

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 monarchic 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.¹ 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*.²

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

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).

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 monarchic 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.³ 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 monarchic 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

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

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*.

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

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 Jangseogak, 191 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.

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
Gwanhaegun	1608-1622	19	5	26.3
Injo	1623-1649	40	4	10.0
Hyojong	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
Cheoljong	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

late king, honoring ancestral tablets in the Jongmyo, and enshrining exemplary accomplishments of the monarch began to be drawn in general from the late seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth century.

The increased ratio of *banchado* in *uigwe* in the nineteenth century simply reflects a trend practiced in the preceding century. In the nineteenth century, all *banchado* were newly produced. Why did more royal protocols include illustrations in the late seventeenth century and eighteenth century?

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

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.⁷ 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."⁸

7. Bak E. (1993, 568-570).

8. *Crown Prince (Gyeongjong) Investiture Uigwe (Changnye dogam uigwe [景宗世子]冊封都監儀軌)* 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,⁹ King Sukjong went as far as to strip the patriarch Song Si-yeol of his office and evict him from the capital.¹⁰ 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 monarchic 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, respectively: 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 Jeong-sun 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 Yeongnyeongjeon Shrine was rebuilt in 1667, a rite was held to move and enshrine ancestral tablets elsewhere. At that

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.

time, King Hyeonjong only saw off the procession from inside the Jongmyo.¹¹ 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.¹²

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.¹³ 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.¹⁴ 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.

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* 宗廟改修都監儀軌). Vol. 1 (Kyu-janggak 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,¹⁵ 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.¹⁶ No *banchado* were produced, either, when King Yeongjo offered a posthumous title to King Hyojong in 1740¹⁷ and an honorary title to Sukjong in 1755.¹⁸

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 1783.¹⁹ *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,

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 Ingyeong, Inhyeon, and Inwon in 1753.
17. *Royal Wedding Uigwe* (of King Injo and Queen Jangnyeol) (*Garye dogam uigwe* [仁祖莊烈后]嘉禮都監儀軌) (Kyujanggak 13283).
18. *Uigwe on Investing Posthumous Title to King Hyojong* (*Gasang siho dogam uigwe* [孝宗]加上謚號都監儀軌) (Kyujanggak 13270).
19. The 1783 ceremonies to invest honorific titles were held for Crown Prince Sado and Hyegyeyong 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.

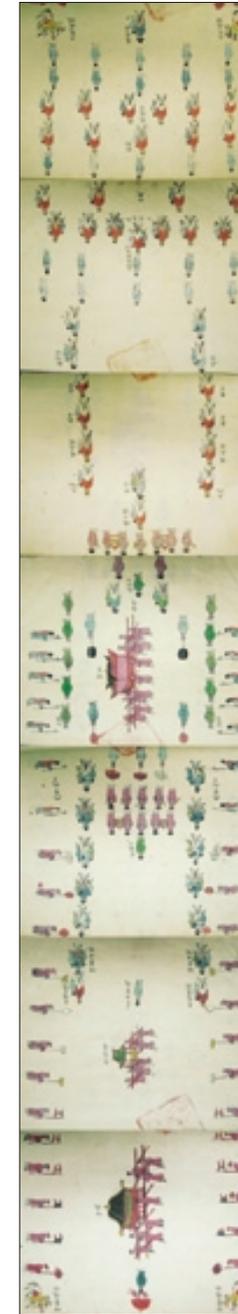


Figure 1. A palanquin carrying a repainted portrait of the late King Sukjong in banchado from the Royal Portrait Reproduction Uigwe (1748). Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies, Seoul National University.



