

Like Life: Royal Portraits of the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910)
in Ritual Context

By

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Abstract

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This dissertation examines the functions and meanings of Joseon royal portraits by investigating them in light of the material culture and the ritual practices of royal ancestor worship in royal portrait halls, where offerings of wine and food were presented before portrait paintings for royal ancestral rites. This study classifies portrait halls as either official or informal, depending on their inclusion in or exclusion from the official state rites and goes on to discern the different features and functions of specific portrait halls through in-depth investigation of the ritual goods used therein and the interior settings and adornment of the halls. By distinguishing repositories, where portraits were not formally worshipped, from portrait halls, it also offers case studies of portraits in the repositories and illuminates their original function and distinctive character in form and style.

The first chapter focuses on the way the early Joseon court legitimated the rituals for the portrait halls of King Taejo and King Sejo by incorporating them into the state rites, which drew on Confucian textual traditions rooted in Chinese antiquity. It demonstrates that the principle of “serving the dead as if they were alive” shaped both the ritual practice and the material culture of portrait worship and resulted in the adoption of contemporary secular objects for use as offering vessels and furnishings in the portrait halls. The second chapter elucidates the functions of Yeonghuijeon, Jangnyeongjeon, and Hwaryeongjeon, the official portrait halls of the late Joseon and discusses the ways the status of individual halls was expressed through the material goods used in their rituals and physical environment. The

third chapter concentrates on the distinguishing, exceptional features of Seonwonjeon, the informal portrait hall for the royal family in the inner quarter of the palace. Through an analysis of its material culture, this chapter addresses the origin of Seonwonjeon and identifies the distinguishing features and functions of the hall that arose out of popular customs and religious traditions other than state rites.

Within this overarching scheme, the fourth chapter considers the issues of status and formality related to the displayed portraits as objects of worship in specific portrait halls. Recognizing the commemorative and “quasi-public” function of official portrait halls, it also examines the Joseon concepts of “rulership” embodied by the portraits displayed in them and the way the visual formulas for these portraits changed over the course of the dynasty. For the latter, I use the history of the imperial portraits of the Ming Dynasty as a foil. The fifth chapter notes the emergence of several repositories in the late Joseon period and discusses portraits of certain late Joseon kings that were installed in the repositories. It argues that these portraits functioned not only as stand-ins for the kings but also served broader political agendas.

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A few years ago, Sangnam Lee, one of my fellow graduate students at KU, said to me that I was blessed to be in Lawrence, Kansas. And she was right: when I look back on the years I spent in the University of Kansas at Lawrence, there are many memories I am grateful for. It was Marsha Haufler (Weidner), Professor Emerita of Later Chinese Art that led me to this “blessed” college town, accepting me as her last doctoral student. Due to her insightful and critical teaching and advice, my scholarly interest and sense, which had been weakened by hard work as an assistant curator in South Korea, reawakened through my coursework. I was so fortunate that I could take her seminars on Ming Court Art, Later Qing Figure Paintings, and Chinese Paintings, all of which enabled me to broaden my knowledge of Korean paintings in a cross-cultural perspective and which were instrumental in helping me conceptualize and write my dissertation. I gained a great deal of insight and knowledge and became a true scholar because of her advice. Furthermore, her perceptive suggestions and superb editing skills made my dissertation more convincing and readable.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements	v
Notes to the Reader	xii
List of Figures	xiii
Introduction	1
Issues and Arguments	3
Literature Review	10
Approaches and Methodology	15
Chapter Summaries	19
Chapter 1: Legitimizing the Worship of Royal Portrait Paintings in the Confucian Domain of Joseon	23
1-1. Establishment of Royal Portrait Halls during the Early Joseon Period	24
1-2. Institutionalization of Royal Portrait Halls as Official Places of Worship	35
1-3. Material Culture for King Taejo’s Portrait Halls in Ritual and Physical Contexts	53
Chapter Conclusion	60
Chapter 2: Official Portrait Halls during the Late Joseon Period	63
2-1. The Establishment of Yeonghuijeon, an Official Portrait Hall for Successive Kings in the Capital	64
2-2. Expansion of Royal Portrait Halls Outside the Capital: Jangnyeongjeon and Hwaryeongjeon	77
2-3. Ritual Foods and Vessels for Official Portrait Hall Rites	81
2-4. Interior Settings and Adornment of Official Portrait Halls	88
Chapter Conclusion	96
Chapter 3: Seonwonjeon: Informal Portrait Hall in the Inner Palace	99
3-1. The Development of Seonwonjeon	100
3-2. Rites and Ritual Goods of Seonwonjeon	108

3-3. The Interior Setting, Origin, and Function of Seonwonjeon	118
3-4. Seonwonjeon's Painting Program and Its Symbolism	128
Chapter Conclusion	135
Chapter 4: Royal Portrait Paintings of the Joseon Dynasty as Objects of Worship	138
4-1. Kings as Divine Heroes: Portrait Paintings of King Taejo and a Sketch of King Sejo's Portrait	139
4-2. Confucian Rulers at the Center of Civilization: Portraits of Late Joseon Kings in Official Portrait Halls	155
4-3. Realism and Human Feelings: Portraits of Late Joseon Kings in Seonwonjeon	162
Chapter Conclusion	165
Chapter 5: Symbols of Royal Presence: Royal Portraits Serving as Surrogates for Kings .	167
5-1. Elevating Lineage: Portrait Repositories of Late Joseon Kings in Memorial Sties ...	168
5-2. Attending the Spirits of their Parents: Half-Length Portraits of King Yeongjo and King Sunjo	176
5-3. Legitimizing Succession: The Repository in the Old Residence of King Yeongjo and the Portrait of Prince Yeoning.....	180
5-4. King Jeongjo's Legacy Revering Prince Sado: The Portrait of King Cheoljong in Military Attire	187
Chapter Conclusion	191
Conclusion	194
Bibliography	201
Appendices	222
Appendix A. State Sacrificial Rites in the Early Joseon Dynasty.....	223
Appendix B. Ritual Procedures of Yeonghuijeon and Seonwonjeon.....	224
Appendix C. List and Illustrations of Ritual Utensils for Seonwonjeon	225

Notes to the Reader

1. Other than for the names of Korean scholars, the Romanization of Korean words in this dissertation follows the Revised Romanization system released in 2000 by the South Korean government.
2. For individual Korean scholars, I have used the English names that appear on their published papers or books.
3. I have followed the East Asian practice of presenting East Asian names with the surname first.
4. The Romanization of Chinese words adheres to the pinyin system.

List of Figures

- Fig. 1-1. Photographic Plate of Junwonjeon (濬源殿, Hall of Deepening Source), Yeongheungbu (永興府) in Hamgyeong Province, National Museum of Korea. <http://www.museum.go.kr/dryplate/main.do>
- Fig. 1-2. Gyeonggijeon (慶基殿, Hall of Celebrated Foundation) in Jeonju City, South Korea. After *Joseon wangsil ui eojin gwa jinjeon* [Royal portrait paintings and royal portrait halls of the Joseon Dynasty] (Seoul: National Palace Museum of Korea, 2015), fig. 47, 101.
- Fig 1-3. Detail from the Illustration of Ritual Food and Vessels for Five Great Sacrifices (五享親祭設饌圖), in the *Screen of Ritual Procedures at the Royal Ancestral Temple, Jongmyo* 宗廟親祭規制圖說屏風, National Palace Museum of Korea. After *Jongmyo, The Royal Ancestral Shrine* (Seoul: National Palace Museum of Korea, 2014), 198.
- Fig. 1-4. a) Elephant *zun* from tomb of a Yu Bo, Shaanxi Baoji Rujiazhuang M1. Early to middle Western Zhou, h. 24 cm. After Jessica Rawson, *Western Zhou Ritual Bronzes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections*, vol. 2 of *Ancient Chinese Bronzes in the Arthur M. Sackler Collections* (Washington, D.C. and Cambridge: Arthur M. Sackler Foundation and Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University, 1990), 711.
- b) *Fu*, early Eastern Zhou 8th Century BC, h. 10.6 cm, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution. After Jenny So, *Eastern Zhou Ritual Bronzes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections*, vol. 3 of *Ancient Chinese Bronzes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections* (Washington, D.C. and New York: Arthur M. Sackler Foundation and Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harry Abrams, Inc., 1995), 171.
- c) Elephant *jun* (*zun*), late Joseon, National Palace Museum of Korea. After *Jongmyo, The Royal Ancestral Shrine*, fig. 93, 217.
- d) *Bo* (*chi. fu*), late Joseon, h. 20.8 cm, National Palace Museum of Korea. After *Jongmyo, The Royal Ancestral Shrine*, fig. 78, 204.
- Fig. 1-5. The Illustration of Ritual Food and Vessel Arrangement for Duplicate Shrines (Munsojeon and Uimyo) on Four Seasons and Festive Days, in *Gukjo orye seorye* 國朝五禮序例 [Preface and examples for the *Five Rites of State*] vol. 1, 1474, 奎 184, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies.
- Fig. 1-6. Illustrated Explanations of Ritual Vessels 祭器圖說, under “Auspicious Rites 吉禮,” in *Gukjo orye seorye* 國朝五禮序例 vol. 1.
- Fig. 1-7. Illustrations of ritual vessels for royal tombs from Uigwe for Ritual Vessel Production 祭器都監儀軌, 1611, 奎 14931, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean

Studies. <http://kyujanggak.snu.ac.kr/center/search/searchList.jsp?sWord=%E9%8A%80%E5%B0%9>

- Fig. 1-8. Illustrated Explanations of Wine Jars and Cups 尊爵圖設, under “Festive Ceremonies 嘉禮,” in *Gukjo orye seorye* 國朝五禮序例 vol. 2.
- Fig. 1-9. Royal Portrait Halls (眞殿), under “Illustrated Explanations of Altars and Shrines (壇廟圖說),” in *Gukjo orye seorye*. <http://kyujanggak.snu.ac.kr/>
- Fig. 1-10. Chamber of Gyeonggijeon, King Taejo’s Portrait Hall in Jeonju, South Korea. After *Joseon wangsil gwa Jeonju* [Jeonju, the Origin of Joseon Dynasty] (Jeonju: Jeonju National Museum, 2010), 58-59.
- Fig. 1-11. Royal Throne in Geunjeongjeon, the audience hall of Gyengbokgung
- Fig. 1-12. Chamber of Mokcheongjeon, King Taejo’s Portrait Hall in Gaeseong (Kaesong) in North Korea. After *Joseon wangsil ui eojin gwa jinjeon* [Royal portrait paintings and royal portrait halls of the Joseon Dynasty] (Seoul: National Palace Museum of Korea, 2015), fig. 49, 103.
- Fig. 1-13. The Ceiling of the Baldachin in the Chamber of Gyeonggijeon. After *Wang ui chosang* [Joseon Royal Portraiture] (Jeonju: Jeonju National Museum, 2005), fig. 28-1, 70.
- Fig. 1-14. Chamber in the East Temple of Guan Yu (東關王廟). After *Hanguk ui dogyo munhwa haengbok euro ganeun gil* [Taoist Culture in Korea: the Road to Happiness] (Seoul: National Museum of Korea, 2013), 239.
- Fig. 2-1. The Illustration of Ritual Food and Vessel Arrangement for the Rites of Yeonghuijeon on Festive Days 永禧殿俗節 under “Preface and Examples 序例,” in *Gukjo sok oryeui* 國朝續五禮儀 [Supplement to the *Five Rites of State*], vol 1, 1744, 奎 1479, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies.
- Fig. 2-2. Illustrations 圖式, in *Muja jinjak uigwe* 戊子進爵儀軌 [Uigwe for the royal banquet of 1828], 가람古 642.4, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies.
- Fig. 2-3. Sets of a *Uri* and a Plate, late Joseon period, National Palace Museum of Korea.
- Fig 2-4. (Left) Brass Bowl for Broth, h. 10.2 cm, late Joseon, National Palace Museum of Korea.
(Right) Brass Bowl for Noodles, h. 14.3 cm, late Joseon, National Palace Museum of Korea.
- Fig. 2-5. (Left) Brass Jar with Dragon Design, late Joseon period, h. 37.3 cm, National Palace Museum of Korea.
(Right) Iron Painted Porcelain Jar with Dragon Design, late 17th C., h. 41.5 cm, excavated from Junghakdong (Jongnogu, Seoul), National Museum of Korea.

Fig. 2-6. King's Bedstead (龍平床), from 'Arrangement of the Ritual Objects for King Yeongjo's Portrait Painting Enshrinement at Yeonghuijeon 永禧殿英宗大王影幀移封時儀物磨鍊,' under "Uigwe for the Third Division 祔廟都監三房儀軌," in *Yeongjo Jinjong bumyo dogam uigwe* 英祖眞宗祔廟都監儀軌 [Uigwe for royal ancestral temple enshrinement of King Yeongjo and King Jinjong], 1778, 奎 13587, Kyujanggak Institute of Korean Studies.

Fig. 2-7. Wooden Platform, 231 x 101 x 48 cm, National Palace Museum of Korea.

Fig. 2-8. Photographic Plate of King Taejo's Portrait at Junwonjeon, photograph by Torii Ryūzō (鳥居龍藏), National Museum of Korea.
<http://dryplate.museum.go.kr/program>

Fig. 2-9. (Left) Throne for the Hall of Benevolent Governance 仁政殿唐家, (Right) Detail of *Yueum*, decorative plates with floral designs inserted between 虛柱流音, in *Injeongjeon yeonggeon dogam uigwe* 仁政殿營建都監儀軌 [Uigwe for the reconstruction of the hall of benevolent governance], 1805, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies.

Fig. 2-10. King Jeongjo's Chamber in the Royal Ancestral Shrine of Joseon, Jongmyo. After *Jongmyo, the Royal Ancestral Shrine*, 124.

Fig. 3-1. Detail from the 1846 Lists of Ritual Vessels for the Fourth and Fifth Chambers of Seonwonjeon, 1846, manuscript, 34.0 x 311.5 cm, National Palace Museum of Korea. After *Joseon wangsil ui eojin gwa jinjeon*, fig. 84, 160-161.

Fig. 3-2. Detail from the List of Ritual Vessels for the Sixth Chamber, Seonwonjeon (1851), manuscript, 35.0 x 126cm, National Palace Museum of Korea, fig. 85, 162-163.

Fig. 3-3. Silver Ewer with Phoenix Design 銀鳳瓶, Silver Stick 銀孤尖, in *Heonjong Hyohyeon wanghu garye dogam uigwe* 憲宗·孝顯王后 嘉禮都監儀軌 [Uigwe for the weddings of King Heonjong and Consort Hyohyeon] (1837) 下, Kyujanggak Institute of Korean Studies.

Fig 3-4. Various cups in jade and silver-plating, from Illustrations, in *Gichuk jinchan uigwe* 己丑進饌儀軌 [Uigwe for Royal Banquet of 1829], 奎 14367, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies.

Fig 3-5. (left) Illustration of Silver Ewer with Sun and Mood Design, in *Gichuk jinchan uigwe*.

(middle) Illustration of Silver Ewer with Sun and Mood Design in *Yeongjeong mosa dogam uigwe* 影幀模寫都監儀軌 [Uigwe for the copying of portrait paintings], 1901, k2-2765, The Academy of Korean Studies.

(right) Silver Ewer with Sun and Moon Design, inscription of 10th chamber, National Palace Museum of Korea. After *Joseon wangsil ui eojin gwa jinjeon*, fig. 89, 170.

- Fig. 3-6. Detail of King Sunjo's Seat in the Inner Banquet of 1826, from the *Screen Painting of Royal Banquet of 1829*, National Museum of Korea. After *Joseon sidae gungjung haengsado* [Joseon Paintings at Court Ceremonies] vol. 1 (Seoul: National Museum of Korea, 2010), fig. 5, 50.
- Fig. 3-7. Detail of the peony paintings attached to the main wall behind chambers in New Seonwonjeon. After *Choehu ui jinjeon: changdeokgung sinseonwonjeon* 최후의 진전: 창덕궁 신선원전 [The last portrait hall, new Seonwonjeon] (Daejeon: Gungnip munhwajae yeonguso, 2010), 108.
- Fig 3-8. Illustrated Explanation of a Baldachin, in *Gukjo sangnye bopyeon* 國朝喪禮補編 [Supplemented edition of the funerary rites of state], vol. 6. 奎3940, Kyujanggak Institute for Koran Studies.
- Fig. 3-9. Illustrations of Royal Throne and Five Peak Screen, in *Gyeongungung junggeon dogam uigwe* 慶運宮重建都監儀軌 [Uigwe for reconstruction of Gyeongungung] vol. 1, 1906, 奎 14328, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies.
- Fig. 3-10. Illustrations of a Five Peak Screen (五峯屏) and a Flanking Panel of the Five Peak Screen (五峯屏挾幅), in *Yeongjeong mosa dogam uigwe*.
- Fig. 3-11. Chamber structure in Seonwonjeon. After *Choehu ui jinjeon: Changdeokgung sin Seonwonjeon*, 138.
- Fig. 3-12. (Left) Detail of a Chamber of New Seonwonjeon. After *Choehu ui jinjeon: Changdeokgung sin Seonwonjeon*.
(Right) Yueum punghyeol 流音風穴, under Illustrations, in *Yeongjeong mosa dogam uigwe*.
- Fig. 3-13. Illustrations of a King's Bed (left), a Wooden Bedstead (upper right), and a Footstool (bottom right) from *Taejo yeongjeong mosa dogam uigwe* 太祖影幀模寫都監儀軌 [Uigwe for reproduction of King Taejo's portrait painting], 1899-1900, 奎 13982, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies
- Fig. 3-14. (Left) King's Bed, from Illustrations in *Muja jinjak uigwe* 戊子進爵儀軌 [Uigwe for the royal banquet of the year of 1828] vol. 1, 奎 14364, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies.
(Right) King's Bed, Footstool, and King's Chair, from Illustrations in *Sinchuk jinyeon uigwe* 辛丑進宴儀軌 [Uigwe for the royal banquet of the year of 1901] vol. 1, 奎 14464, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies.
- Fig. 3-15. Plum Blossom Partition on the West Wall in New Seonwonjeon. After *Gunggwol ui jangsik geurim* [Decorative paintings of Joseon palaces] (Seoul: National Palace Museum of Korea, 2009), 101.

- Fig. 3-16. Lotus and Peony Flowers, from the wall paintings of Hongwu Village Tomb in Shanxi, 1309. After Han Binghua and Huo Baoqiang, “Shanxi xingxian hongyucun yuan zhida ernian bihuamu 山西兴县红峪村元至大二年壁画墓 [Mural Painted Tomb of the Second Year of the Zhida Reign of the Yuan Dynasty in Hongyu Village, Shanxi],” *Wenwu* 2011 (2), 43.
- Fig. 3-17. *Zhang Andabuhua and His Wife, Li Yunxian* (detail), Yuan Dynasty, 1269, ink and color on plaster. From the north wall of a tomb in Donggercun, Pucheng County, Shanxi Province. After James C.Y. Watt and Maxwell Hearn, *The world of Kubilai Khan: Chinese art in the Yuan Dynasty*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), fig. 115, 83.
- Fig. 3-18. *Portrait of Father Zhang Jimin and Mother Zhao*, late Ming or early Qing, hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, image only, 143.2 x 105.8 cm, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution. Smithsonian Learning Lab, Smithsonian Center for Learning and Digital Access, 2 Nov. 2015. learninglab.si.edu/q/r/176475. Accessed 27 Mar. 2018.
- Fig. 3-19. Detail from *Sweet Dew Painting of Boseok Temple*, 1649, 220 x 235cm, ink and colors on hemp cloth, National Museum of Korea. <http://www.museum.go.kr/site/main/relic/search/view?relicId=2035>
- Fig. 3-20. *Spirit Shrine*, 18th Century, ink and colors on paper, 124 x 95cm, E301985, Peabody Essex Museum. After Robert H. Sayers, “Korea and the Peabody Essex Museum, *Orientalia* vol. 34, no. 6 (June, 2003), fig. 9, 37.
- Fig. 3-21. Container of the Jade Book for Consort Heongyeong (1735-1816), early 19th Century, gold and silver on red lacquered wood, 24.0 x 33.5 x 34.5 cm, 어책 171, National Palace Museum of Korea. http://www.gogung.go.kr/searchView.do?pageIndex=1&cultureSeq=81LJE&searchRelicDiv_4=&searchGubun=ALL1&searchText=%EC%96%B4%EC%B1%85
- Fig. 3-22. *Peony Screens*, 1901, four-panel folding screens, ink and colors on silk, 330-331 x 66.5-66.7 cm (each panel), 창덕 6424 (left), 창덕 6425 (right), National Palace Museum. http://www.gogung.go.kr/searchView.do?pageIndex=1&cultureSeq=437LJE&searchRelicDiv_4=&searchGubun=ALL1&searchText=%EB%AA%A8%EB%9E%80
- Fig. 3-23. *Screens of Sea and Peaches of Immortality* (海蟠桃屏), 1901, four-panel folding screens, ink, colors, and gold on silk, 332.8 x 273.8 cm, 창덕 6443, National Palace Museum of Korea. http://www.gogung.go.kr/searchView.do?pageIndex=1&cultureSeq=431LJE&searchRelicDiv_4=&searchGubun=ALL1&searchText=%EB%B0%98%EB%8F%84
- Fig. 4-1. *Bronze Portrait Statue of Wang Geon*, excavated in the tomb of Wang Geon (Hyeolleung, 顯陵), late 10th – early 11th century, h. 143.5 cm, North Korea. After

Bungnyeok ui munhwa yusan 북녘의 문화유산 [Cultural heritage of North Korea] (Seoul: National Museum of Korea, 2006), fig. 52.

Fig. 4-2. Detail of Fig. 2-8.

Fig. 4-3. *Portrait of King Taejo*, 1900, hanging scroll, ink, colors, and gold on silk, 217.5 x 72.5 cm, National Palace Museum of Korea.

<http://www.gogung.go.kr/searchView.do?pageIndex=1&cultureSeq=00017257WX&searchRelicDiv4=&searchGubun=ALL1&searchText=%ED%83%9C%EC%A1%B0>

Fig. 4-4. Jo Jung-muk (趙重默), Yu Suk (劉淑, 1827-1873), etc., *Portrait of King Taejo*, 1872, hanging scroll, ink, colors, and gold on silk, 220 x 151.0 cm, Gyeonggijeon in Jeonju city. After *Joseon wangsil gwa Jeonju*, fig. 16, 57.

Fig. 4-5. *Portrait of the Hongwu Emperor* (r. 1368-98), c. 1400, hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, 268.8.0 x 163.8 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei. After Craig Clunas and Jessica Harrison-Hall, *Ming: 50 Years that Changed China* (London: The British Museum, 2014), fig. 2, 22.

Fig. 4-6. *Portrait of Emperor Yingzong*, (1427-1464), c. 1464, hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, 208.3 x 154.5cm, National Palace Museum, Taipei. After *Ming: 50 Years that Changed China*, fig. 32, 56.

Fig. 4-7. *Half-Portrait of Ningzong* (Rinchinbal Khan, r. Oct.–Dec., 1332), album leaf, ink and colors on silk, 59.4 x 47 cm, National Palace Museum, Taipei. After *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben: das Weltreich der Mongolen* (München: Hirmer, 2005), 307.

Fig. 4-8. *Zhen Wu and His Court*, Yuan dynasty (1260-1368), hanging scroll, ink, colors on silk, 122.7 x 63.3 cm, Reiun-ji. After Stephen Little and Shawn Eichman, *Taoism and The Arts of China* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago in association with University of California Press, Berkeley, 2000), fig. 108, 300.

Fig. 4-9. *Portrait of An Hyang* (安珣, 1243-1306), mid-16th century, hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, 87.0 x 52.7 cm, Sosu Seowon. After *Hanguk ui chosanghwa: Yeoksa sok ui inmul gwa joughada* (Seoul: Nulwa, 2007), 419.

Fig. 4-10. *Portraits of Emperor Huizong*, Song Dynasty, hanging scroll, colors on silk, 188.2 x 106.7 cm, National Palace Museum, Taipei. After *Trésors du Musée National du Palais, Taipei: Mémoire d'Empire* (Paris: AFAA and Réunion des musées nationaux, 1998), fig. 189, 283.

Fig. 4-11. Portrait of Peng Ping (left) and Portrait of Wang Huan (right), from *Five Old Men of Suiyang* ca. 1056, album leaves, ink and colors on silk, 42.4 x 32.6 cm (left), 41.7 x 31.07 cm(right), Freer Gallery of Art.

http://archive.asia.si.edu/collections/edan/object.php?q=fsg_F1948.10

Fig. 4-12. *The Sketch of King Sejo* (r. 1455-1468), ink on paper, 186.5 x 131.8 cm, National Palace Museum of Korea. Photograph by Son Myenghee.

Fig. 4-13. *Portrait of King Sunjo in Court Audience Attire*, ink and colors on paper, 310 x 78 cm, National Palace Museum of Korea.

Fig. 4-14. *Portrait of Prince Hyomyeong (King Yikjong) in Ceremonial Attire*, 1826, ink, colors, and gold on silk, 148.6 x 45.2 cm, National Palace Museum of Korea.
<http://gogung.go.kr/searchView.do?pageIndex=1&cultureSeq=00017262OX&searchRelicDi v4=&searchGubun=ALL1&searchText=%EC%9D%B5%EC%A2%85>

Fig. 4-15. *Portrait of the Hongzhi Emperor* (r. 1487-1505), hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, 208.6 x 154.3 cm, National Palace Museum, Taipei. After Wen C. Fong and James C.Y. Watt, et al. *Possessing the Past: Treasures from the National Palace Museum, Taipei* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), plate 162, 330.

Fig. 4-16. *Portrait of Crown Prince Yi Cheok* 李坩 (later Emperor Sunjong, r. 1907-1910), ink, colors, and gold on silk, 239 x 94 cm, National Palace Museum of Korea. Photograph by Son Myenghee.

Fig. 5-1. Naengcheonjeong (冷泉亭, Pavilion of Cold Fountain) at Yuksanggung (毓祥宮, Auspicious Palace of Rearing), shrine of Lady Choi, King Yeongjo's natural mother. Photograph by Kim Seongbae.

Fig. 5-2. Niches in Naengcheonjeong at Yuksanggung. Photograph by Kim Seongbae.

Fig. 5-3. Detail of the *Picture of Lady Bak's Shrine, Gyeongugung* (景祐宮圖), 1824, ink and colors on paper, 218.5 x 326 cm, National Palace Museum of Korea. After *Joseon wangsil ui eojin gwa jinjeon*, fig. 74, 136-137.

Fig. 5-4. Chae Yongsin (1850-1941), Jo Seokjin (1853-1920), etc., *Portrait of King Yeongjo*, 1900 copy of a 1744 original, hanging scroll, ink, colors, and gold on silk, 183.0 x 87.0 cm, National Palace Museum of Korea. After *Joseon wangsil ui eojin gwa jinjeon*, fig. 26, 68.

Fig. 5-5. *Portrait of King Sunjo*, 1808, ink, colors, and gold on paper, 135 x 80.5 cm, National Palace Museum of Korea. Photograph by Son Myenghee.

Fig. 5-6. Yi Myeonggi and Gim Hongdo, Detail of the *Portrait of Seo Jiksu* (1735-?), 1796, hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, 148.8 x 72.0 cm, National Museum of Korea. After *Hanguk ui chosanghwa: Yeoksa sok ui inmul gwa joughada*, 232.

Fig. 5-7. Bak Dongbo (朴東普), *Portrait of Prince Yeoning*, 1714, hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, 183.0 x 87.0 cm, National Palace Museum of Korea. After *Hanguk ui chosanghwa: Yeoksa sok ui inmul gwa joughada*, 13.

Fig. 5-8. *Portrait of Yi Deokseong* (李德成, 1655-1704), late 17th century, hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, 167.0 x 99.0 cm, Busan Museum. After *Hanguk ui chosanghwa: Yeoksa sok ui inmul gwa joughada*, 160.

Fig. 5-9. Yi Hancheol, Jo Jungmuk, etc., *Portrait of King Cheoljong in Military Attire*, 1861, hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, 202.0 x 93.0cm, National Palace Museum of

Korea. After *Hanguk ui chosanghwa: Yeoksa sok ui inmul gwa joughada*, 19.

Introduction

In the seventh month of 1392, the nearly 500-year old Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392) came to an end with the coup led by Yi Seong-gye (李成桂, 1335-1408, r. 1392-1398). Accordingly, Yi Seong-gye became the founder (King Taejo 太祖) of a new dynasty, the Joseon, which lasted another 500 years until the Japanese colonization of Korea in 1910.¹ He was supported by the central aristocratic bureaucrats known as *yangban* (兩班), or *sinjin sadaebu* (新進士大夫), translated into newly rising Confucian scholars. Right after his enthronement, King Taejo issued his founding edict, setting the political direction of the newly founded dynasty. The first article of the edict points out that the order of enshrining spirit tablets *zhaomu* (昭穆) and the hall-and-chamber (堂寢) system of the preceding Goryeo dynasty did not accord with the Confucian classics, and that the new dynasty will adhere to ancient conventions based on detailed probing of these texts.² In this manner, the Joseon Dynasty adopted Confucianism as its ruling ideology, displacing Buddhism, which had been the Goryeo state religion.³

¹ In 1897, King Gojong retitled the state into the Korean Empire and declared himself emperor. This action was taken to protect the state's sovereignty from imperialist powers. The ruler himself, ruling class, and social institutions sustained, few changed. Thus, this dissertation includes Korean Empire in the period of Joseon.

² *Veritable Records of King Taejo*, vol. 1, year of 1392, 7th month, 28th day. King Taejo's Founding Edict of 1392 is as follows: The Son of Heaven establishes seven temples [for seven generations of his ancestors], while vassal lords build five temples [for five generations of their ancestors]. The Ancestral Temple is on the left and the Altar of Soil and Grain is on the right. All these are the ancient custom. In the former dynasty [Goryeo], the *zhaomu* (昭穆) order of enshrining spirit tablets and the hall-and-chamber (堂寢) system did not accord to the Confucian classics.

³ In the wide range of Korean history scholarship, Neo-Confucianism, featuring Cheng-Zhu learning of the Song Dynasty, is accepted as playing a crucial role in founding the Joseon Dynasty as philosophical and ideological source. According to John Duncan's study, however, the belles-letters tradition of Ancient Style Learning and the Cheng-Zhu Learning brought in from Yuan coexisted in the transitional period of Goryeo and Joseon. Furthermore, it was the Ancient Style Learning that prompted *yangban* to call for reforms and lead to establish the new dynasty. Neo-Confucianism got fully established and played a significant role in intellectual and political culture of Joseon in the

The early Joseon court also broke with Goryeo precedents in their use of royal portraits. The Goryeo court regularly made offerings before successive kings' portraits in Gyeongnyeongjeon (景靈殿, Hall of Spectacular Numina) at the level of the most formal and highly ranked state rite, the Great Sacrifices (大祀), and set up portrait halls for the worship of kings and queens in Buddhist temples throughout the dynasty.⁴ In Confucian tradition, the objects of worship should be spirit tablets; the use of portraits in ancestor rites was considered as a heterodox tradition that stemmed from Buddhism and Daoism.⁵ Nonetheless, the Joseon court continued to commission royal portrait paintings. Even though only five portraits of Joseon kings and a few fragments are in existence because of the tragic fire of 1954, which burned down a temporary storage housing Joseon royal portraits in Busan, historical documents tell us that a large number of royal portraits were produced during the dynasty.⁶ The Joseon court also constructed several portrait halls in various locations around

sixteenth century. John B. Duncan, Chapter 6. The Ideology of Reform, in *The Origins of the Chosŏn Dynasty* (Seattle and London: University Washington Press, 2000), 237-264. Accepting his argument based on profound research, I will use more comprehensive term of Confucianism to indicate the ideology of the early Joseon period, instead of Neo-Confucianism.

⁴ A recent study demonstrates that the Goryeo Dynasty established Gyeongnyeongjeon (景靈殿, Hall of Spectacular Numina) on the palace ground and the rites of the hall were included in the category of Great Sacrifices (大祀) and followed the rites of Supreme Shrine (太廟). Kim Cheol-woong, "Goryeo Gyeongnyeongjeon ui seolchi wa unyeong 고려 경령전의 설치와 운영 [The establishment and administration of Gyeongnyeongjeon during the Goryeo Dynasty]," *Jeongsin munhwa yeongu* 정신 문화연구 vol. 32, no. 1 (2009), 101-127. The English translation of Gyeongnyeongjeon followed the translation given for Song imperial portrait hall with the same title (景靈宮) by Patricia Ebrey, "Portrait Sculptures in Imperial Ancestral Rites in Song China," *T'oung Pao* vol. 83 (1997), 42-92. For the previous research on royal portrait halls of Goryeo, see Cho Sun-mie, *Hanguk Chosanghwa Yeongu* [Study on Korean Portrait Paintings] (Seoul: Yeolhwadang, 1983), 64-73; Cho Insoo, "Joseon chogi Taejo eojin ui jejak gwa Taejo jinjeon ui unyeong: Taejo Taejong daeul jungsim euro 조선초기 태조어진의 제작과 태조 진전의 운영-태조, 태종대를 중심으로 [Political significance of royal portraits in the early Joseon period]." *Misulsa wa sigak munhwa* 미술사와 시각문화 3 (2004), 120-121.

⁵ *Veritable Records of King Taejong*, vol. 10, year of 1405, 12th month, 19th day. Also, see Chapter One.

⁶ For the detailed information of the 1954 fire and loss of royal portraits, see Coda in Conclusion.

the country to enshrine royal portraits, and over time developed ritual practices for veneration of these images. These required the production of offering vessels, furnishings, and adornments.

It is further notable that the Joseon court's incorporation of royal portrait hall rituals in official state rites is distinct from the practice of the Ming Dynasty of China. Rituals for imperial portraits were not stipulated in official manuals of state rites, such as *Da Ming jili* (大明集禮, *Compilation of the Rites of Ming*, 1370, 1530) and *Da Ming huidian* (大明會典, *Collected Statutes of the Ming*, 1503).

The history, production process, and painters of royal portraits, which have been dealt with at length in the previous scholarship, are not the focus of this dissertation. I concentrate instead on the questions of why and how the Confucian Joseon state continued to produce royal portraits and to develop rituals for their worship throughout the dynasty. To answer this question, I locate Joseon royal portraits within the protocols of court ceremonies and examine them in light of the ritual practices and the material culture in which they are embedded. Through a comprehensive investigation of the objects used for royal ancestor worship in the royal portrait halls (眞殿), I explore how the portraits of Joseon kings were used and given meaning in the Confucian state and society of Joseon. In analyzing a range of different types of objects in the context of state rites, I break with the standard approach to Korean art history wherein objects are compartmentalized by medium rather than understood as components of larger material assemblages and social practices.

Issues and Arguments

This study revolves around two key issues. The first is the definition of *jinjeon* (眞殿), or portrait hall. As Cho Insoo has pointed out in his study of early-Joseon royal portraits, a

precise definition of *jinjeon* has yet to be established.⁷ In historical texts of the Joseon period, *jinjeon* seems to refer specifically to halls where royal portraits were installed for worship.⁸ Nevertheless, Korean art historians have used the term *jinjeon* to refer to various places where royal portrait paintings are housed, including repositories (奉安所).⁹ It is problematic, however, to refer to a repository for royal portraits as a *jinjeon*. In official Joseon records, *jinjeon* never indicates a royal repository. Rather, from the very early Joseon on, it referred only to places of royal ancestor worship. After the death of King Taejo and the enshrinement of his spirit in the Royal Ancestral Temple (Jongmyo, 宗廟), the former royal portrait halls (*eoyong jeon* 御容殿), were each, with one exception, retitled Taejo Portrait Hall (Tajjo *jinjeon*, 太祖眞殿).¹⁰ The strong association of *jinjeon* with royal ancestral rituals is further demonstrated by its inclusion in the state scraficial rites known as the Auspicious Rites (*gillye*, 吉禮) in the official handbooks of state rituals published throughout the dynasty, including the *Five Rites of State* (*Gukjo oryeui* 國朝五禮儀, 1474), the

⁷ Cho Insoo, 2004, 117-118.

⁸ The origin of the term, *jinjeon* can be traced to Song, China and Goryeo. To focus on the topic, however, I will confine my discussion into the Joseon period. Another term, image hall *yeongdang* (影堂) was employed broadly to refer to shrines where portraits of deceased ancestors, meritorious officials, monks, or famed Confucian scholars were placed and worshipped. For example, Shadow Room of King Gyeongsun of Silla 敬順王影堂, Shadow Room of General Im Chungmin 林忠愍影堂, Shadow Room of Minister Hwang Hui 黃翼成公影堂, Shadow Room of Poet Kim Si-seup 東峰影堂, Shadow Room of Monk Naong 懶翁影堂

⁹ The pioneering study of portrait paintings of Korea includes royal portrait repositories among the *jinjeon* institutions of Joseon. Cho Sun-mie, 1983, 114. Recent studies and exhibition on royal portrait halls continue to use the term of *jinjeon* as broadly encompassing all of the places where royal portraits were installed regardless of their ritual functions. Yoo Jaebin 유재빈, “Joseon hugi eojin gwangye uirye yeongu 조선 후기 어진 관계 의례 연구 [Rites for royal portraits of kings in the late Joseon Dynasty],” *Misulsa wa sigak munhwa* 미술사와 시각문화 vol. 10 (2011), 74-99; for the exhibition catalogue of royal portrait halls, *Joseon wangsil ui eojin gwa jinjeon 조선왕실의 어진과 진전* [Portraits of kings and royal portrait halls of the Joseon Dynasty] (National Palace Museum of Korea, 2015).

¹⁰ *Veritable Records of King Taejong*, vol. 24, year of 1412, 11th month, 15th day. The exception was Junwonjeon (濬源殿, Hall of Profound Source) in Yeongheungbu (永興府).

Supplement to the Five Rites of State (*Gukjo sok oryeyui* 國朝續五禮儀, 1776), and the *Comprehensive Study of the Ministry of Rites* (*Chungwan tonggo* 春官通考, 1788).

The second issue has to do with the tendency of art historians to characterize formal East Asian portrait paintings, including imperial or royal portraits and ancestor portraits, as “mortuary portraits,” suggesting that they were posthumously produced and used as stand-ins for the deceased in funerals and memorial rituals.¹¹ As a result, their commemorative functions can be overlooked.¹² At this point, Craig Clunas’ assertion on Ming Chinese portraits that “portraits were as often commemorative as they were ritual objects” provides an insight to understand formal East Asian portrait paintings.¹³ Royal portraits of Joseon demonstrate the multilayered functions of East Asian portraits, refuting the common taxonomy of East Asian portraits wherein commemorative portraits of the living are distinguished from ancestral or mortuary portraits of the dead.

Even though they were eventually used in royal ancestor worship after their subjects died, many portraits of Joseon kings were produced and venerated during their lifetimes. From the time of King Taejo (r. 1392-1398) through the reign of King Sejo (r. 1455-1468), all of the kings except one had their portraits painted during their lifetimes.¹⁴ This seems to have been the case for royal women too.¹⁵ As I explain in Chapters One and Four, portraits of

¹¹ According to Vinograd, imperial portraits of China can be categorized into memorial portraits. Richard Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self: Chinese Portraits A.D. 1600-1900* (Cambridge, England and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 4. For the study emphasizing the role of Japanese portraits as proxies of ancestors for the deceased, see Karen Gerhart, *The Material Culture of Death in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2016), 147.

¹² This sweeping generalization can be found in Karen Gerhart’s study on Japanese portraits as objects of mortuary rituals, proclaiming that a primary function of portraits in China, Korea, and Japan was to serve as proxies of the ancestors in rites of ancestral veneration. Gerhart, *ibid.*, 147.

¹³ Craig Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997), 94.

¹⁴ The one exception is King Danjong, who enthroned at the age of 12 in 1452 and then was expelled from his throne by his cousin, King Sejo three years later.

¹⁵ King Sejong commissioned painters to produce portrait paintings of his consort as well as himself

King Taejo were officially displayed and venerated in crucial cities. After his death, the portraits of King Taejo served as cult objects in royal ancestral rites on special days. Though, the veneration of these portraits did not cease. Local officials, scholars, and central government officials continued to visit the halls of King Taejo, pay their respects to the images, and compose verses praising the dynastic founder's achievement.

After King Sejo, most of the early Joseon kings' portraits were painted posthumously, and circumstances suggest that from the late fifteenth to the mid sixteenth centuries, these posthumous images were not necessarily used in ancestral rituals. In 1472, King Seongjong (r. 1469-1494) commissioned Choi Gyeong (崔涇) and An Gui-saeng (安貴生), the most famous painters of the time, to collaboratively make a portrait of his late biological father, posthumously titled King Deokjong (1438-1457).¹⁶ This apparently served as a precedent for the posthumous royal portraits commissioned by the direct descendants of King Deokjong and King Seongjong.¹⁷ Except for the images of King Taejo and King Sejo displayed in "outside portrait halls (外方眞殿)," i.e. those in the provinces, the portraits of early Joseon kings were housed on the palace grounds in a repository named Seonwonjeon (璿源殿, Jade Source Hall) and not employed as objects of ancestor worship.¹⁸ The royal

in 1444. *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 106, year of 1444, 10th month, 22nd day.

¹⁶ *Veritable Records of King Seongjong*, vol. 18, year of 1472, 5th month, 25th day. At the time, portraits of Queen Sowon, King Sejo, and King Yejong were also made by them. The first two portraits were reproduced, based on the original painted during their lifetime. However, it is not quite sure whether King Yejong's portrait was posthumously made or reproduced.

¹⁷ The later Joseon court records indicate that the posthumous production of portraits of kings was thought to begin with the posthumous portrait of King Deokjong. See, for example, *Veritable Records of King Myeongjong*, vol. 8, year of 1548, 10th month, 10th day.

¹⁸ Seonwonjeon was located nearby the new Munsojeon on the palace ground of Gyeongbokgung (景福宮). Seonwonjeon served as a royal storage to house portraits of ancestral kings and queens, records of royal genealogy, royal seals, and investiture books. *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 76, year of 1437, the second month, 1st day; vol. 80, year of 1438, the third month, 29th day; vol. 81, year of 1438, 5th month, 19th day; *Veritable Records of King Munjong*, vol. 6, year of 1451, 3rd month, 20th day.

portraits in the repository were regularly inspected (奉審) by one of royal family members under the king's order or by the king in person.¹⁹ When a king or a queen dowager wanted to view portrait paintings of previous kings or queens, the paintings were brought to their living quarters in the palace (i.e. inner court 大內).²⁰

Notably, both the practice of making images of kings after their deaths and the exclusion of these portraits from ancestor worship rituals, concurred with the full bloom of Neo-Confucianism featuring Cheng-Zhu learning in Joseon society and the expanded power of the *sarim* (士林) Neo-Confucian scholars at the Joseon court.²¹ The Neo-Confucian scholar-officials had strict views on the use of royal portraits and the practice of making lifetime portraits.²² Royal portraits were not to be used to represent the spirits in ancestor rituals. Their production and storage were only justified as means of enabling royal descendants to “observe and inspect (觀省)” preceding kings.²³ Thus, formal-type portraits of several Joseon kings were posthumously produced for the reverence of descendants. They

¹⁹ *Veritable Records of King Sejo*, vol. 12, year of 1458, the third month, 19th day; *Veritable Records of King Jungjong*, vol. 19, year of 1513, the tenth month, 1st day; *Veritable Records of King Jungjong*, vol. 78, year of 1534, 10th month, 7th day.

²⁰ *Veritable Records of King Sejo*, vol. 18, year of 1459, 11th month, 27th day; *Veritable Records of King Jungjong*, vol. 19, year of 1513, 10th month, 1st day.

²¹ King Seongjong appointed many rural Neo-Confucian scholars, called *sarim* (士林, literati in forest), as high-ranking officials to keep the dominant power of the court aristocrats from being expanded more. About the appearance of *sarim* in the Joseon court and their political struggles, see Edward Y. Chung, *The Korean Neo-Confucianism of Yi T'oegye and Yi Yulgok: Reappraisal of the “Four-Seven Thesis” and Its Political Implications for Self-cultivation* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 16-18.

²² In the contemporary Ming, China, Qiu Jun (1421-95), a strict Cheng-Zhu scholar-official, had argued for a reform of imperial ritual, proposing to replace sculpted images or idols with spirit tablets. Grand secretary Zhang Cong (1475-1539) implemented Qiu Jun's proposal, banishing sculpted and painted images from all court and official observances dedicated to Confucius, his disciples, and followers. Deborah A. Sommer, “Images into Words: Ming Confucian Iconoclasm,” *National Palace Museum Bulletin* vol. 29, no. 2 (1994), 1-24.

²³ *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 64, year of 1431, 4th month, 15th day; *Veritable Records of King Jungjong*, year of 1525, 8th month, 24th day.

served as vehicles for remembering late kings and for feelings of reverence toward them realized through the intense psychological and emotional response attached to the intimate connection possible between the portraits and the viewers.²⁴ As a group, they also became emblematic of the royal family lineage through which descendants affirmed their heritage and royal status.²⁵

After the Joseon recovered from the series of traumatic invasions of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, King Sukjong (r. 1674-1720) commissioned portraits of himself, and his successors developed this practice by commissioning portraits of themselves at different ages until the fall of the dynasty.²⁶ The portraits of living kings in the late Joseon period were primarily installed in palace halls and were regularly inspected and revered by officials when they were alive. More interestingly, late Joseon kings, such as Kings Yeongjo and Jeongjo, used their images as stand-ins to constantly serve the spirits of their parents and as part of their campaigns to reinforce their royal authority as Chapter Five explains.

²⁴ This confined function of the mid-15th and early-16th century royal portraits can be compared to family portraits of the West. Brilliant, *Portraiture*, 19.

²⁵ Richard Vinograd states that Chinese portrait practice centers on lineage documentation and affirmation. His argument can be expanded to Korean portrait practices. Richard Vinograd, 2.

²⁶ For the royal portrait painting production throughout the Joseon and Korean Empire periods, see Cho Sun-mie, 1983, 149-154. For more detailed research on the portrait production of late Joseon kings, see Jin Junhyun 진준현, “Yeongjo Jeongjo dae eojin dosa wa hwagadeul 영조 정조대 어진도사와 화가들 [Royal portrait production and the painters during the reigns of King Yeongjo and King Jeongjo],” *Seoul deahakgyo bangmulgwan yeonbo* 서울대학교박물관 연보 vol. 6 (1994), 28-31; “Sukjong dae eojin dosa wa hwagadeul 숙종대 어진도사와 화가들 [Royal portrait painting production and the painters during King Sukjong’s reign],” *Gomunhwa* 고문화 vol. 46 (1995), 89-119; Yun Chin-yong 윤진영, “Jangseogak sojang *Eojin dosa sasil* ui Jeongjo Cheoljong dae eojin dosa 장서각 소장 어진도사사실의 정조-철종대 어진도사 [Royal portrait painting production during the reigns between King Jeongjo and King Cheoljong based on the *Record of Royal Portrait Paintings (Eojin dosa sasil)*],” *Jangseogak* 장서각 vol. 11 (2004), 283-336; Yi Söng-mi 이성미, *Eojin uigwe wa misulsa: Joseon gugwang chosanghwa ui jejak gwa mosa* 어진의궤와 미술사: 조선국왕 초상화의 제작과 모사 [Uigwe for royal portrait production and art history: the production and copying of Joseon kings’ portrait paintings] (Seoul: Sowadang, 2012),

Again, the two issues introduced above shape this study. As used in this dissertation, the term “*jinjeon*,” translated into royal portrait hall, refers only places where offerings of wine and food were presented before portrait paintings for royal ancestor worship. Distinguishing royal portrait halls from repositories, I trace the history of royal portrait halls throughout the Joseon dynasty. Within this historical perspective, I further classify royal portrait halls as either official or informal, depending on whether or not they were included in the official state rites. This classification advances our understanding of the halls beyond that of previous scholarship wherein all the royal portrait halls were viewed as having the same status and features.²⁷ My research discerns the different features and functions of specific portrait halls through in-depth investigation of the material culture of these halls throughout the Joseon period.

While stressing the use of the royal portraits in ritual contexts, I avoid categorizing them as mortuary or ancestral portraits and simply framing them as “the formal type of East Asian portraits” to allow for those that played multiple roles. In this dissertation, the alternative functions of royal portraits provide an analytical framework for considering extant portraits of individual kings. After kings’ death, specific portraits were chosen among several portraits of the deceased kings to serve as objects of worship in official and informal portrait halls, especially in the late Joseon period. To elucidate their purposes and meanings, I trace the provenance of specific Joseon royal portraits, distinguishing those that were adopted as

²⁷ This generalization resulted, for instance, in the recognition of the informal portrait halls of late Joseon with the same title as the early Joseon portrait repository as a representative example of royal portrait halls, drawing from the extant New Seonwonjeon built in 1921 at the site of Changdeokgung (昌德宮, Palace of Prosperous Virtue), as well as relevant official records compiled during the Korean Empire period (1897-1910). The informal portrait hall, titled Seonwonjeon, was first built in the inner quarter at Changdeokgung. As a sacred place for the royal family living in the palace, the hall was newly built whenever the main palace of Joseon wherein a king resided and ruled, changed. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the main palace changed to Gyeongbokgung and then to Gyeongungung. Accordingly, Seonwonjeon was built in all the three palaces. For more detailed information, see Chapter Three.

ritual objects from those primarily housed in repositories. I further discuss the collective character of a group of portraits in individual halls by drawing on historical documents and extant objects. Paying attention to the quasi-public and commemorative features of official portrait halls, such as those for King Taejo and the portrait hall for successive kings in the capital, Yeonghuijeon (永禧殿, Hall of Eternal Happiness), I expand on the images of rulership represented in the portraits. I further compare Joseon royal portraits to contemporary Chinese imperial portraits to clarify Joseon pictorial conventions as they relate to concepts of rulership.

Finally, this dissertation offers case studies of portraits of kings primarily housed in auxiliary buildings of royal shrines to illuminate their original function. These studies demonstrate diverse usage of Joseon royal portraiture and suggest the range of venues in which the portraits had agency as if their subjects were alive.

Literature Review

This investigation of Joseon royal portraits in ritual context builds on many foundational studies of Chinese and Korean portraiture, as well as on studies of Joseon institutions. Since 1990s, formal Chinese portraits, once dismissed by art historians as simply functional works by professional painters, have come to constitute a major area of scholarly research and exhibition.²⁸ Chinese imperial portraits that provide the most immediate

²⁸ For the literature of ancestor portraits of China, see Wai-kam Ho, "Developments of Chinese Portrait Painting as Seen From the Face-Orientation of the Subjects," *Shōzō: Kokusai Kōryū Bijutsushi Kenkyūkai Dairokkai Shinpojiamu [International Symposium on Art Historical Studies]* 6 (Kyōto-shi: Kokusai Kōryū Bijutsushi Kenkyūkai, 1990), 131-136; Mette Siggstedt, "Forms of Fate: An Investigation of the Relationship between Formal Portraiture, Especially Ancestral Portraits, and Physiognomy (*Xiangshu*) in China," *International Colloquium on Chinese Art History, 1999: Proceedings, Paintings, and Calligraphy, Part 2* (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1992), 713-749; Ladislav Kesner Jr., "Memory, Likeness and Identity in Chinese Ancestry Worship," *Bulletin of the National Gallery in Prague* 3/4 (1993-94), 4-14; Jan Stuart, "Calling Back the Ancestor's Shadow: Chinese Ritual and Commemorative Portraits," *Oriental Art* 43, no. 3 (Fall 1997), 8-17; Joan Hornby,

parallels to the royal portraits of Joseon, have received substantial attention from Western and Chinese scholars.²⁹

I have drawn in particular on recent studies of the imperial portraits produced in China from the Song through the Ming dynasties. Patricia Ebrey, for instance, traces how the Song employed sculpted and painted portraits in imperial ancestral rites throughout the dynasty, and she demonstrates the hierarchical usage of the portraits in two mediums, sculpture and paintings. Portrait statues served as objects of worship for the Temple of Spectacular Numina (*Jingling gong* 景靈宮) occupying the second position to Supreme Shrine in the hierarchy, while portrait paintings were used for imperial family version of ancestral rites performed within the palace.³⁰ Examining painting and patronage of the Yuan

“Chinese Ancestral Portraits: Some Late Ming and Ming Style Ancestral Paintings in Scandinavian Museums,” *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, no. 70 (1998), 173-271; Stephen Little, “A Memorial Portrait of Zhuan Guan,” *Oriental Art* 45, no. 2 (summer 1999), 62-74; Jan Stuart and Evelyn Sakakida Rawski, *Worshipping the Ancestors: Chinese Commemorative Portraits* (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001); Jan Stuart, “The Face in Life and Death: Mimesis and Chinese Ancestor Portraits,” *Body and Face in Chinese Visual Culture*, ed. Wu Hung and Katherine R. Tsiang (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005), 197-228; Jan Stuart, “Facing Forward: Meaning in the Frontal Gaze in Chinese Portraits,” *Beyond Boundaries: An International Symposium on Chinese and Korean Painting* (Seoul: National Museum of Korea, 2008), 134-143;

²⁹ For Chinese scholarship on the imperial portraits and portrait halls, see Suo, Yuming (So Yü-ming) 索予明. “Authenticity of the Portraiture of the Ming T’ai-Tsu,” *National Palace Museum Bulletin* 3, no. 5 (1968), 3-7; “Ming Taizu huaxiang kao 明太祖畫像考 [A Study of the Portraits of the Ming Emperor T’ai-Tsu],” *Gugong jikan* 古宮季刊 7, no. 3 (Spring 1973), 61-75; “Ming Taizu huaxiang zhenweibian 明太祖畫像真偽辨,” *Dalu zazhi* 大陸雜誌 38, no. 6 (Mar. 1969), 203-206; Li Lincan (Li Lin-ts’an), “Gugong bowuyuan de tuxianghua 故宮博物院的圖像畫 [Portrait paintings in the collection of the National Palace Museum of Taiwan],” *Gugong jikan* 古宮季刊 5, no. 1 (Mar. 1970), 51-61; Mu Yiqin, “Mingdai de gongting huihua 明代的宮廷繪畫 [Court paintings in the Ming Dynasty],” *Wenwu* 文物 (1981), 70-75; Ou Chaogui, “Budalagong cang Ming Chengzu Zhu Di huaxiang 布達拉宮藏明成祖朱棣畫像 [Portrait paintings of Emperor Yongle in the Potala palace],” *Wenwu* 文物 (1985.11); Xu Yilin, “Fengxiandian 奉先殿 [Hall of Ancestor Worship],” *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 故宮博物院院刊 no. 1 (Mar. 1989), 70-76; Jiang Fucong (Chiang Fu-tsung), “Guoli gugong bowuyuan cang Qing Nanxundian tuxiang cunyi kao [An inquiry into the paintings from the Nanxundian held in the National Palace Museum].” *Gugong jikan* 8, no. 4 (1974), 1-16; Lai Yu-chih, “Wenhua yichan de zai zao: Qianlong huangdi duiyu Nanxundian tuxiang de zhengli 文化遺產的在造: 乾隆皇帝對於南薰殿圖像的整理,” *Gugong xueshu jikan* 古宮學術季刊 26/4 (2009), 75-103.

³⁰ Patricia Ebrey, “Portrait Sculptures in Imperial Ancestral Rites in Song China,” *T’oung Pao* vol. 83

court, Marsha Weidner (Haufler) elucidates that, besides extant half-length album paintings, Yuan imperial portraits in full-length, painted or woven, were made for and enshrined in the imperial ancestral temple and several image halls primarily in Buddhist temples after emperors' deaths.³¹ Anning Jing's detailed study of the portraits of Khubilai Khan (r. 1260-1294) and Chabi by Anige (1245-1306), a Nepali artist, notes both a continuation of the Song imperial portrait tradition and new technical and stylistic features in the extant portraits of the dynastic founder of Yuan and his consort: the ink-line and color technique and the three-quarter views were continuations of earlier practice, but the nearly frontal orientation and symmetry were departures from tradition.³² Stressing the needs of the Ming emperors, Cheng-hua Wang examines the stylistic change in early-and-mid Ming imperial portraits in the light of the transition of emperorship as an institution and the function of the Hall of Ancestor Worship (*fengxiandian*), which housed imperial portraits used in daily worship by imperial family members.³³

Despite a paucity of remaining portraits of Joseon kings, the political significance and abundant documentation of Joseon royal portraiture and portrait halls have attracted substantial attention from Korean art historians. In 1983 Cho Sun-mie examined the history

(1997), 42-92; "The Ritual Context of Sung Imperial Portraiture," in *Arts of the Sung and Yuan: Ritual, Ethnicity, and Style in Painting*, edited by Cary Y. Liu and Dora C.Y. Ching (Princeton, N.J.: Art Museum, Princeton University, 1999), 69-93.

³¹ Marsha Weidner (Haufler), "Painting and Patronage at the Mongol Court of China" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1982), 53-69.

³² Anning Jing, "The Portraits of Khubilai Khan and Chabi by Anige (1245-1306), a Nepali Artist at the Yuan Court," *Artibus Asiae* vol. 54, no. 1/2 (1994), 40-86.

³³ Wang Cheng-hua, "Material Culture and Emperorship: The Shaping of Imperial Roles at the Court of Xuanzong (r. 1426-35)," Ph.D. diss. (Yale University, 1998), 148-213. According to Wang, early Ming imperial portraits with realistically rendered body and facial complexion emphasize the sitters' martial or heroic qualities, whereas mid-and-late Ming imperial portraits, which are replete with emblems and show more official, solemn, and ceremonious features, exemplify the concept of emperorship. Also, she argues that this stylistic change should be taken as a deliberate choice made by the Tianshun emperor (Yingzong), who suffered the military fiasco, and his successors.

of royal portrait halls and portrait production throughout the Joseon Dynasty in her pioneering and comprehensive book on Korean portraiture.³⁴ Building on her work, Jin Junhyun and Yun Chin-yong did more detailed research on royal portrait production and painters-in-charge from the reign of King Sukjong (r. 1674-1720) through that of King Cheoljong (r. 1849-1864).³⁵ Cho Insoo has drawn attention to the use of portrait halls of King Taejo by illegitimate kings or kings whose authority was challenged to asserting their legitimacy and authority throughout the dynasty.³⁶ Cho has also stressed the firm establishment of Taejo portrait halls as state institutions during the reign of King Sejong.³⁷

Drawing on extensive records in the *uigwe*, the royal protocols or manuals of Joseon state rites, Yi Sŏng-mi broadens our perspective on Joseon royal portraits beyond the artists and production processes by examining contexts in which the portraits were used, including their enshrinement before Five Peaks screens or peony screens and their transmission in royal portrait processions.³⁸ The 2005 exhibition *Joseon Royal Portraiture: King Taejo's Image*

³⁴ Cho Sun-mie, *Hanguk Chosanghwa Yeongu*, 1983. For her later books based on the 1983 work, see *Great Korean Portraits: Immortal Images of the Noble and the Brave* (Gyeonggido: Dolbegae, 2010); *Wang ui eolgul: Han jung il gunju chosang eul malhada* 왕의얼굴: 한중일 군주 초상화를 말하다 [Faces of kings: Speak on rulers' portrait paintings of Korea, China, and Japan] (Seoul: Sahoepyongnon, 2012).

³⁵ For the studies of Jin Junhyun and Yun Chin-yong, see footnote 26.

³⁶ Cho Insoo, 2004, 116-153; "Jeontong gwa gwonwi ui pyosang: Gojong dae ui Taejo eojin gwa jinjeon 전통과 권위의 표상: 고종대의 태조 어진과 진전 [Representation of tradition and authority: Portrait of King Taejo and royal portrait halls], *Misulsa yeongu* 미술사연구 vol. 20 (2006), 29-56.

³⁷ Cho Insoo, "Sejong daeui eojin gwa jinjeon 세종대의 어진과 진전 [Royal portrait and portrait halls during the reign of King Sejong," in *Misulsa ui jeongnip gwa hwaksan* 미술사의 정립과 확산 vol. 1 (Seoul: Sahoipyongnon, 2006), 160-179. For his survey in English on royal portrait halls and portrait paintings of Joseon throughout the dynasty, see "Royal Portraits in the Late Joseon Period," *Journal of Korean Art and Archeology* vol. 5 (2011), 8-23.

³⁸ Yi Sŏng-mi 이성미, Yu Songok 유송옥, and Kang Sinhang 강신항, *Joseon sidae eojin gwangye dogam uigwe yeongu* 朝鮮時代 御眞關係都監儀軌 研究 [Study of *uigwe* for royal portraiture during the Joseon period] (Seongnam: Jeongsin munhwa yeonguwon, 1997); Yi Sŏng-mi, "The Making of Royal Portraits during the Chosŏn Dynasty: What the *Uigwe* Books Reveal," in *Bridges to Heaven: Essays on East Asian Art in Honor of Professor Wen C. Fong* vol. I, ed. Jerome Silbergeld, et al. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011), 363-386; *Eojin uigwe wa misulsa: Joseon*

and the *Gyeonggi Royal Portrait Hall* held in the Jeonju National Museum highlighted the physical surroundings of the portraits in Gyeonggijeon, the only extant portrait hall of King Taejo in South Korea. In the exhibition catalogue, Lee Soo-mi provides an in-depth analysis of the physical setting inside the hall and the way in which the portrait of King Taejo was set up there, along with a detailed stylistic examination of this image.³⁹ Subsequently, the National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage of Korea investigated New Seonwonjeon in Changdeokgung and published their findings in a book containing detailed photos of the hall.⁴⁰ While certainly useful, this investigation does little to advance ideas presented in earlier scholarship.

