1. Introduction

The Taehan Empire [Taehan cheguk 大韓帝國, 1897-1910] was a brief but extraordinary period at the close of the Choson dynasty. Also known as “The Period of Enlightenment,” the period of the Empire corresponds to the last years of the reign of King Kojong [高宗, r. 1864-1906] and the entire term of his son, King Sunjong [純宗, r. 1906-1910]. During this period, King Kojong implemented various political, social, and economic measures to modernize his country. In part, the king’s efforts were a response to the growing pressure from Western powers, manifested in a series of reluctant port openings beginning in 1876 and in unequal trade and commerce treaties that favored the West and Japan.

Experience with imperialist aggression led to the definition of a new national policy known by the slogan “Enrich the nation and consolidate the military [puguk kangbyŏng 富國強兵].” But with Korea
becoming a battlefield for Russia and Japan and the tragic assassination of Queen Min [明成皇后, 1851-1895] by the Japanese, King Kojong was forced to flee to the Russian legation in February of 1896. One year later, he took up residence at the subsidiary Kyŏngun Palace [慶運宮, now known as Tŏksu Palace 德壽宮]. In light of the disturbing events of the recent past, Kojong came to believe that a strengthened sense of sovereignty would secure national self-defense. Thus, in October 13, 1897 (on the eighteenth day of the ninth lunar month), Kojong declared himself Emperor of the Taehan Empire, becoming the first emperor in all of Korean history. From that time onwards, imperial chronicles were compiled under a new reign name, Kwangmu [光武], representing a significant break from the traditional use of Chinese era designations. The new Korean Empire survived only thirteen years, however, and ended with the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910, thus making it appear to have been a futile effort to maintain independence at the close of the Chosŏn dynasty.

While the achievements of the so-called Kwangmu Reform [光武改革] — and the legitimacy of the Empire itself — have often been questioned, this last chapter of the Chosŏn dynasty should be accorded greater recognition as the first institutional effort to modernize the Korean nation. The events of the period have inspired many recent studies, mainly in the fields of sociology and history. This paper will examine the Ritual Regulations of the Grand Rite [Taerye じゅぎけ大禮儀軌], a work which records the enthronement ceremony of Kojong as Emperor, paying particular attention to the book’s pictorial illustrations. Given the significance of Chinese precedents, the paper begins with a brief survey of the official histories of China to show the development of enthronement ceremonies there, examining their possible influence on Korean rites. Then, the Grand Rite of Kojong will be discussed in terms of its significance in the development of official rites of state. After analyzing textual sources, I will address the issue of pictorial prototypes for processional paintings beginning with Chinese
historical records and paintings. The paper concludes with a study of the images in the *Taerye t'ugwe*.¹

2. Enthronement Ceremonies in China

Among China’s Five Rites [*wuli 五禮*], the enthronement ceremony has traditionally been known as the Felicitous Rite [*jiali 嘉禮*]. In *History of the Latter Han Dynasty* [*Hou Hanshu 後漢書*], written before the Five Rites were systematically classified, enthronements were simply called “Crowning [*guan 冠*],” when the honorary titles were presented to the emperor [*皇帝尊號*].² In the subsequent New

¹. This paper was presented at the symposium, “Establishing a Discipline: The Past, Present, and Future of Korean Art History,” At Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 16-18 March, 2001. Prior to 2001 presentation, I presented an overview of the court paintings during the Taehan Empire entitled “Court Paintings During the Taehan Empire (1897-1910): Conservatism and Modernism” at the 1999 Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies. An edited version of the paper is published in *Chohyŏng* 23 (Chohyŏng yŏn’guso, College of Fine Arts, Seoul National University, 2000), pp. 21-23.


