The state's marriage rites ought to follow the ancient system by (having people) choose outstanding and virtuous (partners in marriage) and abolish the present evil practice whereby all the sons and daughters are brought together so that people can take a look at their faces and appearance. (note: I have heard that this matter is also not an old custom in our Eastern Country. King T'aejong wanted to take the son of Yi Sok as his son-in-law, and he sent the blind fortuneteller (p'ansu, kome middleman, X:中间人, X:中间人) Chi Hwa to go and call on him, but Yi Sok was not willing so T'aejong confiscated the household property of Yi Sok. Thereupon he ordered the sadaebu's sons and daughter to gather in the palace courtyard where he looked them over and made his selections. After this, this practice became the standard practice, it is said.)

At the time when Sonjo got married (karye si submitted a memorial which said: "The women that the rulers of old married were always either the descendants of former sages or the descendants of virtuous and outstanding men, and the way in which they looked for them was to do no more than to say: "Night and day I seek to find a modest and chaste woman (yojo sugnyo omae kuji). And if I can't find one, then I think about it (give it more consideration) night and day, and that is all." I have never heard that they gathered (all the young men and women) in the palace courtyard in order to distinguish between the superior and inferior ones as is done at the present time. Even though we cannot probe to the bottom of the reason for what has happened in the past, from how on we should not rank people in accordance with their facial appearance and the magnificence of their clothing, and we should not use fortunetellers to examine whether their birth dates are lucky or not (ch'usu examining the saju or four pillars, year, month, day and hour of birth to tell fortunates). But from the first we should see whether their fathers and mothers are outstanding
marriage rites

as a means of seeing how their families are run. And next we should look to see if their comportment conforms with what is proper in order to see if their daughters are virtuous. Furthermore, you also must make clear what surname and clan (she is from) (ch'uk sŏŋssi 出典) and first inquire of the Taesin (high officials) and get the approval of the majority before making a decision. And if (this is done), then everything the intention of Heaven and man will in all cases be the same.

Generally speaking, whether the parents (of a prospective bride) are worthy or not is not something that the king can know about if he is locked up deep inside the inner recesses of the palace. If he suddenly decides on a list of names without making full inquiry, then even though his officials may have their opinions, how would they dare express them? 

Ever since the san-tai (three dynasties of antiquity) no state has had as correct a system of family law (chia-fa 家法) as Chao Sung(趙宋). In selecting a queen, they required that inquiry be made of the Ta-ch'en (Taesin; high officials). This is a system used in "later ages" that is worth emulating. If they waited for all the people of the country to express their opinions on the appointment of even one outstanding man to office, or the dismissal less of even one worthless man, how much when searching for a sage woman to be placed in the most exalted position should (the emperor) have made a decision on the basis of his own views alone? And when it comes to the six rites (Pyongyang, 4, 297; translates this as marriage ritual), it is not necessary to copy former precedents in all cases. We ought to have a Confucian official (yusin 儒臣; scholar-official) make a broad investigation of the ancient ceremonies and study the Classic of Rites (Li-ch'ing 礼經, i.e., the Li-ji 儀禮) in order to establish a system that can be passed on to later generations, and if so, then the rites pertaining to marriage will be rectified, and...

we may hope that our illustrious descendants (our illustrious descendants will be favorably influenced.)
In the Sung dynasty, in the yulan-yu year period (1086-1094), Emperor Che-tsung was about to choose an empress, and Fan Tsu-yi submitted a memorial to Hsüan-jen (Che-tsung's grandmother, of the Kao family) (Pyongyang, 4, 298; Han, 4, 355), saying the Hsüan-jen T'ai-huang T'ai-hou setting forth four items pertaining to the selection of an empress. The first was clan and surname (choksong), which means that when the emperors and kings of ancient times got married, they had to choose from the descendants of ancient feudal lords of large states or the descendants of illustrious individuals, or failing that, then from states of descendants of the female line (of such individuals: saenggu chi kuk, saeng means sons of one's sisters, or son-in-law, or oesonja—descendants in the female line). Hanhandaesajon, 1041. Ku means siabi, a woman's father-in-law, one's father-in-law, also oesamch'on (brothers of one's mother), also changin or wife's father, a man's father-in-law, ibid., p. 1253. They did not take (a woman) from a low and base family and elevate her to the most respected position (of empress). It was for this reason that good fortune was great and they had many illustrious male descendants.

