Recording State Rites in Words and Images

Uigwe of Joseon Korea

YI SONG-MI

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YI SONG-MI

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Foreword

Nearly ten years ago, in 2014, as featured speaker for the Tang Center Lecture Series, Yi Song-mi, professor emerita at the Academy of Korean Studies, presented three lectures and two graduate seminars on Korean art at Princeton University. The seminar on *uigwe*, royal court documents of Joseon Korea, in particular, captivated students and scholars alike, as few at the time were aware of their visual richness or of the relationship of *uigwe* to other genres of Korean art. With encouragement from then-Tang Center Director Jerome Silbergeld and others, Professor Yi thus made *uigwe* the focus of a Tang Center publication.

It is our great privilege and pleasure to publish this volume of Professor Yi's pioneering scholarship on *uigwe* and Korean art, and to enhance it with abundant illustrations and substantial reference material. We thank Professor Yi for her remarkable patience, tenacity, and erudition, and for sharing her expertise and crafting a manuscript that will serve as the foundation for future studies not just on *uigwe* but also on many other topics in Korean art, history, and culture.

Many people participated in a variety of ways at different stages of this project. We are particularly indebted to three researchers who provided invaluable assistance. Sunkyung Sohn Kim (PhD, Duke University) and Kwi Jeong Lee (PhD, Princeton University) carefully reviewed the manuscript and provided insights into how to navigate the Revised Romanization rules for Korean. Gina J. Choi, PhD candidate at Princeton University, not only helped with romanization but also researched *uigwe* editions, obtained images, and photographed sites in Korea. John Blazejewski contributed beautiful copy-stand photographs, as he often does for Tang Center projects. We are also grateful to Mary Gladue, who edited the early rounds of the manuscript, and Vanessa Davies, who joined the editorial team to finalize the text. Christopher Moss was, as always, ready to provide editorial advice as well as edit and proofread the text with remarkable precision. Special thanks go to Rose E. Lee, who, during the final stages, copyedited and proofread the

entire text with laser-sharp focus and good cheer despite the compressed schedule. We also thank Hyunjee Nicole Kim for additional proofreading and Susan Stone for indexing the book.

For design and production, we owe a debt of gratitude to Joseph Cho and Stefanie Lew of Binocular Design. We have worked with them for over two decades, and they never fail to create an innovative book design that harmonizes with the theme of the volume. Their boundless energy and high standards are admirable, particularly for this publication, which required enormous attention to detail. We wish also to acknowledge Trifolio, an exceptional printing company that honors the artistry of ink, paper, and binding — a fitting resonance for this volume on the hand-written, painted, and printed *uigwe* books.

To our partners at Princeton University Press, especially Michelle Komie and Christie Henry, we express our thanks for their enthusiasm for our publications and for their continued support. Finally, we are always grateful to Oscar L. Tang and Constance Tang Fong for their generous support of the Tang Center and their belief in all our endeavors.

Andrew M. Watsky *Director*
Dora C. Y. Ching *Deputy Director*
Princeton, New Jersey
August 2023

Preface and Acknowledgments

My interest in the study of the *uigwe* royal documents of the Joseon dynasty goes back to the early 1990s, soon after I moved my teaching position from Deoksung Women's University to the Academy of Korean Studies in 1989. The responsibilities of the Academy professorship combined research with graduate teaching, perhaps with more emphasis on the former. This move also gave me privileged access to the vast amount of mostly handwritten and hand-illustrated *uigwe* material in the Jangseogak Library of the Academy at a time when this material could only be studied in person and personally photographed behind the library's heavy metal protective doors. *Uigwe* books recorded state rites that were held during the Joseon dynasty (1392–1910). Previously, only a few scholars had recognized the potential value of *uigwe* books for the study of the culture and history of Korea and had utilized them in their various fields of research. Ever since I joined this small band over a quarter of a century ago, I have been a devotee of *uigwe* studies. This devotion has been sustained by the belief that concerted *uigwe* research could contribute much to our knowledge of Joseon art history. This book is the fruit of intensive study of selected examples of these exceptional texts and images from an art-historical perspective.

When I was given the honor of serving as the 2014 lecturer for the Tang Center Lecture Series at Princeton University, my public lectures and seminar/workshops for graduate students naturally included themes culled from my past publications and continuing research on *uigwe*. The last lecture, "Symbolism and Functions of Palace Screens of the Joseon Dynasty," and the second graduate workshop, "The *Uigwe* Royal Documents of the Joseon Dynasty as Primary Sources for the Study of Korean Cultural History," both addressed subjects treated in more detail in this book. Jerome Silbergeld, then director of the Tang Center, kindly asked me if I might produce a monograph on Joseon dynasty *uigwe* based on my Tang Center presentations, and I was happy to accept the assignment as there was no such work available in English on this

almost unknown subject. This book includes discussions and analyses of many more categories of *uigwe* than I had time to present in my lecture and seminar. These categories are set out in the table of contents, and my reasons for choosing them and selecting certain specimens to represent them are explained in the introduction. I hope I have written a book that will serve as a substantial and accessible introduction to royal *uigwe* documents of the Joseon dynasty for English-speaking audiences around the world.

Needless to say, this book owes much to recent research by the younger generation of scholars in Seoul National University's Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies under the leadership of Dr. Han Young-woo, a long-time director of that prestigious institution and now professor emeritus of Korean history. He is the acknowledged pioneer in the field of *uigwe* research. The researchers in the Jangseogak Archives of the Academy of Korean Studies must be similarly recognized for their work in the same vein as that of their Kyujanggak colleagues. The contributions of all of these scholars to the study of royal *uigwe* documents are invaluable, as will be evident from the many citations of their works in my notes and bibliography.

I must also take this opportunity to thank several other individuals. Professor Park Jeong-hye of the Academy of Korean Studies, herself an expert on Joseon court documents and documentary paintings, gave much of her precious time to discuss the overall plan of this book with me and to read several long chapters. My long-time friend and colleague Marsha Haufler, professor emerita in the Department of Art History of the University of Kansas, kindly went over the glossary and also gave me valuable suggestions on the summary and conclusions section. Dr. Yi Su-mi, chief of the curatorial department of the National Museum of Korea, located and secured many of the illustrations for this book. Dr. Yun Jin-yeong of the Academy of Korean Studies worked hard to produce better images from *uigwe* and other documents in the Jangseogak Archives and National Central Library in Seoul. Professor Hwang Jeong-yeon, also of the Academy of Korean Studies, but formerly of the National Cultural Properties Administration, helped me secure images from that institution. Yi Yun-heui, my research associate and former student at the Academy of Korean Studies, helped in all stages of my research and manuscript preparation. Park Hye-young and Kim Du-eun are two other assistants in the past who helped me so efficiently with their excellent computer skills. At this point, I would like to acknowledge the anonymous reviewers' valuable suggestions, most of which I accepted in the revision.

At Princeton, Dr. Dora C. Y. Ching, deputy director of the Tang Center, made every possible effort to ensure the publication of this book the way that it has materialized. No words are adequate to express my gratitude for her devotion to this book. She also made my two weeks' residence in Princeton in May of 2014 comfortable and fruitful, including hosting a gracious dinner gathering at her home. Dora also kindly lined up two able copyeditors, Mary Gladue and Vanessa Davies, who patiently went through the whole manuscript of a very arcane subject matter and turned it into a text readable to English-speaking audiences. By happy coincidence, Dora also engaged my longtime friend and trusted editor, Rose E. Lee, who brought years of experience and expertise to review, copyedit, and proofread the manuscript during the final stages of production.

With deep appreciation, I wish to acknowledge my respected teachers, James F. Cahill (1926–2014) and Wen C. Fong (1930–2018), who launched me into a life of scholarly pursuits and inspired me throughout my career.

Finally, I express my heartfelt gratitude to my husband, Dr. Han Sung-joo, whose constant and caring support for my work has been so important to the realization of this book.

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Note to the Reader

Romanization

This book uses the Revised Romanization of Korean for transliteration, with the exceptions of familiar or conventional spellings common in English-language sources and personal names with a preferred alternate romanization. When permissible according to the Revised Romanization, the author's preferred pronunciation has been incorporated into the spelling. Older systems of romanization also appear in publication titles in the notes and bibliography. To conform to the publisher's house style, the author graciously switched from using a version of the McCune-Reischauer romanization to the Revised Romanization of Korean.

