

## A Review of *Kōrai ōchō no girei to Chūgoku*

### Space, Institutions, Ceremonies, and Envoys of Goryeo: Adopting Chinese Rituals

*Kōrai ōchō no girei to Chūgoku* 高麗王朝の儀礼と中国 [Goryeo Court Rituals and the Influence of the Relationship with China], by Toyoshima Yuka 豊島悠果. Tōkyō: Kyūkosho, 2017, 357 pp., ¥ 9,900, ISBN: 978-4-762-96585-2 (paperback)

#### Ritual (*ye* 禮), the Identity of Premodern East Asia

As widely known, cultural spheres sharing a religion and writing system developed around certain geographical areas in the premodern world. Of note were the Eastern Christian-Greek sphere and the Western Christian-Latin sphere of Europe, the Islamic-Arabic sphere of the Middle East, the Hindu- and Buddhist-Sanskrit sphere of India, and the Confucian-Sinographic sphere of East Asia. Among these, the Confucian cultural sphere, which is relevant to this article, stood at the center of premodern East Asia, although cultural and geographical boundaries did not completely overlap. It has also been well established that the core of Confucian thought is ritual (*ye* 禮). Ritual was, in other words, a major element that held premodern East Asia together while at the same time distinguishing it from other cultural spheres.

Originally used to signify ritual objects and rites of ancestor worship, ritual was invested with certain Confucian concepts during the Spring and Autumn Period and gradually took root as the principle dictating social norms. In ancient Chinese societies, ritual functioned as the norms prescribing everyday behavior across the areas of morals and ethics, customs, law, political relationships, human relationships, administration, military affairs, and ancestor worship, and even as the logic constituting the world and the universe. Ritual was thus an important governing principle for the rulers, who prescribed all social acts and state practice according to it. The authority of the state became necessary to secure these prescriptive principles, resulting in laws reflecting and governing rites and rituals. Rules of ceremonial procedures were established as well, such as the court rituals by Shusun Tong 叔孫通 of Former Han, and finally culminated

in the building of a unique Chinese order during the Han dynasty of “rule by ritual” (*yechi* 禮治).

After the Han dynasty, these laws and rules spread from China to surrounding countries through diplomatic relations. Traces of their adoption can be found even in the few remaining records of Goguryeo, Baekje, and Silla of ancient Korea. Silla appears to have adopted and practiced the state rituals of China during its middle period—namely, the five state rites for auspicious occasions, funerals, military affairs, hosting foreign envoys, and festive ceremonies, respectively. Goryeo also sought to legitimize and justify the state’s rule through these Chinese laws dictating rituals and ceremonial procedures early on. Taejo conferred posthumous titles on his predecessors, and accordingly performed appropriate worshipping rituals upon ascending the throne. After defeating Silla, he granted the king of Silla an audience and presided over the congratulatory ceremony carried out by the members of his court (*joha* 朝賀), thus declaring his authority as ruler. Seongjong ordered the construction of the circular mound altar (*wongudan*), where the sacrificial rite to the heavens were carried out, and performed state rites outside of the capital (*gyosa* 郊祀) praying to the heavens for a good harvest (*gigok* 祈穀). He also carried out the ceremonious cultivation of his own plot (*jeokjeon* 籍田) and had the Royal Ancestral Shrine (*jongmyo*) and the Altar of Earth and Grain (*sajik*) built. The Office for the Establishment of Ceremonies (Uirye sangjeongso) was established under the reign of Yejong, while Uijong had Choe Yun-ui compile 50 volumes of *Sangjeong gogeu ye* (*Prescribed Rituals of the Past and Present*).

