
The Combination of Virtue and Law in the Political Thought of Le Thanh Tong

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ABSTRACT: To solve the urgent problems of Vietnamese social history in the 14th - 15th centuries, which is the requirement to consolidate and build a unified and strong Dai Viet nation, with a centralized autocratic state apparatus; on the basis of absorbing and inheriting the premises of political and social thought in the cultural tradition of the Vietnamese people as well as the political thought of Confucianism and Legalism, the thought of Le Thanh Tong was formed and developed. In the rich and unique political ideology of Le Thanh Tong, the outstanding and meaningful issue is the idea of combining moral governance and legal governance, which he expressed in great works such as: *National Dynasty Penal Code, Chau Co Thang Thuong Thi Tap, Chinh Tay Ky Hanh, Van Minh Co Suy...*

KEYWORDS: Virtuous governance; rule of law; fusion of virtue and rule of law.

INTRODUCTION

Virtuous governance is a way and method of organizing and managing society based on ethical standards as well as principles of moral order and relationships, to determine the responsibilities and duties of each person, to regulate ethical standards of human behavior and relationships between people, and to maintain social order. The way of governing the country by morality is mainly expressed through voluntary and self-conscious actions based on certain ethical principles and standards, which are encouraged by public opinion and affect people's conscience. In this way, if "benevolence" is the basic content of virtuous governance, then "rituals" are the standard rules and means to implement that content. Rites mean etiquette, rituals, ways of behaving, standards of rules, laws, and regulations on the order of social relationships, from the family to the outside society. In the chapter on Encouragement of Learning, Xun Zi wrote: "Rituals are the great part of the law, the discipline of the people". The rule of law is the method, the way to govern the country by laws, punishments, and even higher, laws recognized by society as standards and principles to regulate human moral behavior. The rule of law takes laws and punishments recognized by society as the basis and standards to judge right and wrong, good and bad, merit and crime, from which there are strict rewards and punishments for all people in society. It is also the tool to regulate human moral behavior. On that basis, it contributes to educating people and especially maintaining the stability of social institutional order.

Thus, if moral governance emphasizes the role of morality, that is, valuing the voluntary and self-conscious actions of the subject, originating from internal motivations, then legal governance absolutizes the role of law, only paying attention to coercion by state laws, that is, valuing external imposition. The opposition between moral governance and legal governance is not actually an opposition in nature, purpose and ideology of the ruling class, but it is only different in the way and method of governing the country of the ruling class in controlling human behavior, different in the level of social requirements. Therefore, it can be said that moral governance and legal governance are always companions, working together towards social stability, "morality is the basis of law, not vice versa", meaning that law is formed by legalizing some of the most basic moral standards, so legal standards are not only not opposed but also fundamentally consistent with moral standards. Thereby, we affirm that legal governance is considered the minimum morality, while morality is considered the maximum law. Virtuous governance and legal governance are two different areas of political form, these two lines are opposite to each other, but always have a binding relationship with each other in the relationship between people and society and between people with each other. In which, moral governance is not only the goal but also the requirement for legal governance; while legal governance is not only the foundation, but also the method, the practical way to achieve moral governance. A society that only uses moral education, calls for voluntary and self-awareness and does not need to use laws cannot build an orderly and stable society. On the contrary, if we only use the rule of law, that is, only

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pay attention to laws and punishments to maintain social order, we cannot build a sustainable and good society. Mencius wrote: "Goodness alone is not enough to govern; law alone is not enough to make people obey" (Mencius, 1996, p.5).

In history, whether following the trend of virtue or rule of law, those in power had to combine both of these approaches, the only difference being which approach was considered fundamental and how to resolve the relationship between them. Virtue and rule of law, each approach and method has both advantages and disadvantages, overcoming the disadvantages of one by supplementing the advantages of the other is the most effective viewpoint in the way of governing the country and pacifying the people. In the political thought of Le Thanh Tong, he knew how to closely and skillfully combine the two approaches of virtue and rule of law and considered them as the principles in his policies and methods of governing the country. In the context of Dai Viet society in the 14th-15th centuries, which was in crisis in terms of political institutions, there were many internal conflicts in the country, there was no longer a hierarchy between the top and the bottom, social order was disrupted, morality and ethics were degraded; To stabilize social order, enhance status, authority, interests and consolidate the political regime, Le Thanh Tong inherited the ideological values of the governance of previous dynasties in history; advocated combining the two viewpoints of moral governance and legal governance, on the basis of patriotism and profound national spirit in his political principles.

