

The Symbolic Significance of Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall in the Goryeo Dynasty Seen from the Spatial and Political Perspective

Manwoldae, the Palace of the Goryeo Dynasty: Its History and Space

The Goryeo Dynasty was founded in 918, and Kaesong was designated as its capital in 919. Then, a palace was built facing south at the foot of Songaksan Mountain, north of Kaesong. The palace is called Manwoldae 滿月臺. Now, only the site remains. According to records, the palace was constructed in 919 (the 2nd year of King Taejo's reign). At that time, 17 buildings were built, along with other facilities, and over 20 of their names remain in records, including Cheondeokjeon Hall 天德殿, Sangjeongjeon Hall 詳政殿, Sindeokjeon Hall 神德殿, and Junggwangjeon Hall 重光殿. These names used at that time appeared even in documents recorded after 1014 (the 5th year of King Hyeonjong).

Cheondeokjeon Hall was where the king met with Eun Gye-jong 隱繼宗, a Balhae person who had naturalized in Goryeo, in September 928 (the 11th year of King Taejo's reign). In addition, in November 935 when King Gyeongsun, the last king of the Silla dynasty, came to Goryeo to surrender, the king of Goryeo received homage from him there. Sangjeongjeon and Sindeokjeon Halls were used as the king's office and bedchamber, respectively. King Taejo (Wang Geon) died at Sindeokjeon Hall, and after receiving his will, his son Hyejong ascended to the throne at Sangjeongjeon Hall. Junggwangjeon Hall also provided a venue of political significance.

Gujeong Garden 毬庭 and Wibongnu Pavilion 威鳳樓 served as venues for significant events. In 928, when Oeogokseong Fortress was captured by Gyeon Hwon, the king and founder of Later Baekje, King Taejo publicly humiliated the wives and children of his six generals who surrendered in front of his army gathered at Gujeong Garden before cutting off their

heads and throwing their body onto the street. In September 926, King Taejo destroyed Baekje and returned to Wibongnu Pavilion to receive the felicitations of the civil and military officials and the people. In the early Goryeo period, Wibongnu Pavilion and Gujeong Garden were built as a pair by imitating the constitution of the palace in the country's early capital of Cheorwonseong and served as a venue for the Buddhist *palgwanhoe* ritual every year. As mentioned earlier, Manwoldae, the palace of the early Goryeo period, located at the foot of Songaksan Mountain, had Cheondeokjeon Hall, Junggwangjeon Hall, Sangjeongjeon Hall, Sindeokjeon Hall, Wibongnu Pavilion, and Gujeong Garden.

The palace was repaired and renovated in 961 (the 12th year of King Gwangjong's reign). The construction taking about two years was completed in 963. In addition to repairing old buildings, large-scale expansion work was also carried out. The names of Cheondeokjeon Hall and Wibongnu Pavilion are confirmed in the records of this period, indicating that the basic framework of the palace built during the reign of King Taejo remained intact. However, as it was expanded to a scale befitting the emperor's grandeur (the king of Goryeo was named "emperor" domestically), many new buildings were constructed. Representative examples are Jangsaengjeon Hall 長生殿, where a banquet was held for government officials after Jeong Yun (later King Gyeongjong) was appointed crown prince in February 965, and Wonhwajeon Hall 元和殿, where the Tripitaka was recited in October 971. These buildings are believed to have been newly built or may have existed before then.

During the reign of King Seongjong, buildings identified in records include Sahyeonjeon Hall 思賢殿, Jangchunjeon Hall 長春殿, Geonhwajeon Hall 乾化殿, and Yeonchongjeon Hall 延寵殿. On the winter solstice in November 983 (the 2nd year of King Seongjong's reign), the king received the felicitations of officials in Wonhwajeon Hall and held a banquet for government officials in Sahyeonjeon Hall. In January 1009 (the 12th year of King Mokjong's reign), when a fire starting at the oil warehouse of the Financial Ministry spread and burned Cheonchujeon Hall 千秋殿, Buddhist convocations were held at Jangchunjeon Hall and Geonhwajeon Hall. In February of that year, King Hyeonjong ascended to the throne at Yeonchongjeon Hall. However, it is uncertain whether they were just renamed when King Seongjong reformed the administrative system or were

newly built during the reign of King Mokjong.

Meanwhile, the names of Sangjeongjeon Hall and Junggwangjeon Hall, which had appeared since the reign of King Taejo, were still identified in this period. However, the name of Cheondeokjeon Hall is not found after it appeared for the last time in the document about a banquet thrown to government officials in January 983. As for Geondeokjeon Hall 乾德殿, a document is identified that in February 1009, soldiers cheered when Kang Cho, who staged a coup against King Mokjong, enthroned a new king and sat under the throne platform of Geondeokjeon Hall. It is understood that Geondeokjeon Hall at that time was renamed from Cheondeokjeon Hall of the early Goryeo dynasty.

