The Ten injunctions (hunyo shipcho 講要十條) left by T’aejo are considered his political and administrative will. According to the Standard Koryŏ history, T’aejo, sensing his death was imminent, summoned his trusted comrade-in-arms Pak Surhŭi 朴渾熙 (915–945) and gave him ten instructions for his successors. They came to play an important role as a kind of ideological constitution all through the Koryŏ dynasty; the text outlined different approaches to problems and issues Koryŏ was habitually confronted with. I have shown elsewhere that the injunctions are a forgery of a later period.1 In this chapter, I shall limit the discussion to the conclusions which may be drawn from the injunctions’ peculiar composition, their provenance and contents and the way later generations referred to them.

Instead of T’aejo’s instructions to his successors, the injunctions are in fact Hyŏnjong’s 顯宗 vision for the future of the Koryŏ dynasty. The imprint of the eleventh century is left clearly in each and every one of the injunctions. Despite the admirable skills of the counterfeiters in forging a document that had to pass muster as T’aejo’s last instructions and succeeded in doing so for close to a thousand years, the pattern and texture of the eleventh century are clearly visible. The retrospective augmentation and exaggeration in this text of eleventh-century worries, hopes, fears and preoccupations with the distant past, reveals much about Koryŏ ideology. As such, the Ten injunctions are

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1 For a detailed account of how the question of Hyŏnjong’s legitimacy is connected to the forging of the Ten injunctions, see my aforementioned Forging the truth. In that study, I look into the actual forging of the Ten injunctions, the reasons behind the forging, the contemporary historiographical discussion on the Ten injunctions and the politics of forgery in Koryŏ. Because the fact that the Ten injunctions have been forged (or not) is secondary to the role they played in Koryŏ, in this chapter I will focus exclusively on the function of the Ten injunctions within Koryŏ discursive (and other) practices. Despite some inevitable factual overlap with Forging the truth, the aim of this chapter is considerably different.
historically speaking perhaps even more important as a forgery than they would have been, had they been authentic.

The injunctions were written during the reign of Hyŏnjong and subsequently rediscovered among the estate of Ch’oe Hang (崔沆, ?–1026). Hyŏnjong’s most trusted, loyal and powerful ministers were involved in the forgery of T’aejo’s political will and in all probability Hyŏnjong knew about and perhaps even instigated the forgeries. The covert cooperation of these ministers—among whom Ch’oe Chean (崔齊顏, ?–1046) and Hwang Churyang (黃周亮, d.u., fl. eleventh century) were the principal forgers, while Kim Shimŏn (金審言, ?–1018) and Ch’oe Hang remained in the background—alerts us to the exceptional nature of this particular forgery. The injunctions were not forged to change the perception of Koryŏ history or to support spurious ownership claims to for instance land or territory; rather, they were falsified to invest Hyŏnjong’s ideas with the authority of the founder of the dynasty.

The **Ten injunctions** were meant as a practical guide for governing Koryŏ over a longer period of time; they articulated a vision concerning Koryŏ’s future. In doing so they differed from the typical royal last will, in which urgent matters such as place and method of burial and the choice of the successor were laid down. The vision articulated in the text was shaped by Hyŏnjong’s experiences as Koryŏ’s eighth ruler. He had witnessed the murder of his predecessor; a traumatic flight south during the destructive Liao invasions that reduced Kaegyŏng to ashes; a military **coup d’état**; and a resounding victory over Liao in 1018. Hyŏnjong ruled Koryŏ for twenty-two years. During this time the

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2 Hyŏnjong’s predecessor was Mokchong, a weak ruler who was too young and inexperienced to free himself from his mother, Queen-dowager Hŏnae, posthumously known as Queen Ch’ŏnch’u 千秋太后, and her more or less secret lover Kim Ch’iyang (金致陽, ?–1009). While Kim Ch’iyang estranged the mainstream Buddhist community by his behaviour in general and by sponsoring the establishment of temples with strong Daoist leanings, the heir to childless Mokchong, Wang Sun, Prince of Taeryang-wŏn Palace 大良院君 and the later King Hyŏnjong, was banished to a Buddhist monastery. The illicit liaison between Queen Hŏnae and Kim Ch’iyang had produced a son who was intended to take the place of Wang Sun. Several attempts at Wang’s life were made by assassins sent by this aunt, Queen Hŏnae, but these all failed due to the protection the young prince received at the monasteries he resided in. In 1009 Kang Cho 康兆 revolted, advanced on the capital, killed Kim Ch’iyang and banished Queen Hŏnae. He then deposed Mokchong and put Hyŏnjong on the throne. The standard study for Kim Ch’iyang’s aborted rebellion is Kim Tangt’aek 金唐澤, “Koryŏ Mokchong 12nyŏn-ŭi chŏngbyŏn-e taehan il koch’al,” pp. 82–97.