The viewpoint of combining "virtue governance" and "law governance" in Le Thanh Tong's way of governing the country does not exclude each other but is unified and complements each other; if there is only morality, that is, goodness, then goodness is not enough to govern and maintain social order; and conversely, if there is only law, then it is not enough to win people's hearts and make them obey. Therefore, to maintain social order, Le Thanh Tong must harmonize these two approaches as the two hands of the ruler. Le Thanh Tong wrote: "Without rewards and punishments, even the Tang and Ngu dynasties cannot govern the world" (Hoang Van Lau (translated 1998), p.430).

When promoting morality, Le Thanh Tong always relied on moral standards, and above all, laws and punishments are the means of binding to help people in society live well. On the contrary, when using criminal law and rules, he always aims at morality and protects moral standards, customs and traditions, and uses it as a foundation to guide and educate people to know how to lead a disciplined and disciplined life. It can be said that the law must be based on morality, protect morality and aim at moral standards. This means that for effective law enforcement, the promulgation of law must be ethical. If the law is too brutal and immoral, it will be strongly reacted by society. Therefore, if the promulgation of law is not based on moral standards, society will inevitably reject it. Le Thanh Tong wrote: "Form the habit of upholding morality, following the law to eliminate sins that despise humanity and commit crimes of imprisonment" (Hoang Van Lau (translated 1998), p.454).

In Le Thanh Tong's political line, the view of closely combining moral governance and legal governance was the principle of governing the country and was expressed throughout all areas of society, from economics to politics, culture, and society. The Confucian view of legalizing and legalizing social life was generalized by him and divided social relationships into certain relationships, orders, and hierarchies, including: king - subject, parents - children, husband - wife relationship, brother - sister relationship. First of all, it is a manifestation of the view of combining moral governance and legal governance in the relationship between king and subject. This is essentially the relationship between the people and the country. In this relationship, on the one hand, Le Thanh Tong highly valued basic ethical categories such as: loyalty, courtesy, and righteousness of subjects. In which, loyalty is the main category, loyalty means eight hearts of honesty, uprightness, loyalty, uprightness, especially eight hearts of loyalty to the king or loyalty to the country. Confucius in Analects, Bat Dat, 19 wrote: "The king treats his subjects with rites, the subjects serve the king with loyalty" (The king treats his subjects with rites, the ministers serve his subjects with loyalty). "Loyalty" to Le Thanh Tong means that subjects and officials must be loyal to the king, loyal to the court, he emphasized this relationship and required the implementation of standards in that relationship. When speaking to high and low officials inside and outside, Le Thanh Tong wrote: "The way of being a subject essentially has two things. Above, love the king, below, love the people. "To love the king, one must be completely loyal, to love the people, one must be completely sincere, that's all" (Hoang Van Lau (translated 1998), p.310). To love the king, one must be completely loyal, to love the people, one must be completely sincere, that is "righteous", that is "serving the rites as a human being". Le Thanh Tong wrote: "Those who serve the king are loyal, keeping themselves upright" (Hoang Van Lau (translated 1998), p.407). However, that loyalty is not blind, stupid loyalty, but being loyal to the king according to Le Thanh Tong, the subject must also know how to advise the king to avoid mistakes, to follow the path of loyalty. Le Thanh Tong stated his concept of the loyalty of subjects that:

"I think: the good lieutenant generals of the past served the king with all their loyalty, forgetting their home for the country. Now, you, the hundreds of civil and military officials, inside and outside, eat the king's salary, and must take care of the king's worries. Whenever there are bad things in the army and people or mistakes in my actions, you should all clearly advise me, help me correct my shortcomings, and take care to do everything that should be done in my duty as a subject" (Hoang Van Lau (translated 1998), p.349); "Heaven has given me my nature, and I will uphold the five and three principles of morality to help my lord" (Ho Si Hiep, 1962, p.109). Loyalty in the relationship between king and subject was also emphasized by Le Thanh Tong:

"I do not know if you, the mandarins, are always at home worrying about the country's affairs, not neglecting to correct my shortcomings, or are you just being careless and cultivating your character, seeking personal gain, following the world to advance and retreat, to maintain your position?" (Hoang Van Lau (translated 1998), p.509).

