allowed to learn how to play chess, because chess was considered as the art of the *junzi* (君子, gentleman) in Chosŏn and class differentiation between scholar-officials and ordinary people was strict.

Dong made real efforts to describe the society of Chosŏn. He revealed appreciation and even yearning for the Chosŏn society. In the mid-Ming period, with the prosperity of commercial activities, the social status of merchants rose. Therefore, in the Ming empire, even scholar-officials, were not ashamed of accumulating money. Some even sought maximum benefit by using unscrupulous means. Craving for pleasure and luxury, however, polluted the

³³ Dong, *Chaoxian fu*, 12.

³⁴ *Da-Ming yitongzhi*, vol. 89, 2a; Dong, *Chaoxian fu*, 12.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 12.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 11.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 11.

social atmosphere and caused serious corruption in the Ming Empire.³⁹ Dong Yue, who experienced those great changes in society in Zhongguo, was undoubtedly fascinated by the simple society in Chosŏn. He even claimed that the barter economy contributed to the incorruptibility in Chosŏn. It becomes clear that Dong Yue projected an image of Chosŏn society as the social ideal.

Where did Dong Yue get his information about Chosŏn? Although he certainly recorded what he saw and heard himself in Chosŏn, it seems that he could not make a comprehensive observation by spending only 40 days in Chosŏn, most of the time en route. Regarding the writing process of *Chaoxian fu*, Dong Yue explained in his preface that he had made simple daily transcripts during his stay in Chosŏn. After his return to Liaodong, he summarized his own transcripts as well as the records of his vice-envoy, Wang Zheng. As a result, *Chaoxian fu* was concluded.

In addition, Dong Yue referred to sources which were provided to him by the Chosŏn official Xu Cong (許琮, 1434-1494). Under the guidance of serving the great policy, the Chosŏn dynasty committed to improving its image to the Ming Dynasty. In fact, people in Chosŏn were proud of being committed followers of Chinese culture.⁴⁰ Xu asked King Sŏngchong of Chosŏn (1457-1495, reign 1469-1494) for comprehensive records on Chosŏn so that he could send them to Dong Yue to update the Chinese official records.⁴¹ The king agreed and provided the information.⁴² Although we do not know which books and documents Dong had received, this episode shows that the idea of improving Chosŏn's image was not only Xu Cong's personal wish, but also shared by King Sŏngchong himself. The Chosŏn ruler consciously wanted to establish the image of a civilized Chosŏn to a Chinese readership and hoped to exercise influence through Ming envoys. More importantly, he wanted to get rid of the identity of eastern Yi (barbarians). By supplying Dong Yue with sources, a new image of Chosŏn as cultivated and civilized could be spread in Zhongguo and re-shape the Ming people's perception of Chosŏn.

Chosŏn in the eyes of Ming scholars after Dong Yue

Dong Yue's record of what he saw, heard and read in Chosŏn was considered as the latest and presumably the most accurate information about Chosŏn at his time. After Dong Yue, Ming scholars continued to write about Chosŏn customs. However, most of these scholars had never been to Chosŏn and only referred to the words from earlier works such as *Chaoxian zhi* (朝鮮志, Gazetteer of Chosŏn), *Dong Yi tuxiang* (東夷圖像, Illustration of Eastern Yi (barbarians), 1586) by Cai Yuxian (蔡汝賢, dates of life unknown) and *Xian bin lu* (咸賓錄, Record of Tribute Guests, c. 1591) by Luo Yuejiong (羅曰褻, dates of life unknown).⁴³ Except for *Chaoxian zhi*, the quality of these works is poor. The authors mixed data from ancient and later times, fabricated different stories, and usually copied from older works. Consequently, the image of Chosŏn during Ming times combined several elements: the imagination of Ming

³⁹ Timothy Brook, *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 86-152.

⁴⁰ Ch'oe Pu, *Pyohaerok*, 52-53, available at <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=en&file=153618&page=1> (accessed on 30/08/2020).

⁴¹ *Li Chao shilu*, ed. by Yasukazu Suematsu (Tokyo: Gakushūin Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūjo, 1957), 398.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 400.