Names

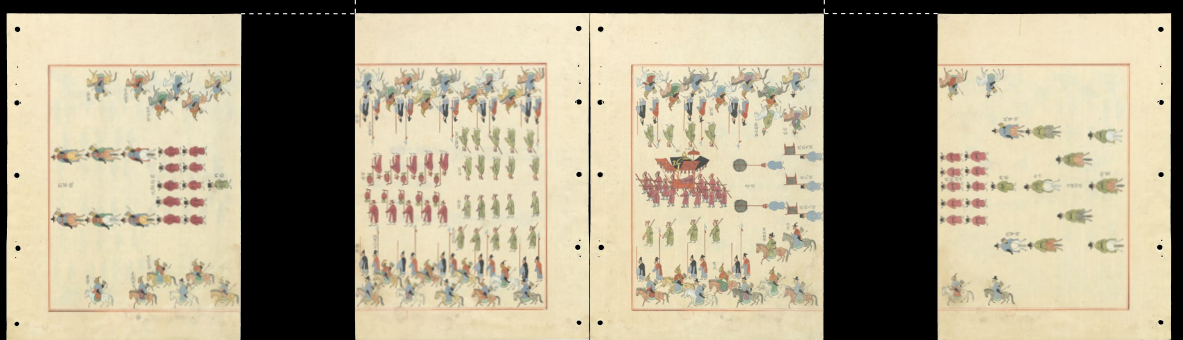
Korean and Asian names are given in traditional order, surname first, with the exception of scholars who live or publish primarily in the West. Names are also romanized according to the personal preferences of the scholars, but the standard spelling according to the Revised Romanization of Korean is included in parentheses in the bibliography.

In accordance with Korean conventions, romanized names of buildings such as palaces or halls include the Korean suffixes that indicate the type of building, such as "gung" for "palace" or "jeon" for "hall." For the convenience of the reader, building names are followed by the English descriptor, as in "Gyeongungung palace," at the first occurrence. Well-known sites, however, may appear without the Korean suffix in English, as in "Changdeok Palace," which is more typically rendered as "Changdeokgung" or "Changdeokgung palace."

Uigwe and Archival Collections

Multiple copies of *uigwe*, the manuscripts and books that recorded state rites held during the Joseon dynasty, were produced and housed at various palaces and history archives in Korea. In this volume, collection numbers are given for those copies of *uigwe* being discussed. In figure

two facing pages of a bound *uigwe*



***uigwe* page 128b**
banchado page 19

***uigwe* page 128a**
banchado page 20

***uigwe* page 127b**
banchado page 21

***uigwe* page 127a**
banchado page 22

original sheets of paper prior to folding and binding

banchado pages 19, 20

banchado pages 21, 22

illustrated scenes as cropped and presented in this publication

OPPOSITE Explanation of how *uigwe* pages appear in bound form in comparison to how they are presented in this publication. Illustrated pages from the *banchado* in the *Uigwe of the Wedding of King Yeongjo and Queen Jeongsun* (see fig. 45).

BELOW Diagram of the three ways *uigwe* pages are presented in this publication.

A. Unfolded sheet

B. Two-page spread

C. Individual page(s)

captions, the collection number of the *uigwe* corresponds to the copy reproduced. In Part 1 of the References, the collection number is given only for the primary *uigwe* cited.

Bookbinding in Korea

Many different types of traditional bookbinding existed in Korea, ranging from concertina or sutra binding to whirlwind, butterfly, wrapped-back, and side-stitched binding. By the Joseon period (1392–1910), side-stitched binding predominated. Such books consisted of sheets of paper that were either hand-painted or woodblock-printed on one side, then folded in half with the painted or printed side facing out to form a leaf, and finally stacked and stitched along the cut edge to form the spine, typically with five sewing holes.

Illustrations would typically be painted on the larger sheet prior to folding, and scenes are often defined within a rectangular frame. When viewing the bound form, the reader sees half of one scene on one page and half of another scene on the opposite page. For woodblock printed illustrations, each sheet would similarly have a fixed border framing the text or image. In addition, a column at the center of the sheet, known as the "heart," would have a pattern resembling a fishtail that served as a guide for folding, as well as information such as the name of the book, section, or title and page number. Once folded, this information would be located on the outer edge of the pages along the fold, and the printed border would wrap around from recto to verso pages.

Reproductions of Pages of *Uigwe*

As with all traditional East Asian books, *uigwe* volumes read *right to left*. While conventions vary, *uigwe* leaves can be numbered 1 a/b, 2 a/b, 3 a/b, and so forth, with "a" being a recto (the *left* page in right-to-left books) and "b" being a verso (the *right* page). Alternatively, *uigwe* pages can be numbered 1, 2, 3, and so on, with odd numbers representing the recto and even numbers representing the verso.

Sections containing the multi-page, illustrated processions (*banchado*) most often appear at the end of a *uigwe* volume. Unless noted otherwise, these processions are meant to be read from *left to right*, akin to Western books, and, as a general practice, painted processions begin on the last page at the end of a *uigwe* volume, reading *rightward* toward the front of the book. For the purposes of simplification in this publication, *banchado* pages are numbered 1, 2, 3, etc., to correspond to their sequence as they would be read (left to right), not according to their physical location within a *uigwe* volume. In this numbering system,

odd numbers therefore correspond to right-hand *banchado* pages, even numbers to left-hand pages.

In this publication, *uigwe* pages are presented in one of three ways:

A. Unfolded sheet *Uigwe* pages are most often presented as the "unfolded" sheet (see diagram on page 14). A reproduction of an entire sheet will consist of two photographs arranged to approximate the painted or printed sheet. A 1-mm gap between the two reproduced pages indicates the position of the fold. On these two leaves, border lines will appear on the top, bottom, and outer margins.

B. Two-page spread If an illustration in a *uigwe* was originally composed to be seen as a spread, the two pages are presented either as a single photograph of an open *uigwe* volume (see, for example, fig. 122) or as two photographs arranged side by side with a 1-mm gap (see, for example, fig. 128). On these two leaves, border lines will appear on the top, bottom, and inner margins.

C. Individual page(s) A recto page (the left page in a *uigwe*) will have border lines on the top, right, and bottom. A verso page (the right page in a *uigwe*) will have border lines on the top, left, and bottom. A larger, 5-mm gap between two *uigwe* pages indicates that they are not contiguous in their original binding or are from different volumes (see, for example, figs. 23, 24).

Scale and Cropping

A typical *uigwe* measures approximately 45–50 centimeters in height and 30–35 centimeters in width. For the purposes of focusing on the illustrated areas of the page, blank margins of the original *uigwe* page have been cropped out in this publication (see diagram on page 14).

Illustrations of *Uigwe* and Related Texts

Uigwe and related texts reproduced in this volume are listed here chronologically; figure numbers are given in gray.

