Chapter 5
Food Culture in the Early Historical Era: Vegetarianism, Rice Cakes, and Traditional Sweets

Abstract This chapter overviews the early history of Korea from the fall of Gojoesun to the Three Kingdoms periods. The dozens of confederacies that formed in the wake of Gojoseon's destruction, also known as the Several States period, were eventually consolidated into the kingdoms of Buyeo, Goguryeo, Baekje, and Silla. The Three Kingdoms period that followed witnessed the introduction of Buddhism on the peninsula, which had a considerable impact on Korean food culture. The Buddhist tenet forbidding the taking of life caused a steep rise in vegetarian food culture in Korea. Buddhist foodways engendered a culture of grain confections, such as *tteok* (rice cake) and *hangwa* (sweets made from grains and fruits) techniques, both of which developed dramatically over time. The varieties of *hangwa* and *tteok*, and their processing techniques, were reviewed in this chapter.

Ancient historical records of the Korean people begin with *Sinji* (Divine record), a compilation of oral stories about the mythological era of Dangun (c. 2333? BCE). The songs of Dangun history-keepers were first recorded in the *idu* script, which used Chinese characters to express the sounds of the spoken Korean language. The editors of *Sinji* rewrote these in the form of 5-syllable poems. Ensuing histories include the 100-volume *Yugi* (Long record), which was completed during the reign of King Daemusin of Goguryeo (r. 18–44 CE) and encompassed the ancient Joseon kingdom, Gojoseon, through early Goguryeo (37 BCE–668 CE). In the mid-Baekje dynasty (18 BCE–660 CE) Go Heung wrote *Seogi* (Scribe), a history of the kingdom to that point, and toward the end of Goguryeo Yi Mun-Jin completed a history called *Sinjip* (New compilation). During the golden age of the Silla dynasty under King Jinheung (r. 540–576), Geochilbu produced *Silla gosa* (Silla history). Unfortunately, these and other texts of similar dates have been lost (Shin 2006). Goryeo dynasty (918–1392) historians published several works, such as *Samhan gogi* (Ancient records of the Three Han Kingdoms), *Haedong gogi* (Ancient records of Korea), and *Samguksa* (Three Kingdoms history), authors unknown, as well as *Samguk sagi* (History of the Three Kingdoms) by Kim Bu-Sik (1145) and *Samguk yusa* (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms) by Ilyon (1285). Only the last two of these Goryeo histories are extant. Although these books are generally accepted as valuable records of Korea's early history, *Samguk sagi* has also been assessed as tainted by its overall

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sycophantic position toward China, and *Samguk yusa* has been criticized for its Buddhist-centric bias. Sporadic supplemental information can be found in Chinese literature regarding the tribal groups that defended the border after the fall of Gojoseon.

The dozens of confederacies that formed in the wake of Gojoseon's destruction, also known as the Several States period, were eventually consolidated into the kingdoms of Buyeo, Goguryeo, Baekje, and Silla. The Three Kingdoms (Goguryeo, Baekje, and Silla) period that followed witnessed the introduction of Buddhism on the peninsula, which had a considerable impact on Korean food culture. The diet of residents of Gojoseon and the Several States period, which was rooted in native Daoism and Northeast Asian shamanism, consisted of a balance of meat and vegetables. The Buddhist tenet forbidding the taking of life, however, caused a steep rise in vegetarian food culture in Korea. Techniques for making meat-based dishes waned, while methods for making rice cakes and sweets that relied on grains, vegetables, and fruits proliferated. It appears that the invention and consumption of rice cakes and sweets at this time may have flourished to fill the gaps left by meat's removal from the table.

5.1 Overview of Korea's Early Historical Period

The early history of Korea has been disputed in modern times. At least two decades after the Japanese Occupation ended in 1945, the excavation and analysis of new archeological evidence of Korea's past began to shake off colonial assertions about its history. Conventional knowledge of Korea's ancient history is based on the content of *Samguk sagi* (1145) and *Samguk yusa* (1281–1289). During the period of Japanese occupation (1910–1945), however, Japanese historians did not recognize *Samguk sagi* or *Samguk yusa* as records of historical value. They twisted the story found in the biography of the Dongyi tribes in the "Book of Wei" of the ancient Chinese text *Sanguozhi* (Records of the Three Kingdoms, by Chen Shou, third century) to validate their colonization of Korea. The "Mimana" theory they advanced purported that Japan established a governing body that ruled part of the Gaya confederacy in southern Korea during the Samhan (Three Hans, or Proto-Three Kingdoms) period (first century BCE). After Korean liberation from Japanese rule in 1945, Korean historian circles, led by Lee Byong-do, denied the Japanese interpretation of this legend as found in *Nihon shoki* (The Chronicles of Japan, 720 CE). Yet Lee Byong-do and his followers seemed unable to break free entirely from the colonial viewpoint, as they also did not recognize the initial part of *Samguk sagi* as a viable record of Gojoseon and Buyeo. Decades of archeological work, beginning in 1960s Korea, revealed cultural artifacts from ancient sites on the peninsula and in southern Manchuria that attested to the veracity of early (Gojoseon) records, including *Samguk sagi*, by the 1990s. The colonial assertion of Japanese rule on Korean land during the Samhan period was debunked. The newly discovered

archeological evidence allowed the ancient history of Korea as found in *Samguk sagi* to become widely accepted (Lee 1999).

5.1.1 Several States Period

As time progressed from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age, improved tools allowed farms to scale up production, and through the development and increased manufacture of weapons, the merging of smaller states accelerated. In Manchuria and the Korean Peninsula, numerous statelets were established and destroyed. Similar to the breaking up of the Zhou dynasty into feudal states during the Spring and Autumn period (770–403 BCE) in China, the political confusion that arose towards the end of Gojoseon led the Korean Peninsula into a period of regionally-controlled statelets, or confederacies (200s BCE–100s CE). In current Korean historical circles this time is known as the Proto-Three Kingdoms (or Several States period), while archeologists call it the Gimhae period (Nahm 1988).

As Gojoseon's power waned in the third century BCE, the many small states that made up the Gojoseon kingdom became independent and formed their own confederacies. Included in these are East Buyeo (today's Liaodong and North Pyong'an Province), Eupnu (Russia's Maritime Province), East Okjeo (Hamgyeong Province), Nangnang (South Pyong'an Province), Dongye (Gangwon Province), Daebang (Hwanghae Province), and Samhan, or the Three Hans, comprising Mahan (Gyeonggi and Chungcheong Provinces), Jinhan (Gyeongsang Province), and Byeonhan (South Jeolla Province).

Figure 5.1 maps the statelets that emerged as Gojoseon dissolved. As shown in the figure, early Goguryeo was forced out of Liaodong by Jin and Han China and retreated to Jilin in the northeast. Buyeo was pushed from the upper reaches of the Luan River toward Heilong River (Lee and Choi 1989).

Representative archeological sites from this period include Majang-ri, Gapyeong-gun; Daesam-ri, Yangpyeong-gun; and Pungnap Toseong in Songpa-gu, Seoul, all of which are located in the Han River region of Gyeonggi Province. In the Nakdong River territory, southeast Korea, sites include Daho-ri in Changwon; Dalseong in Daegu; Songcheon-ri in Goseong; Yangdong-ri, Jinaedong, and Buwondong in Gimhae; Guseodong and Nopodong in Busan; Joyangdong and Hwangseongdong in Gyeongju; Jeopo in Hapcheon; and Seongsan in Masan.

During this period the use of bronzeware diminished and iron tools became universally available. Most of the excavated artifacts from this period are made of iron, clearly distinguishing this era from the previous one, in which bronzeware and ironware were used together. Ironware was useful not only for agriculture, where the tools greatly increased the productivity of farms, but also for trade, as iron ore and tools were exported as far as Nangnang and Wei in the north. Ironware artifacts such as axes and other farm implements have been found at Majang-ri and Daesim-ri archeological sites. There are also indications that stone tools continued to be used

Fig. 5.1 Map of Buyeo and the several states period after Gojoseon

during this period, including stone axes, stone arrowheads, and half-moon stone blades, along with some bone tools.

The most representative pottery from this period is Gimhae-style "gray stoneware" (*wajil togi*), a relatively soft pottery with a tap print. This stoneware enhanced traditional patternless pottery with a hint of Chinese-style grayware: the base clay was more carefully selected, and the objects were no longer fired in an open-air kiln, but rather in a cave-like kiln, which would be flat or elongated and sealed to reach higher temperatures. Firing the clay in these kilns resulted in pottery with a reddish-brown or greyish-blue tint, and designs on the surface tended to be latticed or checked.

During this period rice farms multiplied, especially in the Samhan area (southern peninsula). Charcoal remains of rice excavated from the Gimhae shell mound, and the discovery of several ancient reservoir sites in the more developed delta region, particularly downstream of the Nakdong River, are indications of a broad increase in rice farming. The appearance of earthenware steamers (*siru*) during this time attests to the increasing number of farms and the theory that grain consumption had already become a part of daily life by that time. Most people continued to live in pit dwellings, but during the early years of the Iron Age, houses above the ground

begin to appear. At the beginning of the Several States period, human remains were typically placed in wood coffins or cremated and placed in jars, but later in the period, large rectangular burial pits become more common (Kim 1986).

Politically, the Several States timeframe saw no unified system, as during the ensuing Three Kingdoms period. The many statelets, comprising a village society, were governed by local chiefs and were politically and economically independent (Yoon 2015). Through the process of vying for power, towns and villages soon combined into small states, which eventually led to the emergence of the larger states Goguryeo, Baekje, Silla, and Gaya. Jumong, also known as King Dongmyeong, established the northern kingdom of Buyeo, then emigrated south and established Goguryeo. His son Onjo moved further south and established the kingdom of Baekje. The legendary Park Hyeokgeose established Silla thirteen years after his miraculous birth in Saro Yukchon, a region of six villages in the southeastern peninsula. Table 5.1 shows the chronology of early Korean history (Lee and Kwon 2003).

5.1.2 Buyeo

Buyeo, the second kingdom in the history of Korea, was established in about the third century BCE, a little before the destruction of Gojoseon, and it lasted 700 years. In 238 BCE Dongmyeong, the founder of Buyeo, moved south from the state of Takri in the north, and crossed a river into northern Manchuria to establish his kingdom. According to the Chinese classic *Sanguozhi*, "Book of Wei," "Dongyi biography," the people of Buyeo were thought to be descendants of migrants who had come from another region long ago. A twentieth-century theory proposed that the area where the Songhua and Nen Rivers meet (in northern China near Harbin), where artifacts from the Zhaoyuan Baijinbao and Daan Hanshu cultures have been excavated, originally pertained to Takri (the forerunner of Buyeo), which was ruled by Dongmyeong, though evidence was lacking. New theories began to emerge after the 1980s with the discovery of the Hongshan culture, including the view that the region of Jillin was the center of early Buyeo, and that the Nong-an area was the center of late Buyeo (Encyclopedia of Korean Culture 1991).

The name "Buyeo" has been applied to various locales. There is the Buyeo founded by King Dongmyeong of the Buyeo people, who was succeeded by Haemosu, the founder of North Buyeo; during the time of King Dongmyeong, Haeburu lost North Buyeo and migrated to the eastern part of Maritime Province to establish East Buyeo; Jumong escaped from East Buyeo and established the beginnings of Goguryeo by building Jolbon Buyeo; and King Seong of Baekje changed the name of his kingdom in 538 CE to South Buyeo.

