

A Study on the Foods of Confucian Ancestral Rites in the Young-Nam Area of Korea

Sung-mee Kim

Dept. of Food & Nutrition, College of Home Economics, Keimyung Univ.

嶺南地方 儒教式 祭祀의 祭物에 關한 研究

金 聖 美

啓明大學教 家政大學 食品營養學科

국문초록

본 연구에서는 우리나라 영남 지방에 소재하는 네 가정을 표집하여 각 가정에서 행하여지고 있는 유교적 차례와 제사에 차려지는 제물을 실증적으로 연구, 고찰하였으며, 또 이들을 문헌적으로 비교 검토하여 그 변천의 모습을 고찰하고자 하였다. 영남지방의 북부인 안동 하회마을과 영남의 중부지방이라고 볼 수 있는 양동 마을의 불천위제사에서 보이는 제물조리에서의 공통점은 炙을 완전히 익히지 않고 진설하여 牲으로서의 기원을 그대로 지키고 있다는 사실이며 차이점은 바다가 가까운 양동마을에서는 하회마을보다 어물의 사용이 (대게와 생문어 등) 월등히 많다는 사실과 산골에 위치한 하회마을의 경우는 그 대신 닭을 湯으로 한마리 원으로 쓰고 烝에 또 한 마리를 사용하여 어물이 적은 데 비하여 닭을 더 많이 사용하고 있었다. 이러한 것은 의례가 매우 엄격한 제례에서도 지역적 특성이 많이 작용하고 있다는 것을 나타낸다고 하겠다. 또한 진설에 있어서도 한 곳은 양위진설이고 다른 곳은 단설로 같은 불천위이지만 이러한 차이를 나타내고 있어, 이것은 진설배열과 함께 家家禮로 지켜져 내려 오는 것이라 하겠다. 양가 모두 기제사 때보다 차려지는 제물의 종류가 다양하고 양도 많았다. 떡, 煎, 자반, 脯, 羹, 湯, 炙 및 나물과 과일 등이 차려졌다. 여전히 제물을 조리할 때 사용되는 양념은 매우 제한되고 있으며, 또한 이용할 수 있는 채소의 종류는 가정마다 다양하게 다르게 제한되고 있다는 것이 특징적이다. 사용되는 식품의 종류는 전통적으로 답습해오고 있음에 비추어, 과일은 매우 최근에 수입된 외래종의 것도 모든 가정에서 이용되고 있었다. 그러나 전체적으로 볼 때 유교식 제사의례는 시대에 따라 거의 변화됨이 없이 지켜져 내려 오고 있었다.

Key words: Food of Confucian rites, Bool-cheon-wi rites.

I. Introduction

The customs of food life of a people are based on the natural environments in which it is pl-

aced, and are formed, influenced by the vicissitudes of politics, economy, culture and society in the currents of a long history. Thus each groups of people has a proper style of food life,

its own traditional food materials and cooking methods.

Since ancient times Korean food life has had two different structures of daily and ritual styles, which have changed and developed into the food life customs appropriate for to the Koreans.

Among the life cycle rites of the Koreans, memorial services for ancestors are very important rites, in which ancestor worship dwells. Many Koreans think positively of ancestral worship and regard it as a very important and fine custom. While most traditional ritual customs, at least, in appearance, tend to be simple or extinct, the events or rites related to ancestors don't. Big holidays connected with ancestral worship, funeral rites, and ancestral rites are felt to be on the way to prosperity¹. Memorial services for deceased ancestors are performances for wishing and blessings of oneself or one's family, for calming anger, or for consoling some superhuman ability. Kim, Doo-hun says that ancestral rites are events essential for bringing about a family's prosperity and an individual's happiness². Lim, Don-hee³ says that ancestral rites in Korean farm villages play the role of redistribution of wealth, in consideration of economic disparity between relatives.

Though the objects and forms of ancestral rites are varied according to people and religions, the essence of these rites consists in praying for blessings and wording off misfortunes.

The custom of performing ancestral rites stems from ancestral worship. In the Orient, ancestral rites have been regarded as a doctrine of human life and a guide to ruling a nation. With all people from

a king to common people, the performance of ancestral rites has been men's greatest duty. A noble family of not less high rank than Poom-gwan(品官, Official rank) put up an ancestral temple called Jong myo(宗廟). A family of common people put up a stand for ancestral tablets called Jo-gam(祖龕). In temples or on stands, monumental tablets representing four generations of ancestors(parents, grandparents, great grand parents, great great grand parents) have been kept. Every year ancestral rites are performed.

As a matter of fact, ancestral rites were developed as a means of maintaining the feudalistic society based on Confucianism in the Orient. In particular it is not to be denied that the ancestral rites of royal families were related to keeping up ruling majesty. Consequently a great amount of money was spent on as many rites as seven hundred twenty every year, which led to financial failure⁴. It is also true that ancestral rites were so much red tape that many nuisances were brought about and their original spirit was forgotten.

