

Study on the Communication of Ritual Spatial Pattern of *Zhu's Family Rites* on the Korean Peninsula

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Abstract: *Zhu's Family Rites* is a famous book written by Zhu Xi (1130-1200) who was a prominent Confucian scholar of the Southern Song dynasty. Due to its complete system, refined rituals, and practicality, it has been widely spread in later generations, becoming a model for family ritual activities and spreading among neighboring countries, especially in the Korean Peninsula. This paper is mainly based on folk family ritual works in the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910), exploring the spatial relationships displayed in the literature and examining the communication of the ritual system described in *Zhu's Family Rites* on the Korean Peninsula. During the Joseon Dynasty, the ritual system centered around *Zhu's Family Rites* tended to be common, bringing out a great number of folk family ritual books, such as *Jia Li Ji Lan*, *Si Li Bian Lan* and so on. According to these books, the residence that conformed to the ritual adopt a multi courtyard layout mainly consisting of “*Tingshi*” and “*Zhengqin*”, and included an ancestral hall with its own courtyard. The spatial features described in *Zhu's Family Rites* can also be seen in High-class houses in the Joseon Dynasty. Based on process of cultural communication of *Zhu's Family Rites*, the study from the perspective of dwelling space can reveal the considerable impact of Confucian culture represented by Zhu Xi's theory on daily life in Joseon Period.

Keywords: *Zhu's Family Rites*; The Korean Peninsula; The Joseon Dynasty; Ritual Spatial Pattern; Layout of Residence

1. Introduction

Zhu's Family Rites is a famous book written by Zhu Xi (1130-1200) who was a prominent Confucian scholar of the Southern Song

dynasty. It consists of five volumes, arranged in order as *Tong Li*, *Guan Li*, *Hun Li*, *Sang Li*, *Ji Li*. Due to its complete system, refined rituals, and practicality, it has been widely spread in later generations, becoming a model for family ritual activities and spreading among neighboring countries such as East Asia and Southeast Asia. Especially in the Korean Peninsula, scholar-officials in the Joseon Dynasty regarded *Zhu's Family Rites* as a classic book of ritual, and based on it, formulated and implemented various daily family rituals.[1]

This paper is mainly based on folk family ritual works in the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910), exploring the spatial relationships displayed in the literature and examining the communication of the ritual system described in *Zhu's Family Rites* on the Korean Peninsula.

2. The Communication of *Zhu's Family Rites*

2.1 The Introduction of Zhu Xi's Theory on the Korean Peninsula

In 918 A.D., the Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392) succeeded the Silla Dynasty in ruling the Korean Peninsula. During the early period of Goryeo's establishment, Buddhism and Confucianism were the national beliefs, with Buddhism holding a dominant position across all social strata. By the end of Goryeo Dynasty, the trend of idolizing Buddhism had intensified, gradually revealing various drawbacks such as the proliferation of Buddhism and the superstitions of Buddhist disciples, resulting in the neglect of national laws and regulations and the decline of court governance.[1] Shortly afterwards, many scholar-officials, led by Cui Chenglao (927-989), began to voice their opinions and submit petitions, leading to the trend of opposing Buddhism.[2]

The introduction of Zhu Xi's theory to the East

is widely believed by scholars to have originated during the reigns of King Zhonglie (ruled from 1274-1308) and King Zhongxuan (ruled from 1308-1314), with the scholar An Xiang (1243-1306) bringing back Zhu Xi's works from the Yuan Dynasty in 1289.[1] Under the background of opposing Buddhism, the introduction of Zhu Xi's theory was timely

and had a profound impact on politics and academics.[2] Under the promotion of Confucian scholars in Goryeo during the 13th and 14th centuries, Zhu Xi's theory had run deep in the Korean Peninsula, and began to be popularized among the common people in the Joseon Dynasty.[3] (Figure 1.)