Figure 2. King Yeongjo's palanquin in banchado from the Royal Portrait Reproduction Uigwe (1748). Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies, Seoul National University.

the devotion Jeongjo 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 centu-

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, monarchic ornamental ship loaded with a palanquin for his spirit, King Yeongjo's palanquin and the crown prince's palanquin.

ry *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 monarchic cortege (*nobu*), as provided for in the

21. On the procedures and details of royal weddings in the Joseon dynasty, see Shin (2001).

22. Yu (1986, 5).

23. Yi (1994).

Table 2. Number of Pages of Banchado from Royal Wedding Uigwe of Kings and Queens

Title	Year	Years of Reign	No. of Books Pages	No. of Banchado pages	Remarks
Royal Wedding Uigwe of King Injo and Queen Jangnyeol (仁祖莊烈后)嘉禮都監儀軌	1638	16th year of King Injo's reign	1 vol. 164	8	queen's reign procession
Royal Wedding Uigwe of King Sukjong and Queen Inhyeon (肅宗仁顯后)嘉禮都監儀軌	1681	7th year of King Sukjong's reign	1 vol. 339	18	queen's reign procession
Royal Wedding Uigwe of King Sukjong and Queen Inwon (肅宗仁元后)嘉禮都監儀軌	1702	28th year of King Sukjong's reign	1 vol. 339	18	queen's reign procession
Royal Wedding Uigwe of King Yeongjo and Queen Jeongsun (英祖貞純后)嘉禮都監儀軌	1759	35th year of King Yeongjo's reign	2 vols. 291	50	king and queen's reign procession
Royal Wedding Uigwe of King Sunjo and Queen Sunwon (純祖純元后)嘉禮都監儀軌	1802	2nd year of King Sunjo's reign	2 vols. 423	52	king and queen's reign procession
Royal Wedding Uigwe of King Hyeonjong and Queen Hyohyeon (憲宗孝顯后)嘉禮都監儀軌	1837	3rd year of King Heonjong's reign	2 vols. 422	68	king and queen's reign procession
Royal Wedding Uigwe of King Heongjong and Queen Hyojeong (憲宗孝定后)嘉禮都監儀軌	1844	10th year of King Heonjong's reign	2 vols. 445	80	king and queen's reign procession
Royal Wedding Uigwe of King Cheoljong and Queen Cheorin (哲宗哲仁后)嘉禮都監儀軌	1851	2nd year of King Cheoljong's reign	2 vols. 441	92	king and queen's reign procession
Royal Wedding Uigwe of King Gojong and Queen Myeongseong (高宗明成后)嘉禮都監儀軌	1866	2nd year of King Gojong's reign	2 vols. 419	82	king and queen's reign procession

Table 3. Number of Pages of Banchado from Royal Wedding Uigwe of Crown Princes (or the Eldest Son of a Crown Prince) and Crown Princesses (or the Wife of the Eldest Son of a Crown Prince)

Title	Year	Years of Reign	No. of Banchado pages	Remarks
Royal Wedding Uigwe of Crown Prince Sohyeon (昭顯世子)嘉禮都監儀軌	1627	2nd year of King Injo's reign	8	crown princess' procession
Royal Wedding Uigwe of King Hyeonjong and Queen Myeongseong (顯宗明聖后)嘉禮都監儀軌	1651	2nd year of King Hyeonjong's reign	12	crown princess' procession
Royal Wedding Uigwe of King Sukjong and Queen Ingyeong (肅宗仁敬后)嘉禮都監儀軌	1671	12th year of King Hyeonjong's reign	12	crown princess' procession
Royal Wedding Uigwe of King Gyeongjong and Queen Danui (景宗端懿后)嘉禮都監儀軌	1696	22nd year of King Sukjong's reign	12	crown princess' procession
Royal Wedding Uigwe of King Gyeongjong and Queen Seonui (景宗宣懿后)嘉禮都監儀軌	1718	44th year of King Sukjong's reign	12	crown princess' procession
Royal Wedding Uigwe of King Jinjong and Queen Hyosun (眞宗孝純后)嘉禮都監儀軌	1727	3rd year of King Yeongjo's reign	12	crown princess' procession
Royal Wedding Uigwe of King Jangjo and Queen Heongyeong (莊祖獻敬后)嘉禮都監儀軌	1744	20th year of King Yeongjo's reign	12	crown princess' procession
Royal Wedding Uigwe of King Jeongjo and Queen Hyoui (正祖孝懿后)嘉禮都監儀軌	1762	38th year of King Yeongjo's reign	16	crown princess' procession
Royal Wedding Uigwe of King Munjo and Queen Sinjeong (文祖神貞后)嘉禮都監儀軌	1819	19th year of King Sunjo's reign	52	crown prince and princess' procession
Royal Wedding Uigwe of King Sunjong and Queen Sunmyeong (純宗純明后)嘉禮都監儀軌	1882	19th year of King Gojong's reign	70	crown prince and princess' procession