Abbreviations:

BNF/NMK Bibliothèque nationale de France, on loan to the National Museum of Korea
Jangseogak Jangseogak Archives, The Academy of Korean Studies
Kyujanggak Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies, Seoul National University

1454 *Sejong sillok*
Veritable Records of King Sejong, vols. 128–35
Kyujanggak (Kyu 12722)
figs. 2–4

1474 *Gukjo oryeui*
Five Rites of State
Jangseogak (K2-4761)
fig. 1

1608 *Yeongjeop dogam sajecheong uigwe* (cited as *Sajecheong uigwe*)
Uigwe of the Office in Charge of the Envoys' Bestowal of the Imperial Memorial Rite for King Seonjo
Kyujanggak (Kyu 14556)
figs. 54–61 (two different *banchado*)

1610 *Uiin wanghu jonho daebijeon sang jonho junggungjeon chaengnye wangseja chaengnye gwallyesi chaengnye dogam uigwe*
Uigwe of the Investiture of the [Crown Princess Yu as] Queen
(see bibliography for full translated title)
Kyujanggak (Kyu 13196)
figs. 30, 31 (*banchado*)

1627 [*Sohyeon seja*] *garye dogam uigwe*
Uigwe of the Wedding of Crown Prince Sohyeon
Jangseogak (K2-2592)
figs. 37–40 (*banchado*)

1752 *Uiso seson yejang dogam uigwe*
Uigwe of the Funeral of Crown Grandson Uiso
BNF (2511) / NMK (Ogu 181)
figs. 86–88, 90 (*banchado*)

1759 [*Yeongjo Jeongsun wanghu*] *garye dogam uigwe*
Uigwe of the Wedding of King Yeongjo and Queen Jeongsun
BNF (2535) / NMK (Ogu 204), royal viewing copy
figs. 41–51, 53, 188 (*banchado*)
Jangseogak (K2-2591), history archive copy
fig. 52 (*banchado*)

1783 *Sajikseo uigwe*
Uigwe of the Office of the Sajikdan
Kyujanggak (Kyu 14229)
fig. 11

1784 *Gyeongmogung uigwe*
Uigwe of the Gyeongmo Palace
Jangseogak (K2-2410), royal viewing copy
fig. 6
Jangseogak (K2-2411), history archive copy
fig. 7

1789 *Hyeollyungwon wonso dogam uigwe*
Uigwe of the Construction of Crown Prince Sado's Tomb
Kyujanggak (Kyu 13627)
fig. 81

1789 *Jongmyo deungnok*
Records of the Jongmyo Shrine
Jangseogak (K2-2174)
fig. 19

1797 *Wonhaeng eulmyo jeongni uigwe* (cited as *Jeongni uigwe*)
Uigwe of King Jeongjo's Visit to the Tomb of Crown Prince Sado in the Eulmyo Year
Jangseogak (K2-2897)
figs. 111, 113, 114, 119, 122, 124, 190

1800 [*Jeongjo*] *Geolleung salleung dogam uigwe*
Uigwe of the Construction of King Jeongjo's Tomb
Kyujanggak (Kyu 13640)
fig. 84

1801 *Hwaseong seongyeok uigwe* (cited as *Hwaseong uigwe*)
Uigwe of the Construction of the Hwaseong Fortress
Kyujanggak (Garam go 951.2-H992)
figs. 126, 128–130, 132, 133, 136, 137, 140, 142, 143, 145, 147, 148

Tables

Tables in this volume are listed here by chapter and table number; page numbers are given in gray.

Joseon Dynastic Lineage (1392–1910)

	MONARCH	REIGN DATES	
太祖	Taejo	1392–1398	
定宗	Jeongjong	1398–1400	
太宗	Taejong	1400–1418	
世宗	Sejong	1418–1450	
文宗	Munjong	1450–1452	
端宗	Danjong	1452–1455	
世祖	Sejo	1455–1468	
睿宗	Yejong	1468–1469	
成宗	Seongjong	1469–1494	
燕山君	Yeonsangun	1494–1506	
中宗	Jungjong	1506–1544	
仁宗	Injong	1544–1545	
明宗	Myeongjong	1545–1567	
宣祖	Seonjo	1567–1608	
光海君	Gwanghaegun	1608–1623	
仁祖	Injo	1623–1649	
孝宗	Hyojong	1649–1659	
顯宗	Hyeonjong	1659–1674	
肅宗	Sukjong	1674–1720	
景宗	Gyeongjong	1720–1724	
英祖	Yeongjo	1724–1776	
正祖	Jeongjo	1776–1800	
純祖	Sunjo	1800–1834	
憲宗	Heonjong	1834–1849	
哲宗	Cheoljong	1849–1863	
高宗	Gojong	1863–1907	Daehan Empire 大韓帝國 1897–1910
純宗	Sunjong	1907–1910	

金鐙子五
哥舒捧五
金字旗
令字旗
豹骨朵子三
熊骨朵子三
豹骨朵子三
熊骨朵子三
金鼓
銀盂
銀灌子
脚踏
銀交椅
君王千歲旗

Introduction

The royal house of the Joseon dynasty (1392–1897) documented its conduct of important state rites in words and images in volumes known as *uigwe* 儀軌.[1] *Uigwe* were compiled both to document particular events and to serve as guides for subsequent similar ritual performances. In this book, *uigwe* are introduced with an emphasis on the court culture they document and the pictorial art they contain.

Currently, we find several different translations of the term *uigwe* in English publications. The first character, *ui* 儀, means "rites," and the second, *gwe* 軌, means "tracks to be followed" or "models to be emulated." Translations offered by English publications on *uigwe* are as follows: "book of court rites";[2] "manual of the state event" or "rubric for a state ceremony";[3] "ceremonial rules"; "manual for organizing a state event"; "a state ceremony record";[4] "book of state rites";[5] "ceremonial regulations"; and "records for royal ceremonies."[6] Two English catalogues published in the United States, *In Grand Styles* (2013) and *Treasures from Korea* (2014), both offer the translation "royal protocol."[7] However, this is only a partial reference to one section of *uigwe* documents, namely, the *uiju* section, in which are spelled out all the step-by-step protocols to be followed by the king and other participants of the particular rite.

Having noted the above presentations of various English translations and explanations of the term *uigwe*, throughout this book I will simply use the Korean term *uigwe* for both singular and plural forms.

The earliest record of *uigwe* appears in the *Veritable Records of King Taejong* (r. 1400–1418),[8] and more references are readily found in the *Veritable Records* of later kings.[9] Unfortunately, all of the *uigwe* created before the Japanese invasions of 1592–1598, along with many other invaluable parts of Korea's cultural heritage, were destroyed during the warfare. Consequently, the earliest *uigwe*, [*Jungjong daewang*] *Jeongneung gaejang uigwe*, which documents the rebuilding of the royal tomb of King Jungjong (r. 1506–1544), dates to 1562 and survived at least until 1601.[10] The latest *uigwe*, *Heungwang chaekbong uigwe*, records the investiture of the

FIG. 1 Eight volumes of the *Five Rites of State* (*oryeui*), 1474. Book; ink on paper, 33.5 × 22 cm. Jangseogak Archives, The Academy of Korean Studies (K2-4761).

eldest son of Regent Daewongun in 1910. During the Japanese occupation period (1910–1945), twenty-one more specimens of *uigwe* were compiled, including the *Uigwe of the Funeral of the Emperor* [*Gojong*] in 1919.[11]

In form and content, the Joseon *uigwe* are unique in East Asian history. About a quarter of the surviving examples are illustrated, and those illustrations have become famous for their depictions of court processions. However, the texts of the *uigwe* are even more important for the information they contain about the royal culture of the Joseon dynasty. When carefully examined, the texts and images yield detailed, multi-dimensional descriptions of Joseon court life from the seventeenth through the early twentieth century. Together with the *Veritable Records of the Joseon Dynasty* and the *Diaries of the Royal Secretariat*, *uigwe* are critical sources of information, offering insights into Joseon society, politics, and economics, as well as into court rituals, literature, art, entertainment, culinary history, and more. By meticulously recording court costumes, musical instruments, ceremonial utensils, and interior decoration (notably, screen paintings), *uigwe* provide unequalled access to the material culture of the Joseon court.

Historical Setting

The Joseon dynasty (1392–1910), founded by Yi Seong-gye (r. 1392–1398) — posthumously known as King Taejo — was the longest in Korean history. Its twenty-seven monarchs maintained rule by the Yi family of Jeonju, in North Jeolla province, for 518 years, through the founding of the Great Han Empire (*Daehan jeguk*) in 1897, until the nation was forcibly annexed by Japan in 1910. The dynasty took Neo-Confucian principles as its state creed, and its monarchs and officials upheld the Confucian tradition of "rule by rites" (*yechi*) as the cardinal doctrine for conducting state affairs and governing society.[12]

The roots of the Joseon Neo-Confucianism are to be found in the late Goryo dynasty, with scholars such as An Hyang (1243–1306), Jeong Mong-ju (1337–1392), Yi Saek (1328–1396), and others who followed Zhu Xi's (1130–1200) Neo-Confucianism (*Daoxue* or *Lixue*)[13] while criticizing the dominance of Buddhism at the late Goryeo court. Neo-Confucianism is a philosophy that explains the origin of man and the universe in metaphysical terms. Neo-Confucian scholars, among them Jeong Do-jeon (1342–1398), Gwon Geun (1352–1409), and Gil Jae (1353–1419), went on to serve at the court of Yi Seong-gye. The study of the Chinese Classics as codified by Zhu Xi[14] began during the late Goryo period and continued into early Joseon society.[15] Important tenets of Confucianism, that is, the five human relationships (*oryun*),[16] continued to be upheld. The early Joseon Neo-Confucianists laid particular emphasis on the three bonds (*samgang*), the first three of

FIG. 2 Ritual vessels and utensils, from the "Five Rites" section of the *Veritable Records of King Sejong* (*Sejong sillok*), vol. 128, 1454. Book; ink on paper, 55 × 30.2 cm. Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies, Seoul National University (Kyu 12722).

