ENCYCLOPEDIA OF KOREAN RITES OF PASSAGE

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ENCYCLOPEDIA OF KOREAN RITES OF PASSAGE

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FOREWORD

Interest in intangible cultural heritage is greater these days than ever before. UNESCO continues to produce a list of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity to safeguard and preserve the precious traditional cultural heritage of communities around the world. In the midst of such heightened awareness of the intangible cultural heritage of humanity, the National Folk Museum of Korea has compiled a vast quantity of materials that attest to the spiritual roots of the Korean people, and has been publishing the ongoing *Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Culture* since 2002.

To release this series of encyclopedias for the use of individuals and specialists alike, the materials on Korean folk culture were divided into eight themes. As of 2017, we have published the *Encyclopedia of Korean Seasonal Customs*, *Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Beliefs*, *Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Literature*, *Encyclopedia of Korean Rites of Passage*, and *Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Art*. By 2024, the *Encyclopedia of Food, Clothing, and Housing in Korea*, *Encyclopedia of Occupations and Skills in Korea*, and *Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Society* will also be published.

In addition, an English language edition of each encyclopedia is being published after completion of the Korean language edition. The National Folk Museum will continue its efforts to publish the *Encyclopedia of Korean Folk Culture* series with the objective of creating a complete compilation of books on the Korean folk cultural heritage that has been passed down for thousands of years.

I would like to thank all those who worked so hard to produce this volume, the *Encyclopedia of Korean Rites of Passage*, including the authors, translators, advisors, and editors. Also, my heartfelt thanks to the staff of the museum's encyclopedia compilation team who have spared no time or effort in realizing this project.

Cheon Jin-gi
Director, National Folk Museum of Korea
September 2017

천진기

Encyclopedia of Korean Rites of Passage

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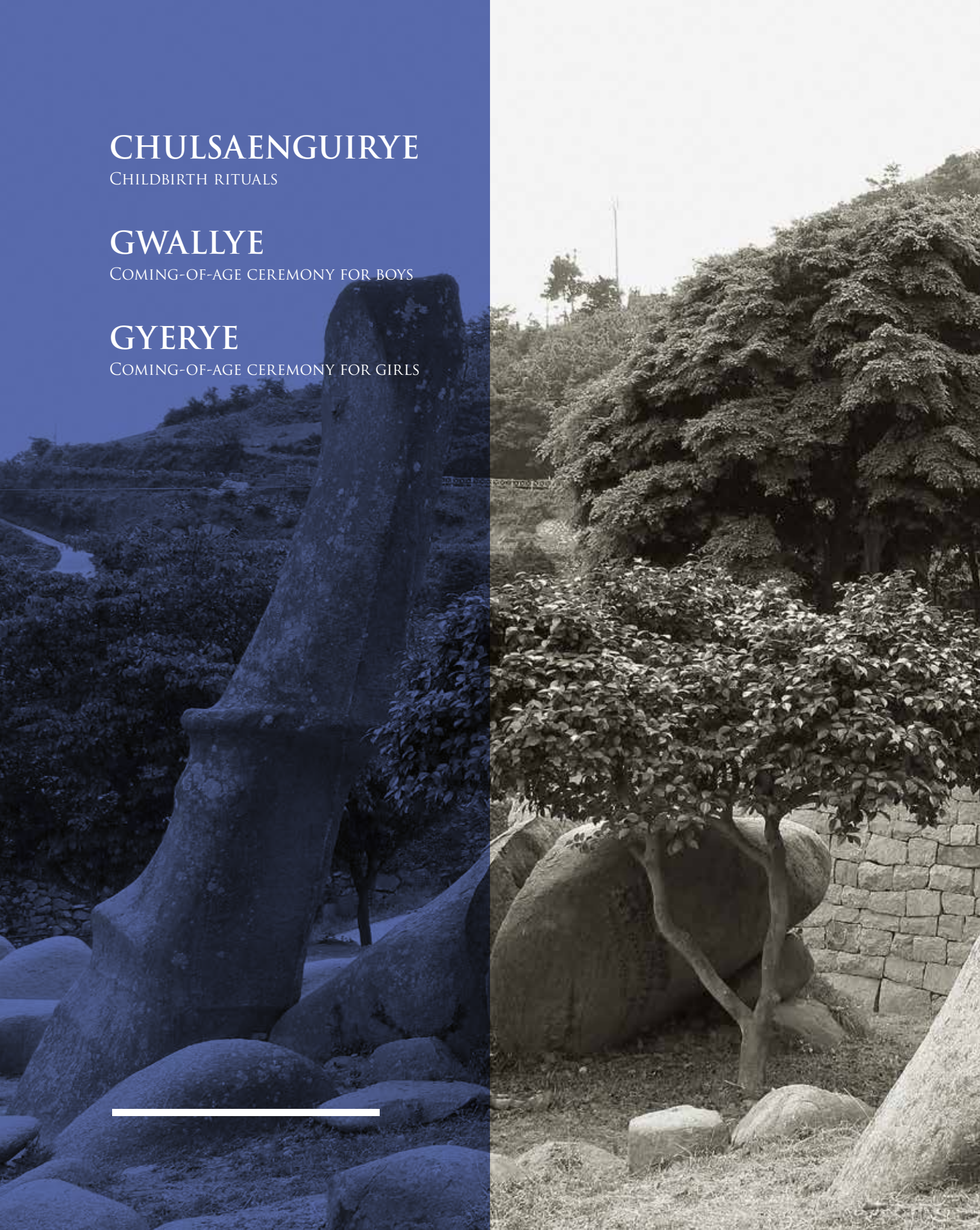


GEUMJUL 금줄

Taboo rope

A special rice straw rope made when a child was born and hung over various significant objects or places, such as a gate, village entrance, crockery terrace and village tutelary tree, to warn unwanted visitors to fend off evil forces.

When a child was born, a straw rope was hung over the front gate of the baby's home, announcing his or her birth. In addition, the straw rope was intended to prevent the entrance of uninvited visitors to the house under the belief that some evil forces might exploit their visit to disturb the happy event, and to admonish the members of the baby's family to behave prudently in their daily activities. The main function of the taboo rope was then to protect the baby from all the hazards lurking around.

The rope was hung for a set period of time starting directly after childbirth, normally three weeks, though it could be extended to as long as seven weeks. After that period, the rope was burnt at clean place or left until it decayed naturally. In this period, the newborn baby had his or her life protected from evil forces and began to learn about the order of the world.

In some regions it was believed that leaving the taboo rope hanging for too long might lead the baby to encounter an evil scene, be retarded in learning to speak, or have difficulty marrying when grown up.

The taboo rope was made by twisting strands of straw to the left and attaching a few symbolic objects such as a piece of charcoal, mulberry paper, a pine spray, an eggplant, and red peppers. The objects attached to the rope slightly varied according to the baby's sex. A general tendency across the country was to hang red peppers for boys and charcoal for girls. This could differ according to region, because in some areas red peppers and charcoal were attached for boys and charcoal with a pine branch for girls. While ordin-ary straw ropes were made by twisting strands to the right, those made by twisting straw to the left were rarely used for daily purposes and hence believed to have the supernatural power to keep off evil. The rice straw used to make the ropes symbolized the land, purity and fertility. Charcoal was chosen because it is a material left after burning all impurities and can purify other materials. The mulberry paper strips were included because their high visibility was regarded as appropriate to mark the sacredness of an area, and because Koreans generally regard the color of paper, white, as divine. The pine branch, due to its sharp needle

Taboo rope
Pyeongtaek, Gyeonggi-do Province

leaves, was believed to help frighten away evil. It was used for baby girls because it was also believed to be a symbol of fidelity, as suggested by the evergreen leaves. The red peppers marking the birth of a boy were based on the traditional belief that evil spirits were scared of the color red. In addition, the pepper has long been a phallic symbol in Korea. It was included in the symbolic objects attached to the taboo rope from the 18th century, when red pepper farming became widespread.

The taboo rope functioned as a social agreement and signal. When it was exhibited for a certain period to mark the birth of a child, it served as a cultural device not just to announce the birth of a new life, but also to protect the life from evil energy, helping it better adapt to, and be incorporated into, the order of the world.

Miniature axe-head charm

I GIJADOKKI 기자도끼

Miniature axe-head charm

An ornamental object in the shape of an axe-head worn by married women as a charm to obtain male offspring through divine intervention.

Gijadokki is a miniature ornamental object in the shape of an axe head, secretly worn by married women who believed that it would help them to have a male child. Some women chose to wear ***samtaedokki***, a charm of three axe heads linked with a string, expressing wishes for the boy they expected to be born with the luck of the three chief ministers.

According to a record about women in "Chapter of Miscellaneous Diseases" in "Donguibogam"[1] one can have a male chick hatched from an egg if an axe head is laid under it. Similarly, there is a record in "Joseonwangjosillok" (朝鮮王朝實錄, The Annals of the Joseon Dynasty) dated to the eighteenth day of the fifth month of 1441 according to which a royal medical practitioner told King Sejong, then seriously ill, about Byeongnyeokseol, an axe found at a place stuck by a thunderbolt as introduced in "Taepyeonggwanggi"[2] (太平廣記, Extensive Records of the Taiping Era). He went on to say that the axe would help repel evil energy from a boy if worn by him, or allow a woman to give birth to a child comfortably if she ground it into powder, mixed it with water, and drank the solution. He

1 Generally translated as "Principles and Practice of Eastern Medicine", "Donguibogam" (東醫寶鑑) is an encyclopaedic work of Chinese and Korean medical knowledge and treatment techniques compiled in 1613 by Heo Jun with the support of medical experts and the literati according to royal instruction.

2 A collection of stories compiled under the editorship of Li Fang and first published in 978, "Taepyeonggwanggi" ("Taipingguangji" in Chinese) contains about seven thousand stories that were selected from over three hundred books and novels from the Han dynasty to the early Song dynasty.

then advised the king to dispatch royal inspectors to find it.

Old historical texts show that an axe was considered a divine object in many parts of Korea and revered as a symbol of masculinity and virility. The axe motif embroidered on the lower garment of the king's robes is also suggested to be a symbol of masculine power. Some believed that carrying an axe could repel evil forces and even cure disease if one drank water that had been boiled with it. Therefore, it can be concluded that the custom of wearing ***gijadokki*** originated from the ancient belief in magic. The practice of wearing an axe head shape made from a kitchen knife stolen from a large family with many children is also related to the ***gijadokki*** custom.

GIJAUIRYE 기자의례

Ritual for the birth of male children

Various rituals and practices performed to obtain a child, a male heir in particular.

The practices called ***gijauirye*** were performed to have many children, male children in particular. In past Korean society, women unable to have children were treated as committing a grave sin, and it was therefore extremely important for them to perform various ritual activities believed to give them children.

The term ***gijauirye*** refers to such activities as prayers and shamanic rituals called ***chiseong***, eating or drinking special food or beverages, inviting the magical power of an object, accumulation of merit through acts of charity and good deeds and thoughts, and actions related to pregnancy and childbirth involving natural objects, such as stone or wood, in the shape of male and female genitalia.

Chiseong involved praying to various natural objects believed to have supernatural power or give magical benefits. Women tended to choose late evening or early morning for their prayers in the belief

Ritual for the birth of male children

Rocks in the shapes of male and female reproductive organs in Gacheon, Namhae-gun in Gyeongsangnam-do Province
Gyeongsangnam-do Folklore Material No. 13
Namhae, Gyeongsangnam-do Province | Jeong Sang-bak

that praying in secret would be more effective. Before starting, they washed their bodies and cleansed their minds by avoiding anything that seemed evil. Specific examples of their activities are as follows.

① Praying in the depths of the mountains for three days, seven days, twenty one days, or one hundred days. ② Praying at a temple or shrines to the mountain god, village tutelary, or other deities. ③ Praying to household deities by offering a bowl of pure well water. ④ Praying to a spring, tree, large rock, or standing stone in particular.

As for those relying on specific food or drink, favorite items were those in phallic shapes or related to male children.

① Eating the boiled sexual organ of a rooster or ox, or a boiled egg laid on the lunar New Year's Day. ② Cooking rice and seaweed soup for a woman as her first meal after giving birth, and sharing the meal with her. ③ Drinking water boiled with stone powder made by grinding the nose of a stone Buddhist statue, that of Maitreya in particular.

Those relying on magical practices carried with them a specific object believed to confer on them supernatural power, or stored such an object in a secret location. Objects believed to have magical power were largely those symbolizing virility or fertility. Specific examples of these objects and practices are as follows:

① Stealing the sanitary towel used by a woman who had given birth to many children and wearing it. ② Stealing the taboo rope from a house celebrating childbirth and storing it in one's own home. ③ Stealing the kitchen knife from a large family with many children and making an axe head shape with it to be worn or placed under the pillow.

There were women who tried to have a child by accumulating merit through good deeds and thoughts for others. Specific examples are as follows: ① Some husbands laid stepping stones across a stream on the night of the first full moon of the year, helping their neighbors easily cross the stream. ② Both husband and wife took great care not to be involved in actions that could harm others and helped the needy.

Some people made more desperate efforts by relying on actions associated with pregnancy and childbirth involving various natural objects, stone or wood in particular, in the shape of male and female genitalia. Some of these actions were performed with shamanic prayers. Here are examples of such actions. ① Some women desiring to have children touched or rubbed their genitals against a phallic stone at night as they prayed. They would also rub together two stones resembling male and female genitalia. ② Some couples slept together at a place near two trees growing entangled together, or a tree with branches in Y-shape resembling a human crotch. Sometimes they put a stone in the tree crotch. ③ Some women wore the undergarment worn by a woman when delivering a baby, and spent a night in a delivery room, feigning labor and delivery.

There were numerous objects and actions involved in the efforts of childless couples to have a child of their own, but the couple's earnestness and sincerity were believed to be the most important factors. It was generally believed that one could even move heavenly deities if one was sincere enough and the expression of such religious mentality was the distinguishing characteristic of the ***gijauirye*** tradition.

DOL 돌

Baby's first birthday

The first birthday of a baby.

Korean people maintain a long tradition of celebrating the first birthday of a baby with a large party. The baby is dressed in new clothes, a banquet table is prepared, and the ***doljabi*** (lit. first birthday pick) ceremony is carried out. On the day, the baby's parents dress him or her in clothes of vivid colors, rather than white as usual, as well as the whole range of accessories such as shawl, shoes and ornaments.

In the morning, the entire family gather around the ***samsinsang***, or the table for the deity of pregnancy and childbirth, which was specially prepared for the baby and to pray to the goddesses for the baby's health and longevity. Later, everyone shares the rice and seaweed soup. The birthday party starts with the arrival of relatives, neighbors, and friends of the family, and culminates with the ***doljabi*** event, in which the baby is encouraged to pick one or more objects arranged on a table, such as a strand of threads, bow and arrow, book and brushes, rice and money, or scissors and ruler. Based on the item the baby chooses, the parents try to predict his or her fortune.

The banquet table arranged for the baby normally has plenty of food in addition to the ***doljabi*** items. Of the banquet food specially prepared for the baby, noodles are particularly important. With their thin and long shape, they symbolize longevity. Another important food is ***baekseolgi***, or white rice cake made by steaming rice powder, as it symbolizes the baby's innocence and spiritual purity. The food arranged on the party table also includes millet balls coated with red bean powder, traditionally believed to protect the baby from evil spirits and misfortune. In addition to the food full of symbolism, the baby's family prepares an abundance of food to share with all the guests gathered for the celebration. The guests come to the event with various gifts to please the baby and the parents, such as rice, money, gold rings, and other things, expressing their wishes for the baby's happiness in the future.

For most Korean families, the first birthday celebration is one of the most important family events as it is believed to be closely related with the health and happiness of their young family member. In

"Chodogwanhui" (First–birthday Party) from an eight–panel folding screen depicting the ideal course of the life of a nobleman.
Late 19th C

A baby sits in front of his first-birthday party table
1939

the past, families that had problems in having children avoided holding the first birthday party for fear that it should cause more harm than good to their baby, obtained after so much effort. Today, however, the first birthday party tends to be treated as an opportunity to record an early stage in a child's growth. The tradition of holding a big party for the first birthday is still followed today, but the formalities have undergone considerable changes over time.

With the arrival and development of photography in the early 20th century, many Korean families use the occasion to record the birth and growth of their children. So, taking pictures of the baby has been established as a new tradition. Today, the first birthday parties can be an expensive event involving professional party planners and catering services. The ***doljabi*** items have also changed significantly. In the past, the items were typically focused on emphasizing gender roles, but today they are items connected with diverse modern professions, such as a stethoscope, golf ball, baseball glove, microphone, and mobile phone.

DOLJABI 돌잡이

Lit. first birthday pick

Custom practiced at the child's first birthday party where he or she is encouraged to pick one from a set of symbolic objects arranged on a table to foretell his or her future.

On the first birthday, the baby is dressed in new clothes of vivid colors and celebrated in a birthday party, with ***doljabi*** making up one of the events. It is said that the tradition of ***doljabi*** can be traced back to ancient China, but in Korea it began to spread widely during the Joseon period, from the royal household to the families of common people.

In the past, the items arranged on the table included paper, brush, book, inkstick, and bow and arrow for boys, and knife, scissors, spool and cloth, and ruler and needle for girls. The items common for both boys and girls include a coil of thread, noodles, grains and money, which were used to foretell the baby's future. If a baby picks the thread or noodles, for instance, it meant a long and easy life. Similarly, if the child picked up rice, grains or money, he

Table for the doljab ceremony

A baby boy(top) and girl with a banquet table on first birthday

or she would be rich.

In addition, a boy who picked a bow and arrow would grow into a brave warrior, while a book, brush or inkstick meant a great scholar. For girls, picking up any of the needlework items, such as knife, ruler, spool or scissors meant that they would grow into good, talented housewives.

Today, however, there have been significant changes in the items arranged on the table and many of them are no longer related with any gender roles. These items are more connected with various modern professions, such as a stethoscope, golf ball, baseball glove and microphone. Such a development reflects the changes in society according to the passage of time. Despite such changes, the custom is still alive and well, as our wishes to peek into the future of our children and aspirations for their success are as strong as those of our ancestors.

I BAENAETJEOGORI 배냇저고리

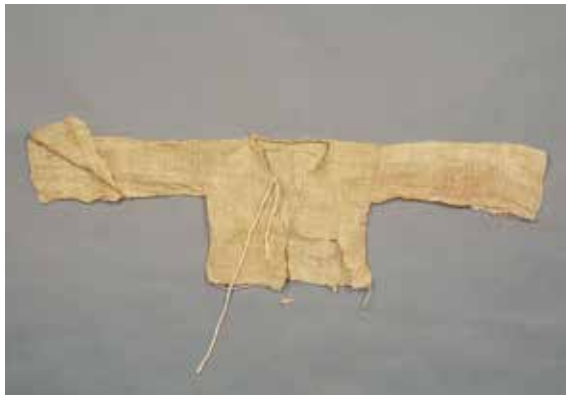
Baby's first garment

The first garment that a baby wears after birth.

Baenaetjeogori is a loose upper garment made either before or after a child is born. Generally, however, it was made after the birth in the belief that doing so beforehand might arouse jealousy among evil spirits and cause serious problems during childbirth. Two or three of these garments were made at the same time, usually by the baby's mother, paternal and maternal grandmothers, or great grandmother. It was believed that the best garment for the newly born baby was that made by a woman who had already given birth to a boy, was leading a happy married life with her husband, and widely revered for her virtue and good deeds.

The favored material was white cotton. Mothers shunned colored garments in the belief that it might cause jealousy among the evil spirits, or make the baby become greedy for clothing. Often it was made from the upper garment of a senior male member of the family who had enjoyed a long life and accomplished great things. Mothers hoped their babies would receive the luck and fortune the senior family member had enjoyed and learn the importance of frugality from the experience of wearing a garment made from used material.

The breast ties of the ***baenaetjeogori*** were



Baby's first garment (called *botdwichangot* in Jeju-do Province)
Mid-1900s | Jeju-do Province | Koh Bou-ja

made of cotton cords, almost without exception. The long cotton cords were called "life cords" and were associated with the wearer's longevity. This belief shows that the most earnest wish of mothers was that their babies live a long and healthy life. The breast ties were made by twisting seven or nine strands of cotton thread together, the outer tie made long enough to go around the waist. The sleeves were also made long enough to completely cover the baby's hands to prevent his or her nails from scratching the face. The garment was in the form of a loose robe designed to give the baby extra warmth and had no collar for fear of irritating the baby's tender skin.

For some people, the ***baenaetjeogori*** was a garment of fortune. Some mothers carefully kept it after the baby had grown up, without washing it, then stitched inside the back panel of the outer garment worn by the grown-up child as he sat for an examination, entered a lawsuit, or went into battle. The entire family treated the garment with care, even after the baby had outgrown it. They believed that if it was thrown away carelessly or used for household chores, the baby who had worn it would become a degenerate, ignoble person. Similarly, they neither borrowed nor lent out a ***baenaetjeogori***, because they feared it would be used by others to repel evil or carry away the original wearer's fortune.

For Korean families in the past, the ***baenaetjeogori*** was not just an ordinary piece of clothing worn by all newly born babies but also a symbolic object reflecting the earnest wishes of the parents and other family members that the child leads a healthy, prosperous life.

BAEGIL 백일

Lit. one hundredth day after birth

The one hundredth day after a child's birth, or a family party celebrating that day.

The term ***baegil*** refers literally to the one hundredth day following the birth of a child, but it also simply means many days. Korean society suffered a high infant mortality rate until the early 20th century, with many infants dying before they reached their one hundredth day. That is why past Koreans believed a special celebration was needed for a baby who had passed that critical period. For the celebration, called ***baegiljanchi***, the family dressed the baby in new clothes and held a sumptuous banquet to celebrate with relatives and neighbors.

The celebration started with the ritual offering of a special breakfast of cooked rice and seaweed soup to ***Samsin***, or the Goddess of Childbearing. After the rite, the food was eaten by the child's mother. Special festive foods were prepared for the banquet including a variety of rice cakes such as ***baekseolgi***, ***susupatteok***,

A baby on the one hundredth day after birth

Clothes for a baby boy on his 100th-day anniversary
Songpa-gu, Seoul | Lee Kil-pyo

injeolmi, and ***songpyeon***. ***Baekseolgi*** is a symbolic food because the first character of the word, ***baek***, has the double meaning of "white" and "one hundred," which together represented wishes for the baby to live for one hundred years. Meanwhile, ***susupatteok*** was believed to repel evil spirits thanks to its reddish color, and ***injeolmi*** was believed to help the baby grow with a sincere mind. Two kinds of ***songpyeon*** (half-moon shaped rice cakes) were made, one with fillings and the other without, representing wishes for the baby to grow with a strong and generous heart. ***Baegiltteok***, or rice cakes for the hundredth day, were handed out not only to relatives and neighbors but also to others who had not been formally invited, as it was believed this would help the baby lead a long life. Those who received rice cakes gave rice, thread, or money in return.

The day of the ***baegil*** celebration was also the day the baby's hair was cut for the first time. The special garment worn by the baby for the celebrations had guessets and breast ties, which were long enough to go around the waist, representing the wishes of the family for the baby to enjoy a long life. Often the baby was dressed in a patchwork garment made with one hundred pieces of cloth because the number symbolized longevity. As such, the celebrations largely consisted of the events wishing for the health, happiness, and longevity of the child.

Today, the one hundredth day celebration tends to be less important than the first birthday celebration. In many cases, families simply take commemorative photos and share rice cakes with close relatives and neighbors.

While the ***samchiril***[3] rite was largely a prayer

3 A period of twenty-one days after childbirth during which a "taboo rope" is hung above the door of the delivery room to bar uninvited visitors from entering

event for the protection of the newly born baby and his or her mother, the ***baegil*** event was a celebration solely for the child. It was also a social event where the family and neighbors gathered together to officially welcome the arrival of the new child. That the rice cakes shared out and the clothes worn on this day had symbolic meaning for the baby's health and longevity reflects the harsh reality of the past when many new-born babies died before reaching their one hundredth day. Hence, the ***baegil*** event was a celebration for the baby who had managed to reach the one-hundred day milestone, ready to start a long and productive life.

BYEOLJEON 별전

Coin charm

Coins issued to commemorate some particular event or issue rather than for wide circulation as currency.

This type of commemorative coin was first made on a trial basis to measure the purity level of the material with which coins were made. As the special coins gained popularity, decorative motifs began to appear on the coins according to the demands of the royal court and ruling class. The motifs used to decorate the coins were animals, plants, Chinese characters, and human figures associated with longevity, happiness, wealth, and honor.

The animal motifs were those believed to bring good fortune and repel disaster and evil spirits such as deer, bats, fish, birds, turtles, cranes, dragons, and phoenixes. Fish and bats were particularly popular.

Among the plant motifs, grapes and peaches were most favored as they were symbols of fertility. The pine tree and mushroom of immortality were also frequently used, as they symbolized longevity. Plum blossoms and bamboo were also favored, as they were symbols of the noble spirit of Confucian scholars.

Chinese characters were also used widely for their decorative and symbolic value. Most favored characters included ***su*** (壽), ***da-nam-ja*** (多男子), ***gang-nyeong*** (康寧) and ***bu-gwi*** (富貴), which mean longevity, abundance of male children, health and comfort, and wealth and honor, repspectively.

Human figures were comparatively few. Some coins carried the design of a boy with two topknots, while others a man and woman engaged in sexual intercourse. Considering that the boy with two topknots traditionally appeared as a page of the Daoist immortals, the coins decorated with such a motif were likely made under Daoist influence. Meanwhile, the motif of a couple in sexual intercourse seems to represent wishes for fertility and abundance.

These designs were used either separately or jointly.

Byeoljeon was hence a coin originally made as a commemorative object. Later, however, several of

front back

Coin charm for abundance of male children
Late Joseon

these coins were joined together to be used as decorative objects or practical items such as key holders. The coins were decorative items reflecting people's aspirations and charms to ward off evil.

SANSIL 산실
Delivery room

The room where a mother gives birth to her baby.

As a woman's labor and delivery day drew near, a delivery room was often prepared in the ***anbang***, the room occupied by the mistress of the house, or the room used by the expectant mother. In Chungcheong-do Province, if the house was less than three years old, expectant mothers were led to the kitchen to deliver the baby in front of the hearth, instead of inside a delivery room. It was believed this would save the mother from a difficult birth. Babies born in the kitchen were given a nickname "Bueoksae," or "kitchen baby." The delivery room was matted with straw for easy cleaning after delivery. The room was heated even during summertime if the delivery day was near and implements were prepared for use in the delivery such as a basin for warm water and scissors to cut the placenta and the umbilical cord.

If a family had two mothers giving birth in the same year, two different delivery rooms had to be prepared. It was believed that two mothers delivering in the same room could result in the loss of one baby. Many families settled the problem by sending one of the two to her maiden home. If it was unavoidable to have two babies born in the same room, the family took extra care over the babies' safety. For example, they tried not to lay the two babies in the same position, and accordingly one baby would be laid widthwise along the wall if the other was laid lengthwise.

Some delivery rooms had a ***samsinsang*** (Kor. 삼신상, Chin. 産神床, lit. offering table for the Goddess of Childbearing). The offerings arranged on the table included dried seaweed, a bowl of clean water, uncooked rice, and a skein of thread, and prayers were said for the safety of mother and baby. If the delivery day overlapped with a ceremony honoring village tutelary deities, a separate hut was prepared for the delivery to avoid evil influences. This hut was had several names, including ***haemak*** (Kor. 해막, Chin. 解幕, lit. delivery hut), ***haesanmak*** (Kor. 해산막, Chin. 解産幕, lit. delivery hut), ***pimak*** (Kor. 피막, Chin. 避幕, lit. safe hut), and ***sanmak*** (Kor. 산막 Chin. 産幕, lit. delivery hut).

In the royal court of Joseon, a delivery room prepared for a queen or princess was called Sansilcheong, or Delivery Hall. When a queen or crown princess was pregnant, the government set up her delivery room and formed a group of childbirth experts. The delivery hall for a crown princess was, for instance, set up at a carefully chosen date in ***Donggung*** (Kor. 동궁, Chin. 東宮, the crown prince's quarters), which was usually closed seven days after the delivery. Though rarely, the delivery hall remained in operation for an extended period when the mother recovered slowly after the delivery. As the birth of a royal baby by a queen or crown princess was regarded as an event for national celebration, the government banned punishments and military examinations during the time the royal

mother stayed in the delivery hall. When it was an easy delivery, the staff of the delivery hall were given special awards.

The customs surrounding the delivery room reflect the traditional belief of Koreans that the birth of a child is a divine event and should take place in a space well protected from the worldly concerns of the outside world. In Korea today, babies are born and spend their earliest days in a hospital delivery room or postnatal care center, but the tradition of taking effort to protect the mother and child from the disturbances of the outside world is still maintained.

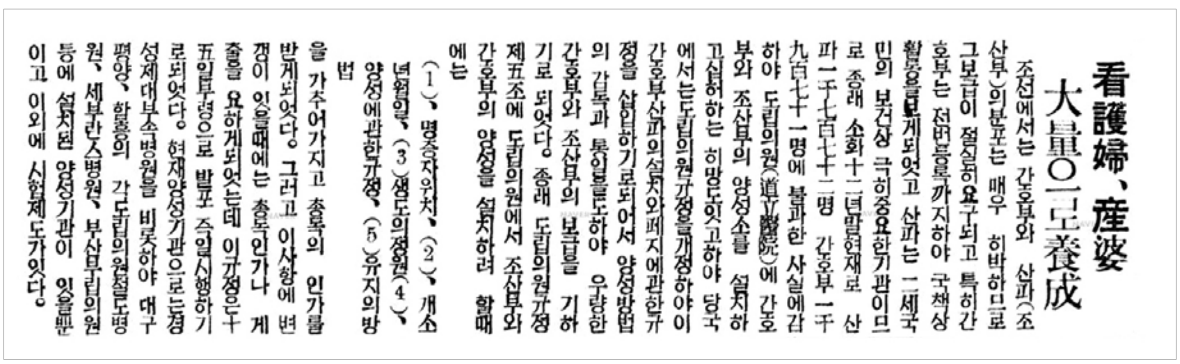
SANPA 산파

Midwife

A midwife, that is, a woman skilled in aiding the delivery of babies, offering care to childbearing women during the entire process of childbirth, from pregnancy to labor and birth.

As the delivery day approached, the family of an expectant mother decided who would serve as midwife. In Korea, the role of midwife was traditionally performed by an elderly female member of the family who had experience with deliveries. If no such family member was available, the family invited one of their relatives and/or neighbors. If it was difficult to find a midwife, a village shaman was sometimes invited to serve the role. Once she had agreed to the duty of a midwife, the woman concerned took great care not to behave or talk lightly, and avoided taking similar responsibilities twice in a month, even if it meant she could not attend when her own daughter was giving birth. It was generally agreed that too frequent involvement in childbirth by the midwife could have a harmful effect on mothers and babies. After the birth of the baby, the family rewarded the midwife within their means and sent her food from the celebrations of ***baegil*** (Kor. 백일, Chin. 百日, 100th-day anniversary of a baby) or ***dol*** (Kor. 돌, first birthday of a baby).

The role of midwife was traditionally performed by the mother or mother-in-law of the expectant mother, who had experience in the delivery of babies. The quality of their service might not be comparable to that of today, but the tradition of families helping each other in times of need is still an important part of Korean culture. In addition, the


看護婦、産婆
大量으로養成
조선에서는 간호부와 산파(조
산부)의분포는 매우 희박하므로
그보급이 절실히요구되고 특히간
호부는 전번능록까지하야 국책상
활동을보게되엇고 산파는 二세국
민의 보건상 극히중요한기관이므
로 종래 소화十二년말현재로 산
파一千七百七十二명 간호부一千
九百七十一명에 불과한 사실에감
하야 도립의원(道立醫院)에 간호
부와 조산부의 양성소를 설치하
고십허하는 희망도잇고하야 당국
에서는도립의원규정을개정하야이
간호부산파의설치와폐지에관한규
정을 삽입하기로되어서 양성방법
의 감독과 통일를도하야 우량한
간호부와 조산부의 보급를 기하
기로 되엇다。 종래 도립의원규정
제五조에 도립의원에서 조산부와
간호부의 양성을 설치하려 할때
에는
(1)、명칭자위치、(2)、개소
년월일、(3)생도의정원(4)、
양성에관한규정、(5)유지의방
법
을 가추어가지고 총독의 인가를
받게되엇다。 그러고 이사항에 변
갱이 잇을때에는 총독인가나 게
출을 요하게되엇는데 이규정은十
五일부령으로 발포 즉일시행하기
로되엇다。 현재양성기관으로는경
성제대부속병원을 비롯하야 대구
평양、함흥의 각도립의원절도병
원、세부란스병원、부산부립의원
등에 설치된 양성기관이 잇을뿐
이고 이외에 시험제도가잇다。

A newspaper article entitled "Nurses, midwives to be trained in large numbers"
Feb. 15. 1939 | The Dong-A Ilbo

taboos established to ensure the safety of mothers and babies during the period of childbirth are a good example of the Korean tradition of cherishing human life as something precious and divine.

SANHUJORI 산후조리

Postnatal care

The tradition of postnatal care in which the mother of a new-born baby takes great care to avoid certain activities deemed harmful to the health and safety of her baby and herself.

After childbirth, the mother needed to take great care to recover her physical and mental condition. The period of postnatal care varied, from three days, to seven days, to twenty-one days and forty-nine days, and generally corresponded with the period the taboo rope was hung outside the front gate to protect a newborn baby from evil forces. This period was necessary to protect both mother and baby from outside hazards for their health and safety. An important factor in deciding the length of postnatal care was whether any woman, other than the baby's mother, was on hand to work around the house.

One of the most important factors of postnatal care for the mother was keeping her warm enough to ensure her fast recovery. When the mother took her first bath after childbirth, she used a wet towel to clean her body rather than soaking her body in water, as water not sufficiently warm was believed to have negative effects on her health. In addition, the room that she occupied had to be kept warm at all times. It was believed that if exposed to cold air she would suffer from cold hands and feet in old age. Therefore, in winter her room was heated at all times, the doors kept closed and folding screens placed to block cold air. Even in summer, mothers under postnatal care had their rooms heated, wore socks and long-sleeved clothes, and avoided fanning themselves.

Food was also a key factor in postnatal care. Though they usually had three meals a day, mothers who had just given birth had as many as six meals a day, including cooked rice and seaweed soup. The seaweed soup was sometimes replaced by soups made with Korean white radish, soy paste, and pumpkin. The seaweed soup was seasoned only with soy sauce and no other spices or seasoning, even garlic. Sometimes fish such as pollack or cod were added, but never meat. Mothers tried to avoid meat dishes, because eating meat was associated with slaughter and hence believed to be unclean. The seaweed soup was, and still is, regarded as important as it is believed to help clean the blood and increase the amount of breast milk. In areas where rice was hard to obtain, barley or millet porridge (Gangwon-do Province) or buckwheat soup (Jeju-do Island) was served to mothers under postnatal care.

Efforts to recover health during postnatal care included sitting on a chamber pot containing hot water boiled with mugwort or sitting on heated roof tiles. If there were any injuries around the birth canal, the injured area was rubbed with the afterbirth, believing that it would heal the injury faster. Mothers suffering from swelling were advised to consume a decoction made of pumpkin boiled with honey. Because the body lost balance after the delivery of a baby, new mothers were ad-

vised to avoid certain daily activities such as lifting heavy objects, which could result in dislocation of the womb. Needlework was also discouraged, because it could affect the mother's eyes.

Not only the mothers, but also their family members were also advised to behave carefully and avoid any inauspicious activities, such as fighting or slaughtering.

***Samsindangsegi*, a basket belived to represent the Goddess of Childbearing**
Andong, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province | Kim Myung-ja

***Samsindanji* (lit. Goddess of Childbearing pot)**
Andong, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province

I SAMSIN 삼신

Goddess of Childbearing

Samsin refers to the deity who, according to Korean folk belief, presides over all affairs related to pregnancy and childbirth.

Samsin is a compound of the Korean word ***sam*** and the Chinese character ***sin*** (神) for deity or spirit. The Korean word ***sam*** refers to "life" or "giving birth to life." According to experts, it originated from the old Korean verb "samgida," meaning "to be formed," and the noun "sam," meaning "placenta." Hence ***Samsin*** is understood as the deity of life, or one delivering life. The deity became a subject of worship in various ceremonies related to the birth and growth of children, such as those praying for a child, for safe birth, for postnatal health, and for the baby's safety in the first three weeks of life, as well as the events celebrating the baby's one hundredth day and the first birthday.

Samsin is one of the major ***gasin*** (Kor. 가신, Chin. 家神, a deity or spirit that protects the home, presiding over the fortune of the family) who was highly revered among families with children or expecting a child, or newly married couples. Worship of ***Samsin*** tended to grow stronger with pregnancy, childbirth and child rearing.

The deity's ***sinche*** (Kor. 신체, Chin. 神體, an object regarded as sacred because of its connection with a specific deity) includes a water dipper called ***samsinbagaji***, pot called ***samsindanji***, and bag called ***samsinjumeoni***. Worshippers put rice in one of those vessels and tied a coil of yarn around it. The rice is not an offering, but instead the body of the deity itself, indicating that the deity is essentially one made of grains.

When there was a pregnant woman in the

Ritual table for the Goddess of Childbearing

house, families prepared a bundle of clean rice straws called ***samsinjip*** and hung it on a rack or above the door of the main bedroom. The offering table for ***Samsin*** was arranged with a bowl of cooked rice, seaweed soup, clean water, soy sauce, and a coil of yarn. Liquor was not included. Seaweed soup was considered mandatory because it is closely connected with pregnant women and childbirth. The seaweed for the soup was purchased in the same month as the birth of the baby, believing that seaweed bought prematurely could lead to a delay of the birth. The seaweed was stored in a clean, safe place out of children's reach and could not be bent, however long it may have been. According to folk belief, a child who took a bite of the seaweed to be consumed by his or her mother would later be bitten by the younger sibling, yet to be born. This idea probably developed from the necessity of providing the mother with the freshest seaweed possible.

This reflects the belief that the parents' efforts alone could not ensure the smooth progress of pregnancy, delivery, and childcare. The help of ***Samsin*** was also needed. That is, the entire process of childbirth was believed to be presided over by the deity. For the worshippers, therefore, the presence of ***Samsin*** should not be forgotten even for a moment. They relied on ***Samsin***, particularly when they faced difficult situations.

I SAMSINBATGI 삼신받기

Lit. reception of the Goddess of Childbearing

Samsinbatgi means an activity performed as a prayer for a child in the paternal line, by bringing "vitality of the nature" into "vitality of the family." It is a practice to receive *Samsin*, or the Goddess of Childbearing, from the nature to the family again.

Samsin refers to the Goddess of Childbearing, who blesses the family with children and oversees their birth and health. There is only one ***Samsin*** for each family, overseeing one lineage of a family name. A daughter-in-law, who will continue the lineage, is under the care of ***Samsin*** whereas a daughter, who will continue a lineage of another family name, is not. This implies that ***Samsin*** is closely related to continuing the paternal lineage. When ***Samsin*** leaves the house, conception is fundamentally impossible since the goddess in charge of childbirth is absent.

Samsin leaves the house for various reasons. When its sacred entity has been unintentionally han-

dled without care by the family, ***Samsin*** gets angry and leaves the house stealthily. So does she when the family is in trouble or is affected by impurities that can damage the sanctity. In this case, ***Samsin*** leaves the house seeking a harbor from the trouble.

Samsinbatgi are categorized into two types. One is to receive ***Samsin*** from the mountain god and Dragon King believed to oversee water. One of the favorite places for receiving ***Samsin*** is a spring in the mountain or a body of water near the valley. It is because these places are believed to have essence of spirit and emit vitality of water. A woman who wants to bear a child prays to the mountain god and Dragon King for receiving ***Samsin***.

Another is to symbolically transfer the vitality of natural objects, animals and plants, and pregnant women to infertile women and their houses so as to make the possibilities of conception highest. Those vitalities are considered ***Samsin*** herself or another kind of ***Samsin***. For example, there are ***Samsin*** of the moon, ginko tree, ramie, dog, and cow. ***Samsin*** of the moon is deity of vitality of the moon. A cycle of waxing and waning of the moon symbolizes an eternal life that endlessly repeats life and death and reproduction.

In addition, not technically ***samsinbatgi*** though, infertile women try to receive fertility from the houses with pregnant women. People used to say that "if an infertile woman visits the house with a woman who just gives birth to a baby, makes the first bowl of soup and rice, and eats it with the mother, ***Samsin*** becomes jealous and blesses the infertile woman with children," or "It will be more effective for conception if an infertile woman goes to the house with a woman who just delivers the baby and steals the straw laid during childbirth or taken down taboo rope, a straw garland hung over a gate to keep out impurities." Some infertile women would wear underwear with blood of the mother and seat on the spot where a child was just born.

SAMCHIRIL 삼칠일

Twenty-first day after birth

Period of three weeks after birth or the twenty-first day after birth.

On the third day after birth, the mother and the baby usually take their first bath, which means purification of their unpure bodies. From this day the mother begins to eat various kinds of foods, according to her means, to help with breast feeding. After the third day, taboos and rites with practical or shamanistic implications are observed every seventh day.

On the first seventh day, the baby is dressed in a new top and encouraged to move one hand freely. The baby blanket is sometimes replaced with a new one. At dawn on this day, a ritual table is prepared for ***Samsin*** (Goddess of Childbearing), with seaweed soup, steamed rice, and water, to pray for the baby's health and longevity, the mother's quick recovery, and easy breast-feeding. The mother then eats the soup and rice that were offered to ***Samsin***.

On the second seventh day, the baby is dressed in new clothes and is encouraged to move both hands freely. As on the first seventh day, at dawn a ritual table is prepared with sea mustard soup,

steamed rice, and water offered to ***Samsin***, and the mother eats the food prepared.

On the third seventh day (***samchiril***), a ritual table with foods is once again offered to ***Samsin***, and this time too the mother eats the food. The taboo rope that was hung up at the front gate right after childbirth is taken down, and the relatives and neighbors are invited inside the home to be treated with food and drink.

The practice of ***samchiril*** varies depending on region and family, and is greatly influenced by family circumstances. Well-to-do families offer the ritual table to ***Samsin*** every seventh day, while other families offer the ritual table only on the first week or sometimes even skip this custom altogether.

Thus, ***samchiril*** is a process in which the mother and the family, who have been separated from everyday life, rejoin daily life again and the baby is introduced to the family, relatives, and community members. The baby, once a fetus in the mother's womb, becomes a newborn infant through childbirth. After the birth, over the first twenty one days, the baby gradually meets the family, relatives and the neighbors, and is recognized as a new member of the community.

The community, to which the family with the newborn baby belongs, goes through the same process. For the family with the newborn baby, the taboo rope symbolizes separation from impurities outside to protect the mother and the baby. Likewise, for the community it symbolizes separation from the impurities of the family with the newborn baby. Such separation ends after ***samchiril*** and the taboo rope is taken down. As the impurities of the family with the childbirth are cleaned, the family becomes part of the community again and the community regains the order of everyday life.

JANGMYEONG 작명

Naming a child

Giving a name to a newborn baby by parents or others.

In Korea, names are not just a term of address, they also hold magical meaning. Parents usually give their child a name representing their aspiration and wishes for the child. Once a name is given, it is to be called myriad times in the belief that it will bring about the child's success, health, wealth and happiness through its meaning and sound. Therefore, it is important to give a name that is easy to pronounce, good to hear, and has good connotations.

In general, there are two naming trends in Korea: one is to follow the given family generation name, and the other is not to follow this tradition. In recent years, it has been more common to give a child a unique name regardless of tradition.

If a generational name is not adopted, circumstances involving the birth (conception dreams, time, place, and order in the family), the parent's wishes, emotions, and the child's appearance and talents are taken into consideration in choosing a name. These days, purely Korean words rather than Chinese-character names, religious names, or names that are easy to pronounce in English are also popular.

In the old days, it was believed that humble names would bring about good fortune; thus, the

more precious the child, the more lowly the name given so that the child would avoid the jealousy of evil spirits. This is why King Gojong's childhood name was Gaettong (meaning "dog shit") and Minister Hwanghui was called Doyaji (meaning "pig") when he was little. The same reasoning applies when people say an adorable child is "so ugly."

Daughters used to be named Ggeutnyeon, Malsugi, Jonghui or Maknyeo, reflecting wishes to stop having daughters. In a family, where boys were rare, names like Butdeuri, Barae or Hunam were given to daughters for the same reason. Ggeut, Mal, Jong or Mak, meaning "an end," were intended to put an end to childbirth, while Butdeuri, Barae or Hunam signified wishes for a boy the next time.

Beyond simply giving the baby a name, the act reflects belief in the power of words and the belief that words have consequences.

Cheonin-cheonjamun (Book of a Thousand Characters by a Thousand People)

I CHEONIN-CHEONJAMUN

천인천자문

Book of a Thousand Characters by a Thousand People

A book of a thousand Chinese characters, each written by a different person as a prayer for the health, longevity, and well-being of a newborn baby.

"Cheonin-cheonjamun" is a book produced as a result of the efforts of the grandfather or the father of a newborn baby who ask a thousand acquaintances in person to ask each of them to write a single letter from "Cheonjamun."[4] The book embodies the grandfather's and father's wishes for the wisdom of the one thousand people who wrote the characters to help the newborn baby grow into a wise soul. Most often a "Cheonin-cheonjamun" book is placed on the table set for the baby's first birthday party. From the past, it has been believed that by doing so the wisdom of one thousand calligraphers would be passed onto the baby. In particular, the grandfather and father sought out people who had passed the state examination (***gwageo***) to ask for their contributions in making such a book. For this reason, "Cheonin-cheonjamun" is also called a book of a thousand characters born of begging.

"Cheonin-cheonjamun" is also called "Maninmun" (Kor. 만인문, Chin. 萬人文, a book written by a great number of people) as many people contributed to it, or "Baeksumun" (Kor. 백수문, Chin. 白首文), which means a book made as prayer for a newborn baby to learn the writing system and live till the

4 Generally translated as "The Thousand Character Classic," "Cheonjamun" (Kor. 천자문, Chin. 千字文) is a text used to teach basic Chinese-character literacy to children.

hair goes gray.

As anyone who participated in the work was asked to leave their name on the leftmost side of the character they wrote, the principle of a single letter per person was strictly observed. Each calligrapher wrote a single character along with its meaning and left his name and signed his name (or stamped a seal). Seals came in variety of shapes. In addition, when visiting these calligraphers to ask them to write a character from "Cheonjamun," fish or liquor were presented as gifts.

The making of a "Cheonin-cheonjamun" book is a folk custom that embodies parents' whole-hearted love for their child, which led them to call on as many as a thousand acquaintances to obtain a thousand hand-written Chinese characters, wishing for their child to have a promising future. This folk custom also conveys the warm hearts of those who wrote each character to celebrate the birth of a newborn baby and prayed for the baby's wellbeing.

I CHULSANGEUMGI 출산금기
Childbirth taboos

Taboos to be kept by the mother or her family members before and after the birth of a child.

In the past, childbirth was always exposed to ***bujeong*** (Kor. 부정, Chin. 不淨, lit. impurities or bad luck), which led to anxieties over a new-born child lest the child go wrong. Childbirth taboos, or ***chulsangeumgi***, were a measure to relieve a pregnant woman or woman with a new-born of their anxieties and to prevent mishaps from taking place. Childbirth taboos are divided by phase into prenatal and postnatal taboos, and they consist largely of forbidden food and activity.

In the prenatal phase, the pregnant woman should refrain from eating particular foods. The most generally forbidden food included duck meat, dog meat, rabbit meat, squid, and pork. It was believed that if a pregnant woman ate duck meat, she would give birth to a child with webbed hands and feet like a duck. If she ate rabbit meat, she would give birth to a red-eyed or hare-lipped child. Eating pork would cause the baby to have edemas; eating eggs would cause the baby to get boils; and eating squid would lead to the birth of a boneless baby. In most cases, food taboos during pregnancy originated from concerns about the possibility, rather than any scientific grounds, that the shape or an attribute of the food might negatively impact the baby to be born. Nevertheless, food taboos were kept because the pregnant woman's emotional security was believed to be directly connected with her unborn baby. In addition, food brought from a family in mourning or home hosting an ancestral memorial rite was banned because of its association with death, and food that was odd-shaped or ill-smelling because it had negative associations.

Also, the expectant mother was forbidden to do such activities as jumping over a sieve, fire, or cutting board and sitting on a broom. Jumping over a sieve or fire was believed to delay the childbirth or to cause the baby to frequently convulse, respectively, and sitting on a broom was believed to bring the birth of twins. The pregnant woman should not visit a house in mourning or holding a banquet or a house on fire because of the impurities. A house

in mourning or on fire should be avoided also for the safety and hygiene of the pregnant woman because a crowd of people would gather at such a place. Family members were also expected to strictly abide by these activity taboos before the childbirth. They did not visit inauspicious places, including a house of mourning, nor use words such as "difficult delivery," "death," or "stillbirth," or any other word that connoted such meanings. They were forbidden to kill animals or to use a sickle or axe when collecting firewood. In addition, they were prohibited from repairing the fireplace or chimney or pasting paper on holes in the doors during the month of delivery because the former action was believed to bring a cleft-lipped baby and the latter to cause a difficult delivery. Also, giving household items or soy sauce to others was taboo because such behavior would mean the baby would be born unlucky.

With an impending delivery, the family chose ***sansil*** (Kor. 산실, Chin. 産室, lit. delivery room) and an auspicious direction in which the baby was to be delivered. Selecting an auspicious direction was a kind of proactive taboo because it meant avoiding an inauspicious direction. Another behavior related to childbirth taboos was to demarcate the delivery room as a taboo area by hanging ***geumjul*** (Kor. 금줄, rice straw rope to ward off evil spirits) at the front gate as soon as the baby was born.

In the postnatal phase, taboos were largely related to forbidden food and behavior. In particular, during postnatal care the mother should refrain from eating hard, cold, spicy, salty, or mushy food. It was believed that hard food, rice gruel, cooked turnip, pumpkin, or tofu would do damage to the mother's teeth; if the mother drank cold water, she would have edemas; eating spicy food would do harm to her stomach; and eating chicken would spoil her breast milk. These food taboos were mostly intended to help the mother recover her health after childbirth, or to help the new-born baby with breast feeding, hence they had strong scientific and empirical aspects. It was also believed that if a family member had been to an inauspicious place, including a house of mourning, or if an unclean person had entered the house where the baby was born, the mother's breast milk would dry out or the baby would have trouble.

Chulsangeumgi overlaps with ***taegyo*** (Kor. 태교, Chin. 胎教, lit. prenatal education) in many aspects. The two are similar in that they are based on wishes for the birth of a healthy baby and for the baby to grow into a good person by refraining from particular food or activity and by having a good mental attitude. However, ***chulsangeumgi*** has the strongly shamanic nature of preventing impurities or misfortunes from befalling the mother and the fetus, while ***taegyo*** has strong focus on education

I CHULSAENGUIRYE 출생의례
Childbirth rituals

Rituals practiced before and after the birth of a child in order to pray for conception or to raise the new-born baby without any trouble.

Childbirth rituals, or ***chulsaenguirye***, concentrate on achieving two goals: one is to deliver the child without any difficulty and the other to raise

the new-born baby without any trouble until its ***dol*** (Kor. 돌, lit. first birthday).

Chulsaenguirye can be divided into the following five stages:

① ***Gija*** (Kor. 기자, Chin. 祈子, lit. supplication for a son): This ritual is to make supplications to obtain a baby, particularly a son, including devout prayers or shamanic rites, eating or drinking particular food, using magical objects or power, practicing good deeds through charitable or virtuous acts, and simulating the act of conception or childbirth in front of a genital-shaped stone, rock, or tree.

② Before childbirth (Kor. 산전, Chin. 産前): When a woman conceives a child, not only the pregnant woman but also all of her family members should be careful of their behavior and abide by various kinds of taboos. In particular, as the due date draws close, they should observe the taboos more strictly. The taboos are mostly restrictions on food and certain behaviors. They play a very important role in protecting the pregnant woman and the fetus from any harm or danger that may befall them.

③ Childbirth (Kor. 출산, Chin. 出産): When the due date draws near, a delivery room is prepared. If the family has two pregnant women whose due dates fall in the same month, one should be sent to another home for better postnatal care. On the date of delivery, diverse methods were employed to help the pregnant woman overcome the difficulties of labor.

④ After childbirth (Kor. 산후, Chin. 産後): Postnatal rituals were designed to separate the mother and child from impurities and danger and to integrate them into the community of the family, relatives, and society. After the birth of a child, various rituals were performed, including the disposal of the placenta and the umbilical cord, setting a table for ***Samsin***, or the deity of childbirth who was thought to protect the child, and hanging ***geumjul***, or a rice straw rope to repel evil spirits, at the front gate of the house where the child was born.

⑤ ***Samchiril*** (Kor. 삼칠일, period of three weeks after childbirth), ***baegil*** (Kor. 백일, lit. the one hundredth day after birth), and ***doljanchi*** (Kor. 돌잔치, lit. feast for the first birthday): When the baby was born, he or she went through several rites or feasts from birth until its first birthday. On ***baegil***, or the hundredth day after birth, a rite was held to celebrate the baby's survival to the symbolically complete day of one hundred, and then on its first birthday, called ***dol***, a greater feast than ***baegil*** was given in celebration of the child's first year of life.

Going through ***chulsaenguirye***, the child changes status from fetus to newborn baby, to infant, and ultimately to become a member of the family. Also, the mother returns from the status of pregnant woman and mother of a newborn child to the status of mother. Therefore, childbirth rituals have the significance of changing the biological birth of a baby to the sociological birth of a family.

TAEGYO 태교

Lit. prenatal education

Taking care in speech, behavior and thought by a pregnant woman to have a good impact on the fetus.

The pregnant woman makes efforts to lead a virtuous life, to see and hear good things, and to do good deeds that will have a good impact on the fe-

엄격히 지켜지는
임신부禁忌사항

濟州大 金榮敎교수 유형별분석

가리는 음식많고 말·行動에도 조심

韓國·日·中國등 東北亞서 공통현상

Newspaper article titled "Strictly Observed Taboos among Pregnant Women"
Nov. 08. 1977 | The Kyunghyang Shinmun

스트레스 안받게 家族들의 協調를

胎教

金斗浩

Newspaper column titled "Family Members Need to Help Expectant Mothers Feel Less Stress from Prenatal Education"
Nov. 24. 1972 | The Kyunghyang Shinmun

tus in her womb. These efforts are called *taegyo*, or prenatal education, which includes not only what should be done but also what should not be done by the expectant mother.

First, the pregant woman should not visit a place that is not considered a good spot, such as noisy, smelly, unclean, crowded places, or places where there is fighting because visiting such a place will cause discomfort and have a bad impact on the fetus in her womb. She should not visit a house in mourning either. As it is a place where a person has died and a lot of people have gathered together to grieve for the dead, the baby may suffer from the impurities and become susceptible to disease.

Second, the pregnant woman should not do anything that is not considered a good deed. She should not be talkative, angry, excited, frightened, or yell, or cry, because the emotional changes involved can be completely transmitted to the fetus. Also, she should not swear or listen to other's expletives. She should not argue or quarrel with others, nor go to places where others argue or quarrel, because these acts are believed to cause the fetus to follow them when it is born.

Third, the pregnant woman should not go to dangerous spots nor do anything risky. She should refrain from walking alone at night or going out in a rainstorm. She should not lift heavy objects. In particular, she should not wash clothes in the month when the due date is imminent because such activity is hard on her and the fetus as well and thus have a bad impact on the growth of the fetus. It is also believed that washing clothes will roughen the skin of the baby, just as the back of the pregnant woman's hand becomes rough.

Fourth, the pregnant woman should not be lazy. She should not take too many naps nor lie down for a long time because the mother should move around so the unborn child can get some exercise as well.

There were also many things that the mother should not eat for the sake of the developing baby. She should not drink alcohol or strong vinegar because they would have a huge impact on the baby. She should not eat uneven or worm-eaten fruits be-

Taegyosingi (胎教新記, On Prenatal Education)
1801 | Advanced Center for Korean Studies

cause of the worries that doing so might make the fetus born lopsided. The pregnant woman should not eat rabbit meat because of the belief that it would mean giving birth to a hare-lipped baby. Eating duck meat was banned because it would mean giving birth to a baby with webbed hands and feet. She should not eat octopus or squid because that meant she would give birth to a flabby baby like a boneless squid. She should not eat food at or from a house in mourning either.

Through these efforts, the pregnant woman hoped that the developing baby would learn good things even inside her womb and that it would be born in healthy and perfect condition.

TAEMONG 태몽

Dreams believed to foretell the conception or birth of a child

Dreams believed to foretell the conception, gender, and destiny of a child.

From ancient times, people considered dreams of particular symbols as a sign of conception, and through interpretation of the symbols, they foretold the gender and destiny of the child. The dreamer of such a birth dream, or ***taemong***, was mostly the mother of the woman who would conceive a child, but could also be her husband, grandparents on her father's side or on her mother's side, other relatives, or neighbors. The periods when they had ***taemong*** were many and varied, including before one became aware of pregnancy, during pregnancy, and after childbirth.

Also, various symbols appeared in ***taemong***, and people foretold the gender and destiny of the child by interpreting the symbols in many ways.

They interpreted such symbols in the dreams by comparing their similarities to male or female genitals as follows: if symbols similar to male genital, such as peppers, dragons, serpents, earthworms, turnips, and cucumbers appeared in a dream, they were considered the sign of a son. If symbols similar to female genital, such as chestnut burrs, clams, rings, and dried persimmons, appeared in a dream, they were considered the sign of a daughter. Also, tall and strong living things or objects used by men were believed to stand for a son, while charming and pretty living things or objects used by women

Newspaper column on conception dreams
Dec. 12. 1955

stood for a daughter.

The same symbols were interpreted differently according to their color. For example, things red or yellow, including red peppers, ripe persimmons, yellow pumpkins, golden rings, golden ***binyeo*** (Kor. 비녀, ornamental hair rod), symbolized a son, while things blue or white, including young green peppers, zucchinis, silver rings, silver ornamental hair rods, and rice, represented a daughter.

Taemong does not simply mean the appearance of symbols in a dream but the formation of a relationship between the dreamer and symbols, or the symbols taking certain action. For example, a tiger brings a nugget of gold in its mouth in a dream; the dreamer snatches a bead from the paws of a fox; or the dreamer catches a carp on whose belly the Chinese character for "king" (王) is engraved. Also, dreams that are considered ***taemong*** include those where the dreamer is driven or bitten by a pig, fish, bull, horse, snake, tiger, or dragon; a dream in which the dreamer is surprised to see a serpent coil around himself or herself; a dream in which the dreamer is frightened at a roaring thunder or a ringing bell; and a dream in which the dreamer is surprised to fall while trying to pick a persimmon.

In some cases, two symbols or more appear in ***taemong***: a certain object turns into an animal, for example, from a tree to a pig or from a cucumber to a loach; or an animal transforms into another animal, from a dog to a cat or from a snakehead or bird to a goldfish. In other cases, ***taemong*** comprises sexual behavior such as lying with or caressing a stranger. In addition, the dream of a bull and a cow having sex was considered ***taemong***.

Meanwhile, the actions of the dreamer and the symbols provided criteria for judging the yet unborn child's destiny. For instance, choking or throwing away a rushing-in serpent or dragon was deemed unfortunate for the fate of the child. Catching and binding a chicken or seeing a fish in a dried spot was also considered a bad ***taemong*** for the child.

Various interpretations of ***taemong*** exist as a result of the family's wishes to predict the gender and future of the fetus which are in an unknown realm. In particular, the fact that ***sansok*** (Kor. 산속, Chin. 産俗, customs regarding pregnancy and childbirth) remain in the realm of informal rituals seems to have become one of the factors for such interpretations. Because pregnancy and childbirth had to be undertaken in person by a woman and were secret in nature, it was difficult to include them in the realm of male-centered Confucian rituals. As a result, ***sansok*** had certain autonomy as the realm of rituals led by women. Against this background, interpretations of ***taemong*** that foretold pregnancy, the gender of the fetus, and the baby's future could be passed on, preserving their diversity without being confined to a framework.

TAECHEORI 태처리

Disposing the placenta

Folk practice of disposing the placenta, the source of life providing nutrients for the fetus, and the umbilical cord, a lifeline for the fetus, after childbirth in accordance to set formalities.

The placenta is the source of life that connects the mother and the fetus during gestation, provid-

Replica of a princess' placenta chamber (8th reign year of King Yeongjo)
Anseong Machum Museum

ing oxygen and nutrients to the developing fetus. Although it was no longer useful when cut off after delivery, the placenta was viewed as an object of respect due to its mysterious and thankful role in nurturing life and therefore it had to be treated according to certain formalities. The placenta was usually wrapped in rice straw or paper and carefully stored in the room where the baby was born, in a clean spot in a part of the house with a good aspect, or in a place where ***Samsin***, or the Goddess of Childbearing, was enshrined. Then, it was sent to a well chosen clean place within three days or on the third day after birth. This day is called ***samnal*** (Kor. 삼날, lit. day of the placenta) with ***sam*** meaning "placenta." ***Samnal*** was also called "the day the placenta goes out," with people reciting "The placenta goes out" as they burnt it. This practice of sending the placenta out is called ***taeje*** (Kor. 태제, Chin. 胎祭, lit. placenta rite) in ordinary homes and ***antae*** (Kor. 안태, Chin. 安胎, lit. enshrining the placenta) in the royal family.

The placenta is often burned with straw or chaff on the spot where the baby was born in a wood or charcoal fire until only the ashes are left. Depending on family and region, the ashes of the placenta were either washed away in running water or buried underground, but in any case the placenta was first burned.

When burning the placenta, a person is assigned to carefully watch the site. As it burns slowly for a very long time, the placenta should not be left alone to burn by itself without a keeper. If left unwatched, the placenta may be stolen by someone who seeks it for use as a sort of medicine or by an infertile woman who wants to have a baby. Also, the placenta should be protected from exposure to dogs or other animals because losing or doing damage to the placenta was considered to bring bad luck to the newborn, or ***taeju*** (Kor. 태주, Chin. 胎主, lit. owner of the placenta). In this case, it was believed that the baby would immediately have rashes on the face or even live an unfortunate life afterwards. Therefore, when burning the placenta, special care had to be taken in each and every process. One should not blow wind at ***sambul*** (Kor. 삼불, lit. the fire burning the placenta) nor warm oneself at the fire even when it is cold. One should utter no complaints, such as saying, "It's hot" or "It smells," while keeping the fire.

Jangtae (Kor. 장태, Chin. 藏胎, lit. burying the placenta) underneath a tree was also a very common practice, in which the placenta itself or the ashes were buried. In particular, it was believed that the placenta should be buried underneath a well-grown tree so that the baby nurtured by the placenta would grow like the tree. Before its burial, the placenta was at times placed in a small urn, on the bottom of which was a small hole to drain the water

Placenta jar and tablet of King Sejong

from it.