Table 4. Composition of Banchado

No.	Components
1	Lead procession official
2	Head toops
3	Head bowman troops
4	A flag of twin dragons ascending and descending
5	King's ceremonial implements
6	Front band
7	Five silk-covered lantern men
8	Guard troops / King's palanquin / Guard troops
9	Rear band
10	Guard troops following palanquin
11	Guard officials
12	Emblem
13	Civil and military officials
14	Rear bowman troops
15	Head bowman troops for queen
16	Incense palanquin
17	Royal edict palanquin
18	Jade investiture palanquin
19	Golden seal palanquin
20	Ceremonial costume palanquin
21	Queen's ceremonial implements
22	Band
23	Men carrying goods on the head and incense accompanying five court inspector
24	Ladies-in-waiting riding on horse or walking, incense holders and incense head-carriers
25	Guards / Queen's palanquin / Guards
26	Ladies-in-waiting / Rear guards for queen's palanquin
27	Rear palanquin guard officials
28	Dogam officials
29	Rear bowman troops

Source: Royal Wedding Uigwe of King Sunjo and Queen Sunwon (1802)

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	
1627	5, Injo	Crown Prince Sohyeon and Lady Kang																														
1651	2, Hyojong	King Hyeonjong and Queen Myeongseong																														
1671	12, Hyeonjong	King Sukjong and Queen Ingyeong																														
1681	7, Sukjong	King Sukjong and Queen Inhyeon																														
1702	28, Sukjong	King Sukjong and Queen Inwon																														
1718	44, Sukjong	Crown Prince Gyeongjong and Crown Princess Seonui																														
1727	3, Yeongjo	Crown Prince Jinjong and Crown Princess Hyosun																														
1744	20, Yeongjo	Crown Prince Jangjo and Crown Princess Heongyeong																														
1759	35, Yeongjo	King Yeongjo and Queen Jeongsun																														
1762	38, Yeongjo	Crown Prince Jeongjo and Crown Princess Hyoui																														
1802	2, Sunjo	King Sunjo and Queen Sunwon																														
1819	19, Sunjo	Crown Prince Munjo and Crown Princess Sinjeong																														
1837	3, Heonjong	King Heonjong and Queen Hohyeon																														
1844	10, Heonjong	King Heonjong and Queen Hyeojeong																														

* 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

24. This corresponds to the current procedures for giving and receiving wedding gifts.

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* [英祖貞純后]嘉禮都監儀軌) (1994), photographic edition, Kyujanggak, Seoul National University. All the 52 pages of the *banchado* are also available in Shin Byung-Ju (2001).

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

27. The flag is described in *banchado* as a *gyoryonggi* (蛟龍旗 dragon flag). But the Section "Royal Wedding" in *Gukjo oryeui seoye* (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.

