Politics of Royal Rituals and *Banchado* Illustrations of *Uigwe* in the Late Joseon

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**Abstract**

Banchado were painted only for processions by the king or royal household that took place as part of royal rituals. Processions represent the moment when royal rituals are directly exposed to the ruled, as the rulers emerge from a closed space.

State ceremonies of the Joseon dynasty constituted a highly-developed political mechanism designed to have the population naturally accommodate the legitimacy of state rule. Changes in banchado illustrations reflect the reality of the late Joseon dynasty that called for changes in achieving the eventual goal of justifying the royal authority.

In state ceremonies held in the eighteenth century, the monarch intended not to remain a secluded head priest but to become a magnificent mastermind reorganizing state ceremonies and meeting his people in person. The royal processions aimed at reinforcing royal authority during this period was fully reflected in banchado. In the eighteenth century, the royal household was closed up considerably through attempts to strengthen monarchical authority, the phenomenon of which was sustained in the nineteenth century.

**Keywords:** uigwe, banchado, royal protocol, royal procession, royal authority

* This is a revised and expanded version of her two previous manuscripts: her Ph.D. dissertation and a paper on banchado illustrations of royal processions during the late Joseon period, which was published in 2005.

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Introduction

The basic framework of the Joseon dynasty's royal rites was already established in the early years of the dynasty. Details of rites can be identified from Oryeui (Five Rites) in the Sejong sillok (Annals of King Sejong), and Gukjo oryeui (Five Rites of the State). Royal rituals prescribed in the documents were not uniformly performed throughout the dynasty. Modes of royal rituals, considered important at the time, underwent numerous changes. The main changes are verified in the ritual canons compiled in the eighteenth century, but detailed changes to royal rituals are only available in uigwe, the royal protocols of the Joseon dynasty.

Uigwe has been known as the epitome of the documentary culture of the Joseon dynasty. It is indispensable to researching the life in the royal court, as it displays detailed records of diverse aspects of state ceremonies, including lists of the participants and required materials thereupon; it is also accompanied by rich pictorial illustrations called banchado or doseol.

Uigwe, royal protocols of the Joseon dynasty, and banchado, the pictorial illustrations of state rituals, attracted academic attention because they are precise in description and include many visual aids. Banchado in particular has prompted earnest research into the court life. Through a bibliographical study, Park Byung-seon first introduced the royal protocols to the public. Practical studies aimed at restoring the dynasty's attire and cuisine followed. Uigwe's visual materials provided data for studying the nation's art history, delving into the changing painting patterns employed by royal court painters. Historians conducted in-depth studies of individual royal protocols, delving into the historical backgrounds and details of state projects in specific periods.

Uigwe extend beyond simply being detailed records; they are essential to verifying the details of the Joseon court culture. They are the records of royal rituals and describe the efforts paid for their effective enforcement. Royal ceremonies in the Joseon dynasty performed an important role of justifying the king's rule over the country. Apart from appeasing the population by applying physical coercion or offering them social and economic benefits, royal ceremonies helped the monarchy justify its authority over people through tradition and a natural system of symbolism. This was the most important role of royal ceremonies. Hence, they were not aimed simply at exhibiting colorful and majestic events; they were prepared under a scrupulous analysis and understanding of ways to maximize the "meaning" of the monarchical rule. Uigwe describe what methods were utilized in the era to achieve the goal of justifying the domination. An analysis of the royal protocols and their changes leads to a true understanding of the dynasty's culture.

Viewed from such a perspective, banchado illustrations of uigwe are historic documents that clearly show the differences in the court's intentions by period. The banchado in uigwe contain illustrations of royal processions, programmed as part of state ritual. Bancha denotes the order of persons, ceremonial implements, and palanquins participating in parades. Scenes of processions represented the moments when the meaning of meticulously prepared ceremonies was conveyed most dramatically. Parades could draw a larger number of people, who were normally unable to observe the monarchical rituals that were performed in a closed space, to watch these national ceremonies. Careful consideration was needed to determine who and what would take part in processions and in what form and order. Processions had to be organized in a manner that fulfilled the ultimate goals of state rituals. This is why banchado, illustrations of different scenes of royal ceremonies, were included in uigwe. Accordingly, a review of banchado illustrations of uigwe enables us to see

1. Regarding the objectives of compiling uigwe, changes made to their form, and the status of extant uigwe, see Han (2002).
2. Kyujanggak Institute for Korean History (2002).
3. Banchado primarily depicted in drawing or writing the order of people participating in the ceremonies. All banchado in the royal protocols, except those of royal banquets held in the 19th century, depicted procession scenes.
how the major goals of state ceremonies changed by period.

With that in mind, I attempt to review the changes in banchado production and the characteristics by period. I address various rites such as royal weddings, funerals, investitures and the conference of honorific or posthumous titles. The paper examines how the royal court and people met with one another on the ground of national ceremonies and what political attributes they carried.

Chronological Overview of Banchado Production

Changes in Banchado Production by Period

Uigwe, royal protocols, include a number of illustrations related to the preparation and enforcement of state rituals. The most prominent of these was the banchado. Banchado were not drawn for all royal protocols; it was confined to uigwe that dealt with royal weddings, funerals, the enshrinement of ancestral tablets, conference of honorific or posthumous titles, and investitures.4 Some royal protocols included no banchado illustrations. Except for banchado illustrations of nineteenth-century royal banquet uigwe, all banchado illustrations produced following the creation of the Wonhaeng eulmyo jeongli uigwe (Uigwe on King Jeongjo’s Visit to the Crown Prince Sado’s Tomb in 1795) addressed the royal processions. The order of the participants in ceremonies held at the royal court was considered a serious matter because represented hierarchy, and drawings in characters, called baebando, were included in ritual canons. Uigwe included paintings of processions outside the court only under the name of banchado. For this paper, I define banchado as “a painting of processions as a part of state rituals.”