⁴³ *Chaoxian zhi*, in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu* (Tainan: Zhuangyan wenhua shiyu gongsi, 1997), vol. 255, 358-408; Cai Yuxian, *Dongyi tuxiang*, in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu* (Tainan: Zhuangyan wenhua shiyu gongsi, 1997), vol. 255, 409-456; Luo Yuejiong, *Xianbin lu*, in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu* (Tainan: Zhuangyan wenhua shiyu gongsi, 1997), vol. 255, 570-721.

scholars, records of different times, and a Sinocentric approach, which means that Zhongguo was considered the cultural, political and economic centre of the known world.

The author of *Chaoxian zhi* is unknown. In the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* (四庫全書總目提要, Annotated catalogue of the complete library in four sections), it appears directly after *Chaoxian fu*. The *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* claims that it was written in mid-Ming times. This is further supported by the fact that Korean customs recorded in *Chaoxian zhi* are inconsistent with *Da-Ming yitongzhi* but similar to *Chaoxian fu*.

Cai Yuxian, the author of *Dongyi tuxiang* passed the imperial examination during the Longqing (隆慶) era (1567-1572). In *Dongyi tuxiang*, records of diverse countries outside Zhongguo such as Chosŏn, Annan and Liuqui 琉球 (Jap. Ryukyu) are collected. The costumes and outer appearances of the people living there are depicted in images. The book's records on Chosŏn are almost completely copied from the *Da-Ming yitongzhi*, which was outdated by that time. The *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* criticized *Dongyi tuxiang* as “absurd and unfounded” (混淆, C. *hun xiao*).⁴⁴ Luo Yuejiong, the author of *Xianbin lu* used the information on Chosŏn provided in the *Da-Ming yitongzhi* too.

To conclude, Dong Yue published *Chaoxian fu* in mid-Ming times. Although it contained the latest information about Chosŏn and was reprinted many times during the Ming dynasty, most Chinese scholars remained indifferent to these new records of Chosŏn. Instead, they collected and re-used the obsolete or erroneous information from the *Da-Ming yitongzhi*, which remained popular until the late Qing period.

The image of Zhongguo in *Chaoxian fu*

In the records on Chosŏn written by Dong Yue and other Ming scholar-officials rumors, facts and imagination are mixed to create the image of Chosŏn. At the same time, Ming scholar-officials positioned themselves through their descriptions of Chosŏn. In fact, their records can help us understand the Ming image of Zhongguo as well as Chosŏn.⁴⁵ Therefore, this section aims at figuring out the image of Zhongguo in the eyes of Ming scholars. By adding the images of Zhongguo recorded in the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, an even broader understanding of the image of Zhongguo of that time can be reached. The Chinese as well as the Korean materials have blind spots. By using different materials and setting up more mirrors, history becomes clearer. Hence, *Chaoxian fu* is used as a starting point and is compared with the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* in order to explore different images of Zhongguo during Ming times.

The Ming Dynasty perceived of itself as a “celestial empire” (天朝, C. *tianchao*). In this reading, Zhongguo is located at the centre of the world and is surrounded by different barbarians.⁴⁶ Chosŏn made a lot of efforts to please Chinese envoys under the guidance of serving the great policy, mainly because they wanted to ensure its national security. This was in accordance with the self-image of the Ming Dynasty and further strengthened the confidence of the Ming envoys: when the envoys returned to the Ming capital, they brought back those ideas. Therefore, the direct interaction between Ming envoys and Chosŏn officials strengthened the Chinese self-image and identity. That is why Dong Yue described Chosŏn as an important vassal state of the Ming Dynasty and thus treated it as part of the wider Ming Empire in his opening remarks to *Chaoxian fu*. In his opinion, the Ming court had the absolute authority over Chosŏn's affairs. Dong Yue's views reflected the general notion of Ming officials.

⁴⁴ Cai, *Dongyi tuxiang*, 456.

⁴⁵ Ge Zhaoguang, “Lan jing zi jian-guanyu Chaoxian, Riben wenxian zhong de jinshi Zhongguo shiliao ji qita”, *Fudan xue bao (shehui kexue ban)* 2 (2008): 2.

⁴⁶ Lin Jizhong, *Yanxing lu quanli* (Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 2001), vol. 1, 198.

