

Introduction to the *Uigwe* Royal Documents of the Joseon Dynasty

Yi Söng-mi
Professor Emerita
The Academy of Korean Studies

I. Introduction: The Cultural Background of the *Uigwe* Tradition

The Joseon-dynasty (1392 ~ 1910) documents known as *uigwe* are official records of the superintendency (*dogam* 都監), a temporary office set up to plan and carry out special state rites. This office was headed by a superintendent (*dojejo* 都提調) chosen from one of the top three ministers of the state council, or the minister of the board of rites. *Uigwe* were compiled after the completion of important state events such as royal weddings, funerals, the building and repairing of royal tombs, etc. These records were written exclusively in Chinese characters, with occasional mix of the unique Korean writing system called *idu* 吏讀, in which Chinese characters were adopted to record the sound or meaning of Korean words.

The English translation of the term *uigwe* in current scholarship has not yet been settled. The first character *ui* 儀 means rites as in modern word *euisik* 儀式, and the second, *gwe* 軌 means tracks to be followed as in modern word *gwebeom* 軌範, or models to be emulated. My own translation of the term is “book of state rites.” The word “book,” though not literal translation, is allusive, for all the documents are bound in book form, be they handwritten or printed. Furthermore, the English word “book,” especially when capitalized, can connote a classic, as in the Chinese *Book of Rites*, *Book of Poetry*, and so on. Other translations are “manual of the state event” or “rubric for a state ceremony.”¹ *Uigwe* books were compiled with the intention that they be consulted, although not necessarily exactly followed, for similar later state events.

With the publication of the *National Law Code* (*Gyeongguk daejeon* 經國大典) in 1484 and the *Five Rites of the State* (*Gukjo orye'ui* 國朝五禮儀) in 1474,² the Joseon court established its rules and regulations for the management of state rites according to the Neo-Confucian principles of government. It was in this spirit that the Joseon court not only conducted important state rites, but also documented the details of the events, often with

¹ See the *Glossary of Korean Studies* published by the Korea Foundation.

² The Five Rites were based on the “Five Rites” section of the *Veritable Records of King Sejong* (r. 1418~1450), vol. 128~132. See the complete Korean translation of the original in five volumes published in 1981/2 by the Ministry of Government Legislation.

illustrations, in the book form we now know as *uigwe*.

Five Rites of the State are: ancestral worship rites (*gillye* 吉禮), royal weddings and other congratulatory rites (*garye* 嘉禮), reception of foreign envoys (*binrye* 賓禮), military rites (*gunrye* 軍禮), and royal funeral and other related rites (*hyungrye* 凶禮). There are other state events that are outside of these Five Rites, and were conducted with equal formality, and *uigwe* books produced afterwards. Some examples are: the construction and repair of the palaces; the painting and copying of the royal portraits; important state banquets; and royal visit to the ancestral tombs, etc.

Depending on the nature of the particular event, usually five or more copies of the *uigwe* were made: one for the royal viewing, one to be kept each in the Board of Rites, in the Office for *Sillok* Compilation (*Chunchu-gwan* 春秋館), and copies to be deposited with each of the four History Archives (*sago* 史庫) located at different places in the country.³ When an event was primarily for a crown prince, a copy was also made for the Office of Education of the Crown Prince (*Seja sigangwon* 世子侍講院).

Uigwe created before the Japanese invasion of 1592 were all but destroyed. Fortunately, nearly four thousand volumes representing about thirty categories of *uigwe* made from the seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries remain. The earliest extant *uigwe*, which records the rebuilding of King Jungjong's tomb,⁴ is dated to 1600; the latest one, of 1906, documents the wedding of the Crown Prince (later became Emperor Sunjong).⁵

In recent times, the *uigwe* books have been stored primarily in three locations: Kyujang-gak 奎章閣 Library of Seoul National University, Jangseo-gak 藏書閣 Library of the Academy of Korean Studies, and the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF) in Paris. Of the three libraries, the Kyujang-gak Library has the largest number of specimens and copies (about 2,700 volumes representing 540 specimens). The 297 volumes of BNF *uigwe* books had been kept there for 145 years since 1866 before their return to Korea in May of 2011.⁶

In 1866, at the time of the incident called Byeong'in yangyo 丙寅洋擾 or the Western turmoil in the cyclical year *byeong'in*, the invading French navy sacked the Ganghwa-do Island, not far from Seoul, at the mouth of the Han River. It was on that island that the Outer Kyujang-gak Library, known as Oe-Kyujang-gak 外奎章閣 was located. Called for short the 'Gangdo Oegak, 江島外閣' (Ganghwado Outer Library), this library was built to store the overflow of books from the main Kyujang-gak [Royal] Library at Changdeok Palace's Rear

³ The late Joseon History Archives were located at Mount Odae, and Mount Taebaek in Gang'won Province, Mount Jeongjok on Ganghwa-do Island, Gyeonggi Province, Mount Jeoksang in Muju, North Jeolla Province, all in remote mountain areas meant to be safe in time of foreign invasions.

⁴ *Jungjong Daewang Jeongreung gaejang uigwe* 中宗大王 靖陵改葬儀軌

⁵ *Hwangtaeja garye dogam uigwe* 皇太子嘉禮都監儀軌

⁶ On loan renewable every five years.

Garden in Seoul, and naturally contained most of the royal viewing copies of *uigwe* books.

However, as the result of negotiations between the Korean and French governments since 1994 for the return of these invaluable historical documents to Korea, the BNF *uigwe* volumes that had been kept in the BNF since 1866, have now returned to Korea, and are in the National Museum of Korea. Additionally, some seventy-one specimens kept in the Office of Imperial Household Affairs (*Kunai-cho* 宮内廳) in Tokyo, Japan, were also returned to Korea at the end of December, 2011, and have been deposited with the National Palace Museum, Seoul. The royal viewing copies are of the highest quality in both the material used (paper, silk for the cover, and binding hardware) and the workmanship (calligraphy, illustration, and woodblock printing). (figs. 1 & 2 Comparisons of royal viewing copy and other copy) Therefore, their return in 2011 marks an important milestone in Korean cultural history.⁷

Contrary to the impression one gets from media reports in which the colorful depictions of the processions have been highlighted, not all *uigwe* books contain illustrations. Of the 637 specimens of *uigwe* books, only 167 or only 26% of them contain procession paintings. But of the 297 books which came back from Paris at that time, 101 or 34% contain illustrations as many of them recorded state funerals and other related events. Therefore, not only the illustrations, but more importantly, the body of the text of the *uigwe* books should be examined to retrieve information on Joseon dynasty's royal culture.

What can one expect to find in these *uigwe* books that will further our understanding of Joseon culture? Depending on one's area of interest, one might retrieve information on Joseon society, politics, economics, rituals, literature, art history, court entertainment, culinary history, and perhaps more. Of particular interest to art historians is the extensive description of the visual culture of the court. There is a seemingly endless amount of documentation along with numerous illustrations of ritual performances, and also of court costumes, musical instruments, ceremonial utensils, and finally of interior decoration, notably, screen paintings--all of which were made for those special events.