Banchado are related to “ritual manuals” (uiju) that describe the specific procedures of state ceremonies that described such trifles as what attire a participant wears, which palanquin he rides on, which gate he enters, and how many times and how he bows were set for the purpose of displaying to the public the status of the monarch and the court. If ritual manuals are records of procedures of state ceremonies in accordance with the order of ceremonies, banchado were a specific representation of the hierarchy of officials, which the manuals try to expose, in a specific space. Banchado, in addition, describe a variety of symbols that represent the authority of honorees, which are not explained in the ritual manuals. Hence, a close analysis of banchado enables one to learn how the authority of the monarch and court was symbolized at the time.

Six hundred and twenty-seven extant uigwe include a total of 170 banchado.5 Table 1 offers a comparison of the number of total extant uigwe with that of extant uigwe with banchado illustrations.6

As shown in the table, banchado is included in only about 25 percent of extant uigwe, and how frequently banchado appeared in uigwe differs considerably between monarchic reigns. In particular, the ratio of banchado including uigwe remarkably rose to between 32.3 percent and 50 percent in the nineteenth century.

Uigwe can be divided into two categories; those with banchado all the way through and those with banchado beginning at specific times. Illustrations depicting the wedding of a king or crown prince, the departure of the royal bier in state funerals, processions to the Jongmyo (Royal Ancestral Shrine) honoring the spirits of the royal family, and rites honoring exemplary accomplishments of the monarchy were drawn throughout the late Joseon dynasty. In contrast, illustrations depicting crown prince investiture processions, rituals posthumously honoring royal families, enshrining the portrait of a

4. Subjected to this study are 627 extant uigwe and 170 kinds of banchado, consisting of a total of 5,295 pages, in the uigwe.

5. The table is based on the Comprehensive List of Uigwe Kept at Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies (2002). Extant royal protocols number 564 at Kyujanggak, 294 at Jangseongak, 391 at the French National Library and 72 at other institutes.

6. The titles and publication dates of each uigwe come from the book cited above. Kinds of banchado illustrations followed the title given on their first pages. The figure of those illustrations, which are not specified but contain ordinarily used titles such as “banchado depicting the departure of the bier” is given in parenthesis.
because unprecedented processions took place. The royal court, by including ceremonial procedures performed in an open space, intended to publicize state rituals to a greater number of people than usual. The production of banchado can also be attributed to the scrupulous attention paid to the enforcement of procession, fueled by new awareness of their meanings.

Investiture uigwe, which depicted the ceremonies to invest the crown prince in 1690, included banchado, the first illustration of a crown prince investiture procession. Why did banchado begin to be drawn at the time? This banchado depicted a procession in which the royal edict (gyomyeong), an investiture book, and a seal, which would be conveyed to the crown prince by a temporary government office called Dogam that was created to deal with national matters of the greatest importance, was entering the royal court.

The first ritual manual prescribing a crown prince investiture was also published at the time. The fact that a new ritual manual was produced means there was an unprecedented interest in the investiture ceremony. The crown prince investiture ceremony was held in the royal court. Hence, the only parts of the ceremony that took place outside the royal court were the entrance of the palanquin and ceremonial implements to be used by the crown prince as well as his investiture document and seal. The crown prince himself never went outside the court. However, the use of ceremonial symbols and bands that were ordinarily reserved for the most important state rituals indicated that an extraordinary degree of courtesy was being shown to the king’s heir-apparent, called “the Second Absolute.”

Table 1. Ratio of Banchado Carried in Extant Uigwe

| Kings          | Period of Reign | No. of Extant Uigwe | No. of Extant Uigwe with Banchado | Ratio (%) |
|----------------|-----------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------|
| Seonjo         | 1567-1608       | 6                   | 1                                 | 16.6      |
| Gwanghaeung    | 1608-1622       | 19                  | 5                                 | 26.3      |
| Injo           | 1623-1649       | 40                  | 4                                 | 10.0      |
| Hyejong        | 1649-1659       | 14                  | 3                                 | 21.4      |
| Hyeonjong      | 1659-1674       | 20                  | 5                                 | 25.0      |
| Sukjong        | 1674-1720       | 65                  | 14                                | 21.5      |
| Gyeongjong     | 1720-1724       | 12                  | 3                                 | 25.0      |
| Yeongjo        | 1724-1776       | 137                 | 26                                | 18.9      |
| Jeongjo        | 1776-1800       | 47                  | 13                                | 27.6      |
| Sunjo          | 1800-1834       | 65                  | 21                                | 32.3      |
| Heonjong       | 1834-1849       | 31                  | 13                                | 41.9      |
| Cheokjong      | 1849-1863       | 44                  | 22                                | 50.0      |
| Gojong         | 1863-1907       | 101                 | 37                                | 36.6      |
| Sunjong        | 1907-1910       | 26                  | 3                                 | 11.5      |
| Colonial period| 1910-1945       | (24)                | 0                                 | 0         |
| Total          |                 | 627                 | 170                               | 26.1      |

Characteristics of Banchado Illustration by Period

Given that banchado were drawn to help ensure the accurate enforcement of royal processions, it can be easily explained why it was produced at particular times. To begin with, banchado came into being

7. Bak E. (1993, 568-570).
8. Crown Prince (Gyeongjong). Investiture Uigwe (Changnye dogam uigwe 칭녕예도감의궤) called for ceremonial symbols representing other people than the monarch and other members of the court and a band to lead the procession. The banchado in this protocol, however, depicted ceremonial symbols representing the monarch and other members of the court. This indicates there was no distinction in the wedding of a crown prince between ceremonial symbols representing the monarch and other members of the court and those representing others.
The process for King Sukjong to invest his infant son as crown prince was by no means smooth. Faced with stubborn resistance from his subordinates, who opposed his attempt to invest his two-month-old son, King Sukjong went as far as to strip the patriarch Song Si-yeol of his office and evict him from the capital. A drastic political transformation followed in which the Namin faction (Southerners) occupied seats of power; Queen Inhyeon was deposed and Lady Jang, mother of the crown prince, was made queen. The crown prince investiture came just a year after the political turmoil, in the third year since the birth of the prince. Bent on establishing firm monarchical authority, King Sukjong did not permit his subordinates to interfere in the affairs of succession to the throne. In order to solidify his decision, he hastened the investiture of the crown prince. He ordered the compilation of the crown prince investiture manual ensuring the entrance to the court of the investiture document and the seal, and the drawing of banchado in order to proclaim the crown prince investiture to the entire nation.