FIG. 3 The king's attire, from the "Five Rites" section of the *Veritable Records of King Sejong* (*Sejong sillok*), vol. 128, 1454. Book; ink on paper, 55 × 30.2 cm. Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies, Seoul National University (Kyu 12722).

the five human relationships: loyalty to the monarch, filial piety to the father, and chastity to the husband. King Sejong the Great (r. 1418–1450) commissioned the *Illustrated Conduct of the Three Bonds* to educate people in the basic Confucian code of ethics.[17] Neo-Confucian officials also shunned Buddhist family funeral rituals and instead adopted the Neo-Confucian *Family Rites of Zhu Xi* (*Zhuzi jiali*),[18] which encouraged the establishment of family shrines to house ancestral tablets and portraits.[19]

On the state level, all of the important state rites were to be conducted according to rituals prescribed by the *Five Rites of State* (*Gukjo oryeui*) com-
[1] piled and published in 1474 (fig. 1). The term "five rites" refers to five categories of ritual performance: auspicious (*gillye*); celebratory (*garye*); the reception of foreign envoys (*billye*); military (*gullye*); and funereal (*hyungnye*). These rites were first set down with instructions on how they were to be conducted in the "Five Rites" section of the *Veritable Records of King*
[2] *Sejong* (*Sejong sillok*) (figs. 2–4).[20] In 1474, during the reign of King Seongjong
[3] (r. 1469–1494), a refined version appeared in the *Five Rites of State* (*Gukjo*
[4] *oryeui*) by Sin Suk-ju (1417–1475) and Jeong Cheok (1390–1475).[21] Ten years later, in 1484, the Joseon court finally published its *Gyeongguk daejeon*, or *Grand Law Code for Managing the Nation* (hereafter cited as *Joseon Law Code*), which was based largely on the *Joseon Law Code for Managing the Nation* (*Joseon gyeongguk jeon*) by Jeong Do-jeon.

With these publications, the Joseon court firmly established the rules and regulations for the management of state rites according to the Neo-Confucian principles of government, and from then on all state rites had to be performed as prescribed. However, in 1744, during the reign of King Yeongjo (r. 1724–1776), the Joseon court amended certain parts of the 1474 *Five Rites of State* to reflect and accommodate changes that had taken place in the intervening 270 years. King Yeongjo ordered Sin Man (1703–1765) to compile the *Sequel to the Five Rites of State* (*Gukjo sok oryeui*), with a volume of illustrations (*seorye*), and the *Sequel to the Law Code* (*Sok daejeon*) published around the same time. In 1751 King Yeongjo further ordered Sin Man to add two short books to the *Sequel*, resulting in the *Addendum to the Sequel to the Five Rites of State* (*Gukjo sok oryeui bo*). Finally, in 1758, King Yeongjo had Hong Gye-hui (1703–1771) and other scholar-officials compile a separate book on funeral rites, called *Addendum to the Funeral Rites of State* (*Gukjo sangnye bopyeon*).[22] The dynasty abided by the books on the Five Rites of King Yeongjo's reign until the founding of the Great Han Empire in 1897. At that time, a new code called the *Code of the*
[5] *Daehan Imperial Rites* (*Daehan yejeon*) (fig. 5) was compiled to accord with the change in the nation's status from a vassal state of China to an ostensibly independent empire. Titles such as king and queen became emperor and

FIG. 4 Cover of the *Veritable Records of King Sejong* (*Sejong sillok*), 1454. Book; ink on paper, 55 × 30.2 cm. Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies, Seoul National University (Kyu 12722).

FIG. 5 Cover of the *Code of the Daehan Imperial Rites* (*Daehan yejeon*), 1898. Book; ink on paper, 28.4 × 20 cm. Jangseogak Archives, The Academy of Korean Studies (K2-2123).

empress, changes in official costume were spelled out, and the rites of the state were amended to reflect the new political situation.[23]

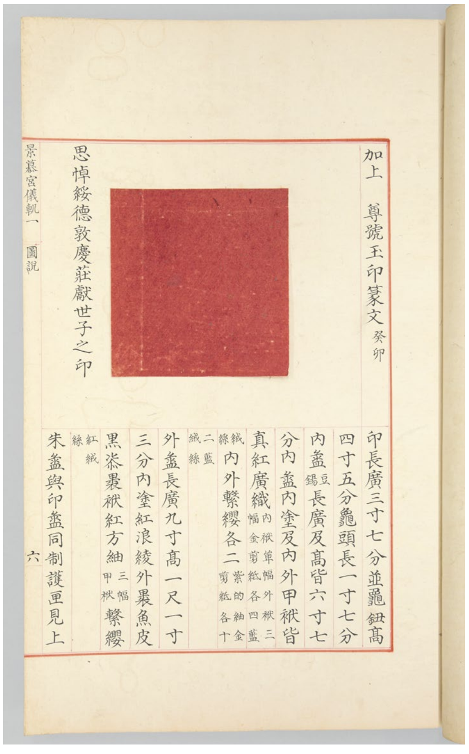
Uigwe: Content, Production, Use, and Transmission

When the court decided to hold an important event, such as a royal wedding or royal funeral, a temporary office called *dogam*, or superintendency, was set up to plan and carry out the entire event.[24] When it was over, the top-ranking officials of the superintendency oversaw the creation of *uigwe* based on the careful records kept during the ritual production process, called *deungnok*. The *uigwe* records were written in Chinese characters but often combined both literary Chinese and the unique Korean writing system called *idu*,[25] a writing system devised during the seventh century in which Chinese characters were borrowed to record the sound or meaning of Korean words. Occasionally, inscriptions in the phonetic system of Korean writing known as *hangeul* can be found in illustrations of court banquets because a majority of the banquets were held in honor of the dowager queens in the late Joseon period. As is well known, Joseon women, with a few exceptions, were taught to read and write *hangeul* script only.[26] The pictorial records included were *banchado*, pictures of processions in which the participants were organized by rank.

Ritual objects are carried by participants who are responsible for that particular part of the rite. The presence of women such as maids, wet-nurses, or professional wailers in *banchado* is a revelation, as Joseon women were normally not shown in public. The royals were never depicted, but their presence is suggested through their palanquins or empty thrones. In a sense, *banchado* can serve to reveal aspects of Joseon society. Made first in the form of a horizontal scroll for the king to review before the event, *banchado* were subsequently painted onto the pages of the *uigwe* itself, usually toward the end.[27]

It may be helpful to mention some characteristic aspects of *banchado* here. Those who look at the procession paintings may wonder why they show figures, horses, and palanquins from several different viewpoints within a single picture frame (see fig. 45 in chapter 2). For example, at the top of the page, soldiers are depicted standing upside down, whereas 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. 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 the back view are shown sideways, as if lying on the ground. Employing multiple viewpoints can also be seen on Joseon-period maps, such as

[45]