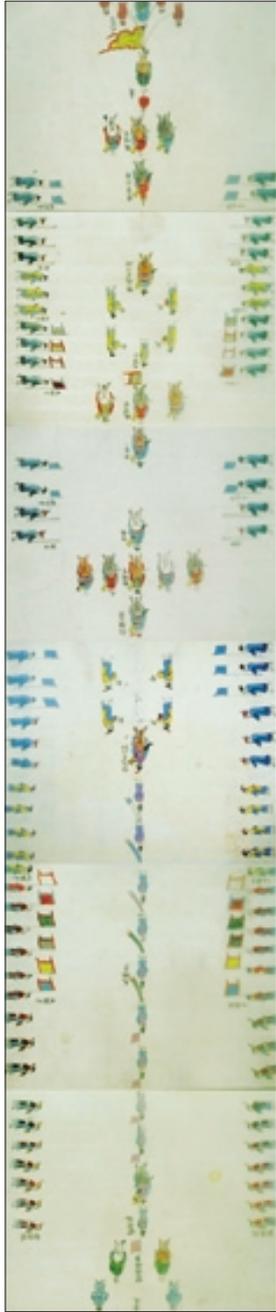


Figure 3. Bowmen troops and command banners in Banchado from Royal Wedding Uigwe (of King Yeongjo and Queen Jeongsun) (1759). Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies, Seoul National University.

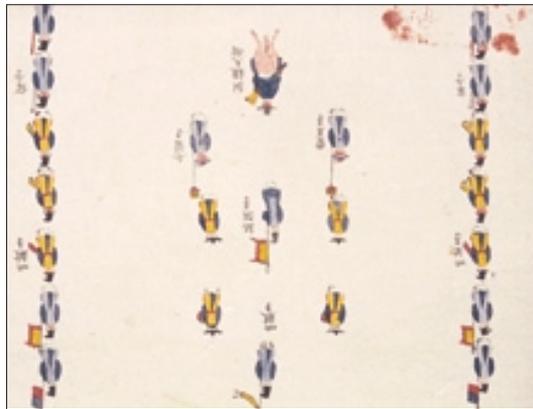


Figure 4. Front troops in Banchado from Royal Wedding Uigwe (of King Sunjo and Queen Sunwon) (1802). Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies, Seoul National University.

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.²⁹

Beginning with the reign of King Jungjong, the king visited a detached palace to greet the queen.³⁰ And it was in 1702 that royal manuals for such ceremonies were published, when King Sukjong married Queen Inwon.³¹ 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 monarchic 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 monarchic 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 Yeonghui-jeon Hall, King Yeongjo performed rites to pray for rain at altars in outlying areas beyond the capital. His arena of politics was not con-

29. Kang (1994, 10-11); Shin (2001, 38).

30. "Queen's Wedding," in *Chungwan tonggo* 春管通考 (Comprehensive Study of the Ministry of Rites), *gwon* 52.

31. "Royal Wedding" in *Gukjo sok oryeui* (Supplementary Five Rites of the State), *gwon* 2.

fined to the royal court but extended anywhere his processions could reach.³²

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" (*bungdang 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.³³ 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 arbitrators. The idea of joint governance of "monarch and minister" while entrusting the control of the countryside to provincial noble families was crumbling from below.³⁴

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.³⁵ The motto "protect the common people" was an explicit articulation of direct monarchic control of the population. All

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).

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.³⁶

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).³⁷ 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-