The *Mingshi* (明史, Official History of the Ming Dynasty) recorded that the Ming emperors sent envoys to the vassal state Chosŏn and worshiped their *sanshin* 山神 (local mountain gods).⁴⁷ This had not been common in the previous Jurchen Jin dynasties (1115-1234), but was practiced only in Ming times. Zhang Xie (張燮, 1574-1640) confirmed that there was no previous example of emperors sending envoys to vassal states to worship their gods.⁴⁸ However, the Ming emperors aimed at creating a peaceful and prosperous world, and sending envoys to its vassal states to worship local deities was part of their strategy.⁴⁹

Chaoxian fu reveals Dong Yue's pride in the Ming Dynasty. He detailed the scene of the edict welcoming ritual when he arrived in the Chosŏn capital Hansŏng with his entourage:

“The king and the officials dressed gorgeously and waited in front of the gate when the edict arrived. The streets were decorated and were full of people. The towers were also decorated with brocades and ornaments. We listened to touching melodies and watched plays and other performances.”⁵⁰

Dong Yue also described the reactions and ceremonial performances of King Sŏngchong, his ministers, and the Chosŏn people when they received the imperial edict proclaiming the ascension of the Hongzhi Emperor which Dong presented to them, reflecting the importance Chosŏn attached to the edict. When a new Ming emperor was enthroned, all vassal states like Chosŏn payed their respect, representing the glory of the Ming Dynasty. When Dong Yue carefully described the reaction of Chosŏn, his purpose was to glorify the Ming by highlighting the respect by which he was received in Chosŏn.

Whereas the edict that Dong brought to Chosŏn is not preserved in *Ming Xiaozong shilu*, it is included in the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*. This document reveals how the Ming court positioned itself. In return, the comments in the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* show how Chosŏn understood Ming-Chosŏn relations.

“The imperial edict from the [Ming] emperor to the Chosŏn king [reads]: “We [the emperor] guard the dynasty of the ancestors and rule All-under-heaven (天下, C. *tianxia*). Now We appreciate your loyalty and decided to reward you. The reward shows Our greatness and mercy. We have high expectation on you. We hope you to be careful what you do and keep your loyalty to Us.”⁵¹

In this edict, the Hongzhi Emperor expressed his expectation to Chosŏn. By asking the Chosŏn king and the people in his kingdom to “behave” themselves, the Hongzhi Emperor requires that their behaviour should match with Chinese regulations and criteria.

⁴⁷ *Mingshi*, compiled by Zhang Tingyu (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), vol. 27, 8280.

⁴⁸ Zhang Xie, *Dongxi yangkao* (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1985), 151.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 151.

⁵⁰ Dong, *Chaoxian fu*, 24-25.

⁵¹ Chen Xuelin, “Chaoxian shilu jizai zhong zhi Ming Xiaozong Hongzhi huangdi”, *Mingshi yanjiu* 12 (2012): 197.

After the completion of the edict welcoming ceremony, King Sǒngchong hosted a banquet for Dong Yue which is also mentioned in the *Chaoxian fu*.⁵² During the banquet, the king repeatedly quoted Chinese classics such as the *Shijing* (詩經, Book of songs) and the *Chunqiu* (春秋, Spring and autumn annals) when he chatted with Dong Yue to show his respect to and knowledge of Chinese culture.⁵³ If this would have happened after the Japanese invasions of Korea in the late sixteenth century, it would be easier to comprehend, as the Koreans were grateful to the Ming for coming to their aid and helping them to save their state. Many Chosŏn scholars emphasized that the Ming support during the Imjin War (1592-1593 and 1597-1598) would never be forgotten.⁵⁴ However, although the Ming-Chosŏn relations became closer during the reign of the Hongzhi emperor, there were no reasons for Chosŏn to show such gratitude. Why did Dong Yue repeatedly emphasize the respectful behaviour by the Chosŏn king? The image of a powerful Zhongguo and an obedient Chosŏn were further strengthened by Dong Yue intentionally in his report. The creation of those images was undoubtedly for political motives so as to please the new Hongzhi Emperor.