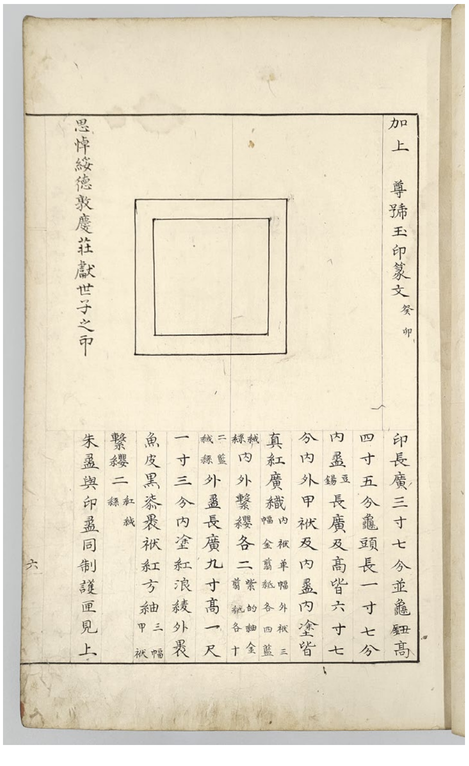


加上　尊號玉印篆文 癸卯

思悼綏德敦慶莊獻世子之印

印長廣三寸七分並龜鈕高
四寸五分龜頭長一寸七分
內盞豆錫長廣及高皆六寸七
分內盞內塗及內外甲栿皆
真紅廣織內栿單幅外栿三幅金剪紙各四藍
絨絲內外繫纓各二紫的紬金剪紙各十
二藍絨絲
外盞長廣九寸高一尺一寸
三分內塗紅浪綾外裹魚皮
黑漆裹栿紅方紬三幅甲栿繫纓
紅絨絲
朱盞與印盞同制護匣見上

景慕宮儀軌一　圖說　六



加上　尊號玉印篆文 癸卯

思悼綏德敦慶莊獻世子之印

印長廣三寸七分並龜鈕高
四寸五分龜頭長一寸七分
內盞豆錫長廣及高皆六寸七
分內外甲栿及內盞內塗皆
真紅廣織內栿單幅外栿三幅金剪紙各四藍
絨絲內外繫纓各二紫的紬金剪紙各十
二藍絨絲外盞長廣九寸高一尺
一寸三分內塗紅浪綾外裹
魚皮黑漆裹栿紅方紬三幅甲栿
繫纓二紅絨絲
朱盞與印盞同制護匣見上

六

the nineteenth-century *Suseon jeondo*, a woodblock map of Hanyang (present-day Seoul) in which mountains all point outward toward the [10] four directions from the center of the city (see fig. 10 in chapter 1).

It seems that by standing the way they do, the soldiers and honor guards at the 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 just one, all of the figures, horses, and objects can be seen in their most satisfactory aspects with the least amount of overlapping of one another. Presumably this was considered the best solution for a documentary painting in which all participants and objects were to be depicted.

All the *uigwe* made before 1797 were handwritten and hand-painted, with some use of woodblock stamping for outlines of figures that appear repeatedly in a procession. (The technical change from completely hand-painted to partially printed *uigwe* books is discussed in chapter 7.) However, King Jeongjo decided to print the text part of the *uigwe* of his trip to his father's tomb in 1795 using movable bronze type and illustrated with woodblock-printed images.[28] From this time on, a number of *uigwe* books were printed with movable metal type and woodblocks, although most continued to be handwritten and hand-painted. Since the technical change of *uigwe* production from handwritten to movable metal type took place with the *Jeongni uigwe*, discussed in chapter 7, a brief history of Korean movable metal type printing will be presented there.

Depending on the nature of the particular event, usually six or [6] more copies of a *uigwe* were made: one for the royal viewing (fig. 6), one for the Ministry of Rites, one for the Court History Office (Chunchugwan), and one each for the four history archives (*sago*)[29] located in different [7] places around the country (fig. 7).[30] The royal viewing copies are of the highest quality in both material used (paper, silk for the cover, and binding hardware) and workmanship (calligraphy, illustration, and woodblock printing).[31] In the late Joseon period, when an event was primarily for the crown prince, a copy was also made for the Office of Education of the Crown Prince (Seja sigangwon). In recent times, the *uigwe* books remaining in Korea have been kept primarily in the Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies of Seoul National University — which has the largest number of specimens and copies, some 2,700 volumes representing 540 specimens — and in the Jangseogak Archives of the Academy of Korean Studies, which has 356 volumes representing 293 specimens.

In 1866, at the time of the incident called Byeongin yangyo (the Western turmoil in the cyclical year *byeongin*), the invading French navy sacked Ganghwa Island, located off Korea's west coast at the mouth of the

FIG. 6 Cover and text page of the royal viewing copy of the *Uigwe of the Gyeongmo Palace* (*Gyeongmogung uigwe*), 1784. Book; ink on paper, 49 × 33 cm. Jangseogak Archives, The Academy of Korean Studies (K2-2410).

FIG. 7 Cover and text page of the history archive copy of the *Uigwe of the Gyeongmo Palace* (*Gyeongmogung uigwe*), 1784. Book; ink on paper, 46 × 31 cm. Jangseogak Archives, The Academy of Korean Studies (K2-2411).

FIG. 8 Oegyujanggak Library, 1782 (rebuilt 2003). Ganghwa Island, Incheon. Photograph, ca. 2005.

Han River, not far from Seoul. Situated on Ganghwa Island was Oegyu-
[8] janggak (the Outer Kyujanggak Library; fig. 8). Called Gangdo oegak, for short, this annex had been built to accommodate the overflow of books from the main Kyujanggak [royal] library in Changdeok Palace's Secret Garden in Seoul, as seen in the eighteenth-century painting attributed
[9] to Kim Hong-do (fig. 9), and therefore contained most of the royal viewing copies of the *uigwe*. The French navy confiscated *uigwe* books and other valuable items from the Oegyujanggak, and deposited them with the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BNF) in Paris.[32]

In 1977 Dr. Park Byeong-seon (1923–2011), a bibliographer and Korean librarian at the BNF, called attention to the *uigwe* books, which by that time had been in the BNF for more than a century. She subsequently published two important works to further call attention to the importance of the BNF *uigwe*, first a comparative bibliographical study of the *uigwe* in the BNF with those in Korea,[33] and later a French translation of the table of contents of the 297 volumes of the BNF *uigwe*.[34] Prompted by these works, Korean scholars began to conduct in-depth research on the BNF's *uigwe* as well as called for their return to Korea.

Finally, as a result of negotiations between the Korean and French governments that began in 1994, the 297 BNF *uigwe* volumes, mostly pre-1866 books intended for royal viewing, were returned to Korea in May 2011 and are now housed at the National Museum of Korea in Seoul.[35] In December 2011, the Japanese government also returned 167 volumes of *uigwe* books, mostly works of the Daehan Empire period (1897–1910), that were taken during the Japanese occupation period and kept in the Office of the Imperial Household Affairs in Tokyo; those volumes, which represent 81 specimens of *uigwe*, are now also housed in the National Palace Museum of Korea in Seoul.

With the return of *uigwe* from Paris and Tokyo, all but one of the extant examples now reside in Korea. The exception is the well-illustrated *Uigwe of the Presentation Ceremony and Banquet* [*for Hyegyeonggung Hongssi*] *in the Gisa Year* ([*Hyegyeonggung Hongssi*] *gisa jinpyori jinchan uigwe*, 1809) that celebrated the sixtieth anniversary of Lady Hyegyeong's (1735–1815) coming-of-age ceremony (*gwallye*). She was the grandmother of King Sunjo. Although this volume was among the *uigwe* books taken to France in 1866, somehow it passed into private hands and was eventually sold to the British Museum; it is now housed in the British Library.[36]

Overview of This Book

Part I of this book consists of five chapters, which examine outstanding examples of *uigwe* of the Five Rites of State in their designated order.

Chapter 1 examines *uigwe* created for auspicious rites, specifically those addressed to the spirits of earth and grain and to the gods of agriculture and sericulture at their respective altars, and to the royal ancestors at Jongmyo, the royal ancestral shrine. Given their centrality to the ritual culture of the court, the royal ancestral rites receive the lion's share of attention. Chapter 2 examines *uigwe* for two types of celebratory rites. In the *Five Rites*, this section begins with rites that have to do with paying respects to China,[37] but since they were not of equal importance in terms of Joseon state rites, no *uigwe* were made for them. The most important ones were those of the investiture rite of a crown prince (*wangseja chaekbongui*) and of royal weddings, both labeled *garye*. Therefore, two of the investiture rites and two of the royal weddings — one of the crown prince, another of the king — that are representative of each of the categories are discussed in chapter 2.