A number of new banchado emerged since the early eighteenth century, depicting, for example: the 1726 procession to move ancestral tablets when the Jongmyo was rebuilt; the 1748 procession enshrining a portrait of King Sukjong at Yeonghuijeon Hall; the 1776 procession enshrining Manual of the Shrine and Tomb (for king’s biological parents) at Gyeongmogung shrine; 1783 processions enshrining jade investiture books and golden seals of Queen Jeongsun and Crown Prince Sado; and a procession to enshrine the exemplary accomplishments of the monarch at the Jongmyo. Scrupulous ceremonial preparations were made to dramatically express the meanings of all state rituals. As a result, new official processions and banchado came into being.

When the Yeongnyeongsjeon Shrine was rebuilt in 1667, a rite was held to move and enshrine ancestral tablets elsewhere. At that time, King Hyeonjong only saw off the procession from inside the Jongmyo. In contrast, King Yeongjo, in performing an identical ritual in 1726, despite being a mourner at a state funeral, followed the procession from the Jongmyo to Gyeongdeokgung place and completed a rite of enshrining ancestral tablets. The uigwe prescribing the ritual include a total of sixty pages of banchado, illustrating the procession of moving and enshrining ancestral tablets in detail.

In 1748, King Yeongjo performed a rite to move a new portrait of King Sukjong at the Seonwonjeon Hall inside the court to the expanded Yeonghuijeon Hall outside the court. The procession carrying King Sukjong’s portrait to the hall on a palanquin is portrayed in eighteen pages of banchado. Manuals are available on state rituals enshrining the portraits of Taejo, the founding king, and Sejo, the seventh king, of the Joseon dynasty, but not banchado. This indicates that banchado did not accompany all uigwe, and that they were drawn when royal processions performed in public began to take on new meanings.

In 1748, King Yeongjo had the portrait of King Sukjong redrawn and enshrined outside the royal court. He intended to enhance his own authority by means of elevating that of his late father. Hence King Yeongjo involved himself deeply in the affair from start to finish. He accompanied the procession, guiding a palanquin carrying a repainted portrait. The event was covered by the Royal Portrait Reproduction Uigwe (Yeongjeong mosa dogam uigwe). More than half of the banchado were devoted to the depiction of King Yeongjo’s palanquin and the procession following it. The event’s nominal honoree was King Sukjong, but the actual honoree was King Yeongjo.

9. Sukjong sillok (Annals of King Sukjong), gwon 20, 10th day, 1st month, 15th year of King Sukjong’s reign.
10. Sukjong sillok, gwon 20, 1st day, 2nd month, 15th year of King Sukjong’s reign.
11. Hyeonjong sillok (Annals of King Hyeonjong), gwon 13, 22nd day, 4th month, 8th year of King Hyeonjong’s reign.
12. Jongmyo Repairs Uigwe (Jongmyo gaesu dogam uigwe). Vol. 1 (Kyujanggak 14225).
13. On the policy of royal portrait and the purpose of painting royal portraits, see Kim J. (2004, chap. 2).
14. Enshrined at the Yeonghuijeon Hall at the time were the portraits of King Taejo, King Sejo and Wonjong. Enshrining the portrait of King Sukjong there, accordingly, was intended to rank King Sukjong among the great monarchs of Taejo and Sejo.
Some banchado that emerged anew under the reign of King Jeongjo also reflected the special attention given to the status of the honoree in a state ritual. The frequency of rites posthumously honoring deceased royal family members increased during the reign of King Yeongjo, particularly in 1739 and thereafter. Most were to invest honorific or posthumous titles on empress dowagers or late queens. They lacked procedures for bringing their investiture books and seals back to the court as well as banchado. Instead they contained drawings of implements that were used for the queen dowager. No banchado were produced, either, when King Yeongjo offered a posthumous title to King Hyojong in 1740 and an honorary title to Sukjong in 1755.

Since the reign of King Jeongjo, however, banchado were created for all rites offering posthumous titles to deceased royal families. Among uigwe prescribing a rite offering a posthumous title the first one with banchado illustrations was Uigwe on Investing Posthumous Title (Jonho dogam uigwe), published in 1783. Banchado were also drawn for the 1776 rite enshrining the protocols for tomb and shrine in Gyeongmogung shrine (for the king’s biological father). Both involved Crown Prince Sado, the biological father of King Jeongjo. Given the significance the reinstatement of Crown Prince Sado bore, the protocol prescribing an investiture book and a seal to Crown Prince Sado was not included in the banchado. However, for the 1783 ceremonies to invest honorific titles were held for Crown Prince Sado and Hyegeonggung Lady Hong and Queen Jeongsun. An banchado illustration was drawn only for a procession presenting an investiture book and a seal to Crown Prince Sado.

15. On the increasing number of ceremonies of investing honorific and posthumous titles since 1739, see Kim J. (2002).
16. A four-page illustration of the queen dowager’s ceremonial implements was included in uigwe for investing posthumous title (Queen Inwon) in 1747. Ceremonial implement illustrations since accompanied protocols prescribing the investing of honorific or posthumous titles to Queen Inwon in 1751, to Queen Inwon, King Yeongjo and Queen Jeongseong in 1752, and to King Sukjong and Queens Ingeong, Inhyeon, and Inwon in 1753.
17. Royal Wedding Uigwe (of King Injo and Queen Jangnyeol) (Garye dogam uigwe [부부결혼의도감의궤] (Kyujanggak 13283).
18. Uigwe on Investing Posthumous Title to King Hyojong (Gasang siho dogam uigwe [고상사호의도감의궤] (Kyujanggak 13270).
19. The 1783 ceremonies to invest honorific titles were held for Crown Prince Sado and Hyegeonggung Lady Hong and Queen Jeongsun. An banchado illustration was drawn only for a procession presenting an investiture book and a seal to Crown Prince Sado.
politics of royal rituals and banchado illustrations of uigwe in the late joseon

the devotion yeongjo paid to them was rather natural. the status and authority of crown prince sado were vividly symbolized in the processions. careful attention had to be paid to the arrangement in terms of the order of ceremony participants and ceremonial implements.