The different images of Zhongguo in *Chaoxian fu* and the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*

In *Chaoxian fu*, Dong Yue constructed the image of a powerful Zhongguo by creating the image of a loyal and obedient Chosŏn. He described the occasion of the edict welcoming ceremony in high-sounding words, but understated negotiations of the ceremony between himself and Chosŏn officials over the ceremony beforehand. The *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, on the other hand, focused on the negotiations between Dong Yue and the Chosŏn officials before the ceremony.

“Dong ordered that the Chinese envoys had to walk in the middle. The Chosŏn official replied that the road was too narrow for two people. Dong rejected the idea that he walked together with King Sǒngchong and claimed that he walked in front. The king should walk behind him with Dong’s vice-envoys. The Chosŏn official replied that he had to ask for permission first from his majesty, [the Chosŏn king]. Dong was dissatisfied with the word ‘majesty’. The word ‘majesty’ (陛下, C. *bixia*) could be used in Chosŏn. But he scolded the Korean official [and said that he] should use the word ‘king’ (國王, C. *guowang*) instead of ‘majesty’ when he talked to Chinese envoys.”⁵⁵

Furthermore, according to the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, King Sǒngchong was not allowed to ride in his carriage to receive the imperial edict from Dong Yue. At first, Sǒngchong refused to walk, but Dong threatened that if the king decided to receive the edict by carriage, Dong would not enter Hansŏng.⁵⁶ King Sǒngchong finally compromised.

In *Chaoxian fu*, these controversies were not recorded. Perhaps Dong Yue was trying to please the emperor by ignoring them, perhaps he did not take them seriously. As Chosŏn

⁵² Dong, *Chaoxian fu*, 15-18.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁵⁴ Pu Zhiyuan, *Rehe riji* (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 1996), vol. 1, 431-432.

⁵⁵ *Li Chao shilu*, 612.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 612.

finally compromised, Dong might have thought that his demands were reasonable and normal. He might also have taken it for granted that a weak Chosŏn should obey the powerful Ming.

At the end, Dong's confidence in representing the Ming seems to come to the fore by the fact that he did not write down these "trivialities" in *Chaoxian fu*. In his report, Chosŏn agreed that the Ming Dynasty was great and thus helped maintaining its dignity. Although King Sŏngchong was dissatisfied with Dong's orders and demands, for the sake of Chosŏn, he chose to compromise and thus actively maintained the image of a great Ming Dynasty.⁵⁷

The two different narratives in *Chaoxian fu* and *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* proved the importance of maintaining an image of greatness of the Ming for both sides. Both, Dong Yue and Chosŏn agreed that the Ming Dynasty was a powerful state. Chosŏn made enormous profits from the Sino-Korean trade and was afraid of, and at the same time relying on the military power of the Ming. Therefore, by considering economic interests and state security, Chosŏn had to obey the Ming Dynasty. Dong Yue was not like the eunuchs sent to Chosŏn in the past, which used their legal rights to extort the Chosŏn court for personal interests. Dong just showed his attitude as a delegate of a strong state. Finally, the Chosŏn court found a compromise to serve the Ming embassies and also the Ming Court.

Although the King Sŏngchong and his advisors at the Chosŏn court were at least partly aware of the political situation of the Ming dynasty and the Ming emperor, for instance, King Sŏngchong asked his officials and envoys about the Hongzhi Emperor's health condition, personality, and preferences as well as about the political situation of the Ming court⁵⁸, it did not hinder them to imagine the greatness of the Ming Dynasty. [*Geumnam*] *Pyohaerok* [錦南] 漂海錄, [Geumnam's] Record of Drifting across the Sea, 1534-44), written by the Chosŏn official Ch'oe Pu (崔溥, 1454-1504)⁵⁹, shows what Chosŏn scholars knew of Zhongguo. In *Geumnam pyohaerok*, Ch'oe Pu recorded his shipwrecked sea voyage along the Chinese coast and through Zhongguo from February to July 1488, in the same year Dong Yue travelled to Chosŏn.

In February, Ch'oe Pu, who was officially stationed on Jeju Island, learnt that his father had passed away. Following Confucian rules, he left his post to return to his family's hometown to mourn for his father. However, in a violent storm, his ship lost direction. Finally, he reached the Chinese coast near Ningbo in Zhejiang Province. Chinese authorities escorted Ch'oe from the Zhejiang coast to Beijing via the Grand Canal. Ch'oe recorded what he saw and heard during this journey.

