

Spatial Constructions of Tombs and Arrangements of Social Relationships

Park Song-Yong*

(In lieu of an abstract) Tombs are social spaces that manifest relationships between the dead and the living and construct social order. As eternal resting places for the dead, they are also both burial spaces and cultural spaces that teach and transmit the social status, reputation, and family traditions of illustrious ancestors. In this sense, tombs are not simply physical spaces holding human remains but structural manifestations of the communal relationships surrounding the living and the deceased. They also create cultural identity for the deceased through historical memory.

1. Tombs as Social and Cultural Spaces

Tombs are social spaces that manifest relationships between the dead and the living and construct social order.¹ As eternal resting places for the dead,

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*Professor, Department of Cultural Anthropology, Yeungnam University, Korea

¹ Social space is an arena of human productive activity in which social relationships acquire structure. It is reproduced according to the aspirations of a particular society. Bourdieu (1979) has defined social space as statuses occupying different fields in which power is distributed and as related to economic, social, and symbolic capital. He attempts to understand social space via concepts of habitus, strategy, and practice, focusing on the following three aspects: Firstly, social space is related to social class and cultural tastes, while class distinctions are shown through differences in dominant space and dominated, subordinate space. Secondly, objective wealth, such as economic capital, and habituated taste related to social class possess special rules and efficiencies in each field (Bourdieu 1979: 127). Thirdly, social space contains two hierarchically-

they are also both burial spaces and cultural spaces that teach and transmit the social status, reputation, and family traditions of illustrious ancestors. In this sense, tombs are not simply physical spaces holding human remains but structural manifestations of the communal relationships surrounding the living and the deceased. They also create cultural identity for the deceased through historical memory.

Studies of tombs have focused on aspects such as *pungsu jiri*,² views of the soul, attitudes to death, mourning and funerary customs, and tomb-side rituals. Archaeological research has addressed tomb rituals and burial techniques from the paleolithic period to the era of history, while literary studies have dealt with the meaning of death as manifested in literary works (Yi 1979). Folklore-based studies have examined shamanistic practices connected to funerary systems (Yi 1973) and attempted to understand tombs as reflections of specific social histories (Jang 1995). Anthropologists have studied the symbolic production of life in death-related ceremonial processes (Jeon 1992) and developed approaches related to ancestor worship and social orders (Choe 1993; Janelli and Janelli 1982), making some headway in the study of discourses of death³ and of social and cultural logics regarding ceremonies.

One additional research direction is that of using actual physical entities such as tombs to understand the relationship between spatial constructions of the dead and the living and, based on this, the cultural practices employed by members of a society to reproduce different social statuses. The intentions and practices of an individual or multiple members of a society shape the methods by which tombs are constructed. In single-lineage *yangban* (aristocratic) villages, it might be expected that tombs

ranked types of wealth: dominant wealth and dominated wealth (Bourdieu 1979: 146). Bourdieu asserts that the ruling classes employ various strategies to maintain their economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capital and to reproduce social hierarchy. His studies of social stratification assert that mechanisms of differentiation between social classes exist as social tendencies.

² (Translator's note) Traditional geomantic theory (風水地理).

³ Studies of death can broadly be divided into those of physical death, experiences of death, and discourses of death. Physical death denotes sudden biological death. Experiences of death refer to the totality of rituals and acts accompanying the process from dying at home to entering the afterlife in the tomb. Experiences of death lead to the history of collective discourses of it. The changing symbolism of the afterlife can be traced through indirect analysis of discourses of death and ritual behavior (Vovelle 1990: 66).

would be built in accordance with the principles of *pungsu jiri*, the reality is that many tomb site layouts are in fact irregular. Moreover, the behavioral strategies of lineage members in trying to secure for themselves social and cultural foundations as *yangban* by passing on family and clan traditions and conducting rituals centered on the tombs of illustrious ancestors differ in conceptual terms from villagers' arrangements of tombs as a utopia. If rituals embody political and social meaning and are processes of producing and expressing legitimacy and authority (Kim 2000: 76), tombs in *yangban* villages are symbolic heritage, as cultural spaces that embody Confucian practices, regulations, and ceremonies and distinguish *yangban* from other groups.

This study therefore takes the spatial composition of the tombs of the inhabitants of a single-line village, the associated arrangement of social relationships, and cultural practices as its starting point, using the following approach. In the first stage I focus on understanding how the tombs in the surveyed area manifest social and hierarchical relationships of the deceased. In the second stage I attempt to understand the connection between the Confucian view of the immortal soul and spaces of death, through funerary processes and villagers' conceptions of the bodies of the deceased. The third stage posits a spatial relationship between the social distances among villagers and *eumtaek* (homes of the dead) and *yangtaek* (homes of the living). The fourth stage demonstrates the social and cultural practices of *yangban* through tomb ornaments. These details are highlighted to provide a comprehensive understanding of tombs among the inhabitants of single-lineage villages, their migratory patterns, segmentation in lineages, tomb arrangements, and the social and cultural foundations of *yangban*. Ethnographic observations of the physical forms, scales, and distributions of tomb spaces, and their social and cultural characteristics, recorded at Sinchon in Iseo-myeon, Cheongdo-gun, Gyeongsangbuk-do, were used to analyze these phenomena.⁴

⁴ From December 1996 to February 1999, the author collected ethnographic data pertaining to a *yurimjang* (Confucian scholar funeral; 儒林葬) in Sinchon. Then, for two weeks each in the summer and winter vacations of 2000 and 2001, he conducted field studies of village social relationships and of the configurations of the village tombs, which are distributed across the area of Mt. Jayangsan, behind the village.

2. Village Lineages and the Spatial Construction of Tombs

Administratively speaking, Sinchon, the village studied by the author, is located in Iseo-myeon, Cheongdo-gun. It sits at the foot of a mountain, with open fields in front of it. The Miryang Park clan cleared the land here for agriculture in the sixteenth century. It is thought that they chose this spot to site their village because its “mountain behind, water in front”⁵ configuration would prevent wind and water damage, while providing fuel and drinking water (Park 2000: 85).

The villagers belong to the Hwaryong-pa and Sinan-pa branches of the Miljikbusagong-pa of the Miryang Park clan – the other three of the five branches of the clan are Chilgok-pa, Gagok-pa, and Gachang-pa. The Hwaryong-pa branch is directly descended, via a line of eldest sons, from Park Yangmu, who arrived in Cheongdo at the end of the Goryeo period. Park Yangmu bore the official title of *seonmurang*, while his son, Yeongnip, held the position of *hyeongam* of Geochang and his grandson, Balsaeung, that of *jangsarang*. This line, which runs down through eldest sons including Park Gyeemun, Park Maengmun (of *jikjaesa* rank), Park Rin (of *seonmurang* rank), and Park Gwangsun (also *seonmurang* rank), is called the Hwaryong-pa branch. The name Hwaryong comes from that of a place near the entrance to Sinchon. Another of Maengmun’s sons was Ran, younger brother of the aforementioned Rin. Ran’s descendants branched off and formed a new segment located in Gagok and Daegok, about one kilometer away from Sinchon (see Fig. 1). Meanwhile, Jungmun, younger brother of Maengmun, fifth-generation descendant of the village founder, had a son named Ho (b. 1512), whose descendants now live in Sinchon and are known as the Sinan-pa branch. Sinchon is therefore home to members of both the Hwaryong line and the Sinan branch.