In chapter 3, rites for receiving foreign envoys are discussed through two *uigwe* of 1609. It was not until the reign of Gwanghaegun (r. 1608–1623) that the Joseon court compiled its first *uigwe* of receiving envoys from China. I examine the earliest extant *billye uigwe* produced after the two visits of Chinese envoys in 1609. The first Ming envoys came in the fourth month to carry out a memorial rite for the late King Seonjo and to bestow on him a posthumous title. In the sixth month of the same year, another group of envoys came to approve the investiture of Gwanghaegun. These *uigwe* are considered valuable because of their early dates as well as their contents, which include *banchado*.

Chapter 4, military rites (*gullye*), presents the only *uigwe* of this category that comes under the title of *Daesarye uigwe* (*Uigwe of the Royal Archery Rites*). This *uigwe*, with a unique set of *banchado*, records the archery rites that King Yeongjo and his officials held in 1743 in the compound of the royal Seonggyungwan college in Hanyang. This represents King Yeongjo's desire to revive the ancient rites of royal archery in the hope of strengthening the country's military power through formal ritual. The state funeral rite, examined in chapter 5, is the most complicated one of the Five Rites. Table 5.1 shows a summary of the step-by-step procedure of the state funeral events as spelled out in the *hyungnye* section of the *Five Rites*. I will examine two funeral-related *uigwe*: the first is that of the royal funeral for King Injo (1649), and the second is that of the funeral for Crown Grandson Uiso (1752). Both include *banchado* illustrations.

Part II is devoted to *uigwe* books of important state events other than those belonging to the Five Rites. Chapter 6 deals with *uigwe* that concern the painting or copying of royal portraits. The entire process — from the selection of royal portrait painters to the final enshrinement

FIG. 9 Attributed to Kim Hong-do (1745–1806), *Bird's-eye View of Kyujanggak Library*, 18th century. Hanging scroll; ink and color on silk, 143.2 × 115.5 cm. National Museum of Korea (Geundae 228).

of the finished portraits in the proper royal portrait hall — was to be conducted with as much ritual formality and dignity as other state rites. The chapter also examines how the royal portrait painters are selected, what criteria are applied when selecting the best test copy, and why the Joseon court laid so much emphasis on King Taejo's portraits. Since the first appearance of *banchado* for transporting the king's portrait in 1748, all other *uigwe* of royal portraits included long and colorful *banchado* with the exception of the 1872 *uigwe*.

Chapters 7 and 8 focus on two printed *uigwe* from the reign of King Jeongjo (r. 1776–1800), the *Wonhaeng eulmyo jeongni uigwe*, or *Jeongni uigwe* for short, which records King Jeongjo's visit to his father's tomb with his mother in 1795, and the *Hwaseong seongyeok uigwe*, or *Hwaseong uigwe* for short, of 1801, which documents the construction of the Hwaseong fortress and the detached palace within it.[38] The former technically covers two categories of *uigwe*: royal outings (*haenghaeng*) and palace banquets (*jinchan*).[39] The latter belongs to the category called *yeonggeon*, referring to records of the construction and repair of palace buildings and the royal ancestral shrine. The *Jeongni uigwe* of 1797 is the first *uigwe* printed with the movable metal type called *jeongnija*, developed under the order of King Jeongjo, and illustrated with woodblock prints. Both *uigwe* had much to do with Jeongjo's display of filial piety toward his father, Crown Prince Sado, as well as his political and military ambition to strengthen royal power over the bureaucracy. Both *uigwe* also represent the interests of Jeongjo and the contemporary scholarship of the School of Northern Learning in the new science and technology emerging from Qing China, which were applied in the construction of the fortress.

In part III, *Uigwe* and Art History, I demonstrate how we can use the information handed down in *uigwe* to broaden our knowledge and understanding of Korean court art. Chapter 9 discusses *uigwe* records of polychrome screen paintings[40] that were produced and used in specific venues within the palace for specific rites. Depending on the theme of the screen paintings, they were designated to be used only for kings, queens, crown princesses, or royal brides-to-be. The most royal among all screens, the Five Peaks, was to be used only for the kings. The iconography of such screens is discussed in the context of Joseon culture. Chapter 10 uses information gathered from various categories of *uigwe* to examine the roles and social status of Joseon court painters, artisans, and other workers employed in state rites. This sheds light on the division of labor as well as cooperation among workers to produce elaborately made ritual items. Through the "Award Regulations" section of *uigwe*, the relative pay schedules among painters and artisans can be computed, including the

unusual raise of certain royal portrait painters' official rank. We can also glimpse the possibility for change in social status for some individuals, mostly those who served in royal banquets of the late Joseon period.

The Summary and Conclusions section of this book highlights and sums up the social, historical, art-historical, and cultural significance of Joseon royal *uigwe* documents. The unique form of the *uigwe* documents, which often combine texts and illustrations, provides not only factual written information, but also vivid pictorial descriptions. Without the findings gathered through these seemingly endless primary source materials, our understanding of Joseon dynasty history and culture would be incomplete. The Joseon monarchs from King Sejong, who laid the foundations of the Five Rites of State, to kings Seongjong, Gwanghaegun, Sukjong, Yeongjo, and Jeongjo, all made contributions to the refinement of the forms and contents of *uigwe*. Their contributions have been highlighted in this book. It is my hope that this book will increase the understanding and appreciation of what *uigwe* documents can offer to our study of the history and culture of the Joseon dynasty. ◆

Uigwe of the Five Rites of State

PART ONE

CHAPTER ONE

Uigwe of Auspicious Rites, *Gillye*

The auspicious rites (*gillye*), which make up the first category of the Five Rites of State, were arguably the most important of all the rites conducted by Joseon kings. Members of the royal family performed them for the benefit of the state and the people. This chapter examines *uigwe* for auspicious rites of the three categories dedicated to (1) the spirits of earth and grain, (2) royal ancestors, and (3) the gods of agriculture and sericulture. Their order corresponds to that in the *Five Rites of State*. As shown in table 1.1, each of the three categories, through its primary, secondary, and miscellaneous sacrifices, encompasses a great variety of spirits found in nature, in the universe, and in history.

TABLE 1.1

In this chapter, I briefly discuss the sacrifices to the spirit of heaven (*cheonsin*) for which there is no *uigwe*. I then move on to the *uigwe* of the sacrificial rites to the spirits of earth and grain (*sajik*), followed by the most important *uigwe* of the royal ancestral shrine (Jongmyo), and, finally, the *uigwe* of royal agriculture and sericulture. The contents of specific *uigwe* are described and placed within their ritual and historical contexts, with attention paid to the light they shed on various aspects of court life, from court painting to the ceremonial roles of court women.

Sacrifices to the Spirit of Heaven

In order to continue the tradition of sacrificing to heaven (*cheonje*) from the preceding Goryeo dynasty (918–1392), King Taejo had the Hwangudan, or "circular mound altar," built at the southern edge of his recently founded Joseon capital of Hanyang (present-day Seoul).[1] However, his officials pointed out that it would be inappropriate for Joseon, as a vassal state of Ming China, to conduct this ritual because it was solely the prerogative of the emperor of China, the Son of Heaven (*cheonja*, Ch. *Tianzi*). Their opinion prevailed, and Joseon kings ceased performing the sacrifice to heaven. (The practice was revived only after King Gojong, in 1897, proclaimed himself the first emperor of the Great Han Empire, and had a new Hwangudan built slightly north of the Sungnyemun, popularly