This paper will briefly introduce representative features of the *uigwe* books of each of the Five Rites, and, others outside of the five rites. Based on the visual and textual evidence from the *uigwe* documents, we will offer some useful findings that will further our understanding on Joseon period art and culture.

II. *Uigwe* of Auspicious Rites: *Gilrye* (吉禮): Sacrifice to the Heaven, to the Spirits of the Earth and Grain, and to the Royal Ancestors

Uigwe of Auspicious Rites, or *gilrye* (吉禮) is the first of the five rites of the state, and it is

⁷ Now the *uigwe* owned by the British Library in London (*Gisa jin-pyori uigwe*, 己巳進表裏儀軌, 1809) is the only one abroad.

perhaps the most important of all rites as the Joseon kings, by making these auspicious sacrifices, extends his power down to the people of his country. Chart 1 in the following summarizes the categories of *gillye* as specified in the *Five Rites of the State*.

<Chart 1> Categories of *gillye* as specified in the *Five Rites of the State*.

	Spirit of Heaven (<i>cheonshin</i> 天神)	Spirit of Earth (<i>jiji</i> 地祇)	Ancestral Spirits (<i>in'gui</i> 人鬼)
Primary Sacrifices (<i>daesa</i> 大祀)	At Huan'gu-dan platform (園丘壇)	To the Spirits of the Earth and Grain (<i>Sajik</i> 社稷)	To the Royal Ancestral Shrine (Jongmyo 宗廟) Hall of Eternal Peace (Yeongnyeong-jeon 永寧殿)
Secondary Sacrifices (<i>jungsa</i> 中祀)	To the Gods of wind (<i>pung</i> 風), clouds (<i>wun</i> 雲), thunder (<i>roe</i> 雷), rain (<i>wu</i> 雨), and snow storm (<i>bangsa</i> 雩祀)	To the Spirits of hell (<i>ok</i> 獄), sea (<i>hae</i> 海) and stream (<i>dok</i> 瀆)	To the God of farming (<i>seonnong</i> 先農), sericulture (<i>seonjam</i> 先蠶), Confucius (Munseonwang 文宣王), and the first kings of the previous dynasties (歷代始祖)
Miscellaneous Sacrifices (<i>sosa</i> 小祀)	To the Stars of: farming (<i>yeongseong</i> 靈星), longevity (<i>noinseong</i> 老人星), horses (<i>majo</i> 馬祖), of ice (<i>sahan</i> 司寒), of the first horse-rider (<i>masa</i> 馬社), and horse-harmer (<i>mabo</i> 馬步)	To the Great Mountains and Rivers (名山大川): for the clearing of rain (<i>yeongje</i> 榮祭), seven minor spirits (<i>chilsa</i> 七祀)	To the Gods of horse domestication (<i>seonmok</i> 先牧), of the military (<i>maje</i> 禡祭), protector of farming field from bugs (<i>poje</i> 酺祭), to the royal commander's flag (<i>dokje</i> 纛祭), god of epidemics (<i>yeoje</i> 厲祭)

As can be seen in the above chart, it is impossible to introduce them in full in this presentation. Therefore, we will introduce the Rites to the Royal Ancestral Shrine (Jongmyo 宗廟) and to the Hall of Eternal Peace (Yeongnyeong-jeon 永寧殿), another building within the same compound.

Of the Joseon dynasties Five Rites of the State, only the Royal Ancestral Rites at Jongmyo Shrine is regularly being performed today once a year on the first Sunday of May. Even after the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910, the sacrifices at the Jongmyo Shrines had been continued with a reduced scale. But this had been suspended between 1945 and 1969 until the much damaged Jongmyo Shrine and the entire compound had to be refurbished. Beginning from 1971, the representatives of the royal Yi clan perform the *Jongmyo Jerye* 宗廟祭禮 or the “sacrificial rites at the Royal Ancestral Shrine” as prescribed by the *Jongmyo Uigwe* (fig. 3).

Jongmyo Uigwe: *Jongmyo Uigwe* deviates from other *uigwes* in that it is not a record of one particular event. Rather, it is a compilation of the institutional rules and regulations pertaining to the Jongmyo Shrine, procedures of the rites being performed regularly, and finally records

of some of the sacrificial rites performed in the past. There are many illustrations, but there is no “rank-positioned procession painting,” or *banchado* 班次圖 in this *Uigwe*.

The 9-volume handwritten and hand-illustrated *Jongmyo Uigwe* consists of volumes compiled at four different times: the first four volumes called *wonjip* 原輯 or original compilation were compiled in 1697 (Sukjong 23), the first two volumes of the *songnok* 續錄 or the sequel volumes were compiled in 1741 (Yeongjo 17), the third of the sequel volume in 1819 (Sunjo 19), and the fourth and the fifth sequel volumes in 1842 (Heonjong 8). Of the original 5 copies, there remain two copies today, one each in the Kyujang-gak Library of the Seoul National University, and the Jangseo-gak Library of the Academy of Korean Studies.⁸

Volume I of the *Jongmyo Uigwe* contains many illustrations. They are: the layout of the Jongmyo compound with major architectural elements (fig. 4); costumes of the King, crown Prince and high officials who participate in the Ancestral sacrificial offering (fig. 5); illustrations of offering utensils and musical instruments. The rest of *Jongmyo Uigwe*, give us a complete history of Jongmyo and Yeongnyeong-jeon Shrines, and a detailed description of the Sacrifices conducted at the shrines. From its founding in 1401 to the early 18th century when this *Jongmyo Uigwe* was finally compiled in 1706, we can learn, with illustrations, how the architectural structures of the two shrines in the compound have changed in order to accommodate the ever-increasing number of spirit tablets, and how the “rules” have been established on whose spirit tablets can be enshrined in the Main Shrine forever (and for what reasons).

All the sacrificial rites (the five major ones and the minor ones and others) were prescribed with detailed protocols for the kings and other participants. All the food and libation offerings are enumerated, and how they are offered in what orders were spelled out. During the sacrifices instrumental as well as vocal music and dances are performed to make the entire process of sacrificial rites a composite of performing arts. Lyric texts were also spelled out in vol. III.

Also we find a careful cataloging of all the treasured items (fig. 6) such as royal books and seals to be kept inside the cabinets in each of the spirit chambers (fig. 7). These are important in claiming the lawful positions the kings and queens occupy in the Jongmyo Shrine. In safeguarding the treasures and the physical structures of the entire Shrine, the royalty made sure that the lineage of the royal family be perpetuated. The *Jongmyo Uigwe* is, therefore, a testimony to this solemn will.

⁸The first four volumes are now in the Kyujang-gak Library of Seoul National University. They were published in 1997 in two volumes of reduced scale with an extensive explanatory notes co-authored by several scholars at Kyujang-gak. The sequel volumes have been published by the Academy of Korean Studies: the sequel volume I with explanatory notes by Yi Uk in 2011; volume II with explanatory notes by Han Hyeong-ju, in 2012; volume III with explanatory notes by Yi Uk & IV with explanatory notes by Yi Hyeon-jin in 2014; volume V to be published in 2015.

