

〈일반논문〉

King Sinmun's Symbolic Strengthening of
Royal Authority:
The Role of “The Royal Regulations” chapter of the
Book of Rites in the Mid-Silla Period*

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[국문초록]

김흠돌(金欽突)의 난은 신라 신문왕(神文王, 681-692)과 그의 왕권이 직면하였던 첫 번째 도전이었다. 이 사건으로 말미암아 그와 그의 최측근 신하들은 귀족층

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에 맞서 왕의 지위를 향상시키기 위하여 왕권에 상징적 권위와 정통성을 부여하는 체제를 시행할 필요성을 인식하게 되었을 것이다. 신문왕은 신라 중대(654-780)의 다른 어떤 군주보다 세습 귀족의 권력을 견제하고 전제왕권을 구축하였으며, 『예기(禮記)』의 「왕제(王制)」편에서 설명하는 유교적 이상과 규범의 구조적 체도를 통해 상징적 권위를 정당화하기 위해 노력했다. 「왕제」편에서 기술된 대로 적합한 왕정(王政)을 실현하기 위하여 신문왕이 수립한 형태는 교육 제도의 실시, 오악(五嶽) 체제로 이루어진 구주(九州) 제도, 조묘(祖廟)의 개시에서 가장 뚜렷이 드러난다.

□ 주제어

신문왕, 『예기(禮記)』, 「왕제(王制)」, 구주(九州), 오묘(五廟), 김흠돌(金欽突)의 난

I. Introduction

The reigns of Silla kings Muyōl 武烈 (654-661) and Munmu 文武 (661-681) are conventionally viewed as the highpoint of cooperation between the true bone (*chin'gol* 眞骨) royalty and nobility of Silla. After Silla's conquest of Paekche and Koguryō with the indispensable assistance of Tang China, Silla kings sought to extend royal authority using Confucian statecraft by implementing the machinery of autocratic rule. This royal objective created tension with Silla's nobility, which enjoyed hereditary privileges and were reluctant to surrender to royal prerogatives. Munmu's son King Sinmun 神文 (r. 681-692) faced his first challenge to royal authority in the Kim Hūmdol 金欽突 rebellion, which ensued immediately

after his coronation. This is experience probably impressed upon him and his closest advisors that the implementation of a system granting symbolic authority and legitimacy was necessary to improve the position of the king vis-à-vis the nobility. Although the Silla royalty continued to patronize the Buddhist church lavishly, its kings, following the example of King Muryŏl, turned toward the symbolism of Confucian statecraft to validate its authority. King Sinmun, more than any other monarch of the mid-Silla period (654-780), endeavored to check the power of the hereditary nobility, cultivate autocratic rule, and legitimate its symbolic authority through the structured institution of Confucian ideals and norms articulated in the “Royal Regulations” (*Wang zhi* 王制) chapter of the *Book of Rites* (*Li ji* 禮記). Sinmun's establishing patterns of appropriate royal rule as described in the “Royal Regulations” chapter are most clearly manifest in his implementation of an educational system, his organization of Silla into nine prefectures with a system of five sacred mountains, and his inauguration of an ancestral temple system.¹⁾

The implementation of Confucian symbolism that is the focus of this paper was part of a more ambitious royal project to curb the power and influence of the hereditary nobility and augment

1) This essay further develops and contextualizes some ideas the author first briefly articulated in an essay on Silla place in the medieval East Asian world in “Korea,” in *A Companion to the Global Early Middle Ages*, ed. Erik Hermans (Leeds, UK, and Kalamazoo, Mich.: Arc Humanities Press, forthcoming).

autocratic power. The fourteen main boards, offices, and bureaus of the Silla government were instituted by 686. The division of the Chancellery (*chipsabu* 執事部) from the Granary Authority (*p'umju* 稟主) in 651 was a critical development in the maturation of Silla ruling structures.²⁾ The conventional view of the Chancellery, advanced by Lee Ki-baik, is that Silla sovereigns in King Muyōl's lineage shifted executive authority away from the council of nobles (*hwabaek* 和白) led by the senior grandee (*sangdaedŭng* 上大等) and empowered the Chancellery by means of its director (*chungsŏ* 中侍) who became the "grand counselor" (*chaesang* 宰相) or chief minister of state. Just as important, Lee asserted that some directors of the Chancellery were head-rank-six elites (*yuktup'um* 六頭品), so Silla kings asserted autocratic power by employing individuals of lesser social status.³⁾ Other and more recent scholarship has contested this model of conceptualizing the characteristics of royal rule in the mid-Silla period, revealing that directors of the Board of War (*pyōngburyōng* 兵部令) always ranked higher than the director of the Chancellery, and that nobles who served as directors of the Chancellery normally were later appointed as directors of the Board of War, implying that the Board of War was superior to the Chancellery.⁴⁾ Silla was much different than Tang China during

2) *Samguk sagi* 5:66 (Chindōk 5).

3) See Lee Ki-baik (Yi Kibaek) 李基白, *Silla chōngch'i sahoesa yōn'gu* 新羅政治社會史研究 (Studies in the socio-political history of Silla) (Seoul: Ilchisa, 1974; reprint, 1984), pp. 149-174.

4) *Samguk sagi* 38:375 (*pyōngburyōng*). See Shin Hyeong-sik (Sin Hyōngsik) 申滢植. "Silla pyōngburyōng ko" 新羅兵部令考 (A study of the director of the

the age of Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (r. 690-705) and Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712-756), when the civil service examination system and other policies were implemented more systematically to break the power of the great clans of the northeastern military aristocracy and make the Tang imperial family ascendant.⁵⁾ Instead, Silla monarchs typically shared power with close relatives, kin either by blood or marriage, which was both a source of stability and sore spot of contention, and other true-bone nobles enjoying the esteemed Kim surname controlled all the paramount positions in Silla government.⁶⁾

board of war of Silla), *Yōksa hakpo* 歷史學報 61 (March 1974), pp. 57-102 ; Shin Hyeong-sik, *T'ongil Sillasa yōn'gu* 統一新羅史研究 (Research on the history of Unified Silla) (Seoul: Samjiwŏn, 1990), p. 164 ; Yi Inch'ol 李仁哲, *Silla chōngch'i chedosa yōn'gu* 新羅政治制度史研究 (Research on the history of Silla's political system) (Seoul: Ilchisa, 1993), *passim* ; Yi Inch'ol, "Silla ūi wangkwŏn kwa chōngch'i kujo: kunsinhoeŭi kusōngwŏn ūi pyōnhwa rūl chungsim ūro" 新羅의 王權과 政治構造: 군신회의 구성원의 변화를 중심으로 (Royal authority and the governmental organizations of Silla: Centered on changes in the composition of the council of military officials), *Silla munhwa* 新羅文化 22 (August 2003), pp. 17-45 ; Richard D. McBride II, "The Evolution of Councils of Nobles in Silla Korea," *Tongguk sahak* 東國史學 59 (December 2015), pp. 263-318.

5) Chen Yinke 陳寅恪, *Tang dai zheng zhi shi shu lun gao* 唐代政治史述論稿 (Study on the political history of the Tang period) (Taipei: Taiwan shang wu yin shu guan, 1966; rpt. 1994 ; originally published in 1943), p. 14 ; R. W. L. Guisso, *Wu Tse-t'ien and the Politics of Legitimation in T'ang China* (Bellingham, Wash.: Western Washington University, 1978), pp. 70-106.

6) See Jeon Deog-jae (Chōn Tōkchae) 全德在, "The Constitution of the Ruling Elite in Middle and Late Silla," in *State and Society in Middle and Late Silla*, Early Korea Project Monograph Series no. 1, edited by Richard D. McBride II (Cambridge: Korea Institute, Harvard University, 2010), pp. 21-56; and Ha

II. King Sinmun and the Kim Hūmdol Rebellion

King Sinmun's personal or taboo name (*hwi* 諱) was Chǒngmyōng 政明 and his adult name, or pseudonym (*cha* 字), was Ilch'o 日怱 (or Ilcho 日炤). He was the oldest son of King Munmu and his primary consort Queen Chaüi 慈儀 (d.u., also written Chaüi 慈義).⁷⁾ According to custom, a man took an adult name when he turned twenty. Although Sinmun's birth year is not known, if we follow a strict reading of the *Samguk sagi*, which suggests that he had not yet reached to age of twenty when he became crown prince, he was probably born sometime between 645 and 655, because his father, King Munmu, named Chǒngmyōng (Sinmun) heir apparent in the late summer or fall of 665.⁸⁾

Sinmun married his first wife, the daughter of the *sop'an* 蘇判 (rank 3) Kim Hūmdol 金欽突 when he was crown prince. King Munmu had appointed Hūmdol, a true bone noble, a general in the Great Banner 大幢將軍, one of Silla's six armies, when he ascended the throne in 661.⁹⁾ By the time Sinmun ascended the throne in 681, he and his wife had apparently been married for

Il Sik (Ha Ilsik) 河日植, "Dynastic Crisis and the Ruling State in Silla in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries: Political Administration and Bureaucracy," in *State and Society in Middle and Late Silla*, Early Korea Project Monograph Series no. 1, edited by Richard D. McBride II (Cambridge: Early Korea Project, Korea Institute, Harvard University, 2010), pp. 139-172.

7) *Samguk sagi* 8:95 (Sinmun 1).

8) *Samguk sagi* 6:77 (Munmu 5).