Ch'oe Pu mentioned the greatness of the Grand Canal and the prosperities of Chinese cities such as Cixi, Ningbo and Hangzhou. About Hangzhou, for example, he wrote,

“[Hangzhou] truly seems a different world, as people say [...] Houses stand in solid rows, and the gowns of the crowds seem like screens. The markets pile up gold and silver; people amass beautiful clothes and ornaments. Foreign ships stand as thick as the teeth of a comb, and in the streets wine shops and music halls front directly each on another.”⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Ibid., 613.

⁵⁸ Chen, “Chaoxian shilu jizai zhong zhi Ming Xiaozong Hongzhi huangdi”, 195-200.

⁵⁹ Style name (字) Geumnam (錦南).

⁶⁰ Brook, *The Confusions of Pleasure*, 43.

However, Ch'oe Pu also criticized different aspects of Zhongguo. First of all, he complained that the Chinese disrespected Confucianism. In the fifteenth century, Neo-Confucianism was deeply ingrained in the Chosŏn society. Outstanding Neo-Confucian scholar such as Yi Saek (李穡, 1328-1396) and Kwŏn Kŭn (權近, 1352-1409) had taken Confucianism to new heights. In general, Chosŏn scholar-officials such as Ch'oe Pu thought that Zhongguo was a civilized country, following Confucian rules. Chinese officials were expected to behave like *junzi* (gentlemen). Ch'oe Pu and his crews came to realize that this was not the case when they suffered from the malicious treatment by Chinese officials, who disobeyed Confucian etiquette. For example, a Chinese official intentionally asked Ch'oe the full name of King Sŏngchong, which was considered rude behaviour. Saying the full name of a king or emperor was a taboo in both Ming and Chosŏn society.⁶¹

Besides, Ch'oe was also upset to see that instead of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism were held in high esteem in Zhongguo. In his conversations with Chinese officials, he repeatedly emphasized that Chosŏn was different from Koryŏ, and that people in Korea no longer worshiped Buddha, but replaced Buddhism with Confucian etiquette and rituals.⁶² Ch'oe Pu also showed his disappointment in the participation of Chinese scholar-officials in ordinary business affairs, traditionally considered shameful. Chinese scholar-officials, Ch'oe had to witness, tried hard to maximize their profits.⁶³

Furthermore, Ch'oe was also appalled by the behaviour of Chinese people and the chaos of the Ming. His ship was robbed twice by Chinese pirates on the Zhejiang coastline.⁶⁴ They were also misidentified as Japanese pirates and captured by villagers. Even on the Great Canal, Ch'oe was told to beware of pirates and thieves. Those dangerous experiences for Ch'oe further manifested his impression of a chaotic situation in the Ming Dynasty.

After returning to Chosŏn, Ch'oe Pu sent all his notes to the Chosŏn court as a secret report. Hereafter, Chosŏn scholars repeatedly mentioned this negative image of Zhongguo.⁶⁵ For example, two Chosŏn envoys, Hŏ Pong (許筭, dates of life unknown) and Yi Hangpok (李恒福, 1556-1618) mentioned the oppressive taxation of the Ming state in 1574 and 1598 respectively.⁶⁶ Cho Hŏn (趙憲, 1544-1592)⁶⁷ and Kim Yuk (金堉, 1570-1658)⁶⁸ criticized the corruption of Ming officials. The Chosŏn court did not restrict the discussion about Zhongguo. On the contrary, it encouraged officials and scholars to record their experiences in Zhongguo so that the court could update their knowledge about the Ming Dynasty. Chosŏn scholar-officials criticized the situation of Zhongguo and disclosed the internal problems of the Ming Dynasty, but at the same time they kept their admiration for Chinese culture. Chosŏn scholars were clearly able to differentiate between contemporary reality and the idealized imagination of Zhongguo. Criticism and imagination went hand in hand in Chosŏn until the Japanese invasions of Korea and the collapse of the Ming Dynasty. In the seventeenth century, although Chosŏn envoys still recorded the deteriorating social conditions of the Ming Dynasty, it no longer was a popular topic. However, the contribution of Ming armies in saving Chosŏn during the Japanese invasions of Korea was mentioned frequently among Chosŏn scholars. In other words, the negative image of Zhongguo was completely replaced by positive images which shaped the collective memories of Chosŏn elites.