Some 500 households belonging to the Miryang Park clan are located in Iseo-myeon, including approximately 91 in Sinchon-ri itself and blood relations in Chilgok, Gagok, and Jung-ri. This village has passed on the scholastic mantle of the Noron (Old Patriarch) faction through the generations, and now constitutes its social and cultural basis (Park 2000: 87). The Hwaryong eldest-son line by contrast, is affiliated with the Namin

⁵ (Translator’s note) “Mountain behind, water in front (*baesan imsu*; 背山臨水)” is a favored configuration according to *pungsu jiri*.

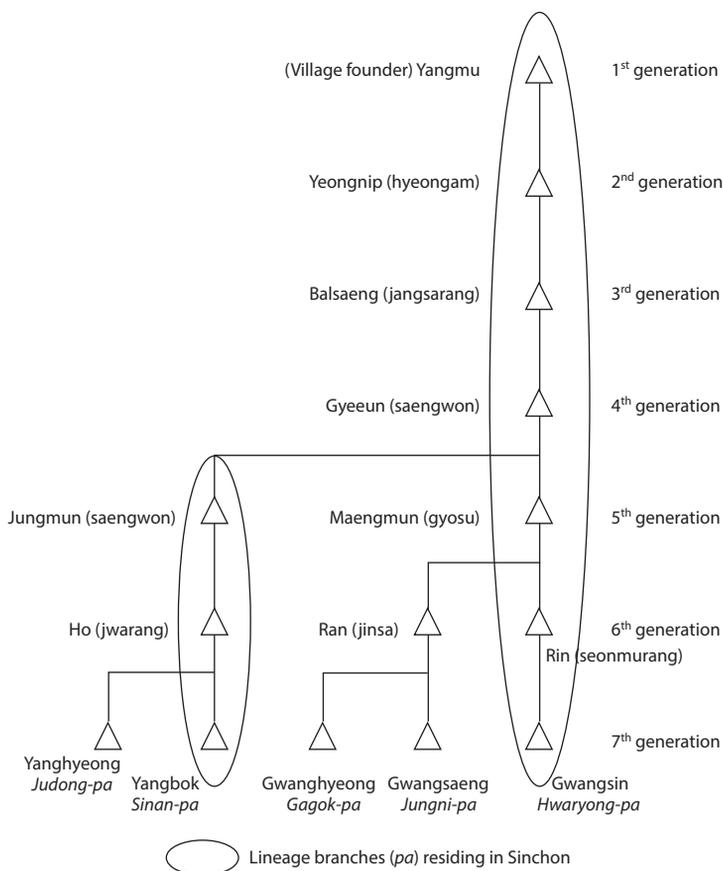


Figure 1. Lineage diagram of the Miljikbusagong sachongong-pa of the Sinchon Park clan

(Southerners) faction. In terms of social status, the Hwaryong line has produced no government officials or scholars of renown since the sixth-generation descendant of the village founder; the Sinan branch, by contrast, contained sixth-generation descendant Park Ho, who passed the preliminary civil service exam and reached the rank of *jwarang*, and some of whose descendants also passed the exam and reached ranks such as *chambong*. These descendants, moreover, are known in Cheongdo-gun as *yangban* of virtue for continuing the scholastic mantle of Song Siyeol. In 1996, for example, when villager Park Hyosu, known as the last classical scholar in the area, died, Confucian scholars of learning and virtue gathered across the country to give him a reverent Confucian scholar's funeral

(*yurimjang*; 儒林葬). This gave the villagers a sense of pride as highest yangban at the national level. Clan days are held in the name of the Hwaryong line, but in terms of actual management of these days the Sinan branch, with its illustrious ancestors and rich descendants, is hugely influential, and most lineage members follow its opinion. In the case of the rebuilding of a village ritual hall (*Hullyeongjae*), the eldest-son line, having no wealthy members, was unable to provide financial support, but members of the Sinan-pa living in various places paid for construction by actively raising money. Facts such as this demonstrate differences in social and economic status⁶ between the eldest-son line and related branches of the family.

As mentioned above, the process of settling in the village by ancestors of each branch relates to the positions of tombs. The tomb of the founder of Cheongdo is located in Daehyeon-dong, Cheongdo. This village was settled by second-generation ancestor Park Yeongnip; his tomb and that of his son, Balsaeng, have been lost; at Jinmokjeon Hall, on the right side of the village, is an altar used to hold rites for them. The villagers regard this place, with the tombs and altars of their ancestors, as most sacred. Tombs are generally located in the mountains within a four-kilometer radius of the village; this relates to segmentation and settlement by each branch. The tombs of ancestors are generally located in the areas lived in by lineage members; when we consider this in conjunction with the fact that conducting ancestral rites is the most important task of lineage organizations, it makes sense that tombs are always close to the homes of the descendants of the deceased (Kim 1982: 148).

One interesting aspect of tombs in the area studied is the use of an inverted burial arrangement, whereby the tombs of senior ancestors are located at the bottom of mountains, with those of descendants above them.

⁶ The Sinan branch and Hwarong line consist of approximately 91 households: 71 and 20, respectively. The difference in wealth between the two branches is well illustrated by the area of rice paddy land they own: In the Sinan branch, two households own 4,000 *pyeong* or more, four households between 3,000 and 4,000 *pyeong*, 18 households between 2,000 and 3,000 *pyeong*, 22 households between 1,000 and 2,000 *pyeong*, and 25 households less than 1,000 *pyeong*. By contrast, in the Hwaryong branch, which consists of only 20 households, four households own between 3,000 and 4,000 *pyeong*, one household between 2,000 and 3,000 *pyeong*, five households between 1,000 and 2,000 *pyeong*, and 10 households less than 1,000 *pyeong*. In the case of the Hwaryong (eldest-son) line, no household owns more than 4,000 *pyeong* (translator's note: a *pyeong* is a unit of area equal to approximately 3.3m²).

In most areas of Cheongdo, tombs are arranged in descending order, with those of the most senior ancestors furthest up. In the case of many Park clan tombs here, however, this order is reversed. According to the villagers, “the gourd plant⁷ bears fruit as it grows upwards, so we arranged the tombs from bottom to top, too.” In many cases, therefore, parents’ tombs lie higher up than those of grandparents, and those of younger siblings higher than older siblings. In terms of gender, the tombs of males are generally located on the left, and those of females on the right. In places where the lay of the land is unfavorable on the left, ground to the right may be regarded as the superior tomb site, and used before the left.