9) *Samguk sagi* 6:73 (Munmu 1).

several years, but they did not have any children. Soon after Sinmun ascended the throne and was invested by Tang emperor Gaozong 唐高宗 (r. 649–683), through an official envoy, with all the ranks and titles held by his father, his wife's father Kim Hūmdol was implicated in a rebellion and executed along with several other Silla elites possessing advanced ranks in Silla's capital rank system, including specifically the *pajinch'an* 波珍飡 (rank 4) Hūngwōn 興員 and the *taeach'an* 大阿飡 (rank 5) Chin'gong 眞功, on the eighth day of the eighth lunar month of 681 (September 25, 681). The reasons for the attempted revolt have been debated by scholars for decades. Several scholars think that the attempted revolt is related to Sinmun's replacing Kim Kun'gwan 金軍官 with the *sōburhan* 舒弗郡 (rank 1) [Kim] Chinbok 眞福 as senior grandee (*sangdaedŭng*), the premier position of prestige in Silla's council of nobles, immediately upon his ascension to the throne. Kun'gwan had only served as senior grandee for about a year and half, having been appointed to this position in the second lunar month of 680. Thus, scholars have advanced the interpretation of general dissatisfaction among the upper-level nobles and an agreement between Kun'gwan and Hūmdol, who may have been concerned about waning influence at court because his daughter was barren.¹⁰⁾

10) Inoue Hideo 井上秀雄, "Shiragi seiji taisei no henten katei" 新羅政治体制の變轉過程 (The process of change in the Silla political system), in *Kodaishi kōza* 古代史講座 (Lectures on ancient history), ed. Ishimoda Shō 石母田正 (Tokyo: Gakuseisha, 1962), 4:193–228 ; Kang Sōngwōn 姜聲媛, "Silla sidae panyōk ūi yōksajōk sōngkyōk" 新羅時代 叛逆의 歷史的 性格:《三國史記》를 중심으로 (The historical character of revolts in the Silla period: Centered on

Kim Kun'gwan's complicity in the Kim Hūmdol rebellion was not immediately known. The rebellion itself seems to have not lasted more than three or four days before the primary instigators were apprehended and executed. A broader investigation into the causes of the attempted coup must have pointed the examiners toward the former senior grandee Kun'gwan, who was sentenced to commit suicide along with one of his sons on the twenty-eighth day of the eighth month (October 15, 681). On the day of Kun'gwan's execution, King Sinmun issued a directive that highlights the struggles faced by the fledging dynasty in relation to the hereditary nobility:

The rule of serving the king has exhaustive loyalty as its basis. The meaning of being an official is the core teaching of not serving two masters. The Director of the Board of War, the *ich'an* (rank 2) Kun'gwan, in accordance with set orders of rank, was eventually promoted to the highest office. Yet he did not show to the court unstained integrity in correcting royal mistakes and supplementing the king's short-

the *Samguk sagi*), *Han'guksa yŏn'gu* 韓國史研究 43 (December 1983), pp. 23-60 ; Kim Su'ae 金壽泰, "Silla Sinmunwang-dae chŏnje wanggwŏn ūi hwangnip kwa Kim Hūmdol nan" 新羅 神文王代 專制王權의 確立과 金欽突亂 (The establishment of autocratic royal authority in the reign of Silla king Sinmun and the Kim Hūmdol rebellion), *Silla munhwa* 新羅文化 9 (1992), pp. 157-179 ; Ch'oe Hongjo 崔弘昭, "Sinmunwang-dae Kim Hūmdol ūi nan ūi chaegŏmt'o" 神文王代 金欽突의 亂의 재검토 (A reevaluation of the Kim Hūmdol revolt in the reign of King Sinmun), *Taegu sahak* 大邱史學 58, no. 1 (1999), pp. 29-66.

comings. Neither did he unfailingly support royal commands nor manifest faithful loyalty to the dynasty. Growing intimate with the traitor Hūmdol and others, he learned of their plans for rebellion, but he did not let this be known. Not only did he show no concern for the country's welfare, but he failed even to meet the duties of his post. How could he repeatedly hold such critical positions as state minister and yet allow the laws of the land to become so muddled? Fittingly, like others, he must be punished to serve as a warning to later generations. Kun'gwan and one of his legitimate sons shall be forced to commit suicide. Let this pronouncement of these matters be promulgated throughout [the realm] so that all will know it.¹¹⁾

(事上之規, 盡忠爲本, 居官之義, 不二爲宗. 兵部令伊浪軍官, 因緣班序, 遂升上位, 不能拾遺補闕, 效素節於朝廷, 授命忘軀, 表丹誠於社稷. 乃與賊臣欽突等交涉, 知其逆事, 曾不告言, 既無憂國之心, 更絕徇公之志, 何以重居宰輔, 濫濁憲章. 宜與衆棄, 以懲後進. 軍官及嫡子一人, 可令自盡. 布告遠近, 使共知之.. 冬十月, 罷侍衛監, 置將軍六人.)

Because Silla rulers in King Muyōl's lineage only possessed true bone status, just like other Silla nobles, and were closely related not only by blood but by marriage to several other true bone nobles who were all competing for both prestige and opportunities to wield power against other hereditary nobles, "exhaustive loyalty" (*chinch'ung* 盡忠) to the royal family was a paramount concern. Sinmun accused Kun'gwan of having divided loyalties: He served

11) *Samguk sagi* 8:96 (Sinmun 1/8/28).

his own interests and indulged in a personal quest of power while pretending to serve the king. He also charged him for failing in his duty to remonstrate with and correct the faults and shortcomings of the king. The language of Sinmun's directive highlights the rising relevance of what we might call Confucian rhetoric. Although we may never know whether this passage is completely authentic, or whether Kim Pusik 金富軾 (1075-1151), the compiler of the *Samguk sagi*, edited it or crafted it to reflect greater Confucian sensibilities, it alludes to the primary problem facing Sinmun: how could the Silla rulers cultivate men of talent who were loyal to the state and the royal family?

Sinmun and the Silla royal family were not without servants of noble birth who were both capable and loyal. The new senior grandee Chinbok appears to have been one of the key members of both Munmu and Sinmun's inner circle of supporters. He is first mentioned in the "Basic Annals of Silla" as being made a military coordinator of the Oath Banners (*sōdang ch'onggwān* 誓幢總管) 總 in the autumn of 661. After having been raised to the rank of *ich'an* 伊瀆 (rank 2), he became directory of the Chancellery (*sijung* 侍中) in the spring of 665, replacing Munhun who retired because of old age. He was probably relieved of his duties as director of the Chancellery in 668, being replaced by the *pajinch'an* (rank 4) Chigyōng 智鏡, due to Silla's preparations for war with Koguryō. Another notice in the "Basic Annals of Silla" in the summer of 668, prior to the allied Silla and Tang conquest of Koguryō, shows the *chapch'an* 迺瀆 (rank 3) Chinbok being made an military coordina-

tor of the Great Banner, along with other notable Silla nobles, such as King Munmu's brothers Kim Inmun 金仁問 (629-694) and Kaewön 愷元 (d. after 720), as well as Kim Hūmdol.¹²⁾ Chinbok served as senior grandee for about twelve years, until he was replaced by the *ich'an* (rank 2) Munyöng 文穎 in 694. Thus, not only did Chinbok play an active role in the unification of the Three Kingdoms by conquest, but he was an active player in Sinmun's government and provided stability by assisting at the beginning of King Hyoso's 孝昭 reign (692-702).

Sinmun eventually expelled his first consort, the daughter of the traitor Kim Hūmdol, from the palace and married the youngest daughter of the late Kim Hūmun 金歆運 (d. 655), Queen Sinmok 神穆 (b. before 655-700), in the spring of 683. Kim Hūmun had been a member of the *hwarang* 花郎 and died courageously protecting Silla's frontiers from a Paekche incursion as Commander of the Youth Banner (*nangdang taegam* 郎幢大監).¹³⁾ According to the *Samguk sagi*, Hūmun was an eighth-generation descendent of King Naemul 奈勿 (trad. r. 356-402), and Sinmun was a ninth-generation descendent of the same early Silla ruler, tracing back through King Chijing 智證 (r. 500-514), a great-grandson. Aside from Hūmun's daughter being a distant relative, the fact that Hūmun was already deceased was advantageous from the perspective that the queen's father would not be able to exert unwar-

12) *Samguk sagi* 6:73 (Munmu 1/7/17) ; *Samguk sagi* 6:75 (Munmu 5/2) ; *Samguk sagi* 6:78 (Mummu 8/6/12).

13) *Samguk sagi* 8:96 (Sinmun 3/2) ; *Samguk sagi* 47:451-452 (Kim Hūmun).

ranted or gratuitous influence on the king through his wife to leverage influence or favors at court.