The placenta should be sent out at a time when people did not come or go to prevent it from coming into other people's sight. This is intended to prevent any bad luck from befalling the baby. In other words, it was important to send the placenta out without being noticed. The time chosen for this practice, in general, was at dawn, in the evening, or in the middle of the night. In some coastal areas, it was done at dusk. In other areas, ***insi*** (Kor. 인시, Chin. 寅時, from three to five o'clock a.m.) on ***inil*** (Kor. 인일, Chin. 寅日, day of the tiger among the 12-year cycle of the Chinese zodiac) was selected, as it was believed that the placenta should be burned at a time and date that would bring great luck to the baby. However, people avoided ***jail*** (Kor. 자일, Chin. 子日, day of the rat among the 12-year cycle of the Chinese zodiac) because it was believed that sending the placenta out on this day meant that the baby would spend life hiding like the rat.

When sending the placenta out, an auspicious direction was selected. To find out which direction was auspicious, the year, month, and day of the birth of the baby was examined according to ***ganji*** (Kor. 간지, Chin. 干支, zodiac order).

As the placenta was believed to have mysterious vitality, it was widely used as a wonder drug not only for incurable diseases, including epilepsy, tuberculosis, and convulsions, but also for minor diseases, including boils. People even kept the dried umbilical cord with the belief that, like ***baenaetjeogori*** (Kor. 배냇저고리, comfortably loose garment a baby wears for the first time after birth), the umbilical cord was a very effective charm for passing the higher civil service examinations or winning a lawsuit.

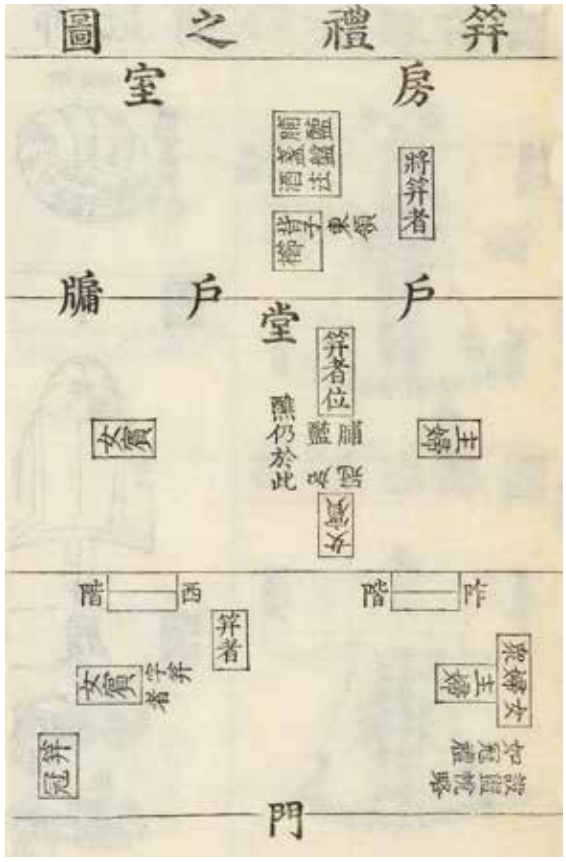
During pregnancy, the mother, placenta, and fetus are one community of life, but from the moment the placenta is cut off, the mother and the newborn baby become two separate entities. In other words, from one body they become two bodies. However, the placenta and the baby which has grown in the placenta have a very close and lasting connection. Therefore, people believed that sending out the placenta in a natural and complete manner would bring good fortune to the baby. Doing otherwise would bring misfortune to the baby, so disposal of the placenta had to follow strict procedures.

GYERYE 계례

Coming-of-age ceremony for girls

A coming-of-age ceremony for young women of marriageable age in which they put their hair up in a chignon and fixed it in place with a hair rod.

The coming-of-age ceremony for girls in Joseon society took place when they were fifteen years old or arranged to be married. Even after a coming-of-age ceremony, girls were expected to behave like children under the care of their parents until their marriage. The ceremony was held at the age of fifteen because girls of that age represented harmony between yin and yang. That is, according to Korean traditional beliefs, a woman is yin while the number fifteen is yang. Under another theory, the ceremony should be held for fifteen-year-old girls because the moon becomes full on the fifteenth day of the month by the lunar calendar. The coming-of-age ceremony for girls follows almost the same procedure as the corresponding ceremony for boys.



"Gyeryejido" (Diagram of Girls' Coming-of-age Ceremony) in "Saryepyeollam" (四禮便覽, Handbook of the Four Ceremonies)

The officiant of the ceremony leads the girl to undo her braided hair and brush it into a single knot at the back of the head, delivers a short speech of congratulations, and fixes the knot with a hair rod. The officiant then presides over the tea and liquor rite, and finally gives a courtesy name to the girl, just as in the coming-of-age ceremony for boys. After the ceremony, the head of the girl's family informs their ancestors of the occasion at the family shrine and serves the participants food and drink, including the relatives and the officiant.

The traditional ritual of wearing a chignon and hair rod at the coming-of-age ceremony has disappeared today. The traditional ceremony has now been replaced by the ceremony of wearing a bejeweled coronet, but the tradition of celebrating the reaching of adulthood is still alive and well.

GYEMUN 계문

Opening of shrine doors

The part of a traditional ancestral memorial rite when the door of the ritual hall or room is opened

following a brief period of waiting outside for the ancestral spirits to eat the food offered to them.

In this part of the ancestral memorial rite, participants wait outside the ritual hall or room until the prayer reciter gives a signal with three throat-clearing sounds that the ancestral spirits have finished their meal, and opens the door. The soup is removed from the ritial table and the spirits are offered tea or scorched rice in hot water (***sungnyung***). Because tea was not easy to obtain in Korea in the past, many families chose a bowl of plain water instead or mixed three spoons of rice with plain water in place of ***sungnyung***. Sometimes a spoon was placed in the bowl. In a few minutes after the offering of ***sungnyung***, the participants, believing the ancestral spirits have finished the entire meal, remove the spoon and chopsticks from the table and, finally, cover the rice bowl with its lid.

The ***gyemun*** procedure of the ancestral memorial rite suggests that Koreans had a long tradition of finishing their meals with tea or ***sungnyung***

I GWALLYE 관례

Coming-of-age ceremony for boys

The coming-of-age ceremony for male members of the Korean society in the past to celebrate their reaching the age of twenty, that is, adulthood.

Gwallye was performed for boys who were soon to marry or who had reached the age of twenty. This coming-of-age ceremony for boys took place according to the following procedures.

① ***Taegil*** (setting the date): The ceremony had to take place on an auspicious day or, if the families concerned found it difficult to set such a date, a day in the first month of the year. If they also found that impossible, they picked the first day of the fourth or seventh month. This was because they believed that the coming-of-age ceremony would be the starting point for a person to play his role as a responsible human being.

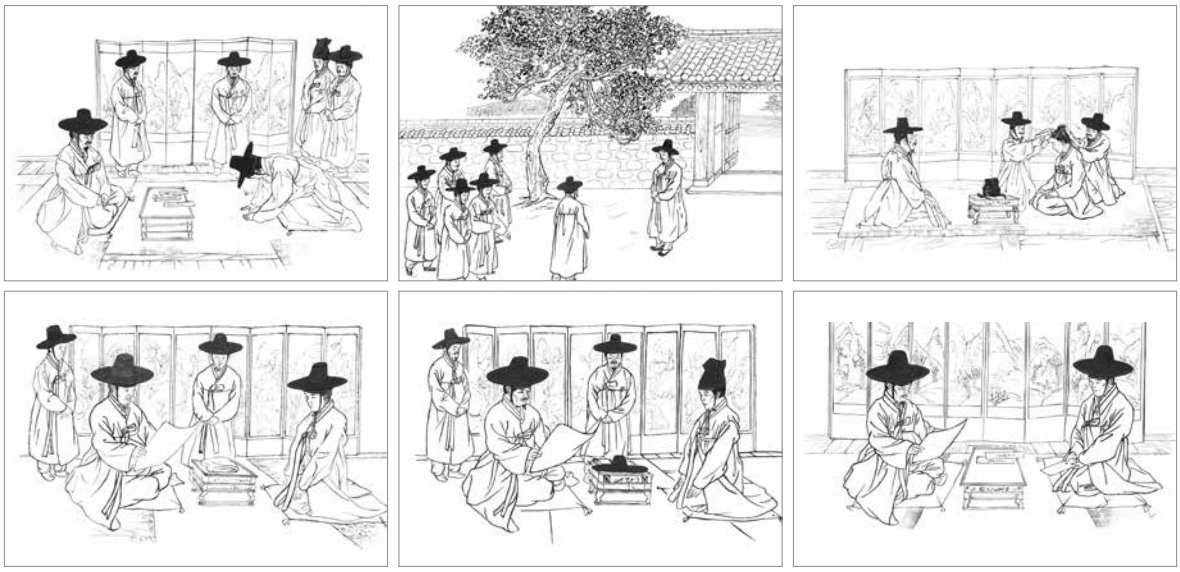
② Preparation: The most important part of the preparation was to find someone to preside over the entire coming-of-age ceremony. According to the books on ritual matters, the officiant should be chosen from the friends of the eldest grandson of the head family to which the boy coming of age belonged.

③ ***Sigarye*** (Kor. 시가례, Chin. 始加禮): In this part of the ceremony, the boy pulled his hair into a topknot and put on a black headcloth called ***chipogwan***. The man coming of age first wore two topknots together with a robe called ***sagyusam*** and colored shoes, and then changed the two topknots into a single one, covered it with ***chipogwan***, and held the topknot in place with a hair rod. He then took off the ***sagyusam***[5] and replaced it with a scholar's robe, which he wore with a large band around the waist and black shoes.

④ ***Jaegarye*** (Kor. 재가례, Chin. 再加禮): Ritual of wearing a top hat called ***gat***. With the hat on, the man coming of age took off the scholar's robe and wore a white robe with a belt.

⑤ ***Samgarye*** (Kor. 삼가례, Chin. 三加禮): Ritual of putting on a Confucian headcloth. Wearing the headcloth, the boy changed from a white robe to a

5 Robe made by stitching four large panels of cloth and worn by male members of the Joseon society on formal occasions



Gwallye

blue one, which he wore with a black silk band.

⑥ ***Chorye*** (Kor. 초례, Chin. 醮禮): Liquor drinking ritual.

⑦ ***Jagwanjarye*** (Kor. 자관자례, Chin. 字冠者禮): In this part of the ceremony, the man coming of age received a courtesy name from the ceremony officiant.

⑧ ***Hyeonusadang*** (Kor. 현우사당, Chin. 見于祠堂): This is the final part of the ceremony during which the father of the man coming of age takes him to the family shrine to report the event to their ancestors.

This traditional family ceremony was an opportunity to share the joy of the occasion with their relatives and friends and prepare the young adult for the duties and responsibilities he was expected to fulfill.

SEONGNYEONUINAL 성년의 날
Coming-of-age Day

The day when those aged 19 (amended in 2013) officially become adults in a coming-of-age ceremony. The date falls on the third Monday of every May.

The traditional coming-of-age ceremony for men was to put their hair up in a topknot and cover it with a hat (***gwallye***) while women put their hair up in a chignon fastened with a hair rod (***gyerye***). Until the mid-twentieth century, coming-of-age was celebrated by holding such ceremonies with seniors in the community. With the disappearance of this custom in modern times, the government has designated a date and every year holds an official coming-of-age ceremony designed to help young people to realize their social responsibilities and duties and establish a proper values and view of the nation.

Except the official ceremony by the government, a special ceremony is rarely held at home. Parents simply congratulate children who become adults on that day and give them gifts. Rather, the children who have come of age hold their own cel-

ebrations with friends, exchanging twenty roses or other gifts.

I JINSAERYE 진새례

Coming-of-age ceremony for young farmers

A village celebration held at home for a young boy who has reached the age where he can earn money in exchange for labor. Food and traditional liquor are prepared to serve villagers.

The summer months of June and July according to the lunar calendar are the time of year when vegetation growth is at its peak and farming villages are their busiest. This most vibrant season is when village celebrations are held. ***Jinsaerye*** is an annual event held by the entire village. Although there is no fixed age limit set by each village for this coming-of-age celebration, in general the celebration is reserved for boys aged fifteen to twenty years. The parents of such a boy, who now consider their son to be old enough to receive full pay for his work, discuss matters regarding the ***jinsaerye*** with other villagers; the celebration is typically held at the boy's house. Generally, one of the following days is chosen: ***Yudu*** (fifteenth day of the sixth lunar month), ***Chilseok*** (seventh day of the seventh lunar month), or ***Baekjung*** (fifteenth day of the seventh lunar month). However, it is not uncommon for the village celebration to be held at the home of an affluent family after weeding the rice paddies, during which the traditional percussion performance ***pungjangnori*** (also known as ***pungmulnori***) is performed. ***Jinsaerye***, regardless of its various forms, is held during midsummer.

A candidate for *jinsaerye* (coming-of-age ceremony for young farmers) hoists a huge stone
Deokchi-myeon, Imsil, Jeollabuk-do Province

During the coming-of-age ceremony, the parents of the young boy treat guests to eighteen liters of various types of traditional liquor and snacks. In some villages, ***deuldolnori***, literally meaning a "stone-lifting game," is played. ***Deuldol*** refers to a stone of a certain size which has been placed since old times under a shade tree at the entrance to the village. ***Deuldolnori*** is a game where candidates for ***jinsaerye*** are asked to hoist the huge stone according to rules prescribed by the village. The boys who succeed in lifting it are eligible to receive full wages for their labor.

Held in conjunction with the stone-lifting game, ***jinsaerye*** is a kind of an initiation rite. Families of the landed gentry hold ***gwallye*** (관례, 冠禮) to celebrate their children's coming-of-age, whereas commoners in farming areas hold the ***jinsaerye*** ceremony with the approval of the town assembly. Just as children from the gentry become literary licentiates after passing the state examination, those from farming families are qualified to be adults after passing a test on working competency and physical strength.

HOLLYE

Marriage

SUYEOLLYE

Longevity banquet

HOEHOLLYE

60th wedding ceremony

GYOBAERYE 교배례

Lit. Bow-exchanging ceremony

Exchanging of ceremonial bows between bride and groom during a traditional wedding ceremony.

Gyobaerye takes place at the bride's home, either in the wooden-floored hall (***daecheong***), if it is large enough, or in the courtyard where a canopy and large table have been set up. Details vary according to region and family, but generally the ceremonial table features a pair of candles, one red and the other blue, pine and bamboo sprays arranged in a vase, chestnuts, jujubes, rice, a pair of gourd cups, and a rooster and a hen wrapped in a cloth. The pine spray in the vase is tied with red thread, and the bamboo with blue thread. The ceremonial table is called ***gyobaesang*** (Kor. 교배상, Chin. 交拜床, lit. table for the exchange of ceremonial bows) or ***daeryesang*** (Kor. 대례상, Chin. 大禮床, lit. table for the grand ceremony). A pair of small tables is arranged to the east and west of the main table with a liquor ewer and cup on each. When the set time arrives, the ceremony starts according to the procedures written on a ceremonial tablet.

① The bride and groom in full wedding garments appear and take their seats in the east (groom) and west (bride) of the main ceremonial table and wash their hands with water from the basins provided. ② The groom greets his bride by raising clasped hands and the bride bows in return. ③ The groom stands east of the table and the bride west, facing each other. ④ The bride gives two ceremonial bows to the groom and receives from him one bow. ⑤ The bride gives two ceremonial bows to the groom a second time and receives from him one bow. In the modernized ceremony, both bride and groom exchange bows at the same time.

The positions where the bride and groom stand are based on the traditional belief that men represent east and women west. The exchange of ceremonial bows, two by the bride and one by the groom, is based on the traditional yin and yang philosophy, in which the bride is yin and is given the number one, the smallest of all the yin (odd) numbers, while the groom is yang and is given the number two, the smallest of all the yang (even) numbers. The rooster and hen placed on the table symbolize the wish for the groom to live like a rooster, and for the bride to live like a hen. A rooster, as far as Koreans are concerned, protects his mate and chicks, finds food for them, fights

The bride and groom exchange bows during a traditional-style wedding ceremony

fiercely with his rivals to protect his family, and tells the times for all with loud crowing. The groom is expected to learn from the rooster, and live as a responsible husband, working hard to protect and feed his family, fighting fiercely to keep his honor and living rights, and acting wisely based on correct understanding and judgement of the world. Similarly, the bride is expected to learn from the hen and faithfully follow her husband, taking good care of their chicks and household affairs. The exchange of ceremonial bows in ***gyobaerye*** is then a solemn pledge to be faithful to each other until death and learn lessons from nature for their married life ahead.

GUNGHAP 궁합

Marital harmony

The practice of predicting fortunes and interpreting the near future of people, a couple planning marriage in particular, via divination on the basis of their birth signs and the Four Pillars.

The Chinese character, ***gung*** (宮) in the word ***gunghap*** (宮合) represents multiple rooms under the same roof, suggesting that ***gunghap*** is the union of two families. For some, the characters are also related with the question of how two mouths (口) achieve harmony (合) under the same roof (宀). Therefore, the term ***gunghap*** has a comprehensive meaning with rich social and physiological connotations, extending from "the union of families" to "harmony of the sexes." That is why the social connotation of the word is often referred to by the term "external ***gunghap***," and the physiological connotation by "internal ***gunghap***."

There is an interesting folktale connected with the origin of ***gunghap***.

Once upon a time there lived a poor peddler who, devastated by his pitiful circumstances, dived into a pond to kill himself, only to be saved by a mountain god with a special gift: magic spectacles. Returning home, he wore the spectacles to find that his wife was in fact a dog and himself a rooster. He realized that he had been poor and childless because he and his wife were in an incompatible relationship. That evening another peddler couple visited his home, asking for a night's lodging. With the spectacles on, he found that his guest was a dog and his wife a chicken. They were also poor and childless. Grieving over their bad luck, both couples agreed to exchange partners to start a new life. The story has a happy ending, because years later both couples become rich and have many children.

In the past many Koreans believed that a person's destiny or fate is decided by ***saju***, or the Four Pillars, which are the year, month, day and hour of birth, and thus had a tradition of exchanging the ***saju*** of the would-be bride and groom before marriage. Marriage talks would only progress after the ***saju*** and ***gunghap*** of the prospective couple were fully analyzed and concluded to be auspicious. If marriage was agreed upon, the groom's family made a formal document of his ***saju*** data and sent it to the bride's family. For the bride, losing the document meant that she would lose her husband for good and never be united with him again, even in the underworld. Therefore, she had to take the utmost care not to lose it throughout her life. When

she died, she was buried with the document.

Analysis of a couple's ***saju*** and ***gunghap*** data requires thorough examination of all information to figure out if the couple are in harmony with each other, and even with their closest in-laws on the basis of the traditional theory of yin and yang and the five elements, and, finally, to conclude whether or not the couple's ***gunghap*** is auspicious. The custom of exchanging written ***saju*** documents before marriage is still maintained today in some parts of Korea. The traditionalists hope that checking a couple's ***saju*** will eventually lead to a happy married life. In past Korean society, the couple's ***gunghap*** tended to play a key role in the final decision of marriage, and often became a main cause of divorce. Today, the result of ***gunghap*** examination has lost much of its influence, and a growing number of couples marry regardless of the results.

GEUNCHIN 근친

Married daughter's visit to her parents

Bride's visit to her maiden home after marriage.

The term ***geunchin*** refers to the Korean tradition of a woman visiting her maiden home for the first time after her marriage. There was no established rule about when such a visit should be made. For some, the visit could take place as early as three days after the wedding, while for others it could be as late as several months or even a full year. Still others chose the date for their visit on the birthday of their parents or death anniversary of their ancestors. The tradition could also offer the newlyweds an opportunity to see the birth of the first child at the bride's parental home and have better care for the young mother after childbirth. Such changes in the practice of ***geunchin*** result from a variety of causes, including the spread of the Western lifestyle and weddings as well as regional and familial differences. The custom may sound simple enough, but originally it required a degree of formality. When the visit was made, the bride was accompanied by her husband carrying special food, liquor, and rice cakes made of newly harvested crops, carefully prepared by her parents-in-law. This food was called "***sadon*** food" because it was sent and received by the in-laws (***sadon***). When the newly-wed couple returned to the groom's home, the bride's family also carefully prepared food for the groom's family. Arriving at the bride's parental home, the groom was introduced by his mother- or brother-in-law to the bride's relatives. Some of these relatives invited the couple to their home and entertained them with good food and drink. The groom stayed several days at the bride's maiden home before returning to his own home. Sometimes, his new wife stayed behind for a few more days. Traditionally, marriage in Korea was regarded complete only after this visit to the bride's maiden home had been made.

According to a record in "Taejosillok"[6] from the twenty-first day of the ninth month in the first year of his reign, "In the past, ***geunchin*** was not practiced

6 Generally translated as "The Annals of King Taejo," "Taejosillok" is one of vast collections of annual records of the Joseon Dynasty called "Joseonwangjosillok," containing records about the reign of King Taejo (r. 1392–1398), the founder and first monarch of the dynasty.

by a married woman after the death of her parents." As this suggests, a married woman did not visit her maiden home if her parents died. If, under other unavoidable circumstances, a married woman could not visit her parents' home she could meet her mother under the custom of ***banbogi*** (Kor. 반보기, Chin. 中路相逢, lit. halfway reunion). ***Banbogi*** refers to a tradition by which a newly wedded woman and her mother met each other at a pleasant location midway between the homes of the two in-laws on a day and time agreed on by the two families. On the day of ***banbogi***, the mother and daughter had a happy time together until evening came, unburdening themselves and sharing the food they brought with them. Meanwhile, there was a saying that a woman who did not visit her maiden home within three years of marriage would never be able to do so or would die young. Such sayings may reflect the general consensus that ***geunchin*** should take place in the first three years after marriage, because that time may be the hardest time for a newly wedded woman living in her husband's home.

NAMGWIYEOGAHON 남귀여가혼

Wedding at the bride's home and the newly-wed couple living with the bride's family

Tradition in which a wedding ceremony takes place at the bride's home and the newly married couple live with the bride's family for a certain period of time afterwards.

The term ***namgwiyeoga*** literally means "a man taking refuge in the woman's home." This practice was originally treated as a folk custom, in the belief that it contrasted with the earlier, more widespread custom of ***chinyeonghon*** (Kor. 친영혼, Chin. 親迎婚), by which the wedding ceremony takes places at the groom's home and the new couple starts their married life with the groom's family. In contrast to ***chinyeonghon***, ***namgwiyeogahon*** involved a marriage ceremony that took many days to complete. The wedding started with the arrival of the groom at the bride's home in the evening, attended by ***sanggaek*** (Kor. 상객, Chin. 上客, elderly member of the family who accompanies the bride or groom), usually his father or elder uncle. The bride's family welcomed him with a formal dinner and he spent the night with his bride. This was normal, because the bride and groom had already been accepted as wife and husband and their marriage was an established fact, as the families had proceeded with marriage procedures including ***napchae*** (Kor. 납채, Chin. 納采, sending a formal proposal letter from the groom's family to the bride's) and ***nappye*** (Kor. 납폐, Chin. 納幣, sending wedding gifts to the bride's family). On the second day, a party was held for a large crowd of well-wishers, including the bride's relatives and the groom's friends. It was on the third day that the bride and groom were brought together for the main wedding ceremony. In this ceremony, the bride and groom performed ***gyobaerye*** (Kor. 교배례, Chin. 交拜禮, lit. bow exchanging ceremony), in which they exchanged ceremonial bows, followed by ***hapgeunnye*** (Kor. 합근례, Chin. 合巹禮, wine sharing ceremony) in which they drank from the same gourd, and ***dongnoeyeon*** (Kor. 동뢰연, Chin. 同牢宴, lit. banquet of sharing the same animal, i.e. pig), in which they ate and drank together. The last procedure was also called ***samildaeban***

(Kor. 삼일대반, Chin. 三日對飯, lit. seeing and eating on the third day), because the married couple was offered the chance to see each other and eat together on the third day after the marriage ceremony. All these marriage ceremonies were followed by the practice of ***hyeongugorye***, in which the bride visited, and expressed her gratitude to, her parents-in-law. This is different from the practice of the same name conducted as part of ***sinhaeng***, after which she started living as a member of the groom's family.

The establishment of ***namgwiyeogahon*** in Korean society posed a challenge to the practice of ***chinyeonghon***. The Neo-Confucian elites who had founded the Joseon dynasty, aiming to build a new social foundation based on Neo-Confucian ideology, promoted the practice of ***chinyeonghon*** on the basis of "Jujagarye" (朱子家禮, Family Rituals of Zhu Xi), whereby the wedding ceremony took place at the groom's home and the new couple lived with the groom's family. But their efforts were not successful due to a strong backlash from those who fiercely opposed the attempt to change traditional wedding customs. The Neo-Confucian scholar-officials of early Joseon wanted to establish ***chinyeong-nye***, despite strong opposition from the common people, because they believed that ***namgwiyeogahon*** went against the Neo-Confucian order. They regarded it immoral for the couple to spend the night together before the main wedding ceremony, which took place on the third day after the wedding had begun, and in which the newly wedded couple lived with the bride's family. Nevertheless, ***namgwiyeogahon*** continued to persist, largely because of the difficulty of and aversion to changing traditions that had continued for so long. The financial benefit obtainable from the system of equal inheritance among sons and daughters which had been maintained since the Goryeo period and the ***eumseo*** (Kor. 음서, Chin. 蔭敍, hereditary privilages) system, which benefited sons and sons-in-law on equal terms, also played a significant role in preserving the traditional marriage system. These and other factors led even the influential Neo-Confucian scholar-officials, who were expected to promote ***chinyeonghon***, to adhere to ***namgwiyeogahon***, the practice of the common people.

The ***namgwiyeogahon*** tradition is historically significant in that it played an important role in preserving Korean culture amid strong cultural influence from China, and was considerably helpful for new husbands to form a close relationship with their wives' families, greatly contributing to Korean women's effort to maintain equal status and equal opportunities in male-dominated Korean society.

NAPPYE 납폐

Sending wedding gifts to the bride's family

A traditional marriage procedure in which the bridegroom's family sends a formal marriage proposal letter and wedding gifts to the bride's family.

In the past, ***nappye*** was conducted the day before, or several days before, the wedding ceremony. A chest containing wedding gifts and a formal marriage proposal letter was carried to the bride's house by a man called ***hamjinabi***. ***Nappye*** is also

called ***chaedan*** (Kor. 채단, Chin. 綵緞, lit. colorful silks), as many of the gifts were silk items. In the earlier period, the silk items were called ***hyeondan*** and ***hundan***, which literally mean "black silk" and "pink silk," respectively. Later the black was changed to blue, hence they were called ***cheongdan*** and ***hongdan***. In China, black and red silk fabrics were preferred, while in Korea black was replaced by blue. The size and content of ***nappye*** varied according to clan, region, and family.

The gifts, including a pouch of five grains, blue and red silk fabric, and a list of the gift items were put in a chest called ***nappyeham*** on a sheet of Korean mulberry paper. The five grains are cotton seeds, which symbolize the prosperity of descendants and the entire clan; red beans, which were believed to expel miscellaneous ghosts and evil spirits; soy beans, reflecting wishes for a warm-hearted bride; glutinous rice, symbolizing a long happily-married life; incense representing wishes for an auspicious future; pepper seeds, which expel wicked spirits; and tea leaves, wishing for a faithful bride. The list of five grains varied according to family traditions. The blue silk fabric was wrapped with red paper and tied up with blue and red threads, while the red silk fabric was wrapped with blue paper and tied up with blue and red threads. The gifts also included blue and red brocade, symbolizing yin and yang respectively.

The process of ***nappye*** is as follows. The families of the bride and groom prepare ***bongchitteok*** by putting two layers of glutinous rice topped with a layer of red beans into a round steamer, setting a chestnut in the middle on top with nine jujubes around it, and steaming it into a cake. The

List of wedding gifts from the bridegroom's family to the bride's family
After Korea's liberation from Japanese colonial rule in 1945

Formal letter from the bridegroom's family on sending wedding gifts to the bride's family
After Korea's liberation from Japanese colonial rule in 1945

groom's family places the gift chest on the steamer before it is carried by ***hamjinabi*** to the bride's home. Meanwhile, the bride's family prepares to receive the wedding gifts by laying a mat in the wooden-floored central hall or in the courtyard. They set up a folding screen on the mat, along with a small table covered with a red cloth. When the gift chest arrives, they place a steamer on the table and then the gift chest on the steamer. The head of the bride's family takes his seat to the east

of the table and gives two deep ceremonial bows to the gift chest. Seeing the chest moved from the table, he reads the formal marriage proposal sent by the groom's family and accepts it by saying: "Seeing that ***nappye*** has been performed in due manner, how can we refuse the proposal?" Then the bride's family serves food to the groom's ***ham-jinabi*** and other visitors and gives them a small amount of money. The written proposal was the only document that could certify the marriage of a couple, so the bride took a great care not to lose it all her life. When she died, the letter was buried with her. The written proposal was then a certificate proving that its owner was faithful to her husband all her life.

DAERYE 대례

Wedding ceremony

Traditional marriage procedure consisting of ***gyobaerye*** (Kor. 교배례, Chin. 交拜禮, lit. bow exchanging ceremony) and ***hapgeullye*** (Kor. 합근례, Chin. 合巹禮, liquor sharing ceremony) held at ***choryecheong***.

Literally meaning "a large and important ceremony," the term ***daerye*** refers to major ceremonies held at the royal court in which the king participated, but outside the court it meant a ceremony held to conclude a marriage. A wedding ceremony has long been called ***daerye*** among the Korean people, and has been described as "the greatest human event," because they regard it as the most important event in their lives. For the same reason they call it a "big event," "auspicious event," or "blissful event." Also called ***chorye***, the ***daerye*** consisted of, in the narrow sense, ***gyobaerye***, in which the bride and groom exchange ceremonial bows, and ***hapgeullye***, in which the couple drink from the same cup. More broadly, it also includes ***jeonallye***, in which the bridegroom brings a wooden goose, lays it on the ceremonial table and bows. For some, ***daerye*** means the whole wedding ceremony held at the bride's house.

According to a widely practiced custom, the traditional marriage ceremony starts with the groom's procession to the bride's home, which includes elders from both the bride's and groom's families (***sanggaek***) and the couple's attendants. The bride's family prepares the ***daeryecheong*** (also called ***choryecheong***) in the wooden-floored hall or the courtyard. Some families prepare an additional venue for ***jeonancheong*** for the goose-presenting ceremony in the inner courtyard. On arriving at the bride's village, the bridegroom and his party stop at a prearranged lodge to take a break. As the time for the wedding ceremony approaches, the groom changes clothes and heads for the bride's home. He may have to jump over a small bonfire or a sack of grains arranged at the gate as an act of inviting fortune and repelling evil.

The groom takes the wooden goose to ***jeonan-cheong***, places it on the ceremonial table and makes two deep bows. The bride's mother receives the wooden goose, covers it with a skirt, and places it in a steamer or in the warmer part of the bride's room until she gives it back to the groom when he returns home. In earlier times, a real bird was used, but because of the difficulty in obtaining a live goose it was replaced with a wooden one. Ac-

Wedding ceremony

cording to "Jujagarye" (朱子家禮, Family Rituals of Zhu Xi), the goose was chosen because it migrates according to the yin and yang principle and mates only once for life. Korean people accepted this view, as they believed that the bird was a symbol of a happy marriage, fidelity, and trust.

The goose-delivery ceremony is followed by ***gyobaerye*** in which the bride and groom see each other for the first time and exchange deep bows. The groom enters ***daeryecheong*** and takes his seat east of the ceremony table, while the bride takes her seat in the west. The bride, assisted by her attendant, makes two deep bows to the bridegroom who makes one bow in return. The couple performs the same procedure one more time. The ***gyobaerye*** process ends with the bride bowing four times and the groom twice. Some now feel that the difference in the number of bows is discriminatory, while others believe that it is based on the traditional yin and yang principle.

Gyobaerye is followed by ***hapgeullye***, literally meaning "gourd union ceremony." The name of the ceremony came from the two gourd cups used, one by the bride and the other by the groom, for sharing liquor. The cups are made from two halves of the same gourd. It becomes whole again when the couple share the liquor in the cups. The bride's attendant, wearing a strand of blue and red threads on the back of the hand, pours wine into a gourd cup and gives it to the groom who drinks from it. Then the same wine cup is delivered to the bride's attendant who, in turn, gives it to the bride so that she can drink from it. The used liquor is then poured into a libation vessel. This liquor-sharing ceremony is repeated, starting with the bride this time. It is then repeated a third time.

Table for the wedding ceremony

After the ***daerye*** ceremony is over, the bride retires to her room and the groom goes to the central wooden-floored hall where he receives a big banquet table full of food. He does not eat from the large table, however, but a smaller table called ***immaetsang***, arranged with much simpler dishes. The food arranged on the large table is carefully removed and sent to the groom's family. As evening approaches, the bride and groom retire to the bridal chamber where they spend the night together, thus concluding the wedding ceremony.

BANCHINYEONG 반친영

Wedding at the bride's home and the newly-wed couple leaving for the groom's home the next day

The marriage custom established during the mid-Joseon Dynasty by combining ***namgwiyeogahon*** (Kor. 남귀여가혼, Chin. 男歸女家婚, the tradition of holding the wedding ceremony at the bride's home and the newly-wed couple living with the bride's family for a certain period of time) and ***chinyeonghon*** (Kor. 친영혼, Chin. 親迎婚, the tradition of holding the marriage ceremony at the bridegroom's home and the newly-wed couple living with the groom's family). That is, under a compromise, the wedding ceremony was held at the bride's house and the newly-wed couple left for the groom's house the next day for the bride to formally greet her in-laws.

According to the tradition of ***chinyeonghon***, the wedding ceremony took place at the bridegroom's house in the order of ***gyobaerye*** (Kor. 교배례, Chin. 交拜禮, lit. bow-exchanging ceremony) and ***hapgeullye*** (Kor. 합근례, Chin. 合巹禮, liquor-sharing ceremony), and the couple spent the wedding night at the groom's house. On the following day, the bride started her married life with ***hyeongugorye*** (Kor. 현구고례, Chin. 見舅姑禮, lit. greetings to the parents-in-law), formally expressing her gratitude to her in-laws for their kindness and support. By contrast, in the tradition of ***namgwiyeogahon***, the wedding ceremony took place three days after the arrival of the bridegroom at the bride's home, where the couple spent their nights together even before the ceremony. As the couple's married life started in the bride's home, it was necessary to select a specific date for the formal meeting between the bride and her parents-in-law. Hardliners of the Neo-Confucian scholar-official class of Joseon fiercely criticized this practice, believing that it ran counter to the principle that yin follows yang, not vice versa. They strongly demanded the introduction of ***chinyeong*** to Korean society on the basis of "Jujagarye" (朱子家禮, Family Rituals of Zhu Xi), for they considered it immoral for the couple to sleep together before the wedding ceremony. This was not easily brought

about, however, due to the backlash against the seemingly arbitrary change in traditional ways.

The second condition of ***banchinyeong***, the bride's visit to her parents-in-law the day after the wedding, was found largely unfeasible due to the custom of the newly-wed couple living with the bride's family for a considerable period after their wedding. The homes of the bride and groom were typically far from each other, and often it was not possible for the couple to return home, that is, to the bride's home, on the same day after greeting her in-laws. That said, ***banchinyeong*** did not die out completely, as it was observed by a small number of families. Even in such cases, the marriage was generally recorded as ***chinyeong***, rather than ***banchinyeong***. The tradition of marrying and living at the bride's house first was preserved even after the mid-Joseon period, inevitably leading to a decline in weddings held at the groom's homes, and as ***banchinyeong*** incorporated many elements of ***chinyeong***, such weddings tended to be recorded as ***chinyeong***. This explains why there are so few records of ***banchinyeong***, though a number of records of ***chinyeong*** have survived. It can be concluded that the records of ***chinyeong*** contained in some literary collections published by the literati in Seoul and regional areas are actually record of ***banchinyeong***.

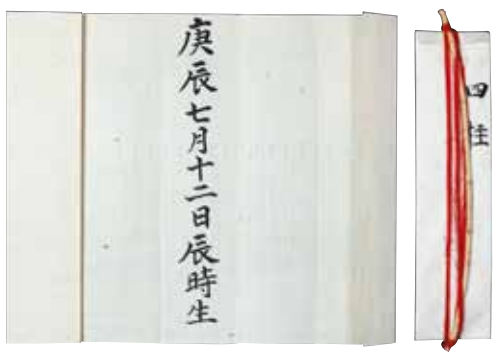
Banchinyeong is characterized by the combination of the traditional Korean marriage custom of ***namgwiyeogahon*** with the Chinese traditional custom of ***chinyeong***, and it was observed by some literati families in Seoul after the 16th century. The historical significance of the practice is that it shows a compromise was sought in the Korean wedding tradition rather than a complete change to a custom of foreign origin.

SAJUDANJA 사주단자

Document of the groom's horoscopic data

A document containing the would-be groom's horoscopic data, the hour, day, month, and year of his birth by the lunar calendar, sent to the would-be bride's family.

Document of the groom's horoscopic data and a wedding gift chest
Songpa-gu, Seoul | Lee Kil-pyo



Document of the groom's horoscopic data
Songpa-gu, Seoul

When a marriage proposal was made, the groom's family sent to the bride's family a document containing the information of the birth of the groom and wrapped in a double-layered cloth. In Jeollanam-do Province, the document was accompanied with a few gifts, including enough fabric to make a jacket and skirt for the bride. The document was wrapped in a piece of double-layered cloth, one layer red and the other blue, and the gifts were placed in a box or wrapping cloth. Both were then wrapped in a blue wrapping cloth and sent to the bride's family through a matchmaker. In Gyeongsangnam-do Province, a marriage proposal was made through a matchmaker according to an agreement between the two families and sent from the groom's family to the bride's family together with the ***sajudanja*** and a piece of cloth for the bride's jacket. The process was similar in Hwanghae-do Province, where the marriage proposal was sent from the groom's family to the bride's with the ***sajudanja*** and a few gifts.

SAEBYEONGMUNAN 새벽문안

Bride's daily greetings to her parents-in-law

Custom in which the bride expresses her respect for the parents-in-law every morning or evening after ***hyeongugorye*** (Kor. 현구고례, Chin. 見舅姑禮, bride's greeting to parents-in-law and other relatives after the wedding).

After ***hyeongugorye***, a bride spends the night at her husband's home, gets up early in the morning, changes into clean clothes, and goes to greet her parents-in-law as a sign of respect. Depending on the family, the bride repeats this greeting in the evening before the parents-in-law go to sleep. This custom is called as ***munaninsa*** or ***sagwandeurigi***.

Sometimes the groom accompanies the bride, but mostly she goes alone. Through these greetings she shows the proper propriety and expresses respect for her parents-in-law. As for the parents-in-law, the greetings allow them to judge whether the bride, a new family member, is properly behaved. The period for ***munaninsa*** differs from family to family. It lasts until the parents-in-law tell the bride to stop, from at least three days to a month to three years. Generally, it ends after three days.

When the bride goes to greet her parents-in-law, she sometimes prepares a table of simple treats: sweet rice punch or water, Korean taffy (***yeot***), cakes made with flour, sesame oil, honey, rice wine, cinnamon and ginger juice (***yakgwa***), ripe persimmons, or rice cake that she has brought from her maiden home. Offering taffy contains two meanings: one is to ask her parents-in-law not to complain or speak ill of her and not to scold her severely even if she makes a mistake; the other is to build a close relationship between the two families, emphasizing the characteristics of ***yeot***, which is sticky.

Sometimes before or after the daily greetings, the bride conducts a quiet ritual to announce that she has become a new member of the family. She wakes up early in the morning, goes to the kitchen, and pours water from the well at her maiden home, which she had brought with her at ***sinhaeng*** (Kor. 신행, Chin. 新行, post-wedding journey of the bride to the groom's home), into a water jar or the well at

her husband's house. She may also make her first batch of steamed rice with the well water brought from her maiden home. Before cooking it, she may mix rice brought from her home with the rice from her husband's house. These acts imply that as water mixes naturally, the bride will be harmoniously integrated with her husband's family. In addition, as water steers past any obstacle, the bride from outside shall naturally become a member of the family and the community without conflict.

SEO-OKJE 서옥제

Custom of the bridegroom living at the bride's maiden home

Marriage custom of Goguryeo (?–668 AD), one of the ancient Three Kingdoms of Korea, in which the bridegroom lives at the bride's maiden home.

It is difficult to confirm the customs and ceremonies of ancient Korea and the Three Kingdoms period. Fragmentary records have been passed on, but most customs are simply mentioned in passing and information is mostly limited to marriage and funeral customs. In Goguryeo, there used to be a custom called ***seo-okje***. According to "Wijidongijeon" (魏志東夷傳, Biographies of the Wuhuan, Xianbei, and Dongyi) from "Samgukji" (三國志, "Sanguozhi" in Chinese, Records of the Three Kingdoms), "When two families decide on a marriage, the bride's family builds a ***seo-ok*** (Kor. 서옥, Chin. 壻屋, lit. a small house), behind the main building. The groom arrives at the bride's home around sunset, announces his name, bows and and proposes to sleep with the bride. After repeating the request two to three times, the bride's parents give consent for the couple to sleep together in the ***seo-ok***. When the couple have a son and he grows up, that is when the husband takes his wife back to his home."

This custom can be considered as an example of the ***derilsawi*** or ***bongsahon*** system. ***Derilsawi*** is the practice of the groom living at the bride's home after marriage. ***Bongsahon*** is the practice of the groom living in the bride's home for a certain period while providing labor. Examples of items that a bride would prepare before the wedding and the items she offered to her parents-in-law when she made her first formal bow to them, and the request to sleep with the bride in the ***seo-ok*** show that during the Goguryeo period set marriage procedures existed under the social norms of the time.

SILLANGDARUGI 신랑다루기

Lit. teasing the groom

A wedding ritual in which young male villagers or relatives of the bride tease and play tricks on the groom during his stay at the wife's home.

The most representative form of teasing is to hang the bridegroom upside down. After the wedding ceremony, the new couple sit inside a room while the family, relatives and neighbors watch them. A group of young men approach the bridegroom, tie a white cloth around his ankles and start slapping the soles of his feet with a club. The bride, standing nearby, naturally pleads that they stop the beating.

Young male villagers and relatives teasing the groom

The bride asks her mother to prepare a small table of food and liquor, which is shared by the groom's friends and onlookers. Yet claiming that the bridegroom still needs to be taught some manners, a well-built young man rushes at him to tie one of his feet with white cloth hanging from a ceiling rack and pretends to pull it. More food and drinks are served and the relatives and villagers give words of blessing, saying that the newly-weds will now be treated as adults. An expression of affection, this ritual is held to pray for the couple's happiness and health.

Though a painful experience for the bridegroom, both physically and mentally, it is a custom focused on congratulating the couple, rather than on the teasing and tricks. In other words, marriage is celebrated in an ironic way in order to boost the festive mood through dramatization. If the couple or their families had a bad reputation or were not respected by others, no one would voluntarily take part. The more people who came to take part in the act, the greater the honor of the families of the newly-weds. The practice is celebratory in nature and has no connection with superstition. It can be regarded as a physical ordeal through which the bridegroom gains a new social status, that is, it is a kind of coming-of-age ceremony.

I SINBANGYEOTBOGI 신방엿보기

Peeking into the nuptial bedchamber

Mischievous practice of peeping into the room of the bride and groom on the wedding night.

After the wedding ceremony, a ***sinbang*** (Kor. 신방, Chin. 新房, nuptial bedchamber) was prepared for the newly-weds to spend their first night together. A folding screen was put up there with a small table of liquor to create the right atmosphere. After the bride and groom entered the room, relatives or neighbors made holes with their fingers in the papered lattice doors to peep at them, which is called "peeping into" or "keeping eyes on" the nuptial bedchamber.

The origin of this practice is not clear. The following story from ancient times, however, suggests that it has been handed down from generation to generation:

"Once upon a time, the son of a butcher, who came to be married at a young age, was advised to 'strip the bride well.' On the wedding night, the bride continued to cry loudly saying that he was hurting her. The bride's mother simply thought that her daughter was going through the usual procedure and finding it painful, being the first night. The next morning, as there was no sign of the bride, her mother entered the room to find her daughter stripped of her skin. The young groom had appar-

ently misunderstood the word 'stripping.' From that time, family members and relatives peeped into the nuptial room on the wedding night." Of course, this is just a traditional folktale and not to be believed.

Some argue that the "peeping" practice is rather associated with the custom of marrying at a young age. In the Joseon period (1392–1910), boys married around the age of 10 and girls at the age of 14 or 15. As the couple was so young, unexpected things happened on the wedding night, such as the bride running away, and to prevent this the family members began to keep an eye on the nuptial bedroom. Others find the origin of the practice in cultures where female virginity is considered sacred and those who destroy it are killed by evil spirits. Korea is one such culture and to ward off evil spirits on the wedding night a group of people kept watch on the newly-wed's bedroom, which later turned into the mischievous practice of peeing into the room.

On the first night, the bridegroom first took off his bride's ceremonial headpiece and then the outer garment in a symbolic gesture only, by undoing the breast ties or removing one of her socks. Then he put out the candle, not by blowing it but with his fingertips, signaling that it is time for onlookers to leave the couple alone. Retiring for the night, the bridegroom was also supposed to touch the bride on the foot first as there was a saying that she would die before him if she was touched on the head first, and suffer from mastitis if touched on the breast first.

The practice of peeping into the bridal bedroom is rarely observed these days due to changes in housing structure and wedding practices, with the newly-weds often departing on their honeymoon right after the wedding ceremony.

Peeping into the room of the bride and groom on the wedding night

SINBUGAMA 신부가마

Bridal palanquin

A palanquin to take the bride to the groom's home after the wedding ceremony. A mode of transport, the palanquin takes the form of a small litter on horizontal poles, carried by a group of bearers on their shoulders.

During ***sinhaeng*** (Kor. 신행, Chin. 新行, post-wedding journey of the bride to the groom's home), the bridal palanquin was marked with a cotton band tied in an X-shape all around the vehicle except the front, or a tiger skin covering the top. It was splendidly decorated with multiple colors

Bridal palanquin
Joseon

or tassels and pictures of a pair of birds, animals or fish to express wishes for the couple's conjugal harmony and fecundity. There is a saying, "The couple will not share the years happily together if one of the bridal palanquin's poles is broken." The bridal palanquin was also called a "flower palanquin" (***kkotgama***), but not all flower palanquins were exclusively for brides. Meanwhile, the bridegroom sometimes used his own palanquin for the post-wedding journey home instead of riding a horse, which was more common. The bridegroom's palanquin usually featured little decoration.

In a traditional wedding, the procession of a bridal palanquin was similar to a procession of the nobility. On their wedding day, commoners were treated as noblemen and allowed to ride a palanquin, usually reserved for the upper classes. The bridegroom led the procession while bearers carried the bridal palanquin, followed by senior family members of the newly-wed couple, ceremony attendants, porters, · lantern carriers and so on. The new couple was treated as noble members of society in all aspects including attire, ***pumseok*** (Kor. 품석, Chin. 品席, lit. rank cushion) and ***pumdeung*** (Kor. 품등, Chin. 品燈, lit. rank lantern), which were strictly regulated according to social status. The bride also put on makeup and splendid clothes including the ***hwarot*** (Kor. 활옷, Chin. 闊衣, ceremonial robe) like a princess, while the bridegroom departed for his home, wearing ***dallyeong*** (Kor. 단령, Chin. 團領, robe with a round neckband) with hat, belt and boots. The material for cushions ranged from leopard skin to that of tiger, dog and lamb according to official rank, but the bridal palanquin was topped with tiger skin, usually reserved for high ranking officials. Likewise, the color of lanterns used is determined by rank but an exception was made for the bridal procession, which featured the blue and red lanterns (***cheongsadeungnong***) used by high ranking officials. This custom related to the bridal palanquin and procession gives a glimpse into the ruler's love of the people.

Palanquin cover adorned with a tiger skin motif

SINHAENG 신행

Bride's post-wedding journey to the groom's home

Bride's journey from her maiden home to the groom's home, where she will spend the rest of her life, after marriage.

The time of a bride's departure for the groom's home after marriage varies greatly. Some newly married women spent a year at home before going to live with her in-laws for the rest of her life (which is called ***muk-sinhaeng or haemugi***), while others spend a month (***dalmugi***) or three days (***samil-sin-haeng***). When the bride moves to the groom's home the same day as the wedding it is called ***do-sinhaeng***. In rural areas, until the 1950s it was common to spend a year at home first. But then it became more common to go to the groom's on the wedding day.

The custom of a man visiting his wife while she is still living at her maiden home after marriage is called ***jaehaeng*** (Kor. 재행, Chin. 再行, lit. groom's visit to the bride's family). The groom must gain his parent's permission for the visit and takes rice cakes and other food with him as gifts. He makes such a visit several times if the bride lives at her maiden home for an extended period of time. Even when the bride goes to the groom's home on the day of the wedding, the groom makes a visit to the bride's home. In Gyeongsangbuk-do Province, it is said the groom does this to wipe the tears of the bride's parents who are sad to see their daughter leave them.

When the time comes for the bride to go to the groom's home an auspicious day is chosen and she takes some gifts for the groom's family. Usually she is accompanied by her father as the ***sang-gaek*** (Kor. 상객, Chin. 上客, elderly member of the family who accompanies the bride or groom), who stays overnight at the in-law's house. The bride travels in a hired palanquin, owned by the local community. If the groom's house is not far away, she rides the palanquin all the way but otherwise, halfway she moves into another palanquin sent by the groom's family. With the introduction of modern transportation, the bride took a train or rode in a car if the groom's home was far away and transferred to a palanquin at the entrance to the groom's village. Taking the journey in a palanquin was considered strict propriety, which had to be

Bride's post-wedding journey to the groom's home
Late Joseon

Marriage Procession, Seoul
1921 | By Elizabeth Keith

adhered to even if the groom's home was just a stone's throw from the bride's.

The trip in a palanquin is uncomfortable for bride as she has to sit very still in a narrow enclosed space while the vehicle is in motion, which sometimes causes nausea. When she finally arrives, there is one last hurdle before entering the groom's home. The litter bearers have to cross over a straw fire in the yard before she can go indoors. This practice called ***yangbab*** was believed to prevent evil spirits from following her into the house. It was commonly performed in rural regions until the 1980s when Western style weddings became the norm.

Yungnyeyeongsang (Wedding Procession)
Late 19th C

The bride would bring a jar of sticky (glutinous) rice with her, which her mother-in-law cooked to share with the whole family on the third day after her arrival. Sticky rice signified wishes for the couple to live happily together, to be so close that they are "sticky."

The groom's family holds a feast that they have spent several days preparing with the help of relatives and neighbors to celebrate the arrival of the bride. Neighbors bring rice or ***gamju*** (sweet rice drink) as gifts, and the groom welcomes the guests while waiting for the bride to arrive.

YEONGIL 연길

Setting the wedding date
Lit. choosing auspicious date

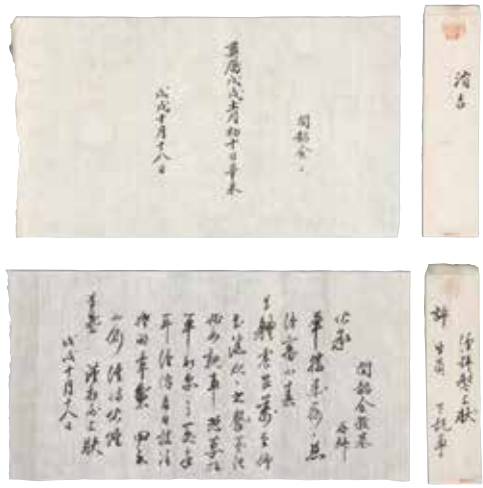
Setting the wedding date by the bride's family after receiving from the groom's family ***saseong*** (Kor. 사성 Chin. 四星, box containing a note of the groom's birth date, blue and red threads knotted together, some six yards of fabric for the bride's dress). It is also called ***nalbaji*** (lit. receiving the date), ***napgil*** (Kor. 납길, Chin. 納吉, lit. receiving auspiciousness), or ***chugil*** (Kor. 추길, Chin. 諏吉, lit. choosing auspicious date).

Setting the wedding date has been considered one of the most important formalities in marriage preparations as marriage is a major life event. The

history book "Samguksagi" (三國史記, Historical Records of the Three Kingdoms)[7] contains the story of a woman named Seolssinyeo, who refuses to wed a man "on just any day" even though they have to marry quickly because the man is about to enlist in the military. In old times, when women and men were not allowed to date freely and arranged marriages were the norm, it was on the wedding day that the bride and the groom met for the first time and their spirits were united with those of heaven and earth, which is called ***hapdeok*** (Kor. 합덕, Chin. 合德, lit. union of spirits). This is why such great significance was attached to choosing the wedding date, a custom included in ***yungnye*** (Kor. 육례, Chin. 六禮, six steps of the marriage ceremony).

After two families agree on the marriage of their son and daughter, the groom's family sends ***saseong*** to the bride's family. The document noting the groom's hour, day, month and year of birth is called ***sajudanja*** (Kor. 사주단자, Chin. 四柱單子, document of the groom's horoscopic data). In return, the bride's family sets a wedding date and informs the groom's family of it. Also enclosed with the notice of the wedding date is a document called ***heohonseo*** (Kor. 허혼서, Chin. 許婚書, lit. letter of approving of marriage). In some exceptional cases, the groom's family chose the wedding date, in which case it is called ***mattaegil*** (lit. reciprocal date selection).

But it is considered more appropriate for the bride's family set the wedding date as the preparations are more complex on the bride's side and it is necessary to take her menstrual cycle into account. The two families first agree on a broad time frame based on which a specific date is chosen. In some regions, there are days that have to be avoided such as days in the months when their parents married, days when bad things happened in either family, or the death anniversaries of their ancestors.



A letter setting the wedding date

But today such customs no longer hold significance, and weekends or holidays are preferred so that more guests can attend. Nothing could be better of course than a wedding day to coincide with an auspicious day according to traditional customs.

I YEONGHONGYEOLHONSIK

영혼결혼식

Bride's post-wedding between spirits journey to the groom's home

A wedding between the spirits of a man and a woman who died before marriage.

7 Compiled by Kim Bu-sik in 1145, this book is a historical record of the three ancient Korean kingdoms—Goguryeo, Baekje and Silla.

Yeonghongyeolhonsik is performed throughout the country. It is generally believed that such a marriage is only carried out in shamanism, but it is not rare in Confucianism, Buddhism, and reportedly in Moonism as well.

Yeonghongyeolhonsik is commonly known as a wedding between the spirits of a man and a woman who died before marriage. Yet, this is not always the case: sometimes, one of the couple is alive, so the ceremony is between a living person and a deceased person. If a man and a woman lived together and raised a child without being married and the husband passes away, then a *yeonghongyeolhonsik* could be held between the living wife and the deceased husband. Also, it is not strictly confined to those unmarried. The ceremony can be performed between a married man and a single woman, a single man and a married woman, and a married man and a married woman. Even people who were once married can also be eligible for *yeonghongyeolhonsik* if they became single before or after death.

Straw scarecrows were formerly used to symbolize the bride and groom at such a "spiritual wedding" but they were replaced by dummies when they became commonly available. At a ceremony between a living person and a dead person, the former marries a dummy representing his or her dead partner.

It is a common practice that the shaman or monk who officiates the ceremony designates who marries whom, but sometimes family members or neighbors can make the choice.

The list of participants in the ceremony varies depending on the format it takes. At a shamanic wedding performed in the neighborhood, it is natural for neighbors to attend the ceremony, so the range of participants is not limited to family and relatives. On the other hand, at a Confucian or Buddhist spiritual wedding, most participants are family members or relatives of the bride and the groom. This is also the case at a shamanic spiritual wedding if it takes place at a shrine (*gutdang*). A primary characteristic of *yeonghongyeolhonsik* is that it is performed for the deceased, which indicates that *ilsaenguirye* (Kor. 일생의례, Chin. 一生儀禮, ceremonies marking major transitions in the life of an individual) affect the deceased as well as the living. *Yeonghongyeolhonsik* presupposes the continuity of life before and after death. If life before and after death is different, there is no reason to hold rites for the deceased.

In addition, *yeonghongyeolhonsik* demonstrates the significance of *ilsaenguirye* in human life. It is a ceremony that endows legitimacy on an ancestor who died unmarried, which could have made them unable to properly serve as an ancestor. It demonstrates *ilsaenguirye* holds such significance as to bring about existential changes even to those deceased, let alone those alive. *Yeonghongyeolhonsik* is generally performed when a deceased person appears in a dream of his or her family members, or a series of misfortunes occur supposedly because of someone who died unmarried. Or it may be carried by family for someone who died without marrying. In any case, this ceremony presupposes that a wedding bears significance as an essential rite of passage. In this regard, *yeonghongyeolhonsik* is a good example of the meaning and importance of *ilsaenguirye* in human life.

UIHON 의혼

Arrangement of marriage

Preliminary discussion of marriage before a wedding.

Uihon is a preliminary discussion that involves the proposal and approval of marriage. Generally, it refers to the disucssions through the whole marriage process from the first talk of marriage until the actual wedding ceremony.

During this process, both families concerned discuss the would-be bride and groom's age, family tradition and circumstances, generic diseases, recent history of funerals, or whether they have the same surnames or ancestral origins.

In addition, personality, manners and ***gagyeok*** (Kor. 가격, Chin. 家格, lit. family status) were also taken into account. To closely examine conditions such as character or family tradition, ***ganseon*** (Kor. 간선, Chin. 看選, lit. meeting candidates) took place, which was deemed important because connections between families were often made through marriage. In recent years, this is rarely done as love marriage, which values individual relationships, has become prevalent.

During the ***uihon*** process, both families communicate solely through a matchmaker. The groom's family makes a courteous proposal and waits for ***napchae*** (Kor. 납채, Chin. 納采, acceptance by the bride's family). When ***uihon*** is completed through matchmaking, a practice called ***gunghap*** (fortuneteller's predictions on the future couple's marital life) is conducted. Unlike those days, ***gunghap*** is not an absolute condition for marriage today: it is now merely an old convention.

1. Arrangement of marriage in "Jujagarye"
(朱子家禮, Family Rituals of Zhu Xi)
2. Arrangement of marriage in "Saryepyeollam"
(四禮便覽, Handbook of the Four Ceremonies)

1 | 2

Then when the groom sends his ***sajudanja*** (document featuring the groom's horoscopic data), the bride's family prepares to choose a wedding date. Once the date is set, no funeral should take place in either family till the wedding and the groom must not make a deep bow to anyone. ***Nappye*** refers to the custom of the groom's family sending ***yejangham*** (Kor. 예장함, Chin. 禮狀函), a chest containing ***yejangji*** (Kor. 예장지, Chin. 禮狀紙, lit. letter of appreciation) and ***chaedan*** (Kor. 채단, Chin. 采緞, lit. colorful silks), to the bride's family through ***hamjinabi*** (male friends of the groom carrying the ***yejangham***). ***Nappye*** takes place early on the wedding day, or the day before the wedding. The silk sent is red and blue, which is wrapped in paper of the same colors. These days, a suitcase full of jewelry and cloth is often sent instead of an actual chest.

IMMAETSANG 입맷상

Snack served before a formal banquet

A table of a few simple dishes served to the guest(s) of honor before a formal banquet begins, or a small table of food set up in front of the guest(s) of honor.

At banquets like a wedding, ***suyeollye*** (Kor. 수연례, Chin. 壽宴禮, lit. rite to celebrate longevity) and ***hoehollye*** (Kor. 회혼례, Chin. 回婚禮, lit. celebration of the 60th anniversary of marriage), a splendid table of food is offered to the guest(s) of honor. Yet, this table is for display until the formal procedures are over, so a small table called ***immaetsang*** is served for the guest(s) of honor to snack on as the ceremony goes on. At a wedding, for instance, ***immaetsang*** is presented to the groom as he waits for the ***daerye*** (Kor. 대례, Chin. 大禮, lit. grand wedding ceremony) at the bride's house, or to the just-married couple. When the bride visits the groom's family after the wedding, the parents-in-law offer her a table full of food at ***pyebaek*** (Kor. 폐백, Chin. 幣帛, bride's formal greetings to her parents-in-law by making a deep bow and offering gifts) as a sign of welcome and gratitude, and on this occasion, ***immaetsang*** is also served to the bride.

Immaetsang usually features a simple clear soup, which helps the guest(s) of honor take the edge off their appetite till the ceremonies are over. Noodle soup, in particular, signifies a celebration on the fete and a wish for a happy, long life, like the long noodles. Noodles served at a wedding express wishes for the marriage to last a long time, and at ***hoegamnye*** (61st birthday) they express wishes for longevity.

Snack served before a formal banquet
Songpa-gu, Seoul | Lee Kil-pyo

JAEHAENG 재행

Lit. groom's visit to the bride's family

Bridegroom's first visit to the bride's maiden home after the wedding.

Jaehaeng refers to the first visit to the bride's maiden home by a groom, who returned to his family after the wedding was held at the bride's house. Generally, ***jaehaeng*** takes place before ***sinhaeng*** (Kor. 신행, Chin. 新行, post-wedding journey of the bride to the groom's home), and it can be carried out with his parents' permission after receiving a message from the bride's family. ***Jaehaeng*** is meaningful as the first visit to his wife's maiden home after ***chohaeng*** (Kor. 초행, Chin. 初行, groom's first visit to the bride's home to hold the wedding ceremony). This practice derives from the fact that marital customs centered on the wife's family. The oldest record on ***jaehaeng***, found in records of the Goguryeo kingdom in the "Book of Wei" of "Samgukji" (三國志, "Sanguozhi" in Chinese, Records of the Three Kingdoms), shows that once

marriage was arranged, the bride's family built ***seo-ok*** (Kor. 서옥, Chin. lit. 壻屋, a small house) in the yard. When the groom came at dusk, asking for permission to sleep with the bride, the bride's parents approved and guided him to the ***seo-ok***. The groom presented money and gifts to his in-laws, and returned to his parent's house with his family when the children grew up.

This tradition was carried on in ***dalmugi*** or ***haemugi sinhaeng*** (also called ***muk-sinhaeng***), in which the groom returned to his parent's house, without his wife, after the wedding and spending the first night together at the bride's house. He came back for her after a month (***dalmugi***) or a year (***haemugi***). In the meantime, the groom visited his wife's family, which is called ***jaehaeng***.

It was during ***jaehaeng*** that the groom made an official greeting to his parents-in-law, so for this occasion, ***pyebaek*** (Kor. 폐백, Chin. 幣帛, gifts to in-laws accompanied by a deep bow) was offered to pay respects. If ***jaehaeng*** was performed right after the wedding, a bottle of liquor and chicken was considered enough, but if months or years had passed before ***jaehaeng***, or the wife's ***geunchin*** (Kor. 근친, Chin. 覲親, a married daughter's visit to her parents) took place at the same time, the groom was expected to prepare rice cake, liquor or meat. The bride's family returned this favor with a proper set of gifts: in Gyeongsang-do Province, this is called ***jeongseong***. ***Jaehaeng*** was often accompanied by ***dongsangnye*** (Kor. 동상례, Chin. 東床禮), in which neighbors asked the groom embarrassing questions and hit him on the soles of his foot if he did not answer, or asked him to treat them with food and liquor.