When it comes to directional hierarchy among the living, east is more prestigious than west; among the dead, by contrast, west ranks higher than east. Left is normally higher than right. Koreans generally place the left hand above the right when performing a deep bow, but when in mourning, they place the right on top of the left. These folk beliefs regarding direction can be seen in the funerary and burial customs of the villagers.⁸

7 (Translator’s note) The Korean word for gourd is *bak*, with the same Korean spelling as the surname Park (박).

8 The villagers follow the tradition of the Noron (Patriarch’s Faction) and do not observe the principle of *dongdu seomi* (head to the east, tail to the west; 東頭西尾) when arranging food on a ritual table. According to one villager, “In the human world, the east is foremost among the cardinal directions, but in the spirit world west ranks higher, so when you put fish on the ritual table you need to put the heads to the west and the tails to the east.” This is because positive events manifest *yang* (yang) and misfortune manifests *eum* (yin). Therefore, because ancestral rites manifest *eum*, heads face the *jibang* (paper spirit tablet; 紙榜) and mortuary tablets of male ancestors, and tails face those of their wives, in a *seodu dongmi* (“head to the west, tail to the east”; 西頭東尾) arrangement. During ancestral rites, too, husbands sit to the west and wives to the east. Normally, a bow is performed with the left hand placed on top of the right; the same applies when paying respects to a household in mourning. According to informant Park Hoemyeong, however, a person in mourning places her or his right hand on top of the left. This is because the right hand represents *eum* and the left hand *yang*, and the mourner is showing reverence for the former. In ancestral rites, because *eum* is revered, the mortuary tablets of female ancestors are placed on the left, with a *jibang* at the center; rice bowls must be placed in the *eum* position and soup in the *yang* position. Park believes all things in the universe are created through the actions of *eum* and *yang*. Mourning clothes differ for the funerals of fathers and mothers. The distinction lies in the different tails of garments: for the funerals of fathers, these are not sewn up; for the funerals of mothers, they are. These differences represent the natures of *eum* and *yang*: the former being puckered and crushed and the latter powerfully efflorescent. *Sangjang* (funeral staffs; 喪杖), too, are made of bamboo for the funerals of fathers and willow for those of mothers, because straight, hard bamboo represents *yang* and soft willow *eum*.

Arrangement of the tombs of ancestors and descendants based on vertical relationships and directions is found on Jayangsan, the mountain behind the village, and throughout the Cheongdo area. The villagers further divide the slopes of Mt. Jayangsan, where many of their ancestors are buried, into *jongjungsan* (clan mountain), *dongnesan* (village mountain), and *gaeinsan* (private mountain). *Jongjungsan* can be used or chosen as a tomb location by clan members from any branch. Behind Sinchon, Mt. Jayangsan is divided into tomb areas for the eldest-son line and other branches, with branch members burying their deceased in each respective area. By allocating tomb space along the slope of the mountain like this, the villagers arrange the social relationships of the dead like the spaces of the living. If the spaces of the village manifest the branches and identities of clan members, the tombs can be described as social spaces that manifest family relationships. *Dongnesan* can be used for the tomb of anybody living in the village. It has also acquired the name *pulsan* (grass mountain) because the villagers use it as a shared source of grass for making compost. Costs must be paid by those who place a tomb on *dongnesan*. Meanwhile, a fixed fee must be paid for the burial here of those who lived elsewhere. *Dongnesan* is located far from the village and is therefore hardly used by villagers for tombs. Each family sometimes acquires *gaeinsan* to create tombs, or reclaims fields for the same purpose. Gajanggol is located by a remote mountain ridge to the west of the village entrance; it is said that victims of disease in the village 40-50 years ago were cremated rather than buried here, and that young children who died were buried here.

The villagers give names to areas of mountain where tombs are concentrated, such as: Gajukbaemi, Gamgdonggol, Jeongjanamu-mit, Yaksaeimdeul, Gosagol, Keungatbial, Magol-an, Neullaemi, Seongjitgol, Mulmukkoljjak, Makdaengijitgol, and Jinmokjeon. These names are derived from topographical features, shapes of ridge lines, steepness of terrain, surroundings, or features such as water, rocks, paddies, dry fields, and trees. By placing tombs in such places, villagers are creating a world in which the dead look after and protect their living descendants, looking down onto actual living spaces from the world of the afterlife.

Tombs located in such places are not placed in rugged mountain terrain with steep cliffs, but at points on winding, flowing ridges where geomantic energy is thought to gather. This leads to the formation of kin group tomb areas. The tombs of villagers are located not just on Mt. Jayangsan, behind the village, but in other parts of Cheongdo-gun such as Gangnam-myeon

and Punggak-myeon. Among the 405 tombs listed in the Sinan branch family tree, 124 (31 percent) are located on the mountain behind the village, 52 (13 percent) in wider Iseo-myeon, where the village is located, 106 (26 percent) in the wider Cheongdo area, 110 (27 percent) in the wider Gyeongsangbuk-do area, and 13 (3 percent) elsewhere. Approximately 70 percent of all the tombs are located within Cheongdo-gun. This reflects the fact that the branches of the Sinchon Park clan have segmented and settled within a 10-kilometer radius of Sinchon and placed their tombs close to the centers of their home villages.

3. Spaces of Death and the Soul

As we have seen above, most villagers in the area studied bury their dead in tombs built on mountains close to their villages. They hardly ever cremate the dead. This suggests a need to examine their beliefs and practices regarding spaces of death, burial customs, and views of the soul. This is because the practice of building tombs relates to clan members' collective consciousness regarding the afterlife, attitudes, and ceremonies regarding death, and funerary and burial customs, all of which have developed gradually over a long period of time.

The villagers' understanding of death combines views of life regarding physical death and views of the soul of the deceased. To the villagers, physical death means biological death through loss of life due to cessation of activity in cells and organ tissues, or an end to activity related to the human condition that leads to irreversible loss of biological functions. Mourners recognize a dropped jaw, sunken eyes or breathing difficulties due to phlegm in the throat as signs of imminent death. To check whether a parent has passed away, they place a piece of cotton wool on the nose; if it does not move, breathing is deemed to have stopped. Through such processes, villagers understand death as the cessation of life and the disappearance of energy and life force.

But death, as mentioned, does not finish with the physical end. It connects with the living, "clearly revealing the cultural values of a society" (Huntington and Metcalf 1979: 25). Within the stages of life, therefore, death is not just the cessation of activity regarding the life of a human being as a physical organism but a process of moving on to a new stage. Death severs the personal and group relationships built through mutual

interaction with the deceased, but he or she continues to exist as a social figure, and her or his funeral builds relationships not just with the deceased but also with the living (Faure 1994). The local community conducts a sacred ceremony invested with energy commensurate with the social value of the deceased (Hertz 1928: 86-87). Through ceremonies between the dead and the living that have become customary and standard, consciously or unconsciously, mourners plan to extend the life that the deceased led on earth, giving concrete form to these plans through ceremonial practice. They believe that the funerary process leads to rebirth for the deceased in the world of the afterlife, so that the living may continue to live comfortably under the protection of the deceased. It follows that the living and the dead both require death-related ceremonies for their own existential reasons.