In ancient times of Korea, there were religious services to Heaven : Young-go(迎鼓) in Boo-yeo, Dong-mang(東盟) in Ko-gu-ryo, Moo-cheon(舞天) in Ye and seasonal rites in three Han nations. The ancestral rites of the Bakche dynasty are said to have been Confucian. It is said that King Dong-myung of the Bakche dynasty performed ancestral rites for the founder of his dynasty as a farming god. It is recorded that the rites for the founder ended in the early fifth century, and then the altar for services to heaven was established, and Confucian rites for the heavenly god and Buddhistic rites in temples were nationwide performed⁵. It is reported that Nam hae, the sec

1) Choi, Gil-sung. Ancestral worship in Korea, Yae-jun Sa. p.11. 1987

2) Kim, Doo-hun. Research on the Korean Family system, Ul-you Moonhwa Sa. p.499. 1949

3) Lim, Don-hee. The home ceremony of Potlatch and Korean farm village. Korean Folklore 19, p.289. 1986

4) The bureau of managing cultural assets. The ancestral rites in the Chosun dynasty. p.12. 1967

5) Choi, Kwang-sik. The country and the ancestral rites in the Korean ancient times. Han-gil Sa. p.129. 1994

ond King of the Silla dynasty built a temple for Park, Hukeosae, the founder of the kingdom and performed rites for him⁶⁾. Choi, Gwang-sik reports that national rites seem to have been formed around the years from 685 to 735, judging from the rite records of the History of the Three Kingdoms : Silla, Bakche and Ko-gu-ryo and that Inoue examined that national rites worshiping the god of the region lasted. In the era of Ko-gu-ryo, the tomb of the founder of the nation remained.⁷⁾ It is reported that when the prime minister died, the new king of Ko-gu-ryo celebrated a grand funeral service, and had the tomb guarded by twenty houses⁷⁾. In the middle fourth century of Ko-gu-ryo, primitive ancestral rites were influenced by those of China and began to be politically institutionalized⁸⁾. In view of these facts, it can be observed that the manners and customs of funerals and ancestral rites were highly developed, Korean ancestral worship comprises Confucian ideology, so ancestral rites based on filial piety were the core of ancestral worship in the Chosun dynasty and these rites have been prevalent up to the present day.

Confucianism was introduced into Korea around the year 108 B.C., when Emperor Mu(武) of Han(漢) established four countries in ancient Korea. After that three kingdoms were built up. However the people of the three kingdoms did not accept Confucianism blindly. They absorbed the followings into their own proper ideas : the superintendent and fateful Heaven of Confucius, the benevolence and the righteousness of Mencius and the Heaven of Dong Zhong Shu - the cosmic dual forces and five primary substances [metal(金), wood(木), water(水), fire(火) and earth(土)]⁹⁾.

Thus Confucianism functioned as a religion along with native shamanism and kept a guard against being indulged in mysterious contact with shaman gods-the souls of the dead. But it was not in a position to reject such a contact entirely. In this way Confucianism and shamanism had a complementary function to each other socially and religiously⁹⁾.

The general limitations in studying food cultures are true of studying the sacrificial foods of ancestral rites. Because of the social limitations of women's ability to study in those days, there have remained few records of those sacrificial foods which they themselves prepared. So there are few studies of sacrificial foods because of the scarcity of the food records even though there have been many studies of ancestral ceremonial rites.

So this study has sampled eighteen families by questionnaire and interviewed some families in the Young nam area and surveyed the foods prepared for Confucian rites both on the anniversaries of death(忌祭, Gui-jae) and on big holidays(茶禮: Sul-nal, choo-suk), and Bool-cheon-wi rites(不遷位祭). Besides it has made a literary study and comparison of the sacrificial foods and reported how the sacrificial foods have changed. Through interviews and literary surveys this study has investigated and reported the sacrificial foods of the rites performed in shrines for scholars and loyal subjects.

II. The Foods of Confucian Ancestral Rites

1. The Literature reviews on the Foods of Confucian Ancestral Rites

6) 新羅南海次次雄三年春正月立始祖廟(三國史記卷一 新羅本記)

7) 新大王十五年秋九月國相答夫卒年百十三歲王自臨櫛龍朝七日乃以禮葬於質山置守墓二十家(三國史記卷十六, 高句麗本記四)

8) Kim, kyung-tac. The history of Korean primitive religion. The history of Korean culture 6. The institute of national culture in Korea university. p.174-175. 1970

9) Choi, Gil-sung. Ancestral worship in Korea. Yae-jun Sa. p.111. 1982

1) The Procedures of Rites

A rite of memorial service is performed in the following order : placing the table for the rite (設位), the first food serving(陳設), placing the soul tablet(設神主), inviting the soul(降神), bowing to the soul(參神), the second food serving(進饌), dedicating the first cup of rice wine (初獻), reciting a written prayer(讀祝), dedicating the second cup of wine(亞獻), dedicating the last cup of wine(終獻), asking the soul to have the sacrificial foods(脩食), closing the door and waiting for the soul to have some food(闔門), opening the door and entering the room(啓門), offering tea(獻茶), removing spoons and chopsticks and covering the bowl of rice(撤匙), seeing the soul off(奉送), burning the paper tablet(焚祝), removing the foods(撤饌) and at tendants enjoying the foods(飲福).