In order to develop a body of officials who would be loyal to the state and the royal family, Sinmun opted to implement selected ideas, concepts, and symbols of Confucian statecraft that can be traced back to or are articulated well in the “Royal Regulations” chapter of the *Book of Rites*. Although the programs and policies of the Tang dynasty served as important models for several East Asian states, in the mid-to-late seventh century the Tang itself was still in its infancy, and the model Tang scholars and officials looked back to was the long-lasting Han 漢 dynasty (ca. 206 b.c.e.-220 c.e.). Due to its relationship with Tang, the royal library of Silla probably had access to the thirteen classics, which included the *Book of Rites*, as well as Sima Qian’s 司馬遷 (d. 86 b.c.e.) universal history *Shi ji* 史記 (Records of the Historian) and Ban Gu’s 班固 (32 - 92 c.e.) *Han shu* 漢書 (History of the Former Han dynasty), and perhaps even Fan Ye’s 范曄 (398-446) *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (History of the Latter Han dynasty). Because Silla kings recognized Tang suzerainty, adopted the Tang calendar and court dress, and applied to Tang emperors for ritual installment in their rank and titles, it is fitting that they would look for answers on how to understand their position in a Tang-centered world in a text that described how the Han dynasty articulated a harmonious world system. In addition, and just as important, considering that Silla-Tang relations were strained because the alliance broke down in the mid-670s and Silla fought the Tang forces occupying fortresses in former Paekche

and Koguryŏ territory in eighteen engagements in 675 alone,¹⁴ Silla needed a symbolic means of demonstrating the acceptance of its position in the Sinitic world. The adoption and adaptation of institutions described in the *Book of Rites* could serve the dual purpose of strengthening royal authority and demonstrating Silla's acceptance of its place in the Tang Son of Heaven's world order.¹⁵

III. The “Royal Regulations” Chapter

The “Royal Regulations” chapter of the *Book of Rites* is putatively an account of Zhou 周 dynasty (ca. 1046–256 b.c.e.) prescriptions and anecdotes on the form and structure of state ritual. According to Lu Zhi 盧植 (159–192), imperial secretary during the reign of Han emperor Ling 漢靈帝 (r. 168–189), “Royal Regulations” was compiled on imperial request by the great scholars of the time of Emperor Wen 漢文帝 (r. 180–157 b.c.e.). The chapter alleges to articulate the regulations of the early kings with respect to the ranks and classes of the feudal nobles and officers and their emol-

14) *Samguk sagi* 7:92 (Munmu 15/9).

15) A recent monograph based comprised of previously-published essays explores how the five classes of Chinese Confucian ritual permeated Silla society in the middle and late Silla periods and how they were used to promote royal authority. See Ch'ae Miha 蔡美夏, *Silla ūi orye wa wangkwŏn* 신라의 오례와 왕권 (The five classes of Confucian ritual in Silla and royal authority) (Seoul: Hyeon, 2015).

uments and on the mores of sacrifices, as well as other traditions, such as care for the aged. The emperor had ordered it compiled after the passing of the great scholar Jia Yi 賈誼 (ca. 200–169 b.c.e.). The received version of “Royal Regulations” is not the same as it is described in earlier texts. The original version is said to have contained an account of the royal progresses and of the altars and ceremonies of investiture of antiquity—but no such description is found in the received text. On the one hand, parts of this chapter seem to have been taken from the *Mencius* (*Mengzi* 孟子) and the *Book of Documents* (*Shu jing* 書經), as well as from *Gongyang* 公羊 and *Zuo* 左傳 commentaries on the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu* 春秋). On the other hand, other sections of this chapter present information and details that cannot be reconciled with these authoritative texts.¹⁶⁾

Although the date and provenance of each section of the *Book of Rites*, including the “Royal Regulations” chapter, are matters of considerable debate among scholars,¹⁷⁾ in actual practice, the rulers of Silla did not worry about the authenticity of material contained in the text. As far as they were concerned, the “Royal Regulations” contained a reliable account of the practices and mores of the revered dynasties of Chinese antiquity that were worthy and

16) James Legge, trans. *The Sacred Books of China: The Texts of Confucianism. Pt III: The Li Ki, I-X* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1885), pp. 18–20.

17) Michael Loewe, ed., *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide* (Berkeley, Cal.: Society for the Study of Early Chinese Texts and The Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley), pp. 293–297.

appropriate models to emulate. In other words, to Silla rulers, the text would have functioned as a handbook on “best practices for Confucian rulers.” The text provided Silla rulers with prescriptions for the ordering of society, symbolic gradations between royalty and nobility, and terse anecdotes regarding the structure of ritual sacrifice to royal ancestors. The loose adoption and free adaptation of the “Royal Regulations” discussion of educational organizations, the symbolic structure of a royal domain, and the ancestral temple system enabled Silla rulers to structurally and symbolically present their country as a model Confucian realm, or “land of Confucian gentlemen” (*kunjaguk*, Ch. *junziguo* 君子國).

IV. Instituting a State Academy

The year before he married Queen Sinmok, King Sinmun started the process of freely employing ideas, concepts, and symbolism from the “Royal Regulations” chapter of the *Book of Rites*. In the summer, the fourth lunar month of 682, Sinmun placed two directors (*yǒng* 令), more precisely referred to as “lapel lotus ministers” (*kūmhasin* 衿荷臣) in the “Monograph on Government Offices” in the *Samguk sagi*, at the helm of the Office of Harmony in Ranking (*wihwabu* 位和府) and charged them with the responsibility of recommending officials.¹⁸⁾ Two months later, in the sixth month of 682, Sinmun established the State Academy (Kukhak 國學), headed

by one chief minister (*kyǒng* 卿), under the direction of the Board of Rites (Yebu 禮部), which Queen Sǒndök 善德 (r. 647-654) had first established in 651.¹⁹⁾ The “Basic Annals of Silla” also refers to Silla’s State Academy as the State University (*taehak* 大學; *t’ae hak* 太學), aside from King Kyǒngdök’s 景德 (r. 742-765) brief renaming of it as the Directorate of Education (*taehakkam* 大學監) between 759 and 765.²⁰⁾

The study of history as a didactic mirror to aid rulers in formulating policies and practices for harmonious rule probably began to develop at a more rapid pace in Silla during the second half of the seventh century. Silla kings probably looked to examples from Chinese history for exemplar behavior and for practices they could institute to advance royal authority and prerogatives. Although Buddhist symbolism had been employed in the past, Silla’s increasingly close relationship with Tang meant that Confucian-style institutions would lead to more fruitful relations. Silla kings would need to emulate the imagined practices of the sage kings of Chinese antiquity, such as Yao 堯 and Shun 舜, for their state to be recognized as a civilized land of Confucian gentlemen (*kunjaguk* 君子國).²¹⁾ A passage from the biography of Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒

18) *Samguk sagi* 8:96 (Sinmun 2/4); *Samguk sagi* 38:379 (wihwabu).

19) *Samguk sagi* 8:96 (Sinmun 2/6); *Samguk sagi* 38:380 (kukhak).

20) *Samguk sagi* 8:101 (Sǒngdök 16); *Samguk sagi* 9:110 (Kyǒngdök 18); *Samguk sagi* 9:111 (Hyegong 1); *Samguk sagi* 10:122 (Hǒndök 17).

21) On the recognition of Silla as a land of Confucian gentlemen, see Richard D. McBride II, “The Structure and Sources of the Biography of Kim Yusin,” *Acta Koreana* 16, no. 2 (December 2013), pp. 497-535.

(179-104 b.c.e.) in the *Han shu* may have provided inspiration for Sinmun and his loyal officials to respond to the most pressing problem of fostering scholar-officials loyal to the throne. In this passage, Dong encourages Han emperor Wu 漢武帝 (r. 141-87 b.c.e.) to institute a Grand Academy (*taixue*, Kor. *t'ae hak* 太學) so that worthy scholars may continually be cultivated for service to the state.

His Majesty plows the fields himself [as an example to farmers], and regards those who farm as his first priority. He awakens early and rises at daybreak, worried about the labors of his myriad people. He focuses his thoughts on antiquity, and endeavors to seek after the worthy. This is also how Yao and Shun applied their minds. Nevertheless, that your majesty has not yet obtained [the worthy], is because scholars are constantly not sought after. Now, not constantly fostering scholars while desiring to seek for the worthy is like leaving jade uncarved while yet seeking for [its] pattern and hue. Hence, among what is tantamount in fostering scholars, nothing is greater than a Grand Academy, for a Grand Academy is related to the [upbringing] of worthy scholars and is the foundation of teaching and transforming [society]. Now, granted that the masses of even a single commandery or a single walled city do not comply with Your Majesty's written inquiries is such that the kingly Way is bounding forward and yet is cut short. I, your servant, desire that Your Majesty raise a Grand Academy, appoint brilliant teachers, in order to foster the scholars of the realm. If multiple examinations and inquiries are made to exhaustively access their

talents, we should be able to obtain individuals of excellent quality indeed!²²⁾

(陛下親耕藉田以為農先, 夙寤晨興, 憂勞萬民, 思惟往古, 而務以求賢, 此亦堯舜之用心也, 然而未云獲者, 士素不厲也. 夫不素養士而欲求賢, 譬猶不琢玉而求文采也. 故養士之大者, 莫大(虐)[庠]太學; 太學者, 賢士之所關也, 教化之本原也. 今以一郡一國之眾, 對亡應書者, 是王道往往而絕也. 臣願陛下興太學, 置明師, 以養天下之士, 數考問以盡其材, 則英俊宜可得矣.)

Although Dong's reasons for instituting a royal or imperial academy are clear, he does not articulate ideas on how the school should be organized, who should attend, and how students should be evaluated. This is an example of where the *Book of Rites*, and the "Royal Regulations" chapter in particular, appears to serve as an indispensable handbook.

The "Royal Regulations" chapter contains several passages on educational institutions. Silla rulers rarely instituted the Chinese organizations precisely following their Chinese models or how they are described in texts. Rather, the anecdotes merely served as recommendations. The following is the first passage from "Royal Regulations" on the implementation of education:

22) Han shu 56:2512 (Dong Zhongshu liezhuan). My English translation benefited from Anthony E. Clark, "Han Shu, Chapter 56: Biography of Dong Zhongshu," Whitworth University (2005), *History Faculty Scholarship*, Paper 26, p. 51, esp. 27-28); cf. Wm. Theodore de Barry, ed., *Sources of East Asian Civilization, Volume 1* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), p. 167.