Korean scholars have also recently undertaken studies of royal portrait hall rituals and ritual vessels. Koo Hyein, for instance, examines Seonwonjeon ritual vessels illustrated in *uigwe* of the Korean Empire period and interprets them as representing the rulers' newly claimed imperial status, a significant departure from the royal status maintained by Joseon kings out of deference to the emperor of China. Koo's study, only referring to the limited literature sources of the Korean Empire period, suffers from generalization and inadequate examination of historiographical circumstances.⁴¹ Yoo Jaebin focuses on rites for portraits of

gukwang chosanghwa ui jejak gwa mosa, 2012.

³⁹ Lee Soo-mi 이수미, "Gyeonggijeon Taejo eojin ui jejak gwa bongan 경기전 태조 어진의 제작과 봉안 [Production and enshrinement of King Taejo's portrait painting in Gyeonggijeon]," in *Wang ui chosang 왕의 초상 [Joseon Royal Portraiture]* (Jeonju: Jeonju National Museum, 2005), 236-241; "Gyeonggijeon Taejo eojin ui johyeong jeok teukjing gwa bongan ui uimi 경기전 태조 어진의 조형적 특징과 봉안의 의미," *Misulsa hakbo 미술사학보* 26 (2006), 5-32; For the study of the hall in history discipline, see Kim Chull Bae 김철배, "Joseonsidae Gyeonggijeon yeongu 朝鮮時代 慶基殿 研究 [Research on the Joseon period Gyeonggijeon]," (Ph.D diss., Chonbuk National University, 2012).

⁴⁰ *Choehu ui jinjeon Changdeokgung sin Seonwonjeon 최후의 진전- 창덕궁 신선원전 [The last royal portrait hall, New Seonwonjeon in Changdeokgung]* (Gungnip munhwajae yeonguso, 2010).

⁴¹ Koo Hyein 구혜인, *Daehan jegukgi Gyeonggung Seonwonjeon yegi ui guseong gwa hamui 대한제국기 경운궁 선원전 예기의 구성과 함의 [Composition and meaning of ritual vessels for Seonwonjeon at Gyeonggung during the Korean Empire period]*, *Misulsa hak yeongu 미술사학연*

both royal ancestors and living kings during the late Joseon period and notes the different features of portrait halls in ritual performances.⁴²

Finally, I must acknowledge John Duncan's *The Origins of the Chosŏn Dynasty*, which changed my views of the transition from Goryeo and Joseon. Challenging the previous Korean scholarship, which asserted the Joseon dynasty's drastic break with the Goryeo political and social order, Duncan stresses the continuity in the power structure and ideology through the Goryeo-Joseon transition.⁴³ Profiting from his insight, I locate portrait halls and portraits of King Taejo in the continuing historical framework of practices that carried over from late Goryeo into the early Joseon. This perspective also sheds light on practices and conventions of the Yuan dynasty transmitted through Goryeo, which have been neglected due to prior scholarly emphasis on Song precedents.

Approaches and Methodology

Despite their many differences in style and content, Western and East Asian portraits have much in common in terms of their general purposes, specific functions, and meanings.⁴⁴ Thus, Western discussions and analyses of the perception, response, power, and efficacy of images provide comparative perspectives and theoretical approaches useful in understanding

구 vol. 288 (2015), 121-154.

⁴² Yoo, Jaebin 유재빈. "Joseon hugi eojin gwangye uilye yeongu 조선 후기 어진 관계 의례 연구 [Rites for royal portraits of kings in the late Joseon Dynasty]." *Misulsa wa sigak munhwa 미술사와 시각문화* 10 (2011): 74-99.

⁴³ John B. Duncan, *The Origins of the Chosŏn Dynasty* (Seattle and London: University Washington Press, 2000). Duncan states that the dynastic transition was institutional change resulted from tensions between an imported centralized bureaucracy and a locally particularistic native tradition. (p. 9)

⁴⁴ Vinograd points out that Chinese portraits can be paralleled with Western portraits but distinct underlying structures of function and significance. Vinograd, 5. Dora Ching pays attention to the Western scholarship on European court portraiture and icons sharing the similar concerns with Chinese imperial portraiture as methodological models to study Ming imperial portraits. Dora Ching, 3-4.

Joseon portraits. Since the reception of royal portraits is necessarily conditioned by the power and public roles of their subjects, I am indebted to the Western scholarship focusing on the social contexts and functions of portraiture following Gombrich's exploration of the role of "social mask" in the perception of physiognomic likeness.⁴⁵ Monumental studies by David Freedberg and Richard Brilliant, *The Power of Images* and *Portraiture*, respectively, broadened my fundamental understanding of portraiture, the efficacy and effectiveness of portraits themselves, and their nature as "social artifacts."⁴⁶

My research also considerably benefits from the collaborative work of several art historians on the issue of "presence" in *Presence: The Inherence of the Prototype within Images and Other Objects*.⁴⁷ Several studies of individual cases in this book, adopting Alfred Gell's agency theory set forth in his groundbreaking work *Art and Agency* as a theoretical framework, highlight social and cultural contexts of responses to images, in contrast to Freedberg's emphasis on "the universality of responses to the power of images."⁴⁸ Most of all, Craig Clunas's insightful study of the role of emotions in funerary portraits of the Ming Dynasty provided a methodological model to my research. Clunas stresses the very specific cultural and historical contexts of emotion (*ganqing* 感情), which "exists between people and is socially conceived," making the image "deposit of a social relationship or an index of

⁴⁵ Gombrich, E. H. "The Mask and the Face: The Perception of Physiognomic Likeness in Life and in Art," in *The Image and the Eye: Further Studies in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (London: Phaidon Press Limited, 1982), 105-136.

⁴⁶ David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Richard Brilliant, *Portraiture* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991).

⁴⁷ *Presence: The Inherence of the Prototype within Images and Other Objects*, edited by Robert Maniura and Rupert Shepherd (Adershot: Ashgate, 2006).

⁴⁸ Robert Maniura and Rupert Shepherd, "Introduction." in *Presence*, 17-19. Alfred Gell considers an art object as an actor functioning in a network of social relationships, more particularly social agents exercising agency. For Alfred Gell's agency theory, see Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press and Oxford University Press, 1998).

social agency.”⁴⁹ Besides this theoretical analysis, Clunas’s argument on Wen Zhengming’s pragmatic approach to mortuary portraits serves as a philosophical background for understanding the persistence of portrait production and ritual use of portraits in both Ming China and Joseon Korea. According to him, the eminent scholar Wen Zhengming (1470-1559) stressed emotion more than absolute accuracy, which Cheng Yi (1033-1107), one of the leading philosophers of Neo-Confucianism, laid out logical basis against the use of images in ancestral rituals.⁵⁰ It draws our attention to the fact that Wen emphasized immense emotional effects which images could have on their descendants in the first half of the sixteenth century, when followers of Cheng Yi led the movement to banish “sculpted and painted images from all court and official observances dedicated to Confucius, his disciples, and followers.”⁵¹ Like Wen Zhengming, late Joseon kings such as King Yeongjo (r. 1724-1776) and King Heonjong (r. 1834-1849) justified the enshrinement of royal portraits and the expansion of royal portrait halls as in accord with human emotions (人情).⁵² This suggests that the philosophical trend emphasizing human emotions, imported from China, might have influenced the resurgence of the production and ritual use of portraits in late Joseon.

In thinking about the royal portraits of Joseon and conceptualizing this study, I have been much influenced by certain of Richard Vinograd's observations about the study of Chinese portraiture, especially his emphasis on the need to scrutinize the surrounding space, furnishings, ritual paraphernalia, and performances to gain a full understanding of formal

⁴⁹ Craig Clunas, “‘Not One Hair Different...’: Wen Zhengming on Imaging the Dead in Ming Funerary Portraiture,” in *Presence*, 31-45.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁵¹ Sommer, 15; Clunas, *ibid.*, 37.

⁵² *Veritable Records of King Yeongjo*, year of 1748, 1st month, 17th day; *Veritable Records of King Heonjong*, Appendix.

portraits associated with the ritual climate of ancestral veneration.⁵³ Many objects and buildings were produced for the Joseon rituals using royal portraits. Thus, a major part of this dissertation addresses the material culture of the portrait rituals: the interior adornment of royal portrait halls, their furnishings, and the various ritual vessels and foods employed.

My focus on the material culture of the portrait halls has been inspired by and drawn on the work of several scholars in the field of East Asian art history, notably Craig Clunas, Cheng-hua Wang, and Martin Powers. Clunas's pioneering research examines the way of looking at "things" in the late Ming period and "things" as expressions of social status and the distinct taste of Ming elites.⁵⁴ Cheng-hua Wang attempts to reconstruct the concept of emperorship during the reign of Xuanzong through the analysis of material culture surrounding Xuanzong's court.⁵⁵ Drawing on the ornamental designs of crafted artifacts in the early China, Martin Powers explores the way the "graphic paradigms, which are patterns and pictorial representations encoding a scale of value and having referents, formulated status, social order, self-esteem, social roles, and identity."⁵⁶ This previous scholarship provides theoretical tools for elucidating the abstract principles, concepts of status, and ideals of kingship embodied in the material culture of Joseon royal portrait worship. Centering on objects used in assemblages of ritual material goods, spaces, and practices, I address the different status, features, and functions of specific portrait halls, wherein the Joseon court selectively appropriated Confucian traditions, popular customs, and religious practice. The specific physical and ritual context in which portraits of Joseon kings were used and given

⁵³ Vinograd, 5.

⁵⁴ Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status* (Oxford: Polity Press in association with Basil Blackwell, 1991).

⁵⁵ Cheng-hua Wang, "Material Culture and Emperorship: The Shaping of Imperial Roles at the Court of Xuanzong (r. 1426-1435)," (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1998).

⁵⁶ Martin J. Powers, *Pattern and Person: Ornament, Society, and Self in Classical China* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006), 1-3.

meaning further sheds light on Joseon concerns in rulership.

Catherine Bell's arguments about "ritualization" advanced my thinking about exceptional moments in the Joseon history that set new precedents for royal portrait hall rituals, such as the incorporation of Bongseonjeon, the portrait hall of King Sejo, into state sacrificial rites during the reign of King Seongjong and the establishment of the informal portrait hall Seonwonjeon in the living quarters of palace during the reign of King Yeongjo. According to Bell, "ritualization" is "a strategic action, which aims to create ritual contexts and behaviors for the purposes of social control and domination." She emphasizes ritual activities as "means of producing and negotiating power relationships."⁵⁷ Bell's approach, accordingly, serves as a theoretical model for understanding how Joseon kings used royal portraits in ritual activities designed to mitigate circumstances that might undermine their authority, such as illegitimate enthronement or a low-ranking parent, as well as to validate their power.⁵⁸

Chapter Summaries

The first chapter of this dissertation centers primarily on portrait halls of King Taejo established in the early Joseon period. It examines the way in which the Joseon court legitimated the rituals for portrait halls of King Taejo and King Sejo by incorporating them into the official state rites, which were supposed to draw on Confucian texts. Thus the Joseon court placed the worship of royal portraits in quasi-public domain, in contrast to contemporary Ming practice, wherein the worship of imperial portraits was confined to the sphere of the imperial family. Further, through the analysis of the Joseon *Five Rites of State*,

⁵⁷ Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

⁵⁸ For more detailed explanations, see Chapters Four and Five.

the official handbook of state rites published in 1474 and the extant portrait hall of King Taejo, Gyeonggijeon, I propose that the principle of “serving the dead as if they were alive” shaped the material culture of portrait worship, resulting in the adoption of contemporary secular objects for use as ritual offering vessels, furnishings, and adornments.

Chapter Two discusses the history, ritual practice, and material culture of the late Joseon official portrait halls since the seventeenth century, including Yeonghuijeon (永禧殿, Hall of Eternal Happiness), Jangnyeongjeon (長寧殿, Hall of Everlasting Peace), and Hwaryeongjeon (華寧殿, Hall of Magnificent Peace). Drawing on the official handbooks of state rites compiled in the late eighteenth century and relevant *uigwe* records, I elucidate the functions and meanings of these halls and the way they manifested different status in official royal ancestral rites. In the third chapter, I look at the distinguishing and exceptional features of Seonwonjeon, the informal portrait hall for the royal family located in the inner palace during the late Joseon period. Taking into account the physical environment and ornamentation inside the hall, this chapter addresses the origin of Seonwonjeon and identifies distinguishing features and functions of the hall appropriated from popular customs and religious practice other than that of the state rites. More specifically, I argue that the origin, location, and function of the hall allowed the royal family to offer the most precious foods and vessels used in the contemporary secular society to their royal ancestors before their portraits. Finally, this chapter considers who was involved in determining and standardizing the types of material goods used for the hall’s rituals and emphasizes the continuation of the late Joseon practices in Seonwonjeon through the Korean Empire period.

Having established the differences between specific portrait halls in terms of status and formality and the emergence of several repositories in the late Joseon period, in the fourth and fifth chapters I turn to the purposes, meaning, character of individual portraits of

Joseon kings. I trace their provenance using court chronicles, such as *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat* (承政院日記) and *Record of Daily Reflection* (日省錄), and the *Sacrificial Rites Adding Tea Rituals for Seonwonjeon* (祭祀: 附璿源殿茶禮), which provides the chronology of the placement of royal portrait paintings during the Joseon and Korean Empire periods, except for the Seonwonjeon portraits lost in a fire in 1901.⁵⁹ This study enables us to identify the key ritual objects used in individual royal portrait halls; these objects, in turn, illuminate how each group of paintings was used and given meaning.

Chapter Four examines portraits of individual kings that were employed as objects of worship in portrait halls. Recognizing the commemorative and “quasi-public” functions of official portrait halls, I examine concepts of rulership manifested in the multiple portraits displayed in them. To clarify unique features of Joseon concepts of rulership embodied in Joseon royal portraits, I compare them with Ming imperial portraits. Chapter Five offers case studies of portraits of late Joseon kings housed in repositories after their death. These repositories were primarily placed in the auxiliary buildings at royal shrines for the kings’ biological parents, such as Lady Choi, Prince Sado, and Lady Bak. Arguing against prior scholarship that attributed a ritual character to the portraits enshrined in the repositories, I explore their original function and distinctive character in form and style. This examination contributes to proving multilayered functions of the formal type of East Asian portraits, highlighting the power of images themselves as stand-ins for their royal subjects.

⁵⁹ *Seungjeongwon ilgi* 承政院日記 [Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat] <http://sjw.history.go.kr/main.do>; *Ilseongnok* 日省錄 [Record of Daily Reflection], Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies; *Jesa bu Seonwonjeon darye* 祭祀 附璿源殿茶禮 [Sacrificial rites: Supplementing tea rituals for Seonwonjeon], k2-4812, The Academy for Korean Studies. This manuscript includes the history of Seonwonjeon since the eighteenth century, including the reproduction and repair of the royal portraits and the offering objects used in the New Seonwonjeon during the Japanese annexation period (1910-1945). This manuscript seems to have been written from 1928, when the portraits of the last emperor Sunjong were enshrined in New Seonwonjeon, Changeokgung, to the late 1930s.

In concluding, I review the material culture and rituals that legitimized the use of portraits as focal points for certain royal ancestral rites and the ways in which these portraits were used to create Joseon concepts of rulership and sometimes to validate the rule of a king of questionable lineage. An epilogue explains the distortion of Joseon royal portrait hall rituals in New Seonwonjeon during the Japanese annexation period.

Chapter 1: Legitimizing the Worship of Royal Portrait Paintings in the Confucian Domain of Joseon

Even though the Joseon court proclaimed Confucianism as its ruling ideology, it did not drastically break with the Goryeo practice of using portraits in ancestor worship, which remained persistent into the early Joseon. The establishment of King Taejo portrait halls reflects the lingering influence of the practices carried over from the previous dynasty. For more than eighty years after King Taejo's death, the early Joseon court fashioned, revised, and supplemented the rites of the halls to meet Confucian standards until the publication in 1474 of the *Five Rites of State* (國朝五禮儀), the first official handbook of state rites.

This chapter examines the way in which the early Joseon court legitimated the rites of portrait halls for King Taejo and King Sejo. To lay a foundation for this examination, I look at how and why the portrait halls of Kings Taejo and Sejo were established in a historiographical context. Drawing on both official documents of the early Joseon and the *Five Rites of State*, this chapter analyzes the way the early Joseon court distinguished the rites of royal portrait halls from other state sacrificial rites.

This analysis deals with differences between rites for duplicate royal ancestral shrines (Origin Shrines 原廟), portrait halls, and tombs, as well as between these “Customary Rites (*sokje* 俗祭)” and Confucian orthodox rites, which were adapted from Confucian classical texts and the teachings of famous Confucian scholars. Through this analysis, this chapter proposes that the principle of “serving the dead as if they were alive” shaped the rituals of royal portrait halls. Drawing on the historical documents and Gyeonggijeon (慶基殿, Hall of Celebrated Foundation), the extant portrait hall of King Taejo, this principle is embodied by the material culture of portrait worship, specifically by

the adoption of contemporary secular objects for use as ritual offering vessels, furnishings, and adornments.

1-1. Establishment of Royal Portrait Halls during the Early Joseon Period

The first portrait hall of King Taejo was located in Yeongheungbu (永興府) in Hamgyeong Province (fig. 1-1).⁶⁰ Allegedly, the hall was built in 1396 on the site of King Taejo's birthplace.⁶¹ In the second month of the year of 1398, one of King Taejo's entourage, Seong Seokrin (成石麟, 1338-1423), enshrined one portrait of the king in the hall.⁶² It seems that King Taejo actively played a role in constructing Junwonjeon. Five months after the enshrinement of the portrait, Jeonsi (田時), an officer of the Censor's Office (言官), was expelled because of his personal statement criticizing the construction of Junwonjeon and the garish decoration of royal ancestral tombs.⁶³ In ordering Jeon's exile, King Taejo said that

⁶⁰ Right after the founding of Joseon, King Taejo's court constructed a hall to house portraits of the king and his merit subjects at the latest in 1398, following the example of the Lingyan Pavilion (凌烟閣) of the Tang Dynasty. The enshrinement of the portraits in the hall, called Jangsaengjeon (長生殿), was discontinued because of an impropriety identified according to ancient classics during the reign of King Taejong. Previous study discusses Jangsaengjeon as one of portrait halls of King Taejo. Cho Insoo, "Taejo eojin ui jejak gwa Taejo jinjeon ui unyeong," 136-138. Because the hall was not considered as a place of worship, however, this hall cannot be included among the royal portrait halls (*jinjeon*).

⁶¹ According to the *Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea* (1530), Junwonjeon was located at Heukseongni 黑石里, 13 *li* southeast of Yeongheungbu in Hamgyeong province. It was the place where the old house of Hwanjo, Taejo's father, was located and the place where Taejo was born. "Hamgyeongdo," in *Sinjeung dongguk nyeoji seungnam* 新增東國輿地勝覽 [Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea], vol. 48. However, during the late Joseon, several local residents of Yeongheungbu argued that Junwonjeon was the burial site of Taejo's placenta, while Taejo's birthplace was, in fact, nearby the site. *Veritable Records of King Yeongjo*, year of 1725, 7th month, 13th day.

⁶² *Veritable Records of King Taejo*, vol. 13, year of 1398, 2nd month, 26th day

⁶³ *Veritable Records of King Taejo*, vol. 13, year of 1398, 7th month, 5th day. One day, a clerk of the Ministry of Works, Yu Hanwu 劉旱雨, visited Jeonsi's house when he returned from the northeast. Jeonsi asked Yu about what happened there. After Yu's explanation, Jeon voiced disapproval of the

Jeon personally spoke out against the king to outsiders. Thus, for King Taejo, criticism of the construction of his portrait hall and royal tombs was equivalent to disapproval of himself.

Right after the founding of the Joseon Dynasty in 1392, King Taejo sent his fifth son, Yi Bangwon (later King Taejong), to the northeast in order to make offerings at the ancestral tombs of four generations, which were located in Hamgyeong province, to inform his ancestors of his enthronement, and to dedicate royal tomb titles (陵號).⁶⁴ To protect the royal ancestral tombs, King Taejo assigned two guards and designated several guardian civilian households for each tomb. In addition, the king ordered the building of *jaegung* (齋宮), literally palaces for fasting, where officiants could purify themselves before performing the rites for regular sacrifice at the tombs.⁶⁵ The dedication of tomb titles for and maintenance of his ancestral tombs was meant to establish King Taejo's authority, as well as the legitimacy of the newly-founded Joseon Dynasty.⁶⁶

Right after its establishment in 1398, the portrait hall of Yeongheungbu was given the hall title Junwonjeon (濬源殿, Hall of Profound Source), emphasizing the place of origin of the dynastic founder.⁶⁷ The bestowal of this title contrasts with those of the other portrait

construction of Junwonjeon, saying that it was not necessary to build it because Jangsaengjeon had already been completed.

⁶⁴ *Veritable Records of King Taejo*, vol. 1, year of 1392, 8th month, 8th day

⁶⁵ *Veritable Records of King Taejo*, vol. 1, year of 1392, 10th month, 28th day

⁶⁶ Similarly, in the late Joseon period, King Yeongjo ordered the publication of a book comprehensively compiling materials on the royal historic sites in Hamgyeong province and the production of pictorial maps of the sites, to reinforce the authority of the Joseon court and its legitimacy. Following his policy, his successor, King Jeongjo not only built several monuments to eulogize King Taejo's great achievements in the province, but also systemized the rituals for the shrines for four generations of King Taejo in Hamheung and Yeongheung. Jeong Eunju 정은주, "Bukdo reungjeonji wa bukdo gangneung dohyeong yeongu 북도릉전지와 북도각릉도형 연구 [Study of the Records of Royal Tombs in the Northern Province and the pictures of the tombs]," *Hanguk Munhwa* 한국문화 vol. 67, 226. The folding album depicting the royal sites in Hamgyeong Province shows the location and structure of Junwonjeon.

⁶⁷ *Veritable Records of King Taejo*, vol. 13, year of 1398, 2nd month, 26th day

halls of the king in Gyeongju and Pyeongyang (Pyongyang) established during his lifetime and imparts a distinctive status: Gyeongju and Pyeongyang were simply referred to as “halls of royal appearance” (御容殿) during King Taejo’s lifetime, and then named “portrait halls of King Taejo (太祖眞殿)” after his death.⁶⁸ Furthermore, King Taejong’s court designated guards to protect Junwonjeon and distinguished its rites from those of the other portrait halls of King Taejo by dispatching a minister from the court to conduct the rites.⁶⁹ In this regard, Junwonjeon, built at the birthplace of King Taejo, was planned and established as an official sacred place along with the royal ancestral tombs in the same province and served to legitimate the dynasty and reinforce the regal power of the founding father and his descendants.

One week after the enshrinement of King Taejo’s portrait at Junwonjeon, another portrait of him was housed in Gyeongju.⁷⁰ Why and how the portrait was enshrined in Gyeongju is not clearly stated in official documents. However, we can infer the reason from a poem of Gim Jongjik (金宗直, 1431-1492), a scholar official of the early Joseon period. The poem, which was written after he had venerated the portrait of King Taejo in Gyeongju, says that the king is a descendent of Yi Han, the father of the Jeonju Yi clan and a great man of the Silla period (57 B.C. – A.D. 935).⁷¹ According to the preface of the *Veritable Records of*

⁶⁸ *Veritable Records of King Taejong*, vol. 10, year of 1412, 11th month, 15th day

⁶⁹ *Veritable Records of King Taejong*, vol. 19, year of 1410, 2nd month, 12th day; vol. 26, year of 1413, 12th month, 22nd day; vol. 30, year of 1415, 9th month, 3rd day.

⁷⁰ *Veritable Records of King Taejo*, vol. 13, year of 1398, 3rd month, 2nd day. It is unclear whether the Joseon court played a role as an agent in constructing the portrait hall of Gyeongju. During the reign of King Sejong, several retainers opposed placing guards at King Taejo’s portrait halls, arguing that the halls were voluntarily built by local people who admired King Taejo’s achievements. Though the portrait halls at Yeongheung and Gaeseong had been entitled Junwonjeon and Mokcheongjeon and were given two guards from the beginning of their construction, Taejo’s portrait halls at Jeonju, Gyeongju, and Pyeongyang had neither titles nor guards until 1442. *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 5, year of 1419, 10th month, 24th day; vol. 96, year of 1442, 6th month, 22nd day.

⁷¹ “Venerating the Portrait of King Taejo at Jipgyeongjeon (從節度使謁集慶殿御容),” in

King Taejo, Yi Han served Silla as an official and married a daughter of the tenth generation grandson of King Muyeol (r. 654-661), the twenty-ninth king of Silla.⁷² Gim's poem also sings the praises of the portrait claiming that it came to pacify this area.⁷³ Therefore, the enshrinement of King Taejo's portrait at Gyeongju, the old capital of Silla, was another action designed to legitimize his rule and to reinforce his power in this area by emphasizing the intimate relationship between his ancestor and Silla.

During the reign of King Sejong (r. 1418-1450), the title of Jipgyeongjeon (集慶殿, Hall of Gathered Celebrations) was bestowed on the hall of Gyeongju.⁷⁴ When the Japanese Invasion of 1592 occurred, the portrait at Jipgyeongjeon was moved to the hall rebuilt at Gangneung in Gangwon province.⁷⁵ The portrait and the rebuilt hall at Gangneung, however, were burnt down due to accidental fire in 1631, after which Jipgyeongjeon was not restored.

During the lifetime of Taejo, the Joseon court had another portrait hall built for him in Pyeongyang, the old capital of the Goguryeo Dynasty (37 B.C. – A.D. 668) and formerly the western capital of Goryeo. During the previous dynasty, a portrait of the founder of Goryeo was enshrined and worshiped in the Hall of Divine Appearance (聖容殿) there.⁷⁶ In

Jeompiljaejip 佔畢齋集 [Literary Work of Gim Jongjik] vol. 2.

⁷² *Veritable Records of King Taejo*, vol. 1, General Introduction.

⁷³ 千秋萬歲後 遺像此來鎮. "Venerating the Portrait of King Taejo at Jipgyeongjeon (從節度使謁集慶殿御容)," in *Jeompiljaejip* vol. 2. A poem about Jipgyeongjeon, originally included in the *Anthology of Korean Literature (Dongmunseon 東文選, 1478)*, also sings that Taejo's portrait pacifies the old capital of Gyeongju. *Sok Dongmunseon 續東文選 [Sequel of the Anthology of Korean Literature]* vol. 3.

⁷⁴ *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 4, year of 1442, 6th month, 22nd day; *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 97, year of 1442, 7th month, 18th day.

⁷⁵ *Yeollyeosilgisul 燃藜室記述 (History of Joseon Written by Yi Geung-ik(1736-1806))*, Yeongjeon 影殿 (Portrait Hall); *Veritable Records of King Gwanhae*, vol. 146, year of 1619, 11th month, 26th day.

⁷⁶ The year of 1018, in *Goryeosa jeoryo 高麗史節要 [Abridged History of the Goryeo Dynasty]* vol. 3; Cho Sunmie, 1983, 68-71.

order to publicly announce the dynastic change, thus, the Joseon court needed to install the portrait of the new dynastic founder in the city. Notably, the portrait hall was located at the old site of Jangnakgung (長樂宮, Palace of Everlasting Pleasure) of Goryeo.⁷⁷ The hall seems to have been established before 1402, when King Taejo, who had already abdicated, visited the hall in Pyeongyang and viewed the portrait of himself.⁷⁸ The *Comprehensive Study of the Ministry of Rites* (春官通考) also records that Yeongsungjeon (永崇殿, Hall of Perpetual Worship) – the title bestowed on the portrait hall at Pyeongyang by King Sejong – was built at the beginning of the dynasty in the same way as Jipgyeongjeon was.⁷⁹

Not only was Pyeongyang the old capital of Goguryeo and the western capital of the previous Goryeo dynasty, but it also had a historical significance due to connections with Dangun (檀君) and Gija (箕子, Ch. Jizi): Dangun was the legendary founder of Gojoseon (古朝鮮), the first Korean kingdom, and Gija was allegedly the paternal uncle or brother of the last emperor of the Chinese Shang Dynasty who edified the people of the Korean peninsula. Because Joseon proclaimed itself a successor to Gojoseon and a Confucian state, the Joseon court acknowledged the historical importance of Pyeongyang from the beginning of the

⁷⁷ *Chungwan tonggo* 春官通考 [Comprehensive Study of the Ministry of Rites] vol. 26, 1788, 奎 12272, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies.; Yun, Dusu 尹斗壽 (1533–1601). *Pyeongyang ji* 平壤志 [Record of Pyeongyang] vol. 1, 1590, 想白古 915.18-P993, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies. Kim Cheol Woong argues that the Hall of Holy Appearance, enshrining a portrait of the founder of Goryeo, was located at Jangnakgung. Kim Cheol Woong 김철웅, “Goryeo sidae seogyong ui seongyongjeon 고려시대 서경의 성용전 [Portrait hall of Goryeo Taejo, Seongyongjeon in Pyeongyang during the Goryeo period],” *Munhwasa* vol. 31 (2009), 109-128.

⁷⁸ According to Gwon Geun (1352-1409), a renowned scholar official of the early Joseon period, after his abdication, King Taejo composed a poem while looking at his portrait in Pyeongyang during his tour of the northern province. *Yangchonjip* 陽村集 vol. 19; Anguished by the enthronement of King Taejong, his fifth son, through bloody strife and the killing of other princes, the former king made a prolonged tour in the northern province and came back to the capital in the twelfth month of the year of 1402. Right before his return to the capital, King Taejo visited Pyeongyang. *Veritable Records of King Taejong*, vol. 4, year of 1402, 12th month, 2nd day; 12th month, 8th day.

⁷⁹ *Chungwan tonggo*, vol. 26.

dynasty.⁸⁰ After King Taejo's enthronement, there was a discussion about whether to worship Dangun and Gija in Pyeongyang.⁸¹ This historical significance would have contributed to the act of enshrining King Taejo's portrait in Pyeongyang as well. In addition, Pyeongyang was strategically located along a route that envoys from Ming China had to pass on their way to Gaeseong (Kaesong), the Goryeo capital or Hanyang (now Seoul), the Joseon capital. Therefore, the portrait hall of King Taejo in Pyeongyang served as a manifestation of the dynastic change at this key historical and diplomatic place. Drawing on this significance, King Sejo (r. 1455-1468) personally visited Pyeongyang to worship before the image of King Taejo in Yeongsungjeon and the spirit tablets in the shrines of Dangun, Gija, and King Dongmyeong, the dynastic founder of Goguryeo.⁸²

During the Japanese invasion, Yeongsungjeon was burned down, and the portrait was severely damaged.⁸³ Gwanhaegun (r. 1608-1623) ordered the hall to be rebuilt and a portrait of King Taejo modeled on the portrait at Gyeonggijeon in Jeonju to be produced.⁸⁴ The hall was restored around 1617, but the copied portrait of King Taejo was not enshrined there at

⁸⁰ Son Myenghee, "Joseon sidae Pyeongyang seongdo reul tonghae bon Pyeongyang ui moseup gwa jiyeok jeok seonggyeok 조선시대 평양성도를 통해 본 평양의 모습과 지역적 성격 [Pre-modern and modern Pyeongyang as represented in Joseon maps and paintings]," *Hanguk gojido yeongu* vol. 1 (2009. 6.), 65-66; for more detailed and profound research on the perception of Pyeongyang during Joseon, refer to Oh Soo-chang, "Joseonhugi Pyeongyang gwa geu insik ui byeonhwa 조선후기 평양과 그 인식의 변화 [Pyeongyang of the late Joseon period and the change of its understanding]," in *Joseon ui jeongchi wa sahoe* 조선의 정치와 사회 [Politics and Society of Joseon] (Seoul: Jimmundang, 2002).

⁸¹ *Veritable Records of King Taejo*, vol. 1, year of 1392, 8th month, 19th day.

⁸² *Veritable Records of King Sejo*, vol. 22, year of 1460, 10th month, 17th day.

⁸³ *Veritable Records of King Seonjo*, vol. 21, year of 1593, 1st month, 24th day. When the Pyeongyang fortress fell to Japan, the administrator of Pyeongyang secretly buried the portrait with royal seals. After the recovery of the fortress, the seals were found intact, but the portrait had decomposed and all that remained were pieces. *Veritable Records of King Taejo*, vol. 21, year of 1593, 1st month, 15th day. In this record, Taejo's portrait was mistakenly written as Taejong's.

⁸⁴ *Veritable Records of King Gwanhaegun*, vol. 106, year of 1616, 8th month, 9th day. *Veritable Records of King Gwanhaegun*, vol. 110, year of 1616, 12th month, 5th day.

all.⁸⁵ Instead of Pyeongyang, it was placed in Nambyeoljeon (南別殿, Separate Hall of the South) at the capital. As a result, the rebuilt Yeongsungjeon was removed in 1670.⁸⁶

After King Taejo's death, King Taejong (r. 1400-1418) ordered the establishment of two more portrait halls for his predecessor: Gyeonggijeon in Jeonju and Mokcheongjeon (穆清殿, Hall of Solemn Clarity) in Gaeseong. This action contrasts with King Taejong's stated objection to the use of portraits in ancestral rites and to the prohibition of the construction of his own portrait hall. The additional establishment of King Taejo portrait halls by King Taejong aimed to legitimize his own succession to the throne, which did not receive support and approval from his father.⁸⁷

Jeonju was the place of origin of the Joseon royal family, the Jeonju Yi clan. Right after founding Joseon, King Taejo raised Jeonju from a sub-prefecture (*ju* 州) to a prefecture (*bu* 府), namely, Wansan prefecture.⁸⁸ After King Taejo's death, the people of the Wansan prefecture asked King Taejong to enshrine a portrait of King Taejo in the area. Accordingly, in 1409, King Taejong ordered a copy of King Taejo's portrait at Gyeongju made and had it enshrined in Jeonju in 1410.⁸⁹ Until King Yeongjo's (1694-1776, r. 1724-1776) reign, the portrait hall of King Taejo in Jeonju served as the only monument commemorating the Joseon

⁸⁵ *Veritable Records of King Gwanghaegun*, vol. 113, year of 1617, 3rd month, 14th day. According to *Pyeongyang sokji*, published in 1727 by Yun Yu, Yeongsungjeon was reconstructed in 1615. Yun, Yu 尹游 (1674-1737), *Pyeongyang sokji* 平壤續志 [Supplement to the *Record of Pyeongyang*] vol. 1, 1730, 韓古朝62-177, National Library of Korea.

⁸⁶ *Pyeongyang sokji* 平壤續志 vol. 1.

⁸⁷ Cho Insoo, 2004, 139-140. The abdicated King Taejo was anguished by usurpation of King Taejong and made a prolonged tour in the northern province in his last years. *Veritable Records of King Taejong*, vol. 4, year of 1402, 12th month, 8th day. King Taejo abdicated the throne to his second son in 1398, when the first strife between princes broke out.

⁸⁸ *Veritable Records of King Taejo*, vol. 1, year of 1392, 8th month, 7th day.

⁸⁹ *Veritable Records of King Taejong*, vol. 17, year of 1409, 2nd month, 17th day; *Veritable Records of King Taejong*, vol. 20, year of 1410, 9th month, 28th day.

royal family in the area. During King Sejong's reign, the portrait hall received its current name, Gyeonggijeon (fig. 1-2).⁹⁰ Even though it was moved several times from Jeonju due to the invasions by Japan and Manchu, the portrait was well preserved and worshiped in the rebuilt hall until the late Joseon period.⁹¹ Gyeonggijeon still exists as the only example of a King Taejo portrait hall in South Korea.

Before abdicating, King Taejong pushed for the construction of a King Taejo portrait hall at the site of Taejo's old mansion in Gaeseong, where he lived before his enthronement. King Taejong visited the site in person and selected the location.⁹² Not only did he have a strong interest in its establishment but he also participated actively in its construction: during the building process, he personally ordered the thin pillars to be changed for thick ones.⁹³ After abdicating his throne to his third son (King Sejong), King Taejong still gave his attention to the construction of the hall. Accordingly, King Sejong also showed great interest in its building, personally visiting the site and inspecting the construction.⁹⁴ The portrait hall in Gaeseong was completed in 1419, and both King Taejong, who had already abdicated, and his son, King Sejong visited the hall on this occasion. The former was so satisfied with the completed hall that he ordered the inspector of its construction promoted.⁹⁵

Subsequently, King Sejong bestowed the title of Gyemyeongjeon (啓命殿, Hall of Beginning Destiny) on the portrait hall in Gaeseong, but three years later, the king changed

⁹⁰ *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 4, year of 1442, 6th month, 22nd day; *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 97, year of 1442, 7th month, 18th day

⁹¹ In 1614, Gwanhaegun rebuilt Gyeonggijeon, which was destroyed during the Japanese invasions. *Veritable Records of King Gwanhaegun*, vol. 85, year of 1614, 12th month, 5th day

⁹² *Veritable Records of King Taejong*, vol. 35, year of 1418, 4th month, 6th day; *Veritable Records of King Taejong*, vol. 35, year of 1418, 5th month, 30th day.

⁹³ *Veritable Records of King Taejong*, vol. 36, year of 1418, 7th month, 8th day.

⁹⁴ *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 2, year of 1418, 10th month, 20th day; vol. 2, year of 1418, 10th month, 21st day.

⁹⁵ *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 2, year of 1419, 4th month, 22nd day.

the hall's title to Mokcheongjeon to avoid its being a repetition of the title of the Goryeo King Taejo's portrait hall.⁹⁶ The rites of Mokcheongjeon followed those of Junwonjeon in Yeongheung.⁹⁷ Due to the proximity of Gaeseong to the capital, Hanyang, several kings frequently and personally worshipped in this hall. King Sejong, for example, performed the ritual of worship for the portrait of King Taejo here, and successive kings such as Seongjong and Jungjong (r. 1506-1544) also worshipped in this hall.⁹⁸ In this manner, Mokcheongjeon was established as the most authoritative portrait hall of the early Joseon period, one in which kings personally admired and worshipped the dynastic founder's portrait.⁹⁹

After King Taejo's demise in 1408, the performance of sacrificial rites began in his portrait halls. The rites of Junwonjeon and Mokcheongjeon were presided over by a minister dispatched by the court, whereas the rites of other halls were carried out by local magistrates.¹⁰⁰ It was not until 1442 that all the portrait halls of King Taejo were systematically maintained by the Joseon court.¹⁰¹ King Sejong presented hall titles to the halls in Pyeongyang, Jeonju, and Gyeongju and ordered the placement of two guards at the

⁹⁶ *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 2, year of 1419, 7th month, 12nd day; year of 1422, 1st month, 26th day.

⁹⁷ *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 2, year of 1419, 7th month, 12th day.

⁹⁸ *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 55, year of 1432, 3rd month, 15th day; *Chungwan tonggo* vol. 26.

⁹⁹ *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 55, year of 1432, 3rd month, 15th day; *Veritable Records of King Seongjong*, vol. 47, year of 1474, 9th month, 27th day; vol. 229, year of 1489, 6th month, 14th day; *Veritable Records of King Jungjong*, vol. 57, year of 1526, 7th month, 17th day; vol. 80, year of 1535, 9th month, 14th day.

¹⁰⁰ *Veritable Records of King Taejong*, vol. 26, year of 1413, 12th month, 22nd day; vol. 30, year of 1415, 9th month, 3rd day.

¹⁰¹ It seems that, until 1442, the early Joseon court managed only Junwonjeon and Mokcheongjeon. When opposing the allocation of guards to Taejo's portrait halls in Pyeongyang, King Sejong's retainers argued that the construction of Taejo's portrait halls was not related to the Joseon court and it was the local people, who admired King Taejo's achievements, who voluntarily constructed King Taejo's portrait halls. *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 5, year of 1419, 10th month, 24th day.

three halls as had been done at Junwonjeon and Mokcheongjeon.¹⁰² Subsequently, King Sejong had all the portrait halls of King Taejo repaired and the enshrined paintings reproduced.¹⁰³ It was also during King Sejong's reign that offering table settings for King Taejo's portrait hall rites were stipulated.¹⁰⁴ During the early Joseon period, worshipping ancestor portraits was largely confined to King Taejo's portrait halls. The images of early Joseon kings, except for the dynastic founder, were not used in royal ancestral rites as cult objects. During King Sejong's reign, the Joseon court housed most royal portrait paintings in Seonwonjeon (璿源殿, Hall of Jade Source), the royal repository, without the performance of any sacrifices.¹⁰⁵

The only exception was Bongseonjeon (奉先殿, Hall of Worshipping the Ancestors), the portrait hall of King Sejo (1417-1468, r. 1455-1468), the seventh king of Joseon. King Sejo, the second son of King Sejong, ascended the throne through a brutal usurpation in which his young nephew, the previous king, as well as his brothers and many officials were killed. The succeeding kings, who were direct descendants of King Sejo, needed to authorize their royal line because it was established through a process unjustifiable in Confucianism. Just as King Taejong, the previous usurper, tried to legitimize his authority through the construction of portrait halls for King Taejo, so King Sejo's successors used this means to elevate King Sejo to a status similar to that of the dynastic founder.

An atmosphere favorable to Buddhism also contributed to the establishment of

¹⁰² *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 96, year of 1442, 6th month, 22nd day.

¹⁰³ *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 97, year of 1442, 7th month, 18th day; vol. 97, year of 1442, 8th month, 5th day; vol. 101 year of 1443, 9th month, 13th day; *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 97, year of 1442, 8th month, 1st day; *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 97, year of 1442, 9th month, 26th day.

¹⁰⁴ *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 118, year of 1447, 11th month, 2nd day.

¹⁰⁵ *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 50, year of 1430, 11th month, 22nd day.

Bongseonjeon as an official place of royal ancestral worship. King Sejo became a faithful Buddhist in the late years of his reign, and even called himself “a disciple of Buddha.” He personally experienced several Buddhist omens and joined Buddhist ritual performances during his reign.¹⁰⁶ His consort, Jeonghui (1418-1483), also believed in Buddhism. She traveled together with King Sejo to famous Buddhist temples on noted mountains and was involved in rebuilding temples.¹⁰⁷ After King Sejo’s death, Queen Dowager Jeonghui ruled Joseon as regent on behalf of King Yejong (1450-1469, r. 1468-1469), her physically weak son, and then for King Seongjong (r. 1469-1494), her grandson, who was too young to rule. It was during her regency that King Sejo’s portrait hall was constructed and its rites institutionalized as state ancestral rites.¹⁰⁸

In 1469, under the instruction of the Queen Dowager, King Yejong had the portrait hall built south of the tomb of his father in Yangju, Gyeonggi province and originally titled Sungeunjeon (崇恩殿, Hall of Worshipping Benevolence).¹⁰⁹ After its construction, the Queen Dowager, succeeding kings, and their consorts frequented the hall and made offerings to King Sejo’s portrait in person.¹¹⁰ In these cultural and political circumstances, the rites of

¹⁰⁶ For example, when he visited Sangwon Buddhist temple in Mt. Odae, Guanyin (Avalokiteshvara) appeared before him. *Veritable Records of King Sejo*, vol. 29, year of 1462, 11th month, 5th day. For other omens, see *ibid.*, vol. 33, year of 1464, 5th month, 2nd day; vol. 39, year of 1466, 7th month, 17th day. He had Buddhist monks hold religious assemblies and personally joined in them along with his consort. *Ibid.*, vol. 19, year of 1460, 3rd month, 20th day; vol. 35, year of 1465, 4th month, 7th day; vol. 38, year of 1466, 3rd month, 21st day;

¹⁰⁷ Shin Myoung-ho 신명호, *Wangeul wihan byeonmyeong 왕을 위한 변명* [Excuses for kings] (Seoul: Gimyeongsa, 2009). For Queen Dowager Jeonghui’s commission for Buddhist sutra, see Choe Kyungwon, “Marginalized yet Devoted: Buddhist Paintings Commissioned by Nuns of the Early Joseon Palace Cloisters,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 2010), 120.

¹⁰⁸ King Yejong constructed King Sejo’s portrait hall under the order of Queen Dowager Jeonghui. “Bongseonjeon 奉先殿,” in *Chungwan tonggo* vol. 15.

¹⁰⁹ *Veritable Records of King Yejong*, vol. 5, year of 1469, 5th month, 16th day. The hall was renamed Bongseonjeon in 1472 by order of King Seongjong. *Veritable Records of King Seongjong*, vol. 15, year of 1472, 2nd month, 14th day.

¹¹⁰ *Veritable Records of King Yejong*, vol. 7, year of 1469, 9th month, 8th day; 9th month, 10th day; *Veritable Records of King Seongjong*, vol. 28, year of 1473, 3rd month, 16th day; vol. 114, year of

Bongseongjeon were constituted as being at the same level as the rites of the King Taejo portrait halls in the *Five Rites of the State* (國朝五禮儀), the first official handbook of the state rites of Joseon published in 1474. Consequently, Bongseongjeon was considered a *sesil* (世室, Hall for Generations), a site that lasts from generation to generation, like the portrait halls of King Taejo.

Bongseongjeon was damaged during the Japanese invasion in 1592. Fortunately, the enshrined portrait of King Sejo was moved to a safe place by a monk of Bongseonsa (奉先寺, Temple of Worshipping Ancestors), which had been built to support and guard King Sejo's tomb.¹¹¹ Gwanghaegun reconstructed Bongseongjeon along with Yeongsungjeon for King Taejo's portrait in Ganghwado.¹¹² However, the hall was destroyed during the second Manchu invasion in 1636, and the portrait was moved to the capital.¹¹³

1-2. Institutionalization of Royal Portrait Halls as Official Places of Worship

Because the Joseon dynasty adopted Confucianism as its state ideology, its officials were necessarily Confucian ritual experts. When designing state sacrificial rituals, they modeled the rites on Confucian textual traditions. According to Confucian tradition, royal ancestral rites were supposed to be performed before spirit tablets in the Royal Ancestral Temple, Jongmyo (宗廟). In the view of Confucian scholars, worshipping ancestors' images

1480, 2nd month, 18th day.

¹¹¹ *Veritable Records of King Seonjo*, vol. 36, year of 1593, 3rd month, 16th day.

¹¹² “Yeongjeon 影殿,” in *Yeollyeosilgisul* 燃藜室記述, *Byeoljip* 別集 vol. 1; *Veritable Records of King Gwanghaegun*, vol. 184, year of 1622, 12th month, 15th day.

¹¹³ While Taejo's portrait in Yeongsungjeon was lost during the second Manchu invasion in 1636, Sejo's portrait suffered only a small tear. After repairing it, the Joseon court moved it to the capital. *Veritable Records of King Injo*, vol. 34, year of 1637, 2nd month, 15th day.

and performing rituals at tombs were not regarded as orthodox Confucian rituals but rather as customary and private ones. However, it was hard to neglect the precedents established by previous Joseon kings, who were accustomed to the customs of the Goryeo Dynasty wherein images of royal portraits served as cult objects of royal ancestral rites at the same level as those of the Royal Ancestral Temple.¹¹⁴

The early Joseon court negotiated between the popular practices of the previous dynasty, which persisted into the early Joseon, and Confucian textual traditions. Until the publication of the *Five Rites of State*, the early Joseon court strived to find a way to legitimize the usage of portraits of King Taejo in state sacrificial rites that were supposed to draw on Confucian tradition. In laying a foundation for establishing state sacrificial rites of Joseon, King Taejong's court first set down the rites of King Taejo's portrait halls.¹¹⁵ Drawing on the achievement of his predecessor, King Sejong fashioned and revised the rituals for worshipping portraits of King Taejo in the halls, conforming to Confucian standards. Based on the incomplete *Five Rites* compiled during King Sejong's reign, King Seongjong (r. 1470-1494) published the first official handbook of state rituals of Joseon, the *Five Rites of State* in 1474.¹¹⁶ The book included a new sub-category referred to as "Customary Sacrifices" (*sokje*

¹¹⁴ During the Goryeo Dynasty, the rites of Gyeongnyeongjeon (景靈殿), in which portraits of the dynastic founder of Goryeo and four generations of a reigning king's direct ancestors were housed, enjoyed the same status as those of the Royal Ancestral Temple (宗廟) and were even considered more important than the latter because Gyeongnyeongjeon enshrined portraits of direct ancestors of the reigning king. Goryeo kings communicated with their ancestors through their portraits, informing them of all sorts of state matters in the hall. Kim Cheol-woong 김철웅, Goryeo Gyeongnyeongjeon ui seolchi wa unnyeong 고려 경령전의 설치와 운영 [The administration of Gyeongnyeongjeon during the Goryeo Dynasty], *Jeongsin munhwa yeongu* 정신문화연구 vol. 32(2009), 101-127.

¹¹⁵ It was around 1415 when the first writing and illustration, which prescribed the proper mode of conduct for Auspicious Rites, were compiled. King Taejong's retainer, Heo Ju 許稠, completed the Manual of Auspicious Rites 吉禮儀式 and the Illustrated Reference of Auspicious Rites 吉禮序例. *Veritable Records of King Taejong*, vol. 31, year of 1416, 5th month, 23rd day; vol. 23, year of 1424, 1st month, 19th day.

¹¹⁶ The contents of the *Five Rites* compiled during King Sejong's reign are different from the "Five Rites" in the *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, especially in the Auspicious Rites. While other rites

俗祭) within the Auspicious Rites (*gillye* 吉禮). This section contains ancestral sacrifices for royal Origin Shrines, portrait halls, and tombs, traditions for which are hard to find in Confucian classics.¹¹⁷ Thus these ritual practices, rooted in popular customs, were distinguished from orthodox Confucian sacrifices (Appendix A).¹¹⁸ Through this differentiation, the Joseon court could justify the use of images in state ancestral rites and set the worship of royal portraits in the public and official domains, in contrast to the contemporary Ming dynasty, where the worship of imperial portraits was confined to the sphere of the imperial family.¹¹⁹

To fully understand the institutionalization of royal portrait halls in the Joseon society, it is necessary to examine the system and transformation of Origin Shrines during the early Joseon period. “Origin Shrines” duplicated or repeated halls of the Supreme Shrine (Jeongmyo 正廟), often called Royal Ancestral Temple (Jongmyo 宗廟) in Korea or

were written down in the *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, following those compiled under the instruction of King Sejong, the Auspicious Rites followed the version of Heo Ju compiled during King Taejong’s reign. This was because King Sejong died before the completion of the chapter of Auspicious Rites in *Five Rites*. Kim Hae-young, *Joseon chogi jesa jeollye yeongu* 조선초기 제사전례 연구 [Research on sacrificial ceremonies of the early Joseon period] (Seoul: Jimmundang, 2003), 172-180; Kim Hae-young, “*Joseon chogi yeje yeongu wa Gukjo oryeui ui pyeonchan* 조선초기 예제 연구와 국조오례의의 편찬 [The study of ritual systems in the early Joseon dynasty and the compilation of *Five Rites of State*],” *Joseon sidaesa hakoe* 조선시대사학회 vol. 55(2010), 40-80. The *Five Rites of State* built on the contents of *Five Rites* compiled during King Sejong’s reign.

¹¹⁷ In the *Five Rites* in the *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, Auspicious Rites are divided into only three categories: Grand Sacrifices (大祀), Middle Sacrifices (中祀), and Minor Sacrifices (小祀).

¹¹⁸ In the *Five Rites of State*, state rites are divided into six categories, adding Customary Sacrifices, Prays and Reports, and Provinces to the previous three categories. ‘Appendix A’ lists most of the ritual and categories of ritual under “Auspicious Rites” in the book.

¹¹⁹ Throughout the dynasty, imperial sacrifices of the Ming consisted of great, middle, and minor sacrifices of the imperial capital city and sacrifices at the level of prefecture, sub-prefecture, or county. For official state rites of the Ming, see Romeyn Taylor, “Official Religion in the Ming,” *Cambridge History of China* vol. 8, ed. Denis C Twitchett and Frederick W. Mote (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 840-892. Rites of imperial portrait halls or worship of imperial portraits were not included in any categories of ritual in the Ming. The Qing Dynasty followed the Ming categories of ritual, and worship of imperial portraits was confined to the sphere of the imperial family. For imperial portrait worship of the Qing, see Stuart and Rawski, 43-46.

Imperial Ancestral Temple (Taimiao 太廟) in China.¹²⁰ The term “Origin Shrine” was often employed to refer to imperial or royal portrait halls in the capitals of Song-dynasty China and Goryeo Korea.¹²¹ It was not until King Sejong’s reign that the concepts of Origin Shrine and Portrait Hall were distinguished from one another. Origin Shrines of the early Joseon period show transitional stages from Goryeo to Joseon.

The first and most representative Origin Shrine of Joseon was Munsojeon (文昭殿, Hall of Civil Brightness), which began as the portrait hall of Consort Sinui (1337-1391). In the twelfth month of 1398, a portrait painting of Sinui, King Taejo’s first consort, was enshrined in Insojeon (仁昭殿, Hall of Benevolent Brightness), and King Taejo personally went to the hall and made an offering before the image.¹²² After King Taejo’s demise, King Taejong in 1408 changed the name of Insojeon to Munsojeon, designating it the Spirit Hall (魂殿) of King Taejo.¹²³ Subsequent to the enshrinement of spirit pillars (神主) of King Taejo and Consort Sinui at Jongmyo, the Royal Ancestral Temple, in 1410, portrait paintings of both were enshrined in Munsojeon, and King Taejong in person made an offering to them.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ According to the *Hanshu* 漢書 (History of the Former Han Dynasty), Origin Shrines stemmed from the Peigong 沛宮, a shrine built for the founding emperor of the Han dynasty, Gaozu, by his son, Emperor Hui (BC. 210-188). It is hard to find any evidence that Peigong, the origin shrine of Han Gaozu enshrined portraits of Gaozu himself. “Liyue zhi (禮樂志),” *Hanshu* 漢書 vol. 22. <https://ctext.org/han-shu/li-yue-zhi/zh>

¹²¹ For Chinese cases, see Patricia Ebrey, “Portrait Sculptures in Imperial Ancestral Rites,” *T’oung Pao* vol. 83(1997), 55. For the cases of Goryeo Korea, see Kim Cheol-woong, 101-127.

¹²² *Veritable Records of King Taejo*, vol. 15, year of 1398, 12th month, 25th day. Consort Sinui’s portrait was posthumously painted.

¹²³ *Veritable Records of King Taejong*, vol. 16, year of 1408, 8th month, 26th day. Due to political policies, Insojeon was moved to several places. When King Jeongjong returned to the capital to Gaeseong. Insojeon was moved to Gaeseong. During King Taejong’s reign, it came back to Hanyang because King Taejong moved the capital to Hanyang again. Temporarily housed in a hall in Gyeongbokgung, the portrait of Queen Sinui was moved to a new Insojeon, located north of Changdeokgung.

¹²⁴ *Veritable Records of King Taejong*, vol. 20, year of 1410, 7th month, 29th day. During the Goryeo Dynasty, when a king died, the enshrinement of his portrait at Gyeongnyeongjeon preceded the enshrinement of his spirit pillar at the Royal Ancestral Temple (太廟 or 宗廟). Kim Cheol-woong,

Notably, a Buddhist temple existed in Munsojeon until King Sejong's reign. When relocating Consort Sinui's portrait hall, Insojeon, from Gaeseong to Hanyang in 1406, King Taejong considered building a Buddhist temple in the hall.¹²⁵ Despite his Confucian retainers' opposition, it seems that this was done.¹²⁶ In ordering the move of a Buddhist sculpture in the temple to Heungcheonsa (興天寺, Temple of Rising Heaven), King Sejong said that King Taejong had constructed the Munsojeon Buddhist temple for King Taejo, and that the temple really deserved the name of "origin temple (願刹)" of royal ancestors.¹²⁷ As mentioned earlier, during the Goryeo dynasty, various royal portrait halls were located in Buddhist temples. Near Gyeongnyeongjeon, the Origin Shrine and portrait hall of Goryeo, there was also a royal Buddhist temple.¹²⁸ Thus it was not unusual that a Buddhist temple was built for the portrait hall of King Taejo and Consort Sinui in the early Joseon period, when the customary practices of Goryeo continued. The Munsojeon Buddhist temple served as a subsidiary facility to pray for royal ancestors.¹²⁹

After King Taejong died in 1422, King Sejong had Gwanhyojeon (廣孝殿, Hall of Vast Filiality) serve as the Spirit Hall of his predecessor.¹³⁰ In 1424, when the spirit pillars of

118. With its three-dimensional shape and rectangular sides, the *sinju* 神主 enshrined in Jongmyo have a different shape from general spirit tablets. For this reason, I translate *sinju* as 'spirit pillar.'

¹²⁵ *Veritable Records of King Taejong*, vol. 11, year of 1406, 5th month, 27th day. After ascending to the throne, King Taejong returned the capital to Hanyang from Gaeseong, where the previous king, Jeongjong, had moved it.

¹²⁶ *Veritable Records of King Taejong*, vol. 14, year of 1407, 12th month, 29th day; *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 3, year of 1419, 4th month, 22nd day. When, after his abdication, King Taejong looked around Taejo's newly built portrait halls, Mokcheongjeon and the Sunghyosa Buddhist temple in Gaeseong, he ordered an examination into whether offerings to the temple should follow the example of the Musojeon Buddhist temple.

¹²⁷ *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 59, year of 1433, 2nd month, 16th day.

¹²⁸ Kim Cheol-woong, 110.

¹²⁹ After King Taejong's death, Lady Sin, a concubine of King Taejong had Buddhist sutras written in gold in the Munsojeon Buddhist temple to pray for the deceased King Taejong. *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 21, year of 1423, 9th month, 21st day.

¹³⁰ *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 17, year of 1422, 8th month, 4th day. The hall was originally

King Taejong and his consort were enshrined in Jongmyo, their spirit tablets (位版) were also installed in Gwanghyojeon. Accordingly, Gwanghyojeon was transformed into the Origin Shrine of King Taejong and his consort.¹³¹ Even though, both Munsojeon and Gwanghyojeon were Joseon Origin Shrines, the objects of worship in them differed, with paintings in the former and spirit tablets in the latter. While instituting state ceremonies and systems that conformed to Confucian standards, in 1431 King Sejong decided to build a new Origin Shrine consolidating Munsojeon and Gwanghyojeon. He stressed the need for this new shrine by quoting King Taejong's negative remark about the continuous construction of Origin Shrines.¹³² After examining the precedents of Origin Shrines in both Song China and Goryeo, he ordered the building of a new five-bay (*kan*間) Origin Shrine to the north of Gyeongbokgung (景福宮, Palace of Great Felicity), combining the two previous shrines.¹³³ It was then necessary to choose a single type of cult object for the consolidated shrine, as noted by one of the king's officials:

Sin Sang (申商) asked. "While portrait paintings are used [to perform rites] in Munsojeon, spirit tablets are used in Gwanghyojeon. For a new Origin Shrine, would you use portrait paintings or spirit tablets?" The king said, "I think that it is wrong to use portrait paintings [for worshipping]."

King Taejong also said that the usage of portrait paintings was wrong. Make the Office for the

built to install the spirit tablet of King Taejong's consort, Wongyeong (元敬). *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 9, year of 1420, 9th month, 9th day.

¹³¹ *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 24, year of 1424, 6th month, 14th day; *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 24, year of 1424, 6th month, 18th day.

¹³² *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 54, year of 1431, 12th month, 20th day. King Taejong's remark that King Sejong quoted to support his argument in this account is as follows: "Cheng Yi considered it wrong to install portraits in an Origin Shrine. After passing several generations, succeeding kings will try to build Origin Shrines to enshrine their deceased parents, taking this case as a precedents [the establishment of Queen Wongyeong's shrine]. I am worried about the future abuses."

¹³³ *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 55, year of 1432, 1st month, 6th day.

Establishment of Ceremonies (儀禮詳定所) discuss this issue.”¹³⁴

It was thus determined that the cult objects of the shrine would be spirit tablets. Because of differences between what is written in the Confucian classics and historical examples of both Korea and China, controversy arose in the course of the discussion of the type of cult object to be worshiped in the new Origin Shrine. The king followed Hwang Hui’s argument that spirit tablets should be installed in Origin Shrines rather than Jeong Cho’s opinion that portraits had been historically enshrined in Origin Shrines according to precedents of Tang and Song China.¹³⁵ In the view of Confucian scholars like Hwang, the use of portraits in ancestral rites was a heterodox tradition that stemmed from Buddhism and Daoism.¹³⁶ The change in cult object from portrait paintings to spirit tablets symbolized the separation of the Origin Shrine from Buddhism. Accordingly, in 1433, King Sejong ordered the abolition of the Buddhist temple inside the old Munsojeon, King Taejo’s Origin Shrine.¹³⁷

Subsequent to the construction of the consolidated Origin Shrine, named Munsojeon, rites were specified for the four seasons, death anniversaries, and the first and fifteenth days of every month.¹³⁸ The arrangement of musical instruments was settled, and the ritual songs for Munsojeon rites were newly composed according to Confucian sacrificial rites.¹³⁹ As a

¹³⁴ *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 55, year of 1432, 1st month, 16th day.

¹³⁵ *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 55, year of 1432, 1st month, 18th day.