In setting the table, the following are first served : spoons, wine cups and trays, boiled vegetables, fruits, dried meat or fish, pickled fish, a bottle of water, a bottle of wine, two candles and a bowl of sand and hay. But these days all offerings are generally served at one time.

In the second food serving, the chief attendant puts fish, meat, Tang(湯) and Kook(羹) on the table, and his wife puts Tucks(餅, rice cake), noodles and Bab(飯, boiled rice)¹⁰⁾. This is thought to be concerned with the fact that in primitive days man dealt with animal food and woman, plant food and cereals and that they exchanged these foods with each other.

Though the second cup of drink is expected to be offered by the mistress, in most homes women don't attend the rite. In patriarchal Confucian rites, the mistress offers the second cup of drink not as a woman but as the wife of the eldest grandson of the main family¹¹⁾.

As a dessert, tea is offered after meal. In Korea, drinking tea is not common, so instead of tea, Soong-nyung(drinking water which was boiled with scorched rice) is offered, conforming to Korean taste.

The paper of a written prayer and the paper tablet are burned at the end of the rite(焚祝). In most homes, it is called So-jee(燒紙, burning paper), which is a shamanistic term^{12,13)}.

Incense burns through the rite. Over burning incense the drinking cup is moved in a circle and purified. The qualification to burn incense is not limited. The manager or the chief attendant of the rite is comparatively free to burn incense. Yet the qualification of dedicating a cup of drink is rigidly confined.

It is true that ancestral rites have been performed since ancient times, but these rites began to take forms in the era of the Ko-ryo dynasty. Particularly it seems that the rites on the anniversaries of death began to take forms conforming to manners after the middle of the Chosun dynasty. Until that time, ancestral rites seem to have been performed in rather various ways¹⁴⁾.

2) The Sarificial Foods shown in Books of Manners

10) Kim, Choon-dong, The history of etiquette and customs in Korea, The history of Korean culture 4, The institute of national culture in Korea university, p.403, 1985

11) Choi, Gil-sung, Ancestral worship in Korea, Yae-jun Sa, p.102, 1982

12) 秋葉隆, translated by Choi, Gil-sung, The field study of Korean Shamanism, Keimyung Univ. Publisher, p. 132, 1987

13) Kyun, Kwang-ook, The story of six ceremony, Hae dojee, p.359, 1994

14) Lee, Ree-wha, The traditional life of Korean, Ryukang publisher, p.18, 1993

For worshipping ancestors, there should be consistent rites - memorial services. To set the table for ancestors and to remember them is a most unique act for honoring them and a token of intimacy and trust. Through these rites, descendants feel very close to their ancestors. Yet the sacrificial foods are not left to their discretion but laid down by regulations. On rare occasions the foods to the tastes of ancestors are specially prepared.

The records of sacrificial foods shown in books of manners are as follows,

In August of the second year of King Gong-yang in the Ko-ryo dynasty, Tae-boo-ga-jae-ui(大夫家祭儀, ancestral rites of the family according to grades) was circulated, in which sacrificial foods are differently set according to status¹⁵⁾.

Lee, Tae-gye(李退溪, 1501~1570) said that a clean site should be selected for brewing rice wine for ancestral rites¹⁶⁾ and that fruits and dried and sliced meat or fish prepared for rites should not be used for other purposes¹⁷⁾. And in the second of Confucian commendments, he wrote that Youmilgwa(油蜜菓, fried and honeyed cake coated with sesame or popped and broken rice) should not be offered in the rites¹⁸⁾.

What Lee, Yi(李珣, 1536~1584) said about sacrificial foods is as follows¹⁹⁾. For one soul, the following should be offered : five fruits, one dish of dried meat or fish, one dish of boiled vegetables, a bowl of Sik-hae(食醴), a bowl of

Kimchee, a small cup of soy sauce, one dish of vegetable seasoned with vinegar, one dish of fish and meat respectively, one dish of Tuck, a bowl of noodles, a bowl of Kook, a bowl of Bab, five kinds of Tang(湯; boiled fish, meat, vegetables and other things with little soup), if five are difficult to prepare, three kinds will do, and three kinds of roasted meat(liver, meat, fish or meat of a pheasant). These foods should be prepared in a clean condition, should not be eaten in prior to rites, and should not be touched by animals such as cats, dogs, bugs and rabbits.

Kim, Jang-sang(金長生, 1548~1631) said in 'Sang-rye Bee-yeo' that boiling water which was boiled with rice scorched and stuck to the bottom of the pot is substituted for tea. We call it 'Soong-nyung'²⁰⁾.

The Simplified Family Ritual Standards laid down on May 30 in 1975 stipulate that sacrificial foods can be simple and routine dishes can be set with little great or special effort and that in Jeol-sa Tucks can be substituted for Bab and in Yeon-si-jae, Tuc-kook(湯餅) can be substituted for Bab and Kook.