The second point is the virtue of the woman. Which means that during the height of the san-tai period, all (the rulers) had worthy queens, while when these dynasties fell, they all had pinnu (depraved women as queens). All of these are recorded in the Book of Poetry and the Book of History (Shih-ching, Shu-ching), which are regarded as perpetual mirrors (for future people to study, take models from).

The empress is a model for all the states. In rectifying the 6 palaces (of the empress: Hanhandaesajon, 162, see Chou-li, Nei-tsai), if a woman is not virtuous, how would she be fitting (to do the job)? With regard to the virtue of a woman (kyumun: inner boudoir gates), it is something
marriage rites — Sokp'yón, sang

p.483, 25:16b) cannot be seen or displayed (readily), so it is necessary to look at her (paternal) ancestors and investigate the family laws (chia-fa) of her household and take this into consideration with other minor matters in order to know (whether she is virtuous or not).

The third point is high propriety (yungnyeė) (in the behavior of the woman), which means that the relationship of the Son of Heaven to his empress is like the relationship of Heaven to Earth, or the relationship of the sun to the moon. Confucius said: "To go out personally imperial to meet someone with the crown on your head (myŏnryugwan) is what the word, ch'ın (親: to be close to someone?) really means." (見而親迎，親之元也)

At the present time the ch'ın-wang (親王) takes a wife there is no ritual by which he treats his bride on an equal level (mu chech'i chi rye) and his spouse is not (mu paeyu cha) What I would like is that the basis of things be rectified and this be used to set a precedent (model) for the whole world (empire) (i sŏn ch'ŏnha chi mang).

The fourth matter is (the necessity) for broad discussion (博議). In ancient times when the Son of Heaven greeted the empress, the high dukes (lords) shang-kung (上公) went to greet her also (i chihan) and the feudal lords took charge (of the wedding). When there was an important matter of state, the ta-ch'en (high officials) had to participate (參加) be consulted in advance (大臣不容不預聞).

In general when they appointed even one high official (chipchŏng) or advanced (promoted) even one close official, they had to consult the views of the whole empire (yok hyŏp ch'ŏnha chi mang).
p.484, 25:17a) How much more so in the case of establishing an empress who is to be the mother for the whole empire?" (end of quote from Fan Tsu-yü) This memorial was several thousand words long. What with the loyalty rectitude and ardor of his ideas, it can become the model for later generations. For details, see the original memorial.

(footnote: This footnote gives the complete text of the memorial—omitted from the Pyongyang translation, see Han, 4, 356-359) This text states: I bow down receive respectfully the imperial edict. The emperor has ordered the Han-lin hsüeh-shih, the Yu-shih chung-ch'eng (御史中丞), the Liang-sheng chi-she (兩省給金), the Li-pu (Board of Rites) and the T'ai-ts'ang-shihssu (太常寺) jointly to discuss in detail the six rituals by which the emperor selects an empress. I submit my humble thoughts on this. This is indeed an important matter for the state, the root (foundation) for ten thousand generations, something that is intertwined with happiness and good fortune (for all), and the first (model) for cultural transformation. Since ancient times emperors and kings have considered it important.

At the present time, what the emperor should first understand is that there are four things about which he must be cautious. I have investigated (what was done in) remote antiquity and have adjusted it (to practices in) later ages in order to aid the emperor's understanding and I will explain several matters (pertaining to this problem). The first (of the four matters) is the family and surname (choksong) (of the woman to be chosen). The second is the virtue of the woman; the third is high etiquette (exalted deportment); the fourth is broad discussion.

i.e. Yellow emperor took the daughter of Hsi-lung; Shun took the 2nd daughter of emperor Yao. Implies that as a result his descendents held control of the
empire for 470 years, and that the descendants of the Emperor T'ang (of Shang?) held the empire for over 600 years; and because Hou-chi of Chou chose the right empress (queen), and Men-wang et al also did so they thus begot outstanding 

sons who became rulers; and that the Chou held onto the empire through over 30 generations and over 800 years, and that the basis for this was in the correct choice of consorts. The clan and surname of the prospective queen has to be noble (kwi, precious).