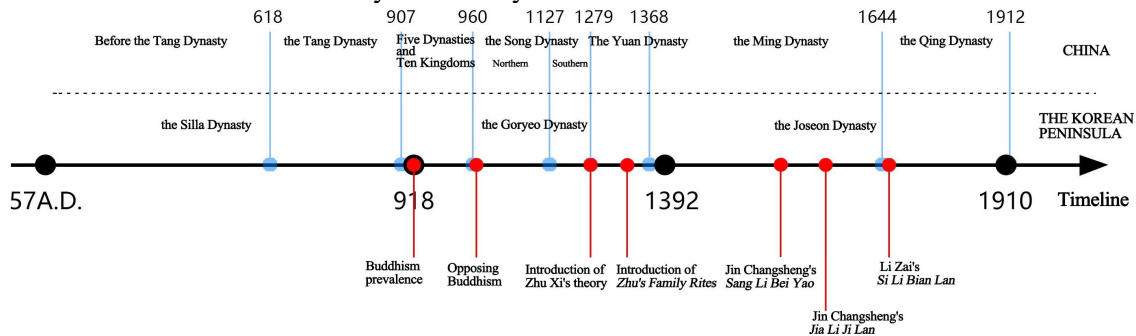


Figure 1. The Dynasty Changing in the Korean Peninsula and the Development of Zhu Xi's Theory (Source: Drawn by the Author)

2.2 The Popularization of Zhu's Family Rites

As a part of Zhu Xi's theory, it is generally accepted that *Zhu's Family Rites* was first introduced and promoted in Korea by Zheng Mengzhou (1338-1392) in the early 14th century, in the meantime, Zheng Xiren, Zhao Jun (1346-1405) and other Confucian scholars expressed their desire to comply with *Zhu's Family Rites* through memorials or writings.[4] Since the establishment of the Joseon Dynasty, *Zhu's Family Rites* gradually spread throughout the country and was widely accepted by Korean society after the 16th century. In the later period of the Joseon Dynasty, it was popularized among common people and became a guide book for weddings and funerals in daily life.[5,6]

At the beginning of the Joseon Dynasty, *Xiang Jie Jia Li* and *Guo Chao Wu Li Yi* which were based on *Zhu's Family Rites*, were promulgated at the national level. However, their popularization and implementation were not smooth. In the 16th century, scholars such as Li Yandi (1491-1553), Li Huang (1501-1570), and Li Er (1536-1584) conducted in-depth interpretations of *Zhu's Family Rites*, and then, in the mid to late period of the Joseon Dynasty, a large number of Confucian scholars also supplemented and improved the book based on their own customs, resulting in a large quantity of family ritual books, such as Jin Changsheng's *Sang Li Bei Yao*, Yu Qi's *Jia Li Ji Lan*, Li Zai's *Si Li Bian Lan*, Li Yichao's

Ja Li Zeng Jie, etc. These family ritual books have been widely spread to folk, effectively promoting the popularization of the traditional ideas contained in *Zhu's Family Rites*. [6] According to contemporary scholars' research, the family ritual books created based on *Zhu's Family Rites* in the later period of the Joseon Dynasty played a guiding role in specific affairs such as ritual activities' schedules, greetings, and record books, and walked into the average homes. [1,7]

3. The Communication of Ritual Spatial Pattern

The etiquette cannot be separated from the architectural space. As *Zhu's Family Rites* and its derivative works became the universal family ritual books followed by various social classes, the prescribed spatial pattern had a significant impact on the literati-official class of the Joseon Dynasty and gradually influenced the residence of common people after the mid-16th century. [8,9]