III. *Uigwe* of Celebratory Rites and Royal Weddings: *Garye* (嘉禮)

The second of the five rites of the state is called *Garye* (嘉禮), or ‘celebratory rites.’ Under this category, 50 different ceremonies are listed.⁹ The first one is the rite of paying respect (bowing) to Chinese Emperor on the New Year’s Day morning, on the winter solstice, and, on birthdays of the Chinese Emperors toward the direction of Beijing where the Imperial Palace was located. It is therefore called *mang’gwol haengrye* (望闕行禮), or ‘rite of paying respect toward the palace.’ A Joseon king, crown princess, and high officials of the court would bow to that direction. Many more rites that have to do with paying respects to China follow. They are not of equal importance from the point of the state rites. Perhaps the most important ones would be those of the investiture rite of a Crown Prince (*wangseja chaekbong-ui* 王世子冊封儀) and those of royal weddings labeled also *garye* (嘉禮).

***Uigwe* of the Investiture rite of a Crown Prince:**

Currently, there remain five *uigwes* of the investiture rite of Crown Prince ranging in date from 1610 to 1875.¹⁰ Since the *Investiture Uigwe of 1690* for later King Gyeongjong is much better organized than the earliest one of 1610, we will rely on it for the summary of the investiture rite.¹¹ First, the *banchado* showing the procession of bringing in the ceremonial objects newly created for this occasion (royal appointment letter, bamboo book, and the jade seal) to the palace is presented to the king for his approval. In this procession, Crown Prince’s Palanquin and the Smaller Palanquin Carrying the King’s Letter of Appointment (fig. 8), honor guards appropriate for Crown Prince will all take their designated places (fig. 9), and

⁹ See the table of contents of the volume II and III of the *Five Rites of the State* (1474) in which all 50 ceremonies are listed, and in the main body of the text, the procedures of them are spelled out. *Five Rites*, (2) pp. 12-292.

¹⁰ They are: 1. *Uigwe* of Investiture of Crown Prince (personal name, Ji 祇 (1598-1623), the first son of Gwanghae-gun in 1610);¹⁰ 2. *Uigwe* of Investiture of Crown Prince (later King Hyeonjong) in 1651 (Hyeonjong *wangseja chaekrye dogam uigwe* 顯宗王世子冊禮都監儀軌); 3. *Uigwe* of Investiture of Crown Prince (later King Sukjong) in 1667 (*Sukjong wangseja chaekrye dogam uigwe* 肅宗王世子冊禮都監儀軌); 4. *Uigwe* of Investiture of Crown Prince (later King Gyeongjong) in 1690 (*Gyeongjong wangseja chaekrye dogam uigwe* 景宗王世子冊禮都監儀軌); and, 5. *Uigwe* of Investiture of Crown Prince (later King Sunjong) in 1875 (*Sunjong wangseja chaekrye dogam uigwe* 純宗王世子冊禮都監儀軌).

See Park Jeonghye (朴廷蕙), “Joseon sidae chaekrye dogam uigwe ui hoehwasa-jeok yeongu 朝鮮時代冊禮都監儀軌의 繪畫史의 研究” (A Study of the Joseon Period *Uigwe* of Investiture Rites in Art Historical Perspective) in 『韓國文化』 (Korean Culture) 14 (1993. 12), pp. 521-551; Park Eun-sun (朴銀順), “Joseon sidae chaekrye uigwe bancha-do yeongu 朝鮮時代冊禮儀軌班次圖 研究” (A Study of the Rank-Positioned Procession Paintings of the Joseon Period *Uigwe* of Investiture Rites) in 『韓國文化』 (Korean Culture) 14 (1993. 12), pp. 553-612.

¹¹ See the *Five Rites of the State*, vol. 2, pp. 157-168 for a detailed procedure of the event. Also see Park Jeong-hye, *op. cit.* (1993), p. 525 for a summary of the procedure.

the officers of the superintendency in the formal court attire (*jobok* 朝服) follow the two small palanquins carrying the ceremonial objects. The administrative office of Hanseong (漢城府) made sure that the streets along the way is cleaned and newly covered with the clean yellow dust.

Once the procession arrives at the palace, the ceremony of stamping of the royal seal (*anbo-rye* 安寶禮) on the royal letter of appointment takes place. At this time, a scribe of the Office of Royal/Diplomatic Documents (Seungmun-won 承文院) and one or two court painters stand-by. Then all the ceremonial objects are presented to the king for his viewing and approval.

On the day of the Investiture Rite, all the high officials and the royal relatives don their appropriate official costumes and take their places at the ceremonial venue (in this occasion, Injeong-jeon), and await the arrival of the king. When the king is finally seated on his throne, the rite proper begins with the proclamation of the royal letter of appointment. The crown Prince then comes forward to receive the casket containing the royal letter (*gyomyeong-ham* 教命函). Then the bamboo book and the jade seal are to be carried by a royal messenger to the building of the palace where the Crown Prince resides. This ends the Investiture Rite proper and there follow a series of congratulatory ceremonies in the palace.

Those who look at the illustrations of the processions in the *uigwe* books may wonder why they show figures, horses and palanquins from several different viewpoints within one picture frame. For example, soldiers on the top of the page are shown standing upside down, while the figures on the bottom are standing right side up; officials on horseback are shown proceeding toward the left, but we see only their back view and the rear end of the horses, placed sideways on the page, are shown. All the palanquins are shown from the same point of view as that of the viewers of the book, proceeding to the left. Other standing figures in their back view are shown sideways as if lying on the ground.

It seems that by standing the way they do, the soldiers and honor guards on top and bottom of the pages are creating an enclosed space for the important persons or objects in the center such as all the important palanquins and officials. Also, by utilizing multiple viewpoints, rather than one viewpoint, we can make sure that all the figures, horses, and objects can be seen in their most satisfactory aspects with the least amount of overlapping of one another. It is the best solution for a documentary painting in which all participants and objects should be accounted for.

The *Uigwe* of Royal Weddings: *Karye togam uigwe* (嘉禮都監儀軌)

A typical *uigwe* documenting the wedding of a reigning king would begin with a list of titles and names of officials who were appointed to various positions at the Superintendency,

followed by a schedule of events [舉行日記] from the first round of selection of the bride-to-be [初揀擇] to the first greeting ceremony of the bride to her in-laws [朝見禮] after the couple's formal wedding vow, called *dongroe-yeon* (同牢宴).¹² For the marriage of King Heonjong in 1837, for example, the first round of selection of the bride-to-be from among the eligible maidens began on the 6th day of the second month, and the first greeting ceremony was performed on the 22nd day of the third month. In between came forty-two separate stages or events, including the king's formal proposal rite [納采] after the third and final selection process [三揀擇] of the bride-to-be, the sending of gifts to the bride's family [納徵], selection of the auspicious date [擇日] in consultation with the court astronomer, announcement of the date [告期], formal appointment of the queen [冊妃], the king's visit to the temporary residence of the bride called *byeolgun* (別宮)¹³ to greet and accompany her to the palace [親迎] to perform the formal marriage bow [同牢宴].