History of the Tang Dynasty [Xin Tangshu 新唐書], the codified Five Rites were listed as follows: (1) the Auspicious Rite [jili 吉禮]; (2) the Rite of Receiving Foreign Envoys [binli 賓禮]; (3) the Rite of Military Review [junli 軍禮]; (4) the Felicitous Rite (jiali 嘉禮); and (5) the Funerary Rite and Rite of Sacrificial Offering at Ancestral Shrines [xiongli 薨禮]. In this scheme, “The Ceremony of the Imperial Robe [huangdi jia yuanfu 皇帝加元服],” classified as one of the jiali, is comparable to the Enthronement Rite of the succeeding dynasties.\(^3\)

The enthronement ceremony was more systematically institutionalized during the Song dynasty (960-1279) in an effort to promote the centralization of authority in the throne. According to the History of the Song Dynasty [Songshi 宋史], the ceremony was named the “Rite of Presenting Honorary Titles [shang zun haoyi 上尊號儀],” which was listed as the first ceremony in jiali, and took place in the palace. The Five Rites were listed in the order of jili, jiali, binli, junli, and xiongli, the order of which was taken up by the official history in the succeeding dynasties.\(^4\)

During the Yuan dynasty, the enthronement was more specifically termed the “Rite of Enthronement and Receiving Audience [huangdi jiwei shouchaoyi 皇帝即位受朝儀].”\(^5\)

This ceremony was followed by the “Rite of Presenting Honorary Titles.” Both ceremonies were performed within the palace precinct. The “Four Prostrations [sibai 四拜] — jugong 鞠躬, bai 拜, xing 興, and pingshen 平身 — were also introduced during the Mongol period, ultimately becoming standard ceremonial conduct in the following dynasties.

With the re-establishment of Chinese sovereignty in the Ming

---

dynasty, institutions were reviewed. Systems inherited from the Yuan dynasty were augmented by a revival of some older precedents. In *History of the Ming Dynasty* [Mingshi 明史], the more specific term *dengjiyi* [登極儀], literally “Ceremony of Ascending the Ultimate,” was used to signify enthronement. After sacrificial offerings were made to heaven and earth, the ceremony took place at the Southern Altar [nanjiao 南郊], where the altar of heaven [圜丘/圜丘] was built. Following those events, the emperor — accompanied by processional carriages [lubao 驅簿] — traveled to the ancestral shrine and honored four previous generations of ancestors by presenting them with posthumous titles. Upon returning to the palace, the emperor received his officials in audience [shangbiaohe 上表賀].

The *dengjiyi* of the Qing dynasty discontinued the Ming traditions. Instead, the ceremony took place in the palace, then officials were sent to the altar of heaven for offerings. Preceding the main event, however, three days were added for the “Ceremony of the pledge [shijie 誓戒],” a procedure which required an official selected as the master of ceremony to abstain from improper acts such as eating meat, drinking wine, attending funeral, or visiting the sick, etc. Another addition made under the Manchus was the adoption of a new form of ritual prostration consisting of “Kneeling three times and lowering the head nine times [sangui jiukou 三跪九叩].”

---


3. Canon of the Rites of Taehan [Taehan yejŏn 大韓禮典]

Seven months after King Kojong returned to the Kyŏngun Palace, he inaugurated the Taehan Empire, changed the title of his reign to Kwangmu, and replaced the traditional *Five Rites of State* (*Kukcho orye ūi* 國朝五禮儀) and the *Supplement to the Five Rites of State* (*Kukcho sok orye ūi* 國朝續五禮儀) with the newly compiled *Canon of the Rites of Taehan* (*Taehan yejŏn*), based on which the Grand Rite was conducted.\(^9\)

The creation of the *Five Rites of State*, the former text prescribing the methods of conducting major state ceremonies, was begun under King Sejong [*世宗, r. 1418-1469*] and completed in 1474 during the reign of King Songjong [*成宗, r. 1469-1494*). The five Korean rites — *killye* [吉禮], *karye* [嘉禮], *pillye* [賓禮], *kullye* [軍禮], and *hyungnye* [凶禮] — were presented in the same order found in Chinese texts since the Song dynasty. Significantly, the *karye* did not specify succession rites for the king although codes were listed for the queen as well as for the royal prince and princess. The relevant kingly rites were restricted to acts that paid respect to the Chinese emperor and included the “Rite of Prostration Towards the (Chinese) Imperial Palace” [望闕行禮],” the “Rite of Receiving the (Chinese) Imperial Letter” [迎詔勑儀],” and the “Rite of Sending a Letter to the (Chinese) emperor” [拜表儀].”