In this way, laws and rules governing rituals and ceremonial procedures that developed in China were used as a means to strengthen the throne’s authority and display the prestige of the royal family in Goryeo. This article will review the recently published book on the rituals of Goryeo by Toyoshima Yuka, *Kōrai ōchō no girei to Chūgoku*. The book is constituted by eight chapters in addition to the introduction and looks at the space of Goryeo’s capital, the system of royal consorts and court ladies, the royal investiture ceremony, banquet ceremonies, the system of the State Shrine to Confucius, experiences of the envoys of Goryeo sent to Song and Jin, and the relationship between the rituals of Goryeo and its surrounding international situation. The sections below will introduce the contents of the book, followed by a few of my thoughts.

## The Adoption and Practice of Chinese Rituals

In the introduction, Toyoshima states that the book will examine the formation of the rituals of Goryeo, focusing mainly on the specific way Chinese rituals embodying the authority of the throne were adopted and practiced.

Chapter 1, “The Space and Ideology of Gaegyeong as Goryeo’s Capital,” looks at geomancy, Buddhism, and Confucianism to ponder the ideological background embedded in the space of Gaegyeong as the capital of Goryeo, and reexamines the relationship between Gaegyeong and “the argument that Goryeo sought to be an emperor-ruled state (*hwangjeguk chejeseol*)” as previous studies have discussed. Gaegyeong, which originally reflected both geomancy and Buddhism, transformed into a capital embodying Confucian ideas of the throne’s authority as the full-fledged construction of institutions for performing Confucian state rituals modeled after their Chinese counterparts took place during the reign of Seonjong. Examples included the circular mound altar (*hwangu*), the Imperial Ancestral Shrine (*taemyo*), and the Altar of Agriculture (*seonnongdan*). Toyoshima assess that the structures were modified to suit Goryeo’s position as a vassal state of China. However, the fact that Uijong had the Imperial Ancestral Shrine Worship up until the 7<sup>th</sup> preceding generation, or that the construction of the circular mound altar and square altar (*bangtaek*) did not comply with the protocols of a vassal state, leads the author to suggest that Goryeo did not adhere to only one course of action. In regard to the “the argument that Goryeo sought to be an emperor-ruled state,” Toyoshima argues that Goryeo cannot be seen as being a state governed by an emperor, at least judging from institutional aspects such as the name and structure of Gaegyeong, and concludes that they were an expression of the sense of pride of the people of Goryeo.

Chapter 2, “The System of Royal Consorts and Court Ladies during Early Goryeo,” examines the title system of royal consorts, the king’s marriage, and system of court ladies. According to Toyoshima, Goryeo’s early title system for royal consorts was likely a continuation of that of Silla and was later restructured during the reign of Hyeonjong upon adopting the Chinese system. In contrast to China, Goryeo’s kings were allowed to have several official wives during their lifetime, but after their death only one queen consort could be enshrined together with the king in the Royal Ancestral Shrine.

Chapter 3 is titled “The Royal Investiture Ceremony and Royal Consorts

during Early Goryeo.” This chapter compares “the ceremony of receiving the investiture book” (*suchek ui* 受冊儀) stipulated in the “chaek taehu ui” (protocols of the royal investiture of the empress dowager 冊太后儀) and the “chaek wangbi ui” (protocols of the royal investiture of the queen consort 冊王妃儀) in the Treatise on Rituals of *Goryeosa* (*History of Goryeo*) with that of China. Toyoshima first compares “chaek wangbi ui” with “ce huanghou yi” (protocols of the imperial investiture of the empress consort) in *Kaiyuan li* (*Rites of the Kaiyuan Period*) and notes that according to the former, the queen consort attended only in proxy and the inner and outer court ladies did not participate. As for the “chaek taehu ui” (protocols of the imperial investiture of the empress dowager), which is not in *Kaiyuan li*, Toyoshima suggests that Goryeo probably referenced the ceremonial procedures practiced during Emperor Renzong, the fourth emperor of the Northern Song dynasty. Toyoshima sees the investiture ceremony of the queen dowager as more politically inflected considering how the queen dowager attended in person unlike the queen consort, was formally congratulated by the king and assembled officials, and presided over the offering of specialties and congratulatory greetings from each locality. The first person to partake in both of these ceremonies was the queen consort of Munjong and queen mother of Seonjong, the Empress Dowager Inye Sundeok 仁睿順德太后, whose aristocratic lineage gives us an idea of how prosperous the relatives of the queen were during that period.