36. Kim J. (2005, chap. 3).

37. It is the same with the illustrations of the royal wedding of King Hyeonjong and Queen Hyohyeon.

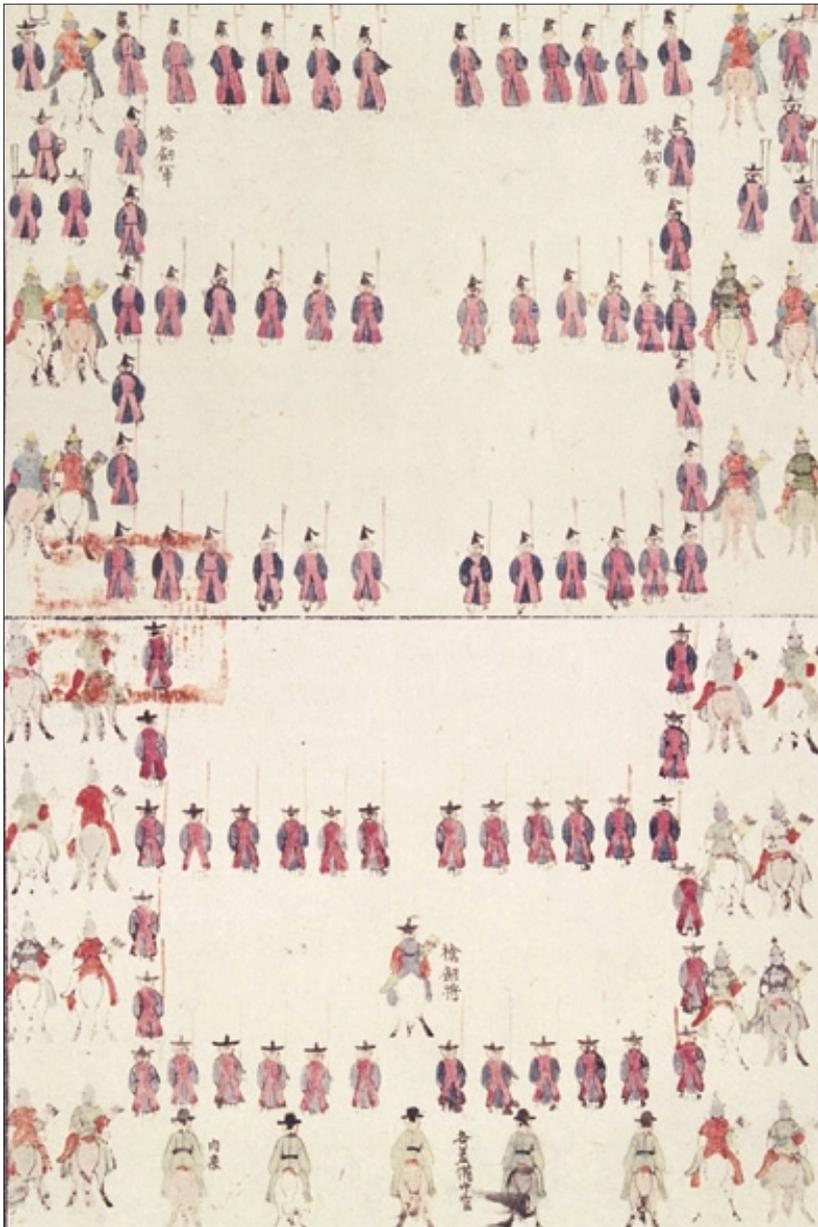


Figure 5. Guard troops following king's palanquin in *Banchado* of *Royal Wedding Uigwe* (of King Sunjo and Queen Sunwon) (1802). Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies, Seoul National University.

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 *banchado* 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 Pages	No. of Banchado Pages
State Funeral Uigwe of King Injo 〔仁祖〕國葬都監儀軌	1649	1st year of King Hyojong' reign	1 vol. 320	30
State Funeral Uigwe of King Hyojong 〔孝宗〕國葬都監儀軌	1659	1st year of King Hyeonjong' reign	2 vols. 471	26
State Funeral Uigwe of King Hyeonjong 〔顯宗〕國葬都監儀軌	1674	1st year of King Sukjong's reign	2 vols. 467	24
State Funeral Uigwe of King Sukjong 〔肅宗〕國葬都監儀軌	1720	1st year of King Gyeongjong's reign	2 vols. 459	32
State Funeral Uigwe of King Gyeongjong 〔景宗〕國葬都監儀軌	1724	1st year of King Yeongjo's reign	2 vols. 652	32
State Funeral Uigwe of King Yeongjo 〔英祖〕國葬都監儀軌	1776	1st year of King Jeongjo's reign	2 vols. 623	32
State Funeral Uigwe of King Jeongjo 〔正祖〕國葬都監儀軌	1880	1st year of King Sunjo's reign	4 vols. 743	40
State Funeral Uigwe of King Sunjo 〔純祖〕國葬都監儀軌	1834	1st year of King Heonjong's reign	4 vols. 708	64
State Funeral Uigwe of King Heonjong 〔憲宗〕國葬都監儀軌	1849	1st year of King Cheoljong's reign	4 vols. 677	70
State Funeral Uigwe of King Cheoljong 〔哲宗〕國葬都監儀軌	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).