Jaehaeng was a cultural device to help the groom quickly grow accustomed to the bride's family, relatives and local community. As marital customs changed, ***jaehaeng*** was also modified to be performed before or after the bride's ***sinhaeng***. The groom's ***jaehaeng*** was performed months or years after the wedding (like the bride's ***muk-sinhaeng***) or accompanied by the visit of the wife's married sister to her parents' home, which reflected a shift of focus in marriage from the bride's family to the groom's. In recent years, newly-weds visit the bride's family first after their honeymoon, and this is a vestige of the ***jaehaeng*** practice.

JEONALLYE 전안례

Wooden-goose presenting ceremony

A marriage procedure in which the groom offers a wooden goose to the bride's parents.

Chohaeng (초행, 醮行) refers to the groom's journey to the bride's home to hold the wedding. On his arrival, the first thing he does is to offer a goose to her parents, a procedure called ***jeonallye***. Initially, live geese were used but they have been replaced with black lacquered wooden versions. If a wooden goose was unavailable, a live chicken or goose made from rice cake was used as a substitute. When the groom goes to greet his bride, a procedure called ***chinyeong*** (Kor. 친영, Chin. 親迎, coming for the bride), a male attendant called ***gireok abi*** (lit. goose father) leads the procession, carrying the ceremonial bird in red wrapping cloth with its head on his left.

Wooden-goose presenting ceremony

Wooden goose
Joseon

Meanwhile, at the bride's home, a specific site inside the main gate is chosen for the goose-presenting ceremony. A straw mat is spread on the site where a folding screen is erected with a small table covered with a red wrapping cloth (***jeonansang***) in front. According to the established procedures, the bridegroom kneels in front of the table and the goose carrier hands the bird to him. Then, the groom places the goose on the table and bows with clapsed hands at face level, in the style called ***eup*** (揖) before standing up to perform two prostrations. While the groom conducts the ceremonial bow, the bride's mother carries the goose in her skirt and throws it into her room where the bride is sitting. There is a saying that if the tossed goose lies on the floor, the bride would give birth to a daughter as her first child, and if it stands, a son.

Geese mate for life and are known for their devotion to their mates. As such the goose-presenting ceremony takes place as a prayer for the new couple's eternal love and prosperity throughout marriage. Another reason for the selection of geese as the symbolic wedding bird is the affection and trust shown in their travelling as a group in search of warmer climates. In sum, considered as auspicious birds of fidelity, trust and love, geese symbolize desirable marital relations. This also reveals the Korean people's emphasis on the virtue of morality.

JUYUNGNYE 주육례

Six steps of marriage ceremony

Six steps of a marriage ceremony established during the Zhou dynasty (1046 BC–256 BC). It consists of ***napchae*** (Kor. 납채, Chin. 納采, sending a formal proposal letter from the groom's family to the bride's; ***munmyeong*** (Kor. 문명, Chin. 問名, asking the maiden name of the bride for fortune-telling); ***napgil*** (Kor. 납길, Chin. 納吉, informing

the bride's family of an auspicious date designated by the fortuneteller); ***napjing*** (Ko. 납징, Chin. 納徵, sending of wedding gifts to the bride's family); ***cheonggi*** (Kor. 청기, Chin. 請期, sending an approval letter for date of the marriage ceremony to the bride's family); and ***chinyeong*** (Kor. 친영, Chin. 親迎, coming for the bride).

Ceremonies for ***yungnye*** came from a chapter entitled "Sahollye" (Kor. 사혼례, Chin. 士昏禮, lit. Marriage Ceremony of Scholars) in "Uirye" (儀禮, Book of Ceremonies), said to be written by Duke of Zhou of the Zhou dynasty. The rites in those books were performed after the Zhou dynasty.

Napchae is the first of the six steps described in the "Book of Ceremonies." The groom's family sends a matchmaker to the bride's family to convey willingness for marriage. If the bride's family accepts, the groom's family performs ***napchae*** with presents—wild goose. ***Chae*** from ***napchae*** means "select," thereby ***napchae*** means to accept selection. ***Munmyeong*** is the second process, in which an officiate stands holding the goose and asks for the bride's name. ***Napgil*** is the third process in which the groom's family goes to a fortuneteller and if the marraige is predicted to bring good fortune, the result is delivered to the bride's family with the present of a goose. ***Napjing*** is the fourth process signaling that the two families will go on with the marriage. ***Jing*** from ***napjing*** means "to accomplish." Since marriage is practically verified through ***napgil***, ***pyebaek*** (bride presenting gifts to her parents-in-law when she formally bows to them for the first time) consisting of bundles of dark red silk and the hides of a doe and deer are delivered to bride's home at ***napjing***. ***Cheonggi*** is the fifth process in which the groom's family prepares geese as gifts and asks which date would be the most suitable for marriage. When the bride's family politely refuses to decide the date, the groom's family decides after consultation with a fortuneteller and informs the bride's family. In fact, ***cheonggi*** means "asking the date." ***Chinyeong*** is the sixth procedure, where the groom goes to the bride's house and brings her to his parents' home to perform the wedding ceremony.

Juyungnye holds academic value in studying the archetypes of ancient ceremonies regarding marriage. Moreover, the social meaning of marriage—establishment of ethics and order—can be viewed from ***juyungnye***.

JUJASARYE 주자사례

Four steps of a marriage ceremony

Four processes of the marriage ceremony based on "Jujagarye" (朱子家禮, Family Rituals of Zhu Xi): ***uihon*** (Kor. 의혼, Chin. 議婚, lit. discussion of marriage); ***napchae*** (Kor. 납채, Chin. 納采, sending a formal proposal letter from the groom's family to the bride's); ***nappye*** (Kor. 납폐, Chin. 納幣, sending wedding gifts to the bride's family); and ***chinyeong*** (Kor. 친영, Chin. 親迎, welcoming the bride after the wedding at the groom's house).

For new scholar-officials in Joseon who wanted "Jujagarye" to be implemented as policy, a system of rites covering the coming of age, weddings, funerals, and ancestral memorial rites was an important element for strengthening human relations and changing customs in the right way. In the mid-Joseon

period, deep exploration of "Jujagarye" was conducted, and many other books on propriety were released to suit Joseon society. Of them, ***jujasarye*** served as the basis for the four major procedures in marriage: ***uihon***, ***napchae***, ***nappye***, and ***chinyeong***. ***Uihon*** is the first procedure. For men aged 16–30 and women aged 14–20, marriage is discussed through a matchmaker. The second process is ***napchae***, in which a bride is selected and the proposal accepted. This is also called ***eonjeong***, which literally means an "oral promise." The third is ***nappye***, in which the groom's family sends an officiant with letters and gifts to the bride's house. The fourth is ***chinyeong***. The groom arrives at the bride's house, performs ***jeonallye*** (Kor. 전안례, Chin. 奠雁禮, wooden-goose presenting ceremony), and the couple go back to the groom's house to conduct ***gyobaerye*** (Kor. 교배례, Chin. 交拜禮, lit. bow-exchanging ceremony) and ***hapgeullye*** (Kor. 합근례, Chin. 合巹禮, liquor-sharing ceremony).

I CHEONNALBAM 첫날밤
Wedding night

The frist night on which the bride and groom sleep together after the wedding.

As Jeong Yak-yong[8] described in his work "Garyejakui" (嘉禮酌儀, Protocols of Offeirng Wines in the Rituals of Royal Weddings)[9], Korea made it a rule to hold the wedding ceremony at the bride's house, and most often the bride and groom spent their first night at the bride's house after the wedding. However, different regions and situations sometimes led the just-wed couple to spend their wedding night at the groom's house.

Newly-weds on their wedding night

As the wedding night draws closer, a liquor table is prepared near the less warm part of the room. In the Gangwon region, along with fruits, rice cakes, and deep-fried sweet rice cakes (***yugwa***), the table was also set with rice, water, thread, coins, and liquor in separate containers with a lid. This table setting is called ***sillangsang japgi*** (lit. the groom picking up [an item] on table). The contents of the container the groom first opened were used to predict the fortune of the newly-wed couple. If he opened the lid of the rice-filled bowl, it is said that the couple would live a carefree, happy life without the fear of hunger; if he picked water, they were believed to live in a cool environment; if he picked thread, they were thought to live long; if he picked

8 Jeong Yak-yong (丁若鏞, 1762–1836) was a great philosopher and prominent statesman of the Joseon Dynasty, commonly known by his pen name Dasan (茶山).

9 Authored by Jeong Yak-yong in 1810, "Garyejakui" (Kor. 가례작의, Chin. 嘉禮酌儀) deals with matters on wedding ceremonies.

money, they were believed to accumulate a great fortune. However, if the groom first opened the liquor container, the bride was said to suffer distress due to the groom's love of drinking liquor. In addition, sometimes there was an empty container, and if this was the one the groom picked first, it was believed that the couple would have an impoverished life.

In a bridal chamber, a liquor table is set in the colder part of the room and the bedclothes and pillows in the warmer part of the room. The groom sits on the east side and the bride on the west side. ***Sumo*** (Kor. 수모, Chin. 手母, female wedding helper) seats the bride and the groom on given seats and then informs the bride of how she should behave in the bedchamber before leaving. The groom helps the bride take off her wedding clothes and the bride vice versa.

A pair of candle holders
Joseon

A pair of pillow ends decorated with the phoenix motif
Joseon

In Jeollabuk-do Province, there was a wedding tradition in which the groom and the bride sat on opposite sides of a liquor table and together drank ***haphwanju*** (Kor. 합환주, Chin. 合歡酒, liquor that the just-wed couple drink together to celebrate wedding), an act symbolizing the unity of minds and bodies. When the liquor table was put aside, the bride and the groom lit a candle and put up a screen in front of the door of the wedding chamber before going to bed. During the night, relatives and family members sometimes made holes in the papered door and peeked into the room. The tradition of relatives peeking into the nuptial bedchamber came about because unfortunate incidents sometimes occurred on the wedding night, including abduction of the bride by a stranger. In other words, relatives and family members lingered nearby until the couple fell asleep to guard against an unfortunate event. When the candle went out, the female relatives and family members on watch went to hang ***kkotjangdeung*** (Kor. 꽃장등, Chin. -長燈, flower-shaped top-lights) on the eaves of the roofs of the women's and men's quarters of the house.

CHOHAENG 초행

Groom's wedding journey

The groom's procession to the bride's house for the wedding ceremony.

Chohaeng means the entire procession of the groom and his attendants to the bride's house to hold ***daerye*** (Kor. 대례, Chin. 大禮, lit. grand wedding ceremony). The term ***chohaeng*** is the opposite of ***jaehang*** (Kor. 재행, Chin. 再行, the groom's revisit to the bride's place after returning to his own house [본가, 本家] after the wedding). Generally, ***chohaeng*** is referred to as "steps taken towards one's first trip" or "taking a step for the first visit." However, if the bride is from a poor family, the wedding ceremony is held at the groom's house and in such a case the ***chohaeng*** process is omitted. Although there are slight differences depending on region, ***chohaeng*** is generally performed following the procedures.

The groom and his company hold a rite in which offerings are made to the ancestors at the family shrine before they head for the bride's house for the marriage ceremony. Some households call in a shaman to offer a prayer, or light a candle while rubbing hands prayerfully for the groom's safe trip to the bride's house. Upon the end of the rite, the groom's company embarks on their journey. The entourage accompanying the bridegroom is composed of ***sanggaek*** (Kor. 상객, Chin. 上客, elderly member of the family who accompanies the bride or groom), ***huhaeng*** (Kor. 후행, Chin. 後行, those who follow the groom), ***hamjinabi*** (carrier of a chest called ***ham***, which is filled with presents sent by the groom's family to the bride's), and servants. ***Sanggaek*** is called ***honju*** (Kor. 혼주, Chin. 婚主, master of the wedding ceremony), who represents the groom's family. This role is usually played by the groom's father, or grandfather, or the elder or younger brother of the groom's father, or the groom's older brother. ***Huhaeng*** refers to those who follow the groom and the bride. They consist of two or three well-to-do persons selected from among relatives. ***Hamjinabi*** and ***jungbang*** are those carrying the chest of wedding presents for the bride's family, and the official attire and mandarin ducks respectively. The roles are undertaken by males who have a first-born son, born with good destiny. In addition, a little boy called ***sodong*** (소동, 小童) carrying a ***cheongsachorong*** (traditional Korean lantern with a red-and-blue silk shade), palanquin bearers, and servants also form part of the company. The ***chohaeng*** procession could consist of up to dozens of people. The composition of the ***chohaeng*** procession differs slightly by region. In general, the ***sanggaek*** travel in a palanquin while the bridegroom rides a horse. If a horse should be unavailable, the groom also rides a palanquin. Among the common people, however, the groom and his company generally made their first visit to the bride's house for the wedding ceremony on foot.

In some cases, the groom wore wedding clothes on his way to the bride's, but more often than not he wore ordinary ***hanbok*** (traditional clothes) and ***durumagi*** (traditional outer coat). When they arrived at the bride's house, he changed into his wedding attire. The ***chohaeng*** procession was easily noticed with so many people walking with a dignified air, the groom at the center. It has been said that sometimes, when two ***chohaeng*** processions met each other while coming from opposite directions, they often scuffled with each other and were reluctant to move out of the way.

Chohaeng (Groom's Wedding Journey)
By Kim Hong-do, 2nd half of the 18th C | National Museum of Korea

Groom's wedding journey

When the groom and his entourage arrive at the bride's village, a guide called ***daeban*** (Kor. 대반, Chin. 對盤, lit. entertaining [with] tray) or ***injeop*** (Kor. 인접, Chin. 人接, person to receive guests) is sent by the bride's family to lead the groom's procession to a room called ***jeongbang*** (Kor. 정방, Chin. 定房, waiting room). ***Jeongbang*** refers to a single room in the men's quarters of a neighbor's house, which is located on the way to the bride's home. In the room, the groom and his company take off their traveling outfits and rest for a while. While at the ***jeongbang***, the groom and his party eat foods such as noodles at a simple liquor table offered by the bride's family. At the same time, the bride's family helps them get ready for ***daerye*** (Kor. 대례, Chin. 大禮, lit. grand wedding ceremony).

When all the preparations are completed in the ***jeongbang***, the chest carrier (***hamjinabi***) first leaves for the bride's house to deliver the chest containing wedding gifts, on time for ***nappye*** (Kor. 납폐, Chin. 納幣, the bridegroom's family sending wedding presents to the bride's family). This is referred to as "selling a ***ham***," the chest containing wedding gifts. In the process of selling it, the chest carrier often scuffles with the bride's family, which is annoyed by the chest carrier's reluctance to hand over the chest to the bride's family without difficulty. Before heading for the bride's to sell the ***ham*** (the chest of wedding gifts), ***hamjinabi*** applies black ink on his face or wears a mask made of a few dried squid. And then when the chest carrier passes the ***ham*** to the bride's family, he is served an abundance of food as well as offered an ample cash reward by the bride's family.

When the chest (***ham***) of wedding presents is delivered to the bride's house, a straw mat is laid out on the yard, a folding screen is put up, a table is set on the straw mat, and the chest is placed on the table. Sometimes, the chest is placed on a table set on the wooden-floored hall. A woman born with good fortune receives the chest, takes it to the main room, lays it on the floor, and then sits on it, crying out "Here comes good luck!" In response, the bride's mother reaches inside the chest, taking out some cloth. It is believed that the color of the cloth that is picked by the mother

foretells the future of the bride: cloth wrapped with blue paper indicates the bride's first child will be a girl, whereas the one wrapped with red paper indicates that she will first give birth to a son.

When the time for the wedding ceremony arrives, the groom departs from the waiting room (*jeongbang*) and heads to the bride's house, led by the chest carrier. When the groom steps into the house, the neighbors ask him to do a variety of things to ward off evil spirits, such as crushing a gourd dipper into pieces. The villagers might throw a pouch full of ashes at him, or beans, adzuki beans, and cow dung, or make him cross over a straw fire. When the *chohaeng* procedure is completed, the wedding ceremony is performed at *daeryecheong* (Kor. 대례청, Chin. 大禮廳, an outdoor banquet hall for a wedding) arranged in the inner courtyard or outer courtyard of the house.

Sinbujanssang badeun moyang, depicting a bride waiting for the groom with a goblet in her hands
Gisan pungsokdo (Genre Paintings of Gisan) | The Korean Christian Museum at Soongsil University

KEUNSANGBATGI 큰상받기

Lit. receiving a big table

Preparing a big reception table for a deity who bestows longevity and fortune on the host of the feast.

In ancient society, the highest luxury in entertaining a guest was to present a table loaded with all sorts of delicacies. As such, the most important point in a feast was to set a magnificent table for a deity, invisible and yet the guest of honor, so that the deity would descend on the table and bless the host of the feast. This table for the deity was called *mangsang*, as it was there only to be looked at, like a decoration.

In *dongnoeyeon* (Kor. 동뢰연, Chin. 同牢宴, exchange of wine cups by the bride and groom as they sit facing each other after the main ceremony in a traditional wedding), a big table was set for the deity who bestows blessings on the couple. However, after *dongnoeyeon* the nature of the table was changed and presented to the bride and groom in the wedding feast. In other words, there was a change in concept from "presenting a big table" to "receiving a big table." According to "Hanguk minsok jonghap josa bogoseo: Jejudo," a series of comprehensive survey reports on Korean folk culture published by the Ministry of Culture and Public Information,[10] the big table set for a wedding cere-

10 Presently, the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism.

mony has been passed down in the form of "keunsangbatgi," the custom of "receiving a big table." On the big table was a high pile of various fruits, steamed white rice cake (***baekpyeon***, Kor. 백편), honey-filled rice cakes (***kkulpyeon/kkultteok***, Kor. 꿀편/꿀떡), glutinous rice cakes (***chalpyeon/chalteok***, Kor. 찰편/찰떡) mixed with cinnamon, ***pyeon*** (Kor. 편, Chin. 餠, rice cake) mixed with black sesame, and fruits preserved in honey (***jeonggwa***, Kor. 정과). In some areas, the rice cake for a big table was called "big rice cake" (***keuntteok***, Kor. 큰떡). This consisted of pounded rice cakes (***jeolpyeon***, Kor. 절편) made as big as the palm and glutinous rice cakes coated with bean flour (***injeolmi***, Kor. 인절미) made in the same size as ***jeolpyeon***. The rice cakes were piled up in high mounds on ***mokgi*** (Kor. 목기, Chin. 木器, wooden vessels). However, the one common factor in all parts of the country was to set ***immaetsang*** (Kor. 입맷상, a small table of food served to appease one's hunger before a formal banquet) with clear soybean soup (***jangguk***, Kor. 장국) and rice-cake soup (***tteokguk***, Kor. 떡국) served on the table in front of the big table.

A big reception table for the deity who bestows longevity and fortune on the host of the feast
Songpa-gu, Seoul | Lee Kil-pyo

HAM 함

Chest of wedding gifts

Chest used to bring ***honseoji*** (Kor. 혼서지, Chin. 婚書紙, marriage letter) and wedding gifts from the groom's family to the bride's in the marriage process.

The marriage process includes the sending of ***honsu*** (Kor. 혼수, household items required for marriage for the bride) and a chest containing a marriage letter and list of gifts from the groom's family to the bride's. On ***chohaeng*** (Kor. 초행, Chin. 初行, groom's first visit to the bride's home for the wedding ceremony), the groom takes this chest with him.

A marriage letter and wedding gifts are placed in the chest. Although wedding gifts vary depending on region and family situation, the groom's family generally sends cloth of blue and red silk so that the bride can prepare wedding clothes. Or, in some regions, the groom's family sends objects or jewelry symbolizing "man," such as walnuts or peppers as a token of wishes for a son.

The process of preparing the wedding chest or ***ham*** starts with laying paper (wood free paper) on the bottom of the box, then placing the marriage letter on the paper. Next, ***honsu*** or household items required for marriage are placed in the chest one by one, with cloth folded in alignment with the article: red cloth is first placed, then blue cloth is laid on the red cloth. Paper is laid on top of the cloths, then dried bush clover or sorghum stems are placed on the paper to prevent the items from getting mixed up before closing the chest. The chest is wrapped in a wrapping cloth, fitting over the four corners, then gathering the remaining cloth to completely bind the box. Around

A wedding gift chest on top of a steamer filled with rice cake

Wedding gift box
After Korea's liberation from Japanese colonial rule in 1945

Chest containing colorful silks, sent from the groom's family to the bride's family

the knot of the cloth, a piece of paper is tied on featuring the two Chinese characters ***geunbong*** (Kor. 근봉, Chin. 謹封, lit. respectfully sealed). In the Jeju region, every family has a ***honsu*** chest to use on marriage occasions, so the bride's family returns the chest to the groom's afterwards. A family may borrow a chest from others if they cannot pepare one themselves.

HAMJINABI 함진아비

Carrier of a wedding gift chest

Carrier of a chest containing wedding gifts sent by the bridegroom's family to the bride's family before marriage.

Among the ***yungnye*** (Kor. 육례, Chin. 六禮, six steps of the marriage ceremony) found in "***Saryepyeollam***" (四禮便覽, Handbook of the Four Ceremonies), the procedure of ***napjing*** (Kor. 납징, Chin. 納徵), also called ***nappye*** (Kor. 납폐, Chin. 納幣, sending wedding presents from the groom's family to the bride's before the wedding), was related to sending the wedding chest. A record says, "Send a messenger to observe all the etiquettes of ***nappye***." Here the messenger refers to a steward or wedding chest carrier. The steward was a polite person selected from the groom's relatives to prepare a marriage letter. The wedding chest carrier was selected from among blessed servants called ***boksu*** (Kor. 복수, Chin. 福手, lit. blessed hand), who received only traveling costs in return for carrying the chest.

These days, one of the groom's friends carries the chest to the bride's house or the groom carries it on his own to the bride's home. Originally, however, the

groom did not accompany the carrier of the wedding chest. The carrier was selected from among people of virtue and good reputation who had a son or sons. The carrier smeared his face with soot from the bottom of a cauldron as soot symbolized fire. In other words, soot was smeared on the face of the carrier to prevent evil spirits from befalling him by burning disasters and misfortunes as fire does. However, the custom of smearing the face with soot has now disappeared, and instead the carrier wears a dried squid with holes for the eyes and mouth, like a mask.

The carrier of the wedding chest should go straight to the bride's family without putting the chest down on the way. Also, the carrier should arrive at the bride's at ***yusi*** (Kor. 유시, Chin. 酉時, between five and seven o'clock in the afternoon), the time when yin and yang cross over. In recent years, however, the custom of selling and buying the wedding chest has emerged and in this process, both parties may hurt each other's feelings. Also, the carrier's arrival is delayed in most cases so that the chest enters the bride's home after ***yusi***.

The carrier performs an important mission in the marriage process as a messenger responsible for carrying the marriage letter and ***chaedan*** (Kor. 채단, Chin. 綵緞, lit. colorful silks).

A man carries a wedding gift chest
Boseong, Jeollanam-do Province) | Kim Tae-woo

HAPGEULLYE 합근례

Lit. gourd union ceremony

Bride and groom drinking liquor from the same cup to exchange marriage vows during a traditional wedding ceremony.

After finishing ***gyobaerye*** (Kor. 교배례, Chin. 交拜禮, lit. bow exchanging ceremony), the bride and groom sit down on their knees, and the attendants put down the liquor cup and the fruit dish from ***daeryesang*** (Kor. 대례상, Chin. 大禮床, lit. table for grand ceremony), chestnuts from the groom's table and jujubes from the bride's table, onto a small table, respectively. In ***hapgeullye***, the bride and the groom exchange the liquor cup three times, in general. When each attendant pours liquor into the cups, the bride and the groom receive their own cups, then raise it to their lips and lower it to pour the liquor into an empty vessel. The attendant on the groom's right side hangs on his wrist the red thread from the pine branch placed on ***daeryesang***, and the attendant on the bride's right side hangs on her wrist the blue thread from the bamboo branch to mark whose attendants they are when exchanging cups.

When they receive the cup from their respective attendants, the bride and groom raise the cups to their chests as an expression of wedding vows, then drink half of the liquor and return the cup to their attendants. The attendant receives the cup, and gives the cup from the groom to the bride and the cup from

The bride and groom drink liquor from two cups, made from the same gourd, during a wedding ceremony

the bride to the groom. The bride and groom drink the remaining liquor and return the cup to the attendants, who in turn put the cups back into their original place. For the third cup, a pair of cups made from the halves of a calabash or round gourd is used. From the past, the gourd was considered sacred, as it was seen as a symbol of the productivity of the earth and a plant of fertility, of the source of life like the egg of a bird, and of the sun with mysterious power. On top of this, the other half of the gourd cup signified the one and only being in this world, hence the bride and groom's drinking liquor from the gourd cup meant that the couple would value and love their one and only spouse in this world.

In ***hapgeullye***, the bride and the groom exchange the liqour cup three times, and each time, the cup has its own significance: The first cup is meant to make vows to heaven and earth; the second cup is to make wedding vows to the spouse; and the third cup is to make promises to love and value each other and live in happy union as husband and wife till parted by death or grow old together (***baengnyeonhaero***, Kor. 백년해로, Chin. 百年偕老, lit. live one hundred years in happy union to grow old together). Drinking wine from the same cup, or ***hapgeullye***, has the ritualistic nature of making wedding vows and promises to live in happy union until parted by death, using the medium of liquor that has never been absent from rituals since ancient times.

HYEONGUGORYE 현구고례

Lit. bride's greeting to her parents-in-law

First ceremonial exchange of greetings between the bride and her parents-in-law after marriage when the bride offers ***pyebaek*** (Kor. 폐백, Chin. 幣帛, gifts the bride gives to in-laws with a deep bow).

Hyeongugorye refers to the bride's visit to the groom's house for the first time after marriage to pay respects to her in-laws, making a deep bow and offering ***pyebaek***. This is also when ***sanggyeollye*** (Kor. 상견례, Chin. 相見禮, lit. first meeting between bride's family and groom's family) is held between the bride and extended members of the groom's family. The tradition of offering ***pyebaek*** is still observed today.

The procedure of ***hyeongugorye*** is as follows. The bride first makes a deep bow to her father-in-law in the main hall of the groom's house. Then the ***sumo*** (Kor. 수모, Chin. 手母, bride's attendant) unwraps the cloth holding the jujubes and gives them to the bride who places them on the table in front of her father-in-law. Then the bride bows before her mother-in-law, and in the same manner, the attendant takes meat from the wrapping cloth and gives it to the bride who places it on the table in front of her mother-in-law. The groom does not join in the bowing, but stands next to his father. Only the bride bows before her in-laws, who in return give words of blessing. But the groom's parents do not give the bride any gifts such as cash or jewelry on the spot. Even if the groom's grandparents are present, the bride pays respects to her parents-in-law first and then together with her mother-in-law goes to the grandparents' room and pays her respects to them. If both paternal and maternal grandparents are alive, then the bride prepares two sets of ***pyebaek***. The bride does not offer ***pyebaek*** to other family members.

After ***hyeongugorye***, the mother-in-law performs ***gyerye*** (Kor. 계례, Chin. 笄禮, coming-of-age ceremony) where the bride's hair is braided and put up into a chignon. Then the bride changes into ***hanbok*** (tradi-

Bride's greeting to the parents-in-law and other relatives after the wedding, depicted in "Pyeongsaengdo" (lit. life course painting)
National Museum of Korea

tional dress) consisting of a green ***jeogori*** (top) and red skirt that the in-laws had made for her; she wears the jewelry her in-laws gave her as a gift and is presented with a large table laden with food. Three days later, the bride goes to the ***sadang*** (Kor. 사당, Chin. 祠堂, shrine) to pay respects to the in-laws' ancestral spirits and offer ***pyebaek***. If the father-in-law is deceased, the bride offers jujubes, if the mother-in-law is deceased, she offers meat in the form of beef jerky or slices of dried meat. Only family members could enter the shrine, which meant that instead of the bride's attendant, a female member of the in-laws' family had to accompany the bride to help her.

HOLLYE 혼례
Marriage

All ceremonial procedures and rites through which the marriage of a man and a woman of legal age are legally acknowledged.

During the Joseon period (1392-1910), the government published and distributed "Samgang haengsildo" (三綱行實圖, Illustrated Conduct of the Three Bonds)[11] and "Oryun haengsildo" (五倫行實圖, The Five Moral Rules with Illustrations)[12] in a drive to edify the people and encourage them to practice Confucian virtues and observe propriety in their daily lives. Confucian values permeated the family and local community, and marriage formalities and ceremonial procedures became established in the 17th century based on "Jujagarye" (朱子家禮, Family Rituals of Zhu Xi), which in late Joseon also influenced the wedding customs of the common people.

A traditional marriage encompasses all the procedures starting with talk of marriage to the bride visiting her parents' house after the wedding. The marriage process begins with ***hondam*** (Kor. 혼담, Chin. 婚談 lit. talk of marriage between the two families). The groom's family sends the bride's family a marriage proposal and the groom's horoscopic data, a process called ***napchae*** (Kor. 납채, Chin. 納采). After the two families agree to the marriage, the groom's family sends the bride's family ***ham*** (Kor. 함, Chin. 函, chest containing wedding gifts) filled with wedding gifts of red and blue silk, a process called ***nappye*** (Kor. 납폐, Chin. 納幣, sending wedding gifts to the bride's family). Once the ***ham*** arrives at the bride's house with the silks and marriage letter, the bride's family places it on a table and bows twice in the northern direction.

The wedding ceremony is usually held at the bride's house, in the courtyard. The bride wears a green ***jeogori*** (top) and red skirt with a ***wonsam*** (ceremonial robe) and ***jokduri*** (crown-like headpiece), while the groom wears traditional ceremonial attire with a black gauze hat and boots. Once the groom arrives at the bride's house, he dismounts from his horse and enters the house covering his

11 Published in 1434 by the royal order of King Sejong (r. 1418–1450), it is a collection of the biographies of filial children, loyal subjects, and faithful wives.

12 Authored in 1797 by various scholars including Yi Byeong-mo under the reign of King Jeongjo (r. 1776–1800), it includes illustrated stories exemplifying the five Confucian virtues—loyalty between the king and his subjects, filial piety, fidelity between husband and wife, hierarchy between the elders and the young, and trust between friends.

face with a fan. The bride's family greets him, then the groom presents a wooden goose to the bride's father, a process called ***jeonallye*** (Kor. 전안례, Chin. 奠鴈禮). The old custom was to give a live pheasant, but this was replaced with ***mogan*** (Kor. 목안, Chin. 木雁, lit. wooden goose). The bride and groom then perform ***gyobaerye*** (Kor. 교배례, Chin. 交拜禮, lit. bow-exchanging ceremony) and ***hapgeullye*** (Kor. 합근례, Chin. 合巹禮, liquor-sharing ceremony).

After the wedding ceremony, the bride and groom retire to the nuptial chamber and spend the night together. As part of the wedding ritual ***sillang-darugi*** (Kor. 신랑다루기, lit. teasing the groom) also took place. In this custom, also called ***dongsangnye*** (Kor. 동상례, Chin. 東床禮), people ask the groom embarrassing questions and if his answers are not satisfactory, they tie him to a post and hit him on the sole of his feet. After the bride and groom are married, the bride visits the groom's house for ***hyeongugorye*** (Kor. 현구고례, Chin. 見舅姑禮, bride's greeting to parents-in-law and other relatives after the wedding). The bride also goes to the groom's family shrine for ***hyeonsadang*** (Kor. 현사당, Chin. 見祠堂, lit. making a deep bow before the ancestral spirits). These processes were an important part of officially accepting a new person as a member of the family.

Most of the traditional wedding customs are still observed today, but have been modified and adapted for the modern wedding, which is usually held at a wedding hall with an officiant presiding over the ceremony. Most wedding venues have a separate ***pyebaek*** room, and it has been more than a half century since the culture of ***pyebaek*** (Kor. 폐백, Chin. 幣帛, bride's formal greetings to her par-

The groom presents a wooden goose during a wedding ceremony
Replica, 2002

The bride drinks liquor during the wedding ceremony
Replica, 2002

Korean Bride
By Elizabeth Keith

ents-in-law by making a deep bow and offering gifts) has been established. Wedding after-parties and newly-weds' housewarmings function as a fun way to relieve the stress and tension of strict wedding formalities. The tradition of exchanging monetary gifts at weddings represented community solidarity and continues to this day, functioning as a social norm guiding the actions of groups and individuals.

HOLLYEBOK 혼례복

Wedding garments

Special ceremonial garments worn by the bride and groom for their wedding ceremony.

It is not well known what kind of ***hollyebok*** people wore during the Three Kingdoms period, the Goryeo dynasty (918-1392) or even the early Joseon dynasty (1392-1910), but it has been confirmed that in Joseon—a strict hierarchical society—people were allowed to wear clothes that were above their social standing at their wedding. So even commoners without a government position could wear the wedding garments of a princess or the king's son-in-law for their wedding ceremony.

Traditional wedding attire for grooms was ***samogwandae*** (Kor. 사모관대, Chin. 紗帽冠帶), which refers to the uniforms of government officials of Joseon. It consisted of a ***samo*** (Kor. 사모, Chin. 紗帽, black gauze hat), ***dallyeong*** (Kor. 단령, Chin. 團領, robe with a round neckband) and ***mokhwa*** (Kor. 목화, Chin. 木靴, black boots). The ***hyungbae*** (Kor. 흉배, Chin. 胸背, insignia embroidered on the breast and back of the robe) and ***gakdae*** (Kor. 각대, Chin. 角帶, lit. square belt) differed depending on the official's rank, but this did not apply to the groom, and he could wear the ***hyungbae*** and ***gakdae*** of his choice regardless of rank and whether or not he had a government position. When the groom entered the ***daeryecheong*** (Kor. 대례청, Chin. 大

1. The bride's wedding garments featured in "Saryepyeollam" (四禮便覽, Handbook of the Four Ceremonies)
2. The bride during a wedding ceremony

1 | 2

禮廳, an outdoor banquet hall for a wedding), he held a ***saseon*** (Kor. 사선, Chin. 紗扇, square fan with two handles) with both hands to cover his face. Traditional wedding attire for brides was called ***noguihongsang*** (Kor. 녹의홍상, Chin. 綠衣紅裳, lit. green top and red skirt), and consisted of a crimson skirt and either a green or yellow ***jeogori*** (top) over a pink inner garment. The bride also put on either a ***hwarot*** (wedding overcoat) and ***hwagwan*** (Kor. 화관, Chin. 花冠, flower crown) or a ***wonsam*** (ceremonial robe) and ***jokduri*** (crown-like headpiece). The crimson skirt was a staple, but the color of the ***jeogori*** and type of robe and headpiece differed in each family.

An essential part of a wedding ceremony is hair and make-up. The bride powdered her face, put rouge on her lips, and put a red rouge spot on her cheeks and forehead. She either wore a ***gache*** (Kor.

The bride's wedding robe (*hwarot*)

A long ribbon (*daenggi*) hanging down from the bridal headpiece

Bridal headpiece (*jokduri*)

The groom's robe (*dallyeong*)

Groom's square belt (*gakdae*)

Groom's boots (*mokhwa*)

가체, Chin. 加髢, a big wig made of braided hair) or put her hair up in a chignon and fixed it with a ***binyeo*** (ornamental hair rod) adorned with a dragon pattern or plum ***blossons*** and bamboo leaves. A ***daenggi*** (ribbon) was attached to each side of the ***binyeo***, and a ***jokduri*** or ***hwagwan*** placed on top of the head with a long piece of the ribbon hanging down from the headpiece.

The bride's wedding garments were sent by the groom's family, but at times it was also provided by the bride's family or borrowed from someone in the village. The representative bridal wear was ***won-sam***, especially the green ***wonsam***, which was traditionally the ceremonial dress of princesses. The robe has very wide color-striped sleeves with han-sam (Kor. 한삼, Chin. 汗衫, sleeve extensions attached at the end to completely cover the hands). ***Wonsam*** worn by ladies in the royal court were large in size and lavish, made with gold brocade fabric and elaborately decorated with gold leaf, whereas the ones worn by commoners as bridal wear were modest in size and material, but the sleeves were elaborately decorated with stripes of many colors. ***Wonsam*** was usually paired with the ***jokduri*** headpiece for weddings. Another type of bridal robe was ***hwarot***. Similar in style to ***wonsam***, it is made with deep red fabric and adorned with embroidery. ***Hwarot*** was paired with the ***hwagwan*** headpiece.

After Korea opened its ports to foreign trade, Western wedding customs were introduced and spread among the intelligentsia and Christians in the big cities. Grooms began wearing tailcoats while brides wore a white ***jeogori*** and skirt with a veil over the face, which was a blend of traditional and mod-

Wedding ceremony in the pre-modern period
Late Joseon

Wedding ceremony in the modern period

Wedding ceremony in the early modern period

ern bridal attire. But during the Japanese colonial period (1910–1945) and the Korean War (1950–1953) and the aftermath, people could not afford formal wedding attire due to dire economic conditions, and in many cases, brides had to make do with a skirt and *jeogori* and a cloth covering the hands.

From the 1960s, traditional wedding ceremonies began to decline and modern weddings held at wedding halls became widespread in the big cities. Grooms wore suits and brides wedding dresses. But until the 1970s, traditional weddings were still held in rural areas with the bride wearing a white skirt and *jeogori*. In the mid-20th century, it became customary for grooms to wear a suit and brides a pink skirt and *jeogori* at engagement ceremonies. From the late 20th century, even fewer people wore traditional wedding attire, and the only traditional clothes that people prepared were a pink *hanbok* for the bride for the engagement ceremony and *hanbok* for the bride and groom to change into after the wedding ceremony. Since the end of the 20th century, many people have been forgoing engagements, and the traditional clothes required for photo shoots and *pyebaek* (Kor. 폐백, Chin. 幣帛, bride's formal greetings to her parents-in-law by making a deep bow) are usually rented.

Among the traditional wedding rituals, the wedding attire and wedding ceremony have changed the most through Western influence. Although the bride's dress changed gradually from the traditional wedding garment to a combination of traditional and Western style to the modern wedding dress, the groom's attire did not go through such a transitional phase with the Western-style morning coat and tailcoat being adopted right away. This is in line with the fact that men's traditional attire and official uniform had been influenced by foreign culture for some time, whereas women's attire had maintained the traditional style.

HONBAN 혼반

Aristocratic families with equal standing in terms of marriage eligibility

A clan-based community created through generations of intermarriage among upper class families.

Honban refers to "compatible social status suitable for marriage" or "aristocratic families with equal standing in terms of marriage eligibility." But in social science, it refers to a social alliance formed through frequent intermarriage between aristocratic families of equal social status where the marriage is arranged by a relative. In pre-modern society, marriage was a symbol of the family's social standing and rank.

Intermarriage between families that formed the basis of *honban* seems similar to *nuibakkumhon* (Kor. 누이바꿈혼), a type of "marriage by exchange" where two families exchange their daughters, but the

backgrounds to the formation of these customs are different. Whereas ***nuibakkumhon*** was carried out to save marriage expenses or because the two families were close, the purpose of intermarriage was building social cohesion among two or three families of equal standing or maintaining the families' social status. ***Honban*** considered lineage, school connections and family traditions as important qualifications for choosing a marriage partner, and in this sense, was different from ***honmaek*** that is a marriage based on acquaintance or financial reasons. During the Joseon dynasty (1392–1910), ***honban*** served to expand the boundaries of marriage from one that was bound by biological ties to a political and social union. The family's social and political power, and even financial wealth could be surmised from ***honban***. It was a departure from the traditional view of marriage centered on family, kinship or descent, and is noteworthy as a marriage culture that demonstrated the political and social historical significance of alliances formed through marriage.

HONSAGYE 혼사계

Mutual marriage aid association

A type of community association, or *gye* (Kor. 계, Chin. 契), whose function is to provide mutual aid with regard to marriage expenses or wedding gifts.

Many things had to be prepared for a traditional wedding, such as wedding garments and a palanquin.

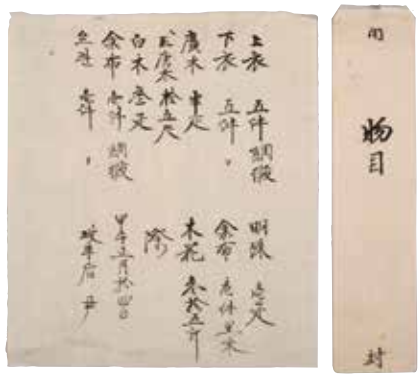
In traditional Korean society, most families would not have been able to prepare all the necessary items alone, and usually the burden was shared by the family clan. When that was not possible, the villagers came together and established a ***gye*** through which they prepared marriage necessities together and lent items to a member who was preparing for a wedding in the family.

The name of ***honsagye*** differed depending on specific purposes. For example, a "wedding attire ***gye***" was established to jointly prepare the wedding clothes, such as the groom's traditional ceremonial attire with a black gauze hat and boots, the bride's ***jokduri*** (crown-like headpiece) and ***hwarot*** (wedding overcoat), and all members were free to use them for their children's weddings. Since a large amount of food was prepared for wedding ceremonies to feed the guests who came to congratulate the bride and groom, a lot of dishes were needed. So a "tableware ***gye***" was formed to purchase the wide array of dishes needed for the ceremony, and members could borrow them for their family weddings. Not all villages had these two types of ***honsagye***, but one that almost all villages had was the "palanquin ***gye***." Palanquins were huge in size and very expensive, so families could not afford one on their own, which is why villagers purchased one together to share.

Members of ***honsagye*** had to pitch in and pay a fee. In some cases, small amounts of rice were collected from members, which were used to purchase a rice paddy. The land would then be rented out to tenant farmers and the rent received from them in the form of rice would be used to purchase marriage necessities. Depending on the purpose and members, the operation of ***honsagye*** differed. But

one thing they had in common was that members could use the items for free whereas non-members had to rent it for a fee. Also, a *yusa* (Kor. 유사, Chin. 有司, person in charge of administrative affairs) was elected to take care of the items and manage rental money.

Other than jointly preparing marriage necessities together and sharing the items, another purpose of the ***honsagye*** was to collect rice from members for wedding gifts. This type of "rice *gye*" was formed by women in the village and the rice collected would be given as a gift to a member with a wedding in the family, who used the rice to make food such as rice cakes for the wedding ceremony.



List of wedding gifts
After Korea's liberation from Japanese colonial rule in 1945

I HONSU 혼수

Marriage articles

Items and gifts that need to be prepared for marriage.

A marriage custom that exists in various cultures around the world is a form of compensation for the loss incurred by the bride's family due to marriage. It is a practice that developed because marriage was usually a decision made by the family or relatives rather than an individual's free will. The compensation was usually made in the form of gifts, literally as a "price paid for the bride." The chapter on "Eastern Okjeo" (東沃沮傳) in "Samguk-ji" (三國志, "Sanguozhi" in Chinese, Records of the Three Kingdoms) describes the traditional marriage procedure as follows: "When a girl turns ten, her parents pledge marriage to the groom's family

Two-tier chest
Joseon

A roll of calico
Joseon

A roll of fine hemp
Joseon

who take her in and raise her until she grows up and is married [to their son]. When she reaches womanhood, she goes back to her parents' house. Her family requests money from the groom's family, and once the payment is made, she goes back to the groom's house." Aside from the "price for the bride" paid by the groom's family, there was also a dowry, which is the money or gifts that the bride brings to the groom's family. This tradition still continues in Korea in the form of purchase of furnishings for the house prepared by the bride, and exchange of money and gifts by the two families. It has become a big social problem.

In the days when it was the general trend for newly-weds to live in the wife's maiden home, the bride did not have to prepare much ***honsu*** for the wedding in terms of furnishings for the house. The standard ***honsu*** sent by the groom's family to the bride's family was blue and red silk, and depending on their financial situation, various other items, such as ***gwangmok*** (Kor. 광목, Chin. 廣木, cotton cloth), ***ogyangmok*** (Kor. 옥양목 Chin. 玉洋木, calico) and ***mongmyeon*** (Kor. 목면, Chin. 木綿, cotton) might have been added. But as marriage customs shifted towards living in the groom's house, the bride had to prepare daily necessities for herself and fabric for her clothes. This continued into the early 20th century. During the Japanese colonial period (1910-1945) women in Seoul prepared various marriage necessities and went to live in their in-laws' house. But as marriage customs changed in tandem with social changes, the range of marriage necessities that the bride had to prepare differed depending on the house. If the newly-weds lived in either the bride's or groom's parental home, the bride had few items to prepare since they were going into an already furnished house. But if they were starting out in their own place, the bride needed to prepare all sorts of household goods for their new home.

In the past, the bride's mother would prepare the ***honsu*** in advance of the wedding, but with the changes in the times, the types of ***honsu***, and when and how they are prepared have changed. In the pre-industrialization era, ***honsu***, which usually consisted of clothing, was regarded as a token of the heart and was prepared with care in person. But in the post-industrialization era, household appliances that improved one's lifestyle have become the general trend, and with newly-weds increasingly living in a place of their own, the range of items that needs to be prepared has increased. On the one hand, there has been a tendency to favor cash gifts for ***honsu***. Concerns about the increasing cost of marriage have been growing, and as a result, the attitude of the bride and groom and families about ***honsu*** are changing. Such change in attitude and trends will hopefully promote a more reasonable ***honsu*** culture that puts the happiness of the bride and groom above all else.

HONINYEOTAMGUT 혼인여탐굿

Shamanic rite before a wedding

Shamanic rite held in the Seoul region to inform the ancestors of an impending marriage to stave off ***jaeaek*** (Kor. 재액, Chin. 災厄, lit. misfortune) and ask for ***bok*** (Kor. 복, Chin. 福, lit. good fortune).

Honinyeotamgut is a shamanic rite that was held before the wedding by the ***jaegajip*** (ritual host) in the Seoul region. The meaning of ***yeotam*** is unclear; in "Joseon musokgo" (朝鮮巫俗考, Study of Korean Shamanism),[13] it is explained as ***yetam*** (Kor. 예탐, Chin. 豫探), which means preventing misfortune by informing the ancestors of family occasions in advance. Depending on financial situation, it ranges from a small service to a full-fledged shamanic rite. ***Honinyeotamgut*** is usually held after the engagement and before the wedding ceremony. The bride and groom notify their relatives and acquaintances of their marriage, and likewise, ***honinyeotamgut*** is held to pay respects to their ancestors and inform them of the wedding, as well as ask for their blessings.

Honinyeotamgut was usually held by families with the financial means and strong shamanic beliefs. So in Seoul, for a family to hold such a rite meant that they were financially well off. Those that could not afford it would instead hold ***hoengsumagi*** (Kor. 횡수막이, lit. ritual held to expel misfortune) in the first lunar month or as part of ***jaesugut*** (Kor. 재수굿, lit. shamanic ritual for good fortune), and pray that the marriage goes well and ask for good fortune. According to shamanic faith in the Seoul region, riches were endowed by many deities, but a favorable change in fortune was only granted by the ancestors, which is why shamanism placed great importance on rites dedicated to the ancestors. Ahead of a big family event like a wedding, the family needed to inform the ancestors and ask for their blessings, and this was the purpose of ***honinyeotamgut***. Relatives who could not attend the wedding could attend the rite instead and congratulate the bride and groom beforehand. Preparations for the rite were equivalent to a wedding with a lavish feast, and the atmosphere was festive.

Marriage is a rite of passage that marks a major turning point in life. By performing ***honinyeotamgut***, the bride and groom could look back on their lives before marriage and prepare to start a new chapter in their lives. Based on the belief that marriage was the beginning of a new life, ***honinyeotamgut*** was held to terminate the past life and start a new life, as well as repel various kinds of ill fortune that might arise in the future. Marriage is not just the union of man and woman, but the union of two families, and hence there are many matters that need to be handled prudently and that require special attention. In this process, ***honinyeotamgut*** was performed to invoke the blessings of the ancestors and provided a chance to reflect on the meaning of marriage. If the wedding is a ceremony held among the living, ***honinyeotamgut*** was a ceremony that confirmed the connection of the living with the deceased ancestors and to remind the living that marriage is a rite held with the ancestors' blessings. Embedded in the Korean people's consciousness is the notion that it is only after marriage that one becomes a true adult and fulfills one's filial duty, and ***honinyeotamgut*** was a rite that served to reflect on this meaning.

13 This was an article published by scholar Yi Neung-hwa in 1927 in issue No. 19 of the journal *Gyemyeong* (Enlightenment), compiling a wide range of materials on Korean shamanism.

SUYEOLLYE 수연례
Longevity banquet

Rites for feasts on birthdays and other special occasions to celebrate a person's longevity after reaching 60 years old.

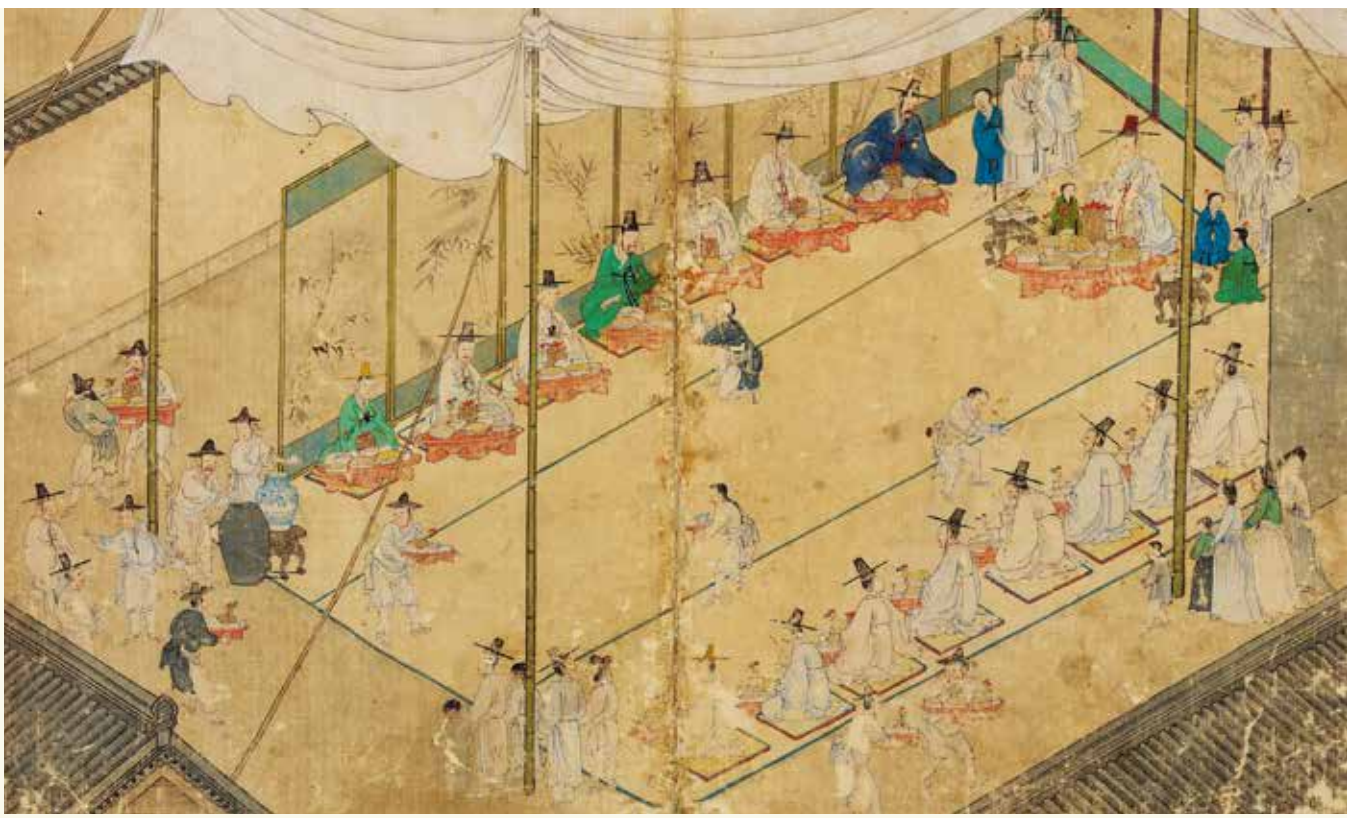
Suyeollye is rooted in the custom of respect for elders. Ancient documents before the Goryeo period (918–1392) say that banquets took place for the elderly at the state level, while records from the Joseon period (1392–1910) show that banquets celebrating longevity were held more frequently as they were in line with the Confucian ethics of filial piety. The birthdays that were thus celebrated were the 60th (Kor. 육순/***yuksun***, Chin. 六旬, lit. six ten); 61st (Kor. 회갑/***hoegap***, Chin. 回甲, completing the traditional sexagenarian cycle); 62nd (Kor. 진갑/***jingap***, Chin. 進甲, lit. the year following the 61st birthday); 70th (Kor. 고희/***gohui***, Chin. 古稀, lit. rare [age] since ancient times); 77th (Kor. 희수/***huisu***, Chin. 喜壽, 77 years of age); 80th (Kor. 팔순/***palsun***, Chin. 八旬, lit. eight ten); 88th (Kor. 미수/***misu***, Chin. 米壽, 88 years of age); 90th (Kor. 구순/***gusun***, Chin. 九旬, lit. nine ten); and 99th (Kor. 백수/***baeksu***, Chin. 白壽, age of 100 minus 1). Besides these, other birthdays after 60 are also called by varied names, reflecting the fact that Koreans took great interest in life

Hoehollye docheop (Album of 60th Wedding Anniversary Paintings)
18th C. | National Museum of Korea

after 60. In the past the average life expectancy was far lower than it is today and people rarely reached the age of 80.

The 60th aniversary since one's first birthday, marriage, or passing of the official state examinations are called ***hoegap***, ***hoehon*** (Kor. 회혼, Chin. 回婚, 60th year since marriage), and ***hoebang*** (Kor. 회방, Chin. 回榜, 60th year since certificate [conferral]), respectively. These occasions can only be celebrated if one leads a long life, into the 80s or 90s, surpassing at least 61 years of age. So while the aforementioned 60th anniversaries were not dealt with in ritual books they were considered the most important longevity banquets during the Joseon period. As such, the rites for longevity banquets were not so much rites of passage as rules to abide by to uphold the Confucian social order based on family.

With the extension of life expectancy to almost 80 years, however, the longevity-banquet rites have taken on quite a different meaning. Celebrating old age happens at a later stage in life and the 80th birthday has become a dominant occasion for a feast rather than the 61st or 70th. Also, the longevity banquets and rites have little to do with acquiring a new social status as a member of the elderly, as in the past. The inherent meaning of celebrating and wishing for longevity has also been weakened as these birthdays are often simply seen as occasions for a trip or outing.



HOEGAP 회갑
61st birthday

The age of 61. *Hoegap* (회갑, 回甲) literally means "the return to *gap*" or completing the traditional sexagenarian cycle, that is, five cycles of the zodiac's twelve years.

The year one reaches the age of 61 is also called ***hwangamnyeon*** (lit. year of the return to ***gap***) or ***gamnyeon*** (lit. ***gap*** year), and one's birthday in that year is called ***hwangamnal*** (lit. day of the return to ***gap***) or ***gamnal*** (lit. ***gap*** day). In the morning of one's 61st birthday, the children throw a banquet to celebrate the occasion and offer liquor in supplication for the parent's well-being and longevity. The eldest son and his wife offer the first cup, followed by other children in descending order. If it is the 61st birthday of a deceased parent, the children hold a memorial rite at home or at the graveside of the deceased in the morning. If the ***hwangapju*** (lit. 61st birthday person) or the guest of honor has a living parent, a ***dolsang***[14] (first-birthday party table) is also prepared in front of a formal banquet table (***keunsang***), and he or she offers liquor and bows to his or her parent before making sweet gestures to please them.

At the 61st birthday banquet, a splendid celebratory table of food is offered to the birthday person, and separate tables (***juansang***) for the guests. Although varied depending on family, region, economic situation and season, the main table setting was little different from that on the table for ancestral

Poetic congratulations on longevity

Congratulatory prose on longevity

memorial rites, which is why the banquet is also called ***sanjesa*** (lit. memorial rite for the living). The only difference is that there is no soup or rice on the banquet table for the 61st birthday. Sometimes a small table of a few simple dishes (***immaetsang***) is presented behind the splendid table for the guest of honor to snack on as the main table is only for display until the party is over. Dishes on the banquet table are served in odd numbers and the foods are piled in mounds as high as 15㎝, 21㎝ or 27㎝. The table is flanked with gifts and artificial flowers, while the piles of food are adorned with well-wishing characters—such as ***chuk*** (Kor. 축, Chin. 祝, supplication), ***su*** (Kor. 수, Chin. 壽, longevity) and ***bok*** (Kor. 복, Chin. 福, fortune)—by varying the colors of

14 The *dolsang* is in principle arranged to celebrate the first birthday of a baby. The *dolsang* on the 61st birthday has a symbolic meaning that the birthday person is still a baby to his or her parent(s) no matter how old he or she may be.

Hoegap
1940

A man with a banquet table on his 61st birthday
Busan Museum

the components. The height of the food on the table is considered a measurement of the filial piety of the children of the guest of honor. Hence, an expert called ***suksu*** (Kor. 숙수, Chin. 熟手, lit. experienced hand) is often called in to pile the food higher and decorate it more sumptuously. These days, however, many families skip the banquet for this occasion in favor of a family trip or a trip by the birthday person and his or her spouse.

A person who has passed the age of 61 gains a new status: he or she is officially recognized as a senior member of society who has completed the traditional sexagenarian cycle; in the case of a deceased person, he or she is honored as an ancestral deity who completed the cycle and gives protection to the family. In other words, the birthday ceremony serves to integrate the community

HOEHOLLYE 회혼례

60th wedding ceremony

Ceremony celebrating one's 60th wedding anniversary.

In the traditional Korean society of extended families, little significance was attached to wedding anniversaries with the exception of ***hoehon***, or the 60th wedding anniversary. To hold a banquet to celebrate the 60th wedding anniversary, it was a prerequisite that the couple had grown gray together with one or more children between them, of whom none had died. On this anniversary, the elderly couple dress in wedding garments reenact the wedding ceremony as if they are newly-weds. Descendants offer liquor to them and pray for their longevity while relatives and other guests congratulate them on the festive occasion. The descendants, all in clothes of vivid colors, try to make their parents happy by dancing and acting childishly before them.

The size of the banquet varies depending on the

Hoehollye docheop (Album of 60th Wedding Anniversary Paintings)
18th C | National Museum of Korea

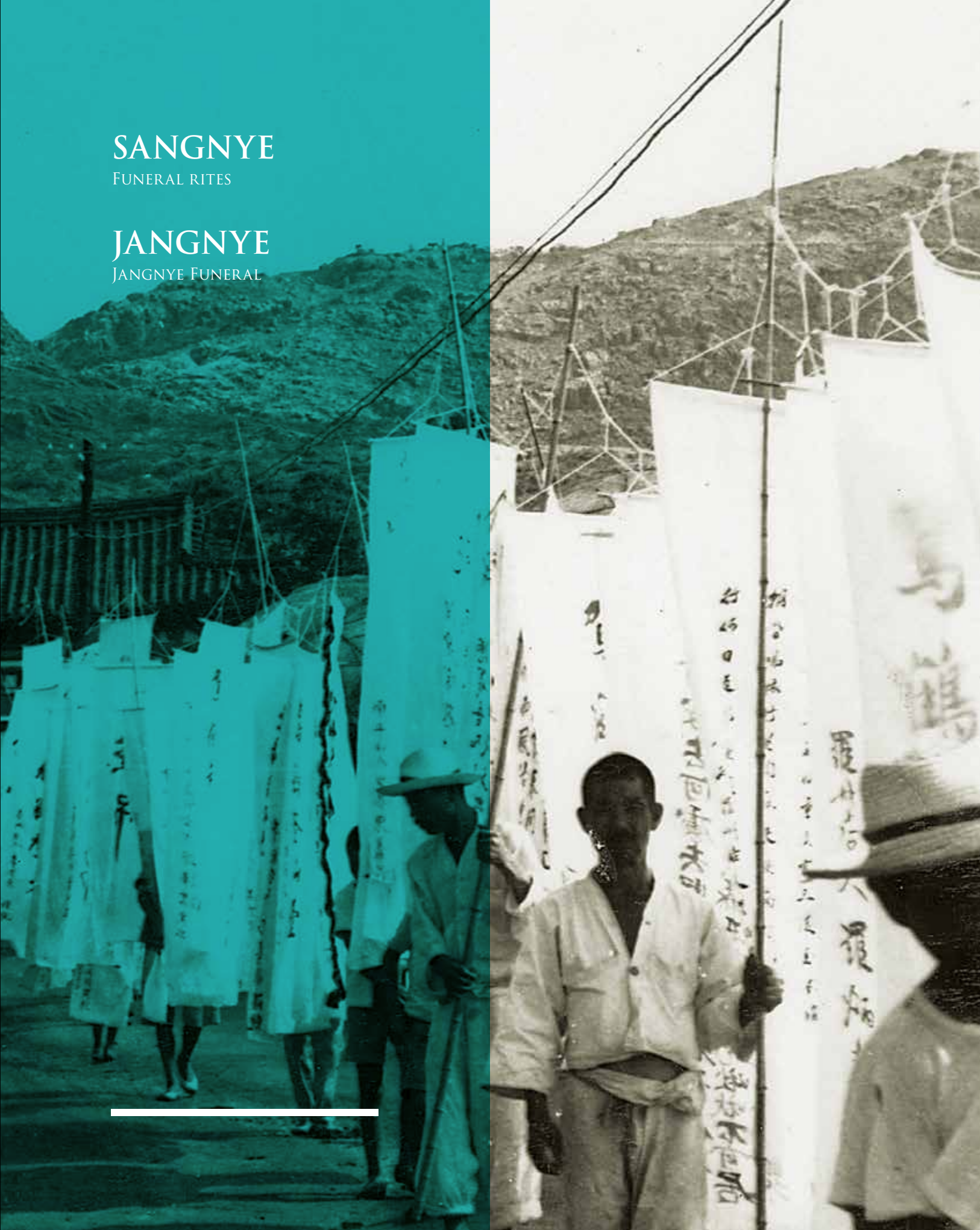
descendant's social status or wealth. In times when the average lifespan was short, only a few families celebrated a 60th wedding anniversary. So, if the rare chance came, upper-class families took advantage of the occasion to express their filial piety and boast of their grandeur by hosting a big banquet and inviting a lot of people.

These days, however, increased life expectancy has led to a growing number of senior couples who have lived together to the 60th wedding anniversary. Also with urbanized nuclear families becoming the dominant family type, the husband and wife are at the center of family life and, as in the West, wedding anniversaries are now regarded as special occasions to celebrate. As such, more emphasis is being placed on the 60th wedding ceremony.

The descendants hold the ceremony to pay their respects and express gratitude to their parents. For the elderly couple, the occasion shows others how happy their family is while making them feel rewarded for their joint efforts to nurture the children well who now have their own families. To sum up, the ceremony is based on the virtue of filial piety and a strong sense of family clan.

SANGNYE
Funeral rites

JANGNYE
Jangnye Funeral



GOK 곡

Ritual wailing

Ritual lamentation expressing grief over the dead person at a funeral.

A traditional Confucian funeral ceremony performed in Korea consists of a series of formal stages where the mourners express their grief. The expressions of grief are intended to be in harmony with the procedure of the funeral performed. One of the most conspicuous ways of expressing grief is ***gok***, a kind of ritual wailing performed by mourners to express their grief over the death of a loved one.