Next turns to the matter of the woman's virtue and associates the rise and fall of dynasties with the virtues or lack of same on the part of the queens or empresses. Goes on to give examples in the Shang and Chou. Points out that from the Ch'in and Han dynasties on, many mistakes were made in marriages, and there is nothing that is worth taking as a model (for the Sung) with a few exceptions: the Ma-hou (马后) of Hsien-tsung of the Later Han, a woman of illustrious virtue; T'ang T'ai-tsung's empress, which showed itself in a family made up of illustrious and worthy people. As for the rest, they should be taken as a warning of how the choice of the woman empress can lead to failure and confusion. Then points out how in the Sung dynasty since the reign of T'ai-tsu, the way of families (chia-tao) has been correct, and human moral relationships (standards) have been great for several generations, and all of this was due to the fact that the emperors had sage empresses, assisted on the inside (in the palace) by their empresses' virtue. Ever since the 3 dynasties of antiquity, there has never been family law (chia-fa) to compare with the Sung dynasty... Suggests that the empire study the ancient texts emperors to use as a mirror for the present; that later generations should respect the rites to heaven and earth and their ancestors, and that the people should plan to produce descendants to preserve the dynasty forever.

They have to select virtuous women to be empresses and models for all countries; that you must have a virtuous woman as empress, but since
marriage rites  sokpyŏn, sang

p.484, 25:18a) you can't observe a woman's behavior directly, you have to judge on the basis of illustriousness of their paternal ancestors and the way their families are run. Points out that in the beginning of the Han dynasty the great officials wanted to place the son of Kao-ti, the Ch'i-wang (齊王) on the throne. Everyone said that the Ch'i-wang's mother's family was bad, jealous and overbearing, whereas the family of the mother of Tai-wang (代王) (the Fu-shih were ch'un-tzu (princely men of virtue). When he grew up to be an adult, they elevated the Tai-wang (prince Tai) to the position of Wen-ti, and Wen-ti turned out to be an outstanding ruler during the Han dynasty, and this was due to the fact that his mother's family was virtuous and good. For this reason, the virtue of a woman has to be taken as the most important matter.

Next turns to the question of yung-nye (illustrious comportment). Compares the emperor's relation to his empress as the relation between heaven and earth or the sun and moon, or yin and yang. Confucius once said to Duke Ai of Lu: In ancient times men in conducting government regarded loving others as important, and the reason for this was that li (rites) was very important, and the reason why rites were important was because ching (seriousness, respect) was regarded as important. And when respect is carried out to the full, then marriage is regarded as important matter, and because it was regarded as important, great (important) marriages were concluded successfully, and if so (the duke?) should don his crown (myŏn) and personally great (his queen?), which is the epitome of closeness (ch'ın). " The Duke asked Confucius whether this was not going too far, he to don his crown and go out to greet (his queen). Confucius's face changed color and he replied: To combine the best of two surnames and by this means to continue the descendants (line) of former sage rulers, this is how the ruler of heaven and earth, (the guardian of) the ancestral temples and the altars of heaven
p.484, 25:18b) and earth (is chosen). How can you say that I am exaggerating its importance?" In general, he was profoundly criticizing the error of Duke Ai's thinking.

Recently I have been discussing and studying the issue with many officials and all agree that you have to boil down (reduce in size) the rites of former kings and adjust them to the circumstances. You cannot be too elaborate (in adopting their rites). I want the emperor to have no doubt about this. There are those who will definitely tell you that "the Son of Heaven occupies the most exalted (respected) position (on earth), and there is none to match it in the whole empire, and so you should not get married in accordance with the rites used for (ordinary) husbands and wives." I have cautiously examined the rites on capping and marriage, and even though they contain warriors in Chou times?) ritual pertaining to the shih (scholars, 儒生), there are no rites in them pertaining to the Son of Heaven or the feudal lords. It is for that reason that since the san-tai period of antiquity the rites used for the shih have been extended and used for the rites for the Son of Heaven and the feudal lords. And with regard to marriage rites for adults, these have been one and the same for everyone from the Son of Heaven down to the shih. I have heard that in marriages between members of the imperial family (ch'in-wang tsung-shih chih-chien 親王宗室之間), there has been no rites by which the wife is treated on an equal basis with the husband (mu chech'i chi ye 稱陪體之禮, and no requirements by which she is shown respect and close (boye?).

How is it that in the world only the (husband) is respected, and not the spouse? mean & vicious and no one can match him. And when it comes to the ceremonies and rituals (禮), sometime the customs of the barbarians are mixed in, or sometimes the practices common to the streets are used, and from the shih-tsu (sajok--)...
I would like the emperor to abolish all of this in order to rectify the basis (of things) and use this as a model for the empire, so that as a result all rituals will be greatly exalted (flourishing, most correct).