Although China and Japan have their own views of the nearly thousand-year history of the kingdom of Buyeo peoples, according to the "Biography of usurers" in *Shiji* (*Records of the Grand Historian*), the Kingdom of Buyeo is described as a large empire on equal or better footing with the Han dynasty (China), even receiving

Table 5.1 Chronology of early Korean history

700,000–12,000 YBP	**Paleolithic Age** Lower Paleolithic remains (700,000–300,000 YBP), 6 sites Middle Paleolithic remains (300,000–40,000 YBP), 12 sites Upper Paleolithic remains (40,000–12,000 YBP), 7 sites Stone and bone tools, mountain caves, mobile hunting
8000–5000 BCE	**Primitive Pottery Era** Initial Mumun (patternless) pottery, bows and arrows, carved bone tools and fishing instruments, shell mounds, hunting and fishing, dugout huts, early Jeulmun pottery
5000–2000 BCE	**Neolithic Age** Agriculture begins, ground stone and bone tools, patternless pottery, appearance of tribal nations (myths), legendary nations (Hwanguk, 7197–3987 BCE; Baedalguk, 3897–2333 BCE)
ca. 2333 BCE	Foundation of Gojoseon by Dangun (Dangun Joseon)
ca. 2333–108 BCE	**Gojoseon Period,** Bronze Age
ca. 1122 BCE	Immigration of Gija from Zhou (=statelet Gija Joseon), black pottery
ca. 800–400 BCE	Megalithic culture, dolmens, menhirs, farming tools, Iron Age
ca. 238 BCE	Emergence of Buyeo in the north, Several States Period
ca. 194 BCE	Emergence of Samhan in the south (Jinhan, Mahan, Byeonhan)
ca. 75 BCE	Foundation of Goguryeo
57 BCE	Foundation of Silla
18 BCE	Foundation of Baekje
18 BCE–668 CE	**Three Kingdoms Period**
372–527	Acceptance of Buddhism in the three kingdoms, Establishment of Confucian schools
660–668	Fall of Baekje (660) and Goguryo (668) to Silla
668–918	**Unified Silla Period**
918–1392	**Goryeo (Korea) Period, founded by Wang Geon**
1231	First Mongol invasion
1392–1910	**Joseon Dynasty, founded by Yi Seong-Gye**

tributes from Han. Buyeo, in fact, ruled a vast area that encompassed the northern regions of Hebei and Liaoning Provinces, Inner Mongolia, eastern Mongolia, and eastern Siberia (Fig. 5.1). *Samguk sagi* and *Sanguozhi*, "Book of Wei" and "Dongyi Biography," contain passages suggesting that in Buyeo's prime, the population reached 80,000 households and stretched for 2000 *ri* (10 ri = 4 km) in every direction. In contrast, the population of Goguryeo by that time comprised only about 30,000 households. Whereas weapons like slender bronze daggers have been found on the Korean Peninsula that date from this time, more advanced iron weapons have been found further north, in Buyeo, indicating that it was also a military power in the region.

Enough is known about daily life in Buyeo to highlight a number of their experiences. Animal husbandry had developed into such an integral part of life

that domesticated animal names were chosen as official government titles. The four highest government positions added the suffix "*-ga*" to four animal names to create their titles: horse (*Maga*), cattle (*Uga*), pigs (*Jeoga*), and dogs (*Guda*), presumably all with positive connotations worthy of an elite ministry official. Storehouses for grains increased in importance as people established farms and ranches. They lived among mountains and hills or on broad plains with lakes, especially in the region of the Dongyi. The earth was fertile, and while grains grew well, fruits did not. Staple foods consisted mainly of millet and soybeans. There was hemp for weaving, and the cut of cloth for everyday clothing was similar to that of Goguryeo, only wider. The men were generally tall with large frames; on record, they are extolled as being brave, prudent, dignified people of integrity who did not plunder in times of battle. Punishments in Buyeo, however, were severe and swift: a murderer would be put to death and his family made slaves. People scorned what they deemed to be obscene mannerisms and would kill any woman who they felt behaved in an "unseemly" way, leaving her body to rot on top of a mountain.

The land in northern Buyeo was occupied by the Dumangnu people, who were of the same lineage as the Buyeo tribe. The "Dumangnu biography" in the "Book of Wei" reads, "The land of Dumangnu, one thousand ri north of the lake country, is the old North Buyeo, in East Silwi." In the *Book of Jin*, the land of Dumangnu is also referred to as old North Buyeo. Silwi is understood to be located near Lake Baikal, Siberia. In 726 CE, Dumangnu was destroyed by Balhae and Heuksumalgal. Until the land was divided into two states, Buyeo was a nation comprised of the Yemaek tribe of the Dongyi who lived in northern Manchuria. The later Korean kingdoms of Goguryeo and Baekje considered themselves to be the successors of Buyeo.

5.1.3 Three Kingdoms Period

The Three Kingdoms period began in the first century BCE when many states were consolidated to form the four powers Goguryeo, Silla, Baekje, and the Gaya confederacy, which together reached from the southern tip of the Korean Peninsula to Manchuria in the north. The period ended when these kingdoms were conquered and unified by Silla in the seventh century. Some historians assert that the Three Kingdoms period developed once Buyeo was destroyed; others argue for a start date after the destruction of Gaya, around the time when Silla conquered Baekje (660) and made an alliance with Tang China, although the latter theory would suggest that the Three Kingdoms period lasted for only about 100 years (Encyclopedia of Korean Culture 1991).

5.1.4 Goguryeo

The story of the progenitor of Goguryeo, Go Jumong (58–19 BCE), is recorded in *Samguk yusa*, "Goguryeo annals" in *Samguk sagi*, and "Dongmyeongwang pyeon" (King Dongmyeong) in *Dongguk Yi Sangguk jip* (Collected works of Minister Yi Gyu-Bo). In these stories, the son of a heavenly prince, Haemosu, lies with Yuhwa in a hut on the banks of the Amnok (Yalu) River, after which the king of East Buyeo welcomes her to the palace as one of his concubines and treats her well. Not long after, Yuhwa gives birth to a son, Jumong. In order to avoid the battles being fought in North Buyeo, Jumong travels south to the region of Jolbon, near the Biryusu River, where Chief Songyang rules. Jumong marries the chief's second daughter, Soseono.

During this period Gojoseon is conquered and replaced by the (Chinese) Four Commanderies of Han: Lelang, Zhenfan, Lintun, and Xuantu, among which only Lelang and Xuantu remain before long. In 75 BCE Xuantu retreats in the direction of Liaodong, to the west of central Amnok River. Afterward, small states of Guryeo people are established throughout the country, several of which form confederacies. From the confederacy where Jumong lived, called Songyang, Jumong brings together five small Guryeo states from the region Daena and calls the newly formed state Goguryeo (37 BCE).

Each autumn Goguryeo held a commemoration of the alliance of the smaller states of Daena in order to facilitate harmony and integration. All the nobles and adults gathered in one place for festivities that included drinking, singing, and dancing. Also, important matters of state were discussed and decided during the celebration. King Yurimyeong, who succeeded King Jumong, moved the capital to Gungnae, along the banks of the Amnok River. King Daemusin (the third king of Goguryeo) conquered Lelang to the south, and the sixth ruler, King Taejo, who was strongly in favor of foreign conquest, crossed Gaema Plateau to the east and conquered East and North Okjeo, followed by an attack to the west on the Xuantu and Liaodong commanderies. King Taejo elevated Goguryeo from a confederation of five small states to a large kingdom (Northeast Asian History Foundation 2007).

In addition to foxtail millet and soybeans, staple foods of Goguryeo included wheat, barley, sorghum, broomcorn millet, and other grains. These grains have been found in the form of bits of char at archeological sites across the Goguryeo region. Foxtail millet, barley, and other grains would also be ground into flour and set into an earthenware steamer to cook. Sherds of steaming vessels have also been found at Goguryeo sites. A wall mural at Anak site #3 depicts women who appear to be maids building a fire, placing grain-filled steamers over the fire, and using a ladle to stir the contents of the steamer, seemingly engrossed in their cooking (Lee 1965).

People obtained meat from domesticated animals such as cattle, pigs, chickens, and dogs, while also hunting for wild animals such as boar, deer, and pheasant. The charcoal-grilled, cured beef of Goguryeo was famous in China. Also, as evidenced in China's "Dongyi biography," the people of Okjeo (present-day Hamgyong

Province, in northern North Korea) paid tribute to China with offerings of fish and salt, which indicates that the method of preserving seafood in salt was well established by then.

The kitchens of noble households during Goguryeo were separate from the main building in the compound. Female servants would cook in the kitchen, then place the food and dishes on a small portable table (*soban*) and bring it to the men in their quarters. This custom can be seen in a wall mural of the Goguryeo tomb Muyong chong, in which individual dining tables are set out for the lord of the house and for his guests.

5.1.5 Baekje

Baekje became a consolidated kingdom in 18 BCE in the south-central area of the Korean Peninsula, an iron-based culture that arose from the admixture of local inhabitants of the land with northern immigrants who had moved south after the destruction of Gojoseon. Baekje's foundation myth as described in *Samguk sagi* (Kim 1145), particularly the passage treating King Onjo's accession, provides insight into the process of state formation on the Korean Peninsula:

> The first ancestor of Baekje was King Onjo. His father was Chumo, also known as Jumong. Jumong escaped an uprising in Bukbuyeo [North Buyeo] by emigrating to Jolbon Buyeo. The King of Buyeo was without a male child and only had three daughters. Upon seeing Jumong, the king perceived he was no ordinary man, so he arranged for his second daughter to marry him. Shortly thereafter, the king of Buyeo died. Jumong succeeded him to the throne, and two sons were born to him. The elder was called Biryu, the younger Onjo. (It is also possible that Jumong went instead to Jolbon and married a woman from Wolgun, who bore him two sons.) Now, Jumong had had a son when he lived in Bukbuyeo, who came down and became the crown prince. When that happened, Biryu and Onjo feared the new crown prince would not tolerate their presence, and so with Ogan, Mareo, and eight other ministers, they moved south, and a large number of commoners accompanied them. They reached Hansan and climbed to the summit of Mt. Buaak to look for good land on which to live. Biryu wanted to settle near the beach, but the ten ministers admonished him, saying, "Consider this: the Han River forms a northern border to all the land south; to the east, mountains rise high; to the south, marshland hedges the way; and to the west, the sea guards. The benefits of such a natural stronghold would be hard to find elsewhere. Why should you not make your capital in this place?" However, Biryu did not listen and settled in Michuhol instead, and the people were divided. Onjo made his capital south of the river in Wiryeseong, with the ten ministers assisting him, and called the country Sipje. This happened in the third year of Hongjia, during the reign of Emperor Cheng of the Early Han (18 BCE). Biryu, however, could not live comfortably in Michu, where the earth was saturated with salty water. He looked upon Wirye, with its stable capital and peaceful, secure populace, repented of his choice and died. His ministers and people all emigrated to Wirye. Many more people came to this country later and were happy and obedient, so the name of the kingdom was changed to Baekje [meaning "many cross over"]. Since Baekje, like Goguryeo, claimed its heritage through Buyeo, the king and his descendants took the surname Buyeo (*Samguk sagi* 23, "Baekje" 1, King Onjo's accession).

The capital of Wirye was located in present-day Seoul. At the time of Onjo in *Samguk sagi*, the kingdom had already expanded from Chuncheon in the east all the way to the West Sea, north to Yesong River, and south to Anseong. The record reports that Baekje combined forces with Mahan, thus expanding into part of South Chungcheong Province. At the beginning of the third century CE, King Goi (r. 234–286) sought to centralize Baekje's power in the Han River region. On the backbone of its heightened productivity and the absorption of nearby statelets, which greatly increased its economic power, Baekje's political might waxed stronger until, toward the end of the third century, it conquered Mokji, the leading state of Mahan, and swept the entire central region of the Korean Peninsula. King Goi established a framework for an official ranking system, organizing a centralized government with a king at its head. In the middle of the fourth century, King Geunchogo subjugated the remaining land of Mahan in South Jeolla Province, all the way to the west sea. In the north, he fought against Goguryeo for an area called Daebang goji and emerged as head of all the feudal lords of the south-central Korean Peninsula. In 371 (26th year of his rule) King Geunchogo led an army of 30,000 men and advanced on Goguryeo's Pyongyang fortress, killing King Gogugwon of Goguryeo in battle. On the basis of its increasing political power, Baekje began to engage in maritime trade with China and Japan, thereby assuming a more sophisticated and international character (Encyclopedia of Korean culture 1991).

5.1.6 Silla

Silla emerged from one of the Jinhan statelets, Saro-guk, and was established in 57 BCE by native and migrant groups joining together. The following paragraph comes from the King Hyeokgeose section of the "Silla annals" of *Samguk yusa* (Ilyon 1285):

> Suddenly there was a lightning-flash, and an auspicious rainbow stretched down from heaven and touched the earth in the south by the well called Najong in the direction of Mt. Yang, where a white horse was seen kneeling and bowing to something. In great wonderment people ran down to the well. When they came near, the white horse neighed loudly and flew up to heaven on the rising veil of the rainbow, leaving behind a large red egg. When the people cracked the egg they found within it a baby boy whose noble face shone like the sun. When he was given a bath in the East Stream he looked even more bright and handsome. The people danced for joy, and the birds and beasts sang and danced round the boy. Heaven and earth shook, and the sun and moon shone brightly. They named him King Hyokkeose [Hyeokgeose], meaning bright ruler (Ilyon, *Samguk Yusa: Legends and History of the Three Kingdoms of Ancient Korea*, trans. Ha Tae-Hung and Grafton Mintz [Rockville, MD: Silk Pagoda, 2008], 34–35.)

Afterward, the Seoktalhae clan entered the kingdom from the eastern seaboard, and the Park, Seok, and Kim families took possession of the throne by turns. During the reign of Naemul Maripgan (an honorary title) (356–402) Silla occupied nearly all the Jinhan territory in the eastern region of the Nakdong River. A centralized state was developed, and from that time forward the Kim family succession to the throne

was established. In the sixth century, King Beopheung brought Buddhism into the country, and in the seventh century, King Jinheung expanded Silla's territory to the Han River Valley and made an alliance with the Sui dynasty, which had unified China, as well as with the succeeding Tang dynasty. In 660 Silla conquered Baekje, and in 668 Goguryeo. Soon the Tang king wanted to rule the Korean Peninsula, but the ensuing Silla-Tang war ended with Silla driving out the invading army. Silla expanded to Wonsan Bay, south of the Daedong River (in present-day North Korea, due east of Pyongyang), and unified the three previously distinct Korean kingdoms.