¹³⁶ For the heterodox tradition of worshipping portraits, see *Veritable Records of King Taejong*, vol. 10, year of 1405, 12th month, 19th day; Hwang Hui’s arguments against the use of portraits in ancestral rites were based on Chinese texts written by Chinese Confucian scholars like Cheng Yi. *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 55, year of 1432, 1st month, 18th day. For Chinese Confucian scholars’ arguments against the use of portraits in ancestral rites, refer to Deborah Sommer, “Images into Words: Ming Confucian Iconoclasm,” *National Palace Museum Bulletin* 29, no. 2 (1994), 1-24.

¹³⁷ *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 59, year of 1433, 2nd month, 16th day.

¹³⁸ *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 60, year of 1433, 5th month, 4th day.

¹³⁹ *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 60, year of 1433, 5th month, 5th day; *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 62, year of 1433, 12th month, 21st day.

result, the new Munsojeon was not only separated from Buddhism, but also clearly differentiated from the system of King Taejo's portrait halls.

The ritual regulations under Customary Sacrifices in the *Five Rites of State* reflect the deliberation of King Sejong's court on Origin Shrines and royal portrait halls. Signifying the same origin, rites of royal portrait halls are explained in the section on Origin Shrines, i.e. Munsojeon and Uimyo (懿廟, Shrine of Virtuousness). However, the new Munsojeon had a much higher status than royal portrait halls, where, unlike the new Munsojeon, rites were performed on festive days. While three different officials participated in the procedure of pouring three libations in Munsojeon, only one official took charge of the three libations in the portrait halls.¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, among the rites of Customary Sacrifices, music was played with songs as in the orthodox sacrifices only for the Munsojeon rites. The hall's high standing indicated by these features might have been related to its use of spirit tablets, the correct type of cult object according to orthodox Confucianism.

In this manner, the early Joseon court separated Origin Shrines from portrait halls and subdivided customary ancestral sacrifices according to objects of worship: spirit tablets, portrait paintings, and tombs. To incorporate these customary sacrifices into state rites, the Joseon court not only distinguished their rituals from orthodox Confucian rites, but also established differences between individual customary sacrifices in accordance with their cult objects. This differentiation affected and was expressed in the choice of ritual goods and material culture. To see the way how the Joseon court legitimated royal portrait hall rites, therefore, we need to examine the differences between different types of customary sacrifices and between customary sacrifices and orthodox Confucian rites. In all of these cases, the most distinctive features involve ritual foods and vessels.

¹⁴⁰ Kim Hae-young, 2003, 200.

The rites of the Royal Ancestral Temple of Joseon, Jongmyo (宗廟), the most representative orthodox rites categorized in Great Sacrifices, thoroughly followed the textual accounts of Confucian classics, such as the *Liji* (Book of Rites) and *Zhou li* (Rites of Zhou). The Illustration of Ritual Foods and Vessels for Five Great Sacrifices (五享親祭設饌圖) on the *Screen of Illustrated Explanations on the Procedures for the Rites of Jongmyo* (宗廟親祭規制圖說屏風), based on the 1474 *Preface and Examples for the Five Rites of State* (國朝五禮序例), shows the variety of foods and vessels presented on the offering tables for the rites (fig. 1-3).¹⁴¹ On the right, two vertical rows display twelve plates made from either bamboo or wood, and containing numerous unflavored foods from both land and water. On the top, two kinds of soup bowls are horizontally arranged: some for unseasoned meat soups, and others with three short legs for seasoned meat soups. Moving down the chart, four square and four round vessels occupy the next two horizontal rows. Then, three stands for the raw meat of three sacrificial animals (三牲) - ox, lamb, and pig - are horizontally placed. Located on the left end of the vertical array is a stand for the boiled meat of the three sacrificial animals.¹⁴² On the right side of the table, a wooden plate containing livers and fat of the animals is presented. Even though, it is not depicted in the illustration, a plate containing their blood and hair is placed at the top of the table. Before the door of a spirit chamber, *junso* (尊所), a place to set a table for wine jars, is arranged. On the wine table are placed three main

¹⁴¹ The arrangement of the offering table for the Jongmyo rites faithfully represents the ceremonial usage and procedures explained in the chapter of Liyun of *Liji*, *Book of Rites*, which is a collection of texts describing the ceremonial rites of the Zhou Dynasty. Book 7. The Li Yun in *Li Chi*, *Book of Rites: An Encyclopedia of Ancient Ceremonial Usages, Religious Creeds, and Social Institutions*, trans. James Legge (New Hyde Park, New York: University Books, 1967), 364-372.

¹⁴² During the early Joseon, three stands for the boiled meat of the three sacrificial animals were vertically placed on the left side. During the reign of King Jeongjo, the king had one stand with three small containers for three animals placed. For a detailed study, see note 149.

types of wine jars: *yi* (Ch. *yi* 彝), *jun* (Ch. *zun* 尊), and *roe* (Ch. *lei* 壘).¹⁴³

The ancient tradition of the rites for the Royal Ancestral Temple, Jongmyo, is noticeable in the offering of the three sacrificial animals.¹⁴⁴ The sacrificial animals are presented in four different ways on the table: raw meat, boiled meat, livers and lumps of fat, and lastly hair and blood.¹⁴⁵ According to the *Book of Rites*, the blood and uncooked meat of sacrificial animals were presented for the highest level of sacrificial rites; familiar foods of human consumption were not meant to be used for the highest sacrifices.¹⁴⁶ Also, the three ways to process meats from raw to boiled were interpreted in this book as symbolizing the change in the times.¹⁴⁷ Collectively, the food offerings in the Jongmyo rites, including blood and uncooked meat, reflect the traditions of great antiquity, far from contemporary Joseon food ways.

This orientation towards antiquity in the rites for the Royal Ancestral Temple, Jongmyo can also be found in the ritual vessels.¹⁴⁸ The ritual vessels for the Jongmyo rites

¹⁴³ More specifically, for the wine tables for Royal Ancestral Temple's rites were used *yi*-vessels with a rooster motif (鷄彝), with a bird motif (鳥彝), with a grain motif (罌彝), and with golden eyes motif (黃彝); *jun* (*zun*) vessels in ox-shape (犧尊) and in elephant-shape (象尊) as well as ones with yin and yang motif (著尊 and 壺尊), and *roe* (*lei*) vessels with mountain pattern (山壘).

¹⁴⁴ For a study paying attention to offering sacrificial animals as a major feature of the Jongmyo rites distinguished from other royal ancestral rites of the Joseon court, see Lee Wook 이옥, "Joseon sidae wangsil jesa wa jemul ui sangjing 조선시대 왕실 제사와 제물의 상징 [Symbolism of royal sacrificial rites and their offering foods during the Joseon period]," *Jonggyo mu nhwa bipyeong* 종교문화비평 vol. 20 (2011), 221-260.

¹⁴⁵ A vessel containing hair and blood was placed on the north of the table. Because it was temporarily put on the table during the rites, the vessel was not depicted in the arrangement for ritual foods and vessels.

¹⁴⁶ Book 8. The Li Khi in *Li Chi*, *Book of Rites*, trans. James Legge, 406. This was because the being of the greatest reverence does not value the taste but the breath and scent. Book 9. The Kiao Theh Sang in *Li Chi*, 417; 444-445.

¹⁴⁷ Book 7. Li Yun in *Li Chi*, 369-370.

¹⁴⁸ For the ritual vessels for Jongmyo rites, refer to Son Myenghee 손명희, "Jongmyo jehyang eul uihan geureut gwa dogu 종묘제향을 위한 그릇과 도구 [Ritual vessels and utensils for the royal ancestral rites of Jongmyo]," in *Jongmyo* [The Royal Ancestral Shrine of the Joseon Dynasty] (Seoul: National Palace Museum of Korea, 2014), 188-197; Son Myenghee, "Joseon ui gukga jesa reul wihan

show similarities to Shang and Zhou bronze vessels. Wine vessels in animal shapes, for instance, display features of ancient Chinese bronze vessels modeled on natural creatures such as cows and elephants (fig. 1-4). Grain vessels like *bo* (Ch. *bo*) and *gwe* (Ch. *gui*), faithfully reproduce ancient Chinese vessel shapes and decorative designs, such as the *tao tie* and wave patterns. Never used in everyday life by Joseon people, such ritual foods and vessels show the effort made by the Joseon court to follow the Confucian classical tradition. To this end, they collected and studied ceremonial records and books published during the Song Dynasty, such as *Shaoxi Illustrated Handbook for Worshipping Confucius in the Provinces* (*Shaoxi zhouxian shidianyi tu* 紹熙州縣釋尊儀圖) and *Comprehensive Records of Things* (*Shilin guangji* 事林廣記).¹⁴⁹ In this manner, the rites of the Royal Ancestral Temple incorporated the blood-soaked sacrificial offerings and primitive foods and serving vessels of Chinese antiquity, all far removed from the mundane practices of contemporary life.

In contrast to the classical antiquity invoked by the food offerings and ritual vessels at the Royal Ancestral Temple, the foods and vessels used in Customary Sacrifices had more in common with contemporary customs and thus seem more familiar. The *Preface and Examples for the Five Rites of State* (國朝五禮序例), the illustrated rubrics for the *Five Rites*

geureut gwa dogu 조선의 국가제사를 위한 그릇과 도구 [Ritual vessels and utensils for state rites of Joseon],” in *Joseon ui gukga uiryeo, oryeo 조선의 국가의례, 오례* [State rites of the Joseon Dynasty, five rites] (Seoul: National Palace Museum of Korea, 2015), 85-136.

¹⁴⁹ For more information on the influence of the Chinese Song Dynasty books on the Illustration of Ritual Vessels in the *Veritable Record of King Sejong*, refer to Hsu Ya-hwei 許雅惠, “Songdai fugu tongqi feng zhi yuwai chuanbo chutan 宋代復古銅器風之域外傳播初探-以十二至十五世紀的韓國爲例,” *Meishushi yanjiu jikan* 美術史研究集刊 vol. 32 (Taipei: Guoli Taiwan daxue yanjiusuo, 2011), 121-130. The images in the *Shaoxi Illustrated Handbook* were derived from *Shaoxing Illustrations for Making Ritual Objects* (*Shaoxing zhizao liqi tu* 紹興製造禮器圖, 1145) modeled on *the Illustrated Catalogue of Antique Treasures from Xuanhe Hall* (*Xuanhe bogu tu*, 宣和博古圖), which records the ancient bronze objects found in the collection of Emperor Huizong (r. 1101-26). Hsu Ya-hwei, “Reshaping Chinese Material Culture: The Revival of Antiquity in the Era of Print, 960-1279” (Ph.D., diss., Yale University, 2010), 167-178.

of *State* published in 1474, introduces two illustrations of ritual food and vessel arrangements for Customary Sacrifices: one for Origin Shrines and the other for royal tombs. These appear after the illustrations for Confucian orthodox rituals including Great, Middle, and Minor Sacrifices.¹⁵⁰ The ritual foods and vessels for royal portrait halls are explained in the section for the rites of Munsojeon and Uimyo, the Origin Shrines of the early Joseon period (fig. 1-5).¹⁵¹ Accordingly, the two sacred places share commonalities in their arrangement on the offering table. The only difference in the offerings of royal portrait halls and Origin Shrines was in the number of broths: three for royal portrait halls and six for Origin Shrines.¹⁵² This difference reflects the lower status of royal portrait halls than Origin Shrines which enshrined spirit tablets.

Unlike the orthodox Confucian rites, the Customary Sacrifices included no sacrificial animal offerings. The *Records of the Office for Sacrificial Rites* (太常志), published in 1766, points out that Customary Sacrifices primarily used oil-and-honey pastries (油蜜菓), excluding sacrificial animals (牲) as well as removing dried and salted meat or fish (脯醢).¹⁵³ The oil-and-honey pastries, the distinctive food for Customary Sacrifices, were also featured on the tables of marriage ceremonies as well as in receptions for Chinese envoys during the

¹⁵⁰ *Gukjo orye seorye* 國朝五禮序例 [Preface and examples for the *Five Rites of State*] vol. 1, 1474, 奎184, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies.

¹⁵¹ Musojeon was the portrait hall of Queen Sinui, a consort of King Taejo. After King Taejo's death, his portrait was enshrined along with Queen Sinui's. During the reign of King Sejong, the objects of worship in Musojeon were changed to spirit tables, and the spirit tablets of King Sejo and his consort as well as of King Taejo and his consort were enshrined in the hall. Uimyo was the shrine of King Seongjong's father, Prince Uigyeong (posthumously elevated to King Deokjong).

¹⁵² According to the illustration, two offering tables consisting of a dish table (饌卓) and a side table (俵卓) were placed for the rites of an Origin Shrine or a royal portrait hall. On dishes on the table are arranged various kinds of oil-and-honey pastries, tea confectionaries, various colors of fruit, and nuts. On the side table are offered rice cakes of different colors and broths. *Vulgar Sacrificial Rites* 俗祭, under "Auspicious Rites 吉禮," in *Gukjo orye seorye*.

¹⁵³ "Sacrificial Rites 祀典," in *Taesangji* 太常志 [Records of the Office for Sacrificial Rites], vol. 2, 1766, 奎貴 865, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies.

Joseon Dynasty.¹⁵⁴ Furthermore, they were offered in Buddhist rituals performed by the early Joseon court.¹⁵⁵ It appears that these Buddhist offering table settings followed the customs of the Goryeo Dynasty, when oil-and-honey pastries, traditional sweets, fruit, and tea were placed on a refreshment table before the king of Goryeo during the Assembly of the Eight Prohibitions (八關會).¹⁵⁶ Thus, the offerings for Customary Sacrifices resembled foods popular at festive events and ceremonies of the contemporary Joseon, while continuing conventions and practices of the Goryeo.

In contrast to the illustrations of offering table arrangements for Confucian orthodox rites, those for Customary Sacrifices in the *Preface and Examples for the Five Rites of State* show no indication of the presence of ritual vessels other than wine jars and cups. Accordingly, the Illustrations of Ritual Vessels in the handbook provide images and explanations of only these two kinds of ritual vessels for Customary Sacrifices: a ceramic wine jar (沙尊) and a *jan* cup (盞) (fig. 1-6). One possible reason for this might be that other ritual vessels for Customary Sacrifices did not need additional explanation due to their familiarity.¹⁵⁷

The illustrations of ritual vessels for Customary Sacrifices first appear in the *Uigwe*

¹⁵⁴ *Veritable Records of King Taejong*, vol. 35, year of 1418, 1st month, 22nd day; *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 7, year of 1420, 3rd month, 20th day; vol. 22, year of 1423, 10th month, 3rd day; vol. 43, year of 1429, 2nd month, 5th day.

¹⁵⁵ *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 8, year of 1420, 7th month, 20th day; vol. 9, year of 1420, 9th month, 22nd day.

¹⁵⁶ Yun Seo-seok, *Festive Occasions: The Customs in Korea* (Seoul: Ewha Womans University Press, 2008), 122. According to Yun, during the Goryeo dynasty, not only was there a great increase in rice production but also a great development in the making of rice cakes and sweets, such as oil-and-honey pastries.

¹⁵⁷ King Taejong ordered the use of ceramics for the rites of Junwonjeon and royal tombs in 1418. Thus, it seems that, other than *uri* vessels and cups, most ritual vessels were ceramic. *Veritable Records of King Taejong*, vol. 2, the year of 1418, 5th month, 28th day.

for *Ritual Vessel Production* (祭器都監儀軌) compiled in 1611 (fig. 1-7).¹⁵⁸ Several sets of a *uri* (于里) and an oval plate with a foot (臺, 楨) were used to hold oil-and-honey pastries as well as fruit and nuts. The *uri* are cylindrical vessels which prevent stacked food on a plate from falling over. The *uri* for oil-and-honey pastries consist of pillars, while ones for fruit and nuts are simple cylinders.¹⁵⁹ The Joseon court also used these sets of vessels for Festive Ceremonies. We can find several records in relevant *uigwe* showing that different kinds of *uri* and plate sets were produced for royal wedding ceremonies.¹⁶⁰ This is no wonder since food offerings for Customary Sacrifices were almost the same as the popular ceremonial foods of Joseon. Thus, the dish table with its high stacked oil-and-honey pastries and fruit-and-nuts of various colors in *uri* vessels, may have displayed the majesty of sacrificial rituals entertaining the dead in the same way it did in the ceremonies for the living, as can be seen in the table settings for royal banquets depicted in court documentary paintings of late Joseon (fig. 3-6).¹⁶¹

While the foods and vessels on the dish tables are set, those on the side and liquor tables display variations according to objects of worship in Customary Sacrifices. These variations give us a special insight into the different ways enshrined objects were served in

¹⁵⁸ This *uigwe* records the 1611 procedures reproducing ritual vessels for Jongmyo, Yeongnyeonjeon (永寧殿), and royal tombs, most of which had been destroyed and damaged during the Japanese Invasions of Joseon (1592-1598). *Jegi dogam uigwe* 祭器都監儀軌 [Uigwe for ritual vessel production], 1611, 奎14931, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies.

¹⁵⁹ Even though their size changed, the shape of *uri* vessels remained the same until the end of the Joseon Dynasty.

¹⁶⁰ For the wedding ceremony of King Jeongjo and Queen Hyoui, the court produced eight sets of large-size, twenty-six sets of middle-size, fifty sets of small-size, and thirty-four sets of fruit-and-nut *uri* and plates. *Jeongjo hyouihu garyecheong dogam uigwe* 正祖孝懿后 嘉禮廳都廳儀軌 [Uigwe for royal wedding of King Jeongjo and Queen Hyoui], 奎 13114, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies.

¹⁶¹ On the other hand, flat dishes made of brass (楨) were used for rice-cakes, placed on the side table.

Customary Sacrifices, particularly as regards whether or not to use meat for broths.

According to the *Preface and Examples for the Five Rites of State*, only vegetable broths (素膳) were offered for royal tomb rites, whereas meat broths (肉膳兼用) were offered for both rites of Origin Shrines and rites in royal portrait halls.¹⁶² The exclusion of meat for the rites of royal tombs was rooted in the tradition of the Goryeo Dynasty, when Buddhist temples took responsibility for their management and ceremonial performance.¹⁶³ Here, it is meaningful to point out that in the old Munsojeon, an Origin Shrine and royal portrait hall for King Taejo and Queen Sinui, foods excluding meats had been arranged during the reign of King Taejong. At the time, King Taejong and his officials had the following conversation:

The king said. “When did we begin to offer foods excluding meat (素饌) for a royal portrait hall? In my opinion, even though the other world and this world are different, the intrinsic orders (理致) are the same. Thus, a son should serve [his parents] the way he served [them] in their lifetimes.” All officials said, “Majesty, you are right.” Kim Cheom (金瞻) told the king, “Worshipping portraits came from Buddha and Laozi. It began in the early Han period and became prevalent during the reign of Emperor Renzong of the Song Dynasty, when thousands of buildings [for portrait halls] were constructed; [this rule] applied mostly to royal portrait halls and the Imperial Temple though less so. All food offerings for royal portrait halls were cooked without meat. This stemmed from the Buddhist tradition. Thus, establishing a royal portrait hall is not the ancient tradition. In three years, the spirits [of the late king and queen] will be enshrined at the Royal Ancestral Temple, Jongmyo, so the royal portrait hall should be removed. If it continues to exist, vegetarian food (素饌) ought to be offered, according to the [previous] practice.” The king

¹⁶² Sacrificial Rites Performed by King as Major Celebrant as well as on Four Seasons and on Festive Days for Royal Tombs 山陵親享及四時俗節, under “Customary Sacrifices 俗祭,” in *Gukjo orye seorye*, vol. 1.

¹⁶³ Lee Wook, 2011, 235.

said, “How are there not any rituals that allow women to worship [for the late king and queen] before the enshrinement of the spirits to Jongmyo? If a royal portrait hall is located in a Buddhist temple, vegetarian foods ought to be offered. Otherwise, it is natural that meat can be used for food offerings. Present only fish and meat (魚肉) or dried and salted meat (脯醢) which [the late king and queen] usually enjoyed in their lifetimes.”¹⁶⁴

Due to the opposition of his officials, King Taejong withdrew his argument to offer meat in the old Munsojeon.¹⁶⁵ It was during the early reign of King Sejong, after the abdication of King Taejong but under his auspices, that meats (肉饌) could be included in food offerings at Origin Shrines. When the Origin Shrine for Queen Wongyeong (1365-1420) was established King Sejong asked officials in charge of rites if meats could be offered in the shrine, wherein customary rituals (俗禮) were already being followed. Fulfilling his expectation, the officials found historical grounds to support meat offering in the shrine from documents alluding to the fact that Tang and Song courts offered ‘ordinary foods (常食)’ on an additional ivory tray for each chamber in Taimiao, the Imperial Temple of China.¹⁶⁶ Referring to the cases of Tang and Song China, King Taejong ordered the hunting and cooking of foods that King Taejo had enjoyed in his lifetime to be offered in the old Munsojeon the next day.¹⁶⁷ Like Origin Shrines, royal tombs followed customary rituals. However, royal tombs differed from shrines in the use of meat for ritual foods. In 1428, the Ministry of Rites explained the reasons for this differentiation:

¹⁶⁴ *Veritable Records of King Taejong*, vol. 10, year of 1405, 12th month, 19th day.

¹⁶⁵ In 1415, King Taejong recollected that he could not offer fish in Munsojeon, due to the opposition of officials, arguing that in Origin Shrines meat and fish are not offered. *Veritable Records of King Taejong*, vol. 30, year of 1415, the 8th month, the 10th day.

¹⁶⁶ *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 10, year of 1420, 11th month, 25th day.

¹⁶⁷ *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 10, year of 1420, 11th month, 26th day.

Origin Shrines are built to serve [the dead] in the same way as they were served during their ordinary times (平常) [during their lifetimes]. It truly complies with the principle of **servicing the dead as if they were alive** (事亡如存之義) to prepare all the ritual foods for Munsojeon and Gwanghyojeon following customary rites. ... Among ritual foods for Origin Shrines various colors of rice cakes and meat meals which usually were presented to the deceased in his lifetime should be used, but miscellaneous foods not presented in his ordinary time should be removed [from the offering tables]. Royal tombs are originally places for **worshipping the dead in the Way of Spirit** (神道). Thus, please offer vegetarian foods as [we] previously did.¹⁶⁸

Munsojeon and Gwanghyojeon served as Origin Shrines in the palace at the time: the former enshrined portraits of King Taejo and Queen Sinui whereas the latter installed the spirit tablets of King Taejong and Queen Wongyeong. According to the above passage, Origin Shrines and royal portrait halls were ritual places serving the deceased “as if they were alive,” by offering meat meals. On the other hand, royal tombs became differentiated as places serving the dead as “spirits” by serving vegetarian foods.¹⁶⁹ Considering that the arrangements on dish tables in Origin Shrines and royal tombs were similar, we need a limited interpretation of the principle of “the Way of Spirits,” as only signifying the exclusion of meats in ritual foods.

Ritual cups and wine jars also reveal the difference between Origin Shrines and royal

¹⁶⁸ *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 41, year of 1428, 8th month, 7th day.

¹⁶⁹ According to the Confucian tradition, after a man died, his *hon* spirit (魂) went up to heaven, whereas his *baek* spirit (魄) went down to earth. Some of the *baek* spirit was considered to remain in his physical bones. In a Confucian society, this idea provided an excuse to perform ceremonies in front of the tombs where the bodies of the dead were buried., Kang Jae-hoon 강제훈, Joseon wangneung gwa wnaeung uirye ui teukjing 조선 왕릉과 왕릉 의례의 특징 [Features of Joseon royal tombs and their rites], *Hanguksa hakbo* 한국사학보 vol. 54 (2014), 337.

tombs in the way the dead were served. As previously mentioned, the illustrations of offering table arrangement for Customary Sacrifices only show labels for wine jars and cups among the ritual vessels. This was because only wine jars and cups were distinctive among ritual vessels for Customary Sacrifices, just as the use of meat became the only different and crucial element in the type of ritual foods served at Origin Shrines and royal tombs. The rites for royal tombs appropriated *jak* (Ch. *jue*, 爵) cups and *roe* jars with mountain patterns (Ch. *shanlei* 山壘), both of which were used for Confucian orthodox rites. On the other hand, the rites for Origin Shrines and royal portrait halls used silver gilt cups (盞) with decoratively carved stands (滿鏤臺) and ceramic wine jars with painted dragon designs (畫龍沙尊). These two kinds of vessels were commonly used for contemporary court events, such as Festive Ceremonies (嘉禮) and Ceremonies for Welcoming Foreign Envoys (賓禮), as we can see in the Illustrated Explanations of Liquor Containers and Cups (尊爵圖說) for Festive Ceremonies in the *Preface and Examples for the Five Rites of State* (國朝五禮序例) (fig. 1-8).¹⁷⁰

This differentiation between ritual vessels likely reflects the two principles respectively applied to the rites for royal tombs and to the rites for Origin Shrines and royal portrait halls. By appropriating *jak* cups and *roe* jars, rooted in the ancient tradition, the rites of royal tombs manifested the principle following the Way of Spirits. On the other hand, the rites of Origin Shrines and royal portrait halls adopted widely used silver gilt cups and ceramic wine jars with dragon designs for contemporary festive events, observing the principle of serving the dead as if they were alive.

¹⁷⁰ According to the *Preface and Examples for the Five Rites of State*, wine jars and cups for the Ceremonies of Welcoming Envoys were the same as those used for Festive Ceremonies. “Ceremonies for Welcoming Foreign Envoys,” in *Gukjo orye seorye* vol. 3..

1-3. Material Culture for King Taejo's Portrait Halls in Ritual and Physical Contexts

Based on the *Comprehensive Study of the Ministry of Rites* (春官通考), the official handbook for state rituals published in 1788 under the order of King Jeongjo, the two remaining portrait halls for King Taejo at the time, Junwonjeon and Gyeonggijeon, faithfully followed the regulations of the early Joseon.¹⁷¹ According to the *Rites for Gyeonggijeon* (慶基殿儀), originally written before 1897, there was an unappreciable change in ritual foods for the halls during the late Joseon period: one of the three bowls of broths was replaced with a bowl of noodles.¹⁷²

Accordingly, the ritual vessels used for Gyeonggijeon observed the early precedents. The list of ritual vessels in *the Rites for Gyeonggijeon* largely corresponds to the ritual food and vessel arrangement for a portrait hall in the *Preface and Examples for the Five Rites of State*: three silver cups, a set of silver chopsticks with a stand, several kinds of *uri* and plate sets for oil-and-honey pastries and fruit, six plates for rice cakes, three bowls of broth, a silver jar, three silver *jan* cups, a brass *jan* cup for the partaking of drink, and so on.¹⁷³ The report of the provincial governor of Hamgyeong regarding the loss of ritual vessels for Junwonjeon in 1764 also informs us that similar vessels were used for the hall.¹⁷⁴ It seems

¹⁷¹ Royal Portrait Halls 眞殿, in *Chungwan tonggo* 春官通考 [Comprehensive Study of the Ministry of Rites] vol. 25.

¹⁷² "Illustration of the Ritual Vessel Arrangement 陳設圖," in *Gyeonggijeon ui* 慶基殿儀 [Rites for Gyeonggijeon], 19th century, K2-2408, The Academy of Korean Studies.

¹⁷³ "The Number of Ritual Vessels 祭器數爻," in *Gyeonggijeon ui*. Beside these vessels, various vessels to carry ritual foods and utensils such as a silver basin 銀大也, a steamer 甑子, and six brass pots 鑪東海 as well as an incense burner and an incense container were used. Except where vessel material was specified, such as silverware, it can be assumed that other vessels and utensils were made of brass.

¹⁷⁴ *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, vol. 1226, year of 1764, 1st month, 29th day. According to the report, three silver cups with saucers, one silver jar, a set of silver chopsticks, a silver measurement instrument 銀鐸, a brass *jak* (ch. *jue*) cup, and a brass *uri* for fruit were lost. It seems

that *jak* (Ch. *jue*) cups, following the ancient tradition, had never been presented on the offering table at King Taejo's portrait halls during the Joseon and Korean Empire periods, unlike the usage in the revived Gyeonggijeon rites. No *jak* cup is found in the *1924 Records of the First Ranked Items for Jogyeongmyo and Gyeonggijeon* (肇慶廟慶基殿 昭和九年一日現品 一類品受拂簿).¹⁷⁵ In the case of Junwonjeon, it is possible that one brass *jak* cup was used only for the partaking of drink, but not offered on the table.

For the rites of King Taejo's portrait halls, the provincial governor played the role of the principal celebrant (齋官·獻官), and Confucian students as well as local government officials participated in the ritual performance. These features may have influenced the continuous use of *jan* cups, in contrast with the rites for Yeonghuijeon of the late Joseon period, wherein a king came himself as the principal celebrant to present *jak* cups on the offering table.¹⁷⁶ Furthermore, these features likely resulted in the faithful observance of the early regulation for the rites. In summary, portrait halls of King Taejo continued to observe the ritual food and vessel arrangement in the *Preface and Examples for the Five Rites of State*, signifying its inclusion among Origin Shrines, though it was of lower status.

Throughout the dynasty, the ritual goods for portrait halls of King Taejo embodied the principle of "serving the dead as if they were alive" and indicated the halls' lower status than Origin Shrines. As a result, rites for King Taejo portrait halls adopted secular goods for food offerings and vessels, and fewer meat broths were presented than in the rites of the

that the brass *jak* cup was used for the partaking of drink.

¹⁷⁵ Hong Seong-duk 홍성덕, "Jeonbuk daehakgyo bangmulgwan sojang ilje sidae Gyeonggijeon gwanryeon munseocheol haeje 전북대학교박물관소장 일제시대 경기전 관련 문서철 해제 [Brief explanation of the relevant documents of Gyeonggijeon produced during the Japanese annexation period in the Jeonbuk National University museum]," *Wang ui chosang 왕의 초상* [Joseon royal portraiture] (Jeonju National Museum, 2005), 316-319.

¹⁷⁶ For further explanation of Yeonghuijeon rites, see Chapter Two.

Origin Shrines. This principle of serving the dead like the living is manifested in the physical surroundings of the portraits of King Taejo in the halls as well.

King Sejong had portrait halls of King Taejo share identical architectural form. The king ordered all the portrait halls repaired under the supervision of court officials from the Directorate of Works (繕工監).¹⁷⁷ In addition, King Sejong made all the halls use the *ondol* system, following the examples of Junwonjeon in Yeongheung and Mokcheongjeon in Gaeseong.¹⁷⁸ The installation of the *ondol* system was done to regulate humidity, which caused damage to the portrait paintings.¹⁷⁹ An illustration of a standard portrait hall can be found in the *Preface and Examples of the Five Rites of State* (fig. 1-9). According to the explanation accompanying the image, royal portrait halls had both a spirit seat (神座) and a royal portrait painting (辟容) located on the north side, facing the south.¹⁸⁰ In the center of the northern section of the King Taejo's hall was a chamber with an *ondol* floor where a spirit seat and King Taejo's portrait painting were arranged. Based on the record of the 1419 ritual performance to enshrine King Taejo's portrait at Gyemyeongjeon (later renamed

¹⁷⁷ Ahn Seon-ho 안선호, “Joseon sidae jinjeon geonchuk yeongu 조선시대 진전 건축 연구 [Study of the architecture of royal portrait halls during the Joseon Dynasty]” (PhD diss., Wonkwang University, 2011), 81-83.

¹⁷⁸ *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, year of 1439, 7th month, 17th day. The early Joseon court also kept King Taejo's portraits in cases and then placed the cases on the *ondol* floors in royal portrait halls between the lunar fifth month and fifth day (*dano*) and the full moon day (*chuseok*). This period corresponds to the rainy season and the summer, when the humidity is high on the Korean Peninsula.

¹⁷⁹ In a palace of the Joseon, a throne was placed in the center of a main throne hall, which floor was made of wood or tile. For special occasions, it was set on the wood floor of a hall in a palatial building the better to view special events. The *ondol* system was installed in an individual enclosed room, not a hall with a wood floor. Thus, the *ondol* system for a royal portrait hall was for function, and not for serving the portrait like a living king. According to *Hwaryeongjeon eunghaeng jeolmok*, the *ondol* of the chamber had to be heated every five days. Also, a record written in *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat* 承政院日記 states that the chamber of Junwonjeon used to be heated through the *ondol* system every five days to get rid of humidity. *Daily Record of Grand Secretariat*, year of 1900, 5th month, 8th day.

¹⁸⁰ Royal Portrait Halls 眞殿, under “Illustrated Explanations of Altar and Shrines 壇廟圖設,” in the *Gukjo orye seorye* vol. 1.

Mokcheongjeon), the front of a chamber was draped with curtains (神幄).¹⁸¹

After the Japanese Invasions (1592-1598), Junwonjeon and Gyeonggijeon, which housed the portraits of King Taejo that survived the war, were restored respectively in 1603 and in 1614. Despite its several repairs, Gyeonggijeon remains relatively intact today. Furthermore, relevant documents to the physical surroundings for the enshrined portrait are also extant. Thus, we can reconstruct the interior settings and furnishings of King Taejo's portrait halls established during the early Joseon Dynasty.

According to the Manual for [Enshrining] a Portrait Paintings (影幀儀) in the *Rites of Gyeonggijeon* (慶基殿儀), one bay (*kan*) in the three *kan* hall was configured as a chamber and called 'couch (榻).'¹⁸² On half of the bay, which was covered with oiled paper (油菴鋪), were a yellow mat (黃紋席) and a scarlet silk mattress (眞紅錦褥). A smaller yellow mat (黃紋席) was spread on the mattress. The east and west sides of the chamber were closed off with red doors (朱戶). A green patterned silk curtain (草綠有紋錦帳) was hung on the front. A red blind (朱簾) facing the south was pulled down outside the curtain. A Four-Panel Screen of Sun and Moon (四帖眞彩日月屏) was unfolded on the north wall, The Screen of Sun and Moon, also known as the Five Peaks Screen (五峯屏), was the most significant symbol of kingship and had always been installed behind a Joseon king's seat since at least the early

¹⁸¹ *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 5, year of 1419, 8th month, 8th day.

¹⁸² "The Way to Enshrine the Royal Portrait Painting 影幀儀," in *Gyeonggijeon ui*; For this record and current shape of the chamber, see Lee Soo-mi 이수미, "Gyeonggijeon Taejo eojin ui jejak gwa bongan 경기전 태조 어진의 제작과 봉안 [Production and enshrinement of King Taejo's portrait painting in Gyeonggijeon]," in *Wang ui chosang 왕의 초상 [Joseon Royal Portraiture]* (Jeonju: Jeonju National Museum, 2005), 236-241; Lee, "Gyeonggijeon Taejo eojin ui johyeong jeok teukjing gwa bongan ui uimi 경기전 태조 어진의 조형적 특징과 봉안의 의미," *Misulsa hakbo 미술사학보* 26 (2006), 5-32.

seventeenth century.¹⁸³ Thus, this Five Peaks Screen in this chamber indicated that the subject of the portrait painting had the same authority as a living king and the power he had wielded in his lifetime.

The existing chamber of Gyeonggijeon is built on a stone dais (石榻, literally, stone couch) (fig. 1-10). This stone dais has several carved column decorations, possibly representing the dais of a wooden throne, which was designated like a royal couch (御榻) in a royal audience hall (Hall of Rectitude 正殿) (fig. 1-11). This stone dais is likely the couch (榻) mentioned in the above record. Even though any record for a stone dais cannot be found in the *Rites of Gyeonggijeon*, other documents inform us that stone daises were built in King Taejo's portrait halls. In 1872, King Gojong ordered a change in the material of the floors from *ondol* masonry to wood in official royal portrait halls.¹⁸⁴ In the wake of this order, the *ondol* floors of Yeonghuijeon, Hwaryeongjeon, and Gyeonggijeon were remodeled into wooden floors.¹⁸⁵ However, Junwonjeon was allowed to keep the *ondol* floor because of an appeal from the Hamgyeong provincial governor, who said that there was no need to change the *ondol* into wood because the stone dais would keep it from catching fire.¹⁸⁶ Even though the material of the floor was replaced, it seems that the dais of the Gyeonggijeon kept its original appearance.¹⁸⁷ The stone dais of Junwonjeon must have been similar to the extant

¹⁸³ For Five Peaks Screens, see Yi Söng-mi, "The Screen of the Five Peaks of the Chosön Dynasty," *Oriental Art* vol. XLII, no. 4(1999/97), 13-24 and Kim Hongnam, "Exploring Eighteenth-Century Court Arts," in *Korean Arts of the Eighteenth Century: Splendor and Simplicity* (New York: Weatherhill, 1993), 35-57. The Five Peaks Screen was the most critical regalia of the throne hall, and it was always behind a king whenever he presented himself officially, even after death.

¹⁸⁴ *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, year of 1872, 5th month, 9th day; year of 1872, 5th month, 14th day. This order plausibly came out of anxiety over a fire.

¹⁸⁵ *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, year of 1872, 6th month, 5th day.

¹⁸⁶ *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, year of 1872, 7th month, 3rd day; *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, year of 1900, 5th month, 8th day.

¹⁸⁷ There remain only two ventilation openings at the back of the chamber in Gyeonggijeon, and no trace at all of a fuel hole. Hong Seung-jae 홍승재, "Geonggi-jeon ui geonchuk teukseong 경기전의

one at Gyeonggijeon.¹⁸⁸ Additionally, when Emperor Gojong reconstructed Mokcheongjeon in 1901, its chamber was also created on a stone dais.¹⁸⁹ Despite its destruction during the Korean War (1950-1953), we can find the cracked stone dais in the 1954 restoration of Mokcheongjeon.¹⁹⁰ This dais has an almost identical shape to the one at Gyeonggijeon (fig. 1-12).

On the stone dais, the chamber is arranged similarly to the one recorded in the *Rites of Gyeonggijeon*. The left and right sides of the chamber have doors, and the north wall is decorated with a four-panel Five Peaks Screen. Even though the chamber currently has doors in front, we can find traces of fittings for hanging curtains and red blinds on the upper beams of the doors. The doors were probably installed around 1872 under the order of King Gojong.¹⁹¹

Furthermore, two mats for the top and the bottom (上下排席) and a mattress for the middle (神褥中排), both of which were placed on the floor of the chamber, are found in the *Records of the First and Second Ranked Items for Jogyeongmyo and Gyeonggijeon* of 1924 (

건축특성 [The architectural feature of Gyeonggijeon],” in *Wang ui chosang*, 210.

¹⁸⁸ Unfortunately, it is hard to find images of the stone dais of Junwonjeon from visual materials including photos taken during the Japanese Annexation Period.

¹⁸⁹ *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, year of 1901, 5th month, 24th day. In the record, it is unclear whether the *ondol* system was installed on the stone dais of Mokcheongjeon as it was at Junwonjeon. It seems that Mokcheongjeon stone dais did not have an *ondol* system like Gyeonggijeon's.

¹⁹⁰ Hong Young-eui 홍영의, “Gaeseong ui namgyeojin munhwa yujeok gwa hyeonhwang 개성의 남겨진 문화유적과 현황 [Current state of cultural heritage in Gaeseong (Kaesong)],” in *Gaeseong ui munhwa yujeok 개성의 문화유적* [Historic monuments and sites in Gaeseong (Kaesong)] (Daejeon: Gungnip munhwajae yeonguso, 2013), 188.

¹⁹¹ According to *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, King Gojong ordered his officials to make front doors in chambers of royal portrait halls in order to keep from dust in 1872, after he made *ondols* of Yeonghuijeon and Hwaryeongjeon changed into wooden floors. Given this record, the doors of Gyeonggijeon might have been installed around the time. *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, year of 1872, 6th month, 5th day.

肇慶廟慶基殿 昭和九年一日現品 一類品· 二類品受拂簿).¹⁹² There is no reference in the relevant documents to the installation of a wooden couch or a chair for chambers at King Taejo's portrait halls. This contrasts with the situation at Yeonghuijeon, the formal portrait hall for successive kings that will be discussed in detail later. This is possibly because a stone dais could function as a replacement for a king's couch. Additionally, the chamber, built on the dais, did not have enough space in which to place a couch.

The upper part of the chamber in Gyeonggijeon is decorated with a brightly colored baldachin (fig. 1-10). A baldachin, called *dangga* (唐家, "Chinese" House), is one of the major components of a royal throne hall, along with the dais, called a royal couch (御榻), and a Five Peaks Screen. Painted on the ceiling of the baldachin is a pair of phoenixes like those found in the same position over a royal throne (fig. 1-13). Accordingly, it resembles a royal throne in a royal audience hall, even though the chamber does not have a king's couch or chair. Given the standardized regulations for their buildings, the furnishings and adornments of the chamber in Gyeonggijeon may represent King Taejo's portrait halls. Furthermore, King Sejo's portrait hall, officially included in the *Five Rites of State* along with King Taejo's, might have had the same arrangement. The portrait halls enshrined portraits of Kings Taejo and Sejo as if their subjects were seated on the throne of an audience hall in the palace, by furnishing them with a Five Peaks Screen, baldachin, and stone dais representing a royal couch, all crucial elements of such a hall.

It seems that this chamber arrangement for King Taejo's portrait halls influenced the design of Guan Yu's Temples (關王廟), established to enshrine clay sculptures of Guan Yu and his assistants at the request of the Ming generals who helped defeat the Japanese army

¹⁹² Hong Seong-duk, 316-319.

during the Japanese Invasions of Korea.¹⁹³ The late Joseon court institutionalized the rites for Guan Yu's Temples as Confucian orthodox state rites, and Joseon kings personally visited the temples and worshipped Guan Yu's portraits.¹⁹⁴ Strikingly, the existing East Temple of Guan Yu (東關王廟), built in 1602, shows a similar chamber arrangement to the chambers in King Taejo's portrait halls, including the baldachin, stone dais, and the Five Peaks Screen (fig. 1-14). Although it was originally modeled on Guan Yu's temples during the Ming, the chamber arrangement in the East Temple of Guan Yu was gradually adjusted to conform to the precedent established by King Taejo's portrait halls.¹⁹⁵ Thus we can verify that the typical chamber arrangement of King Taejo's portrait hall was regarded as the representative format for an official hall of worship enshrining a portrait during the late Joseon period.

Chapter Conclusion

Immediately after founding the Joseon Dynasty, King Taejo built portrait halls of himself in his birthplace and the former east and west capitals of Goryeo. After Taejo's death, King Taejong constructed portrait halls dedicated to Taejo to legitimize his own usurpation of the throne. King Taejo's portrait halls, accordingly, were established in five pivotal local areas: Junwonjeon in King Taejo's birthplace, Yeongheung; Jipgyeongjeon in Gyeongju, the

¹⁹³ For the Temples of Guan Yu built during the Joseon Dynasty, see Kim Yongguk 김용국, "Gwanwangmyo geonchigo 關王廟建置考 [Study of the establishment of Guan Yu temples]," *Hyangto Seoul* 향토서울 vol. 25 (Seoul: Seoul yeoksa pyeonchanwon, 1965), 3-38.

¹⁹⁴ It was categorized into Minor Sacrifices (小祀) during King Yeongjo's reign, and then Middle Rites during King Jeongjo's reign.

¹⁹⁵ For the East Temple of Guan Yu, see Kim Jai-myung, "Donggwangwang-myo ui geonseol gwa siseol ui wonhyeong bokwon yeongu 동관왕묘의 건물과 시설의 원형 복원 연구 [Reconstructive study on the original buildings and facilities of the East Temple of Guan Yu]" (PhD diss., Hanseo University, 2017).

eastern Goryeo capital and capital of Silla; Yeongsungjeon in Pyeongyang, Goryeo's western capital; Gyeonggijeon in Jeonju, the ancestral home of the royal family of Joseon, the Jeonju Yi clan; and Mokcheongjeon in the former Goryeo capital Gaeseong. After King Taejo's demise, his portrait halls became places of worship and, during the early Joseon period, the worship of royal portraits was primarily confined to these portrait halls. The only exception was Bongseonjeon, the portrait hall of King Sejo, another usurper. King Sejo's successors elevated him to the status of dynastic founder by constructing the hall as a means of authorizing their new royal line.

The early Joseon court struggled to legitimate the rituals for portrait halls of King Taejo and King Sejo, negotiating between customary practices of portrait worship and ancient Chinese traditions transmitted in Confucian texts. While institutionalizing customary ancestral rites, Origin Shrines, which had been referred to as portrait halls since China's Song Dynasty, were distinguished from royal portrait halls primarily by their use of spirit tablets as cult objects. In the *Five Rites of State*, the Joseon court constituted royal portrait hall rites as being of a lower status than Origin Shrine rites and operating on the principle of "serving the dead as if they were alive."

The ritual foods and vessels used in portrait hall rites stipulated in the *Five Rites of State* made manifest the lower status and the principle of "serving the dead as if they were alive." As a result, contemporary secular objects, such as silver *jan* cups and ceramic wine jars, were used as ritual offering vessels. The same principle is evident in the physical surroundings of royal portraits in the hall. Gyeonggijeon, the only one of King Taejo's portrait halls still extant in South Korea, has a Five Peaks Screen, a baldachin, and a stone dais representing a royal throne arranged as if the subject of the portrait were seated in the audience hall of the palace.

By incorporating portrait hall rites into the official state rites, the Joseon court placed

royal portrait halls in an official and “quasi-public” domain. This contrasts with contemporary Ming practice, in which the worship of imperial portraits was primarily confined to the private sphere of the imperial family.

Chapter 2: Official Portrait Halls during the Late Joseon Period

During the Japanese invasions of Korea (1592-1598), all the portraits housed at Seonwonjeon, the early Joseon era royal portrait storage facility located in the capital, were lost.¹⁹⁶ Most of the portrait halls of Kings Taejo and Sejo outside the capital were also destroyed. After the Manchu invasions in the early seventeenth century, only two of King Taejo's portrait halls, Junwonjeon and Gyeonggijeon, remained out of the six portrait halls of the early Joseon. The destruction of earlier portrait halls and the loss of most royal portraits resulted in the emergence of a new type of portrait hall and an elevation in the status of portrait halls in state rites.

This chapter discusses the history, ritual practice, and material culture of the official portrait halls of the late Joseon. Major focus is on Yeonghuijeon (永禧殿, Hall of Eternal Happiness), the official portrait hall for successive kings in the capital that originated from the portrait hall of Kings Taejo and Sejo established during the reign of Gwanghaegun (r. 1608-1623). The institution and rites of Yeonghuijeon served as examples for later official portrait halls, such as Jangnyeongjeon (長寧殿, Hall of Longlasting Peace) and Hwaryeongjeon (華寧殿, Hall of Magnificent Peace).

Referring to the official handbooks of state rites published in the mid-and-late seventeenth century, including the *Supplement to the Five Rites of State* (國朝續五禮儀, 1744) and *Comprehensive Study of the Ministry of Rites* (春官通考, 1788), this chapter examines the character, function, and meaning of Yeonghuijeon and its rites. It aims to shed light on the differences among the three official portrait halls. Drawing on historical textual

¹⁹⁶ Changgeon 創建, *Yeonghuijeonji* 永禧殿志 [Records of Yeonghuijeon], vol. 1.

records and extant objects, I also elucidate the way in which Yeonghuijeon exemplifies its exceptional status through ritual goods and its interior setting. Furthermore, I analyze how the other two portrait halls manifested their different status or significance through their individual material culture.

2-1. The Establishment of Yeonghuijeon, an Official Portrait Hall for Successive Kings in the Capital

In order to restore Joseon society, which had been devastated by the Japanese invasions, Gwanghaegun (r. 1608-1623) pushed ahead with the restoration of the portrait halls of King Taejo that had been destroyed during this time. As a result, Gyeonggijeon was restored at the original site of Jeonju in 1614, and Jipgyeongjeon was rebuilt in Gangneung, not Gyeongju in 1619.¹⁹⁷ The king ordered Yeongsungjeon in Pyeongyang rebuilt and a copy of King Taejo's portrait modeled on the portrait in Gyeonggijeon made for the hall.¹⁹⁸ The hall was restored, but the copied portrait was never enshrined there .

Prior to its enshrinement in the rebuilt hall of Yeongsungjeon, Gwanghaegun planned to personally worship before the copy of the portrait of King Taejo and ordered that the portrait be temporarily installed at Injeongjeon (仁政殿, Hall of Benevolent Policy), the audience hall of Changdeokgung (昌德宮, Palace of Prosperous Virtue), as it was moved to Pyeongyang from Jeonju. However, he confronted opposition from officials who argued that the audience hall was a place in which the king ruled the dynasty and not a place of ancestor

¹⁹⁷ *Gwanghaegun Diaries*, vol. 85, year of 1614, 12th month, 5th day.

¹⁹⁸ *Gwanghaegun Diaries*, vol. 106, year of 1616, 8th month, 9th day.

worship.¹⁹⁹ Accordingly, instead of the audience hall, Gwanhaegun ordered the enshrinement of the portrait in the capital at Bongjajeon (奉慈殿, Hall of Worshipping Mother), which had been a shrine for his biological mother, Lady Kim (1553-1577).²⁰⁰

Due to his frequent illness and the instability of the northwestern border, Gwanhaegun's ritual performance before the portrait of King Taejo was postponed for more than two years, and the copy of the portrait stayed in Suwon.²⁰¹ In preparation for the king's personal worship, Bongjajeon was re-named Nambyeoljeon (南別殿, Southern Separate Hall).²⁰² Gwanhaegun decided to enshrine the copy of King Taejo's portrait and the portrait of King Sejo from Bongseonjeon together in the hall in 1618.²⁰³ Though it is difficult to find historical records that explain why the two kings' portraits were enshrined together in Nambyeoljeon, the domestic and international circumstances provide clues for the reasons.

At the time, there was a great controversy over the deposition of Queen Inmok (1584-1632) in Gwanhaegun's court. For almost a year from the eleventh month of 1617, hardline officials of the Northern faction (北人), who supported Gwanhaegun's rule, led mass demonstrations insisting on deposing Queen Inmok on a charge of treason. Officials of

¹⁹⁹ *Gwanhaegun Diaries*, vol. 114, year of 1617, 4th month, 25th day.

²⁰⁰ *Gwanhaegun Diaries*, vol. 121, year of 1617, 11th month, 12th day. In 1610, King Gwanhaegun constructed Bongjajeon, elevating his mother to the position of consort. In 1615, he had the spirit pillar of his mother enshrined in Jongmyo, after which the hall became empty.

²⁰¹ *Gwanhaegun Diaries*, vol. 114, year of 1617, 4th month, 13th day; vol. 115, year of 1617, 5th month, 2nd day; vol. 129, year of 1618, 6th month, 2nd day. The copied portrait modeled on the Gyeonggijeon portrait in Jeonju was completed in the third month of 1617 and was originally meant to be enshrined in Pyeongyang the following month. *Gwanhaegun Diaries*, vol. 113, year of 1617, 3rd month, 3rd day; vol. 121, year of 1617, 11th month, 27th day.

²⁰² *Gwanhaegun Diaries*, vol. 130, year of 1618, 7th month, 18th day.

²⁰³ *Gwanhaegun Diaries*, vol. 133, year of 1618, 11th month, 4th day; *Gwanhaegun Diaries*, vol. 134, year of 1618, 11th month, 4th day. During the Japanese Invasion of Korea in 1592, a Buddhist monk of Bongseonsa saved the portrait of King Sejo before Japanese enemies burned Bongseonjeon, the portrait hall of King Sejo. *Veritable Records of King Seonjo*, vol. 36, year of 1593, 3rd month, 16th day.

the Westererner (西人) and Southerner (南人) factions strongly confronted the hardline Northerner faction over this issue.²⁰⁴ Internationally, the northwestern border was unstable due to the rapid military expansion of Nurhaci's Manchus. In 1616, Nurhaci proclaimed independence from the Ming and established a new state called Jin. In 1618, Nurhaci announced his Seven Grievances against the Ming as a declaration of war and then attacked the city of Fushun (抚顺) in Liaoning province.²⁰⁵

Due to the rarity of royal portraits, the remaining portraits of King Taejo and King Sejo had great significance and value for the Joseon court. It is highly likely that the Nurhaci Manchus' attack on the Ming resulted in Gwanghaegun's decision to install the portraits of King Taejo and King Sejo together in 1618, to effectively manage and save them in the event of any future invasions. Even though future invasions did not happen, Gwanghaegun planned to move the portraits of the two kings to Ganghwado 江華島 (Island of Riverine Florescence), located in the West Sea, in 1619.²⁰⁶

Despite this domestic and international instability, Gwanghaegun continuously insisted on his personal worship of the portraits of the two early Joseon kings in the capital. The performance of sacrificial rites for previous kings was a way of establishing royal

²⁰⁴ Han Myung-Gi 한명기, "Gwanghaegun: oegyo ui bit gwa naejeong ui geurimja 광해군: 외교의 빛과 내정의 그림자 [Gwanghaegun: Shine of diplomatic politics and shadow of domestic policies," *Hanguksa simin gangjwa* 한국사 시민강좌 vol. 31(2002), 68-78.

²⁰⁵ For information about the international circumstances of the time, refer to Gertraude Roth Li, "State Building before 1644," *The Cambridge History of China* vol. 9, ed. Willard J. Peterson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 51.

²⁰⁶ *Gwanghaegun Diaries*, vol. 139, year of 1619, 4th month, 3rd day. The Island frequently served as a refuge for kings in times of war during the Goryeo and Joseon periods. Thus, this move was a preparation for the worst. Gwanghaegun made other attempts to move the two kings' portraits to Gwanghwa Island in 1621. However, officials opposed this because the repositioning of the portraits would cause estrangement of the people from the Joseon court. *Gwanghaegun Diaries*, vol. 177, year of 1621, 12th month, 28th day; vol. 184, year of 1622, 12th month, 15th day. For a similar reason, it seems, Gwanghaegun finally enshrined the two kings' portraits in Nambyeoljeon, and not on Gwanghwa Island.

authority in pre-modern Korea. By personally conducting rites before the portraits, Gwanhaegun, a son of King Seonjo's concubine, likely hoped to reinforce his power, which was insecure because of the controversy surrounding his position as a ruler.²⁰⁷ In the ninth month of the year 1619, the king was finally able to personally worship before the portraits of kings Taejo and Sejo. The king, crown prince, and the second state councilor offered three libations before the portraits in Nambyeoljeon as they did in Jongmyo, the Royal Ancestral Temple.²⁰⁸ This event marked the inception of the portrait hall for successive kings. Even after Gwanhaegun's dethronement by the so-called King Injo's Revolt for Justice (仁祖反正), kings continued to conduct sacrificial rites in person there.

During the reign of King Injo (1595-1649, r. 1623-1649), who ascended the throne through a coup d'état, Nambyeoljeon's fate took another turn. Due to the Revolt of Yi Gwal (李适, 1587-1624), which broke out one year after King Injo's enthronement, Nambyeoljeon was moved to Gongju for several months and then returned to the capital.²⁰⁹ Around the time of the Manchu Invasion of 1627, the portraits of Kings Taejo and Sejo were removed to Ganghwado and housed there for ten years. In 1632, an empty Nambyeoljeon was transformed into the shrine of King Injo's father and mother.

King Injo's father was King Seonjo's fifth son, Prince Jeongwon (Jeongwongun 定遠君, 1580-1619), whose mother was a concubine. Right after ascending to the throne and against the wishes of a great majority of officials, King Injo strived to elevate his late father

²⁰⁷ Gwanhaegun, a son of one of King Seonjo's concubines, was named crown prince during the Japanese Invasions. After the invasions, King Seonjo's second queen gave a birth to a son. The queen's son made Gwanhaegun's position unstable even after his enthronement until hardline officials of the Northerner faction ultimately assassinated his younger brother. Han Myung-Gi, 62-70.

²⁰⁸ *Gwanhaegun Diaries*, vol. 144, year of 1619, 9th month, 4th day.

²⁰⁹ *Veritable Records of King Injo*, vol. 5, year of 1624, 3rd month, 22nd day; *Veritable Records of King Injo*, vol. 6, year of 1624, 8th month, 24th day.

to the position of king. During his reign this issue was one of the biggest items on King Injo's political agenda.²¹⁰ Due to the Revolt of Yi Gwal in 1624 and the Manchu Invasion in 1627, King Injo could not push his agenda during the early years of his reign. With the end of the mourning period for his late biological mother in 1628, however, King Injo insisted on the posthumous elevation of his natural father to the position of king. As a first step, King Injo personally conducted the rites for enshrining the spirit tablets of his parents along with the crown prince in their own private temple (私廟).²¹¹ Through this action, King Injo took a step forward in the conferment of royal honors on his father.

King Injo finally ordered the Grand Secretariat (承政院) to prepare for the elevation of his father's title to king in the twelfth month of 1631.²¹² The second month of the following year, he established the ad hoc Supervisory Council for Royal Honor Conferment (追崇都監).²¹³ King Injo chose Nambyeoljeon, which was empty at the time, in which to enshrine the new spirit tablets of his parents, who were posthumously given the titles of king and queen.²¹⁴ Subsequently, Nambyeoljeon was renamed Sungeunjeon (崇恩殿, the Hall of

²¹⁰ For the process of elevating his father's title and status, see Kim Insuk 김인숙, "Injo ui wonjong chusung 인조의 원종 추숭 [King Injo's actions to elevate his natural father to King Wonjong]," *Yeoksa wa damnon 역사와 담론* vol. 36 (2003), 135-169; Lee Hyeon-jin 이현진, "Injo dae wonjo chusungnon ui chui wa seonggyeok 인조대 원종추숭론의 추이와 성격 [Development of the discussions on the elevation of King Injo's father to King Wonjong during the reign of King Injo]," *Bugaksaron 북악사론* vol. 7(2000), 47-108.

²¹¹ *Veritable Records of King Injo*, vol. 18, year of 1628, the 3rd month, the 12th day. The majority of officials opposed the personal ritual performance of King Injo in the enshrinement ceremony of his parents' spirit tablets. On the very day of enshrining the spirit tablets, numerous officials from the Office of the Inspector General, Censor's Office, Royal Secretariat, and Office of Special Counselors requested several times in person that the king should not perform the sacrifice. *Veritable Records of King Injo*, vol. 18, year of 1628, 3rd month, 12th day, first to seventh account.

²¹² *Veritable Records of King Injo*, vol. 25, year of 1631, 12th month, 17th day.

²¹³ *Veritable Records of King Injo*, vol. 26, year of 1632, 2nd month, 24th day.

²¹⁴ *Veritable Records of King Injo*, vol. 26, year of 1632, 2nd month, 29th day; *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, vol. 26, year of 1632, 2nd month, 29th day. Because the status of women was dependent on their husbands, it was natural for King Injo to elevate the title of his mother to queen at the same time as he elevated his father's title to king. King Injo conferred the elevated titles on his

Revering Kindness).²¹⁵ When deciding to use Nambyeoljeon as a place to enshrine the spirit tablets of his parents, King Injo denied the association of the hall with the mother of the deposed king, Gwanhaegun.²¹⁶ Through this denial, he strengthened the status of Nambyeoljeon as the portrait hall of King Taejo and King Sejo. Accordingly, King Injo appropriated the authority of the hall as a place to enshrine successive kings' portraits in order to elevate his father as well.²¹⁷

Based on the example of Uimyo, the shrine of King Seongjong's natural father, King Injo also ordered the Ministry of Rites to build a room with a floor heating system behind the hall, in which to install the portrait painting of his father, which had previously been housed in the residence of his younger brother.²¹⁸ The portrait was installed at Sungeunjeon in 1632, one day before the enshrinement ceremony of the new spirit tablets of his parents with their elevated titles of king and queen.²¹⁹ Right after the enshrinement ceremony, King Injo personally inspected the portrait of his father. These actions of King Injo were calculated to officially recognize his father as part of the royal line of the Joseon dynasty.

It wasn't until three years later, that King Injo finally succeeded in enshrining the spirit pillars of his parents at Jongmyo, the Royal Ancestral Temple. As a result, he succeeded in establishing the royal line from King Seonjo to himself via his father, who had been given

parents on the third day in the fifth month of 1632. *Veritable Records of King Injo*, vol. 26, year of 1632, 5th month, 3rd day.

²¹⁵ *Veritable Records of King Injo*, vol. 26, year of 1632, 3rd month, 9th day.

²¹⁶ *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, vol. 26, year of 1632, 2nd month, 29th day.

²¹⁷ Kwon Yong-lan 권용란, "Joseon sidae wangsil josangsin e daehan yeongu 조선시대 왕실 조상신에 대한 연구[A study on royal family ancestors of the Joseon Dynasty]," Ph.D. diss. (Seoul National Universtiy, 2013), 88.

²¹⁸ *Veritable Records of King Injo*, vol. 26, year of 1632, 4th month, 21st day.

²¹⁹ *Veritable Records of King Injo*, vol. 26, year of 1632, 5th month, 26th day; vol. 26, year of 1632, 5th month, 27th day.

the posthumous title of King Wonjong.²²⁰ In moving the spirits to Jongmyo, King Injo's court drew attention to the portrait of King Wonjong in Sungeunjeon. Given the precedent set by portraits of Kings Taejo and Sejo, enshrined in Ganghwa Island in case of Manchu invasion, it was thought that King Wonjong's portrait also needed to be moved to the island. The court, however, decided to keep the portrait in Sungeunjeon and make offerings before it following the example set in the portrait hall in Ganghwado.²²¹ In this manner, Sungeunjeon was established as an official portrait hall with the same status as the portrait hall for the two early Joseon kings.