Choi, Guil-sung says the characteristics of Confucian Offerings as follows. First, offerings dedicated to the deceased are almost the same as those to the living. Second, unlike in Buddhism animal food is not forbidden, One the contrary captured animals are offered as sacrificial foods and eaten after rites. This means

15) 一品至二品設蔬果各五 肉二 麵餅各日器羹飯各二器匙箸各二
二品至六品設蔬菜三 果二 麵餅魚肉各一器
七品至庶人在官者菜二 果一 魚肉各一器羹飯蓋匙並同兩位共一卓
(高麗史卷六十三志卷第十七禮五大夫士庶人祭禮條)

16) The committee of promoting national culture. The writings of Tae-gue translated into Korean Vol. 2. Publishing department of the committee of promoting national culture, p.270. 1968

17) *ibid.*, p.336. 1968

18) *ibid.*, p.378. 1968

19) Lee, Yi, translated by Lee, Min-soo. Gyung-mong-yeo-gyul. Ul-you Moonhwa Sa. p.172. 1975

20) Kim, Jang-saeng. Sang-rye-vee-yeo. vol. 34. p.23

that Confucian ancestral rites are different from Buddhistic rites in offerings but the influence of Buddhism cannot be entirely excluded in that incense closely related to Buddhistic rites and introduced into Korea with Buddhism is much made of in Confucian rites and that tea is offered even though formal. In view of the above mentioned things, it can safely be said that while Confucianism rejects Buddhism, it has been influenced by Buddhism²¹⁾.

3) The Table Setting Shown in Books of Manners

The historical inquiry into the way of setting the table for ancestral rites is as follows. In 'Kook-jo-O-rye-ui'(國朝五禮儀) edited in the era of King Sung-jong of the Chosun dynasty, there are four divisions of setting the table according to status²²⁾.

The foods of the table setting in 'Kook-jo-O-rye-ui' shows us that the family of the second Poom or above put many vegetables and fruits on the table and that the family of common people have no fish and meat.

Tae-gye spoke of the regulation of 'Kook-jo-O-rye-ui' as follows. It is right to follow different manners of rites according to status. Though a small amount of meat and fish, and a large amount of dried and sliced meat or fish, pickled fish and fruits are laid down as a sacrificial offerings, it is not always necessary to follow the regulations. Perhaps it is easy to get fish and meat in some families. Each family may as well perform ancestral rites according to its own situations²³⁾.

神位

匙著	飯	盞	羹	醋
麵	肉類	炙	魚類	餅
	湯	湯	湯	
佐飯	脯	蔬菜	醬	食鹽
栗	棗	乾柿	梨	杏

Fig. 1. The arrangement of foods in the 'Gyung-mong-yeo-gyul'.

神位

神位

※ 寫真 或 紙傍

飯	盞	羹	飯	盞	羹
蔬菜		醬	沈菜		
魚類		湯	肉類		
果		果	果		

香 香盒 茅沙

Fig. 2. The arrangement of foods by The Simplified Family Ritual Standard.

The figure of the table setting shown in 'Gyung-mong-Yeo-gyul(擊蒙要訣)' by Lee, Yi is as follows²⁴⁾.

The figure of the table setting provided by 'The Simplified Family Ritual Standards' is as follows.

21) Choi, Gil-sung, Ancestral worship in Korea. Yae-jun Sa, p.100. 1987

22) Kook-jo-o-rye-ui, Kyung-in Sa, p.387. 1979

23) The committee of promoting national culture. The writings of Tae-gue translated into Korean Vol. 2, p.270, p.339. 1968

24) Lee, Yi, translated Lee, Min-soo, Gyung-mong-yeo-gyul, Ul-you Moonhwa Sa, p159. 1975

2. The Foods of Confucian Ancestral Rites in the Young-Nam Area

1) Hyang-sa in Do-san Seo-won(陶山書院享祠)

The sacrificial foods offered in the rites for Tae-gye and Wol-cheon on March 26 in 1995 are as follows.

On the table of the rite for Tae-gye there are four bamboo bowls and four wooden bowls(四邊四豆). Steamed rice is placed in a bowl(簋) and steamed millet is also placed in a bowl(簋).

In the first row of the four bamboo bowls on the left dried cod and jujubes are placed, and in the second row of bamboo bowls, dried and sliced meat and pinenuts are placed. In the first row of the four wooden bowls on the right, pickled beef, and Japanese parsley are placed, and in the second row jogee(a kind of salted croaker) and radishes are placed. In the middle of the table the head part of the pork is placed. All sacrificial offerings are placed in raw state. Until recently the rice wine of their own brewing was offered but the complexity of brewing and the lack of hands have forced them to offer Yak-joo(藥酒,; rice wine).

2) Hang-sa in Bong-am Seo-won(鳳巖書院享祠)

The sacrificial offerings provided by Bong-am Seowon located at number 559 Ma-kok-dong, Poong-san-myun, Andong on March 17, in 1995 are as follows.

Steamed rice is placed in a bowl and steamed broom corn millet is placed in a four-cornered wooden bowl. On the table there are four bamboo dishes and four wooden bowls(四邊四豆).