3.1 Jin Changsheng's Sang Li Bei Yao

Jin Changsheng (1548-1631), alias Shaxi, is a distinguished Confucian scholar and politician during the Joseon Dynasty. *Sang Li Bei Yao* was originally written as a funeral guide for Sheng Yiqing (1557-1648), one of his friends. After being supplemented by the author, the book was finally completed in 1583, covered the rituals of both funeral and worshipping, and was published after attentive proofreading

by his son Jin Ji (1574-1656) in 1648. Scholar Zhao Yinyong once said, "After *Zhu's Family Rite*, in the Korean Peninsula, only *Sang Li Bei Yao* followed by the senior official group is the most practical." Scholars believe that the Book is one of the most classic works in the communication of *Zhu's Family Rite*, and it is also an important work with both academic and practical value among the classics in the Joseon Dynasty.[10] *Sang Li Bei Yao* is based on *Zhu's Family Rite*, and is intended to become an easy to understand and feasible ritual for the common people to read.[11] Therefore, the spatial pattern reflected in it should be closer to the reality at that time. The whole book consists of pictures and detailed rituals, among which the *Picture of arranging the Ancestral Hall to the East of "Zhengqin"* (Figure 2.) shows the overall layout. "Tingshi" is before "Zhengqin", the Ancestral Hall is on the east side of "Zhengqin", these three buildings have their

own courtyards. The southern wall of courtyard of "Zhengqin" and the ancestral hall open the gate towards "Tingshi". Obviously, the layout of the ancestral hall is more in line with the regulations of *Zhu's Family Rite*, and is different from the "Yingtang" described in the Northern Song Dynasty's *Shu Yi*. [12] The interior of "Tingshi" is an open space, while the interior of "Zhengqin" is divided into smaller spaces, the front part is called "Tang", and the back part has "Fang" and "Shi". "Fang" is on the east side of "Shi". "Zhengqin" still inherited the basic spatial pattern of ancient period. Each major building has "Dong Xi Jie", just like the ancient pattern. There are four niches inside the ancestral hall, namely Gao, Zeng, Zu, and Mi. To the east of the hall, there are auxiliary buildings for placing objects and kitchen, all of which comply with the description in *Zhu's Family Rite*.

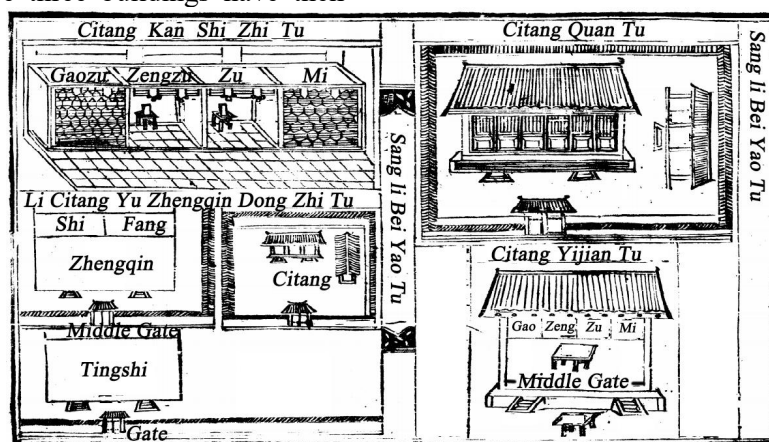


Figure 2. *Picture of Arranging the Ancestral Hall to the East of "Zhengqin"*, *Picture of the Whole Ancestral Hall* (Source: Jin Changsheng's *Sang Li Bei Yao*)

3.2 Jin Changsheng's *Jia Li Ji Lan*

Jia Li Ji Lan was completed in 1599 when Jin Changsheng was fifty-two years old [13], later compiled and published by his follows Song Shilie (1607-1689) and others in 1685. Modern scholar Lu Renshu believes that the book is similar to the annotations or long compilations of Chinese scholars, which compiled the opinions of Korean scholars at that time and referred to Korean customs to compile and integrate them into one, in order to explain *Zhu's Family Rite*. [2] Chinese scholar Peng Lin holds the same opinion, believing that this book aims to clarify doubts and provide society with a ritual document that can be understood and practically operated by both

literati and commoners.