When the Second Manchu Invasion (1636.12. - 1637.1.) occurred, King Wonjong's portrait was moved to a Buddhist temple in the Fortress of Mount Namhan, the place to which King Injo had evacuated.²²² During the invasion, the Manchu army captured Ganghwado. As a result, the portrait of King Taejo was severely damaged and the portrait of King Sejo was slightly torn.²²³ After King Injo's submission to Qing, the court discussed the production of another copy of the King Taejo portrait but the king decided to not produce a new copy; rather he would to bury the destroyed portrait under the northern stairs behind the main hall of Jongmyo.²²⁴

Subsequently, King Injo's court had the portrait of King Sejo repaired and then enshrined in Sungeunjeon along with the portrait of King Wonjong. Following the precedent set by the portrait hall of Kings Taejo and Sejo in Ganghwado, King Sejo's portrait was

²²⁰ *Veritable Records of King Injo*, vol. 31, year of 1635, 3rd month, 19th day.

²²¹ *Veritable Records of King Injo*, vol. 31, year of 1635, 1st month, 30th day.

²²² *Veritable Records of King Injo*, vol. 34, year of 1637, 1st month, 8th day.

²²³ *Veritable Records of King Injo*, vol. 34, year of 1637, 2nd month, 15th day; *Veritable Records of King Injo*, vol. 34, year of 1637, 3rd month, 37th day.

²²⁴ *Veritable Records of King Injo*, vol. 34, year of 1637, 3rd month, 30th day.

located on the north wall and King Wonjong's, on the east wall of the hall.²²⁵ Also, the title of Sungeunjeon was changed back to Nambyeoljeon.²²⁶ This was probably because the hall recovered its previous status as the portrait hall for successive kings through the enshrinement of the two kings' portraits. Because of the absence of the portrait of King Taejo, King Wonjong's portrait came to occupy the previous position of King Sejo in the hall, and Nambyeoljeon became the symbolic monument of the new royal lineage in the capital.

During the reign of King Sukjong (1661-1720, r. 1674-1720), Nambyeoljeon was firmly established as the official portrait hall for successive kings and achieved high status in state ancestral rites. The first action of King Sukjong with regard to Nambyeoljeon was to order its reconstruction in 1677.²²⁷ The rebuilt hall, facing the east, had three bay (*kan* 間) and each *kan* consisted of one chamber. The portrait of King Sejo was enshrined at the center of the hall (the second chamber), and the portrait of King Wonjong, at the north end (the third chamber).²²⁸ The empty south *kan* (the first chamber) was not meaningless: The purpose of the rebuilding was to enshrine a copied portrait of King Taejo along with the portraits of Kings Sejo and Wonjong. Due to opposition from officials, the copying and enshrinement of King Taejo's portrait in the hall were not realized until 1688, eleven years after the reconstruction of the hall.²²⁹ At that time, King Sukjong had a copy of King Taejo's portrait,

²²⁵ *Veritable Records of King Injo*, vol. 34, year of 1637, 4th month, 29th day.

²²⁶ *Veritable Records of King Injo*, vol. 35, year of 1637, 9th month, 2nd day.

²²⁷ *Veritable Records of King Sukjong*, vol. 6, year of 1677, 1st month, 28th day. Right after his enthronement, King Sukjong tried to rebuild Nambyeoljeon and ordered its reconstruction previously. Because of lean harvest and bad weather, however, his previous order was not implemented. *Veritable Records of King Sukjong*, vol. 5, year of 1676, 7th month, 24th day. The reconstruction of the hall was completed in the seventh month of 1677. *Veritable Records of King Sukjong*, vol. 6, year of 1677, 7th month, 11th day.

²²⁸ *Veritable Records of King Sukjong*, vol. 5, year of 1676, 5th month, 6th day.

²²⁹ When he gave the second order of rebuilding Nambyeoljeon in 1676, King Sukjong also instructed officials to enshrine a copy of King Taejo's portrait in the hall, following the order of his predecessor, King Hyojong (r. 1649-1659). *Veritable Records of King Sukjong*, vol. 5, year of 1676, 7th month, 24th

modeled on the portrait of Gyeonggijeon, produced and enshrined in the first chamber of the hall.²³⁰ The re-installation of King Taejo's portrait in Nambyeoljeon at the capital was part of King Sukjong's actions to reinforce the legitimacy of the dynastic foundation severely weakened by successive invasions, by stressing King Taejo's achievement. In 1683, the king had elevated the titles of King Taejo and King Taejong. In the elevated title of King Taejo, the words "Turning back the army from Wihwa Island (威化島回軍)" were included to commemorate the momentous start of the coup d'état that resulted in the founding of Joseon.²³¹

In 1690, King Sukjong conferred the title of Yeonghuijeon (永禧殿, Hall of Eternal Happiness) on Nambyeoljeon, because Nambyeoljeon (Southern Separate Hall) had no symbolic meaning and was not a formal hall title.²³² King Sukjong personally performed rituals of libation (酌獻禮) before the portraits in the hall several times throughout his reign.²³³ Furthermore, he established a regulation that stipulated that a king should perform the ritual of libation in Yeonghuijeon every three years.²³⁴ Through King Sukjong's actions, Yeonghuijeon was firmly established as the most important portrait hall for successive kings. King Yeongjo (1694-1776, r. 1724-1776), whose biological mother was a low-ranking

day.

²³⁰ *Veritable Records of King Sukjong*, vol. 19, year of 1688, 3rd month, 3rd day. The copied portrait painting of King Taejo was enshrined on the fifth day in the fifth month of 1688. *Veritable Records of King Sukjong*, vol. 19, year of 1688, 5th month, 5th day.

²³¹ Kim Ji-young 김지영, "Sukjong Yeongjo dae eojin dosa wa bongan cheoso hwakdae e daehan gochal 숙종·영조대 어진도사와 봉안처소 확대에 대한 고찰 [Study of the royal portrait production and the expansion of portrait repositories during the reigns of Kings Sukjong and Yeongjo]," *Gyujanggak 규장각* vol. 27 (2004), 59.

²³² *Veritable Records of King Sukjong*, vol. 22, year of 1690, 10th month, 27th day.

²³³ *Veritable Records of King Sukjong*, vol. 6, year of 1677, 8th month, 26th day; vol. 22, year of 1690, 10th month, 18th day; vol. 24, year of 1692, 9th month, 24th day; vol. 32, year of 1706, 3rd month, 18th day.

²³⁴ *Veritable Records of King Sukjong*, vol. 38, year of 1703, 9th month, 19th day.

concubine of King Sukjong, played a significant role in reinforcing the status of Yeonghuijeon and institutionalizing the rites of the hall as official state rituals.²³⁵ In 1736, King Yeongjo had Rank 2A officials take responsibility for the ritual performance in Yeonghuijeon, emphasizing the importance of the hall in enshrining successive kings' portraits.²³⁶ In 1748, the king had Yeonghuijeon rebuilt as a five-chamber hall and one of the two copies of King Sukjong's portrait, made by his order, enshrined in the fourth chamber there.²³⁷ The empty fifth chamber was slated for the installation of one portrait of King Yeongjo himself after his death. King Yeongjo justified his plan as follows:

In 1688, [King Sukjong] made a copy of King Taejo's portrait. Seven years later, drawing on this magnificent event, [the king] commissioned portraits of himself done by the same court painters who had reproduced the portrait of King Taejo. The reason I commissioned portraits of myself nine years after my enthronement was not to make [myself] magnificent. There is a portrait painting of myself bestowed on me [by King Sukjong] in 1714, when I was in my private residence outside the palace (潛邸). I could not get rid of the portrait because King Sukjong presented it to me. Instead, I had portraits of myself produced again because the previous portrait displays me in different attire [from my current position as a king]. ... In the

²³⁵ For the policies of royal portrait halls and the production of royal portrait paintings during the reign of King Yeongjo, see Kim Ji-young, "Yeongjo dae jinjeon jeongchaek gwa yeongjeong mosa dogam uigwe 영조대 진전정책과 영정모사도감의궤 [Policy on royal portrait halls during the reign of King Yeongjo and *Uigwe for the Copying of Portrait Paintings*]," in *Gyujanggak sojang uigwe haejejip* 규장각 소장 의궤 해제집 vol. 2 (Seoul: Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies, 2004), 542-558.

²³⁶ *Veritable Records of King Yeongjo*, vol. 41, year of 1736, 5th month, 13th day.

²³⁷ *Veritable Records of King Yeongjo*, vol. 67, year of 1748, 1st month, 17th day. After King Sukjong's demise, the portrait of King Sukjong, previously housed in Seonwonjeon, was displayed there. King Yeongjo ordered the reproduction of King Sukjong's portrait and the restoration of Yeonghuijeon at the same time. He had two copies of King Sukjong's portrait produced based on Seonwonjeon portrait painting. While one copy was enshrined in the fourth chamber of Yeonghuijeon, the other was installed in Seonwonjeon. *Veritable Records of King Yeongjo*, vol. 67, year of 1748, 2nd month, 25th day.

case of a literati family, numerous portrait paintings do not cause problems, and there is no difficulty in housing them. In the case of the state, however, portraits of a king should be enshrined [in a hall]. Thus, the number of chambers in the portrait hall [Yeonghuijeon] might be the same as the Royal Ancestral Temple in the future. ... The reconstruction [of Yeonghuijeon] at this moment accords with the way of the spirit (神道) and human emotion (人情). However, if [my successors] use the rebuilding of the hall during my reign as a precedent to make the hall more magnificent in the future, their actions will go against the intention of my late father [King Sukjong] who strived to be modest and restrained. As a stringent warning, [I] order the attachment of this writing to the *uigwe* [*Uigwe for Copying the Royal Portrait Paintings*].²³⁸

While making an excuse for the commission of portraits of himself and the restructuring of Yeonghuijeon into a five-chamber hall, King Yeongjo prevented his successors from additionally expanding the hall after enshrining a portrait of him. Consequently, it was not until the reign of King Cheoljong (1831-1863, r. 1849-1863) that the hall was reconstructed to add yet another chamber.

The rites of Yeonghuijeon were included in the *Supplement to the Five Rites of State* (國朝續五禮儀), an official handbook of state rites compiled in 1744. According to the stipulations prescribed in the handbook, the ritual of libation (酌獻禮) needed to be personally conducted by a king on a day in the second month every two years, and most outstandingly, the ritual of king's personal sacrificial worship (*chinje*, 親祭) were meant to be done on seasonal festive days.²³⁹ It was during the reign of King Yeongjo that a king's personal sacrificial worship at Yeonghuijeon began to be regularly performed and officially

²³⁸ This English translation is based on the Korean translation from Chinese traditional characters, by Kim Ji-young, 2004, 546; We can find a similar record in the *Veritable Records of King Yeongjo*, vol. 67, year of 1748, 1st month, 17th day.

²³⁹ Kwon Yong-lan, 97-98; *Supplement to the Five Rites of State*, vol. 1.

institutionalized. The king's personal sacrificial worship, *chinje*, features complicated procedures, including the three libations (三獻) by king, crown prince, and prime minister, the partaking of drink (飲福), and the burning of the written invocation (望燎). On the other hand, the ritual of libation involves only one libation and the burning of the written invocation, omitting the partaking of drink.²⁴⁰ Additionally, the rituals for the second libation of the crown prince in a king's personal sacrificial worship and for a crown prince's performance as a proxy of king at Yeonghuijeon were stipulated in the *Addition to the Supplement to the Five Rites of State* (國朝續五禮儀補, 1751).²⁴¹ Even though the offering foods and ritual vessels of Yeonghuijeon differed from those of Jongmyo, King Yeongjo made the Yeonghuijeon rites comparable to the Jongmyo rites in terms of the size of the royal procession toward the place of worship, the number of participants in rites, and the rank of participating officials.²⁴² In this way, Yeonghuijeon acted as a substitute for the function of the new Munsojeon, the representative Origin Shrine of Joseon, wherein the spirit tablets of successive kings were enshrined and which was not restored after the Japanese Invasions.

Right after enshrining the spirit pillars of King Yeongjo and his consorts at Jongmyo in 1778, King Jeongjo (1752-1800, r. 1776-1800) installed one portrait of King Yeongjo in

²⁴⁰ “Ritual of King's Personal Sacrificial Worship in Yeonghuijeon 親享永禧殿儀,” “Ritual of Libation in Yeonghuijeon 酌獻永禧殿儀,” in *Gukjo sok oryeui* 國朝續五禮儀 [Supplement to the Five Rites of State] vol. 2, 奎1479, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies; *Chungwan tonggo*, vol. 24.

²⁴¹ “Ritual for the Second Libation of Crown Prince in King's Personal Sacrificial Worship at Yeonghuijeon 親享永禧殿時王世子亞獻儀,” and “Ritual for Crown Prince's Sacrificial Worship as a Proxy of King 享永禧殿王世子攝事儀,” in *Gukjo sok oryeuibo* 國朝續五禮儀補 [Addition to the Supplement to the Five Rites of State] vol. 1, 奎1270, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies.

²⁴² Kim Se-eun 김세은, “Joseon sidae jinjeon uirye ui byeonhwa 조선시대 진전 의례의 변화 [Change of royal portrait hall rites during the late Joseon period],” *Jindanhakbo* 진단학보 vol. 118 (2013), 12-13.

the fifth chamber of Yeonghuijeon.²⁴³ It was the ad hoc Jongmyo Enshrinement Supervisory Council of King Yeongjo and Queen Jeongseong (英祖貞聖王后眞宗孝純王后祔廟都監) that managed the production and arrangement of various ritual goods to enshrine King Yeongjo's portrait at Yeonghuijeon. The processes of enshrining the portrait of the late king at Yeonghuijeon were recorded in the *Uigwe for Enshrining the Spirits of King Yeongjo and his Consorts at Jongmyo* (英祖貞聖王后眞宗孝純王后祔廟都監儀軌).²⁴⁴ Accordingly, the installation of King Yeongjo's portrait at Yeonghuijeon was officially arranged as part of the state funeral rites of King Yeongjo from mourning to the enshrinement of spirits at Jongmyo. Throughout the reign of Kings Yeongjo and Jeongjo, Yeonghuijeon was firmly established as the official place of state ancestral worship with a status comparable to that of Jongmyo, the Royal Ancestral Temple.²⁴⁵

Observing the stipulations in the official handbooks of state rites, late Joseon kings fulfilled their roles as primary celebrants for Yeonghuijeon rites throughout the dynasty. In 1900, Yeonghuijeon was moved to the site of Gyeongmogung, due to the construction of Western style buildings around the hall.²⁴⁶ In 1908, the portrait hall was abandoned, and all the portraits therein were moved to Seonwonjeon, Changdeokkung, following an imperial edict on the revision of state rituals (享祀釐正).²⁴⁷

²⁴³ *Veritable Records of King Jeongjo*, vol. 6, year of 1778, 7th month, 11th day.

²⁴⁴ *Yeongjo Jeongseong Wanghu Jinjong Hyosunwanghu bumyo dogam uigwe* 英祖貞聖王后眞宗孝純王后祔廟都監儀軌 [Uigwe for Enshrining the Spirits of King Yeongjo and His Consorts at Jongmyo], 1778, 奎 13587, The Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies.

²⁴⁵ King Jeongjo had nine more rituals for Yeonghuijeon institutionalized and included in the *Comprehensive Study of the Ministry of Rites (Chungwan tonggo)*, the official ritual handbook of state rituals. Kwon Yong-lan, 98; 'Yeonghuijeon,' under "Royal Portrait Halls 眞殿," in *Chungwan tonggo* vol. 24.

²⁴⁶ *Veritable Records of King Gojong*, vol. 39, year of 1899, 10th month, 31st day; *Records of King Gojong*, vol. 40, year of 1900, 2nd month, 14th day.

²⁴⁷ *Veritable Records of Emperor Sunjong*, vol. 2, year of 1908, 7th month, 23rd day.

2-2. Expansion of Royal Portrait Halls Outside the Capital: Jangnyeongjeon and Hwaryeongjeon

In addition to Yeonghuijeon, the official portrait hall for successive kings in the capital, two more portrait halls were built outside the capital, and the rites of the two halls were constituted as state sacrificial rites in the official handbooks of state rites as well. In the late Joseon period, therefore, there were four royal portrait halls outside the capital, including the surviving portrait halls of King Taejo, i.e. Junwonjeon in Yeongheung and Gyeonggijeon in Jeonju.

It was King Sukjong who brought about the expansion of portrait halls outside the capital. In 1695, the king secretly reconstructed the previous portrait hall of Kings Taejo and Sejo at Ganghwa Island and had one portrait of himself installed in the rebuilt hall without giving any notice to court officials.²⁴⁸ The secrecy likely resulted from the absence of precedents regarding the portraits of a living king in the more than two hundred fifty years since the fifteenth century. In 1713, portraits of King Sukjong were officially produced following a proposal of Deputy Prime Minister, Yi Yimyeong (李頤命, 1658-1722), one of the highest court officials.²⁴⁹ Yi argued for the commission of new portraits of the living king because the previous portrait did not adequately capture his spirit (*jeonsin* 傳神).

Subsequently, the ad-hoc Royal Portrait Production Supervisory Council (御容圖寫都監)

²⁴⁸ *Veritable Records of King Sukjong*, vol. 29, year of 1695, the ninth month, 5th day. Jangnyeongjeon was built on the site of the portrait hall, in which had temporarily enshrined portraits of King Taejo and King Sejo during the Manchu Invasion of 1627. This is why the term of 'junggeon 重建,' literally meaning reconstruction, is used to indicate the building of the hall in this account.

²⁴⁹ *Veritable Records of King Sukjong*, vol. 53, year of 1713, 3rd month, 30th day.

was set up to commission the creation of portraits of the living king, Sukjong.²⁵⁰ As a result, two portraits of King Sukjong were produced: one in ordinary attire and the other in court audience attire.²⁵¹ The portrait of King Sukjong in court audience attire was sent to the portrait hall at Ganghwa Island, namely, Jangnyeongjeon (長寧殿, Hall of Long Peace), and substituted for the previous portrait.²⁵² King Sukjong ordered the new portrait of himself displayed on the wall of the hall after his demise.²⁵³ In accordance with his instructions, the portrait was officially displayed in the hall after the end of weeping (卒哭) for the late King Sukjong in the eleventh month of 1720.²⁵⁴ Then, the grand sacrificial rites (大祭) were performed at Jangnyeongjeon on seasonal festive days, following the rites of Yeonghuijeon.²⁵⁵

During King Yeongjo's reign, Jangnyeongjeon was firmly established as a royal portrait hall. In 1744, King Yeongjo alluded to his intention to house one portrait of him at Jangnyeongjeon.²⁵⁶ The next year, the king had the portrait placed at a hall located east of Jangnyeongjeon, and called the hall Mannyongjeon (萬寧殿, Hall of Eternal Peace).²⁵⁷

²⁵⁰ *Veritable Records of King Sukjong*, vol. 53, year of 1713, 4th month, 10th day.

²⁵¹ For the detailed information, see Chapter Four.

²⁵² 'The fifth month and eighteenth day of 1713,' under "Reports to King 啓辭秩," in *Eoyong dosa dogam uigwe* 御容圖寫都監儀軌 [*Uigwe for Royal Portrait Production*], 1713, 奎13996, The Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies; Kim Ji-young 김지영, "1713 nyeon eojin dosa wa eoyong dosa dogam uigwe 1713년 어진도사와 어용도사도감의궤 [Commission of portraits of King Sukjong in 1713 and *Uigwe for Painting Royal Portraits*]," in *Gyujanggak sojang uigwe haeje jip* vol. 2 (2004), 535, n. 36. The old portrait of King Sukjong was washed off (洗草) right after the enshrinement of the new copy.

²⁵³ *Veritable Records of King Gyeongjong*, vol. 1, year of 1720, 6th month, 21st day.

²⁵⁴ *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, vol. 528, year of 1720, 11th month, 20th day.

²⁵⁵ *Veritable Records of King Gyeongjong*, vol. 1, year of 1720, 6th month, 21st day; *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, vol. 534, year of 1721, 10th month, 15th day.

²⁵⁶ *Veritable Records of King Yeongjo*, vol. 60, year of 1744, 8th month, 20th day.

²⁵⁷ *Veritable Records of King Yeongjo*, vol. 61, year of 1745, 1st month, 9th day.

Concurrently, the rites of Jangnyeongjeon were constituted as being the same as Yeonghuijeon rites in late Joseon official handbooks of state rites.²⁵⁸ After King Yeongjo's death, King Jeongjo had the Mannyongjeon portrait moved to and displayed at Jangnyeongjeon along with King Sukjong's portrait.²⁵⁹ In this manner, Jangnyeongjeon was established as an official portrait hall for two late Joseon kings at Ganghwa Island. Not only was Jangnyeongjeon renovated during King Cheoljong's reign, but Mannyongjeon also was reconstructed, in 1857 and 1858 respectively.²⁶⁰ Due to the French attack in 1866, however, the two halls were burned down.²⁶¹ The portraits of the two kings at Jangnyeongjeon were safely moved to and then respectively enshrined at Yeonghuijeon.²⁶² In 1872, however, the two portraits were removed to Seonwonjeon and lost in the 1900 fire.²⁶³

Taking Jangnyeongjeon as a precedent, Hwaryeongjeon (華寧殿, Hall of Magnificent Peace), the portrait hall of King Jeongjo, was established at Hwaseong (華城, Magnificent Fortress), Suwon after the king's death.²⁶⁴ Two portraits of King Jeongjo in military attire were installed, and the rites of Hwaryeongjeon were institutionalized.²⁶⁵ Hwaryeongjeon had a lower status than Yeonghuijeon and Jangnyeongjeon in state sacrificial

²⁵⁸ 'Yeonghuijeon,' under "Royal Portrait Halls 眞殿," in *Chungwan tonggo* vol. 24.

²⁵⁹ *Veritable Records of King Jeongjo*, vol. 1, year of 1776, 5th month, 1st day.

²⁶⁰ *Veritable Records of King Cheoljong*, vol. 9, year of 1857, 3rd month, 5th day; vol. 10, year of 1858, 6th month, 6th day.

²⁶¹ *Veritable Records of King Gojong*, vol. 3, year of 1866, 10th month, 6th day.

²⁶² *Veritable Records of King Gojong*, vol. 3, year of 1866, 10th month, 7th day.

²⁶³ *Veritable Records of King Gojong*, vol. 9, the year of 1872, 5th month, 8th day.

²⁶⁴ For more detailed information, see Chapter Five.

²⁶⁵ *Veritable Records of King Sunjo*, vol. 3, year of 1801, 5th month, 2nd day; *Daily Records of Royal Secretariat*, year of 1801, 1st month, 10th day. The stipulations for the rites and management of Hwaryeongjeon were revised in 1804, and a manuscript of the revised stipulations remains in the collection of the Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies. *Hwaryeongjeon eunghaeng jeolmok* 華寧殿應行節目 [Regulations for Hwaryeongjeon], 奎3240, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies.

rites, following the instruction of King Jeongjo who pursued simplicity and frugality.²⁶⁶ As a result, the furnishing of the hall was modeled on royal portrait repositories such as Taeyeongjeon (泰寧殿, Hall of Great Peace) in Gyeonghuigung (慶熙宮, Palace of Celebrating Brightness) and Gyujujeon (奎章閣, Pavilion of the Literary Star) in Changdeokgung (昌德宮, Palace of Prosperous Virtue), rather than on portrait halls. Furthermore, the Hwaryeongjeon rites did not include any grand sacrifice (大祭) or king's personal sacrificial rites (親祭) of the type that featured a high level of formality and were performed on the birthday of King Jeongjo and *nabil* (臘日) of the twelfth month, which distinguished them from the rites of Yeonghuijeon and Jangnyeongjeon.²⁶⁷ King Sunjo and his successors had personally performed libation rituals before the displayed portrait of King Jeongjo in the hall whenever they visited the tombs of Prince Sado (1735-1762) and King Jeongjo. After the proclamation of a Korean Empire in 1897, Hwaryeongjeon was elevated to the status of imperial portrait hall and the rites were stipulated as being the same as rites of Yeonghuijeon in the *Ceremonies of Great Han* (*Daehan yejeon* 大韓禮典).²⁶⁸ In 1908, the rites of this hall were abolished, and the portraits therein were moved to Seonwonjeon in Changdeokgung.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁶ *Veritable Records of King Sunjo*, vol. 2, year of 1801, 2nd month, 10th day; vol. 6, year of 1804, 6th month, 1st day.

²⁶⁷ For the establishment of Hwaryeongjeon and its sacrificial rites, refer to Chung, Hai-deuk 정해득, "Hwaryeongjeon ui geollip gwa jehyang 화령전의 건립과 제향 [Establishment and rites of Hwaryeongjeon]," *Joseon sidae sahakbo* 조선시대사학보 59 (2011), 143-171; *Hwaryeongjeon eunghaeng jeolmok* 華寧殿應行節目.

²⁶⁸ *Veritable Records of King Gojong*, vol. 36, year of 1897, 10th month, 20th day; *Daehan yejeon* 大韓禮典 [Ceremonies of Great Han], vol. 3, K2-2123, The Academy of Korean Studies

²⁶⁹ *Veritable Records of King Sunjong*, vol. 2, year of 1908, 7th month, 23rd day.

2-3. Ritual Foods and Vessels for Official Portrait Hall Rites

The offering table arrangement illustration for Yeonghuijeon exhibits a few differences from that of the early Joseon portrait halls on the side table: a cup of tea, a rest for spoon and chopsticks, and one bowl of noodles substituting for one bowl of broth (fig. 2-1). Offering tea before royal portraits was first seen during the reign of King Seongjong (r. 1469-1494). King Seongjong ordered the replacement of wine with tea for the rites of Bongseonjeon (奉先殿, Hall of Worshipping Ancestors), the portrait hall of King Sejo, his grandfather who was notorious for being a usurper and a devout Buddhist.²⁷⁰ King Seongjong's instructions, manipulated by Queen Dowager Jeonghui (1418~1483), might have resulted from the close connection between Bongseonjoen and Buddhism. The hall was located nearby Bongseonsa (奉先寺, Temple of Worshipping Ancestors), a memorial temple for King Sejo's tomb.²⁷¹ Therefore, neither wine nor meat dishes might have been considered proper as offering foods. The rituals performed in Bongseonjeon were specified as "tea rituals (茶禮)," which featured the active participation of royal female members, including queen dowagers and royal consorts.²⁷² It seems that the precedent set at Bongseonjeon of offering tea and excluding meat, served as an example for official portrait halls of the late Joseon. In 1637, for the sacrificial rites of Sungeunjeon (later Nambyeoljeon), the portrait hall of the

²⁷⁰ *Veritable Records of King Seongjong*, vol. 40, year of 1474, the 3rd month, the 14th day. The former king, King Yejong, had also forbidden the use of wine in the rites for King Sejong's portrait hall, called Sungeunjeon at the time. *Veritable Records of King Yejong*, vol. 6, the year of 1469, 7th month, 13th day.

²⁷¹ According to *Sinjeung Dongguk yeoji seungnam*, this temple was built by Queen Dowager Jeonghui. 'Yangju 楊州牧,' Gyeonggi Province 京畿, *Sinjeung Dongguk yeoji seungnam* [Newly augmented geographical conspectus of the Eastern Kingdom] vol. 11.

²⁷² *Veritable Records of King Seongjong*, vol. 83, year of 1477, 8th month, 22nd day; vol. 83, year of 1477, 8th month, 22nd day; vol. 114, year of 1480, 2nd month, 18th day.

posthumously titled King Wonjong, King Injo decided to offer “vegetable foods (素膳),” following the tradition of royal tombs and portrait halls in the provinces.²⁷³ In 1765, King Yeongjo had vegetable foods offered for the rites of Yeonghuijeon.²⁷⁴

In accordance with this change in food offerings, new types of ritual vessels appeared: a silver rest for spoon and chopsticks with a lid (銀匙櫟), a ceramic tea cup (茶鍾), and a ceramic tea pot (茶瓶).²⁷⁵ These ritual vessels corresponded to the contemporary daily and ceremonial vessels of the court. When King Sukjong got married to the second consort, Queen Inwon, in 1702, a silver rest for spoon and chopsticks with a lid was placed in the reserved palace for the new queen, along with a set of silver chopsticks, a silver spoon, a silver bowl (銀鉢里), and a small silver bowl (銀碗).²⁷⁶ The illustrations of a silver rest can be seen in several *uigwe* for royal banquets including the *Uigwe for the Royal Banquet of 1828* (fig. 2-2-b).²⁷⁷ Considering that “presenting tea (進茶)” was performed in the

²⁷³ *The Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, vol. 55, year of 1637, 1st month, 9th day. However, this report by the Ministry of Rites, saying that all royal portrait halls in the provinces offer vegetable foods, is wrong. As we previously examined, the portrait halls of King Taejo, established during the early Joseon period, offered meat broths. It seems that the Ministry of Rites was only referring to the most recent royal portrait hall, Bongseonjeon.

²⁷⁴ *Ilseongnok* 日省錄, year of 1776, 1st month, 21st day; *The Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, vol. 76, year of 1776, 1st month, 21st day. According to Lee Wook, this action of King Yeongjo also resulted from the consideration of court finance. Due to this regulation excluding meats, the Joseon court could save money to prepare for the increasing numbers of royal ancestral rites during the late Joseon period. Lee Wook, “Joseon sidae mangja reul wihan eumsik – guksang eul jungsim euro 조선 시대 망자를 위한 음식-국상을 중심으로 [Foods for the dead in the funeral rites of state during the Joseon period],” *Jonggyo munhwa bipyeong* 종교문화비평 29 (2016), 226. As will be examined later, royal family members could also offer various kinds of meat to the dead kings in the informal portrait hall, Seonwonjeon.

²⁷⁵ The literal meaning of sijeop (匙櫟, 匙貼) is a dish for a spoon. Sijeop was usually used to hold both a spoon and chopsticks in commoners’ worship for their ancestors. However, no steamed rice was served on the offering table for royal portrait halls’ rites. Thus, a spoon was not included in the list of ritual vessels for Yeonghuijeon rites, signifying exclusive use of chopsticks.

²⁷⁶ “List of Items 品目秩,” in *Sukjong Inwonhu garye dogam uigwe* 肅宗仁元后嘉禮都監儀軌 [Uigwe for the wedding ceremony of King Sukjong and Queen Inwon], 奎13089·奎13090, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies.

²⁷⁷ “Illustrations 圖式,” in *Muja jinjak uigwe* 戊子進爵儀軌 [Uigwe for the royal banquet of 1828],

Welcoming Ceremonies for Foreign Envoys as well as in Royal Banquets, a tea cup and a tea pot for this official portrait hall drew on ones for those events.²⁷⁸ The ceramic teacup and teapot for the hall likely had the same shape as the silver teacup and a silver teapot illustrated in the *Uigwe for the Royal Banquet of 1828* (fig. 2-2-a). Therefore, these new ritual vessels, originating from ones used for court festive events and receptions for Chinese envoys to Joseon, embody the principle of “serving the dead as if they were alive” in portrait halls established during the early Joseon.

The *Lists of Ritual Vessels and Ceremonial Weaponry for Yeonghuijeon* (永禧殿儀仗祭器臚錄) and the *Records of Yeonghuijeon* (永禧殿志), both of which were compiled during King Yeongjo’s reign, provide us with more detailed information about the ritual vessels used in the hall. Based on these documents, ritual vessels for the offering table of each chamber in Yeonghuijeon can be enumerated as follows: a silver rest for spoon and chopsticks, a set of silver chopsticks, three silver cups, twenty sets of brass *uri* and plates for three different kinds of oil-and-honey pastries, six cylindrical brass vessels for fruit and nuts, and a ceramic teacup, three ceramic bowls for broths and noodles, and six ceramic plates for rice cakes. In addition, two ceramic wine jars and two brass ladles were placed on the liquor table. Furthermore, various kinds of wooden stands and trays as well as ceramic teapots and brass pots were used in preparation for and during the execution of the Yeonghuijeon rites.²⁷⁹

가람古 642.4-J562j, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies. The ritual vessels illustrated in this *uigwe* continued to be included in the illustrations of *uigwe* for the court banquets until the Korean Empire period.

²⁷⁸ From the early Joseon period, tea had been offered for foreign envoys in official welcoming ceremonies. To perform the tea ritual, tea cups and tea trays were formally used. *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 127, year of 1450, 1st month (leap month), 2nd day; *Veritable Records of King Seongjong*, vol. 156, year of 1483, 7th month, 2nd day; *Veritable Records of King Jeongjo*, vol. 2, year of 1776, 10th month, 27th day.

²⁷⁹ Both *Yeonghuijeon uijang jegi deungnok* 永禧殿儀仗祭器臚錄 [Lists of ritual vessels and ceremonial weaponry], compiled in 1774 and *Yeonghuijeon-ji* 永禧殿志 [Records of Yeonghuijeon], compiled around 1751, are in the collection of the Academy of Korean Studies.

These records inform us that, with the exception of a few silver vessels, ritual vessels for both offering and wine tables were mainly made from brass and ceramics.

However, the *Supplemental Records of South Hall, Namjeon* (南殿續志), compiled in 1859, shows no indication of the use of ceramics as ritual vessels. All the vessels previously made of ceramics (沙) were replaced by “brass (鑪)” in this record, except for a teacup, which was replaced with silver.²⁸⁰ It seems that this change occurred during the reign of King Jeongjo. After receiving a report on the sacrificial rites of the Main Palaces (本宮) for King Taejo in Hamheung and Yeongheung, King Jeongjo ordered the use of brass vessels for the rites, instead of ceramic ones, which were coarsely produced and easily broken.²⁸¹ Given that the court regarded the two main palaces for King Taejo as duplicate shrines, King Jeongjo’s order might have influenced ritual vessels for royal portrait halls, which shared commonalities between them. While preparing ritual vessels for Hwaryeongjeon, the portrait hall for King Jeongjo in 1804, the court replaced most ceramic vessels with brass ones: plates for rice cakes, bowls for noodles and broths, and wine vessels with dragon designs.²⁸²

According to the record in the *Painting Screen of State Sacrificial Rites* (太常享儀圖屏) produced between 1834 and 1835 by the Office of Sacrificial Rites, brass plates were used to contain rice cakes and chestnuts for Yeonghuijeon and duplicate shrines, whereas ceramic plates were substituted for brass ones for royal tombs.²⁸³ The use of brass vessels

²⁸⁰ *Namjeon sokji* 南殿續志 [Supplemental records of South Hall], 장서각1390-27-1, The Academy for Korean Studies.

²⁸¹ *Veritable Records of King Jeongjo*, vol. 33, year of 1791, 12th month, 8th day.

²⁸² *Naegak illyeok* 內閣日曆 [Daily Record of Gyujanggak 奎章閣], year of 1804, the 6th month, the 6th day; “Ritual Vessels 祭器,” in *Hwaryeongjeon eunghaeng jeolmok* 華寧殿應行節目 [Regulations for Hwaryeongjeon], 奎3240, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies.

²⁸³ “Taesang hyangui dobyeong [Painting Screen for the State Sacrificial Rites],” trans. Jang Yoo-seung 장유승, *Gogung munhwa* 高宮문화 7 (2014), 90. For the painting screen, see Son Myenghee (Myeonghui) 손명희, “Taesang hyangui dobyeong yeongu 태상향의도병 연구 [Study of the

was the distinctive feature differentiating state sacrificial rites from festive court events that employed vessels made from various materials such as ceramics, silver, gold, and even jade. Accordingly, this differentiation in materials reflects the elevated authoritative status of Yeonghuijeon enjoyed in state rites during the late Joseon period as compared to royal tombs. In addition to materials, the size of vessels displayed the significance and status of the rites. Despite the ubiquitous use of *uri* vessels for Customary Sacrifices, their size differed according to the places of worship. The *uri* vessels for Yeonghuijeon's rites were greater in height than those used in any other rites categorized as Customary Sacrifices.²⁸⁴ This is a manifestation of Yeonghuijeon's significant status as second only to the Royal Ancestral Temple, Jongmyo in official state rites during the late Joseon Dynasty.

As the Rite for King's Performance in Yeonghuijeon (親享永禧殿儀) became institutionalized, *jak* (Ch. *jue*) cups, the most authoritative cups rooted in the ancient tradition, were presented on the offering table for the hall instead of *jan* cups. Even though the table arrangements for the rites of Yeonghuijeon in *the Supplement to the Five Rites of State* and the *Comprehensive Study of the Ministry of Rites* specify only *jan* cups, manuals on the king's performance for the rites, such as the Rite for King's Performance in Yeonghuijeon and the Ritual of Libation in Yeonghuijeon (酌獻永禧殿儀), stipulate the use of *jak* cups.²⁸⁵ Based on the 1766 *Records of the Office for Sacrificial Rites* (太常志), *jak* cups were

Painting Screen for the State Sacrificial Rites],” *Gogung munhwa* 高宮문화 vol. 7 (2014), 61-81.

²⁸⁴ In 1763, the height of stacks of oil-and-honey pastries was regulated. The height was calculated according to the kinds of pastries and to the places of worship. Among the places of Customary Sacrifices, all kinds of pastries were stacked highest in Yeonghuijeon. *Taesang ji* 太常志 (1766), vol. 6; Lee Wook, 2015, 311. This regulation must have influenced the size of *uri* vessels. According to the Painting Screen for State Sacrificial Rites, produced between 1834 and 1835, the *uri* vessels for Yeonghuijeon and duplicate halls were higher and larger than ones for royal tombs. Jang Yoo-seung, 90.

²⁸⁵ These stipulations can be found in both the *Supplement to the Five Rites of State* and the *Comprehensive Study of the Ministry of Rites*.

employed for the sacrificial rites of Yeonghuijeon on seasonal festive days (五名日·臘日), regardless of the status of the primary celebrant, king or prime minister.²⁸⁶ This official use of *jak* cups imposed more formal authority on the rites for the hall.

The exclusion of meat along with the use of *jak* cups for Yeonghuijeon's rites is reminiscent of the rites for royal tombs, wherein the dead were worshipped in the Way of Spirit. Notably, the 1873 *Records of the Office for Sacrificial Rites* (太常志) explains the table arrangement for Yeonghuijeon through an illustration of the food offering arrangement for the rites of royal tombs. In addition to the illustration, the book contains a footnote stating that, except the tea offering and the position of a rest for chopsticks, the offering table arrangement at Yeonghuijeon is the same as that of the royal tombs.²⁸⁷ As the official portrait hall for successive kings in the capital, Yeonghuijeon reinforced its official status by appropriating the two practices for royal tombs, which served the dead in the Way of Spirit.

In sum, through the differentiation in materials and size of the ritual vessels, the exclusion of meats, and the use of *jak* cups, the rites of Yeonghuijeon manifested not only their higher and more authoritative status than other rites in Customary Sacrifices, but also their significance as second in rank only to the Royal Ancestral Temple rites.

Among extant ritual vessels of the Joseon Dynasty, it is hard to discern vessels for official portrait halls from ones for royal tombs and royal shrines. This is because many ritual vessels for Customary Sacrifices were mixed, with their original location and context lost

²⁸⁶ 'Yeonghuijeon,' in *Taesang ji*, vol. 1 (1766).

²⁸⁷ 'Illustrations' and 'Yeonghuijeon,' "Sacrificial Rites 祀典," in *Taesang ji* 太常志 [Records of the Office for Sacrificial Rites] vol. 2, 1873, The Academy of Korean Studies. On the offering table of each chamber for the rites of Yeonghuijeon were placed four *jungbakgye* vessels, five *sanja* vessels, five *dasik* vessels, six rice-cake vessels, three *jak* cups for wine, six fruit vessels, one noodle vessel, two broth vessels, two small candles, and one large candle.

during the Japanese Annexation Period and Korean War. In the case of *uri* vessels, widely used for Customary Sacrifices, we can assume their original location based on their size (fig. 2-3). The tallest *uri* vessels were possibly produced for the Yeonghuijeon rites. Also, brass broth and noodle bowls as well as brass plates for rice cakes can be identified as ritual vessels produced after the nineteenth century for official portrait halls and royal shrines, not for royal tombs (fig. 2-4).

Noticeably, several brass wine jars with dragon designs in the National Palace Museum of Korea have an inscription of ‘Yeong (永, eternal)’ on their bodies and lids (fig. 2-5). These brass wine jars have been considered as being meant for the king’s partaking of sacrificial drink in the rites for the Royal Ancestral Temple, Jongmyo, because the inscription was regarded as an abbreviation of Yeongnyeongjeon (永寧殿, Hall for Eternal Peace) in Jongmyo.²⁸⁸ As discussed earlier, however, the rites for Jongmyo strictly followed Confucian traditions, which used ritual vessels in the way explained in Confucian Classics. Thus, there is no possibility that these wine jars with dragon designs were used for Yeongnyeongjeon in Jongmyo. Instead, the fact that ceramic wine jars with dragon designs for portrait halls were replaced with brass ones between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century is the important factor indicating their provenances these brass wine jars must have been produced and used for Yeonghuijeon. Comparing the brass wine jars to ceramic wine jars with dragon designs of the late Joseon period, we can see the similarities in their shapes. This signifies that there is a high possibility that other brass vessels faithfully mimicked ceramic vessels they replaced.

These ritual foods and vessels for the rites of Yeonghuijeon served as a model for the

²⁸⁸ *Jongmyo daeje munmul* 종묘대제문물 [Relics for the Jongmyo rites] (Gungjung yumul jeonsigwan, 2004), 56.

other two official portrait halls established during the late Joseon period: Jangnyeongjeon (長寧殿, Hall of Long Peace), portrait hall of King Sukjong and King Yeongjo and Hwaryeongjeon (華寧殿, Hall of Magnificent Peace), portrait hall of King Jeongjo. Despite their location outside the capital, these two portrait halls of the late Joseon kings followed the regulation for the rites of Yeonghuijeon in ritual foods and vessels, instead of the regulation for King Taejo's portrait halls. However, for the rites of these two halls, no *jak* cup was employed during the Joseon Dynasty. Jangnyeongjeon, located on the island, had never been visited by a king, and its rites were performed by local government officials. As mentioned before, Hwaryeongjeon, located in Hwaseong, Suwon, was assigned a lower status than either Yeonghuijeon or Jangnyeongjeon according to King Jeongjo's will. Despite succeeding kings' frequent visit to and personal worshipping in the hall, therefore, *jan* cups continued to be adopted for the rites during the Joseon Dynasty. It was during the Korean Empire period that *jak* cups were used for the rites of Hwaryeongjeon in the same way as Yeonghuijeon's rites, to conform to its elevated status.²⁸⁹

2-4. Interior Settings and Adornment of Official Portrait Halls

In enshrining the spirits of his parents at Jongmyo in 1635, King Injo had Sungeunjeon, the shrine of his parents, transformed into the portrait hall of his father, posthumously titled King Wonjong. Accordingly, the hall was refurbished as befits a portrait hall, following the precedent of Nambyeoljeon, the former portrait hall of Kings Taejong and Sejo placed at the same site between 1619 and 1627.²⁹⁰ A report from the Repair Office for

²⁸⁹ "Illustrations of Ritual Foods and Vessels 饌實尊壘圖說," in *Daehan yejeon* 大韓禮典 vol. 3.

²⁹⁰ *The Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, year of 1635, 6th month, 3rd day. The most important

Sungeunjeon (崇恩殿修理所) to King Injo informs us of the objects and royal regalia arranged for Sungeunjeon in detail. A king's bed (龍床, literally dragon bed), a Five Peaks Screen (五峯山屏風), and a mattress (褥席) were placed on the *ondol* floor of the chamber. On its front side, curtains hung down (帷帳). Blue and red canopies (青蓋, 紅蓋) and fans with phoenix and sparrow designs (鳳扇, 雀扇) were arranged in the place of worship, facing the chamber.²⁹¹

After the Second Manchu Invasion ended in 1637, King Injo had the portrait of King Sejo enshrined in the hall along with the portrait of King Wonjong. Sungeunjeon was renovated again to create two chambers, and the hall was renamed Nambyeoljeon.²⁹² Each chamber in the newly refurbished hall was arranged in the same way as it had been at Sungeunjeon with a Five Peak screen, a mattress, and a king's bed.²⁹³ To create King Taejo's chamber during the reign of King Sukjong, the building of the portrait hall was reconstructed again, and King Sukjong bestowed a new title of Yeonguijeon on Nambyeoljeon. On the western side of the reconstructed hall, there were several chambers in a row for successive kings.²⁹⁴ The portraits of all three kings – Taejo, Sejo, and Wonjong – were displayed in the

work in the renovation was to install the *ondol*, the floor heating system.

²⁹¹ *The Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, year of 1635, 6th month, 17th day. In this record, the Chinese traditional characters for the Five Peaks Screen (*obongsan byeongpung*, 五峯山屏風) are wrongly written as “Five Phoenix Table and Screen” (*obongsang byeongpung*, 五鳳床屏風). The similarity of pronunciation and the scribbled writing of this record, suggests that this was a misinterpretation of the characters for Five Peaks Screen.

²⁹² *The Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, year of 1637, 6th month, 5th day; 6th month, 14th day.

²⁹³ *The Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, year of 1637, 7th month, 10th day.

²⁹⁴ As it was rebuilt to enshrine King Taejo's portrait in 1677, the direction of the Nambyeoljeon (later Yeonghuijeon) was changed to be east-facing rather than south, due to the narrowness of the southern site. “Yeonghuijeon 永禧殿,” in *Chungwan tonggo* 春官通考 vol. 24; for the location of Yeonghuijeon, refer to Chang Pil-Goo 장필구, “Bokwon yeongu reul tonghan Yeonghuijeon ui gochal 복원연구를 통한 영희전의 고찰 [Study of Yeonghuijeon through reconstructed research]” (Master's Thesis, Seoul National University, 2004), 48-51.

same physical surrounding, following the example of the former portrait hall at Yeonghuijeon.²⁹⁵ Collectively, the interior setting of the former Nambyeoljeon, established in 1619, served as a precedent in the formulation of the physical surroundings of portraits of kings, which primarily consisted of a king's bed, a Five Peaks Screen, and a mattress, in the official portrait hall for successive kings in the capital throughout the dynasty.

A king's bed was a wooden platform with a low balustrade (小欄) on the top and feet on the bottom.²⁹⁶ Its balustrade had columns with lotus leaf decorations, and its body had carved dragon patterns.²⁹⁷ This description of a king's bed largely coincides with the illustration of the king's platform (龍平床) for King Yeongjo's chamber at Yeonghuijeon as seen in the 1778 *Uigwe for the Royal Ancestral Temple Enshrinement of King Yeongjo and King Jinjong* (fig. 2-6).²⁹⁸

A four-panel Five Peak Screen was installed directly on the rear side of a king's bed, not placed behind it.²⁹⁹ For this usage, the screen did not have feet, unlike other painting screens which had small feet to set up in space. Gold-paper flower decorations (道土落,

²⁹⁵ For details regarding the objects arranged in chambers at Yeonghuijeon, see "Responsibilities of the First Division 一本所所掌," in *Nambyeoljeon junggeoncheong uigwe* 南別殿重建廳儀軌 [Uigwe for the reconstruction of Nambyeoljeon], 奎 14353, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies.

²⁹⁶ 'The 6th month and 8th day of 1677 丁巳六月初八日,' under "Responsibilities of the First Division 一本所所掌," in *Nambyeoljeon junggeoncheong uigwe*.

²⁹⁷ 'The 5th month and 24th day of 1677 丁巳五月二十四日,' under "Responsibilities of the First Office," in *Nambyeoljeon junggeoncheong uigwe*.

²⁹⁸ 'Arrangement of the Ritual Objects for King Yeongjo's Portrait Painting Enshrinement at Yeonghuijeon 永禧殿英宗大王影幀移奉時儀物磨鍊,' under "Uigwe for the Third Division 祔廟都監三房儀軌," in the *Yeongjo Jinjong bumyo dogam uigwe* 英祖眞宗祔廟都監儀軌 [Uigwe for the royal ancestral temple enshrinement of King Yeongjo and King Jinjong], 1778, 奎 13587, Kyujanggak Institute of Korean Studies.

²⁹⁹ *The Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, year of 1785, 8th month, 18th day. The four-panel Five Peaks Screen for Yeonghuijeon was similar to the one at Seonjeongjeon, a royal council hall in Changdeokgung.

transcription of pure Korean) were added on the silk mounting of the Five Peak Screen.³⁰⁰

These gold paper decorations, which can be seen in the extant Five Peak Screens of New Seonwonjeon at Changdeokgung, lent a more magnificent and authoritative visual effect to the screen.

According to the *Uigwe for the Restoration of the Royal Portrait Hall* (眞殿重修都監儀軌), which records the process of expanding Yeonghuijeon in 1748, the size of a king's bed (around 255 x 114 x 41cm) was large enough to include a Five Peak Screen (around 245 x 215cm).³⁰¹ A king's bed of similar size and shape as described in the records can be found in the collection of the National Palace Museum of Korea, even though it was repainted a yellow color during the Korean Empire period. This king's bed (232 x 201 x 48cm) is a large platform decorated with dragon patterns and attached to lotus-leaf column balustrades (fig. 2-7).

The adoption of a wooden platform distinguishes Yeonghuijeon from King Taejo's portrait halls, which employed a stone dais. Unlike King Taejo's portrait halls, which had only one chamber in their center, Yeonghuijeon needed to include several chambers. In the narrow space, the use of a wooden platform (a king's bed) may have been more appropriate than a stone dais. A wooden king's bed at Yeonghuijeon substituted for a stone dais arranged in King Taejo's portrait halls and placed a Five Peaks Screen and a mattress on it.

Accordingly, a large size king's bed installing a Five Peaks Screen formed one chamber

³⁰⁰ The 6th month and 6th day of 1677 丁巳六月初六日,' under "Responsibilities of the First Office," in *Nambyeoljeon junggeoncheong uigwe*. This gold-paper flower decoration can be still found on the mountings of Five Peaks Screens in New Seonwonjeon, the last royal portrait hall built in 1921.

³⁰¹ "Responsibilities of the First Division 一本房所掌," in *Jinjeon jungsu dogam uigwe* 眞殿重修都監儀軌 [Uigwe for Restoration of Royal Portrait Hall], 圭 14913, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies; According to this *uigwe*, the size of a king's bed was around 255cm(8尺5寸) x 114cm(3尺8寸) x 41cm(1尺3寸8分), and the size of a Five Peak screen was around 245cm(8尺) x 215cm(7尺2寸).

enshrining a royal portrait at Yeonghuijeon.

The *Record of Yeonghuijeon* (永禧殿志, 1751), which dedicates a chapter to an elaborate list of all the items and regalia for each chamber in this hall, also provides us with detailed information on the arrangement of a chamber.³⁰² Drawing on this record, the interior setting of a chamber in the hall can be described as follows.³⁰³ The *ondol* floor of a chamber was covered with a rush mat called a *jiui* (地衣), upon which were placed a king's bed (龍床) with balustrade and dragon patterns. On the king's bed were laid, in this order, a yellow mat with a chrysanthemum pattern (黃花單席), a violet silk and square mattress (紫的方紬褥), and a patterned rush mat (彩花單席). Above these, a king's portrait was displayed.³⁰⁴ Red strings of woolen thread (紅絨絲注乙) were used to hang and fix a king's portrait, possibly in the way seen in the photographic plate of King Taejo's portrait in Junwonjeon and in the extant Gyeonggijeon (fig. 2-8).³⁰⁵ On the rear of the king's bed, a four-panel Five Peaks Screen (五峯山屏風) was installed. Over the entry of each chamber were suspended a red curtain in raw silk (紅綃面帳) and an inner red blind (內朱簾).

³⁰² 'Royal Paraphernalia and Ritual Vessels 儀物祭器,' in *Yeonghuijeon ji* 永禧殿志 [Record of Yeonghuijeon], vol. 2, K2-2471, The Academy of Korean Studies. The *Administrative Record of Royal Paraphernalia and Vessels in Yeonghui Hall* updated the list and compiled the section separately in 1774. *Yeonghuijeon uijang jegimul deung deungnok* 永禧殿儀仗祭器物等謄錄 [The administrative record of royal paraphernalia and vessels in Yeonghuijeon], 1774, K2-2469, The Academy of Korean Studies.

³⁰³ "Royal Paraphernalia and Ritual Vessels 儀物祭器," in *Yeonghuijeon ji*, vol. 2. This chapter lists all the items arranged and ritual vessels used for each chamber. According to the record, the furnishing of each chamber is almost identical with one another.

³⁰⁴ When King Taejo's portrait painting of Gyeonggijeon in Jeonju got damage on its backside, Chief State Councilor Kim Jaero attributed the damage to holding the painting close to the wall. Then, he recommended that the portrait painting of Gyeonggijeon be held in the air away from the wall, following the examples of Yeonghuijeon and Jangnyeongjeon. *Veritable Records of King Yeongjo*, vol. 54, year of 1741, 9th month, 2nd day. Thus, one king's portrait was displayed before a screen of Five Peaks and above a king's bed by using the strings.

³⁰⁵ For the way to hang a royal portrait painting in Gyeonggijeon, see Lee Soo-mi, 2006, 17.

Information about the architectural components of a chamber can be gleaned from several *uigwe* recording reconstructions. According to the *Uigwe for the Reconstruction of Nambyeoljeon* (南別殿重建廳儀軌, 1677), installed across the upper part of the chamber opening was a decorative panel, called *yueum* 流音, with a floral design and lotus bud columns, which was painted in five basic traditional colors.³⁰⁶ *Yueum* appears to have been one of the major components of a baldachin in a royal audience hall. It is illustrated, for instance, in the *Uigwe for the Reconstruction of the Hall of Benevolent Governance* (仁政殿營建都監儀軌, 1805) (fig. 2-9).

During King Jeongjo's reign, a baldachin was not installed in Nambyeoljeon (Yeonghuijeon).³⁰⁷ A *yueum* substituted for it, a feature distinguishing this hall from King Taejo's portrait halls and Seonwonjeon. The *yueum* combined with the wooden platform and Five Peaks Screen to give the visual effect of a king's throne. The *yueum* between inner pillars and the chambers lined up in a row are reminiscent of the Royal Ancestral Temple of Joseon, Jongmyo, suggesting that Jongmyo was a model for both the arrangement and adornment of Yeonghuijeon (fig. 2-10).

In contrast with both Jongmyo and New Seonwonjeon, wherein red blinds are unrolled on the left and right sides of each chamber to divide one from the other, Yeonghuijeon used a blind only to cover the frontal side of a chamber. Instead, partitions (障子) were built on the left and right sides of a chamber. Three layers of wallpaper were applied to the partitions, and the last layer was white with a water caltrop flower pattern.³⁰⁸

³⁰⁶ “Responsibilities of the First Division 一本所所掌,” in *Nambeoljeon junggeoncheong dogam uigwe* 南別殿重建廳儀軌: 龕室流音所入 草朴只二寸釘五十箇 蓮峯朴只三寸釘三十五箇, 正殿流音三間着漆所用丹青 當初磨鍊中不爲舉論者 欲見流音貌樣後量宜磨鍊之計是如乎.

³⁰⁷ *The Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, year of 1801, 2nd month, 10th day.

³⁰⁸ For the composition and papering of a chamber in Yeonghuijeon, refer to Chang Pil-Gu, “Bokwon yeongu reul tonghan Yeonghuijeon ui gochal,” 83-103; for primary sources recording the composition

In front of each chamber were arranged several items of royal regalia, such as a blue canopy (青蓋), a fan with a phoenix design (鳳扇), a red canopy (紅蓋), and a fan with a sparrow design (雀扇).³⁰⁹

The general setting of a chamber at Yeonghuijeon, which primarily consisted of a wooden platform with a lotus leaf balustrade, a *yueum* plate inserted on the upper part between inner pillars, and a Five Peak Screen, could convey the visual effect of a reduced throne. These comparatively simple furnishings and reserved ornamentation might have resulted from the high status of the hall in state rites and from the need to accommodate several chambers in the same hall. In order to house several halls in such a limited space, a stone dais and a baldachin had to be omitted. Also, as the place where king personally performed the rites along with hundreds of court officials, the furnishings and ornaments for the hall needed to be simple.

The use of this type of furnishing and adornment for each chamber at Yeonghuijeon continued until the late Joseon period, through several reconstructions of the hall. Just a few changes occurred during the reign of King Gojong. Around 1872, following the king's orders, a pair of doors were installed on the frontal side of individual chambers, to protect the chambers from collecting dust.³¹⁰ Accordingly, the new Yeonghuijeon, constructed on the

and papering of chambers in the hall, see *Namjeon junggeoncheong uigwe* 南殿重建廳儀軌 (1677), *Jinjeon jungsu dogam uigwe* 眞殿重修都監儀軌 (1748), *Yeonghuijeon jungsu uigwe* 永禧殿重修儀軌 (1772), and *Namjeon jeungjeon dogam uigwe* 南殿增建都監儀軌 (1859).

³⁰⁹ The Record of the Arrangement of Items and Royal Regalia in the First Chamber 第一室 殿內床卓鋪陳儀仗, under “Royal Paraphernalia and Ritual Vessels 儀物祭器,” in *Yeonghuijeon ji* 永禧殿志. Additionally, four red lacquered tables with tablecloths, two red lacquered tables for a set of candlesticks, one red lacquered incense table with an incense burner and an incense box, and one red lacquered table for written prayer were set up in front of the chamber. On each gate of the hall, an outer red blind (外朱簾) was hung. On seasonal festive days, a red lacquered liquor table, on which was placed a pair of candlesticks and a *jak* cup basket as well as liquor containers, was set up on the platform in front of each gate for the performance of sacrificial rituals

³¹⁰ *The Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, year of 1872, 6th month, 5th day.

site of the old shrine for Prince Sado, Gyeongmogung (景慕宮, Palace of Respect and Admire) in 1900, also installed front doors on its chambers.³¹¹ Just one year after its construction, however, the façade of each chamber in the new hall was transformed again. In 1901, the court adopted a new type of façade structure for each chamber in Seonwonjeon, the informal portrait hall on the palace ground of Gyeongung.³¹² This new type of frontal structure consisted of a *yueum* plate and an ornamental window with flying peony patterns. The 1901 *Uigwe for the Copying of Portrait Paintings* includes the illustration of the new frontal structure, and the structure can also be seen in New Seonwonjeon (fig. 3-12). Emperor Gojong regretted the condition of the front doors in the chambers of the new Yeonghuijeon. Accordingly, they were replaced with a set of a *yueum* panels and an ornamental window carving of flying peonies (風牧丹交窓) following the example of the Seonwonjeon in Gyeongung.³¹³ Furthermore, to make new Yeonghuijeon conform to the imperial status of the court, the court moved the king's beds from the old hall, repainted them, and changed the color of the mats and canopies to yellow, the symbolic color of the emperor.³¹⁴

The décor of Jangnyeongjeon and Hwaryeongjeon was modelled on the furnishings and adornment of Yeonghuijeon, just as their ritual food and vessel arrangements were. After the death of King Sukjong, his portrait was displayed and worshiped at Jangnyeongjeon in the

³¹¹ For the installation of doors on the front of each chamber in New Yeonghuijeon, see Chang Pil-Gu, pp. 77-78.

³¹² The 8th month and 7th day of 1901, under “List of Reports and Approvals 稟目,” in *Seonwonjeon jinjeon junggeon dogam uigwe* 璿源殿眞殿重建都監儀軌 [Uigwe for the Reconstruction of Seonwonjeon in Gyeongun Palace] (1901) 奎 14242, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies.

³¹³ The 5th month and 7th day of 1901, 辛丑五月初七日, under “List of Reports and Approvals,” in *Seonwonjeon jinjeon junggeon dogam uigwe*.

³¹⁴ “List of Reports and Approvals 稟目,” in *Yeonghuijeon yeonggeon dogam uigwe* 永禧殿營建都監儀軌 [Uigwe for Construction of Yeonghuijeon], 1900, 奎14243, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies.

same way as was done at Yeonghuijeon.³¹⁵ Accordingly, the same furnishings and objects as were found in Yeonghuijeon were arranged in Jangnyeongjeon: a king's bed, a Five Peaks Screen, and a curtain as well as royal regalia.³¹⁶ Additionally, following the model at Yeonghuijeon, Jangnyeongjeon also forwent the building of a baldachin in the chamber. On the other hand, Hwaryeongjeon, the portrait hall of King Jeongjo in Hwaseong, Suwon, manifested its lower status than Yeonghuijeon and Jangnyeongjeon through its furnishings. According to the List of Installed Objects (排設諸具) in the *Regulations for Hwaryeongjeon* (華寧殿應行節目), the overall furnishing and adornment of the chamber followed the two halls.³¹⁷ Hwaryeongjeon differentiated itself in the number of mats used for the chamber. While two rush mats were used at Yeonghuijeon: one placed on the top and the other on the bottom of a mattress for a king's bed, only one mat was used for a mattress in Hwaryeongjeon. Furthermore, a mat, a mattress, and curtains for the hall distinguished this hall from other halls through the materials and patterns of its textile items.

Chapter Conclusion

Gwanghaegun's court set a precedent for the official portrait halls of successive kings by temporarily enshrining portraits of King Taejo and King Sejo together in Nambyeoljeon at the capital. Gwanghaegun's personal sacrificial offering and the interior setting of the chamber established by his court served as examples throughout dynasty. It was

³¹⁵ *Veritable Records of King Gyeongjong*, vol. 1, year of 1720, 6th month, 21st day; *The Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, vol. 534, year of 1721, tenth month, 15th day.