The developmental process of such death-related ceremonies is intimately related to the soul. The invocation (招魂) performed at funerals provides a good demonstration of this. This involves climbing onto the roof and invoking the spirit of the dead while waving her or his *jeogori*.⁹ This action is thought to attract the spirit based on the belief that, after death, one part of the deceased's soul (*hon*; 魂) flies to heaven and another (*baek*; 魄) returns below the ground. The villagers do not use nails when making the coffin, because they believe the *baek* in the corpse must not touch these once it has decomposed.

Rather than the conventional word for soul (*yeonghon*; 靈魂), the villagers generally use the word *honbaek* (魂魄). In the funeral process, from the *chojong* (setting of procedure; 初終) to the *jejuje* (soul transfer ceremony; 題主祭),¹⁰ the question of how to enshrine the soul of the deceased is very

⁹ (Translator's note) A traditional upper garment.

¹⁰ According to data gathered by the author during a *yurimjang* (Confucian scholar funeral) held at Sinchon in 1999, the order of funerary rituals is as follows: *chojong* (setting of procedure; 初終), *sokgwang* (determining of death; 屬讞), *susi* (proper adjusting of the body; 收屍), *gobok* (invoking of the soul; 阜復), *chigwan* (making of a coffin; 治棺), *gulgam* (making a hole for discarding of body preparation materials; 堀坎), *mogyok* (cleansing of the body; 沐浴), *soryeom* (dressing the body; 小斂), *daeryeom* (placing the body into the coffin; 大斂), *seongbok* (dressing of the mourning attire; 成服), *josang* (preparation of ceremonial offering; 吊喪), *munsang* (offering of condolence; 問喪), *chijang* (preparation of a grave; 治葬), *cheongu* (farewell at the ancestral shrine; 遷柩), *barin* (departing to the grave site; 發柩), *geummyo* (burying of the body; 及墓), *bangok* (wailing after burial; 反哭), *jejuje* (soul transfer ceremony; 題主祭), *sansinje* (ceremony for mountain god; 山神祭), *banhon* (returning of the soul; 返魂), *chouje* (first post-burial ceremony; 初虞祭), *jaeje* (second post-burial ceremony; 再虞祭), *samuje*

important to the chief mourner. Here, once the mourning attire has been put on, a temporary mortuary tablet, known as a *honbaek* (soul silk; 魂帛),¹¹ is placed on a table in front of the folding screen covering the coffin. It is made from folded raw silk to symbolize the soul of the deceased. The *honbaek* (soul silk) is not used permanently, but worshipped until the third ancestral rite after the funeral (*samu*; 三虞), then buried next to the tomb upon completion of the actual mortuary tablet. The temporary mortuary tablet is buried next to the tomb because the body of the deceased is buried in the ground. Since it is worshipped in place of a spirit, it cannot simply be discarded anywhere and is placed in a clean spot next to the tomb. If there is no mortuary tablet, the *honbaek* (soul silk) must be used until the *daesang* (big ceremony; 大祥). The *honbaek* (soul silk) sometimes uses a shamrock knot¹² tied with five-colored thread. The five colors used are blue, red, white, purple, and navy blue, though sometimes three colors – blue, red and white – are used. The three colors represent heaven, earth, and people, while the five colors represent the “Five Elements” (*ohaeng*; 五行). The people of Sinchon make and use *honbaek* (soul silk) with three-colored thread. In this village, they generally use silk for *honbaek* (soul silk) and put it in a *honham* (soul box; 魂舍) because they believe the soul will migrate. The *honham* represents a place for the spirit to live before it migrates to the mortuary tablet. When the coffin is carried to the tomb, the *honham* containing the *honbaek* (soul silk) heads the procession; carried by a mourner, it is sometimes called a *hongeo* (soul carriage) or a *yeonggeo*.

(third post-burial ceremony; 三虞祭), *jolgotje* (finishing of wailing ceremony; 卒哭祭), *buje* (joining with other ancestors ceremony; 祔祭), *sosang* (first anniversary ceremony; 小祥), *daesang* (second anniversary ceremony; 大祥), *damje* (one-month-after-*daesang* ceremony; 禫祭), *gilje* (after-*damje* ceremony; 吉祭), and *talsang* (undressing of the mourning attire; 脫喪).

- 11 (Editor’s note) The Korean pronunciations of the Chinese characters for both words for a soul silk and for a supernatural entity, respectively, are /honbaek/. A parenthesis is used to indicate the case of a soul silk. Otherwise, it refers to a supernatural entity.
- 12 Bring together two 45-centimeter lengths of five-color thread, make two loops in the center, then take the left-hand strand and turn it upwards to form a loop on the left. Next, take the right-hand strand and turn it upwards to form a loop on the right, then take the left-hand strand and lay it on top of the right-hand strand, insert it through the right-hand loop, turn it downwards and bring it back up through the left-hand loop. Next, take the right-hand strand, lay it on top of the left-hand strand, then pull them through the double loop above. When you bring it up through the left-hand strand and pull evenly, a 井 shape appears above and a 十 shape below. This is known as a shamrock knot (Kim 1980: 92).

This is followed by a blank mortuary tablet without the name of the deceased, and then the deceased's overcoat, wrapped in a hemp cloth.

As can be seen in the examples cited above, the villagers refer to the soul, a supernatural entity after death, as a *honbaek*, rather than using the word *neok*, which appears in shamanic funeral ceremonies. The *honbaek* as a supernatural entity resides in the physical body and bestows life, taking on the functions of the heart and mind. This view of the *honbaek* has its roots in the Confucian belief that life itself is formed and ended by reciprocity between *eum* (*yin*; 陰) and *yang* (*yang*; 陽), and that it therefore divides again into *eum* and *yang* after death. The villagers believe that when a person dies, her or his *hon* flies into the air and her or his body is buried in the ground. This corresponds to the theory of *eum* and *yang*, whereby a person's soul contains *eum* and *yang*; the *hon*, which equates to *yang*, controls the mind and emotions and the *baek*, which equates to *eum*, controls the body. In other words, when a person dies, the *hon* flies into the sky and the body is buried, rots, and returns to the earth. The body stays in the tomb, but because a corpse is not a simple object, it must be buried in a warm, sunny place (Yi 1977: 17).