3) The Rites of Bool-cheon-wi

Bool-cheon-wi is the rite which the nation

permits to perform in a shrine in which the tablets of ancestors are kept, in honor of ancestors who made great contributions to the nation or whose learning and virtues are very great. The families which perform Bool-cheon-wi rites are very proud of their ancestors distinction.

Now the ancestors who are four generations or above away from their great grandson are not served and remembered in the form of ancestral rites on the anniversaries of death. They are the objects of the rites in front of tombs, but exceptionally the ancestors served in Bool-cheon-wi rites are remembered on their anniversaries of death.

(1) The Sons' family in Yang-dong, Kyung-joo. (良洞 月城 孫氏宅)

In the village of Yang-dong, Kyung-joo city, Kyung-book province, there live two clans : the Lees from Yeo-gang and the Sons from Wol-sung. This study has surveyed Bool-cheon-wi rites performed by the Sons' family from Wol-sung.

The first ancestor who came to live in Yang-dong, now Kyung-joo was Son, So, whose pen name was Woo-jae, who was the fifth ancestor from the founder of the family and who received the title of Yang-min-gong from the nation. There are two kinds of Bool-cheon-wi rites. One is from the class of Confucian Scholars and the other from the nation. The Bool-cheon-wi rite of this family is from the nation and is more honorable.

After supper around 9 o'clock they began to place foods in dishes and bowls. Around midnight they began to set the table for the rite. At one o'clock sharp in the morning, they began to perform the rite. That day, about thirty people attended the rite. On some occasion, the number

of attendants amounts to seventy. The table is set in the ritual hall for two souls.

The Offerings are as follows.

① Liquor(酒)

Refined and clear rice wine (Bup joo) or fruit wine is served.

② Fruits

Eight kinds of fruits - jujubes, chestnuts, pears, persimmons, apples, ginko nuts, oranges and melons - are set in the written order. Lately foreign oranges are offered. Such Korean cakes as Yu-gwa (油菓: fried and honeyed cookies coated with sesame or popped and broken rice), Jeong gwa (正菓: honey preserved fruits, ginger or ginsang, etc.) and Yak gwa (藥菓: fried and honeyed cookies) are offered only on Sul Nal and Choo suk. They are not offered in the rites on the anniversaries of death and in Bool-cheon wi rites, for everything tends to be simplified, which was proved by Hoe and Lee's study²⁵⁾, which observing that Korean cookies were offered in 1982. It takes too much time and ef-

fort to make such Korean cookies at home and they are rather expensive to buy and less preferred.

So it can be observed that even in the traditional rites the foods enjoyed by the attendants are substituted.

③ Dried Fish(脯)

Dried octopuses, cods and sea mussels are offered.

④ Boiled and Seasoned vegetables(熟菜)

Boiled and seasoned fernbrakes, Japanese parsley, bean sprouts and roots of broad bellflowers are put together in one dish.

⑤ Sik-hae(食醢)

Sticky rice is fermented by powdered malt. The liquid is poured out and solid stuff remains, with which shredded jujubes are mixed.

⑥ Chicken(鷄炙)

A whole chicken is steamed and offered.

⑦ Crab

A whole crab is steamed and offered.

⑧ Tang(湯)

Eggs (instead of chicken), bean custard, kelp, radishes and fish are boiled together. Five bowls of solid stuff are offered without liquid.

⑨ Noodles(麵)

Noodles are boiled, seasoned with soy sauce and sesame oil and placed in two bowls.

⑩ Sam (包, Wrapped Foods)

Tripe, laver and leaves of Chinese cabbages are used for wrapping.

⑪ Juck (炙, roasted fish and meat)

Six whole slightly cooked fish - two sea breams, two jogeos and two skates are placed, on which pieces of shark (twenty centimeters long, 2 centimeters wide and high) steamed on skewers are piled. On shark, a whole octopus is

神位

飯	盞	羹	匙箸	飯	盞	羹
餅		鷄炙		蟹炙		餅
麵	湯	湯	湯	湯	湯	麵
脯	熟菜	包	包	包	食醢	浸菜
果	果	果	果	果	果	果

Fig. 3. The arrangement of foods in Bool-cheon wi rite by the Sons' family.

25) Hoe, Pil-sook · Lee, Su eun. A survey study on the memorial services in Young-nam area. Science research of Keimyung Univ., Vol. 8., p.15. 1982

fixed with a skewer. At the top rare meat is placed. All these foods are slightly cooked. When eaten they are well cooked again.

⑫ Kimchee

Radishes, carrots, salt and ginger juice are mixed with water.

⑬ Tucks(餅)

There are six kinds of Tucks. Shi-roo-tuck covered with powdered beans are piled up for ten layers, on which four-layered Sook-tuck (Sagebrush Tucks), two-layered white Song-pyun(stuffed Tucks) and one-layered sagebrush Song-pyun are piled up.