The first ***gok*** is performed soon after the death of a family member. The wailing may come naturally to the chief mourner, who is emotionally devastated by the loss of his loved one, but for others the wailing is done regardless of their true emotional state. For those overwhelmed by grief, wailing can be a normal and natural expression of their grief. But even this is subject to the rules of propriety, which set a limit on the number of times ritual wailing could be performed.

The ritual wailing is divided into three categories: ***musigok***, ***joseokgok*** and ***sangmanggok***. ***Musigok*** refers to the wailing just after death and before the preparation of the mortuary, and is thus named because it should not be ceased. Immediately after the process of washing and dressing the corpse, the chief mourner and his wife take their seats east and west of the coffin, lean upon the coffin, and perform the ritual wailing, beating their breasts. The mourners start ***joseokgok***, the ritual of wailing every morning and evening after the coffin is moved to the mortuary. ***Sinhongok*** refers to the chief mourner's ritual wailing in the early morning and evening as he lives by his parents' grave throughout the three-year mourning period. In ***sangmanggok***, which normally starts after the first anniversary of death, the chief mourner performs the ritual wailing twice a month, rather than twice a day, on the fifteenth and the last day of the month by the lunar calendar until the end of the remaining three-year mourning period.

According to some books on ritual matters, it is necessary to regularly change wailers so that the sound of grief continues without cessation. This tradition of changing wailers, called ***daegok***, is aimed to prevent the expression of grief from stopping, even for a short period, while protecting the chief mourner (typically a devoted filial son of the deceased) from exhaustion due to the wailing, which is physically and emotionally demanding. The point at which the ritual wailing ends is called ***jolgok***. This is when the mourning period ends and the family returns to normal daily life.

GONGPO 공포

Hemp cloth banner

A hemp cloth hung upon a long bamboo pole and used as a banner carried before a funeral bier at the time of ***barin*** (Kor. 발인, Chin. 發靷, departure of the funeral procession from the home to the burial site).

Gongpo is made from a piece of loosely woven hemp, measuring 90 centimeters long, and is made by folding and stitching one of the sides to hold a

Gongpodo (Illustration of a Hemp Cloth Banner)
Saryepyeollam (四禮便覽, Handbook of the Four Ceremonies)

Hemp cloth banner
After Korea's liberation from Japanese colonial rule in 1945

bamboo pole and attaching a pair of tassels. The banner pole, made of bamboo, has a finial at the top. This banner is used to wipe dust or earth off the top surface of the coffin before covering it with ***myeongjeong*** (Kor. 명정, Chin. 銘旌, a banner bearing the name of the deceased and his government position) and lowering it into the grave pit.

During the funeral procession ***gongpo*** is also used to inform the mourners following the funeral bier of the situation around the route leading to the burial place. The ***gongpo*** bearer informs the mourners behind him of the condition of the road, whether it is downslope, upslope, or cut off, by waving the flag to the right or left or raising or lowering it.

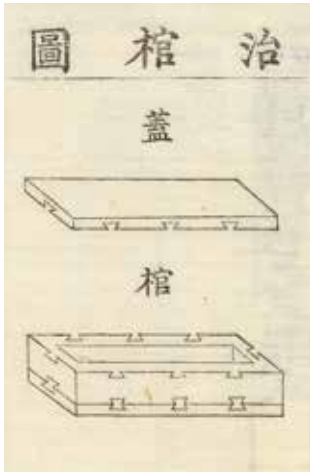
GWAN 관

(Inner) coffin

A coffin; a box in which the body of a deceased person is placed for burial.

In the Paleolithic Era the bodies of the dead were interred in the soil without coffins. While no clear archaeological evidence has yet been discovered, archaeologists theorize that in the Neolithic Era containers made of wood were used to place corpses in before burial. In the Bronze Age, the settlers of the Korean Peninsula began to use coffins made of huge pottery jars or by hollowing logs. It was also in this period that they began to use coffins made of stone slabs. In the following early Iron Age and the Three Kingdoms period, the use of wooden coffins constructed of wooden planks became widespread. Pottery jars and stone continued to be among the favored materials for coffins, as well as clay and tiles. Coffins made of wood, stone and pottery continued to be used in the Goryeo and following Joseon periods.

A coffin was generally used for burial of the



Chigwando (Illustration of a Coffin)
Saryepyeollam (四禮便覽, Handbook of the Four Ceremonies)

Wooden coffin
Early 16th C

body of the deceased under the ground, but sometimes the coffin was placed in a larger container. The coffin used by early Korean people typically featured a rectangular box which was wider at the top for the shoulders and gradually tapered toward the opposite end, where the feet were placed. It was naturally longer and wider than the height and width of the corpse contained in it. The two major types of containers used for burial of the dead were called *gwan* or *gwak*. Sometimes no distinction was made between the two and sometimes they were called the inner and outer coffins.

Coffins were made of a variety of materials including wood, stone and pottery but wood was used most widely. The most common types of wood used to make coffins between the early Iron Age and the Three Kingdoms period include sawtooth oak, chestnut, and zelkova wood. From the Joseon period, pine and nut pine were among the most favored kinds of wood. Currently, however, paulownia wood is also widely used and, though less frequently, gingko. The diversity of materials used for wooden coffins in Korea may be attributed to the fact that Koreans chose the wood that was the most easily obtainable.

It is almost taboo today to use metal parts such as nails on wooden coffins, but in the past, from the Three Kingdoms to Goryeo and early Joseon, it was normal to use metal nails and even lavishly decorate the coffins with metal ornaments. It was probably after the mid-Joseon period that coffin makers began to shun metal fasteners and, instead, used woodworking joinery techniques such as dovetail joints because, as is generally presumed, the use of metal nails and ornaments required extra work and hence additional expense.

As for the stone coffins, coffin makers in Korea's Bronze Age used the technique of fitting stone slabs together. Stone coffins were not widely used in the Three Kingdoms period, but in the following Goryeo period they were used extensively, although comparatively small in size. Relatively few examples of stone coffins from the Joseon period have been found. Stone coffins are still used today,

Stone coffin
Goryeo

to a limited extent.

It is generally presumed that the use of pottery jars for coffins began during the Neolithic Era. The archaeological discovery of jar coffins in the lower structure of dolmens, however, reveals that full-fledged use of jar coffins in Korea began during the Bronze Age. Each of these coffins consists of one jar only or two jars connected mouth to mouth. Once the jar coffin had a body placed inside, it was buried either horizontally or vertically.

Though rare, earthenware urns were also used as coffins. The earthenware urns of the early Iron Age and the Baekje Kingdom (18 BC–660 AD) are conspicuously small in size compared to jar coffins, suggesting that they were used for the body of a dead child or skeletal remains.

Other rare coffin types include ***wagwan***, which were made of ceramic rooftiles, and funerary urns. The advent of Buddhism in Korea led to the popularity of cremation and widespread use of funerary urns in Baekje, Silla (57 BC–935 AD), and Goryeo. Cremation is widely practiced throughout Korea today, and accordingly the use of funerary urns of diverse shapes and materials is widespread.

I GILJE 길제

Ancestral tablet enshrinement rite

A memorial rite held when an ancestral tablet is placed in the family shrine.

Gilje is the last of the funeral rites. It is held when the spirit tablet of a recently deceased ancestor is placed in the family shrine. The addition of a new ancestral tablet to the existing tablets of the four latest generations of ancestors means that the oldest tablet is removed from the shrine. This procedure is hence the formal enshrinement of an ancestral tablet in the family shrine.

The procedures of ***gilje*** are as follows. The family head selects an auspicious date for the ceremony via divination on the day after ***damje*** (Kor. 담제, Chin. 禫祭, rite to announce that the chief mourner returns to daily life after completing the funeral rites), normally a "***jeong*** day" or a "pig day" in the month following ***damje***. The family head cleanses his body three days before the day of the ceremony. He informs the ancestor concerned that his or her spirit tablet will be moved to the family shrine. A place for the new ancestral tablet is prepared in the shrine. Participants arrange ritual furniture in the shrine, prepare offerings and sacrifices, and clean the ritual vessels. They dress in auspicious garments. They get up before dawn and arrange the offerings on the ritual table. As day breaks, the family head moves the ancestral tablet to the space








Gilje

1. Ritual officiants take the spirit tablets out of the family shrine
2. A spirit tablet is prepared to enshrine the newly deceased
3. The inside (*hamjung*) and outside (*bunmyeon*) of a spirit tablet
4. Making corrections to a spirit tablet to honor the newly deceased
5. First liquor offering (*choheon*)
6. Prayer recitation (*dokchuk*)
7. Wrapping the spirit tablet of the third great grandfather for burial
8. Burying a spirit tablet

Yeongdeok, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province

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prearranged in the shrine. Participants perform the rite in the order of ***chamsin*** (Kor. 참신, Chin. 參神, paying reverence to the descending spirit), ***gangsin*** (Kor. 강신, Chin. 降神, evoking the ancestral spirit), ***heonjak*** (Kor. 헌작, Chin. 獻爵, the offering of liquor), ***yusik*** (Kor. 유식, Chin. 侑食, waiting until the ancestral spirits have had plenty to eat), ***hammun*** (Kor. 합문, Chin. 閤門, closing the door of the ritual room so ancestral spirits can freely eat the offered food), ***gyemun*** (Kor. 계문, Chin. 啓聞, opening the door of the ritual room to report the end of the meal offered to the ancestral spirits), ***sasin*** (Kor. 사신, Chin. 辭神, bidding farewell to the departing spirit), withdrawal of the spirit tablet, and ***cheolsang*** (Kor. 철상, Chin. 撤床, removal of food offerings). Then all present partake in food removed from the ritual table. The entire ceremony ends when the participants bury the ancestral tablet removed from the shrine beside the grave of the ancestor concerned. On the day after ***gilje***, the last of all funeral rites, the mourners can change into their ordinary everyday clothes.

Gilje is traditionally regarded as an event to connect the living with the dead, extending the effect of the ceremony in this world to the afterlife. It is the formal end to the funeral rites and signals that the deceased will be honored in memorial rites from then on. With the end of ***gilje***, those left behind can recover from the grief over the loss of their loved one and prepare to resume their normal lives. The rite is therefore not only the final stage of all the funeral rites but a bidding farewell to the ancestor leaving the family shrine for good and, for those left behind, a rite by which they move from the period of bereavement to that of normal everyday life. In conclusion, ***gilje*** is a rite marking the end of the funeral and a new start for the family left behind.

NOJE 노제

Roadside memorial rite

A memorial rite held at the roadside during a funeral procession to the burial site.

Noje is a term referring to a simple memorial rite held at a place frequented by the deceased when alive during the funeral bier's procession to the grave.

The service was typically prearranged by a few mourners who set up a tent, for example, at a place cherished by the dead person, sometimes the gate of a relative's house. The rite began as soon as the funeral procession arrived. The roadside ceremony was often organized and prepared by the dead person's close friends and relatives, and the venues could be as diverse as the entrance to the house of a close friend or relative, a school, a walled town, bridge, or village common. The ritual table was placed on a mat and on the table were a portrait of the deceased with his or her "spirit box." Offerings generally consisted of fruit, wine, and slices of dried meat. As the offering table was set, the mourners from the funeral procession expressed their grief by giving two deep ceremonial bows to the spirit box of the deceased following the chief mourner. A written prayer was read by one of the deceased's closest friends. After the prayer the reader made three deep ceremonial bows to the

funeral bier. The bier was placed on an X-shaped wooden frame during the roadside ceremony. The prayer contained a brief history of the deceased, an expression of grief, and loving memories of the deceased.

The roadside rite was also a procedure in which the spirit of the dead bade his or her final farewell to loved ones left in this world. It was an opportunity for the deceased to have a last glimpse of the people he or she had loved, including family members, relatives, and friends. It also gave mourners who had failed to visit the mortuary an opportunity to pay their last respects. This rite developed from the belief that no dead person would be able to readily pass by a place where he or she had loved to spend time, and was expected to soothe both the dead and the living. It was also intended to give the bier bearers a break from their hard work, and was thus regarded as the most comforting moment for everyone involved in the funeral. The mourners who were unable to follow the funeral procession to the burial site returned home after the roadside rite. The bier bearers slightly tilted the palanquin towards the mourners as a sign of returning the respect the deceased had received, thus making the event the last exchange of goodbyes between the living and the dead.

DASIRAEGI 다시래기

Musical dance-drama to console mourners

Musical dance-drama performed in Jindo-gun, Jeollanam-do Province, to console chief mourners the night before the funeral procession.

Local communities in the islands off the southwestern part of Korea have a tradition in which villagers gather at a house of mourning and present music, dance and comic dramatic performances to console mourners grieving over the loss of a loved one. Called ***dasiraegi*** in Jindo county and ***bamdarae*** in Sinan county, the folk performances are still maintained in these areas. The performance has more theatrical elements and is therefore different from ***sangyeonori*** or ***sangyeonoligi***, another local folk performance preserved in other areas in which funeral bier bearers practiced the songs they would sing in the funeral to be held the following morning. ***Dasiraegi*** was designated as an Important Intangible Cultural Heritage in 1985.

Dasiraegi is believed to be related with the funerary customs formed before the arrival of Buddhism and Confucianism. Considering the primitive form of musical theater retained in the performance, it may very well be theater developed through funerary ceremonies. ***Dasiraegi*** is also a traditional folk performance presented in the form of a festival. Some details of the performance show that it was influenced by itinerant groups of performers called ***namsadangpae***. It is generally agreed that these troupes of the late Joseon period contributed greatly to the funeral-related performances developed in the islands off the southwestern coast, including Jindo. The performance of ***dasiraegi*** was not presented at all houses of mourning as only wealthy families were able to afford it.

Dasiraegi was typically performed by members of the local funeral aid association. If the asso-

ciation did not have enough players to meet the demand for an event, or needed a trained player for the role of the blind man Geosa or his wife Sadang, it invited one or more players from other villages. Such tradition suggests that ***dasiraegi*** has been preserved through performances connected with communal funerary practices. Jindo Dasiraegi faced a critical moment of discontinuity in the early and mid-20th century, but it has survived thanks to financial support from the government and state designation as a cultural property.

Jindo Dasiraegi starts with the entry of a fake chief mourner who delivers an introduction of the house of the deceased and the purport of the performance to be presented. He is followed by the entry of Geosa, Sadang and the Monk who, one by one, boast of their skills. The following episode is a love triangle between the blind man, his wife, and the monk, and the birth of a child by the blind man's wife. Next the Bier Bearers appear singing as they carry the bier on their shoulders in an episode called Sangyeonori (lit. Bier Play). This is followed by Garaenori (lit. Spade Play), in which gravediggers dig up the ground to bury the corpse. The performance ends with an epilogue. No two performances are the same. Indeed, they can differ widely according to conditions and circumstances of the performance.

Jindo Dasiraegi, a musical dance-drama to console mourners handed down in the Jindo area

Dasiraegi reflects wishes of bringing the dead back to life through magical means. In the episode entitled "Geosa Sadangnori" (lit. Play of Geosa and Sadang) immediately following the introduction, the blind man enters with his wife and the two exchange bawdy jokes until the Monk enters and secretly has sex with her. The scene suggests that the baby Sadang has in her womb and subsequently gives birth to is actually the Monk's. The songs and dances performed at the house of the deceased, witty conversations, and the birth of a child create a delightful contrast with the atmosphere of a house in mourning and the death of an individual. It is a folk performance developed

into a kind of a situation comedy via the dialectical change of human life and death.

DAMJE 담제

Lit. peaceful rite

The last of all the memorial rites held for a recently deceased ancestor. The ceremony is held in one of the "middle months" (i.e. 2nd, 5th, 8th and 11th months by the lunar calendar) after ***daesang***, a ceremony held to mark the second death anniversary.

As suggested by the character ***dam*** (禫, meaing "quiet" or "peaceful") in the name ***damje*** (禫祭), the ceremony needs to be held in a calm atmosphere. The ceremony is held in one of the "middle months" after ***daesang***, or a rite held to mark the second death anniversary. When calculated without considering leap months, it is held 27 months after the day of the funeral.

When an auspicious day is selected, the chief mourner informs his ancestors in the family shrine of the forthcoming event. He washes his body the day before the rite and arranges the ritual implements and food. At the appointed time, the chief mourner wears ***dambok*** (Kor. 담복, Chin. 禫服, ceremonial robe for the ***damje*** service) and enters the shrine. The chief mourner and other participants begin ritual wailing. They stand facing the north.

The ceremony consists of the procedures ***gangsin*** (Kor. 강신, Chin. 降神, evoking the ancestral spirit), ***jinchan*** (Kor. 진찬, Chin. 進饌, setting main dishes on the table), ***heonjak*** (Kor. 헌작, Chin. 獻爵, the offering of liquor), ***yusik*** (Kor. 유식, Chin. 侑食,

Damje
1. Placing a spirit tablet on the ritual table
2. Takinging off mourning clothes
3. Prayer recitation (*dokchuk*)
4. Closing the door of the ritual room (*hammun*)

Gimhae, Gyeongsangnam-do Province

waiting until the ancestral spirits have had plenty to eat), ***hammun*** (Kor. 합문, Chin. 閤門, closing the door of the ritual room so ancestral spirits can freely eat the offered food), ***gyemun*** (Kor. 계문, Chin. 啓聞, opening the door of the ritual room to report the end of the meal offered to the ancestral spirits), and ***sasin*** (Kor. 사신, Chin. 辭神, bidding farewell to the departing spirit), the same as for ***daesang***. The only difference is that the mourners do not perform ritual wailing during the liquor offering. When reading the prayer, the word "daesang" (rite on second death anniversary) is replaced with "damje" (lit. peaceful rite), and "sangsa" (lit. auspicious affair) with "damsa" (lit. peaceful affair). All the participants perform ritual wailing when they say farewell to the departing ancestral spirit. The ritual wailing stops when the ancestral tablet is placed on its seat in the shrine.

The end of ***damje*** concludes the entire funeral rites. The family returns to normal daily life, resuming life as a community in which the descendants and ancestors are bound together by the ancestral tablets in the family shrine.

DAESANG 대상

Memorial rite on the second death anniversary

The ancestral memorial rite held on the second death anniversary of an ancestor

Literally meaning "extremely auspicious day," ***daesang*** refers to an ancestral memorial rite performed on the second death anniversary of an ancestor. Without counting leap months, it is held twenty-five months after the funeral. On the day, the participants are required to wear special ceremonial garments called ***dambok***, which are made of fine fabric woven with black threads as the warp and white as the weft. A very important ceremonial event takes place the day before an ancestral memorial rite, the changing of the spirit tablets stored in the family shrine for the ***sadaebongsa*** (Kor. 사대봉사, Chin. 四代奉祀, conducting memorial rites for the four latest generations of ancestors) custom. The spirit tablets in the shrine are rewritten to introduce the new generation of ancestors, who have passed away most recently, and to remove the most distant generation of ancestors from the shrine. The ceremony starts with the arrangement of food offerings, wine and fruits, on the ritual table, and informing the ancestors of the changes to be made. The family head as the ritual officiant rewrites the ancestral tablets after announcing this to the ancestors. He then moves the spirit tablets westward one by one to empty the easternmost bay where the new tablet is placed.

On the death anniversary, descendants perform the memorial rite according to the same procedures as ***sosang***, the ceremony held on the first death anniversary. The participants get up early in the morning, arrange food offerings on the ritual table and, as dawn breaks, place the ancestral tablets in their seats. The family head leans his funeral stick against the door of the shrine and enters it together with other participants. All the participants perform ritual wailing for a brief period in front of the ***yeongjwa*** (Kor. 영좌, Chin. 靈座, lit. spirit seat). Participants change their clothes, re-enter the shrine, and perform a brief bout of ritual wailing.

Daesang

1. Ritual wailing on the second death anniversary
2. Changing ritual clothes for an ancestral memorial rite on the second death anniversary
3. Pouring liquor into a ritual vessel in the procedure of first liquor offering (*choheon*)
4. Prayer recitation (*dokchuk*)
5. Announcement of the end of the memorial rite (*goiseong*)
6. Removal of the table for the spirit tablet
7. Installing a *gamsil* to enshrine an ancestral tablet
8. An ancestral tablet enshrined in a *gamsil*

Gimhae, Gyeongsangnam-do Province

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After the ritual wailing, the family chief burns incense, gives two deep ceremonial bows to the ancestral tablets, and pours a cup of liquor into the sand jar to invoke the ancestral spirits. The prayer reciter offers food to the ancestral spirits. With the family head performing ***choheon*** (Kor. 초헌, Chin. 初獻, first liquor offering), the prayer reciter carries the prayer plaque and takes his seat to the left of the family head, kneels down facing east, and reads the prayer. The family head performs ritual wailing and gives two deep ceremonial bows. He comes back to his seat and stops wailing. The ***aheon*** (Kor. 아헌, Chin. 亞獻, second liquor offering) is performed by the family head's spouse. It follows the same procedure as that of the first wine offering, but without a prayer. She gives four deep bows to the ancestral tablets. The ***jongheon*** (Kor. 종헌, Chin. 終獻, final liquor offering) is performed by one of the relatives or guests, male or female. The procedure is the same as that of the second liquor offering. The ancestors receive the offerings and partake in the meal. All the participants wait outside the shrine until the ancestral spirits are supposed to have finished eating, and after a few minutes re-enter the shrine. The family chief and main participants perform ritual wailing, saying farewell to the departing ancestral spirits. Then a new spirit tablet is brought into the shrine. The family head and other participants continue wailing until they reach the doors, then place the new tablet in the empty bay in the east. The family head breaks the funeral stick and throws it into a corner as a symbolic action not to use it again.

In the ***daesang*** rite, participants are expected to understand the meaning of the ceremony by which the initial grief over the loss of the loved one diminishes eventually to be replaced by more serene ceremonies.

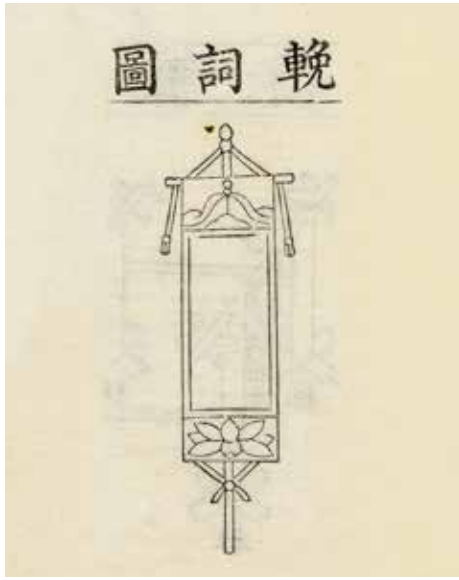
MANJANG 만장

Funeral elegy

Written passage composed in commemoration of a dead person, honoring his or her life and achievements, or a silk banner or sheet of paper on which such a mourning passage is written.

The term ***manjang*** originated from the fact that it carries an elegy (***jang***) that leads (***man***), a funeral procession. It is also called ***mansa***, because it is a poetic work (***sa***) written as a lament for a deceased person. Other interchangeable terms include ***mansi***, which features heightened language and rhythm like a poem (***si***), or ***manga***, which can be sung like a song (***ga***). The custom of using ***manjang*** at a funeral is known to have originated from the funeral songs of China's Spring and Autumn period. It is said that some communities at the time would sing songs lamenting the loss of a loved one as they followed the bier, and the songs were later written down by other mourners who were moved by them.

For mourners in the past, ***manjang*** was generally regarded as a very valuable condolence gift. The bereaved family that received a poetic work praising the virtue and academic achievements of the deceased thought it was a great honor. The number of ***manjang*** banners following a funeral procession was sometimes regarded as a reflection of the academic achievements and virtues of the deceased.



Mansado (Illustration of a Funeral Elegy Banner)
Saryepyeollam (四禮便覽, Handbook of the Four Ceremonies)

***Manjang* (funeral elegy) banners in a funeral procession**
Taean, Chungcheongnam-do Province | 1961

There were no set standards for the size or color of the funeral banners, but the poetic mourning passages were generally written on white paper or silk. Each banner was set between two upper and lower rods and hoisted on a long bamboo pole.

The Chinese character ***man*** (輓) in the name of the funeral banner literally means "drawing/pulling a cart." In the past, a bier was carried not by mourners but by a horse-drawn or ox-drawn cart. This means that the bier was carried to the burial place with a funeral banner at the front of the procession to lead the way. In addition, the laments written on the banners contained praise for the virtuous life of the deceased and wishes for a peaceful journey to the underworld. After the funeral, all the funeral banners were gathered at ***sangcheong*** (Kor. 상청, Chin. 喪廳, place where the spirit tablet of the deceased is stored during a funeral) and burned after the three-year mourning period. For some families, the lamentations written on the banners were copied for future inclusion in a collection of literary works left by the deceased.

MAEJANG 매장
Burial

The practice of burying the body or relics of a deceased person underground.

A burial place was selected according to the conditions of the family of the deceased either on flat land, at the foot of a mountain, or even on a mountain top. With the development of agriculture, Korean people began to avoid graves on arable flat land in favor of hills or mountains. This explains why graves came to be called ***sanso***, or literally "a place in the mountains," and the practice of burial ***sanyeok***, or "labor in the mountains."

Different ways of treating the dead body generally include the burial of the body under an earthen or stone mound; excarnation, when the body is placed in a tree until its flesh and organs are removed, leaving only the bones; water funeral, by

which the body is thrown into the river or sea; and cremation, by which the body is incinerated until only the ashes remain. The burials are also classified into one-stage, two-stage or multiple-stage burials according to the way the dead body is treated and/or the number of burials. A one-stage burial is burial of the body under the ground. The two-stage or multiple-stage burial is the practice of reinterring the remains of the dead body left after the decaying process, or scattering the remains around a mountain or field. The graves are also divided into two categories according to the location of the burial chamber: the underground type, where the body is placed in a pit made by digging into the ground, and the above-ground type, where the body is placed in a space made by piling up earth or stones over the ground.

Grave goods in the form of minature cereamic vessels
16th-17th C

Grave goods in the form of wooden human or animal figurines
16th C

I MYEONGGI 명기

Grave goods

Miniature objects in various shapes, including human beings, animals and man-made objects, buried with the body of the deceased, symbolizing wishes for their peace and comfort in the afterlife.

The grave objects called ***myeonggi*** are miniature items in the shape of human figures and various everyday objects such as kitchenware, musical instruments, furniture, and weaponry. They came into use from the early Joseon period and are well documented in the "Chapter of Five Rites" in "Sejongsillok,"[15] with illustrations and descriptions providing detailed information of the items produced in the royal court of early Joseon, including their material and shape.

The grave goods of early Joseon were largely ***buncheong*** vessels. They were followed by white porcelain ware, which was reserved for the exclusive use of the royal family. Even ruling class families were banned from using it until after the 16th century, when the production of white porcelain ware became widespread. The popularity of white

15 "The Annals of King Sejong," the annual records of the Joseon Dynasty under the reign of King Sejong (r. 1418–1450).

porcelain gradually declined after the national turmoil caused by two foreign invasions, namely the Japanese invasions 1592–98 and the Manchurian invasion of 1636.

In the Joseon period, the custom of burying ceramic funerary items with the dead was limited to the ruling class and royalty and today gives valuable insight into the Confucian funerary customs of the time. The custom is known to have developed to replace the human sacrifices conducted during the Three Kingdoms period and came to be regulated by law in the early Joseon period. As it is based on the premise that there is life after death, discontinuation of the custom signifies a significant change in traditional beliefs, that is, people came to no longer believe in the afterlife or regarded it as unimportant. Changes regarding the use of grave goods in the Joseon dynasty suggest a considerable change in Confucian ideas about the ancestral spirits and the afterlife in the later period compared to the early period. The changes in the shape and style of the grave goods also provide important clues regarding developments in the ceramic art of Joseon. Hence, Joseon ceramic grave goods are regarded as important sources for study of the history of Korean folk art.

"Jirihyeonju" (地理玄珠), a book explaining the principles of *pungsu*, or geomancy
Late Joseon

I MYEONGDANG 명당
Auspicious site

The word *myeongdang* refers to an auspicious site determined according to the principles of *pungsu*, or geomancy.

Myeongdang refers to an auspicious site that according to ***pungsu*** (Chin. ***feng shui***) is considered the best site upon which to build a grave or house, as it would have a beneficial influence upon the descendants of its occupant. The term is also used to refer to the forehead in traditional Korean physiognomy, or the throne hall at the royal palace. In pungsu theory, the term came to develop a more complex symbolism. For instance, it refers to an area of land located in front of a point called ***hyeol***, which is surrounded by ***sasin*** (Kor. 사신, Chin. 四神, the four guardian deities of the four cardinal directions): Blue Dragon, White Tiger, Red Phoenix, and Black Tortoise-Snake.

The word ***pungsu*** is a compoud of the words for wind (***pung***) and water (***su***). It originated from the four-character saying ***jangpungdeuksu*** (Kor. 장풍득수, Chin. 藏風得水, lit. storing wind and obtaining water), which signifies that one needs to be protected against wind and obtain water, because the life force of the land can be easily scattered when

it faces wind, but stays solid when surrounded by water. According to this basic concept, ***myeongdang*** is a specific site, the "best land of all land," because it can block wind and retain water. ***Hyeol*** is a crucial point of land in ***pungsu*** theory. When used for a grave site it is where the dead can receive the life force of the land, and when used for a house it is where the people who live in it spend most of their time. ***Myeongdang*** is typically a piece of land, wide and level, located in front of a ***hyeol***. Therefore, ***myeongdang*** is the key factor in ***pungsu*** theory.

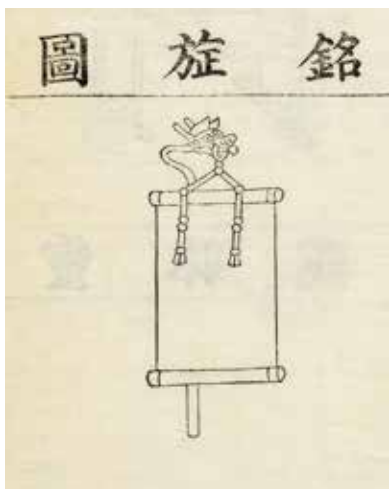
I MYEONGJEONG 명정

Funeral banner

A funerary banner made of silk or paper bearing an inscription with personal information on the deceased person including name, rank, government position, and clan seat.

When a person dies, the body is washed and wrapped in a shroud, the ***yeongjwa*** (Kor. 영좌, Chin. 靈座, lit. spirit seat) for the spirit of the deceased person is prepared, and the ***honbaek*** (Kor. 혼백, Chin. 魂帛, temporary spirit tablet) is placed in the seat. ***Myeongjeong*** is a banner hung on the folding screen set up behind the ***yeongjwa*** or hoisted in the east. The purpose of the banner is to provide general information of the deceased person for the participants in the funeral and to express the respect and love of the bereaved. The name inscribed on the banner informs all the participants and onlookers of whose funeral is being held. In the funeral procession, the banner is held in front of the bier to lead the way. After the coffin is lowered into the grave, the banner is placed upon the coffin to cover it before burial.

Traditionally, there is no significant difference in the content of the inscription on the funerary banner, whether emperor or commoner. However, the size of the banner differed according to the so-



Myeongjeongdo (Illustration of a Funeral Banner)
Saryepyeollam (四禮便覽, Handbook of the Four Ceremonies)

Funeral banner inscribed with the name and rank of the deceased
Changnyeong, Gyeongsangnam-do Province

Writing the name and rank of the deceased on a funeral banner
Changnyeong, Gyeongsangnam-do Province

cial status of the deceased. Usually made of red silk or paper, the banner has a horizontal rod at the upper and lower ends to keep it unfurled and is hoisted on a pole. The sides are decorated with a fringe. There are no specific rules about the size and use of the pole, but generally it is painted and decorated with a wooden finial in the shape of a dragon head with a magic pearl in its mouth or a phoenix head.

Bangok
A funeral procession coming back home carrying the spirit tablet of the deceased | Hapcheon, Gyeongsangnam-do Province

BANGOK 반곡

Post-burial wailing

Ceremonial wailing conducted by the bereaved as they return home from a funeral, carrying with them the ***honbaek*** (Kor. 혼백, Chin. 魂帛, temporary spirit tablet) or the wooden spirit tablet proper placed in ***yoyeo*** (Kor. 요여, Chin. 腰輿, small palanquin used to carry the spirit tablet of the deceased home after burial).

After the burial of the deceased, the mourners hold a memorial rite at the grave with food offerings arranged before the spirit tablet of the deceased. After the ceremony, they carry the spirit tablet home. This procedure is also called ***banhon*** (Kor. 반혼, Chin. 返魂, lit. return of the spirit) because it is the procedure reprsenting the return of the spirit of the dead person.

The homecoming procession takes the same route as the procession to the funeral, and often involves ritual wailing by mourners. Participants in this procession are not to walk fast. Mourners in the funeral procession are to follow the bier in the manner of children crying as they desperately try to catch their mothers leaving them, and in the homecoming procession they should not hesitate to express their anxiety and grief as if their own parents were in the palanquin. As the home comes into sight, the mourners begin to wail, and continue until they reach home. On arriving home, the mourners place the temporary spirit tablet on the ***yeongjwa***

(Kor. 영좌, Chin. 靈座, lit. spirit seat) and begin another round of wailing. Other mourners join their wailing, and this officially concludes the funeral.

Even after the official end, however, the bereaved continue to hold wailing sessions every morning and evening after offering food to the spirit of the deceased. They add more food to the offerings, such as liquor, fruits, and dried meat in particular, when they prepare ***sangsik*** (Kor. 상식, Chin. 上食, food offered to the spirit of the dead every morning and evening) on the first and fifteenth day of the month by the lunar calendar.

After ***bangok***, distant relatives of the deceased may eat meat and drink liquor but are not allowed to participate in a banquet. When the chief mourner has a widowed father, he is expected to refrain from eating meat and drinking liquor until the end of the mourning period.

BANHAM 반함

Insertion of grains into the mouth of the deceased

The funeral procedure of inserting rice, beads, or coins into the mouth of the deceased person.

There are old records of the funerary custom in which glutinous rice, gold, jade, or other precious objects are inserted into the mouth of the deceased before the body is placed in the coffin; today, however, macerated rice was used instead. The chief mourner put three spoonfuls of macerated rice into the deceased's mouth with a willow spoon, after the body had been washed and shrouded. The rice is first spooned into the right side of the mouth, then the left, and finally in the middle. When giving the first spoon, the chief mourner uttered, "Here are one hundred bags of rice for you." Then, "Here are one thousand bags of rice," and finally, "Here are ten thousand bags of rice." The process was then followed by the placing of coins, jade ornaments, or other precious gems inside the mouth. Likewise, the chief mourner uttered, "Here are one hundred coins," "Here are one thousand coins," and "Here are ten thousand coins."

The rice, coins, and jade ornaments used for the custom of ***banham*** were regarded as the food or money required by the deceased during or after his or her journey to the underworld. The custom is also known to be related to the wishes of the descendants for the deceased to gain wealth in the next world. The use of a willow spoon originated in the Korean folk tradition of taking animals and plants that reproduce prolifically as symbols of fertility. Willow, for example, was admired for its outstanding reproductive capacity as it proliferates on the riverside and sprouting in early spring. Hence, the willow spoon used for the ***banham*** procedure represented earnest wishes for the deceased to live a good life in the next world.

BARIN 발인

Departure of the funeral procession from the home to the burial site

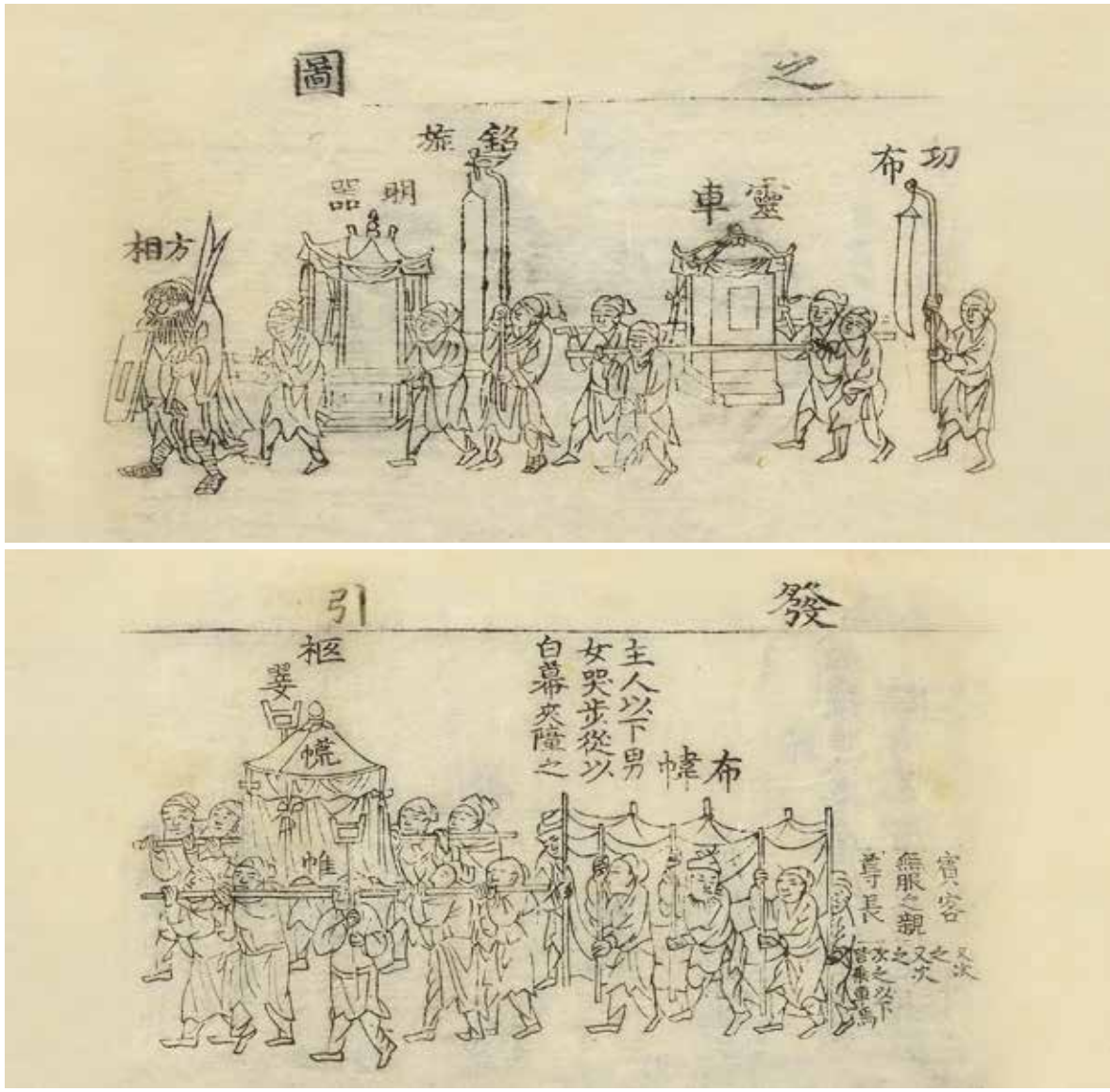
The funeral procedure of carrying the deceased from the home to the burial site.

The bereaved family holds a farewell rite
Gimhae, Gyeongsangnam-do Province

Going to the burial site
Changnyeong, Gyeongsangnam-do Provinc

Barin refers to the funeral procession in which the coffin containing the body of the deceased is carried from the home to the grave. A great variety of symbolic objects were used in the funeral procession to express the wishes of the bereaved for the peaceful rest of the deceased. They were also believed to repel evil spirits. The procession is headed by Bangsangsi (Kor. 방상시, Chin. 方相氏, deity believed to protect the funeral procession from evil forces), followed by ***myeonggi*** (Kor. 명기, Chin. 明器, objects buried with the deceased in the grave), ***myeongjeong*** (Kor. 명정, Chin. 銘旌, a banner bearing the name of the deceased and his government position), ***yeonggeo*** (Kor. 영거, Chin. 靈車, a palanquin enshrining the spirit tablet of the deceased) and ***gongpo*** (Kor. 공포, Chin. 功布, hemp cloth used to wipe the coffin during burial).

Bangsangsi was represented by a person wearing the mask of the deity, dressed in official court uniform and armed with a spear and shield. The mask of Bangsangsi had four eyes if the deceased had been an official of the fourth rank or above, and two eyes for any rank lower than that. Bangsangsi was believed to expel evil ghosts and other wicked spirits that might disrupt the burial site. The deity was followed by ***myeonggi***, wooden miniatures of the carts, horses, and male and female servants favored by the deceased person when he or she was alive. In the Joseon period, those who served as government officials of the fourth or above were allowed to have 30 such items buried with them, those of fifth rank or below 20 items, and those with no government position 15 items. Next came ***yeonggeo***, a palanquin where ***honbaek*** (Kor. 혼백, Chin. 魂帛, temporary spirit tablet) was enshrined. This palanquin was



Barinjido (Illustration of the Funeral Procession Departing for the Burial Site)
"Garyejimnam" (家禮輯覽, Illustrated Account of Family Ceremonies)

followed by ***gongpo***, a white hemp cloth of three feet by three feet, hung upon a pole of five or six feet in length. The bier, which followed the ***gongpo***, was guarded by fan-shaped ceremonial objects called ***sap***. Made of wood, they represented the wishes of the mourners for the safe journey of the spirit of the deceased to the land of great peace and were divided into three types: ***bosap*** (Kor. 보삽, Chin. 黼翣, shade of axe head), ***bulsap*** (Kor. 불삽, Chin. 黻翣, shade of meander pattern) and ***hwasap*** (Kor. 화삽, Chin. 畫翣, shade of auspicious clouds). The first type, ***bosap***, was placed at the rear of the bier and featured a square panel painted with an axe head on a black and white background. The second type, ***bulsap***, was painted with a pair of short meander patterns arranged in symmetry on the black and

blue background and represented the mourners' wishes for the spirit of the deceased to be safely guided to the underworld. The third type, ***hwasap***, was painted with auspicious clouds and placed at the front of the bier to guard it, representing the mourners' wishes for the spirit of the deceased to be guided to heaven.

The bier was followed by the mourners, including the bereaved family. The chief mourner followed the bier on the right-hand side and his spouse on the left. The bereaved were followed by other mourners, close relatives in the front and distant relatives in the rear. Both sides of the bier were covered with white cloth screens as soon as the bier left the front gate of the home. Relatives and friends of the deceased either waited at the burial site for the procession to arrive or, as the procession left the village, returned home after wailing and bowing as a form of farewell to the deceased. They also set up a tent on the roadside outside the village, where a memorial service took place as the funeral procession arrived.

Barin was not simply a funeral procedure to carry the body of the deceased to his or her burial site. The organization of the procession and the use of various ritual objects full of symbolism show that for Koreans in the past, it was a significant part of the funeral overall

Bangsangdo (Evil-repelling Deities)
Saryepyeollam (四禮便覽, Handbook of the Four Ceremonies)

Bangsangsi (evil-repelling deity) mask
Important Folklore Cultural Heritage No. 16
National Museum of Korea

BANGSANGSI 방상시

Evil-repelling deity

Deity believed to repel demons and other evil spirits from a funeral procession or ***narye*** (Kor. 나례, Chin. 儺禮, exorcism rite).

Originating in ancient China, where it was revered as the expeller of demons, Bangsangsi was conceived as a deity wearing the skin of a bear and a gold mask with four eyes, and carrying a spear and shield in his hands. In Korea, the name Bangsangsi refers

Bangsangsi
1. Bangsangsi (evil-repelling deities) leading the funeral procession
2. Bangsangsi (evil-repelling deities) at the burial site
Cheongdo, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province | 1997

1/2

to the duty to be fulfilled by four fierce, brave men. Its literal meaning is "a man with a strange face." A low-ranking soldier was selected to perform the role of Bangsangsi, and his main duty was to guard a gate or carriage. While Bangsangsi was not regarded as a shaman, his role was very similar to that of a shaman as he expelled evil spirits from a place.

In the Goryeo and Joseon periods, Bangsangsi appeared as a kind of sorcerer, expelling evil spirits at the exorcist events held on the last days of the year both inside and outside the royal court. Bangsangsi continued to appear at funerals until the 1950s, and performed the role of expelling evil ghosts at the head of a funeral procession. The mask of Bangsangsi had four eyes if the deceased had been an official of the fourth rank or above, and two eyes for any rank lower than that. Hence in the lives of the common people Bangsangsi mostly had two eyes and was commonly called Bangsangje.

I BOGIN 복인

Wearers of mourning garments

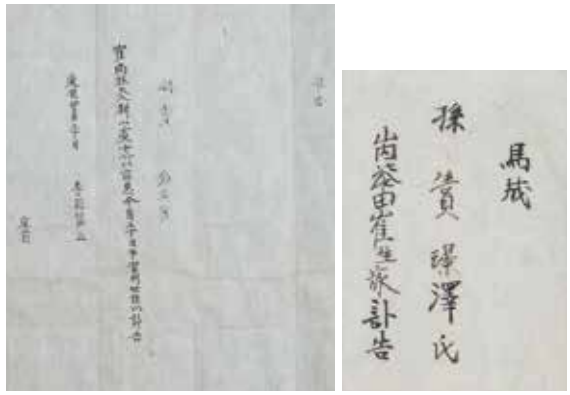
Mourners required to wear formal funeral garments according to their relationship with the deceased.

The term ***bogin*** refers to a group of people originating from ***dongjong*** (Kor. 동종, Chin. 同宗, lit. same clan). More specifically, it refers to those who share the same great-great-grandfather, and hence are required to wear formal mourning garments upon the death of a family member in that range. The formal mourning garments were divided into five categories based on the mourners' kinship with the deceased, and therefore were worn not only as a show of respect for the deceased but also to indicate the mourners' degree of closeness to the deceased and to each other.

The length of the mourning period and how the mourners dressed during that period were decided by two factors: the feelings of love and respect of the bereaved for the deceased. The mourning clothes worn by the chief mourner usually consisted of an upper garment, lower garment, ***yojil***[16], ***sujil***[17], staff, headcloth, and shoes. The dress was also

16 A rope-like thatch-hemp band worn around the waist as part of the formal funeral garments
17 A rope-like thatch-hemp band worn on the head as part of the formal funeral garments

classified into five categories according to the quality of the fabric: ***chamchoe***[18], ***jaechoe***[19], ***daegong***[20], ***sogong***[21] and ***sima***[22]. These five categories show that the mourners' mode of dress was carefully regulated according to their relationship with the deceased, ranging from crudely made mourning dress of the coarsest fabric to more refined clothes made of better-quality fabric, similar to everyday clothes.



Notification of a person's death

BUGO 부고

Notification of a person's death

The practice of notifying relatives, friends, and neighbors of the death of a person.

The term ***bugo*** refers to the act of promptly informing people of the death of a person by sending messengers to spread the news. Upon the death of a person, the family appointed ***hosang*** (Kor. 호상, Chin. 護喪, a man who presides over the entire funeral service) and had him write a formal notification of death. If no such person was available, the chief mourner informed the relatives of the death, but not friends or colleagues.

Those receiving the notice of death promptly offered their condolences to the bereaved, and sent them a variety of items such as paper, cotton, and hemp fabric that would be needed to prepare for the impending funeral. Some sent people to help the bereaved family with all preparations in setting up the mortuary. These helpers took their own food with them to relieve the family of any burden in this regard. This practice reflects the tradition of sharing the financial burden of a funeral among the members of a community.

Death notification on the door
Ganghwa, Incheon

When notice of a person's death was not given orally, handwritten notices were delivered by hand. The development of printing technology and the postal system in the modern period contributed

18 Garments made of rough hemp with the hems folded, not sewn
19 Garments made of slightly thick hemp with the hems narrowly folded and sewn
20 Garments made of hemp loosely woven with thick yarn
21 Garments made of hemp closely woven with rather fine yarn
22 Garments made of hemp woven with fine yarn

to faster and easier communication and greatly expanded the number of recipients of such announcements. Today, death announcements are sent and received through various online and offline media, including e-mail and newspaper obituaries. The changed environment has led to the end of old practices, including the practice of recipients posting a death notice on the wall of the outhouse to avoid bringing it inside the home. Newspapers, whose job is to convey news about human lives, continue the tradition of publishing obituaries because death is the most important rite of passage in a person's life. To some degree, the obituary column represents inheritance of the cultural tradition of mourning the deceased.

List of condolence gifts

Buuirok (Record of Condolence Gifts)
Changnyeong, Gyeongsangnam-do Province

BU-UI 부의
Condolence gifts

Goods or money sent to the family in mourning to help prepare for the funeral.

According to an old book on rites, "Expressing one's condolences does not mean following the chief mourner in a funeral procession. Mourners aged under forty should help to carry the bier. Those aged fifty who live in the same village as the bereaved should follow the chief mourner in the procession of ***bangok*** (Kor. 반곡, Chin. 反哭, ceremonial wailing conducted by the bereaved as they return home from the burial place after a funeral). Mourners aged under forty should move back from the burial site after seeing the coffin covered with earth." The text states that offering condolences does not mean simply saying comforting words but offering to help the family carry out the funeral. This explains why, in the past, some visitors were more absorbed in offering a helping hand to the bereaved family than in paying condolences.

In old ritual literature, the term ***bu-ui*** referred to any object or food offered by condolatory visitors to the family in mourning, including carts or horses, money, jade or beads, clothing, incense, and liquor. People contibuted according to their means and smaller offerings such as a bag of rice, washcloths, a dozen eggs, red bean porridge for the mourning family, or a roll of hemp were also welcomed. Lending a helping hand was also a good way to help. The willingness to help was regarded as

more important than material support as far as the tradition of ***bu-ui*** was concerned. The purpose of making a condolatory visit and providing support to the bereaved family was to promote good relations among members of a family or the community. In sum, the tradition of ***bu-ui*** continued as a way of sharing the pain and financial burden caused by the death of a family member.

BUJE 부제

Spirit tablet enshrinement ceremony

A ceremony commemorating the enshrinement of a new spirit tablet together with those of earlier generations held on the day after *jolgok*[23].

The character ***bu*** (祔) in the word ***buje*** (祔祭) refers to the placing of a new ancestral tablet in the family shrine together with other spirit tablets of earlier ancestors. The term also refers to the practice of informing the earlier generations of ancestors that they would "move the earlier ancestor to a new place and put the newly deceased in this place." With the ***buje*** ceremony held after ***jolgok***, the new spirit tablet was placed in the ***jeongchim***[24] or ***yeongjwa***[25] and then moved to the family shrine permanently after the end of the three-year mourning period.

With the end of the ***jolgok*** ceremony, participants prepare for the ***buje*** ceremony by arranging food offerings and taking a bath. At daybreak, all the participants gather before the spirit seat and begin their ritual wailing. The prayer reader brings out the spirit tablets of the deceased's grandparents and places them west of the spirit seat. He then places the grandfather's spirit tablet on the spirit seat, and an attendant officiant places the grandmother's spirit tablet east of the grandfather's. If the ceremony is held for a deceased mother, only the spirit tablet of her grandmother is used. The procedure of ***buje*** is very similar to that of other memorial ceremonies held during the mourning period except that it needs no ritual wailing.

BINSANGYEONORI 빈상여놀이

Lit. empty bier play

A performance held on the eve of the funeral in which the players carry an empty bier on their shoulders and pretend to start out on the funeral procession.

The Confucian funeral, characterized by strict formalities and procedures, became widespread across Korea only after the mid-Joseon period. Before the arrival of Confucianism, however, funerals had been festive events in Korea since ancient times. According to a record in "Account of the Eastern Tribes" in "Suseo,"[26] ancient Korean

23 Ancestral memorial service held three months after a funeral
24 Hall where ancestral memorial rites are held
25 Spirit seat, where a spirit tablet is placed temporarily
26 Roughly translated as "The Book of Sui". "Suseo" ("Suishu" in Chinese) is the official history of the Sui dynasty (581–618), completed in 636 by a group of Tang scholars led by Wei Zheng


Binsangyeonori
1. Performance of carrying an empty bier on the eve of a funeral in Daejeon
2. Performance of carrying an empty bier on the eve of a funeral
Nonsan, Chungcheongnam-do Province | 1992

1 | 2

people "wail with grief at the beginning and end, but during the funeral they bid the dead farewell by beating drums, dancing, and singing." There is a similar record from the Joseon period, according to which funeral participants "invite a shaman to their parent's funeral and spend all day and night drinking, dancing, and singing on the pretext of entertaining the spirits." A legacy from this custom, ***binsangyeonori*** was performed on the eve of the funeral of a person who had lived a long and happy life. It was typically presented by the chief mourner's friends, who carried an empty bier around the village, dancing and singing funeral songs.

Upon a person's death, the mortuary is prepared and the bereaved family change into mourning garments. They offer food to the deceased every morning and evening, receive condolence callers, and perform ritual wailing. If the funeral is ***hosang*** (Kor. 호상, Chin. 好喪, funeral of a person who led a happy, long life and died peacefully), the bier carriers started to perform ***binsangyeonori***, carrying an empty bier around and singing funeral songs. The performance took place either in the courtyard of the house of the bereaved family or the village common. In the performance, the head singer started a funeral song: "As I think over, how deplorable, how sorrowful, how woeful / Life is but an empty dream, but why should you go? / I leave you, and leave you now." This was followed by a refrain sung by the others: "Leaving like this, when shall you come back?" If the performance was held in the courtyard, the family in mourning entertained the participants with food and drink.

While ***binsangyeonori*** was a festive performance, it was also a way for the bier carriers to practice in order to properly fulfill their duties in carrying the bier to the burial site the following morning. At the same time, the performance was intended to comfort the bereaved family, including the chief mourner, with song and dance. The playful performance, which would seem out of place at a grave and solemn event such as a funeral, was a way to stop the bereaved from being overwhelmed by grief. It also aimed to give the bier carriers an opportunity to practice their duties, which is why details of the performance were exactly the same of those required for the real funeral procession. This part of a funeral can be interpreted then as

the process of transforming the meaning of death into that of life. In other words, the performance is based on the belief that entertainment for the departing soul would later move the ancestral spirit into sending good fortune to his descendants.

SASIPGUJAE 사십구재

Forty-ninth day memorial rite

Buddhist ceremony held in memory of a deceased person seven times, once every seven days, for 49 days after death.

According to the Buddhist view of the afterlife, human beings who die without attaining enlightenment are trapped in the eternal cycle of birth, death, and rebirth, and remain in the state of ***jungyu*** (Kor. 중유, Chin. 中有, a period of forty-nine days human beings need to wait after death before the next birth). The souls of the dead suffer repeated births and deaths for seven days if the conditions for rebirth are not present, and the seven-day period repeats seven times until a total of seven intermediate periods (49 days) have elapsed. According to this belief, repeated sutra recitation of the living during the 49-day period helps the dead to be reborn in a better world.

The basic concepts of ***jungyu*** were established under Indian Buddhism and spread to China, where it was combined with the tradition of ancestor worship, resulting in the creation of ***chilchiljae*** (Kor. 칠칠재, Chin. 七七齋, Buddhist ceremonies held for the dead once every seven days after death, seven times in total), which is also called ***sasipgujae***.

Sasipgujae
1. Forty-ninth day memorial rite
2. The spirit of the deceased is brought in from the temple entrance
3. The spirit of the deceased is met at the main Buddha hall
4. The spirit of the deceased is met at the main Buddha hall

Taean, Chungcheongnam-do Province

The ***sasipgujae*** starts with the first of the seven ceremonies, held on the same day as the funeral, in the dharma hall of a Buddhist temple containing the portrait and spirit tablet of the deceased. A total of seven ceremonies are held over a period of forty-nine days, once every seven days. The first to sixth ceremonies are held in a rather simple manner, but the seventh, the final and most important, is a grander, more complex procedure. As such, ***sasipgujae*** in the narrow sense, refers to the seventh one only. As the conclusion of the seven ceremonies, the seventh ceremony is held with the participation of not only all members of the bereaved family, but also their relatives. The ceremony on the forty-ninth day after death is held according to the following procedures:

① ***Daeryeong*** (Kor. 대령, Chin. 對靈, lit. reception of the spirit): Participants receive the spirit of the deceased visiting the ceremony hall.

② ***Gwanyok*** (Kor. 관욕, Chin. 灌浴, lit. bathing): Participants cleanse the spirit of the deceased so that it can be freed from all the sins committed with the body, mouth, and mind when alive. The ceremonial officiant burns the ***jiui*** (Kor. 지의, Chin. 紙衣, lit. paper clothing), which symbolizes the deceased, to cleanse his or her spirit from all the evil karma piled up before death, helping it proceed to Buddha.

③ ***Sangdangwongong*** (Kor. 상단권공, Chin. 上壇勸供, lit. arrangement of offerings on the altar): In this central part of the ceremony, participants make abundant offerings on the Buddha altar and pray for the rebirth of the deceased in the land of bliss.

④ ***Gwaneumsisik*** (Kor. 관음시식, Chin. 觀音施食, lit. meal with the perceiver of lamentations): Participants offer a meal to the spirit of the deceased and express their love and respect with deep ceremonial bows.

⑤ ***Bongsong*** (Kor. 봉송, Chin. 奉送, lit. bidding farewell): Participants bid farewell to the spirit of the deceased. The entire ceremony ends with the burning of the clothes of the deceased and ritual items used for the ceremony.

Sasipgujae is a ceremony held during the period when the spirit of the deceased remains in the realm between the worlds of the living and the dead. It also represents the end of the Buddhist mourning period of 49 days, after which the bereaved family returns to normal life and the spirit of the dead to the afterlife. In sum, while ***sasipgujae*** is a Buddhist event to guide the spirit of the dead to the land of bliss, it also fulfills the social function of ending the mourning period set by Confucian ideas and the psychological function of ***haewon*** (Kor. 해원, Chin. 解寃, lit. release from regret).

SAJASANG 사자상

Table for the death messenger

A table on which offerings are arranged to entertain the messengers from the underworld.

According to Korean folk belief, the death of a person in a family is followed by the visit of three messengers of death, who take the spirit of the dead to the underworld. Therefore, when a family member died, the remaining members prepared offerings to entertain the messengers, typically three bowls of cooked rice, three coins, and three pairs of

Table for the death messenger
Nowon-gu, Seoul | 1989

woven straw shoes. These offerings were placed on ***sajasang***, a table in the form of a thick woven straw mat, wicker tray, or tray table. The ***sajasang*** was sometimes prepared after ***chohon***[27], and sometimes beforehand, in which case ***chohon*** was performed in front of the table. The preparation of ***sajasang*** was an essential part of the funeral until the 1980s, as most Korean families at the time held the funeral at home. The custom disappeared quickly after the 1990s when more and more families began using professional funeral services.

Past Koreans believed that life is a state where body and soul are united, and death is a state where the two are seaprated. The spirit, separated from the body, goes to the underworld under the guidance of the messengers of the underworld. The bereaved family tries to summon the departing spirit of their loved one or, if that proves impossible, prays to the messengers to safely guide the spirit to the underworld. ***Sajasang*** is hence a symbolic expression of family love and grief for the deceased member.

I SAMNYEONSANG 삼년상

Three-year mourning period

Tradition of mourning for one's parents for three years after their death, during which time the bereaved children wore mourning garments or other symbolic objects showing that they were in mourning.

The custom of mourning for three years is said to have developed out of the belief that a child could leave the parents' lap only when he or she reached three years of age. It is based on the Confucian idea that children should show filial piety to their parents for at least three years after the death of their parents, in the same way as when they were alive. The custom of the three-year mourning period was introduced to Korea during the early Goryeo period, and continued only intermittently as many complained it was too long. It spread around the country during the late Goryeo period after the great Neo-Confucian scholar-official Jeong Mong-ju (1337-1392) spent the entire three-year mourning period living in a shack beside his parents' graves. It became the norm among the Neo-Confucian literati class during the following Joseon period.

The mourning custom was described in several classical books on family rites such as "Uirye" (儀禮, Book of Ceremonies)[28] and "Jujagarye" (朱子家禮, Family Rituals of Zhu Xi), and established itself as a rule of behavior to be kept in everyday life. In

27 Ritual of evoking the spirit of the dead.
28 Called "Uirye" in Korean and "Yili" in Chinese, "Book of Ceremonies" is a classic text about Zhou dynasty (1122–221 BCE) social behavior and ceremonial rites as they were practiced and understood during the Spring and Autumn Period (722–481 BCE).

Hyoja geomyo salgo (Filial Son Living by His Parent's Tomb)
Gisan pungsokdo (Genre Paintings of Gisan) | The Korean Christian Museum at Soongsil University

Joseon, the custom was made a rule when it was included in the national code, "Gyeonggukdaejeon." A filial son observing the three-year mourning period remained in mourning garments even after the funeral and took great care in his daily activities not to harm the reputation of his deceased parents. When a parent died, government officials retired from service for the funeral and the following mourning period. They built a shack beside their parent's grave and stayed there till the three-year period was over. Over the three years, they abstained from meat and liquor and did not sleep with their wives.

SAMILJANG 삼일장

Three-day funeral

Funeral in which the body of the deceased is buried on the third day after death.

The length of the mourning period or the funeral period is closely related to the social status of the deceased. The more famous the deceased person was in life, the longer the period, and vice versa. A longer period of mourning means that the mourners are large in number and varied in range. Yet it mainly implies that the period includes successive days of the role of the deceased when they are alive. The higher the social status of the deceased, supposedly the more shocked and confused the bereaved, implying that more days are required to stabilize the confusion.

Traditionally, ***samiljang*** took place on rare occasions during the Goryeo dynasty (918–1392), but in the Joseon dynasty (1392–1910), when Confucian funeral customs were well established, ***samiljang*** was never held. Under Japanese colonial rule, however, all funerals had to be conducted within the fifth day after death under the policy of simplifying ceremonies and rituals in the name of modernization. After Liberation, the number of mourning days was restricted in three from 1973, meaning that the modern rule of ***samiljang*** was enforced by the government. For funerals (***hyungnye***), the day of the event is included in the total number, while for memorial rites (***gillye***) the day of the event is not counted. But as three days is too short to prepare for a funeral, the custom of ***samiljang*** was often not observed in real life, despite the instruction in Korea's Regulations on Family Ceremonies.

Indeed, these days the ***samiljang*** rule is not widely observed. In the case of Christian funerals, they cannot be held on a Sunday since people go to church or mass. This suggests that the mourning period should realistically be lengthened to four days. In addition, if the deceased passes away at night or dawn, the bereaved often need four or five days to prepare for the funeral.

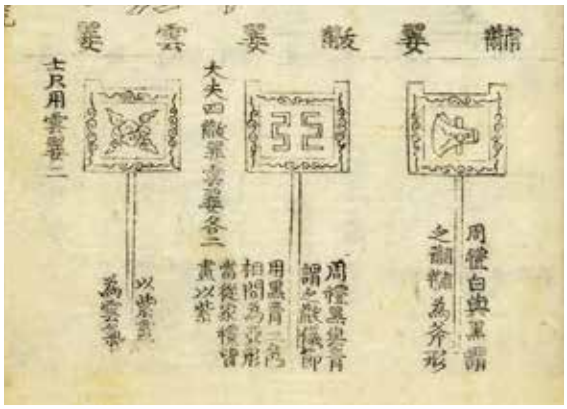
SAP 삽

Fan-shaped ceremonial objects

A funeral procession item in the shape of a fan with a long handle, carried in front of and behind the bier.

The purpose of ***sap***, which are also installed left and right of the coffin, is to screen the sun and prevent dust from gathering. ***Sap*** are used in the funeral to express wishes for the spirit of the deceased to soar up from the underworld to heaven.