The chief mourner first worships the *honbaek* (soul silk) once the mourning period has officially begun; at this time, he performs a *jeon* ceremony (ritual offering, 奠) every morning and evening in front of the *honbaek* (soul silk). In Sinchon, as in other areas, the funeral process consists of ceremonies in a certain order: *josang* (preparation of ceremonial offering; 吊喪), *munsang* (offering of condolence; 問喪), *chijang* (preparation of a grave; 治葬), *cheongu* (farewell at the ancestral shrine; 遷柩), *barin* (departing to the grave site; 發柩) *geummyo* (burying of the body; 及墓), and *bangok* (wailing after burial; 反哭). The sequence from *seongbok* (dressing of the mourning attire) to *bangok* (wailing after burial) can be regarded as the process by which the *honbaek* proceeds to the world of the dead. An initial resting place [one that serves to hold the body during the funeral] is prepared after mourning; in some cases, both an inner and an outer chamber are prepared. In general, the term inner chamber is used when the coffin is buried within the perimeter wall of the home, and the term outer chamber used when it is buried outside them. At the *yurimjang* (Confucian scholar funeral) of Park Hyosu,¹³ the chief mourner created an outer and

¹³ After Park Hyosu of Sinchon died on December 31, 1996, the author conducted a field study of the entire three-year mourning process, including the *chouje* (first post-

an inner chamber. At this time, the coffin was not placed entirely outside the walls; rather, the body was temporarily buried outside the men's quarters (*sarangchae*), since a corpse cannot be kept indoors for fifteen days. The chief mourner installed the body temporarily in a shed, covered with earth, while condolence callers paid their respects to a *honbaek* (soul silk) placed in the inner mortuary – the ritual room in the main building. When the outer chamber with the earth-covered body was opened to carry the coffin to the tomb site, a ceremony known as a *gyebin* (opening of a chamber; 啓殯) was performed.

This initial covering of the corpse with earth represents a kind of double burial, demonstrating that the bones of the deceased are more important than the blood or flesh. The bones of the deceased are regarded as highly important, as they absorb life-energy (*saenggi*; 生氣) well. As mentioned above, when a person dies, her or his *hon*, corresponding to *yang*, goes into the sky and her or his *baek*, corresponding to *eum*, remains in the skeleton, forming an organic relationship with descendants. Life departs and the human body, over time, ends up as only bones. It is believed that if the bones, the fundamental elements of one's parents, receive life-energy in the ground, the accumulated life-energy will be sensed by descendants, affecting their happiness or unhappiness. This is why bodies are buried on as propitious a grave site as possible. It is said that if the bones returning to the earth are buried in propitious land full of "warm blood" (*onhyeol*; 溫血), descendants will enjoy wealth and honor, but if they are buried on a poor site, the fortunes of descendants will wane. It is auspicious for skeletons to receive such life-energy.

The chief mourner does not perform ancestral rites directly to the

burial ceremony; 初虞祭), *jaeuje* (second post-burial ceremony; 再虞祭), *samuje* (third post-burial ceremony; 三虞祭) ceremonies and festive day such as Chuseok in 1997; the period from July 23 to 31, 1998, in the middle of the three-year mourning period; and the *talsang* (undressing of the mourning attire; 脫喪) ceremony on February 7, 1999. (Editor's note: The "three-year mourning" completes about two months after the second anniversary. As it completes in the third year after the burial, it is customarily called a "three-year mourning.") The *yurimjang* is known as a *yuwoljang* (踰月葬)-type ceremony, meant to be held three months after death. But because the chief mourner was a civil servant, this period was shortened and the deceased buried after a fortnight. This brought objections from Confucian scholars in places such as the Jeolla and Chungcheong provinces, who insisted that a *yurimjang* had to be held over three months. At Cheongdo *hyanggyo*, a precedent had already been established with the abbreviated *yurimjang* of Kim Hwang; it was reported to the Seonggyungwan (national Confucian academy) that Park's funeral had been held in the same way.

honbaek (soul silk) but performs a *jeon*, a rather simple ritual offering; this is because the soul of the deceased is not yet enshrined in an actual ancestral tablet and the chief mourner is in too much of a hurry to prepare a full rite, with the necessary food offerings arranged on a table. This could also signify that the deceased is not yet recognized as a complete spirit.

After *bangok* (wailing after burial), the following sequence of ceremonies is followed: *jejuje* (soul transfer ceremony; 題主祭), *banhon* (returning of the soul; 返魂), *uje* (post-burial ceremony; 虞祭), *jolgok* (finishing of wailing; 卒哭), *buje* (joining with other ancestors ceremony; 耐祭), *sosang* (first anniversary ceremony; 小祥), *daesang* (second anniversary ceremony; 大祥), *damje* (one-month-after-*daesang* ceremony; 禫祭), *gilje* (after-*damje* ceremony; 吉祭), and *talsang* (undressing of the mourning attire; 脫喪). After the *jejuje* (soul transfer ceremony), the *honbaek* is moved from the *honbam* (soul box). By way of these ceremonies, the *honbaek* of the deceased is transferred to the mortuary tablet and enshrined in an ancestral hall or wall recess in the home, bringing people and spirits together. The *honbaek* is transferred to the mortuary tablet after the *jejuje* ceremony. At this time, the ancestral hometown and name of the deceased are written on the mortuary tablet, which is placed on a table; an ancestral rite is conducted. From this process onwards, the mortuary tablet becomes a more important spiritual entity than the *honbaek* (soul silk). While worshipping the mortuary tablet, a prayer is recited, telling the spirit to migrate. During *banhon*, the mortuary tablet is carried in front, with the *honbaek* (soul silk) behind it. The *honbaek* (soul silk) is placed in the *yeonggeo* on the way down from the mountain after the burial ceremony. But after the *samuje* (the grave-site ritual on the third day after the burial), a final visit to the tomb with the *honbaek* (soul silk), the mourners wrap the *honbaek* in a clean *bojagi* wrapping cloth and bury it.

Mortuary tablets are made of chestnut wood. This is both because the wood of the chestnut tree is hard and its fruits are used in ancestral rites, and because the villagers regard it as a clean wood. They use wood not from chestnut trees near houses, but from those that grow in mountain valleys where the clucking of chickens and the barking of dogs cannot be heard. Some people make mortuary tablets from paulownia wood instead of chestnut.

Mortuary tablets are placed to the north. Chief mourners regard incense burning as a way of worshipping spirits in the air, because this is where the *hon* (the yang nature of a soul), with its nature akin to *yang*, has

flown. *Gangsin* (the inviting of the soul, 降神) involves pouring liquor onto the ground; this is a ceremonial act performed to save the spirit (救神), since the corpse is buried in the ground. Chief mourners believe that *gangsin* alone cannot save the spirit, and that the pouring must be performed simultaneously with incense burning to call the *hon* and the corpse at the same time. They also believe this is necessary because, just as people contain both *yin* and *yang*, and the cosmos contains heaven and earth and the sun and the moon, the spirit comprises a spirit “in the air” and a spirit in the ground.

One noteworthy aspect of ceremonial procedure is the *somok* (昭穆)¹⁴ system of arranging mortuary tablets in the ancestral shrine. Only the tablets of the previous four generations of ancestors are kept in shrines; therefore, when a living descendant dies, the current fourth-generation ancestors’ tablets become fifth-generation. After an ancestral rite and the burying of the fifth-generation ancestors’ tablets, the tablets are changed. From then, the male fifth-generation ancestor is worshiped at *myoje* (annual grave-site ancestral worship). This ceremony for enshrining ancestral tablets in the shrine is known as *somok*. The left-hand line of tablets is called *so* and the right-hand line *mok*. The first-generation ancestor’s tablet is placed in the center, with those of the second, fourth, and sixth generations in the *so* line and those of the third, fifth, and seventh generations in the *mok* line. This arrangement is frequently referred to as *jwaso umok* (“*so* on the left, *mok* on the right”; 左昭右穆). One important aspect of it is that *so* tablet orders can go in *so* positions and *mok* tablets in *mok* positions, but tablets cannot go from *so* to *mok*. This custom applies when there is a shrine; when there is no shrine, tablets are kept in wall recesses.