Chapter 4, “Banquet Ceremonies of Goryeo and the Grand Banquets of Song,” compares the grand banquets of Goryeo and the Song dynasty. Grand banquets in Goryeo were held on the king’s birthday, the royal investiture of the queen dowager and crown prince, and on days when state rites outside of the capital were performed. Toyoshima compares “daegwanjeon yeon gunsin ui” (protocols of subjects for banquets at daegwanjeon 大觀殿宴群臣儀) in the Treatise on Rituals of *Goryeosa* with “jiyingdian chunqiu dayan yi” (protocols for the spring and autumn banquets at jiyinding 集英殿春秋大宴儀) in the *Zhenghe wuli xinyi* (*New Ceremonies of the Five Rites from the Zhenghe Reign* 政和五禮新儀). Both the similarities in ceremonial procedure and seating arrangements as well as considerable differences in other parts lead the author to conclude that Goryeo practiced a partially modified version of Song’s grand banquet ceremonies. The banquets held on the days of Yeondeunghoe (lantern festivals) and Palgwanhoe (Festival of the eight vows), although different in some aspects, also appear to have been influenced by the grand banquets of Goryeo

that was based on the Song system. The author subsequently suggests that the grand banquets were adopted before 1051, when records of the Yeondeunghoe appear.

Chapter 5, “The Influence of the Systems of Song and Yuan Seen in the Transformation of Goryeo’s State Shrine to Confucius and Corresponding Rituals,” looks at the changes in the site of the State Shrine to Confucius 文廟 as well as the figures of worship. In particular, Toyoshima compares the enshrinement system and the spirit tablets 神位 of early and late Goryeo with those of Song and Yuan, respectively. The title Jiseong munseonwang (Supreme Sage and Exalted King of Culture 至聖文宣王), it seems, was adopted from the revised title used in Song in 1012, and the composition of enshrined figures was influenced by Song’s State Shrine of Confucius from 1009 onward. The additional enshrinement of eminent scholars of Silla Choe Chi-won and Seol Chong during the reign of Hyeonjong, however, or the arrangement of the spirit tablets of those enshrined, were unique to Goryeo. Toyoshima points to the similarities with that of Song that coexist with the conscious and unconscious divergences as one of the characteristics of Goryeo’s State Shrine of Confucius and its enshrinement system. In late Goryeo, the title given to Confucius was changed to Daeseong jiseong munseonwang (Greatly Accomplished Supreme Sage and Exalted King of Culture 大成至聖文宣王) in 1308 following the example of Yuan. The posthumous status of Meniscus was also elevated, following the dual-placement arrangement of Yuan’s State Shrine of Confucius, and was now enshrined together with Yan Hui. On the other hand, Goryeo did not adopt the system of having a State Shrine to Guan Yu 武廟 like China, which, according to the author, may have been due to the superior status of literary arts held in the minds of Goryeo’s ruling elites against the perceived rivalry of martial arts.

Chapter 6, “Goryeo’s Envoys’ Experience of Visiting Song in 1116: A Scene of Diplomatic and Cultural Exchange,” looks at the itinerary of the envoys who were sent in 1116 to formally express gratitude for the bestowal of Song court music. The envoys attended the Tianning-festival 天寧節, the ceremony celebrating the birthday of Song’s Emperor Huizong, the state ritual performed at the circular mound altar toward the south of the capital, the New Year’s morning ceremony, and the imperial rituals at the spring banquet 春宴 at the Jiyingdian 集英殿. They also visited Biyong and Taixue, the National Academies, took part in the state ritual to worship Confucius held at the Hall of