When the Son of Heaven ordered a prince to institute instruction, he proceeded to build his schools: the children's, to the south of his palace, on the left of it; that for adults, in the suburbs. [The college of] the Son of Heaven was called [the palace of] Bright Harmony, [and had a circlet of water]. [That of] the princes was called the Palace with its semicircle of water.²³⁾

(天子命之教然後為學. 小學在公宮南之左, 大學在郊. 天子曰辟雍, 諸侯曰頓宮.)

This passage shows that the Son of Heaven encourages princes (read kings) to institute schools for the education of the people. The children's school was to be south of the prince's palace and the adult's school was to be built in the suburbs. Although there is no evidence for a children's school in the Silla capital, the State Academy may have been erected in the "suburbs" because there is no conclusive evidence that it existed near the royal palace complex at Wōlsōng 月城. In addition, the ornate, literary name given to the adult school was not adopted. In recent years, reporters and amateur scholars have advanced the idea that the government-sponsored Confucian School in Kyōngju (Kyōngju hyanggyo 慶州鄉校) during the Chosŏn 朝鮮 period (1392-1910), in present-day Kyodong 校洞, slightly southeast of the palace complex, was built on the site of Silla's State Academy.²⁴⁾ The royally-commissioned geo-

23) *Li ji*, "Wang zhi," para. 19 (<https://ctext.org/liji/wang-zhi>) ; Legge, *The Sacred Books of China: The Texts of Confucianism, Pt. III*, p. 219.

24) Sŏn Aegyŏng 선애경, "Silla sidae ch'angsoltoen kukhagi ittŏn kot 'Kyōngju

graphical survey of Korea from the early Chosŏn period, however, does not support this position.²⁵⁾ Nevertheless, the large scale and stone building foundations that appear to be from the Silla period, suggests that it may have been the site of an important institution in earlier times.

The “Royal Regulations” chapter also provided justification for traditional Silla practices, probably following a precedent set by Koguryŏ, of using skills in archery as a means of selecting talented

hyanggyo’ ” 신라시대 창설된 국학이 있던 곳 ‘경주향교瓊州鄉校’”(Kyŏngju’s Confucian School—the site of the State Academy erected in the Silla period), *Kyŏngju sinmun* 경주신문, March 18, 2013 ; <http://m.ginews.com/view.php?idx=31836> (accessed May 26, 2019). This is merely one example. Many other news agencies and personal blogs repeat this same general sentiment. The Kyŏngju Confucian school, in conjunction with Kyŏngju City, has even started a festival celebrating its roots as the site of the oldest educational institution in Korea: “Munhwa/ch’ukche: Silla kukhak t’ŏ Kyŏngju hyanggyo esŏ kwahak simin k’amp’ŏsŭ ch’ulbŏm” 문화/축제: 신라국학의 터 경주향교에서 과학시민캠퍼스 출범 (Culture/Festivals: Launch of the Science Citizens Campus at the Kyŏngju Confucian School, the site of Silla’s State Academy), 경주시청뉴스, May 15, 2019 ; http://www.gyeongju.go.kr/news/page.do?mnu_uid=1342&parm_bod_uid=165218&step=258 (accessed June 1, 2019).

- 25) *Sinjŭng Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam* 新增東國輿地勝覽 (Augmented survey of Korean geography), 55 rolls ; originally *Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam* 新增東國輿地勝覽 (Survey of Korean geography), 50 rolls ; compiled by No Sasin 盧思慎 (1427-98) et al., between 1445-1481 ; revised by Kim Chongjik 金宗直 et al. in 1530-1531 ; photolithographic reprint (Seoul: Myŏngmundang, 1959 ; rpt. 1981), 21:15a8 (hyanggyo). The entry reports: “The Confucian school lies three li south of the prefectural office (*pu* 府). Revision: The prefect (*pyun* 府尹) Ch’oe Ŭngghyŏn 崔應賢 (1428-1507) remodeled it. The system is modelled after the Sŏnggyun’gwan 成均館 [the Confucian school in Seoul].”

individuals.

He commanded that, throughout the districts, there should be marked and pointed out to him those who were disobedient to his lessons. [This having been done,] the aged men were all assembled in the school, and on a good day archery was practiced and places were given according to merit. [At the same time] there was a feast, when places were given according to age. The Grand Minister of Education conducted thither the eminent scholars of the state and along with them superintended the business. If those [who had been reported to him] did not [now] change, he gave orders that they who were noted as continuing disobedient in the districts on the left should be removed to those on the right, and those noted on the right to the districts on the left. Then another examination was held in the same way, and those who had not changed were removed to the nearest outlying territory. Still continuing unchanged, they were removed, after a similar trial, to the more distant territory. There they were again examined and tried, and if still found defective, they were cast out to a remote region, and for all their lives excluded from distinction.²⁶⁾

(命鄉, 簡不帥教者以告. 耆老皆朝于庠, 元日, 習射上齒, 習鄉上齒, 大司徒帥國之俊士與執事焉. 不變, 命國之右鄉, 簡不帥教者移之左; 命國之左鄉, 簡不帥教者移之右, 如初禮. 不變, 移之郊, 如初禮. 不變, 移之遂, 如初禮. 不變, 屏之遠方, 終身不齒.)

26) *Li ji*, "Wang zhi," para. 38 ; Legge, *The Sacred Books of China: The Texts of Confucianism*, Pt. III, p. 231.

This passage outlines how Silla rulers should oversee the learning done in the school. Administrators should supervise not only the book learning but also the archery skills of the students. If students were not making progress in their studies, they should be sent to outlying areas away from the capital. Only those students making progress will enjoy the benefits of life in the capital and the social distinction that comes from it. The observation of archery skills (*kwansa* 觀射) as a means of selecting and grading potential candidates to serve in the government is attested in several places in the “Basic Annals of Silla,” suggesting that it was a formal practice by the Silla government both before and after the institution of the State Academy in 682.²⁷⁾

Another passage clarifies who should attend the state academy:

Orders were given that, throughout the districts, [the youths who were] decided on as of promising ability should have their names passed up to the Minister of Education, when they were called “select scholars.” He then decided which of them gave still greater promise, and promoted them to the [great] college, where they were called “eminent scholars.” Those who were brought to the notice of the minister were exempted from services in the districts; and those who were promoted to the [great] school, from all services under his own department, and [by and by] were called “complete scholars.”²⁸⁾

27) *Samguk sagi* 3:42 (Silsŏng 14) ; roll 7:92 (Munmu 17) ; roll 8:103 (Sŏngdŏk 30).

28) *Li ji*, “Wang zhi,” para. 38; Legge, *The Sacred Books of China: The Texts*

(命鄉, 論秀士, 升之司徒, 曰選士. 司徒論選士之秀者而升之學, 曰俊士. 升於司徒者, 不征於鄉; 升於學者, 不征於司徒, 曰造士.)

This passage describes an increasingly selective process where youths from the provinces that show promising ability would be recommended to the minister of education and given titles. The minister of education would evaluate these prospective scholar-officials, and for those he deemed showed greater promise, he would enroll them in the state college, and award them with a more impressive title. Among those students who attended the state college, those who distinguished themselves even better, were exempted from service in the provincial districts and were given a title demonstrating their readiness for service to the government. The “Monograph on Government Positions” in the *Samguk sagi* does not provide a complete description on the process of selection, but this passage in the *Book of Rites* probably provided a model that could be tweaked to fit Silla’s highly stratified society. Young men between the ages of fifteen and thirty were able to attend Silla’s State Academy. Because of limited resources and seats in the academy, some sort of selective process must have been employed. Most likely, students would have been the sons of true-bone nobles and head-rank-six elites. It is possible, however unlikely, that some head-rank-five and head-rank-four elites also attended the state academy. Kim Pusik says that all students

possessed ranks not higher than *taesa* 大舍 (rank 12) in Silla's seventeen-level capital rank system—or possessed no rank prior to their enrollment in the academy. He also reports that “Once they had attained the rank of *taenama* 大奈麻 (rank 10) or *nama* 奈麻 (rank 11) they were graduated from the school.”²⁹⁾ Because of the emphasis on birth status in Silla society, head-rank-six elites could only advance as far as rank 6 (*ach'an* 阿滄, *ach'ökkän* 阿尺干, *ach'an* 阿槃); head-rank-five persons could only rise to rank 10 (*taenaema* 大奈麻, *taenaemal* 大奈末, *hannama* 韓奈麻); and head-rank-four individuals could only attain to rank 11 (*naema* 奈麻, *naemal* 奈末). Because students who completed their studies in the state academy were probably awarded a rank lower than was ultimately possible for them to achieve, so that, depending on their birth status, they could advance in rank-status over the course of their careers by showing aptitude in their duties, head-rank-five and head-rank-four persons probably did not attend the academy because they could not hope to advance farther than the rank they earned upon graduation from the state academy.

Despite the opportunity afforded them to attend the prestigious academy, some students were likely negligent in their studies. The following passage from the “Royal Regulations” describes how a ruler should deal with non-productive students.