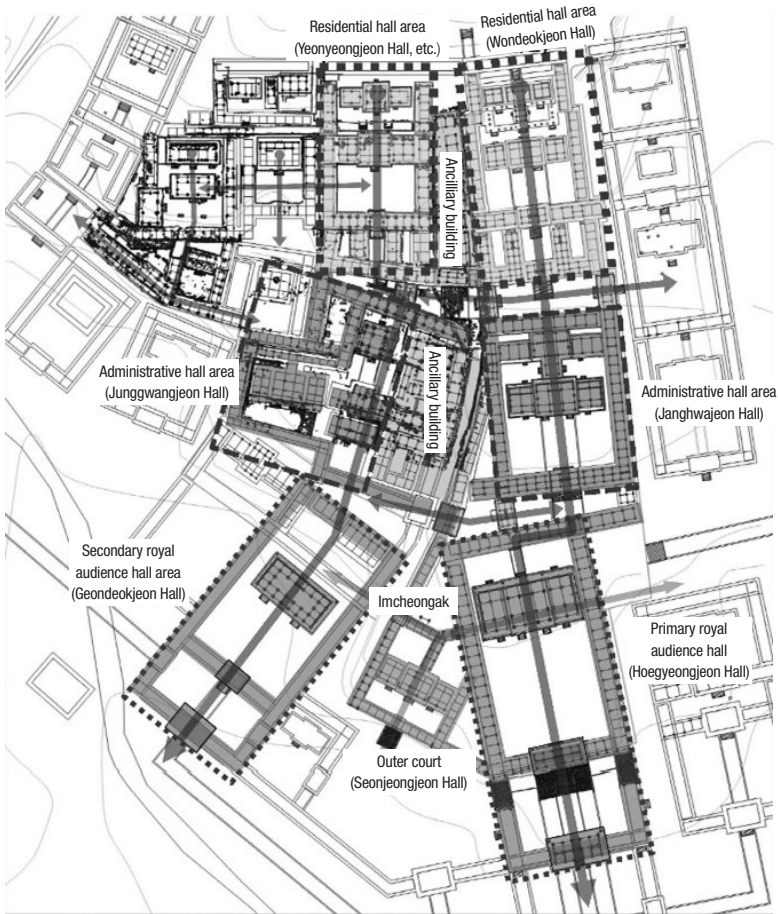


Figure 1. The Traffic Lines of Manwoldae's West and Central Building Groups Palace

source: Nam 2020, 133

According to the *History of Goryeo (Goryeosa)*, the country faced a national crisis in 1011 when Khitan captured Gaegyeong during its second invasion and burned the royal shrine (*taemyo*), palaces, and ordinary houses. Reconstruction was inevitable. The palace was rebuilt in the reign of King Hyeonjong in two stages: the first reconstruction from October 1011 to January 1014; and the second from August 1020 to August 1023. In this process, many buildings were renamed, and many new buildings were built.

Most building names of the restored palace have been confirmed in records after the first construction stage. The buildings were renamed during the second stage. Jasinjeon Hall 紫宸殿 was renamed to Gyeongdeokjeon Hall 敬德殿 in January 1021; Mungongjeon Hall 文功殿 to Mundeokjeon Hall 文德殿 in March; and Myeonggyeongjeon Hall 明慶殿 to Seonjeongjeon Hall 宣政殿; Yeongeunjeon Hall 靈恩殿 to Myeonggyeongjeon Hall 明慶殿; and Gyeongdeokjeon Hall 敬德殿 to Yeonyeongjeon Hall 延英殿 in July. In addition, Seonjeongjeon Hall appears in records as one of the royal council halls where the king handled state affairs primarily. It is presumed that the building was renamed from Sangjeongjeon Hall, which had existed since Goryeo's beginning. Given that the name is identified in records in September 1017, the building was likely given the name during the first reconstruction stage completed in 1014.

Hoegyongjeon Hall 會慶殿 is identified as the building constructed newly during the second stage. In addition, Sinbongnu Pavilion 神鳳樓 appears as a pair with the hall, instead of Wibongnu Pavilion paired with Geondeokjeon Hall. In May 1031 (the enthronement year of King Deokjong), the king issued a pardon order at the pavilion. After the reconstruction during King Hyeonjong's reign, the palace had the existing block facing east centered on Geondeokjeon Hall and the newly built block facing south centered on Hoegyongjeon Hall. Since the former was located facing east, reflecting the terrain, the east Gwanhwamun Gate became the main gate. It remained the main gate even after Hoegyongjeon Hall was built facing south.

Manwoldae was destroyed again in 1126 (the 4th year of King Injong's reign) by the rebellion of Yi Ja-gyeom. The restoration at this time took a considerable amount of time. Existing studies cite the reasons that the construction took about six and a half years as its large scale, as well as the capital relocation movement to Seogyong, Myocheong's rebellion and

the relevant political strife, and the construction of Daehwagung Palace in Seogyong. The reconstruction began in earnest only after Myocheong's rebellion was suppressed in February 1136. In 1138, the building and gate names of the palace were revised comprehensively, and the king moved into the new palace to receive congratulations. The building names used at that time matched the revised names recorded in "Royal Capital: Gaegyeong" of *History of Goryeo's* Geography section. This indicates that the book includes the names changed in May 1138.

In 1171 (the 1st year of King Myeongjong's reign), the palace was once again destroyed by fire. Jeong Jung-bu 鄭仲夫 and Yi Ui-bang 李義方, who were in power at that time, ordered the lock of the palace gates and prevented others from extinguishing fire due to worries about another undesirable occasion. Full-scale restoration work on the palace began in March 1179, with Cheollyeongjeon Hall 千齡殿 completed in April of that year, Ganganjeon Hall 康安殿 in November 1180, and Mokchinjeon Hall 睦親殿 and Yeongjeonggung Palace 麗正宮 in September 1181. However, the palace in Gaegyeong was destroyed again in 1232 when the royal family and government officials vacated Gaegyeong and moved the capital to Ganghwado Island as the Mongolian military invaded.