5.1.7 Gaya

Between the second and third centuries, the early Gaya confederacy formed in the area of Gimhae (near Busan) from five city-states: Dae Gaya, Seongsan Gaya, Ara Gaya, Goryeong Gaya, So Gaya, and Geumgwang Gaya, the last being the center of power. Geumgwang Gaya was greatly damaged, however, by attacks from Goguryeo. Later in the Gaya confederacy, during the 5th–sixth centuries, Dae Gaya became the seat of power, having successfully evaded most of the fallout from skirmishes with Goguryeo.

Gaya was based along the southeast shore of the Korean Peninsula, a region that is markedly important in the history of ancient civilization as the starting place of Primitive Pottery culture. Archeological evidence from the Gimhae shell mound points to Gaya having been a local power on the Korean Peninsula. Gaya made fine-quality iron in the area of Gimhae, the production of which elevated it politically and as a trading hub with Wae (southern Japan) and other states. Gaya excavation sites reveal a high level of expertise in iron workmanship. The kingdom was threatened on both sides by Baekje and Silla, however, and was finally conquered in 562. Below is a map of the four kingdoms on the Korean Peninsula in the fifth century (Fig. 5.2).

5.2 The Three Kingdoms' Buddhist Traditions and Vegetarianism

The introduction of Buddhism to the Three Kingdoms after the fourth century created a major shift in food culture. The Buddhist tenet forbidding the taking of life fostered a trend toward restricting or prohibiting meat and instigated the rise of vegetarianism on the peninsula. This dietary shift seems to have instigated a proliferation of pickled vegetables, sauces, and rice wine, and as more of the populace shunned animal products, soybeans were increasingly used to make flavorful sauces and other food items. By the seventh century, such foods were so prevalent in the diet of the wealthy that they were deemed appropriate for royalty. A *Samguk sagi* record from the eighth year of King Sinmun of Silla during the Three Kingdoms

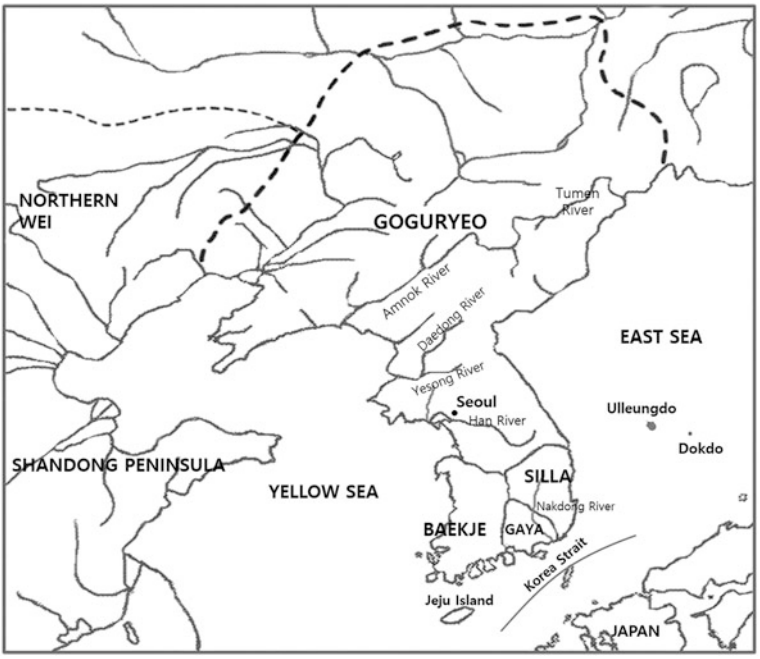

Fig. 5.2 Map of the four kingdoms on the Korean Peninsula, fifth century

period (683) states that wedding gifts for the royal family included rice, rice wine, oil, honey, soy sauce, doenjang (fermented bean paste), beef jerky, and jeotgal (salt-fermented seafood)—all of which are traditional food items still enjoyed today. Written records of the manufacture and use of soybean products, such as *dubu* (tofu) and bean sprouts, do not appear until much later: a discussion of bean sprouts is found in *Hyangyak gugeupbang* (Native medical prescriptions, 1213–1260), and the Chinese word for tofu, *doufu*, appears in Song China's *Qingyi lu* (Record of pure marvels), from the tenth century. Nevertheless, scholars infer that by this time on the Korean Peninsula such dishes were already a fixture in the daily diet.

The Three Kingdoms period also marks an era of rapid development in grain manufacturing techniques. A broad spectrum of sweets (*hangwa*) was prepared for Buddhist ceremonies, such as *yakgwa* (honey cookies), *sanja* (rice puffs), *dasik* (molded tea cakes), *jeongwa* (candied fruits), *sukgwa* (fruit-shaped confections), and rice cakes (*tteok*)—including *sirutteok* (steamed), *injeolmi* (powder-coated), *jeolpyeon* (patterned), *songpyeon* (filled half-moons), and *danja* (filled and coated). Unlike fruits and meats, these treats could be provided year-round. Grain brewing techniques also developed considerably, with *nuruk* (cereal alcohol fermentation starter) being used to make high-quality, clear rice wine (*cheongju*). The famous Nangnang brewing method flourished at this time, along with many others, and Silla's renowned cheongju was exported to Tang China. This period marks the golden age of vegetarianism in Northeast Asia, and techniques for making sauces,

brewing with nuruk, and processing unique foods were introduced from Korea to Japan and neighboring countries.

Qimin Yaoshu (Essential techniques for the peasantry), a Chinese text written by Jia Sixie of Northern Wei in 530–550 CE, describes the food techniques seen across the border in Goguryeo. These two states comprised the area previously occupied by the Dongyi tribes. The brewing and sauce-making methods depicted in *Qimin Yaoshu* mirror the traditional techniques employed in Korea (Yoon et al. 1993).

5.2.1 *The Transmission of Korean Fermentation Techniques to Japan*

A number of records mention the transmission of various food-processing methods, including fermentation, from Korea to Japan between the third and fifth centuries CE. According to the earliest surviving Japanese narrative, *Kojiki* (*An Account of Ancient Matters*), Inbeon, a man from Baekje, went to Japan during the reign of Emperor Ōjin (a legendary emperor of the third century CE) and taught the people how to brew wine using nuruk. Later, Inbeon was enshrined by Japanese locals as a god of rice wine (Lee 1984a). At Matsuo Taisha, an ancient shrine near Kyoto, there remains an ancestral tablet for the Jin (Jap. Hata) clan, which immigrated from Silla, bringing rice wine techniques and other skills. Each year Japan's rice wine manufacturers hold a memorial ceremony in front of the altar to the Jin clan to pray for success in the coming year's brewing (Lee 2001).

Techniques for fermenting soybeans were introduced to Japan by Goguryeo. According to Arai Hakuseki's book *Tōga* (1903), "The fermented sauce from Goryeo called *maljang* came to Japan and was changed by the local dialect into 'miso'" (Lee 1984b). The transmission of Korea's Buddhism-influenced food culture to Japan had a lasting impact: The ensuing vegetable-based foodways were passed down over the generations in Japan, largely undisturbed by external forces until the beginning of the twentieth century. Figure 5.3 depicts the development of Korean vegetarian food culture and its transfer to neighboring countries.

5.3 Origin of Rice Cakes (*Tteok*) and their Varieties

As mentioned above, the transmission of Buddhism during the Three Kingdoms led to a 1000-year period of vegetarian culture on the Korean Peninsula, as monks and others eschewed meat consumption in order to follow the Buddhist precept that prohibits the taking of life. Buddhist foodways engendered a culture of grain confections, such as *tteok* (rice cake) and *hangwa* (sweets made from grains and fruits), and *namul* (blanched and seasoned vegetables), techniques for both of which developed dramatically over time (Lee and Kwon 2003).

Buddhism comes to the Three Kingdoms

↓ Goguryeo 372 CE
Baekje 384 CE
Silla 527 CE

Meat consumption dwindles

↓

Development of grain-processing techniques; entrenchment of vegetarian culture

↓ In *Samguk sagi*, 8th year of King Sinmun (683 CE), ceremonial items gifted to royal in-laws include rice, rice wine, oil, honey, fermented soy sauce, fermented soybean paste (doenjang), jerky, and fermented fish sauce (jeotgal).

Manufacture of various fermented foods: sauces, pickled products, seafood condiments, alcohol

↓

Export of food manufacturing techniques, including fermentation, to neighboring countries, influence on Japanese food culture

Fig. 5.3 Transmission of Buddhism during the three kingdoms period and resultant changes in food culture

The origin of *tteok* is unclear, but the following basic tools must have been developed in order for it to have come into existence: harvesting and threshing tools for grain (the main ingredient), grinding tools to pulverize the grain, and an adequate vessel (*siru*) for steaming the grain. As mentioned in Chap. 3, remnants of stone mortars and other grinding stones from the Neolithic era have been discovered at archeological sites on the Korean Peninsula, and earthenware steamers have been found at later Neolithic and early Bronze Age sites. The making of *tteok* is thought to have begun in the latter period, with the advent of steamers (Lee and Maeng 1987a).

Grains that were universally consumed by the time earthenware steamers appeared included rice, broomcorn millet, foxtail millet, soybeans, adzuki beans, barley, and wheat. Pulverizing or grinding whole grains made them more palatable, and cooking ground grains may have further enhanced their flavor. The steaming of ground, mixed grains was likely the incipient recipe for *tteok* when farming was young and earthenware steamers began to be crafted in Korea. Before long, the development of farming implements led to the propagation of rice farming and the eventual transformation of rice into *tteok* (rice cake) as a specialty food item. *Tteok* soon claimed an important place on Korean tables, especially those that restricted meat and seafood, and a wide array of rice cakes began to appear at harvest festivals and Buddhist banquets (Lee and Kwon 2003).

The generic term for *tteok* is *byeong-i*, and while in China "byeong" refers to *tteok* made from wheat flour, in Korea this term refers to rice cakes. Generally speaking, byeong-i may be divided into two broad categories depending on how it is made: siru *tteok* (steamed) and *mulpyeon*, which refers to all other kinds of *tteok*; beyond that basic division, garnishes, powdered coatings, and fillings are used to give *tteok*

flavor and shape. Siru *tteok* is made from rice flour and set into a steamer to cook, while *mulpyeon* is not steamed but rather worked into a dough by adding water to the rice flour and shaping (Kang 1983, Hwang 1986). The various types of *tteok* can be further divided according to production method: *tteok* made from rice flour and steamed is called *jeungbyeong*; *tteok* made by pounding steamed rice is called *dobyeong*; shapes made from dough that are boiled or steamed are called *danjabyeong*; *tteok* shaped from dough and then fried is called *yujeonbyeong*; and dough that is fermented and then steamed is called *ibyeong*. *Tteok* may also be classified by its base material, that is, glutinous rice or nonglutinous rice (see Table 5.2) (Lee and Maeng 1987a; Lee et al. 2015).

Since the standard base material for Korean *tteok* is rice, its flavor and texture differ from bread or cakes made of wheat flour. For thousands of years, *tteok* has been the preferred treat for everyday occasions as well as an integral part of Korean food culture at ancestral rites, weddings, and national ceremonies. Since *tteok* does not use butter or sugar like flour-based pastries or cakes, it is considered to be a traditional health food.