⁶¹ Ge Zhenjia, *Cuipu Piaohailu pingzhu* (Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju, 2002), 20.

⁶² Ch'oe, *Pyohaerok*, 52-53.

⁶³ Brook, *The Confusions of Pleasure*, 50.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 50.

⁶⁵ Xu Dongri, *Chaoxian chao shichen yan zhong de Zhongguo xingxiang: yi "Yanhang Lu" "Chaotian Lu" wei zhongxin* (Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 2010), 54-59.

⁶⁶ Lin, *Yanxing lu quanli*, vol. 8, 460-461, vol. 7, 71.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 5, 149.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 16, 489-490.

Conclusion

Chaoxian fu was a reflection of Dong Yue's cognition of Chosŏn and to a certain degree became a reference work on Chosŏn for Ming scholar-officials. This book is based on Dong's own experience in Chosŏn and his cultural background as a Ming scholar-official. Dong Yue tried to show his contemporaries a new image of Chosŏn, which was no longer a "Yi", but a state that is equipped with Chinese culture and is a model of a vassal state. However, Ming records about Chosŏn continued to mix facts with ancient records, imagination and personal experiences. Ming records of Chosŏn spread widely during Ming and Qing times. Diverse records circulated at the same time, which makes it difficult to finally assess the Ming understanding of Chosŏn. It can only be speculated upon by comparing different Ming corpora and records.

Dong Yue consciously constructed a specific image of Zhongguo by selecting and cutting the report of his experiences in Chosŏn. By recording the details of the welcoming ceremony, for example, Dong Yue successfully created a strong and self-confident image of Zhongguo. Also, he implied that both Chinese and Korean shared this image. This was how Ming scholar-officials preferred to understand Ming-Chosŏn diplomatic relations, but it does not necessarily reflect the minds of both Chinese and Korean scholar-officials. This comes to the fore if we read of the event of Dong Yue's embassy in the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* which presents a different narrative by including the disagreement between Dong Yue and the Chosŏn officials. However, ultimately the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, too, presents the image of a strong Zhongguo and a Chosŏn king who obeys. To a certain degree, this image remained in place even after the Ming Dynasty collapsed.