This example implies that just as there was no clear physical division between the spaces of life and death in traditional society, and homes contained spaces for accommodating death, such as shrines (Han 1998: 788), the villagers in Sinchon today reconstruct and reconcile the social

¹⁴ In the *Book of Rites*, this is referred to as a ceremony where the mortuary tablets of ancestors are worshipped at a shrine. The tablet of the founding ancestor is placed at the center in the north, facing south. The line of tablets on the right facing the founder is the *so*, which contains the tablets of the founder’s second-, fourth- and sixth-generation descendants. The line on the left is the *mok*, which contains the third-, fifth-, and seventh-generation ancestral tablets. The term *so* refers to ancestors of even-numbered generations such as father, great-grandfather, great-great-great-grandfather, and *mok* to those of odd-numbered generations such as grandfather, great-great-grandfather, and great-great-great-grandfather (Yi 1995: 160).

relationships and hierarchies among their ancestors by retaining the latter's mortuary tablets in the world of the living. Death does not mean permanent estrangement of the dead from the living but the creation of a situation in which spirits and people live together, by bringing the former back into the village and into homes by way of funerary and burial ceremonies.

4. *Eumtaek* and *Yangtaek*

The term *eumtaek* signifies homes of the dead, and includes spaces such as tombs, pagodas, and charnel houses. Categories of tomb include individual, family, clan, and private or public park tombs. *Yangtaek* denotes homes of the living, such as family houses, apartments, shops, government offices, schools, and religious buildings. Given that *eumtaek* is where the corpses of the dead reside and *yangtaek* is where the living dwell, the two realms are linked. This point is corroborated by the words of one informant:

Just as living people decorate their homes with a garden, we incorporate scenery when building the homes of the dead. Just as we plant plants and trees in the garden, we plant them around tombs. We don't plant trees with deep roots, like acacias, as these could penetrate the tombs; instead we plant trees like spindle trees and evergreens. This is just like making sure tree roots don't pierce the floor of a house.

This shows that the villagers regard tombs, the spaces of the dead, as similar to house sites, the spaces of the living. Choe (1985: 49) comments, "All the rules of *yangtaek* are no different from the standards of *eumtaek*. They merely acknowledge differences in propitious land. The principles of securing a good site for a city or a house are the same as those of finding a good site for a tomb – the only difference is that the tomb site must be smaller than the city or house site." The villagers regard the forms of *eumtaek* and *yangtaek* as the same because the geomantic principles of both are based on the theory of *eum* and *yang*, so that the same principles can be applied and modified for different objects.

Understanding the construction of tomb spaces, however, relates not just to the meaning of a house as a building but also to the question of how the expanded social category created when married siblings establish families lies at the basis of tomb space construction. *Eumtaek* signifies a house in which parents and ancestors must live for eternity, but it also

implies the social space among the dead based on the geographical spaces in which the tombs are located. It must be noted that the term “home” means not just a house, but the assembled family members in a certain habitation, and the extended family of siblings based on this (Park 2000: 83). The family relationships of the Sinchon villagers are such that groups are formed in certain areas arranged from the village entrance to the foot of the mountain so as not to stray too far from hierarchical spatial structure of the village as a whole. Like this arrangement of social space, the ancestral tombs of close and distant relatives are arranged along the foot of the mountain, from right to left, without clear distinctions between the village and clusters. It can therefore be said that there are similarities between the structures of tombs as spaces of death and the village as a space of life.

The tomb spaces on the mountain behind the village are characterized by the arrangement of ancestors and descendants of the eldest-son line and branches from Mt. Hullyeongsan on the right to Jajanggol on the left. As shown in Figure 2, the tombs of those marked “A” on the genealogical diagram are located together in the mountain area marked “A” on the tomb location diagram. An altar for Park Yeongnip and Park Balsaeng, son and grandson of the village founder, is located on Mt. Hullyeongsan. The villagers had tried hard but without success to locate the tombs of these ancestors; instead, in 1999, their relatives built a burial mound like that of a tomb next to Hullyeongjae, the eldest-son line ritual hall, and erected a stele and altar to conduct rites for these two ancestors. Descendants of the five branches collected funds to this end; the names of clan members who donated at least one million won are engraved on the stele, while the names of those who donated 500,000 won are recorded on the statement of intent for the construction of the altar. These efforts resulted in the raising of approximately 100 million won of clan money. Approximately five million won from this sum was spent on building the altar and the stele; the remainder is being managed and used as clan property.

Behind the altar, the tombs of the fourth-, fifth-, sixth-, and seventh-generation descendants of the village founder are arranged in order up the mountainside (marked “B” on the tomb location diagram and the genealogical diagram in Figure 2). This area is propitious and sacred land, and constitutes a point of convergence for the living and their deceased ancestors. Tombs of the first sons of the eldest-son line and branches are generally arranged on Hullyeongsan and Jinmokjeon on the right (see C, D, F, G, H, and I in Figure 2), establishing a spatial hierarchy vis-à-vis