After moving the capital to Ganghwado Island, Goryeo began constructing a palace in November 1259 (the enthronement year of King Wonjong), as the Mongols suspected during the peace negotiations Goryeo's real intention to refuse to return to Gaegyeong. The Main Palace (*bongung*) was also restored, along with Ganganjeon Hall, Uibongnu Pavilion, Gujeong Garden, and Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall. However, Seongyeongjeon and Daegwanjeon, the main throne halls, are not identified in records, indicating that they seem to have not been restored. Probably, this is because Goryeo lost its imperial system as it was incorporated as a vassal state of Mongolia, and consequently, it could no longer maintain the scale of the main palace befitting the imperial palace or capital.

After the king returned to the capital of Gaegyeong, the main palace, Ganganjeon Hall, Uibongnu Pavilion, and Gujeong Garden were frequently mentioned as venues for various ceremonies. However, as the Palace Reserved (*byeolgung*) became the king's primary residence, the Main Palace was used only as a ceremonial venue for important events, not the king's residence.

In 1361 (the 10th year of King Gongmin's reign), Gaegyeong fell during

the Red Turban invasion, and the palace was damaged again. The Main Palace had been burned yet was restored immediately after the Goryeo army recaptured the capital. Even after that, however, the palace was used only for ceremonial purposes, and the king stayed and administered political affairs in other places such as Suchungung Palace. It is understood that the Main Palace was used only for limited purposes, and therefore restoration was limited to only a few palace buildings necessary. Even in and after the reign of King Gongmin, records are rarely found of ceremonies held in buildings of the Main Palace such as Ganganjeon Hall. Although the palace could be used to some extent during the reign of King U, it gradually became dilapidated and eventually lost its function.

Inter-Korean Cooperation and Manwoldae: The Joint Excavation Project

North Korea conducted the first excavation of Manwoldae in Kaesong (Gaegyeong in Goryeo), especially, around Hoegyeongjeon Hall in 1954. The subsequent excavations from 1973 to 1974 discovered the surrounding area centered around the same building site and a block of building groups called the Northwest Building Block. North Korea continued to excavate the Dongji Pond 東池 and sewage facilities east of Manwoldae in 1986 and excavated the area around Wondeokjeon Hall in 1992. In the 17th inter-Korean ministerial-level talk held in 2005, following the Joint Declaration between Seoul and Pyongyang on June 15, 2000, the two countries agreed in 2006 to cooperate to register the Kaesong Historic District for World Cultural Heritage designation, with Manwoldae as the target of the joint excavation. Starting with the first joint excavation in May 2007, the team of North and South Korean experts performed archaeological surveys of Manwoldae from 2007 to 2018. The results of a total of eight surveys are being used as basic materials for research on Manwoldae in Kaesong, including its building locations and arrangement, ceremonial routes, metal types, and roof tiles.

The first and third excavations are significant due to their relations with Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall. The first Manwoldae survey was conducted for approximately two months, from May to July 2007. The survey area

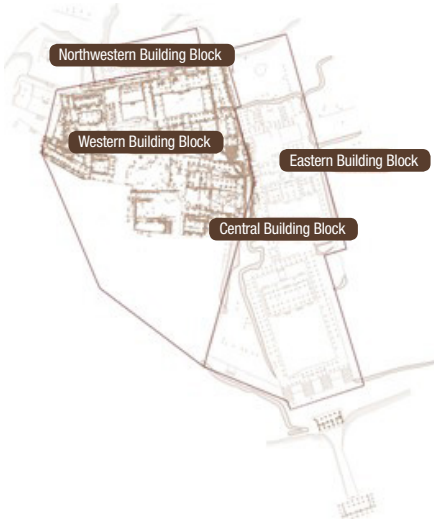


Figure 2. The Sectional Layout of Manwoldae in Kaesong¹



Figure 3. Building Remains of Manwoldae in Kaesong²

was the Western Building Block, which is the inverted triangle-shaped area surrounded by the west side of the Central Building Block, the south side of the Northwestern Building Block, and the Gwangmyeongcheon Stream. However, the northwest part and the area adjacent to the stream were excluded. The survey identified approximately 30 major building sites, including the Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall site, which is presumed to have been the ceremonial venue of the Goryeo royal family. In the Western Building Block, buildings had different central axes depending on their locations, and large building sites sat in the north and small building sites were densely located in the south. In particular, Building Site 3-1, which was unearthed from the westernmost part of the Western Building Block, was presumed to be Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall, where portraits of the five kings were enshrined, since five ancestral altar foundations were discovered inside the building. In addition, a building complex was also identified with a structural feature of the main and annexed buildings on the left and right, taking the shape of Chinese character 亞.

1 Building remains, Digital Archive for the Inter-Korean Joint Excavation of Manwoldae in Kaesong. <http://www.manwoldae.org/front/story/fullmoon.do?folder=story&address=fullmoon&aId=> (Accessed on February 14, 2025).