Sap are divided into various categories depending on the design embroidered on the white cloth, including ***unsap*** (Kor. 운삽, Chin. 雲翣, lit. shade of clouds), ***hwasap*** (Kor. 화삽, Chin. 畫翣, shade of auspicious clouds), ***bulsap*** (Kor. 불삽, Chin. 黻翣, shade of meander pattern), and ***bosap*** (Kor. 보삽, Chin. 黼翣, shade of axe head). ***Unsap*** feature cloud pictures or the Chinese character ***un*** (雲), meaning the spirit of clouds. It is also called ***hwasap***. The clouds signify heaven. This implies that when a person passes away, the spirit rises up to heaven and the body goes down under the ground. ***Bulsap*** (黻翣) feature the Chinese character ***a*** (亞), comprised of two Chinese characters of ***gi*** (己), facing each other in a color that is half black and half blue. ***Bosap*** features an embroidered or painted design of an ax head in color that is half black and half white.



Sapseondo (Illustration of shades with axe head, meander and cloud patterns)
"Garyejimnam" (家禮輯覽, Illustrated Account of Family Ceremonies)

Shades with cloud and meander patterns
Gimhae, Gyeongsangnam-do Province

I SANGNYE 상례

Lit. funeral rites

Rites that deal with death, the last stage of human life, and normalize succession of the family lineage.

The last process humans go through is death, and rites that deal with death are called ***sangnye*** (Kor. 상례, Chin. 喪禮, lit. funeral rites). There are two main religious perspectives on death. One considers death as something fearful. In this case, the focus is on treating the dead body as quickly as possible and separating the deceased from this life. The other considers death as part of the process of ancestral worship, so the bereaved observe a long ritual period in which the deceased becomes an ancestor. A case in point is the Confucian three-year mourning period (***samnyeonsang***). Traditionally, the Confucian funeral is focused on enshrining the spirit table of the deceased and conists of 19 major processes, which includes other small processes. The 19 major processes are as the follows:

① ***Chojongeui*** (初終儀): Confirmation of death and preparation for the funeral ceremony.

② ***Seup*** (襲): Bathing the body of the deceased and dressing it in ***su-ui***, or the shroud, on the first day after death.

③ ***Soryeom*** (小殮): Wrapping and tying the body with hemp cloth on the second day after death.

④ ***Daeryeom*** (大殮): Laying the body in the coffin on the third day after death.

⑤ ***Seongbok*** (成服): Chief mourner dressing in funeral clothes and officially becoming the chief mourner on the fourth day after death.

⑥ ***Jo*** (弔): Receiving condolences from others, which is possible only after ***seongbok***.

⑦ ***Munsang*** (聞喪): Offering condolences to the chief mourner upon receiving notice of the death.

⑧ ***Chijang*** (治葬): Preparation for the funeral including selection of a burial site and time.

⑨ ***Cheongu*** (遷柩): The day before ***barin***, it is announced that the coffin is to be moved and ancestral memorial rite to eternally send off the deceased is conducted.

⑩ ***Barin*** (發靷): Funeral procession carrying the deceased from his or her home to the burial site, during which ***noje***, a roadside memorial rite, is held.

⑪ ***Geummyo*** (及墓): Arrival of the bier at the burial site. The coffin is lowered into the grave, letters are written on the mortuary tablet, and an ancestral memorial rite is conducted.

⑫ ***Bangok*** (反哭): A newly made mortuary tablet and ***honbaek*** (Kor. 혼백, Chin. 魂帛, temporary spirit tablet) are carried home.

⑬ ***Uje*** (虞祭): This refers to three ceremonies: ***chouje*** (Kor. 초우제, Chin. 初虞祭, the first ancestral memorial rite after burial), ***jae***-uje (Kor. 재우제, Chin. 再虞祭, the second ancestral memorial rite after burial), and ***samuje*** (Kor. 삼우제, Chin. 三虞祭, the third ancestral memorial rite after burial).

⑭ ***Jolgok*** (卒哭): The cessation of formal lamentation by the bereaved, and mitigating the sense of grief.

⑮ ***Buje*** (祔祭): Announcing enshrinement of the spirit tablet.

⑯ Sosang (小祥): Ancestral memorial rite marking the first anniversary of a family member's death and mitigating the sense of grief of the chief mourner.

⑰ ***Daesang*** (大祥): Memorial rite held on the second anniversary of a family member's death, after which the mortuary is removed.

⑱ ***Damje*** (禫祭): The last of all the memorial rites, held in the twenty seventh month after death, meaning that the bereaved must wait another season to return to daily life since they cannot do so right after mourning.

⑲ ***Gilje*** (吉祭): Memorial rite held to change the name of the deceased name on the spirit tablet, and burial of the spirit table of the third great grandfather, which is taken out of the family shrine.

Sangnye
1. Taking outside the casket containing the dead body a day before departing for the burial site
2. Funeral service
3. The bereaved family members in mourning garments

Taean, Chungcheongnam-do Province | 1961

1 2 3

Sangnye are not only the rites to treat the body of the deceased, but a ritual device to normalize succession of the family lineage by overcoming a crisis situation. In other words, sangnye are rites to deal with death, to send off the deceased to become an ancestral spirit, and to succeed the family lineage as the chief mourner returns to daily life. Three years is the period required to minimize the impact during the processes. For the three-year mourning, the grief of the chief mourner gradually decreases and he prepares to return to ordinary life. As he completes his role as a chief mourner and returns as head of the family, the three-year mourning period comes to an end.

I SANGMUNSAL 상문살

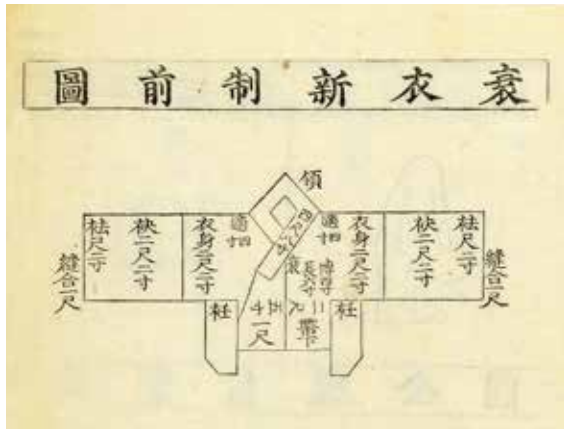
Evil forces that strike at a funeral ceremony

Sal is a term used for vile and evil forces that harm people and cause destruction. ***Sangmunsal*** refers to the ***sal*** that can strike from the funeral ceremony.

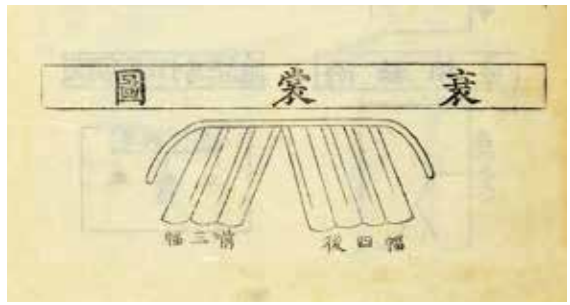
If people are stricken by ***sangmunsal***, they fall ill or even die suddenly. To prevent this, people sprinkle a mix of red pepper powder and salt in front of their gates to keep out impurities after visiting a funeral. Any object from the mourning house is forbidden inside the home if possible. Those who are very sensitive never eat food at a funeral to prevent the effects of uncleanness. When attending the funeral is unavoidable, they carry four or five

red beans or other beans in their pockets as a preventive measure. They sprinkle the beans outward before entering the mourning house or throw them away as soon as they leave. Before going inside their own homes after attending a funeral ceremony, some people burn straw in front of the gate and leap it over.

Impurities from evil forces at the funeral ceremony can be divided into two kinds: ***sosangmun*** and ***daesangmun***. At the beginning of the year when people have their fortunes told and avoid even going near a mourning house in months of bad fortunes, this is referred to as ***sosangmun***. If people improperly witness the lowering of the coffin into the grave, they are stricken by ***sal***, which is referred to as ***daesamgmun***. This can be avoided by leaving the burial site for a moment when the coffin is being lowered, according to advice of an expert of traditional Korean geomantic beliefs. ***Daesangmun*** can also strike objects, in which case the object concerned can be heavily damaged.



Choeuijeondo and Choeuihudo (Illustrations of the upper garment for male mourners (front and back))
Saryepyeollam (四禮便覽, Handbook of the Four Ceremonies)



Choesangdo (Illustration of the lower garment for male mourners)
Saryepyeollam (四禮便覽, Handbook of the Four Ceremonies)

I SANGBOK 상복

Mourning garment

Garments worn during a funeral by the chief mourner and the family members of the deceased.

Korean funeral rites, according to Confucian custom, generally last three years. During this period, the chief mourner and the family and relatives of the deceased are supposed to wear mourning garments called ***sangbok***.

According to a record from Goguryeo (?–668 AD), one of the ancient Three Kingdoms of Korea, when Confucianism had not been officially introduced, "For the funerals of parents and husbands, the bereaved should wear ***sangbok*** for three years, and for the siblings, they should wear ***sangbok*** for

three months." It is also said that in Silla, another of the ancient Three Kingdoms, the bereaved wore ***sangbok*** for one year for the death of a king, parents, spouses and children. King Seongjong (r. 981–997) of Goryeo (918–1392) adopted Confucianism as a political ideology and announced ***Obokjedo*** (Kor. 오복제도, Chin. 五服制度, lit. system on five types of clothing), in which ***sangbok*** and mourning periods are categorized into five groups according to family relations, and specific period for wearing mourning clothes is described. Thus, he documented the rules on the types of ***sangbok*** and the period

Men's upper mourning garment
Japanese colonial period

Lower garment for male mourners
Japanese colonial period

Male members of the bereaved family in mourning clothes
Hapcheon, Gyeongsangnam-do Province | 1988

Female members of the bereaved family in mourning clothes
Hapcheon, Gyeongsangnam-do Province | 1988

for which they were worn. This system became common among the general public only after the mid-Joseon dynasty.

Confucian mourning clothes consist of garments made of coarse hemp cloth, a hemp hat on the head, a hair band of rough hemp, a belt, and a cane.

A male chief mourner usually wears ***gulgeon*** (Kor. 굴건, Chin. 屈巾, lit. hemp hat) on the head. The hat is made with hemp cloth and stiffened by glueing paper to it. ***Yojil*** (Kor. 요질, Chin. 腰絰, waist band) is a belt made of woven hemp. ***Sangjang*** is a cane used during the funeral, with the bottom part of the wood down. When a father passes away, the cane is made of bamboo and when a mother passes away, the wood of the empress tree. This is because the roundness of bamboo stands for the sky, implying a father, while the rectangular shape of the empress tree stands for the earth, implying a mother.

With the opening of the nation's ports, Christian culture began to spread around the country. Due to urbanization and industrialization in the 1970s, much of the traditional culture has vanished. Today the bereaved do not prepare ***sangbok***. Instead, they wear ***hanbok***, which should be white or black, and wear a mourning ribbon or white flower pinned on the left chest. When unavoidable, people sometimes fail to even wear ***hanbok***. Only a few traditional elements of ***sangbok*** have been passed on, including a hemp hat (***gulgeon***), leggings (***haengjeon***), and armband (***wanjang***). Otherwise, ***sangbok*** has largely been replaced by the suit.

SANGSIK 상식

Food offerings for ancestral spirits

Food offerings arranged to serve the deceased in the same way as when they were alive.

According to Korean folk beliefs, a spirit of the deceased is believed to travel to the afterlife on foot, starting out after the funeral. Since the deceased also have to eat during the long trip to the afterlife, the family prepares food for them. Such food offerings to serve the deceased are called ***sangsik***. ***Sangsik*** conveys the magical belief that the spirit can fill the stomach on food offerings from this world.

According to the shamanic myth "Chasabonpuri" (Origin of the Underworld Messenger Chasa), only after the spirits of the deceased enter the after world do their lives indeed end. For this reason, during the three-year mourning period, the time that it takes the spirit to reach the afterworld, the deceased are considered alive not dead. This is why a folding screen is placed in the room of the deceased, and their clothes are hung around it. A ritual table is prepared and food such as soup, steamed rice, and simple side dishes is offered three times a day. A spoon is stuck into the rice bowl and a pair of chopsticks is placed on side dishes. After a certain amount of time, considered long enough for eating, the spoon and chopsticks are placed down, and scorched rice water is offered. At last, some fruit is placed on the table and the ritual is completed.

During ***sangsik***, a pair of shoes of the deceased is placed outside the door; in the morning they are pointed to the outside, and in the evening to the inside. This symbolizes that the deceased come and

Food offerings for ancestral spirits
Gimhae, Gyeongsangnam-do Province | 2008

go, just like the living. ***Sangsik*** continues every day until the end of the three-year mourning period. When the Saemaul Movement, which aimed to abolish outmoded customs, was introduced in the 1970s, the funeral rites were simplified and ***sangsik*** is hardly offered today.

SANGYEO 상여

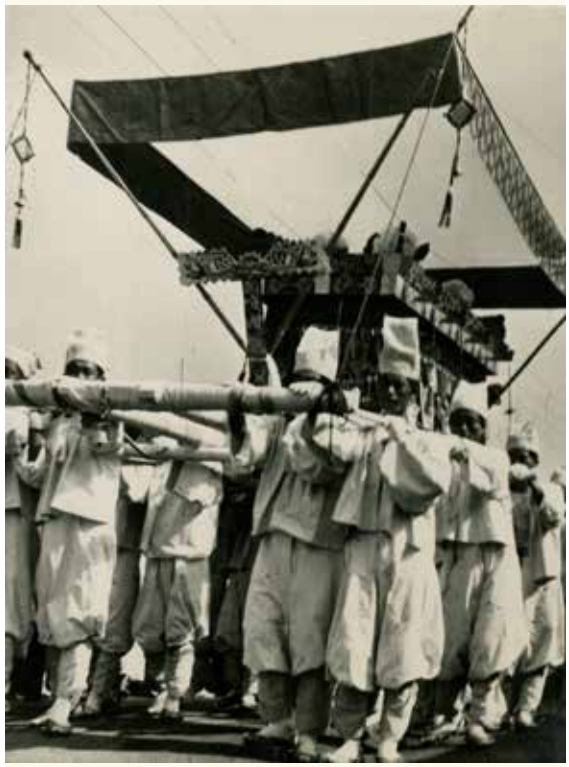
Funeral bier

Vehicle used to carry the coffin to the burial place as part of ***barin***, the funeral procession that carries the deceased person to the burial site.

The specific appearance of ***sangyeo***, or the funeral bier, can be confirmed from the ***daeyeo*** (Kor. 대여, Chin. 大輿, lit. a large bier used for state funerals) and ***yugeo*** (Kor. 유거, Chin. 柳車, lit. a roofed cart) depicted in the "Illustrated Chapter on Biers" (喪轜之圖) of "Jujagarye" (朱子家禮, Family Rituals of Zhu Xi). The ***sangyeo*** is a wooden structure covered with cloth and decorated with ornaments; it is a small place for the deceased, or a house. It seems that the funeral bier was conveyed by either attaching wheels (車) to it, or by carrying it on the shoulders (轜).

The major example of using wheels is ***yugeo***, which is a cart with wheels pulled by someone or something in the front. The prime example of a bier that was carried on the shoulders is the ***daeyeo***, used in state funerals for members of the royal family. But various other types of conveyances were used in state funerals, such as the small palanquin called ***soyeo***, which was used when the procession had to pass through tough and narrow paths. The ***daeyeo*** is a vehicle used to take a coffin to the burial place by carrying it on the shoulders. Gradually people moved away from wheeled carts in preference for ***sangyeo*** carried on the shoulders.

Only those who had the financial means could purchase ***sangyeo***. Recognizing this, community members would organize a ***gye***, a type of traditional private funding method that is popular among Koreans. Each family offers a share of money and the community purchases a ***sangyeo*** together. It is stored in a shed built by the community, at a remote place such as the foot of the mountain, and then managed as if communal property. A family in mourning pays fees to use the ***sangyeo***. The community organization that manages the ***sangyeo***



Sangyeo
1. A bier comprising vertical and horizontal poles (*janggang* and *dangang*)
2. Funeral bier and carriers
Taean, Chungcheongnam-do Province | 1969

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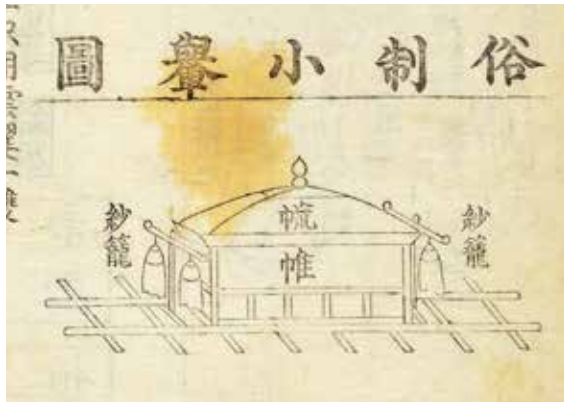

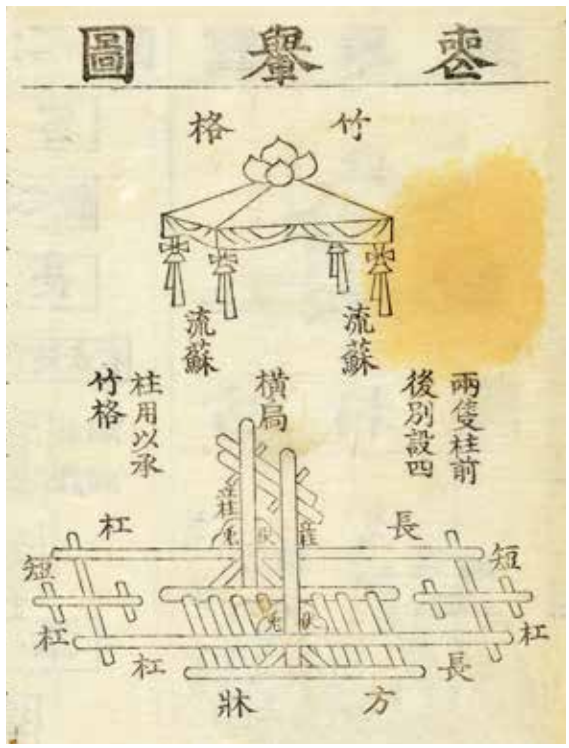

Sangyeodo (Illustration of a Funeral Bier)
Saryepyeollam (四禮便覽, Handbook of the Four Ceremonies)

collects fees and uses them for maintenance of the funeral bier and the storage shed.

Sangyeo does not simply convey the dead body but also reflects the wealth, social status, filial duties of Confucianism, and personal wishes. Some wealthy families conducted the funeral procession in a luxurious way and created a multi-level *sangyeo*, which was decorated with various ornaments. Such ornaments express the practical wishes of the deceased and the chief mourner. Thus, the *sangyeo* served as a means to conduct filial duties from the Confucian perspective as well as family ceremonies.

Bier Belonging to the Goryeongdaek House of the Jeonju Choe clan from Sancheong (Important Folklore Cultural Heritage No. 230)
1856

I SANGYEOJANGSIK 상여장식
Funeral bier ornaments

Various objects used to adorn a bier or the paintings on the bier.

Sangyeo, or the funeral bier, consists of three parts: the upper part considered an awning, the body, and the lower part with carrying poles. The top of the bier is covered with cloth (***angjang***) symbolizing floating clouds or a screen. The cloth is white, blue, or red. It is pleated with tassels or a traditional Korean lantern hanging from each corner. The lantern signifies light to guide the dead to the next world and a display of grandeur.

The body of the bier is decorated with painted pictures or patterns. The railing around the body and along the main roof ridge is decorated with wooden figures of animals and people, flowers, tassels, and traditional Korean lanterns. Dragons and phoenixes are some of the most commonly used animal figures. They are placed at the front, back, and sides of the bier. Both are auspicious animals that express the wishes of the bereaved that they serve as guides to protect and lead the deceased to a good place.

Most of the ornaments are human figures, especially ***ggokdu***, meaning "puppet." There are many kinds of puppets including men and women, boy

Sangyeojangsik
1. Funeral bier decorated with the evil-repelling deity
2. Human figures adorning a bier
Goryeongdaek House of the Jeonju Choe clan from Sancheong, Gyeongsangnam-do Province

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monks and immortals, and clowns. These puppets adorn the path to the afterworld, protect the deceased and lead him or her to heaven. Lotus flowers also decorate the bier, implying rebirth from lotus flowers in the pure land in Buddhism. The bottom part of the bier has no specific ornaments because of the carrying poles.

The bier is made reflecting the wishes of the descendants that the deceased be led to a good place,

Decorative panel on either end of the bier
After Korea's liberation from Japanese colonial rule in 1945

but its appearance and decoration vary depending on region, social status and the tastes of the maker. In this regard, ***sangyeo*** is a good example of the display of the social status and circumstances of the deceased. Today some people adorn the bier with a cross or Bible verses, or the 卍 mark from Buddhism. Over time the appearance and decoration of funeral biers have been simplified and modernized, but the condolences and wishes of the descendants for the deceased to be led to a good place remain the same.

I SANGJU 상주

Chief mourner

Sangju refers to the chief mourner, the one who organizes the whole funeral. Usually the first son of the deceased, or the first grandson, takes this role, also taking over the family ancestral rites. During the mourning period, he makes offerings of food every morning and evening as if the deceased were still alive.

The ***sangju*** generally does not wash his face and

wears a round shaped hat (***bangnip***) or a brimmed round hat (***gulgat***), meaning that he has commited a crime against heaven. When a parent dies, he does not wear one sleeve of the upper garment before ***seongbok*** (Kor. 성복, Chin. 成服, lit. the first wearing of mourning clothes). When the father passes away, he does not wear the left arm, and when the mother passes away, he does not wear the right arm. This appearance indicates that he is a sinner and that he is too shocked by the death to dress properly. In this urgent situation, however, the chief mourner must prepare a coffin, shroud, and mourning clothes, look for a grave site, and prepare for tomb work. Article 18 of the Regulations on Family Ceremonies prescribes that the first son is ***jusang*** (Kor. 주상, Chin. 主喪, lit. chief mourner) and other family members and relatives wearing mourning clothes are called ***sangje*** (喪制). But the term ***sangje*** is not found in any classic books on rituals, so no grounds for the word can be found. It has been reported that ***sangje*** is dialect referring to ***sangju*** other than the first son.

Spirit tablet of the deceased stored at sangcheong during a funeral
Cheongdo, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province | 1997

SANGCHEONG 상청

Place for the spirit tablet

Place where the spirit tablet or temporary spirit tablet of the deceased is kept during the funeral and mourning period.

Sangcheong is also called ***gweyeon*** (Kor. 궤연, Chin. 几筵, lit. temporary place for a spirit tablet). ***Yeon*** (筵), meaning a mat where something is placed, is where ***sinju*** (Kor. 신주, Chin. 神主, lit. spirit tablet of the deceased) or ***honbaek*** (Kor. 혼백, Chin. 魂帛, temporary spirit tablet), is kept. After the burial, the ***sinju*** and ***honbaek*** are brought back home and placed in the ***sangcheong*** along with the personal items of the deceased. If the spirit tablet proper has been made, the temporary spirit tablet is buried in front of the grave after the third memorial rite after the funeral (***samuje***). If there is no spirit tablet, the temporary spirit tablet is brought back home. After the three-year mourning period, the spirit tablet is enshrined in the family shrine and ***sangcheong*** is removed.

Food is offered to the spirit of the deceased every morning and evening at ***sangcheong***, and ancestral memorial rites are conducted on the first and

fifteenth day of every month in the lunar calendar. Visitors who come to offer condolences first bow to ***sangcheong***. On lunar New Year's Day, visitors first bow to ***sangcheong***, and then to the living. The ***sangcheong*** is prepared in different places according to region, but generally a folding screen is installed in a quiet room or the main wooded-floored hall of the house (***maru***) and the spirit tablet or temporary spirit tablet is placed on a chair in front of it. When it is installed in the maru, it is screened off with a curtain.

They held regular meetings twice a year in the spring and the fall, and sometimes collected the funds required for a funeral rite. Such associations based on family clan members were maintained from income from tenant farming on communal farmland. Each family was represented by one male adult. Different from ***hangyak*** or ***donggye***[29], which were based on administrational units such as ***gun***, ***hyeon***, ***myeon***, and ***dong***, ***sangpogye*** are distinctive and important in that they were traditional associations based on clans or neighbors to give mutual aid specifically for funerals.

SANGPOGYE 상포계

Mutual funeral aid association

Community association providng mutual aid for the expenses and labor required for a funeral.

In ***hyangyak*** (Kor. 향약, Chin. 鄕約, lit. community compact) of the Joseon dynasty (1392-1910), the article on supporting each other in times of hardship (患難相恤) placed an emphasis on giving aid in marriage and funeral ceremonies. In the late Joseon period, not only the ruling class (***yangban***) but also commoners and the lowest class formed mutual aid associations to provide labor for funerals (***sangdugye***). Depending on the size of the village and bier, such associations consisted of twenty to thirty households that helped each other with funeral work such as carrying the bier, stomping on grave sites, and selecting grave sites.

SEONGMUL 석물

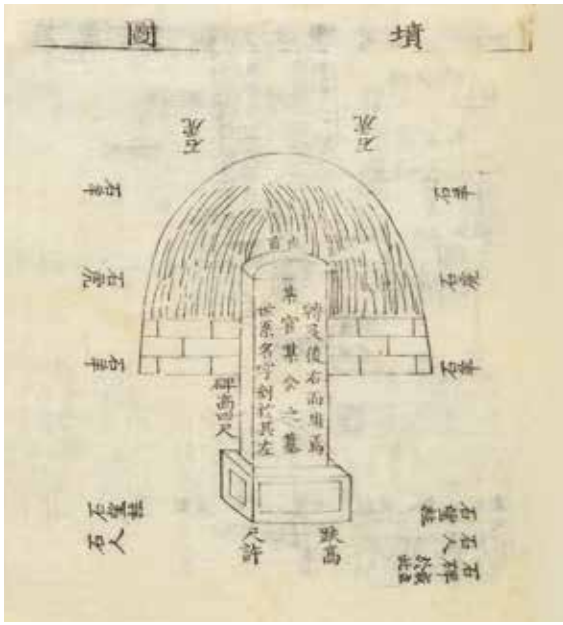
Tombside stone sculptures

Various stone sculptures set up at royal and ruling class tombs.

Seongmul were made in various forms including scholars, military figures, boy monks, lanterns, a pair of stone pillars, tigers, sheep, and horses. These stone figures protect royal tombs, symbolize the authority and dignity of the ancestors, and serve as ***byeoksa*** (Kor. 벽사, Chin. 辟邪, lit. to repel evil spirits).

Based on Confucian ethics, the royal family and ***sadaebu*** (Kor. 사대부, Chin. 士大夫, lit. scholar-officials) set up ***seongmul*** and gravestones according to prescribed form out of love and respect for their ancestors. They believed that doing so would show their enthusiasm and the virtue of their ancestors

29 Self-governing organizations to establish and manage public properties for the welfare of and mutual support of community members



Bundo (Diagram of the Composition of a Gravesite)
Garyejimnam (家禮輯覽, Illustrated Account of Family Ceremonies)

Stone sculptures at the gravesite of Joseon civil official Yi San-hae
Yesan, Chungcheongnam-do Province | Lee Min-sik

and constitute the proper practice of propriety. It was a reflection of their strict adherence to the teachings of Confucius (孔子) and Zhu Xi (朱子), whom they revered as saints. In this regard, ***seongmul*** developed in various ways and are recognized as major artifacts representative of the stone art of the Joeson dynasty (1392–1910). From Three Kingdoms period to Goryeo, when Buddhism was the state ideology, exquisite stone sculptures were created at every temple, including stone statues of Buddha, stone pagodas, stone lanterns, and stupas. On the other hand, during the Joseon dynasty, when Confucianism was state ideology, various outstanding stone sculptures were set up around royal tombs or ancestral graves. Sculptures of human figures such as scholars and warriors are the essence of the stone art of Joseon.

I SEONGBOK 성복

Wearing of funeral garment by the bereaved

The donning of mourning clothes by the chief mourner and the bereaved on the fourth day after a person's death.

On the third day after a person's death, the body is bathed and dressed for burial while the bereaved change into their respective mourning clothes, with some of them carrying canes. The chief mourner rewards those who had visited to pay their condolences, bot not those who sent a shroud. The bereaved family members put on their respective mourning clothes and canes, while those wearing a belt made of twisted hemp cords tie the loose ends together. The men stand east of the coffin and face west while women stand east of the coffin and face east. The order in which they stand is determined by the importance of their mourning clothes. Then, they lament loudly to inform people of the death before condoling with each other. While it is possible to change into mourning clothes on the third day following death, after cleansing the corpse, it is customarily done on the

fourth day, implying that the children cannot easily accept the death of a parent, even after the shrouding process. After donning their mourning attire, the bereaved receive condolences and the funeral procedures really begin.

SEONGBUNJE 성분제

Tomb-completion rite

Memorial rite performed after completing the tomb to console and bid farewell to the deceased.

Completing the tomb, in the narrow sense, means building the mound over the burial site, but in a wider sense also includes the installation of decorative structures such as a tomb stele, stone table, stone figures and stone pillars. When all the work is completed, the bereaved family members console each other and bid farewell to the deceased before leaving the gravesite.

"Gukjo-oryeui" (國朝五禮儀, Five Rites of State) describes a procedure similar to the tomb-completion ceremony called ***eomgwangjeon*** (Kor. 엄광전, Chin. 掩壙奠, post-burial service), a rite held after the body is placed in a coffin and buried and an earthed mound built over it. It was observed after returning home with the spirit tablet and performing ***uje*** (Kor. 우제, Chin. 虞祭, post-burial rite). The procedures are described as follows: "The person in charge shall set up a spirit seat in front of the tomb and place an incense burner and incense case in front of the spirit seat. A cup and liquor shall be placed to the left of the spirit seat and the table set with slices of dried meat and three plates of fruits and vegetables. The prayer reciter washes his hands, walks toward the incense table and kneels facing north. Then, he burns the incense three times before offering three cups of liquor in a row. He prostrates himself with a deep bow and then stands up to recede. Those attending the rite shall wail loudly and prostrate themselves two times."

Although scholars had different views about the tomb-completion ceremony depending on their views on orthodoxy, the general public placed great importance on the custom. This can be attributed to the differing symbolic weight of the spirit tablet and of the physical body of the deceased, which in turn influences the depth of human feeling.

Tomb-completion rite

SOSANG 소상

Lit. small auspiciousness

Memorial rite commemorating the first anniversary of a person's death.

Sosang (Kor. 소상, Chin. 小祥, lit. small auspi-

Sosang
1. Prayer recitation
2. Closing the door of the ritual room
3. Announcement of the end of the memorial rite
Gimhae, Gyeongsangnam-do Province | 2008

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ciousness) is performed on the 13th month after the day of a person's death, not counting the leap month. The rite would be held on a specific day chosen in the 13th month, but it is now generally conducted around sunrise on the first anniversary of the death.

The procedures are as follows. A day before the first anniversary, those who are supposed to wear mourning clothes, including the chief mourner, take a bath before preparing the ritual vessels and sacrifices. In the early morning of the following day, vegetables, fruits, liquor and side dishes are placed in their designated places on the ritual table. Once the sun rises, the prayer reciter takes out the spirit tablet of the deceased from its container and removes the cover. The family members come forward to wail loudly, then return to their designated positions according to gender and change into mourning clothes for another round of wailing. Other procedures are the same as those of general ancestral memorial rites. After the first death anniversary, the bereaved family members no longer wail every morning and evening and refrain from eating fruits and vegetables. By the time a year has passed since the death of a beloved family member, they have recovered from grief and pity to a certain extent. As such, the memorial rite on the first death anniversary is referred to as ***sosang***, literally "small auspiciousness," with the use of the Chinese character "祥" (auspicious) for "sang," not "喪," meaning "loss."

SU-UI 수의
Burial garment

Garments used to dress a corpse in the narrow sense; in the broader sense a set of implements including the clothes used for washing and dressing the body in preparation for burial.

Su-ui

1. Burial garment for men ı 20th C
2. Burial garment for women ı 20th C
3. Man's old official robe (*dallyeong*) used as his burial garment ı 1st half of the 18th C
4. Man's official robe with pleats (*cheollik*) used as his burial garment
5. Two-layered silk top ı Late 1500s
6. Paper shoes ı Mid-17th C
7. Everyday upper garment (*jeogori*) used as a woman's burial garment ı King Myeongjong era
8. Everyday upper garment (*baeja*) used as a woman's burial garment ı 1st half of the 18th C

1	2
3	4
5	6
7	8

The deceased is dressed in a shroud after the body is washed in order to prevent distortion of the body and slow down the decaying process. In the Joseon period (1392–1910), everyday or ceremonial clothes, particularly those in vogue at the time, were used as a shroud and thus the garments used to dress the deceased varied significantly in type, form and name. Of everyday clothes, the best available garments, generally made of cotton or silk, were used for a shroud. The size also differed with time. Until the mid-18th century, the shroud was either newly made to life size or selected from the garments the deceased wore in his or her lifetime. From the latter part of the century, however, new clothes were prepared in a much larger size.

Various colors were used, ranging from white to pink, jade green and indigo blue before the Japanese colonial period (1910–1945) when white hemp came into wide use, a practice that continues today.

The typical men's silk shroud set consists of ***simui*** (Kor. 심의, Chin. 深衣, scholar's robe), ***bokgeon*** (Kor. 복건, Chin. 幅巾, lit. black hat), ***jungchimak*** (Kor. 중치막, coat with wide sleeves and side slits), ***changui*** (Kor. 창의, Chin. 氅衣, official's everyday robe), trousers and ***jeogori*** (upper garment), while the women's set is composed of ***wonsam*** (Kor. 원삼, Chin. 圓衫, ceremonial robe), ***dangui*** (Kor. 당의, Chin. 唐衣, semi-formal jacket with side slits), - three ***jeogori***, ***jeoksam*** (undershirt), and skirt. Besides the clothes, other implements to be prepared regardless of gender include a quilt, sheet, bed sheet, pillow, cloth to cover the face, hand covers, five pouches, socks, ***seupsin*** (Kor. 습신, Chin. 襲-, paper shoes) and ***somoja*** (Kor. 소모자, Chin. 小帽子, small cap without brim). In the case of the hemp shroud generally available in the market, the men's set consists of ***dopo*** (noblemen's coat), ***durumagi*** (coat with no slits), shirt, lined pants and underwear, whereas the women's consists of ceremonial robe, blouse, skirt and underwear. The hemp set also includes a sheet, bed sheet, strings, hand covers, cotton stuff, pillow, socks and five pouches for both genders.

Shrouds are generally prepared in a leap month by children while the parents are alive in supplication for their longevity. In the case of a sudden death, however, female community members gather at the house of mourning to help make the clothes for the deceased. Back stich and knots were prohibited and no rulers were used. These days, as an increasing number of people opt for cremation over burial, hemp cloth is generally used for a shroud and most people buy ready-made garments from funeral parlors.

YEOMSEUP 염습

Lit. bathing and shrouding

Bathing the body of a deceased person, dressing it in ***su-ui*** (Kor. 수의, Chin. 襚衣, lit. burial garments), and shrouding it to enclose it in a coffin. It consists of three procedures: ***seup*** (bathing and dressing the body of the deceased), ***soryeom*** (shrouding the body of the deceased in a cloth), and ***daeryeom*** (shrouding the body of the deceased in a cloth one more time and placing it in the coffin).

Seup is bathing the body of the deceased and dressing it in ***su-ui*** on the day of death.

Bathing and dressing the body of a deceased person

Soryeom is shrouding the body in a cloth on the second day of death. The cloth should be in two layers, and old clothes of the deceased are used to stuff any gaps to protect the body. Straps are needed to tie the wrapped body— three straps for horizontal tying and one strap for vertical tying. The ends of the straps are cut into three pieces to make tying easy. The horizontal straps should be long enough to wrap around the body and the vertical strap to wrap the head and feet and tie it at the navel.

After bathing and dressing the body of the deceased, it is moved on to a piece of prepared cloth. A silk-lined garment is rolled up and placed under the head instead of a pillow, and the two ends of the silk garment are rolled up to fill the gaps above the shoulders. Other old clothes are used to fill the gaps between the legs and beside the legs, and to cover the body. The body is then wrapped in the cloth on which it is placed, the feet first, then the head, then the left side and right side. The body is wrapped with the straps, vertically first and then horizontally, with the ends tucked in rather than knotted. Lastly the body is covered with a cloth.

Daeryeom is shrouding the body of the deceased one more time and placing it in the coffin. It is done on the third day after death to give time for the deceased to come back to life. After the body is placed in the coffin, the empty spaces are filled with old clothes of the deceased, a practice called *bogong* (Kor. 보공, Chin. 補空, lit. filling gaps). The number of clothing items used varies according to the social status of the deceased. The reason for filling the gaps is to protect the body by preventing it from moving inside the coffin and preserve it for a long time by minimizing contact with oxygen. When the body is inside the coffin, the coffin is called *yeonggu* (Kor. 영구, Chin. 靈柩, casket containing a dead body).

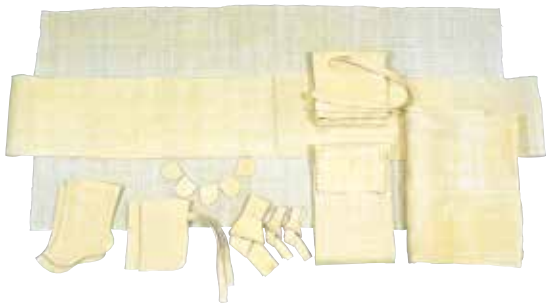
But during Japanese colonial rule (1910–1945), Korea's traditional rituals were simplified in the name of modernization, including *yeomseup* (Kor. 염습, Chin. 殮襲, lit. bathing and shrouding). Today all three procedures are performed within 24 hours, not over three days.

YEOMSEUPGU 염습구

Corpse preparation tools

All the implements except *su-ui* (Kor. 수의, Chin. 襚衣, lit. burial garments) used to bathe and dress the body of a deceased person and place it in the coffin.

Yeomseupgu has changed over time. During the Joseon dynasty (1392–1910) alone when Confucian funeral rites were widespread, *yeomseupgu* took many different names and forms, but they typically included *cheongeum* (Kor. 천금, Chin. 天衾, lit. corpse cover), *jiyo* (Kor. 지요, Chin. 地-, lit. fabric mat), *daeryeomgeum* and *daeryeomgyo* (shroud and



Corpse preparation tools
20th C

straps respectively for the ***daeryeom*** procedure), ***soryeomgeum*** and ***soryeomgyo*** (shroud and straps respectively for the ***soryeom*** procedure), ***aksu*** (Kor. 악수, Chin. 幄手, hand cover), ***myeongmok*** (Kor. 멱목, Chin. 幎目, lit. face cover), ***chungyi*** (Kor. 충이, Chin. 充耳, lit. ear plugs), ***onang*** (Kor. 오낭, Chin. 五囊, lit. five pouches), ***beoseon*** (traditional Korean socks) and a pillow.

Myeongmok is a square-shaped face cover with four strings, one at each corner, that are used to tie the hands together. According to a book of rites from the Joseon dynasty (1392–1910), the outer surface of the cover is made of black silk and the inner surface of red silk, and contains silk cotton filling. ***Chungyi*** is a cotton or silk cotton ball the size of a jujube seed that is used to plug the ears. ***Aksu*** is a sqaure hand cover with a groove in the middle of the top and bottom. It has two long strings, one each on the top corners, to tie the cover. Like ***myeongmok*** (face cover), the outer surface is made of black silk and the inner surface of red silk, and often has a silk cotton filling. ***Beoseon*** are traditional Korean socks, and during the Joseon period the deceased were dressed in three pairs. ***Jiyo*** is a fabric mat on which the body is placed inside the coffin and should be a bit smaller than the coffin. It is black outside and red inside and is stuffed with cotton. ***Soryeomgeum*** is a shroud used for ***soryeom*** (Kor. 소렴, Chin. 小殮. lit. shrouding the body of the deceased in a cloth), and ***daeryeomgeum*** is a shroud used for ***daeryeom*** (Kor. 대렴, Chin. 大殮, lit. shrouding the body of the deceased in a cloth one more time and placing it in the coffin). ***Soryeomgyo*** and ***daeryeomgyo*** are straps for tying the wrappers during ***soryeom*** and ***daeryeom***. They are also called ***jangme***. ***Onang*** is five small pouches for the deceased's hair, teeth, nails or toenails after the body has been washed. They used to be made of silk but these days hemp is preferred.

Yeomseup (Kor. 염습, Chin. 殮襲, lit. bathing and shrouding) is a way of saying good bye to the deceased. An expression of respect for the dignity and privacy of the deceased, the body is washed methodically from head to toe and wrapped thoroughly using ***yeomseupgu*** to slow the decomposition process. It is also a way to fulfill one's filial duty and pray for a good afterlife. This practice is based on Korean's traditional view of the afterlife that dying is nothing more than moving from this world to otherworld.

YEONGGU 영구

Casket containing a dead body

The coffin in which the body of a deceased person has been placed after ***yeomseup*** (Kor. 염습, Chin. 殮襲, lit. bathing and shrouding).

Yeonggu is the coffin in which the body of the deceased has been placed after ***yeomseup***. A folding screen is put up in front of the coffin, and a ritual

table is also set to the east of where the casket lies. A day before ***barin*** (Kor. 발인, Chin. 發靷, carrying the coffin to the burial site), a memorial rite was held and liquor offered to the deceased while facing the north. On the day of burial, a funeral procession carries the coffin to the burial site and lowers it into the grave, aligning it so that the head of the deceased faces north, which is called ***hagwan*** (Kor. 하관, Chin. 下棺, lit. lowering the casket). Lowering the coffin is a delicate job and care must be taken so that it is not tilted, dropped or swayed. After it is lowered, the clothes which cover the coffin need to be rearranged and the ***myeongjeong*** (Kor. 명정, Chin. 銘旌, a banner bearing the name of the deceased and his government position) needs to be tidied. Lastly, a piece of black silk and red silk called ***hyeonhun*** (Kor. 현훈, Chin. 玄纁, lit. black and red) is offered to the mountain god and the coffin is covered with lime, a practice called ***hoegyeok*** (Kor. 회격, Chin. 灰隔, filling the grave with lime).

Yeonggu serves as a symbol of the deceased, along with ***honbaek*** (Kor. 혼백, Chin. 魂帛, temporary spirit tablet made of fabric) and ***myeongjeong***, until burial is complete. Afterwards they are replaced by the ***sinju*** (Kor. 신주, Chin. 神主, spirit tablet). When the coffin has been buried, the deceased is finally separated from his or her family and from this world.

YEONGYEO 영여

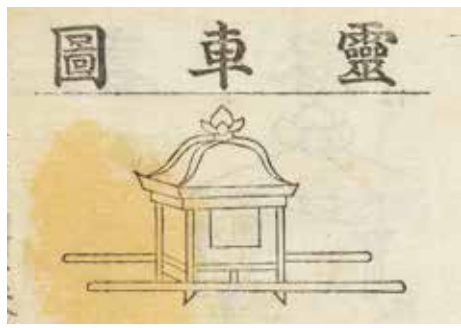
Lit. spirit-carrying litter

A small litter used to carry ***honbaek*** (Kor. 혼백, Chin. 魂帛, temporary spirit tablet) and ***sinju*** (Kor. 신주, Chin. 神主, spirit tablet).

Yeongyeo literally means "spirit-carrying litter." It is loaded with the temporary spirit tablet made of fabric and its container, the spirit tablet proper, incence burner, and portrait of the deceased. Two carriers cross the strap and put it around the shoulders and hold the poles.

When a person dies, his or her ***hon*** (Kor, 혼, Chin. 魂, bright energy of the spirit) and ***baek*** (Kor, 백, Chin. 魄, dark energy of the spirit) are separated from the body, and the ethereal soul returns to heaven and the corporeal soul to earth. This is called ***sinhonchebaek*** (Kor. 신혼체백, Chin. 神魂體魄, ethereal soul returns to heaven and the coporeal soul returns to earth). ***Hon*** is embodied in ***honbaek*** or ***sinju***, which is enshrined. ***Baek*** is buried in the

Spirit-carrying litter
Joseon



Yeongchado (Illustration of a Spirit-carrying Litter)
Saryepyeollam (四禮便覽, Handbook of the Four Ceremonies)

grave with the body and returns to the earth. This is why ***honbaek*** and ***sinju*** are carried in a different litter from the one carrying the body.

Yeongyeo has a high roof. On the top of the roof is a red lotus flower on a green background, and the sides feature lotus buds. The lotus symbolizes purity and revival of the spirit. On the front are double hinged doors and on the back is a yin and yang symbol.

That ***yeongyeo*** precedes the bier in a funeral procession shows the traditional Korean belief that this world and the otherworld are separate, as are the body and the soul. The tradition is still alive today in the practice of a car carrying the ***honbaek*** or a portrait of the deceased preceding the funeral coach.

YEONGJWA 영좌

Lit. spirit seat

A seat where ***honbaek*** (Kor. 혼백, Chin. 魂帛, temporary sprit tablet) is placed.

Yeongjwa refers to a place where a temporary spirit tablet made of cloth or ***yeongjeong*** (Kor. 영정, Chin. 影幀, lit. a portrait of the deceased person) is set, in front of a folding screen set up before the body of the deceased person in the corner of a room. First, a chair is arranged to accommodate the spirit tablet, and a ritual table is prepared in front of the chair. Then in front of this table, an incense burner table is placed, set with an incense burner, inense case, and ***mosagi*** (Kor. 모사기, Chin. 茅沙器, lit. a jar of sand). Once the ***yeongjwa*** is arranged, the spirit tablet is placed on the chair, and ***myeongjeong*** (Kor. 명정, Chin. 銘旌, banner inscribed with the name and rank of the deceased) are placed on the right side of ***yeongjwa***. When the funeral is over, ***yeongjwa*** is removed. ***Honbaek*** is a temporary spirit tablet made of cloth to summon the spirit, which escaped the body, to come and take possession.

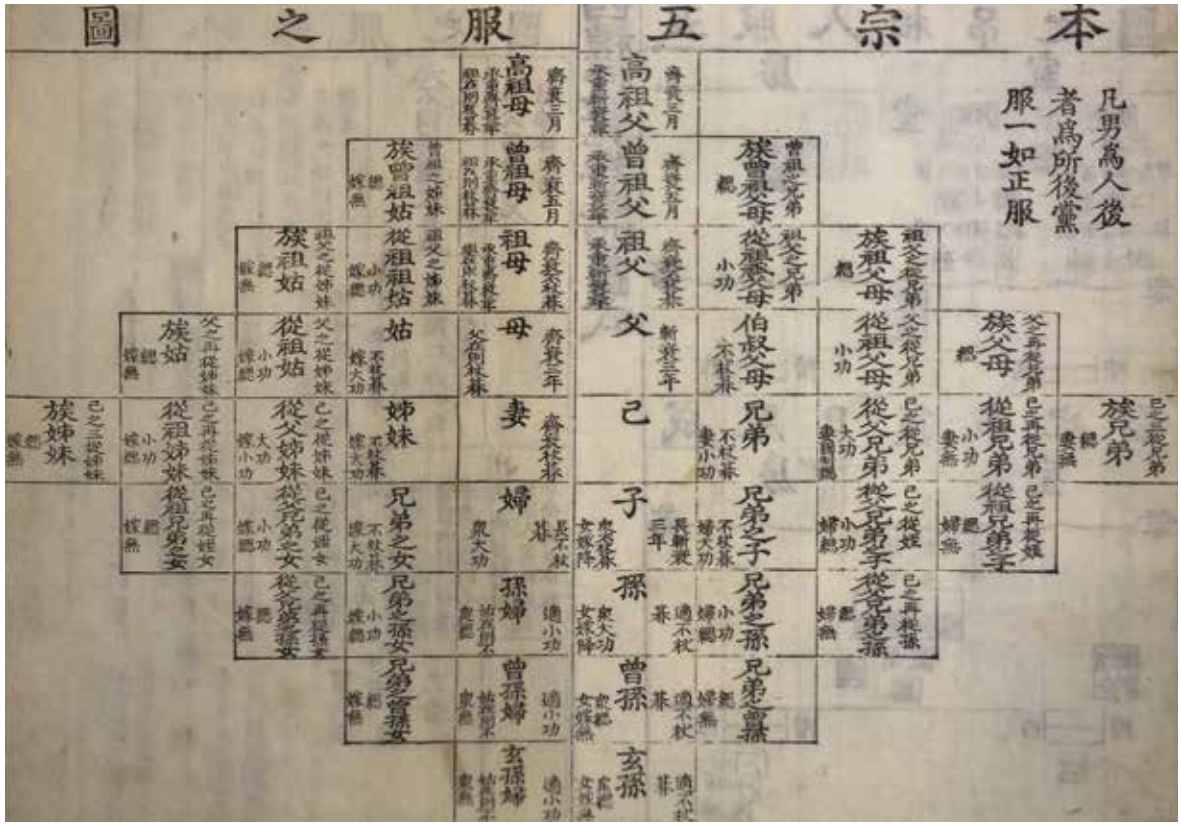
OBOKJEDO 오복제도

Wearing five different types of mourning clothes

A system in which five different types of mounrning clothes are worn depending on the mourners' degree of closeness to the deceased person.

When Confucian funerals became the cultural standard in the Joseon period, mourning clothes were worn strictly according to ***obokjedo*** as described in "Jujagarye" (朱子家禮, Family Rituals of Zhu Xi). The mourning clothes were divided into five kinds depending on the mourner's closeness to the deceased, seniority, and gender. Getting along with relatives, respecting ***jonjok*** (Kor. 존족, Chin. 尊族, lit. high and noble clan), revering elders, and distinguishing between men and women were moral rules that could never be changed. ***Bok*** in ***obok*** refers to conformity and obedience.

The ***obokjedo*** system includes ***chamchoe*** (Kor. 참최, Chin. 斬衰, garment worn at the funeral of direct ancestors made of rough hemp with the hems folded, not sewn), ***jaechoe*** (Kor. 재최, Chin. 齋衰, funeral garment made of slightly thick hemp with the hems narrowly folded and sewn), ***daegong*** (Kor.



Bonjong obokjido, chart describing the five different types of mourning clothes for kinsmen
Saryepyeollam (四禮便覽, Handbook of the Four Ceremonies)

대공, Chin. 大功, funeral garment made of thick hemp), ***sogong*** (Kor. 소공, Chin. 小功, funeral garment made of slightly thin hemp), and ***sima*** (Kor. 시마, Chin. 緦麻, funeral garment made of thin hemp). Wearing ***daegong*** or above indicates intimacy with the deceased, and wearing ***sogong*** or below means a distant relationship with the deceased. In addition, there is a system of four mourning garments, categorized according to whether the mourner is an anscestor or descendant, or has a close relationship to the deceased person or not. ***Jeongbok*** (Kor. 정복, Chin. 正服) is formal ***bonbok*** (Kor. 본복, Chin. 本服) worn by blood relatives; ***uibok*** (Kor. 의복, Chin. 義服) is for those related by marriage or adoption; ***gabok*** (Kor. 가복, Chin. 加服) is worn over ***bonbok*** and results in heavy layering; and ***gangbok*** (Kor. 강복, Chin. 降服) is worn by a married daughter or an adopted son for his biological parents.

UJE 우제
Post-burial rite

A rite held after the funeral to give comfort and peace to the wandering spirit of a deceased person.

Uje (Kor. 우제, Chin. 虞祭) is a "memorial rite to comfort the spirit by letting it know that the descendants do not want to be separated from the spirits of their parents even for a single day."

According to the conventional definition of ***uje***, "Though bone and flesh return to dust, ***hongi*** (Kor. 혼기, Chin. 魂氣, lit. a spirit) wanders everywhere, so a filial son should conduct a memorial rite three times to console the spirit."

Uje is a ritual to soothe the spirit after burial. Among other meanings, "***u***" (Kor. 우, Chin. 虞) here means "concern" and "comfort." Therefore, the literal meaning of ***uje*** is a memorial rite dedicated to comforting the spirit with all due concern and respect. The rites are conducted three times at regular intervals: ***chouje*** (Kor. 초우제, Chin. 初虞祭) is the first rite, ***jae-uje*** (Kor. 재우제, Chin. 再虞祭) is the second, and ***samuje*** (Kor. 삼우제, Chin. 三虞祭) is the third. These days ***chouje*** is observed on the day of the funeral; ***jae-uje*** on the day after the funeral; and ***samuje*** on the third day after the funeral. When ***samuje*** is over, a visit is paid to the grave. With ***uje***, the funeral rites come to an end and ***jerye*** (Kor. 제례, Chin. 祭禮, lit. ancestral memorial rite) begins. A general procedures of ***uje*** include ***jinseol*** (Kor. 진설, Chin. 陳設, arranging food offerings on the ritual table), ***gangsin*** (Kor. 강신, Chin. 降神, invoking the ancestral spirit), ***jinchan*** (Kor. 진찬, Chin. 進饌, setting main dishes such as meat, fish, soup, and rice cake on the table), ***samheon*** (Kor. 삼헌, Chin. 三獻, offering liquor three times), ***yusik*** (Kor. 유식, Chin. 侑食, waiting until the ancestral spirits have had plenty to eat), ***hammun*** (Kor. 합문, Chin. 閤門, closing the door of the ritual room so ancestral spirits can freely eat the offered food), ***gyemun*** (Kor. 계문, Chin. 啓聞, opening the door of the ritual room to report the end of the meal offered to the ancestral spirits), and ***sasin*** (Kor. 사신, Chin. 辭神, bidding farewell to the departing spirit). ***Uje*** is a rite held to console the spirit of a deceased person, so it should be observed with sincerity and a true will to soothe the spirit.

UNSANG 운상

Carrying the coffin to the burial site

That part of a funeral procession in which the coffin is carried to the burial site on a bier, or the act of carrying the coffin to the grave.

Unsang had been performed using a cart driven by men, cows, or horses, but when "Jujagarye" (朱子家禮, Family Rituals of Zhu Xi) was introduced, the bier was generally carried by men on their shoulders. When ***barin*** (Kor. 발인, Chin. 發靷, departure of the funeral procession from the home to the burial site) is over, ***unsang*** begins. The style of the ***unsang*** may vary depending on region or the social status of the deceased.

When ***barin*** is over, the bier carriers lift the bier up and down three times before putting it on their shoulders and bidding a final farewell. One of them starts a funeral song and the rest follow as they leave the house, accompanied by the wailing chief mourner and others in mourning clothes. Before the bier leaves the village, a memorial rite is held again as a final departure. Called ***noje***, this rite is normally conducted near the village entrance or somewhere not too far away that is deemed appropriate. The bier is put down on the ground, in front of which a table of food is set, and mourners take turns serving cups of liquor following the lead of the chief mourner. Those who missed the chance before can offer their

condolences here. Since the bier passes through places meaningful to the deceased person or frequented by him or her, ***noje*** takes place at any meaningful spot on the way to the grave.

Unsang proceeds along with the performance of funeral songs, which differ depending on conditions of the procession. Funeral songs are not sung just to wish for a peaceful passage into eternity and to console the grief of the chief mourner, but to help the bier carriers move in unison. When the bier arrives at the burial site, the coffin is put down and visitors can pay their condolences until the coffin is lowered into the grave.

The order of a bier procession is mostly fixed: Bangsangsi (Kor. 방상시, Chin. 方相氏, a deity believed to protect the funeral procession from evil forces) at the front, followed by ***myeongjeong*** (Kor. 명정, Chin. 銘旌, a banner inscribed with the name and rank of the deceased), ***manjang*** (Kor. 만장, Chin. 輓章, a written passage commemorating the deceased), ***yeongyeo*** (Kor. 영여, Chin. 靈輿, a small litter used to carry the spirit tablet of the deceased), ***gongpo*** (Kor. 공포, Chin. 功布, hemp cloth used to wipe the coffin during burial), ***sap*** (Kor. 삽, Chin. 翣, funeral procession item in the shape of a fan), ***sangyeo*** (Kor. 상여, Chin. 喪輿, funeral bier used to carry the coffin to the burial place), ***sangju*** (Kor. 상주, Chin. 喪主, chief mourner in charge of the funeral), ***bogin*** (Kor. 복인, Chin. 服人, mourners required to wear mourning clothes), and relatives and visitors.

Unsang is more than simply carrying a deceased person to the burial site but a significant rite of passage, the existential process of changing from a living human to an ancestor and spatial transition from this world to the afterlife. The procession is orchestrated to accomplish such meanings, which are also fully demonstrated in the lyrics of funeral songs and diverse rites observed during the procession.

IJANG 이장

Relocation of a grave

Moving a corpse or remains, buried, enshrined or naturally interred, to such new locations as a grave, a shrine or a natural burial site.

The traditional ***ijang*** procedure is similar to that of burial. Once ***ijang*** is decided, a burial site is first selected, and then a coffin and ***hyo*** (Kor. 효, Chin. 絞, lit. silk string) for ***yeom*** (wrapping a dressed corpse with hemp cloth or a thin blanket) are prepared. To prepare for burial, ***gwangjung*** (Kor. 광중, Chin. 壙中, pit to bury the coffin in) is dug, and the ancestors are informed of the event at the shrine on the day before. On the day ***ijang*** takes place, an ancestral rite is offered to the god of land by the officiant and the grave is opened. When the coffin is taken out and laid in state, a ritual tribute is paid. The corpse goes through ***daeryeom*** (Kor. 대렴, Chin. 大殮, shrouding a corpse with clothes and blankets once again). When finished, the new coffin is placed on the bier and ***barin*** (Kor. 발인, Chin. 發靷, departure of the funeral bier from home) begins.

Arriving at the new location, the corpse is laid at a waiting station, and a memorial rite is observed for the god of land at the left side of the grave. The remaining procedures are the same as those of the original burial. When the burial is over, ***jeon*** (a ritual of offering food to the deceased) is per-

formed and the family returns to the home. After informing the ancestors at the family shrine of the event, the ***sinju*** (Kor. 신주, Chin. 神主, spirit tablet of a deceased person) is enshrined and a memorial rite is held. The procedures of ***ijang*** are almost the same as those of the actual burial, except that an extra shroud is not necessary and the corpse is not washed. Reasons for ***ijang*** vary including natural disasters, litigation, real estate dealings, property rights, privatization of a family mountain and geomancy (Kor. ***pungsu***, Chin. ***feng shui***). Recently, land development has become the reason for relocation of graves.

IMJONG 임종

Preparation to meet death

Practice of preparing for the event as a person nears death.

Imjong is not a ritual in the conventional sense, but there were instances, where it was observed as part of the funeral ceremonies in China. Specific procedures involve moving a patient to ***jeongchim*** (Kor. 정침, Chin. 正寢, the place where the ancestral memorial rite is performed) as illness gets worse; visits by friends; and prayers for recovery. This is a preparatory process to embrace death when it seems imminent.

The literal meaning of ***imjong*** is "facing death" or "right before death." It also has two meanings in its general use: first, it means attending the deathbed of one's parents by holding their hands and feet; second, it signifies breathing one's last breath.

Before it was common for people to pass away in hospital, the procedures of ***imjong*** were as follows: if illness worsens beyond recovery, the patient is moved to the main bedroom of the house, dressed in clean clothes, and children hold his hands and feet and watch as he takes his last breath. Family members are not supposed to leave the room, taking a careful note of his will. When death seems imminent, the patient should be laid beside the north door with the head facing east. Once death is confirmed by putting cotton below his nostrils and examining it for any movement, family members change into white clothes and start to beat their chests and wail, taking all the accessories out and pulling their hair down. While the children cry bitterly, other family members close the eyes of the deceased by stroking down the face and cover the body with a thin blanket after filling the mouth, nose and ears with fresh cotton.

IPGWAN 입관

Placing the dead body in the coffin

Laying the body of a dead person in the coffin after washing and shrouding.

The procedures of ***ipgwan*** are as follows: first, the coffin is placed south of ***sisang*** (Kor. 시상, Chin. 屍牀, long panel on which the corpse is laid) and at the bottom of the coffin lies ***chilseongpan*** (Kor. 칠성판, Chin. 七星板, lit. seven-star wooden board). The corpse, washed and dressed, is rested on a blanket. Neatly tied, it is carefully placed in the coffin so that it is not tilted. Five pouches

Preparing the burial site

containing the hair, fingernails and toenails of the deceased are placed at the left and right and top and bottom of the coffin. Any empty space in the coffin is stuffed with clothes that used to be worn by the deceased to prevent the corpse from moving around.

These days, ***samiljang*** (funeral in which the body is buried on the third day after death) is customary, so ***ipgwan*** is conducted on the day after death. As Confucius explained, there were three reasons for originally carrying out ***ipgwan*** three days (two full days) after death: first, since there still was a chance for resuscitation, at least three days should be waited; second, as many as three days were needed to prepare funeral items such as clothes and a coffin; third, enough time should be given for relatives to come to the funeral. Once the deceased was shrouded and laid in the the coffin, the children and relatives who arrived late would not be able to see the face of the deceased for the last time.

In dealing with someone's death, one of the first things to arrange is the coffin. Sometimes, a coffin is produced at the time of need, but it usually is prepared before death. Since death is an unexpected event, it would be hard to find the proper material and lacquer it in time if not prepared beforehand. Preparing a shroud and coffin signifies devotion to parents.

The wood used for the coffin includes pine, paulownia, willow and mulberry wood, but in Korea, pine trees used to be the most popular. Ordinary people who could not afford a pine or paulownia coffin would use willow. The height and length of the coffin should be made to fit the size of the corpse. The upper end of the coffin is broad and narrows down toward the bottom. The top and side panels are connected with clamps (butterfly wedges) instead of nails, and the front and back panels are fixed with embossed junctions. Four clamps, two on each side, are used on the coffins of ordinary people, while six are used on the king's coffin, three on each side.

An empty coffin is called ***chin*** (Kor. 친, Chin. 櫬) and one in which the body has been placed is called ***gu*** (Kor. 구, Chin. 柩). During the Joseon period, both interior and exterior caskets were used. At the bottom of the coffin lies ***chilseongpan***,

Workers fill the gravel pit with soil
Taean, Chungcheongnam-do Province

Digging a pit to bury the coffin
Changnyeong, Gyeongsangnam-do Province | 1993

on which a body is placed: this plate has seven holes for the seven stars of the Big Dipper and is designed to let the body secretions flow down, and to pray to the God of the Big Dipper (Bukdushin), who is in charge of death, to drive away evils from the pit.

The *ipgwan* process used to be carried out in a main bedroom or *jeongchim* (Kor. 정침, Chin. 正寢, the place where the ancestral memorial rite is performed) with immediate family members attending. As funeral halls have become common, however, a room at the funeral parlor, not one at home, is designated for *ipgwan*, including washing and shrouding of the corpse, with family members gathered. In a traditional Confucian funeral, the *ipgwan* process used to take three days, but in modern funeral parlors, washing, *soryeom* (Kor. 소렴, Chin. 小殮, shrouding and tying the corpse with clothes and a blanket), *daeryeom* (Kor. 대렴, Chin. 大殮, shrouding and tying the corpse once again), and *ipgwan* take place on the same day, the day after the death. That is why this ritual is considered all the more important.