Many other events including several rehearsals for some of the important ceremonies are also listed.¹⁴ The rest of the book contains all the communications and correspondence among the offices concerned with the preparation of the wedding and lists of all the ceremonial items to be newly created, such as the scroll of the king's letter of appointment [教命], the jade book [玉冊], the golden seal of the queen [金寶], and the formal ceremonial outfit for the new queen [命服]. Non-ceremonial items, such as gifts for the bride's parents, painted screens to be used at different locations throughout the wedding rites, ceremonial weapons and flags for the honor guards, palanquins to be used for the ceremony, and food to be served (along with the utensils), were carefully listed.

All wedding-related *uigwe* include *banchado*. The procession moves from the temporary residence assigned to the bride to the royal palace. Beginning from the procession painting of King Yeonjo's second wedding in 1759, separate palanquins for the king (fig. 10) and the queen (fig. 11) were shown. Earlier procession paintings show only the queen's palanquin. This difference is due to the change in the parts of the wedding ceremony. Earlier, the groom (king or prince) did not go to meet the bride in persons, instead, sent a messenger to greet the bride, and the procession to the palace included only her palanquin. But,

¹² The earliest extant wedding *uigwe* is the 1627 book on the wedding of Crown Prince Sohyon, and the last one is the 1906 wedding of the crown prince (later, Emperor Sunjong). A total of 20 such books remain today, each in several copies. See Yi Söng-mi (李成美), *Garyedogam uigwe wa misilsa* 『가례도감의궤와 미술사』 (Joseon dynasty *uigwe* books of royal weddings in art historical perspectives), Seoul, Sowa-dang, 2008.

¹³ When a maiden was selected to be the bride, she was considered a royalty and, therefore could not reside in her parents' home from that day on. A separate residence called *byeolgun*, or detached palace, was designated for her stay until the wedding day.

¹⁴ See "A synopsis of the *Garyedogam uigwe of King Heonjong*, (1837)," in Yi Söng-mi, *Joseon-dynasty uigwe books of royal wedding*, pp. 390~96.

beginning from the 1759 wedding, the king went to greet his bride, and they came back to the palace in separate palanquins. Other smaller palanquins containing the above ceremonial items, one by one, are shown, along with attending officials; honor guards, some on horseback and some on foot; and wet nurses and female court physicians on horseback.

The *banchado* of the royal viewing copy of King Yeongjo's wedding is completely hand-painted while the copies to be distributed to other locations show the use of stamps for the similar figures that are repeated many times. A page-by-page careful comparison of the procession paintings reveals that the copies for distribution were not made with the same amount of care as the royal viewing copies. For example, the transverse poles for a smaller palanquin that carried the queen's gold seal were completely omitted making the palanquin hover in the air while the palanquin bearers stand nearby. More differences and omissions can be spotted.

Other illustrations in the wedding *uigwe* include the illustrations of the setting for the formal marriage bow [同牢宴圖] (fig. 12), the format of the scroll on which the formal letter of the queen's investiture was to be written [教命式], and additional illustrations of the ceremonial items such as the jade book, golden seal, etc.

IV. *Uigwe* of Rites of Receiving Envoys from China: *Binrye* (賓禮)

It was not until the reign of Gwanghae-gun (r.1608~1623) that Joseon court compiled its first *uigwe* of receiving envoys from China in 1608 (Gwanghae opening year).¹⁵ Besides the main superintendency (*docheong* 都廳) for the supervision of the entire task, it is customary to establish additional six task forces as the following: 1. Military task force (*gunsaeok* 軍色) to help the on the road work of receiving envoys; 2. Provisions task force (*eungpan-saek* 應辦色) to help prepare the gifts for the envoys as well as items they asked for; 3. Banquet preparation task force (*yeonhyang-saek* 宴享色); 4. Main meal preparation task force (*mimyeon-saek* 米麵色); 5. Side-dishes preparation task force (*banseon-saek* 飯膳色); 6. Snack preparation task force (*japmul-saek* 雜物色). It was also customary to compile a separate *uigwe* of the each of the task forces.

The earliest *Binrye uigwe* that remain today is the one compiled in 1608 after the reception of the Ming envoys (from 25th day of the fourth month to the 6th day of the fifth month) who came to mourn the death of King Seonjo and bestow him a posthumous title. On the 3rd day of the fifth month, the chief envoy performed the memorial rite for King Seonjo at Injeong-jeon, Changdeok Palace. In the same year, another group of envoys came on the 2nd day of the 6th month to approve the investiture of Gwanghae-gun, and stayed until the 19th

¹⁵ Han Yeong-u (2005), pp. 59-74.

day of the sixth month. The detailed records of the events were compiled in three parts: 1. *Yeongjeop dogam docheong uigwe* 『迎接都監都廳儀軌』 or the *Uigwe* of the main superintendency for the reception of the envoys;¹⁶ 2. *Yeongjeop dogam mimyeon-saek uigwe* 『迎接都監米麵色儀軌』 or the *Uigwe* of the meal preparation task force for the reception of the envoys;¹⁷ and 3. *Yeongjeop dogam sajecheong uigwe* 『迎接都監賜祭廳儀軌』 or the *Uigwe* of the office in charge of the envoys' bestowal of imperial memorial rite for [King Seonjo].¹⁸ The last one is the only *uigwe* with monochrome illustration and the procession paintings in color.

In the the *Sajecheong Uigwe*, we find the protocol for the memorial rite itself in the section labeled “Protocol of the Ministry of Rite (*yejo uiju* 禮曹儀註).”¹⁹ It is very detailed instruction for all the participants of the memorial service. At the end of the *Sajecheong Uigwe*, there are two procession paintings which show features not found in any other *banchados*. For this reason, we will show some of the sections from them. The first one is titled “Cheonsa bancha (天使班次), meaning *banchado* of the chief envoy. It consists of 9 pages of procession of the chief envoy coming to Hanyang led by Joseon officials and all the appropriate honor guards including musicians.²⁰ Most of the important figures, palanquins, and ritual weapons and parasols are labeled next to them. The chief envoy Xiung Hua appears seated on a sedan chair on the third to the last page (fig. 13 right). The important elements of the procession are: twenty nine torch bearers (*bonghua-gun* 捧炬軍) on either side, sixteen Joseon court officials in their most formal court attire on horseback identified as “*baekwan* (百官),” or numerous high officials (fig. 13 left); honor guards and musicians; and two small pavilion-shaped carriers, one for the incense burner (*hyangjeong* 香亭), and, the other for the imperial letter of memorial (*yongjeong* 龍亭) (fig. 14 left). These are followed by a black roofed palanquin the side of which is covered with plain silk cloth carrying the Imperial gifts for the memorial rite labeled as ‘*bumul-chaeyeo* (賻物綵輦). Then there are men carrying wooden stretchers loaded each with a head of sacrificial animals of a cow, a lamb, and a pig (fig. 14 left).