Jia Li Ji Lan also consists of pictures and detailed rituals, volume one contains *Pictures of Jia Li*, *Preface of Jia Li* and *Tong Li*, volume two is *Guan Li*, volume three is *Hun Li*, volume four to nine are *Sang Li*, and volume ten is *Ji Li*.

In *Pictures of Jia Li*, Jin Changsheng elaborated on the detailed rituals in *Zhu's Family Rite* and combined the changes in the position of the saluting personnel and the placement of objects with the architectural layout to draw a diagram of the etiquette process for each link. Take the *Picture of Xu Qinyin Nvjia Jienv* for an example, it reflects various details during the whole process, such as the route of the bride who entered

“Zhengqin” after receiving her parents' admonitions, the route of groom who welcomed the bride from the gate to “Tingshi”, and intuitively shows the space sequence of the residence from the outside to the inside, which is Gate- “Tingshi”- Middle Gate- “Zhengqin”. Besides, the spatial relationship between “Zhengqin”, “Tingshi”, and the ancestral hall reflected in the *Picture of Fengjiu Chaozu Sui Qianyu Tingshi* is consistent with the *Picture of arranging the Ancestral Hall to the East of “Zhengqin”* above. (Figure 3.)

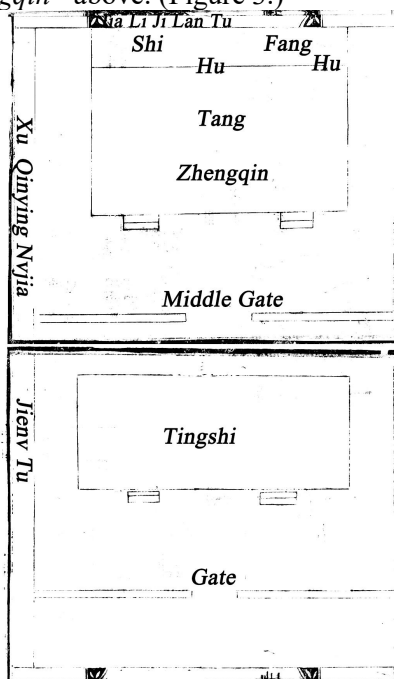


Figure 3. *Picture of Xu Qinying Nyjia Jienv* (Source: Jin Changsheng's *Jia Li Ji Lan*)

In the *Picture of the whole Ancestral Hall*, (Figure 4.) Jin Changsheng pointed out the origin of the form of the T-shaped pavilion used in the tombs at that time, “The space below the ‘Dong Xi Jie’, regardless of size, needs to be covered with a roof, but the shape of the roof cannot be clearly defined. Based on the annotations, it is speculated that the roof provided shelter from rain and sun when family members stand in sequence, and it should be connected to the front eaves of the ancestral hall, just like the T-shaped pavilion in today's mausoleums.” the T-shaped house was common in residence and the ground buildings of mausoleums during the Song Dynasty, known as “turtle head hall”. Those protruding forward resembled pavilions, while those protruding backward were used as study rooms or burial halls for coffins. The T-shaped pavilion during the Korean period was

obviously influenced by the architecture of the Song Dynasty. The type of house that “central-bay” (the middle bay of three-bay house) protrudes forward is similar with the front porch called “Bao Sha”, and those that protrude backward are often used for worshipping or placing coffins. The T-shaped pavilion during the Joseon Dynasty was obviously influenced by the architecture of the Song Dynasty.



Figure 4. *Picture of the whole Ancestral Hall* (Source: Jin Changsheng's *Jia Li Ji Lan*)

3.3 Li Zai's *Si Li Bian Lan*

Li Zai (1680-1746), alias Tao'ang, is a famous scholar of Zhu Xi's theory in the middle and late period of the Joseon Dynasty. His book *Si Li Bian Lan* continues the content and compilation style of *Sang Li Bei Yao*, based on *Zhu's Family Rite* and adapted according to the customs and traditions of the Korean Peninsula, and regarded as a model of family ritual system in the following two centuries.[10] The volume of *Hun Li* suit the need of local conditions, and became a paradigm for weddings of scholar-officials and common people after the reign of Emperor Yingzu (ruled from 1724-1776).[14]