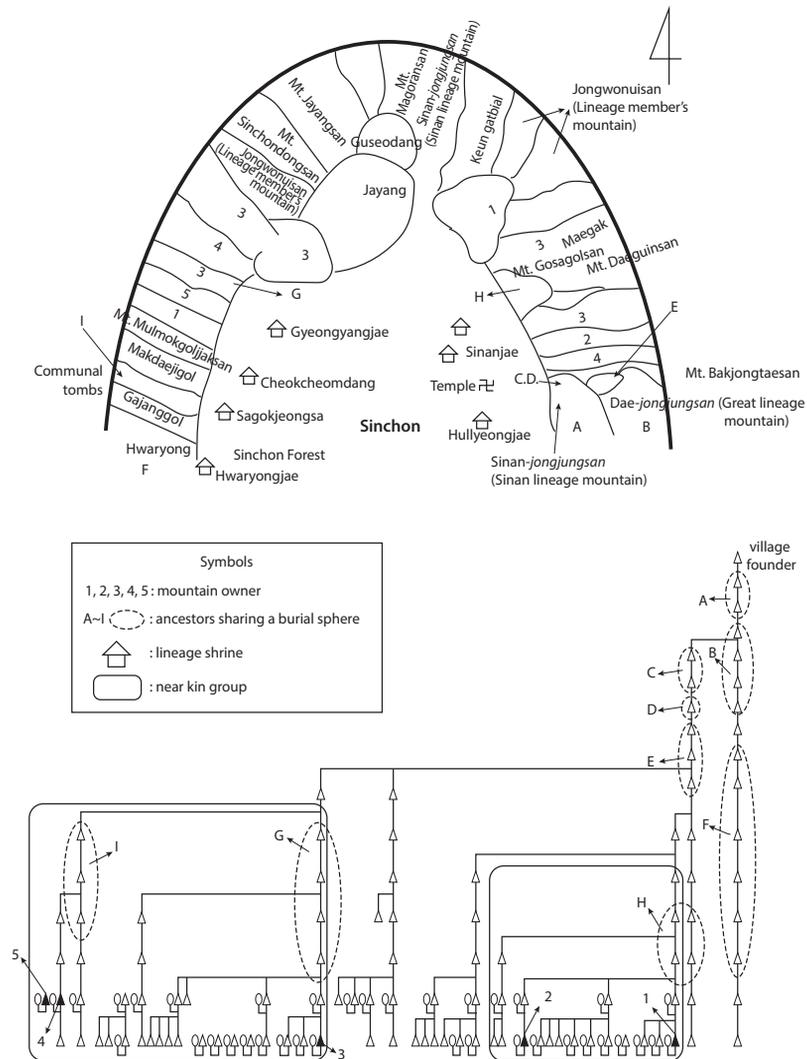


Figure 2. Tomb distribution and genealogy

other descendants. There are exceptions: the tombs of seventh-generation descendants of the village founder are located in Yudeung, some two kilometers from the village. This is because their ancestor's search for propitious land led them away from the original ancestral mountain. The tombs of eighth-, ninth-, and tenth-generation descendants of the village

founder and their wives are built in twin formation (see E in Figure 2). Villagers refer to these as the “six twin tombs.” In general, the tombs of several generations are arranged from the eastern part of the village to the foot of the mountain in the west. If the descendants of branches were rich or of high status, the tombs of their descendants are sometimes located on *jongjungsan* (clan mountain) or *gaeinsan* (private mountain). The tombs of the tenth- (Park Jidae), eleventh- (Park Sago), and twelfth- (Park Jungsun) descendants of the founder of the Sinan-pa are scattered across Mt. Hullyeongsan, Magok, and Jinmokjeon, reflecting this. Descendants from the thirteenth generation onwards are scattered across nearby Paljoryeong, Mt. Umisan, and Mt. Banggaksan.

One of the characteristics of the rules behind these tomb configurations is a distinction between the eldest-son line and branches. When it came to tomb spaces, too, eldest sons were considered important and accorded priority, while other descendants were excluded and had their tombs located elsewhere. It can therefore be said that eldest sons were given priority over their siblings in order to recreate blood succession lines in the spaces of the dead. Moreover, just as those within the social category of families of older and younger siblings formed villages in certain areas, their social relationships are to some extent reflected in the zoning of tombs. When comparing tombs and homes in terms of *pungsu jiri*, Murayama Jijun (1990: 305) pointed out a marked difference in that tombs allowed solitary living but houses were primarily places of group living. But in Sinchon, where the social groups of the deceased are laid out spatially in certain areas or across the whole mountain, we see a coexistence created among the social units of sibling family group and clan. This is reflected by the fact that the tombs of ancestors are built on clan mountain areas such as *Dae-jongjungsan* and *Sinan-jongjungsan*, while in other mountain areas close relatives within sibling family groups generally own the mountains (see 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 on the genealogical diagram in Figure 2). This is regarded as the result of borrowing the Joseon-era *jokbun* (族分) system of burying the deceased on a single mountain and of placing importance in managerial aspects such as defending tombs (Yi 1982: 111). By changing social relationships or groups based on homes into social relationships among ancestors and descendants in the spaces of the dead, descendants position the dead within a social network of near and distant relatives, rather than leaving them in solitude.

When spatially constructing the homes of the dead, the villagers have

also attempted to recreate the social relationships of homes in the living world. In this respect, the social ranges of *yangtaek* in the form of the homes of the living and *eumtaek* in the form of tombs are intimately related. As the souls of the dead make a new start in *eumtaek*, their world is arranged on various parts of the mountain like the society of their descendants. Dying and going to the afterlife was regarded as the same as moving house while still alive: a process akin to merely going to live somewhere else via the stage of death. Living ancestors therefore tried to demonstrate the same social and economic statuses when making homes for the afterlife as they would when building a new house (Jang 1995: 207). Villagers reflected the spatial order of sibling family groups, centered on certain areas, in tomb spaces, structuring the latter so that the social relationships of those buried there did not diverge greatly from overall hierarchical structures. Tomb spaces can therefore be said to reflect the social spaces of the living (Bonnain 1981: 185).

5. Notions of Propitious Land and Tomb Ornaments

The situation of Sinchon tombs is intimately related to theories of *pungsu jiri* that traditionally hold that the lay of mountains, topography, and waterways affect human fortunes. The belief that burying the bones of the dead in propitious land would bring fortune, honor, and prosperity to the descendants made this an object of interest on the part of the villagers. They would take several aspects into consideration when choosing a tomb site. The first of these was classification of *hyeol* and *maek*. *Hyeol* (穴) are points where energy (*gi*; 氣) gathers, while *maek* (脈) are points where meandering ridges descend. Places where the ground rises up like a wave are considered points where energy gathers. The environment around a tomb is known as the *sa* (砂). Villagers believe sites with no menacing rocks or natural features nearby are good, just as a whole family is free of anxiety when the mother, father, and children are at ease. The *sa* of a tomb site is regarded as poor if there are rocks or severed elements nearby. A good mountain location is one that branches off from the main mountain (*jusan*; 主山) and curves around to embrace the village. It is no good if the gradient is too steep or if it is crooked. The flow of nearby waterways also distinguishes a good site from a bad one.

But such notions of propitious land are not applied in the same forms by

all families today. It is harder today to find a propitious site for a tomb than it was in the past, and notions of propitious land themselves have changed; for young couples today, a propitious site is said to be one that is easily accessible and not too high up. In the old days, tombs were not placed too close to a village because it was said that this would prevent ancestral spirits from coming down, but nowadays tombs are found even in peach orchards. In the past, tombs were placed in any site deemed good, regardless of how far away it was, but today a good site is regarded as one close by and easy for descendants to get to. The current trend, growing more pronounced as time goes by, is to place tombs near villages. It could be said that traditional burial customs are changing due to factors such as heavy traffic on the way to tombs during festivals and the limited supply of sites.