Table 5.2 Korean *Tteok* varieties and characteristics

Jeungbyeong (steamed *tteok*): Rice flour steamed in an earthenware steamer. Two broad categories:
(1) *Seolgi tteok*: Rice flour is mixed with water, shaped into a single mass rather than layered, and then steamed. Varieties include *baekseolgi* (white *tteok*), *kongsiru tteok* (whole soybean), *musiru tteok* (radish), *japgwabyeong* (mixed fruit *tteok*), *bamseolgi tteok* (chestnut), *gamseolgi tteok* (persimmon), *haengbyeong* (apricot *tteok*), *dobyeong* (peach *tteok*), *danggwibyeong* ("female ginseng" *tteok*), *gukhwabyeong* (chrysanthemum *tteok*), *ssuksiru tteok* (mugwort), *sangjabyeong* (acorn *tteok*), *sansambyeong* (pounded bellflower root coated in rice powder *tteok*).
(2) *Kyeo tteok*: Rice flour is not mixed with water, but is layered and then steamed. Varieties include the following:
(a) *Mesiru tteok*: Steamed nonglutinous rice powder.
1. *Mesiru kyeo tteok*: Nonglutinous rice flour is layered, coated with a ground powder of choice, and steamed. Examples include *bulgeunpat gomul siru tteok* (red bean powdered), *geopipat* gomul siru *tteok* (thin-skinned red bean powdered), *mulhobak tteok* (pumpkin), *sangchu tteok* (lettuce), and *neuti tteok* (zelkova leaf).
2. *Mesiru pyeon*: Nonglutinous rice flour is not coated, but thinly layered. Examples include *baek pyeon* (white), *ggul pyeon* (honey), *seunggeomcho pyeon* (Korean angelica), and *seogi pyeon* (rock tripe).
(b) *Chalsiru tteok*: Steamed glutinous rice flour.
1. *Chalsiru tteok*: Glutinous rice flour is layered thinly and coated with powder, then steamed. Types include *chalsiru tteok* (glutinous steamed rice flour) and *duteop tteok* (honeyed red bean *tteok*).
2. *Chalsiru pyeon*: Glutinous rice flour is mixed with sesame seeds or mung beans, then steamed like *mesiru pyeon*. Types include *ggae chalpyeon* (sesame *tteok*), *nokdu chalpyeon* (mung bean *tteok*), and *ggul chal* (honey *tteok*).
Dobyeong (pounded *tteok*): After steaming, grains are pounded until they become sticky.
(1) Chapssal *dobyeong* (glutinous rice *dobyeong*): Glutinous rice is steamed and then pounded.
– *Injeolmi*: Glutinous rice is steamed, pounded on a rice-cake board and made into shapes, then coated in a powder of choice. Varieties include ssuk injeolmi (mugwort), *daechu* injeolmi (jujube), and *cheongjeongmi* injeolmi (glutinous millet).

(continued)

Table 5.2 (continued)

(2) Mepssal *dobyeong* (nonglutinous rice *dobyeong*): Nonglutinous rice is steamed and then pounded.

(a) *Jeolpyeon*: Nonglutinous rice is cooked and pounded, then cut in a rectangular or circular shape and stamped with a patterned *tteok* mold. Types include huin *jeolpyeon* (white), ssuk *jeolpyeon* (mugwort [green]), and *songgi jeolpyeon* (inner pine bark).

(b) Huin *tteok*: Nonglutinous rice is steamed, placed on a *tteok* board, and pounded into a long bar shape.

(c) *Gaepi tteok*: Nonglutinous rice is steamed, pounded flat, then shaped into thin, round pieces, filled, and folded into half-moon shapes. These are often placed in a small bowl to be scooped out with a spoon. Types include huin gaepi *tteok* (white), ssuk gaepi *tteok* (mugwort), and songgi gaepi *tteok* (inner pine bark).

Danjabyeong (dough *tteok*): Dough is made out of rice flour, formed into a shape, and boiled or steamed.

(1) Mepssal danjabyeong (nonglutinous rice dough *tteok*): Dough is made from nonglutinous rice, formed into a shape, and boiled or steamed.

– S*ongpyeon* (pine *tteok*): Nonglutinous rice is made into dough, filled, and formed into a dumpling shape, after which the *tteok* is steamed and garnished with pine needles. Examples include huin *songpyeon* (white pine *tteok*), ssuk *songpyeon* (mugwort pine *tteok*), and songgi *songpyeon* (inner pine bark *tteok*).

(2) Chapssal danjabyeong (glutinous rice dough *tteok*): Glutinous rice is made into dough, placed into boiling water, and then coated with powder.

(a) *Gyeongdan* (glutinous rice balls coated with powder): Hot water is added to glutinous rice flour, and after stirring and kneading, balls are formed and placed into boiling water. After cooking, they are coated with a powder of choice. Examples include Kong gyeongdan (soybean powder), pat gyeongdan (red bean powder), ggae gyeongdan (sesame powder), *susu* gyeongdan (sorghum powder), and *gamja* gyeongdan (potato powder).

(b) *Danja* (filled glutinous rice balls coated with powder): Glutinous rice is made into dough and formed into a flat dumpling shape, then cooked in boiling water. Next it is pounded until air bubbles form, then filled, reshaped, and coated in a powder of choice. Types include pat danja (red bean), bam danja (chestnut), seogi danja (rock tripe), seunggeomcho danja (Korean angelica), *yuja* danja (citron), *boksunga* danja (peach), *ssukguri* danja (mugwort), and *geonsi* danja (persimmon).

Yujeonbyeong (pan-fried *tteok*): Shapes are made out of thick, glutinous rice flour batter and pan-fried.

(1) *Hwajeon* (flower pancake): Flowers or leaves are placed onto glutinous rice flour pancakes and fried in oil. Examples include *jindallae kkot* jeon (azalea blossom pancake), *jangmi* kkot jeon (rose blossom pancake), and gukhwa kkot jeon (chrysanthemum blossom pancake).

(2) *Juak* (fried, filled *tteok*): Filling is added to glutinous rice dough, then shaped and fried. Examples include bam juak (chestnut), daechu juak (jujube), *chiji* juak (jasmine), and *memil* juak (buckwheat).

(3) *Bukkumi* (half-moon fried, filled pancake): Glutinous rice batter is pan-fried in oil, then filled and folded into a half-moon shape.

Ibyeong (fermented *tteok*): Rice wine is added to rice flour and made into dough, then left to ferment and rise, after which it is steamed. *Jeung pyeon* is an example of this kind of *tteok*, which is made with unfiltered rice wine.

5.3.1 *Jeungbyeong* (Steamed *Tteok*)

Siru *tteok* (rice flour steamed in an earthenware vessel) is the original form of *tteok*: rice is soaked in water, dried, and then ground into flour, after which it is placed in an earthenware vessel and steamed until ready. The two basic types are made of either glutinous or nonglutinous rice flour. The recipe determines whether the resulting *tteok* will be *seolgi tteok*—rice flour and water shaped into a single mass, often rectangular in shape—or kyeo *tteok*—no water added, but also shaped into a single mass.

The book *Joseon sangsik* (The Joseon table, Choi 1948) states, "Sticky cakes in the three East Asian nations differs in the following ways: the main ingredient of Chinese cake is wheat flour, the standard cooking method, baking; in Japan it is glutinous rice flour and pounding; in Korea, nonglutinous rice flour and steaming. Each country has their unique way of making sticky cakes. Joseon *tteok* made in an earthenware vessel is our original way of making steamed rice cake, and every other kind of *tteok* made in Korea is an adaptation or decorative twist on this original type" (Choi 1948).

Seolgi Tteok

To make *seolgi tteok*, water is added to rice flour and made into a single mass without layering. First the rice is ground into flour, then water is added little by little, squeezing the mixture by hand until it holds together. If too much water is added to nonglutinous rice, it becomes sticky like glutinous rice and must be pressed through a fine sieve.

Baekseolgi (white) is the basic form of *seolgi tteok*. Water or honeyed water is mixed with nonglutinous rice flour and sieved to evenly integrate the air, after which the cake is steamed. *Baekseolgi* is one of the most universally prepared types of *tteok*. It appears at almost every festive occasion, regardless of region or season. Its whiteness symbolizes purity, so it is usually found at celebrations of a baby's first 21 days, first 100 days, and first year landmarks. Also a symbol of the sacred, *baekseolgi* often makes an appearance among ceremonial offerings at Buddhist temples as part of their Yong-wang (Dragon King) and Sansin (Mountain Spirit) rituals. Many other folk rites and rituals also include *baekseolgi*. In 1934 Choi, Nam-Sun (a well-known literary figure) wrote, "The color white, as a symbol of the sun, represents purity and uplifting sublimity and is therefore revered as a holy hue by nations who worship the sun." In *Gyuhap chongseo* (Women's encyclopedia, Lady Yi 1809; translated into modern Korean by Jeong, Yang-Won 1975), a section on *baekseolgi* reads, "It is not good to knead the dough because the light will go out of it. To prepare for steaming, wash the rice wash until it turns white, grind it, and strain through a cloth sieve twice in order to achieve the finest flour (gently tap the sieve to achieve this)."

Mesiru Kyeo Tteok

Mesiru kyeo tteok is made by layering *tteok* with a powder of choice (such as adzuki beans) and then steaming. The name of this kind of *tteok* changes depending on the kind of powder mixed with the rice flour or placed between rice layers. According to the book *Dongguk sesigi* (Korean seasonal customs), written in 1849 by Hong Seok-Mo (translated by Lee, Seok-Ho 1972), "Nonglutinous rice is spread out in an earthenware steamer, and cooked adzuki beans are sprinkled between the rice layers, with the rice layers somewhat thicker. Depending on the size of the steamer, more layers may be added before steaming. This is called *jeungbyeong*. It is used as an offering to the gods at the start of a new year, at *sagmangjeon* [a ritual performed on the first and fifteenth of a month during a period of mourning], or any time one requests a favor of a god."

Followers of indigenous faiths blamed evil spirits for the onset of disease, claiming that the mouth was the portal through which malevolent spirits entered a body. The solution for preventing or expelling disease, then, required one to eat something the spirit hates. The color red was seen as representing fire, and because yang (an aspect of which is the fiery sun) dispels bad energy, people believed that evil spirits hated anything emitting a reddish hue. Gosa *tteok* contains red bean powder, and so it was considered to have the effect of chasing away evil spirits, or preventing them from invading the body in the first place (Cho 1976).

Mesiru Pyeon

Mesiru pyeon (or *mepyeon*) is a *tteok* that is thinly layered, with no filling between the layers, then steamed. Its name changes based on the ingredients mixed into the rice flour. In the 1670 cookbook *Gyugon siuibang* (or *Eumsik jimibang*; A mother's cookbook for her daughter-in-law), by Lady Jang of Andong (Hwang, Hae-Sung, ed. 1985), a passage reads, "Take 18 L of white rice, mix it together with 3.6 L of glutinous rice, and then pulverize the mixture. Thoroughly rinse one mal of rock tripe with water, mince it finely, mix it with the rice flour, and place the mixture into an earthenware steamer [siru]. Garnish it by spreading a thin layer of finely minced pine nuts on top, and steam."

Chalsiru Kyeo Tteok

This *tteok* is made of thin layers of glutinous rice flour that are dusted on top with a powder of choice. Since glutinous rice is sticky, the steam may not cook it through, so this *tteok* can also be layered alternately with nonglutinous rice.

Chalsiru Pyeon

Also known as *chalpyeon*, *chalsiru pyeon* is similar to *mesiru pyeon* in that glutinous rice flour is mixed with a powder such as sesame or mung bean, and then steamed. No water is added to the rice flour, and a little bit of salt is used. It is garnished in the same manner as *mesiru pyeon*.

5.3.2 Dobyeong (Pounded *Tteok*)

Dobyeong is made by cooking floured or granular grains in a steamer, then pounding the mass vigorously to make *tteok*. Glutinous *dobyeong* is called injeolmi, while *jeolpyeon*, huin *tteok*, and gaepi *tteok* are the names of *dobyeong* made with nonglutinous rice. A phrase in the biography of Baekgyeol (a zither player born c. 414 CE in the Silla dynasty) in *Samguk sagi* reads, "As the end of the year draws nigh, the sound of neighbors pounding tteok can be heard." This *tteok* was likely huin *tteok*, which they referred to as *ja*. Grains would be cooked and pounded before the end of the year in order to prepare sufficient amounts of *dobyeong* to ring in the new year at temple ceremonies.

Injeolmi

Dongguk sesigi contains the following passage: "Steam glutinous rice flour, pound it to make tteok, and dip it in pan-fried black bean powder or sesame salt. This is called *inbyeong*" (Hong 1849). A similar type of *tteok*, injeol byeong, is sticky and must be pulled by hand and cut with a knife.

Injeolmi is made by steaming glutinous rice, millet, or another glutinous grain, and pounding it on an *anban* (a wide, wooden board used for pounding *tteok*), which produces sticky *tteok*. Or glutinous rice can be made into *jiebap* (a type of steamed rice used in the making of rice wine) and then pounded. Alternatively, the rice can be ground into flour before steaming and pounding. *Gyuhap chongseo* (Women's encyclopedia) states, "Make the uncooked rice pearly white by pounding with a *sseulgi* [archaic word for a pestle that removes rice hulls], then wash several times until clean." It continues, "Remove any grains of nonglutinous rice and add hot water. Change the water every day for 4–5 days, then drain, steam thoroughly, and pound. Pound for a long time for best results" (Lady Yi 1809, translated into modern Korean by Chung Yang-Won 1975).

Injeolmi is not always white; often mugwort or jujubes are added. Additional flavors may take the form of a powder coating suitable to the given type of injeolmi; for white injeolmi, for example, these include roasted yellow soybean powder, cooked green bean powder, red adzuki bean powder, black adzuki bean powder, or roasted black sesame powder. When coated in hulled, cooked adzuki beans, the

tteok is known as pat injeolmi. Soybean injeolmi is coated in roasted soybean powder, and sesame injeolmi is coated in hulled, pulverized sesame seeds.