According to the ritual of *Hun Li Qinying*, the main axis of the residence is still Gate- “Tingshi”- Middle Gate- “Zhongtang” (the same as “Zhengqin”). The places where the whole proceeding of “Jiao Nv” takes place, and the sites where the bride initially stands and her parents sit, all follows the original text of *Zhu's Family Rite*, proving the existence of the “Shi” in “Zhongtang”. However, “Dong Xi Xu” is not indicated in the *Picture of Jiao Nv* (the left picture of Figure 5.), but based on the parents' sites in the picture, it is possible

that “*Dong Xi Xu*” are gables on both sides. The ritual of *Ji Li* (initiation rite for women) for women also occurs in “*Zhongtang*”. The picture of *Ji Li* (the middle picture of Figure 5.) adds the “*Hu*” (doors) or “*You*” (windows) for “*Fang*” and “*Shi*”, based on the Picture of *Jiao Nv*, but the full content of ritual does not mention “*Hu*” or “*You*”. “*Zhongtang*” maintains an internal layout of the ancient pattern, with the front part is called “*Tang*”, and the back part has “*Fang*” and “*Shi*”. “*Fang*” is on the east side of “*Shi*”.

Guan Li (the initiation rite for men) occurs in “*Tingshi*”, following the description in *Zhu's Family Rite* that “A curtain is erected in the northeast part of ‘*Tingshi*’ to form the space of

‘*Fang*’, if ‘*Tingshi*’ don’t have ‘*Dong Xi Jie*’, the step could be divided into left and right parts with a paint”, indicating that “*Tingshi*” is usually an open space, and there is also case where “*Tingshi*” only has a central step. The entire process of *Guan Li* did not mention “*Shi*”, “*Hu*”, or “*You*”, but the layout was separated by curtains as shown in the picture of *Chenfu Xuli and Yingbing Sanjia Shou Jiao* (the right picture of Figure 5.), and the man who is the principle member in *Guan Li* stood in “*Fang*” before the initiation rite. This situation is consistent with the descriptions of *Zhu's Family Rite* in the Southern Song Dynasty and the Northern Song Dynasty's *Shu Yi* [12].

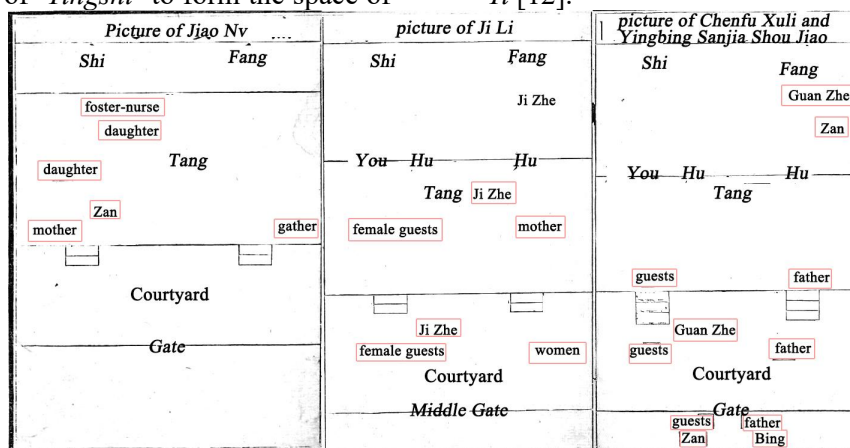


Figure 5. Picture of *Jiao Nv* (left), picture of *Ji Li* (middle), picture of *Chenfu Xuli and Yingbing Sanjia Shou Jiao*(right) (Source: Li Zai's *Si Li Bian Lan*)