TABLE 1.1 Categories of Auspicious Rites, from the *Five Rites of State*

	SPIRIT OF HEAVEN (*CHEONSIN*)	SPIRIT OF EARTH (*JIGI*)	ANCESTRAL SPIRITS (*INGWI*)
Primary sacrifices (*Daesa*)	Performed at Hwangudan altar	To the spirits of earth (*sa*) and grain (*jik*) performed at the Sajikdan altar	To the royal ancestors, performed at the royal ancestral shrine (Jongmyo) and the Hall of Eternal Peace (Yeongnyeongjeon)
Secondary sacrifices (*Jungsa*)	To the spirits of wind (*pung*), clouds (*un*), thunder (*roe*), rain (*u*), and snowstorms (*bangsa*)	To the spirits of hell (*ok*), the sea (*hae*), and streams (*dok*)	To the spirits governing agriculture (*seonnong*) and sericulture (*seonjam*), to Confucius (Munseonwang), and to the founders of the dynasties prior to the Joseon
Miscellaneous sacrifices (*Sosa*)	To the spirits governing farming (*yeongseong*), longevity (*noinseong*), of horses (*majo*), and of ice (*sahan*); to the spirits of the first horse rider (*masa*) and the horse harmer (*mabo*)	To the spirits governing mountains and rivers (*myeongsan daecheon*) and the clearing of rain (*yeongje*); to the seven minor spirits (*chilsa*)[1]	To the spirits governing horse domestication (*seonmok*), the military (*maje*), the protection of crops and fields from insects (*poje*), the royal commander's flag (*dukje*), and protecting the country from epidemics (*yeoje*)

1 The seven minor spirits are those that govern human destiny (*samyeong*), interiors (*jungnyu*), households (*ho*), kitchen and hearth (*jo*), gates of the capital's inner walls (*gungmun*), awards and punishments (*taeryeo*), and travel and roads (*gukhaeng*). They are collectively known as the "Seven Deities" because some have been anthropomorphized into popular gods.

called Namdaemun or South Gate.)[2] Thus, starting from the reign of King Taejo, Joseon kings performed only the sacrifices to the spirits of earth and grain at the Sajikdan (Sajik Altar) and the royal ancestral rites at Jongmyo (*Jongmyo jerye*). The secondary and miscellaneous sacrifices were taken care of by local officials, with the exception of those to the first progenitor teachers of agriculture and sericulture, which were occasionally performed by kings and female members of the royal family.

Rites at the Sajikdan

Following ancient Chinese practice, the Sajikdan was built on the right side of the Gyeongbok Palace (Gyeongbokgung, the main royal palace in Hanyang), and the royal ancestral shrine (Jongmyo) was built on the left side.[3] This arrangement can be seen on an early nineteenth-century woodblock-printed map of Hanyang called *Complete View of the Beautiful Capital* (*Suseon jeondo*) (fig. 10).[4] The individual Sajik altars, one for the spirit of earth and one for the spirit of grain, were built in 1395. They were destroyed by fire during the Japanese invasion of 1592 but rebuilt in the seventeenth century. The main gate was rebuilt again in 1720, after it was destroyed by a windstorm. The sacrifices at the Sajikdan were abolished during the Japanese occupation, and the entire precinct was made into a park called Sajik Park.[5] Figure 11 shows the plan of the Sajikdan as illustrated in the *Sajikseo uigwe* of 1783, and figure 12 shows the overall view of the Sajikdan today.

[10] [11] [12]

Despite the importance of the sacrificial rites to the spirits of earth and grain, Joseon kings did not perform this rite in person every year. From the opening century of the dynasty through the reign of King Seongjong (r. 1469–1494), the kings performed only three *sajik* sacrifices, whereas in that same period the rites at Jongmyo, the royal ancestral shrine, were performed at least forty-one times.[6]

Sajikseo Uigwe

The earliest extant *Sajikseo uigwe* was compiled in three volumes by the office in charge of the *sajik* sacrifices at the behest of King Jeongjo in 1783.[7] The next *Sajikseo uigwe*, a five-volume set, was compiled in 1842, during the reign of King Heonjong.[8] The last, a one-volume *uigwe*, was compiled during the Great Han Empire period to reflect the change of rites from those of a kingdom to those of an empire.[9] The Jeongjo-period *Sajikseo uigwe* begins with a series of illustrations showing the overall view of the Sajikdan with its surrounding walls, spirit tablets (*sinju*; see fig. 11), sacrificial dishes arranged according to the rites to be performed, sacrificial utensils, musical instruments in front of the platforms, rows

[11]


全善首圖

of line dancers (*ilmu*) in performance and their accoutrements, and the ritual costumes of the king and the crown prince.[10]

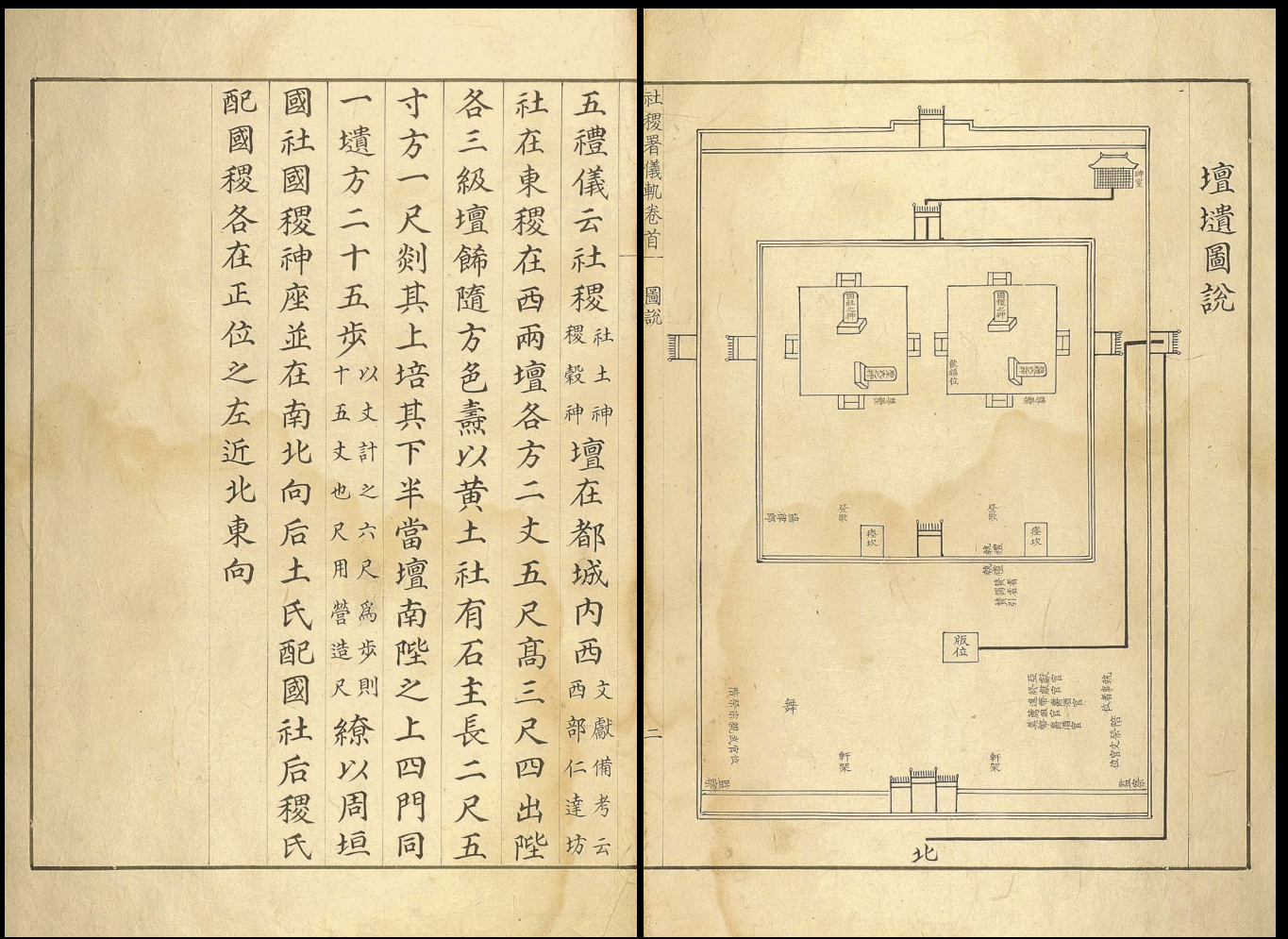
The Rites at Jongmyo

Of the Joseon dynasty's Five Rites of State, only the royal ancestral rites at Jongmyo, the royal ancestral shrine, were regularly performed. Today it is held once a year on the first Sunday of May. Even after the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910, the sacrifices at Jongmyo continued, although on a reduced scale. They were suspended between 1945 and 1969 due to the greatly damaged condition of the shrine buildings and compound. The rites were resumed after the buildings were repaired and the compound refurbished. In 1971, representatives of the royal Yi clan of Joseon began performing sacrificial rites at the royal ancestral shrine, as prescribed by the *Jongmyo uigwe*.[11]