Table 8. Number of Pages of Banchado from State Funeral Uigwe of Queens

Title	Year	No. of Books Pages	No. of Banchado Pages	Remarks
State Funeral Uigwe of Queen Inseon 〔仁宣王后〕國葬都監儀軌	1674	3 vols. 644	24	
State Funeral Uigwe of Queen Ingyeong 〔仁敬王后〕國葬都監儀軌	1681	2 vols. 519	24	
State Funeral Uigwe of Queen Myeongseong 〔明聖王后〕國葬都監儀軌	1684	1 vol. 236	0	
State Funeral Uigwe of Queen Jangnyeol 〔莊烈王后〕國葬都監儀軌	1688	1 vol. 112	26	Kept at the French National Library
State Funeral Uigwe of Queen Inhyeon 〔仁顯王后〕國葬都監儀軌	1701	2 vols. 621	24	
State Funeral Uigwe of Queen Seonui 〔宣懿王后〕國葬都監儀軌	1730	2 vols. 676	48	Drastic increase in the number of pages of banchado
State Funeral Uigwe of Queen Jeongseong 〔貞聖王后〕國葬都監儀軌	1757	2 vols. 472	32	
State Funeral Uigwe of Queen Inwon 〔仁元王后〕國葬都監儀軌	1757	2 vols. 432	38	Drawing of front and rear troops protocol for the state funeral changed
State Funeral Uigwe of Queen Jeongsun 〔貞純王后〕國葬都監儀軌	1805	4 vols. 585	46	

Table 8. (Continued)

Title	Year	No. of Books Pages	No. of Banchado Pages	Remarks
State Funeral Uigwe of Queen Hyoui 〔孝懿王后〕國葬都監儀軌	1821	4 vols. 691	40	
State Funeral Uigwe of Queen Hyohyeon 〔孝顯王后〕國葬都監儀軌	1843	4 vols. 591	52	
State Funeral Uigwe of Queen Sunwon 〔純元王后〕國葬都監儀軌	1857	4 vols. 690	66	
State Funeral Uigwe of Queen Cheorin 〔哲仁王后〕國葬都監儀軌	1878	4 vols. 635	59	
State Funeral Uigwe of Queen Sinjeong 〔神貞王后〕國葬都監儀軌	1890	4 vols. 703	77	
State Funeral Uigwe of Queen Myeongseong 〔明成王后〕國葬都監儀軌	1898	5 vols. 814	111	

extant *banchado* illustrations and their lengths are shown in Table 8.

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-

ed smaller burial accessories. The quantity and contents of burial accessories changed considerably, but the number of palanquins used in state funerals remained the same.³⁹ Meanwhile, palanquins carrying the jade investiture books and gold seals given with honorific titles rose, reaching a total of five at the state funeral of King Yeongjo.

This trend was more prominent in queens' state funerals. A total of fourteen palanquins were used in the 1730 state funeral of Queen Seonui, with twelve palanquins in the 1757 state funeral of Queen Jeongseong, following the promulgation of rules on funeral rites. The number of palanquins used for the 1757 state funeral of Queen Inwon rose to eighteen.⁴⁰ The same number was also used for the 1805 state funeral of Queen Jeongsun.⁴¹

Though King Yeongjo repeatedly banned extravagant practices and stressed frugality, the scale of royal processions expanded. This was because royal court events executed for the purpose of reinforcing monarchic authority substantially increased in the eighteenth century.⁴²

King Yeongjo, introducing a system governing the shrines and tombs of a king's biological parents, accorded his late mother Lady Suk honors comparable to those of a queen.⁴³ The system treated the shrines and tombs of a king's biological parents in the same manner as the treatment of the Royal Ancestral Shrine or Jongmyo and monarchic tombs. In addition to elevating the level of memorial rites, King

and-trumpet bands, and the queen by a front band only. In departure illustrations, however, the queen was accompanied by both front and rear bands, but halved in size, in accordance with the provisions of the *Five Rites for State*. Part of Monarchic Order, *Statel Funeral Uigwe* (of Queen Inhyeon) (*Gukjang dogam uigwe* [仁顯王后]國葬都監儀軌).