When the time drew near for their quitting the college, the smaller

29) *Samguk sagi* 38:381 (kukhak).

and greater assistants, and the inferior director of the board, put down those who had not attended to their instructions, and reported them to the Grand director, who in turn reported them to the king. The king ordered the three ducal ministers, his nine (other) ministers, the Great officers, and the [other] officers, all to enter the school [and hold an examination]. If this did not produce the necessary change; the king in person inspected the school; and if this also failed, for three days he took no full meal nor had music, after which the [culprits] were cast out to the remote regions. Sending them to those of the west was called “a [temporary] expulsion;” to the east, “a temporary exile.” But all their lives they were excluded from distinction.³⁰⁾

(將出學, 小胥, 大胥, 小樂正簡不帥教者以告于大樂正. 大樂正以告于王. 王命三公, 九卿, 大夫, 元士皆入學. 不變, 王親視學. 不變, 王三日不舉, 屏之遠方. 西方曰棘, 東方曰寄, 終身不齒.)

This passage describes expedient means followed by the leaders of the country to encourage students to be diligent in their studies. Students who did not attend classes were reported to school and government officials and ultimately to the king. The king would then dispatch high ranking officials to hold an examination. If this did not produce the desire effect of making the students be more attentive in their studies, the king would visit the school personally. If this did not work, non-productive students

30) *Li ji*, “Wang zhi,” para. 40 ; Legge, *The Sacred Books of China: The Texts of Confucianism*, Pt. III, pp. 233-234.

were expelled and were deprived of opportunity to advance in society. Kim Pusik reports, “If students were stupid and unlettered and did not improve after nine years they were expelled. If there were those whose talents and abilities had shown some improvement and yet had not yet matured, even though they had exceeded their nine years they were allowed to remain in school.”³¹⁾ Thus, Silla’s State Academy must have employed some means of assessing student development and improvement. Lazy students who wasted their nine years of schooling were ultimately expelled, but students who showed the capacity for improvement were allowed to remain at school beyond the nine years. Birth status probably played a significant role in these kinds of decisions.

One thing that the “Royal Regulations” chapter does not answer is the question of curriculum. By the seventh century, the instructors and erudites associated with Silla’s State Academy had several hundred years of Chinese educational experience and curricular development to draw upon in crafting their student’s educational maps.

The standard course of study was divided up into instruction on the *Book of Changes* (*Zhouyi* 周易), *Book of Documents* (*Shang shu* 尚書), *Book of Odes* (*Mao shi* 毛詩) [as edited by Mao Heng 毛亨 or Mao Chang 毛萇], *Book of Rites* (*Li ji* 禮記), *The Zuo Commentary of the Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu Zuoshizhuan* 春秋左氏傳), and *Lit-*

31) *Samguk sagi* 38:381 (kukhak).

erary Selections (*Wenxuan* 文選). An erudite or an instructor would teach the *Book of Rites*, *Book of Changes*, *Analects* (*Lunyu* 論語), and *Classic on Filial Piety* (*Xiao jing* 孝經). Or, they would teach the *Zuo Commentary of the Spring and Autumn Annals*, *Book of Changes*, *Analects*, and *Classic of Filial Piety*. Or, they would teach the *Book of Documents*, *Analects*, *Classic of Filial Piety*, and *Literary Selections*.

All students read books in order to become graduates [with one of the] Three Degrees (*samp'um ch'ulsin* 三品出身). Those who read the *Zuo Commentary of the Spring and Autumn Annals*, *Book of Rites*, or *Literary Selections* and were able to comprehend its meaning and also were able to elucidate on the *Analects* and *Classic of Filial Piety* were graduated in the high ranking. Those who read *Minutiae of Etiquette* (*Qu li* 曲禮), the *Analects*, and the *Classic of Filial Piety* were graduated in the middle ranking. Those who read *Minutiae of Etiquette* and the *Classic of Filial Piety* were graduated in the low ranking. If there were those who were able to [demonstrate] complete comprehension of the Five Classics,³²⁾ the Three Histories,³³⁾ and the Writings of the Hundred Schools of Philosophers,³⁴⁾ [the state] advanced and selected them for

32) The Five Classics (*wujing*, Kor. *ogyōng* 五經) are the *Book of Changes* (*Yijing*), *Book of Odes* (*Shijing*), *Book of History* (*Shujing*), *Book of Rites* (*Li ji*), and *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu*).

33) The Three Histories (*sanshi*, Kor. *samsa* 三史) are *The Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shiji* 史記), *The History of the Former Han* (*Hanshu* 漢書), and *The History of the Latter Han* (*Hou Hanshu* 後漢書).

34) Writings of the Hundred Schools of Philosophers (*zhuzi baijia shu*, Kor. *cheja paekka sō* 諸子百家書) included *The Analects* (*Lunyu*), *The Mencius* (*Mengzi* 孟子), *Han Fezi* 韓非子, and so forth.

government employment. Or [they] were commissioned as erudites of the Mathematics School (*sanhak paksa* 算學博士) or as one of the instructors. They taught the *Book on the Composition Technique* (*Zhuijing* 綴經),³⁵⁾ *Triple Root Extraction* (*Sankai* 三開),³⁶⁾ [*Mathematical Procedures in*] *Nine Chapters* (*Jiuzhang* 九章),³⁷⁾ and *Six Categories* [of

35) *Book on the Composition Technique* (*Zhuijing*, Kor. *Ch'ölyöng* 綴經; *Zhuishu*, Kor. *Ch'ölsul* 綴術). This was a technique for making astronomical/astrological (*ch'önmun* 天文) calculations in antiquity: one records the location and time of the moon and the five planets morning, evening, and midnight for five years, calculates these, and binds/links them together. The *Zhuijing* was written by Zu Chongzhi 祖沖之, who was a retainer clerk in Nanxuzhou 南徐州 of the Liu-Song 劉宋 dynasty (420-479) during the Chinese Northern and Southern Dynasties period. See *Sui shu* 16:388 (*lüli shang* 律曆上); *Sui shu* 19:518 (*tianwen shang* 天文上).

36) *Triple Root Extraction*: The word *kai* 開 (Kor. *-gae*) in *Sankai* 三開 (Kor. *Samgae*) refers to finding the root (*sünggün* 乘根). In Japan, in the *Legal Code of the Taihō Era* (*Taihō ritsuryō* 大寶律令, 710) and *Legal Code of the Yōrō Era* (*Yōrō ritsuryō* 養老律令, 758), nine texts were used in mathematical instruction. Among these, the book *Triple Root Extraction* appears along with another text titled [*Method of*] *Double Difference* (Jpn. *Sankai jūsa* 三開重差). *Ritsuryō* 4, Gakuryō 學令11; see also Alexander Karp and Gert Schubring, *Handbook on the History of Mathematics Education* (New York: Springer-Verlag New York, 2016), p. 65.

37) *Mathematical Procedures in Nine Chapters* (*Jiuzhang suanshu* 九章算術) was compiled primarily in the Han dynasty, but with important later commentaries by Liu Hui 劉徽 (late third century c.e.) and others. Although the book was lost, it was recovered from the *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典 (Great Compendium of the Yongle reign period) by Dai Zhen 戴震 (1724-1777). The *Jiuzhang suanshu* contains 246 problems likely to be encountered by government officials and clerks, including the means of calculating the area of fields of various sizes. Wilkinson 2013, p. 491. For a full English translation plus the commentary of Liu Hui and the most important Tang commentaries, see Shen Kangshen, et al, trans. *The Nine*

Mathematical Methods] (*Yukchang* 六章).³⁸⁾

(教授之法以周易·尙書·毛詩·禮記·春秋左氏傳 文選 分而爲之業 博士若助教一人 或以禮記·周易 論語·孝經 或以春秋左傳·毛詩 論語·孝經 或以尙書·論語·孝經·文選教授之 諸生讀書 以三品出身 讀春秋左氏傳 若禮記 若文選 而能通基義 兼明論語·孝經者爲上 讀曲禮 論語·孝經者爲中 讀曲禮·孝經者爲下 若能兼通五經·三史·諸子百家書者 超擢用之 或差算學博士若助教一人 以綴經三開九章六章教授之.)

Thus, for curriculum, students in Silla's state academy studied both the classics and mathematics. Silla's curriculum is comparable to that studied in the various educational institutions in Tang China, but not as complex. Ideally, the study of the Confucian classics would eventually cause Confucian-style loyalty to the king to seep into the collective consciousness of the student population and create more favorable conditions for the Silla king vis-à-vis the true-bone nobility.

Chapters of the Mathematical Art: Companion and Commentary (Oxford: Oxford University Press and Science Press, 1999). The text also referred to as the *Nine Procedures* (*Jiushu* 九術) or the *Nine Calculations* (*Jiushu* 九數). On the *Jiuzhang suanshu* see also Kim Yongun 김용운 and Kim Yongguk 김용국, *Chungguk suhaksa* 중국수학사 (History of Mathematics in China) (Seoul: Minumsa 1996), pp. 69-113.

38) *Six Categories [of Mathematical Methods]*: This appears to be the title of a Chinese math book, which, in the case of Japan, is a composite text including the *Mathematical Procedures in Nine Chapters* (*Jiuzhang suanshu* 九章算術), the *Book on the Composition Technique* (*Zhui jing* 綴經), and the *Triple Root Extraction* (*Sankai* 三開). See *Ritsuryō* 4, Gakuryō 11. *Samguk sagi* 38:380-81 (*kukhak*). Annotated translation by Richard D. McBride II.