Gyugon siuibang (A mother's cookbook for her daughter-in-law) suggests a sweetener: "Put a pinch of taffy (*yeot*) into some injeolmi and roast it over a fire until the taffy melts. Eat one piece every morning." In the winter season, when injeolmi with added taffy would harden, cutting and roasting it over a fire resulted in a sweet injeolmi with a distinctive flavor.

Jeolpyeon

Jeolpyeon is the most basic form of *mulpyeon* (*tteok* made from dough). It is made of nonglutinous rice flour that is cooked, pounded, and sliced. *Gosirae tteok* (soaked nonglutinous rice made into a fine flour that is mixed with boiling water to prevent lumps, then steamed) is placed on a pounding board and pounded firmly with a *tteok* mallet until it forms a ball, at which point it is shaped by hand, imprinted with a wooden rice-cake pattern stamp, and oiled. Among the broad array of pattern stamps for *tteok* in Korea, many are thought to be related to religion or emotional longing. There are also geometric patterns, character patterns (Korean or Chinese), lined patterns, latticed patterns, flower patterns, animal patterns, and various composite patterns. Symbolic or abstract patterns may be mixed with descriptive patterns (Shin et al. 1972).

Striped *jeolpyeon* represents long life or long marriage, and as such is often placed on the table as part of a large spread prepared for a wedding feast or 60th birthday celebration. The size and shape of *jeolpyeon* varies from region to region: some favor wooden stamps, others prefer using dye to create an attractive design. Flavors include mugwort *jeolpyeon* and pine bark *jeolpyeon*. (Pine bark *jeolpyeon* is made by removing the outer layer of bark on a small section of a pine tree, then stripping off a piece of the inner white bark. The inner bark is shredded, soaked in cold water that is frequently refreshed, then simmered and squeezed out. At this point, the pine bark is added to the *tteok*.) Both *Gyeongdo japji* (Customs of the capital, Yu Deuk-Dong late 1700s, translated into modern Korean by Lee, Seok-Ho 1972) and *Dongguk sesigi* contain the following passage: "To prepare for Dano [a festival on the fifth day of the fifth lunar month], mugwort leaves are picked, mashed, added to nonglutinous rice flour, and kneaded into a green dough. The image of a cart wheel is imprinted on the tteok." This reveals that mugwort *jeolpyeon* comprised part of the Dano festival offerings.

Jeolpyeon included *tteok* that was dyed and shaped into a half-moon, dragon, bird, flower, leaf, or cocoon. Names for this kind of *tteok* were based on its shape, such as "dragon tteok," but they were all a form of *jeolpyeon*. Even the round bars of rice cake eaten on Lunar New Year's Day can be called *jeolpyeon*. Regional names vary: In Jeolla Province it is called *bandal tteok* (half-moon *tteok*) or *banchakgon tteok* (fine half-moon *tteok*); In Baekjon village, Gangwon Province, it is known as jeol *tteok*; and in Hamgyong Province is it made into large half-moon pieces and called *dal tteok* (moon *tteok*) (Hwang 1986).

Huin *Tteok*

Huin *tteok*, or white *tteok*, is made a bit wetter than the dough for gyeongdan (sweet rice balls), steamed, and then placed on a *tteok*-pounding board wrapped in cloth to be massaged and kneaded. Next it is spread out on a *tteok* board and pounded with a mallet. Both *Gyeongdo japji* and *Dongguk sesigi* reveal that "Nonglutinous rice is steamed and placed on a board to be pounded multiple times into a long shape. This is huin tteok. The long roll is sliced thinly, about the width of a coin, and added to clear broth soup along with some beef or pheasant. Boil it and season with pepper, and you have *tteokguk* (rice cake soup). This soup can be used in ancestral rites or for entertaining guests, and it is called for on every New Year's celebration table." *Yeolyang sesigi* (A record of seasonal customs in Seoul, Kim Man-Sun 1819, translated into modern Korean by Lee, Seok-Ho 1972) states the following: "Make flour from high-quality rice and sift it with a sieve. Add enough water to make dough, set it to cook in a steamer, then place it on a board and pound it with a tteok mallet. Once bubbles form, pinch off pieces of the dough and rub them until they are round and long. Because pieces are torn off by hand, this tteok is sometimes referred to as *gwonmo* (fistfuls), but is more commonly known as *bibin* tteok (rubbed tteok), *golmu* tteok (thimble tteok), or huin tteok (white tteok)."

According to the poem "*Cheomse* byeong" (New Year's *tteok*), huin *tteok* is eaten at Lunar New Year celebrations, when everyone gains another year of life, and for this, white rice cake must be pounded for an extended period of time. The whiteness and cleanness of the *tteok* was likened to the fruit of immortality eaten by Daoist immortals (Jung 1973). When good, clean huin *tteok* was boiled in *tteokguk* (rice cake soup), the rice cake would not become overly sticky or fall apart. Since *tteok* was made of rice, it was considered to be the staff of life, and eating huin *tteok* in the first month of the year came to symbolize the resurrection of the previous year's fading and dying spirit.

Sudan is bead-shaped *tteok* (literally, "water ball" *tteok*) and is often called *baekdan* (white ball *tteok*) or *bundan* (powdered ball *tteok*), while a particularly refined version is known as *jeokbundan* (fine powdered ball *tteok*). *Dongguk sesigi* relates that "Just as with huin tteok, nonglutinous rice flour is steamed and pounded at length and then rolled into long logs, but then it is thinly sliced and shaped into round balls about the size of small marbles. These are eaten after being placed into honeyed water and chilled with ice. They are also found in ceremonial offerings. Sudan is a traditional food item consumed during the Dano and Yudu water festivals" (Hong 1849). Another rice cake of this type is called *geondan* ("dry ball" *tteok*), which is not placed into water, but still adheres to the "cold filling" type of *tteok*. Sudan and geondan both belong to the category of huin *tteok* (Lee 1978).

Gaepi *Tteok*

Gaepi *tteok* is made in the same way as *jeolpyeon*, by cooking nonglutinous rice, then pounding and rolling it, placing a filling inside, and placing it into a small bowl. As the *tteok* is folded over the filling, air enters and causes the crescent shape to balloon, leading to its alternate name, *baram tteok* (wind *tteok*). Once the *tteok* is filled and shaped, it is basted with sesame oil. In the pounding stage, the dough should be pounded until air bubbles form in order to achieve the chewy exterior texture characteristic of gaepi *tteok*. The filling used for gaepi *tteok* in all regions is adzuki bean paste. When ssuk (mugwort) is added, it becomes ssuk gaepi *tteok*, and when songgi (inner pine bark) is added, it is called songgi gaepi *tteok*.

5.3.3 Danjabyeong (Dough Tteok)

***Songpyeon* (Filled Half-Moons)**

The exterior of *songpyeon* is made of rice-flour dough, and once a filling is placed inside and the *tteok* shaped, it is steamed with pine needles. New grain is used to make holiday *tteok* for the fall festival Chuseok, and early-ripening rice is used for ancestral memorial service tables and gravesites. This is called *oryeo songpyeon* (early rice). *Dongguk sesigi* reads, "Make huin tteok from the earliest rice, make the filling by soaking beans, then layer pine needles in the steamer, place the tteok on top, and steam. When fully cooked, remove the tteok, rinse it with water, and coat with sesame oil. This is called songpyeon" (Hong 1849). *Gyuhap chongseo* (Women's encyclopedia) suggests further, "Grind rice into fine flour and make dough using more water than that used for huin tteok. After steaming, pound the tteok a considerable amount, then rather than coat it in powder like thick sudan tteok, rub the dough until thin enough for the filling to show through, and fill."

The names of different *songpyeon* indicate the color of the dough—huin *songpyeon* is white, mugwort *songpyeon* is green, and inner pine bark *songpyeon* is brown—or the type of filling: mashed, thin-skinned red bean, mashed mung bean, young soybean, chestnut, jujube, or sesame paste. While the names and colors of *songpyeon* differ according to type, its size and shape vary by region. In the north *songpyeon* is larger; in Seoul, it looks like a small clam; in Gangwon Province the pieces are slender as a finger; in the Wonsan region the clam-like shape is pinched tightly in back; in Hwanghae Province, *songpyeon* is as large as the palm of a hand. *Gyuhap chongseo* states, "If the tteok is too small and round it looks plain; adjust the size to make it bigger" (Cultural Heritage Administration 1984). As mentioned, *songpyeon* is layered over pine needles and placed in a steamer with a cloth laid over it. The pine needles must be cooked and laid out to dry in order to be clean. To eat right away, let the steam rise, then, with the pine needles still in place, rinse with cold water, drip dry, and add sesame oil.

Gyeongdan (Sweet Rice Balls)

The basic ingredient of gyeongdan is sweet glutinous rice flour, which is mixed with mugwort or *danggui* (Korean angelica). Glutinous rice flour, or glutinous sorghum flour, is kneaded with boiling hot water, then shaped into balls and boiled in water. Once the balls float, they are removed from the water and dried, then dipped in a coating powder. Numerous coarsely ground coatings may be used for gyeongdan, among which roasted soybean powder, adzuki bean powder, and sesame powder are frequently seen. For shaping, the dough is rolled into small balls and covered with a damp dishcloth to rest a few minutes, which increases stickiness. Although gyeongdan can be made large or small, it is important to make them round as a ball and of uniform size. Gyeongdan are usually served on a wooden dish, laid out in three rows according to color. When boiled they turn out soft and delicious.

***Danja* (Filled and Coated)**

When making danja, a secondary ingredient is mixed into glutinous rice flour and kneaded with water, after which the dough is shaped in the palm of one's hand, making round pieces with flat bottoms. The dough is then boiled, drained, and pounded with a bat until it bubbles and becomes sticky. After the dough is rolled into a long cylindrical shape, small pieces are torn off by hand and flattened in the palm, and filling is placed in the center. The *tteok* is folded around the filling and dipped in coating powder. Danja is frequently seen at festivals and banquets, and constitutes an essential part of the food offerings at children's birthday celebrations.

Unlike injeolmi, danja consists of small pieces and is made by steaming glutinous rice flour. Traditionally, danja would not be displayed alone, but would be accompanied by various colorful rice cakes. The recipe for danja depends on which secondary ingredients are in season, with mugwort danja in spring, chestnut or citron danja in fall, and jujube, mushroom, or pine nut danja in winter. Danja tends to be about the size of a finger, and chestnut or adzuki beans can be used as filling. The ingredients mixed into the rice flour must harmonize with the flavors in the powdered coating. Mugwort danja goes well with adzuki bean powder, while chestnut mixed with dried jujube is compatible with chestnut powder.

5.3.4 Yujeonbyeong (Pan-Fried Rice Cake)

Rice cakes pan-fried in oil include hwajeon, juak, and bukkumi. Glutinous rice flour is mixed with hot water, and the resulting dough is formed into a number of different shapes. Hwajeon is pan-fried with flowers, bukkumi is made the same way but with filling, and juak is deep-fried in boiling oil.

Hwajeon (Flower Pancake)

"Hwajeon" means "flower pancake." Glutinous dough is placed in a pan to sizzle, and flowers or leaves are decoratively placed on top. Once the dough becomes golden and hot, it is dipped into honeyed water and removed. As recorded in *Buin pilji* (Necessities for every wife, 1915) and *Gyuhap chongseo* (Women's encyclopedia), "If made with cold water, the dough loses its color and soaks up too much oil; make the dough in the steam of salted, boiling water and squeeze the flour together just until it holds" (Cultural Heritage Administration 1984). While the use of glutinous rice dough for hwajeon seems to be consistent throughout Korea, the ingredients placed on top differ by region. Decorative flowers include azaleas, roses, pear blossom, peach blossom, cockscomb, or chrysanthemum, depending on the season. When no flowers are in season, dried jujube peels, mugwort leaves, dropwort, or crown daisy leaves may be used. Hwajeon is often served in conjunction with colorfully dyed *tteok*.

Jeongjoji (Pots and cutting boards), volume 8 of *Imwonsimyukji* (Encyclopedia of rural life, Seo Yu-Gu 1827), confirms that "Glutinous rice pan-fried with flowers is called hwajeon," while "wheat flour fried in round balls is called jeonbyeong. Alternatively, glutinous rice flour, sorghum flour, or Job's tears [adlay millet] flour may be shaped into rounds and filled with adzuki beans, then folded over and pan fried" (Jung 1973). *Gyeongdo japji* (Customs of the capital) and *Dongguk sesigi* (Korean seasonal customs) state that "On the third day of the third lunar month, after picking azaleas I made dough from glutinous rice flour and shaped it into round rice cakes, placed them in oil to fry lightly, and called them hwajeon." *Gyugon siuibang* (A mother's cookbook for her daughter-in-law) reads, "Add a little hulled buckwheat flour to the glutinous rice flour, then add several azalea, rose, or Korean yellow rose blossoms. Loosely roll the dough, then drop it piece by piece into boiling oil and panfry the pieces until they steam. Remove and drizzle honey over them." This method of making hwajeon continues to this day, except that now the *tteok* pancakes are each adorned with a single petal and then fried, which looks lovely, but is not as fragrant as the full-flower garnishes of the past.