meanwhile, the king’s march to enshrine the portrait of his late father or the memorial tablets of his ancestors was illustrated during the reign of king yeongjo.20 for example, the 1748 banchado portrays a procession to enshrine the portrait of king sukjong, and the 1771 banchado depicts a parade to enshrine ancestral tablets (see figures 1 and 2). previously, kings accompanied processions to enshrine ancestral tablets at the royal ancestral shrine, but they were not illustrated in banchado. the “appearance of the monarch,” visible in banchado at the time, shows a new interpretation, as “the monarch participated in a procession.” that affected the production of banchado.

as reviewed above, banchado were related to the king or the royal court’s processions. these were sometimes devised to play up the meaning of royal events performed in public. more open procession ceremonials were prepared to publicize the meaning of a crown prince investiture rite and to elevate the status of the king’s deceased father. banchado depicting these processions verify the execution of such events and also reveal the particular attention paid to their preparation.

reform of royal processions and banchado illustrations

strengthened royal authority and banchado illustrations

changes in royal wedding processions, depicted in eighteenth century banchado, clearly reveal the meaning behind the appearance of the monarch in the banchado illustrations. uigwe on royal wedding ceremonies have illustrations depicting scenes in which a crown prince or queen enters the royal court after making preparations at a detached palace.21 of a total of twenty extant royal wedding protocols, there were nine for kings’ weddings, ten for crown princes’ weddings, and one for the wedding of the eldest grandson of a king. accordingly, though commonly referred to as garye dogam uigwe (royal wedding uigwe), their significance and scale differed greatly from one another. let us review the changes by period more closely.

tables 2 and 3 show the number of pages of banchado from protocols for the royal weddings of kings and queens and crown princes and princesses. a comparison of the two tables reveals differences in the number of pages of banchado by period. the number of pages of banchado for the royal weddings of kings and queens vary as much as between 8 and 92 pages; that for the royal weddings of crown princes and princesses, between 8 and 70 pages. the length of banchado drastically increased beginning with the royal wedding of king yeongjo and queen jeongsun in the case of the former, and beginning with the 1819 wedding ceremony in the case of the latter. as far as banchado are concerned, the reign of king yeongjo, as noted in previous studies, resulted in a watershed event22 or important paradigm shift.23

before examining characteristic changes in banchado illustrations of royal weddings, let us see the general composition of such illustrations. table 4 shows the order in procession based on banchado illustrations of the 1802 royal wedding of king sunjo and queen sunwon.

in table 4, numbers 1-14 represent a king’s procession; numbers 15-29, a queen’s procession. the arrangement of the king’s procession coincides with monarchical cortege (nobu), as provided for in the

20. the banchado consists of fourteen pages. the procession, headed by a scene of eighteen boats carrying the palanquin for the king’s spirit, is drawn in the order of lead procession official, head troops, head bowman troops, duk, a flag of twin dragons ascending and descending, incense palanquin, palanquin for his spirit, front band, monarchical ornamental ship loaded with a palanquin for his spirit, king yeongjo’s palanquin and the crown prince’s palanquin.

21. on the procedures and details of royal weddings in the joseon dynasty, see shin (2003).
22. yu (1986, 5).
23. yi (1994).
| Title                                            | Year | Years of Reign | No. of Books | No. of Banchado Pages | Remarks                                        |
|--------------------------------------------------|------|----------------|--------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| Royal Wedding Uigwe of Crown Prince Sohyeon     | 1627 | 2nd year of King Injo's reign | 1 vol. 164   | 8                     | queen's reign procession                      |
| Royal Wedding Uigwe of King Hyeonjong and Queen Myeongseong | 1651 | 2nd year of King Hyeonjong's reign | 1 vol. 339   | 18                    | crown princess' procession                    |
| Royal Wedding Uigwe of King Sukjong and Queen Ingyeong | 1671 | 12th year of King Hyeonjong's reign | 1 vol. 339   | 18                    | crown princess' procession                    |
| Royal Wedding Uigwe of King Gyeongjong and Queen Seonui | 1718 | 44th year of King Sukjong's reign | 2 vols. 291  | 50                    | crown princess' procession                    |
| Royal Wedding Uigwe of King Jangjo and Queen Heongyeong | 1744 | 20th year of King Yeongjo's reign | 2 vols. 422  | 68                    | crown princess' procession                    |
| Royal Wedding Uigwe of King Jeongjo and Queen Hyojeong | 1762 | 38th year of King Yeongjo's reign | 2 vols. 441  | 92                    | crown princess' procession                    |
| Royal Wedding Uigwe of King Munjo and Queen Sinjeong | 1819 | 19th year of King Sunjo's reign | 2 vols. 419  | 82                    | crown prince and princess' procession         |
| Royal Wedding Uigwe of King Sunjong and Queen Sunmyeong | 1882 | 19th year of King Gogjong's reign | 2 vols. 419  | 82                    | crown prince and princess' procession         |
Shown above are a list of royal weddings of kings and queens or crown princes and crown princesses. Extant items in Table 5 are marked with a circle; omitted items, with a triangle; and items depicted in detail, with a double circle.