V. Structuring an Appropriate Royal Domain

Like other early Chinese historiographical writings, the “Royal Regulations” chapter defines an appropriate royal domain as comprising nine prefectures. The term or concept of “nine prefectures” or “nine provinces” (*kuju*, Ch. *jiuzhou* 九州) refers to territorial divisions or islands that reportedly existed in China during the Xia 夏 and Shang 商 dynasties, first established by sage-king Yu the Great 大禹 (traditional dates, ca. 2123–2025 b.c.e.) in the course of saving the country from the flood that had engulfed the land. The term “nine provinces” has since come to symbolically refer to the whole Chinese realm. The expression “nine prefectures” or “nine provinces” is not found in oracle bone inscriptions, suggesting that it actually dates from later, more classical times. The concept was most likely created in the Spring and Autumn 春秋 and Warring States 戰國 periods (ca. 771–221 b.c.e.), but it was not until the Eastern Han 東漢 period (25–220 c.e.), after the compilation of the “Royal Regulations” chapter, that nine prefectures or provinces were actually instituted as administrative units. The following passage describes the shape of a realm appropriate for the Son of Heaven (*tianzi* 天子), and thus for other rulers.

Of the nine provinces embracing all within, the four seas, a province was 1000 *li* square, and there were established in it 30 states of 100 *li* (square) each.: 60 of 70 *li*; 120 of 50 *li*—in all, 210 states. The famous

hills and great meres were not included in the investitures. The rest of the ground formed attached territories and unoccupied lands of the eight provinces (apart from that which formed the royal domain), each contained (the above) 210 states. Within the domain of the son of Heaven there were 9 states of 100 *li* square; 21 of 70 *li*; and 63 of 50 *li*—in all, 93 states. The famous hills and great meres were not assigned. The rest of the ground served to endow the officers, and to form unoccupied lands. In all, in the nine provinces, there were 1773 states, not counting in (the lands of) the officers of the chief grade of the son of Heaven, nor the attached territories in the feudal states.³⁹⁾

(凡四海之內九州，州方千里。州，建百里之國三十，七十里之國六十，五十里之國百有二十，凡二百一十國；名山大澤不以封，其餘以為附庸間田。八州，州二百一十國。天子之縣內，方百里之國九，七十里之國二十有一，五十里之國六十有三，凡九十三國；名山大澤不以封，其餘以祿土，以為間田。凡九州，千七百七十三國。天子之元土，諸侯之附庸不與。)

The exact size and shape of the nine provinces is not what is important here. Neither are the sizes nor the numbers of the states within the provinces, which probably refers to walled cities or settlements. Rather, what is key is that the royal domain is set in the center, with the remaining eight provinces organized around it. Famous mountains and sources of water are not included in the realms bestowed by investiture on rulers or administered by offi-

39) *Li ji*, “Wang zhi,” para. 6; English translation emended from Legge, *The Sacred Books of China: The Texts of Confucianism*, Pt. III, pp. 211-212.

cial.

In 685, Sinmun restructured the provincial boundaries of the country, inaugurating a system of nine prefectures.⁴⁰⁾ At this moment in time, the names of these nine areas were Ilsönju 一善州 (central domain), Samnyangju 歙良州 (southeast), Hansanju 漢山州 (northwest), Suyakchu 首若州 (northcentral), Hasüllaju 何瑟羅州 (northeast), Soburiju 所夫里州 (central northwest coast), Wansanju 完山州 (central southwest coast), Chǒngju 菁州 (southcentral), and Pallaju 發羅州 (southwest).

The “Basic Annals of Silla” significantly also indicates that Silla dispatched a tribute-bearing envoy to Tang requesting copies of the *Book of Rites* and other literary works in the second lunar month of 686.⁴¹⁾ The *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Old History of the Tang) and *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (New History of the Tang) corroborate Sinmun’s interest in ritual manuals, reporting that he requested the *Tang Rites* (*Tang li* 唐禮) and other writings.⁴²⁾

Silla kings regularly changed the names of these prefectures, but the number stayed at nine. In 757, more than seventy years later, King Kyōngdōk renamed the prefectures again with more Sinitic-sounding designations, and it by these names that the prefectures of Silla were known for the remainder of the Silla period. According to Kyōngdōk’s royal proclamation, the central domain, Sangju 尙州, was bounded by Yangju 良州, Kangju 康州, and Muju 武

40) *Samguk sagi* 8:97 (Sinmun 5).

41) *Samguk sagi* 8:97 (Sinmun 6).

42) *Jiu Tang shu* 199A:5336; *Xin Tang shu* 220:6204.

州 on the south, Ungju 熊州 and Chŏnju 全州 to the west, and Hanju 漢州, Sakchu 朔州, and Myŏngju 溟州 to the north.⁴³⁾

Following the symbolism advanced in the *Book of Rites*, the Silla capital, should have been located in the central region of the nine prefectures. The actual capital of Silla, present-day Kyŏngju 慶州, however, was located in the southeastern area of the nine prefectures. Late in his reign, Sinmun did attempt to relocate the capital to the city of Talgubŏl 達句伐, present-day Taegu 大邱 in North Kyŏngsang Province, in 689. Although Talgubŏl was also still located in Yangju, the southwestern prefecture, this prospective capital was in a more central location that enjoyed natural defenses more secure than Kyŏngju. In the *Samguk sagi*, Kim Pusik describes Sinmun's failed attempt to move the capital in one terse sentence and advances no reasons why Sinmun would want to move the capital and offers no reasons for his failure.⁴⁴⁾ On the one hand, a practical reason Sinmun may have sought to escape the coercive power of the landed elites in the capital region as well as, perhaps, the influence of the Buddhist church, like the case of the early Japanese emperor Kanmu's 桓武天皇 (r. 781-806) moving the capital from Nara 奈良 to Heian 平安 (Kyōto 京都) in 784. On the other hand, a somewhat compelling symbolic reason for moving the capital can be found in the fact that the Silla court reconfigured the system of sacrifices to Silla mountains to include a Chi-

43) *Samguk sagi* 9:109-110 (Kyŏngdŏk 16).

44) *Samguk sagi* 8:98 (Sinmun 11).

nese-inspired model of five marchmounts. Silla's earlier system of three sacred mountains situated in the Silla heartland—Naryök 奈歷 (or Narim 奈林) in Süppibu 習比部, Korhwa 骨火 in Chöryahwa Commandery 切也火郡, and Hyöllye 穴禮 in Taesöng Commandery 大城郡—received “great sacrifices” (*taesa* 大祀). The new set of five sacred mountains (*oak* 五嶽)—Mt. T'oham 吐含山, the eastern peak; Mt. Kyeryong 鷄龍山, the western peak; Mt. Chiri 智異山, the southern peak; Mt. T'aebaek 太白山, the northern peak; and Mt. P'algong 八公山, the central peak—received “midlevel sacrifices” (*chungsa* 中祀).⁴⁵⁾ Mt. P'algong, the central peak (*chungak* 中嶽), was close to Talguböl. In this way, the transfer of the capital to Talguböl would metaphorically place the Silla royal family near a mountain conferring legitimacy following the accepted mode of Confucian ritual symbolism. In other words, by moving his capital near the central peak, the Silla ruler would be temporally and symbolically located in the center of his domain, thus conferring increased power and authority on the king.⁴⁶⁾

A passage “Royal Regulations” chapter provides justification for the Silla court's establishing this two-tiered system of offering sacrifices to the sacred mountains of the country:

45) *Samguk sagi* 32:323 (chesa: taesa-chungsa). On Silla's adoption of a five-mountain system, see Lee Ki-baik, *Silla chöngch'i sahoesa yön'gu*, pp. 194-215.

46) Yi Mun'gi 李文基 also articulates some of these reasons in *Silla hadae chöngch'i wa sahoe yön'gu* 新羅 下代 政治와 社會 研究 (Research on government and society in the late Silla period) (Seoul: Hagiön Munhwasa, 2015), pp. 424-464, esp. 436-446.

The son of Heaven sacrificed to Heaven and Earth; the princes of the states, to the (spirits of the) land and grain; Great officers offered the five sacrifices (of the house). The son of Heaven sacrificed to all the famous hills and great streams under the sky, the five mountains receiving (sacrificial) honors like the honors paid (at court) to the three ducal ministers, and the four rivers honors like those paid to the princes of states; the princes sacrificed to the famous hills and great streams which were in their own territories.⁴⁷⁾

(天子祭天地, 諸侯祭社稷, 大夫祭五祀. 天子祭天下名山大川: 五岳視三公, 四瀆視諸侯. 諸侯祭名山大川之在其地者.)

According to this passage, the supreme ruler of the state offers sacrifices to the famous mountains in the country and, after that, the five sacred mountains or marchmounts receive honors at the same level as the three dukes (*sangong* 三公), the three paramount aides to the ruler. Silla's earlier system of three sacred mountains fills the role of the famous mountains of the state, and under that the new system of five sacred mountains would be venerated at the slightly lesser level.

Although the exact time when the system of five sacred mountains was implemented is uncertain, it likely began during the second half of the seventh century.⁴⁸⁾ The Silla court also added an-

47) *Li ji*, "Wang zhi," para. 28; Legge, *The Sacred Books of China: The Texts of Confucianism*, Pt. III, p. 225.