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When talking about loyalty, Le Thanh Tong clearly pointed out the cunning, disloyalty, and unrighteousness of most mandarins: "There are few loyal civil servants, many are cunning, selling integrity to seek fame, as if loyalty is trust, like Tran Phong, Dao Tuan, how can they change their minds" (Hoang Van Lau (translated 1998), p.509).

In Le Thanh Tong's political thought, the relationship between king and subject is a two-way relationship. In it, the king treats his subjects with rites, and in return, the subjects must serve the king with loyalty. Therefore, on the one hand, he emphasizes the loyalty of his subjects; on the other hand, he always focuses on using talented people, encouraging and rewarding loyal subjects, assisting the king and helping the country, pointing out and helping the king correct mistakes, and treating his subjects with rites. In the work *Cung tuyen* that, he wrote: "It is only to treat the great ministers with rites" (Mai Xuan Hai, 2003, p.373). On that basis, Le Thanh Tong clearly defined the purpose and work of the king's way. In *Quan dao thi*, he wrote: "The way of kingship is very great, it must be studied very thoroughly, below must love the people, above must respect heaven. To govern the people, protect the country, one must think about previous experiences, keep a pure heart, have few desires, and give up entertainment. Seek talented people, promote literature and virtue, take care of military equipment, respect generals. The torch shines everywhere, knowing the feelings of the people, whether they are cold or warm, in the lowlands or highlands, all enjoy peace" (Mai Xuan Hai, 2003, p.298). Le Thanh Tong believed that a king who rules the world must be diligent and industrious in taking care of the material and spiritual life of the people. The virtue of diligence and study became a habit that followed him throughout his life. He believed: "To know the new, one must collect, to review the past, to consider the important things" (Mai Xuan Hai, 2003, p.217). Although at the peak of power, he still did not indulge in wine and women, did not indulge in hunting, did not favor jewels, strange objects, did not neglect or neglect the affairs of the court like previous kings had done. Le Thanh Tong wrote:

"In the past, our Emperor Thai Tong, the king and his subjects were of one mind, the wise king and his virtuous subjects were happy to meet, the people were in harmony and prosperous, leading to good omens, where was there a lack of humanity? During the Thai Hoa and Dien Ninh dynasties, political affairs revolved around the curtain, those who helped held power and authority. Those who harmed the country were the Khac Phuc and Mong Tuan; those who touched the wall and killed the people were the Do Bi and Do Truong. When it came to the incident that was born in the wall of the house, the disaster happened on the pillow and mattress, the descendants of Bi and Truong all died in the same net" (Hoang Van Lau (translated 1998), p.509).

When talking about the virtue of diligence in caring for the people and the country, he recounted about his own life:

"The drums moved, he still read books

The gongs and gongs had not yet stopped their service" (Mai Xuan Hai, 2003, p.10).

That is the viewpoint that emphasizes the ethics and morality of the king's way, but in the relationship between king and subject, Le Thanh Tong also always paid attention to the law; he used the law to punish those who were disloyal and unjust to the king. The severity of this punishment varies depending on the severity of the crime; it is specified in detail in the Hong Duc Code. In the viewpoint that emphasizes the law, the crime of disloyalty to the king, plotting rebellion, opposing the court will be severely punished, even facing the death penalty, the disaster of extermination of the family. This is one of the ten crimes and also the most serious crime, called "the ten evil crimes" that Le Thanh Tong put first in the Code to punish those who were disloyal to the country and the king. Le Thanh Tong wrote: "Those who plot rebellion, plotting to commit great treason will be punished by beheading" (Nguyen Ngoc Nhuan, 2006, p.271); and "Those who know of a plotter or plotter of great treason must immediately report it to the nearby mandarins; if they do not report it, they will be exiled from the province" (Nguyen Quang Thang - translated 1998, *Luat Hong Duc*, p.271). Promoting the rule of law in the relationship between king and subject, Le Thanh Tong also severely punished the crime of disobeying the king's orders. Le Thanh Tong wrote: "If you do not come on the days of the meeting (of swearing allegiance to the king), you will be sentenced to exile" (Nguyen Ngoc Nhuan, 2006, p.74); "The mandarins and soldiers in the capital and outside the town, who secretly drink blood and swear together in the Man Lieu border areas, will be exiled" (Nguyen Ngoc Nhuan, 2006, p.73). In order for the loyalty of a subject to the king to be strictly implemented, Le Thanh Tong convicted and severely punished Le Duc Ninh for "keeping the imperial guards but not knowing how to protect the country, but instead sending troops to help the rebels" (Hoang Van Lau (translated 1998), p.389).