Great Achievement of the Guozi jian, and enjoyed the artwork among Emperor Huizong’s collection. Toyoshima sees the culture and institutions experienced by the envoys as having influenced Goryeo. The author also questions the record stating that the envoys of Goryeo were elevated from *jinbongsa* 進奉使, a title implying lower hierarchical order, to *guksinsa* 國信使, a title implying comparable if not equal footing, during the Zhenghe 政和 era. According to the record in question, the envoys of Goryeo sent in 1116 should have been rightfully called *guksinsa* but were referred to as *jinbongsa* in the records of both Song and Goryeo. On the other hand, there exist examples of referring to envoys from Song as *guksinsa*, or referring to the gifts bestowed in return as *guksinmul* (*guksin*-goods 國信物). Additionally, the goods sent from the Liao dynasty to Goryeo were also recorded as *guksinmul* and *guksinmulsae* 國信物色. Toyoshima concludes from these facts that the term *guksin* should be seen as ambivalent or having multiple layers.

Chapter 7 is titled “The Diplomatic System of the Jin Dynasty and the Envoys from Goryeo: The Proposal to Restore the Practice of Sending Envoys to Offer New Year’s Greetings of 1204.” This chapter briefly surveys the history of Goryeo-Jin relations and exchange of envoys, and examines the itinerary of Goryeo’s envoys sent around November 1203 to offer New Year’s greetings and attend the New Year’s morning ceremony of 1204. The author examines the protocols for welcoming foreign envoys in Zhongdu 中都, the central capital of Jin, as well as the ten-day itinerary of foreign envoys. Toyoshima also notes the timing of Jin envoys’ visit to Goryeo to offer congratulations and points out that they were sent to Goryeo on a completely different date from the king’s actual birthday. Goryeo, the author suggests, likely chose an arbitrary date following the example of Liao, which had designated a date different from the actual birthdays of the emperor and empress beginning from the period of Emperor Xingzong to Emperor Daozong and Emperor Tianzuo. Goryeo had accordingly informed Liao of dates that differed from the actual birthdays of the kings during the reign of Heonjong and Sukjong, and had continued this practice early on in its relations with Jin.

The final chapter, “Systematization of Ritual in Goryeo and the Surrounding International Environment,” looks at the formation of rituals and ceremonies in Goryeo, the international situation surrounding Goryeo and the systematization of diplomatic protocols and interference from Liao and Jin. Toyoshima writes that Goryeo adopted the systems of Song and Tang

in forming their own rituals and perceived Song culture as superior, but did not show the same attitude towards the culture of Liao or Jin. The author also argues that the absence of any interference from Liao or Jin regarding the laws governing rituals allowed Goryeo more freedom to, for instance, adopt Song's system or resume foreign relations with Song. Liao and Jin did interfere with the diplomatic ceremonial procedures their envoys attended in person, however. For example, Emperor Shizong of Jin questioned his officials about the ceremonies by which the kings of Goryeo and Western Xia welcomed the envoys; and the sites where the king of Goryeo received investiture from Liao and Jin were changed, from west of the capital 西郊 to south of the capital 南郊, and into the palace, respectively.

### A Few Thoughts on *Kōrai ōchō no girei to Chūgoku*

This book looks at the “space” of the capital in Chapter 1, the “systems” of royal consorts and court ladies in Chapter 2 and of the State Shrine to Confucius in Chapter 5, the “ceremonies” of royal investiture in Chapter 3 and of banquets in Chapter 4, the “envoys” of Goryeo sent to Song in Chapter 6 and to Jin in Chapter 7, and the “international environment” and the systematization of the rituals of Goryeo in the final chapter. A wide variety of themes related to rituals manifesting the throne's authority are presented in this diverse and rich book. Significantly, the author uses the records from *Dongin ji mun saryuk* (*Anthology of Four-six Prose from the Writings of the People of the East* 東人之文四六) to restore the specific itinerary and experience of the envoys in Chapters 6 and 7, a fresh approach that unearths historical evidence from previously underexplored material.