The second procession painting is entitled “Banchado of Kwak wigwan Presenting

¹⁶ Kyu(奎)14545. 1 vol., 192 pages (96 *jang*). See the short description in *Kyujang-gak sojang Uigwe jonghap mongrok* 『규장각소장 儀軌 종합목록』 (Complete List of Uigwe in the Kyujang-gak) (Kyujang-gak, 2002), p. 243.

¹⁷ Kyu(奎)14551. 1 vol., 102 pages (51 *jang*). *Ibid.*, p. 244.

¹⁸ Kyu(奎)14556 and 14557. # 14556 is in better condition. It is 1 volume with 334 pages (117 *jang*). *Ibid.*, p. 239. See also the facsimile reproductions published by Kyujang-gak in 1998 of these three *uigwes*, the first two in one volume and the third one in a separate volume both with an introduction by Han Myeong-gi (韓明基).

¹⁹ *Sajecheong Uigwe*, pp. 145-150.

²⁰ *Sajecheong Uigwe*, pp. 216-224.

Emperor's Gifts for the Memorial Service" (*Kwak wigwan jemul baejin bancha* 郭委官祭物陪進班次),²¹ ten pages in all.²² At the beginning, there are the ushers identified by a label as "jirochi (指路赤)," followed by a series of black-roofed plain silk palanquins labelled as "seventy-five plain silk palanquins carrying offerings at the memorial service (*jemul chaeyeon chilsip obu* 祭物綵輦七十五部)," but in actual painting, only 19 of them are shown. Altogether, eighty of the *chaejeong* and *chaeyeo* had to be made to carry necessary items for the memorial service.²³ Two groups of four men carrying wooden boards to put food offerings follow the palanquins. They are identified by a label as "six stretchers to carry the food offerings" (*jemul ipseong gaja yukbu* 祭物入盛架子六部)," but only two of them are shown. On the second to the last page, chief eunuch Kwak appears on horseback.

V. *Uigwe* of Military Rites: Gunrye (軍禮)

The *Uigwe* of the Military Rites comes under the title of *Daesarye Uigwe* (大射禮儀軌), or *Uigwe* of the Royal Archery Rites. Although the mention of *daesarye* rite appears first in the *Veritable Records of King Taejong* as early as 1417 (Taejong 17), the only *Daesarye Uigwe* we now have records King Yeongjo and his officials' archery rites held in 1743 (Yeongjo 19) in the compound of the Seonggyun-gwan (成均館) National College in Hanyang. The event began with royal offering of incense to Confucius at the Munmyo Shrine (文廟 Shrine for Confucius) within the compound. The next came royal bestowing of the opportunity for special state examination at Myeogyun-dang (明倫堂 Hall of the Bright Ethics), both civil and military, to commemorate this historic occasion. In the special state examinations, six civil and 60 military applicants received the passing grades. Then the Archery rites proper begins with King Yeongjo himself shooting first, followed by royal relatives, civil and military officials, and finally by the royal sons-in-law. The event ends with the award ceremony for the good shooters and punishing the poor shooters.

This *uigwe* comes with 12 pages of illustrations in color. They are: 3 scenes of Royal Archery Rite; 6 scenes of shooting by attending officials, royal relatives and in-laws, and 3 scenes of Awards and Punishments for the Attending Officials.

The first page of the Royal Archery Rite shows the canopy for the king in which the five-peaks screen is situated (fig. 15). The second page shows the king's palanquin parked on the left, and on the right side, the large yellow flag with the red trimming called *gyoryeong-gi*

²¹ Kwak wigwan refers to Guo Yenguang (郭彥光), the Ming official in charge of safeguarding the imperial seals (*jangin-gwan* 掌印官) who came with the Ming retinue at that time. He was one of the chief eunuchs [太監] of the Ming court.

²² *Sajecheong Uigwe*, pp. 225-234.

²³ *Sajecheong Uigwe*, p. 167.

(交龍旗), or the flag of a pair of intertwining dragons, symbolizing the king's presence (fig. 15). The royal honor guards continue on either side of the third page while in the center stage, two groups of musicians are standing behind the bell stand on the right, and the *gyeong* (磬) stand on the left (fig. 15). The fourth page shows the royal target (fig. 15) and two small three-fold screens behind which several people are standing. The screens, called a *pip* (乏) are there to shield the arrows flying not directly to the target. The red square target has a white area in the center in which a head of a bear is seen upside down. The arrow catcher, or *hoekja* (獲者) stands also upside down in front of the target, facing north toward the direction of the king's canopy. The rest of the figures and horses are shown standing in profile on either end of the page facing each other.

One might wonder why the royal target and the man in front of it are placed upside down. We find the answer to this question by putting the four scenes vertically together to create one unified scene of the royal archery rite (fig. 16). The illustrations in this *uigwe* differs from those of other *uigwes* in that, instead of putting the *banchado* pages together horizontally to form a procession, we have to put the four illustrated pages of each of the three events vertically to form a scene. Also, in all other *banchados*, each page has its own border defined by black lines (or red in the royal-viewing copy), but in this *banchado*, there is no such border definition. Each page measures 32.9 × 46cm, and if we put together the four pages vertically to create a complete scene of the royal archery rite, it will be like a vertical scroll measuring 131.6×46cm.²⁴

A tightly enclosed visible and imaginary space with the king's canopy on top and the bear-head target on the bottom guarded on either side by other figures and other elements in the scene is created. "Visible" because one can easily see the two-dimensional space in the picture. "Imaginary" because one has to imagine the three-dimensional space created by the upside down target and the figure in front of it facing toward the royal canopy. This is a noble device to construct a three-dimensional space out of the two-dimensional elements in the picture.

The fact that King Yeongjo revived the ancient custom of Royal Archery Rite in more than 200 years of time, and performed it twice (1743, 1764), and had the first and the only *uigwe* of military rite of the Joseon dynasty is in line with his general policy of reestablishing the regulations on state rites. The Royal Archery Rite, which was absent in the *Five Rites of the State* of 1474, was included in the *Sequel to the Five Rites of the State* compiled and published in 1744 under the order of King Yeongjo.²⁵ It seems that the revival of the Royal

²⁴ The only change incorporated here is the slightly trimmed fourth scene at its top to bring the group of people closer together.

²⁵ See *Yeongjo Daewang* 『英祖大王』 (king Yeongjo the Great), (Jangseo-gak: The Academy of Korean Studies, 2011), pp. 122-131 for other publications on rites and regulations Yeongjo had

Archery Rite is also indicative of King Yeongjo's effort in strengthening the military power of the nation.²⁶

VI. *Uigwe* of the State Funeral and Related Rites: *Hyungrye* (凶禮)

When a king is declared dead, the Board of Personnel reports this fact to the State Council and sets up three Superintendencies. They are, one for the state funeral [國葬都監], one for the construction of the royal tomb [山陵都監], and finally, one for setting up the royal coffin hall [殯殿都監] where the royal coffin is kept until the funeral day which usually comes four or five months after his death. The last would be combined with another *dogam*, namely that for the royal spirit-tablet hall 魂殿都監. The king's spirit-tablet created after the burial is kept in the hall until it is permanently enshrined in the Chongmyo Royal Ancestral Shrine 27 months after the funeral. The head of the three *dogams* is called Superintendent-General, or *Chonghosa* (總護使) instead of *dojejo*.