### Table 5. Changes in Composition of Royal Wedding Illustrations

| Year | Reign Year | Honorees                      | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | 28 | 29 |
|------|------------|-------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1844 | 10, Heonjong | King Heonjong and Queen Hyojeong |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 1837 | 3, Heonjong  | King Heonjong and Queen Hyohyeon |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 1819 | 19, Sunjo   | Crown Prince Munjo and Crown Princess Sinjeong |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 1802 | 2, Sunjo    | King Sunjo and Queen Sunwon   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 1759 | 35, Yeongjo | King Yeongjo and Queen Jeongsun |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 1727 | 3, Yeongjo  | King Yeongjo and Queen Ingyeong |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 1681 | 7, Sukjong  | King Sukjong and Queen Inhyeon |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 1671 | 12, Sukjong | King Sukjong and Queen Munjung |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 1671 | 12, Sukjong | King Sukjong and Queen Ingyeong |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 1602 | 2, Sunjo    | King Sunjo and Queen Sunwon   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 1519 | 19, Sunjo   | Crown Prince Munjo and Crown Princess Sinjeong |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 1602 | 2, Sunjo    | King Sunjo and Queen Sunwon   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 1602 | 2, Sunjo    | King Sunjo and Queen Sunwon   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 1602 | 2, Sunjo    | King Sunjo and Queen Sunwon   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| 1602 | 2, Sunjo    | King Sunjo and Queen Sunwon   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |

* Shown above are a list of royal weddings of kings and queens or crown princes and crown princesses. Extant items in Table 5 are marked with a circle; omitted items, with a triangle; and items depicted in detail, with a double circle.*
ritual canons, with the largest procession cortage used.

The queen's procession following the king's procession is headed by head bowman troops (15). Coming next is a palanquin carrying an incense case and burner (16). It is followed by palanquins carrying the royal edict, jade investiture, golden seal and edict costumes bestowed on her at the time of investiture (17-20). Following the queen's ceremonial symbols (21) and bands (22) are attendants carrying on their heads and shoulders a variety of items the royal court bestowed on the queen when she first entered the court,24 a court inspector, silk-covered lantern man troops, an incense holder and an incense head-carrier (23). Next, the queen's palanquin emerged (24). The queen's palanquin is protected on both sides by guards and ladies-in-waiting (25). Coming behind the queen's palanquin are ladies-in-waiting on horseback and guards (25). Rear palanquin officials (27), officials from the temporary office (28) and rear bowman troops (29) close the procession.

Based on that information, let's review how the composition of banchado changed by period.

Few major changes are found in royal wedding illustrations prior to and following those of the royal wedding of King Yeongjo and Queen Jeongsun. Illustrations of the wedding of Crown Prince Sohyeon and those of succeeding ones differ slightly, but they were all composed in a similar manner. All depict the procession of a queen or crown princess only; the procession of a king or crown prince cannot be found.

The numbers of troops, palanquins, and ladies-in-waiting are almost identical. The only noticeable difference is the number of ceremonial implements and sizes of entourage in order to distinguish between honorees, queen and crown princesses. This difference is not concerned with time period but with the status of the honoree.

The most conspicuous change to royal wedding ceremony illustrations is the dramatic increase in the length of banchado to over fifty pages, beginning with the wedding of King Yeongjo and Queen Jeongsun.25 This change was due to the appearance of a king's palanquin in banchado illustrations.26

Let us compare the banchado of the wedding of King Sukjong and Queen Inwon with that of King Yeongjo and Queen Jeongsun's wedding. Twenty-two pages are given to illustrations of the procession of Queen Jeongsun, with the increase of four pages compared to Queen Inwon's procession. Little difference is seen between the two except for the drawing of head bowman troops. Torch and lantern-bearers increased in number in the latter banchado by four and ten, respectively. In other words, the queen's processions had little effect on the number of pages of royal wedding illustrations.

The changed number of illustrations was more than anything else caused by the emergence of King Yeongjo. To begin with, the scale of officials and guard troops standing at the front of the procession was stipulated so as to match a monarchic parade. Painted in the front are command banners, head bowman troops, and a band (See Figure 3). Next come a duk flag and a gyoryonggi (flag of twin dragons ascending and descending)27 monarchic ceremonial implements (six torches burn amid implements)28 and a drum and trumpet band. Then the king's palanquin appears, surrounded by rows of guarding troops. The rear of the king's palanquin is also drawn exactly in the manner found in ordinary monarchic processions.

The wedding of the eldest grandson of the king three years later in 1762 followed the example of previous crown prince weddings.

25. Banchado for the wedding of King Yeongjo and Queen Jeongsun is available in Royal Wedding Uigwe (of King Yeongjo and Queen Jeongsun) (Garye dogam uigwe (king's wedding uigwe of the state)) (1994), photographic edition, Kyujanggak, Seoul National University. All the 52 pages of the banchado are also available in Shin Byungju (2001).

26. King's banchado is called geodong (royal movements) banchado.

27. The flag is described in banchado as a gyoryonggi (dragon flag). But the Section “Royal Wedding” in Gukjo oryeui seorye (Illustrated Rubrics for Five Rites of the State), describes it as “a flag of twin dragons ascending and descending.” The latter description is correct because the drawing shows a dragon ascending and another descending.

28. The largest implements among implements of royal cortage, they are used when greeting a royal edict and for main rites at Sajik and Jongmyo.
In all illustrations of royal weddings in the nineteenth century, however, the processions of kings or crown princes led those of queens and crown princesses.

Why did the monarch then appear in royal wedding illustrations? Royal wedding illustrations depict the monarch or crown prince returning to the royal court after visiting a detached palace where they greeted the queen or crown princess.\(^2^9\)

Beginning with the reign of King Jungjong, the king visited a detached palace to greet the queen.\(^3^0\) And it was in 1702 that royal manuals for such ceremonies were published, when King Sukjong married Queen Inwon.\(^3^1\) However, it cannot be said that the king (or crown prince)'s visits to a detached palace to greet the queen (or crown princess) was attributable to the increase in the number of pages of banchado illustration, because such ceremonies had long taken place earlier, and because only the pertinent procedures were stipulated in 1702.

All in all, the “appearance of the monarch,” which caused a dramatic increase in the scale of royal wedding illustrations, can be attributed to other factors than the changes themselves to ceremonial procedures. Given that the quantity of monarchical procession illustrations rose in the eighteenth century, reflecting the strengthened power of the monarch, and that the “appearance of the monarch” is evident in the large number of royal procession illustrations of the reign of King Yeongjo, interest in monarchical processions rose substantially.