Again Joo-ak (sticky rice Tucks which are stuffed with sesame, dried persimmons and honey and roasted in salad oil on a frying pan), In-jeol-mee(sticky rice Tucks coated with powdered bean) and Hwa-jeon are piled up at the top. Hwa-jeon(花煎) is a stick rice pan cake with leaves of mums on (originally flower leaves of azaleas are used but when they are out of season, leaves of mums are substituted). It is round and its diameter is about ten centimeters long. It is folded four times and placed in one line at the top around the edge. In the middle Joo-ak is placed.

⑭ Kook

Kook is made of raddishes, kelp, meat, octopuses, sharks, bean-curd and eggs.

⑮ Soy sauce and honey are offered.

⑯ In the rites on New Year's Day, Tuc-kook is substituted for Bab and Kook. In the rites on Choo-suk, Tucks are substituted for Bab and Kook or Tuc-kook.

According to Jang's study²⁶⁾, in the rites of the Sons' family, the wife of the eldest grandson dedicated the second cup of wine, but after her

death, his new wife didn't.

(2) The Ryus' family from Ha-hoi, Poong-san An-dong(河回 豊山 柳氏宅)

The Ryus' family is divided into two part : the side of Kyum-am and the side of Seo-ae. Kyum-am and Seo-ae were granted the titles of Moon-gyung-gong and Moon-choong-gong respectively. They and their father, Ryu, Shi-ryoung received Pool-cheon-wi from the nation. Mrs. Ryu, the wife of the eldest grandson of the main family fifteen generations away from Kyum am was interviewed.

The followings are the sacrificial foods of the Pool-cheon-wi rite which she described. The offerings are set in the ritual hall for one soul.

① Liquor

Refined and clear rice wine is prepared at home.

② Fruits

Chestnuts, jujubes, pears, persimmons, walnuts, and apples are served. Yak-gwa, Jeongwa and Yu-gwa are offered. The eldest wife of Ryus' family, Mrs. Ryu said that the eldest grandson of the Ryues would serve jujubes, chestnuts, pears and persimmons.

③ Dried and sliced meat or fish

Dried and sliced cod is served.

④ Sik-hae

Sik-hae Bab is placed in a bowl and sprinkled by powdered sesame.

⑤ Tang

Chicken, beef, fish, custard bean, kelp and Alaska pollacks are boiled. Five bowls of Tang are served.

In this family a whole, chicken is slightly boiled and placed with the head of the chicken

26) Jang, Chul-soo, Ancestral rites of ceremonial occasions, A comprehensive view of Korean folkways 1. p.730. 1982

at the bottom, which, Mrs. Ryu explained, shows the humble attitude toward the soul. In the rites of Pool-cheon-wi, animal foods are served in raw state. So, for making Tang, beef is sliced and placed on fresh radishes. Fish and bean-curd is offered in the raw state.

⑥ Juck (Fish and Meat)

Fish (yellowtails, sharks, stingrays, flatfish, jogee and herrings), beef, pork and chicken piled up in order with chicken at the top. The back of the chicken is up. As the chicken is placed back up, it is called 'up-juck'. Pork and chicken is slightly cooked and the rest are offered in raw state. Raw meat is sliced and offered. A piece of white Korean paper is put under the seasoned raw beef, which Mrs. Ryu explained, is thought to prevent devils from sticking to meat.

⑦ Jaban(salted fish)

Brown seaweed is placed at the bottom of a dish. On the seaweed, yellow tails and jogees are placed with both tips cut off.

⑧ Meat

Rare pork is offered.

⑨ Noodles

Boiled noodles are seasoned with powdered sesame and sesame oil.

⑩ Tucks

At the bottom, Shi-roo-tuck(steamed Tucks covered with powdered beans) is piled for twenty layers, on which white Tucks, Song-pyun(stuffed with powdered sesame and soy bean), Jung-pyun (Tuck with alcohol in it), Jap-gwa Byung(雜果餅; Tucks which are coated with various kinds of fruits, especially chestnuts and jubes), Joo-ak(Tuck which are stuffed with sesame, dried persimmons and honey and roasted in vegetable oil on a frying pan) and Hwa-jeon are piled as high as 35 to 40 centimeters. They are wrapped with Korean

paper and bound with a straw and sealed at one side.

⑪ Boiled vegetables

Among roots of broad bellflowers, fernbrakes, inner part of Chinese cabbages, spinach, bean sprouts, and radishes, according to the season three or above with different colors are put together in a bowl. Green vegetables alone are put in a bowl, sprinkled with powdered sesame, which correspond to vegetables mixed with vinegar but vinegar is not applied.

⑫ Kimchee

In winter, Tongchimee(a kind of Kimchee , pickled and fermented radishes with much soup) is offered. In the other seasons, Mool-kimchee (a kind of Kimchee , pickled radishes and Chinese cabbages with a lot of soup without red pepper) is served.

⑬ Kook

In those days brown seaweed Kook was offered but these days the soup of Tang is served.

⑭ Soy sauce and honey are offered but Soy sauce mixed with vinegar is not.