The entire procedure of the state funeral is too complicated to be introduced in detail here. Instead, a simplified version is given in the following chart to show the parts played by three/four superintendencies.

<i>Dogam</i> 都監 in charge	Rites	Contents
	Calling for the spirit 復	Upon the death of a king, a eunuch, standing on the rooftop, shakes an outfit of the deceased king three times calling for the spirit to come back.
	Shrouding the body (殮襲) in two stages.	Day 3~5: washing the corpse and dressing it with multiple layers of shroud and blankets.
	Setting up the coffin hall (成殯) with an ice tray (冰槩) under the coffin.	Day 5: A coffin hall is established where the coffin of the king is kept for four or five months until the funeral day
	Donning the mourning costumes 成服.	The crown prince dons the mourning costumes called <i>choebok</i> 衰服.
	Succession 嗣位	Day 6: The crown prince dons the ceremonial costume of the king (<i>myeonbok</i> 冕服) and assumes the kingship.
	Post-humus title and the seal presentation rites. 上謚冊寶儀	Presentation of the post-humus title and the seal of the diseased king.
Royal Funeral 國葬 and Construction	Departure of the king's coffin. 發柩	Funeral rite and the start of the procession to the royal tomb four or five months after the death.
	On-the-road offerings 路祭	At the Mohuagwan 慕華館 guesthouse for Chinese envoys

published during his reign.

²⁶ See *Yeongjo Daewang*, op. cit., pp. 132-139 for the notable publications concerning the military affairs during Yeongjo's reign.

of Royal Tomb 山陵	Deposition 下玄宮	Lowering the coffin of the king into the burial chamber of the tomb.
	Writing the name on the spirit tablet 題主	A temporary tablet called <i>uju</i> 虞主, made of mulberry wood, to be used during the 27-month mourning period.
	Bringing the tablet back 返虞	Return to the palace with <i>uju</i> 虞主.
Spirit-tablet hall 魂殿	Spirit-tablet hall 魂殿	Offerings of food morning and evening, ceremonial offering at the beginning of the four seasons and at the end of the year by the king.
	<i>Damje</i> 禫祭	Ceremonial offering 27 month after the state funeral
Enshrinement in Jongmyo 祔廟	Final enshrinement of the king's spirit-tablet in Jongmyo 宗廟	On an auspicious day after <i>damje</i> , the spirit-tablet of the king is permanently enshrined in the Royal Ancestral Shrine.

All royal funeral *uigwe* include *banchado*. The small palanquin [小輦] for the newly installed king goes first along with his honor guards and proper flags. The coffin palanquin is positioned toward the end of the procession preceded by many smaller palanquins called *yoyeo* (腰輿) which carry ceremonial objects. They are: one for the Chinese emperor's letter of approval [誥命]; one for the jade book on which the late king's elevated titles are engraved [尊號冊]; one for his posthumous titles written on strips of jade called *sichaek* 諡冊; one for his post-humous gold seal [諡寶]; one for the folded and tied silk cloth in lieu of the spirit tablet [魂帛]; five palanquins for burial objects [明器] of many kinds such as small scale sets of porcelain dishes and bowls, those of made of bamboo, of wood, wooden slaves; A small sedan chair containing layers of the late king's costumes [遺衣稱架子]; *yoyeo* for formal ceremonial costumes [冕服]; one for daily outfit and other items for leisure such as musical instruments [服玩]; one carrying eulogies written on the jade book [哀冊].

Banchado from the Royal Funeral *Uigwe* of King Injo, 1649 (BNF) shows on Section 2 the lead soldiers in mourning costumes and the beginning of the newly installed king (Hyojong)'s honor guards (fig. 17 left), and section 9, the king's palanquin (fig. 17 right). One interesting funeral custom not to be missed is the presence of four demon quellers called *bansangsi* (方相氏) (fig. 18 left). Their role in the state funeral is to chase out from the king's burial chamber any evil spirit which might be hidden in the dark. Naturally, they must look scary: they wear a golden mask with four eyes, drape themselves with a bear-hide, wear a red skirt, and finally wield a long weapon.

Smaller coffin palanquin [肩輿] (fig. 18 right) to be used in narrow and steep mountain road to the royal tomb precedes the royal coffin palanquin proper (fig. 19 left) born by hundreds of soldiers. Just ahead of it, we see the tall red funerary banner called *myeongjeong* (銘旌). This banner bears the identification of King Injo's coffin written in 12 gold characters: the first ten characters being the honorific post-humus title given by his

subjects based on his rule, and the last two meaning royal coffin.²⁷ Immediately after the royal coffin palanquin, 20 palace ladies who perform as wailers [哭宮人] are positioned discretely hidden inside the draped compartment [行帷帳] lest they be shown to others (fig. 19 right). The honor guards and ceremonial weapons around the royal coffin palanquin are one designated for funeral rites. There are band of musicians with various instruments in the front and back of the procession, but they are just there without playing any music in accordance with the regulation not to play any music during the 27 months of state mourning period.

In the funeral of King Injo in 1649, the *uigwe* (BNF2552) informs us that as many as 6438 men were mobilized, and, additionally, the construction of the royal tomb required 2848 men which included 1000 Buddhist monks drafted by the state for this job. Two hundred eighteen soldiers were required to bear the large royal coffin palanquin, but from Seoul to Paju 坡州, six different shifts were needed to cover the distance of about 40 kilometers (90 *li*), which means 1308 soldiers were needed for the royal coffin palanquin only.

Painters in the service of the Superintendency of the Royal Funeral took care of all the drawing and painting needs: to paint the *banchado*, necessary screen paintings, and those in the Superintendency of the Royal Tomb Construction took care of the designs of the stone sculptures to be placed in front of the royal tomb, the four directional animals (blue dragon 青龍 of the east, white tiger 白虎 of the west, red phoenix 朱雀 of the south, black warrior 玄武 of the north) to be painted on the inner walls of the house-shaped container for the coffin called *chan'gung* (攢宮); to decorate the T-shaped building [丁字閣] near the tomb, etc.²⁸ It is in this container where the royal coffin is to be placed until the funeral day. This container was to be burned on the funeral day, and its ashes are buried in the ground behind the coffin hall. Therefore, the *uigwe* illustrations serve as the only evidence for the illustrations of the four directional animals (fig. fig. 20).

VII. Royal Portrait Related *Uigwe* Books: Important State Events outside the Five Rites

The painting of a reigning king's portrait or the copying of damaged portraits of past kings was itself considered a state rite, to be conducted with as much formality and dignity as other

²⁷ Heonmun yeolmu myeongsuk sunhyo daewang jaegung 憲文烈武明肅純孝大王梓宮.