JANGNYE 장례
Funeral

The part of the funeral rites for handling the corpse.

Part of a funeral rite, *jangnye* refers to the handling of the corpse. Ways of processing the dead body include *tojang* (Kor. 토장, Chin. 土葬, lit. underground burial), *hwajang* (Kor. 화장, Chin. 火葬, lit. cremation), *pungjang* (Kor. 풍장, Chin. 風葬, lit. aerial burial on the ground or up in a tree), *sujang* (Kor. 수장, Chin. 水葬, lit. sea burial), *jojang* (Kor. 조장, Chin. 鳥葬, cutting a corpse into pieces for birds to eat), and *hyeonjang* (Kor. 현장, Chin. 懸葬, hanging burial) or *susangjang* (Kor. 수상장, Chin. 樹上葬, lit. hanging a corpse on a tree). In Korea, underground burial and cremation are the most common ways to handle the corpse.

In ancient times, corpses were not buried but left unattended. As human cognition developed, methods of burial emerged. During the Yin dynasty in China, there were no burial sites, and the tombs of King Mun and Mu of the Zhou dynasty were flat without mounds, which was common in ancient graves. Then, flat graves were replaced by new forms called *bun* (Kor. 분, Chin. 墳, lit. burial mound), which were easy to locate and protect from animals. Today's mound-shaped tombs were first introduced in the late Spring and Autumn period and became widespread in the Warring States period.

In order to hold *jangnye*, a certain amount of time is needed to prepare the coffin and clothes select a burial site. This time is called *janggi* (Kor. 장기, Chin. 葬期). Today, a three-day funeral is most

State funeral for Emperor Gojong
Seoul Museum of History | 1919

On the way to the burial site
Taean, Chungcheongnam-do Province | 1961

common because this is the minimal amount of time required to properly prepare for the funeral. In those days, the *jangnye* period differed depending on the social status of the deceased. During the Joseon dynasty, five months were spent to grieve the king's death, three months for a high-ranking official, and one month for a scholar.

Starting the 1990s, cremation began to be promoted to solve the shortage of burial sites. In particular, a burial system that limited usage of graveyards to up to 60 years was introduced, initiating a dramatic shift from burial to cremation. In the mid-1990s, there was an increase in the number of funerals taking place at funeral halls and hospitals instead of at home. In particular, dedicated funeral halls and hospital funeral parlors were newly introduced.

In addition, the body was traditinally carried on a bier or an ox-driven cart till the Japanese colonial period, when cars were first used to carry the corpse to a burial site. Back then, using a car for the hearse was something new and the practice survives to this day. In recent years, following the will of the deceased person, his or her body is usually cremated and the remains are laid to rest in a charnel house or scattered in the forest or a river.

JANGNYESIKJANG 장례식장
Mortuary

A business establishment that provides items, services, equipment and facilities for the funeral rite, or helps find a burial site.

During the Goryeo dynasty, Buddhist temples used to serve as a mortuary, covering the whole process from ***imjong*** (Kor. 임종, Chin. 臨終, preparation to meet death) to cremation in the Buddhist way. This practice declined as the government strongly promoted Confucian family customs during late Goryeo and early Joseon periods. As "Saryepyeollam" (四禮便覽, Handbook of the Four Ceremonies)

教會葬으로 牛耳洞에
손병희씨의장례절차결뎡

成市한淸水床邊
조문객이답지

關係學校의休學

天道敎의完成者
텬도교에대한손씨의공로
三十餘年의親交잇는 洪秉箕氏談

Newspaper article on the funeral of Cheondogyo leader Son Byeong-hui
May. 20. 1922 | The Dong-A Ilbo

and "Sangnyebiyo" (喪禮備要, Essentials on Funerary Rites) from the Joseon Dynasty, explain, back then, the funeral rites, from ***imjong*** to ***barin*** (Kor. 발인, Chin. 發靷, departure of the bier from home), were supposed to take place at home. In rural society, local community agreements such as ***hyangyak*** (Kor. 향약, Chin. 鄕藥, autonomous body established to promote morality and mutual aid in rural areas) or ***durye*** (agricultural cooperative), or ***sangpogye*** (Kor. 상포계, Chin. 喪布契, private fund to help each other in a funeral), or kin groups supported and participated in holding funerals together.

Hospital mortuaries began to appear in Korean newspapers in the 1930s when they came to replace home mortuaries. Article 5 of the Act on the Regulations on Family Ceremonies, legistlated in 1973, stipulated the introduction of a license system for funeral homes and morticians. A policy to promote funeral homes initiated by the Ministry of Health and Welfare in 1996 was an opportunity to modernize funeral facilities across the country.

JANGJI 장지
Burial site

A place where the body of a dead person is buried.

The forms and places of ***jangji*** varied depending on time and region, mainly due to differences in cultural perception. Among the diverse types of funerals, ***jangji*** is closely related with underground burial. There are both individual and group ***jangji***: depending on class, the latter is classified into royal tombs, noble family tombs and public cemeteries. Donggureung[30] of the Joseon dynasty is one of the most representative group royal tombs. Family tombs were another kind of group ***jangji*** that

30 Donggureung (lit. Eastern Nine Tombs) refers to a cluster of nine royal tombs of the Joseon dynasty in Guri, Gyeonggi–do Province, east of Seoul, including that of King Taejo (r. 1392–1398), the founder of Joseon.

appeared when clan communities became common. As a facility used by ordinary people, public cemeteries were the outcome of a modernized and urbanized funeral culture. Among Buddhism, Confucianism and geomancy, influential theories affecting the selection of ***jangji***, geomancy had the greatest impact on the way Koreans tend to consider the topographical features of ***jangji*** as important. During the Joseon dynasty, in particular, geomancy was combined with the Confucian concept of filial duty and became the decisive factor in choosing ***jangji*** by evaluating fortune of burial sites.

Most modern funeral homes have refrigeration, washing and dressing facilities, casketing rooms for the bereaved, counselor's offices, funeral item showrooms, rooms for condolers where a portrait of the deceased person is placed with offerings, reception areas, kitchen and seating areas

JEON 전

Food-offering rite for the deceased

Ritual of offering food for the deceased pursuant to funeral procedures every morning and evening and on the first and fifteenth day of the lunar month, as a symbolic gesture of serving the deceased in the same way as when he or she was alive.

Jeon refers to a memorial rite for the deceased held before the funeral or rites of a temporary nature. Hence memorial rites are called ***jeon*** if they take place before the funeral, and ***je*** (祭) thereafter.

Until ***yeomseup*** (Kor. 염습, Chin. 殮襲, bathing and dressing the body of the deceased for burial) is completed, food offerings are placed next to the corpse. After laying the body in the coffin, the offerings are arranged indoors but are not offered before the corpse. After the procedure of ***seongbok*** (Kor. 성복, Chin. 成服, first wearing of mourning clothes), every morning the bereaved dressed in mourning clothes perform the rite after formal wailing. In this morning rite called ***jojeon*** (朝奠), the ritual officiant makes an offering of incense and ***heonjak*** (Kor. 헌작, Chin. 獻爵, the offering of liquor) and the participants bow two times and wail loudly. The same process is followed in the evening (***seokjeon***, 夕奠), and the morning and evening rituals are collectively called ***joseokjeon*** (朝夕奠). On the first and fifteenth day of the lunar month, alcoholic liquor, fruits and dried slices of meat or fish are offered in the morning. Rites held on the first and fifteenth day of the month are called ***sakjeon*** (朔奠) and ***mangjeon*** (望奠), respectively, and collectively called ***sangmangjeon*** (朔望奠).

The elders representing the families of the husband and the wife who come to offer condolences also make a ritual offering of food to the deceased. This is called ***jojeon*** (Kor. 조전, Chin. 弔奠, lit. condolence offerings) or ***chijeon*** (Kor. 치전, 致奠, lit. making offerings), and incense, tea, candles, alcoholic drinks and fruits are used. When side dishes such as rice cake and chicken are served, ***jemun*** (Kor. 제문, Chin. 祭文, a written prayer) is prepared to notify the deceased of their presence. In the morning of the day before ***barin*** (Kor. 발인, Chin. 發靷, departure of the funeral procession from the home to the burial site), ***bogin*** (Kor. 복인, Chin. 服人, relatives in mourning garments) gather together to offer food before the ***yeongjwa*** (Kor. 영좌, Chin.

靈座, lit. spirit seat), where the temporary spirit tablet is enshrined. The ritual officiant makes a liquor offering and publicly announces the planned procession of the coffin to the burial site, then the mourning relatives loudly wail and bow two times. In the evening, a rite is performed to bid farewell to the deceased. This rite is also called ***jojeon*** (祖奠) but in this case ***jo*** (祖) means "ancestor." On the day of the funeral procession, the coffin is mounted onto the bier while the relatives in mourning clothes wail loudly and the ritual officiant places the spirit seat at the front of the bier and holds a memorial rite called ***gyeonjeon*** (Kor. 견전, Chin. 遣奠, lit. farewell rite). On the way to the burial site, ***noje*** (Kor. 노제, Chin. 路祭, roadside memorial rite) are held in front of the homes of the deceased's friends or relatives. On arrival at the gravesite, the ritual officiant prepares the spirit seat by placing the temporary spirit tablet (in the form of a piece of cloth) inside the funeral awning and observes another rite called ***geummyo-jeon*** (及墓奠, lit. tomb arrival rite). After the coffin is lowered into the grave and the name of the deceased is written on the spirit tablet, a service called ***jeju-jeon*** (題主奠, lit. rite for the subject's name) is held to mark the completion of the process.

These food offering rites were intentionally made simple as they were intended to serve the deceased as if he or she was still alive. It cannot be overshadowed by grief and the deceased cannot be treated as a ghost yet either. Full of sorrow, the chief mourner is incapable of performing such memorial rites by himself and thus close relatives or friends help him by preparing the food offerings.

JEMUN 제문

Written prayer

Written prayers recited at rites for the gods of heaven and earth or the deceased.

Jemun originated from written prayers to prevent rain or disaster. Originally prayers to deities, they changed in nature after the Middle Ages into prayers praising the deeds of the deceased and expressing grief over their death. As such, ***jemun*** from ancient times deal with reverence or respect for the deities and ancestors and obedience to them.

A Korean prototype of such a text is "Jemang-mae-ga" (Kor. 제망매가, Chin. 祭亡妹歌, Requiem for the Deceased Sister), one of the extant ***hyangga***[31] works by Master Wolmyeong, a renowned monk during the reign of King Gyeongdeok (r. 742–765) of the Silla Kingdom. This particular type of text began to flourish in the late Goryeo dynasty (918–1392), with "Jecheo-mun" (Kor. 제처문, Chin. 祭妻文, Requiem for the Deceased Wife) by Yi Gyu-bo (1168–1241), one of the greatest classical Korean poets from the period, being one of the most famous.

Depending on the content, ***jemun*** is largely divided into texts to inform deities of services for them; those used for Buddhist or Taoist ceremonies; and those describing the deeds of the deceased in his or her lifetime and lamenting the death. More

31 *Hyangga* (Kor. 향가, Chin. 鄕歌, lit. vernacular song) refers to Korean classical poetry of the Silla period that was written in hyangchal (lit. vernacular letters), an archaic Korean writing system used to transcribe the Korean language in Chinese characters.

Written prayer by Joseon civil official Song Si-yeol in memory of his disciple Hwang Jin
1677

generally, those to the spirits of the deceased are referred to as ***jemun*** while those recited to deities such as village guardians and mountain gods are categorized as ***chungmun*** (Kor. 축문, Chin. 祝文, lit. invocation text)—this division, however, is not clearly defined.

While ***chungmun*** simply informs the deities of offerings presented to them, ***jemun*** is longer and cherishes the memory of the deceased and praises his or her achievements. The former conforms to a standardized style, describing the 5Ws regarding the offerings (when, who, to whom, why and what). By contrast, the latter is more literary in nature as it expresses the writer's grief in a lyrical way.

Jemun consists of three parts—introduction, body and conclusion. The introduction deals with when and for whom the memorial rite takes place, while the body is largely on remembering and mourning the deceased by praising his or her character and deeds. The text ends by encouraging ***heumhyang*** (Kor. 흠향, Chin. 歆饗, the deceased's taking the offerings) with a cup of liquor and the usual closing remark, "sanghyang" (尙饗), meaning "please enjoy the meal although it is not sufficient."

JOMUN 조문

Expression of condolences

Expression of condolences by guests to the chief mourner at a funeral.

According to classic books on propriety, "If one knows a chief mourner and the deceased, he practices ***jomun***, and mourns. If he knows the chief mourner but not the deceased, he practices ***jomun*** but does not mourn. If he knows the deceased but not the chief mourner, he mourns but does not practice ***jomun***." In this, ***jomun*** is to express condolences with propriety, and mourning means to feel grief.

Many books specify the time of ***jomun*** differently; in general, close friends and relatives begin ***jomun*** when ***yeomseup*** (Kor. 염습, Chin. 殮襲, bathing and dressing the body of the deceased for burial) is over and ***yeongjwa*** (Kor. 영좌, Chin. 靈座, lit. spirit seat) is set. It is usual to practice ***jomun*** after a chief mourner changes into mourning clothes for the first time after ***seongbok*** (Kor. 성복, Chin. 成服, lit. the first wearing of mourning clothes).

Jomun has an inseparable relationship with ***bu-ui*** (Kor. 부의, Chin. 賻儀, goods or money sent to the family in mourning as an expression of condo-

Expressing condolences to the bereaved
Changnyeong, Gyeongsangnam-do Province | 1993

Expressing condolences at the burial site
Changnyeong, Gyeongsangnam-do Province | 1997

lences). "Yegi" (禮記, The Classic of Rites) puts it, "***Jomun*** is not to follow a chief mourner in the rear; those aged forty and under should bear shoulder strings of the bier to carry it. Those aged fifty and from the same village follow ***bangok*** (Kor. 반곡, Chin. 反哭, lit. a funeral procession in which a chief mourner buries the body and comes back home carrying the spirit tablet), in the rear. Those aged forty and under come back from the burial site after a grave is entirely covered with earth." This implies that ***jomun*** is not just to give condolences to a chief mourner but to give helping hands directly to him. The reason why they do not bow back to a chief mourner is that ***jomun*** is aimed at giving help in the process of ceremony associated with the burial, not at conducting propriety to a chief mourner.

According to the books on propriety, everyone wears white clothes when conducting ***jomun***, and scent, tea, candles and fruit are used in performing ***jeon*** (Kor. 전, Chin. 奠, lit. a ritual for the deceased before the funeral). ***Bu-ui*** should be money or silk. In detail, visitors prepare a name card and introduce themselves; lament expressing grief over the death and perform ***jeon***; and finally show condolences to the chief mourner and leave.

JOLGOK 졸곡

End of ritual wailing

Official end of continued lamentation for the deceased.

Three months after a ceremony held following a funeral to give comfort and peace to the spirit of the deceased (***uje***, 虞祭), a date is selected for ***jolgok***. If the funeral rites are conducted at a fast pace, then ***uje*** to give comfort to the sprit is also held quickly. But for ***jolgok***, people need to wait for three months after the funeral. After the ***jolgok*** ceremony, the descendants stop ***gok***, or constant ritual wailing expressing grief over the deceased, and are allowed to do so only in the morning and the evening. Though they may feel grief during the day, no wailing occurs.

Before the day of ***jolgok***, the descendants set up a table with ritual implements. In the morning, they wake up early and prepare the seasoned




Jolgok
1. Burning incense
2. Table-setting marking the official end of ritual wailing
3. Prayer recitation
4. Removing liquor offered to the ancestral spirits in the second liquor offering (*aheon*)

Gimhae, Gyeongsangnam-do Province | 2007

greens, fruits, liquor, and side dishes consumed with the liquor. The person responsible for reciting prayers, called ***chukgwan***, brings the spirit tablet out and chief mourners begin wailing. The prayer reciter makes them stop and performs a memorial rite according to instructions by an attendant officiant called ***jipsaja***.

After ***jolgok***, the name of the deceased cannot be called because the deceased is treated with propriety for the spirit, not with propriety for human beings. Also, after ***jolgok*** the chief mourner begins to call himself a "filial son" instead of a "bereaved son."

In the case of state funerals, no memorial rites, music, marriage, or killing are allowed before ***jolgok***. After ***jolgok***, the chief mourner can make a bed at home and use a wooden pillow, and write thank you letters to guests who came to give condolences.

JIGWAN 지관
Geomancer

A person who chooses a propitious site for burial or housing according to the traditional practice of geomancy (***pungsu***) or the profession of doing so.

Pungsu (Chin. ***feng shui***) was widely practiced throughout the ages in China and Korea, and many ***pungsu*** practitioners began to emerge during the Goryeo period. ***Jigwan*** referred to a government official with specialized knowledge in geomancy, who was selected through the official state examination. In this professional sense, ***jigwan*** were distinguished from ***jisa***, who privately practiced ***pung-***

A geomancer checks directions with a compass
Taean, Chungcheongnam-do Province | 1950s

su on the side while making a living by their regular trade. Generally, however, anyone who practiced *pungsu* was called *jigwan*. During the Goryeo period, the *jigwan* were mostly Buddhist monks. In the Joseon period, however, *pungsu* theory became popular throughout the peninsula among all walks of life, which led to a wider range of people taking on the job of *jigwan*, including Buddhist monks, Confucian scholars, government officials, commoners, and servants. The duty of traditional geomancy practitioners was to select and assess a site for housing or burial based on the principles of *pungsu*. During Joseon, *jigwan* were involved in selecting sites not only for buildings related to the royal court, including palaces, tombs, and placenta chambers, but also for provincial government office buildings. *Jisa*, private *pungsu* practitioners, provided their services for commoners, primarily selecting burial sites and presiding over ceremonial rites during a burial.

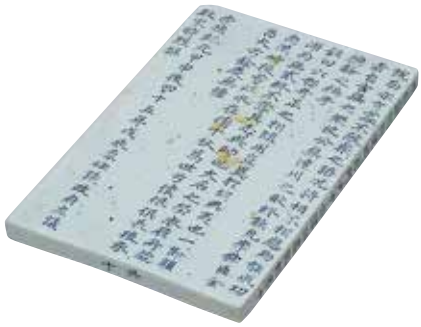
In modern times, the number of traditional geomancy practitioners has declined sharply due to low interest in *pungsu* theory, the rising popularity of cremation in the wake of urbanization, and spread of Christian funeral practices. However, a small number of *jigwan* still provide their expert knowledge for social leaders when it comes to selecting a burial site or offering advice on *pungsu* principles. In some parts of the country, a small number of practitioners still remain in business. In Korea, it is notable that the influence of *jigwan* in society and their social status and social role in conducting lifetime rituals are closely related with *pungsu*.

JISEOK 지석

Memorial plaque

A kind of funeral prop placed at the burial site, *jiseok* refers to a stone plate or plaque inscribed with biographical information of the deceased: name, *bongwan* (Kor. 본관, Chin. 本貫, clan origin), year of birth and death, *gyebo* (Kor. 계보, Chin 系譜, family lineage), and achievements. The memorial stone plaque also serves as a grave marker.

It is presumed that this kind of memorial stone plaque originated from China and was first introduced to Korea during the Three Kingdoms period. The practice of erecting at the burial site



Memorial plaque for Joseon military official Shin Rip
1688

Memorial plaque in the form of a porcelain vessel
1850

such plaques bearing biograpgical information on the dead has continued from the Goryeo period through the Joseon era up to the present day.

Jiseok is a means to record the life of the deceased and leave behind a memorial. It also serves as a marker that helps to locate a grave if the burial mound disappears. Any material that is solid and highly durable—including but not limited to stone, pottery, stoneware, earthenware, and ceramics—can be used to make the plaque. This flexibility distinguishes ***jiseok*** created in Korea from those in China where a memorial plaque must be made of stone. Until the Goryeo period, indeed, Korean memorial plaques with personal information were primarily made of stone. During the Joseon period, the materials used became so varied that even a bowl inscribed with words was put into a stone box or a wooden coffer to serve the same purpose. Unlike the square memorial stone plaques used in China, flat and three-dimensional forms of various shapes have been used in Korea.

Jiseok often contain detailed personal information on family members or relatives of the deceased as well. A notable characteristic is that they also contain information that is not typically found on a tombstone, such as written accounts of the deceased's life including time of burial and the making and placement of the memorial plaque. The way information is categorized on the ***jiseok*** as well as the contents and style provide valuable source material in regards to Korean and Chinese literature, and the production methods and materials and shapes of the stone plaques are also valuable sources for art history (history of ceramics). In addition, funeral and burial customs, marital relationships, and clan systems are invaluable resources in the fields of history and folk studies.

CHEONDO-GUT 천도굿

Shamanic rite for a safe journey to the underworld

A shamanic rite that is held to pray for the spirit of the dead to leave this world free of the shackles of ***han*** (Kor. 한, Chin. 恨, deep resentment) and ***won*** (Kor. 원, Chin. 怨, grudges) and safely move to the otherworld, and then be reborn in the bliss of the afterlife.

Koreans have long considered death to be one of the most horrifying experiences in real life. Consequently, a series of rituals that help the living overcome the shocking experience of death have been passed down in various forms. Most shamanic rituals are centered on the lives of the living; on the other hand, ***cheondo-gut*** is a shamanic ceremony that centers on the afterlife. It is a rite akin to a prayer that the dead may pass safely to the next world where they will be born again in the bliss of the afterlife. As this rite is presided over by a shaman who mediates between the world of the living and the world of the dead, the ritual procedures are distinctively different from other funeral (***sangnye***, 상례, 喪禮) and burial (***jangnye***, 장례, 葬禮) rites, which are led by ordinary people. In addition, given that ***cheondo-gut*** is a form of prayer that the dead may safely move to the otherworld, this shamanic rite has all the appearances of embracing both this world and the next.

In general, ***cheondo-gut*** is composed of two parts: one, a prayer that the dead may leave this world safely; the other, a prayer that the dead may be reborn in the afterlife with the aid of many gods. The former is referred to as ***iseung-gut*** (shamanic rite for this world). In this part, the gods who govern earthly matters are informed that the deceased has been forced to leave this world unexpectedly, and a prayer is offered so that all the resentments borne by the dead may be resolved before they depart this world. The latter part of the rite, the ***jeoseung-gut*** (shamanic rite for the afterlife), is a prayer asking the gods to lead the dead safely to the next world; it contains various rituals that depict the process of the dead leaving this world and entering the next world.

Cheondogut

1. Saenam-gut, a shamanic rite from the Seoul region for a safe journey to the underworld
2. Ogusaenam-gut, a shamanic rite from the Tongyeong region for a safe journey to the underworld
3. Jindo ssitgim-gut, a shamanic rite for a safe journey to the underworld

Cheondo-gut helps the surviving family members accept the sudden parting of the dead and overcome their sorrow and loss by witnessing what death is like. As a result, the attitude of the family members of the deceased is clearly different before and after the shamanic ceremony.

Cheondo-gut varies widely by region, differing in name, sequence of shaman songs (***gutgeori***), and even circumstances of death. Representative examples of ***cheondo-gut*** include ***jinogi-gut*** of the Seoul metropolitan area, ***ssitgim-gut*** of the ***Honnam*** region, and ***ogu-gut*** of the East Sea region. In addition, there are shamanic rites for the spirits of the drowned: ***neoggeonjigi-gut*** and ***sumang-gut***. ***Honsa-gut*** is a shamanic rite for those who died before marriage. Such diversity of shamanic rites, called gut, suggests that the horrifying event of death requires a variety of processes and procedures to overcome the shock caused by the loss of a loved one.

Cheondo-gut is characterized by its visualization of the process of the dead entering into the next world. It is believed that such a visualized ritual can play a significant role in helping the living recover from the shock of a loved one's death.

The significance of the ***cheondo-gut*** lies in the structured farewell of the living to the dead through the organization of a variety of shaman songs. The shamanic rite helps the living overcome the fear and anxiety caused by death; helps the living understand and accept death as a course of life; and helps surviving family members see their loved one safely enter the afterlife and be reborn, which can give comfort and closure.

CHEONDOJAE 천도재

Buddhist rite for a safe journey to the underworld

A Buddhist rite that is held to send the spirit of ***mangja*** (Kor. 망자, Chin. 亡者, the dead) to the afterlife.

Cheondojae is a Buddhist ritual that originated from the ancient Indian ancestral ***sharadha*** ceremony in which evil spirits are turned into the spirits of ancestors. In Buddhism, a rite in which offerings and prayer for the cultivation of virtue are offered, is referred to as ***jae*** (齋). Specifically, a rite for deceased spirits is called ***cheondojae***. In the word ***cheondo*** (薦度), the first Chinese character ***cheon*** (薦) literally means "to recommend," and the second character ***do*** (度) represents the "laws of Dharma." As suggested by the characters, it is easily understood that ***cheondo*** is a Buddhist ritual held to offer prayers for the spirit of the dead to be sent to the bliss of the afterworld. Buddhist rites performed after funerals to send deceased spirits to the afterworld are all categorized as ***cheondojae***. In particular, the rite held on the forty-ninth day after death (***sasipgujae***) constitutes a core element of ***cheondojae***. That is because offering ***cheondojae*** during the forty-nine day period is believed to help spirit of the dead be reborn in a better place in the next world.

Cheondojae varies in form depending on the magnitude and nature of the ceremony but the basic procedures are almost always the same. The ritual procedures are as follows: first the subject (the deceased) of the ceremony is invited into the room where the rite is being performed; then a purification process is carried out to eliminate

any bad karma of the deceased from this world; offerings and prayers are offered to the Buddha; finally, foods are served for the dead spirit who is then sent back to where it came from, which represents the end of the rite. It is important to pray for the spirit of the dead to attain rebirth in the Pure Land. However, it is more important to help the deceased escape illusion by reading the Buddhist writings to the spirit. As the ancestral memorial rite is combined with the Buddhist service for the dead (***jae***, 齋), the procedures of ***cheondojae*** are very similar to those of ancestral memorial rites, or ***jesa***. However, the Buddhist ***jae*** has some features quite distinctive from ***jesa***. These are as follows.

First, during ***jae*** (齋), the ritual offered by the family of the deceased in front of the altar does not differ much from the ancestral rite performed in ordinary households. However, the contents of the Buddhist prayer chanted by monks act as a text that defines the meaning of the memorial rite. Second, if the meaning of the memorial rite is to honor the dead and to practice filial piety, ***jae*** also bears the meaning of ***cheondo***, which is to help the spirit of the deceased move to a better world. Third, although ***cheondojae*** is only held for one person at a time, the object of the Buddhist memorial service encompasses all the spirits that are still wandering around after failing to enter the afterlife. Such wide scope of the subject of the service represents ***hoehyang*** (회향, 廻向), the practice of transferring one's merit to other living beings or one's own self. Fourth, no liquor or dishes made with meat or fish are allowed on the ritual table.

Up until the 1970s and 1980s, Confucian funeral and burial rites constituted the mainstay of post-death rites performed among ordinary Koreans. However, changes in the way of life and the perceptions of modern Koreans have caused the popularity of these post-death rituals to decline. As a result, ***cheondojae*** has gradually become an integrated part of traditional ancestral memorial rites: ***sasipguje***, the ceremony marking the forty-ninth day after death, has been chosen even by non-Buddhists as a ceremonial service that represents the end of the mourning period. A growing number of people find it difficult to hold

Buddhist rite for a safe journey to the underworld at Bongwonsa Temple
Seodaemun-gu, Seoul | Koo Mee-rae

Buddhist rite for a safe journey to the underworld at Jingwansa Temple
Eunpyeong-gu, Seoul | Gu Mi-rae

ancestral rites at home, and many ask Buddhist temples to conduct their ancestral rites for them.

CHOBUN 초분

Temporary grave

A temporary grave, made by covering a coffin with thatch or grass, which is placed on top of rocks or logs before burying it underground.

Chobun is a burial practice in which the coffin is temporarily placed at the burial site for some time before it is buried underground, presumed to trace back to ancient times. ***Chobun*** was practiced across the country until the late Joseon and early Japanese colonial periods. However, the practice gradually lost popularity after the Japanese colonial era, due to the enactment of a hygiene law, encouragement of cremation, and a ban on ***chobun***. Under the Saemaeul Movement (New Community Movement) of the 1970s, ***chobun*** almost disappeared. It was carried on until the first half of the 2000s in some parts of the southern and western coastal areas.

A ***chobun*** was made on a mountainside or a field near the village. When a person died, instead of burying the coffin containing the dead body right away, the coffin was temporarily placed on top of a stone embankment or logs and covered with thatch or grass; the thatch-covered coffin was again covered with ***yongmareum***, or a ridge cap, which is tied with ropes like a thatched roof; and then each end of the ropes was tightly secured by a stone in order to prevent the covered ridge cap from flying away. ***Chobun*** was fenced with pine branches to ward off wild animals. It was maintained by replacing an old thatched cover with a new one every year. Two or three years or more after it had been made, when all the flesh had rotted away from the dead body, the bones were collected and washed, then put in the coffin again, and the coffin was finally buried.

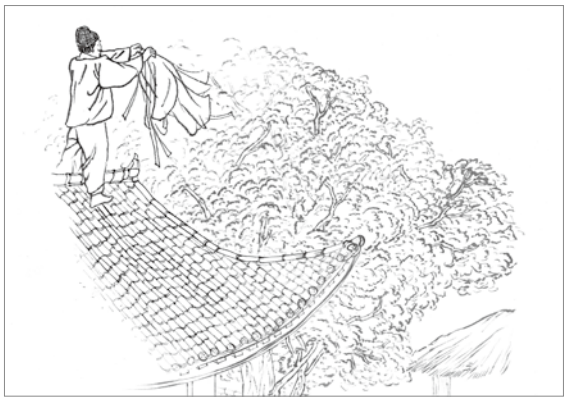
Temporary grave
Wando, Jeollanam-do Province | 2001

CHOHON 초혼

Lit. calling the spirits of the dead

A rite performed right after death, in which the spirit of the dead is called up by a person standing on the roof of the house, facing north as he waves the clothes of the deceased.

The procedures of this rite to call the spirit of the dead are as follows. The person who performs the rite climbs up a ladder, set in front of the eastern corner of the eaves, then walks towards the center of the roof, and stands facing the north while waving the clothes of the dead and calling up the spiri. After crying out "Mr. so-and-so, come back!" three times, the person throws the clothes



Calling the spirit of the deceased right after death by waving his or her upper garment from the roof of the house

The upper garment of the deceased used in calling up his or her spirit
Gimhae, Gyeongsangnam-do Province | 2007

towards the shrine. The clothes are caught in a box by another person in the inner courtyard, who then climbs onto ***jogye*** (Kor. 조계, Chin. 阼階, stone steps placed to the east of the house, set up to greet guests who come to participate in ceremonies for the coming of age, marriage, funerals, and ancestral memorial rites) and covers the dead body with the clothes.

In regard to the title by which the spirit of the dead is called up, except for emperors and feudal lords, all ordinary men were called by name and all ordinary women by family name and generation of a clan.

This spirit calling rite is performed as a token of the filial duty and prayers for the revival of the deceased parent(s). It is observed with the aim of assembling ***honbaek*** (Kor. 혼백, Chin. 魂魄, the spirit of the dead) to prevent it from drifting away. In terms of the latter, the ***chohon*** ritual is a preparation process to turn the spirit of the dead into ancestral spirits by preventing the dead spirit from dispersing.

Today the ***chohon*** ritual is rarely performed because hospital mortuaries and funeral halls have become major places where people die and where the funeral is held. The structure of houses has also considerably changed from the past. However, a more fundamental reason behind the disappearance of this tradition lies in the fact that today a definite medical determination is made on one's death, so that a ritual performed as a wish for the revival of the dead can be considered absurd.

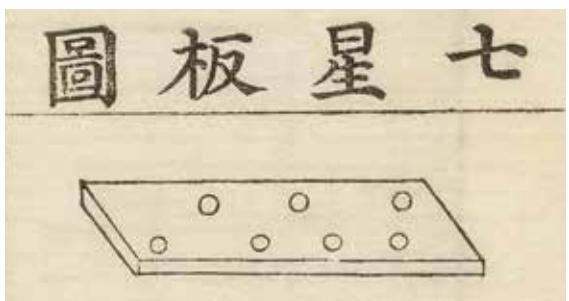
CHILSEONGPAN 칠성판

Lit. seven-star board

A thin wooden board with seven holes in the shape of the Big Dipper (Bukduchilseong, Kor. 북두칠성, Chin. 北斗七星) to be placed at the bottom of ***gwan*** (Kor. 관, Chin. 棺, lit. coffin).

The dead body is sometimes placed directly in a coffin but at other times, it is first tied on a wooden board called ***chilseongpan*** (Kor. 칠성판, Chin. 七星板, lit. seven-star board) and then placed in a coffin. ***Chilseongpan*** is made of pine wood, its length and width aligned with the size of the coffin. The board is approximately 1.5 ㎝ thick and has seven round holes that form the shape of the Big Dipper and is covered in black lacquer. The body is laid on the board and bound with a hemp cloth.

During the Bronze Age, the people of Gojoseon carved the Big Dipper on the capstone of dolmens, a type of single-chamber megalithic tomb. Inheriting this practice, Goguryeo people painted a big picture of the Big Dipper inside the tomb. The Goryeo people also painted star signs inside the tomb, placing particular importance on the Big Dipper. The Big Dipper, which had been rendered on dolmens or tomb ceilings until the late Goryeo period, appeared in a different form in the Joseon dynasty, the ***chilseongpan***.



Chilseongpando (Illustration of a Seven-star Board)
Saryepyeollam (四禮便覽, Handbook of the Four Ceremonies)

Chilseongpan, a wooden board on which the body is placed in the coffin
1524

The Big Dipper was an important object of worship in Korean folklore, according to which a baby was born by receiving life strings from Samsin, the Goddess of childbearing. Also, people believed that when they died they should carry ***chilseongpan*** featuring holes in the shape of the Big Dipper on their backs to be accepted by the King of the Underworld. ***Chilseongpan*** embodies the belief that the Big Dipper controls a person's lifespan and guides the deceased to the next world.

TALSANG 탈상

Ending the three-year mourning period

Taking off mourning clothes and returning to daily life after completing the three-year mourning period.

The last procedure of ***sangnye*** (Kor. 상례, Chin. 喪禮, lit. funeral rites) is ***damje*** (Kor. 담제, Chin. 禫祭, rite to announce that the chief mourner returns to daily life after completing the funeral rites), which is performed twenty-seven days after the funeral. ***Dam*** (Kor. 담, Chin. 禫) means "calm and peaceful." The mourner can take off his mourning clothes after completing the three-year mourning period by performing ***damje***. After the rite, the mourner can change into ordinary clothes or ***gilbok*** (Kor. 길복, Chin. 吉服, lit. auspicious garments) and return to daily life. Unlike Chinese books on rituals, Joseon's various ritual books describe ***gilje*** (Kor. 길제, Chin. 吉祭, memorial rite to enshrine the spirit tablet of a deceased person) as the last procedure of the funeral rites.

Gilje is performed on a selected day following ***damje***. Participants purify themselves three days prior to the event and report to the ancestors at the family shrine the moving of the spirit tablets a day before the ceremony. Then the spirit tablets for the deceased grandfather and older ancestors are re-written to be enshrined in their original places. On the same day, an ancestral memorial rite is performed with all the spirit tablets in the shrine together. The ceremony is performed as ***myoje*** (Kor. 묘제, Chin. 墓祭, gravesite rite), proceeding from ***chamsin*** (Kor. 참신, Chin. 參神, paying reverence to the descending spirit) to ***gangsin*** (Kor. 강신, Chin. 降神, invoking the ancestral spirit), ***jinseol*** (Kor. 진설, Chin. 陳設, arranging food offerings on the ritual table), ***heonjak*** (Kor. 헌작, Chin. 獻爵, the offering of liquor), ***yusik*** (Kor. 유식, Chin. 侑食, waiting until the ancestral spirits have had plenty to eat), ***hammun*** (Kor. 합문, Chin. 閤門, closing the door of the ritual room so ancestral spirits can freely eat the offered food), ***gyemun*** (Kor. 계문, Chin. 啓聞, opening the door of the ritual room to report the end of the meal offered to the ancestral spirits), and ***sasin*** (Kor. 사신, Chin. 辭神, bidding farewell to the departing spirit). When the ceremony is over, the spirit tablets are placed in the family shrine, with the new spirit tablet on the east side. This ***gilje*** has significance in that all the spirit tablets in a shrine enjoy the occasion of ***hapsik*** (Kor. 합식, Chin. 合食, eating the offered food together). When ***gilje*** is over, participants enjoy ***eumbok*** (Kor. 음복, Chin. 飮福, partaking of food from the ritual table after an ancestral memorial rite) and then return to ***jeongchim*** (Kor. 정침, Chin. 正寢, the place where the ancestral memorial rite is performed). After this procedure, the chief mourner completely returns to daily life.

Opinion differs as to exactly when the mourning period ends and the family returns to daily life because of the confusion caused by different remarks in the books of rites. However, Confucian scholars in the Joseon period saw ***gilje*** as the final procedure of the funeral rites.

HOSANG 호상

Funeral director

Person in charge of the funeral ceremony who ensures that the ***sangju*** (Kor. 상주, Chin. 喪主, chief mourner) does not deviate from the funeral rites amid the grief and confusion of losing his parent.

Amid the deep mental anguish of losing his parent, the ***sangju*** has many things to take care of, such as preparing the coffin, burial garments, and mourning clothes, as well as finding a burial site, digging the ground and building a burial mound. According to "Jujagarye" (朱子家禮, Family Rituals of Zhu Xi), the role of ***hosang*** is assigned to a young family member with a good knowledge of funeral rites and who is a good worker. It states that all matters relating to the funeral should be referred to the ***hosang***. Customarily, a relative or acquaintance who knows the deceased and chief mourner's family well and their personal relationships, and who is familiar with and capable of handling funeral procedures took on the role.

The ***hosang*** instructs the carpenter to choose the wood and make the coffin, sends out the obituary notice on behalf of the ***sangju***, and greets guests

Hosang
1. Discussing division of tasks among funeral officiants
2. Writing a roster for funeral officiants and division of tasks
3. Announcing the roster for funeral officiants and division of tasks
4. Putting the roster for funeral officiants on the wall

Gimhae, Gyeongsangnam-do Province | 2007

who come to pay their condolences if the ***sangju*** has not yet changed into mourning clothes. In addition to ***hosang***, there was also a ***saseo*** (Kor. 사서, Chin. 司書) and ***sahwa*** (Kor. 사화 Chin. 司貨) who helped out with the funeral. ***Saseo*** was responsible for writing the obituary, and keeping a record of the items used in the funeral rites, incoming and outgoing cash, and condolence money received from relatives and guests at the funeral. ***Sahwa*** was in charge of accounting, and usually a young family member or an employee of the household undertook this role.

HONBAEK 혼백

Temporary spirit tablet

Temporary spirit tablet of a deceased person made of white fabric for use at funeral rites before the ***sinju*** (Kor. 신주, Chin. 神主, spirit tablet) is made.

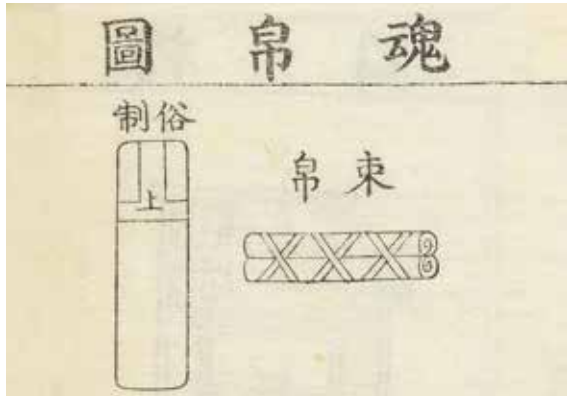
Honbaek is a type of ***sinwi*** (Kor. 신위, Chin. 神位, spirit tablets) where the spirit of the deceased temporarily resided. In traditional funeral rites, the ancestral spirit is transferred to different objects in three stages until it is completely entrusted to the ***sinju***, the spirit tablet proper.

The first step is to transfer the spirit of the deceased to the upper garment on the dead body, a process referred to as ***chohon*** (Kor. 초혼, Chin. 招魂, rite for evoking the spirit of the dead). According to Confucian beliefs, humans consist of ***hon*** (Kor. 혼, Chin. 魂, ethereal soul) and ***baek*** (Kor. 백, Chin. 魄, corporeal soul), and the union of these two parts is what keeps humans alive, where-

as their separation means death. When a person dies, ***hon*** goes up to heaven and ***baek*** remains in this world. ***Chohon*** is performed to keep the hon from leaving this world. The second step is to make ***honbaek***, the temporary spirit tablet made of fabric, and entrust to it the spirit of the deceased. So the spirit is transferred from the upper garment to the spirit cloth. The third step is to make the ***sinju*** and entrust the spirit to it after the body has been buried. The ***sinju*** is prepared before ***barin*** (Kor. 발인, Chin. 發靷, departure of the funeral procession from the home to the burial site) and buried together with the ***honbaek*** at the grave. At this stage, the spirit still resides in the ***honbaek***, so the ***sinju*** is put in a box and placed behind the ***honbaek***.

At the burial site, a rite is performed to transfer the spirit of the deceased from the ***honbaek*** to the ***sinju***. After the spirit has been transferred, the arrangement of the ***honbaek*** and ***sinju*** is switched so that the ***sinju*** is placed before the ***honbaek***. Both are then brought back to the home of the deceased and ***uje*** (Kor. 우제, Chin. 虞祭, post-burial rite) is performed. After the ceremony, the ***honbaek*** is buried in a clean place, but in practice, it is more often burnt or buried next to the mortuary. Families that do not prepare a ***sinju*** keep the ***honbaek*** until the three-year mourning period is over.

There are two types of ***honbaek***: ***sokbaek*** (Kor. 속백, Chin. 束帛) and ***gyeolbaek*** (Kor. 결백, Chin. 結帛). ***Sokbaek*** is the type with both ends of the silk spirit cloth rolled up and tied. ***Gyeol-baek*** is similar in style to the traditional knot ***dongsimgyeol*** (Kor. 동심결, Chin. 同心結) and resembles the shape of a human figure. The silk is rolled up into a long string and tightened into a knot at the center with one loop at the top and one loop each to the left and right and strands of string hanging down like legs. ***Hanji*** (traditional Korean mulberry paper) is sometimes used to make ***honbaek***, or even the sleeves or coat strings from the clothing of the deceased. Today, hemp cloth or ramie fabric is more commonly used.



Honbaekdo (Illustration of a Temporary Spirit Tablet)
Saryepyeollam (四禮便覽, Handbook of the Four Ceremonies)

Temporary spirit tablet made of fabric and case
Gimhae, Gyeongsangnam-do Province | 2007

HWAJANG 화장
Cremation

Cremation of a dead body as a funeral practice.

Around the fifth century, after the introduction of Buddhism to Korea, the custom of ***hwajangmyo*** (lit. cremation grave) came into being. In this practice, the dead body is first incinerated and the bones are collected and stored in a container for burial. It was not until the 12th century in the mid-Goryeo period (918–1392) that the custom took root in society, embraced by both the royal court and the common people. As in other earlier periods, it was performed in two stages: incineration and subsequent burial of the remains.

In the succeeding Joseon dynasty (1392–1910), cremation was prohibited as it was not in line with Confucian ideology. When the custom continued nevertheless, punishments were imposed on violators. During the Japanese colonial period (1910–1945), cremation was strongly recommended. Under the colonial policy of annihilating Korean tradition, comprehensive reform took place regarding the four major ceremonies of the coming of age, weddings, funerals and ancestral rites. In 1912, the "Regulations on Burial and Cremation" (***Myoji hwajangjang maejang mit hwajang chwiche gyuchik***)[32] was promulgated to encourage cremation.

From the modern period, cremation began to take place without any particular Buddhist meaning attached, but there is no change in the fact that it is a Buddhist funeral tradition. Hence non-believers cannot conduct it anywhere but a public crematorium called ***seunghwawon*** (lit. sublimation garden). The coffin is handed over to a crematorium, a furnace is allocated, and after cremation, the remains are collected in an ash urn from the hearth while the bereaved look on. Practices for the treatment of the bone ashes are largely divided into ***sangol*** (Kor. 산골, Chin. 散骨, cremated bones are ground into powder to scatter them in a designated place or over a mountain, river or sea); enshrinement at a dedicated facility; and ***jayeonjang***, which is burying the ashes around plants and trees.

Cremation facilities at Seoul Memorial Park
Seocho-gu, Seoul | 2012 | Park Tae-ho

32 On June 23, 1912, the *Maeil Sinbo* daily carried an editorial saying that the new regulations would eliminate "the vice of Joseon tombs," giving a glimpse into the colonizers' perspective on Korea's burial customs.

JERYE

Ancestral memorial rite

GAGARYE 가가례

Individual family ceremonies

Tradition by which the same rite or ceremony is performed in a different manner according to family, region or political faction.

The manner in which ceremonies or rites are performed is determined not so much by their fundamental nature but the order of a hierarchical society, propriety or environment of the ceremony or ritual surrounding the different elements constituting them. The rules and regulations were those provided by ritual literature. However, most of the texts, including "Jujagarye" (朱子家禮, Family Rituals of Zhu Xi),[33] state only the basic rules, with no explanations for the detailed elements. This led to differences being generated according to the communities, regions, or political factions that performed the ceremonies or rites. It is natural, therefore, that when a new or different situation occurred, it had to be dealt with by the community concerned, resulting in many different theories during the processes and rituals. The new theories were then developed into customs and traditions and, finally, became fully established as ***gagarye***. The new rules of ***gagarye*** were not intended to govern any entire ceremony or ritual; rather, they were created to address certain specific areas not dealt with by the existing authoritative literature.

The most widely known examples of ***gagarye*** are related, first, with the subjects worshipped through family memorial rites; second, to the arrangement of food offerings; third, to the decision of whether or not the dead body is placed in a coffin before burial; fourth, the procedure of ***heonjak*** (Kor. 헌작, Chin. 獻酌, the offering of liquor); and fifth the procedure of ***gyebangae*** (Kor. 계반개, Chin. 啓飯蓋, opening the lid of the bowl offering cooked rice to the ancestral spirits during a rite). In addition, the tradition of ***gagarye*** provides rules for other numerous formalities related to wedding garments, funeral garments, delivery of wedding gifts, and so on. The Korean proverb, "Don't argue about the persimmons or pears on another's ritual table," clearly shows that there were many different versions of the procedures for family ceremonies.

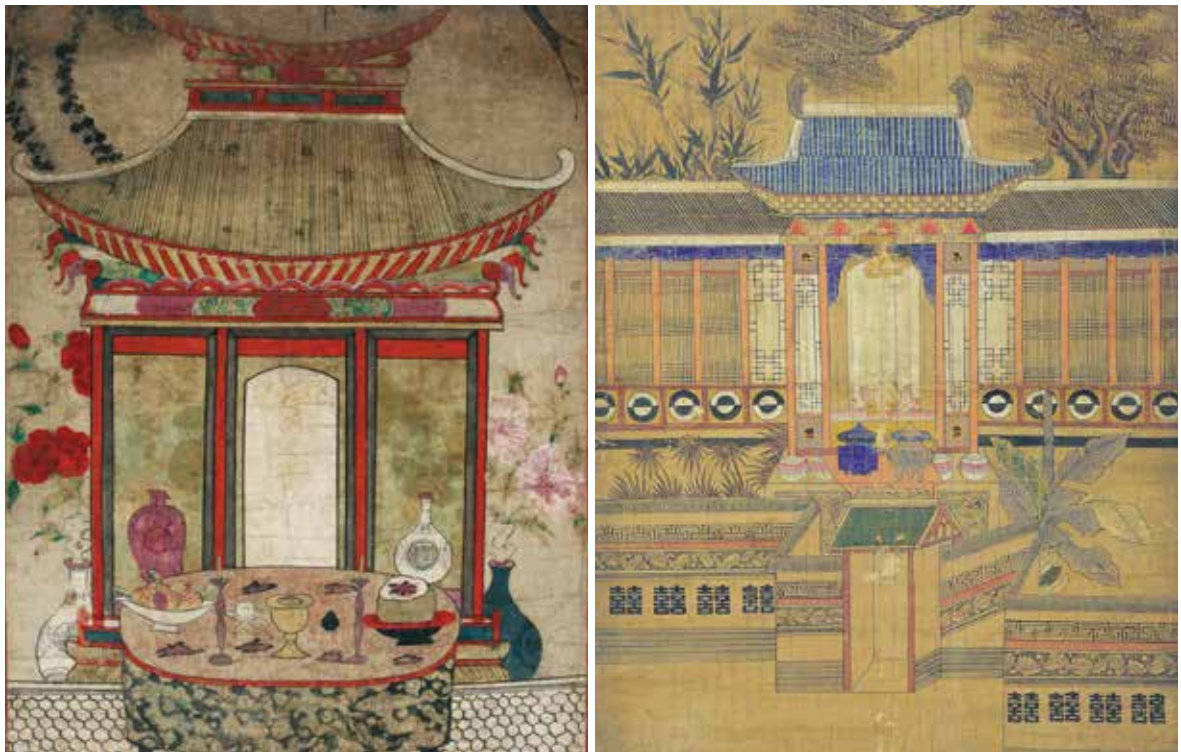
GAMMOYEOJAEDO 감모여재도

Shrine painting

A painting depicting a shrine with an empty box in the center, where a paper spirit tablet is attached during an ancestral memorial rite.

The tradition of using shrine paintings called "Gammoyeojaedo" is related with the establishment of Confucian ancestral memorial rites in Joseon. As part of their efforts to establish Confucian traditions in family rites and ceremonies, the founders of the Joseon dynasty placed greater importance on performing funeral and memorial rites according to Confucian traditions. They en-

33 "Zhuzijiali" in Chinese. this book of family rites was compiled by the renowned Song Confucian thinker Zhu Xi (1130–1200).



Shrine painting

couraged people to have their own family shrines, but with limited results. The establishment of Confucian ceremonies throughout Joseon society after the Japanese invasions (1592–1598) led more families to build their own shrines, and by the mid 18th century the practice of ***sadaebongsa*** (Kor. 사대봉사, Chin. 四代奉祀, conducting memorial rites for the four latest generations of ancestors) had become widespread. Despite the changes, many ordinary families were not able to afford their own shrine and had to rely on a paper spirit tablet when conducting the rites. In addition, it was not easy for even the scholar-officials who had their own family shrine to move the shrine and ancestral spirit tablets when they were sent to serve in a new place, typically for a period of less than a year. This explains why the use of the shrine paintings became so widespread.

Devised as a kind of religious painting intended for use in ancestral memorial rites, "Gammoyeojaedo" is full of symbolic images. First, the painting contains images symbolizing the permanence of family ties. Second, it also has symbolic images representing the descendants' aspirations for wealth and prosperity of their family. Third, the painting emphasizes the sacredness of family shrines. Fourth, it expresses that those using the painting are a noble family devoted to Confucian virtues. Finally, the painting also symbolizes the practice of conducting ancestral memorial rites. The painting may not clearly state or stress that Confucianism is a religion, but lays great emphasis on the practice of memorial rites, which is considered a primary function of religion.

GAMSIL 감실
Spirit tablet case

A sacred space or facility where the image of a deity or object symbolizing a supernatural being is stored.

Gamsil is a facility inside a Confucian shrine used to store the spirit tablets of the ancestors. There were, of course, many households that had a ***gamsil*** to enshrine the spirit tablets of their ancestors, even though they had no family shrine.

The size of the ***gamsil*** varied according to the number of the generations of ancestors for whom memorial rites were regularly held. The most prevalent kind were those with five bays to enshrine the tablets of the four latest generations of ancestors together with the ***bulcheonwi*** (Kor. 불천위, Chin. 不遷位, spirit tablets of the ancestors whose achievements were recognized by the state and therefore should be honored in perpetuity), and those with four bays for the spirit tablets of four latest generations of ancestors. There were, of course, single-bay structures made to enshrine only the tablets of the most honorable ancestors and double-bay structures to enshrine those of other ancestors together with those of the distinguished ancestors. The doors of the ***gamsil*** are generally latticed and covered with Korean mulberry paper on the inside. When enshrining the ancestral spirit tablets or tablet box in a ***gamsil***, those of the ancestors of earlier generations were placed in the west, while those of younger generations were placed in the east. The practice was a reflection of the traditional belief that in the underworld the west is superior to the east.

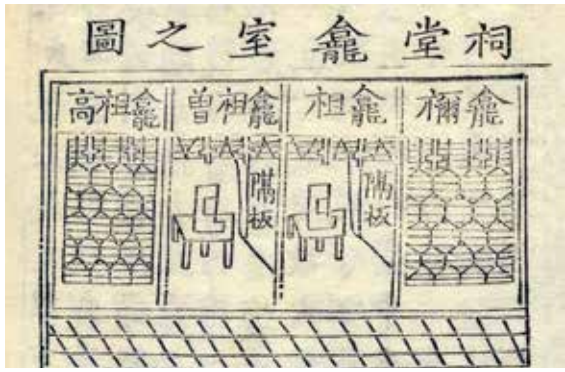
Families with no separate shrine could still in-

Four-bay spirit tablet case
Early 19th C

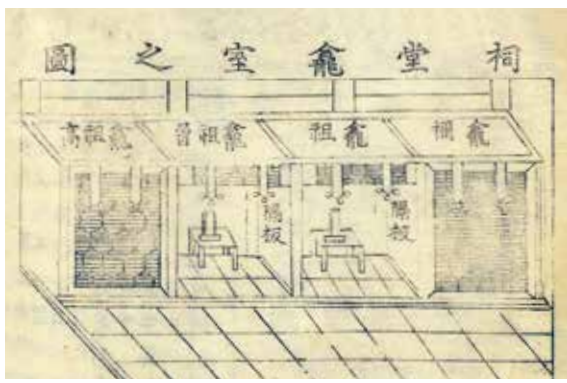
Spirit tablet case

Gamsil
1. Wall shrine (*byeokgam*) at the house
2. Lacquered boxes storing spirit tablets in a wall shrine
Hahoe Village in Andong, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province | 2011

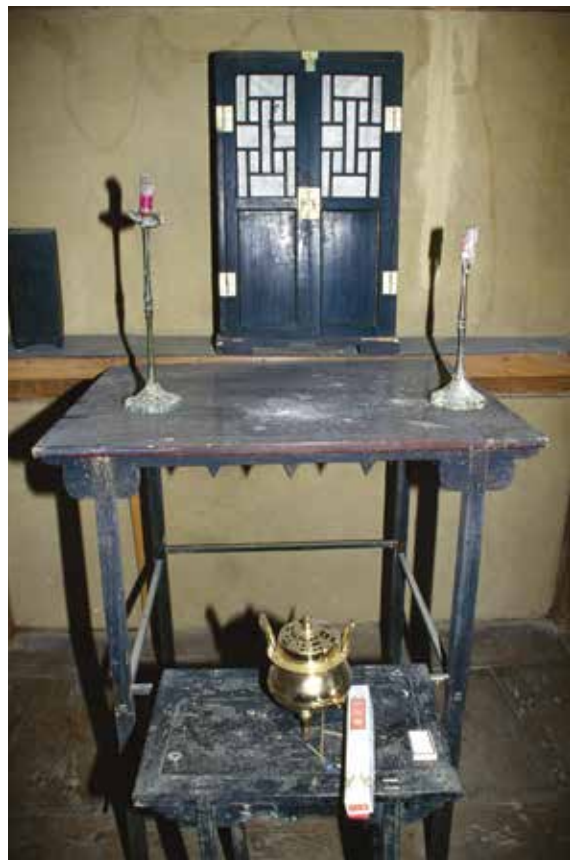
1 | 2



Sadang gamsiljido (Illustration of a family shrine with four niches to enshrine ancestral tablet spirits)
Garyejeunghae (家禮增解, Augmented Interpretation of the Family Rituals)



Sadang gamsiljido (Illustration of a Family Shrine and Gamsil)
Garyejimnam (家禮輯覽, Illustrated Account of Family Ceremonies)



Gamsil enshrining an ancestral spirit tablet in a family shrine
Head-family home of the Jinju Jeong clan in Sangju, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province | 2000

stall a ***gamsil***, likewise for families who could not afford an independent shrine or had lost the ancestral tablets along with the cases in which they were stored. Such ***gamsil*** tended to take the form of a wall niche in the wooden-floored hall or the room occupied by the master of the house. The ***gamsil*** installed in the wall of an ordinary room rather than inside the family shrine is called ***byeokgam***, or wall niche.

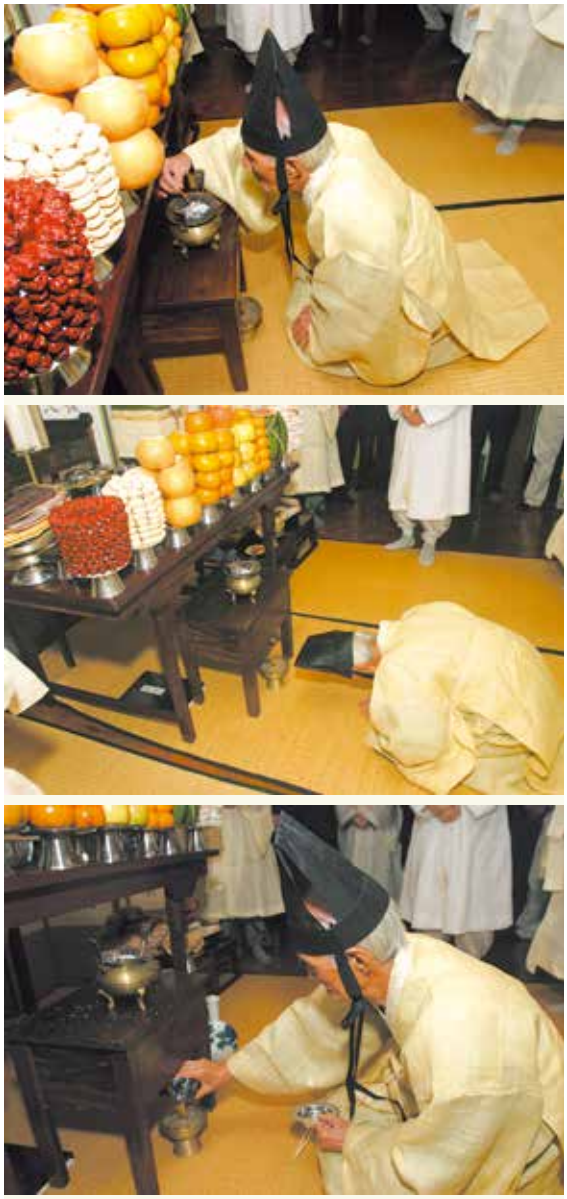
Together with the ancestral spirit tablets and family shrine, ***gamsil*** played a key role in the establishment of ancestral memorial rites in the Joseon dynasty. The practice of keeping an ancestral spirit tablet in a box, which was then placed in a ***gamsil***, suggests that past Koreans laid great importance on the spirit tablets and believed their ancestral spirits favored a quiet, peaceful space. The appearance, size and form of the ***gamsil*** often served as a measure of the socioeconomic status of the family concerned.

GANGSIN 강신

Invoking the ancestral spirit

An early procedure in the ancestral memorial rite during which incense is burned and liquor is poured into a jar of sand to invoke the spirit of an ancestor.

This is the part of an ancestral memorial rite



Gangsin
1. Incense burning
2. Performing two deep bows at a rite
3. Pouring out liquor to summon the spirit of the deceased
Head-family home of the Seonsan Kim clan in Goryeong, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province

1/2/3

during which incense is burned to summon the ethereal spirit of an ancestor from heaven and liquor is poured out to summon his or her corporeal spirit from the earth. The head of a family proceeds to the altar where the ancestral spirit tablet is placed, and burns incense to summon the ethereal spirit (i.e. the bright energy of the dead) from heaven. The burning incense is intended to guide the spirit of the ancestor with the streak of smoke. The family head then pours liquor into a jar of sand to invite the corporeal spirit (i.e. dark energy of the dead) from the underworld. The jar of sand is called ***mosagi*** because it contains grass (***mo***) and sand (***sa***), which symbolize the underworld. The family head makes two ceremonial bows to the ancestral tablets in the belief that both spirits of the ancestor have arrived.

I GYEMUN 계문

Opening of shrine doors

The part of a traditional ancestral memorial rite when the door of the ritual hall or room is opened following a brief period of waiting outside for the ancestral spirits to eat the food offered to them.

In this part of the ancestral memorial rite, participants wait outside the ritual hall or room until the prayer reciter gives a signal with three throat-clearing sounds that the ancestral spirits have finished their meal, and opens the door. The soup is removed from the ritial table and the spirits are offered tea or scorched rice in hot water (***sungnyung***). Because tea was not easy to obtain in Korea in the past, many families chose a bowl of plain water instead or mixed three spoons of rice with plain water in place of ***sungnyung***. Sometimes a spoon was placed in the bowl. In a few minutes after the offering of ***sungnyung***, the participants, believing the ancestral spirits have finished the entire meal,

Gyemun
1. Closing the door of the ritual room
2. Opening the door of the ritual room
Head-family home of the Seonsan Kim clan in Goryeong, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province | National Intangible Heritage Center
1/2

remove the spoon and chopsticks from the table and, finally, cover the rice bowl with its lid.

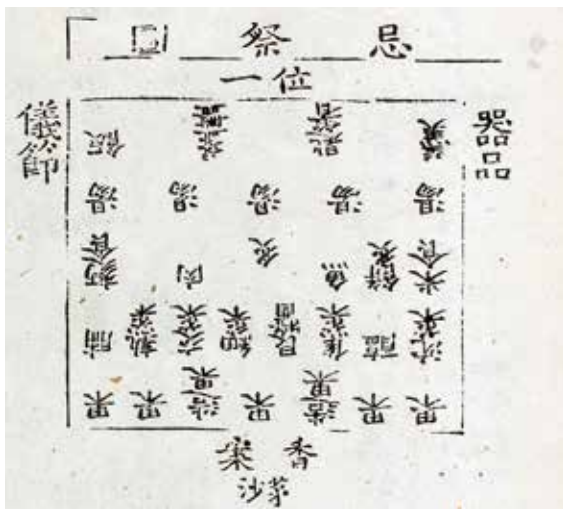
The *gyemun* procedure of the ancestral memorial rite suggests that Koreans had a long tradition of finishing their meals with tea or *sungnyung*.

GIJESA 기제사

Death anniversary rite

A Confucian rite performed in memory of ancestors at the earliest possible hour on their death anniversary.