⑮ This family serves animal foods in raw state and can't eat them right after the rites, when the attendants at the rite go back home they are given half an Alaska pollack and some meat and fish which is called 'Bong-gae(奉揭)' in the Youngnam area. After the rite, they eat the foods Bab(rice), vegetables, Tucks, fruits and rice wine. The meat and fish remaining after Bong-gae are cooked and served for breakfast the next morning. They explain that it is to prevent people from eating meat and fish on the memorial day and it is because they have too much trouble in preparing enough meat and fish for the attendants. It is thought that this explanation has been added as years go on but they conform to the manners of old days that sacri-

ficial foods should be offered in the raw state.

The village of Ha-hoi is located in the north of the Young-nam area while the village of Yang-dong is in the middle of it. The common feature of the offerings for Bool-cheon-wi rites in both villages is that Juck(meat and fish) is offered in the rare state, which shows that they conform to the original manners of sacrifice. The difference between them is that in Yang-dong near the sea more fish(large crabs and raw octopuses) is served while in Ha-hoi which is inland more chicken is used than fish. A whole chicken is used for Tang and another chicken for up-juck. This reveals that even in ancestral rites whose rules are very rigid, regional characteristics influence the offerings.

As for the table setting, in one village they set the table for two souls and in the other for one spirit. These differences along with the arrangement of foods have been kept as manners of the family.

4) The Rites on Anniversaries of Death(忌祭)

(1) The Lees' family from Shin-dong

① Liquor

Refined and clear rice wine, Bup-joo(a kind of rice wine) or fruit wine in the market is served.

② Fruits

Jujubes, chestnuts, persimmons, dried persimmons and apples are served. Uniquely, when the table is not large enough for offerings jujubes are put on chestnuts, dried persimmons are placed on persimmons, and apples and pears are put on one dish. All kinds of fruits except peaches can be served.

③ Dried and sliced fish and meat(脯)

Dried Alaska pollacks, cuttlefish, octopuses,

cod and dried and sliced beef are served.

④ Sik-hae

In former days, boiled rice was fermented with malt and boiled again. Rice stuff without liquid was gathered, on which small slices of dried pollacks were placed. Now the liquid is not got rid of.

⑤ Tang

Beef, cod, cuttlefish, sea mussels, kelp and radishes are boiled and without soup, only the stuff is gathered. One bowl of Tang(beef) or two bowls of Tang are served.

⑥ Juck(Meat and Fish)

Beef, chicken and fish are sliced, skewered and roasted. Sulhae, which is beef sliced skewered and roasted, is a characteristic of this family. Vegetable Juck, Nu-rum Juck(a kind pan cake), egg-coated and roasted fish and meat, Sul-hae, salted fish and boiled or steamed meat are piled up in order with vegetable Juck at the bottom. At the top, a chicken is placed back up. There is no decoration on chicken. Judging from the cooking method, Sul-hae seems to be Sul-ha-myuk-juck(雪下覓炙), which is a special food of Kaesung handed down from ancient times. Beef is seasoned with oil and fragrant vegetables, skewered, roasted medium, dipped into cold water and roasted again over strong charcoal fire. In this way, beef becomes soft and delicious, and is good as a side dish on a snowy night. Lee²⁷⁾ explains that this Sul-hae has some relation to present Boolgogi.

⑦ Jaban(Salted fish)

Among jogees, yellowtails, herrings and sea breams there are two kinds which are broiled and served.

⑧ Jeon(煎)

Egg-coated and roasted beef and fish, Nu-rum

27) Lee, Sung-woo. The history of Korean foods. KyoMoon Sa. p.179. 1985

Juck, vegetable Jucks made of Chinese cabbages and leeks are served.

⑨ Boiled meat

Boiled pork is sliced and served.

⑩ Noodles

Noodles are boiled, rinsed in cold water, and seasoned with soy sauce.

⑪ Tucks

Shi-ru-tuck(Steamed rice Tucks coated with powdered beans) is piled up for seven layers. In addition, In-geol-mee, Jap-gwa-Byung, Song-pyun, Jeol-pyun(rice Tucks with flower patterns imprinted), Jung-pyun, Joo-ak and Hwa-jeon are offered according to the season.

In particular, the deceased father of the family was very fond of bread in his life, so beside the dish of Tucks, a dish of bread is placed.

⑫ Vegetables

Bean sprouts, radishes, fernbrakes and roots of broad bellflowers are boiled and seasoned. Mool-kimchee is offered.

⑬ Kook

Beef, kelp and radishes are ingredients of kook.

⑭ Besides, honey, soy-sauce and Soong-nyung are offered

It is a characteristic that a little meal table is prepared with such foods in a set of dishes as Mool-chimchee, roasted meatballs, broiled jogees and eggs. The meal table(食床) offered on the large table is shown in Jung's study²⁸⁾ of the Jungs' family from Hadong in Jeekok, Ham-yang. In this family foods are placed in a set of seven dishes. There is a similarity between the Jungs' family and the Lees' family, it is similar that Gam-joo(a sweet drink) is offered as Sik-hae and Soo-Yook(boiled or steamed meat) is offered.

(2) The Hong's family from Boo-rim in Koon-wi

① Liquor

Bup-joo or fruit wine is offered.