48) Lee Ki-baik suggests between 676 and 680 (Munmu 16-20); see Lee, *Silla chŏngch'i sahoesa yŏngu*, p. 205.

other relevant system of five: a system of five minor or secondary capitals (*sogyǒng* 小京). The system of secondary capitals seems to have started more for the purpose of military security and political hegemony, than symbolic legitimacy, however. The first minor capital Chungwǒn-gyǒng 中原京 (present-day Ch'ungju 忠州) was established by King Chinhǒng 眞興 (r. 540-576), probably to control the recently subdued people of the Tae Kaya 大伽倻 kingdom conquered in 562. Pugwǒn-gyǒng 北原京 (present-day Wǒnju 原州), in the north, and Kǔmgwan-gyǒng 金官京 (present-day Kimhae 金海), in the southeastern section of the state, were made minor capitals by Sinmun's father King Munmu—the latter in 680. Sinmun erected a fortress at Pugwǒn-gyǒng in 685, probably to bolster defenses against the Malgal 靺鞨 tribes in the north that would soon coalesce with other Koguryǒ remnant peoples to found Parhae 渤海 in 698. Sinmun completed the development of this system by establishing Sǒwǒn-gyǒng 西原京 (present-day Ch'ǒngju 淸州) and Namwǒn-gyǒng 南原京 (present-day Namwǒn 南原) as secondary capitals in 685.⁴⁹⁾ It is significant that the symbolically-important central capital in this system of five minor capitals is Kǔmgwan-gyǒng, the old capital of the Kǔmgwan Kaya 金官伽倻 (trad. dates 42-532) state that surrendered and integrated peacefully into Silla in 532 during the reign of King Pǒphǒng 法興 (r. 514-540).

49) *Samguk sagi* 35:340 (Kimhae sogyǒng), 345 (Chungwǒn-gyǒng), 349 (Pugwǒn-gyǒng), 353 (Sǒwǒn-gyǒng), and 355 (Namwǒn-gyǒng).

VI. Establishing an Ancestral Temple

Veneration of ancestors, particularly royal ancestors, is another public activity that contributes to projecting authority and legitimacy. The *Samguk sagi* reports that the royalty of Silla worshipped their ancestor-king in a “temple to the first ancestor” (*sijomyo* 始祖廟). The *Samguk sagi* asserts that the first such temple was built in 6 c.e. and sacrifices were offered at the four seasons. Worship and sacrifices were rendered at the temple by the king in person usually, though not exclusively, in the early years of his reign. Later, in either that late fifth or early sixth centuries, Silla rulers erected a “spirit palace” (*sin'gung*, Jpn. *jingū* 神宮), a type of structure they share with the ancient Japanese, at Naeül 奈乙. The spirit palace, as well, appears to be a place where Silla kings offered sacrifices to ancestors.⁵⁰⁾ The relationship between the two edifices is unclear and is a matter of unending scholarly speculation and debate. (Although this issue is beyond the scope of my argument here, a popular theory is that the temple to the first ancestor was replaced by the spirit palace.)⁵¹⁾ In the twelfth-century *Samguk sagi*, Kim

50) Naeül is the place where, according to the *Samguk sagi*, the founder Pak Hyökkose reportedly descended (Najöng 蘿井 at Yangsan 楊山). For a detailed discussion see Choe Kwang Sik (Ch'oe Kwangsik) 崔光植, *Kodae Han'guk üi kukka wa chesa* 고대한국의 국가와 제사 (The ancient Korean state and its rituals) (Seoul: Han'gilsa, 1994), 195-216; see also Na Hüira 羅喜羅, *Silla üi kukka chesa* 신라의 국가제사 (The state rituals of Silla) (Seoul: Chisik Sanöpsa, 2003).

Pusik reports in one place that the “spirit palace” was first built in

- 51) The prevailing scholarly theory was first articulated by Pyŏn T'aesŏp 邊太燮, in “Myoje ūi pyŏnch'ŏn ūl t'onghayŏ pon Silla sahoe ūi palchŏn kwajŏng” 廟制的變遷을 통하여 본 新羅社會의 發展過程 (The developmental process of Silla society seen through the transformation of the ancestral temple system), *Yŏksa kyoyuk* 歷史教育 8 (1964), pp. 56-76. It is that the *sijomyo* 始祖廟 evolved into the *sin'gung* 神宮, and were located at the same site or were different buildings at basically the same site or in the rough vicinity. In 2002, the site of Naül 奈乙 (Najŏng 蘿井) was excavated. The remains of an octagonal building were discovered. On the location of Naül, the conventional position (which nobody has really challenged) is that they are two names for the name place. An ūl is a well (*umul*), and later in the middle or late Silla period many places were renamed to give them a more Sinitic-style name: hence Naül became Najŏng. The *Samguk sagi* says that the *sin'gung* was made in Naül, where the founder was born. The *Samguk sagi* and *Samguk yusa* report that Pak Hyŏkkŏse 朴赫居世 (trad. r. 57 b.c.e.-4 c.e.) was born at Najŏng. Kim Pusik's assessment tends to support this view because in *Samguk sagi* roll 32, the first section is called *chongmyo* 宗廟 and combines information on both structures. The way Kim Pusik seems to describe it in *Samguk sagi* roll 1 is that the *sijomyo* should be the tomb and place to worship Pak Hyŏkkŏse, but the problem with Pak Hyŏkkŏse and his double Kim Alchi 金闕智 (trad. fl. first century c.e.), is that he is not otherwise attested until after the publication of the *Samguk sagi*. See Mun Kyŏnghyŏn 文暉鉉, *Sil-lasa yŏn'gu* 新羅史研究 (Research on Silla history) (Taegu: Kyŏngbuk Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 1983), pp. 111-147, esp. 113-124. However, in most places where either *sijomyo* or *sin'gung* appears, kings of Silla surnamed Kim seem to be worshiping their own ancestors of the Kim descent group and not Pak Hyŏkkŏse. In other words, in the *Samguk sagi*, Kim Pusik asserts that the *sijomyo* dates back to the origins of Silla in the first century c.e. However, the *sin'gung* is only connected to rule by the Kim family with foundation dates of either 487 or 502. Several scholars assert that the *sin'gung* was the place where the Kim descent group performed its ancestral veneration rituals. Several respected scholars have advanced theories on who was venerated before the system was replaced with

487 and in another 502. Sacrifices were offered at the spirit palace until the end of the dynasty, often in conjunction with granting amnesty to prisoners, which suggests some kind of festival.⁵²⁾ Despite the existence of the temple to the first ancestor and/or the spirit palace, King Sinmun felt the need to draw greater attention to the royal ancestors of Silla as a constituent group, and followed guidelines presented in the third section of “Royal Regulations” chapter in the *Book of Rites*. The following passage reports that the ancestral temple of a prince of a state has five shrines, two on the left and two on the right of the great ancestor:

Confucian-style worship of the five ancestors. For example, Pyŏn T'aesŏp (1964) asserts that Pak Hyŏkkŏse and Kim Alchi are two aspects of the same founder/mythical founder, and were worshipped at the *sjomyo* early on, and that Kim Mich'u 味鄒 (trad. r. 262-284) was worshipped there in the time of Hyeogong 惠恭 (r. 765-780); see “Myoje ūi pyŏnch'ŏn ūl t'onghayŏ pon Silla sahoe ūi palchŏn kwajŏng,” pp. 60-64. Hamada Kōsaku (1982) believes that Kim Alchi was worshiped there. Lee Kidong (1978) and Kang Chonghun (1994) believe that Kim Sŏnghwan was venerated there. I tend to agree with Lee and Kang's assessment. Suematsu Yasutami (1954) and Sin Chongwŏn (1992) believe that Kim Naemul was venerated there. Some scholars, such as Hamada Kōsaku (1982) and Ch'oe Kwangsik (1983) assert that the “heavenly spirit” 天神 was also worshipped there besides the founding ancestor of Silla. Ch'oe Chaesŏk (1987) and some more recent scholars, such as Na Hŭira (2003) and Ch'ae Miha (2008), hold that Pak Hyŏkkŏse was worshipped in the *sin'gung*. For an overview of scholarly position see Na Hŭira, *Silla ūi kukka chesa*, pp. 139-159, esp. 140-143 ; Ch'ae Miha 蔡美夏, *Silla kukka chesa wa wangkwŏn* 신라국가제사와 왕권 (Silla state ritual and royal authority) (Seoul: Hyeon, 2008), 94, p. 105.

52) *Samguk sagi* 3:32 (Soji 9) ; *Samguk sagi* 32:313 (Chesa).

(The ancestral temple of) the son of Heaven embraced seven fanes (or smaller temples); three on the left and three on the right, and that of his great ancestor (fronting the south)—in all, seven. (The temple of) the prince of a state embraced five such fanes: those of two on the left, and two on the right, and that of his great ancestor—in all, five. Great officers had three fanes: one on the left, one on the right, and that of his great ancestor—in all, three. Other officers had (only) one. The common people presented their offerings in their (principal) apartment.⁵³⁾

(天子七廟, 三昭三穆, 與太祖之廟而七. 諸侯五廟, 二昭二穆, 與太祖之廟而五. 大夫三廟, 一昭一穆, 與太祖之廟而三. 士一廟. 庶人祭於寢.)

In 687, Sinmun dispatched high-ranking officials to the royal ancestral temple (*chomyo* 祖廟—is this the “temple to the first ancestor” (*sijomyo* 始祖廟)?—to offer sacrifices on his behalf. The official prayer, rendered as if spoken by Sinmun himself, strongly suggests that the Silla court remodeled the site following the foregoing instructions from the *Book of Rites*. The sacrificial prayer refers specifically to five lineal ancestors: the great kings T’aejo 太祖 (the grand progenitor),⁵⁴⁾ Chinji 眞智 (r. 576-579), Munhŭng 文

53) *Li ji*, “Wangzhi,” para. 26; Legge, *The Sacred Books of China: The Texts of Confucianism*, Pt. III, p. 223.