Thus, in the relationship between king and subject, to maintain social order, on the one hand, Le Thanh Tong always promoted moral qualities and standards. But on the other hand, he also paid attention to using criminal law to protect and maintain those moral qualities and standards. This is the skillful and creative combination of Confucianism in Le Thanh Tong's way of governing the country.

Along with the relationship between king and subject, the view of closely combining virtue and rule of law in Le Thanh Tong's political thought is also reflected in the relationship between father and son. This is also one of the important relationships and ties in the basic relationships of society. On the one hand, on the principle of combining virtue and rule of law, Le Thanh Tong always educated and promoted the filial piety of children to their fathers, and children and grandchildren to their superiors such as grandparents, uncles, etc. as the first; at the same time, he also required parents, grandparents, and superiors to always take "compassion" as the most important thing when treating their children and grandchildren.

In this relationship, children must use the word "filial piety" to behave with their superiors such as grandparents and parents. "Filial piety" is one of the virtues, feelings, and etiquette, a manifestation of the natural nature of children's way of life towards

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their superiors. The book *Dai Hoc* says: "As a child, one must do one's best to practice filial piety. As a father, one must do one's best to practice kindness" (Tu Thu, 2003, p.17). In the same spirit, when talking about filial piety, Le Thanh Tong considered "filial piety" as the spiritual and moral basis of the political and moral foundation of children and grandchildren towards their grandparents and parents. He wrote: "A filial child will be famous forever" (Mai Xuan Hai, 2003, p.425); and he advised and educated his children to have the duty to practice those moral and ethical standards. In the poem *Co Tam Bach Vinh Thi Tap*, Le Thanh Tong wrote:

"The filial piety is never forgotten.

The profound morality will never be forgotten" (Mai Xuan Hai, 2003, p.330).

Not only that, he also believed that "filial piety" is the first standard and an indispensable condition for an official. Le Thanh Tong wrote: "Those who are unfilial, unruly, unrighteous, incestuous, and deceitful... no matter how well they study or how good their writing and poetry are, they will not be allowed to take the exam" (Hoang Van Lau (translated 1998), p.396). "Filial piety" is not only a requirement for children to be filial to their parents, but also a principle, a standard of social life, a tool to maintain family order. Le Thanh Tong wrote: "Do not rely on intelligence to reverse the typical example to put yourself in a place of unfilial piety" (Chu Thien, 1943, p.61). He even believed that "filial piety" is the root to govern the world; He wrote: "Filial piety is the most fundamental thing to govern the world" (Institute of Literature, 1998, p.52). Le Thanh Tong's view on the father-child relationship was not just a one-way relationship, but he always required parents to treat their children according to their principles. If the children were "filial", the parents must be "kind". "Kindness" is the expression of love, awareness of caring for children, sacrifice for the future of their children, and knowing how to love and raise children, knowing how to set an example for their children to study. Le Thanh Tong wrote: "Parents must teach their children to have rules, boys and girls must have jobs, must not drink alcohol, gamble, or practice singing to harm customs" (Kham Dinh Viet Su Thong Giam Cuong Muc, 1998, volume 1, p.1202).

But with the elevation of moral standards of children towards their superiors, Le Thanh Tong also always paid attention to using laws and penal codes to punish the acts of unfilial children and unmerciful fathers. That is the vivid expression of the principle of combining virtue and law in his method of governing the country. Le Thanh Tong also believed that the king must have legal sanctions to direct the obligations of children towards their parents and grandparents. Therefore, filial piety is the main object and content of legislation. Le Thanh Tong wrote:

"Unfilial piety is denouncing and cursing grandparents and parents, going against the teachings of parents; being raised in poverty, having parents in mourning but getting married, having fun and dressing as usual; hearing about parents and grandparents' funerals but hiding it, not sending anyone (to organize the funeral); lying that grandparents and parents have died" (Nguyen Ngoc Nhuan, 2006, p.49). It is also a special emphasis on deterrence and the most severe punishment among the ten "devils". Le Thanh Tong wrote: "Evil rebellion is beating and killing grandparents, parents, uncles, aunts, brothers, sisters, maternal grandparents, husbands, grandparents and parents-in-law" (Nguyen Ngoc Nhuan, 2006, p.49). Not only must children be filial to their superiors, but Le Thanh Tong also punished parents who did not fulfill their responsibilities and educational duties towards their children, when their children did wrong things, depending on different acts and violations (criminal and civil). Le Thanh Tong wrote: "If children still live with their parents and steal, their parents will be punished with exile. If they rob, their fathers will be punished. If it is more serious, they will be charged with additional crimes, and must compensate their children for the stolen goods. "When children move out, their parents are punished or exiled" (Nguyen Quang Thang - translated 1998, p.243).

Le Thanh Tong also blamed and even punished parents who did not know how to raise their children. He wrote, "If parents do not know how to raise their children... then allow commune officials and village chiefs to report to the government office. If the fault is small, they will be punished with whips, if the fault is big, they will be punished by law" (National Dynasty Penal Code - Le Dynasty Law, 2003, p.76).

The idea of combining virtue and law in Le Thanh Tong's political line is not only deeply expressed in the relationship between king and subject, father and son, but also expressed in the relationship between husband and wife. The family has a particularly important position in society, is the cell of society, so Le Thanh Tong always cares about, strengthens, educates and expands this relationship through ethical standards expressed in the relationship between husband and wife, such as affection, loyalty and the view of "when married, follow your husband" under the Confucian perspective.

In the relationship between husband and wife, on the one hand, Le Thanh Tong emphasized the position, obligations as well as the moral standards of the husband towards his wife. Regarding the husband, he believed that: "The husband should be frugal in business, be completely grateful, only when the wife commits a crime, then she should be abandoned, but should not be lenient, careless and harm the moral standards" (Kham Dinh Viet Su Thong Giam Cuong Muc, 1998, volume 1, p.1202). On the other hand, he also always paid attention to the way of being a wife, in which loyalty and respect for the husband are the moral standards placed first. Le Thanh Tong wrote: "As a woman, you must follow your husband, you must not rely on your parents' wealth and honor to look down on your husband's family, otherwise you must punish your parents" (Kham Dinh Viet Su Thong Giam Cuong Muc, 1998, volume 1, p.1203).

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Along with encouraging and promoting moral ethics in marital relations, Le Thanh Tong also paid great attention to using the law to maintain those moral standards, punishing acts that violate moral standards in marital relations. According to Le Thanh Tong, when a husband violates morality in treating his wife, he will be severely punished, depending on the severity of the crime: "The husband's act of beating his wife is handled according to the law, but the punishment is three levels lower than other common crimes. A husband who intentionally kills his wife will only have his sentence reduced by one level. A husband who beats his wife to death is considered a criminal - the most serious crime in feudal society" (Nguyen Quang Thang - translated 1998, p.261); "A husband who beats his wife and causes injury is punished three levels lighter than the crime of injuring an ordinary person; if he beats her to death, he is punished three levels lighter than the crime of killing someone" (Nguyen Ngoc Nhuan, 2006, p.157). It is also to protect the happiness and peace in the family, Le Thanh Tong wrote: "Fornication with another wife is punishable by exile or death" (Nguyen Quang Thang - translated 1998, p.219). That punishment aims to protect the life and health of the wife, which is a form of limiting the patriarchal rights of the husband, protecting the rights of the wife. Compared to the viewpoint of "male superiority and female inferiority" which is quite dominant in feudal society, this is a quite progressive viewpoint of Le Thanh Tong; it is the spirit of equality between men and women in society, between husband and wife in the family. As for the wife, when she violates the good moral standards of the wife towards her husband, Le Thanh Tong also uses punishment to punish the wife's moral violations. Le Thanh Tong wrote:

"The first wife or concubine who leaves her husband's house without permission will be punished as a traitor; if she leaves and marries another man, she will be punished as a traitor; her person and property will be returned to her former husband's house. If a woman knows and marries him, she will be punished as a traitor" (Nguyen Ngoc Nhuan, 2006, p.118).

It is also the wife's duty and obligation to respect her husband. Le Thanh Tong issued an edict stating: "If she has an affair with another man during her husband's mourning period, or if she gets married, she will be punished with death; any man who marries a woman will be punished in the same way" (National History Institute of the Nguyen Dynasty, 1998, volume 1, p.1092).