② Fruits

Among jujubes, chestnuts, pears, persimmons, dried persimmons, apples, water-melons, melons, bananas and kiwi fruit, seven kinds are selected according to the season.

③ Dried fish

Dried Alaska pollacks and cuttlefish are served with their tips off.

④ Sik-hae

Gamjoo(a sweet drink made from rice and malt) is offered.

⑤ Tang

Beef, radishes, gourds are boiled together and only the stuff is placed in one bowl.

⑥ Juck

A whole roasted chicken is placed in one dish and roasted fish and meat is placed together in another dish.

⑦ Jaban(Salted fish)

Salted jogees and herrings are broiled and offered.

⑧ Jeon

Sliced cod and Alaska pollacks are coated with flour and eggs, and roast in salad oil on a frying pan.

⑨ Kook

The Kook from boiled bean sprouts is offered.

⑩ Tucks

Among Shirootuck, Song-pyun, Jung-pyun and Hwa-jeon, two kinds are selected and offered.

⑪ Boiled vegetables

Three green vegetables like Japanese parsley, spinach and pickpurse and three white ve-

28) Jyung, Hyun-sook. A study on the foods of ancestral rites in Younngnam area. Yun-goo Ronchong Vol. 4. p. 471. 1986

getables like bean sprouts, raddishes and roots of broad bellflowers are used. When they are not available, fernbrakes will do.

⑫ Soy sauce is offered but soy sauce with vinegar is not. Kimchee is not offered

In this family the wife of the eldest grandson dedicates the second cup of wine and his younger brother did the last cup of wine.

Eighteen families around the Andong area were the subjects of the questionnaire about the table setting. The results are as follows. In setting the table fifteen families keep the rule that the head of the fish should be toward the east, and the tail toward the west(東頭西尾). Fifteen families keep the rule that Bab should be on the left and Kook on the right(左飯右羹). Thirteen families offer jujubes, chestnuts, pears and persimmons(棗栗梨柿). Twelve families keep the rule that dried and sliced meat or fish should be on the left, Sik-hae on the right(左脯右醢).

As seen above, the rules are kept in common in most families. As for the rules that red-colored offerings are toward the east and the white-colored, toward the west(紅東白西) and that the raw offerings are toward the east and the cooked, toward the west(生東熟西), the families of the same clan apply them differently. Even with in the same family they are not kept consistently.

The observance of the rules, in a degree, depends on the number and amount of offerings. These various ways of setting the table are partly due to the factions of the Chosun dynasty²⁹⁾. But it has not been found out that which faction followed which way of setting the table. It is not constant whether the table is set for

one soul or two. Even in families of the same clan, the table is differently set. So it is difficult to conclude consistently.

Taegye expressed his opinion about this problem as follows. People set the table for two souls and remember both parents on the death anniversary of either of them, which is not proper. It is right that on the father's anniversary of death, mother as well as father should be remembered, but it is not right that on the mother's anniversary of death, father as well as mother should be remembered, for father is above mother. In my family both parents are remembered on the death anniversary of either of them. But as I am not the eldest son, I am not free to change this practice. So after my death this practice should be changed³⁰⁾.

From the result of the survey it can be seen that the way of setting the table is not so rigid but as to the cooking methods(for example red pepper and garlic should not be added) and the kinds of offerings except fruits they are so conservative. Even now garlic and red peppers are not used in cooking food for the ancestral rites.

Fruits have been changed most of all offerings. Oranges, pineapples and kiwi fruit lately introduced into Korea from foreign lands are offered almost without any limits, whereas no family uses such foreign foods as western cookies, hamburgers and pizza-pies. Only one family serves bread which the deceased enjoyed in his life, of course along with other offerings.

Tucks are indispensable for ancestral rites. Among Tucks, the main Tuck Shirootuck and Hwa-jeon which originated from the Hwa-jeon play of the Silla dynasty is a traditional Korean food. It will be the subject of study whether

29) Lee, Ree-hwa, The traditional life of Korean, Ryukang Publisher, p.20. 1993

30) The committee of promoting national culture, The writings of Tae-gue translated into Korean Vol. 2, Publishing department of the committee of promoting national culture, p.338. 1968

Hwa-jeon is essential for the rites in other regions besides the Young-nam area which was the region of the Silla dynasty.

III. CONCLUSION

This paper has investigated the foods now used for Confucian ancestral rites in the Young-Nam area of Korea. And also it has observed how they have changed according to the times. For Confucian Bool-cheon-wi rites, more kinds of and a greater quantity of foods are served than are for typical memorial services on the anniversaries of death. Tucks, Jeon, salted fish and dried meat, Kook, Tang, Juck, boiled and seasoned vegetables and fruits are served in common for both. It is a characteristic that the only limited kinds of spices and vegetables are used for the foods of these rites. There are some differences between families. The kinds of foods used are conservative while foreign fruits lately introduced are exceptionally used in almost all families. But on the whole Confucian ancestral rites have comparatively little changed with the times.

As the function of the friendly relations of the family, the solidarity of relatives and the pride of the family becomes more and more important the ancestral rites will be handed down from generation to generation as the traditional culture of Korea.

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