Gijesa is a term referring to a Confucian memorial rite held to honor the ancestors at the earliest hour on the anniversary of their death with food offerings prepared the day before. Koreans have maintained this tradition to remember and honor their ancestors on this day. The ceremony was traditionally held at ***jasi*** (Kor. 자시, Chin. 子時, the hour of the rat, between 23:30 to 00:30) when a new day starts. There were two reasons for holding the rite at this time. First, the memorial rite was held at the earliest possible hour on the day of death to show that honoring the ancestors took priority over everything else. Second, this was deemed to be a quiet hour in the middle of the night that the ancestors would favor most for their visit to this world. However, the rapid growth of the urban population following industrialization made it increasingly difficult to hold ***gijesa*** while living in the city, resulting in the tendency of performing the rite on the evening of the



Gijedo (Diagram for a Death Anniversary Rite)
Gyeomam seonsaeng munjip (謙菴先生文集, Collected Works of Gyeomam) | National Library of Korea








Gijesa

1. Removing the cover of the lacquered box storing the spirit tablet
2. Incense burning
3. Offering of liquor to ancestral spirits
4. Offering of grilled meat to ancestral spirits
5. Waiting until the ancestral spirits have finished their meal
6. Sticking a spoon in the rice bowl and arranging chopsticks on a plate
7. Closing the door of the ritual room
8. Bidding farewell to the departing spirit

Head-family home of the Pungsan Ryu clan in Andong, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province

1	2
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7	8

Gijesa

1. Arrangement of food offerings
2. Incense burning
3. Offering of liquor to ancestral spirits
4. Making two rounds of deep bows after the liquor offering
5. Offering more liquor during a rite
6. Sticking a spoon in the rice bowl
7. Mixing three spoons of rice with plain water in a symbolic dessert drink offering to the ancestral spirit
8. Removal of food offerings

Cheongho-dong in Sokcho, Gangwon-do Province | 2013

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death anniversary.

Gijesa is typically held in the wooden-floored hall in the case of the head family of the clan or the main bedroom for ordinary families. Wealthy families with an illustrious history may build a special ritual hall in their homes, but it is normally reserved for rites held for ancestors whose spirit tablets are enshrined in perpetuity (***bulcheonwi***). Ordinary *gijesa* are held in the wooden-floored hall.

As the hour of the rat approaches, the descendants prepare themselves to arrange food offerings and write prayers to be recited during the ceremony. Today, however, more and more families tend to omit the reciting of prayers. Families with no shrine of their own and hence no ancestral tablets prepare paper spirit tablets well before the start of the ceremony. Ritual officiants and the main participants of *gijesa* consist of the direct descendants of the ancestors to be honored and close relatives sharing the same family name.

According to the concept of *gagarye*, the details of the ancestral rites can vary from one family to the next. *Gijesa* also varies according to family in time, procedure and types and amount of food offerings. Today, it tends to be difficult for family members living in urban areas, as it often forces them to endure complex procedures and a long and difficult journey home to the countryside. Despite these troubles, the *gijesa* tradition is still maintained in the great majority of families, likely because they still feel it important to have an opportunity to pay their respects to their ancestors.

Gijesa has been the foundation of all Confucian rites and ceremonies, playing an important role for descendants to pay homage to their ancestors and strengthen bonds between family members and relatives. As a Confucian rite for the dead, holding *gijesa* is also an expression of the Confucian virtue of filial piety. It is performed according to the principle of ***sadaebongsa*** (Kor. 사대봉사, Chin. 四代奉祀, conducting memorial rites for the four latest generations of ancestors), providing descendants an opportunity to express their respects to the ancestors they had been acquainted with before their death.

DANSEOL 단설

Rite for a single ancestor

Memorial ceremony held to commemorate the death anniversary of only one ancestor.

The act of placing the ancestral spirit tablets on the ritual table for an annual memorial rite is called ***seorwi***. This act is divided into two types according to the number of the tablets. One is ***danseol***, which is a rite held for a single ancestor on his or her death anniversary, and the other is ***hapseol***, which is a rite held for two ancestors regardless of their death anniversary. On the death anniversary of a parent, the rite should be held for that parent only, and it is not appropriate to extend it to other ancestors. Such a rule is not intended for discrimination but to focus the expression of grief upon one ancestor. Commemorating death anniversaries is an extension of the funeral, and therefore a memorial rite should be held only for the ancestor who died on that day. Despite this rule, many families hold a joint rite for husband and wife out of simple human feeling to honor the two ancestors together.

Taking the spirit tablet to the place of the memorial rite
Head-family home of the Andong Gwon clan in Bonghwa, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province

DANGNAE 당내

Close relatives sharing the same great-great-grandparents

A term referring to close relatives sharing the same great-great-grandparents.

The term ***dangnae*** seems to have come into widespread use during the Joseon period when the importance of the male lineage grew significantly, resulting in the creation and popular use of related terms such as ***dongjong*** and ***jongjok*** in reference to people of the same family clan. It came to be commonly used in the transitional period when the concept of relatives tended to exclude people related through one's mother or wife and was limited to the paternal line. The system in which mourners wore traditional mourning garments at the funeral of relatives who shared the same great-great-grandparents had already been established in the early Joseon period, but it was after the 17th century that the concept of relatives became limited to the paternal relatives, who were later referred to as ***dangnae***. Therefore, it seems that the scope of ***dangnae*** was established based on the concept of relatives formed during the mid and late Joseon period, where it was limited to the paternal line. The scope of relatives defined as "a group of people who share the same great-great-grandparents" is still regarded as a legal standard.

DOKCHUK 독축

Prayer recitation

The procedure of reading a written prayer at a memorial rite to honor ancestral spirits.

Dokchuk is a procedure in a funeral or memorial rite in which a prayer is read to honor the ancestral spirits and inform them of the purpose of the event for which people have gathered. The prayer is read by an appointed reader for fear that the family head, who is also the main officiant of the ceremony, should not be able to perform the role if overwhelmed with grief. The prayer reading is also intended to inform the participants of the purpose of the ceremony.

The prayer is read after the first of the three liquor offerings, which is why it is called ***samheon-***

Prayer recitation
Head-family home of the Andong Gwon clan in Bonghwa, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province

dokchuk (Kor. 삼헌독축, Chin. 三獻讀祝, lit. three offerings and prayer reading). Memorial rites held on seasonal holidays are not among the official memorial rites but are based on the provision in the chapter of "Shrines," in "Jujagarye" (朱子家禮, Family Rituals of Zhu Xi), where it is said: "On folk holidays only seasonal food is offered." This explains why the seasonal holiday rites consist of a single wine offering with no prayer reading. The ceremony is still succinctly depicted as ***danheonmuchuk*** (Kor. 단헌무축, Chin. 單獻無祝, lit. single offering with no prayer).

MYOJE 묘제

Graveside rites

Memorial rite held at an ancestor's grave.

There are several different terms for the memorial rite held at the ancestor's grave according to region, including ***sije*** (Kor. 시제, Chin. 時祭, lit. memorial rite at designated times), ***sisa*** (Kor. 시사, Chin. 時祀, lit. rite at designated times), ***sihyang*** (Kor. 시향, Chin. 時享, lit. entertainment at designated times), ***myosa*** (Kor. 묘사, Chin. 墓祀, lit. rite held at the grave), and ***hoejeon*** (Kor. 회전, Chin. 會奠, lit. gathering for a ceremony).

While ***myoje*** refers to the memorial rites held at the ancestors' graves, the subject of worship may differ according to family and region. According to "Saryejibui,"[34] the memorial rites for one's great-great-grandparents or older ancestors are held on the first day of the tenth month in addition to the rites held at the graveside. While the date on which myoje is held may vary, the ***bongsadaesu*** (Kor. 봉사대수, Chin. 奉祀代數, the number of generations of ancestors for whom memorial rites are regularly held) is always the same. Therefore, the subjects worshipped at graveside memorial rites range from the founders of a clan or family to the latest generations of ancestors.

The graveside memorial rite follows almost the exact procedures of ancestral rites held at home. When it is not possible to reach the ancestor's grave for some reason, for example, a natural disaster, the rite may be held in the format of ***mangje*** (Kor. 망제, Chin. 望祭, lit. rite held from a distance), which

34 "Collected Regulations of the Four Rites," a book of the four main family rites compiled by Park Mun-ho in 1922.








Myoje

1. Arrangement of food offerings
2. Paying reverence to the descending spirit
3. Prayer recitation
4. Burning the prayer paper
5. Rite to the Mountain God
6. Invoking the ancestral spirit
7. First liquor offering
8. Partaking of food from the ritual table after the rite

Dosan Seowon Confucian Academy in Tanbang-dong, Seo-gu in Daejeon | 2000

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takes place at a ritual hall or a place some distance from the grave. The ***myoje*** procedures are somewhat simpler than those of rites held at home due to the open-air location. Their major procedures are as follows.

① Preparation of the ceremony, ② Cleaning of the gravesite, ③ Arrangement of food offerings, ④ Evoking and paying revernece to the ancestral spirits, ⑤ Three offerings of wine, ⑥ Salutation to the departing spirits and removal of food offerings, and ⑦ Thanksgiving ceremony for the god of the earth.[35]

It is not certain whether the graveside rite, developed from native folk customs, was intended to honor the ancestral spirit or ***baek***, the corporeal soul, bound to the corpse. But the details in the procedures of ***chamsin*** (Kor. 참신, Chin. 參神, paying reverence to the descending spirit) and ***gangsin*** (Kor. 강신, Chin. 降神, evoking the ancestral spirit) as well as the written prayers indicate the rite is held in honor of the ancestral spirits. In Korea, the graveside rites are also held on seasonal holidays and death anniversaries, reflecting the fact that the ***sasije***[36] were later incorporated into the seasonal holiday rites. The custom of graveside rites suggests that Koreans of the past placed importance in both the ancestral spirits and their coporeal souls.

I BONGJESAJEOPBINGAEK

봉제사접빈객

Holding ancestral rites and showing hospitality to guests

Confucian virtue of holding ancestral memorial rites and showing hospitality to guests.

The head family of a clan typically held more than twelve ancestral memorial rites in a year to fulfill their duty of ***sadaebongsa*** (Kor. 사대봉사, Chin. 四代奉祀, lit. conducting memorial rites for the four latest generations of ancestors), including ***gijesa*** (Kor. 기제사, Chin. 忌祭祀, memorial rite for ancestors on their death anniversary), ***myoje*** (Kor. 묘제, Chin. 墓祭, memorial service held at the grave of an ancestor) and ***charye*** (Kor. 차례, Chin. 茶禮, memorial rite on major seasonal holidays). Each of these rites was conducted with the participation of a large group of relatives, and feeding and entertaining them was a large task to fulfill. Therefore, the head families prepared ***bongsajo*** (Kor. 봉사조, Chin. 奉祀條, lit. legal provisions on the ancestral memorial rites) in an effort to cope with the financial burden imposed by the rites. According to the legal provisions, which covered inheritance of properties in connection with financial support for the rites to take care of the deceased ancestors, the head family inherited land and slaves. As the family that inherited the duty of honoring the ancestors with annual memorial rites, it was entitled to maintain and use the income made through the property, but not to dispose of it.

35 In Korean the last five stages of the ceremony are called ③ *jinchan*, ④ *gangsin* and *chamsin*, ⑤ *choheon*, *aheon* and *jongheon*, ⑥ *sasin* and *cheolsang*, and ⑦ *hutoje*.

36 Ceremonies held each of the four seasons.

The head family took utmost care in receiving guests according to the rules of propriety. In this, the role of ***jongbu*** (Kor. 종부, Chin. 宗婦, wife of the male heir of the head family of a clan) was particularly important, and many ***jongbu*** regarded the rites as their lifetime duty. For ordinary families with financial constraints, it was necessary to plan carefully not only for the rites but also other occasions when they had to receive guests by separately putting away rice and other food that could be kept in storage for a long time.

I BULCHEONWIJESA 불천위제사

Rite for ancestors honored in perpetuity

Annaul memorial rites held in perpetuity for an ancestor under the permission of the state in reognition of that ancestor's achievements or distinguished service to the country.

It was necessary for a family head to continue to keep the spirit tablet of his third great grandfather or beyond in the family shrine if that ancestor had performed meritorious service for the state or was famed for great academic achievements, and to hold annual memorial rites in his honor regardless of the tradition of ***chinjin*** (Kor. 친진, Chin. 親盡, lit. end of the immediate line of kinship, that is, the four latest generations of ancestors, to be honored in memorial rites). The term ***bulcheonwijesa*** refers to the memorial rites held for such an ancestor, while the term ***bulcheonwi*** (Kor. 불천위, Chin. 不遷位, lit. immovable ancestral tablet) refers to the spirit tablet of that ancestor.

The third great grandfather of a family head whose spirit tablet was recognized as ***bulcheonwi*** was given special attention and placed in a separate shrine The ***bulcheonwi*** ancestors were given special attention and their spirit tablets were placed in a separate shrine called ***byeolmyo*** (Kor. 별묘, Chin. 別廟, shrine storing the spirit tablets of ancestors that are no longer kept in the family shrine proper). For families not able to afford a separate shrine, the ***bulcheonwi*** continued to be kept in the family shrine but received special treatment. The ***bulcheonwijesa*** is, strictly speaking, a kind of ***gijesa*** (Kor. 기제사, Chin. 忌祭祀, memorial rite for ancestors on their death anniversary). It was held on a grander scale, however, and in a stricter manner because it tended to attract wider attention from the community. One of the most significant features of the ***bulcheonwijesa*** is the abundance of food offered to the ancestral spirits. The food offerings were more diverse than usual and piled up in higher mounds.[37] What made the event even more special was the offering of broth and fresh meat. In general, only one or three bowls of broth were offered in an ordinary ancestral rite, but five bowls in the ***bulcheonwijesa*** as a sign of acknowledgement of the greatness of that particular ancestor.

Bulcheonwijesa served to strengthen the identity of participants as members of the same clan through the process of paying homage to a revered ancestor. The rites also had a social role in that they enhanced communication among the lo-

37 Food elaborately piled up to impress the ancestral spirit is called *goim*.








Bulcheonwijesa

1. Notifying an ancestor that the spirit tablet will be taken to the memorial rite
2. Writing a roster for funeral officiants and allocation of tasks
3. Removing the cover of the lacquered box storing the spirit tablet
4. Invoking the ancestral spirit
5. Paying reverence to the descending spirit
6. Setting main dishes on the ritual table
7. Ritual table
8. Incense burning

Head-family home of the Yeongcheon Yi clan in Andong, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province | 2003

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Bulcheonwijesa

9. First liquor offering
10. Prayer recitation
11. Second liquor offering
12. Making two deep bows in the second liquor offering
13. Sticking a spoon in the rice bowl
14. Mixing three spoons of rice with plain water in a symbolic dessert drink offering to the ancestral spirit
15. Burning the prayer paper
16. Partaking of food from the ritual table after the rite

Head-family home of the Yeongcheon Yi clan in Andong, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province | 2003

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cal Confucian scholars to address issues that they faced. For some families, the ***bulcheonwijesa*** was a good opportunity to display their wealth and influence.

SADANG 사당
Family shrine

The shrine where ancestral spirit tablets are kept.

In Korea, the Confucian shrines started to become wideapread when the Joseon Dynasty adopted Neo-Confucianism as the ruling ideology. The dynasty encouraged ruling class families to set up Confucian shrines in the belief that the shrine and the ancestral spirit tablets were key factors in establishing a system of burial and memorial rites based on Confucian ideology. Initially, active encouragement and support from the state did not lead to any substantial results. It was after the reign of King Seonjo (r. 1567–1608) that Confucian shrines began to be established across the country. The practice of building family shrines as an institution representing the Confucian ritual system in this period flourished under state-level efforts to establish and spread clan regulations based on Confucianism as a way to deal with the social disorder caused by the Japanese invasions 1592–1598.

Confucian family shrines built during the Joseon period generally had a three-bay structure and typically had a southern orientation. At homes on a small site, the shrine could be reduced to a single-bay building. The shrine had a wooden floor inside, which was covered with mats. Other features included the ***jungmun*** (Kor. 중문, Chin. 中門, lit. middle gate) set up under the middle purlins and ***bunhammun*** (Kor. 분합문, Chin. 分闔門, four-panel folding door) on each bay. There were a pair of stone steps outside the folding doors called ***jogye*** (Kor. 조계, Chin. 祚階, lit. eastern step) and ***seogye*** (Kor. 서계, Chin. 西階, lit. western step) respectively. The eastern step was exclusively used by the family head, while the western step was used by all others. The shrine was typically enclosed by a wall with a gate called ***oemun*** (Kor. 외문, Chin. 外門, lit. outer gate), built on the front section of the wall. With its location in the south of the wall, the outer gate faced the middle gate. It was also connected with

Sadang
1. Outside a family shrine
2. Inside a family shrine
Head-family home of the Seonsan Kim clan in Goryeong, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province

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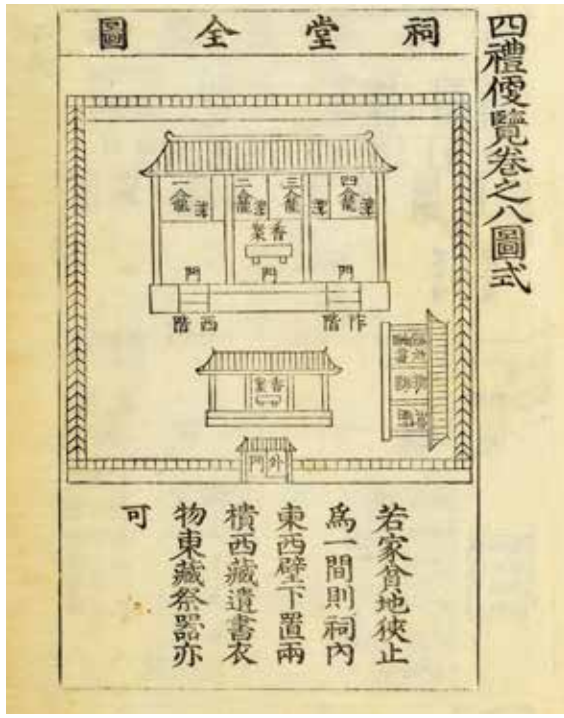
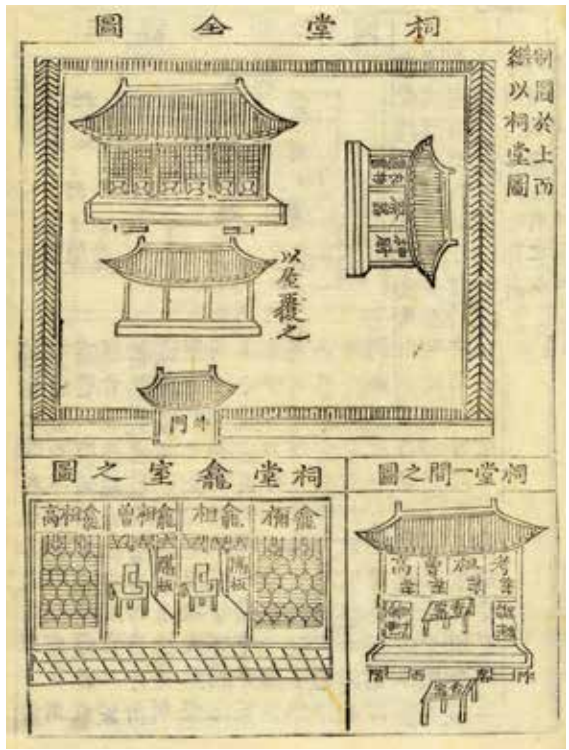
Sadangjido (Chart of a Family Shrine Arrangement)
Jujagarye (朱子家禮, Family Rituals of Zhu Xi)



Sadangjeondo (Diagram of a Shrine)
Saryepyeollam (四禮便覽, Handbook of the Four Ceremonies)

Sadangjeondo (Diagram of a Shrine)
Garyejimnam (家禮輯覽, Illustrated Account of Family Ceremonies)



Sadangjeondo (Diagram of a Shrine)
Garyejeunghae (家禮增解, Augmented Interpretation of the Family Rituals)

the walls on both sides, east and west.

The term ***sadang***, or shrine, refers to any building where the spirit tablets of the dead are kept but is generally used in reference to a family shrine. As the place where the spirit tablets of the ancestors were kept, the family shrine was considered the most reverent place in the house, and accordingly entry was strictly regulated.

The spirit tablets of ancestors kept in the family shrine served to guide all descendants to lead a life faithful to Confucian propriety. Rites held at the Confucian family shrine largely consisted of ***sinallye*** (Kor. 신알례, Chin. 晨謁禮, lit. rite held at dawn), ***churimnye*** (Kor. 출입례, Chin. 出入禮, lit. rite of entry and exit), ***chamnye*** (Kor. 참례, Chin. 參禮, lit. rite of attendance), ***cheonsillye*** (Kor. 천신례, Chin. 薦新禮, lit. rite on the new harvest) and ***goyurye*** (Kor. 고유례, Chin. 告由禮, lit. ancestral consultation rite). ***Sinallye***, in which the family head delivers the first greetings of the day to the ancestral spirits, was held in the early morning. ***Churimnye*** was held to inform the ancestral spirits whenever the family head left home or returned. ***Chamnye*** refers to the rites held on the first and fifteenth days of the month by the lunar calendar, lunar New Year's Day, and the winter solstice, while ***cheonsillye*** is the offering of seasonal festive food to the ancestral spirits on the seasonal holidays of Cheongmyeong,[38] ***Hansik***,[39] and Jungyang.[40] Finally, ***goyurye*** is a rite held to inform the ancestral spirits of special family affairs.

These ceremonies held at the family shrine are distinguished from the ancestral rites held on the death anniversaries as they were held almost on a daily basis, as if the deceased ancestors were still part of the household. As the family shrines gradually disappeared, so did the associated rites, which were eventually incorporated into a single ceremony now called ***charye*** (Kor. 차례, Chin. 茶禮, lit. tea offering rite). Today, the family shrine ceremonies have been replaced by ***charye***, which now refers not to a tea offering rite but the ancestral rites held twice a year on the major holidays, lunar New Year's Day and ***Chuseok*** (Kor. 추석, Chin. 秋夕, harvest moon festival, fifteenth day of the eighth lunar month). ***Charye*** is one of two major ancestral memorial rites, the other being ***gijesa*** (Kor. 기제사, Chin. 忌祭祀, memorial rite for ancestors on their death anniversary).

SADAEBONGSA 사대봉사

Rites for four generations of ancestors

Confucian custom of holding memorial rites in honor of the four latest generations of ancestors, from deceased parents to the great great grandparents.

The tradition of ***sadaebongsa*** was established in the belief that the great great grandparents would be the oldest ancestors one has a chance to see

38 Literally "clear and bright," Cheongmyeong is the fifth of the twenty–four solar terms falling on the third lunar month, usually occurring around April fifth of the Gregorian calendar.

39 Literally "cold food," *Hansik* is a Korean traditional holiday falling on the 105th day after the winter solstice, approximately April fifth on the Gregorian calendar.

40 Literally "double brightness," Jungyang is a traditional Korean seasonal holiday observed on the ninth day of the ninth month by the lunar calendar.

Lacquered boxes storing ancestral spirit tablets in a family shrine
Head-family home of the Wolseong Son clan in Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province | 2000

before their death. Descendants sharing the same great great grandparents are sometimes referred to as ***yubokchin*** (Kor. 유복친, Chin. 有服親, lit. relatives in mourning garments), because they were entitled to wear the official mourning garments. When the Confucian style ancestral rites were introduced to Korea during the late Goryeo period, they were held not according to the ***sadaebongsa*** system but based on the status of the family in the clan holding the ceremony. Application of a grading system in the practice of ancestral memorial rites was influenced by the clan law system established in early Chinese society.

According to the Chinese clan law system, clans were divided into ***daejong*** (Kor. 대종, Chin. 大宗, lit. major clans) and ***sojong*** (Kor. 소종, Chin. 小宗, lit. minor clans). The former had no limit to the number of generations of ancestors honored in the rites, while for the latter the number was limited to the four latest generations. Early Joseon rulers tried to establish a standard system based on "Jujagarye" (朱子家禮, Family Rituals of Zhu Xi), but with the promulgation of "Gyeonggukdaejeon" (Great Code of National Governance) in 1474 the rites were limited to the three latest generations of ancestors. It was only after the 18th century, when the provisions of "Jujagarye" were spread to common families that ***sadaebongsa*** was fully established. In 1973, the number of generations honored in annual memorial rites was drastically reduced to two after the Korean government issued the Regulations on Family Ceremonies in an effort to simplify traditional family ceremonies. Recently, there have been moves to reduce the number to three or two, or even one to honor all the deceased ancestors at the same time, while still many other families remain faithful to the ***sadaebongsa*** tradition.

SASIN 사신

Bidding farewell to the departing spirit

Ritual of bidding farewell to the departing ancestral spirits after a memorial rite.

In this final part of an ancestral rite, all the participants make two deep ceremonial bows to the spirit tablet to bid farewell to the departing spirit. The procedure is as follows: The two attendants standing left and right of the family head move forward to the spirit tablet, remove the spoon and chopsticks from the bowl of rice, and put the lid on the bowl. Then all the main participants, including the family head, make two ceremonial bows, while the wife of the family head makes four bows. The prayer reciter goes to the incense burner and burns the written prayer together with ***jibang*** (Kor. 지방, Chin. 紙榜, a temporary spirit tablet made of paper),

Sasin
1. Bidding farewell to the departing spirit
2. Burning the prayer paper
Head-family home of the Seonsan Kim clan in Goryeong, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province | 2002

then moves back.

An ancestral memorial rite is in the same manner in which the living invite guests and entertain them with good food and drink before bidding them farewell. ***Sasin*** is then the final part of the rite, in which the living and the dead part from each other after a brief union. An important feature of this procedure is that the participants make two deep ceremonial bows to the departing ancestral spirits, just as they did when receiving the spirits in the procedure called ***chamsin*** (Kor. 참신, Chin. 參神, paying reverence to the descending spirit).

SAENGSINJE 생신제

Memorial rite on the ancestor's birthday

Ancestral rite held to commemorate the birthdays of ancestors subject to ***gijesa*** (Kor. 기제사, Chin. 忌祭祀, memorial rite for ancestors on their death anniversary).

Saengsinje refers to two kinds of rites: one is the rite held every year on the ancestor's birthday, and the other is the rite held on the ancestor's sixty first birthday. In the former, a simple ritual table is offered in the morning of the birthday. Depending on region, it is conducted for one year, three years, or every year. In the latter case, the rite is conducted on the morning of ancestor's ***hwangap*** (Kor. 환갑, Chin. 還甲, lit. the age of sixty one, meaning completion of the traditional sexagenarian cycle). After the ceremony, a set of clothing is burned after offering it before the grave.

Ancestral memorial rites are a way to identify one's roots and express appreciation for the beneficence of the ancestors, and an extension of one's filial duties. Especially, the birthday memorial rites are a good example of ***bobonuirye*** (Kor. 보본의례, Chin. 報本儀禮, lit. to remember one's roots and repay the favor of the ancestors) that is unique to Korea.

SEONGMYO 성묘

Ancestral grave visit

Visiting ancestral graves to clean and look after them.

Seongmyo refers to visiting ancestral graves on

major traditional holidays such as ***Chuseok*** (Kor. 추석, Chin. 秋夕, harvest moon festival, fifteenth day of the eighth lunar month) or seasonal occasions such as ***Hansik*** (Kor. 한식, Chin. 寒食, lit. cold food [day])[41] to clean and take care of them. Looking after the ancestral graves where the bodies are buried has been traditionally considered as important as holding ancestral rites in honor of the ancestal spirits. The custom of visiting the graves on ***Hansik*** originated in the Tang period of China (618–907). In the Goryeo dynasty of Korea (918–1392), the royal court performed memorial rites at ***Jongmyo*** (Kor. 종묘, Chin. 宗廟, Royal ancestral shrine) and the royal tombs, while the general public traveled to the burial sites of their ancestors.

The custom of ***seongmyo*** refers not just to the physical act of tending the burial site but rather a combination of caring and paying respects to the ancestors with ritual bows. These days it has become a common practice to visit the graves mainly on ***Hansik*** and ***Chuseok***. On ***Hansik*** in the third lunar month, ***gaesacho*** (改莎草) is conducted—tombs damaged in the preceding winter to spring period are repaired by adding dirt and replanting grass on the parts of the burial mound which have collapsed or eroded away. At ***Chuseok***, people travel to the ancestral grave sites after holding the memorial rites at home. They refurbish the site in preparation for the coming winter by cutting or plucking out weeds and bushes that have grown during summer after ***Hansik***. In the past, when memorial rites were performed at the graveside in October, people did not hold the rites at ***Chuseok***.

Seongmyo
1. Ancestral grave visit on a major seasonal holiday
2. Tending an ancestral grave on a major seasonal holiday
Janggok-myeon in Hongseong, Chungcheongnam-do Province | 2003

1/2

These days, however, people generally conduct the graveside memorial rite at ***Chuseok*** also, as few can afford the time for another trip. Visiting ancestral graves and observing the rites there on ***Chuseok*** is of particular importance as the new crops of the year are first offered to the ancestors on the day as a symbolic gesture.

41 The 105th day after the winter solstice. People traditionally refrained from using fire and ate cold food on this day, hence the name.

SINJU 신주

Spirit tablet

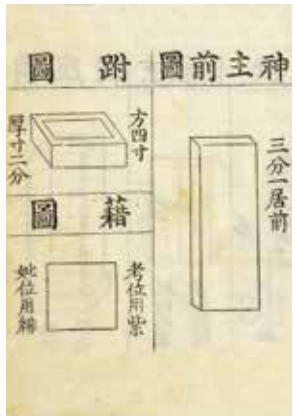
Sinche (Kor. 신체, Chin. 神體, lit. spiritual material) that embodies ***sillyeong*** (Kor. 신령, Chin. 神靈, lit. spirits) of ancestors. In other words, it is a spirit tablet that embodies the spirit of an ancestor.

Sinju (spirit tablet) is made during the funeral period and enshrined after burial, with the name of the deceased person inscribed on it. It is made of chestnut wood in a tradition dating back to the Zhou Dynasty of China (1045–256 BC). The spirit tablet is stored in a black lacquered box or jar, along with a cover and a mat, and is preserved in ***gamsil*** (Kor. 감실, Chin. 龕室, wooden case to hold the spirit tablets) in the family shrine and taken out for ancestral rites.

Zhu Xi, the preeminent Neo-Confucian master of the Southern Song (1126–1271), said that people called on the ***hon*** (Kor. 혼, Chin. 魂, bright energy of the spirit) and ***baek*** (Kor. 백, Chin. 魄, dark energy of the spirit) and made a spirit tablet, believing that it contained the spirit of the deceased and was a device for keeping in contact with the ancestors. In his book "Jujagarye" (朱子家禮, Family Rituals of Zhu Xi), he described the custom as follows: First, ***chohon*** (Kor. 초혼, Chin. 招魂, lit. calling the spirits of the dead) takes place right after a person dies and the spirit is entrusted to his or her upper garment. After bathing the body of the deceased and changing the clothes, ***honbaek*** (Kor. 혼백, Chin. 魂帛, lit. spirit cloth), a piece of cloth serving as the temporary spirit tablet, is folded and ***myeongjeong*** (Kor. 명정, Chin. 銘旌, banner inscribed with the name and rank of the deceased) is set up. The ***sinju*** (spirit tablet) is prepared after burying the body. The temporary spirit tablet is buried at the grave site after the funeral, while the spirit tablet is preserved in the family shrine until the fourth generation of the offspring of the deceased perishes before being buried in the grave.

Sinjusik (Spirit Tablet Ceremony)
Jujagarye (朱子家禮, Family Rituals of Zhu Xi)

Sinjujeondo (Spirit Tablet Diagram)
Saryepyeollam (四禮便覽, Handbook of the Four Ceremonies)



Spirit tablets honored at a family shrine
Head-family home of the Jinju Jeong clan in Sangju, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province

OESONBONGSA 외손봉사

Memorial ceremony for one's maternal ancestors

A memorial rite held for the maternal grandmother by the daughters' descendants.

Around the late Joseon era, it gradually became the custom for ancestral memorial rites to be performed by ***jeokjangja*** (Kor. 적장자, Chin. 嫡長子, lit. legitimate firstborn son), but up until the mid Joseon period, those who conducted ancestral rites were chosen in various ways: ***yunhoebongsa*** (Kor. 윤회봉사, Chin. 輪回奉祀) was a rite observed by sons and daughters alternately; ***oesonbongsa*** (Kor. 외손봉사, Chin. 外孫奉祀) held by the descendants of the dead person's daughter; and ***chongbubongsa*** (Kor. 총부봉사, Chin. 冢婦奉祀) conducted by the wife of the deceased. This resulted from the bi-lineal kinship system, which put equal emphasis on paternal and maternal ties, though Joseon was mainly a paternal society. Yet, after the 17th century, the rites came to be conducted by legitimate first-born sons, as clan rules placed emphasis on genealogy succession by legitimate firstborn sons.

YUSIK 유식

Waiting until the ancestral spirits have finished their meal

Part of the ancestral memorial rite in which ritual officiants wait bowed down on the floor until the ancestral spirits finish their meal.

As a ritual offering of food to ancestors, ***yusik*** consists of two parts, ***cheomjak*** (Kor. 첨작, Chin. 添酌) and ***sapsijeongjeo*** (Kor. 삽시정저, Chin. 揷匙正箸): the officiant offers liquor and sticks a spoon in a rice bowl, arranging chopsticks on a plate with the handles heading west. The host, or head of the household, steps up to pour liquor from a ewer into the cup next to the ancestral spirit tablets and stands southeast of the ***hyangan*** (Kor. 향안, Chin. 香案, lit. incense burner table). The hostess steps up and sticks a spoon in a rice bowl (handle heading west)

Offering more liquor during a rite
Head-family home of the Ulsan Kim clan in Jangseong, Jeollanam-do Province

Spoon stuck in a rice bowl and chopsticks arranged on a plate during a rite
Head-family home of the Seonsan Kim clan in Goryeong, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province

and neatly places chopsticks on a plate (with the tips heading west), and stands southwest of the incense burner table. After making deep bows toward north, the host twice and the hostess four times, they step down to their positions.

At a ***gijesa*** (memorial rite for ancestors on their death anniversary), all participants do ***bubok*** (Kor. 부복, Chin. 俯伏, bowing down on the floor) after ***samheon*** (Kor. 삼헌, Chin. 三獻, offering liquor three times), which signifies waiting till the ancestors have fully enjoyed their meal. Then several spoonfuls of rice are placed in a bowl of water and a silent tribute is briefly paid. The spoon is placed down, the lid is placed on the rice bowl, and two more deep bows are made.

Yusik demonstrates the descendants' care and attention for their ancestors, waiting for them to finish their meal just as they did when they were alive.

I YUNHOEBONGSA 윤회봉사

Rite observed by sons and daughters alternately

A tradition in which the descendants share duties or take turns in holding the ancestral memorial rites.

Yunhoebongsa was a way of holding the ancestral memorial rites that was common when social emphasis on paternity was not prevalent and paternal clan groups had not been well formed. Though clan regulations were introduced along with Neo-Confucianism in the late Goryeo period, they did not come into wide use till the early Joseon dynasty. Thus, by the mid-17th century, ***yunhoebongsa*** was commonly practiced in ruling class households along with ***jangnambongsa***, in which the first-born son took charge of observing the ancestral rites.

Yunhoebongsa is conducted in diverse ways. Basically, the descendants decide among themselves which ancestor's memory they will venerate. That is, the responsibility of observing ancestral rites is divided among sons and daughters. If this is not deemed appropriate, the siblings take turns each year to hold the ancestral rites.

Property inheritance document (*bunjaegi*), in which Yun Chim of the Papyeong Yun clan evenly distributed the family property among his three sons and one daughter. It also states that the ancestral rites should be first observed by sons and daughters alternately and then the responsibilities gradually shifted to the head family
1973

EUMBOK 음복

Lit. receiving blessings

Sharing food and drink after ancestral memorial rites, literally meaning "receiving blessings."

Eumbok literally means "receiving blessings" from the ancestors. It originally meant the drinking of liquor used for the rites, but later on came to include eating food from the ritual table as well.

Eumbok is a process in which the descendants make offerings to their ancestors, who would endow on them blessings after fully enjoying them. During the rite, only the ***jeju*** (Kor. 제주, Chin. 祭主, host of the ceremony) partakes of the ritual food. When the rite is over, however, participants and neighbors share the food and drink so that they can feel a sense of unity through the meeting of the living with the ancestral spirits.

Partaking of food from the ritual table after the rite
Andong, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province

JEGI 제기

Ritual vessels

Ritual vessels and related implements used in memorial rites.

Jegi are largely categorized into vessels to hold liquor or water, those for ritual offerings, and other implements.

In the past, so much significance was attached to ritual vessels that every household had a set and took great care of them even in ordinary times. These days, however, everyday vessels are generally used for the ancestral rites.

The ritual vessels for food offerings include those for steamed rice called ***bangi*** (飯器). In the form of ***kkokji bari*** (bowl with a knobbed lid) in everyday life, the rice bowl has a low foot and lid. The vessel for soup is in a form of wide bowl (***daejeop***) and called ***gaenggi*** (羹器). These days, however, this particular type of vessel is used to serve broth and is called ***tanggi*** (湯器), while soup is served in wide bowls for everyday use. The ***gaenggi*** or ***tanggi*** has a relatively high foot and no lid. Bowls called wan (椀, also called ***sabal***, meaning porcelain bowl) that taper to the bottom are used to serve noodles, while layers of rice cake are piled up on a wide bowl—the former called ***myeongi*** (麵器, noodle vessel) and the latter ***byeonggi*** (餠器, rice cake vessel).

Wide bowls are also used to serve grilled meat or fish as well as vegetables and in these cases they are called ***jeokgi*** (炙器, lit. vessel for grilled meat) and ***sochaegi*** (蔬菜器, vessel for greens), respectively. However, it is more common to use wooden, rectangular plates with a low foot to serve rice cake and grilled meat or fish. These wooden plates are called ***tteokteul*** (lit. rice cake frame) and ***jeokteul*** (lit. grilled meat frame), respectively.

Either plates or porcelain bowls (***sabal***) can be used as vessels for fish or meat (***eoyukgi***, 魚肉器) while ***sijeojeop*** (匙箸楪) are plates for sets of

Ritual vessels
Owned by the head family of the Uiseong Kim clan in Andong, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province

chopsticks and spoons. Other implements include vessels for fruits (***gwagi***, 果器), dried slices of meat or fish (***pogi***, 脯器), salted seafood (***haegi***, 醢器) as well as chopsticks and spoons.

Implements related with liquor and water include liquor bottles, ewers (***juju***, 酒注), cups and saucers (***janban***, 盞盤), water bottles (***hyeonjubyeong***, 玄酒甁), liquor cup tables (***juga***, 酒架), and ***moban*** (Kor. 모반, Chin. 茅盤, lit. grass tray), a vessel containing sand and a bundle of grass into which wine is poured to invite the spirits. Ritual vessels are divided into wooden, porcelain or brass ware depending on the material. Due to their light weight and portability, wooden ones must have been used for ***myoje*** (Kor. 묘제, Chin. 墓祭, lit. graveside rites) while the others were intended for use at home.

JERYE 제례

Lit. ancestral memorial rite

Rites to venerate the ancestors and propriety to be kept at the ritual ceremonies.

Jerye is one of the four ceremonies described in "Jujagarye" (朱子家禮, Family Rituals of Zhu Xi) along with the coming-of-age, weddings, and funeral rites. These rites are held in memory of the ancestors and to honor their deeds. The family shrine is generally located to the east of the house, which symbolicaly means attending upon the ancestors as if they were alive. Inside the shrine are the ***sinju*** (Kor. 신주, Chin. 神主, spirit tablets) of four generations of ancestors, with the highest generation on the westernmost side. Also, according to the rule of ***goseo bidong*** (Kor. 고서비동, Chin. 考西妣東, lit.

dead father in the west, dead mother in the east), the spirit tablets of the deceased father and mother are enshrined in the west and east, respectively.

The descendants notify the ancestors whenever events of significance occur in the family; visit the shrine every morning and evening as if inquiring the well-being of living parents; and perform ***charye*** (Kor. 차례, Chin. 茶禮, daytime ancestral rites) on the first and fifteenth day of every lunar month. These daytime rites are observed on major traditional holidays such as ***Seollal*** (lunar New Year's Day) and ***Chuseok*** (Kor. 추석, Chin. 秋夕, harvest moon festival, the fifteenth day of the eighth lunar month); for seasonal celebrations, the season's new harvest is offered to the ancestors in a rite called ***cheonsin*** (Kor. 천신, Chin. 薦新, lit. offering the new); and ***sije*** (Kor. 시제, Chin. 時祭, lit. memoral rite at designated times) is held in spring and fall. Also, ***gijesa*** (Kor. 기제사, Chin. 忌祭祀, death anniversary rite) is observed on the death anniversary of the ancestors. By serving the ancestors wholeheartedly through these rites, the descendants are believed to receive blessings from the ancestors and teach their children filial piety and respect for those before their time. If the family was unable to afford an independent shrine, the spirit tablets were enshrined in a ***byeokgam*** (Kor. 벽감, Chin. 壁龕, wall niche) in one of the walls of the house or a container in the shape of ***gamsil*** (Kor. 감실, Chin. 龕室, wooden shrine in box form holding the spirit tablets), or a shrine painting titled ***Gammoyeojaedo*** (Kor. 감모여재도, Chin. 感慕如在圖, lit. Thinking of and missing the [ancestors] as if they are alive) served as a substitute for the shrine proper.

Preparations for ancestral memorial services start with a procedure called ***jaegye*** (Kor. 재계, Chin. 齋戒, cleansing one's body and soul) and arranging the ***sinwi*** (Kor. 신위, Chin. 神位, spirit tablets) at the venue of the rite a day before it takes place. The succeeding procedures are as follows:

Jinseol (Kor. 진설, Chin. 陳設, lit. table arrangment): The offerings including wild greens, fruits and alcoholic beverages are placed on the table in the early hours of the ritual day (after midnight).

Chamsin (Kor. 참신, Chin. 參神, paying reverence to the descending spirit): The ancestors are welcomed and all the participants including the host perform two prostrations in their designated positions.

Gangsin (Kor. 강신, Chin. 降神, invoking the ancestral spirit): The spirits of the ancestors are guided to the ritual venue. The host calls on the positive energy of the deceased from heaven by burning

Gamyojido (Illustration of a Family Shrine)
Jujagarye (朱子家禮, Family Rituals of Zhu Xi)

incense, and the negative energy by pouring liquor into ***mosagi*** (Kor. 모사기, Chin. 茅沙器, lit. a jar of sand). Recognizing the arrival of the spirits, the host performs two prostrations.

Heonjak (Kor. 헌작, Chin. 獻爵, liquor offering): Liquor is offered three times — each offering called ***choheon*** (Kor. 초헌, Chin. 初獻, first liquor offering), ***aheon*** (Kor. 아헌, Chin. 亞獻, second liquor offering) and ***jongheon*** (Kor. 종헌, Chin. 終獻, final liquor offering) — before two prostrations.

Yusik (Kor. 유식, Chin. 侑食, lit. encouraging eating): The host encourages the ancestors to eat by adding more liquor to fill the cups, in a ritual procedure called ***cheomjak*** (Kor. 첨작, Chin. 添酌, lit. adding a cup).

Hammun (Kor. 합문, Chin. 闔門, lit. closing the door): The prayer reciter closes the door of the ritual room and leaves so that the ancestors can enjoy the offerings. As the door is closed, adult male participants face the west on the eastern side of the door while females and children, facing east, stand on the western side.

Gyemun (Kor. 계문, Chin. 啓門, lit. opening the door): The prayer reciter signals the end of the meal with three dry coughs and opens the door.

Sasin (Kor. 사신, Chin. 辭神, lit. sending off the spirits): As the memorial service has come to an end, all the participants send off the ancestors with two prostrations.

Cheolsang (Kor. 철상, Chin. 撤床, removal of food offerings): All the food offerings are cleared off the table. In the past, ***eumbok*** (Kor. 음복, Chin. 飮福, lit. receiving blessings) was not carried out at death anniversary rites. These days, however, the participants partake of food offerings after all the memorial rites as a symbolic gesture of receiving the blessings bequeathed upon the family, and some families visit their ancestral gravesites and perform loud wailing there.

In the Joseon period (1392–1910), the content on ancestral rites in "Jujagarye" (朱子家禮, Family Rituals of Zhu Xi) was adopted as the ethics for practice by the nobility but the details varied depending on region and family, which resulted in a phenomenon known as ***gagarye*** (Kor. 가가례, Chin. 家家禮, individual family rites). The variations occurred as the book on family rites did not go into detail as to how the memorial rites should be performed. Also, as the book was originally written for Chinese readers, the content needed to be interpreted and adapted to fit ancient Korean society.

With the transition from the traditional, extended family unit to the nuclear family, memorial rites on death anniversaries, the lunar New Year and ***Chuseok*** have become recognized as ancestral rites. In particular, as the latter two occasions are designated national holidays, more family members and relatives gather to celebrate the festive occasions and thus ritual offerings are greater in amount and quality on the holidays than on the death anniversaries. To encourage increased participation in the memorial rites, the number of ritual days is being lessened through a method called ***hapsa*** (Kor. 합사, Chin. 合祀, lit. combined service), or honoring two or more ancestors together at the same time. Also, there is a growing trend in which memorial services are held in the evening of the death anniversary instead of the early hours of the moring for the convenience of participants who need to work in the daytime. Due to difficulties in preparing the ritual offerings, the number of businesses specializing in such matters is also growing.








Jerye

1. Taking a spirit tablet to the place of the memorial rite | Head-family home of the Eunjin Song clan in Daejeon
2. Taking the spirit tablet back to its original place and burning the prayer paper after a rite | Head-family home of the Seoheung Kim clan in Dalseong, Daegu
3. Arrangement of food offerings | Head-family home of the Yecheon Gwon clan in Gyeongsangbuk-do Province
4. Ritual bows offered in gratitude for the ancestors' finishing their meal at an ancestral rite on Dongji | Head-family home of the Seoheung Kim clan in Changnyeong, Gyeongsangnam-do Province
5. Offering of liquor to ancestral spirits | Head-family home of the Gyeongju Choe clan in Daegu
6. Ancestral memorial rite on a major seasonal holiday
7. Graveside rite | Dosan Seowon Confucian Academy in Tanbang-dong, Seo-gu in Daejeon
8. Graveside rite observed by the Dongnae Jeong clan | Ancestral gravesite of the Dongnae Jeong clan in Busan

1 | 2
3 | 4
5 | 6
7 | 8

JEMUL 제물

Ritual offerings

Ritual food offered by the descendants to the ancestors during memorial rites.

Jemul refers to food offerings used in memorial rites. Those preparing the rite take great care to keep the offerings from impurities by cleansing themselves, body and soul. They do not say anything unnecessary when buying the food or try to get discount on them. While cooking, the food is not tasted and care is taken to prevent human hair from falling onto the food. It is believed that if these taboos are not observed, the ancestors would get angry or bring bad luck. "Jujagarye" (朱子家禮, Family Rituals of Zhu Xi) dictates that the offerings should not be consumed nor contaminated by cats, dogs, bugs and rats before the rite takes place.

There is little difference between families in terms of the number of offerings served on the ritual table. Basically offerings consist of steamed rice, soup (***gaeng***, 羹) or broth (***tang***, 湯), noodles (***myeon***, 麵), dried slices of meat or fish (***po***, 脯), sauces (***jang***, 醬), grilled meat or fish (***jeok***, 炙), ***chimchae*** (沈菜) or literally "soaked vegetables," cooked vegetables (***sukchae***, 熟菜), rice cake(***pyeon***, 餠), fruits(***gwa***, 果) and liquor (***ju***, 酒). The rice served on the ritual table is particularly called me to differentiate it from everyday rice. According to books on ceremonies and rituals, beef, lamb or pork is generally used to make the soup but in the northern part of Gyeongsangbuk-do Province, soup with bean sprouts and radish is served. While broth, along with rice and soup, is an essential component of the offerings, it cannot be found in records of ancient ceremonies.

Jemul

1. Food offerings at the death anniversary rite for Joseon civil official Jeong Gyeong-se | Head-family home of the Jinju Jeong clan in Sangju, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province
2. Food offerings at a death anniversary rite of the Yecheon Gwon clan | Head-family home of the Yecheon Gwon clan in Gyeongsangbuk-do Province
3. Food offerings at a death anniversary rite | Mulgeon Village in Namhae, Gyeongsangnam-do Province
4. Food offerings at a graveside rite of the Eunjin Song clan | Ancestral gravesite of the Eunjin Song clan in Dong-gu, Daejeon

Jeok
Head-family home of the Gwangsan Kim clan in Nonsan, Chungcheongnam-do Province

As such, although the books on rites and ceremonies dictate the offerings must be arranged in four rows, another row has been added to include broth as well. Broth is prepared with fish (***eotang***, 魚湯), meat (***yuktang***, 肉湯), chicken (***gyetang***, 鷄湯), and clams or vegetables (***sotang***, 蔬湯). ***Jeok*** refers to grilled meat, fish or chicken. In large-scale rites such as ***bulcheonwijesa*** (Kor. 불천위제사, Chin. 不遷位祭祀, rites for ancestors honored in perpetuity) and ***myoje*** (Kor. 묘제, Chin. 墓祭, graveside rites), ***jeok*** is piled in three layers on a rectangular dish with a foot (***jeokteul***). ***Tang*** and ***jeok*** are basically made from ***umorin*** (Kor. 우모린, Chin. 羽毛鱗, lit. feathers, hair and scales), meaning feathered animals, quadruped hairy animals, and fish with scales.

As for ***pyeon***, or rice cake on the ritual table, layers of ***sirutteok*** or steamed rice cake called ***bonpyeon*** forms the base upon which various types of rice cake are piled. As decorative elements, the upper layers of the rice cake vary in form, color, material and how they are made. ***Sukchae*** is prepared with three vegetables from among bracken, broad bellflowers, spinach, radish, bean sprouts and dropwort. ***Chimchae*** refers to watery kimchi prepared without chili peppers. Six kinds of fruit should be prepared according to "Family Rituals of Zhu Xi" but the exact types are not specified. In general, chestnuts, jujubes, pears and persimmons are used, sometimes accompanied by seasonal fruits. Dried slices of meat (***yukpo***) is made with beef while cod, octopus and dried pollack are the material for fish jerky (***eopo***) with frozen pollack, sea mussels and squid also possible candidates. Along with fruits and jerky, liquor constitutes the essentials of sacrificial offerings and refined rice wine (***jeongjong***) is generally served. In the past, almost every household would brew their own wine for use in rites.

The offerings in ancestral rites intend to serve the ancestors and invite blessings through the symbolic behavior of ***eumbok*** (Kor. 음복, Chin. 飮福, lit. receiving blessings), or partaking of the ritual food after the ceremony. They vary in number and type depending on each respective area's natural environment, social or cultural background, and the etiquette of each family

JEBOK 제복
Ritual garments

Special garments worn at a memorial rite.

In the Joseon dynasty (1392–1910), a memorial rite was considered propriety for worshipping ancestors and practice of filial duty. Accordingly, every family differentiates garments worn for the rite from everyday clothes. For a memorial rite those in official posts wear ***gongbok*** (Kor. 공복, Chin. 公服, lit. official clothes) and ***bokdu*** (Kor. 복두, Chin. 幞頭, lit. ritual cap), whereas those not in official posts wear ***simui*** (Kor. 심의, Chin. 深衣, scholar's robe) with ***bokgeon*** (Kor. 복건, Chin. 幅巾, lit. black hat) or ***dopo*** (Kor.도포, Chin. 道袍, noblemen's robe) and ***yugeon*** (Kor. 유건, Chin. 儒巾, lit. hat). Before putting them on, they perform their absolutions.

The eldest daughter-in-law (*jongbu*) in green jade ritual garment, head family of the Wolseong Son clan
Head-family home of the Wolseong Son clan in Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province | 2000

Participants in ritual garments during a rite at the head-family home of the Andong Gwon clan in Bonghwa, Gyeongsangbuk-do
Head-family home of the Andong Gwon clan in Bonghwa, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province | 2002

Special garments for memorial rites are distinguished from everyday clothes. In the past, households prepared these special garments before they thought about their casual clothes, implying their importance. With the passage of time and changes in the social environment, garments for memorial rites have changed from the traditional ones such as ***gongbok***, ***simui***, ***dopo*** and ***durumagi*** to a modern suit, for practical reasons; the attitude of preparing the clothes and wearing them properly has remained the same.

JESADOGU 제사도구

Implements for memorial rites

Implements used at a memorial rite in general.

In a broad sense, ***jegi***, vessels used at a memorial rite, are included in ***jesadogu***, but in general, the word refers to implements other than ***jegi*** required for a memorial rite. Among the major instruments are ***sinju*** (Kor. 신주, 神主, lit. spirit tablet), ***gyoui*** (Kor. 교의, chin. 交椅, lit. mortuary table-chair), ***jesang*** (Kor. 제상, Chin. 祭床 , lit. ceremony table), ***hyangno*** (Kor. 향로, Chin. 香爐, lit. incense burner), ***hyanghap*** (Kor. 향합, Chin. 香盒, lit. incense case), ***hyangsang*** (Kor. 향상, Chin. 香床, lit. incense burner table) with ***mosagi*** (Kor. 모사기, Chin. 茅沙器, lit. jar of sand) on it, a liquor jar, a liquor cup table where once offered liquor cups are placed (***juga***, 酒架), ***soban*** (Kor. 소반, Chin.小盤, lit. table used for food offering and withdrawal), candlesticks, ***chukpan*** (Kor. 축판, Chin. 祝板, lit. table for written memorial address), and a mat.

Implements for memorial rites

I JOSANGSUNGBAE 조상숭배

Ancestor worship

Worship of ancestors by a family, clan, or national community.

Ancestor worship has the socio-religious aspect of clan regulations and the ceremonial aspect of ritual. In study of the succession of memorial rites, the descendants should have religious belief in ancestors and conduct a series of ceremonies to them since the ancestors have descendants from a certain genealogy. Not all of the deceased can be ancestors; human relations are succeeded based on descendants or clans, and the deceased become ancestors when they are honored in certain ceremonies. Worshipping ancestors is faith based on the relationship between parents and children, that is, family relations. Ancestors, in the context of worship, are succeeded from great-grandfathers, grandfathers to fathers. From this genealogical perspective, ancestors are worshipped in spirit tablets, are concerned about and take care of the descendants. However, the five latest generations of ancestors or more are generally considered part of the clan but not members of the family. Among these older ancestors, only those whose spirit tablets are kept in the family shrine in perpetuity (***bulcheonwi***, 不遷位) are subject to rites performed at home.

Ancestor worship in shamanism is contrary to Confucian ancestor worship in many respects. Confucianism is largely focused on worshipping ancestors, but in shamanism ancestor worship is more characteristic of ceremonies for the deceased (***sajauirye***, 死者儀禮). Ancestral deities are just one kind of god among the many gods in shamanism. In Confucianism, the ancestors are defined in relatively distinctive categories, but not in shamanism. Filial rights and responsibilities are combined with religious ancestor worship in the ancestral

Inside a family shrine
Head-family home of the Seoheung Kim clan in Dalseong, Daegu

memorial rites of Confucianism, while shamanism only focuses on the religious aspect. Confucianism places emphasis on patriarchal, male-centered society, whereas shamanism complements what is disregarded or discriminated in Confucianism and patriarchal society.

JONGGA 종가

Head family

Head family of a clan descended through the eldest sons (under the concubine system, legitimate eldest sons).

The concept of ***jongga*** originated in the code of clan regulations. The code of clan regulations is the logic that helps keep a kin group remain stable within a pyramid-shaped system; it is also a rule that prescribes where the legitimacy of the group is held. According to the code of clan regulations, an entire patrilineal kin group, that is, a lineage of eldest sons is called ***daejong*** (Kor. 대종, Chin. 大宗) and groups centered on each generation from the great-great-grandfather. That is, separated groups from the head family of ***daejong*** are called ***sojong*** (Kor. 소종, Chin. 小宗). The head family of ***daejong*** is referred to as ***daejongga*** and that of ***sojong***, ***sojongga***. Around the 16th century, the head family of a clan descended through its eldest sons began to be established, and by the 17th to 18th centuries served as a cultural model. Among the families descended through the eldest sons, only those admired by others are recognized as the head family.

Head-family home of the Andong Gwon clan in Bonghwa, Gyeongsangbuk-do
Head-family home of the Andong Gwon clan in Bonghwa, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province

Shrine at the head-family home of the Andong Gwon clan in Bonghwa, Gyeongsangbuk-do
Head-family home of the Andong Gwon clan in Bonghwa, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province

JONGBEOP 종법

Code of clan regulations

Code of clan regulations as the basis of a kin system that organizes a clan, succeeds memorial ceremonies, and integrates tribes.

Jongbeop is a code of clan regulations as the basis of the paternal kin system in Korea; it especially distinguishes ***gije*** (Kor. 기제, Chin. 忌祭, death anniversary rite held at home) from ***sije*** (Kor.

시제, Chin. 時祭, memorial rite held outside the home). Above all, ***jongbeop*** defines the range of a clan formed by descendants who share the same great-great-grandfather (***dangnaechin***), and serves as principles for clan organization and activities. ***Daejong*** (Kor. 대종, Chin. 大宗, lit. eldest head family of a clan), which became common in the late Joseon period, regards a kin system as a collective group who share the same progenitor, whereas ***pa*** (Kor. 파, Chin. 派, lit. branch) generally plays the role of ***daejong***. A branch is a sub-group founded from ***pajo*** (Kor. 파조, Chin. 派祖, lit. an origin of branch) such as high officials or renowned scholars.

Noble families that form a clan strengthen the system of a clan or a family with the same last name and ancestor as a means to guarantee control over rural society or to increase solidarity among themselves. Most prestigious families founded a clan system called ***jokgye*** or ***jonggye*** in the 17th century, emphasized the authority of their family by praising ***hyeonjo*** (Kor. 현조, Chin. 顯祖, renowned ancestors), and created symbolic foundations such as the head family of a clan descended through its eldest sons, a house for memorial rites around graves, and private schools for elementary education.

JIBANG 지방

Paper spirit tablet

Spirit tablet made of paper (***jibang***) used in a household without a family shrine instead of ***sinju*** (Kor. 신주, Chin. 神主, spirit tablet) made of wood or stone for memorial rites such as ***gijesa*** (Kor. 기제사, Chin. 忌祭祀, death anniversary rite) or ***charye*** (Kor. 차례, Chin. 茶禮, memorial rite on major seasonal holidays) to honor the ancestors on traditional holidays including ***Chuseok*** (Kor. 추석, Chin. 秋夕, harvest moon festival, fifteenth day of the eighth lunar month) or lunar New Year's Day.

When there was no ***sadang*** (Kor. 사당, Chin. 祠堂, shrine) to enshrine the ancestral spirit tablets, people used a temporary paper tablet called ***jibang***, on which they wrote information about the dead.

A ***jibang*** includes written information on the position and title of the deceased, the same as the information on the ***sinju*** (ancestral spirit tablet). Unlike a ***sinju***, ***sinwi*** (Kor. 신위, Chin. 神位, spiritual body of the ancestor) is written on a ***jibang***. On the paper spirit tablet, in view of the relationship between the dead and the master of the ancestral rite, the master's father coincides with the character ***go*** (고, 考), literally meaning the deceased father; the master's mother is signified with the character ***bi*** (비, 妣), indicating the deceased mother; the grandfather and grandmother are indicated with ***jogo*** (조고, 祖考) and ***jobi*** (조비, 祖妣), literally meaning the deceased grandfather and grandmother, respectively; the great-grandfather and grandmother with ***jeungjogo*** (증조고, 曾祖考) and ***jeungjobi*** (증조비, 曾祖妣); and the great-great grandfather and grandmother with ***gojogo*** (고조고, 高祖考) and ***gojobi*** (고조비, 高祖妣). The character ***hyeon*** (현, 顯), whose literal meaning is "to be present," comes before these relationship-identifying words: ***hyeongo*** (현고, 顯考), ***hyeonbi*** (현비, 顯妣), ***hyeonjogo*** (현조고, 顯祖考), ***hyeonjobi*** (현조비, 顯祖妣), ***hyeonjeungjogo*** (현증조고, 顯曾祖考), and ***hyeonjeungjobi*** (현증조비, 顯曾

Making a paper spirit tablet
Cheongho-dong in Sokcho, Gangwon-do Province | 2013

Frame for paper spirit tablets
Early 20th C

祖妣). The master's deceased husband is addressed as ***hyeonbyeok*** (현벽, 顯辟), meaning the presence of the deceased husband, whereas the master's wife does not come with the character ***hyeon*** (현, 顯), and is instead designated as ***mangsil*** (망실, 亡室) or ***gosil*** (고실, 故室), both indicating the late wife. On the ***jibang***, the posthumous name for the master's older brother is ***hyeonhyeong*** (현형, 顯兄), representing the deceased older brother; the term for the older brother's wife is ***hyeonhyeongsu*** (현형수, 顯兄嫂), literally meaning the older brother's deceased wife; and the posthumous name for the master's younger brother is ***mangje*** (망제, 亡弟) or ***goje*** (고제, 故弟), meaning the deceased younger brother. The master's child is designated on the ancestral tablet as ***mangja*** (망자, 亡子) or ***goja*** (고자, 故子), both literally meaning the deceased child.

Out of respect for the position of the deceased, if a deceased man held government office, the title of his final post is written on the ***jibang***. Meanwhile, a deceased woman is identified according to her husband's official rank: ***jeonggyeongbuin*** (정경부인, 貞敬夫人), ***jeongbuin*** (정부인, 貞夫人) or ***sukbuin*** (숙부인, 淑夫人) in the hierarchical order of the husband's rank in office.[42] A man with no official post is named ***haksaeng*** (학생, 學生), a man who studies, and the master's wife is named ***yuin*** (유인, 孺人), meaning the wife of a man. With regard to posthumous designations of the deceased, a man is called ***bugun*** (부군, 府君), representing the deceased father, whereas a woman is designated her clan origin and family name. The master's child or younger brother bears his own name. In principle, a paper ancestral spirit tablet is needed for each of the deceased

42 *Jeonggyeongbuin* means that the lady is a legitimate wife of a first–rank official, jeongbuin the wife of a second–rank official, and *sukbuin* the wife of a third–rank official.

like a ***sinju***, a wooden spirit tablet. However, when husband and wife are designated together on the ***jibang***, the ***sinwi*** of the deceased mother is written on the right side (east side) and that of the deceased father on the left side (west side) in accordance with the principle called ***jwagoubi*** (좌고우비, 左考右妣), in which the deceased father is placed on the left side and the deceased mother on the right side.

As a ***jibang*** is deemed to be the temporary ***sinche*** (Kor. 신체, Chin. 神體, spiritual body of an ancestor), the procedure for the memorial service where the paper spirit tablet is placed differs from the one used for the permanent spirit tablet, or ***sinju***. In other words, ***chamsin*** (Kor. 참신, Chin. 參神, paying reverence to the descending spirit) first takes place in front of the ***sinju*** as if the deceased ancestor was alive, as the ***sinju*** represents the ancestor's spiritual body. However, when ***jibang*** is placed for a memorial service, the procedure called ***gangsin*** (Kor. 강신, Chin. 降神, invoking the ancestral spirit) is first carried out, which is then followed by paying respect to the descending ancestral spirit. And finally, after ***sasin*** (Kor. 사신, Chin. 辭神, bidding farewell to the departing spirit) the temporary paper spirit tablet is burned. In some cases, however, this paper spirit tablet is made in collapsible form for permanent use, similar to the wooden ***sinju*** spirit tablet.

JINSEOL 진설

Arrangement of food offerings

The process of arranging ***jegu*** (Kor. 제구, Chin. 祭具, ritual implements), ***jegi*** (Kor. 제기, Chin. 祭器, ritual vessels), and ***jesu*** (Kor. 제수, Chin. 祭需, ritual offerings) to be used during an ancestral rites ceremony.