The King's travel outside the palace during the reign of Yeongjo increased four times from earlier reigns. In addition to participating directly in rites held at Jongmyo (Royal Ancestral Shrine), Sajik (Altar for Worshipping Gods of the Earth and Grain), and Yeonghujeon Hall, King Yeongjo performed rites to pray for rain at altars in outlying areas beyond the capital. His arena of politics was not con-

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29. Kang (1994, 10-11); Shin (2001, 38).
30. “Queen's Wedding,” in Chungwan tonggo 朝鲜通考 (Comprehensive Study of the Ministry of Rites), gwon 52.
31. “Royal Wedding” in Gukjo sok oreui (Supplementary Five Rites of the State), gwon 2.
The political changes that took place during the reign of King Yeongjo were already underway starting in the latter half of King Sukjong’s reign, when attempts to create a new framework of rule accelerated. Catastrophic political confrontation during King Sukjong’s reign vividly displayed the limits to “politics by cliques” (bundingang jeongchi) of the scholar-officials who advanced to the central political arena on the strength of their influential socioeconomic and political bases in the region. These scholar-officials had competed with one another productively and had been engaged in politics under an equal partnership with the monarch. However, the regional influence and controlling power they exercised in each region were threatened by social and economic changes, and accordingly, these political cliques were losing their status as proper arbiters. The idea of joint governance of “monarch and minister” while entrusting the control of the countryside to provincial noble families was crumbling from below.

Tangpyeongchaek, or “policy of impartiality,” first proposed during the reign of King Sukjong, called for the monarch to play a role as a fair arbitrator of social interests and conflicts. This policy sought central and regional stability under absolute monarchic control. Succeeding King Sukjong, King Yeongjo, upon ascending the throne, realized the need to build a new political structure under the leadership of the monarch and allow monarchic control to reach every corner of the country. The motto “protect the common people” was an explicit articulation of direct monarchic control of the population. All political acts of King Yeongjo and King Jeongjo, it can be said, were oriented toward achieving that goal, and royal rituals and processions at the time were overhauled to justify the new changes.

The appearance of King Yeongjo in a procession to enshrine the portrait of King Sukjong and another in which the queen entered the royal court clearly demonstrate that revisions of state ceremonies at the time were aimed at positioning the monarch firmly at the center of rule.

In the course of overhauling all state-level rituals for the purpose of justifying new monarchic authority, royal processions were also revised to clearly represent royal authority. The number of troops mobilized for royal processions gradually decreased in the latter half of the eighteenth century, but symbols of royal authority were more prominent. In a bid to control troops in accordance with military manuals, military uniforms were classified by five colors and military guards for the monarch wore red one so that they could be distinguished from afar. Instead of generals controlling royal military guards, banners and bands were posted to enable direct royal control.

Due to these changes, banchado were increased in length. Beginning with illustrations for the royal wedding of King Yeongjo and Queen Jeongsun, drawings of banners and bands designed to lead troops were drawn in detail at the level of ceremonial implements (Figure 4). It can be ascertained from a depiction of royal processions made during the King Jeongjo’s reign that soldiers armed with spears and swords marched in five rows behind the king’s palanquin (Figure 5). In banchado illustrations produced after the 1817 wedding of Crown Prince Hyomyeong, government officials leading a procession and front and rear guarding troops were drawn so elaborately that they took up nearly half of the illustrations.

Detailed depiction in banchado of the command system involv-

32. Kim J. (2005, ch. 1).
33. Hong (1986).
34. In an effort to cope with such changes to the ruling framework, many intellectuals participated in debates on the merits and demerits of the prefectural system and feudalism since the latter half of the reign of King Sukjong. On feudalism vs. prefectural system arguments, see Bak G. (1998).
35. On reinforced state control outside the capital in the 18th century, see Kim I. (1991); Organization of Korean Historians (2000).
36. Kim J. (2005, chap. 3).
37. It is the same with the illustrations of the royal wedding of King Hyeonjong and Queen Hyohyeon.
ing front and rear military guards and troops surrounding the carriages of the king and queen were more prominent in the latter half of the eighteenth century and the nineteenth century. This, along with the “appearance of the monarch,” was a major factor behind the increase in number of royal event illustrations. When state rituals were reorganized to serve as a justification of royal authority, the rise of the royal household was also noteworthy. In keeping with this discussion, let us review the illustrations of royal protocols for state funerals and enshrining of ancestral tablets.

The Rise of the Royal Court and Banchado

Royal protocols for state funerals include illustrations of the departure of the coffin, wherein the king, queen, crown prince and princess and others depart from the palace for the burial site, after completing all funeral rites at a royal mortuary. Extant state funeral protocols number eleven, ranging from that for King Seonjo to that for King Cheoljong. There are also ten extant illustrations of the departure of the royal coffin for the burial site, since no banchando were created for the State Funeral Uigwe of King Seonjo.

The procession for carrying the funeral bier, depicted in banchado, was the highlight of a five-month-long state funeral. When a king died, the body was laid in state at a royal mortuary hall installed within the royal court. Upon completion of the tomb, the coffin was moved in a bier.

Table 6 shows the length of each of banchado included in royal protocols for state funerals of the monarch. Banchado, which ranged from 24 to 32 pages until 1776, rose to 40 pages in 1800 then to 64 in 1834. Table 7 shows the composition of a funeral departure illustration, based on uigwe on state funeral of King Jeongjo, held in 1800.