²⁸ At the beginning of the Joseon dynasty, the coffin chamber of the royal tombs were made of stone, and, according to the *Five Rites of the Nation*, the interior of the chamber was to be decorated with the sun, moon, constellations, and the Milky Way on the ceiling, and with the four directional animals on the walls. However, beginning from the late 15th century, when the coffin chambers were no longer constructed of stone, and instead, of combination of lime, yellow dirt and fine sand, the walls and the ceiling decorations were did away with.

state rites.²⁹ In addition, the procession for transporting the newly painted or copied royal portraits required the participation of the entire royal honor guard and all high officials, as in any important royal procession. For example, the *Banchado* from the *Uigwe* of the copying of seven past kings, 1901, we see the section showing Emperor Taejo's spirit palanquin (*sinyeon* 神輦) carrying his portrait. (fig. 21) We learn from the *uigwe* books of the following procedures for the copying or painting royal portraits.

Selection of Auspicious Dates: Once the superintendency was established and the officers appointed, the location of the office within the palace was decided upon, after which the auspicious days for carrying out the various stages of the work were selected

Bringing in a Royal Portrait: When a replacement portrait for a damaged one of a past king is to be made, a model to be copied had to be brought to the capital from one of the royal portrait halls outside. The superintendency appointed officials and guardsmen to travel to that location and transport the portrait in a spirit palanquin (*sinyeon* 神輦) in a stately procession. We have two cases of such travel itineraries, one from Seoul to Jeonju, in 1688, and another from Seoul to Yeongheung, in 1837. When the portrait arrived at the palace gate, the king and the high officials, dressed in formal attire, waited outside the palace to respectfully receive it. A libation rite was performed for the arrival of the portrait before the copying work began.

Selection of the Painters: The superintendency, in consultation with the king, was also in charge of selecting the portrait painters, which included a test of skills for court painters and other recommended professional painters outside the court. Scholar-painters were exempted from the test. Not only their painting skills but also their moral fitness of the painters was considered important. Usually, one master painter (*jugwan hwasaja* 主關畫師), two or more participating painters (*dongcham hwasaja* 同參畫師), and several more assistant painters (*sujung hwasaja* 隨從畫師) were selected.

Draft Versions and the Review Committee: Once the painters were selected, several draft versions of the painting (*chobon* 草本) were produced on oiled paper and submitted to the king and a committee of officials for review. When King Sukjong's portrait was painted in 1713, a court physician was included in the review committee who presumably judged whether the subject's bone structure was well depicted and whether the skin color, facial features, and especially the eyes reflected those of a healthy and spirited person. The king and the same group of officials reviewed the final draft version of the portrait.

Final Version: After a draft version was approved, the final version of the portrait, complete with color, was made. The king apparently sat for the artists when the color was

²⁹ See Yi Sŏng-mi 李成美, *Eojin uigwe wa misulsa* 『어진의궤와 미술사』 (Joseon Dynasty Uigwe Books of Royal Portraits in Art historical perspectives), Seoul: Sowa-dang, 2012.

applied. Of the nine surviving *uigwes*, two record this stage of production, namely, King Sukjong in 1713 and King Gojong and the Crown Prince (later King Sunjong) in 1902. The *1902 Uigwe* records that King Gojong and the Crown Prince sat for the artists more than fifty times, for a total of nine portrait versions (fig. 22). This process should be viewed as the emphasis on realism after the introduction of Western painting techniques in the eighteenth century.

Burning of the Draft Versions: After the completion of the final version of the portrait, it was the usual practice to wash away the traces of the brush (*sech'o* 洗草) from the unsatisfactory versions, burn the silk, and put the ashes in a jar and bury it in the rear garden of the Royal Ancestral Shrine or near the portrait halls or other palace buildings.

We also learn the types of screen paintings used for the royal portraits from the illustrations of the types of Five Peaks Screen in the *Uigwe* of the Copying of Royal Portraits, 1901 (fig. 23). There are many other illustrations that show the decorations of the portrait halls.

VIII. *Uigwe* and Art History

How do we benefit from the vast amount of information on Joseon court culture retrieved from *uigwe* books? Below, we will point out how art historians could utilize information from *uigwe* books for their purposes.

Palace Screens: Until the late twentieth-century, or before the advent of research on *uigwe*, brilliantly colored and highly decorative screen paintings produced and used at court for the most formal rites and ceremonies of the royal palace during the Joseon period were sometimes categorized as '*minhwa* 民畫' or 'folk painting.'³⁰ It is because most of the themes of palace screens, even the most royal of them all, the Screen of the Five Peaks (*obong-byeong* 五峯屏), were appropriated by village painters, who made reduced-size versions and sold them to commoners at screen shops in Hanyang.³¹

Through the study of *uigwe* we learned of the specific use of certain palace screens at designated locations within the state rites.³² Information on palace screens abound in wedding

³⁰ *Kkum gwa sarang: Maehok ui uri minhwa* 『꿈과 사랑: 매혹의 우리민화』 (Dream and Love: Enchanting Korean Folk Painting) Seoul: Hoam Art Museum, 1998.

³¹ We can distinguish court paintings from *minhwa* by their size and workmanship.

³² Park Jeonghye, et. al., *Joseon gunggwol ui geurim* 『조선 궁궐의 그림』 (Paintings in the Joseon Palaces), Seoul: Dolbege, 2012; National Palace Museum of Korea ed., *Gunggwol ui jangsik geurim* (『궁궐의 장식그림』), 2009; See Yi Söng-mi (李成美), *Garyedogam euigwe wa misilsa*, *op., cit.* pp. 300~317, chart 5; Yi Song-mi, 「조선후기 進爵, 進饌儀軌를 통해 본 宮中の 美術文化」

uigwes, banquet and funeral related *uigwes*, royal portrait related *uigwes*, and also *uigwes* of construction and repair of the palace buildings. There also remain several large-scale screen paintings that can be directly related to the *uigwe* books.

From the wedding *uigwes*, we learn that the screens of the Ten Symbols of Longevity [十長生屏] (fig. 24), Peonies [牡丹屏] (fig. 25), Lotus Flowers [蓮花屏], and Birds-and-Flowers [花鳥屏] were always used to the end of the eighteenth century. Ten Symbols of Longevity Screen is distinctly Korean; it was unknown in China and Japan.

The Five Peaks Screen [五峯屏] (fig. 26) is the type of painting that appears most frequently in many categories of *uigwe* as it must be placed behind the living king or behind his coffin.³³ It is also seen in the royal portrait-related *uigwe* as well as in the royal banquet-related *uigwe* throughout the dynasty. The Screen of Calligraphy, not shown at any other events, was always used at royal banquets in the area where the crown prince was to be seated. Blossoming Plum [梅花] Screens and Screens of the Peaches of Immortality by the Sea [海蟠桃] were also used in royal portrait halls.