Juak (Filled and Deep-Fried)

Juak is not pan-fried like hwajeon, but deep-fried. Jujube, sesame, or minced citron is mixed into sifted glutinous flour and then molded by hand into half-moon shapes and deep-fried in oil. *Gyuhap chongseo* reads, "Using cold water to make the dough for juak results in soft, tender tteok; if made with hot water, the resulting dough will be flaccid and taste thin." Hwajeon typically has no filling, but juak often has a bit of filling, such as sesame seeds or minced jujubes mixed with honey or cinnamon. When glutinous rice is deep-fried, it has a tendency to fall apart; care must be taken to place the pieces of dough in the oil separately so they do not stick together, and then remove them as soon as they float to the top. They are then basted with honey,

sprinkled with powdered pine nut or cinnamon, and arranged decoratively on a platter to serve.

Juak began as *gakseo* in the Chinese state of Chu (1030 BCE–223 BCE). The character for "gak" means horns, which likely refers to the peaked corners of the *tteok*. Although not the same as juak made in Chu, Korean juak was made by placing diced meat and vegetables into rounded leaf shapes that were closed and then pinched at the ends. As time passed, people began to fill this *tteok* with adzuki beans instead, causing it to be dubbed *jogak*, which later morphed into *joak*, which today is pronounced juak (*Aeongakbi* [Proper usage of the Korean language], Jung Yak-Yong 1819, translated into modern Korean by Kim Jong-Kwon 1976). According to *Jeongjoji*, "Today people consider juak to be the most important type of rice cake, a necessity on any table when receiving guests or performing ancestral rites" (Jung 1973). Juak is often made rounder and larger for events such as weddings or 60th year birthday (*hoegap*) celebrations.

Larger, rounded shapes are characteristic of juak from Gaesong (in present-day North Korea), and are often topped with a pine nut or a slice of jujube when served. In Seoul, juak is made into smaller, flatter, dumpling-like shapes.

Bukkumi (Half-Moon Fried, Filled Pancakes)

Bukkumi is shaped and pan-fried in a similar manner to hwajeon at first, but after frying, a filling is added. The top is decorated with flowers or leaves. Bukkumi's base is most often made of glutinous rice or millet, but sometimes wheat or mung beans are used, all of which must first be soaked, then dried and ground. After frying the dough like a pancake, a filling is placed inside and the edges are sealed in a half-moon shape. Fillings tend to consist of mung bean powder or hulled adzuki bean powder. In the past, in addition to mashed chestnut, summer fillings included julienned cucumber or zucchini that was lightly salted, then squeezed of excess liquid after several minutes and stir-fried, or meat that was also julienned and stir-fried.

Joseon sangsik (The Joseon table) asserts that "the origin of *binja tteok* [mung bean cake] comes from the Chinese term *bingja*" (Choi 1948). The manner of making binja *tteok* is explained in *Gyugon siuibang* and *Gyuhap chongseo*, not as the *bindaetteok* [mung bean] pancakes commonly used as a savory side dish today, but rather as true yujeonbyeong (pan-fried *tteok*). *Gyugon siuibang* describes it thus: "Make flour of hulled mung beans by coarsely grinding them. Pour oil into a fry pan, and when it boils, spoon the flour in a little at a time. Place a filling of honey mixed with hulled adzuki beans inside, then drizzle with more of the mung bean flour and fry until it turns a golden citron hue." In addition, *Gyuhap chongseo* reads, "Grind the mung beans coarsely, then pour enough oil into a frying pan to submerge the cakes, stirring the mung bean flour into the oil. Place a filling of honeyed chestnuts on top, cover this with more mung bean flour, and pat it down. As you turn and press it with a spoon, shape it like a flower pancake. As it cooks, place pine nuts and sliced jujubes on top."

5.3.5 *Ibyeong (Fermented Tteok)*

Ibyeong dough is made by mixing rice wine with rice flour, then letting it rest to ferment and rise before steaming. The representative type is called *jeung pyeon* (or *jeungbyeong*), but other names include *gijeung* byeong, *giju tteok*, *giji tteok*, *sul tteok*, and *beonggeoji tteok*. The method of steaming, the garnishes, and the taste of sweet and sour wine make this *tteok* unique. Because of the use of alcohol, the rice cakes do not spoil as quickly, so the main season for this type of *tteok* is summer. Malt can be used instead of unfiltered rice wine, and garnishes that enhance the look or taste of the *tteok* include black sesame seeds, pine nuts, dyed noodles, adzuki beans, or cinnamon.

The ibyeong recipe in *Dongguk sesigi* reads, "First make rice flour into dough, then pull it apart piece by piece, add rice wine, and steam. The dough will rise and take on the appearance of teardrops. Cooked soybeans can be mixed with honey and added to this tteok as filling. Top the tteok with jujube rind. This is called jeung pyeon." *Aeongakbi* (Proper usage of the Korean language) states, "When making jeungbyeong, jujube rind is used as a decorative garnish. [Incidentally], long ago the fruit was sliced so thinly it imparted to the *tteok* the appearance of having a character carved into it, which is why *gomyeong* ("go" = *tteok*, "myeong" = to carve) became the word for rice cake garnish." Even today, the chestnuts, jujubes, or pine nuts decorating prepared foods, as well as the strands of egg or *gochu* (chili pepper) threads gracing the top of a dish, are called gomyeong.

The key element to making good *jeung pyeon* is the way the rice wine is made. Nonglutinous rice flour is used to dilute rice porridge, which is then chilled. Nuruk (cereal alcohol fermentation starter) powder is mixed with water and stirred well; when it settles, the water on top is poured into the porridge and left in a warm room to ferment. This ferment is added to rice flour to make dough, which is shaped and then covered with a hemp cloth. Once the desired rise is achieved, the pieces of *tteok* are laid out evenly and steamed. Garnishes include cucumber blossom, cockscomb blossom, pumpkin blossom, jujube blossom, pine nut, rock tripe, chestnut shavings, and black sesame seeds.

Gyugon siuibang (A mother's cookbook for her daughter-in-law) states, "Rice flour is sifted through a fine sieve and refined further using a cloth sieve. If making one *mal* (18 L) of *jeung pyeon giju* (when rice wine is poured into *jeung pyeon* so that it rises), first wash one *doe* (1.8 L) of rice and make watery cooked rice, then cool. Shave a clean block of nuruk and add the shavings to water. Once it rises, pour off the excess water and strain through a sieve until about one bowl of milky water accumulates. Mix this with the rice and add one spoonful of good rice wine. When bubbles begin to form, take 3 *hop* (540 mL) of rice, make watery cooked rice, cool, then add it to the rice wine mixture and wait until bubbles arise again. When bubbles appear on the second day, dampen a large, thick cloth with water and place the mixture in it. Add rice flour until the mixture swells to the thickness of soybean porridge, and then take about half a crock's amount and place it in a crock until it

swells about seven-tenths of its size again, at which point it is ready to be placed in a steamer and steamed in the manner of *sanghwa* tteok."

Gyuhap chongseo (Women's encyclopedia) describes *jeung pyeon* in the following way: "Start with quality rice and polish it like jade by rinsing several times until the water runs clear. Let it sit overnight, then dry thoroughly, grind, and sift through a cloth sieve. Bring water to a rolling boil, then add the same amount of boiling water to the rice flour as when making songpyeon. Pound the dough a few times. Mix a small amount of rice wine with cold water—just enough to draw out the taste of the wine—then knead it thoroughly into the dough, adding a little sesame oil as you knead, until no lumps remain. Taste the dough: if the sour taste of wine comes through, then stretch the dough to check if it slowly returns to shape. If so, wrap it tightly in oiled paper and a wrapping cloth and place it in a warm room with a slight breeze.

When bubbles form, it is ready to be cooked. Stir-fry a mix of honeyed adzuki beans, dried ginger, and ground black pepper to make a filling. To prepare the tteok for cooking, open the bundle and tie the wrapping cloth to the rim of a steamer. Drizzle the adzuki bean filling in rows over the dough; if you spoon it, it will dribble into lumps. Then seal the dough over the filling, forming distinct pieces. Garnish with thinly sliced jujubes, dried persimmons, and half of a pine nut, then cover with a cloth and steam as when making sanghwa tteok. When the jujube rinds darken, the tteok is fully cooked. If a greener appearance is desired, add some angelica root powder to the dough. If your *makgeollii* (unfiltered rice wine) is not good, make your own ferment about 2 days ahead: mix cooked rice with good nuruk and ferment until it reaches the almost sweet but slightly bitter stage, filter it, and use the liquid for jeung pyeon."

5.4 Origin of Traditional Korean Sweets (*Hangwa*) and their Varieties

In food studies, *hangwa* are classified as confections (*gwajeongryu*). These treats are not as universal or as varied as *tteok*, but they have a similar history: they developed as agriculture progressed and the production of grains increased, especially among vegetarian Buddhist monks, during the Silla and Goryeo dynasties. Originally, *hangwa* were made by mixing honey with grains or fruit. When certain fruits or other natural ingredients were out of season, *hangwa* were made by shaping cooked grains to mimic the appearance of the fruit, with small twigs from fruit trees fashioned to look like fruit stems. Such specialized forms of *hangwa* became popular at weddings and banquets. Some were included with other food items as offerings at ancestral rites. Many became visually stunning delicacies favored by the upper class (Lee 1985). To distinguish this kind of Korean confection from sweets from other countries, they were called "hangwa," "han" referring to Korea, and "gwa" meaning fruit. Another name for *hangwa* is "*jogwa*," where "jo" means made or

shaped, as opposed to "*saenggwa*," where "saeng" indicates fresh fruit. In sum, *hangwa* encompasses all kinds of manufactured sweets that substitute for fresh fruit (Yoon 1974).

The oldest written record of *hangwa* is found in *Samguk yusa* (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms), in "Biography of Kim Yu-Shin," a Silla general. In 613 a Goguryeo spy named Baek Seok falsely befriended Kim Yu-Shin and almost succeeded in kidnapping him, but the three guardian deities of the state appeared to Kim as women who offered him delicious rice sweets (*migwa*) and told him that Baek Seok was a spy, thereby thwarting a national crisis. In "Biography of Garakguk" there is a record of a queen who brings the ingredients for sweets to be made in preparation for her royal wedding, as well as a record of treats used as an offering at King Suro's rites table (Kim 2015).

References to specific types of *hangwa* in histories or other ancient writings in Korea are few, and, to complicate things, in given eras and regions they are referred to by different names. Nevertheless, most *hangwa* may be classified by production method and ingredients. Production methods have remained largely the same over time, and only small changes have occurred in terms of shape or ingredients. Table 5.3 divides the different types of *hangwa* according to the preparation method (Lee and Maeng 1987b).

5.4.1 *Yumilgwa (Oil and Honey Confections)*

All varieties of yumilgwa begin with the same ingredients mixed into dough, which is then molded into different shapes. These are referred to as yakgwa, dasikgwa, *mandugwa*, maejakgwa, bakgye, and more. As mentioned above, the techniques for making yumilgwa as found in historical texts remain the same today, with only minor variations in ingredients or shape. Typically, sesame oil and honey are added to wheat flour and kneaded firmly, then the dough is placed in a special mold or made into attractive shapes before frying in oil.

Jeongjoji (Pots and cutting boards) reads, "Wheat flour is kneaded with honey and oil until dough forms and then fried in oil. Rice cake made in this manner is called *hangu* [fried strands] and *geoyeo* [similar to yakgwa]....When performing rites for their ancestors, the Easterners [a neo-Confucian school during the Joseon dynasty] add these to their ritual offerings" (Lee 1981b). This passage reveals that yumilgwa had become a valued component of ancestral offerings by the nineteenth century. Originally, yumilgwa made up part of the humble fare offered with prayers to the Buddha, but with the rise of the golden age of Buddhism during the Goryeo dynasty (918–1392), the avoidance of fish and meat allowed yumilgwa to increase in importance and frequency in offerings. Once fish and meat were approved for ceremonial rites again, some suggested that yumilgwa should be excluded; as of yet, however, the confection remains an essential part of ritual offerings (Yoon 1974).