³¹⁶ "The 8th month and 3rd day of 1724" and "the 8th month and 3rd day of 1731," in *Jongmyo sugae deungnok* 宗廟修改謄錄 [Transcribed record for repair of Jongmyo]; *Veritable Records of King Gyeongjong*, vol. 982, year of 1745, 1st month, 8th day. The *Transcribed Record for Repair of Jongmyo* documents all the records of repairing and reconstructing Jongmyo, Altars of Soil and Grain (*Sajik*), and other royal shrines including royal portrait halls between 1658 and 1735.

³¹⁷ "Installed Objects 排設諸具," in *Hwaryeongjeon eunghaeng jeolmok* 華寧殿應行節目.

King Sukjong who firmly established the hall as the most significant and official portrait hall in both status and formality. King Sukjong had a portrait of King Taejo additionally enshrined in the hall along with the portraits of Kings Sejo and Wonjong, and rechristened the hall Yeonghuijeon. Notably, he made a rule that kings should perform the ritual of libation every three years. His successors, King Yeongjo and King Jeongjo, developed the institution and strengthened the status of Yeonghuijeon by incorporating its rites in the official handbooks of state rites published during their reigns. Noticeably, it was stipulated in the handbooks that a king's personal sacrificial worship (親祭), featuring a high level of formality and complicated procedures, be performed on seasonal festive days. In this manner, the Yeonghuijeon rites achieved a status and significance comparable to the Jongmyo rites of the late Joseon period.

The material culture of Yeonghuijeon reflected the higher and more authoritative status of the hall than those of Origin Shrines and other portrait halls. Its distinctive status manifested itself in the ritual goods of the hall which were comprised of ritual vessels of tallest sizes and primarily in brass, as well as in the way it excluded meats, and employed *jak* cups. The interior setting in individual chambers at Yeonghuijeon featured relatively simple furnishings and adornment. A baldachin installed in King Taejo's portrait halls was replaced by *yueum* panels with floral designs that were inserted between inner pillars at Yeonghuijeon. Because several chambers were set in a row on the backside of the building, a wooden platform was substituted for a stone dais, which occupied more space. The arrangement of chambers in a row at the hall and the installation of *yueum* panels suggest that the Joseon court used Jongmyo, where the highest level state ancestral rites were conducted, as a reference in the formulation of Yeonghuijeon. In this regard, the material culture of Yeonghuijeon, created through the interfusion of the conventions of portrait halls and Jongmyo, embodies the character and status of the hall, branding it as a place, like Jongmyo,

where Joseon kings regularly performed rites along with hundreds of court officials.

In addition to Yeonghuijeon, two more portrait halls outside the capital were established during the late Joseon period: Jangnyeongjeon, the portrait hall of Kings Sukjong and Yeongjo at Ganghwa Island and Hwaryeongjeon, the portrait hall of King Jeongjo at Hwaseong, Suwon. Jangnyeongjeon was established as being the equal of Yeonghuijeon in status, whereas Hwaryeongjeon was lower in its status. Accordingly, Jangnyeongjeon was modelled on Yeonghuijeon in furnishing and ritual goods. The only difference was that Jangnyeongjeon did not employ *jak* cups for its rites. This was because kings never performed the rites in person there, due to the distance of the hall from their palaces. Hwaryeongjeon's lower status can be seen in its employment of different materials and patterns, reduced numbers of mats, and use of *jan* cups for the king's personal worship.

Chapter 3: Seonwonjeon: Informal Portrait Hall in the Inner Palace

While developing official portrait halls such as Yeonghuijeon and Jangnyeongjeon, the late Joseon court also established a portrait hall called Seonwonjeon (璿源殿, Jade Source Hall) in the inner quarter at Changdeokgung (昌德宮, Palace of Prosperous Virtue), which then served as the main palace. Seonwonjeon was an informal sacred hall but its proximity to the royal residence signifies that it was a place where royal family members could personally present offerings and worship before portraits of late Joseon kings. The rites of the hall were primarily confined to the royal family sphere throughout the dynasty. The extant New Seonwonjeon built in 1921 at Changdeokgung continues the tradition of Joseon Seonwonjeon. This chapter examines the exceptional features of Seonwonjeon that distinguish its physical characteristics and rites from those of other official portrait halls.

Unlike official portrait hall rites, the rites of Seonwonjeon were not included in official handbooks such as the *Five Rites of State*. For information about the hall and its rituals we must look instead to court chronicles, such as the *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat* (承政院日記) and *Record of Daily Reflection* (日省錄), and to royal manuscripts like those listing ritual vessels. Drawing on these primary sources and remaining objects, this chapter analyzes the ritual goods, furnishings, and ornaments of the hall, considers who was involved in determining and standardizing the types of material goods used in the hall's rituals, and emphasizes the continuation of the late Joseon practices in Seonwonjeon through the Korean Empire period. Taking into account the physical environment and ornamentation inside the hall, this chapter further addresses the origin and function of the hall and illustrates how the royal family stood before the portraits of their royal ancestors and made offerings of the most precious foods and vessels used in contemporary secular society. Finally, this

chapter looks at the painting program decorating the inner space of the hall to shed light on the encoded messages of the paintings.

3-1. The Development of Seonwonjeon

When enshrining the spirit tablets of King Taejo and King Taejong in new Munsojeon at Gyeongbokgung (景福宮, Palace of Great Felicity), the main palace of the early Joseon in 1433, King Sejong had Seonwonjeon (璿源殿, Hall of Jade Source) built on the northeastern side of new Munsojeon. Subsequently, portraits of King Taejo and his consorts were moved from the old Munsojeon to be stored in Seonwonjeon.³¹⁸ From that point on, Seonwonjeon served as a royal storage for portraits of kings and queens, records of royal genealogy, royal seals, and investiture books.³¹⁹ During the Japanese Invasion of 1592, Seonwonjeon was burned along with the palace, and all the royal portrait paintings therein were lost.

A hall with the same name reappears in historical documents of the reign of King Sukjong (r. 1674-1720). In 1695, King Sukjong had Chunhuijeon (春輝殿, Hall of Spring Splendor) at Changdeokgung renamed Seonwonjeon and secretly enshrined a portrait of himself there.³²⁰ This was one of two portraits privately commissioned by the king in that year; he sent another, behind the backs of his court officials, to Jangnyeongjeon on Ganghwa

³¹⁸ *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 60, year of 1433, 5th month, 2nd day.

³¹⁹ *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 81, year of 1438, 5th month, 19th day; *Veritable Records of King Munjong*, vol. 6, year of 1451, 3rd month, 20th day.

³²⁰ In 1656, Gyeonghwadang 景和堂 of Gyeongdeokgung 慶德宮 (now Gyeonghuigung 慶熙宮) was moved to Changdeokgung and rechristened Chunhuijeon 春輝殿. In 1695, the hall was re-named again this time as Seonwonjeon and one portrait of King Sukjong was enshrined there. *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, year of 1754, 1st month, 11th day; *Gunggwolji* 宮闕志 [Record of Palaces] vol. 2. 奎 3950, The Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies.

Island. In 1713, portraits of the king officially produced by the court replaced the previous ones at Jangneyongjeon and Seonwonjeon. In this way, Seonwonjeon became a portrait repository housing one portrait of King Sukjong in ordinary attire (常服). King Sukjong ordered that Seonwonjeon was to be transformed into an informal portrait hall for royal family members when he died and royal family members were to burn incense before his portrait there on the first and fifteenth days of the lunar month after his death.³²¹ When the mourning and wailing (*jolgok* 卒哭) for the deceased King Sukjong finished in 1720, the portrait of him in ordinary attire was displayed for worship at Seonwonjeon at the same time that the portrait of him in court audience attire was set up to receive ritual offerings at Jangnyeongjeon.³²²

King Yeongjo (r. 1724-1776) used the rites of Seonwonjeon to legitimize his rule. The king frequently performed libation (酌獻禮) and tea ritual (茶禮) as well as veneration (展謁) and inspection (奉審) at Seonwonjeon.³²³ Whenever tangerines, produced from Chinese tangerine seeds King Sukjong had sent to Jeju Island, were presented to the court as a tribute from the island, King Yeongjo offered some of them before the portrait of King Sukjong in accordance with the ritual of *cheonsin* (薦新), which stipulates offering the first food product of the year to ancestors.³²⁴ While firmly establishing Seonwonjeon as a place of worship in the inner court, the king appropriated the authority of the late king, derived from

³²¹ *Veritable Records of King Gyeongjong*, vol. 1, year of 1720, 6th month, 21st day.

³²² *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, vol. 528, year of 1720, 11th month, 20th day. For the kingly attire, see Chapter Four, 164.

³²³ *Veritable Records of King Yeongjo*, vol. 60, year of 1744, 10th month, 21st day; vol. 61, year of 1745, 1st month, 17th day; vol. 83, year of 1755, 1st month, 14th day; vol. 96, year of 1760, 8th month, 15th day. For detailed information about Seonwonjeon rites, see the second section in this chapter.

³²⁴ *Veritable Records of King Yeongjo*, vol. 102, year of 1763, 12th month, 9th day; vol. 106, year of 1765, 12th month, 13th day; vol. 125, year of 1775, 10th month, 25th day.

the presence of the portrait, to reinforce his own royal power, which was undermined by his mother's position a low-ranking concubine, as mentioned above, and by his alleged participation in the assassination of the previous king, Gyeongjong (r. 1720-1724). Whenever he made an important decision, King Yeongjo would personally conduct 'the report to spirit (告由)' before the portrait of King Sukjong at the hall. Prior to instructing court officials to enshrine one copy of King Sukjong's portrait at Yeonghuijeon in 1748, King Yeongjo first informed the king's portrait of his plans to reproduce King Sukjong's portraits and to reconstruct Yeonghuijeon.³²⁵ Similarly, when he decided to have his grandson (later King Jeongjo) removed from the family register of his late second son, Sado, the young man's biological father, and entered into the family register of his late first son, King Yeongjo personally reported this decision to the portrait of his own father, King Sukjong, at Seonwonjeon, and then showed the written report to court officials to formally announce his decision.³²⁶ These reporting rituals at Seonwonjeon provided King Yeongjo with the power to enact his decisions in the court. The power stemmed from the authority of his predecessor, King Sukjong, whose presence resided in the portrait in the hall.

King Jeongjo (r. 1776-1800), building on the precedent set by his grandfather and predecessor, King Yeongjo, firmly established Seonwonjeon as the informal portrait hall for successive kings on the palace grounds and institutionalized the rites of the hall. He had the second (east) chamber at Seonwonjeon constructed when the spirit of King Yeongjo was

³²⁵ *Veritable Records of King Yeongjo*, vol. 67, year of 1748, 1st month, 17th day. In 1748, King Yeongjo ordered two portraits of King Sukjong copied based on the Seonwonjeon portrait in "ordinary attire." Then, the two copies were respectively enshrined at Yeonghuijeon and Seonwonjeon. *Veritable Records of King Yeongjo*, vol. 67, year of 1748, 2nd month, 25th day. For the event of reproducing King Sukjong's portraits in 1748, see Kim Ji-young 김지영, "Yeongjo dae jinjeon jeongchaek gwa yeongjeong mosa dogam uigwe 영조대 진전정책과 영정모사도감의례, [Policy on royal portrait halls during the reign of King Yeongjo and *Uigwe for the Copying of Portrait Paintings*]," in *Gyujanggak sojang uigwe haejejip* vol. 2 (2004), 553-557.

³²⁶ *Veritable Records of King Yeongjo*, vol. 103, year of 1764, 2nd month, 1st day.

enshrined at Jongmyo, and personally supervised the construction work, as his grandfather had previously had done.³²⁷ Then, five portraits of King Yeongjo were moved to the hall: one full-length portrait of him at age seventy in court audience attire was displayed as an object of worship, while the rest were rolled in cases and kept in the new chamber at Seonwonjeon.³²⁸ King Jeongjo conducted appropriate rituals at Seonwonjeon on the first and fifteenth days of every month and on the birthdays of the enshrined kings. In addition, he held ceremonies at the hall that celebrated his predecessor's special days. Commemorating both the 60th year of King Yeongjo's enthronement in 1784 and the 100th anniversary of his birth in 1793, King Jeongjo along with court officials and royal family members venerated Yeongjo's portrait at Seonwonjeon.³²⁹ After King Jeongjo's death, four portraits of him, which had been housed at Juhamnu (宙合樓), Gyujanggak, were enshrined in the third (west) chamber of Seonwonjeon, and a full-length portrait of him at age forty was displayed as a worshipping object there.³³⁰

Portraits of King Sunjo (r. 1800-1834), King Jeongjo's son, were not enshrined at Seonwonjeon right after his death, due to the court's anxiety that Seonwonjeon could become too much like Jongmyo.³³¹ Instead, portraits of King Sunjo were housed outside the palace at

³²⁷ *Ilseongnok* 日省錄 [The Record of Daily Reflections], year of 1778, 1st month, 15th day; 2nd month, 10th day.

³²⁸ *Veritable Records of King Jeongjo*, vol. 12, year of 1781, 8th month, 26th day; Kim Ji-young, 2004, 547.

³²⁹ *Veritable Records of King Jeongjo*, vol. 18, year of 1784, 8th month, 29th day.

³³⁰ *Veritable Records of King Sunjo*, vol. 4, year of 1802, 8th month, 15th day. Following the precedent set by King Yeongjo, King Jeongjo produced portrait paintings of him every ten years during his twenty-five-year reign. He had portraits of him housed at Gyujanggak, Gyeongmogung, and Jasil (Room for Fasting) in Hyeollyungwon Tomb. Details of the portraits of King Jeongjo that were moved from Juhamnu are as follows: a large and a small size portrait of him at the age of 30; a large size portrait at the age of 40, a small size portrait at the age of 40. *Veritable Records of King Sunjo*, vol. 4, year of 1802, 8th month, 15th day.

³³¹ For this reason, Queen Dowager Sunwon decided neither to expand the hall nor to enshrine King Sunjong's portraits at Seonwonjeon. *Veritable Records of King Heonjong*, vol. 3, year of 1836, 11th month, 14th day.

portrait repositories such as Mangmyoru (望廟樓, Looking to the Shrine Pavilion) in Gyeongmogung (景慕宮, Shrine of Great Admiration) and Seongilheon (誠一軒, Pavilion of Sincerity) in Gyeongugung (景祐宮, Shrine of Great Blessing).³³² The location outside the palace made it difficult for King Heonjong (r. 1834-1849) to venerate with any frequency the portraits of King Sunjo, his grandfather, and Prince Hyomeong (posthumously elevated to King Yikjong), his father who died young. As a result, in 1846, King Heonjong ordered Seonwonjeon reconstructed as a five-chamber hall to accommodate the enshrinement of portraits of his grandfather and father.³³³

During the reign of King Cheoljong (r. 1849-1864), who succeeded the throne by order of Queen Dowager Sunwon (1789-1857), Seonwonjeon was expanded into a six-chamber hall and portraits of King Heonjong were enshrined in the sixth chamber.³³⁴ After King Cheoljong's death, however, the Joseon court did not consider enshrining his portraits at Seonwonjeon, ostensibly so as not to expand the hall. However, this decision had more to do with maintaining the priority of lineage in the portrait enshrinement—King Cheoljong was not of the direct bloodlines of either his predecessor or his successor—and with the view of the king as a powerless tool of the late Joseon court.³³⁵ Cheoljong's portraits were not used as objects of royal ancestral worship in either the late Joseon or Korean empire periods.

During the reign of King Gojong (r. 1863-1907), Seonwonjeon underwent drastic changes in its location and status. In 1867, Gyeongbokgung, abandoned since the Japanese

³³² For more detailed explanation, see Chapter Five.

³³³ *Veritable Records of King Heonjong*, vol. 13, year of 1846, 8th month, 6th day; *Veritable Records of King Heonjong*, appendix, the Epitaph of King Heonjong and the Brief Biography of King Heonjong.

³³⁴ *Veritable Records of King Cheoljong*, vol. 3, year of 1851, 1st month, 20th day; vol. 3, year of 1851, 4th month, 4th day; vol. 3, year of 1851, 5th month, 17th day.

³³⁵ For the commission, enshrinement, and use of portraits of King Cheoljong, see the fourth section in Chapter Five.

invasions at the end of the sixteenth century, was reconstructed and reestablished as the main palace of Joseon under the regency of Heungseon Daewongun (1820-1898), King Gojong's natural father.³³⁶ Accordingly, another portrait hall called Seonwonjeon was built on the grounds of Gyeongbokgung, and all the portraits in the old Seonwonjeon at Changdeokgung were moved into it.³³⁷ The rebuilt Gyeongbokgung, however, did not serve as the main palace for quite a while because of the rapidly changing international environment.

In 1895, a group of Japanese civilian extremists led by Miura Gorō (1847-1926), a Japanese lieutenant general and Japan's resident minister in Korea, murdered Consort Min (later elevated to Empress Myeongseong) and King Gojong and the crown prince (later Emperor Sunjong) were held captive by the pro-Japanese regime for several months. In 1896, the king and the crown prince finally succeeded in escaping from Gyeongbokgung, and sought asylum in the Russian Legation.³³⁸ During his one-year stay in the Russian Legation, King Gojong selected Gyeongungung (慶運宮, Palace of Celebrating Fortune), retitled Deoksugung (德壽宮, Palace of Virtuous Longevity) in 1907, as his royal residence. The palace was surrounded by Western legation buildings and located right next to the Russian Legation, providing the king with safety.³³⁹ The king had Gyeongungung repaired and the

³³⁶ For the reconstruction of Gyeongbokgung and its political meaning, see Hong Soon-Min, "Gojong dae Gyeongbokgung junggeon ui jeongchi jeok uimi 고종대 경복궁 중건의 정치적 의미 [Political meanings of the reconstruction of Gyeongbokgung during the reign of King Gojong]," *Seoulhak yeongu* 서울학연구 vol. 29 (2007), 57-82.

³³⁷ *Veritable Records of King Gojong*, vol. 5, year of 1868, the 7th month, the 18th day.

³³⁸ For the domestic and international environments between 1895 and 1896, see C. I. Eugene Kim and Han-Kyo Kim, "Chapter 6. The Russo-Japanese Rivalry, 1895-1904," in *Korea and the Politics of Imperialism, 1876-1910* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 85-102; Robert Neff, *Letters from Joseon: 19th Century Korea through the Eyes of an American Ambassador's Wife* (Seoul: Seoul Selection, 2012).

³³⁹ Right after the Japanese Invasions ended, Gyeongungung had temporarily been used as a king's main residential palace until the completion of Changdeokgung in 1606. "Deoksugung," *Hanguk minjok munhwa dae baekgwon* 한국민족문화대백과 [Encyclopedia of Korean Culture], The Academy of Korean Studies (<http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/>) For the establishment of Gyeongungung as the main palace during the Korean Empire, see Lee Yoon-sang 이윤상, "Hwangje ui gunggwol

portraits of preceding kings from Gyeongbokgung transferred to it as the new main palace.³⁴⁰

In 1897, another portrait hall called Seonwonjeon was built on the new palace grounds. Notably, the Seonwonjeon at Gyeongungung had one more chamber than the Seonwonjeon at Changdeokgung and Gyeongbokgung, both of which had only six chambers.³⁴¹ The expansion of Seonwonjeon at Gyeongungung was likely planned as a means of elevating the dynasty to the status of empire, the Korean Empire proclaimed in the tenth month of the same year, to protect Korean autonomy. Three months after elevating the dynastic founder King Taejo to Emperor Taejo in 1899, Emperor Gojong ordered one copy of Emperor Taejo's portrait made and enshrined in the first chamber of the new hall.³⁴² After installing the copy in the first chamber, Emperor Gojong instructed the construction of an additional chamber in the empty portrait halls at Changdeokgung and Gyeongbokgung.³⁴³ This may have been motivated by concern that he might need to move to one of these palaces should an emergency arise due to the political instability.

As Cho Insoo points out, the enshrinement of the portrait of Taejo in the first chamber at Seonwonjeon signifies Emperor Gojong's intention of presenting himself, the founder of Korean Empire, in the image of King Taejo, the dynastic founder of Joseon and

Gyeongungung 황제의 궁궐 경운궁 [Gyeongungung, the palace of emperor],” *Seoulhak yeongu* 서울학연구 vol. 40 (2010), 1-24.

³⁴⁰ Lee Yoon-sang, 5.

³⁴¹ Lee Kanggeun 이강근, “Gojong dae Gyeongungung jungchang e daehan yeongu 고종대 경운궁 중창에 대한 연구 [Study on the expansion of Gyeongungung during the reign of Gojong],” in *Misulsa jaryo wa haeseok Jin Hong-seop seonsaeng hasu nonmunjip* 미술사 자료와 해석-진홍섭 선생하수논문집 (Seoul: Iljisa, 2008), 387-437.

³⁴² *Veritable Records of King Gojong*, vol. 39, year of 1899, 12th month, 31st day. In the twelfth month of 1899, King Taejo of Joseon was elevated to Emperor Taejo, and then his spirit tablet was installed at the Altar of Heaven. *Ibid.*, vol. 39, year of 1899, 5th month, 22nd day.

³⁴³ *Veritable Records of King Gojong*, vol. 40, year of 1900, 5th month, 22nd day. A copy of King Taejo's portrait was produced modeled on the portrait of King Taejo enshrined at Junwonjeon in Yeongheung. Jo Seokjin 趙錫晉 (1853-1920), one of the last court painters of Joseon, was in charge of reproducing the portrait.

emphasizes the continuity between the newly founded Korean Empire and the Joseon Dynasty.³⁴⁴ Furthermore, given the political turmoil of the time, this action reflects the heightened significance and status of the informal portrait hall, as a place that the emperor, who had difficulty going outside the palace due to fear for his safety, could easily access and therein meet and communicate with his ancestors. Notably, all the matters related to the reconstruction of Seonwonjeon and reproduction of portraits for the hall between 1900 and 1901 were, for the first time, documented in *uigwe*, official records of state events and rites. This is significant in that it indicates that Seonwonjeon, despite its location on the palace grounds, was placed in the official domain during the Korean Empire.

Not long after enshrining the portrait of King Taejo in the Seonwonjeon at Gyeongungung, the portrait hall suffered a fire and all portraits therein were burnt.³⁴⁵ On that day, Emperor Gojong ordered the hall reconstructed and portraits of the seven kings reproduced based on portraits in other portrait halls and repositories.³⁴⁶ While rebuilding the informal portrait hall at Gyeongungung, the emperor also ordered the reconstruction of Mokcheongjeon, which had been abandoned since the Japanese invasions, and the enshrinement of a copy of Emperor Taejo's portrait there.³⁴⁷ In this manner, Emperor Gojong attempted to use the power of the royal ancestral portraits, especially portraits of the dynastic

³⁴⁴ Cho Insoo, "Jeontong gwa gwonwi ui pyosang," 2006, 49.

³⁴⁵ *Veritable Records of King Gojong*, vol. 40, year of 1900, 10th month, 14th day.

³⁴⁶ King Taejo's portrait at Junwonjeon, King Sukjong's portrait at Yeonghuijeon, King Yeongjo's portrait at Naengcheonjeong, King Jeongjo's portrait at Pyeongnakjeong, King Sunjo's portrait at Yeonghuijeon, King Yikjong's portrait at Pyeongnakjeong, and King Heonjong's portrait at Pyeongnakjeon were used as models for the reproduction of portraits of successive kings to be enshrined at the reconstructed Seonwonjeon. Yi Söng-mi 이성미, Yu Songok 유송옥, and Kang Sinhang 강신항, *Joseon sidae eojin gwangye dogam uigwe yeongu* 朝鮮時代 御眞關係都監儀軌研究 [Study of *uigwe* for royal portraiture during the Joseon period] (Seongnam: Jeongsin munhwa yeonguwon, 1997), 55-61.

³⁴⁷ *Veritable Records of King Gojong*, vol. 40, year of 1900, 12th month, 1st day. In 1901, the reconstruction of the hall was completed and a copy of Emperor Taejo's portrait was enshrined at the hall. *Ibid.*, vol. 41, year of 1901, 2nd month, 13th day.

founder, Taejo, to strengthen the national authority that had been severely damaged by foreign powers.

In 1908, all the portraits at Seonwonjeon in Gyeongung and at Mokcheongjeon were moved to the old Seonwonjeon at Changdeokgung, in accordance with an imperial edict on the revision of state rituals.³⁴⁸ In 1921, the Japanese Government General built a new Seonwonjeon on the site of the Northern Military Training Office (北營) on the Southern side of the Altar of Great Gratitude (大報壇) at Changdeokgung to enshrine portraits of Gojong.³⁴⁹ The former Seonwonjeon then functioned as a storage for objects owned by the Royal Yi family.

3-2. Rites and Ritual Goods of Seonwonjeon

Due to its informal status and proximity to the royal residence, Seonwonjeon was frequently visited by late Joseon kings who performed several types of rituals, including burning incense (焚香), reporting (告由), veneration (展謁), inspection (奉審), libation (酌獻), and tea ritual (茶禮). During the last two rituals, offerings were made before the portraits. Libation was performed on special occasions such as the temporary moving of and returning of the enshrined portraits. The tea ritual was conducted on Lunar New Year's Day and on the birthdays of the enshrined kings, which must have been the most special days

³⁴⁸ *Veritable Records of Emperor Sunjong*, vol. 2, year of 1908, 7th month, 23rd day.

³⁴⁹ Chang Pil-Gu 장필구 and Jeon Bong-Hee 전봉희, "Gojong jangnye gigan sin Seonwonjeon ui joseong gwa Deoksugung Changdeokgung gungyeongui byeonhwa 고종 장례 기간 신선원전의 조성 과정과 덕수궁·창덕궁 궁역의 변화 [Construction of New Seonwonjeon and transformation of the palatial sites of Deoksu and Changdeok Palaces during the period of funeral rites for Emperor Gojong]," *Daehan geonchuk hakoe nonmunjip gyehoekgye 대한건축학회논문집 계획계* vol. 29 (2013. 12.), 197-208.

during their lifetimes.³⁵⁰

Among the portrait halls, Seonwonjeon was the only one where the tea ritual was performed.³⁵¹ The distinctive character of the tea ritual can readily be seen when it is compared with rites conducted other official portrait halls. The grand sacrificial rites (大祭) of official halls, performed on seasonal festive days, feature complicated procedures, including the three libations, the partaking of drink (飲福), and the burning of a written invocation (望燎). The ritual of libation, which was performed in both official portrait halls and Seonwonjeon on special occasions, involved one libation and the burning of the written invocation.³⁵² In contrast, the tea ritual was the simplest type of sacrificial rite, involving just one libation (Appendix B).³⁵³ This simplicity was in keeping with the informal and intimate nature of Seonwonjeon. Tea rituals seem to have commenced in Seonwonjeon after 1720,

³⁵⁰ “Sacrificial Rites 祀典,” in *Taesangji* 太常志 [Records of the Office for Sacrificial Rites] vol. 2, 1873, The Academy of Korean Studies. The *Records of the Office for Sacrificial Rites* specifies that the tea ritual be performed regularly on the birthdays of the enshrined kings in Seonwonjeon, whereas the ritual of libation be performed only intermittently at special events.

³⁵¹ For the preliminary study on birthday tea rituals performed at Seonwonjeon, refer to Gang Sung-gum, “Joseon sidae jinjeon tansin darye yeongu 조선시대 진전 탄신다례 연구 [Study on birthday tea rituals performed in royal portrait halls]” (master’s thesis, Sungkyunkwan University, 2009). This study does not distinguish a libation ritual from a tea ritual. Also, it regards Seonwonjeon as a representative example of royal portrait halls. For the historical development of tea rituals during the Joseon dynasty in the context of royal ancestral rites, refer to Jung Young-sun, “Joseon wangsil jesa darye ui yeje seongnip gwa geu baegyeong e gwanhan gochal 조선 왕실 제사다례의 예제 성립과 그 배경에 관한 고찰 [Study of the establishment and background of tea rituals for royal ancestral worship],” *Yugyo sasang munhwa yeongu* 유교사상문화연구 vol. 25 (2006), 55-93; “Darye jesa ui yeonwon gwa jeongae mit geu teukseong e gwanhan yeongu 다례제사의 연원과 전개 및 그 특성에 관한 연구 [Study of the origin, development, and feature of tea rituals for ancestral worship]” (PhD diss., Sungkyunkwan University, 2006).

³⁵² Because the primary celebrant was a king, the grand sacrificial rites of Yeonghuijeon are specified as king’s personal sacrificial worship (親祭). In other official portrait halls, such as King Taejo’s portrait halls and Jangnyeongjeon, provincial governors served as primary celebrants.

³⁵³ “Seonwonjeon darye chinhaeng holgi 璿源殿茶禮親行笏記” and “Seonwonjeon jakeollye chinhaeng holgi 璿源殿酌獻禮親行笏記,” from *Holgijinseoldo* 笏記陳設圖, 1937, MF 16-294, Academy of Korean Studies.

when King Sukjong's portrait was unrolled for worship in the wake of his death.³⁵⁴ It was not until King Jeongjo's reign, however, that tea rituals came to be regularly performed on the birthdays of the enshrined kings.³⁵⁵

Royal family members living in the inner palace (自內) conducted Seonwonjeon rites and arranged for ritual foods and vessels.³⁵⁶ Royal women, such as queen dowagers and royal consorts, supervised the preparation of the food, drink, and paraphernalia and participated in most rituals for Seonwonjeon.³⁵⁷ Several brief biographies (行狀) of queen dowagers of the late Joseon eulogize their devotion to overseeing the handling of the ritual foods and vessels from preparation to presentation.³⁵⁸ A royal daughter-in-law first venerated the images at Seonwonjeon right after her marriage and prior to an official visit to Jongmyo.³⁵⁹ This active involvement of royal women in the Seonwonjeon rites led King Jeongjo to authorize the construction of an east pavilion attached to the hall, where royal female members of the court (內殿) could kneel and worship (展拜) separately.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁴ *Ilseongnok*, year of 1802, 2nd month, 29th day.

³⁵⁵ *Veritable Records of King Jeongjo*, vol. 3, year of 1777, 5th month, 29th day; year of 1778, 9th month, 13th day; vol. 4, year of 1777, 8th month, 15th day, and etc.

³⁵⁶ According to King Jeongjo's instruction given right after his enthronement, other than sacrificial wine, ritual foods and vessels were prepared by the inner court. *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, year of 1776, 12th month, 20th day. *The 1873 Records of the Office for Sacrificial Rites, Taesang ji*, shows the same stipulation for the rites of Seonwonjeon. "Sacrificial Rites 祀典," in *Taesang ji* 太常志 vol. 2, 1873. King Jeongjo reiterated several times during his reign that Seonwonjeon rites would be prepared and conducted by the inner court. *Ilseongnok*, year of 1778, 1st month, 20th day; year of 1778, 1st month, 23rd day; year of 1778, 2nd month, 15th day.

³⁵⁷ *Veritable Records of King Yeongjo*, vol. 89, year of 1757, 3rd month, 12th day. The brief biography of the consort stresses that Consort Jeongseong (貞聖王后, 1693-1757), the first consort of King Yeongjo took part in every ritual held at the hall.

³⁵⁸ *Veritable Records of King Cheoljong*, vol. 9, year of 1857, 12th month, 17th day; *Veritable Records of King Gjongjong*, vol. 27, year of 1890, the 8th month, the 30th day; vol. 44, year of 1904, 3rd month, 15th day.

³⁵⁹ *Ilseongnok*, year of 1762, 4th month, 10th day.

³⁶⁰ *Ilseongnok*, year of 1778, 1st month, 15th day.

Because royal people of the inner palace personally made offerings before portraits of their forebears in Seonwonjeon, the representative rite of this hall, the tea ritual, was established as a royal family ritual (家人禮).³⁶¹ Royal dress for the rituals in this hall was also simple. Whereas the kings dressed in full ceremonial attire for the rites at Yeonghuijeon, late Joseon kings wore ordinary attire for rites at Seonwonjeon.³⁶² Rites and dress thus show the informality of Seonwonjeon relative to the formality of the official portrait hall for successive kings. In this intimate and informal environment, foods and vessels like those used in contemporary secular society could be used for making offerings before the kings' portraits.

Until King Jeongjo's reign, there was no procedure for the arrangement of ritual vessels in Seonwonjeon. While creating the second chamber to enshrine portraits of King Yeongjo at the hall in 1778, King Jeongjo noted the lack of regulations governing the number and size of the ritual vessels used for the Seonwonjeon rites. Consequently, he ordered the chief royal secretary to reduce the repetitive and unimportant vessels and set up forty-six ritual vessels for each chamber. He further had most ritual vessels for Seonwonjeon newly produced in silver. Minor ones, such as silver spoons and chopsticks, were to come from the inner court.³⁶³

Because his officials were not familiar with the shapes and sizes of the vessels needed for Seonwonjeon, King Jeongjo gave them a few used vessels in the inner palace as

³⁶¹ *Veritable Records of King Sunjo*, vol. 4, year of 1802, 7th month, 26th day. 而況此殿，即自內展誠之所，與宗廟南殿，稍有間焉。內外子孫之茶禮行事，眞所謂家人禮也。

³⁶² *Veritable Records of King Yeongjo*, vol. 102, year of 1763, 8th month, 15th day; vol. 102, year of 1763, 12th month, 9th day.

³⁶³ *Ilseongnok*, year of 1778, 1st month, 20th day. According to the account of the first month and eighteenth day in the year of 1778, it seems that more than seventy or eighty vessels were placed on the offering table to worship King Sukjong's portrait in Seonwonjeon. *Ilseongnok*, year of 1776, 1st month, 18th day; year of 1778, 2nd month, 15th day.

models.³⁶⁴ He also personally inspected the ritual vessels. After carefully examining a gold cup (金盞) and a jade cup (玉杯) for the second chamber, he ordered the Minister of Taxation to restore the faded golden cover of the jade cup.³⁶⁵ As can be seen, the most luxurious materials of the time, such as silver, gold, and even jade, were used for these vessels. King Jeongjo's involvement, which led to the standardization of the size and type of ritual vessels for Seonwonjeon, further shows informal status of this hall and its place in the royal family sphere.

The Record of Ritual Utensils for the Fourth and Fifth Chambers in Seonwonjeon, which was written in 1846 when King Heonjong conducted the libation ritual for the newly enshrined portrait paintings of King Sunjo and Prince Hyomyeong (posthumously titled King Ikjong), provides detailed information on the ritual vessels used.³⁶⁶ Following the precedent of King Jeongjo's court, the ritual utensils consisted mostly of silverware, along with a few jade and gold-plated cups. It seems that most of these vessels were newly produced for the

³⁶⁴ *Ilseongnok*, year of 1778, 1st month, 23rd day; year of 1778, 1st month, 25th day; year of 1778, 2nd month, 9th day; year of 1778, 2nd month, 10th day.

³⁶⁵ *Ilseongnok*, year of 1778, 2nd month, 13th day.

³⁶⁶ *Jinjeon je sasil gimyeong, jinjeon je osil gimyeong* 眞殿第四室器皿·眞殿第五室器皿 [Lists of ritual utensils for the fourth and fifth chambers of Seonwonjeon], 1846, manuscript, 34.0 x 311.5cm, National Palace Museum of Korea. The kinds and numbers of main ritual utensils in each list are as follows: a silver rest for spoon and chopsticks (銀匙櫟), a set of silver spoon and chopsticks (銀匙箸), a silver ladle (銀召兒), three silver rice-bowls (銀周鉢), three silver bowls (銀大櫟), three silver soup bowls (銀湯器), three silver covered bowls with seal script design (銀篆字盒), five silver vessels for fruit including *uri* (銀果器 于里具), thirteen large, middle, and small size silver plates (銀大中小櫟匙), one silver plate for jerked meat or fish (銀切肉器), two silver plates for grilled meat or fish (銀炙器), three small silver dishes with lids (銀鍾子 蓋具), one silver dish for oriental melon (銀眞苺盤), a pair of silver sticks (銀尖), one jade cup with jade saucer (眞玉盃 眞玉臺具), one jade cup with gilt cover and jade saucer (眞玉盃 鍍金蓋 眞玉臺 具), one silver-plated cup with lid and saucer (銀鍍金盃 蓋臺具), one silver ewer with Sun and Moon design (銀日月瓶), one silver sauté vessel for wine with lid (銀酒炒兒 蓋具), one silver sauté vessel for tea with lid (銀茶炒兒 蓋具), one silver vessel for tea leaves with lid and one brass tray (銀茶葉瓢 蓋·鍍錚盤 具), one silver covered bowl for incense (銀香盒), one ceramic tea vessel with lacquered saucer (磁茶器 漆臺具), one copper plated incense burner with wooden prop (銅鍍金香爐 花梨臺具), and one copper plated bowl with cover (銅鍍金香盒).

two chambers, and the weight of the materials used, e.g. silver, gold and jade, is noted.

Objects originally produced for the king's use in life were also incorporated into Seonwonjeon rites. In *The Record of Ritual Utensils for the Fourth and Fifth Chambers in Seonwonjeon*, annotations for the first three objects on each list, i.e, a silver rest with a lid (銀匙櫟), a set of silver spoon and chopsticks (銀匙箸), and a silver ladle (銀召兒), indicate that the king had often used these things (常時所御件) during his lifetime (fig. 3-1). The *Record of Ritual Utensils for the Sixth Chamber at Seonwonjeon*, written for the arrangement of the chamber of King Heonjong in 1851, notes that a silver-plated ewer with a gilt phoenix design (金鍍金鳳瓶) and a set of silver sticks (銀孤尖) used were originally produced for the king's wedding ceremony (嘉禮時件) (fig. 3-2).³⁶⁷ Indeed, we find these objects named and illustrated in *The Uigwe for the Wedding of King Heonjong and Consort Hyohyeon* (1837) (fig. 3-3).³⁶⁸

Ritual vessels on the 1846 list for the fourth chamber at Seonwonjeon can be matched with illustrations in the *Uigwe for the Copying of Royal Portraits* (影幀模寫都監儀軌, 1901) and extant objects in the collection of the National Palace Museum of Korea (see Appendix C).³⁶⁹ From this comparison, we can see that the kinds, shapes, and materials of ritual vessels used in Seonwonjeon during the reign of King Jeongjo persisted into the Korean

³⁶⁷ *Jinjeon jeyuksil gimyeong* 眞殿第六室器皿 [Record of ritual utensils for the sixth chamber of Seonwonjeon], 1851, manuscript, 35.0 x 126cm, National Palace Museum of Korea. . Several Chinese characters including 銀孤尖, 銀尖, 銀簽, and 銀籤, all of which are pronounced 'eun cheom,' were used in historical texts to indicate a silver stick.

³⁶⁸ "Responsibilities of the Third Branch 三房所掌," in *Heonjong Hyohyeon wanghu garye dogam uigwe* 憲宗·孝顯王后 嘉禮都監儀軌 [*Uigwe for the weddings of King Heonjong and Consort Hyohyeon*] (1837) vol. 2, 奎 13139, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies.

³⁶⁹ *Yeongjeong mosa dogam uigwe* 影幀模寫都監儀軌 [*Uigwe for the copying of portrait paintings*], 1901, k2-2765, The Academy of Korean Studies. This *uigwe* records all the processes for copying and enshrining royal portraits of seven kings after the fire of Seonwonjeon at Gyeongungung in 1900.

Empire. This contradicts previous studies that have maintained that the Seonwonjeon vessels of the Korean Empire differed from those of the Joseon period, as befitting the elevated status of the imperial state.³⁷⁰ The record in the “New Production of Ritual Vessels for the First Chamber of Seonwonjeon (眞殿一室祭器新造)” in No. 195 of the *Jinbon* (秦本), the minutes of the Council of State Affairs (議政府) written in 1900, also demonstrates the persistence of the types of ritual vessels used for Seonwonjeon.³⁷¹ Except for brass candlesticks with a reclining dragon design and a set of a brass candle cutter and a container, the 1900 list of ritual objects for the first chamber is nearly identical to the list of ritual utensils for the sixth chamber compiled in 1851.³⁷² The extant ewer inscribed as belonging to the tenth chamber, therefore datable to ca. 1921, also indicates that Seonwonjeon ritual vessel types continued into the Japanese annexation of Korea (1910-1945) (Appendix C).

Differences between the two types of sacrificial offering rites performed at Seonwonjeon, the formal and quasi-public libation rituals performed by officials and the tea rituals primarily confined to the royal family sphere, dictated the use of different types of

³⁷⁰ For the previous study on Seonwonjeon ritual vessels during the Korean Empire, based on the *Uigwe for the copying of portrait paintings*, see Koo Hyein 구혜인, Daehan jegukgi Gyeongung Seonwonjeon yegi ui guseong gwa hamui 대한제국기 경운궁 선원전 예기의 구성과 함의 [Composition and meaning of ritual vessels for Seonwonjeon at Gyeongung during the Korean Empire period], *Misulshak yeongu* 미술사학연구 vol. 288 (2015), 121-154. This study argues that the ritual vessels illustrated in the *uigwe* were newly produced in order to fit the level of empire, as can be seen especially in the use of jade cups. As mentioned previously, however, the accounts written during the reign of King Jeongjo in the *Record of Daily Reflection* and two *Gimyeong balgi* in the collection of the National Palace Museum of Korea, respectively written in 1846 and in 1851, prove that those ritual vessels had been used prior to the Korean Empire.

³⁷¹ “New Production of Ritual Vessels for the First Chamber of Seonwonjeon 眞殿一室祭器新造,” in the No. 195 of *Jinbon* 秦本 (圭 17703), Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies.

³⁷² No. 195 of the *Jinbon* also informs us of the kinds and cost of ritual vessels created for the rebuilt Seonwonjeon in 1901. According to the record, it was incense burners and candlesticks that were newly produced for each chamber in the rebuilt hall. “New Production for Each Chamber of Seonwonjeon 眞殿各室新造,” in the No. 195 of *Jinbon* 秦本 (圭 17703), Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies. Thus, we need to change the previous assumption that the illustrated ritual vessels in the 1901 *uigwe* were newly produced after the fire as well.

vessels in their proceedings.³⁷³ The illustrations in the *Uigwe for the Copying of Royal Portraits* distinguish, for instance, the jade cups and incense bowls used for libation rituals from those for tea rituals. The different characters of the two rites can be seen more clearly in the food offerings. In accordance with their formality, the libation rites at Seonwonjeon are set down in the *Record of the Office for Sacrificial Rites* (1873), where it is stipulated that same offering foods should be prepared for Seonwonjeon libation rituals as for Yeonghuijeon rites.³⁷⁴ In contrast, tea rituals were not prescribed in official historical records or handbooks of state rites until the 1908 revision of the imperial sacrificial rites.

An illustrated description of the food offerings for tea rituals can be found in a court manuscript written after 1900 in the palace-style Korean alphabet calligraphy used by court women. The *Book on Offering Foods for the First Chamber of Seonwonjeon* (一室各節祭品名冊) shows the table settings for celebrations of birthdays of the enshrined seven kings and for Lunar New Year's Day.³⁷⁵ Unlike the food offerings for official portrait halls, mainly consisting of honey-and-oil pastries and vegetable dishes, the foods for tea rituals at Seonwonjeon comprised various kinds of meat and fish dishes, along with fruits, sweets, and sauces. The inclusion of meat is reminiscent of the customs of Munsojeon, the Origin Shrine

³⁷³ It seems that King Jeongjo's court did not distinguish libation rituals from tea rituals. Several accounts in the *Veritable Records of King Jeongjo* state that King Jeongjo conducted libation rituals on the birthdays of Kings Sukjong and Yeongjo. *Veritable Records of King Jeongjo*, vol. 33, year of 1791, 8th month, 15th day; 9th month, 13th day; vol. 49, year of 1798, 8th month, 15th day; 9th month, 13th day. However, in the *Veritable Records of King Sunjo*, libation rituals are distinguished from tea rituals. *Veritable Records of King Sunjo*, vol. 12, year of 1809, 9th month, 1st day; vol. 17, year of 1814, 1st month, 10th day; vol. 23, year of 1821, 1st month, 1st day; vol. 29, year of 1827, 8th month, 15th day.

³⁷⁴ "Seonwonjeon 璿源殿," in *Taesang ji* 太常志 vol. 2 (1873)

³⁷⁵ *Il sil gakjeol jepumnyeong chaek* 一室各節祭品名冊 [Book of sacrificial foods for the first chamber on seasonal festive days], k2-2546, in the Academy of Korean Studies. The inclusion of King Taejo's birthday makes it possible to date the book after 1900, when portraits of King Taejo were first enshrined in Seonwonjeon.

of the early Joseon period.³⁷⁶ More remarkably, however, the food offerings in this book display a close affinity to foods served at birthday banquets for kings and queen dowagers during the late Joseon period. Specifically, each tea ritual table setting consists of noodles, soup and side dishes, rice cakes, sweets, drinks, fruits, and sauces, like those for royal banquets.³⁷⁷ Furthermore, the most popular dishes made for late-Joseon royal banquets were presented on the ritual table during tea rituals.³⁷⁸

Given the similarities of the food offerings for Seonwonjeon tea rituals and the foods for royal birthday banquets, comparison of the ritual food and vessel arrangements in these two settings provide insight into the tea rituals. The *Uigwe for Royal Banquets of 1829* (*Gichuk jinchan uigwe* 己丑進饌儀軌), which records banquets for King Sunjo's fortieth birthday in detail, describes how to arrange vessels and items for these occasions.³⁷⁹ To celebrate the king's birthday, four banquets were held: Outer Banquet (外進饌), Inner Banquet (內進饌), Night Banquet (夜進饌), and Wine Gathering (會酌). The first two banquets were major events. The Outer Banquet, held in the audience hall of

³⁷⁶ Lee Wook argues that offering meat and fish dishes is connected with the tradition of Munsojeon, a duplicate shrine of the early Joseon period. Lee Wook, *Wangsil ui jehyang gonggan*, 2015, 324-325.

³⁷⁷ For royal banquet foods of the late Joseon period, see Lee Hyo-gee and Yoon Seo-seok, "Joseon wangjo hugi ui gungjung yeonhoe eumsik ui bunseok jeok gochal 조선왕조후기의 궁중연회음식의 분석적 고찰 [An analysis on the foods for court banquets of the late Joseon period], *Daehan gajeong hakoeji* 대한가정학회지 vol. 23, no. 4 (1985), 79-100.

³⁷⁸ The kind of food offerings for tea rituals is explained in *the Book on Offering Foods for the First Chamber of Seonwonjeon* as follows: flavored glutinous rice (*yakbab*), hotchpotch (*jap tang*), bone broth (*gol tang*), meatball soup (*wanja tang*), *yelguja* broth (*yeolguja tang*) including various vegetables and fish meat in a cooking brazier, pan fried delicacies (*jeonyueo*), skewered beef and vegetables (*yang jeok*), boiled and seasoned abalone (*jeonbok cho*), jerked fish or meat (*jeolyuk*), cow's feet jelly (*jok pyeon*), a cup of tea (*dajong*) and a fruit punch (*sujeonggwa*), various rice cakes, several kinds of honey-and-oil pastries, fried rice biscuits (*gangjeong*), tea confectioneries (*dasik*), and caramelized boiled fruits (*jeonggwa*). For the popular royal banquet dishes. See Lee and Yoon's study. Ibid.

³⁷⁹ *Gichuk jinchan uigwe* 己丑進饌儀軌 [*Uigwe* for royal banquets of 1829], 奎 14367, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies. This *uigwe* served as a model for later royal banquets and in relevant *uigwe* production.

Changgyeonggung (昌慶宮, Palace of Prosperous Rejoicing) was attended by the crown prince and court officials, while the Inner Banquet in Jagyeongjeon (慈慶殿, Hall of Celebrating the Compassionate) was for other royal family members and inner court ladies.³⁸⁰

According to the *Uigwe for Royal Banquets of 1829*, the foods and vessels for the Inner Banquet (內進饌) were grander than for the Outer Banquet (外進饌). The number of dishes for the king in the former banquet were nearly double that of the latter banquet. Moreover, while the Outer Banquet used ceramics produced by the official Joseon court kiln, the Inner Banquet used Chinese porcelains with painted designs (唐畫器) and brass vessels to serve foods.³⁸¹ Similarly, the king's wine table (壽酒亭) for the Inner Banquet included more luxurious kinds of ewers and cups than those used for the Outer Banquet. The king's wine table in the Outer Banquet exclusively used silverware, but a jade ewer and several jade cups were used along with silver ones in the Inner Banquet. Finally, the Inner Banquet included a tea table set with a silver tea pot and a silver tea cup with lid and saucer.³⁸² Next to the tea table were placed a tray (匙櫟盤) containing a silver rest for a spoon and chopsticks, a silver spoon with gem pendants, a silver ladle (銀召兒), and a set of silver chopsticks.³⁸³

The silver vessels and jade cups used by the king in the Inner Banquet of 1829 have commonalities with the ritual vessels used for the rites of Seonwonjeon illustrated in the 1901 *Uigwe for the Copying of Royal Portraits* (fig. 3-4). For example, silver sun-and-moon

³⁸⁰ In the Inner Banquet, royal family members and inner court ladies presented wines to the king and celebrated his birthday. *Veritable Records of King Sunjo*, the year of 1829, 2nd month, 12th day.

³⁸¹ “Foods 饌品” and “Vessels 器用,” in *Gichuk jinchan uigwe* vol. 2.

³⁸² Tea tables were not set in the Outer Banquet. “The Arrangement for the Outer Banquet 外進饌時排設位次,” in *Gichuk jinchan uigwe* vol. 2.

³⁸³ A silver ladle was not used in the Outer Banquet either. The silver vessels for the tea table and tray were provided by the inner court.

ewers (日月瓶) illustrated in the two *uigwe* are almost identical in shape and decorative details: dragon heads attached to the curved handles; *lingzhi* mushroom-shaped decorations connecting the necks and the spouts; and three-footed crow and rabbit designs symbolizing the sun and moon, respectively, on the bodies (fig. 3-5). These vessels in the *Uigwe for Royal Banquets of 1829* are also pictured in later *uigwe* for court banquets up until the Korean Empire period.³⁸⁴ The similarity of the vessels used in the rites of Seonwonjeon and the royal birthday banquets indicates that the offering table setting for the rites of the former was in effect a rearrangement of the table setting used for the latter.³⁸⁵

In sum, the ritual foods and vessels for tea rituals echoed the table setting for a king in the Inner Banquet to commemorate his birthday. Such a table setting can be seen in the Inner Banquet scene from the screen painting of the *Royal Banquet of 1829* (fig. 3-6).

3-3. The Interior Setting, Origin, and Function of Seonwonjeon

Records on the repair of Seonwonjeon written by King Yeongjo in 1725 and in 1754 inform us of the early phase of this informal portrait hall located in the inner quarter of Changdeokgung. Because the building was tilting on its west side, King Yeongjo ordered

³⁸⁴ The arrangement of vessels and items for royal banquets did not vary significantly until the period of Korean Empire when specific details and materials of some vessels along with the colors of certain items were changed. It is worth noting that tea tables were also set for the Outer Banquet for Emperor Gojong, unlike the royal banquets for King Sunjo. This change possibly reflects the status of the empire, in the same way that the use of the color gold does. For the royal banquet for Emperor Gojong's 50th birthday, 1901, see *Sinchuk jinchan uigwe* 辛丑進饌儀軌 [*Uigwe for Imperial Banquets of 1901*], 奎 14446, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies.

³⁸⁵ Despite the striking similarity between vessels for the wine tables for tea rituals and those used for royal banquets, the vessels for the main dish tables reveal differences in materials. While both brass and ceramic vessels were used to contain foods at royal banquets, silver vessels were employed exclusively in Seonwonjeon rites during the late Joseon period. This difference was the result of the aforementioned order of King Jeongjo in 1778, which regulated not only the numbers of ritual vessels for Seonwonjeon but also their material which was changed to silver.

repairs done immediately after his enthronement in 1725. In the course of the repair, he ordered an installation of a portrait of King Sukjong in the center of the hall, from the western side.³⁸⁶ Due to a malfunction of the *ondol* system in 1754, the king ordered yet another renovation of the hall. The 1754 “Subsequent Record on the Repair of Seonwonjeon” (璿源殿重修後記) mentions Peony screens (牧丹屏), which had never been used before in official royal portrait halls:

Therefore, I got approval from my merciful sage [Queen Dowager Inwon]. Then, I had the board panels right behind the royal couch removed, and the Peony screen within the walls still served as a wall. The screen paintings to the left and right were removed from their frames and attached to the wall.³⁸⁷

Based on the above record, it can be surmised that three Peony screens were unfolded on the north wall of Seonwonjeon prior to the second repair of the hall. In 1754, however, King Yeongjo had the peony paintings, detached from their screen frames and attached directly to the wall. Because of this, the attachment of peony paintings on the main wall became an established tradition in informal portrait halls. *Uigwe* about informal portrait halls on the palace grounds compiled between 1900 and 1901 indicate that sets of four-panel peony paintings were attached to the main walls behind individual chambers in the

³⁸⁶ “Record on the Repair of Seonwonjeon 璿源殿重修記,” in *Gunggwolji* 宮闕志 [Record of Palaces] vol 3, 奎 3950. Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies.

³⁸⁷ 故稟于慈聖 乃去榻後板壁 而壁內牧丹屏 仍爲作牖 左右屏圖去其機 而貼其壁。 “Subsequent Record for Repair of Seonwonjeon 璿源殿重修後記,” in *Gunggwolji* vol. 3. Even though the painting screens on the left and right sides were not indicated as peony paintings, the previous reference to a Peony screen indicates that these, too, were considered Peony screens.

Seonwonjeon at Gyeongbokgung, Changdeokgung, and Gyeongungung.³⁸⁸ The extant New Seonwonjeon at Changdeokgung shows the same arrangement of peony paintings on its main wall (fig. 3-7).³⁸⁹

As he did for the ritual vessels, King Jeongjo personally supervised the production and arrangement of furnishings for King Yeongjo's chamber, the second chamber, at Seonwonjeon. These included a Five Peaks Screen, a baldachin with a ceiling attached by a pair of phoenix carvings, a king's bed, and a set of four-panel peony paintings.³⁹⁰ For this project, Jeongjo adhered strictly to the precedents set by the first chamber, that of King Sukjong. The peony paintings, for example, followed those in the first chamber in drawing style and petal color.³⁹¹ The types of furnishings installed in these chambers continued to be used in the New Seonwonjeon built in 1921.

³⁸⁸ The *Yeongjeong mosa dogam uigwe* particularly informs us that a total of twenty-eight peony paintings were produced for the main wall of the reconstructed Seonwonjeon at Gyeongungung after 1901. A set of four-panel peony paintings was attached to the wall right behind each of the seven chambers of the hall. The 3rd month and 12th day of 1901, under "List of Reports and Approvals 稟目," in *Yeongjeong mosa dogam uigwe* (1901) [*Uigwe for the copying of portrait paintings*] (1901), 奎 13990, The Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies; When King Taejo's portrait was enshrined in the first chamber of Seonwonjeon at Gyeongungung, a Four-panel Peony Partition (牧丹障子四貼) was produced. The 4th month and 6th day of 1900, under "List of Reports and Approvals 稟目," in *Taejo yeongjeong mosa dogam uigwe* 太祖影幀模寫都監儀軌 [*Uigwe for Reproduction of King Taejo's Portrait Painting*], 1899-1900, 奎 13982, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies; For the first chambers of Seonwonjeon in Gyeongbokgung and Changdeokgung, peony partitions for the main wall (主壁牧丹障子) were produced. The Peony Partitions consisted of four-panel peony paintings. The 8th month and 20th day of 1900; the 8th month (leap) and 20th day of 1900, under "List of Reports and Approvals 稟目," in *Gyeongbokgung Changdeokgung Seonwonjeon jeunggeon dogam uigwe* 景福宮 昌德宮 璿源殿 增建都監儀軌 [*Uigwe for Expansion of Seonwonjeon in Gyeongbok and Changdeok Palaces*] (1901), 奎 14230, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies.

³⁸⁹ Each set of peony paintings is mounted with various silk cloths similar to the way that Peony screens with panels are separated one from another.

³⁹⁰ *Ilseongnok*, year of 1788, 2nd month, 9th day; 2nd month, 10th day; 2nd month, 14th day. These items were recorded for King Yeongjo's chamber. Because King Yeongjo's chamber faithfully followed the first chamber for King Sukjong, we can surmise that those items were used for King Sukjong's chamber as well.

³⁹¹ *Ilseongnok*, year of 1778, 2nd month, 11th day. While expanding Seonwonjeon to make it a hall with two chambers, King Jeongjo himself inspected the screen paintings for the new chamber.

Peony screens, characterized by vertically arranged flowers simply rendered in rich colors and a flat style, were employed for most court rituals, including wedding ceremonies, funerals, sacrificial rites, and proclamation ceremonies for crown princes, as well as at Seonwonjeon.³⁹² Despite their ubiquitous use in court rituals, however, it was not common to see Peony screens unfolded along with Five Peaks Screens as was done at Seonwonjeon. The combined use of Peony screens and a Five Peaks Screen was found primarily in the Spirit Hall (*honjeon*, 魂殿) for a deceased king or queen, where the individual's spirit pillar was enshrined for about two years, between the completion of burial rituals at the royal tomb and the deceased's installation in the Royal Ancestral Temple, Jongmyo.³⁹³

A Spirit Hall, as described above, was furnished like a throne room in a royal audience hall. The *Uigwe for the Spirit Hall of King Sukjong* (肅宗魂殿都監儀軌) provides a detailed description of the arrangement of a Spirit Hall. After King Sukjong's death, Munjeongjeon (文政殿, Hall of Civilian Government), the palace administration hall in Changgyeonggung (昌慶宮, Palace of Prosperous Rejoicing), was transformed into his Spirit Hall. Subsequently, the baldachin, the royal couch, and the Five Peaks Screen with Sun-and-Moon metal ornaments previously installed in the hall were repaired. Behind the royal throne, three four-panel Peony screens were installed on the three-bay north wall of the hall, one screen into each bay.³⁹⁴ This installation of the screens recalls the original arrangement of

³⁹² Kim Hongnam, "Joseonsidae gungmokdanbyeong yeongu 조선시대 궁목단병 연구 [A study on the Palace Peony screens of the Joseon dynasty]," *Misulsa nondan* 미술사논단 9 (1999), 63-107.

³⁹³ For painting screens used for Inauspicious Rites (凶禮), see Myeong Sena, "Joseon sidae hyungnye dogam uigwe e natanan obongbyeong yeongu 조선시대 흉례도감의례에 나타난 오봉병 연구 [Study on Five Peaks Screens in uigwe for funeral rites], *Misulsa nondan* 미술사논단 vol. 28 (2009), 44-47; Sin Hanna 신한나, "Joseon wangsil hyungnye ui uijangyong byeongpung ui gineung gwa uimi 조선왕실 흉례의 의장용 병풍의 기능과 의미 [Function and meaning of painting screens for funeral rites of the Joseon court]," (MA thesis, Hongik University, 2008), 40-58.

³⁹⁴ "Responsibilities of the Second Division for the Spirit Hall 魂殿二房所掌," in *Sukjong honjeon dogam uigwe* 肅宗魂殿都監儀軌 [*Uigwe for the Spirit Hall of King Sukjong*], 奎 13550,

Peony screens at Seonwonjeon. The overall furnishings in the Spirit Hall of King Sukjong suggests that it served as a precedent for Seonwonjeon. Notably, in a Spirit Hall, the Inner Court members presented ‘ordinary foods (常食)’ featuring meat and fish dishes to the dead.³⁹⁵ The food offerings and vessels for Seonwonjeon tea rituals that resembled those used for late Joseon Royal Banquets were likely rooted in the practice of a Spirit Hall.

Uigwe for the Expansion of Seonwonjeon in Gyeongbokgung and Changdeokgung (景福宮 昌德宮 璿源殿 增建都監儀軌), which records the creation of the additional first chambers for King Taejo in the informal portrait halls at both palaces in 1900, provides more detailed information on the furnishings of Seonwonjeon during the late Joseon period.³⁹⁶ “The Report on Materials to Create a Baldachin for the First Chamber in Seonwonjeon at Gyeongbokgung” in the *uigwe* describes the assemblage of baldachin, Five Peaks Screen, and couch (平床) in detail.³⁹⁷ A pair of sculpted dragons flying around a *ruyi* gem (如意珠) in

Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies. For the Spirit Hall of King Injo, three peony screens were installed on the main wall, and each screen comprised four panels. Production Office 造成所, under “Responsibilities of the Second Division for the Spirit Hall 魂殿二房儀軌,” in *Injo binjeon honjeon dogam uigwe* 仁祖殯殿魂殿都監儀軌 [*Uigwe for the Spirit Hall of King Injo*], 1649, 奎 14855, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies.

³⁹⁵ According to Lee Wook, both the Royal Cuisine Office (司饗院) and the Inner Court (內殿) offered ‘ordinary foods’ at a Spirit Hall since, at the latest, the seventeenth century. The Inner Court presented meat dishes, in contrast to the Royal Cuisine Office, which offered only vegetable foods (素膳) in observing the *Five Rites of State*. Lee Wook 이옥, “Joseon sidae mangja reul wihan eumsik - guksang eul jungsim euro 조선시대 망자를 위한 음식: 국상을 중심으로 [Food offering for the dead during the Joseon period: focused on the Funeral Rites of the State],” *Jonggyo munhwa bipyeong* 종교문화비평, 221-232.