References

- Brook, Timothy. *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.
- Chen Shangsheng 陳尚勝. *Chaoxian wangchao (1392-1910) duihuaguan de yanbian* 朝鮮王朝 (1392-1910) 對華觀的演變 [The evolution of the view of China in the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910)]. Jinan: Shandong daxue chubanshe, 1999.
- Chen Xuelin 陳學霖. “Chaoxian shilu jizai zhong zhi Ming Xiaozong Hongzhi huangdi” 朝鮮實錄記載中之明孝宗弘治皇帝 [The image of Hongzhi Emperor in the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*]. *Mingshi yanjiu* 明史研究 [Research into Ming history] 12 (2012): 192-202.
- Ch’oe Pu 崔溥. *Pyohaerok* 漂海錄 [Record of drifting across the sea]. Available at: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=en&file=153618&page=1> (accessed August 30, 2020).
- Clark, Donald N. “Sino-Korean Tributary Relations under the Ming”. In *Cambridge History of China. Vol. 8. The Ming Dynasty, 1368-1644. Pt. 2*, edited by Denis Crispin Twitchett, 272-300. Cambridge UK: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1988.
- Da-Ming yitongzhi* 大明一統志 [Comprehensive gazetteer of the Ming dynasty]. Available at: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=138593&page=71> (accessed August 30, 2020).
- Dong Yue 董越. *Chaoxian fu* 朝鮮賦 [Poetic essay on Chosŏn]. Available at: https://archive.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kosho/he18/he18_02663/he18_02663.html (accessed August 30, 2020).
- _____. *Chaoxian zazhi* 朝鮮雜誌 [Miscellanea on Chosŏn]. In *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu*, vol. 78, 247-256.
- Fan, Yongcong 范永聰. *Shida yu baoguo: Yuan Ming zhi ji de Zhong-Han guanxi* 事大與保國—元明之際的中韓關係 [Serving the great and maintaining the nation: Sino-Korean relation during late Yuan and early Ming times]. Hong Kong: Xianggang jiaoyu tushu gongsi, 2009.
- Fuma Susumu 夫馬進. *Chaoxian Yanxing shi yu Chaoxian tongxin shi: shijie shiye zhong de Zhongguo, Riben* 朝鮮燕行使與朝鮮通信使：使節視野中的中國，日本 [Chosŏn emissaries to China and Japan: China and Japan in the perspective of envoys]. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2010.
- Ge Zhaoguang 葛兆光. “Cong ‘Chaotian’ dao ‘Yanxing’: 17 shiji zhongye hou Dongya wenhua gongtongti de jieti” 從「朝天」到「燕行」—17世紀中葉後東亞文化共同體的解體 [From Chaotian to Yanxing: the breakup of the East Asia cultural common ground after the mid-17 century]. *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中華文史論叢 [Journal of Chinese literature and history] 1 (2006): 34-63.
- _____. “Lan jing zi jian-guanyu Chaoxian, Riben wenxian zhong de jinshi Zhongguo shiliao ji qita” 攬鏡自鑒—關於朝鮮、日本文獻中的近世中國史料及其他 [Mirror for self-recognition: reflections on the Japanese and Korean literatures on Chinese history]. *Fudan xuebao (shehuikexue ban)* 復旦學報 (社會科學版) [Fudan journal (social science edition)] 2 (2008), 2-9+139.
- _____. *Zhaizi Zhongguo, chongjian youguan zhongguo de lishi lunshu* 宅茲中國—重建有關中國的歷史論述 [Living in China: discourse about a reconstruction of Chinese history]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2011.
- Ge Zhenjia 葛振家. *Cuipu “Piaohailu” pingzhu* 崔溥《漂海錄》評注 [Commentary on Ch’oe Pu’s *Piaohailu*]. Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju, 2002.
- Gu Yanwu 顧炎武. *Rizhilu jishi quan xiaoben* 日知錄集釋全校本 [Record of daily knowledge]. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2006.