Jinseol, as preparation for a memorial rite, is the procedure of setting ritual implements, vessels and food offerings upon a table. During the table-setting procedure, spoons and liquor cups are first arranged along with fish, ***po*** (Kor. 포, Chin. 脯, dried meat), fruits and vegetables, food items for which it does not matter if they get cold; warm food such as cooked rice, soup, and broth are set after the ***gangsin*** (강신, 降神) procedure of invoking the spirit of an ancestor—in which incense is burnt and traditional liquor is poured into ***mosagi*** (Kor. 모사기, Chin. 茅沙器, lit. jar

Jinseol 1/2
1. Arrangement of food offerings | Head-family home of the Wolseong Son clan in Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province
2. Arrangement of food offerings | Head-family home of the Seonsan Kim clan in Goryeong, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province

of sand) before the first cup of liquor is offered to the deceased ancestor—in order to communicate with the spirit of the ancestor; red meat dishes are placed at the time of ***heonjak*** (Kor. 헌작, Chin. 獻爵, the offering of liquor) during a memorial ceremony. In modern times, however, food offerings are all arranged at the same time in some households.

The most important point for consideration during this preparation is to distinguish the right and left sides with the spirit tablet at the center. The right and left sides of a spirit tablet are opposite to those of a living person, so it is essential to distinguish the two sides correctly.

The procedures of the ancestral rites are identical even in different guide books for conducting ceremonies. However, the way the ceremony is carried out and the kinds of ritual foods used vary according to each family. As a result, different books provide different pictures that describe the table settings for memorial services, which are called ***jinseoldo*** (진설도, 陳設圖). During the ***jinseol*** procedure, in the first row, directly in front of the spirit tablet, liquor cups are arranged with spoons, cooked rice, and soup; broth is placed in the second row; in the third row noodles, meat dishes, dishes made of sliced and grilled meat or vegetables, and fish dishes are placed in order from the leftmost side; ***pyeon*** (rice cake) is set farthest to the right; in the fourth row ***po*** (dried meat), ***jang*** (sauces), vegetables, and ***hae*** (pickled fish) are placed in order from the leftmost side, ***sikhye*** (sweet rice drink) is placed farthest to the right; and fruits are generally placed in the fifth row.

Although there are certain principles for how to arrange the offerings, every household follows its own rules. This characteristic is called ***gagarye*** (가가례, 家家禮), which means that ceremonies are held differently according to family traditions. Such differences are mostly attributable to political affiliation (factions) and the pride of family clans. However, they are also attributable to the fact that the pictures describing the table settings for ancestral rites contained in different ritual books do not provide specific names for individual food offerings.

Sije maewi jinchando (Diagram for Arrangement of Food Offerings at Seasonal Memorial Rites)
Garyejimnam (家禮輯覽, Illustrated Account of Family Ceremonies)

Diagram for arrangement of ritual food offerings
1900s

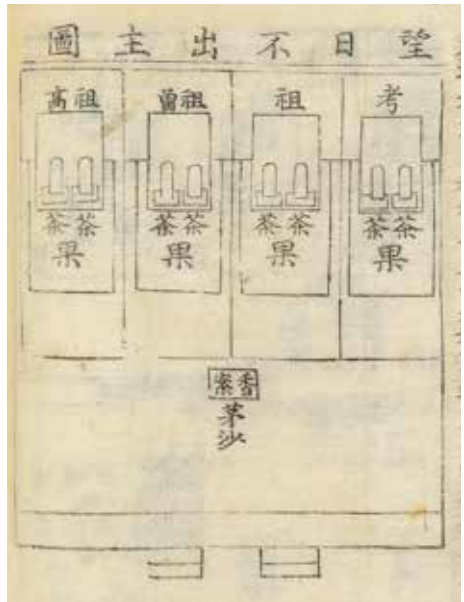
CHARYE 차례

Ancestral rites held on holidays

An ancestral rite held in the daytime on major holidays or seasonal festive occasions in honor of the four latest generations of ancestors.

Charye (차례, 茶禮) is an ancestral rite held on holidays or certain days that mark the change of seasons. Today, it is not common to observe memorial rites on days that mark the changing of seasons and ***charye*** rites held on ***Seol***, or the first day of the first lunar month, and ***Chuseok*** (추석, 秋夕), which falls on the fifteenth day of the eighth lunar month, are the only ones that have survived to date. However, in the head family of a respected clan with a family shrine, ancestral rites are still observed on ***Jungyang*** (Kor. 중양, Chin. 重陽, ninth day of the ninth lunar month) and ***Hansik*** (Kor. 한식, Chin. 寒食, around April fifth on the Gregorian calendar). ***Charye***, held on holidays, was originally called ***sokjeoljesa*** (Kor. 속절제사, Chin. 俗節祭祀, memorial rite held on a customary holiday) and is not a ceremony that is included in texts regarding the rules of propriety. Indeed, no book of rites mentions ***charye***, the ancestral rites held on holidays.

The ancestors honored in ***charye*** are identical to those of ***gijesa*** (Kor. 기제사, Chin. 忌祭祀, death anniversary rite). For example, a household that practices ***sadaebongsa*** (Kor. 사대봉사, Chin. 四代奉祀, conducting memorial rites for the four latest generations of ancestors), holds rites for a total of eight ancestors including great-great-grandparents, great-grandparents, grandparents, and parents. In households honoring ancestors up to the two latest generations, memorial rites are held for four ancestral spirits in total, including the parents and grandparents. On the morning of a major holiday, ***charye*** is performed by households in Korea with a wooden spirit tablet called ***sinju*** (Kor. 신주, Chin. 神主, spirit tablet) or a paper spirit tablet called ***jibang*** (지방, 紙榜), or even a portrait of the dead. Like



Mangil bulchuljudo (Illustration of a rite on a full moon day without taking the spirit tablets out of the shrine)
Garyejimnam (家禮輯覽, Illustrated Account of Family Ceremonies)

gijesa, in principle ***charye*** is also performed at the home of the firstborn son of the eldest son. However, according to the traditions in different regions and families, ***charye*** may be observed at the graveside on ***Hansik*** and ***Chuseok***. In the past, it was more common for ancestral rites to be held at home on ***Seol*** (lunar New Year's Day) whereas the rites were performed at the graves of ancestors on ***Hansik*** and ***Chuseok***. In recent years, however, it has become commonplace to hold memorial rites at home at both ***Seol*** and ***Chuseok***. The tradition of visiting ancestral graves at ***Chuseok*** is still carried on by a majority of Koreans, whereas the tradition of visiting a family member's grave at ***Hansik*** is losing ground.

The rules for conducting ***charye*** are very basic since it is a simplified memorial rite: traditional liquor is offered only once and recitation of a written prayer is omitted; seasonal foods such as ***tteokguk*** (rice cake soup, eaten on lunar New Year's Day),

Ancestral memorial rite on Junggu (lit. double nine), the ninth day of the ninth lunar month
Head-family home of the Pungsan Ryu clan in Andong, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province

Memorial rite on a major seasonal holiday
Head-family home of the Haenam Yun clan in Jeollanam-do Province

noodles, or rice cake are used as food offerings to the ancestors. The cooked rice and soup are not placed on the ritual table. The arrangement of ritual props and preparation of food are almost identical with those for ***gijesa*** (Kor. 기제사, Chin. 忌祭祀, death anniversary rites), ***sije*** (시제, 時祭) or ***myoje*** (묘제, 墓祭), memorial rites held at an ancestor's grave. However, in the case of ***charye***, the rite is performed for all the four latest generations of ancestors, which calls for enough space to place multiple spirit tablets and food offerings. As a result, four sets of chairs and tables are needed. If such space is not available, separate memorial services for all the generations of ancestors can be performed one by one, beginning with the oldest generation.

As ***charye*** is held in the morning, lighting candles is not necessary. The table setting for ***charye*** is almost identical to that of ***gijesa***. However, there are some exceptions. First, all grilled meat such as beef, fish, or chicken (***jeok***, 적, 炙) is placed on a single plate and set on the table in advance. This is because the liquor offering occurs only once. According to propriety, at the memorial rite on lunar New Year's Day, a bowl of ***tteokguk***, or rice cake soup, is set in place of cooked rice and soup, whereas the spaces for cooked rice and soup are kept vacant during ***charye*** held on ***Hansik*** and ***Chuseok*** holidays. But in recent times cooked rice and soup are often placed on the ritual table. Seasonal foods are prepared for ***Chuseok***, including soup made with taros, beef, kelp, and ***songpyeon*** (half-moon shaped rice cakes); whereas for ***Hansik***, pan-fried sweet rice cakes with flower petals and rice cake with mugwort are given as offerings.

CHAMSIN 참신

Paying reverence to the descending spirit

Ceremonial procedure of receiving the spirit of a deceased ancestor.

Chamsin is a ritual procedure in which participants, along with the master of the ceremony, pay homage to the descended ancestral spirit by bowing. After taking their positions, each male participant bows twice while women are supposed to bow four times. After bowing, the elderly and sick go to

another room to rest.

In cases where a ***jibang*** (Kor. 지방, Chin. 紙榜, paper spirit tablet) is being used, the ***gangsin*** (강신, 降神) ritual — in which incense is burnt and liquour is poured into a sand jar with a red string aorund it (***mosagi***) before the first cup of liquor is offered to the deceased ancestor — is carried out before ***chamsin*** (Kor. 참신, Chin. 參神, paying reverence to the descending spirit). Since the name of the ancestor is temporarily written on paper, a procedure is needed to ask the paper spirit tablet to bring an ancestral spirit to this world. In other words, descendants perform the ancestral rite by asking the paper spirit tablet to communicate with the ancestral spirit, which is called ***gangsin***.

Paying reverence to the descending spirit
1. Head-family home of the Seonsan Kim clan in Goryeong, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province
2. Head-family home of the Haenam Yun clan in Jeollanam-do Province

1/2

CHEOLSANG 철상

Removal of food offerings

Clearing all the food offerings and ritual utensils from the ***jesang*** (Kor. 제상, Chin. 祭床, ritual table).

Cheolsang is removal of the food offerings and ritual utensils from a ritual table at the end of an ancestral rite. The task of dealing with the liquor set on the table is undertaken by the ritual master's wife. Upon coming out of the shrine, the wife collects liquor remaining in cups, liquor jugs, and other bowls, and pours it into a bottle and seals it. The liquor sealed in the bottle is called ***bokju*** (Kor. 복주, Chin. 福酒, lit. good luck liquor). The food and liquor are served to family members and relatives. In contrast, in the case of ***gijesa*** (Kor. 기제사, Chin. 忌祭祀, death anniversary rite), the food offerings and ritual utensils are cleaned up, but the leftover food is not served to participants. Liquor and meat are not

Removal of food offerings from the ritual table
Wadong-ri, Gyoha-eup in Paju, Gyeonggi-do Province | 2000

consumed and music is not played. That is because ***gijesa*** is considered to be a ***sangnye*** (Kor. 상례, Chin. 喪禮, funeral rite).

CHUDOSIK 추도식

Christian memorial service

Korean-style Christian (Protestant) memorial service for the deceased.

Traditionally in Korean society, ancestral rites have not only served the political and social functions of Confucian ancestral memorial rires but also performed ethical functions of the family community centered on the virtue of ***hyo*** (Kor. 효, Chin. 孝, lit. filial duty) as a guideline for the practice of human duty. The virtue of filial piety underlies ancestral rites as it is put into practice when descendants perform the memorial rite for the deceased in a solemn manner, as if serving their living parents. Meanwhile, ancestral memorial rites connote a perception of the person honored in the ceremony. The entity served in the memorial ceremony is generally called ***shin*** (Kor. 신, Chin. 神, lit. god). Because the idea of god in the East includes a varied hierarchy, from ***sangje*** (Kor. 상제, Chin. 上帝, lit. highest god in heaven) to ancestral deity, it is different from monotheism in the West. This difference has long been controversial as it has taken the concrete form in how one looks at ancestral worship rites.

Apart from the controversy over whether to approve it or not, ***chudosik*** is a real ritual that it is already in practice among Korean Christian believers. Nevertheless, there has been a severe controversy over ***chudosik***, starting from the name itself. ***Chudosik*** is called ***chudoyebae*** (Kor. 추도예배, Chin. 追悼禮拜, lit. memorial worship service) in that everything in Christianity takes the form of a worship service. It is also called ***chumosik*** (Kor. 추모식, Chin. 追慕式, lit. memorial ceremony) or ***chumoyebae*** (Kor. 추모예배, Chin. 追慕禮拜, lit. memorial worship service), considering the difference of the meanings of ***chumo*** (Kor. 추모, Chin. 追慕, lit. cherish the memory of a deceased person) and ***chudo*** (Kor. 추도, Chin. 追悼, lit. sadly commemorate a deceased person).

When a person of great influence in a church or organization passes away, or ***socheon*** (Kor. 소천, Chin. 召天, lit. called from heaven), the church or organization can hold ***chudosik*** for the deceased person. Although the Protestant denominations have not made it official, some Korean Christians perform the ceremony in honor of the favor of their ancestors while giving thanks to God at the same time. They usually pay a tribute to good deeds of their deceased parents or ancestors on the date of death or on other date in a year after the funeral. Also, they commemorate a deceased person with prayers when all family members gather together, such as on ***Hansik*** (Kor. 한식, Chin, 寒食 the 105th day after the winter solstice), ***Chuseok*** (Kor. 추석, Chin. 秋夕, harvest moon festival, fifteenth day of the eighth lunar month), or Seol (Kor. 설, lunar New Year's Day). A rite to God, this ***chudosik*** or ***chudoyebae*** is an important opportunity for the descendants to realize the grace of God in a deeper way through filial duty, and it is also very beneficial for missionary work and children's education.

As the day of the memorial service draws near,

preparations need to be made for the service. First, the date and venue for the service are set, then participants are decided, and a minister or pastor is invited to hold the worship service. Although the specific processes or procedures may be different depending on denomination, ***chudosik***, in general, proceeds from the minister's meditation and opening prayer to all participants' confession of faith (Apostles' Creed), singing hymns and reading the Bible, interpreting the meanings of the Bible, offering prayers on behalf of all the people present, once again singing hymns, making commemorative remarks about the deceased person, conversation with the deceased in the Holy Spirit, reciting the Lord's Prayer, and offering a closing prayer. After the memorial worship service, participants eat together to promote fellowship.

Chudosik has been widely practiced in Korean society. This fact is specific evidence to demonstrate that Christianity has achieved harmony with the local culture, although ancestral worship has yet to bring about complete consensus in the Christian denominations. As a Christian variation of the ancestral memorial rite, ***chudosik*** is believed to have struck a balance with Korean culture because the Christian memorial service has not lost its original Christian sense nor committed the error of ignoring Korean cultural tradition

Hammun 1/2
1. Closing the door of the ritual room | Head-family home of the Yecheon Gwon clan in Gyeongsangbuk-do Province
2. Ritual table surrounded by folding screens so the ancestral spirits can freely eat the offered food | Head-family home of the Pungsan Ryu clan in Andong, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province

HAMMUN 합문

Lit. closing the door

Closing the door of a ritual room in order to give the ancestral spirit enough time to eat the offered food.

After ***yusik*** (Kor. 유식, Chin. 侑食, waiting until the ancestral spirits have had plenty to eat), the host or prayer reciter and all the participants close the door during a memorial rite so that the ancestral spirit may enjoy the meal in a leisurely manner. This process of closing the door of the ritual room is called ***hammun*** (Kor. 합문, Chin. 闔門).

When the prayer reciter closes the door, the host stands at the east gate, facing west and the men stand behind him. His wife stands at the west gate, facing east and the women stand behind her. Older people take a short break elsewhere. If there

is no door, a folding screen is set up to hide the ritual table and all the participants bow down before the screen for a while instead.

HAPSA 합사

Lit. combined service

Honoring two or more ancestors together in a single memorial rite.

There are largely two types of ***hapsa***. One is where memorial rites for ***biwi*** (Kor. 비위, Chin. 妣位, ancestral tablets of the deceased mother and older generation female ancestors) are skipped and instead held together with the memorial rites for ***gowi*** (Kor. 고위, Chin. 考位, ancestral tablets of the deceased father and older generation male ancestors). The other is honoring the deceased ancestors together at a single memorial rite held on a certain day.

More specifically, ***hapsa*** can be classified into four types. The first type refers to a joint memorial rite for the husband and wife, separate for each generation—father and mother, grandfather and grandmother, great-grandfather and great-grandmother, great-great-grandfather and great-great-grandmother. The rites are usually held on the death anniversary of the male ancestor. The second type is holding ***gijesa*** (Kor. 기제사, Chin. 忌祭祀, death anniversary rite) separately for each parent, and a joint ***gijesa*** each for the grandparents, great-grandparents and great-great-grandparents on the anniversary of the death of the male ancestor. The third type is holding a joint memorial rite for the parents and grandparents, and a single rite for both the great-grandparents and great-great-grandparents on the death anniversary of the great-great-grandfather. This reduces the number of ***gijesa*** to three per year. The fourth type is a single memorial rite for all four generation ancestors, which is held either on the death anniversary of the great-great-grandfather or the great-grandfather, or the Sunday following the earliest death anniversary of the year.

Holding a single memorial rite for both male and female ancestors on the death anniversary of the male ancestor is the norm these days. This is closely related to the marriage customs of the Joseon dynasty (1392–1910) where men's remarriage was institutionally accepted.

HAPSEOL 합설

Memorial rite for an ancestral couple

Honoring ***gowi*** (Kor. 고위, Chin. 考位, ancestral tablets of the deceased father and older generation male ancestors) and ***biwi*** (Kor. 비위, Chin. 妣位, ancestral tablets of the deceased mother and older generation

Memorial rite for an ancestral couple who are honored in perpetuity
Head-family home of the Jinju Jeong clan in Sangju, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province | 2000

female ancestors) together in a single memorial rite.

The arrangement of ***sinju*** (Kor. 신주, Chin. 神主, spirit tablet) on the offering table for the annual memorial rite is called ***seorwi*** (Kor. 설위, Chin. 設位, lit. placement of a spirit tablet), and is divided into two types according to the number of tablets placed on the table. One is ***danseol*** (Kor. 단설, Chin. 單設) where the ceremony is held for a single ancestor on his or her death anniversary, and the other is ***hapseol*** where the ceremony is held for an ancestral couple regardless of their death anniversaries, that is, holding a memorial rite for both on the death anniversary of the male ancestor and vice versa. In "Jujagarye" (朱子家禮, Family Rituals of Zhu Xi), it is stated that "only one ancestral tablet is placed on the table." Since commemorating a death anniversary is an extension of mourning, the general rule was that an annual memorial rite should be held only for the ancestor celebrating the anniversary of his or her death.

Despite the fact that "Jujagarye" and other such books of rites state that ***danseol*** is to be observed, ***hapseol*** is commonly practiced.

HEONSIK 헌식

Offering food to miscellaneous ghosts

Ritual offering of food for ***japgwi*** (Kor. 잡귀, Chin. 雜鬼, lit. miscellaneous ghosts), either by preparing a separate table with food before the ancestral memorial rite or serving small portions of the food offerings after the rite.

The "feeding of hungry ghosts" in India's ancestral worship tradition was transmitted to Korea and developed into the ritual of offering food to ***japgwi-japsin*** (Kor. 잡귀잡신, Chin. 雜鬼雜神, lit. miscellaneous ghosts and lesser gods), including ***agwi*** (Kor. 아귀, Chin. 餓鬼, lit. hungry ghosts). ***Japgwijapsin*** were human spirits who had died tragic deaths, harboring grievances or resentment, such as ***mujugohon*** (Kor. 무주고혼, Chin. 無主孤魂, lit. forlorn wandering spirit with no posterity to hold memorial rites); ***gaekgwi*** (Kor. 객귀, Chin. 客鬼, wayfarer ghost, or the spirit of a person who died an untimely death away from home); ***hatal*** (Kor. 하탈, Chin. 下頉, spirit of a woman who died during childbirth); and ***yeongsan*** (Kor. 영산, Chin. 靈山, spirit of a person who suffered a brutal and wrongful death). These spirits were thought to

Heonsik
1. Offering food to miscellaneous ghosts at a death anniversary rite | Cheongho-dong in Sokcho, Gangwon-do Province
2. Preparing food offered to miscellaneous ghosts | Jeju-do Province

1/2

be a negative presence that could bring ***hwa*** (Kor. 화, Chin. 禍, trouble or misfortune) to the living, which is why rites to appease them were passed down in various forms as a way to ward off disaster.

There are largely two types of food offerings for miscellaneous ghosts at ancestral memorial rites. The first is preparing a separate table with offerings for the evil spirits, usually consisting simply of liquor and rice cakes. Although varying by region, this is common in the Chungcheong-do and Jeolla-do provinces. The other type is treating the ghosts to small portions of the food offerings after the memorial rite. This is more widely practiced across the country.

Traditional ancestral rites in Korea are not only about paying respects to the ***jusin*** (Kor. 주신, Chin. 主神, main ancestral spirit), but also appeasing the resentment of ***japgwijapsin*** by serving them the kinds of food that suit their tastes. This tradition of ***heonsik*** stems from the Korean belief that it is important to maintain amicable relationships and avoid incurring the enmity of others. It reflects experiences in the real world where if a person bearing a grudge gets in the way, it is no use how many people come to your aid. In this respect, even if great care was taken in preparing for the memorial rite and honoring the ancestral spirit, if the ***japgwijapsin*** are slighted, everything would be futile.

Heonjak
1. Pouring liquor into a ritual vessel at a graveside rite
2. Removing liquor offered to the ancestral spirits at a graveside rite
3. Offering of grilled meat to ancestral spirits
Ancestral gravesite of the Gyeongju Son clan in Pohang, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province | 2002

1 2 3

HEONJAK 헌작

Offering of liquor to ancestral spirits

Part of a memorial rite where liquor is offered to an ancestral spirit to ask for good fortune.

As part of a memorial rite, ***heonjak*** signifies communication with the ancestral spirits and asking them to bring good fortune. Liquor was offered because it was thought that the ecstatic state achieved through drinking was a medium for communicating with the spirits. It was believed that by drinking liquor, the living and the spirits could communicate with each other in this state of ecstasy, which is why ***heonjak*** was considered an important part of ancestral rites in East Asian tradition. Usually three offerings of liquor are made at memorial rites: ***choheon*** (Kor. 초헌, Chin. 初獻, first liquor offering); ***aheon*** (Kor. 아헌, Chin. 亞獻, second liquor offering); ***jongheon*** (Kor. 종헌, Chin. 終獻, final liquor offering). The offering of libation is performed by ***heongwan*** (Kor. 헌관, Chin. 獻官, libation officiant). The ***choheongwan*** (Kor. 초헌관, Chin. 初獻官, first libation officiant) must always be the eldest son, the family head, while the ***aheongwan*** (Kor. 아헌관, Chin. 亞獻官, second libation officiant) is his spouse, and the ***jongheongwan*** (Kor. 종헌관, Chin. 終獻官, final libation officiant) is usually a senior member of the family or a guest. Before each libation, grilled meat, vegetables or fish are prepared and set on the ritual table.

HYO 효

Filial piety

The feeling of love and respect for one's parents.

Hyo (Kor. 효, Chin. 孝, lit. filial piety) is basically a natural human feeling like parents' love for their children. How this kind of love and feeling is institutionalized, however, is not the same in peoples and societies—that is, it can vary depending on society. Filial piety is a mutual relationship between parents and their children. In Korea, however, under the influence of Confucianism, particular emphasis is placed on children's filial duties toward their parents. In other words, for Koreans, filial piety is a unilateral concept. Subordinate to the unilateral relationship of ***chinja*** (Kor. 친자, Chin. 親子, lit. parent and child), the concept of ***hyo*** is extended to the grandchildren's filial piety and respect for their grandparents.

A sense of ***hyo***, or filial piety, seems to have extended to the institution of filial duty (***hyodo***) based on social morals and ethics. Essential ethics for children, filial piety is one of their duties to their parents. In other words, it is a natural emotion and a way of fulfilling filial obligations at the same time. As their parents gave them life and raise them, the children must repay them with filial piety. Parents bestow on their children the three "gracious favors" (***eunhye***) of birth, upbringing, and wealth while children have the same number of obligations, that is, to carry on the family line, support their parents, and observe memorial rites after their death. The things inherited or passed down from parents including wealth, social status and human relations are at the core of the institutionalization of filial piety. This is not sufficient, however, to fully explain the concepts of ***hyo*** and ***eunhye***. ***Eunhye*** might be understood as a reciprocal give-and-take concept, but the two concepts are not interchangeable as favors by parents and children's filial piety are hardly equal in quality and quantity.

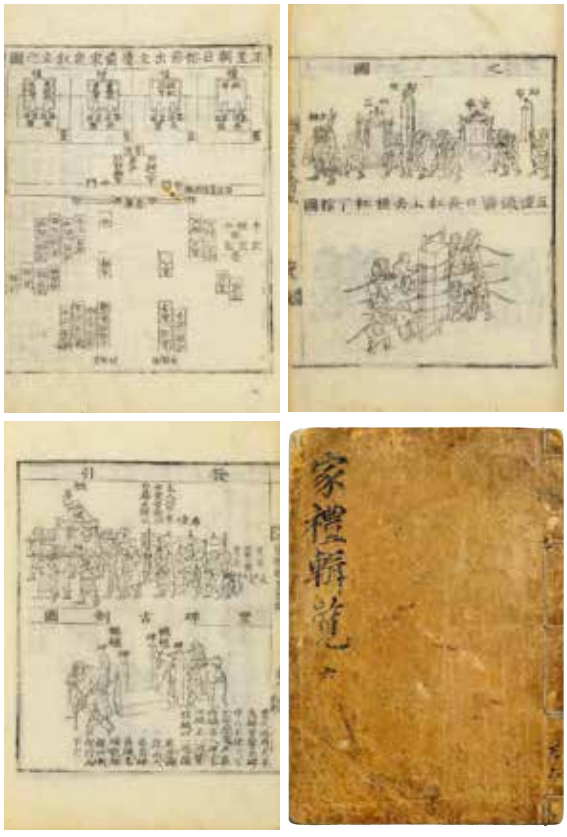
REFERENCE

GARYEJIMNAM 가례집람

Illustrated Account of Family Ceremonies

A book of rites and ceremonies written and annotated by the mid-Joseon scholar Kim Jang-saeng (1548-1631) on subjects discussed in "Jujagarye" (朱子家禮, Family Rituals of Zhu Xi) for which he selected related theories provided by other scholars and extensively studied the works by old masters.

"Garyejimnam" (家禮輯覽, Illustrated Account of Family Ceremonies) is a book that combines examples from old practices and related theories provided by many scholars with the main text of "Jujagarye." The book was published in 1685 in the format of ten fascicles in six volumes, with a postscript written by Song Si-yeol (1607-1689).



Garyejimnam (家禮輯覽, Illustrated Account of Family Ceremonies)

One characteristic feature of "Garyejimnam" is that it is a systematic compilation of illustrations and theories on rites and ceremonies. The use of illustrations, which makes the book easy to read, is inherited from the tradition of "Jujagarye." "Garyejimnam" is one of the most authoritative books on Korean rites and a major academic achievement in its field, completed through comprehensive study of theories and historical evidence. The book contains a wealth of information about theories and practice of rites and ceremonies conducted during the Joseon period, making a considerable contribution to the socialization of such activities through its educational effectiveness and accuracy.

GAJEONGUIRYEJUNCHIK

가정의례준칙

Regulations on Family Ceremonies

Regulations established with an aim to discourage the puzzling complexity, vanity and empty formalities in the traditional ceremonies for coming of age, weddings, funerals, and ancestral memorial rites and to adopt simplified ceremonial procedures.

The regulations were enforced following promulgation of the Act on the Regulations on Family Ceremonies and its Enforcement Ordinance on January 16, 1969, based on the Standards of Ceremonies established in 1957 by the Headquarters of

Leaflet on the Regulations on Family Ceremonies

the National Reconstruction Movement and the regulations under the same name established in 1961 by the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs. While the act was established in the form of law, it was designed rather as a recommendation or instruction and accordingly contained no provisions enforcing observance or imposing punishment on violations. It was when the Regulations on Family Ceremonies were established together with the Act and Enforcement Ordinances on Family Ceremonies on June 1, 1973 that the law came to have new provisions, in Clause 10, to regulate the family ceremonies by imposing penalties. The law was abolished in 1999 and replaced by the Regulations for Sound Family Ceremonies established the same year. The law was intended to regulate the four major family ceremonies, coming-of-age ceremonies, weddings, funerals, and ancestral memorial rites by providing simplified standards. But they were found to be ineffective, as Korean people tended to be faithful to the traditional practices.

GYEONGMONGYOGYEOL

격몽요결

Essentials on Expelling Ignorance

A handbook of Confucian moral precepts developed for elementary students who have just begun learning.

This book was written by Yi I in 1577 to be used as an elementary education textbook for the promotion of Confucian virtues and cultivation of knowledge among young people. The book was published many times until the early modern period, just like the Chinese classic for elementary learning, "Sohak" (小學, lit. "Lesser Learning").[43]

"Gyeongmongyogyeol" (擊蒙要訣, Essentials on Expelling Ignorance) consists of the preface written by the author and the main text, which is divided into ten chapters to teach elementary learners how to lead a fulfilling life as summed up in the preface, encouraging them to set goals, act scrupulously, serve their parents faithfully, and get on well with other people. Characteristically, the end of the book

43 Called "Xiaoxue" in Chinese, this textbook for young children was written by the renowned Song Confucian thinker Zhu Xi (1130–1200)

Gyeongmongyogyeol (擊蒙要訣, Essentials on Expelling Ignorance)

contains illustrations of the procedures for various family rites, including funeral and memorial rites, as well as the author's own theory of propriety.

Whereas the "Sohak" reflected Chinese sensibilities and academic traditions, "Gyeongmongyoyeol" reconstructed the contents from the Korean point of view to fit Korean sensibilities and academic traditions, displaying the author's philosophical independence.

GUKJO-ORYEUI 국조오례의

Five Rites of State

A book of basic rules and regulations on the five state rites of Joseon published during the reign of King Seongjong (r. 1469–1494) by a group of scholar-officials led by Shin Suk-ju (1417–1475).

Planned as a book of the five major state rites of the Joseon dynasty, "Gukjo-oryeui" (國朝五禮儀, Five Rites of State) was completed by a group of Confucian scholar-officials including Shin Suk-ju and Jeong Cheok in 1474 during the reign of King Seongjong. In the book, the state rites of Joseon are divided into the five categories of ***gillye***, ***garye***, ***billye***, ***gullye*** and ***hyungnye***, and given detailed explications. The term ***gillye*** refers to rites honoring state guardian deities, ***hyungnye*** to state funerals, ***billye*** to formal reception of foreign envoys, ***gullye*** to military ceremonies, and ***garye*** to the marriage of the key members of the royal family. "Gukjo-oryeui" is one of the two books of basic legal codes, the other being "Gyeonggukdaejeon,"[44] used to govern Joseon society. As Joseon was a state established with Confucianism as its governing philosophy and devoted to maintaining Confucian order, the book provided important criteria for the practices observed both by the government and the people. It had only limited influence upon the lives of the ordinary people, however, largely because the contents mainly focused on state and royal ceremonies. As a result, "Jujagarye" (朱子家禮, Family Rituals of Zhu Xi) played a more important role in establishing Confucian order in the lives of the common people.

SARYEJIBYO 사례집요

Essentials of the Four Rites

A book of four principal family rites compiled and

44 Translated as "Great Code of National Governance." "Gyeonggukdaejeon" is a complete code of law that comprises acts, customs, ordinances as well as laws released since the late Goryeo dynasty to the early Joseon dynasty and was the basis for the politics of Joseon for over 500 years.

written by the late Joseon scholar Yi Jin-sang (1818-1886) on the basis of earlier books on rites and ceremonies published in China and Korea.

"Saryejibyo" (四禮輯要, Essentials of the Four Rites) is a book on rites and ceremonies published during late Joseon that focuses on various theories proposed by scholars in Seongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province, who carried on the Confucian heritage of the Yeongnam area. The preface and explanatory notes contained in the book show that the author used "Jujagarye" (朱子家禮, Family Rituals of Zhu Xi) as the main source, but placed prioriy on earlier principles when "Jujagarye" contained no detailed explanations or contradictions. The book consists of sixteen fascicles in nine volumes and is preserved at Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies, Seoul National University, as well as other institutions. The book was compiled by Yi Jin-sang in 1875, who also wrote the preface, but was published posthumously in 1906 by his son Yi Seung-hui and one of his pupils.

Saryejibyo (四禮輯要, Essentials of the Four Rites)

I SARYEPYEOLLAM 사례편람

Handbook of the Four Ceremonies

"Handbook of the Four Ceremonies," a book compiled by Yi Jae (1680-1746) to provide standard examples regarding the four principal family rites based on those explained in "Jujagarye" (朱子家禮, Family Rituals of Zhu Xi).

This book was written by Yi Jae, a Confucian scholar-official of late Joseon, who aimed to provide well arranged theories for the four principal family rites, that is, coming-of-age ceremonies, marriages, funerals, and ancestral memorial rites, as well as their application to actual examples. The text was revised after the author's death and was published in 1844 by his great grandson Yi Gwang-jeong, who was then serving as the magistrate of Suwon. The book consists of eight fascicles in four volumes. The book contains useful forms and illustrations related to procedures of family rites, including ritual dress, vessels, and arrangement of food offerings and banquet food. The book was widely referred to not only in the Gyeonggi and Chungcheong provinces but other parts of Korea as well, and its format was frequently taken as a standard for later books. A revised and augmented edition, titled "Jeungbo-saryepyeollam," was published in 1900 by Hwang Pil-su and Ji Song-uk.

Saryepyeollam (四禮便覽, Handbook of the Four Ceremonies)
Joseon

SANGNYEBIYO 상례비요

Essentials on Funerary Rites

Book of practical guidelines for funeral ceremonies written by Kim Jang-saeng (1548–1631), a scholar of the mid-Joseon dynasty. It was revised, edited, and expanded based on a draft by his friend Shin Eui-gyeong (1557–1648).

"Sangnyebiyo" (喪禮備要, Essentials on Funerary Rites), based on "Jujagarye" (朱子家禮, Family Rituals of Zhu Xi), looks up to theories of rituals from many families, and describes every process of funeral ceremonies from mourning (***chosang***) to the actual burial (***jangje***) in an easy way to understand. The original draft was written by Shin Eui-gyeong, who lectured on "Jujagarye," and Kim Jang-saeng revised, edited and expanded it, completing "Sangnyebiyo." Of the four major rites, that is, coming-of-age, weddings, funerals, and ancestral rites, the funeral is particularly important because death usually comes unexpectedly, because anyone can make a mistake, and because the funeral can not be done over again. Zhu Xi, a Song dynasty Confucian scholar, wrote "Uiryegyeongjeontonghae"[45] in his later years, but he was unable to cover ***sangnye***, the whole range of funeral rites, and ***jangnye***, the burial rites. Studies on ***sangnye*** and ***jangnye***, therefore, had remained a large challenge for those studying Zhu Xi, who were proud of themselves and insisted that they were the authentic successors of the school. Considering this, Kim Jang-saeng focused on the funeral rites and wrote "Sangnyebiyo," which accorded with ***jeongnye*** (Kor. 정례, Chin. 定例, lit. regulations and customs), and explained them so reasonably and readily that it became a model reference containing detailed explanations of family ceremonies, like "Saryepyeollam" (四禮便覽, Handbook of the Four Ceremonies). "Sangnyebiyo" became popular and favored by many people regardless of political faction

Sangnyebiyo (喪禮備要, Essentials on Funerary Rites)
Joseon

SANGBYEONTONGGO 상변통고

Study on Ordinary and Extraordinary Ceremonies

Book written by Yu Jang-won (1724–1796), a Confucian scholar in the Joseon dynasty. Centering on "Jujagarye" (朱子家禮, Family Rituals of Zhu Xi), he wrote about ***sangnye***, or rites that do not change, and ***byeollye*** (Kor. 변례, Chin. 變例, temporarily changed rituals).

Based on "Jujagarye," this book established categories and contains theories on rituals in each category. Regarding what is not mentioned on "Jujagar-

45 "Uiryegyeongjeontonghae" (儀禮經傳通解; "Yili jingzhuan tongjie" in Chinese) by the renowned Song Confucian scholar and thinker Zhu Xi (1130–1200) gives a comprehensive explanation of the scripture and commentaries of ceremonies and rites.

Sangbyeontonggo (常變通攷, Study on Ordinary and Extraordinary Ceremonies)

ye," though, Yu selected further items that could be controversial in real life. Out of thirty fascicles consisting of examples of the four rites, ***sangnye*** (Kor. 상례, Chin. 喪禮, lit. funeral rites) accounts for the largest share (16 fascicles), like any other book on ceremonies and rituals. Originally Yu completed twenty-two fascicles of "Sangbyeontonggo"(常變通攷, Study on Ordinary and Extraordinary Ceremonies) at the age of sixty (1783), but after his death, it was edited and expanded by many people, and in 1830 the revised version was published as thirty fascicles comprising sixteen volumes. "Sangbyeontonggo" is referred to as the book with the most thorough references and most systemic organization. Temporarily changed rites contained in this book are mostly related to popular customs, which makes the book an important source for understanding rites in the lives of the Joseon people.

SEJONGSILLOK ORYE 세종실록 오례

Five Rites in The Annals of King Sejong

The first comprehensive book on the five state rites of the early Joseon period (1392–1910).

Fascicles 1–127 of "Sejongsillok" (The Annals of King Sejong) were compiled in chronological order, and, along with the annals of other Joseon kings they have been collectively designated as a National Treasure for protection by the government. Appendices to "The Annals of King Sejong" include "Orye" (Kor. 오례, Chin. 五禮, five rites); "Akbo" (Kor. 악보, Chin. 樂譜, musical scores); "Jiriji" (Kor. 지리지, Chin. 地理志, book of geography); and "Chiljeongsan" (Kor. 칠정산, Chin. 七政算, calculations of the seven luminaries). Of them, the five state rites, originating from "Jurye" (周禮),[46] refer to ***gillye*** (Kor. 길례, Chin. 吉禮, memorial rites), ***hyungnye*** (Kor. 흉례, Chin. 凶禮, rites for mournful events), ***billye*** (Kor. 빈례, Chin. 賓禮, diplomatic rites),·***gullye*** (Kor. 군례, Chin. 軍禮, military rites), ***and·garye*** (Kor. 가례, Chin. 嘉禮, rites for royal events including weddings). The five-rite system was actively adopted in the Joseon period. During King Taejong's reign (r. 1400–1418), ***Uirye sangjeongso***, or Office for the Establishment of Ceremonies, was created to carry out intensive research on the ritual system. Full-fledged research on ancient systems was conducted by the newly established institute Jiphyeonjeon, or the Hall of Worthies, under the reign of King Sejong (r. 1418–1450). The five state rites came to be better organized and were recorded in "Orye," one of the appendices to "The Annals of King Sejong." The

46 Generally translated as "The Rites of Zhou," this book ("Zhouli" in Chinese) deals with the state offices of the Zhou dynasty of ancient China and is one of the 13 Confucian classics.

compilation signifies the first complete organization of the state rites as well as the establishment of central power and state rule according to the system of rites. Besides the rites of state and the royal court, the book also deals with rites associated with the local communities, the ruling class, and the commoners but to a very limited extent.

Uirye (儀禮, Book of Ceremonies)

UIRYE 의례

Book of Ceremonies

Book of rites and ceremonies such as coming of age, weddings, funerals and ancestral rites, which were observed among the ruling class of ancient China.

As one of the 13 most representative Confucian scriptures, "Uirye" (儀禮, Book of Ceremonies) is included in the three ritual classics along with "Jurye" (周禮, The Rites of Zhou) and "Yegi" (禮記, The Classic of Rites). During the Han dynasty era, it was called "Ye" (禮, The Rites), "Yegyeong" (禮經, The Canon of Rites), or "Sarye" (士禮, Rites of the Noblemen). The current title "Uirye" first came to be used in the Western Jin period (around 4 BC) and became the confirmed title in the Eastern Jin period (around 3 BC). It is said that the book was written by Zhou Gong and revised by Confucius, but as generally acknowledged, it was during the Warring States Period that it was properly established. "Uirye" recounts religious, political and social rituals of the Zhou dynasty including coming of age, weddings, funerals, and ancestral rites, providing essential information in studying the way of life and customs back then and establishing the principles of traditional rites.

UIRYEJUNCHIK 의례준칙

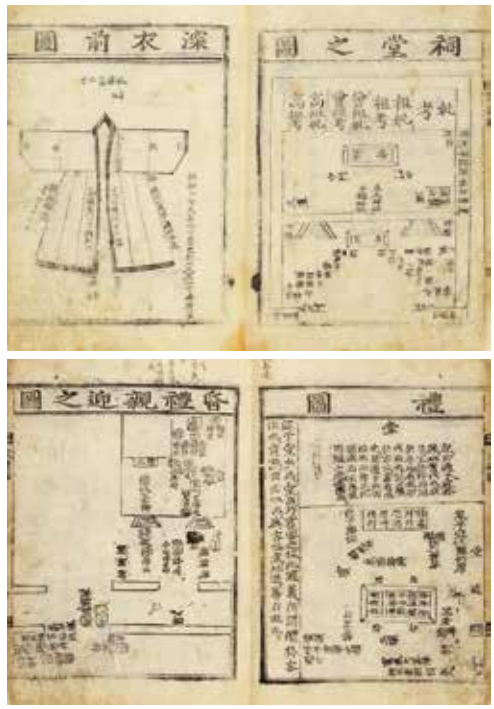
Book of Ceremonies

Regulations to simplify traditional family ceremonies enacted and issued by the *Joseon Chongdokbu*[47] in 1934.

Enacted and promulgated by the Japanese Government General of Korea in 1934, ***uiryejunchik*** was a set of regulations designed to reform perfunctory and complicated traditional family ceremonies such as coming of age, weddings, funerals, and ancestral rites. In ***uiryejunchik***, simplified descriptions and procedures of weddings, funerals and ancestral rites were presented with detailed explanations for effective propagation. For instance, the age of marriage went up to over 20 for men and over 17 for women; as for ancestral rites, only ***gije*** (rites held on the anniversary of death) and ***myoje*** (Kor. 묘제, Chin. 墓祭, lit. graveside rites) were allowed, and the kinds

47 Translated as the Japanese Government–General of Korea, it served as Japan's administrative center during its colonial rule of Korea between 1910 and 1945.

of food offerings were also regulated. As for funeral rites, the three-year mourning period was shortened. In fact, ***uiryejunchik*** was a part of colonial policy intended to annihilate the unique attributes of the Korean people by putting even the spiritual aspect of their lives under Japanese rule.



Jujagarye (朱子家禮, Family Rituals of Zhu Xi)

JUJAGARYE 주자가례

Family Rituals of Zhu Xi

Book of family rituals written by Zhu Xi, who synthesized Neo-Confucianism.

"Jujagarye" (朱子家禮, Family Rituals of Zhu Xi) was considered the most important book of rites as it presented the model for all family ceremonies. The book is thought to have been introduced to Korea around the late Goryeo dynasty. It is known that scholar Zhu Xi of the Song dynasty wrote the book, comprising five fascicles. Fascicle one is about general tradition and is followed by fascicles on the four major ceremonies: coming of age, marriage, funerals, and ancestral rites.

King Taejo (r. 1392–1398) of the Joseon dynasty strongly expressed his will to organize law and order and custom by holding rites for the coming of age, weddings, funerals, and ancestral memorial rites through the fourth creed of ***jeukwigyoseo*** (Kor. 즉위교서, Chin. 卽位敎書, message from the accession). To that end, the government encouraged people to practice regulations and systems based on "Jajagarye" and establish ancestral shrines. Under the rule of ***li*** (禮) in the Confucian state Joseon, from family to nation, all of the rules and authority originate from the ancestral shrine. That is why Zhu Xi places common practices in the first in his book "Jujagarye."

Family rites were widespread and understood as a result of the government's efforts and policies; in the mid-Joseon period, various kinds of footnotes and research papers were published. Those who held a post in the government from the mid-sixteenth century strongly emphasized practicing old customs to rebuild the social order that had collapsed during the Japanese invasions of Korea (1592–1598). Such spread and research on family rites made customs and rites the basic principle of family and society and established them as a strong tradition. In "Jujagarye," social ceremonies arising from human emotional need were organized as a system covering the coming of age, marriage, funerals, and ancestral rites in response to social reorganization and demand. Thereby, "Jujagarye" serves as an important principle for social stability and national prosperity achieved through propriety.

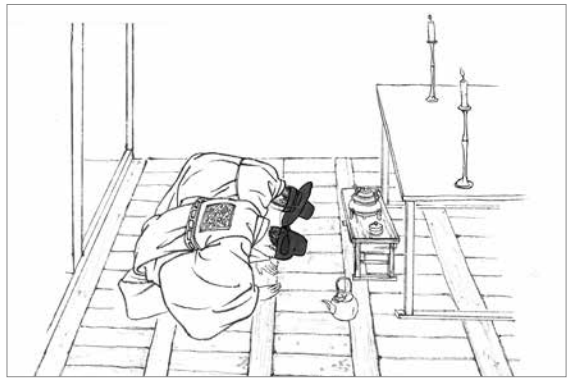
GOSADANG 고사당

Lit. reporting to the family shrine

Reporting important family affairs to the ancestors, including one of the four major ceremonial events, coming-of-age, wedding, funeral and memorial rite, or success in a state examination.

According to the chapter on "Family Shrines" in "Jujagarye" (朱子家禮, Family Rituals of Zhu Xi) all important family affairs should be reported to the family shrine. This explains why the ceremony was called ***gosadang***, which literally means "reporting the family shrine." ***Gosadang*** is generally divided into two types according to the content of the report. ***Churipgo*** refers to a simple ceremony performed to inform the ancestors when a family member, the family head or his spouse in particular, leaves or has returned home. ***Yusago***, which is generally known as the ***gosadang*** ceremony proper, involves more formal procedures, including the arrangement of food offerings for the ancestral spirits.

Gosadang follows the same procedures as the ancestral rites performed on the lunar New Year's Day or winter solstice. The prayer reciter stands to the left of the family head, who is the main participant, and recites a prayer before the latter makes two prostrations to the ancestral tablets. When the first male child is born into the family, the ceremony takes place



The groom reports to the shrine before his wedding journey

three months after his birth, in which case the prayer is recited by the family head himself. In this case, the family head stands in front of the incense table and reads his prayer before moving southeast of the table to face the west. After him, his wife, with the newborn baby in her arms, stands between two stone steps outside the shrine and makes two bows. The prayer is written on a single plaque together with the spirit tablets of the four latest generations of ancestors, and is read to the oldest-generation ancestors.

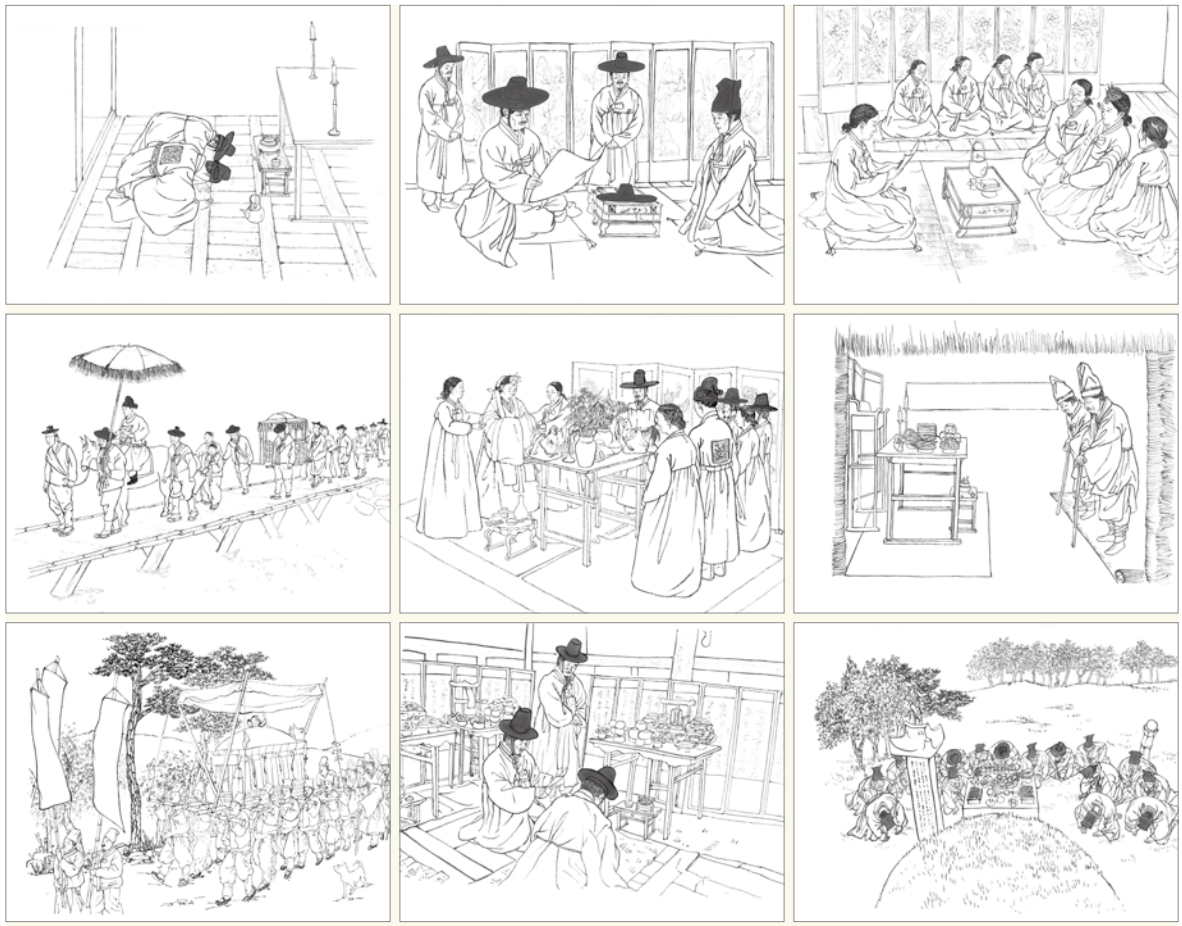
GWANHONSANGJE 관혼상제

Four major family ceremonies

The four major family ceremonies that ordinary Korean people experience in their lifetime, the coming of age, weddings, funerals, and ancestral rites.

The term ***gwanhonsangje*** was used first in "Yegi"[48] (禮記, The Classic of Rites). In Korea, marriage and funeral ceremonies similar to Confu-

48 Generally translated as "The Classic of Rites," this book ("Liji" in Chinese) is a collection of descriptions of ritual matters written during the late Warring States (475–221 BC) and Former Han (206 BC–8 AD) periods.



Gwanhonsangje

1. The groom reports to the shrine before his wedding journey
2. Coming-of-age ceremony for a boy (*gwallye*)
3. Coming-of-age ceremony for a girl (*gyerye*)
4. Groom's journey to the wedding (*chohaeng*)
5. Wedding ceremony
6. The bereaved family stand in front of yeongjwa, the seat of a temporary spirit tablet
7. Funeral procession
8. Ancestral rite on a seasonal holiday
9. Graveside rite

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cian ceremonies were performed during the Three Kingdoms period, but it is not certain that people of those times had a clear concept of the four major ceremonies performed in the Confucian manner. It was thanks to ritual studies by Neo-Confucian and Silhak (實學, lit. Practical Learning) scholars during the late Joseon period that these lifetime ceremonies were fully established as Confucian events.

Of the four major ceremonies, it was the coming-of-age ceremony through which a male member of a society made the shift from the world of children to the adult world and was accepted as a responsible member of society. The ceremony of putting on an adult cap meant recognition as an adult. The marriage ceremony, the first ceremony conducted to form a new family, was regarded as the most important in a person's life. The marriage ceremony consisted of several parts, including ***uihon***, in which a marriage was

arranged through contact between the two families concerned; ***napchae***, in which a marriage proposal by the groom's family was accepted by the bride's family; and ***nappye***, in which a wedding gift was sent from the groom's family to the bride's. A crisis in the family caused by the death of one of its members was overcome through the observance of strict funeral rites. Finally, the ancestral memorial rites helped Korean families to maintain a close relationship between ancestors and descendants, and harmony and order among family members.

GUKSU 국수

Noodles

Noodles; a staple food made from wheat or buckwheat dough which is rolled flat and cut into long, thin noodles by hand or using a machine and served in soup or with a sauce.

Noodles
Head-family home of the Andong Gwon clan in Bonghwa, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province | National Intangible Heritage Center

Noodles have long been an important festive and ceremonial food in Korea. They are traditionally served at parties celebrating the first or the sixtieth birthday, coming-of-age ceremonies, weddings, and even ancestral memorial rites. For Koreans, noodles served at festive events are a perfect means to share the joy and celebration with others and, when served at a memorial event, a great way of expressing their sorrow and condolences. Noodles have always been a crucial part of the dishes served at celebratory events and ritual food offerings for ancestral spirits. According to the traditional view, noodles were established as a food for major lifetime ceremonies largely because the narrow, long strips are easily associated with wishes for lasting fortune or longevity, or cherishing memories and dreams. When noodles are served at a birthday party, the long, thin strips represent the wishes of all participants for a long, healthy life for the person being celebrated. At a wedding party, the noodles symbolize a long and happy married life for the couple, and at a memorial event they symbolize the cherishing of memories.

ILSAENGUIRYE 일생의례

Ceremonies marking major stages in life

Ceremonies marking major transitions in the life of an individual.

Korea's ***gwanhonsangje*** (the major ceremonies in life including coming of age, weddings, funerals, and ancestral rites) were heavily influenced by Confucian-

Framed wedding and first birthday photos
1970s

Wedding ceremony

Hoehollye docheop (Album of 60th Wedding Anniversary Paintings)
National Museum of Korea

Tomb arrival rite (geummyo)
Cheongdo, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province

Death anniversary rite
Head-family home of the Jinju Jeong clan in Yecheon, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province

ism and Chinese culture. As historical records show, it can be inferred that Korea had its own ***ilsaenguirye*** even before the Three Kingdoms period but due to the influence of "Jujagarye" (朱子家禮, Family Rituals of Zhu Xi) introduced during the Goryeo Dynasty along with Neo-Confucianism, Korean ***gwanhonsangje*** came to develop characteristics as Confucian rituals. Yet, the need for our own rules of propriety led to the publication of such books as "Saryepyeollam."[49]

Ilsaenguirye began with human history, including not only ***gwanhonsangje*** but rites related to giving birth and ***suyeollye*** (Kor. 수연례, Chin. 壽宴禮, lit. rite to celebrate longevity). They are the ceremonies making the major milestones in life. ***Ilsaenguirye*** is also called ***pyeongsaenguirye*** (lifetime rituals) or ***tonggwauirye*** (rites of passage), and has long been considered equivalent to ***gwanhonsangje***: the ceremonies for the times a person becomes an adult, gets married, dies and pays respects to the ancestors. Korean society has regarded such occasions the most important as an individual grows up. ***Ilsaenguirye*** vividly portray diverse aspects of Korean life. Rites related with childbirth are not illustrated in books of rites but they are evident in Korean customs. Weddings, funerals and ancestral rites were fully established based upon such books as "Saryepyeollam" (Handbook of the Four Ceremonies) and actual practice in everyday life. Among ***ilsaenguirye***, wedding ceremonies have gone through the biggest changes, while funeral rites have seen relatively little alteration. As for ancestral rites, the kinds of rites held have been reduced but the procedures of the rites have been maintained mostly in their original form.

JANCHI 잔치

Banquet

Celebration of a special occasion with guests and food prepared by the family.

Generally, ***janchi*** is prepared at home for a specific person, but the range and number of invita-

Damnagyeoncheop (Album of Festive Banquet Paintings)
Around 1747

49 Authored by late-Joseon scholar Yi Jae, this handbook deals with the four major ceremonies: coming-of-age, weddings, funerals and ancestral rites.

tions is not fixed. Also, the format varies depending on eagerness or economic circumstances and is not confined to a certain style. ***Janchi*** is divided into ***jeongil janchi*** and ***bijeongil janchi***. The former refers to a fete that takes place on a fixed day each year, like a birthday party. Some birthdays such as ***dol*** (first birthday) and ***hoegap*** (61st birthday) are more meaningful. These days, wedding anniversaries, especially the 60th anniversary, are celebrated as well as wedding receptions.

Examples of ***bijeongil janchi*** include ***baegil janchi***, which is celebrated only once in a lifetime on the 100th day of birth, and a grand three-day fete to congratulate success in a state examination with visiting examiners, colleagues and relatives. Today, when someone passes difficult exams such as the bar exam, the whole village throws a party to celebrate.

Janchi enrich and invigorate life by sharing the joy of a celebratory occasion and commemorating the special days in a person's lifetime. They represent a time-honored tradition and lifetime rituals as a religious, magical way to fulfill wishes.

TAEGIL 택일

Selection of an auspicious date

A series of actions for selection of an auspicious date and avoidance of an inauspicious date as a way to avoid the ominous and choose the good before holding an event.

As temporal elements are very important in human life, various conditions are taken into account before selecting a date for an important event. Although they may vary depending on the times, important events include marriage, childbirth, mourning, moving a grave, starting a business, and building a house. However, such important events occur only once or twice in one's lifetime.

As science has developed and society has become civilized, in modern times skepticism has appeared in regard to the custom of selecting an auspicious date for an important event. As a consequence, this custom that had long been valued by the state and the people has gradually lost power and has undergone many changes. Nevertheless, some Koreans still select an auspicious date on purpose for the sake of security, like purchasing insurance. As for the current state of the overall transmission of the custom of ***taegil***, selecting an auspicious date for marriage and moving is the most popular, followed by ***taegil*** for childbirth and starting a business. ***Taegil*** for funerals, moving a grave, and repairing a house has gradually decreased in proportion, and ***taegil*** for completing

Cheongidaeyo (天機大要, lit. Great Digest of Hevenly Indications) describing methods to choose auspicious days
National Museum of Korea

the wooden framework of a house is seldomly practiced now. This reflects the trends, with ***taegil*** for building a house gradually disappearing while ***taegil*** for childbirth has become stronger.

PYEONGSAENGDO 평생도

Lit. life course painting

A series of paintings depicting the ideal course of the life of a nobleman who enjoys a high official position and ***obok*** (Kor. 오복, Chin. 五福, lit. five fortunes in Confucianism).

Pyeongsaengdo, or the painting of a person's life, is a kind of genre painting with strong idealistic and auspicious elements that emerged as a subject for art along with the development of genre painting in the latter half of the 18th century. The name ***pyeongsaengdo***, which means "life course painting," was not used in the Joseon period but emerged in modern times. ***Pyeongsaengdo*** is composed of a series of

Pyeongsaengdo
1. Geumhwadaejo (Serving as Royal Archivist) from Pyeongsaengdo (lit. life course painting)
2. Dangyechujeong (Passing a State Examination) from Pyeongsaengdo (lit. life course painting)
3. Yungnyeyeongsang (Wedding Procession) from Pyeongsaengdo (lit. life course painting)
4. Chodogwanhui (First-birthday Party) from Pyeongsaengdo (lit. life course painting)

scenes depicting rituals taking place through a lifetime, including the first birthday, marriage, and ***hoehollye*** (Kor. 회혼례, Chin. 回婚禮, lit. feast celebrating a couple's 60th wedding anniversary) as well as scenes of life in public office from passing the higher civil service examination to reaching high official positions. Because the life scenes in public office were arranged between the wedding ceremony and the 60th wedding anniversary ceremony, the first scene of the painting consisted of a feast for the first birthday, and the last scene, of a feast for the 60th wedding anniversary. ***Pyeongsaengdo*** painted in the Joseon period were an attempt to show a nobleman's ideal journey in life by including in the picture wishes for longevity, fame and prestige, wealth and honor, and many sons. This tendency of making idealistic and auspicious wishes in ***pyeongsaengdo*** can be confirmed from the auspicious symbols interspersed in the background of the painting, which stand for longevity and many sons, including paulownia trees, plantains, pomegranates, oddly-shaped stones, cranes, ducks, chickens, and deer.

5. Ssangsuhoegeun (60th Wedding Anniversary) from Pyeongsaengdo (lit. life course painting)
6. Samtaebokgu (Serving as Prime Minister) from Pyeongsaengdo (lit. life course painting)
7. Daebeonongjeol (On the Way to a New Posting as Provincial Governor) from Pyeongsaengdo (lit. life course painting)
8. Junggwongwanbu (Serving as Minister) from Pyeongsaengdo (lit. life course painting)
Late 19th C | National Museum of Korea

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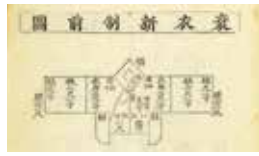
SANGBOK Mourning garment 127	Choeuijeondo and Choeuihudo (Illustrations of the upper garment for male mourners (front and back))	
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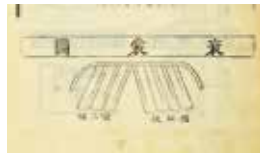
SANGBOK Mourning garment 127	Choesangdo (Illustration of the lower garment for male mourners)	
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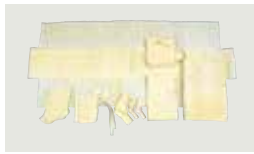
YEOMSEUPGU Corpse preparation tools 142	Corpse preparation tools	
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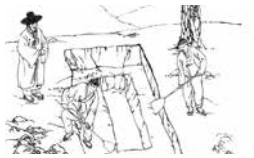
IPGWAN Placing the dead body in the coffin 149	Preparing the burial site	
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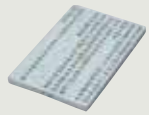
JISEOK Memorial plaque 159	Memorial plaque for Joseon military official Shin Rip	
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JERYE

JERYE

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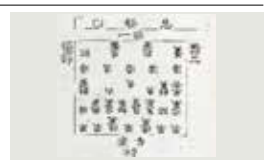
GIJESA Death anniversary rite 177	Gijedo (Diagram for a Death Anniversary Rite)	
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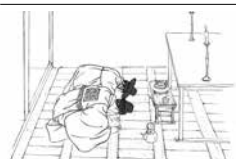
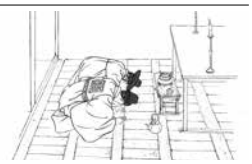
GOSADANG Lit. reporting to the family shrine 230	The groom reports to the shrine before his wedding journey	
GWANHONSANGJE Four major family ceremonies 231	The groom reports to the shrine before his wedding journey	
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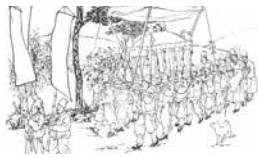
GWANHONSANGJE Four major family ceremonies 231	Funeral procession	

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PYEONGSAENGDO Lit. life course painting 237	Samtaebokgu (Serving as Prime Minister) from Pyeongsaengdo (lit. life course painting)	
PYEONGSAENGDO Lit. life course painting 237	Daebeonongjeol (On the Way to a New Posting as Provincial Governor) from Pyeongsaengdo (lit. life course painting)	
PYEONGSAENGDO Lit. life course painting 237	Junggwongwanbu (Serving as Minister) from Pyeongsaengdo (lit. life course painting)	

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