It is also worth mentioning that the book, despite being authored by a Japanese scholar, well reflects the achievements made by Korean scholars in this field. In addition, Toyoshima's interpretation regarding the titles of Goryeo's queen consorts and queen dowagers in Chapter 2, the royal investiture ceremony in Chapter 3, and the arrangement system of the spirit tablets in the State Shrine to Confucius in Chapter 5 agrees with the prevalent view among Korean scholars—that Goryeo adopted Chinese laws governing ritual by partially modifying and practicing them in its own unique way. Simply put, the author's work is in line with the research being done in Korea.

The book's title, which specifically mentions the “rituals” of the Goryeo dynasty, however, does not exactly seem to fully represent the book's contents. Ritual is a structured event of orderly acts that are repeated over time. In other words, ritual is a ceremonial event that has a fixed time and place, and sets contents and roles of the participants. The themes of each chapter do relate to ritual in some way, but the association is not tight enough as to fit entirely within that frame. The chapters instead read as separate units, each on the respective themes of space, systems or institutions, ritual, envoys, and so on. This problem seems to stem from the fact that, with the exception of the last chapter, the book is actually a collection of short articles the author published between 2005 and 2014. The author may have gathered related themes to present under the larger title of ritual, but one cannot help but wonder whether there was not a more encompassing title for the book.

There are a few more concerns regarding parts of the book I would like to briefly touch upon here. The first is the author's comparison of the royal investiture ceremonies of queen consort and queen dowager in Chapter 3. I am not sure Toyoshima's decision to compare and analyze only the ceremony of receiving the book of investiture is enough to fully explore the characteristics of the practice. Toyoshima's analysis also attributes the reason the inner and outer court ladies did not take part in the ceremony of the queen consort's receiving of the book of investiture to the precarious status of the king's only official queen; this, however, fails to explain why the inner and outer court ladies did not take part in the corresponding ceremony of the queen dowager as well. Second, the author uses the record of the Yeondeunghoe to estimate the period when grand banquets were held in Goryeo in Chapter 4. I do not find this reasoning sufficiently convincing, however, given that the analysis is based on conjecture upon conjecture. Studies estimating the beginning of grand banquets to be during the reign of Seongjong have been produced in Korea recently, which I find more persuasive. Third, the author's reexamination of *guksinsa* in Chapter 6, although meaningful, does not quite clarify the author's own opinion as to how then *guksinsa* should be defined. Finally, the book does not have a conclusion summarizing the contents of all chapters. Even if each chapter originally was a separate manuscript, a conclusion would have helped convey the author's overall argument more effectively since the manuscripts were to nevertheless form a single monograph/book.

One feature of the book is the author's critique of the theory that Goryeo sought to be an emperor-ruled state and the discussion of the Goryeo-centric worldview. In Chapter 1, Toyoshima reexamines three points regarding Gaegyeong's name and structure that have been used to support the former, and concludes that the argument does not hold for Gaegyeong institution-wise. While reexamining *guksinsa* in Chapter 6, Toyoshima also criticizes previous studies that see "*guksinsa* as envoys of countries of equal status" and "*guksin* relationship as a tilted relationship close to equal." In the final chapter, the author writes that it is difficult to see Jin as allowing rituals that reflected Goryeo's sense of pride as a state given that Jin sought to interfere with the diplomatic protocols their envoys attended in person. Additionally, Toyoshima argues that the Goryeo-centric worldview manifests through various scenes as a way the people of Goryeo perceived their own state rather than as a consistent identity of the state.