2 Building remains, Digital Archive for the Inter-Korean Joint Excavation of Manwoldae in Kaesong.

The third Manwoldae excavation was conducted for slightly less than two months from November 4 to December 23, 2008. At that time, the excavation was focused on Complex Sites 2 and 3 in the northern and central part of the Western Building Block. According to the survey results, Complex Site 2 is 32 meters from east to west and 37 meters from north to south, and it has Building Site 2-1 in the center surrounded by three buildings in the east, west, and south. The layout of the buildings is similar to that of Complex Site 1. Complex Site 2 is bordered by Embankment 2 on the upper edge and has Building Site 2-4 on the lower side. Complex Site 2 is smaller than Complex Site 1. Complex Site 3 adjoins Embankment 2 on the north, constituting the northern borders of Complex Sites 1 and 2. Further north to Embankment 2 are Building Sites 1 to 4 of the Northwestern Building Block. On the east side of Complex Site 3 is the drainage ditch that forms the boundary with Building Site 2-2, located in the west part of Building Site 2. To the west, the complex site is connected to the other complex site, which is located to the west outside the Western Building Block, and whose exact location and size are not clarified since it is outside the survey area. Complex Site 3, consisting of a total of eight building sites, has Building Site 3-1 at the center, with Building Sites 3-2 and 3-6 to the south; Building Site 3-5 to the east; and Building Sites 3-3, 3-4, 3-7, and 3-8 to the west.

However, as inter-Korean relations deteriorated, the inter-Korean excavation project was suspended with the last and eighth excavation in 2018. Since then, no joint excavation has been conducted on Manwoldae.

Spatial Structure of Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall

The Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall site, which was called Building Site 3-3 at the time of excavation, is located on the northwestern edge of Manwoldae. The overall size of this area is approximately 55 meters from east to west and 43 meters from north to south. It borders an embankment to the north and Building Site 2 to the east. Since the west side has not been excavated, the exact size or location of the buildings remains unknown. To the south of the

<http://www.manwoldae.org/front/yugu/yuguGuid.do?folder=yugu&address=yuguGuid&caId=>
(Accessed on February 14, 2025).

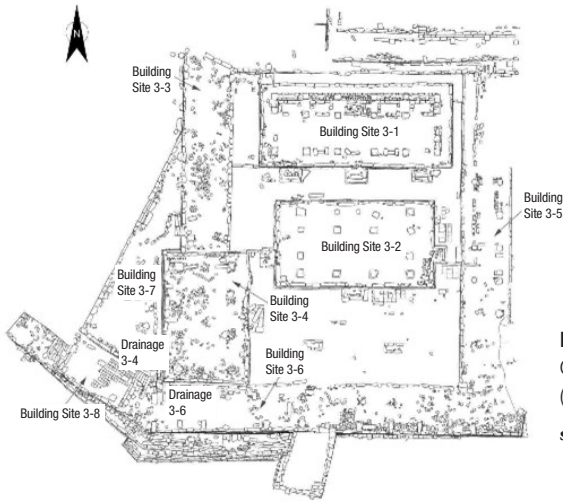


Figure 4. The Layout of the Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall Site (Complex 3)

source: J. Kim 2023, 100



Figure 5. The Panoramic View of Complex Site 3 (from southeast)

source: National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2012, 166

area, Building Site 3-7 is on the lower ground. A total of eight building sites were discovered in this complex site, with Building Site 3-1 at the center, 3-2 and 3-6 to the south, 3-5 to the east, and 3-3, 3-4, 3-7, and 3-8 to the west. In other words, Building Sites 3-1 and 3-2 are surrounded by Building Sites 3-3 to 3-8, with Building Site 3-6 as the southern main gate.

Take a closer look at pivotal Building Sites 3-1 and 3-2. Building Site 3-1 is adjacent to Building Site 3-5 to the east, Building Site 3-3 to the west, Building Site 3-2 to the south, and Embankment 2 to the north. Building site 3-1 measures approximately 23 meters from east to west and 10.15 meters from north to south, with its central axis due north, and has five bays on the façade and three bays on the side. Given the fact that processed stones of unknown purpose were mixed in the square foundation inside the building, it was determined that the building site had been rebuilt several times. Building Site 3-2 adjoins Building Site 3-5 to the east, Building

Sites 3-3 and 3-4 to the west, the yard of Complex Site 3 and Building Site 3-6 to the south, and Building Site 3-1 to the north. Building Site 3-2 is approximately 19 meters from east to west and 11 meters from north to south, with its central axis due north. It has three bays on the façade and three bays on the side.

Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall was an ancestral rite venue that enshrined the five portraits of King Taejo and the four direct predecessors of the incumbent king. Extant records suggest that its location was near Gujeong Garden or Geumwon Garden. The review of relevant records provided the grounds to presume that the latter is the location (Kim 2002b, 117). Through the first and third joint excavations, Building Site 3-1 was supposed to be Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall since five altars were discovered in the site located northwest of Manwoldae and near Geumwon Garden. As the layout of the building became concrete, related studies were published, providing a better understanding of its administration (Kim 2009; Chang 2009; Hong 2012) and continuing to invoke interest even until recently (C. Kim 2023).