39. *Chungwan tonggo*.

40. "A Banchado Illustration" in *Statel Funeral Uigwe* (of Queen Inwon) (*Gukjang dogam uigwe* [仁顯王后]國葬都監儀軌) (Kyujanggak 13557).

41. "A Banchado Illustration" in *Statel Funeral Uigwe* (of Queen Jeongsun) (*Gukjang dogam uigwe* [貞純王后]國葬都監儀軌) (Kyujanggak 13592).

42. On increased court banquets and ceremonies bestowing honorific and posthumous titles, see Jeong (2004, 116-118).

43. On the enforcement of the system governing the shrines and tombs of a king's real parents, see Jeong (2004, 23).

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.⁴⁴ 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.⁴⁵ 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 investing 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

44. Kim J. (2005, 148-154).

45. *Seungjeongwon ilgi* (Diaries of the Royal Secretariat), vol. 626, 8th day, 11th month, 2nd year of King Yeongjo's reign.

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

Titles	Year	Year of Reign	No. of Books Pages	No. of Banchado Pages	Remarks
State Funeral Uigwe of Wonjong (元宗)禮葬都監儀軌	1627	5th year of King Injo's reign	1 vol. 138	12	
State Funeral Uigwe of Crown Prince Sohyeon (昭顯世子)禮葬都監儀軌	1645	23th year of King Injo's reign	1 vol. 272	12	
State Funeral Uigwe of the Eldest Son of Crown Prince Uiso (懿昭世孫)禮葬都監儀軌	1752	28th year of King Yeongjo's reign	2 vols. 243	28	French National Library
State Funeral Uigwe of Crown Prince Sado (思悼世子)禮葬都監儀軌	1762	38th year of King Yeongjo's reign	1 vol. 209	26	
State Funeral Uigwe of Crown Prince Munhyo (文孝世子)禮葬都監儀軌	1786	10th year of King Jeongjo's reign	1 vol. 442	36	
Yeonguwon Tomb Uigwe 永祐園遷奉都監儀軌	1789	13th year of King Jeongjo's reign	7 vols. 804	40	
State Funeral Uigwe of Crown Prince Hyomyeong (孝明世子)禮葬都監儀軌	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

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

46. *Ilseongnok*, 7th day, 12th month, 51st year of King Yeongjo's reign.

47. *Gakjeongung dongga uijeol* (Protocol of Royal Processions) (Precious Items Kept at Kyujanggak 9956).

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 monarchic 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 monarchic 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 monarchic 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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GLOSSARY

<i>banchado</i>	班次圖	<i>myeongbok</i>	命服
<i>beopga</i>	法駕	<i>Namin</i>	南人
<i>bungdang jeongchi</i>	朋黨政治	<i>nobu</i>	鹵簿
<i>Dogam</i>	都監	<i>okchaek</i>	玉冊
<i>doseol</i>	圖說	<i>Oryeui</i>	五禮儀
<i>duk</i>	帛	<i>Sajik</i>	社稷
<i>Garye dogam uigwe</i>	嘉禮都監儀軌	<i>Sejong sillok</i>	世宗實錄
<i>geumbo</i>	金寶	<i>Tangpyeongchaek</i>	蕩平策
<i>Gukjang dogam uigwe</i>	國葬都監儀軌	<i>uigwe</i>	儀軌
<i>Gukjo oryeui</i>	國朝五禮儀	<i>uiju</i>	儀註
<i>gungwonje</i>	宮園制	<i>Wonhaeng eulmyo</i>	園幸乙卯
<i>gyomyeong</i>	教命	<i>jeongni uigwe</i>	整理儀軌
<i>gyoryonggi</i>	交龍旗	<i>Yeongjeong mosa</i>	影幀模寫
<i>Jongmyo</i>	宗廟	<i>dogam uigwe</i>	圖鑑儀軌
<i>Jonho dogam uigwe</i>	尊號都監儀軌	<i>Yeonghuijeon</i>	永禧殿