³⁹⁶ In this *uigwe*, the term ‘*dangga* (唐家)’ was often used to indicate an assemblage, including a baldachin, a Five Peaks Screen, and a wooden platform, or couch (平床). Since only the chambers for the dynastic founder, King Taejo were newly built at both halls, most of the newly produced objects were specifically for the chambers of King Taejo. For the other chambers, only a few damaged objects were repaired with few newly made. This signifies that all the chambers had the same arrangement and furnishings in the halls. *Gyeongbokgung Seonwonjeon Changdeokgung Seonwonjeon jeunggeon dogam uigwe* 景福宮璿源殿 昌德宮璿源殿 增建都監儀軌 [*Uigwe for expansion of Seonwonjeon in Gyeongbokgung and Changdeokgung*], 1900, 奎 14230, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies.

³⁹⁷ Other chambers in the Seonwonjeon of Gyeongbokgung still had the sculpture of a pair of Phoenixes on the ceilings of the baldachins at the time. When the Seonwonjeon at Gyeonggung was

the clouds was attached to the ceiling of the baldachin as befits the status of the Korean Empire. Beneath the baldachin, a wooden platform or couch with balustrade was placed. Then, a Five Peaks Screen surrounded the platform on three sides, back, left and right.³⁹⁸ These are the same types of furnishings used in the Spirit Halls. The distinctive format of the three-sided Five Peaks Screen was used exclusively in Spirit Halls and Seonwonjeon. In contrast, a large one-panel Five Peaks Screen was installed in official portrait halls and royal audience halls.

For more information on the baldachin, we can turn to the *Supplemented Edition of the Funerary Rites of State* (國朝喪禮補編), a specialized official handbook for royal funeral rites compiled in 1758 under the order of King Yeongjo, which stipulates baldachin for a Spirit Hall.³⁹⁹ According to this book, a baldachin with three sides is installed over a royal couch (御榻). In the four corners of the baldachin are pillars that surround the couch.

Attached to the ceiling are a pair of golden phoenix carvings. A Five Peaks Mountain (五峯山) is painted on the raw silk of the three-sided partition panel (三面障子): depicted on the

reconstructed after fire in 1901, all the baldachins, Five Peak Screens, and wooden beds, which had been installed in the Seonwonjeon at Gyeongbokgung, were moved to this reconstructed Seonwonjeon. Most of the baldachins had a pair of phoenix sculpture on their ceilings, except for the first chamber. Accordingly, six pairs of phoenix sculptures were newly produced to befit the imperial status of Korean Empire. One pair of dragon sculpture for the first chamber, produced to create the first chamber of the Seonwonjeon at Gyeongbokgung in the previous year, was just moved to the hall at Gyeongungung. The 3rd month and 12th day of 1901, in *Yeongjeong mosa dogam uigwe* (1901).

³⁹⁸ For the Report on Materials to Create a Baldachin for the First Chamber in Seonwonjeon at Gyeongbokgung (第一室唐家造成事 所入物力磨鍊後錄仰稟), see the 7th month and 28th day of 1900, in *Gyeongbokgung Seonwonjeon Changdeokgung Seonwonjeon jeunggeon dogam uigwe*. A similar record on a baldachin can be found in the account of the 4th month and 6th day of 1900, in *Taejo yeongjeong mosa dogam uigwe*.

³⁹⁹ For the compilation and meaning of the *Supplemented Edition of the Funerary Rites of State*, refer to Lee Hyeonjin 이현진, “Yeongjo dae wangsil sangjangnye ui jeongbi wa gukjo sangnye bopyeon 영조대 왕실 상장례의 정비와 국조상례보편 [Establishment of royal funeral rites during the reign of King Yeongjo and the *Supplemented Edition of the Funerary Rites of State*],” *Hanguk Sasangshak 한국사상사학* vol. 37 (2011), 113-154.

north panel are five peaks, and, on the left and right sides, the foothills (餘麓). Metal emblems of the Sun and Moon (日月鏡) are hung on north partition of the Five Peaks. If a Five Peaks Screen is newly produced, the Sun and Moon should be painted respectively with gold and silver. In the case of Small Funeral Rites (小喪) for a deceased crown prince or his consort, peonies are painted on the three side partitions without the Sun and Moon.⁴⁰⁰ This stipulation is accompanied by an illustration (fig. 3-8).

A more detailed image of a chamber with a three-sided Five Peaks Screen and a royal couch can be seen in the 1906 *Uigwe for Reconstruction of Gyeongungung* of Gyeonghyojeon (景孝殿, Hall of Revering Filial Piety), the Spirit Hall of Empress Myeongseong, Consort of Emperor Gojong (fig. 3-9).⁴⁰¹ Here again, the Five Peaks Screen took the form of a three-sided partition, surrounding the north, west and east sides of the couch under the the baldachin. This installation reminds us of the record of the structure in the first chamber in the Seonwonjeon at Gyeongbokgung and the chambers in New Seonwonjeon.⁴⁰²

Despite this similarity in their format, differences can be found between Five Peaks Screens used in Spirit Halls and those in Seonwonjeon. In a Spirit Hall, the side pieces of a Five Peaks Screen each consisted of a single panel on which foothills were depicted. These

⁴⁰⁰ Baldachin 唐家, under “Illustrations 圖說,” in *Gukjo sangnye bopyeon* 國朝喪禮補編 [Supplemented Edition of the Funerary Rites of State] vol. 6, 奎 3940, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies.

⁴⁰¹ Illustrations 圖說, in *Gyeongungung junggeon dogam uigwe* 慶運宮重建都監儀軌 [Uigwe for reconstruction of Gyeongungung] vol. 1, 1906, 奎 14328, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies.

⁴⁰² Park Jeong-hye 박정혜, “Gungjung jangsikwa ui segye 궁중장식화의 세계 [Royal decorative paintings of Joseon],” in *Joseon gunggwol ui geurim* 조선 궁궐의 그림 [Court paintings of the Joseon Dynasty] (Seoul: Dolbegae, 2012), 29. Park also mentioned the similarity between a Five Peaks Screen for a Spirit Hall and the one for New Seonwonjeon with its three-sided format, but she did not study the backgrounds, functions, and meanings of the similarity.

side panels were one third the width of and the same height as the central (north) panel.⁴⁰³ A Five Peaks_Screen for Seonwonjeon, however, had an additional panel attached to each side, making all three sides of similar width.⁴⁰⁴ The paintings on the outer flanking panels, however, were about 30.8cm (one *cheok* 尺) taller than those of the other panels.⁴⁰⁵ The insertion of additional flanking panels in the Seonwonjeon screens created a more spacious chamber. This was likely necessitated by the nature of objects enshrined there. Whereas a Spirit Hall contained a small spirit pillar, Seonwonjeon displayed large-scale portrait paintings. In addition to the portrait on display, other portraits of a king were rolled in cases and kept in his chamber surrounded by the three sided panels.

We see exactly the same structure examined above in the individual chambers in the New Seonwonjeon (fig. 3-11). Indeed, some of the structures were moved there from the rebuilt Seonwonjeon at Gyeongungung.⁴⁰⁶ Again, most chambers in the Seonwonjeon at

⁴⁰³ The earliest record of the installation of a three-sided Five Peaks Screen into a baldachin can be seen in the *Uigwe for Funeral Rites of Queen Dowager Inmok*, compiled in 1632. This *uigwe* also tells the size of the Five Peaks Screen surrounding the north, east, and west sides. According to the record, the north side panel is two and half times greater than the others. *Seonjo bi Inmok hu gukjang dogam uigwe* 宣祖妃仁穆后 國葬都監儀軌 [*Uigwe for funeral rites of Queen Dowager Inmok*] (1632)

⁴⁰⁴ Based on *uigwe* records, a Five Peaks Screen for Seonwonjeon comprised three parts: the front panel (正面) with a pair of inner and outer flanking panels (內挾 and 外挾) on each side. The inner flanking panels correspond to the left and right sides of a Five Peaks Screen for a Spirit Hall, on which were represented the foothills. The illustration of an outer flanking panel (五峯屏挾幅) in the 1901 *Uigwe for Reproduction of Royal Portrait Paintings* shows that the general composition of Five Peak Screens has been shrunk to fit onto its narrow format, excluding the Sun and Moon (fig. 3-10). ‘The 7th month and 28th day of 1900,’ and ‘the 8th month and the 20th day of 1900,’ under “List of Reports and Approvals 稟目,” in *Gyeongbokgung Seonwonjeon Changdeokgung Seonwonjeon jeunggeon dogam uigwe*.

⁴⁰⁵ The 8th month and 20th day of 1900, “List of Reports and Approvals 稟目,” in *Gyeongbokgung Seonwonjeon Changdeokgung Seonwonjeon jeunggeon dogam uigwe*.

⁴⁰⁶ For the move of Seonwonjeon in Gyeongwun Palace to Changdeok Palace to build New Seonwonjeon, see Chang Pil-Gu 장필구 and Jeon Bong-Hee 전봉희, “Gojong jangnye gigan sin Seonwonjeon ui joseong gwa Deoksugung Changdeokgung gungyeok ui byeonhwa 고종 장례 기간 신선원전의 조성과 덕수궁·창덕궁 궁역의 변화 [Construction of New Seonwonjeon and transformation of the palatial sites of Deoksu and Changdeok Palaces during the period of funeral

Gyeongugung reused the assemblages of baldachins, Five Peaks Screens, and couches moved from the Seonwonjeon at Gyeongbokgung, dated back as far as 1862.⁴⁰⁷ The original plans for New Seonwonjeon called for twelve chambers to enshrine all of the extant royal portraits. After moving all the structures from the Seonwonjeon at Gyeongugung, the new hall still needed five more. It is likely that the furnishings of the old Seonwonjeon at Changdeokgung, abandoned at the time and located nearby, were used for the new one as well.⁴⁰⁸ This would also explain why the furnishings of New Seonwonjeon show different forms and styles.⁴⁰⁹ In any event, we can be sure that the existing chambers of New Seonwonjeon largely maintain the arrangement and furnishings of the late Joseon period, especially in the individual chamber structures.

rites for Emperor Gojong],” *Daehan geonchuk hakoe nonmunjip gyehoekgye* 대한건축학회논문집 계획계 vol. 29 (2013. 12.), 197-208.

⁴⁰⁷ Notably, according to the *Uigwe for the Copying of Royal Portraits* (1901), which recorded the process for reproducing portraits of seven kings after the 1900 fire, Emperor Gojong’s court had all the baldachins, Five Peaks Screens, and wooden platforms (下平床) from the Seonwonjeon at Gyeongbokgung moved to Gyeongugung for the reconstruction of the portrait hall consumed by fire on the palace site. Only the first chamber in the Seonwonjeon at Gyeongbokgung was newly created in 1900; the six other chambers at the hall were originally constructed in 1862. The 3rd month and 12th day of 1901, in *Yeongjeong mosa dogam uigwe* (1901). According to this *uigwe*, six ceiling carvings of a pair of dragons were newly produced to reflect to the imperial status, replacing the previous phoenix carvings. Also, all royal regalia 儀仗 were newly produced. In addition, according to the *Report on the Repair of New Seonwonjeon in Changdeok Palace*, the timbers used the hall came from the same year as those used to construct the Gyeongbokgung built in the late nineteenth century. *Changdeokgung sin Seonwonjeon suri bogoseo* 창덕궁 신선원전 수리보고서 [Report on the Repair of New Seonwonjeon in Changdeok Palace] (Munhwajaecheong, 2002), 99. This *uigwe* record along with the age of the timbers as determined by carbon dating suggest that the Seonwonjeon of Gyeongugung appropriated the furnishings and structures of Gyeongbokgung. Furthermore, it seems that the chamber structures in the old Seonwonjeon at Changdeokgung were also moved and employed for New Seonwonjeon.

⁴⁰⁸ The main building of the old Seonwonjeon in Changdeok Palace still remains, but all the interior setting and furnishing are removed now, leaving an empty space.

⁴⁰⁹ The National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage investigated New Seonwonjeon in Changdeok Palace and published the result as a book including detailed photos of the hall. In this book, several researchers pointed out the different style and form of objects and structures seen in the chambers. *Choehu ui jinjeon Changdeokgung sin Seonwonjeon* 최후의 진전- 창덕궁 신선원전 [The last royal portrait hall, New Seonwonjeon in Changdeokgung] (Gunnip munhwajae yeonguso, 2010), 105;134-135;164-165.

Each chamber of New Seonwonjeon is located between two inner supporting pillars. In front, in the opening between the pillars, carved and painted wooden panels, *yueum* with floral patterns (流音草葉), frame the chamber within; transom windows above are carved with peonies (風牧丹交窓) (fig. 3-12). The interior consists of the standard set elements: a baldachin, a three-sided Five Peaks Screen and its flanking panel, and a wooden platform. A large bench and a footstool (踏掌) are placed on top of each platform. A royal bench and footstool were also installed in the Seonwonjeon at Gyeongungung. In the *Uigwe for Reproduction of King Taejo's Portrait Painting* (1900) and the *Uigwe for the Copying of Royal Portrait Paintings* (1901), this type of bench is referred to as a 'dragon (king's) bed' (龍床) (fig. 3-13).

Here, we need to distinguish the king's bed for the Seonwonjeon at Gyeongungung from those in the former Seonwonjeon and Yeonghuijeon halls. Even though the same characters were used in the *uigwe*, the objects they indicated were different. The king's bed in the latter halls was a platform with balustrade, whereas the one in the Seonwonjeon at Gyeongungung looks like a king's bench used for royal birthday banquets (fig. 3-14). Royal benches and footstools were produced only for the Seonwonjeon at Gyeongungung.⁴¹⁰ During reconstruction of the Seonwonjeon at Gyeongungung in 1901, the imperial court had them newly produced, while other furnishings moved from Gyeongbokgung.⁴¹¹

⁴¹⁰ "The 2nd month and 16th day of 1900," and "the 4th month and 6th day," in *Taejo yeongjeong mosa dogam uigwe* (1900); "the 7th month and 28th day of 1900," and "the 11th month and 11th day of 1900," in *Gyeongbokgung Seonwonjeon Changdeokgung Seonwonjeon jeunggeon dogam uigwe*. To distinguish a royal bench (龍床) from a wooden platform, the *Uigwe for Reproduction of King Taejo's Portrait Painting* coined the term 'under-wooden platform' (下平床) while the *uigwe* of 1901 used only 'wooden platform (平床)' to indicate a wooden platform with balustrade to be assembled with a baldachin and a Five Peak screen without any reference to another bed or bench.

⁴¹¹ The 3rd month and 12th day of 1901, in *Yeongjeong mosa dogam uigwe* (1901).

The royal benches and footstools in individual chambers at New Seonwonjeon resemble furnishings for banquets. In royal banquets of the late Joseon Dynasty, a royal bench was always prepared for as the king's seat. Based on screen paintings of royal banquets of the Joseon Dynasty and related *uigwe*, it seems that a set of furnishings consisting of a royal bench, chair, and footstool was installed for the throne in royal banquets beginning no later than the early nineteenth century (fig. 3-14).⁴¹² During the nineteenth century, a royal bench served as the symbol of a king's seat along with a Five Peaks Screen. This use of a royal bench and a footstool was likely the reason for their installation in the Seonwonjeon at Gyeongungung. These furnishings are congruent with Seonwonjeon food offerings and vessels that resembled those used for late Joseon royal banquets .

3-4. Seonwonjeon's Painting Program and Its Symbolism

The informal features of Seonwonjeon found in the food offerings and some of the furnishings are highlighted by the opulent decoration and colorful paintings of the hall's interior, which distinguish it from other palatial buildings and places for state ancestral rites. Paintings of peonies lavishly decorated the whole main wall, and plum blossom paintings adorned the side walls. Half of a plum blossom panel is still found on the west wall of New Seonwonjeon, adjacent to the first chamber (fig. 3-15). This can be contrasted with the interior of Yeonghuijeon, wherein the three walls were entirely papered in white. Furthermore, large size screen paintings were set up in the worshipping space of the hall. Considering that the material culture was an expression of status in royal ancestral worship,

⁴¹² The earliest example of the installation of a royal bench and a footstool for an Inner Court Banquet can be found in the *Gichuk jinchan uigwe* (1829), and the earliest example placing them at an Outer Court Banquet can be found in the *Royal musin jinchan uigwe* (1848).

this grand display of colorful paintings in this hall was presumably related to its function and meaning.

The Joseon court widely adopted screens with peony paintings for funeral rites, including those at Spirit Halls and Seonwonjeon. This raises the question of how peonies, which commonly represented secular aspirations in East Asia, came to be employed for funeral rites and portrait worship at the Joseon court. With their large size and gorgeous colors, peonies, specifically tree peonies (牡丹), have long symbolized royalty, wealth, rank, and honor in literature and art in East Asia since the Tang and Song periods.⁴¹³ Accordingly, the Joseon court used peony screens for felicitous royal events and ceremonies. At the same time, paintings of peonies adorned places used for worshiping royal ancestors in funeral and auspicious rites, as well as in Seonwonjeon rites.

Precedents are readily found in Chinese sources. A few examples will suffice. Two mural paintings excavated from the Yuan dynasty tombs show the association of peony flowers with the world of the dead.⁴¹⁴ In the Hongwu village tomb datable to 1309 in Shanxi province, peonies are featured along with lotus flowers. In one panel, red peony flowers rise behind a perforated garden rock; in another panel red lotuses rise from water (fig. 3-16).⁴¹⁵ The peony is thus paired with the lotus, the flower most adopted for tombs and funeral rites because it signifies rebirth in Buddhist paradise. Portraits of the occupants of a Yuan tomb in Donggercun show the husband and wife seated in front of a landscape screen and flanked by

⁴¹³ Patricia Bjaaland Welch, *Chinese Art, A Guide to Motifs and Visual Imagery* (North Clarendon, VT: Tuttle Pub., 2008), 34-35.

⁴¹⁴ As an earlier example, there is a mural painting of a peony, reed and goose found in the tomb of Wang Gongshu, dated to the third year of reign of Kaicheng (838), Tang Dynasty. For this mural painting, see Luo Shichang 罗世平, "Guanwang gongshu mubihua Mudanluantu xiaoji 观王公淑墓壁画《牡丹芦雁图》小记," *Wenwu* 文物 (1999), 78-83.

⁴¹⁵ Han Binghua 韩炳华 and Huo Baoqiang 霍宝强, "Shanxi xingxian hongyucun yuan zhida ernian bihuamu 山西兴县红峪村元至大二年壁画墓 [Mural Painted Tomb of the Second Year of the Zhida Reign of the Yuan Dynasty in Hongyu Village, Shanxi]," *Wenwu* 2011 (2), 40-46.

offering tables and attendants (fig. 3-17). On the offering tables are wine bottles and cups and vases with peony flowers.⁴¹⁶ In the Ming (or Ming-style) *Portrait of Father Zhang Jimin and Mother Zhao* in the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, the altar table behind the figures is set with a pair of vases, one with peonies and the other with bamboo and plum blossoms (fig. 3-18).⁴¹⁷

The Buddhist practice of offering flowers also influenced Korean funerary rites, where peony flowers adorned altars of offerings to the dead. We see peony flowers in vases along with other food offerings on the altar in Sweet Dew Paintings (甘露圖), which portray the performance of a full-scale mass conducted to guarantee the deceased a safe passage into the afterlife (薦度齋) (fig. 3-19).⁴¹⁸ The eighteenth-century Korean *Spirit Shrine* painting in the Peabody Essex Museum illustrates the popular practice of offering peonies to ancestral spirits (fig. 3-20). Here, vases with huge bouquets of red peonies sit on a large offering table before a spirit tablet shrine.

Since the purpose of sacrificial rites is to garner blessings from spirits or ancestors by serving them faithfully, peony flowers might have served not only as offerings to the deceased but also as representations of the aspirations of the descendants, in other words, as symbols of desired blessings. Following Kim Hongnam's reading of peony paintings as

⁴¹⁶ Jan Stuart and Evelyn Sakakida Rawski, *Worshipping the Ancestors: Chinese Commemorative Portraits* (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 41-43.

⁴¹⁷ Jan Stuart and Evelyn Sakakida Rawski, *Worshipping the Ancestors*, 59.

⁴¹⁸ For food offerings and objects on the altars depicted in the center of Sweet Dew Paintings, see Kim Seunghee 김승희, "Gamnodo e boineun gongyangmul ui naeyong gwa geu uimi 감로도에 보이는 공양물의 내용과 그 의미 [The kinds and meanings of the offerings seen in Sweet Dew paintings]," *Misulsahak* 미술사학 vol. 27 (2013), 289-319; Yun Dong-hwan 윤동환, "Gamnodo e natanan Suryukjae ui jangeom seoldan gwa guseong 감로도에 나타난 수륙재의 장엄 설단과 구성 [The ornament of the altar for the Liberation Rite of Water and Land seen in Sweet Dew paintings]," *Namdo minsok yeongu* 남도민속연구 vol. 30 (2015), 253-284.

representing a peaceful reign and national prosperity, we can surmise that these conditions were among the blessings sought in the rites of Joseon Spirit Halls and Seonwonjeon.⁴¹⁹

Plum blossom paintings were used to adorn the west and east partition walls adjacent to the first and last chamber at Seonwonjeon in both the late Joseon and Korean Empire periods.⁴²⁰ These partitions divided the main hall from the side rooms, where furnishings used for re-enshrining or relocating portraits were usually kept. On the part of the west wall in New Seonwonjeon, we can still find part of a plum blossom painting (fig. 3-15). I have yet to find a literary source that explains why and how plum blossom partition paintings began to be used, but plum blossoms probably began to decorate the east and west walls when the chambers were arranged in an east-west row during the reign of King Heonjong.

Along with the peony, the flowering plum has long been one of the most popular floral subjects for art and decoration in China and Korea.⁴²¹ Among its numerous symbolic associations, most fundamental is spring, thus regeneration or renewal.⁴²² As noted above, vases holding sprays of plum blossoms are shown on altars in Ming ancestor portraits.⁴²³ The Joseon court often used plum blossoms to ornament royal objects, especially the surfaces of the containers for jade-books (玉冊函), the status symbol of a king and his consort (fig. 3-

⁴¹⁹ Kim Hongnam, 1999, 63-107.

⁴²⁰ When creating the first chamber of Seonwonjeon in Changdeokgung, the *dogam* 都監, the ad hoc office of the directorate, reported to the king that the partition with the plum blossom painting on the west wall should be replaced because it was too old and damaged. The 8th month and 20th day of 1900, in *Gyeongbokgung Changdeokgung Seonwonjeon jeunggeon dogam uigwe*.

⁴²¹ For the emergence of the plum blossom subject in the pictorial records, see Maggie Bickford, *Ink plum: the Making of a Chinese Scholar Painting Genre* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press., 1996), 82-90.

⁴²² On the many meanings of plum blossom painting, see Bickford, 1996.

⁴²³ Many ancestor portraits in the Ming-style depict sprays of plum blossoms and bamboo in a vase on the altar nearby the subjects. The examples are as follows: *Ancestral Portrait of Lady Li* (17th C.) in the National Museum of Denmark, *Portrait of Husband and Wife* (19th – early 20th C.) in the collection of Arthur M. Sackler, and *Memorial Portrait of Zhuang Guan* (1457) in the Honolulu Academy of Arts.

21). The symbolic meanings and tradition of royal use explain the employment of the plum blossom partitions in Seonwonjeon.

To temporarily enshrine the portraits of successive kings before installing them in the rebuilt Seonwonjeon at Gyeongungung, Emperor Gojong's court had two plum blossom screens (梅花屏風) newly produced and set up at Junghwajeon (中和殿, Hall of Central Harmony), the audience hall of the palace, along with seven Five Peaks Screens.⁴²⁴ This clearly indicates the importance of plum blossom paintings to the proper adornment of the place enshrining ancestor portraits at that time.

The remaining partial plum blossom partition painting at New Seonwonjeon shows the blossoming plum boughs spreading toward a pond and the sky (fig. 3-15). The white flowers and green buds effloresce on the gnarled old branches express the power of rejuvenation and regeneration over age and adversity. Many flowers show clear-cut five petals, suggestive of the Five Good Fortunes (五福).⁴²⁵ Even though it does not stylistically represent the plum blossom partition paintings of Joseon for Seonwonjeon, this example suggests the format and effect of the partition paintings in the hall.⁴²⁶ As peony paintings were suggestive of the prosperity and welfare of the dynasty, the large blossoming plum trees, symmetrically adorning the side walls of the chamber, likely represented dynastic aspiration for continued renewal and regeneration.

⁴²⁴ Seven Five Peak screens and two Plum blossom screens ornamented the chambers of Junghwajeon, where seven kings' portraits were temporarily enshrined right before the reconstruction of Seonwonjeon. The 9th month and 9th day of 1900, the 12th month and 18th day of 1900, and the 4th month and 11th day of 1901, under "List of Reports and Approvals稟目," in *Yeongjeong mosa dogam uigwe* (1901).

⁴²⁵ Patricia Bjaaland Welch, *ibid.*, 38.

⁴²⁶ It seems that this plum blossom painting was newly produced when New Seonwonjeon was built. In my opinion, the remaining half part of the painting shows the influence of the Japanese painting style, especially in the form of the riverbank.

Lastly, I will examine the movable screen paintings used at Seonwonjeon to divide and adorn the worship space in which tables were set with vessels and foods offered to the royal spirits. *Uigwe* related to Seonwonjeon indicate that four-panel peony screens were arranged in the ritual space at Seonwonjeon during the late Joseon and Korean Empire periods.⁴²⁷ According to the 1901 *Uigwe for Reproduction of Royal Portrait Paintings*, two four-panel peony screens were produced along with two four-panel *Sea and Peaches of Immortality* (海蟠桃屏) screens for the reconstructed Seonwonjeon.⁴²⁸ These screens, standing about 320 cm high and 270 cm wide, remain in the National Palace Museum of Korea, allowing us to appreciate their scale and their impact on the ritual space in the hall (fig. 3-22, fig. 3-23). In both cases, one screen was kept in the hall for ordinary worship, while the other was moved into storage and brought back for special use at large ceremonial events.⁴²⁹

The two almost identical peony screens, which show the trees rising from the soil, are done in the style typical of this genre (fig. 3-22). In each panel, peony flowers of different

⁴²⁷ “The 8th month (leap) and 5th day of 1900” and “the 8th month (leap) and 8th day of 1900,” in *Gyeongbokgung Seonwonjeon Changdeokgung Seonwonjeon jeunggeon dogam uigwe* 景福宮璿源殿 昌德宮璿源殿 增建都監 儀軌. The 1900 *uigwe* distinguished ‘*naehap* 內閣’ from ‘*jeonnae* 殿內.’ In context, the first indicates the space for chambers whereas the latter denotes the space for worship.

⁴²⁸ According to this *uigwe*, both sets of screens used exactly the same kinds and amounts of materials for their screen frames. The 3rd month and 12th day of 1901, under “List of Reports and Approvals 稟目,” in *Yeongjeong mosa dogam uigwe* (1901)

⁴²⁹ “The 8th month (leap) and 5th day of 1900” and “the 8th month (leap) and 8th day of 1900,” in *Gyeongbokgung Seonwonjeon Changdeokgung Seonwonjeon jeunggeon dogam uigwe*. One pair of Sea and Peaches of Immortality Screen was given back to the Ministry of Finance (度支部) after the rite of royal portrait enshrinement at the newly reconstructed Seonwonjeon in Gyeongungung was over. ‘List of Items to Be Returned after Use 用後還下’ and ‘The 5th month and 13th day of 1901,’ under “Finance 財用,” in *Yeongjeong mosa dogam uigwe* (1901). The list of painted screens returned to the Ministry of Finance is as follows: one screen of Sea and Peaches of Immortality, two Plum blossom screens, seven Five Peaks screens, and ten Peony screens. Among them, seven Peony screens were used to adorn Heungdeokjeon (興德殿, Hall of Flourishing Virtue), a venue for the copying of portraits of seven successive kings.

colors emerge from dense foliage in two vertical rows. Alternating colors, repeated forms, and symmetry result in idealized, decorative display.

Each of the *Sea and Peaches of Immortality* screens describes a peach tree rising from rocks by the sea (fig. 3-23).⁴³⁰ Their compositions are symmetrical, one depicting the sun and the other the moon. The peach is a symbol of longevity and further immortality. Legend has it that the peach trees of the Queen Mother of the West (Xiwangmu, 西王母), a goddess of longevity who resides deep in the fabled Kunlun Mountains, bear fruit only once every three thousand years, equal to the amount of time it takes for the peaches of immortality to ripen.⁴³¹ Another account, from the Chinese text *Shanhaijing*, describes a huge peach tree, with branches extending 3,000 *li* (about 1,000 miles), growing on Dushuo Mountain (度朔山) in the middle of the vast sea.⁴³² The *Sea and Peaches of Immortality* screens seem to have combined the two legends. The sea recalls the large peach tree on

⁴³⁰ Even though there several paintings of Cranes and Peaches of Immortality produced during the Joseon and Korean Empire periods remain, extant paintings of Sea and Peaches of Immortality subjects are hard to find. There is only one example of this subject in a set of partition paintings: two partitions decorated with paintings on both sides can be found in the National Museum of Korea. One partition depicts a Five Peak painting on one side and a Sea and Peaches of Immortality painting on the other side. The other partition portrays the Sea and Peaches of Immortality on both sides. The three paintings of Sea and Peaches of Immortality share many commonalities in form and style. The size and style of the partitions suggest that they must have comprised a set. On the first partition, the double ornamentation of two subject paintings remind us of a spirit hall layering of a Five Peak screen with a Peony screen on the back. The serenity and silence in the graceful depiction of peony trees in the three paintings also support the otherworldly connection of the partitions. Thus, this set of partitions might have been set up in a hall or a place related to funeral rites. For this set of partition paintings, see Moon Dongsu 문동수, “Seongyeong sok bulno jangsaeng gwa chuksu – Irwol obongdo wa haebandodo ui sangjingseong yeongwanseong 선경 속 불로장생과 축수- 일월오봉도와 해반도도의 상징성 연관성 [Aspiration of immortality and longevity in fairyland]”, in *Hanguk ui dogyo munhwa – haengbok euro ganeun gil* 한국의 도교문화 – 행복으로 가는 길 [Daoist Culture in Korea: the Road to Happiness] (Gungnip jungang bakmulgwan, 2013), 264-277.

⁴³¹ Wolfram Eberhard, *Dictionary of Chinese Symbols: Hidden Symbols in Chinese Life and Thought* (London and New York: Routledge, 1986), 227-229; Terese Tse Bartholomew, *Hidden Meanings in Chinese Art* (Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, 2006), 204, 214.

⁴³² Lihui Yang, Deming An, and Jessica Anderson Turner, *Handbook of Chinese Mythology* (Santa Barbara, Calif: ABC-CLIO, 2011), 200.

Dushuo Mountain, while *lingzhi* (靈芝) mushrooms, another symbol of longevity, emphasize the association of peaches with immortality. Thus, the screens seem to blend the two legends.

The only record of the use of *Sea and Peaches of Immortality* screens at Seonwonjeon is found in the 1901 *Uigwe for Reproduction of Royal Portraits*, suggesting that they were first used for the reconstructed Seonwonjeon in Gyeongungung. Taking the tragic fire of 1900 and the political instability of the state into consideration, the court of the Korean Empire may have installed these screens, especially to pray blessings over the rebuilt hall and the unstable empire.

Following the model of a Spirit Hall, the inner space of Seonwonjeon was lavishly decorated with colorful paintings. All the painting subjects were rich in popular symbolism. In this auspicious environment, rulers of late Joseon and Korean Empire periods and their families prayed for the eternal life of their ancestors, national prosperity, regeneration, and the everlasting presence of the rebuilt hall and the unstable empire.

Chapter Conclusion

Seonwonjeon, located in the inner court at Changdeokgung and housing a single portrait of King Sukjong, became an informal portrait hall for royal family members after King Sukjong's death. The succeeding two kings, King Yeongjo and King Jeongjo, drew authority from the presence of royal portraits in the hall and frequently performed rituals there to reinforce their power and compensate for weak royal lineages. Accordingly, those two kings developed and standardized the rituals and material culture of the hall. Throughout the dynasty, the hall was primarily confined to the royal family sphere, allowing blood ties to take precedence over the main royal line. This shaped the enshrinement of and ritual practices at Seonwonjeon, which contrasted with those of Jongmyo, the Royal Ancestral Temple of

Joseon, which enshrined all the spirits of Joseon kings.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the location and status of Seonwonjeon changed. Due to the relocation of the main palace, portrait halls titled Seonwonjeon were built at Gyeongbokgung and Gyeongungung. Notably, the court of the Korean Empire elevated the status of Seonwonjeon by enshrining a portrait of Emperor Taejo in the first chamber at the Seonwonjeon at Gyeongungung. During this period of political turmoil, Seonwonjeon replaced Yeonghuijeon in status and significance.

At Seonwonjeon, libation rituals and tea rituals were performed to worship the portraits there. The tea ritual, conducted on the birthdays of the enshrined kings and on every New Year's Day, became a representative ritual of Seonwonjeon. Tea rituals featured the active participation of royal women, including queen dowagers and royal consorts. They not only supervised the preparation of rituals, but also took active part in them. The ritual foods and vessels for Seonwonjeon, which were prepared by inner court members under the supervision of the Queen Dowager, drew on the table arrangement used for the royal birthday banquets of kings, especially the inner banquets, which were the grandest and most luxurious of court events.

In Seonwonjeon, before 1754, a Five Peaks Screen and a baldachin were set up with the "royal couch (or king's bed)," behind which three Peony screens unfolded. This early interior setting of Seonwonjeon was modeled on a Spirit Hall of King Sukjong. Seonwonjeon then functioned as a substitute for a Spirit Hall, in which the inner court members personally presented 'ordinary foods and vessels.' Thanks to the establishment of Seonwonjeon in the late Joseon period, royal family members could continue to serve late kings in death as in life, even after the removal of spirit halls.

Although following the style of a Spirit Hall, the interior of Seonwonjeon was decorated more lavishly. Three walls were covered with richly colored flower paintings, and

marvelously decorative, symbolic portable screens were set up there. These paintings were not only laden with symbolism, but were also intertwined with popular customs and religious traditions beyond those of the formal state rites. Accordingly, royal family members used these rites to commune with ancestors of their own bloodline through the rituals reinforced by the messages of the paintings in the hall. While seeking blessings for their ancestors and themselves, they prayed for the prosperity, regeneration, and everlasting presence of the nation.

Chapter 4: Royal Portrait Paintings of the Joseon Dynasty as Objects of Worship

This chapter investigates the characteristics, purposes, and meanings of portraits of individual kings employed as objects of worship in Joseon royal portrait halls. Having recognized differences in the status and formality of the halls signaled by their material culture, I now turn to differences in the portraits housed in them. To identify the cult objects used in specific portrait halls, I trace the chronology of the placement of royal portrait paintings by referring to court chronicles, such as the *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat* (承政院日記) and the *Record of Daily Reflection* (日省錄), and the *Sacrificial Rites Supplementing Tea Rituals for Seonwonjeon* (祭祀 附璿源殿茶禮).⁴³³

Due to the loss of all the Seonwonjeon portraits in the 1900 fire, the major focus of this chapter will be on portraits used in official halls, such as those of King Taejo and the portrait hall for successive kings, Yeongnyeongjeon. Recognizing the commemorative and “quasi-public” functions of these halls, where large numbers of officials regularly participated in the rituals, this chapter investigates the concepts of rulership represented by the portraits displayed in the halls. During the the long history of the Joseon, official portrait halls differed in status and portrait styles changed. The different pictorial mode of later portraits reveals a changed concept of rulership. I will provide case studies of early and late royal portraits in official portrait halls. To clarify the distinctive concepts of rulership embodied in the Joseon royal portraits, I compare them with Ming imperial portraits, which served as precedents. In both cases, the poses of the figures changed over time. However, whereas Ming imperial portraits go from three-quarter views to a strict frontal orientations,

⁴³³ For a detailed explanation of *Jesa bu Seonwonjeon darye* (祭祀 附璿源殿茶禮), see Introduction, footnote 60.

the opposite happens in Joseon royal portraits, where early kings are shown frontally and later kings in three-quarter view. I argue that the late Joseon court's choice in this regard was related to change in the concept of kingship. In developing the comparison of Joseon and Ming, I also examine the influence of institutional differences in Joseon royal and Ming imperial ancestor worship on the portrayals of the rulers of these two dynasties.

4-1. Kings as Divine Heroes: Portrait Paintings of King Taejo and a Sketch of King Sejo's Portrait

Portrait paintings of King Taejo (1335-1408, r. 1392-1398) were enshrined in three pivotal locales during his lifetime: in 1398, at Yeongheung, his birthplace; Gyeongju, the old capital of the Silla Dynasty (BCE 57-935 CE); and, before 1402, at Pyeongyang, formerly the capital of Goguryeo (BCE 37-668 CE) and the Western Capital of Goryeo (918-1392).⁴³⁴ After his death, two more portraits of him were enshrined, one in Jeonju, the place of origin of the Joseon royal family, and one in Gaeseong, the capital of Goryeo. Thus, portraits of King Taejo were displayed and venerated in his lifetime and officially worshipped after his death at key historical locations around the country, asserting the rightful place of his dynasty in history.

A brief description of the portraits of King Taejo enshrined in cities outside the capital during the early Joseon can be found in the *Veritable Records of King Taejo*. During the reign of King Sejong, portraits of King Taejo outside the capital were brought to the capital to be reproduced (改畫).⁴³⁵ After reproductions were completed, King Sejong

⁴³⁴ For detailed explanations of the portrait halls of King Taejo, see Chapter One

⁴³⁵ *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, year of 1442, 7th month, 18th day; 8th month, 5th day; 9th month, 29th day; *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, year of 1443, 9th month, 13th day; 10th month, 13th day; 11th month, 9th day; *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, year of 1444, 10th month, 22nd day. King Sejong

commented that the portraits at Pyeongyang and Gaeseong depicted King Taejo in his youth (少時), whereas the portraits of Yeongheung and Jeonju presented the king in his old age (晚年).⁴³⁶ Then, the king expressed concern about the relatively young appearance of King Taejo in the former as Pyeongyang and Gaeseong were the major stops for Ming and Joseon envoys traveling between Hanyang and Beijing. As a result, he instructed that portraits of King Taejo in old age be enshrined in Pyeongyang and Gaeseong and those showing him in his youth be enshrined in the other cities.⁴³⁷ The records consulted do not indicate whether the king's order was faithfully implemented.

The portraits of King Taejo in the five cities named above were officially displayed and venerated in the halls right after they were established. The dynastic founder personally visited the portrait hall of Pyeongyang, viewed the portrait of himself, and composed lines of verse in response to it.⁴³⁸ Several famous scholar-officials also composed verses eulogizing images of King Taejo enshrined in cities around the country during the king's reign. Some of their poems were included in the *Newly Augmented Geographical Survey of the Territory of the East Kingdom* 新增東國輿地勝覽 (1530) and *Record of Pyeongyang* (平壤志, 1590), both of which served as basic reference books for later Joseon literati scholars.⁴³⁹ A poem by

also instructed that all King Taejo's portrait halls be reconstructed as well. For more detailed information, see Chapter One.

⁴³⁶ *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 101, year of 1443, 9th month, 2nd day. Given that one copy of King Taejo's portrait for the unfinished Jangsaengjeon was based on the portrait at Pyeongyang, the copy was likely moved to King Taejo's portrait hall (later Mokcheongjeon) in Gaeseong during the early reign of King Sejong. Because King Taejo was enthroned at age 57, the portraits of him in his youth seem to have depicted the king in his late 50s right after the founding of the dynasty, whereas the images of him in old age represent the king in his early 70s.

⁴³⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁸ "Preface for Compilation of King's Personal Poem and Replying Poems 上製詩序 奉教撰," in *Yangchon jip* 陽村集 [Collected works of Gwon Geun (1352-1409)] vol. 19.

⁴³⁹ For example, 'Hall of Holy Appearance 聖容殿,' under "Miscellaneous Songs of Pyeongyang 西都雜詠," in *Yangchon jip* vol. 5; Gwon's poem is included in both the *Newly Augmented Geographical Survey of the Territory of the East Kingdom* 新增東國輿地勝覽 vol. 51 and

Yi Cheom (李詹, 1345-1405) on the portrait hall at Pyeongyang gives us a very early perception of and response to an image of King Taejo.⁴⁴⁰

Ritual officials paid respect to the king morning and evening, 朝暮齋官謁柘黃⁴⁴¹

Burning agarwood incense in the quiet ancestral temple. 闕宮清靜水沈香

The state of Joseon where Gija (ch. Jizi) was enfeoffed long ago 箕封千載朝鮮國

The dynastic-founding divine king unified the three Han kingdoms 統合三韓祖聖王

Local officials visited the hall every morning and evening and burned incense before an image that substituted for the real king, who was eulogized as a holy king who unified the country. Two officials of King Taejo's court, Gwon Geun (1352-1409) and Jeong Chong (1358-1397), wrote poems praising portrait halls and images of King Taejo using the designation Hall of Divine Appearance (聖容殿).⁴⁴² Even though the portrait at Pyeongyang represented King Taejo in his youth, Gwon Geun extolled it as “the divine image of the dynastic founder.” The reference to images of King Taejo as divine (聖) recalls the practice of the Song Dynasty (960-1279), when imperial ancestor portraits were used as objects of ancestor worship in a mixture of Confucian, Daoist, and Buddhist traditions and Song

Pyeongyang ji (平壤志), the 1590 gazetteer of Pyeongyang, along with the poem of Yi Cheom (李詹, 1345-1405).

⁴⁴⁰ “Pyeongyang bu 平壤府,” in *Sinjeung dongguk yeoji seungnam* 新增東國輿地勝覽 [Newly Augmented Geographical Survey of the Territory of the East Kingdom] vol. 51 (1530); *Pyeongyang ji* (平壤志, 1590) [Record of Pyeongyang], vol. 6.

⁴⁴¹ 柘黃 means the color of a ruler. (<http://www.zdic.net/c/8/79/125805.htm>)

⁴⁴² Hall of Divine Appearance 聖容殿, under Miscellaneous Songs of Pyeongyang 西都雜詠,” in *Yangchon jip* vol. 5; “Hall of Divine Appearance 聖容殿,” in *Bokjae seonsaeng jip* 復齋先生集 [Collective Works of Jeong Chong (1358-1397)] vol. 1.

emperors were referred to as divine ones or sages (聖).⁴⁴³ The portrait hall of Wang Geon (r. 918-943), the dynastic founder of Goryeo at Pyeongyang was also named the Hall of Divine Appearance (聖容殿), and a clay or bronze portrait of Wang Geon was enshrined and worshipped in his portrait hall at Gaeseong throughout the dynasty.⁴⁴⁴ A bronze statue of Wang Geon, which had been used for worship until the early Joseon period, was excavated near his tomb at Gaeseong in 1993.⁴⁴⁵ Resemblances between the statue and Buddhist and Daoist images convey the king's divinity (fig. 4-1).⁴⁴⁶ The perception of Joseon King Taejo

⁴⁴³ According to Patricia Ebrey, it was during Song times that imperial ancestral portraits were used as cult objects in ancestral rites. Also, she notes that Song emperors were referred to as sages (聖). Influenced by Buddhist and Daoist practices, the Song court used imperial portrait statues as central objects of worship. Drawing on Confucian texts, the Song court also transformed and reconstituted the use of imperial portraits in ancestral rites over time. Patricia Ebrey, *Portrait Sculptures in Imperial Ancestral Rites in Song China*, *T'oung Pao* vol. 83 (1997), 42-92.

⁴⁴⁴ For the Hall of Divine Appearance at Pyeongyang, see Kim Cheol Woong 김철웅, "Goryeo sidae seogyong ui seongyongjeon 고려시대 서경의 聖容殿 [Portrait hall of Goryeo Taejo, Seongyongjeon in Pyeongyang during the Goryeo period]," *Munhwasa* vol. 31 (2009), 109-128. The portrait hall of Wang Geon at Gaeseong was located in a Buddhist temple, Bongeunsa (奉恩寺, Temple of Worshipping Kindness).

⁴⁴⁵ For the bronze portrait statue of Wang Geon and historical analysis of statues of Wanggeon installed in the Bongeun Temple at Gaeseong, see Ro, Myoung-ho 노명호, "Goryeo Taejo Wang Geon dongsang ui yujeon gwa munhwa jeok baegyong 고려 태조 왕건 동상의 유전과 문화적 배경 [The bronze statue of King Taejo Wang Geon of Goryeo and its cultural background]," *Hanguksaron* vol. 50 (2004), 149-214. The excavated bronze portrait of Wang Geon was buried near the tomb of the king in Gaeseong during the reign of King Sejong, Joseon. The early Joseon court had portraits of Goryeo kings in painting and sculpture enshrined in Majeon county at Chungcheong province and worshipped by the remaining descendants of Goryeo royal family. King Sejong had spirit tablets used as cult objects for the worship of Goryeo kings and buried the portraits near the tombs of the subjects.

⁴⁴⁶ Kikutake Junichi 菊竹淳一, "Goryeo sidae nahyeong namja uisang Goryeo: Taejo Wang Geon sang siron 고려시대 裸形男子倚像: 고려 태조 왕건상 試論 [Nude, seated male sculpture of the Goryeo dynasty: The sculpture of King Taejo Wang Geon]," *Misulsa nondan* 미술사논단 vol. 21 (2005), 111-135. The life-size bronze portrait, likely dated to late tenth century and enshrined in Bongeunsa, sat on a throne and wore robes and a plain jade belt. It seems that the clasped hands were covered by sleeves. Kikutake argued that the statue mimicked the Buddha images, especially Maitreya image, transforming the king into the divine one. Ibid., 128-129. Ro Myoung-ho also argues that the statue of Wang Geon partly represents the Thirty-two Characteristics of a Great Man, regarded as being present in the Buddha and cakravarti kings. Ro Myoung-ho, "Goryeo Taejo Wang Geon dongsang ui hwangje gwanbok gwa johyeong sangjing 고려 태조 왕건 동상의 황제관복과 조형 상징 [Imperial robe and symbolism of the statue of Goryeo Taejo, Wang Geon]," *Bungnyeok ui munhwa yusan* 북녘의 문화유산 [Cultural heritage of North Korea] (Seoul: National Museum of

as divine reveals the lingering influence of the previous dynasty, Goryeo, and thus, indirectly, from the cultures of the Song and Yuan dynasties.

After his death, the images of King Taejo in the portrait halls served as objects of both ancestor worship and commemoration. As explained in the first chapter, they were worshipped by local officials on special festive days. At the usual time, Joseon scholar officials traveling to or temporarily staying in the cities visited the halls to pay respect to the portraits. Joseon envoys to Ming, China frequently visited King Taejo's portrait halls in Pyeongyang and Gaeseong and venerated the images. Many officials who viewed the images of King Taejo wrote poems or prose.⁴⁴⁷ The writings of Joseon envoys and other famous scholars were collected and published in personal literary works, local gazetteers, and anthologies. Like Gwon and Yi's poems, these writings were circulated in the literati class from generation to generation and reinforced the reception of King Taejo as a divine dynastic founder.

Jeong Inji (鄭麟趾, 1396-1478), a prominent and powerful scholar-official during the reigns of Kings Sejong and Sejo, recorded a poem on the back of the portrait of King Taejo in Junwonjeon in Yeongheung, after he brought the reproduced portrait back to the hall from the capital in 1443.⁴⁴⁸ This poem, included in the *Geographical Survey of the Territory of the Eastern Kingdom* (東國輿地勝覽, 1481), was popularly quoted by later scholars and had a

Korea, 2006), 226-236.

⁴⁴⁷ “Jipgyeongjeon (Poem of Jo Wi),” in both *Sok dongmuseon* 續東文選 and *Sinjeung dongguk yeoji seungnam*; “Venerating the Portrait of King Taejo at Jipgyeongjeon (從節度使謁集慶殿御容),” in *Jeompiljaejip* 佔畢齋集 [Collective works of Gim Jongjik (1431-1491)] vol. 2; Gyeonggijeon 慶基殿, in *Jibong jip* 芝峯集 [Collective works of Yi Sugwang (1563-1628)] vol. 18.

⁴⁴⁸ It has not been ascertained who composed the poem. *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, year of 1443, 9th month, 13th day. It is possible that Jeong brought both the original and reproduced portraits of King Taejo back to the hall

strong effect on the reception of the images of King Taejo.⁴⁴⁹ Unlike earlier poems focusing on the portrait halls of King Taejo, the poem exclusively addresses the image.⁴⁵⁰

A blue dragon and a white tiger on his left and right,
 [Like] a mountain tiger crouched on a stone.
 [He] came from a family of wealth and high position,
 Generation after generation of great commanding generals.
 His thundrous and earth-shaking reputation spread all over the world,
 The four oceans could not hold back his unifying measures.
 With the head of his three-foot sword, he pacified the state.
 With the end of his whip, [he] settled Heaven and Earth.

青龍白虎左右邊，山虎石上如踞蹲。
 公侯富貴榮華出，世世統領大將軍。
 雷振名譽天下遍，四海無防車書通。
 三尺劍頭安社稷，一條鞭末定乾坤。

This poem emphasizes the heroic character of King Taejo by likening him to a mountain tiger and characterizing him as a martial hero. Because the Junwonjeon portrait was

⁴⁴⁹ For examples of scholars quoting the poem recorded by Jeong Inji, see *Ijae yugo* 頤齋遺藁 [Collective works of Hwang Yunseok (1729-1791)] vol 25 (1829); *Gwanam jeonso* 冠巖全書 [Collective works of Hong Gyeongmo (1774-1851)] vol 22; *Bungno neungjeon ji* 北路陵殿志 [Records of royal tombs and halls in Hamgyeong Province] (1758); *Yeollyeosil gisul* 燃藜室記述 [Historical account of Yi Geungik (1736-1806)] vol. 1, and etc.

⁴⁵⁰ “Quotes from Literature on State Rites 祀典典故,” in *Yeollyeosil gisul* 燃藜室記述, Additional Collection 別集 vol. 1. In the *Comprehensive Study of the Ministry of Rites* (春官通考), the same poem was also introduced as King Taejo’s work based on *Successive Kings’ Personal Writings* (列聖御製) and *Collective Works of Seong Hyeon* (成俔, 1439-1504). This book includes this poem in both sections of Yeongsungjeon and Junwonjeon. *Chungwan tonggo* 春官通考 vol. 26.

one of only two portraits of King Taejo to survive the invasions between the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries, this poem was repeatedly referenced in late Joseon literature and official records. As a result, it contributed to the perception of King Taejo as a hero as portrayed in this painting. The portrait continued to be viewed, commemorated, and recorded by late Joseon officials, who, in their verses, eulogized the remarkable feats, sacred virtue, and mighty character of King Taejo in much the same way as early Joseon officials did.⁴⁵¹

The portrait at Junwonjeon can be seen in a photographic plate made in the early 1910s (fig. 4-2). The portrait in this plate was a copy made in 1837 modeled on one made in 1443 on the basis of an original commissioned in the king's lifetime.⁴⁵² In it, King Taejo, sits in a frontal position on a dragon throne, wears "ordinary attire (常服)" consisting of a black silk-gauze cap with double crests (*ikseon gwan* 翼善冠) and a red robe with dragon medallions woven in gold (*gollyong po* 袞龍袍), and stares straight out of the picture.⁴⁵³ The emperor's body and all elements surrounding him, such as the carpet and dragon throne, are exactly symmetrical. His black beard, sturdy body, and relatively young appearance contrast with King Sejong's remark about the portrait at Junwonjeon depicting King Taejo in his old age, suggesting the possibility that this is the image of King Taejo in his youth substituted for the previous image of him during King Sejong's reign. Whatever the portrait's

⁴⁵¹ *Cheongeum jip* 淸陰集 [Collective works of Kim Sang-heon (1570-1652)] vol. 6 (1671); *Jibong jip* vol. 18; *Donggang yujip* 東江遺集 [Collective works of Sin Ik-jeon (1605-1660)] vol. 4 (1673).

⁴⁵² For the reproduction process of King Taejo's portrait in Junwonjeon, see Kim Chul-Bae, "Heonjong sam nyeon yeongheung junwonjeon taejo eojin mosa gwajeong yeongu 현종 3년 영흥 준원전 태조어진 모사과정 연구 [Study on the reproduction process of the portrait of King Taejo in Junwonjeon at Yeongheung in 1837," *Daedong munhwa yeongu* vol. 76 (2011); 300-330. A leading painter of the reproduction of the Junwonjeon portrait was Yi Jae-gwan (1783-1838), a professional painter working outside the court. He was one of the most famous painters of the early 19th century.

⁴⁵³ On levels of kingly attire, see note 43.

original placement, both the image of King Taejo in youth and Jeong Inji's poem eulogizing him as a martial hero were closely associated with Junwonjeon from the mid-fifteenth century forward.

Even though only about a third of the 1900 copy modeled on the 1837 portrait at Junwonjeon survived the fire of 1954, the fragment preserves enough of the figure to allow us to reconstruct the original (fig. 4-3).⁴⁵⁴ An eye formed by sharp, long, and thin line stares out, and a black beard following the facial contour accentuates the protruding cheekbone. The king's bulky robe, outlined by more-or-less straight and angular lines, suggests his sturdy body and evokes his military origin and role as general-commander mentioned in Jeong Inji's poem. Thus, the Junwonjeon portrait presented King Taejo in his prime as a martial hero and dynastic founder.

The only intact image of King Taejo, the one in Gyeonggijeon in Jeonju, portrays the king in old age (fig. 4-4). This copy was made in 1872 to replace one that was worn-out. While adhering to the style and convention of the model, the new version was made smaller to make it more safely hung in the hall.⁴⁵⁵ The king wears a blue rather than a red dragon robe, but the symmetrical composition, frontal pose, furnishings, and style are almost the same as the Junwonjeon version. However, whereas the younger King Taejo has a longer and more angular face, the older man has a somewhat round face and smoothly curved creases around his eyes create a gentle and mild impression. Thus, the Gyeonggijeon version presents

⁴⁵⁴ *Veritable Records of King Gojong*, vol. 40, year of 1900, 10th month, 14th day. Drawing on the film image and the piece, the National Palace Museum of Korea recently produced a portrait of King Taejo.

⁴⁵⁵ The first portrait of King Taejo enshrined at Gyeonggijeon was a reproduction modeled on the Jipgyeongjeon portrait at Gyeongju. For a more detailed explanation of the Gyeonggijeon portrait, see Cho Insoo, "Taejo eojin gwa jeonju 태조어진과 전주 [Portrait of King Taejo and Jeonju], in *Joseon wangsil gwa jeonju 조선왕실과 전주* [Jeonju, the Origin of the Joseon Dynasty], 225-233; Lee Sumi, "Gyeonggijeon taejo eojin ui wonbon jeok seonggyeok jae geomto 경기전 태조어진의 원본적 성격 재검토 [Reexamination of the portrait of King Taejo at Gyeonggijeon]," in *Joseon wangsil gwa jeonju*, 234-242.

the aged martial hero as a generous and virtuous king.

Interestingly, the blue color of King Taejo's clothing in the portrait at Gyeonggijeon is not in keeping with Joseon regulations for royal attire. During the late Joseon period, King Sukjong wondered about whether or not the blue color was appropriate for royal clothing.⁴⁵⁶ In fact, the blue robe was a tradition handed down from the Goryeo Dynasty and likely maintained until 1444, when Emperor Yingzong of Ming presented King Sejong with a red robe with dragon medallions woven in gold and a black silk-gauze cap with double crests.⁴⁵⁷ When the portrait of King Taejo in Junwonjeon was reproduced in 1837, the color of the robe was changed from blue to red.⁴⁵⁸ Accordingly, the portrait recreated in 1900 on the basis of this copy shows the king in red robe.

Even though it was reproduced in the late nineteenth century, the copy hanging at Gyeonggijeon portrays the frontal face of King Taejo primarily with delicate lines and light color washes over the initial coloring applied to the back side of the silk.⁴⁵⁹ The painter did not adopt Western painting techniques, such as shading and perspective, which started to be popular in Korea in the eighteenth century. We can find traces of shading only around the ridge of his nose and his cap. This method of depicting facial features speaks to the persistence of the portrait conventions in use for the original portraits of King Taejo.

⁴⁵⁶ The portrait of King Taejo enshrined at Yeonghuijeon was reproduced in 1688, modeled on the Gyeonggijeon portrait. King Sukjong viewed the Gyeonggijeon copy brought to the palace from Jeonju for the reproduction project and asked about the blue color of the robe seen in the portrait to officials. *Veritable Records of King Sukjong*, vol. 19, year of 1688, 4th month, 8th day. In 1872, the Gyeonggijeon portrait was replaced with a newly made copy modeled on the 1688 portrait at Yeonghuijeon. *Veritable Records of King Sukjong*, vol. 9, year of 1688, 3rd month, 3rd day; 5th month, 5th day; *Veritable Records of King Gojong*, vol. 9, year of 1872, 5th month, 4th day.

⁴⁵⁷ *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 103, year of 1444, 3rd month, 26th day; *Veritable Records of King Sukjong*, vol. 19, year of 1688, 4th month, 8th day; Lee, 239.

⁴⁵⁸ *Daily Record of Grand Secretariat*, year of 1872, 1st month, 6th day.

⁴⁵⁹ On reverse coloring in Joseon portraits, see Lee Soomi, "Two Stages in the Production Process of Late Joseon Portraits: Sketches and Reverse Coloring," *Journal of Korean Art and Archaeology* vol. 5 (2011), 38-57.

The portraits of King Taejo invite comparison to the portrait of Emperor Taizu, Zhu Yuanzhang (r. 1368-1398) of the Ming Dynasty, China, due to their subjects' common roles as dynastic founders and their similar compositions (fig. 4-5). Both rulers occupy a simple setting consisting of a chair and a carpet and wear similar dragon robes. As previous scholarship on Ming imperial portraits points out, the early Ming imperial portraits differ in style from Song imperial portraits and from later Ming portraits done on full-length hanging scrolls.⁴⁶⁰ The portrait of Emperor Taizu is distinguished from the Song imperial portraits especially by the depiction of the highly decorated carpet with floral and geometric patterns, which derived from Persia. Dora Ching stresses that the carpet is an "innovation" that places the portrait at the beginning of the Ming period.⁴⁶¹ The portraits of King Taejo show a similar carpet depicted with the same pointillist technique used to create texture in the carpet in Emperor Taizu's portrait. Thus it is clear that portraits of King Taejo employ stylistic conventions used in early Ming imperial portraits of Emperor Taizu.

In his portrait, Emperor Taizu's face is nearly frontal while his body and chair are seen in a slight three-quarter view, creating a three-dimensional effect in the painting. The images of King Taejo, however, are fully frontal, flattened, and symmetrical, traits that characterize the "iconic pose" found in middle and late Ming imperial portraits and ancestor

⁴⁶⁰ Wen C. Fong first paid attention to the stylistic difference of Ming imperial portraits and located the group of early imperial portraits between the more naturally posed Song convention and the frontal and symmetrical composition of the mid and late Ming. Wen C. Fong, "Imperial Portraiture in the Song, Yuan, and Ming Periods," *Ars Orientalis* 25 (1995), 47-60; *Possessing the Past: Treasures from the National Palace Museum*, edited by Wen C. Fong and James C.Y. Watt (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), 327-333. For comprehensive studies of the imperial portraits of the Ming Dynasty, see Cheng-hua Wang, "Material Culture and Emperorhip: The Shaping of Imperial Roles at the Court of Xuanzong (r. 1426-35)," Ph.D. diss. (Yale University, 1998); Dora Ching, "Tibetan Buddhism and the Creation of the Ming Imperial Image," *Culture, Courtiers, and Competition: The Ming Court (1368-1644)*, ed. David M. Robinson (Cambridge, M.A. and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2008), 321-364; Ching, "Icons of Rulership: Imperial Portraiture during the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644)," Ph.D. diss. (Princeton University, 2011).

⁴⁶¹ Dora Ching, "Tibetan Buddhism and the Creation of the Ming Imperial Image," 330.

portraits. This iconic pose of Chinese formal portraits has drawn the attention of several scholars.⁴⁶² Jan Stuart states that the iconic pose became a well-established scheme for ancestor portraits during the mid-Ming dynasty and signified the ancestors' quasi-godlike status in keeping with the ritual purpose of Chinese ancestor worship.⁴⁶³ In the scholarship of Ming imperial portraiture, the change to fully frontal and symmetrical composition has been a major issue as well. While Wen Fong and Dora Ching stressed the Tibetan influence on the change, Chenghwa Wang argues that the change was related to the creation of emperorship as an institution and was a deliberate choice made by the Tianshun emperor (Yingzong), who suffered because of a military fiasco, and adopted by his successors.⁴⁶⁴ There seems to be a consensus of opinion that the iconic pose was established in Chinese imperial portraiture in the mid-Ming period. In fact, the portraits of King Taejo, with their frontal view, symmetrical composition, and wide dragon throne have more affinity with the portrait of Emperor Yingzong (r. 1435-1449, r. 1457-1467), which can be placed almost at the moment of the stylistic transition, than with the portrait of Emperor Taizu (fig. 4-6). If the portraits of King

⁴⁶² Ladislav Kesner interpreted the frontal view as an effort to reify the act of communication between ancestor and descendant Ladislav Kesner Jr., "Memory, Likeness and Identity in Chinese Ancestry Worship," *Bulletin of the National Gallery in Prague* 3/4 (1993-94), 11-12; Mette Siggstedt argued that the influence of physiognomy on portraiture resulted in the preference of three quarter view until the technique of shadowing was fully developed. Mette Siggstedt, "Forms of Fate: An Investigation of the Relationship between Formal Portraiture, Especially Ancestral Portraits, and Physiognomy (*Xiangshu*) in China," in *International Colloquium on Chinese Art History, 1999: Proceedings, Paintings, and Calligraphy, Part 2*, (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1992), 717-748. Jan Stuart developed two essays focusing on the "iconic pose," drawing from her comprehensive research in the 2001 exhibition catalogue of *Worshipping Ancestors*. Jan Stuart and Evelyn Sakakida Rawski, *Worshipping the Ancestors: Chinese Commemorative Portraits*, 2001; "The Face in Life and Death: Mimesis and Chinese Ancestor Portraits," in *Body and Face in Chinese Visual Culture*, ed. Wu Hung and Katherine R. Tsiang (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005), 197-228; "Facing Forward: Meaning in the Frontal Gaze in Chinese Portraits," *Beyond Boundaries: An International Symposium on Chinese and Korean Painting* (Seoul: National Museum of Korea, 2008), 134-143.