Meanwhile, the role of *pungsu jiri* experts is losing its meaning, with many chief mourners taking a “this is my field and my mountain so please take a positive view of it” approach to them. The role of these experts is becoming limited to determining the right aspect for a tomb. The notion that a body must be placed in an exact position to reap geomantic benefits (Janelli and Janelli 2000: 73) has brought greater interest in that aspect of a tomb than in whether the tomb site itself is auspicious. It is believed that incorrect orientation of a tomb can lead to misfortune such as loss of wealth, sickness or car accidents for descendants. Today, when tomb sites on *jongjungsan* (clan mountain) and *dongnesan* (village mountain) are reaching saturation points and shared family tombs are expanding further due to economic problems, beliefs once held in propitious land are gradually disappearing. Poor oldest grandsons sometimes sell tomb sites to rich relatives. As a result, some eldest-son-line tombs are located higher than branch tombs, making it increasingly difficult to preserve the reverse-order arrangement. This is well demonstrated by the words of one informant:

I wanted to place my grandmother’s tomb below that of my grandfather, but they said it wasn’t a good site so I didn’t use it. The tombs of my first cousin on my mother’s side and my mother-in-law were located next to my grandfather’s tomb, but the cousin’s tomb was moved elsewhere and my mother-in-law’s tomb was moved closer to that of my grandfather. After that, my uncle’s tomb was installed below that of my grandfather. His tomb is on land that originally belonged to the Seong family. My great-great-grandfather’s tomb is located highest up.

According to one informant, as late as the 1980s, wealthy people building tombs would choose a good site regardless of how far away it was, but that is not the case today. In the past, tombs were not placed too close to a village because it was said that this would prevent ancestral spirits from coming down, but nowadays tombs are found even in peach orchards. If the tomb of another family is located close to one of their sites, villagers sometimes pay large amounts of money to buy the site and relocate the tomb.

Rich people snap up tomb sites on any good mountain spot in the village, so that it is now hard for poor people to be buried even in *dongne* (village) tomb or communal tomb sites. Jajanggol is another tomb site on a mountain on the left behind Sinchon. In the old days, it is said, those who died from virulent diseases were buried here. The land slopes quite steeply and has a desolate feel to it. The villagers regard this as a bad place, unlike the sites where most tombs are located. Poor people sometimes place tombs here.

The change in conception of this burial site has been accompanied by diverse stonework tomb ornaments demonstrating social influence, unlike in the past. These marble altars, ranging from very simple structures to flamboyant and overpowering versions, are designed to demonstrate wealth. Their type and size reinforce the monumental function of the burial site. What is clear is that burial sites made from marble and granite are manifesting superiority in terms of social and economic status over tombs without such ornaments. Clan tombs, located on the most central part of Mt. Jayangsan, feature ornaments such as table stones (*sangseok*; 床石), twin stone pillars (*mangjuseok*; 望柱石), and memorial stones (*sindobi*; 神道碑) with tombstone inscriptions recording the official rank, scholastic achievements, and filial obedience of the occupant. Recording social status as a *yangban* on stone tomb ornaments is meant to demonstrate the honor and authority of the occupant's household. Tombstones are topped with belching stone caps and supported on tortoise bellies. In the past, such stone caps were used only on the graves of those who had reached senior third rank or above in the civil service; today, in rural villages, they are placed on the tombstones of those of sufficient learning and virtue to receive the posthumous title of *seonsaeng* from the Confucian scholar community. For example, when Park Hyosu died in 1999, he was accorded a Confucian scholar's funeral and the title *seonsaeng* was written on his funeral banner. A stone cap was placed atop his tombstone; this is also the

symbol of a *yangban*. By inscribing Confucian moralist statuses such as *seonsaeng* and *cheosa* on tombstones, villagers acquire the cultural capacity of *yangban*, thus reinforcing their cultural identities.

Tomb forms differ according to economic class, too. Tomb forms here can be distinguished according to whether or not they have tombstones and slabs. Wealthier classes place marble slabs and tombstones on their tombs, both demonstrating respect for the deceased and marking economic capacity and social status in the world of the living. Wealth discrepancies can also be found in other tomb ornaments. Despite the fact that Korea's law on burials and graveyards forbids the installation of features other than rim stones and other boundary stones essential for protecting earth mounds, and vases to hold flowers, various tombs are decorated with larger and smaller numbers of stone ornaments according to wealth and social status. The same goes for the belief that installing tombstones, table stones, twin stone pillars, moon stones (*wolseok*; 月石), human figures, and animal figures brings honor to the deceased through the ages.

The social and cultural practices of villages with regard to tombs is closely related to acquiring the qualifications to be a *yangban*. By installing altars for senior ancestors or building high burial mounds for famous forebears, villagers justify their social status as *yangban*. And by acquiring the symbolic capital needed to maintain or create their upper statuses or supremacy in local society, they secure the cultural foundations symbolic of *yangban*. It follows that tombs in single-lineage *yangban* villages are not merely burial spaces but places that regenerate the caste notions of the past, even in today's society. The tomb ornamentation practiced so beautifully by actual *yangban* is used as an important means of achieving spatial distinction. The tombs of ancestors, decorated with fancy tombstones, table stones and twin stone pillars to differentiate them from other tombs, function as social and cultural spaces competing to achieve spatial stratification of social status in local society.

6. Conclusion

Today, tombs occupy a gradually increasing proportion of land in Korea. This causes problems including inefficient land use, deforestation, and estrangement between social classes due to tomb creation. I believe that building more charnel houses and shared family tombs will bring a shift

from the prevailing system of burial to one of cremation and contribute to solving the tomb problem. It will be difficult to implement such solutions, however, without examining how Korean notions of death and burial, and the cultural tradition of placing importance in the home, affect tombs. This study, therefore, has focused on a single-lineage village in which the cultural traditions of the Noron faction are embodied, in an effort to understand why traditional funerary practices and rites still exist in a modernized society, and how villagers' attitudes to death and the soul, spatial construction of tombs and social relationships come together. Findings can be summarized as follows:

Firstly, the understanding of death and its spatial construction among villagers reflects Confucian values. This offers a glimpse of how belief in the immortal *honbaek* after death has bred a system where burial is preferred over cremation. Meanwhile, the social orders of families and clans are reflected in the world of the dead.

Secondly, the villagers of Sinchon arrange tombs in terms of ancestral lineages, not just as spaces for burying the dead. Tombs at the foot of the mountain are both the place to which the dead "must return" and reflections of the social relationships of families. Their burial in the same tomb area after death represents emotional satisfaction at returning posthumously to their homes. The villagers restore and extend the social relationships and cultural vitality of the dead through tomb spaces. This transformation into social spaces that reproduce the social relationships of family lineages, moreover, reinforces a history of memory among lineage members within a spatial context. The villagers think of tombs as more than mere graves, bringing social life and emotion to the dead and to their descendants, and granting continuity to the family by playing the role of passing on its culture.

Thirdly, tomb spaces in Sinchon are communities of the living and dead that form spaces similar to the world of the living. Descendants, by spatially embodying the history of death over dozens of generations as they placed the homes of their deceased near their own homes or villages, have created a total order. The spatial structures of tombs have been affected by elements such as mountain forms, degrees of intimacy among lineal branches, degrees of kinship, distinct branch ceremonies, social range, and political power. As the social and cultural spaces of dead ancestors, tombs are a part of the village communities of their descendants and play a role of creating collective consciousness of social status and history among

families. Tombs that spatially construct existing social orders and relationships from ancestors to descendants are distinguished from those of other local people through the use of ornaments, and can be regarded as places reproducing the memories needed for the social and cultural practices of *yangban*.

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