However, in the relationship between husband and wife, to limit outside interference in the relationship between husband and wife, Le Thanh Tong gave the husband and wife the right to decide on the necessary actions in each specific case to suit the circumstances of each family, while creating conditions to mend the relationship between husband and wife. This shows that Le Thanh Tong's purpose was to protect order and stability in the family on the basis of ethics and morality, but at the same time the law also played an important role in maintaining that relationship.

In the political thought of Le Thanh Tong, the principle of combining virtue and law in the way and method of governing the country is not only deeply and vividly expressed in the relationship between king and subject, father and son, husband and wife, but also deeply expressed in the relationship between brothers. Promoting morality in the relationship between brothers, Le Thanh Tong believed that brothers in the family must know how to advise each other in the spirit of brotherly love as if they were hands and feet. In particular, the elder brother and sister must know how to protect, give in, love, and take care of their younger brothers and must treat them with courtesy. Le Thanh Tong wrote: "Brothers must treat them with courtesy" (Kham Dinh Viet Su Thong Giam Cuong Muc, 1998, volume 1, p.1202); "The elder brothers in the villages and wards know how to teach their children in the village, so they have good customs" (Kham Dinh Viet Su Thong Giam Cuong Muc, 1998, volume 1, p.1203). But on the contrary, younger siblings must respect older siblings and listen to their teachings. In particular, younger siblings must always respect older siblings, shown in their daily activities, speech, and behavior. In the Le - Trieu teachings, he wrote:

"Children in the family must respect older siblings; when eating, they must be patient, when seeing or carrying heavy things, they must help. They must not rely on their wealth to eat at the same table, sit in the same row, and lose the common morality" (Le - Trieu teachings, 1962, p.21).

Not only that, younger siblings must also know how to love and get along with their elders, and must treat their elders with courtesy. He wrote: "As a disciple, one should love one's brothers, get along with the village, and treat one's elders with courtesy" (Kham Dinh Viet Su Thong Giam Cuong Muc, 1998, volume 1, p.1205). In this two-way relationship, Le Thanh Tong emphasized: "The blanket and pillow are warm like the spring sunshine, brothers are filled with kinship" (Mai Xuan Hai, 2003, p.519).

But on the other hand, along with promoting ethics in brother-sister relationships, Le Thanh Tong also always paid attention to using the law to punish the immoral acts of older brothers towards younger brothers and vice versa. First of all, if the older brother does not keep the rules to set an example for the family, then the law must be used to punish the older brother. Le Thanh Tong wrote: "The head of the family must himself keep the rules to set an example for the whole family to follow; if the younger brother or sister acts recklessly, then the head of the family must be punished" (Kham Dinh Viet Su Thong Giam Cuong Muc, 1998, volume 1, p.1202). On the contrary, if the younger brother or sister does not keep the rules and moral standards, then he or she will also be severely punished. Le Thanh Tong wrote: "The younger subordinates who live with the elders and arbitrarily use their money will be punished with 80 lashes" (Nguyen Ngoc Nhuan, 2006, p.112). If "Brothers are not in harmony, to the point of having to fight and sue each other, the person who is unreasonable must be punished more severely than an ordinary person" (Nguyen Ngoc Nhuan, 2006, p.164).

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Thus, in order to closely combine the path of moral governance with the rule of law in the principle of governing the country, on the one hand, Le Thanh Tong advocated promoting morality, ethics, and educating people in morality, which is reflected in all relationships in society; on the other hand, he always paid attention to using the law to strictly reward and punish those who violate ethical standards and social order. In order to protect traditional customs and traditions and use traditional customs and traditions to guide people to live a life with strict discipline. Through that, he restored the order and discipline of the country's laws to create a solid foundation and basis for the stability and development of Dai Viet society. Assessing the integrative viewpoint in the governance of Le Thanh Tong, thinker Insun Yu commented as follows: "Le Thanh Tong's governance, which was institutionalized by law, was the product of two different ideologies: Confucianism and what researchers of Chinese legal history call Legalism... The combination of these two ideologies, which became the guiding line for later kings of the Le dynasty, was not a unique creation of Thanh Tong but because he followed the legal tradition of China" (Insun Yu, 1994, pp.41-42).

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