The academic circle now agrees that Building 3-1 of the Western Building Block is Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall. However, controversy still remains over when the building was first established. It first appears in a record in 1031, the enthronement year of King Deokjong.³ Given that it was not about construction, but rather a report that Deokjong ascended to the throne at the already existing building, it is certain that the building was first constructed during the reign of King Hyeonjong. The question is when it was exactly built during the 24-year reign of the king. Scholars do not disagree on the purpose of the building: King Hyeonjong built it to enshrine the portraits of his parents, King Anjong and Queen Heonjeong.

Since Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall had considerable status in Goryeo as a venue that revealed the royal lineage from King Taejo, it was naturally sited in a pivotal location in the palace. The significance of the building can be seen indirectly from the cases where kings' portraits were quickly taken out of it and stored in a dry well during Yi Ja-gyeom's rebellion,⁴ and where Yu Eung-gyu also evacuated kings' portraits from the building during the fire at

3 *Goryeosa* (*History of Goryeo* 高麗史), Vol. 5, "Sega" (Royal Records 世家) 5, King Deokjong, Year 1 (1031), Month 6, Day 24 (*gyeongja*).

4 *Goryeosa*, Vol. 127, "Yeoljeon" (Biography 列傳) 40, Banyeok (Rebellion 叛逆), Yi Ja-gyeom 李資謙.

Manwoldae in the reign of King Myeongjong.⁵ The building shared suffering with Manwoldae in the history of the palace. The building was also moved to Ganghwado Island, when the capital was moved to the island. Even at the end of the Goryeo dynasty when Manwoldae lost its function as a palace, Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall was restored and continued to function in its location. Records in 1390 (the 2nd year of King Gongyang's reign) state that Jeong Mong-ju 鄭夢周 was appointed as an official in charge of affairs for the building 領景靈殿事.

Since the Gyeongnyeongjeon property was identified archaeologically through the excavation of Buildings Site 3 of the Western Building Block, a certain degree of agreement is made on the building's location itself. The excavation confirmed that there were five altars inside the building. However, many still remain unknown about the interior of the building and its surroundings. Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall can be considered a kind of shrine enshrining the portraits of the incumbent king's five predecessors, including his father and King Taejo. Perhaps that is why it was stipulated that the king himself should perform an ancestral rite, which appears in records under the name of *chinjeonui* 親奠儀, at Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall on January 1, May 5 (Dano), August 15 (Chuseok), and September 9 (all by the lunar calendar).⁶ One of the places that appear in the documents of the ceremonies is Jipuijeon Hall. The building was renamed from Jahwajeon Hall 慈和殿 in 1138 (the 16th year of King Injong's reign).⁷ Therefore, the protocols of *chinjeonui* held at Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall were probably established based on the building layout after 1138.

It was basically assumed that the king took a leading role in the state rite in Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall. Many officials, along with the king, participated in this ceremony to protect or assist him. At this time, a question arises as to whether the venue could accommodate all of them.

“*Chinjeonui* in Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall” of the *History of Goryeo* states twice that “Following the king, the officials bow twice at the command of

5 *Goryeosa jeolho* (*Condensed History of Goryeo* 高麗史節要), Vol. 12, King Myeongjong, Year 1 (1171), Month 10.

6 *Goryeosa*, Vol. 61, “Ji” (Treatise 志) 15, Ye (Rites and Rituals 禮) 3, Auspicious Ceremonies: Major Events—*Chinjeonrye* in Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall 吉禮 大祀 景靈殿 親奠儀.

7 *Goryeosa*, Vol. 5, “Sega” 16, King Injong, Year 16 (1138), Month 5, Day 26 (*gyeongsul*).

the ceremonial official.” The officials following the king included palace attendants (*naesi* 內侍), Palace Pharmacy (Dabang 茶房) officials, military training officers (*jiyu* 指諭), royal transmitters (*seungseon* 承宣), Council of Generals (Jungbang 重房) officials, Assembly and Ceremony Ministry (Gangmun 闈門) officials, and the king’s assistants (*sisin* 侍臣). It is also stipulated that after *chinjeonui* was over and the king returned from Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall to the inner court (*naejeon*), a ritual drink and fruit were given to the assistants and military officers (*wonjang* 員將). *Wonjang* would have included Supreme General (*sangjanggun*), Grand General (*daejanggun*), and royal guardsmen (*junggeum*) who escorted the king on the left and right when he walked from the inner court to Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall. In other words, it is estimated that during the ceremony, there were at least 20 people in the ceremonial venue of Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall, excluding the king and the ceremonial official. They lined up and took a bow somewhere around the building during the ceremony. Then, another question arises about the space in which they would have been lined up.

As seen in Figure 4 above, the property had two buildings—Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall and Building 3-2—and a small courtyard in front of the latter. The space between the two buildings is very narrow. Of course, the officials could have managed to line up in a single line in that narrow space while the king stood in front of King Taejo’s Chamber 太祖室, but there must be considerable spatial constraint. It is also possible to consider the case where they were lined up in the courtyard in front of Building 3-2. The courtyard looks broad enough to accommodate about 20 officials to stand together. If they were positioned like this, they had to bow only to the voice of the ceremonial official who was supposed to give the command. Given that a ritual is not just an act itself but also has a visual effect of seeing and being seen, this situation feels awkward.

In the end, it is certain that Building 3-2 is a great obstacle to understanding the *chinjeonui* rite. This problem may be solved to some extent if the building is assumed to have an open structure without walls or a structure that allowed doors to be lifted upward.