3.4 Existing Residential Cases (High-class Houses in the Joseon Dynasty)

3.4.1 Li Huang and Tuixi's Message

Tuixi's Message is situated in Andong City, Gyeongsangbuk-do, South Korea. It is the former residence of the famous Confucian scholar Li Huang (alias Tuixi, 1501-1570) during the Joseon Dynasty. The original house had been destroyed, and the existing Tuixi's Message (Figure 6.) was rebuilt by the future generation of Mr. Tuixi between 1926 and 1929 according to the scale of the original house. The overall courtyard sits west facing east, and is divided into three independent courtyards. The west courtyard is larger, with a U-shaped *Liwu* in the center that is not connected to the courtyard walls on all sides. In the center of the east courtyard is the *Qiu Yue Han Shui Hall*, and there is the ancestral hall in the center of the north courtyard with the only gate on its front wall. The north courtyard can only communicate with the East

one through the gate.

According to the *Questions and Answers on Sang Li and Ji Li of Mr. Tuixi* between Li Huang and Zheng Daoke, it can be inferred that people at that time had a better understanding of issues related to “*Zhengqin*” and “*Tingshi*”. “*Zhengqin*”, the place that used to receiving guests in ‘*Dong Xi Xuan*’ today, while in ancient times, ‘*Zhengqin*’ located in the front rather than in the east or west, thus “*Zhengqin*” also have the name of ‘*Front Hall*’. ‘*Tingshi*’ is now located in a small hall inside the Gate, known as ‘*Xielang*.’” also said, “The ancients called ‘*Zhengqin*’ the ‘*Front Hall*’, because ‘*Zhengqin*’ usually located to the south of the house in ancient times, so the ancestral hall was convenient placed on the east side. But nowadays ‘*Zhengqin*’ might be placed either to the east or west, and if it is on the west, the ancestral hall cannot stand on the east. Our Message which was situated at Andong, arranged ‘*Zhengqin*’ on the west side of the house, and

the ancestral hall in the east, causing inconvenience in daily life. In recent years, due to terrain limitations, ‘Zhengqin’ was moved to the rear of Xixuan.” [15] It shows that Tuixi’s Message should have been built according to the contents of *Zhu’s Family Rite*, with the ancestral hall located to the east of “Zhengqin”. However, due to the limited terrain, the main entrance faces east, and the ancestral hall can only be moved to the rear and set up to the west.

The existing architectural layout of Tuixi’s Message is generally consistent with literature records, with the inner room serving as the main bedroom and the ancestral hall located at the back. The worship ceremony is usually held in the *Qiu Yue Han Shui Hall* in front of the ancestral hall, led by the ancestor.[16] The existing ancestral hall and *Qiu Yue Han Shui Hall* have “*Dong Xi Jie*”, both of which are mainly used for sacrificial functions. If considering its overall layout of sitting west facing east, the positional relationship between the residential and sacrificial parts still conforms to the spatial pattern of “Zhengqin” and the ancestral hall in *Zhu’s Family Rite*.

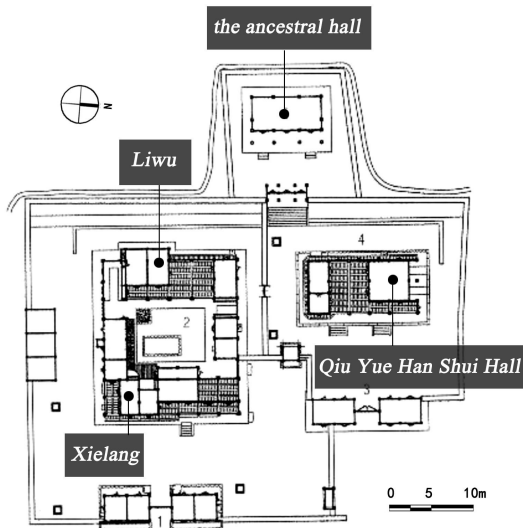


Figure 6. The Current Layout of Tuixi’s Message (Source: Kim H, 2013, A Study on the Changing Process of Ddeulzip in Jinsung Lee’s Family at Andong Cultural Area. Journal of Architectural History, 2013; 22(1) :20.)