As for what I mean by broad discussion (generally the same as in the main portion of the text)... In the past when the Cha-sheng kuang-hsien (慈聖光獻 empress?) was established (as empress?), Li I-chien (李夷簡) decided on the discussion, and thus the imperial edict stated: "I have read the recommendation of the prime minister", and the ts'e (冊 :document?) said: "The tsung-kung(宗公 ) and important officials have offered their advice to the court." Prior to this, Ch'a shang (蔡商) also participated in the selection of the daughter of the Ch'ien-shih(陳化) and the King's monk Sung Wan(王尊喜) all (蔡商) expressed their views. And because some said it was wrong, they dropped the daughter of the Ch'en family. And because the daughter of Jen-tsung was regarded as a sage, they were able to follow the majority view.

There will be those who will tell the emperor that because (the selection of an empress) is a family matter of the emperor, it is not something in which an outsider can participate, but since ancient times, many cases of mistakes (in the selection of) rulers resulted from this (point of view). The emperor takes all the territory within the four seas as his family. All matters inside and out are the family affairs of the emperor and there is no principle which says that the great officials cannot participate (in judgments about them). Furthermore when the emperor makes even a single appointment to high office, or advances even a single official to be close to him, he must consult the views of the world. How much more so when he is selecting an empress to be the mother of the empire? What I am afraid of is that one day the emperor will hand down an edict which will establish so-and-so as empress, and then even though the great officials may have their own opinions, it will be difficult for...
marriage rites -10- sokp'yŏn, sang

At the present time when the emperor selects an empress, nothing is more important than consulting her surname and clan and asking the great officials about it. Once the sage will is made up and the opinion of all is the same (approves of it), you can consult the soothsayers to see if it is in accord with the spirit. If it is in accordance with the wills of Heaven and man, then there will be none who do not have the same views about it. For this reason the discussion must be conducted on a broad basis. I have fortunately been appointed to the post of lecturer, and the essence of my duties is to assist the sage virtue of the emperor in with regard to the affairs of the ruler, and for that reason I have dared to present what I have heard. The only thing that I sincerely think is that after the empress has been selected, there should be mutual rejoicing by all families within the four seas, and if so, that will mean the happiness of the imperial and state shrines (country.). (end note)

--- Item: With regard to the marriages between men and women, the age at which they wed must be in accordance with rites and systems. Early marriage will be prohibited.

According to the ancient rites, men got married at the age of 30 and women got married at the age of 20. Later worthy men also took these rites into account, but at the present time men get married anywhere between the ages of 16 and 30, and women between the ages of 14 and 20. This is also in consideration of what human feelings are (on the situation). At the present time, the sons and daughters of the royal family all get married far too early, and the noble relatives respect this and take it as a model, and accordingly it has become an established custom and it has done damage to kyo(hwa(-enlightenment, moral transformation). The basis for causing problems truly is to be found in this. What we ought to do is have the whole country follow
the rites and issue prohibitions against any violators among the people.

Item: Clearly promulgate the ritual procedure for ch'in'ang, following Confucius where the husband to be personally goes to greet and meet his bride.

At the present time when a state marriage involving a prince or princess takes place, we always carry out the ch'in'ang ritual, but among the families of the sadaebu (shih-ta-fu: officials and scholars), they are base and shoddy (in their practice of rituals) and they carry out the practice whereby the prospective bridegroom goes to visit the house of the bride and stays there for several days (teri oxide?) For this reason they do not say "I am taking a wife" (anhae mae ); they say "changga tinda" (ipchang ). This is equivalent to turning yang and yin around and having yang follow yin (the male principle subordinate to the female); this is a great error in the duties (what is appropriate to) the relations between men and women. We must clarify and enforce the ritual laws in order to rectify the way of human moral standards.

Item: Concerning the silks used, the (number of) retainers used, the clothing adornments, and the food presented at weddings, in all cases will fix regulations. Completely prohibit the evil of ostentatious display.

There is no greater evil at the present time than the practice of ostentatious display at weddings. Even though the poor are suffering from the lack of wealth, they are still ashamed of the fact that they cannot (hold weddings) like other people. People will definitely bankrupt their families in order to pursue the customs of the noble and powerful, so much so that they will seek favors and take bribes—there is nothing (men at the top of society) they won't do. If the ruler on top does not clarify the rites and rectify customs, there will be no way that this custom will rectify itself.
p.485, 26:20a) In ancient times the rites were extremely simple, and at the present time we also ought to have the texts cut down to the essentials. With regard to silks, retainers, clothing adornments, and food and drink, make distinctions between noble and base and in all cases establish standards, and the whole country ought to respect these regulations and keep them strictly so that there will be none who dare to overstep (restrictions). And if there should be any who do, they should be punished severely.