State funerals for queens differed little from those for kings. Due to the difference in rank, however, the numbers of ceremonial symbols, bands and military guards were halved for queens. 38 Titles of

38. In ordinary processions, the king was accompanied by both front and rear drum-
### Table 6. Number of Pages of Banchado from State Funeral Uigwe of Kings

| Title                                | Year | Year of Reign | No. of Books | No. of Banchado Pages |
|--------------------------------------|------|---------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| State Funeral Uigwe of King Injo    | 1649 | 1st year of King Hyojong’s reign | 1 vol. 320 | 30                     |
| State Funeral Uigwe of King Hyeonjong | 1674 | 1st year of King Sukjong’s reign | 2 vols. 467 | 24                     |
| State Funeral Uigwe of King Sunjo   | 1834 | 1st year of King Heonjong’s reign | 4 vols. 708 | 64                     |
| State Funeral Uigwe of King Chojong | 1863 | 1st year of King Gojong’s reign | 4 vols. 682 | 72                     |

### Table 7. Composition of Departure Illustrations

| No. | Components                                      |
|-----|------------------------------------------------|
| 1   | Lead procession official                       |
| 2   | Head troops                                     |
| 3   | Propitious ceremonial implements                |
| 4   | Investiture book and seal for investiture rites|
| 5   | Investiture book and seal for honorific title  |
| 6   | Investiture book and seal for posthumous title |
| 7   | Palanquin of spirit                             |
| 8   | Incense palanquin                               |
| 9   | Front drum-and-trumpet band                    |
| 10  | Palanquin of spirit                             |
| 11  | Rear drum-and-trumpet band                     |
| 12  | Ill-boding ceremonial implements                |
| 13  | Funeral odes                                    |
| 14  | Painted Palanquin carrying burial accessories   |
| 15  | Painted palanquin carrying lamentation investiture book |
| 16  | Assistant bier                                  |
| 17  | Incense palanquin                               |
| 18  | Silk-covered lantern                            |
| 19  | Ornamental fan / Great funeral bier / Ornamental fan |
| 20  | Funeral odes                                    |
| 21  | Royal body guards                               |
| 22  | Officials form the temporary office             |
| 23  | Bewailing landies-in-waiting                    |
| 24  | Rear palanquin                                  |
| 25  | Civil and military officials                    |
| 26  | Rear troops                                     |

Source: Banchado from State Funeral Uigwe of King Jeongjo (1800).
No major changes are found as seen in the composition of departure procession illustrations for both kings and queens throughout the period under review. No dramatic changes are found in royal wedding illustrations. Still, clear distinctions existed.

To begin with, the processions depicted in banchado were not similar in size due to the different number of palanquins posted in front of the bier. Seven palanquins carrying burial accessories were used in the state funeral of King Sukjong, eight in King Yeongjo’s, seven in King Jeongjo’s, and eight in King Sunjo’s. State funeral manuals published in the reign of King Yeongjo banned the making of wooden dolls symbolizing male and female servants and recommend-
Yeongjo frequently paid his respects at his late mother’s shrine, making it widely known across the country that the shrine was not that of a mere royal concubine, but the mother of the monarch. So devoted was the king to his late mother that his subjects, during the early years of his reign, declined to cross the inner gate of the shrine. Owing to frequent royal visits to and elevated rites held at her shrine, which enjoyed an upgraded status under the system involving the shrines and tombs of a king’s real parents, as well as frequent ceremonies invested posthumous titles, Lady Suk enjoyed a posthumous status as high as that of a queen.

King Yeongjo performed devoted courtesies toward empress dowagers as well. Most royal festivals for bestowing honorific titles, royal banquets, and offerings of liquor to the monarch were held for the sake of paying respect to empress dowagers. Yeongjo’s efforts designed to strengthen his monarchic authority helped the population recognize anew the “Joseon royal court.” The royal house continued throughout the Joseon dynasty, but it was reborn in the eighteenth century. Royal court celebrations were thus generally overhauled with the goal of establishing a monarch-centered system, and the status of the royal household, centered around the king’s mother, was gradually heightened. The changed status to the royal household was accurately represented in state functions and conveyed to onlookers. Due to the repetitive honorific titles accorded to the empress dowager, the number of palanquins symbolizing the queen in the queen’s funeral procession and the procession to take her tablet to the Jongmyo gradually increased. The lengthened banchado reflected such changes. In the same manner, the status of crown princes was also undergoing remarkable change. The banchado for the 1830 funeral of Crown Prince Hyomyeong totals fifty pages, an increase of as many as 14 pages from that of Crown Prince Munhyo during the reign of

Kim J. (2005, 148-154).

Seungjeongwon ilgi (Diaries of the Royal Secretariat), vol. 626, 8th day, 11th month, 2nd year of King Yeongjo’s reign.
direction in 1775, Yeongjo asserted that his successor should display an elevated status by using bigger ceremonial implements. In obedience, his subjects provided for the use of beopga implements at the crown prince’s first-ever court assembly.46 In the nineteenth century, despite the absence of provisions concerning ceremonial implements ordinarily used other than the court assembly, Crown Prince Hyomyeong used beopga implements when attending state events outside the royal court, thereby displaying the status of the second absolute.

Since the reign of King Jeongjo, not only crown princes but also kings’ mothers used forty-five ceremonial implements, comparable to the fifty-five reserved for the queen.47 Furthermore, there was little difference from those reserved for the queen, except in terms of ceremonial implements. For the state funeral of Lady Gaseon, mother of King Sunjo, in the early nineteenth century, the mortuary was installed inside the royal court, which was also the case for the queen, and officials responsible for her tomb were treated the same as those looking after royal tombs. Under the system of governing the shrines and tombs of the king’s natural parents, the distinction was made between kings and queens. In the nineteenth century, however, the boundaries between the two groups grew vague.

The rise of the royal household in the nineteenth century was again vividly reflected in royal wedding illustrations. The illustration of the queen’s procession in the 1802 royal wedding of King Sunjo shows a sharp increase in the number of ladies-in-waiting from the previous twelve to twenty-two. Ladies-in-waiting carrying incense either in their hands or on their heads increased in number by four and one, respectively. This is a phenomenon commonly found in nineteenth-century royal wedding illustrations. The number of ladies-in-waiting accompanying the queen on horseback increased to four in 1844, double the number in previous illustrations. The prominence of the royal household in ceremonial processions peaked with the 1866

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46. Itseongnok, 7th day, 12th month, 51st year of King Yeongjo’ reign.
47. Gakjeongung dongga uijeol (Protocol of Royal Processions) (Precious Items Kept at Kyujanggak 9956).