⁴⁶³ Stuart, "The Face in Life and Death," 197-228.

⁴⁶⁴ Wang, 201-209. Wang argues that the image of Yingzong represents more of his status as the Son of Heaven diligently performing state rituals and dealing with national politics.

Taejo, handed down through a succession of copies, faithfully reflect the pictorial mode of the original portraits commissioned during the king's lifetime, then, as Cho Insoo suggests, the Joseon royal portraits employed the frontal pose earlier than it appeared in the imperial portraits of Ming China.⁴⁶⁵

As or more important than the relationship of the portraits of King Taejo to the development of Ming imperial portraiture is their relationship to earlier portraiture of the Yuan and Goryeo dynasties. The carpet linked with Central Asia, for instance, points to Yuan influence that persisted into the early Ming. Throughout the Mongol empire, textiles were exchanged and artisans moved through various regions between Persia and China.⁴⁶⁶ Also, as both Wang Cheng-hua and Dora Ching have observed that the nearly frontal gaze of Ming Taizu of the Ming is also found in Yuan imperial portraits, which are generally half-length portraits in the format of album leaves.⁴⁶⁷ The full-length portraits of emperors and empresses that were commissioned for ceremonial purposes throughout Yuan dynasty are lost,⁴⁶⁸ but the surviving half-length portraits in the National Palace Museum of Taiwan suggest that their subjects may have been depicted in nearly frontal poses.⁴⁶⁹ The half-

⁴⁶⁵ Cho Insoo, "Gyeonggijeon taejo eojin gwa jinjeon ui seonggyeok: jungguk gwau bigyojeok gwanjeomeul jungsim euro 경기전 태조어진과 진전의 성격: 중국과의 비교적 관점을 중심으로 [Portrait of King Taejo in Gyeonggijeon and features of royal portrait halls in the comparative perspective with China], in *Wang ui chosang 왕의 초상* (National Museum of Korea, 2005), 276-278.

⁴⁶⁶ Thomas Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: Cultural History of Islamic Textiles* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 27-45, 71; Qing, 329-330.

⁴⁶⁷ Dora Ching, "Tibetan Buddhism and the Ming Imperial Image," 328; Chenghwa Wang, 205-208.

⁴⁶⁸ The imperial portraits of the Yuan were usually either painted or woven. They were installed at the imperial ancestral temple or individual image halls for Mongol emperors and empresses. For more on the imperial portraits of Yuan, see Marsha Weidner (Haufler), "Painting and Patronage at the Mongol Court of China" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1982), 53-69.

⁴⁶⁹ Anning Jing argues that the nearly frontal view and symmetrical composition of Yuan imperial portraits in the album reveal new features that distinguish them from Song portraits. She also stresses that Yuan imperial portraits represent a watershed between pre-Yuan and later imperial portraits of China. Anning Jing, "The Portraits of Khubilai Khan and Chabi by Anige (1245-1306), a Nepali Artist at the Yuan Court, *Artibus Asiae* vol. 54, no. 1/2 (1994), 40-86.

portrait of Ningzong (Rinchinbal Khan, r. 10th to 12th month, 1332) shows a nearly symmetrical and frontal composition (fig. 4-7). Furthermore, as Jan Stuart points out, the “iconic pose” was a well-established artistic convention in earlier Chinese painting traditions such as those used to depict images of deities.⁴⁷⁰ A Yuan dynasty painting of *Zhenwu and His Court* showing the deity as an enthroned emperor, for instance, resembles the portraits of King Taejo in its frontal view, symmetrical composition, and the presentation of the figure, with his hands concealed in his sleeves, seated on a broad throne (fig. 4-8).⁴⁷¹

After King Chungnyeol (r. 1274-1308) of Goryeo and Princess Khutugh beki Khan (齊國大長公主) of Yuan married in 1274, six more Yuan princesses became queens of Goryeo. Due to the close relationship with the Yuan court through diplomatic marriages, the late Goryeo court shared many cultural practices and artistic conventions of the Yuan Dynasty.⁴⁷² Connections have been observed between Yuan and Goryeo portraits of various types. Cho Sun-mie notes historical records of several portraits of Goryeo scholar-officials produced by Yuan artists.⁴⁷³ The reproduction of a portrait of An Hyang (安珣, 1243-1306),

⁴⁷⁰ Stuart, *Worshipping the Ancestors*, 88. In his study on narrative representations of early China, Wu Hung argues that the iconic mode emerged under the influence of Buddhist images during the second century CE. Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine: The Ideology of Early Chinese Pictorial Art* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1989), 132-140.

⁴⁷¹ This painting is in the collection of Reiun-ji in Tokyo, Japan. For this painting, see Stephen Little and Shawn Eichman, *Taoism and The Arts of China* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago in association with University of California Press, Berkeley, 2000), fig. 108, 300.

⁴⁷² The close relationship of the two dynasties through diplomatic marriages influenced the dramatic increase in the influx of Yuan material goods to Goryeo and the exchange of commodities between the two countries. For the trade history between the two countries, see Lee Kang-Hahn 이강한, *Goryeo wa won jeguk ui gyoyeok ui yeoksa* 고려와 원제국의 교역의 역사 [The history of the trade between Goryeo and Yuan (Seoul: Changbi, 2013), 191-234; For research on the influence of Yuan material culture on Goryeo during the fourteenth century, see Kim Yunjung, “14 segi goryeo won gwangye hwakjang gwa goryeo ui won boksik munhwa suyong 14세기 고려-원 관계 확장과 고려의 원 복식문화 수용 [The expansion of Goryeo and Yuan relations and Goryeo acceptance of Mongolian clothing in the 14th century],” *Yeoksa hakbo* 역사학보 vol. 234 (2017), 63-112.

⁴⁷³ For the portraits of Goryeo scholar-officials painted by Yuan artists, see Cho Sun-mie, *Hanguk chosanghwa yeongu* 韓國肖像畫研究 [Study on Korean portrait paintings] (Seoul: Yeolhwadang,

the pioneering Zhu Xi scholar of Korea, shows a striking similarity to the imperial half-length portraits of the Yuan (fig. 4-9). This portrait was produced in the mid-sixteenth century and was modeled on one of the portraits of An Hyang painted by a Yuan artist. Allegedly, King Chungsu of Goryeo commissioned the Yuan painter to make a portrait of An to enshrine in the state shrine of Confucius.⁴⁷⁴ Thus portraits of King Taejo were created in the cultural milieu of very early Joseon in which Goryeo traditions persisted.⁴⁷⁵

The Joseon court and artists had at their disposal a wide range of portrait conventions and religious pictorial schemas. Therefore, we should regard the portraits of King Taejo as outcomes of deliberate choices made to project a specific image of the dynastic founder within given historical and cultural situations.

As mentioned previously, portraits of King Taejo were enshrined and commemorated in major cities outside the capital immediately after his enthronement, and, accordingly, became objects of public display and veneration. The halls enshrining King Taejo's portraits were called "Halls of Divine Appearance" during his lifetime. Also, the king was praised as a "divine king" in the aforementioned poem composed by his subject. Unlike the Ming Dynasty, which defeated the Mongol Yuan dynasty and restored Han Chinese rule, the Joseon court, maintaining the power structure and elite class of the previous dynasty, needed to legitimize its military coup against Goryeo and its right to rule. Recognizing the new king as divine served this end and may have been a factor in the adaption of the "iconic pose" from religious imagery for portraits of the king.

1983), 80.

⁴⁷⁴ Cho Sun-mie, 89-91; *Great Korean Portraits*, 83-87.

⁴⁷⁵ King Gongmin (r. 1351-1374) ordered the portrait paintings of successive kings and queens to be reproduced in 1354. "The third year of King Gongmin," in *Goryeosa jeoryo* [Abridged History of the Goryeo Dynasty] vol. 28. Given the close relationship between the Goryeo and Yuan courts at the time, the portraits likely reflected the pictorial convention of the imperial portraits of Yuan. However, it is difficult to ascertain because there are no extant royal portrait paintings from the Goryeo.

Returning to the iconography of the portraits of Emperor Taizu and King Taejo, the former sits with one hand on his lap and the other close to his belt, the latter clasps his hands inside his sleeves below his belt. This latter contributes to the strict symmetry and frontality of the portrait and its iconic character. At the same time, it can be interpreted as signaling humility. This hand gesture is reminiscent of the poses of Song emperors in portraits such as those of Emperors Huizong and Gaozong (fig. 4-10). Wang Cheng-hua reads the concealed hands in Song imperial portraits as expressions of reverence and humility becoming to the Son of Heaven, and further observes that this gesture was commonly adopted in Song visual culture to express feeling of reverence.⁴⁷⁶ We see it, for example, in such paintings as *The Meritorious Officials of the Lingyan Pavilion* (凌煙閣功臣圖) and *The Five Old Men of Suiyang* (睢陽五老圖), which depict eminent Confucian scholar-officials. The reverential hand gesture was established as one of the ways of depicting “virtuous personages” at the time (fig. 4-11).⁴⁷⁷ The portraits of King Taejo, despite their assertive frontality, also project the image of virtuous leader by showing him adopting this humble gesture.

In sum, the early Joseon court selectively used pictorial conventions drawn from a range of portrait types and representational traditions to formulate an image of the dynastic founder that visually asserted his authority and that of the new dynasty. The portrait of King Taejo established pictorial conventions for portraits of Joseon rulers unlike the portraits of the early Ming emperors.

The Sketch of King Sejo (r. 1455-1468), drawn by Kim Eun-ho (1892-1979) in 1935

⁴⁷⁶ Wang Cheng-hua, 185-191. For the development of the Meritorious Officials of Tang theme paintings during the Song Dynasty, see Scarlett Jang, “Representations of Exemplary Scholar-Officials, Past and Present,” in *Arts of the Sung and Yuan: Ritual, Ethnicity, and Style in Painting*, ed. Cary Y. Liu and Dora C.Y. Ching (Princeton N.J.: The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1999), 43-53. According to Jang, Song contemporaries used the traditional format of a portrait sequence associated with meritorious officials to commemorate their literary gatherings.

⁴⁷⁷ Wang, *ibid.*

as a reproduction of the portrait of King Sejo, clearly shows the same symmetrical composition and style as the portraits of King Taejo (fig. 4-12). King Sejo, who ascended to the throne at the age of twenty-eight through a brutal usurpation, sits on an arm chair, clasping his hands in his sleeves and staring straight out at the viewer. The differences between portraits of the two kings are found in the faces and the chairs. The young, round face of King Sejo, with its short mustache and beard, shows the king as he appeared right after his enthronement. His bulky garment is drawn with the same type of angular lines used in the portraits of King Taejo, the weight and volume evoking his famous martial talent and heroic image.⁴⁷⁸ This sketch suggests that the now-lost royal portraits of the early Joseon most likely followed the conventions of the portraits of King Taejo.

The portraits of Kings Taejo and Sejo were the only ones officially commemorated and worshipped in royal portrait halls during the early Joseon period. After the loss of most royal portraits during the Japanese invasions, the late Joseon court built Yeonghuijeon, the official portrait hall for successive kings in the capital, wherein the surviving portraits of the two kings were given an even higher status and venerated and worshipped on an expanded “public” level. Accordingly, the portraits of the two kings portrayed in an iconic pose expressed early Joseon concepts of rulership and transmitted this concept down through the dynasty. The rulership presented in the portraits of both King Taejo and King Sejo blends images of the divine king, the martial hero, and the virtuous king: the frontal and symmetrical compositions related to religious imagery speak to their divine power; the strong forms of their bulky robes delineated in straight and angular lines reinforce their identities as martial heroes and founders of a new dynasty or a new royal line, and their concealed hands tap into

⁴⁷⁸ King Sejo was talented in archery and horseback riding. In the 1429 official hunting event, King Sejo, then a prince, shot seven arrows and all seven hit a deer’s neck. *Veritable Records of King Sejo*, vol. 1, General Introduction.

established pictorial conventions expressing Confucian values of reverence and humility.

4-2. Confucian Rulers at the Center of Civilization: Portraits of Late Joseon Kings in Official Portrait Halls

While recovering from a series of devastating invasions between the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and stabilizing the country, the late Joseon court established Yeonghuijeon, the portrait hall of successive kings in the capital, and Jangnyeongjeon, the portrait hall of Kings Sukjong and Yeongjo, on Ganghwa Island for state sacrificial rites. The official status of Yeonghuijeon was a level below that of Jongmyo in the state ancestral rites, and the hall shared physical elements with Jongmyo. The king, royal relatives, and hundreds of officials regularly performed rituals there, thus the portraits represented the Joseon royal line and the Joseon right to rule to an elite audience. Portraits of Kings Sukjong and Yeongjo in Jangnyeongjeon, functioned in the same way.

Portraits of late Joseon kings for the two halls clearly reflect a shared level of formality. In the two halls were, with one exception, enshrined portraits of late Joseon kings in “official clothing (法服).”⁴⁷⁹ Official clothing was of two types, “ceremonial attire” (冕服) and “court audience attire” (朝賀服, 朝見服). The former, the highest level of royal

⁴⁷⁹ The only exception was the portrait of King Sukjong for Yeonghuijeon. While expanding Yeonghuijeon to enshrine King Sukjong, King Yeongjo had a copy made modeled on Seonwonjeon portrait in ordinary attire. This decision might have come from the far distance of Jangnyeongjeon. *Regulations of Royal Clothing Office* (尙方定例, 1751) stipulates “official attires (法服)” as the above two types of costumes. For the regulations, Lee Minjoo 이민주, “Sangbangjeongnye ui pyeonchan gwajeong gwa teukjing 尙方定例의 편찬과정과 특징 [The publication process and features of the *Regulations of Royal Clothing Office*],” *Jangseogak* vol. 27 (2012), 70-108. A set of a silk gauze cap with double crests (*ikseon gwan*) and a red robe (*gollyong po*) was classified as ordinary attire (常服). This type of attire was worn for most occasions other than the sacrificial rites and ceremonial events requiring the “official attires.”

clothing, was characterized by a black robe adorned with nine symbols of royal authority and a mortar-board style hat with strings of beads hanging from the front and back. The latter, the second level of royal clothing, featured a red robe embellished with jade girdle pendants and a black silk gauze hat with nine ridges decorated with jade beads.”⁴⁸⁰

King Yeongjo, who commissioned dozens of portraits of himself in various types of attire at different ages, commissioned two portraits of himself in “ceremonial attire” in 1744.⁴⁸¹ He was the first king to have himself portrayed in this fashion, and thereby set a precedent for portraits of later kings.⁴⁸² One of these portraits was sent to an auxiliary building in Jangnyeongjeon the following year. After his death, this portrait was displayed at Jangnyeongjeon along with a portrait of King Sukjong in court audience attire. The other copy was displayed at Yeonghuijeon. Considering that the rites of the two halls were constituted as state sacrificial rites in the *Supplement of the Five Rites of State* (1744), it can be concluded that the selection of the portraits showing the king in ceremonial attire was

⁴⁸⁰ The latter costume was also called “*wollugwan bok* (遠遊冠服, crown of traveling afar costume). For more detailed information on royal clothing of Joseon, see Ryu Songok 유송옥, “Uigwedo ui hoehwasa jeok teukjing gwa geue natanan gungjung boksik 의궤도의 회화사적 특징과 그에 나타난 궁중복식 [The royal clothing seen in Uigwe of the Joseon Dynasty],” *Boksik* 복식 10 (1986), 11-16; Lee Minjoo, *Yong eul geurigo bonghwang eul sunota 용을 그리고 봉황을 수놓다* [Painting dragons and embroidering phoenixes] (Bundang: The Academy of Korean Studies, 2013), 35-95. The Joseon regulations for royal clothings followed the Ming but lowered one level below ones of the Ming empire in accordance with the status of the kingdom. For Ming imperial robes, Valery M. Garret, *Chinese Clothing: An Illustrated Guide* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1994), 3-9.

⁴⁸¹ During his lifetime, twelve or thirteen portraits of King Yeongjo were painted: one in official robes (冠帶) in 1714, one in official robes (冠帶) in 1724 (or 1721), one in ordinary attire (袞服) and one in official attire (冠) in 1733, two portraits in ceremonial attire (冕服) and one portrait in ordinary attire (袞服) in 1744, one portrait in a *gat* hat and coat (絲笠道袍) and one portrait in crown (冠) in 1757, one portrait in court audience attire (遠遊冠, crown of traveling afar) in 1763, and, lastly, two portraits in dragon robe (袞服) in 1773. The *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, year of 1797, 9th month, 28th day; *Seonwon boryak sujeong uigwe* vol. 1 (1779); *Gukjo bogam*, vol. 65.

⁴⁸² His two direct successors, King Jeongjo and King Sunjo, could not follow it precisely because of their deaths before the age of 50, the age when the portraits of King Yeongjo in ceremonial attire had been produced.

deemed appropriate for the status of the halls. Also when Yeonghuijeon was expanded to enshrine a portrait of King Sunjo in 1858, the court selected, from the four portraits available, the full-length copy of him in court audience attire done in 1830.⁴⁸³ Because King Sunjo did not commission portraits of him in ceremonial attire, the portrait in court audience attire was the highest level in formality among the available ones. Collectively, Jangnyeongjeon and Yeonghuijeon contained portraits of late Joseon kings primarily in “official clothing.”

The half-burnt portrait of Prince Hyomyeong (posthumously titled King Ikjong) in ceremonial attire and the surviving one-third of the 1830 portrait of King Sunjo in court audience attire give us some sense of what the aforementioned portraits of the similarly garbed Yeongjo and Sukjong must have looked like (fig. 4-13 and 4-14). Prince Hyomyeong and King Sunjo are both shown seated in arm chairs placed on rush mats decorated with either dragon designs or flower patterns, according to the status of the subjects. Their heads are slightly turned toward their proper right and their hands are clasped together, Sunjo’s inside his sleeves and Prince Hyomyeong’s holding a tablet. The rush mats contrast with the Persian carpets in the portraits of the two early Joseon kings and three-quarter orientation of the figures contrasts with the earlier strict frontality.

These changes of artistic modes for royal portraits occurred in 1713, when King Sukjong officially commissioned portraits of himself, thereby reviving the practice producing portraits of a living king for the first time since the fifteenth century. He joined his officials and artists in discussing how he should be portrayed, and new pictorial conventions for royal images were established. Deliberated were all the matters related to portrait production: painting techniques, iconographic elements, colors, and mounting.⁴⁸⁴

⁴⁸³ *Jesa bu Seonwonjeon darye* 祭祀 附璿源殿茶禮.

⁴⁸⁴ *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, vol. 477, year of 1713, 4th month, 11th day; 4th month, 13th day; 5th month, 6th day. King Sukjong had an ad-hoc Supervisory Council (都監) established to

On the first day when the king established the ad hoc supervisory council responsible for producing the portraits, King Sukjong decided that he should be portrayed in three-quarter view. His decision ran counter to the opinion of one of his officials, who argued that the king sits directly facing the court, so should be depicted in a frontal view. In response, the king stressed the technical difficulty of using the frontal pose in portraiture.⁴⁸⁵ Although, as noted above, later Ming emperors were depicted frontally, King Sukjong did not choose this option. It was not that he was ignorant of Chinese models. Indeed, he was quite conversant with Chinese portraits, including imperial portraits.⁴⁸⁶ In talking with his officials, he noted that a portrait of Yongle emperor showed him in a diagonal pose, while a portrait of the Jiajing emperor, showed him in a frontal pose.⁴⁸⁷ That Sukjong made such an historically-informed reference shows the degree to which Joseon kings were involved in determining the

commission portraits of him. For the official records on the production of the portraits, see *Sukjong eoyong mosa dogam uigwe* 肅宗御容模寫都監儀軌 [Uigwe for producing portraits of King Sukjong], 1713, 奎 13996, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies. The royal portrait production project was proceeded for one month.

⁴⁸⁵ *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, vol. 477, year of 1713, 4th month, 11th day. The king's argument seems to have quoted Guo Ruoxi's comment in *An Account of My Experiences in Painting (Tuhua jianwen zhi)*. For Guo's comment on the technical difficulty in achieving frontal likeness, see Jan Stuart, *Worshipping Ancestors*, 85.

⁴⁸⁶ Late Joseon envoys to China used to bring home portraits of themselves painted by Chinese artists. King Sukjong took a keen interest in such portraits. Before commissioning portraits of himself, he examined two portraits of Kim Yuk (金堉, 1580-1658), his great-grandfather through his maternal line, produced in China. *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, vol. 477, the year of 1713, the 4th month, the 13th day. Portrait of Kim Yuk with King Sukjong's encomium is still extant and shows the iconic pose. For the portraits of late Joseon envoys commissioned in Beijing, China, see Cho Sun-mie, "Joseon hugi Jungguk chosanghwa ui yuip gwa Hanguk jeok byeonyong: wolgyeong sahaeng jiraebon eul jungsim euro 조선 후기 중국 초상화의 유입과 한국적 변용: 越京使臣 持來本을 중심으로 [The influx of Chinese portraiture and its influence on Joseon portrait paintings: Focusing on the portraits of the envoys to Beijing]," *Misulsa nondan* vol. 14 (2002), 125-154; Jeong Eun-joo 정은주, "Wolgyeong sahaeng eseo jejak doen Joseon sasin ui chosang 월경사행에서 제작된 조선사신의 초상 [The portraits of Joseon envoys to China]," *Myeongcheongsa yeongu* 명청사 연구 vol. 33 (2010), 1-40.

⁴⁸⁷ *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, vol. 477, year of 1713, 5th month, 6th day. King Sukjong likely referred to the images of the three Ming emperors of Taizu, Yongle, and Jiajing, included in *San cai tu hui*.

characteristics of royal images.

The technical difficulty mentioned by King Sukjong likely had to do with the challenge of shading faces seen straight on, and possibly an aversion to the “dark” Western shading techniques adopted by contemporary Chinese painters.⁴⁸⁸ Cho Sunmie has pointed out the preference to relatively bright facial color and a disinclination for the dramatic and ostentatious frontal pose as reasons why portraits in the frontal pose did not gain popularity in the late Joseon society.⁴⁸⁹ In extant portraits of late Joseon kings, the faces are primarily described with lines and light color washes. Strong shading is reserved for the bulky robes.⁴⁹⁰

To understand the new pictorial mode of royal portraits established by King Sukjong’s court, we need to look at the political contexts of the time. During the reign of King Sukjong, Joseon society stabilized and began to revive from the damage inflicted by the Japanese invasions of 1592-1598 and the Manchu invasions of 1627 and 1636-1637. King Sukjong built the Daebodan, or Altar of Great Gratitude (大報壇), often called the Hwangdan or Imperial Altar (皇壇), in Changdeokgung in 1704, to worship the spirit tablet of the Wanli emperor (r. 1527-1620), who sent troops to save Joseon from the Japanese invaders. From that time, the altar symbolized the Joseon perception of the Joseon state as the only legitimate successor of Confucian civilization after the fall of the Ming.⁴⁹¹ The Joseon court also

⁴⁸⁸ The frontal pose is thought to have been adopted for portrait paintings after Chinese artists mastered the Western technique of shading (or shadowing). Mette Siggstedt, 723, 736-737; Jan Stuart, *Worshipping Ancestors*, 84-86.

⁴⁸⁹ For example, Kim Seokju (金錫胄, 1634-1684), a grandson of Kim Yuk and maternal relative of King Sukjong, complained about the darkness of the facial color resulting from layers of shades in the portrait he commissioned from Jiao Bingzhen (焦秉貞) while visiting Beijing as an envoy in 1682. Jiao was a famous court painter of the early Qing who applied Western techniques. Cho Sun-mie, 2002, 131-142.

⁴⁹⁰ Preparing for the royal portrait production project, the king ordered Jin Jaehae (秦再奚, 1691-1769), the main painter of the project to study the application of colors found in a portrait of Kim Changjip (金昌集, 1648-1722) painted by a Chinese artist, which was brought to court at the king’s order. *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, vol. 477, year of 1713, 4th month, 13th day.

⁴⁹¹ For the establishment of the Altar of Great Gratitude and the awareness of Joseon as the only

continued to use the reign title of the last Ming emperor, Chongzhen (崇禎) after the fall of the Ming in 1644. King Sukjong had this reign title used in the inscriptions on the portraits of him produced in 1713.⁴⁹² Given the hostility of the Joseon court to the “barbarian” Qing along with its view of itself as the only true Confucian civilization, the late Joseon kings promoted themselves as sage rulers in the Confucian traditions and, accordingly, adopted traditional pictorial schema to represent themselves as sages and virtuous men.⁴⁹³

The remnants of the portraits of King Sunjo and Prince Hyomyeong in official clothing display the long established pictorial conventions deliberately adopted by King Sukjong’s court, notably, the three-quarter view and fine lines and use of soft color washes to define faces.⁴⁹⁴ While portraits of Kings Taejo and Sejo presented them as divine heroes as was befitting the founder of a new dynasty or a new royal line, portraits of late Joseon kings displayed in Yeonghuijeon and Jangnyeongjeon emodied different royal roles and concepts of kingship. Through the adoption of traditional pictorial schema used for representing sages and the representation of the rulers in official attire emblazoned with the kingly symbols stipulated by Confucian classics, the portraits presented their subjects as Confucian rulers with the moral authority to rule the state they regarded as the center of Confucian civilization.

In addition to pictorial modes, Sukjong’s court discussed iconographic elements to be

extant Confucian civilization, see Jeong Ok-ja 정옥자, “Daebodan changseol e gwanhan yeongu 대보단 창설에 관한 연구 [Study of the establishment of the Altar of Great Gratitude], in *Byeon Taeseop baksa hwagab ginyeom sahak nonchong 변태섭박사화갑기념사학논총* (Seoul: Samyeongsa, 1985), 527-550; *Joseon hugi Joseon junghwa sasang yeongu 조선후기 조선중화사상연구* (Seoul: Iljisa, 1998).

⁴⁹² “Reports to King 啓辭秩,” in *Sukjong eoyong mosa dogam uigwe*.

⁴⁹³ The association of the pictorial mode in Song imperial portraits with sages, see Wang, 185-191.

⁴⁹⁴ King Sukjong was also concerned that the nine strands of jade beads attached to a ceremonial hat would block the face. This problem is avoided in the the fragmentary portrait of Prince Hyomyeong. The square board on the top of the hat is drastically elongated and tilted so that the strands of jade beads fall over his shoulders rather than his face.

depicted in his portraits. Pointing out the difference between the chairs in the portraits of Kings Taejo and Sejo, King Sukjong decided to follow the example of King Sejo who was seated in a simple chair with arms, i.e. an ordinary king's seat (常時御座), rather than a dragon throne. About floor coverings, Yi Yimyeong, the superintendent of the production of King Sukjong's portrait, stated that the use of colorful carpets followed Chinese portrait conventions; Joseon usually did not use carpets with an ordinary king's seat. Accordingly a rush mat decorated in the same way as the seat of King Sukjong's chair was chosen. These choices were praised as representing King Sukjong's virtue of frugality.⁴⁹⁵

Despite the firmly established custom of installing a Five Peaks Screen behind a king's seat during the late Joseon period, portraits of late Joseon kings do not include such a screen. In the record of the long and detailed discussion of King Sukjong's portrait at court, there is no mention of including a Five Peaks Screen in the picture, probably because there was no precedent for it. The absence of such a painting within a painting is all the more interesting for the contrast it provides with late Ming practice as seen, for example, in the portrait of Hongzhi emperor (r. 1487-1505) (fig. 4-15). In this portrait, a three-panel dragon screen stands behind the throne and on a carpet with a dragon pattern. As Wen Fong notes, "the human dimension of the emperor all but vanishes behind a surfeit of ritual paraphernalia," rendering him "a ritual vessel and the ultimate embodiment of the absolutist state."⁴⁹⁶ This new schema is thought to represent a changed concept of emperorship emphasizing the ritual and symbolic role of the Son of Heaven.⁴⁹⁷ The absence of a Five

⁴⁹⁵ *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, vol. 477, year of 1713, 4th month, 13th day.

⁴⁹⁶ Wen C. Fong, "Imperial Portraiture in the Song, Yuan, and Ming Periods." *Ars Orientalis* 25 (1995), 57-58. This analysis of the portrait of Hongzhi emperor is accepted in Wang and Qing's studies on Ming imperial portraits, even though they had different views on what triggered the stylistic change from the early- to mid- and late-Ming imperial portraits. Wang, 201-213; Ching, "Tibetan Buddhism and the Ming Imperial Image," 325-353.

⁴⁹⁷ Wang Cheng-hua maintains that the imperial emblems surrounding the subject seen in the mid-and

Peaks screen in the portraits of Joseon kings has a more material explanation related to the furnishings of the royal portrait hall. Each chamber in the hall contained a Five Peaks screen behind which the royal portrait was installed. Thus, the representation of a screen in the portrait would have been redundant. In other words, the explanation for the contrast with Ming practice in this regard lies in the distinctive institutional and physical contexts of the Joseon royal portrait worship.

4-3. Realism and Human Feelings: Portraits of Late Joseon Kings in Seonwonjeon

After King Sukjong's death, Seonwonjeon was transformed to an informal portrait hall for royal family members and the full-length portrait of King Sukjong wearing a dragon robe was displayed there for worship. Compared to the portrait of the king in court audience attire at Jangnyeongjeon, the portrait of him in ordinary attire reveals the informal status of the hall. The successors of King Sukjong commissioned several portraits of themselves, and some portraits of individual late Joseon kings were housed there too. In each chamber of Seonwonjeon, a portrait of an individual king was displayed as an object of worship, while other images of him were stored rolled up and kept in cases.⁴⁹⁸

Due to the informal and intimate nature of Seonwonjeon and its location inside the

late-Ming imperial portraits enhance the ritual and symbolic role of the Son of Heaven. Wang Chenghua, 201-204; Dora Ching also argues that through the imperial setting lavishly decorated with symbols, the imperial portraits of late Ming were transformed into the icons of rulership. Ching, *ibid.*, 353.

⁴⁹⁸ Two years after King Yeongjo's death, the court enshrined five portraits of him in the second chamber of Seonwonjeon; the 1763 full-length portrait of him in court audience attire was among the five copies displayed in the hall. *Veritable Records of King Jeongjo*, vol. 12, year of 1781, 8th month, 26th day. After King Jeongjo's death, the 1791 full-length portrait of him in court audience attire was displayed, whereas two copies of 1781 portraits in ordinary attire and one copy of a 1796 portrait were kept in their cases in Seonwonjeon's the third chamber. *Veritable Records of King Sunjo*, vol. 4, year of 1802, 7th month, 22nd day.

palace, the portraits housed there could be chosen to meet individual needs as well as familial ritual requirements. A few records suggest the nature of the sentiments attached to these works. In 1802, Queen Dowager Jeongsun (1745-1805), the second consort of King Yeongjo, who served as a regent in the early years of King Sunjo, ordered the 1763 portrait of King Yeongjo in court audience attire replaced with the 1773 portrait of the king in ordinary attire.⁴⁹⁹ In explaining her order, she emphasized the similarity of the 1773 copy to the true appearance of King Yeongjo.⁵⁰⁰ Previously, when King Jeongjo was planning to have the 1773 portrait replicated to display the copy in King Yeongjo's chamber in the hall, he too stressed its true-to-life quality (得眞).⁵⁰¹ The concern with realism expressed in these anecdotes speaks to the use of the portraits to substitute for the figure portrayed. The celebrants in Seonwonjeon were royal family members. The intimate character of the hall allowed them to seek realistic portraits that provided a sense of personal connection with subjects, members of their own bloodlines.

Personal feelings may also have played a role in King Heonjong's selection of portraits of his grandfather, King Sunjo, and his father, Prince Hyomyeong (posthumously King Ikjong), for enshrinement in Seonwonjeon in 1846.⁵⁰² After King Sunjo's death in 1834, Queen Dowager Sunwon decided not to expand Seonwonjeon anymore and had

⁴⁹⁹ *Veritable Records of King Sunjo*, vol. 4, year of 1802, 7th month, 22nd day.

⁵⁰⁰ To display the 1773 portrait in Seonwonjeon, the Joseon court had to erase its inscription written by Jeong Huyeom (鄭厚謙, 1749-1776), who, as Crown Prince, had slandered King Jeongjo and was executed after the king's enthronement.

⁵⁰¹ *Ilseongnok*, year of 1781, 9th month, 1st day; 9th month, 3rd day; 9th month, 14th day; 9th month, 15th day. Several scholars argue that the 1773 portrait depicting King Yeongjo at age eighty was reproduced during King Jeongjo's reign. Kim Jiyoung, 73, no. 77; Jin Junhyun, "Yeongjo Jeongjo dae eojin dosa wa hwagadeul," 22, 28. However, the reproduction of the 1773 copy seems not to have been done during his reign. *Veritable Records of King Sunjo*, vol. 4, year of 1802, 7th month, 22nd day.

⁵⁰² *Veritable Records of King Heonjong*, vol. 13, year of 1846, 8th month, 6th day; Epitaph of King Heonjong [誌文] and the Brief Biography of King Heonjong [行狀] under Appendix, in *Veritable Records of King Heonjong*.

portraits of King Sunjo and Prince Hyomyeong installed at auxiliary buildings in the shrines of Prince Sado and King Sunjo's natural mother.⁵⁰³ In 1846, when King Heonjong formally began his adult rule without a regent, he ordered the expansion of Seonwonjeon to enshrine portraits of these male forebears and justified the action as in accord with heavenly principle (天理) and human feelings (人情).⁵⁰⁴ King Heonjong had one portrait of King Sunjo and two portraits of Prince Hyomyeong moved from the shrine of King Sunjo's mother to the renovated Seonwonjeon.⁵⁰⁵ Specifically, he selected half-length portraits of King Sunjo and Prince Hyomyeong done in 1830, both showing the men in ordinary attire, and a full-length portrait portrait of the prince in military attire done in 1826. I surmise that he chose the half-length portrait of his grandfather rather than an earlier portrait because it looked more like the old man he may have remembered. The enshrinement of two portraits of his father at different ages might reflect King Heonjong's feelings for a man he could not recollect because he was so young when his father died.

Even though it was not planned or regulated, a majority of the displayed portraits at Seonwonjeon presented kings in ordinary attire.⁵⁰⁶ Historical records indicate that these lost portraits looked like a portrait of Crown Prince Yi Cheok 李坫 (later Emperor Sunjong, r. 1907-1910) in the National Palace Museum of Korea (fig. 4-16).⁵⁰⁷ This portrait faithfully follows the pictorial mode established by King Sukjong's court. However, the late Joseon

⁵⁰³ For the detailed information, see Chapter Five.

⁵⁰⁴ *Veritable Records of King Heonjong*, vol. 13, year of 1846, 8th month, 6th day; Epitaph of King Heonjong [誌文] and the Brief Biography of King Heonjong [行狀] under Appendix, in *Veritable Records of King Heonjong*.

⁵⁰⁵ The 8th month of 1846, in *Seonwon boryak sujeong uigwe* 璿源譜略修正儀軌, 1846, 奎14108, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies; *Naegak illyeok*, year of 1846, 8th month, 5th day.

⁵⁰⁶ In the chambers of Kings Sukjong, Yeongjo, Sunjo, and Yikjong were displayed portraits in ordinary attire. The exceptions were the chambers of Kings Jeongjo and Heonjong.

⁵⁰⁷ Because it was commissioned in 1902, when the state was elevated to the Korean empire, the crown prince is dressed in the ordinary attire for kings.

kings were likely seated in chairs with arms, rather than a dragon throne.

Chapter Conclusion

Like the material culture of specific portrait halls, the portraits housed in them displayed differences in status and formality. Portrait halls of King Taejo and Yeonghuijeon, as official portrait halls, were “quasi public” and commemorative spaces from the time of their establishment. The images in these halls matched their official character and expressed Joseon concepts of kingship. Portraits of King Taejo, enshrined in cities outside the capital between the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, present the first king of Joseon as a strong form in a strict frontal orientation in the so-called iconic pose. This pose, which does not appear until later in Ming imperial portraits, was presumably a legacy of the late Goryeo and Yuan dynasties, which shared the cultural practices and artistic conventions, and chosen to convey the early Joseon concept of rulership. It presents an image of a divine and heroic king as befits a dynastic founder. The king’s reverential gesture, with his hands concealed by his sleeves, denotes an ideal of Confucian virtue. The sketch of King Sejo suggests that portraits of Taejo’s early Joseon successors were modeled on this type of portrait.

As the Joseon society recovered from the traumatic invasions of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, King Sukjong commissioned portraits of himself and, in collaboration with his officials and artists, formulated a new pictorial mode for portraits of late Joseon kings. In contrast to portraits of early Joseon kings and contemporary portraits of Chinese emperors, King Sukjong’s court chose to show Joseon kings in the three-quarter pose traditionally used for sages and virtuous men and used for earlier Chinese emperors. The portraits of late Joseon kings in official attire displayed at Yeonghuijeon and Jangnyeongjeon projected images of them as Confucian kings with the moral authority ruling the last

surviving truly Confucian state.

Portraits selected for worship in Seonwonjeon matched the intimate and informal character of this late Joseon portrait hall. Because Seonwonjeon belonged to the private sphere of the royal family, kings and queen dowagers were primarily responsible for deciding what went into it. While ritual requirements were important to these decisions, human feelings for the portrait subjects also influenced the selection.

Chapter 5: Symbols of Royal Presence: Royal Portraits Serving as Surrogates for Kings

In addition to official and informal portrait halls discussed in the previous chapters, the late Joseon court established royal portrait repositories outside the palace to enshrine portraits of kings permanently, during their lifetimes and posthumously.⁵⁰⁸ While these repositories were not places where portraits were worshiped with ritual foods and vessels, they were not simple storehouses. This chapter examines five royal portrait repositories and the portraits they contained and concludes with a case study of a portrait representing a group of images of a single king stored in a government office.

Four of the repositories were located at memorial sites of the biological parents of certain late Joseon kings. Naengcheonjeong (冷泉亭, Pavilion of Cold Spring) was located in Yuksanggung (毓祥宮, Palace of Auspicious Rearing), the shrine of King Yeongjo's mother, Lady Choi. Mangmyoru (望廟樓, Pavilion of Looking toward Shrine) was established in Gyeongmogung (景慕宮, Shrine of Great Admiration), the shrine of King Jeongjo's father, Prince Sado. Seongilheon (誠一軒, Pavilion of Sincerity) was set up in Gyeongugung (景祐宮, Shrine of Great Blessing), the shrine of King Sunjo's mother, Lady Bak. Lastly, the *jaejeon* (齋殿, Fasting Hall) in Hyeollyungwon (顯隆園, Tomb of Manifest Grandeur), the tomb of Prince Sado had the same function as the repositories in royal ancestor shrines.

⁵⁰⁸ For the repositories of the late Joseon period, see Kim Ji-young, "Sukjong yeongjo dae eojin dosa wa bongan cheoso hwakdae e daehan gochal 속중 영조대 어진도사와 봉안처소 확대에 대한 고찰 [Study on the royal portrait production and the expansion of portrait repositories during the reigns of Kings Sukjong and Yeongjo]," *Gyujanggak* 규장각 27(2004), 118-122; "19 segi jinjeon mit eojin bongancheo unyeong e daehan yeongu 19세기 진전 및 어진봉안처 운영에 대한 연구 [Study on royal portrait halls and repositories during the nineteenth century], *Jangseogak* 장서각 vol. 26, 168.

Given the specificity of their locations and political circumstances of the late Joseon period, this chapter also sheds light on the purposes, use, and distinctive pictorial forms of the enshrined portraits therein.

Another repository was located at Jangbogak (藏寶閣, Pavilion of Collected Treasure) in Changuigung (彰義宮, Palace of Manifest Righteousness), where King Yeongjo lived before his enthronement. Drawing on historical texts and an extant portrait, I elucidate the way in which Yeongjo used portraits of him to “ritualize” and elevate his old private residence as part of actions strengthening his royal power and how the portrait was given meanings there.

Finally, this chapter offers a case study of a portrait of King Cheoljong once kept in Cheonhanjeon (天漢殿, Hall of Milky Way) at the Jongchinbu (宗親府, Office of the Royal Genealogy). Cheonhanjeon housed all the portraits of King Cheoljong after his death.

5-1. Elevating Lineage: Portrait Repositories of Late Joseon Kings in Memorial Sties

The earliest of the repositories located in royal shrines was Naengcheonjeong in the shrine of King Yeongjo’s natural mother, Lady Choi, who rose from the lowest level of palace lady to become King Sukjong’s concubine. His mother’s low-rank, as well as the allegation that he participated in the assassination of King Gyeongjong (r. 1720-1724), the previous king and his half-brother, weakened Yeongjo’s royal authority. To overcome these unfortunate aspects of his biography and project an image of himself as a sage king, King Yeongjo was at pains to display his filial piety to his parents and his fraternal duty to the previous king (孝悌) and actively performed state sacrificial rites throughout his reign.⁵⁰⁹ As

⁵⁰⁹ JaHyun Kim Haboush, *The Confucian Kingship in Korea: Yǒngjo and the Politics of Sagacity*

part of his filial display, in 1725 the king built the shrine for his natural mother, Lady Choi, on the north side of the old Gyeongbokgung site that had been abandoned since the 1592 Japanese invasion of Korea. After 1740, by which time he had stabilized his royal power and authority, King Yeongjo began gradually raising the rank of his mother's shrine.⁵¹⁰ After giving it the title of the Shrine of Auspicious Rearing (Yuksangmyo, 毓祥廟) in 1744, he frequently visited it to pay his respects to the spirit of his natural mother. These visits, which provoked official criticism, were politically calibrated. The king was conscious of the efficacy of his personal visits as means of conferring honor on the shrine.⁵¹¹ Subsequently, the shrine was raised to the level of a palace (宮) and renamed "Yuksanggung" in 1753.

During the reign of his successor, King Jeongjo, the rituals of the shrine were incorporated into state sacrificial rites as official royal ancestor rites.⁵¹² King Yeongjo's strategic elevation of the rank of his mother's shrine can be considered "ritualization" as described by Catherine Bell, i.e. the creation of "ritual contexts and behaviors for the purposes of social control and domination."⁵¹³ His actions brought about the inclusion of Yuksanggung rituals in official manuals of state rites and continuous worship in the shrine. In sum, the shrine of the low-

(New York: Columbia University, 2001); Yim Min-hyeok 임민혁, "Joseon hugi yeongjo ui hyoje nollu wa sachin chusing 조선 후기 영조의 효제 논리와 사친추승 [King Yeongjo's theory on filial piety and fraternal duty and raising the rank of his natural mother]," *Joseon sidaesa hakbo* 조선시대 사학보 vol. 39 (2006), 113-152.

⁵¹⁰ For a study on the reinforcement of King Yeongjo's authority and power after 1740, see Lee Kyung-Ku, "1740 nyeon ihu yeongjo ui jeongchi unyeong 1740년 이후 영조의 정치운영 [King Yeongjo's administration after 1740]," *Yeoksa wa hyeonsil* 역사와 현실 vol. 53 (2004), 23-44.

⁵¹¹ *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, year of 1744, 9th month, 9th day.

⁵¹² For the development of the Palace of Auspicious Rearing, Yuksanggung during the reigns of Kings Yeongjo and Jeongjo, see JaHyun Haboush, 53-63; Lee Hyeon-jin, "Yeongjo Jeongjo dae Yuksanggung ui joseong gwa unyeong 영정조대 육상궁의 조성 과 운영 [Establishment and development of Yuksanggung during the reigns of Kings Yeongjo and Jeongjo]," *Jindan hakbo* 진단학보 vol 107 (2009), 93-128.

⁵¹³ For the power of ritualization, see Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 137-154.

ranking concubine was transformed into a quasi-public place where a king personally performed rituals along with officials, thus elevating his mother's rank and validating his own power and that of his successors.

Naengcheonjeong housed three portraits of King Yeongjo: a half-length portrait of the king at age fifty-one (1744) in ordinary attire, a portrait of him at age sixty-four (1757) in elite literati attire featuring a bamboo *gat* hat and a robe of the Dao (道袍), and a draft copy of a portrait showing him at age eighty (1773) in ordinary attire.⁵¹⁴ These portraits seem to have been installed in the repository in the order commissioned.⁵¹⁵ On the anniversary of his mother's death in 1773, when King Yeongjo visited his mother's shrine for worship, he had the portraits of himself at the ages of fifty-one and eighty displayed in Pungwolheon (風月軒, Pavilion of Wind and Moon) at the shrine. Showing them to his whole entourage, the king observed that he placed the portraits in the shrine with the intention of constantly attending (常侍之意) his mother.⁵¹⁶ The enshrined portraits were almost concurrent with King Yeongjo's official actions to elevate the shrine of Lady Choi in the latter period of his reign. The installation of the portraits was likewise a political act designed to enhance her status and

⁵¹⁴ "The 12th month of 1779," in *Seonwonboryak sujeong uigwe* 璿源譜略修正儀軌 [Uigwe for the revision of royal genealogy] vol. 1, 1779, 奎 14086, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies; "The 2nd month of 1773," in *Gukjo bogam* 國朝寶鑑 [Precious Mirror for Succeeding Reigns], vol. 65. The portrait of Yeongjo at age sixty-four was likely a full-length copy. Among the three portraits, only this portrait does not have any indication of its format in the records. This portrait is described as the copy of a bamboo *gat* hat (笠子本) or of a robe of the Dao (道袍本). Joseon elites, called *yangban*, used to wear a *gat* hat and a robe of the Dao for everyday attire.

⁵¹⁵ Given that the 1744 portrait of King Yeongjo in ceremonial attire was housed in 1745 in the building next to Jangnyeongjeon where a portrait of his father, King Sukjong was enshrined, it is highly likely that the enshrinement of the 1744 half-length portrait in ordinary attire to Yuksanggung happened at the same time.

⁵¹⁶ *Veritable Records of King Yeongjo*, year of 1773, 3rd month, 8th day. According to this account, portraits at eighty and sixty were displayed. However, collectively based on other records, it seems that the 1744 portrait at age fifty-one was displayed, along with the portrait at age eighty at the time. In premodern Korea, the age of fifty-one was called 'the age looking toward the sixty.' Also, the account states "抑常侍之意也," with 抑 an erroneous transcription of 仰.

his authority.

Eojin (御眞) was the official term used for portraits of Joseon kings since 1713, when portraits of King Sukjong were officially commissioned.⁵¹⁷ In a discussion to determine a term for portraits of kings, officials of King Sukjong's court noted that “transmitting spirit (*jeonsin*, 傳神)” had been called “painting a true-to-life image (*sajin* 寫眞),” so they formulated the term of *eojin* meaning “royal true-to-life image,” which accorded with the term *jinjeon* (眞殿) used for royal portrait halls. As these terms suggest, the portraits were regarded as transmitting true images, both spiritual and physical.

In the late Joseon, a royal portrait was regarded as an embodiment of the king's presence.⁵¹⁸ In the official manuals of state rites, the late Joseon court stipulated rituals for installing and inspecting portraits of living kings wherein the portraits were treated as if they were the king himself.⁵¹⁹ Thus, the portraits of King Yeongjo in the shrine of Lady Choi had the same spiritual agency as the king himself. Installed in a pavilion located next to the main hall of the shrine, his portraits worked to attend the spirit of his mother when he could not visit in person (fig. 5-1). The consecutive enshrinement of portraits of Yeongjo commissioned

⁵¹⁷ *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, vol. 477, year of 1713, 5th month, 6th day. According to the account in *the Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, *eyong* (御容, royal visage), *suyong* (粹容, clear-eyed visage), *yeongja* (影子, shadow), and *yeongjeong* (影幀, framed shadow) were used to indicate portrait paintings of Joseon kings. Cho Sun-mie and Yi Söngmi called attention to the term *eojin* as Koreanized Chinese traditional characters, formulated in specific Joseon history and culture. Cho, 1983, 146-148. Yi, 2011, 19-23.

⁵¹⁸ For the issues of the likeness of images and presence, see David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); *Presence: The Inherence of the Prototype within Images and Other Objects*, edited by Robert Maniura and Rupert Shepherd (Adershot: Ashgate, 2006). The former stresses visual verisimilitude as a stimulant invoking a feeling of presence, while several scholars in the latter book see likeness as an aid.

⁵¹⁹ For the rituals for treating the portraits of living kings as real kings, see Yoo, Jaebin 유재빈. “Joseon hugi eojin gwangye uirye yeongu 조선후기 어진 관계 의례 연구 [Rites for royal portraits of kings in the late Joseon Dynasty].” *Misulsa wa sigak munhwa 미술사와 시각문화* 10 (2011): 74-99.

at intervals of about ten years suggests that he wanted to present a relatively current likeness of himself in the shrine. The very presence of King Yeongjo's portraits raised the status of the shrine as a significant place where the king was always present. Succeeding kings viewed and paid their respects to portraits of King Yeongjo in the pavilion whenever they visited the shrine to worship of the spirit of their ancestor Lady Choi.⁵²⁰

Following his grandfather's precedent, King Jeongjo had portraits of himself painted in 1791 installed in the fasting rooms at the shrine (Gyeongmogung) and tomb (Hyeollyungwon) of his father, Prince Sado, who was tragically killed by his grandfather.⁵²¹ As King Yeongjo did for his natural mother, King Jeongjo strived to elevate the status of his father who did not live to take the throne. Over the course of his reign, he took several actions designed to make his father's shrine and tomb (宮園) higher in status in terms of the royal ancestral rites than the shrines and tombs of any other king's biological parents, while a level lower than Jongmyo.⁵²² His portraits at the shrine and the tomb of Prince Sado played the same role as King Yeongjo's portraits in Yuksanggung. King Jeongjo officially announced that they were to act as substitutes for his adoration and daily support of his father (以寓瞻依之孺慕).⁵²³ Also like King Yeongjo, King Jeongjo stressed the function of the portraits

⁵²⁰ *Veritable Records of King Jeongjo*, year of 1781, 9th month, 15th day; year of 1790, 2nd month, 28th day; year of 1790, 11th month, 5th day; year of 1791, 3rd month, 17th day; year of 1794, 9th month, 13th day; year of 1795, 11th month, 6th day; year of 1796, 11th month, 6th day; *Veritable Records of King Sunjo*, year of 1807, 4th month, 13th day, and so on.

⁵²¹ *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, year of 1791, 10th month, 6th day; year of 1792, 1st month, 22nd day.

⁵²² For the elevation of Prince Sado's shrine and tomb, see Choe Seong-Hwan 최성환, "Sado seja chumo gonggan ui wisang byeonhwa wa Yeonguwon cheonjang 사도세자 추모 공간의 위상 변화와 영우원 천장 [Raising the status of Prince Sado's tomb and shrine and moving Yeonguwon]," *Joseon sidaesa hakbo* 조선시대사학보 vol. 60 (2012), 139-181.

⁵²³ *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, year of 1792, 1st month, 22nd day. 命書傳教曰, 今番圖寫御眞後, 各以一本, 藏于宮園齋殿, 以寓瞻依之孺慕. King Jeongjo similarly explained the reason why he enshrined his portrait in his father's tomb in the 1793 edict of proscription elevating the level of Suwon (陞水原府爲居留分司綸音). "Third Edict of Proscription 綸音三," in *Hongjae jeonseo*

manifesting his presence and filling in for him in his role as a filial son. In this manner, King Jeongjo could continue to serve the body and spirit of his father day and night in both places as if his father were living. After King Jeongjo's death, the portrait at Hyeollyungwon was moved to Hwaryeongjeon (華寧殿, Hall of Magnificent Peace) in Hwaseong, causing it lose its original function of serving as a substitute for the real king.

Mangmyoru in Gyeongmogung, the highest ranking royal shrine (宮), became an official repository for portraits of successive kings in the nineteenth century. After King Sunjo's death, Queen Dowager Sunwon (1789-1857), acting as regent, decided not to expand Seonwonjeon to accommodate portraits of King Sunjo and Prince Hyomyeong (posthumously elevated to King Yikjong) and had them installed instead at Mangmyoru and Seongilheon in Gyeonggugung.⁵²⁴ Two portraits of King Sunjo and two portraits of Prince Hyomyeong were housed in Mangmyoru.⁵²⁵ In 1875, King Gojong had portraits of Kings Heonjong and Cheoljong added to the pavilion.⁵²⁶ As a result, portraits of King Jeongjo and succeeding kings were present in the shrine of Prince Sado as if they were attending him day and night as his offspring. The enshrined portraits of kings in the direct bloodline of Prince Sado manifested the thriving lineage of the unfortunate prince in the shrine, reinforcing his royal status and thus the legitimacy of his royal descendants.

Gyeongmogung lost its function in 1899 when Gojong, the first emperor of the

弘齋全書 [Collected Works of King Jeongjo] vol. 28, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies.

⁵²⁴ *Veritable Records of King Heonjong*, year of 1836, 11th month, 14th day; *Ilseongnok*, year of 1836, 11th month, 14th day.

⁵²⁵ *Veritable Records of King Heonjong*, vol. 4, year of 1837, 4th month, 7th day. A small size portrait of King Sunjong painted in 1808, a large size one of King Sunjo done in 1830, a large size portrait of Prince Hyomyeong, and a portrait of Prince Hyomyeong in Ceremonial Robes were enshrined in Mangmyoru, Gyeongmogung.

⁵²⁶ *Veritable Records of King Gojong*, vol. 12, year of 1875, 11th month, 25th day. According to King Gojong's order, one portrait of King Heonjong in Seonwonjeon and four portraits of King Cheoljong in Cheonhanjeon were moved to Mangmyoru, Gyeongmogung.

Korean Empire, posthumously titled Prince Sado Emperor Jangjo and enshrined him in Jongmyo Royal Ancestral Temple. In that year the Mangmyoru portraits were removed to Pyeongnakjeong (平樂亭, Pavilion of Calm Pleasure) in Seonhuigung (宣禧宮, Shrine of Announcing Happiness), the shrine for Prince Sado's mother and King Yeongjo's concubine.⁵²⁷ This location highlighted the lineal connection between the subjects of the enshrined portraits.

Queen Dowager Sunwon ordered that Seongilheon of Gyeonggung, the shrine for King Sunjo's biological mother, serve as a portrait repository, drawing on the precedents of the repositories in Yuksanggung and Gyeongmogung. The queen explained the enshrinement of portraits of King Sunjo and Prince Hyomyeong in the shrine as a way to allow King Sunjo to fulfill his obligation of filial piety [to his mother as he did when he was alive] (先朝平日聖孝, 可爲一分仰慰之道).⁵²⁸ Even though some of the portraits were moved to Seonwonjeon in 1846, Seongilheon continued to function as a royal portrait repository for portraits of King Sunjo and Prince Hyomyeong until 1908.⁵²⁹

Unlike royal portrait halls, the repositories in royal ancestor shrines did not have furnishings and screen paintings surrounding the portraits. The absence of such material culture for the portraits signifies that they did not serve as cult objects in ancestor worship. The focus was on the presence of kings in the portraits rather than on the display or worship of the images. Even if they were not used for royal ancestor rites, the portraits in the

⁵²⁷ *Veritable Records of King Gojong*, vol. 39, year of 1899, 8th month, 23rd day; 9th month, 1st day. Following the precedents of Yuksanggung and Gyeonggung, the shrines of King Sunjo's biological mother, King Gojong decided to enshrine the Mangmyoru portraits at Seonhuigung. It seems that the building of Mangmyoru was moved to Seonhuigung and titled as Pyeongnakjeong. In 1908, the portraits housed at Pyeongnakjeong were moved to Changdeokgung Seonwonjeon.

⁵²⁸ *Veritable Records of King Heonjong*, vol. 3, year of 1836, 11th month, 14th day.

⁵²⁹ King Gojong frequently visited Seongilheon in person and inspected the portraits. *The Daily Records of the Grand Secretariat*, the year of 1868, 1st month, 12th day.

repositories of Yuksanggung and Gyeonggung served as objects of veneration in rituals of inspection (奉審) and reverence (展拜) during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁵³⁰

On specific days, the portraits were displayed and commemorated by kings and officials. Except for a few days when rituals were performed, the portraits remained rolled up in their cases at the repositories.

The structure and form of the repository buildings can be seen in the extant Naengcheonjeong in Yuksanggung. The pavilion, located right beside the main hall of the shrine on the west, is a small and simple building consisting of one room with a wood floor and one two-and-half *kan ondol* room (fig. 5-1). The simple and frugal character indicates that it functioned as the fasting room for the shrine. The *ondol* room has two tiers of niches in the half *kan* on the west (fig. 5-2), a rectangular bottom niche, right above the *ondol* floor, and an upper niche, with a wood floor and windows, that forms a small pavilion, too small for a person to occupy. A projection on the outside of the building on the west side gives the appearance of a pavilion. The shapes and sizes of the niches suggest that they were for portraits of King Yeongjo. The locations were functional usage: the bottom niche close to the *ondol* floor likely enshrined the portraits of King Yeongjo during the rainy season, while the upper niche with its wooden floor held them during the sunny spring and fall.

The rest of portrait repositories seems to have been modeled on Naengcheonjeong. In a painting showing Gyeonggung (景祐宮圖), likely dated 1824, we can identify Seongilheon, which housed portraits of King Sunjo and Prince Hyomyeong despite the

⁵³⁰ *Veritable Records of King Jeongjo*, vol. 12, year of 1781, 9th month, 15th day; vol. 29, year of 1790, 2nd month, 28th day; vol. 32, year of 1791, 3rd month, 17th day; *Veritable Records of King Sunjo*, vol. 14, year of 1811, 9th month, 22nd day; *Veritable Records of King Heonjong*, vol. 11, year of 1844, 2nd month, 4th day; *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, vol. 2552, year of 1854, 3rd month, 18th day.

absence of its label (fig. 5-3).⁵³¹ The king's fasting room, located right beside the main hall of the shrine, has a two-and-half *kan ondol* room attached to a small pavilion that protrudes in the same way as the one at Naengcheonjeong. The presence of the same structure as Naengcheonjeong suggests that King Sunjo planned to enshrine portraits of himself in the shrine of his natural mother in his lifetime. His plan was carried out by his consort, Queen Sunwon after his death in 1837.

5-2. Attending the Spirits of their Parents: Half-Length Portraits of King Yeongjo and King Sunjo

As the previous chapters demonstrated, the Joseon court developed the material culture of royal portrait halls and selected specific types of portraits in accordance with the status of individual portrait halls. Similarly, the groups of portraits in the repositories at royal ancestor shrines and tombs reflected the character of the places. Specifically, the repositories housed portraits of kings primarily in half-length or in informal attire, especially during the reigns of Kings Yeongjo and Jeongjo. As noted above, the three portraits of King Yeongjo installed at Naengcheonjeong were two half-length portraits that showed him in ordinary attire and one full-length portrait of him wearing Joseon elite literati attire.⁵³² In 1791, King

⁵³¹ For the date of the picture, see Kim Kyung Mee, "Gyeonggugungdo e gwanhon yeongu [Study of the picture of Gyeonggugung]," *Munhwajae* 문화재 vol. 44, no. 1 (2011), 199-221.

⁵³² Altars and shrines 壇廟, in *Jeonyul tongbo* 典律通補 [Collective supplement on rites and law], vol. 5, late 18th century, 奎 4456, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies; *Ilseongnok*, year of 1781, 9th month, 15th day; The 2nd month of 1763, in *Gukjo bogam*, vol. 65. Before producing full-length portraits (正本) of late Joseon kings, several draft copies (草本) in the half-length format were made to let the kings and court officials choose one to serve as a model for full-length portraits. The draft copies were the completed paintings and often called half-length portraits (小本). *Veritable Records of King Sukjong*, vol. 53, 4th month, 21st day; *Veritable Records of King Yeongjo*, vol. 120, 1st month, 22nd day; *Veritable Records of King Jeongjo*, vol. 12, year of 1781, 8th month, 26th day. The true to life quality of the draft copy of King Yeongjo portrait enshrined in Naengcheonjeong was praised by King Jeongjo and his subjects. *Ilseongnok*, year of 1781, 9th month, 15th day; 9th month,

Jeongjo had a half-length portrait of himself in court audience attire housed at Mangmyoru in his father's shrine and a half-length copy showing him in military attire installed in the fasting hall at his father's tomb.⁵³³ The installation of portraits of King Sunjo and Prince Hyomyeong at Mangmyoru and Seongilheon did not follow the precedents, because the two repositories had to include all the portraits of them in accordance with Queen Dowager Sunwon's decision not to expand Seonwonjeon.⁵³⁴

The 1744 half-length portrait of King Yeongjo in ordinary attire can be seen in the copy made in 1900 in the collection of the National Palace Museum of Korea (fig. 5-4). After Seonwonjeon of Gyeongungung burnt down in 1900, the portrait of King Yeongjo in the museum was reproduced on the basis of the 1744 half-length copy at Naengcheonjeong and enshrined at the newly built Seonwonjeon in the following year.⁵³⁵ In the portrait, a fifty-one year old King Yeongjo, seen in three-quarter orientation, looks attentively downward and clasps his hands inside his wide sleeves. This humble and modest pose befits his attitude in attending to his biological mother. The round and delicate brushstrokes delineating his robe convey a sense of quiet dignity in contrast to heroic power suggested by the firm, angular lines used in the portraits of King Taejo. The original mounting of the 1744 portrait

16th day.