The first of the abovementioned theories the author criticizes argues that Goryeo was actually run as an emperor-ruled state in many aspects and sought to become one. According to this view, Goryeo maintained a dual structure: it strategically positioned itself as a vassal state diplomatically when dealing with China, but adopted the institutions and form of a state ruled by an emperor domestically. The second theory regarding the *guksin* relationship, which was argued by the Japanese scholar Okumura Shūji 奥村周司, believes that the Khitan and Jin tacitly approved the Goryeo-centric worldview of Goryeo. The response of Korean scholars has been to point out some of the weaknesses of the first theory by referring to the extremely limited evidence of the ruler of Goryeo being called emperor, as well as the absence of any direct use of the term emperor in the explanatory notes of *Goryeosa* even as it is pointing out how terms diverging from the rightful order of rank had been used at times. Some studies have also argued that the system of the emperor-inside-king-outside system was not practiced as thoroughly as Vietnam. In addition, several scholars including myself have argued against the *guksin* relationship theory. That being said, it is at the same time hard to simply dismiss the Goryeo-centric worldview, expressed as the emperor-inside-king-outside attitude, or *haedong cheonja* (the Son of Heaven in the East of the Sea), as being merely conceptual. Discussion on this is still ongoing among Korean scholars. There is no need to rush to conclusions yet.

## Looking Forward to Future Advancements in the Research on Ritual

Research on rituals manifesting the throne and the laws governing ritual of Goryeo has been carried out steadily until now. Significant progress has been made in the research, but it still falls behind other fields. One reason may be the research trends that treat ritual as supplementary to political or intellectual history rather than as the main subject of research. Recently, though, increased interest has led to new attempts that focus on rituals themselves, which has in turn brought an ongoing, multifaceted, and in-depth conversation not only on various rituals concretizing the throne's power—namely, the five state rites for auspicious occasions, funerals, military affairs, hosting foreign envoys, and festive ceremonies, respectively—but also on the king's periodic rounds of inspection, banquets, and the ritual spaces. Toyoshima Yuka's book is also one of these important achievements in these recent trends in research.

My research also looks at Goryeo's rituals embodying the throne, particularly the diplomatic rituals. Rule by rite, formed during the Han dynasty of China, was practiced between China and its surrounding countries by the paying of tribute and granting of investiture. Diplomatic rituals, or the rituals practiced by envoys, who were in essence the diplomats of each country, played an important role in defining and expressing the relationship between two countries. Diplomatic rituals carried out by envoys functioned as a device that visualized the order between the two countries. My work has attempted to reproduce the specific procedures of such rituals in order to examine the ritualistic order reflected in them, that is, the negotiated order formed when a country-to-country relationship became official. I am currently in the middle of using my findings to examine the characteristics of the rituals of Goryeo, the way Goryeo implemented laws governing ritual, and the negotiated international order as expressed in diplomatic rituals. As one of the researchers studying ritual during the Goryeo period who hopes to see further advancements in the field, I end this review by presenting a few tasks research in this field faces.

First of all, the most basic step of research on ritual, i.e., restoring the rituals that appear in documents, should be done properly. In other words, work to restore the five state rites recorded in the Treatise on Rituals of *Goryeosa*, the representative Classic on the rites and rituals of Goryeo, should be carried out

first. Attempts to visually recreate the procedures of rituals we encounter only as text is the most fundamental step of researching rituals, even if the work ends up being only to interpret historical records. Research on China's study of ritual is said to have begun from the verification and periodization of documents and the restoration of the laws governing ritual that appear in the documents. The fact that there has not yet been a restoration of the Treatise on Rituals of *Goryeosa*, let alone an annotated translation of it, is evidence of just how long a way research on Goryeo's rituals has to go.

In addition, the research should be based on an understanding of the essence of rituals. Ritual is fundamentally the distinction and order of members of a society that creates and maintains a harmonic relationship among them. A world built on ritual is one where each stratum organized by ritual guarantees its unique dignity. The kings and officials of Goryeo seem to have understood this fundamental nature of ritual. It is therefore important that we gain a systematic understanding of the structure of the Goryeo society through the study of ritual and the laws governing it by which the state designed, controlled, and ruled the distinction between members of the society.

PARK Yunmi (historianpym@naver.com)

Institute of Korean Studies, Yonsei University

Translated by Jong Woo PARK and Boram SEO