While the use of these “staple” screens continued, new types came into use as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century. Screens of Happy Life of Guo Ziyi [郭汾陽行樂圖] are listed in the royal wedding *uigwe* of 1802 (fig. 27), and remained in the listings of wedding screens until the end of the dynasty. The pictorial Guo Ziyi (郭子儀 697~781) theme appeared at approximately the time when the novel on that theme was published in *hangeul*. The Scholar’s Paraphernalia Screen (*munbang-do* 文房圖) (fig. 28) is also recorded in banquet-related *uigwe* of the nineteenth century. In these screens, which depict various scholars’ objects such as books, rolls of paper, brushes, seals, curios, and small potted plants neatly organized in a structure resembling a multiunit bookcase (thus the painting is today called *chaekka-do* 冊架圖, or bookcase painting. Another apparent innovation, a screen decorated with peacocks, is reported in connection with a banquet of 1802, but no further mention of it can be found.³⁴

List of Names of Artisans by Their Trade (*gongjang-jil*, 工匠秩): Of special interest to art historians is the section called *gongjang-jil*, 工匠秩, in which is listed the

(Art and Culture of the Late Joseon Palace seen through Royal Banquet *Uigwes*), in Joseon hugi gungjung yeonhyang munhwa 『조선후기 궁중연향문화』 (*On the late Joseon palace banquets*) vol. 2, Seongnam: The Academy of Korean Studies/Minsok-won, 2005, pp. 116-197. Also see Yi Song-mi, in volume 1 (2003), pp. 69-139, and other articles by Yi.

³³ Yi Sōng-mi, *Eojin uigwe wa misulsa* op. cit.

³⁴ All of the other types of screens mentioned in *uigwe* are extant today in quantity, but the Peacock Screen is not found even in the National Palace Museum of Korea in Seoul, although some late Joseon screens of birds, animals, and flowers sometimes show peacocks among flowering trees. See Hyunsoo Woo, “Screen Paintings of the Joseon Court,” in *Treasures from Korea: Arts and Culture of the Joseon Dynasty, 1392-1910*. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2014, pp. 25-35.

names of all the artisans, painters, scribes, and, seamstresses in service to the event. This section appears, with some differences, in all *uigwe* books (fig. 29). It sheds light on the division of labor among Joseon artisans, as individuals are listed under their specialties or trades. Among the painters are those whose names were not known to us through traditional documentary or literary sources other than *uigwe*. For example, a total of 234 painters are recorded in the 20 existing wedding-related *uigwes*, and of these, 142, or about 60 percent, do not appear in other literary or documentary sources. Many of these names, however, appear repeatedly in other contemporary *uigwes*.³⁵ This demonstrates that the standard account of Joseon painting history, as we know it today, is quite incomplete.

The number of the categories of the handicrafts recorded in *uigwes* far exceeds that of the official count recorded in the *Joseon Law Code* (1484) and in the *Comprehensive Collection of National Codes* (*Daejeon hoetong* 大典會通 1865), the last Joseon book of law. We found that only about 35 percent of the 103 category of artisans recorded in the late Joseon banquet related *uigwes* were recorded in the above two Joseon law codes.³⁶ Due to such minute division of labor among Joseon artisans, the Joseon handicrafts works seem to have maintained overall excellence through the modern period.

On Social Status of Artisans and Female Performers: *Uigwe* books have a section on “awards (*sangjeon* 賞典)” to all who participated in the event. The awards vary in kind and amount, depending on the status of the recipient, nature of the event, and the amount of service rendered. Usually, a full-grown horse was given to the highest official of the Superintendency, while a colt or pony was given to the next level officials. Painters and other artisans were mostly given a bolt of cotton and/or a bushel of rice. Court painters of the lowest rank (9th grade), were promoted to the sixth rank, the highest for court painters prescribed by the law although it was often broken for royal favorites. Painters already of the sixth rank or above might either be awarded a pony or appointed to other official posts, such as magistrate of a small district.

It seems that the most unusual form of award was the granting of the status of “good people (*yangmin* 良民)” to the members of the outcast (*cheonmin* 賤民) class. In Joseon society, once one is born of the outcast’ it remains so for generations in the family, and was impossible to participate in any social activities other than allowed by law such as being a butcher, slave, shaman, court entertainer, etc. Therefore, the acquisition of the status of “good

³⁵ See Park Jeonghye 朴廷惠, “*Uigwe rul tonghae bon Joseon sidae ui hwawon* 儀軌를 통해 본 조선 시대의 畫員” (Court Painters of the Joseon Period seen through *Uigwe*), *Misulsa Yeon’gu* 『미술사연구』 no. 9 (1995), pp. 221-290.

³⁶ See Yi Song-mi, “Art and Culture of the Late Joseon Palace seen through Royal Banquet *Uigwes*,” *op. cit.*, charts 6 & 7.

people” meant the change not only for the person, but also for his or her descendants.

This permanent change of status, or upward social mobility began during the reign of King Yeongjo (r. 1725~1776). The earliest *uigwe* in which such award was granted to several low level palace staff members is the 1767 *Uigwe of Royal Sericulture (Jeonghae Chinjam Uigwe 丁亥親蠶儀軌)* (figs. 30 & 31). Since then we find this practice in many other palace banquet related *uigwes*. Female court performers (singers and dancers), collectively known as *yeoryeong* 女始, who served at court banquets, were granted the status of “good people,” when they next served at a royal banquet, they would ask for material awards. Some of the male court scribes (*sajagwan* 寫字官) also asked for a change of status to “good people.” It has generally been thought that court scribes, like court painters, were of the “middle people” or *jung'in* 中人 class, but apparently some of the scribes were originally outcasts. No study to date of Joseon social classes seems to have utilized the abundant source materials in *uigwe* in assessing the upward social mobility during the late Joseon period.³⁷

The information contained in the *Uigwe of the Construction of the Hwaseong Citadel* 華城城役儀軌 of 1801 with many woodblock-printed illustrations served as the most important guide when the citadel was reconstructed between 1975 to 79 after its near total destruction during the Korean War (fig. 32). Officials of the UNESCO Cultural Heritage Commission were impressed by the beauty of the architecture of the citadel, but were much more impressed by the existence of such excellent visual and textual records on the initial construction of the citadel. The citadel of Hwaseong was designated as the World Cultural Heritage in 1997 partly thanks to the *Uigwe of the Construction of the Hwaseong Citadel*.

As shown by the examples introduced in this study, *uigwe* texts and images, when examined carefully, can yield detailed, multidimensional pictures of Joseon court life from the seventeenth through the early twentieth century. Together with the *Veritable Records of the Joseon Dynasty* and the *Diary of the Royal Secretariat*, the *uigwe* books are one of the most important sources of information about Joseon culture. The information we can retrieve from *uigwe* is unique in its concreteness, richness, and variety. The exceptional value of such documentary heritage has been recognized worldwide, and, in June 2007, *uigwe* books were registered as UNESCO Memory of the World. Through such documentation of their rites, members of Joseon royalty, high officials at the court, and others around them wished to construct certain identities and project them to the rest of the nation, and to posterity.

³⁷ See Yi Song-mi, “Art and Culture of the Late Joseon Palace seen through Royal Banquet *Uigwes*,” *op. cit.*, pp. 191 ~ 93, for a list of names of applicants for change of status as award after palace banquets.