⁵³³ *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, year of 1796, 1st month, 24th day.

⁵³⁴ In 1837, at Mangmyoru were installed a half-length portrait of King Sunjo in ordinary attire painted in 1808, a full-length portrait of King Sunjo in court audience attire painted in 1830, and a full-length portrait of Prince Hyomyeong in ceremonial attire done in 1826. In 1858, when Yeonghuijeon was expanded, the portrait of King Sunjo in court audience attire, the most formal of all his portraits, was moved to the sixth chamber of Yeonghuijeon. On the other hand, in Seongilheon were housed a full-length portrait of King Sunjo in ordinary attire painted in 1808, a half-length portrait of King Sunjo in court audience attire done in 1830, full-length and half-length portraits of Prince Hyomyeong in military attire done in 1826, and a half-length portrait of Prince Hyomyeong in ordinary attire painted in 1830. *Naegak illyeok* 內閣日曆 [Daily Record of the Gyujianggak], year of 1837, 4th month, 17th day; *Veritable Records of King Heonjong*, vol. 4, year of 1837, 4th month, 7th day; The 4th month of 1837, in *Seonwon boryak sujeong uigwe* 璿源譜略修正儀軌, 1837, 奎14106; *Jesa bu Seonwonjeon darye*.

⁵³⁵ *Veritable Records of King Gojong*, vol. 40, year of 1900, 10th month, 14th day.

corresponded to this modest pictorial mode as well: instead of jade rollers (玉軸), which were usually used in mountings of portraits of kings in hanging scrolls, the portrait of King Yeongjo was mounted using wooden rollers.⁵³⁶ Collectively, these characteristics convey an image of virtuous kingship. As Jahyun Kim Haboush has demonstrated in her book *The Confucian Kingship in Korea*, King Yeongjo pursued the construction of an image of himself as a sage king by enacting the various roles of a Confucian ruler to establish and reinforce his royal authority and power throughout his reign.⁵³⁷ In other words, this portrait successfully projects the king as the sage king, exactly what he aspired to throughout his reign.

A fragment of a royal portrait that survived the 1954 fire can be identified as the 1808 half-length portrait of King Sunjo in ordinary attire that was originally enshrined in Mangmyoru (fig. 5-5).⁵³⁸ The masterful applications of shades and the glittering gilt dragon in the body along with the subdued color wash in the face give us a glimpse into the golden age of Joseon portraiture. The dexterous representation in this portrait seems to have achieved the goal of the era in transmitting both spiritual and physical likeness. The color wash in subdued tone around the pink outlines of his lips is reminiscent of the treatment of the face of Seo Jiksu portrayed in 1796 by Yi Myeonggi (李命基, 1756 ~ before 1813), a renowned court painter of the late Joseon period especially gifted in portraiture (fig. 5-6). Given his role as one of the main painters in portraits of King Jeongjo in 1791, it is highly likely that Yi Myeonggi served as the main painter of this portrait.⁵³⁹ Despite severe damage done by fire,

⁵³⁶ *Veritable Records of King Gojong*, vol. 40, year of 1900, 4th month, 20th day.

⁵³⁷ JaHyun Kim Haboush, 2001.

⁵³⁸ In the National Palace Museum of Korea. Identification is based on the following primary sources. *Jesa bu Seonwonjeon darye; Seonwon boryak sujeong uigwe* 塔源譜略修正儀軌 vol. 1 (1837), 奎 14105; *Seonwon boryak sujeong uigw* (1846), 奎 14108, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies.

⁵³⁹ For the study on the paintings of Yi Myeonggi, see Jang In-seok 장인석, "Hwasangwan Yi Myeonggi ui saengae wa hoehwa segye 화산관 이명기의 생애와 회화세계 [The life and paintings of Yi Myeonggi], *Misulshak yeongu* 미술사학 연구 vol. 265 (2010), 137-165; For the

we can see that this portrait follows the precedent of the portrait of King Yeongjo. The composition, pose, and style all conform to this model. The subject, in his youth, looks courteously toward his right side likely clasping his hands inside the wide sleeves in the blank background.

The close similarities between the portrait of King Yeongjo modeled on the Naengcheonjeong copy and the portrait of King Sunjo installed in Mangmyoru suggest that the lost portraits of King Jeongjo enshrined in his father's shrine and in his father's tomb were similar in style, composition, and format to these half-length portraits of his predecessor and successor, but they are not similar in the king's attire. The clothing of King Jeongjo in the two portraits corresponds to what he wore on his visits to both places. King Jeongjo used to dress up in court audience attire to go to his father's shrine, but wore military attire when he visited his father's tomb far away from the capital.⁵⁴⁰

In sum, the half-length portraits of late Joseon kings were primarily housed in repositories of royal ancestor shrines where they substituted for the kings as filial attendants of the spirits of the kings' biological parents. The poses, gestures, and attire of the figures were appropriate to this function and to the repository sites. In most cases, the portraits presented their subjects as sage kings with moral perfection appropriate to this role.

portrait of Seo Jiksu, see Lee Kyunghwa 이경화, Yi Myeonggi wa Kim Hongdo ui Seo Jiksu chosang 이명기와 김홍도의 서직수 초상 [Portrait of Seo Jiksu produced by Yi Myeonggi and Kim Hongdo], *Misulsa nondan* 미술사논단 vol. 34 (2012), 141-166.

⁵⁴⁰ *Ilseongnok*, year of 1779, 8th month, 3rd day; year of 1785, 8th month, 9th day; year of 1785, 11th month, 2nd day; year of 1786, 6th month, 15th day, and etc.; "Outstanding History of Bright Spring 春明逸史," in *Imhapilgi* 林下筆記 [Jottings in Retirement] vol. 27, 奎 4916, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies.

5-3. Legitimizing Succession: The Repository in the Old Residence of King Yeongjo and the Portrait of Prince Yeoning

Jangbogak in Changuigung also served as a portrait repository, housing portraits of King Yeongjo in the late Joseon period.⁵⁴¹ King Yeongjo lived in Changuigung before his enthronement, and his natural mother resided there as well.⁵⁴² Due to these associations, King Yeongjo designated and maintained his private old residence as an “official and quasi-public place” throughout his reign as he had done with his mother’s shrine.

Right after his accession to the throne in 1724, King Yeongjo had his household register (式年戶籍) housed in his old residence following the precedent of King Taejo’s household register placed at Junwonjeon, King Taejo’s portrait hall in Yeongheungbu (永興府), his birthplace.⁵⁴³ After visiting the newly built shrine of his natural mother in 1726, King Yeongjo also visited his old residence, which provoked objections from his officials.⁵⁴⁴ The early death of his first son, Crown Prince Hyojang (1719-1728) motivated him to reinforce the status of his old residence where the prince was born; the king ordered the building of the shrine for the late crown prince there.⁵⁴⁵ King Yeongjo was then able to return to his old residential palace out of natural human feeling (人情) without incurring criticism

⁵⁴¹ Danmyo 壇廟 [Altars and Shrines], under “Yejeon 禮典,” in *Jeollyul tongbo* 典律通補 [Comprehensive supplement to ceremonies and laws], separate edition (別編).

⁵⁴² *Veritable Records of King Yeongjo*, vol. 10, year of 1726, 11th month, 10th day.

⁵⁴³ *Veritable Records of King Yeongjo*, vol. 7, year of 1725, 8th month, 10th day.

⁵⁴⁴ For officials’ disapprovals of King Yeongjo’s visit to his old residence and King Yeongjo’s refutation, see *Veritable Records of King Yeongjo*, vol. 10, year of 1726, 11th month, 6th day; 11th month, 7th day; 11th month, 10th day.

⁵⁴⁵ *Veritable Records of King Yeongjo*, vol. 10, year of 1729, 11th month, 5th day; year of 1731, 1st month, 3rd day.

from officials.⁵⁴⁶ Starting in the early 1740s, however, King Yeongjo “ritualized” his visits to the shrine of his late son after paying respect at his mother’s shrine.⁵⁴⁷ When the oldest son of Prince Sado died in 1752, Yeongjo had the Uiso Shrine (懿昭廟) built in the Changuigung.⁵⁴⁸ At this point, King Yeongjo transformed his old residence into the “official ritual place” with two royal shrines for his deceased son and grandson. He also used this palace for government work, such as announcing important political decisions and negotiating with court officials, turning it into a quasi-public site.⁵⁴⁹

In 1733, King Yeongjo installed a portrait of himself as a prince done in 1714 at Changuigung.⁵⁵⁰ Stressing the fact that his father, King Sukjong had presented the portrait to him, Yeongjo ordered it sent to his old residence, thus bringing his portrait together with the spirit of his oldest son in the place they lived together. In other words, the king used images of himself, as he did the spirits of his descendants, to elevate status of his old residence.

The image of Yeongjo as a prince was installed at Changuigung in a pavilion housing a collection of chronicles and woodblock-printed books. In 1765, King Yeongjo presented the repository with a hanging tablet bearing the new hall name, Jangbogak, written in his own hand.⁵⁵¹ As the name, Pavilion of Collected Treasures, indicates, the pavilion housed

⁵⁴⁶ *Veritable Records of King Yeongjo*, vol. 29, year of 1731, 5th month, 28th day.

⁵⁴⁷ *Veritable Records of King Yeongjo*, vol. 59, year of 1744, 3rd month, 9th day; vol. 66, year of 1747, 11th month, 7th day; vol. 78, year of 1752, 12th month, 15th day; vol. 81, year of 1754, 1st month, 21st day; vol. 82, year of 1754, 9th month, 13th day; vol. 86, year of 1755, 11th month, 6th day; vol. 90, year of 1758, 11th month, 6th day, and so on.

⁵⁴⁸ *Veritable Records of King Yeongjo*, vol. 77, year of 1752, 8th month, 2nd day.

⁵⁴⁹ For example, when faced with official dissent or criticism on his political agendas, the king used to leave the main palace and stay in Changuigung refusing admittance of court officials until they made desperate pleas for his return surrendering themselves to him before the locked door of his old residence. *Veritable Records of King Yeongjo*, vol. 107, year of 1762, 5th month (leap), 6th day; vol. 118, year of 1772, 5th month, 10th day; 7th month, 3rd day; vol. 119, year of 1772, 7th month, 21st day; 8th month, 11th day; 9th month, 9th day; vol. 122, year of 1774, 6th month, 28th day.

⁵⁵⁰ *Gukjo bogam*, vol. 60, the year of 1733, 10th month.

⁵⁵¹ *Veritable Records of King Yeongjo*, vol. 106, year of 1765, 11th month, 18th day.

“treasures” of the dynasty.

Several days before bestowing the new name plaque on Jangbogak, King Yeongjo summoned dozens of officials to his library at Changuigung to view a portrait of him done in 1757 and a preliminary draft copy of the 1724 portrait. He also showed them a couch and mat set (床席) and table and staff set (几杖) that King Sukjong had presented to him when he was a prince, and his household register.⁵⁵² Two years later, the king performed a similar action. He came to Changuigung to join a daytime lecture (晝講), then showed three portraits of himself to the officials in charge of the lecture and the attendants.⁵⁵³ The three portraits are likely to have been the 1714 portrait of him as a prince, as well as the two just mentioned. Whenever the king displayed the portraits for his officials, he ordered them to read the inscriptions on them giving his titles of honor and production years. In this manner, Changuigung became a significant place for the official viewing of images of the king, and this, in turn, reinforced Yeongjo’s legitimacy and royal authority and gave his former princely mansion official status comparable to that of the primary palaces of the time, Gyeonghuigung and Changdeokgung.

After King Yeongjo’s death, King Jeongjo expanded the “ritualization” of Changuigung. Following Yeongjo’s precedent, he regularly performed rituals at Uiso Shrine and Jangbogak in Changuigung, establishing rites such as those of veneration (展拜) and libation (酌獻) that he performed in both places.⁵⁵⁴ The libation rituals for the images of

⁵⁵² *Veritable Records of King Yeongjo*, vol. 106, year of 1765, 11th month, 5th day; *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariats*, vol. 1249, year of 1765, 11th month, 6th day.

⁵⁵³ *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariats*, vol. 1264, year of 1767, 2nd month, 22nd day.

⁵⁵⁴ *Veritable Records of King Jeongjo*, vol. 8, year of 1779, 9th month, 13th day; vol. 10, year of 1780, 7th month, 8th day; vol. 29, year of 1790, 2nd month, 28th day.; vol. 32, year of 1791, 3rd month, 17th day; vol. 47, year of 1797, 11th month, 6th day. Right after the enthronement of King Jeongjo, Prince Hyojang was posthumously titled King Jinjong and his spirit was moved to Jongmyo. It seems that the presence of Uisomyo enabled King Jeongjo to continue to ritualize Changuigung, in the manner of his predecessor. For rites of Jangseogak, see “Chinhaeng Jangbogak jakeonnye ui 親行 藏譜閣 酌獻禮

King Yeongjo caused no controversies because of Yeongjo's own practices. In the later period of his rule, Yeongjo often had images of himself displayed in the administrative halls at Gyeonghuigung and showed them to court officials.⁵⁵⁵ After viewing the portraits, the court officials and crown prince (later King Jeongjo) would present improvised poems to him,⁵⁵⁶ and the latter would offer a cup of wine before the portraits.⁵⁵⁷

In transforming Jangbogak into a permanent ritual place, King Jeongjo also seems to have created physical surroundings for the portraits in the pavilion.⁵⁵⁸ The king successfully incorporated Jangbogak rites into the rites of royal ancestor shrines for biological parents and princes (宮廟), consecutively performed in this order: shrines of natural mothers of King Yeongjo, King Jinjong (Yeongjo's first son), and Prince Sado, Jangbogak, and Uiso Shrine.⁵⁵⁹ Throughout his reign, King Jeongjo personally performed the rituals of libation (酌獻禮) before the portrait of King Yeongjo in the pavilion.⁵⁶⁰ The rituals were conducted on the same level of formality and types of offering as the libation rituals of Yeonghuijeon, the

儀 [Ritual of king's personal libation in Jangbogak],” in *Uiju deungnok* 儀註謄錄 [Transcribed records of ritual commentaries], k2-4794, 1725-1800.

⁵⁵⁵ *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, vol. 981, year of 1744, 12th month, 1st day; vol. 1214, year of 1763, 11th month, 13th day; vol. 1334, year of 1773, 1st month, 16th day; year of 1773, 1st month, 18th day.

⁵⁵⁶ *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, vol. 1334, year of 1773, 1st month, 18th day.

⁵⁵⁷ *Yeongjong gisa* 英宗記事 [Accounts of King Yeongjo], vol. 9, year of 1773; Jin Hongseop 진홍섭, *Hanguk misulsa jaryo jipseong* 한국미술사 자료 집성 [Historical document collection of Korean art history] vol. 6 (Seoul: Iljisa, 1998), 512.

⁵⁵⁸ *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariats*, vol. 1419, year of 1778, 5th month, 10th day. In this account, King Jeongjo ordered the installation of a baldachin in the pavilion.

⁵⁵⁹ *Veritable Records of King Jeongjo*, year of 1790, 2nd month, 28th day; vol. 32, year of 1791, 3rd month, 17th day; vol. 47, year of 1797, 11th month, 6th day; vol. 50, year of 1798, 11th month, 6th day.

⁵⁶⁰ *Veritable Records of King Jeongjo*, vol. 8, year of 1779, 9th month, 13th day; *Ilseongnok*, year of 1798, 11th month, 6th day; After King Yeongjo's death, King Jeongjo had one of the 1724 portraits of King Yeongjo in Gyeonghuigung moved to Jangbogak. *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariats*, vol. 1419, year of 1778, 5th month, 10th day. “Gyeonghyeondang bongan yeongjeong ilbon ibong Jangbogak ui 景賢堂奉安 影幀一本 移奉 藏譜閣儀,” *Uideungnok* 儀謄錄 [Transcribed records of ritual commentaries], k 1419-410, The Academy of Korean Studies.

official portrait hall for successive kings in the capital.⁵⁶¹ The king offered one *jak* cup of wine before the portraits, and royal relatives and hundred officials participated in the rituals as well. After King Jeongjo's death, King Sunjo, following his father's precedent, continued to venerate the portraits along with various officials.⁵⁶²

Despite not being included in the state sacrificial rites, the Jangbogak rites were larger and more exalted than those of the portrait halls of King Taejo. The rituals performed regularly in Jangbogak and Uiso shrine, which involved the king, royal relatives, and a hundred officials (百官), transformed Changuigung into a quasi-public place commemorating King Yeongjo in the center of the capital. The images of King Yeongjo played major roles in this transformation.

The *Portrait of Prince Yeoning* is the only surviving portrait of King Yeongjo once enshrined in Jangbogak (fig. 5-7). Previously scholars have believed this portrait was housed in Taeyeongjeon at Gyeonghuigung.⁵⁶³ However, the *Uigwe for Revising the Summary of*

⁵⁶¹ “Chinhaeng Jangbogak jakeonnye ui 親行 藏譜閣 酌獻禮儀,” in *Uiju deungnok*.

⁵⁶² *Ilseongnok*, year of 1803, 3rd month, 3rd day; year of 1804, 3rd month, 1st day; year of 1807, 4th month, 13th day; year of 1810, 4th month, 10th day; year of 1811, 5th month, 2nd day; year of 1817, 9th month, 16th day.

⁵⁶³ Cho Sun-mie argues that this portrait was originally enshrined in Taeyeongjeon (太寧殿) at Gyeonghuigung. Cho, 1983, 179; 2012, 73. In the *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, there is a record causing confusion. In 1744, when he commissioned portraits of himself at age fifty-one, the king had officials look up the portraits in Gyeonghyeondang (景賢堂). Then, he explained about the portraits of himself and their storage to officials. In this record, however, it is not clear that his princely image was enshrined in Taeyeongjeon. The highlighted original text can be interpreted in two ways: “One copy of the portrait of myself as a prince was presented by King Sukjong, and King Sukjong bestowed [upon me] his personal confidential letter. Along with the portraits, [(1) both the portrait and the letter are] or [(2) the letter was] enshrined in Taeyeongjeon. 上曰, 有御容三本。二本, 奉安於大內泰寧殿, 一本奉安江都。一本潛邸時, 肅廟朝所賜, 又賜御筆諭書, 同奉於泰寧殿. *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, vol. 979, year of 1744, 11th month, 7th day. In 1733, the king had court painters produce portraits of himself in kingly attire, modeling them on the 1714 portrait in princely attire. *Veritable Records of King Yeongjo*, vol. 36, year of 1733, 10th month, 12th day; *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, vol. 767, year of 1733, 10th month, 12th day. The 1714 portrait was moved to Gyeonghuigung to be display and compared with other portraits commissioned by King Yeongjo a few times. *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, vol. 976, year of 1744, 8th month, 20th day; vol. 1215, year of 1763, 2nd month, 3rd day.

Royal Genealogy (璿源譜略修正儀軌) and *Precious Mirror for Succeeding Reigns* (國朝寶鑑), which was supplemented with the production dates and storage locations of portraits of King Yeongjo, show that it was originally installed in Jangbogak from 1733.⁵⁶⁴

This painting portrays King Yeongjo at the age of twenty-one, when he resided in Changuigung as Prince Yeoning. He sits in an arm chair (交椅) with a tiger-skin cushion against a blank background. The rank badge depicting *baize* (白澤), an imaginary beast, in gold on his green robe signifies his status as a prince. His face is turned toward the left in a three-quarter orientation and his hands are covered by wide draping sleeves. His feet rest on a footstool topped with a patterned rush mat. The overall composition follows the traditional pictorial conventions used to depict meritorious subjects (功臣圖像) since the early Joseon dynasty.⁵⁶⁵ The absence of a Persian carpet or a rush mat on the floor is a feature of the early eighteenth century. The style and light greenish tone of the robe show a remarkable similarity to the portrait of Yi Deokseong (李德成, 1655-1704) (fig. 5-8), which was produced in commemoration of his appointment as a meritorious official who protected the land (保社功臣) in 1694.⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁶⁴ *Seonwon boryak sujeong uigwe* records detailed information about the portraits of King Yeongjo including production dates, clothing, cases, and repositories of individual portraits. This *uigwe* shows that the 1714 and 1757 portraits of King Yeongjo were originally enshrined in Jangbogak, as distinguished from other portraits enshrined in Taeyeongjeon. According to a footnote in this *uigwe*, it seems that these portraits were moved to the inner court temporarily. *Seonwon boryak sujeong uigwe* 璿源譜略修正儀軌 [Uigwe for revising the *Summary of Royal Genealogy*], vol. 1, 9b, 1779, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies. King Jeongjo also ordered to supplement production dates and storage locations of portraits of King Yeongjo in *Gukjo bogam*, see *Ilseongnok*, year of 1781, 9th month, 1st day. For the supplemented records, see *Gukjo bogam*, vol. 60, year of 1733, 10th month.

⁵⁶⁵ For portraits of outstanding officials commissioned by Joseon kings, see Cho Sunmie, 1983, 189-255.

⁵⁶⁶ *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, year of 1694, 10th month, 10th day. This portrait was considered as a privately commissioned example reflecting the strong influence of the pictorial mode for portraits of meritorious subjects. Cho Insoo, 'portrait of Yi Deokseong,' in *Hanguk ui chosanghwa: Yeoksa sok ui inmul gwa jou hada* (Seoul: Nulwa, 2007), 160. Drawing on the account in the *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, however, it appears that King Sukjong's court

The inscription written on the left side of the portrait says “First enfeoffed Lord Yeoning, formerly called [by his studio name] Yangseongheon, Pavilion of Spiritual Cultivation (初封延祔君 古號養性軒).” King Sukjong bestowed Yangseongheon as the hall name of his residence in Changuigung and ordered a plaque with this name hung on it.⁵⁶⁷ During his reign, King Yeongjo often referred to the association of the hall title Yangseongjeon with King Sukjong, and conducted daytime lectures with officials and his grandson the Crown Prince there.⁵⁶⁸ The inscription on the portrait thus announces King Sukjong’s favoring of him with this hall name and the painting itself. Once when King Sukjong lay ill in bed for eight months, Princes Yeoning and his brother Yeolleong (延齡君, 1699-1719) served the king every day. To praise their efforts, the king commissioned Bak Dongbo (朴東普, ?-?), a court painter, to create special portraits of the two princes and personally wrote this story in the form of an official royal order (*yuseo*, 諭書) to be presented to the two princes.⁵⁶⁹ The *yuseo* document bestowed on King Yeongjo was housed in the court, and the writing was published in *the Collected Writings of Joseon Kings* (列聖御製).⁵⁷⁰ As a result, the filial piety shown by King Yeongjo to his father became widely known and the 1714 portrait commissioned by King Sukjong became a representation of it. King Yeongjo’s requirement that officials gaze upon the portrait and read the inscription in

commissioned the portrait of Yi Deokseong to commemorate the appointment of his merit subject. According to the record, the portrait of Yi was not produced at that time. It is highly likely that the portrait was, instead, completed the following year. Accordingly, the commission date of the record is consistent with the inscription of the painting saying that the portrait depicts Yi at age forty-two.

⁵⁶⁷ *Yeolseong eoje* 列聖御製 [Collected writings of Joseon kings] (1776, 奎 1803), vol. 11, 32, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies; *Veritable Records of King Yeongjo*, vol. 92, year of 1758, 11th month, 7th day.

⁵⁶⁸ *Veritable Records of King Yeongjo*, vol. 108, year of 1767, 2nd month, 22nd day; vol. 113, year of 1769, 11th month, 16th day.

⁵⁶⁹ *Yeolseong eoje* 列聖御製 (1776), vol. 14, 16.

⁵⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

Changuigung was therefore strategically calibrated to emphasize his moral authority and enhance his royal authority.

The *Portrait of Prince Yeoning* seems not to have been used in the libation rituals of Jangbogak. Given its relatively small size and depiction of a prince rather than a reigning monarch, the portrait was less appropriate as an object of state cult worship than the 1757 portrait of King Yeongjo, which was also enshrined in the pavilion. Nevertheless, the portrait of the king as a prince was a reminder of King Yeongjo's virtue befitting Confucian rulership and important as for its role in transforming his old residence into an official ritual space used to validate his royal authority and that of his successors.

5-4. King Jeongjo's Legacy Revering Prince Sado: The Portrait of King Cheoljong in Military Attire

When King Heonjong died without an heir in 1849, King Cheoljong (1831-1864, r. 1849-1864), a grandson of King Jeongjo's younger half-brother, Prince Euneon (恩彦君, 1754-1801), succeeded to the throne by order of Queen Dowager Sunwon. King Cheoljong, acting on the instruction of the queen dowager, had the official and informal portrait halls for successive kings, Yeonghuijeon and Seonwonjeon, expanded to accommodate deceased kings Sunjo and Heonjong, Sunjo in the former and Heonjong in the latter. After his death, however, portraits of King Cheoljong were neither enshrined in any portrait halls nor used in royal ancestor rites.

King Cheoljong also died leaving no heir to the throne. His successor, King Gojong ascended the throne as an adopted descendant of Prince Hyomyeong, posthumously elevated to King Yikjong by order of Queen Dowager Sinjeong (1808-1890), who had been his

consort.⁵⁷¹ During Gojong's early reign, the queen dowager functioned as regent. She had King Cheoljong's portraits housed at Cheonhangak (天漢閣, Pavilion of the Milky Way) in the Office of the Royal Genealogy, rather than in Seonwonjeon.⁵⁷² The ostensible reason was to prevent further expansion of Seonwonjeon, but the real reason may have been that King Cheoljong was not of the direct bloodlines of either his predecessor or his successor.⁵⁷³

During his reign, King Cheoljong twice commissioned portraits of himself. In 1852, when he was twenty-two, he had two portraits of himself painted, one full-length showing him in ordinary attire and one half-length showing him ceremonial attire.⁵⁷⁴ In 1861 he had two full-length portraits, one in formal and the other in military attire, produced.⁵⁷⁵ All of these portraits were moved to Mangmyoru of Gyeongmogung in 1875 and then to Pyeongnakjeong of Seonhuigung in 1899. According to the imperial edict on the 1908 revision of state sacrificial rituals, the portraits were housed in the old Seonwonjeon of Changdeokgung, and then placed in the new Seonwonjeon which was built in 1921. *King Cheoljong in Military Attire* from 1861 was the only portrait to substantially survive the great fire of 1954 at Yonghodong in Busan, where all the royal portrait paintings of New Seonwonjeon were temporarily housed during the Korean War.

A full two-third of the *Portrait of King Cheoljong in Military Attire* remains, showing the king seated in an arm chair on a dragon patterned mat, following the pictorial

⁵⁷¹ *Veritable Records of King Gojong*, vol. 1, Preface, year of 1863, 12th month, 13th day. King Gojong was originally a ninth-generation descendant of the third son of King Injo.

⁵⁷² *Veritable Records of King Gojong*, vol. 3, year of 1866, 2nd month, 4th day. Ten years later, his portraits were moved to Mangmyoru in Gyeongmogung and installed along with portraits of other royal forebears. *Veritable Records of King Gojong*, vol. 12, year of 1875, 11th month, 25th day.

⁵⁷³ King Cheoljong was a secondary line descendant of Prince Sado, King Jeongjo's biological father.

⁵⁷⁴ *Jesa bu Seonwonjeon darye*.

⁵⁷⁵ *Ibid.*; Yun Chin-yong, 298. Nine painters participated in the project, including Yi Hancheol 李漢喆, Yi Hyeongnok 李亨祿, and Jo Jungmuk 趙重默, all of whom were famous court painters of the nineteenth century. Especially, Yi Hancheol was famous for his portrait paintings.

mode for portraits of late Joseon kings (fig. 5-9). However, in contrast to the figures in those portraits, he exposes his hands with the left hand on the armrest and the right hand holding a rattan whip, the baton of the commander. The gilt dragon rank badges symbolize his status as a king. His military attire, which was worn for easier movement when a king went out the court, consists of a *gat* hat made of bamboo threads with a peacock feather ornament, a long inner coat pleated at the waist, and an outer sleeveless coat.⁵⁷⁶ The clothing is described in detail, revealing the different texture and weaving patterns.

King Jeongjo was the first Joseon king to commission portraits of himself in military attire. As mentioned earlier, the 1791 portrait housed in the room of fasting at Prince Sado's tomb in Suwon was a half-length copy of an image of the king in military attire, which he wore when he visited his father's tomb.⁵⁷⁷ Prince Sado, who enjoyed military games, liked to wear military robes.⁵⁷⁸ King Jeongjo also stated that his visit in military attire to his father's tomb followed the precedent of his father's trip to Onyang (溫陽), a spa city in 1760.⁵⁷⁹ Furthermore, the king ordered the workers at the tomb to dress in military clothing during the sacrificial rituals there.⁵⁸⁰ He also dressed this way during the construction of Hwaseong, when he rode his horse around to inspect every nook and cranny of the city in person.⁵⁸¹ Following King Jeongjo's practice, his successors dressed this way whenever they visited the

⁵⁷⁶ For more detailed information on the royal clothing of Joseon, see Ryu Songok, 1986, 11-16; Lee Minjoo, 2013, 35-95.

⁵⁷⁷ *Ilseongnok*, year of 1779, 8th month, 3rd day.

⁵⁷⁸ "Outstanding History of Bright Spring 春明逸史," in *Imhapilgi* 林下筆記 [Jottings in retirement] vol. 27, 奎 4916, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies. The Korean translation of this manuscript can be seen on the website of Institute for the Translation of Korean Studies (<http://db.itkc.or.kr>).

⁵⁷⁹ *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*, year of 1796, 1st month, 24th day; 'Words of Admonition 訓語,' under "Record of Daily Learning 日得錄," in *Hongjae jeonseo* vol. 177.

⁵⁸⁰ "Outstanding History of Bright Spring," in *Imhapilgi*.

⁵⁸¹ *Ilseongnok*, year of 1795, 2nd month (leap), 14th day.

city and royal tombs of King Jeongjo and Prince Sado.⁵⁸²

After King Jeongjo's death, the 1791 half-length portrait of him was moved to Hwaryeongjeon in Hwaseong. At the same time, another 1791 full-length portrait of him in military attire then housed in Gyujanggak (奎章閣, Pavilion of the Literary Star) at Changdeokgung was transferred to the hall as well. The full-length copy was displayed there for veneration and worship.⁵⁸³ Hwaseong was constructed so that King Jeongjo could reside there along with his mother after his planned abdication in 1804, but due to his sudden death in 1800, he did not realize this aspiration.⁵⁸⁴ Through his portraits in Hwaryeongjeon, however, in death he lived in the new city as he wished for during his lifetime, and he appeared, as he did in life, dressed in military costume.

The kings who succeeded King Jeongjo regularly visited Hwaseong and, along with their officials, personally worshiped the portrait of King Jeongjo in Hwaryeongjeon.⁵⁸⁵ As a result, the 1791 full-length portrait of the king in military attire became well known and set a

⁵⁸² *Veritable Records of King Gojong*, vol. 10, year of 1873, 8th month, 29th day. According to this account, kings dressed in military clothing only when they visited Hwaseong until 1846.

⁵⁸³ *Veritable Records of King Sunjo*, vol. 47, year of 1801, 5th month, 2nd day. A half-length portrait was rolled up in the case and kept in the hall. Hwaryeongjeon had a lower status than Yeonghuijeon and Jangnyeongjeon in state ancestral rites. This lower status might have resulted from the enshrinement of the portraits in military attire, which was not included in royal civil attire.

⁵⁸⁴ For the construction of and King Jeongjo's activities in Hwaseong, see Han Young-Woo 한영우, "Jeongjo ui Hwaseong geonseol gwa Hwaseong haengcha 정조의 화성건설과 화성행차 [King Jeongjo's construction of and procession to Hwaseong]," *Minjok munhwa* 민족문화 vol. 23 (2000), 39-52; Choe Seong-hwan 최성환, "Jeongjo ui Suwon Hwaseong haengcha si hwaldong gwa geu uimi 정조의 수원 화성 행차시 활동과 그 의미 [King Jeongjo's activities during his visit to Hwaseong]," *Joseon sidaesa hakbo* 조선시대사학보 vol. 76 (2016), 125-166.

⁵⁸⁵ *Veritable Records of King Sunjo*, vol. 6, year of 1804, 8th month, 30th day; vol. 8, year of 1806, 2nd month, 21st day; vol. 10, year of 1807, 8th month, 29th day; vol. 13, year of 1810, 8th month, 27th day; vol. 20, year of 1817, 2nd month, 27th day; vol. 23, year of 1821, 2nd month, 20th day; vol. 28, year of 1826, 2nd month, 23rd day; vol. 30, year of 1828, 2nd month, 23rd day; *Veritable Records of King Heonjong*, vol. 3, 11th month, 14th day; vol. 10, year of 1843, 3rd month, 17th day; vol. 13, year of 1846, 2nd month, 22nd day; *Veritable Records of King Cheoljong*, vol. 1, year of 1849, 10th month, 2nd day; vol. 4, year of 1852, 2nd month, 26th day; vol. 7, year of 1855, 2nd month, 28th day; vol. 12, year of 1860, 3rd month, 17th day; *Veritable Records of King Gojong*, vol. 5, year of 1868, 3rd month, 14th day; vol. 7, year of 1870, 3rd month, 13th day.

precedent. All of Jeongjo's successors and crown princes, except for King Sunjo, commissioned portraits of themselves dressed as military men following his example.⁵⁸⁶ The *Portrait of King Cheoljong in Military Attire*, the only surviving picture of a Joseon king in military clothing, reflects the convention of lost portraits of King Jeongjo and recalls King Jeongjo's legacy of revering Prince Sado and his unfulfilled hope for a new personal and political life in Hwaseong.

Chapter Conclusion

King Yeongjo laid the foundation for the practice of establishing permanent portrait repositories outside the palace. Early in his reign, his royal authority was significantly weakened by the low rank of his mother and the accusation that he assassinated his half-brother, King Gyeongjong. The portrait repositories coincided with the king's efforts to elevate the shrine of his mother, Yuksanggung, and his old residence, Changuigung, to strengthen his royal authority and power. Naengcheonjeong, the building for fasting next to his mother's shrine housed three portraits of King Yeongjo at different ages. The ostensible purpose of these portraits was to allow him to attend the spirit of his mother day and night as a filial son, however, in practice, the presence of royal portraits served to elevate the status of the shrine.

The tragic execution of Prince Sado placed King Jeongjo in a similarly difficult political situation. Following the precedent of King Yeongjo, King Jeongjo had portraits of himself installed in the shrine and tomb of his father. King Jeongjo institutionalized the shrine

⁵⁸⁶ "Outstanding History of Bright Spring 春明逸史," in *Imhapilgi; Jesa bu Seonwonjeon darye*. Other than King Sunjo, Prince Hyomyeong, King Heonjong, King Cheoljong, King Gojong, and King Sunjong as a crown prince all had portraits of themselves in military attire.

of his father, Gyeongmogung, on the highest level among royal ancestor shrines, and the repository at the shrine, Mangmyoru, subsequently came to house portraits for successive kings, including Sunjo, Ikjong, Heonjong, and Cheoljong, in addition to Jeongjo himself. After King Sunjo's death, portraits of the king and his late son, Prince Hyomyeong, were housed in Seongilheon at the shrine of King Sunjo's natural mother, following the precedents of Kings Yeongjo and Jeongjo. The portraits of kings in all of these repositories manifested their presence in the places. The portraits served as the kings' surrogates in attending their parents, raised the status of their parents's shrines, and thus reinforced their royal authority and power.

The portraits housed in these repositories were primarily half-length images and drew on the artistic convention for sages and meritorious men, as can be seen in the extant half-length portraits of Kings Yeongjo and Sunjo in the National Palace Museum of Korea. These portraits feature reverential gestures, self-restrained expressions, three-quarter orientation, soft brush-lines, and subdued applications of color on the faces. This pictorial mode projects images of the kings as sagely Confucian figures fulfilling their filial obligation, the key Confucian virtue.

King Yeongjo also transforms his old residence, Changuigung, into an official and "quasi-public" space for performing rituals and conducting political activities. As he did in Yuksanggung, the king used images of himself to "ritualize" and elevate his old residence. He had three portraits of himself housed in the residence and personally named the portrait repository Jangbogak, Pavilion of Collected Treasures. The king would show the portraits to officials along with objects bestowed upon him by King Sukjong. His successor, King Jeongjo established Jangbogak as a permanent ritual site by incorporating Jangbogak rites into the sequence of consecutive ritual performances for royal ancestor shrines. Accordingly, the portraits of King Yeongjo served as agents in transforming Changuigung into a "quasi-

public” place where the king, royal relatives, and one hundred officials would regularly visit and perform rituals. The *Portrait of Prince Yeoning*, the only extant Jangbogak portrait, shows how portraits of King Yeongjo functioned to enhance his royal authority. The inscription on the portrait testifies to the young man’s filial behavior and affirms both the king’s Confucian propriety and the favor of his father, King Sukjong.

Portraits of King Cheoljong were housed in Cheonhangak in the Office of the Royal Genealogy because he was not of the direct bloodlines of either his predecessor or successor. The pavilion was a simple storage unit, and the portraits were never used as cult objects in royal ancestor rites. However, the extant *Portrait of King Cheoljong in Military Attire*, is significant as the only surviving example of a painting depicting a king in military dress and because it affords a glimpse of the lost 1794 portrait of King Jeongjo, reflecting his reverence for Prince Sado and aspirations in Hwaseong.

Conclusion

This dissertation aims to further the understanding of the functions and meanings of Joseon royal portraits by exploring the reasons behind the Joseon state's continued commission for portraits of kings and development of rituals for their worship throughout the dynasty and the ways in which this was accomplished. I examine portraits of Joseon kings in the light of the material culture and the ritual practices of ancestor worship in royal portrait halls (*jinjeon* 眞殿). Within this category, I distinguished official and informal halls, depending on whether or not they are included in the official state rites. Through a comprehensive investigation of the objects used for royal ancestor worship in the royal portrait halls, I discern the selective appropriation of Confucian traditions, popular customs, and religious practices according to the hall's status. This information illuminates the purposes of portraits of individual kings used in these different contexts. Finally, breaking with the previous studies that use the term "royal portrait hall" to refer to all places housing royal portraits, I distinguish royal portrait halls, where offerings of wine and food were presented before portrait paintings for royal ancestor worship, from repositories, where portraits were stored, displayed, and venerated but not formally worshipped.

To set the stage, in the first chapter I look first at how the early Joseon court legitimated the rituals for portrait halls, negotiating between customary practices of portrait worship persisting from the previous dynasty and Confucian textual traditions rooted in Chinese antiquity. The first chapter demonstrated that the principle of "serving the dead as if they were alive" shaped the ritual practice and material culture of portrait worship and resulted in the adoption of contemporary secular objects for use as offering vessels and furnishings in the portrait halls of King Taejo. Silver *jan* cups and ceramic wine jars used for

festive events were employed as ritual offering vessels, and the physical surroundings of the portraits of King Taejo were arranged as if their subject were seated in the audience hall of the palace. By incorporating portrait hall rites into the official state rites, the Joseon court placed royal portrait halls in an official and “quasi-public” domain, in contrast to the Ming practice in which the worship of imperial portraits was primarily confined to the sphere of the imperial family.

The second chapter centers on the late Joseon official portrait hall for successive kings, Yeonghuijeon, originally Nambyeoljeon, in which the portraits of King Taeo and King Sejo were temporarily enshrined after the Japanese invasions of 1592-1598. In the reigns of King Sukjong and King Yeongjo, Yeonghuijeon was second in significance only to Jongmyo, a status attained by institutionalization of the libation rituals and sacrificial worship (親祭) regularly performed there by kings as official state rites. The elevated status of the hall was expressed in the material goods used in its rituals, namely, brass ritual vessels of the tallest sizes and employed *jak* (Ch. *jue*) cups based on Confucian ritual tradition. Furthermore, the physical environment of the hall was partly modeled on Jongmyo. It resembles Jongmyo in the arrangement of chambers in a row at the hall and in the installation of *yueum* panels with floral design replacing baldachins. The institution and rites of Yeonghuijeon served as examples for later official portrait halls, such as Jangnyeongjeon and Hwaryeongjeon, which possessed their own distinctive material cultures.

The third chapter examines the distinguishing and exceptional features of Seonwonjeon, the informal portrait hall for the royal family located in the inner palace during the late Joseon period. In contrast to official portrait halls, Seonwonjeon belonged primarily to the royal family sphere, and a new Seonwonjeon was built every time a king moved to a new main palace. My investigation of their physical environments sheds light on the origin and function of these informal portrait halls. The informality of Seonwonjeon allowed the

royal family to present the most precious foods and vessels used in contemporary secular Joseon society before the kings' portraits. The tea ritual, a representative Seonwonjeon ritual conducted on the birthdays of the enshrined kings and on every New Year's Day, featured the active participation of royal women, including queen dowagers and royal consorts. In the ceremony, the dead kings were served as they had been at royal birthday banquets. The physical environment of a chamber at Seonwonjeon mimicked the interior setting of a Spirit Hall, and consisted of a baldachin, a three-sided Five Peak screen, a royal bed, and a set of four-panel peony paintings. Indeed, Seonwonjeon functioned as a substitute for a Spirit Hall, in which a deceased king's spirit pillar was enshrined for about two years and royal family members personally presented ordinary foods and vessels before the spirit. Seonwonjeon was distinguished from a Spirit Hall by the lavish decoration of its inner space with paintings rich in symbolism drawn from popular customs and religious traditions other than the state rites. The subject matter of the paintings expressed the royal family's hope for the eternal life of their ancestors and for the prosperity and regeneration of the nation.

The fourth chapter pursues issues of status and formality related to portraits employed as objects of worship in portrait halls. In my examination of the quasi-public and commemorative features of official portrait halls, such as Yeonghuijeon and the King Taejo portrait halls, I consider Joseon notions of rulership embodied by the portraits displayed in them and how the visual formulas used for these portraits changed over the course of the dynasty. For the latter, I use the history of the imperial portraits of the Ming dynasty as a foil. Portraits of King Taejo, the Joseon dynastic founder, show him in a strictly frontal, iconic pose. I argue that his court selected this pose to present their founding king as a divine and heroic figure. This iconic pose was not adopted for portraits of Ming emperors until the middle of the Ming period. Conversely, it was dropped for images of the late-Joseon kings, who came to be shown as more modest figures seen in the three-quarter view. I propose that

this change was related to developments in Joseon concepts of rulership after the conquest of China by Manchu Qing dynasty. The Joseon court's hostility to the "barbarian" Qing and perception of itself as the only true Confucian civilization remaining after the fall of the Ming, led to emphasis on the role of Joseon kings as sage rulers embodying Confucian virtues. This image is evoked in their portraits by the use of traditional pictorial schema, most notably the comparatively modest three-quarter view traditionally used for images of sages, scholars and virtuous men. Portraits of late Joseon kings presented them as Confucian monarchs possessing the moral authority appropriate to ruling what they regarded as the only remaining Confucian state in the world.

The last chapter primarily offers case studies of portraits of kings Yeongjo and Jeongjo that were installed while they were still alive in repositories at the memorial sites of Lady Choi and Prince Sado. I argue that these portraits were meant to function as surrogates for the kings in attending the spirits of their ancestors but they also served larger political agendas. King Yeongjo and King Jeongjo enshrined portraits of themselves in the memorial sites of their natural parents as their stand-ins to serve the spirits of their parents constantly, day and night, and the shrines achieved higher status due to the presence of portraits of the kings. Thus the kings used the power of images to elevate the status of their low-ranking natural parents and, thereby, their own royal authority. The images of the kings in the repositories primarily depicted the subjects in postures typically used for sages and meritorious men in half-length portraits. This pictorial mode signifying humility conveyed the image the ruler as a sage king fulfilling his Confucian obligation of filial piety. King Yeongjo also used portraits of himself, including the *Portrait of Prince Yeoning*, to transform his private old residence, Changuigung, from a private domestic space into an official space as part of his campaign to reinforce his legitimacy and royal authority.

This study of Joseon royal portraits reveals the limitations of the familiar taxonomy

for East Asian portrait paintings based on stylistic and iconographic analyses. The formal portraits of Joseon kings not only suggest the continuation of artistic conventions and practices of the Goryeo dynasty but also served multiple purposes over the course of the Joseon dynasty as commemorations of the living and the dead, as vehicles of memory, as affirmations of royal lineage and authority, and, of course, as representations of spirits in ancestor rituals. Historical circumstances illuminate aspects of royal representation that cannot be sufficiently explained by transmission or influence.

Coda

After the proclamation of the 1908 imperial edict revising the state sacrificial rites, all of the royal portrait paintings were housed at Seonwonjeon in Changdeokgung, except for two portraits of King Taejo, which were kept at Gyeonggijeon in Jeonju and at Junwonjeon in Yeongheung.⁵⁸⁷ All of the other official portrait halls were abolished. Due to their exclusion from the imperial edict, Gyeonggijeon and its portrait of King Taejo survive to the present day. The Seonwonjeon at Changdeokgung had only seven chambers and could not accommodate portraits of ten kings, thus it does not seem to have functioned as a place of worship at that time. When Emperor Gojong's spirit was enshrined at Jongmyo, New Seonwonjeon with twelve chambers was built on the site of North Camp (北營) in northwest Changdeokgung in 1921, and the portraits kept in the previous Seonwonjeon were moved to there. In addition, nine portraits of Gojong, which had been housed at Junghwajeon (中和殿,

⁵⁸⁷ *Veritable Records of Emperor Sunjong*, vol. 2, year of 1908, 6th month, 23rd day. According to the 1908 revised regulation of state sacrificial rites, official sacrificial rituals for royal portrait paintings could be held at only Gyeonggijeon in Jeonju and Junwonjeon in Yeongheung twice a year. Furthermore, the royal portraits enshrined at Yeonghuijeon, Mokcheongjeon, Hwanyongjeon, Naengcheonjeong, Pyeongnakjeong, and Seongilheon were moved to Seonwonjeon at Changdeokgung in 1908.

Hall of Central Harmony), the royal audience hall in Deoksugung (德壽宮, Palace of Virtuous Longevity) were enshrined in the eleventh chamber of the new hall.⁵⁸⁸ In 1928, when Emperor Sunjong's spirit pillar was enshrined at Jongmyo, seven portraits of him were installed in the twelfth chamber of the hall.⁵⁸⁹

Even though the portrait hall built during the Japanese annexation period was named Seonwonjeon, it did not function as an informal portrait hall for royal family members living in the inner quarter of the palace. The hall was not located in the inner palace, but outside of Changdeokkung. Also, the hall included a chamber for King Cheoljong, who was not of the bloodlines of either his predecessor or successor. Even though the rituals of worship were performed at the hall, the celebrants were traitors and pro-Japanese collaborators, such as Count Yi Wanyong (李完鎔, 1872-1937) and Jeong Manjo (鄭萬朝, 1858-1936), and Japanese and Korean officials from the Office of Rites at the Japanese General Government to Korea, rather than direct descendants of King Gojong.⁵⁹⁰ The Japanese General

⁵⁸⁸ The rites for the relocation of King Gojong's portraits from Junghwajeon to New Seonwonjeon are recorded in the *Uigwe for the Ancestral Temple Enshrinement of Emperor Gojong*. "Bu Junghwajeon eojin bongan Seonwonjeon 附中和殿御眞奉安璿源殿 [The Enshrinement of King Gojong's portrait paintings to Seonwonjeon]," in *Gojong taehwangje Myeongseong hwanghu bumyo jugam uigwe* 高宗太皇帝明成太皇后祔廟主監儀軌 [Uigwe for the ancestral temple enshrinement of Emperor Gojong and Empress Myeongseon] vol. 2, k2-2218, 1921, The Academy of Korean Studies. For the study of the enshrinement of portraits of Gojong and Sunjong at New Seonwonjeon drawing on *uigwe* compiled during the Japanese annexation period, see Park Jeonghye 박정혜, "Jangseogak sojang ilje gangjeomgi uigwe ui misulsa jeok yeongu 장서각 소장 일제강점기 의궤의 미술사적 연구 [Jangseogak *uigwe* from the Japanese annexation period and their significance in Korean art history]," *Misulshak yeongu* 미술사학연구 vol. 259 (2008), 117-150.

⁵⁸⁹ "Sunjong hyohwangje eojin imo geup bongan Seonwonjeon jeolcha 純宗孝皇帝御眞移摹及奉安璿源殿節次 [Production of Emperor Sunjong's portraits and their enshrinement to Seonwonjeon]," in *Sunjong hyohwangje Sunmyeong hyohwanghu bumyo jugam uigwe* 純宗孝皇帝純明孝皇后祔廟主監儀軌 [Uigwe for the ancestral temple enshrinement of Emperor Sunjong and Empress Sunmyeong], k2-2250, 1929, The Academy of Korean Studies. Before their enshrinement at Seonwonjeon, King Sunjong's portrait paintings were installed at Bongmodang 奉謨堂 in Changdeokkung during his lifetime.

⁵⁹⁰ 'Procedure for the Relocation of Portraits 移安節次 (1934. 3. 28.) and Procedure for the Return of Portraits 還安節次 (1935 .3. 25.),' under "Seonwonjeon eo yeongjeong sugae 璿源殿御影幀修

Government had the portraits repaired and reproduced several times.⁵⁹¹ Overall, the New Seonwonjeon was detached from the original function and meaning of the Joseon Seonwonjeon and degenerated into an ancestor portrait hall of the nominal Yi Royal Family (李王家), supported by the Japanese government in a patronizing way.

When the Korean War (1950-1953) broke out, all the portraits housed at the New Seonwonjeon were moved to Busan and stored in a storage at the Busan National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts, along with other thousands of royal objects of Joseon. At the end of 1954, however, a great fire occurred in Mt. Yongdu, where the center was located, and burned the storage down.⁵⁹² Most of the portraits therein were destroyed in the fire. Only two portraits of King Yeongjo, a portrait of King Cheoljong, and a portrait of Prince Jeongwon (posthumously titled King Wonjong) survived in recognizable condition and a few fragments remained.⁵⁹³

改,” in *Seonwonjeon jesa bu darye*.

⁵⁹¹ Park, 2008, 129-138.

⁵⁹² *The Kyunghyang Shinmun* 경향신문 [Kyunghyang daily news], January 5th, 1955.

⁵⁹³ This dissertation does not discuss the extant portrait of Prince Jeongwon, which was reproduced in 1936, based on the 1872 copy of the early seventeenth century original. This is because the portrait, originally produced in commemoration of his appointment as a meritorious official who escorted King Seonjo during the Japanese Invasions, does not fit in with the arguments and approaches used in this study. For more on the image of the 1936 portrait of Prince Jeongwon, see the website of the National Palace Museum of Korea.

(<http://gogung.go.kr/searchView.do?pageIndex=1&cultureSeq=00017261NT&searchRelicDiv4=&searchGubun=ALL1&searchText=%EC%9B%90%EC%A2%85>)

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Appendices

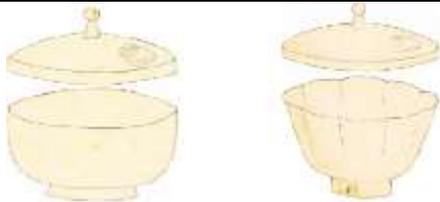
Appendix A. State Sacrificial Rites in the Early Joseon Dynasty

Great Sacrifices (大祀)	Altars of Soil and Grain (社稷), Royal Ancestral Temple (宗廟), Hall for Four Ancestral Generations of King Taejo, Yeongnyeongjeon (永寧殿)
Middle Sacrifices (中祀)	Wind, Cloud, Thunder, and Rain (風雲雷雨), Sacred Peaks, Oceans, and Ditches (嶽海瀆), First Farmer(先農), First Silkworm (先蠶), Rites for Rain (雩祀), First Teacher Confucius (文宣王), Founders of the Successive Dynasties (歷代始祖),
Minor Sacrifices (小祀)	Seven Minor Spirits (七祀), Military Flag, Spiritual Star [for Agriculture] (靈星), Star for the Old (老人星), Ancestral God of Horse (馬祖), Famous Mountains and Great Rivers (名山大川), Coldness (司寒), God for Cattle Breeding (先牧), Horse and Soil (馬社), First Teacher for Horse-riding (馬步), Sacrificial Rites for End to Rain (禳祭) Rites for the God Protecting Farming Field from Bugs (醜祭), Rites for Abandoned Ghosts (厲祭), Rites for Big Banner (纛祭)
Customary Sacrifices (俗祭)	Origin Shrines (Munsojeon 文昭殿, Uimyo 懿廟), Royal Portrait Halls (眞殿), Royal Tombs (山陵)
Prays and Reports (祈告)	Altars of Soil and Grain, Royal Ancestral Temple, Wind, Cloud, Thunder, and Rain, Sacred Peaks, Oceans, and Ditches, Famous Mountains and Great Rivers, Rites for Rain
Provinces (州縣)	Soil and Grain, Confucius, Rites for the God Protecting Farming Field from Bugs (醜祭), Rites for Abandoned Ghosts, Rites for End to Rain

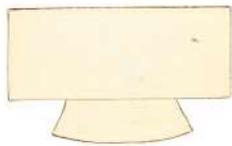
Appendix B. Ritual Procedures of Yeonghuijeon and Seonwonjeon

Yeonghuijeon		Seonwonjeon	
King's Sacrifice	Ritual of Libation	Ritual of Libation	Tea Ritual
Prostrate Four Times 四拜	Prostrate Four Times	Prostrate Four Times	Prostrate Four Times
First Libation 初獻 - Incense Burning (Three Times) - Offering Wine Goblet (<i>Jak</i> 爵) - Reading Invocation	Performing Libation - Incense Burning (Three Times) - Offering Wine Goblet (<i>jak</i> 爵) - Reading Invocation	Performing Libation - Incense Burning (Three Times) - Offering Wine Cup (<i>jan</i> 盞) - Devoting Tea - Reading Invocation	Performing Tea Ceremony - Incense Burning (Three Times) - Offering Wine Cup (<i>jan</i> 盞) - Offering Tea
Second Libation 亞獻 - Incense Burning (Three Times) - Offering <i>Jak</i> Wine Cup - Reading Invocation	Burning of Written Invocation 望燎	Burning of Written Invocation 望燎	
Third Libation 終獻 - Incense Burning (Three Times) - Offering <i>Jak</i> Wine Cup - Reading Invocation			
Partaking of Sacrificial Wine 飲福			
Burning of Written Invocation 望燎			

Appendix C. List and Illustrations of Ritual Utensils for Seonwonjeon

1846 List of Ritual Utensils for the Fourth Chamber	Illustrations 圖說 in 1901 <i>Uigwe</i> for the Copying of Portrait Paintings 影幀模寫都監儀軌		Extant Utensils in the National Palace Museum of Korea*
	Names	Illustrations	
Silver Rest for Spoon and Chopsticks (銀匙櫟) (銀匙櫟)	Silver Rest 銀匙櫟	 1 st , 2 nd , 3 rd , 4 th , 6 th , and 7 th chamber	 6 th chamber
Silver Spoon and Chopsticks (銀匙箸)	Silver Spoon and Chopsticks - 七室同		
Silver Ladle (銀召兒)	Silver Ladle (銀勺) - 七室同		
Silver Rice-bowl (銀周鉢)	Silver Rice-Bowl (銀周鉢)	 1 st , 2 nd , 3 rd , 6 th and 7 th chamber	 7 th chamber
Silver Bowl (銀大櫟)	Silver Bowl For Fermented Food, <i>sikhae</i> (銀食醞器)	 1 st , 4 th , 5 th , 6 th , and 7 th chamber	 7 th chamber
Silver Soup Bowl (銀湯器)	Silver Soup Bowl (銀湯甫兒) - 七室同		 7 th chamber

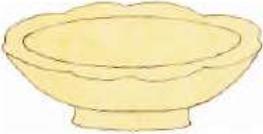
* For extant Seonwonjeon ritual utensils in the National Palace Museum of Korea, see *Joseon wangsil ui eojin gwa jinjeon*, fig.87–fig.100, 166-188.

Silver Covered Bowl with Seal Script Design (銀篆字盒)	Silver Covered Bowl for Rice Cake(銀餅盒) - 七室同		
Silver Vessel for Fruit Including Uri (銀果器 于里具)	Silver Plate 銀接匙 - 七室同 Silver Uri 銀于里 - 七室同		 1 st chamber
Large, Middle, Small Sizes of Silver Plates (銀大中小樑匙)	Silver Plates (銀接匙) -D. 5寸8分(L) -D. 5寸9分(R)	 1 st , 3 rd , 4 th , 5 th , 6 th , and 2 nd chamber 7 th chamber	 4 th chamber
	銀接匙 - D. 5寸 * 七室同		 6 th chamber
	銀接匙 - D. 5寸 (七室同)		 2 nd chamber
Silver Plate for Jerked Meat or Fish (銀切肉器)	銀切肉器 - 七室同		** 銀脯器 眞殿第六室器皿 of 1851 (NPM of Korea, 高宮 2213)
Silver Plate for Grilled Meat or Fish (銀炙器)	銀炙器 - 七室同		
Silver Small Dish with a Lid (銀鍾子 蓋具)	銀鍾子 - 七室同		
Silver Dish for Oriental Melon (銀眞苺盤)	Silver Vessel for Oriental Melon (銀眞苺器)	 1 st , 3 rd , 4 th , 5 th , 6 th , 2 nd chamber	

		and 7 th chamber	
Silver Stick (銀尖)	Silver Stick (<i>eun cheom</i> , 銀籤) - 七室同		
Jade Cup with Jade Saucer (眞玉盃 眞玉 臺具)	Jade Cup with Saucer (眞玉 盞 盞臺) - for Libation Ritual	 <p>1st chamber</p>  <p>2nd chamber</p>  <p>3rd chamber</p>  <p>4th chamber</p>  <p>5th chamber</p>  <p>6th chamber</p>  <p>7th chamber</p>	

<p>Jade Cup with Gilt Cover and Jade Saucer (真玉盃 鍍金蓋 真玉臺)</p>	<p>Jade Cup and Saucer (真玉盞 盞臺) - used for Tea Ceremony</p>	 <p>1st chamber 2nd, 5th and 6th chamber</p> <p>3rd chamber 4th chamber</p> <p>7th chamber</p>	
<p>Silver-plated Cup with Lid and Saucer (銀鍍金盃 蓋 臺具)</p>	<p>Genuine-gilt Cup and Saucer (純鍍金盞 純鍍金盞臺) - Two cups for each chamber</p>		 <p>10th chamber</p> <p>10th chamber</p>
<p>Silver Ewer with Sun and Mood Design (銀日月瓶)</p>	<p>Silver Ewer with Gilt Painting Design (銀瓶 畫紋鍍金)</p>	 <p>1st and 7th chamber 2nd chamber</p>	 <p>10th chamber</p>

		 <p>3rd chamber 4th chamber</p>  <p>5th and 6th chamber</p>	
Silver Saute Vessel for Wine with a Lid (銀酒炒兒 蓋具)	Silver Vessel for Wine (銀酒器) - 七室同		 <p>1st chamber (一室)</p>
Silver Saute Vessel for Tea with a Lid (銀茶炒兒 蓋具)	Silver Vessel for <i>Jakseol</i> Tea (銀雀舌茶器) - 七室同		
Silver Vessel for Tea Leaves with a Lid and a Brass Tray (銀茶葉瓢 蓋·鍍錚盤 具)	Silver Vessel for Leaves (銀葉瓢) - 七室同		
-	Brass Tray (鍍錚盤) - 七室同		
Silver Incense Covered Bowl (銀香盒)	香盒 - used for Tea Ceremony -金質雕伊(L)	-	
		 <p>1st, 5th, 6th, and 7th chamber 2nd and 3rd chamber</p>	 <p>5th chamber (五)</p>

	-銀質七寶(R) -純鍍金雕伊 (L)	 4 th chamber	
Ceramic Tea Vessel and Lacquered Saucer (磁茶器 漆臺具)	Silver Tea Vessel (銀茶器) - 七室同 Lacquered Wooden Saucer (真漆木臺)		
Copper Plated Incense Burner and Fine Wooden Prop (銅鍍金香爐 花梨臺具)	Incense Burner (香爐) [雕伊鍍金]	 1 st , 2 nd , and 3 rd chamber 4 th , 5 th , 6 th , and 7 th chamber	 7 th chamber (七)
Copper Plated Incense Bowl with a Cover (銅鍍金香盒)	Gilt Incense Bowl with a Cover (香盒) [雕伊鍍金]	 1 st , 2 nd , and 3 rd chamber 4 th , 5 th , 6 th , and 7 th chamber	
Brass Vessel for Water Melon 鑰西苾盤	鑰西苾器 - 七室同		
Fine Wooden Vase for Spoon and Chopsticks against Fire (花梨香匙筒 火箸火匙 具)	Wooden Vase for Spoon and Chopsticks against Fire (火箸 火插 具 火榴桶)		