The Symbolistic Significance of the King's Procession to Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall and the Ritual Protocols

Chinjeonui in the Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall proceeded as the king walked from the inner court to a building in the south, Jipuijeon Hall, Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall, and then returned to the inner court. It is understood that the inner court was the royal council hall, and the southern building was the main throne hall. The location of Jipuijeon Hall has yet to be determined, subject to continued discussion. The main protocols of the *chinjeonui* ceremony in the Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall are summarized as follows:

- 1) The king bows down three times in Jipuijeon Hall.
- 2) The king goes to Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall and bows down twice toward the west from the bottom of the eastern stairs of the building.
- 3) The king goes up the stairs and bows low twice outside the entrance to Taejo's Chamber.
- 4) Following the king, the officials bow down twice at the command of the ceremonial official.
- 5) The king enters the entrance of Chamber 2 and bows down twice in front of King Taejo's portrait.
- 6) The king burns incense, pours a ritual drink into a cup, bows low twice (and then comes out).
- 7) The king enters the entrance of Chamber 2 again, bows low twice to the ancestor of the chamber, burns incense, offers a cup of drink, bows down twice, and then comes out.
- 8) The king does the same in Chambers 3, 4, and 5.
- 9) The king enters the entrance of Chamber 2 again, bows down before King Taejo's portrait, and then his advisor (*seongrang* 省郎) goes up the west stairs and recites a ritual prayer outside the entrance of King Taejo's Chamber.
- 10) The king adds three drops of drink to the cup he offered to King Taejo and drinks it.
- 11) The king bows down twice, comes out, and bows twice again outside the door of King Taejo's Chamber.
- 12) Following the king, the officials bow low twice at the command of the ceremonial official.
- 13) The king steps back, returns down the east stairs, and bows down twice to the west.

The king's route in Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall is written into 13 stages, starting from the bottom of the building's eastern stairs and finally returning it. The king enters King Taejo's Chamber through Chamber 2, comes out, and then repeats the same process from Chamber 2 to Chambers 3, 4, and 5. In this process, the king performs a ceremony of burning incense in each room including King Taejo's Chamber and offering a cup of ritual drink. Then, a written prayer is recited and the king drinks the drink from the cup offered earlier in front of King Taejo's Chamber.

The king's route must have been closely related to the spatial configuration of Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall. Scholars are divided into two on the building's internal special layout, especially, how the portraits of King Taejo and four other kings were placed. One is *seosangje* (placing kings' portraits one by one alternatively on the left and right) and the other is *somokje* (placing Taejo's in the westernmost and others to the east by order). Kim Cheolwoong (2009) suggests *seosangje* by interpreting the *chinjeonui* protocols actively, while Jang Jiyeon (2024) proposes *somokje* based on the layout of the excavated Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall site while refuting Kim's suggestion by pointing out that the protocols can be sufficiently explained by the latter as well as the former. I think Jang's grounds for *somokje* are more compelling.⁸

If the royal portraits were arranged according to *somokje*, the interior of Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall would have had King Taejo's Chamber in the center with his portrait, and two chambers each on the left and right. Although there were entrances in front of the chambers, this does not mean that Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall was divided into five enclosed rooms. Though each space that enshrined a corresponding portrait was called a "chamber," it seems that the interior was basically connected as one space. This assumption is supported by the description that the king comes in and out through the entrance of Chamber 2 to pay respects to King Taejo. It is more unnatural to believe that only King Taejo's Chamber and Chamber 2 were connected as one space. Three entrance sites are currently confirmed at the building site

8 If *seosangje* was applied, it must have been stipulated that the king enter the westernmost chamber first before going to other rooms to the east. The ritual protocols state that the king bows down in Chambers 3, 4, and 5, as he did in Chamber 2 by repeatedly coming in and out through the entrance of the second chamber. This indicates a ceremonial route consistent with *somokje*.

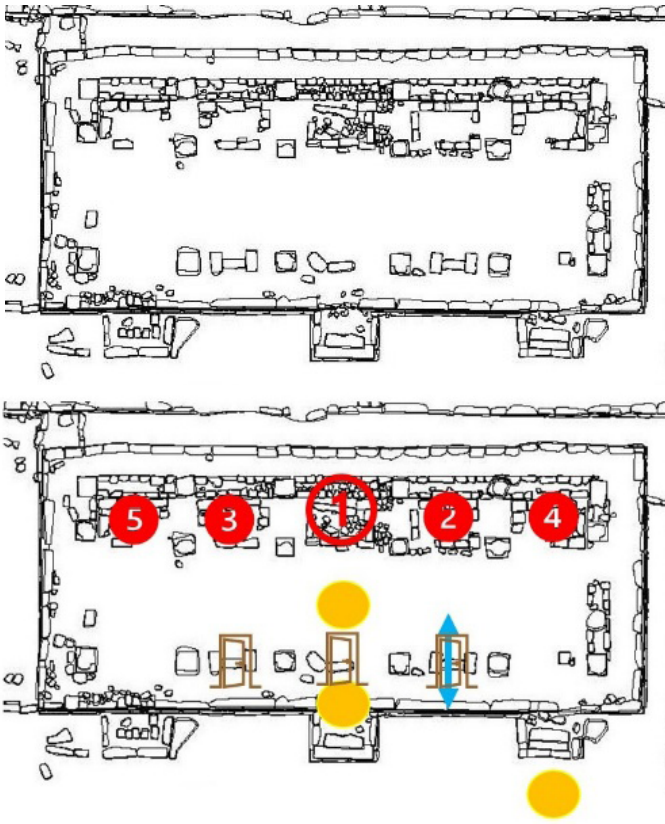


Figure 6. The Interior Structure of Gyeongnyongjeon Hall (left) and the Layout for *Chinjeonui* (right)⁹
 ① King Taejo ● The King's Position

(Figure 6). It seems likely that the central entrance directly connected to King Taejo's Chamber was not allowed access and that the entrance of Chamber 2 served as the main entrance. However, the entrance in the center must have been constructed slightly larger than the others on the left and right.