Table 5.3 Classification of *Hangwa* by preparation method

Gangjeong* and *Sanja: Dried, glutinous rice dough is fried until puffed and then dipped in a powdered coating. Varieties include the following: • Gangjeong: Thin layers of dried glutinous rice dough are fried until puffy, after which various coatings may be applied (soybeans, angelica, white or black sesame seeds, *maehwa* [puffed grains], pine nuts, pine flower, or cinnamon) and different shapes may be made (finger shapes, ball shapes, or pounded shapes). • Sanja: Dried glutinous rice dough is fried in oil, then *maehwa* (puffed grains) are attached with honey to the exterior. Slightly flattened, rectangular shapes are typical. Some are tinted with natural dyes. Types of sanja include *maehwa* sanja, puffed rice sanja, and buckwheat sanja. *Yeonsagwa* is another type, which includes *baemaehwa* (pear blossom), *hongmaehwa* (pink plum), and baekja (white, or pine nut). *Binsagwa* is another type (made with the small pieces leftover from making yeonsagwa), which includes *Baksan* (light sanja) and *yohwa* (water pepper flower). Yeonsagwa may be naturally dyed in "rainbow" colors (usually pink, green, and yellow).
Yumilgwa (oil and honey confections): Honey is kneaded into dough and shaped, then deep-fried and dipped in honey again. Varieties include *yakgwa* (fried honey cakes), *yeonyakgwa* (soft yakgwa), *dasikgwa* (patterned tea cakes), *maejakgwa* (fried ribbon cookies), small, medium, and large *bakgye* (rectangular honey cakes), and cinnamon ginger confections.
Dasik (patterned tea cakes): Honey is kneaded into grain flour with medicinal herbs, ground flowers, starch, or other raw edibles, and the dough is pressed into a dasik pattern mold. Varieties include starch, pine pollen, chestnut, sesame, black sesame, soybean, ginger, longan, arrowroot, acorn, potato, bracken, angelica, and rice.
Jeongwa (candied fruit): The roots, stems, or fruits of low-moisture plants are boiled for long periods of time in sugar water. Varieties include lotus root, green plum, apricot kernel, lilyturf, ginseng, citron, hawthorn, quince, pine, raisin, balloon flower root, *deodeok* root (bellflower family), winter melon, bog bilberry, apricot, peach, cherry, bamboo shoot, and scilla.
Suksilgwa (sweetened stewed fruit): Fruit that is ripened on the tree and then boiled in honey. • *Cho* varieties: After letting the fruit ripen on the tree, the shape of the fruit is maintained as when boiling in honey, but it is pan-fried instead. Examples include chestnut and jujube. • *Nan* varieties: After letting the fruit ripen on the tree, the fruit is mashed, boiled in honey, and then reshaped. Examples include chestnut balls, jujube balls, and ginger balls.
Gwapyeon (Fruit jellies): Honey and sour-tasting fruit are boiled together, starch is added, and the mixture is left to set until completely cool, after which it is sliced. Varieties include cherry, apricot, quince, pine nut, raspberry, wild grape, and ginger.
Yeotgangjeong (Crunchy nut candy): Whole, not ground, nuts and/or grains are boiled with taffy and mixed well. Varieties include sesame, black soybean, walnut, pine nut, and peanut.

Yakgwa is the most basic form of yumilgwa and is sometimes used as a collective term for the many different types of yumilgwa. *Joseon sangsik* (The Joseon table) records that "Yakgwa is the best of all sweets made during the Joseon dynasty. It is crafted with the utmost effort, and surely there is no confection in the world that compares to it." Yakgwa literally means "medicinal fruit," and as the text states further, "Wheat is the main ingredient of yakgwa, which means this treat has the excellent quality of being available spring, summer, fall, and winter; among the secondary ingredients, honey is the basis for a broad swath of medicines, and oil contains insecticidal and detoxifying properties." In Korea honey is considered to be medicinal, and thus honeyed wine is called *yakju* (medicinal wine), honeyed rice is called *yakbap* (medicinal rice), and honeyed fruit (or fruit-shaped honey cake) is called yakgwa (medicinal confection) (Jung 1973).

In *Gyuhap chongseo* (Women's encyclopedia), yakgwa is also referred to as *gwajul*, and *Aeongakbi* (Proper usage of the Korean language) reads, "Mix wheat noodle dough with honey and form it into fruit shapes such as chestnut, jujube, pear, or persimmon to make *jogwa* (molded confections)." In another text, "Sundry honey cakes" in *Daesangji* (cited in Jung 1973), yakgwa is simply called *hangwa*, and in this case, it is cut into squares.

During the Joseon dynasty yakgwa was frequently shaped somewhat like a small pancake: "For roughly-shaped yakgwa, form the wheat dough into flat, round pieces and then fry" (Choi 1948). *Ganbon gyuhap chongseo* (Women's encyclopedia, woodblock version, 1869) suggests "pressing the batter into a mold" to shape it, or "If you wish to make squares, prepare the dough accordingly." Further, *Joseon yori jebeop* (Korean cooking, Bang Sin-Young 1917) reads, "Shape by pressing the dough into a candy mold or pound with a wheat baton to the thickness of about three spoonfuls of wheat, then slice evenly to fry."

Recipes for yakgwa appear not only in *Gyuhap chongseo*, *Aeongakbi*, and *Joseon yori jebeop*, but also in *Ijo gungjung yori tonggo* (Recipes from the palace, Han et al. 1957) and many other cookbooks. In each cookbook, there are slight differences in the proportions of ingredients and preparation methods. Table 5.4 lists the ingredients for making yakgwa as recorded in various records (Lee and Maeng 1987b).

The yakgwa recipe in *Gyugon siuibang* calls for kneading wheat flour, honey, oil, and water, then shaping the dough, frying it, and soaking it in malt syrup. *Jubangmun* does not use oil, but rather adds honey, alcohol, and hot water to wheat flour for its yakgwa dough. Another method in this volume takes the roasted soybean flour that is used for molded confections, adds only honey to make the dough, and soaks it in malt syrup without frying (Hwang 1976). In *Gyugon siuibang*, *Jubangmun*, and *Siuijeonso*, dough is made by adding *suyucheong*, a mixture of sesame oil and honey, to boiling water. In later cookbooks, water is no longer used in yakgwa recipes (Lee 1981a). After *Gyuhap chongseo* (1815), yakgwa is made by mixing cinnamon, ginger, and citron juice with malt syrup in order to enhance the flavor, then soaking it in honeyed malt syrup. After draining the yakgwa, it is finished with a sprinkle of pine nut flour. *Joseon yori jebeop* was the first to introduce sugar syrup by boiling sugar in water for yakgwa, and since then sugar syrup has frequently replaced malt syrup in yakgwa recipes (Bang 1954).

5.4.2 *Gangjeong and Sanja (Dyed, Puffed Rice Confections)*

As gangjeong and sanja are mentioned in the 1611 text *Domundaejak* (Dreaming of good food at the butcher shop, a food critique by Heo Gyun), these confections must have been part of the *hangwa* panoply before the 1600s. *Gyuhap chongseo* and *Gyugon siuibang* also refer to gangjeong. *Dongguk sesigi* reads, "Gangjeong, in its variety of colorful hues, is used as a household offering during New Year's or spring festivities to represent a veritable parade of fruit, and it has become an indispensable New Year's gift for guests." *Seongho saseol* (Seongho Yi Ik miscellany, Yi Ik

Table 5.4 Yakgwa ingredients, per historical record

Record	Year	Wheat	Honey	Sesame oil	Alcohol	Other
Gyugon siuibang (A mother's cookbook for her daughter-in-law)	circa 1670	✓	✓	✓	✓	Boiling water
Yorok (vital record [of medicinal foods])	1680	✓	✓	✓	cheongju (refined rice wine)	
Jubangmun (how to make and cook with rice wine)	Late 1700s	✓	*chongmil* (another word for honey)	—	cheongju (refined rice wine)	Hot water
Jubangmun #2		Roasted soybean flour	✓	—		
Gyuhap chongseo (Women's encyclopedia)	1815	✓	✓	✓	*soju* (distilled spirits)	Cinnamon, pepper, dried ginger, ginger juice, pine nut flour
Siuijeonseo (compilation of correct cooking methods)	Late 1800s	✓	✓	✓	yakju (medicinal/herbal wine), soju	Boiling water, pine nut flour, cinnamon
Joseon yori jebeop (Korean cooking)	1917	✓	Sugar	✓	—	Cinnamon
Buin pilji (necessities for every wife)	1915	✓	✓	✓	soju	Cinnamon, dried ginger, pine nut flour

[1681–1763]) states, "The term *wonil cheon-gyeon* (New Year's offering), used in the Dongnae sacred rites, refers to gangjeong, and the phrase *hyein isik* as found in *Zhouli* (Rites of Zhou) means fermented offering, which is also a variety of gangjeong." Finally, *Yeolyang sesigi* (A record of seasonal customs in Seoul) affirms that "Household ritual offerings to ancestors are never complete without gangjeong" (Jung 1973).

According to Kim Jung-Man's research, there are over 23 different names for gangjeong and sanja, each of which carries its own nuance (Kim and Yang 1982). This plethora of names stems from the oral transmission of the terms over a lengthy period of time. Confusion may ensue when the same kind of *hangwa* is referred to by different names, or when different *hangwa* are referred to by the same name. For example, in the 1976 edition of *Hanguk-eo daesajeon* (Korean language encyclopedia, Jung et al. 1976), the first definition of gangjeong reads as follows: "Dough is made by kneading together fermented, dried glutinous rice flour with rice wine, then slicing it into pieces that are 1 cm wide and 2 cm long. The dough is then dried and fried in oil. Rice syrup or honey is applied, after which the pieces are rolled in

sesame seeds, ground peanuts, ground pine nuts, or pine pollen. This is a type of yumilgwa." Definition two reads, "A Korean traditional treat made from sesame seeds or soybeans mixed with rice syrup, also known as yeot (taffy) gangjeong, a different product of the same name." Gangjeong and sanja are also sometimes referred to as *yugwa*. "Yugwa" is defined as an abbreviation of "yumilgwa" in *Hangugeo daesajeon* (Unabridged Korean language dictionary) and *Urimal keun sajeon* (The big dictionary of Korean language), thus creating confusion around the classification of yakgwa, gangjeong, and sanja. The appellations above may overlap with each other because some are homophones of different *hanja* (Chinese characters used in the Korean language). This bewildering lack of standard classification makes it difficult to correctly disseminate information about Korea's confectionary culture abroad.

Sanja is usually found coated in *maehwa* (puffed rice), while gangjeong coatings include *maehwa*, white sesame seeds, black sesame seeds, and others. Sanja and gangjeong differ only in appearance—the basic recipe is the same. *Gyugon siuibang* (A mother's cookbook for her daughter-in-law) contains a descriptive recipe: glutinous rice flour is mixed with rice wine and soybean milk to make dough, after which it is steamed, pounded until bubbles arise, rolled, dried, and then fried in oil until it puffs up. Finally, the pieces are drizzled with honey water and dipped in white sesame seeds, colorful puffed rice, or powdered angelica coating. *Aeongakbi* (Proper usage of the Korean language) reads, "Mix strong wine with glutinous rice flour to make *tteok* dough; slice it thinly and wait for it to dry. If it floats in the frying oil, the pieces will turn out big and round. *Dongguk sesigi* provides the following recipe: "Knead rice wine into glutinous rice flour, cut it into large and small pieces, and dry these in the sun. When frying in oil, let the pieces puff up like a cocoon so that the interior is hollow. To make many-colored gangjeong, coat the exterior with white sesame seeds, black sesame seeds, white bean powder, or green bean powder mixed with syrup; for pine gangjeong, use ground pine nuts; for maehwa gangjeong, pop glutinous rice grains over a fire and attach them to the confection in the shape of a flower." *Yeolyang sesigi* (A record of seasonal customs in Seoul) reads, "Make gangjeong dough by mixing glutinous rice flour with pure wine unadulterated by water. Slice it thinly, like tteok, and place the pieces into boiling oil. The shape will look like a silkworm cocoon. Remove from oil, then drench in syrup and attach roasted sesame seeds or roasted soybean powder."

Gyuhap chongseo (Women's encyclopedia) offers this recipe: "Make glutinous rice flour, being sure not to contaminate it with nonglutinous rice when grinding, then strain it through a fine sieve several times. For a slightly sweet taste, knead in some honey mixed with rice wine, as when making bukkumi. Steam the batter, stirring occasionally, until it is cooked through, then add three or four spoonfuls of honey. Pound until bubbles arise, cover it with white powder, and slice. Lay out the paper in a warm room with floor heating (*ondol*) and spread the gangjeong pieces on it, adjusting the shapes as you go, turning frequently until completely dry. As each piece dries, place it in a bowl and continue to dry overnight. Next, take the wine used to make the dough and douse the pieces with it until they become soaked, then place them in another bowl, cover with a cloth, and let them rest awhile. If any pieces stick

together, pull them apart to avoid spoilage and reshape as needed. Let them air out a little, and then when half-dried, fry them in oil. Use two bowls to fry the gangjeong in an oil bath over low heat, pressing the pieces down with a spoon and stirring for a long time. When the oil starts to bubble, increase the heat. Spoon more oil over the gangjeong, as needed, until it reaches a full pop. If the rice is not good, or if only one bowl of oil is used, it will not pop well. Pour cinnamon honey boiled in ginger juice over the fully popped ganjeong. Rather than cover each piece individually, let them bunch together. Take a fine sieve and sprinkle green soybean powder over the honeyed gangjeong until completely covered. The taste is extraordinary."