To understand the *Jongmyo uigwe*, it is helpful to know something of the physical character of the ritual site.[12] The plan of the compound, [13] including all of the buildings, is illustrated in the *Jongmyo uigwe* (fig. 13). Jongmyo occupies approximately 190,000 square meters of ground divided into two unequal sections: a larger area to the east occupied by [16] the Main Shrine (fig. 16), and a smaller area to the northwest for the Hall [15] of Eternal Peace (fig. 15). The Main Shrine, which is 101 meters long, is the largest single wooden structure in the world.[13] It contains nineteen spirit tablet chambers of equal size in one row, and three on each of the side wings. These chambers hold the spirit tablets of nineteen kings and [17] thirty of their spouses. Under the front portico (fig. 17) are twenty round columns with a slight entasis, behind which the doors of the spirit tablet chambers are visible. The space between the columns and the chambers is used to offer sacrifices to the royal ancestors enshrined in the chambers. Jongmyo was placed on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1997 for its age, its authenticity as a Confucian royal ancestral shrine, and its unique and well-preserved spatial layout.

[16] The Main Shrine (see fig. 16) stands on a two-tier stone platform [14] called a "moon terrace" and is approached from the Spirit Gate (fig. 14). Gates on the east and west are for the use of the service staff. The large, flat, stone walkway from the Spirit Gate to the Main Shrine has three paths: the center path, reserved for the spirits and the carrying of sacrificial paraphernalia such as incense and gifts of white silk cloth; the right path, reserved for the king; and the left path, reserved for the crown prince. The Spirit Gate and the Main Shrine mark the southern and northern limits of the courtyard (which is otherwise enclosed by stone walls covered with gray clay tiles). Other buildings within this

FIG. 10 *Complete View of the Beautiful Capital* (*Suseon jeondo*), 1840s. Woodblock print; 106.4 × 72.4 cm. Korea University Museum.



五禮儀云社稷社土神稷穀神壇在都城內西文獻備考云西部仁達坊社在東稷在西兩壇各方二丈五尺高三尺四出陛各三級壇飾隨方色壝以黃土社有石主長二尺五寸方一尺剡其上培其下半當壇南陛之上四門同一壝方二十五步以丈計之六尺爲步則十五丈也尺用營造尺繚以周垣國社國稷神座並在南北向后土氏配國社后稷氏配國稷各在正位之左近北東向

FIG. 11 Plan of the Sajikdan from the *Uigwe of the Office of the Sajikdan* (*Sajikseo uigwe*), 1783. Book; ink on paper, 42 × 30.4 cm. Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies, Seoul National University (Kyu 14229).

FIG. 12 Two views of Sajikdan (platforms or altars for the spirits of earth and grain), 1395 (most recent restoration began in 2015; projected completion in 2027). Seoul. Photographs, ca. 2013–2014.

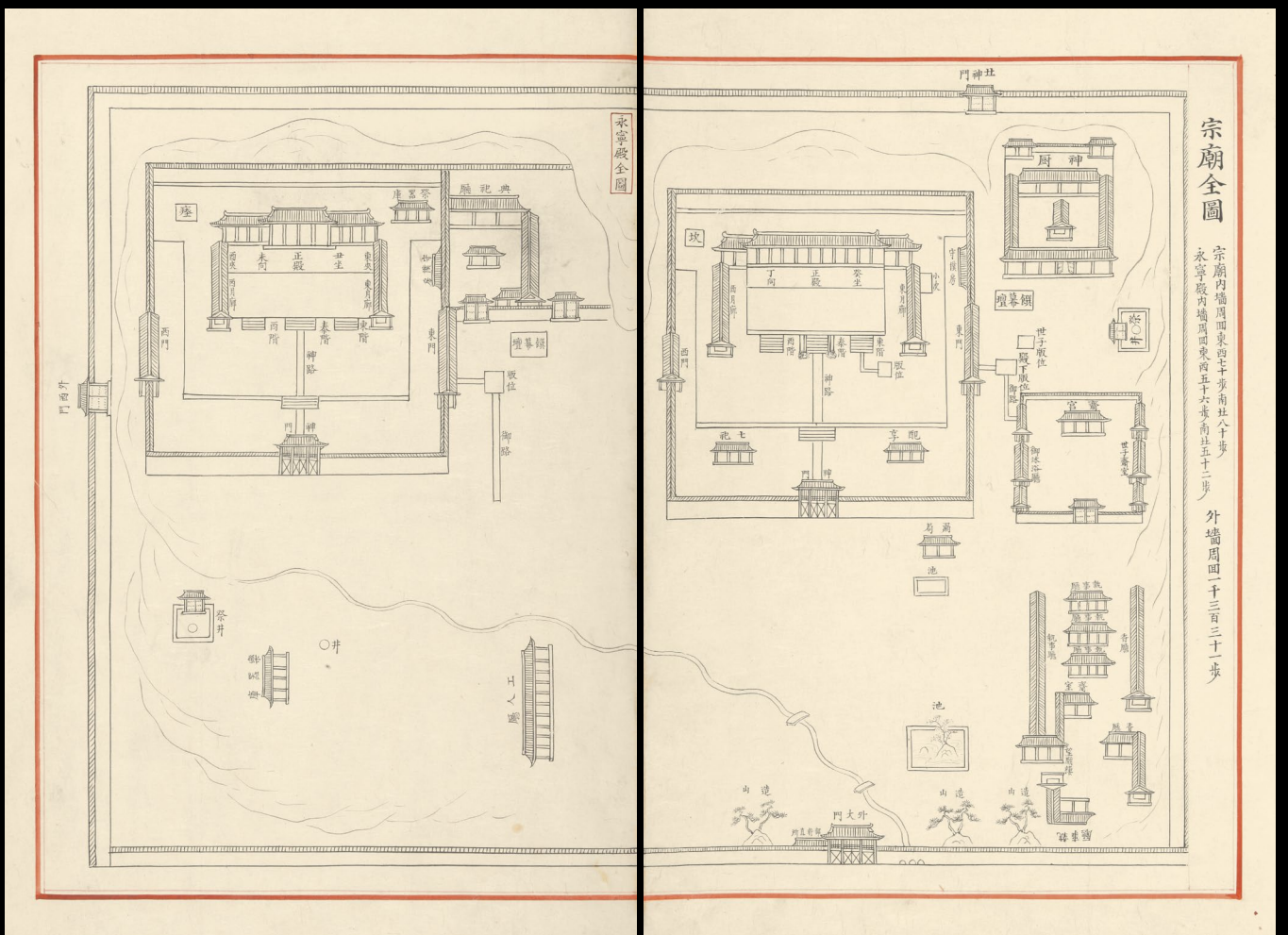


FIG. 13 Plan of the Main Shrine (right) and the Hall of Eternal Peace (left) of the Jongmyo royal ancestral shrine, from the *Jongmyo uigwe*, 1706. Book; ink on paper, 49 × 36 cm. Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies, Seoul National University (Kyu 14220).

FIG. 14 The Spirit Gate to the Main Shrine of the Jongmyo Royal Ancestral Shrine, 1394 (rebuilt 1608). Seoul. View of the complex from above (left) and of the gate from within (right). Photographs: left, 2008; right, ca. 2010s.

FIG. 15 Hall of Eternal Peace (Yeongnyeong-jeon) at the Jongmyo Royal Ancestral Shrine, 1421 (rebuilt 1608). Seoul. Photograph, ca. 2010s.

FIG. 16 Main Shrine (Jeongjeon) at the Jongmyo Royal Ancestral Shrine, 1394 (rebuilt 1608). Seoul. Photograph, 2013.

FIG. 17 Portico of the Main Shrine, Jongmyo Royal Ancestral Shrine, 1394 (rebuilt 1608). Seoul. Photograph, 2013.

FIG. 18 Spirit tablets of Joseon kings and queens in the spirit chamber of the Main Shrine, Jongmyo Royal Ancestral Shrine, 1394 (rebuilt 1608). Seoul. Photograph, ca. 2020.