54) On the issue of the “grand progenitor” (*t’aejo* 太祖) or “founding ancestor” (*sijo* 始祖) of Silla, see Mun Kyŏngghyŏn, *Sillasa yŏn’gu*, pp. 111-147; Lee Ki-baik, *Silla chŏngch’i sahoesa yŏn’gu*, pp. 366-377.

興,⁵⁵⁾ T'aejong 太宗 (Muyöl), and Munmu.⁵⁶⁾

Although the evidence is limited, Silla kings after him probably continued to alter the five ancestral shrines to fit their own circumstances. Three of the five ancestor kings remained: T'aejo, T'aejong, and Munmu: the first because he was the founder-king of the dynasty and the latter two because they accomplished the great enterprise of conquering Paekche and Koguryö. Despite what is written in the "Basic Annals of Silla" regarding Sinmun's establishing a series of five shrines to his royal ancestors, the monograph on "Sacrifices" (*chesa* 祭祀) in the *Samguk sagi* reports that King Hyejong 惠恭 (r. 765-780) was the first Silla monarch to set up a system of five shrines. The account expressly refers to shrines for (1) the Sijo 始祖, which Kim Pusik identifies here as King Mich'u 味鄒 (trad. r. 262-284), the first Silla sovereign bearing the surname Kim; (2) T'aejong (Muyöl); and (3) Munmu.⁵⁷⁾ The remaining two royal ancestors were most likely (4) his grandfather Söngdök 聖德 (r. 702-737) and (5) his father Kyöngdök. The royal ancestors venerated at the shrines continually changed to suit the sacrificial needs of succeeding kings. In the second month of 785, for instance, King Wönsöng 元聖 (r. 785-798) dismantled the shrines established by King Söndök 宣德 (r. 780-785) to his ancestor Söngdök and his fa-

55) Munhüng refers to Kim Ch'unch'u's father Kim Yongsu 龍樹 (alt. Yongch'un 龍春, ca. 580-d. after 643). In 654, he was posthumously granted the title Great King Munhüng when his son assumed the throne. *Samguk sagi* 5:67 (Muyöl 1).

56) *Samguk sagi* 8:97 (Sinmun 7).

57) *Samguk sagi* 32: 313 (Chesa).

ther Kaesöng 開聖. He raised his ancestors, from his father back to his great-great grandfather, to the posthumous rank of king, and restructured the five ancestral shrines of royal family. Wönsöng's configuration preserved the significance of the Silla founder and the kings who oversaw the unification wars of conquest: (1) Sijo (=T'aejo?), (2) T'aejong, (3) Munmu, (4) his grandfather Hüngp'yöng 興平, and (5) his father Myöngdök 明德.⁵⁸⁾ In 801, King Aejang 哀莊 (r. 800-809) built two distinct shrines for the great kings T'aejong and Munmu—apparently different buildings on the same site—and renovated the five ancestral shrines to reflect his ancestry from his great-great grandfather Myöngdök to his grandfather Hyech'ung 惠忠 and father Sosöng 昭聖.⁵⁹⁾ In this manner, following the example set by Sinmun, the Silla royal family drew symbolic authority and legitimacy in the Confucian mode by implementing the traditional sacrifices approved for princes of states as described in the *Book of Rites*.

VII. Concluding Reflections

Although most modern scholars see the *Book of Rites* as having been compiled and edited during the early Western Han period

58) *Samguk sagi* 10:114 (Wönsöng 1).

59) *Samguk sagi* 10:118 (Aejang 2).

(206 b.c.e.-24 c.e.) by leading scholars at court, and thus subject to the concerns of scholar-officials of the early Han period, to most educated elites in East Asia during the medieval period (ca. 317-907), the *Book of Rites* faithfully communicated the systems and practices of the classical Zhou dynasty. The “Royal Regulations” chapter of the *Book of Rites*, in particular, articulated age-old guidelines for appropriate royal behavior and set a model for not only sovereigns of the Central Kingdom but also for states, like Silla, that would participate in the world order centered on the Son of Heaven. As Silla rebuilt its relationship with Tang after the erstwhile allies squabbled in the aftermath of the joint conquests of Paekche and Koguryŏ, Silla rulers needed to portray themselves as fully participating in the cosmological order centered on the Tang Son of Heaven.

More important, in addition to instituting the bureaucratic organs necessary to run the mechanism of the state, building on the work of his forebears and drawing to a close a process begun more than a century before, Silla king Sinmun attempted to extend royal authority by deploying the symbolism of Confucian statecraft as articulated in the “Royal Regulations” chapter of the *Book of Rites*. Sinmun could accomplish both of these objectives by implementing practices described in the “Royal Regulations” chapter. Korean and Chinese sources report that Sinmun requested ritual texts from Tang, specifically the *Book of Rites*.

This grand enterprise of strengthening the autocratic power of the Silla king created conflict with the nobility of Silla, which

sought to both maintain and increase its own hereditary privileges and not submit to kingly entitlements. The Kim Hūmdol rebellion was the first overt confrontation between the Silla royalty and nobility after the conquests of Paekche and Silla. Discovered just after of Sinmun's ascent to the throne, although the Kim Hūmdol revolt was evidently quelled quickly, the incident was probably both shocking and instructive on multiple levels. Because Hūmdol was his father-in-law, Sinmun probably not only felt betrayed by his in-law relatives, but also he and his closest supporters became acutely aware of the need of a source of officials that would be loyal to the royal family. In addition, because both he and the conspirators were all nobles of true-bone status, this incident probably impressed on Sinmun and his senior advisors of the importance of instituting a system conferring symbolic authority and legitimacy that would differentiate the Silla king and royal family from other true-bone nobles. After the successful suppression of attempted revolt, Sinmun expelled his barren consort, who was the daughter of the rebel leader Kim Hūmdol, and married the daughter of a deceased Silla military hero, Kim Hūmun.

During his relatively short reign of just over ten years, Sinmun labored more vigorously than any other Silla monarch to break and control the power of the hereditary nobility, foster autocratic power of the king, and promote the symbolic legitimacy of the royal family by systematically implementing Confucian institutions and customs described in the "Royal Regulations" chapter of the *Book of Rites*. The "Royal Regulations" chapter communicates the

basic structure and rationale for a state academy and the process by which students are recommended to attend the school. It also articulates guidelines for governing students and dealing with students who do not study. Although the “Royal Regulations” chapter does not discuss curriculum, passages in the *Book of Rites* dealing with education mesh well with what is known about Silla’s state academy, particularly in the treatment of non-performing students and the relative importance of archery as a means testing successful candidates.

The adoption of Confucian symbolism by the Silla court caused Silla rulers to think spatially using a different cosmological compass and a different way of imagining a royal domain in harmony with the cosmos. Sinmun’s dividing his domain into nine prefectures, generally modeled on the nine islands or provinces established by Yu the Great after the flood, shows his interest in drawing legitimacy from the “Royal Regulations” chapter and, perhaps, other texts that advance the importance of the concept of “nine provinces.” The relationship between the nine provinces and the five sacred mountains, symbolic of the four directions and the center, is also key. Sinmun’s attempt to transfer the Silla capital (present-day Kyōngju) to Talgubōl (present-day Taegu) should be seen within this metaphorical context. Ideally, the capital should be the central region of the figurative three-by-three structure arrangement. Famous mountains in the four directions and the center should bolster the power and energy of the kingdom. The Silla capital was located in the east-central prefecture, and although

Talguböl also seems to have been in that same east-central region, it was on the western part—in a more defensive position. More important, from a symbolic perspective, it was located south of Mt. P'algong, the central peak of Silla's five sacred mountains.

Finally, Sinmun introduced ancestral temple system centered on five shrines, just as described in the “Royal Regulations” chapter. The *Book of Rites* reports that such a five-shrine structure was appropriate for a “prince of a state,” in comparison with the Son of Heaven who is able to have seven ancestral shrines. Sinmun was able to draw symbolic attention to his royal ancestry, and the great enterprise of the conquests of Paekche and Koguryō, as well as the founder-king T'aejo, by this means. We can know that the founder-king and kings Muyōl and Munmu continued to be important to Silla kings in the mid-Silla period and beyond because these three were always included in the five shrines. The other two slots were typically filled by the reigning king's father and grandfather, until King Aejang built separate structures for Muyōl and Munmu.

[Abstract]

King Sinmun's Symbolic Strengthening of Royal Authority:
The Role of "The Royal Regulations" chapter of the *Book of Rites* in the Mid-Silla Period

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Silla King Sinmun (r. 681-692) faced his first challenge to royal authority in the Kim Hūmdol rebellion. This is experience probably impressed upon him and his closest advisors that the implementation of a system granting symbolic authority and legitimacy was necessary to improve the position of the king vis-à-vis the nobility. King Sinmun, more than any other monarch of the mid-Silla period (654-780), endeavored to check the power of the hereditary nobility, cultivate autocratic rule, and legitimate its symbolic authority through the structured institution of Confucian ideals and norms articulated in the "Royal Regulations" (*Wang zhi* 王制) chapter of the *Book of Rites* (*Li ji* 禮記). Sinmun's establishing patterns of appropriate royal rule as described in the "Royal Regulations" chapter are most clearly manifest in his implementation of an educational system, his organization of Silla into nine prefectures with a system of five sacred mountains, and his inauguration of an ancestral temple system.

□ Keyword

King Sinmun, *Book of Rites*(禮記), "Royal Regulations"(王制), Nine Prefectures(九州), Five Shrines(五廟), Kim Hūmdol(金欽突) Rebellion

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