The *Gyuhap chongseo* recipe above is by far the most detailed, and the others, although simple, demonstrate the common technique of adding rice wine to make dough, steaming it like *tteok*, and pounding until bubbles form before cooking it in oil. These techniques have been passed down through time and remain the same today.

As seen in Table 5.5, the main ingredient in the gangjeong and sanja recipes above is glutinous rice; rice wine and soybean oil are mixed in to make dough; and the heating medium is oil. *Gyuhap chongseo* also has a recipe for replacing the glutinous rice flour with a mix of buckwheat flour and wheat flour. This implies that less expensive grain flours could be substituted for pricier glutinous rice flour.

In these texts, the degree to which the glutinous rice soaks in wine is expressed variously, with phrases such as "until it decomposes," "until it spoils," "until it sours," and "until it gives off a sour smell." The authors suggest steeping the rice 2–14 days, not only to achieve maximum absorption, but also to begin the process of lacto-fermentation.

Table 5.5 Gangjeong ingredients, per historical record

Record	Year	Glutinous rice	Rice wine	Oil
Seongho saseol	1681–1763	✓	✓	✓
Aeongakbi	1819	✓	✓	✓
Yeolyang sesigi	1819	✓	✓	✓
Dongguk sesigi	1849	✓	✓	✓
Gyuhap chongseo	1881	✓ (buckwheat)	Honeyed rice wine	✓
Urinara eumsik mandeuneun beop (how to cook Korean food)	1954	✓	✓	✓

5.4.3 *Dasik (Patterned Tea Cakes)*

According to *Seongho saseol* (Seongho Yi Ik miscellany), dasik might originate with the large and small dragon medallion molds used at national festivals during the Song dynasty (960–1279), which, in turn, derived from the boiled tea leaves made for religious rites (Yoon 1974). In Korea too, dasik once referred to ceremonial tea used in ancestral rites. Now the substance has changed (tea cakes rather than tea), and only the name remains (the "da" in "dasik" is the character for "tea").

The explanation in *Gyugon siuibang* (A mother's cookbook for her daughter-in-law) of how to make dasik is unique. First, wheat flour is roasted, then honey, oil, and refined rice wine are added to make dough. When the dough is ready to ferment, it is placed onto a tile spread with sand, and another tile is placed as a lid on top. In *Sallim gyeongje* (Farm management, Hong Man-Seon c. 1715), the fermentation method is different: "Lay paper across the fry pan and place the dough on top. When it turns light yellow, remove it." In a section called "Jogwasik" (molded confections) in *Taesangji* (Encyclopedia of traditional Korean customs, Seong Dae-Jung 1766) jeon (fried) dasik is said to be pressed into a mold for shaping and then pan-fried in oil. This differs from today's method, in that the rice cake was fried after molding. Beginning with *Jeungbo sallim gyeongje* (Revised farm management, Yu Jung-Im 1766), the recipe for dasik is the same as that used today. Grain flour, herbs, pollen, starch, or other flour that can be consumed raw is mixed with honey until well incorporated, then the dough is pressed into any of a variety of shapes in a mold board. *Aeongakbi* reads, "Sometimes dasik is referred to as *indan*, and the dough is made by mixing chestnuts, sesame seeds, and pine pollen with honey, then pressing pieces of the dough into a mold to make shapes like flowers, leaves, fish, or butterflies. Long ago, rice or wheat flour was used in making dasik."

Ingredients frequently employed in making dasik include dried chestnuts, pine pollen, soybeans, angelica, and mixed fruit (a combination of chestnut, jujube, persimmon, walnuts, etc.). Dried ginger pulp, arrowroot, or other starch dasik are made using ginger starch, kudzu root starch, or mung bean starch, and starch dasik in particular is usually dyed with five-flavor berry (schisandra) juice. *Gyuhap chongseo* mentions dried, peeled chestnut dasik, longan dasik, black sesame dasik, and starch dasik, and prefers honey and sugar as coagulants. Distinctively, the dasik recipes in *Eumsik beop* (How to cook, 1843) are made with animal ingredients such as herring, croaker, or flatfish. Coagulants used in this type of dasik include sesame oil and water, and black pepper is added to enhance the flavor. Table 5.6 lists the types of dasik that appear in each historical text.

5.4.4 *Jeongwa (Candied Fruit)*

Traditionally, every New Year's Day festival includes jeongwa (or *jeonggwa*) as part of its celebratory food. The stem, root, or fruit of a plant with low-water content

Table 5.6 Types of Dasik, per historical record

Record	Type of Dasik (Tea Cake)
Gyuhap chongseo	*Hwangnyul* (dried and peeled chestnut), *yongannyuk* (longan), *heugimja* (black sesame), *nongmal* (starch)
Siuijeonseo	*Heugimja* (black sesame), *songhwa* (pine pollen), *hwangnyul* (dried and peeled chestnut), *galbun* (arrowroot), *nongmal* (starch)
Eumsik beop	*Gangbun* (dried ginger starch), *hwangnyul* (dried and peeled chestnut), *heugimja* (black sesame), *jineom*, *nongmal* (starch), *jat* (pine nut)
Sul mandeuneun beop	*Japgwa* (mixed fruit), *saengsil* (pine nut) *songhwa* (pine pollen), *danggui* (Chinese angelica), *yongannyuk* (longan)
Buin pilji	*Ganchi* (herring), *poyuk* (halibut), *gwangeo* (flatfish)

is boiled down with starch syrup or honey until it becomes a chewy, sweet confection, as follows: Stems or roots are thinly sliced and blanched in boiling water, then drained. The plant is coated in dissolved sugar and cooked at length over low heat. When completely cooled and congealed, the sweets are placed in rows on a dish. At most festivals, more than one kind of jeongwa can be found on a feast table, where the confection is presented on flat dishes. For ritual offerings, however, dishes with legs are used to elevate the jeongwa.

The jeongwa recipe in *Aeongakbi* calls for honey, the sweetener most commonly used to make jeongwa. *Gyuhap chongseo* provides detailed directions on how to make jeongwa, including a standard recipe for cooking with honey, as well as one in which the ingredients are marinated in honey. In the 1843 book *Eumsik beop* (How to cook), sugar is used in place of honey for the first time on record, in a recipe for cooked potato jeongwa (Cho et al. 1984). Thirty-four new recipes for jeongwa were introduced in nineteenth-century cookbooks, among which lotus root jeongwa appears to have been a favorite. Types of jeongwa as they appear in historical records are listed in Table 5.7.

5.4.5 Suksilgwa (Sweetened Stewed Fruit)

Suksilgwa is made by cooking roots or ripe fruit, especially chestnut and jujube, in honey. Types of suksilgwa containing the word "cho," as in chestnut cho or jujube cho, are the most well-known. "Cho" indicates a method in which the fruit is reduced by roasting. Chestnuts are washed with the hull intact and cooked for 40 min, while jujubes cook until well done, for about 2 h. When thoroughly soft, the chestnuts are peeled, but the jujubes are left intact for the next step. Both are mixed with honey, then boiled down for 30 min, taking care not to burn while simmering. Finally, cinnamon powder is stirred into the confection. Chestnuts must be watched carefully to ensure their color does not change, and jujubes must not scorch, but should be cooked until glossy. These two confections—chestnut and jujube suksilgwa—are always placed together, like twins, and tend to be presented on a festival platter with

Table 5.7 Types of Jeongwa, per historical record

Record	Type of Jeongwa (Candied Fruit)
Gyugon siuibang	*Sun* (watershield)
Gyuhap chongseo	*Gamja* (potato), *mogwageoreun* (quince), *mogwajjok* (quince pieces), *sun* (watershield), *seongdonggwa* (wax gourd), *sansajjok* (hawthorn berry), *saenggang* (ginger), *ikhindonggwa* (ripe winter melon), *waegamja* (citrus), *yuriryu* (hawthorn berry juice), *yeongeun* (lotus root), *yuja* (citron), *cheonmundong* (Korean asparagus)
Siuijeonseo	*Gamja* (potato), *mogwageoreun* (quince), *haengin* (apricot kernel), *deuljjuk* (bog bilberry), *cheongmae* (green plum), *sansajjok* (hawthorn berry), *saenggang* (ginger), *insam* (ginseng), *yeongeun* (lotus root), *yuja* (citron), *bae* (pear), *dorat* (balloon flower root)
Gyugon Yoram (Yonsei University copy)	*Mogwa* (quince), *sansa* (hawthorn), *saenggang* (ginger), *yeongeun* (lotus root), *hyangnin* (apricot kernel)
Eumsik beop	*Cheongmae* (green plum)
Buin pilji	*Sansajjok* (hawthorn berry), *mogwa* (quince), *donghwa* (winter melon), *yeongeun* (lotus root), *saenggang* (ginger)

colorful jeongwa or other types of suksilgwa, such as chestnut balls (yuran), jujube balls (joran), or ginger balls (saengnan).

Yulran and joran are types of suksilgwa made by first removing the seeds or pit of a fruit and then cooking the flesh until soft. Next, the fruit is pounded in a mortar and pestle, strained through a coarse sieve, and mashed. After cinnamon powder and honey are added, the mash is boiled until all the water evaporates and the fruit congeals. When cool, the confection is shaped to resemble chestnuts or jujubes, after which it is basted with or dipped in syrup and then ground pine nuts. Yulran (chestnut ball) is made by kneading honey together with dried chestnut powder, then shaping it to look like a chestnut. The chestnuts are cooked all day and night until they turn into paste, which is then kneaded with cinnamon powder. Yulran is easier to make when all the water has been cooked out of the chestnuts, and their appearance is also better. While kneading and adding honey a little at a time, care must be taken that the dough does not become too thick.

For joran (jujube ball), jujubes are lightly steamed and then peeled. The skins are finely minced. These are mixed with cinnamon powder and boiled, then shaped to look like a jujube again. A single pine nut is inserted into the end of each piece. Saengnan (ginger ball) is variously called "gangsaengnan," "saenggangnan," or "gangnan," and these refined confections often graced the royal table. Now saengnan is appears more broadly, usually at joyous, grand celebrations such as weddings, 60th birthdays, and 60th wedding anniversaries. Although ginger is not a fruit, its aromatic flavor suits this elegant confection, particularly when paired with chestnut balls and jujube balls. In summer the quality of ginger is somewhat lower because it is dried, but fresh new ginger harvested in the fall is perfect for making saengnan. To make saengnan, ginger is soaked in water, rubbed to clean off any mud, and then peeled and cut into thin slices. Next, the slices are ground up, strained through a sieve, and placed in a pot into which honey is added before cooking. Once the

concoction boils down almost completely, and only a little moisture remains, more honey is added to the resultant ginger starch, and once this congeals, it rests and cools. Small chunks are plucked from the congealed mass, formed into 3-pronged ginger shapes, and dipped into ground pine nuts.

5.4.6 *Gwapyeon (Fruit Jellies)*

For *gwapyeon*, sour fruit such as wild cherry, quince, or apricot are honeyed and left to congeal like jam, then sliced into squares. Starch is sometimes used to help the *gwapyeon* congeal sufficiently. Wild cherries, Korean blackberries, apricots, cherries, and mandarins must be boiled, strained, and then mixed with starch until almost a paste, at which point honey or sugar is added and the mixture is boiled for a while, then poured out onto a flat dish and left to harden. Once firm, it is sliced into squares. For schisandra berry (five-flavor berries) *gwapyeon*, the berries are washed and soaked in water for a day to infuse the water with a reddish hue. After the water is strained, starch and sugar are added and mixed well. The mixture is set over a low fire and stirred slowly with a wooden spoon until congealed, after which it is poured into a deep, square dish to let cool and solidify.

5.4.7 *Yeotgangjeong (Crunchy Nut Candy)*

Yeotgangjeong consists of roasted pine nuts, walnuts, peanuts, or other nuts with toasted seeds such as black sesame or perilla, or lightly roasted green or black (freeze-dried) soybeans, mixed with a sweetener. The healthy fats, protein, and minerals in the nuts and seeds infuse yeotgangjeong with nutrients. Nuts and grains are not ground, but left whole to be mixed with syrup made of rice, corn, or another starch. Once left to set, the candy is usually cut into rectangular bars and served. Although starch syrup is the adhesive that holds everything together, there are more nuts and seeds than syrup in yeotgangjeong.

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