- Li Chao shilu* 李朝實錄 [The annals of the Chosŏn dynasty]. Edited by Yasukazu Suematsu 末松保和. Tokyo: Gakushūin Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūjo, 1952-1967.
- Li Qinghong 李慶宏 and Huang Yuan 黃淵. “Hongzhi shiqi Chaoxian de shehui fengsu: yi Dong Yue Chaoxian fu wei li” 弘治時期朝鮮的社會風俗—以董越《朝鮮賦》為例 [Research on social customs in Chosŏn during Hongzhi period: analysis of Dong Yue’s *Chaoxian fu*]. *Yichun xueyuan xuebao* 宜春學院學報 [Journal of Yichun University] 5 (2015): 71-76.
- Lin, Jizhong 林基中. *Yanxing lu quanji* 燕行錄全集 [The records of Korean envoys during the Qing Dynasty]. Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 2001.
- Liu Hui 劉惠 and Yang Xiuying 楊秀英. “Mingdai zhongqi shi chen bi xia de Chaoxian: yi Dong Yue Chaoxian fu wei li” 明代中期使臣筆下的朝鮮—以董越《朝鮮賦》為例 [The image of Chosŏn under the records of Chinese envoys during Mid-Ming time, a case study of Dong Yue’s *Chaoxian fu*]. *Anyang shifan xueyuan xuebao* 安陽師範學院學報 [Journal of Anyang Normal University] 3 (2018), 37-41.
- Luo Yuejiong 羅曰褰. *Xianbin lu* 咸賓錄 [Record of Tribute Guests]. In *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu*, vol. 255, 570-721.
- Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉. *Luo Xuetao xiansheng quanji* 羅雪堂先生全集 [Complete works of Mr. Luo Xuetao]. Taipei: Datong chubanshe, 1972
- Mingshi* 明史 [Official history of the Ming dynasty]. Compiled by Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974.
- Ming shilu* 明實錄 [Veritable records of the Ming]. Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 1966.
- Ni Qian 倪謙. *Chaoxian jishi* 朝鮮紀事 [Records about Chosŏn]. In *Baibu congshu jicheng* 百部叢書集成 [Collection of a hundred collectanea]. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1937, vol. 16.
- _____. *Fengshi Chaoxian chang he ji* 奉使朝鮮倡和集 [Collection of poems on an embassy to Chosŏn]. In *Luo Xuetao xiansheng quanji* 羅雪堂先生全集 [Collected writings of Luo Xuetao]. Taipei: Datong chubanshe, 1972, vol. 18.
- Pu Lianshun 朴蓮順 and Yang Xin 楊昕. “Cong Chaotian lu kan Chaoxian shijie yu yuwai wenren de wenhua jiaoliu” 從朝天錄看朝鮮使節與域外文人的文化交流 [Pilgrimage to Peking: a record of literary exchanges between Korean envoys and foreign scholars]. *Yanbian daxue xuebao (shehuikexue ban)* 延邊大學學報（社會科學版） [Journal of Yanbian University (social science edition)] 6 (2008): 51-53.
- Pu Zhiyuan 朴趾源. *Rehe riji* 熱河日記 [Jehol diary]. Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 1996.
- Siku quanshu cunmu congshu* 四庫全書存目叢書 [The complete library in four categories], edited by Siku quanshu cunmu congshu bianzuan weiyuanhui 四庫全書存目叢書編纂委員會. Tainan: Zhuangyan wenhua shiyu gongsi, 1997.
- Tsai, Shih-shan Henry, *The Eunuchs in the Ming Dynasty*. New York: State University of New York, 1996.
- Wang Yangming 王陽明. *Wang Wencheng gong quanshu* 王文成公全書 [Complete words of Sir Wang Wencheng]. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1992.
- Wu Han 吳晗. *Chaoxian Li chao shilu zhi Zhongguo shiliao* 朝鮮李朝實錄之中國史料 [Chinese historical materials recorded in the Annals of the Chosŏn Yi Dynasty]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980.
- Wu Zhengwei 吳政緯. *Juanjuan Mingchao: Chaoxian shiren de Zhongguo lunshu yu wenhua xintai, 1600-1800* 眷眷明朝—朝鮮士人的中國論述與文化心態（1600-1800）

- [Missing the Ming dynasty: the Chinese discourse and cultural mentality of Korean Scholars]. Taipei: Xiuwei zixun keji gufen youxian gongsi, 2015.
- Xu Dongri 徐東日. *Chaoxian chao shichen yan zhong de Zhongguo xingxiang: yi “Yanhang Lu” “Chaotian Lu” wei zhongxin* 朝鮮朝使臣眼中的中國形象：以《燕行錄》《朝天錄》為中心 [The image of China in the eyes of Chosŏn’s envoys: *Yanhang lu* and *Chaotian lu* as case study]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2010.
- Ye Quanhong 葉泉宏. *Mingdai qianqi Zhong-Han guojiao zhi yanjiu (1368-1488)* 明代前期中韓國交之研究（1368-1488） [Research on the Korean-Chinese exchange in the early Ming Dynasty, 1368-1488]. Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1991.
- Zhang Ning 張寧. *Fengshi lu* 奉使錄 [Record of an embassy], in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu*, vol. 36, 644-660.
- Zhang Xie 張燮. *Dongxi yangkao* 東西洋考 [Research on East Asia and the West]. Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1985.
- Zhongguo guji shanben shumu bianji weiyuanhui 中國古籍善本書目委員會, eds. *Zhongguo guji shanben shumu (shibu)* 中國古籍善本書目（史部） [Catalogue of Chinese ancient rare books (history part)]. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1993.
- Zhou Zhenhe 周振鶴. “Cong Mingren wenji kan wan Ming luyou fengqi jiqi yu dilixue de guanxi” 從明人文集看晚明旅遊風氣及其與地理學的關係 [The travelling fashion in late Ming dynasty and its relationship with Geography: a research on the Anthologies of literators in Ming]. *Fudan xuebao (shehuikexue ban)* 復旦學報(社會科學版) = *Journal of Fudan University (Social Science Edition)* 1 (2005): 72-78.