3.4.2 Yin Zheng and Mingzhai’s Message
 Yin Zheng (1629-1714), alias Mingzhai, is a distinguished Confucian scholar during the period of Emperor Suzong (ruled from 1674-1720), studied under Jin Ji and had profound

knowledge in Zhu Xi’s theory, and has written many works such as *Mr. Mingzhai’s Posthumous Papers*, *Mr. Mingzhai’s Answers of Ritual*, and *Mr. Mingzhai’s Legacy*. He adhered to *Zhu’s Family Rite* but not blindly follow it, often distinguishing similarities and differences between ancient and modern times, and making compromises.[1] In 1669, his father Yin Xuanju (1610-1669) passed away, and Yin Zheng respectfully followed *Zhu’s Family Rite* to mourn, reflecting his adherence to Confucian ritual.

Mingzhai’s Message is said to be a courtyard built by Yin Zheng himself. After renovation in the mid-19th century, it was presented in its current layout (Figure 7.), and its floor plan still reflects early characteristics. The ancient mansion consists of “Liwu”, “Xielang”, storehouse, ancestral hall, and a front yard. The ancestral hall has a separate courtyard located to the east of “Liwu”, with only the south side courtyard wall opening the gate. The location of the ancestral hall and “Liwu” is similar with that of the Tuixi’s Message mentioned above, and the courtyards are not directly connected as well. According to *Mr. Mingzhai’s Answers of Ritual*, “the pictures of Sang Li Bei Yao reflect the pattern of *Zhu’s Family Rite*”, Yin Zheng agrees with the picture of whole *Ancestral Hall* in Sang Li Bei Yao, and the location of the ancestral hall in the ancient mansion generally conforms to the Picture of arranging the Ancestral Hall to the East of “Zhengqin” in the same book.

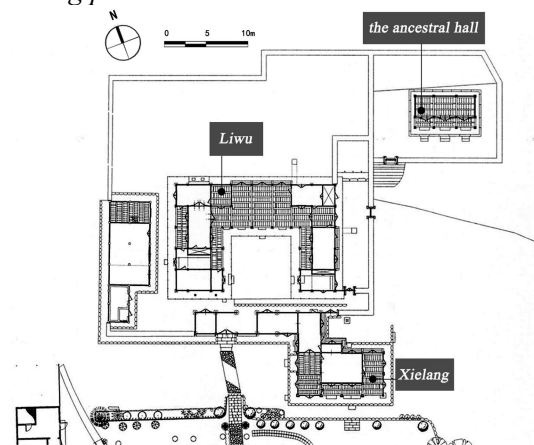


Figure 7. The Current Layout of Mingzhai’s Message (Source: Redraw by Author)

3.4.3 Jin Minkuan’s Message
 This ancient message (Figure 8.) was built by Jin Minkuan in 1784, and is the ancestral home of the Jin’s whole family for generations to live in. The spatial sequence of “External

Xinglang”- “*Inner Xinglang*”- “*Liwu*” is roughly formed in the courtyard. The west side of *Liwu* is “*Inner Xielang*”, and there is an independent ancestral hall courtyard in the east rear, which can only be accessed through the front Gate, maintained the ancient pattern of placing the ancestral hall on the east of “*Zhengqin*” in *Zhu's Family Rite*. Entering the gate, there is the “*External Xiangfang*” on the east side of the front courtyard, named *Xi Shan You Ju*. The southwest side is an open hall, and the northeast side is several bedrooms. Ye Dasong believes that its layout belongs to the ancient pattern.[17] *Xi Shan You Ju* is not located on the central axis, showing the characteristics of non-perfectly symmetrical layout of Korean traditional architecture, and similar features also exist in modern Japanese residences.