The space of Gyeongnyongjeon Hall and the king's ceremonial route, formed as mentioned above, contain politically symbolic significance. While King Seongjong used to commemorate his ancestors with a Buddhist-style *royal* rite, King Hyeonjong transformed it to a *state* one when Gyeongnyongjeon Hall was built in his reign.

9 Chamber numbers and entrances are added based on the layout of the excavation report.

During the rite, only the king was in Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall. The one who burned incense and offered a ritual drink to King Taejo was also the king. He entered Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall alone and performed the ceremony to show that he was related by blood to the founder and his other predecessors. The process of the king's worshipping and offering a drink to King Taejo, as well as drinking the drink, was repeated during the ceremony not only in Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall but also in King Taejo's portrait-enshrined shrine of Bongunsa Temple. Sharing similar ceremonial protocols means sharing the politically symbolic significance of the ceremonies. For example, during *aljojinui* 謁祖真儀, a ceremony of worshipping King Taejo in the shrine of Bongunsa Temple, only the king paid respects to the founder and drinking a ritual drink, while his officials were separated from him by Jinjeonmun Gate. It is similar to the case where only the king entered Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall to perform the same process, while his officials waited outside the building.

Bokju 福酒 refers to a sacred drink bestowed by ancestors, so drinking it (*eumbok* 飲福) is a ritual that symbolizes the transmission of ancestors' auspicious energy to the king (Okumura 2003, 87). This is because the rite was aimed to show off the sacredness of the king and the royal family through the rite held in a venue built based on bloodline from King Taejo, and at the same time, providing mysterious aspects 秘儀性 (Okabe 2020, 240)¹⁰ to the king so that he could have authority by offering and drinking a ritual drink alone in that solemn space, hidden from his officials.¹¹ Through a seemingly contradictory, ambivalent ritual system that revealed, and at the same time, hid his sacred bloodline from King Taejo, the king presented himself as a legitimate successor (Okumura 2015, 135). In other previous

10 It is said that during his coronation ceremony (*daijōsai* 大嘗祭), the Japanese emperor had a secret nature 秘儀性 by securing his transcendence as a god by hiding it and leaving his divinity in an ambiguous and ambivalent state since transcendence could not be proved in reality. It is believed that the transcendence and secret aspects identified in this nature of ancient Japanese royal authority are also greatly helpful in understanding the royal authority of the Goryeo dynasty.

11 During the Goryeo dynasty, access to the sacred royal family was denied by hiding the treatment toward them from government officials, for example, holding *seonmaui* (the royal investiture ceremony 宣麻儀) privately, separated from the official appointment ceremonies. It aimed to maximize the sacredness of the royal family and raise their status inaccessible to government officials and commoners (Lee 2017, 147–50). This is also related to the secret and mysterious nature of the royal family. It can be said to be in the same context as *jakbeonui*, a ritual of taking a bow and offering a drink, in shrines with kings' portraits.

kings' shrines, the king must also have offered and drunken a ritual drink by himself as a symbolic act to represent that he was the rightful successor to his ancestors.

Ultimately, Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall is a place with great political and symbolic significance for the king. The building symbolized the royal lineage represented by King Taejo and reminded people of the origin of the royal authority. Therefore, the king, as not only a monarch but also a descendant and subject of King Taejo, entered the building and performed the ritual by bowing to his ancestors, burning incense, and offering and drinking a ritual drink. By doing so, he attempted to consolidate the royal authority and strengthen the legitimacy of his succession to the throne (Okumura 2015, 134–35). In this respect, Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall was the origin of the sacred bloodline in the palace, and the shrines with the previous kings' portraits signified a legitimate link in the bloodline that connected King Taejo and the incumbent king.

References

- Chang, Dong Ik 장동익. 2009. “Goryeo sidae ui Gyeongnyeongjeon” 고려시대의 景靈殿 [Kyungnyeongjoen (景靈殿) in Goryeo Dynasty]. *Yeoksa gyoyuk nonjip* 역사교육논집 [History Education Review] 43: 487–512.
- Hong, Young Eui 홍영의. 2012. “Goryeo gunggwol nae Gyeongnyeongjeon ui gujo wa unyong” 고려 궁궐내 景靈殿의 구조와 운용 [The Structures and Processes of the Gyeongnyeongjeon in Palace during the Goryeo Dynasty Period]. *Hangukhak nonchong* 한국학논총 [Theses of Korean Studies] 37: 67–91.
- Jang, Jiyeon 장지연. 2024. “Goryeo Gaegyeong ui Gyeongnyeongjeon gwallyeon yeongu geomto wa gwaje” 고려(高麗) 개경(開京)의 경령전(景靈殿) 관련 연구 검토와 과제 [Review and Issues of Research on Gyeongnyeongjeon/景靈殿 of the Goryeo Dynasty]. *Seoulhak yeongu* 서울학연구 [The Journal of Seoul Studies] 97: 199–233.
- Kim, Bo-kwang 김보광. 2024. “Goryeo jeongi gisin uirye e boineun gonggan gwa dongseon, geurigo wangwon ui jaehyeon” 고려전기 기신의례(忌辰儀禮)에 보이는 공간과 동선, 그리고 왕권의 재현 [Space