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Table 9. Number of Pages of Banchado from State Funeral Uigwe of Crown Princes

| Titles                                      | Year | Year of Reign | No. of Books | No. of Banchado Pages | Remarks               |
|---------------------------------------------|------|---------------|--------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| State Funeral Uigwe of Wonjong             | 1627 | 5th year of King Injo’s reign | 1 vol. 138   | 12                    |                       |
| State Funeral Uigwe of Crown Prince Sohyeon| 1645 | 23rd year of King Injo’s reign | 1 vol. 272   | 12                    |                       |
| State Funeral Uigwe of the Eldest Son of Crown Prince Uiso | 1752 | 28th year of King Yeongjo’s reign | 2 vols. 243  | 28                    | French National Library |
| State Funeral Uigwe of Crown Prince Sado   | 1762 | 38th year of King Yeongjo’s reign | 1 vol. 209   | 26                    |                       |
| State Funeral Uigwe of Crown Prince Munhyo | 1786 | 10th year of King Jeongjo’s reign | 1 vol. 442   | 36                    |                       |
| Yeonguwon Tomb Uigwe                      | 1789 | 13th year of King Jeongjo’s reign | 7 vols. 804  | 40                    |                       |
| State Funeral Uigwe of Crown Prince Hyomyeong | 1830 | 30th year of King Sunjo’s reign | 4 vols. 627  | 50                    |                       |

King Jeongjo. Notable in the Crown Prince Hyomyeong’s funeral illustrations is the use of 106 ceremonial implements, more than three times as many as the ordinary thirty. This is because Crown Prince Hyomyeong assumed the kingship in place of his father, the king. Ordering his eldest grandson to undergo proxy government
Politics of Royal Rituals and Banchado Illustrations of Uigwe in the Late Joseon

KOREA JOURNAL / SUMMER 2008

107

royal wedding of King Gojong and Queen Myeongseong. Illustrations of the wedding show the Daewongun, father of King Gojong, riding a palanquin. In clear contrast to royal palanquins, the centerpiece of royal events in the eighteenth century, the illustrations show the eminence of the royal household over the monarch in the nineteenth-century royal functions.

Conclusion

Banchado were painted only for processions by the king or royal household that took place as part of royal rituals. Processions represent the moment when royal rituals are directly exposed to the ruled, as the rulers emerge from a closed space. State ceremonies of the Joseon dynasty constituted a highly-developed political mechanism designed to have the population naturally accommodate the legitimacy of state rule. The way in which implements and officials were arranged in ceremonies accurately represented the status of the ones being honored in the royal rituals. Changes in banchado illustrations by period, transcending the paintings of royal processions, reflect the reality of the late Joseon dynasty that called for methodological changes in achieving the eventual goal of justifying such monarchal rule. The analysis of banchado confirms that the methods of representing royal authority changed in the course of reinforcing monarchical authority in the late Joseon dynasty, and that the authority of the royal court and royal female members was variously represented.

The banchado illustrations of the 1759 royal wedding of King Yeongjo and Queen Jeongsun not only depict both the processions of the king and queen for the first time, but also pay greater attention to the royal parade. This is a characteristic unique to state event illustrations drawn in the reign of King Yeongjo. In state ceremonies held in that period, the monarch intended not to remain a secluded head priest but to become a magnificent mastermind reorganizing state ceremonies and attempting to meet his people. The reorganization of royal processions aimed at reinforcing monarchical authority during his reign was fully reflected in banchado and was handed down to future generations through these illustrations.

Banchado were lengthened significantly from the latter half of the eighteenth century to the nineteenth century. The scale of illustrations of funeral processions of kings, queens, crown princes, and princesses, in particular, nearly doubled from those of the first half of the eighteenth century. Repeated ceremonies for investing honorific and posthumous titles to kings and royal clan members caused an increase in the number of palanquins mobilized for funeral ceremonies; this was particularly conspicuous in queens’ funerals. In the eighteenth century, the royal household was closed up considerably through attempts to strengthen monarchical authority, the phenomenon of which was sustained in the nineteenth century even after the disappearance of reform-minded kings. This can be confirmed from the fact that most royal protocols of the nineteenth century involved banquets and honorific and posthumous title investiture ceremonies for mothers of the king. Crown princes’ ceremonial implements drawn in nineteenth-century royal procession illustrations, which increased about four-fold from those of the early Joseon dynasty, and the palanquin of the Daewongun, who occupied a majestic position in a royal wedding procession, and his wife vividly reveal the changed status of the royal house over the course of a hundred years.

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| term                           | glossary | term                           | glossary |
|-------------------------------|----------|-------------------------------|----------|
| banchado                     | banchado | myeongbok                     | myeongbok |
| beopga                       | beopga   | Namin                        | Namin   |
| bungdang jeongchi            | bungdang jeongchi | nobu                        | nobu   |
| Dogam                        | Dogam    | okchaek                       | okchaek |
| dospel                       | dospel   | Onyeui                        | Onyeui  |
| duk                           | duk      | Sajik                         | Sajik   |
| Garye dogam uigwe            | Garye dogam uigwe | Sejong siltok | Sejong siltok |
| gaumbo                       | gaumbo   | Tangpyeongchaek               | Tangpyeongchaek |
| Gukjang dogam uigwe          | Gukjang dogam uigwe | uigwe            | uigwe   |
| Gukjo onyeui                 | Gukjo onyeui | uiju                        | uiju    |
| gungwonje                    | gungwonje | Wonhaeng eulmyo              | Wonhaeng eulmyo |
| gyomyeong                    | gyomyeong | jeongni uigwe                | jeongni uigwe |
| gyoryonggi                   | gyoryonggi | Yeongjeong mosa             | Yeongjeong mosa |
| jongmyo                      | jongmyo  | dogam uigwe                   | dogam uigwe |
| Jonho dogam uigwe            | Jonho dogam uigwe | Yeonghuijeon | Yeonghuijeon |