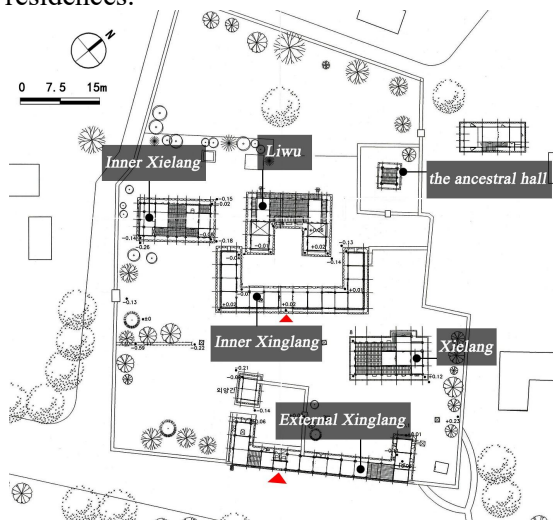


Figure 8. The Current Layout of Jin Minkuan’s Message (Source: Redraw by Author)

4. Conclusion

Zhu's Family Rite in the Southern Song Dynasty was introduced to the Korean Peninsula in the late 14th and 15th centuries, and was first used as an official theory among scholar-official group. By the 16th and 17th centuries, lots of Confucian scholars used it as a chief source for annotating, supplementing, and editing, and combined it with practical life to develop various family rituals. After the 17th century, it was widely used among the common people, popularizing the *Zhu's Family Rite* in the Korean Peninsula. Correspondingly, the ceremonial spatial form stipulated in *Zhu's Family Rite* has also had a significant impact on the residence in North Korea.

The traditional residence that conformed to the ritual, as described in folk family ritual books such as *Sang Li Bei Yao*, *Jia Li Ji Lan*, and *Si Li Bian Lan*, are multi entry courtyards with “*Tingshi*” and “*Zhengqin*” as the main buildings, and overall have a spatial sequence of Gate- “*Tingshi*”- Middle Gate- “*Zhengqin*”. Set up ancestral halls within or adjacent to the courtyard and have separate courtyards. Combining examples such as Tuixi’s Message and Mingzhai’s Message, the gradual separation of “*Xielang*” and “*Liwu*” conforms to the layout of the courtyard wall separating “*Tingshi*” and “*Zhengqin*” in *Zhu's Family Rite*. The spatial relationship between the ancestral hall and “*Liwu*” (“*Zhengqin*”) maintains the ancient pattern of placing the ancestral hall on the east of “*Zhengqin*” in *Zhu's Family Rite*. The layout of ancestral halls that generally have independent courtyards is more in line with the pattern described in *Zhu's Family Rite* of the Southern Song Dynasty, rather than the style of “*Yingtang*” in the Northern Song Dynasty.

In terms of the internal space of these buildings, according to the pictures and process of the ritual books, the interior of “*Tingshi*” is presented as an open large space, which is separated into traditional pattern by the curtain during ritual such as *Guan Li*; The interior of “*Zhengqin*” basically continues the simplified ancient pattern. The ancestral hall, “*Tingshi*”, and “*Zhengqin*” still have “*Dong Xi Jie*” according to the ancient ritual system.

From the existing residential cases in the Joseon Dynasty, obviously the residential areas on the Korean Peninsula have been deeply influenced by Confucian culture, and have also developed strong characteristics due to factors such as geographical environment. For example, the main buildings are not completely located on the central axis, presenting a flexible asymmetric layout; And the main resident buildings such as “*Liwu*” adopt the U-shaped and L-shaped layout, and the internal space of the buildings are also different from the traditional ritual pattern shown in the folk family ritual books.

The spatial pattern spread to the Korean Peninsula with the dissemination of Zhu Xi's theory and *Zhu's Family Rite*, which had a profound impact on the living space of the common people during the Joseon Dynasty, demonstrating the important historical position

of Confucian culture in East Asia. Due to the limited historical data on residence in the Korean Peninsula, this article can only make preliminary analysis and inference, and there are still many unclear areas that need to be explored in the future.

Acknowledgments

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