- and Steps of Annual Ancestral Rites (*Kishin-ui*, 忌辰儀), and the Reproduction of Kingship in the Early Goryeo Dynasty]. *Yeoksawa hyeonsil* 역사와 현실 [Quarterly Review of Korean History] 132: 47–86.
- Kim, Chang-hyun 김창현. 2002a. *Goryeo Gaegyeong ui gujo wa geu inyeom* 고려 개경의 구조와 그 이념 [The Structure and Ideology of Gaegyeong in the Goryeo Dynasty]. Seoul: Sinseowon.
- . 2002b. “Goryeo sidae Gaegyeong gungseong an geonmul ui baechi wa uimi” 고려시대 개경 궁성 안 건물의 배치와 의미 [The Arrangement and the Meanings of Buildings in Gungseong of Gaeyŏ]. *Hanguksa yeongu* 한국사연구 [The Journal of Korean History] 117: 91–124.
- Kim, Cheolwoong 김철웅. 2009. “Goryeo Gyeongnyeongjeon ui seolchi wa unyeong” 고려 경령전의 설치와 운영 [The Administration of the Gyeongnyeong-jeon during the Goryeo Dynasty Period]. *Hangukhak* 한국학 [Korean Studies Quarterly] 32 (1): 101–27.
- . 2023. “Goryeo Gyeongnyeongjeon e daehan jaegemto” 고려 경령전에 대한 재검토 [A Review of the Goryeo’s Gyeongnyeongjeon]. *Yeoksa munhwa yeongu* 역사문화연구 [Journal of History and Culture] 86: 111–36.
- Kim, Jong-gil 김종길. 2023. “Gaeseong Manwoldae Gyeongnyeongjeon gwa Goryeo sidae jinjeon sawon—Gogo yusan sarye reul jungsim euro” 개성 만월대 경령전과 고려시대 진전사원—고고유산 사례를 중심으로 [Kaesong Manwoldae Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall and Temples with King Taejo’s Portrait of the Goryeo Dynasty—Focusing on Ancient Remains]. Paper presented at Gaeseong Manwoldae hak ui jipyeong: Goryeo ui gonggan gwa geonchuk haksuldaehoe 개성 만월대 學의 지평: 고려의 공간과 건축 학술대회 [The Conference on the Places of Goryeo and Architecture: The Prospect of Kaesong Manwoldae], National Palace Museum of Korea, Seoul, September 20, pp. 97–115.
- Lee, Jung Ran 이정란. 2017. “Goryeo wangga ui teukgwon hyangyu wa sinseong gamun uisik” 고려 왕가의 특권 향유와 신성가문 의식 [Privileges of Goryeo Royal Family and Their Perception as Sacred Family]. *Sarim* 사림 [The Historical Journal] 62: 127–56.
- Nam, Chang-keun 남창근. 2020. “Goryeo bongwol Manwoldae juyo jeongak wichi wa baechi chegye” 고려 본궤 만월대 주요전각 위치와 배치체계 [Layout Characteristics and Re-examination of Location of Major Buildings in the Goryeo Bongwol]. *Jungang gogo yeongu*

- 중앙고고연구 [Journal of Central Institute of Cultural Heritage] 32: 105–40.
- National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 국립문화재연구소. 2012. Vol. 1 of *Gaeseong Goryeo gungseong nambuk gongdong balgul josa bogoseo* 개성 고려궁성 남북공동 발굴조사보고서 1 [Excavation Research Report on Goryeo Royal Palace of Gaeseong, Vol. 1]. Daejeon: National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage.
- Okabe, Takashi 岡部隆志. 2020. “Higi toshitenō daijōsai—aimai naru tennō no chōetsusei” 秘儀としての大嘗祭—曖昧なる天皇の超越性— [Daijōsai as a Secret Ritual: The Transcendental Character of an Indistinct Tenno]. *Ajia minzoku bunka kenkyū* アジア民族文化研究 [Asian Folk Culture Studies] 19: 223–41.
- Okumura, Shūji 奥村周司. 2003. “Kōrai ni okeru etsuso shingi to ōken no saisei” 高麗における謁祖眞儀と王權の再生 [The Worship of the King Taejo’s Shrine and the Regeneration of Royal Authority in the Goryeo Dynasty]. *Sōjitsu kenkyū kiyō* 早實研究紀要 [Waseda Jitsugyo Research Periodical] 37: 79–91.
- . 2015. “Kōraiō no jiin sankei ni kansuru itsikōsatsu” 高麗王の寺院参詣に関する一考察 [A Contemplation of Goryeo Kings’ Shrine Worship]. *Sōjitsu kenkyū kiyō* 早實研究紀要 [Waseda Jitsugyo Research Periodical] 48: 1–34.

KIM Bo-kwang (ibogus@gachon.ac.kr)
Gachon University

Translated by Hayoung LEE