The *Supplement to the Five Rites of State* [*國朝續五禮儀*], completed in 1744 during the reign of King Yongjo [*英祖, r. 1724-1776*], significantly revised the *Five Rites of State*. Most importantly, the

---

9. There is only one hand-written version of *Taehan yejŏn* in the Changsŏgak Collection. Some pages are written in a cursive manner, and the illustrations of the ceremonial apparatus and costume are also done rather sketchily. It is not known whether other copies were made, but based on these facts, the Changsŏgak version does not seem to be a final edition.
succession rite, “Rite of Presenting Honorary Titles [sangchonho ū 上尊號儀],” was added to the Karye chapter in the Supplement, and the rites directly related to Korea’s tributary status were moved from the main section to an appendix called “Updated Amendments to the Supplement [國朝續五禮儀考異]” and were supplied with updated notes. The first recorded performances of the sangchonho ūoccurred in 1713, in the thirty-ninth year of King Sukchong [肅宗, r. 1674-1720], and in 1740, the sixteenth year of the reign of King Yŏngjo, indicating that honorary titles were presented years after enthronement, unlike the case in China. Thus, a ceremony that had the symbolic significance of enthronement was already being practiced before it was codified in the Supplement. This codification marked a significant change, when one considers how the Succession Ceremony [sawi 嗣位] of king had formerly been listed as part of hyungnye and performed at the funeral shrine pinjŏn [殯殿 is a place where a coffin was kept before being entombed] in the Five Rites of State. Other changes in the Supplement include the addition of a combined ceremony of the “Rite of Presenting Honorary Titles” and the “Succession of the Great Queen Mother” [大王大妃上尊號冊宮儀] and identical rites for the Queen Mother [王大妃冊宮親傳 儀] and Queen [王妃上 尊號冊宮儀], as well as an increase in ceremonial banquets [chinyŏn 進宴] presented to these female members of the royal family. The emphasis placed on the presentation of honorary titles and the special prominence of women is significant.

Replacing the earlier Five Rites of State, King Kojong’s Canon of the Rites of Taehan is composed of ten volumes, with the first volume devoted to the “Rite of the Emperor’s Enthronement at the Altar [wŏn’gu čhuk hwangje wi ū 固丘即 皇帝位儀].” This was clearly the main purpose for the compilation of the Canon, which was issued to coincide with the proclamation of the Taehan Empire.10 The head chapter on enthronement provided an outline

10. The Canon is supposedly written by Chang Ji-yŏn [張志淵] while he was
for the “Notes on Ceremony” [Ŭiju 儀註] in the Ritual Regulations of the Grand Rite [Taerye ŭigwe 大禮儀軌] that will be discussed below, and it was composed of a series of eighteen independent elements, including the actual “Rite of Enthronement” of Kojong and three other succession ceremonies [冊寶儀] for his deceased Queen Min and the Imperial Prince and Princess. Thus the Grand Rite included a succession ceremony that took place at the funeral shrine [pinjŏn] and that elevated the status of the late Queen Min to Empress. The Canon also stipulated visits to her funeral shrine by the Imperial Prince and Princess after their succession. That is, the enthronement ceremony, which had traditionally been the Felicitous ceremony in China, was combined with the ancestral ceremony, hyungnye, in the new Grand Rite due to the historical circumstances of its times. The state funeral ceremony of the Queen took place on November 22, 1897, almost one month after the declaration of the Empire and three years after her assassination.\(^{11}\) Thus, although many details were borrowed from Chinese practice, the Grand Rite marks the growth of Korean independence.

The remainder of the Canon of the Rites of Taehan contains other departures from the previous Five Rites of State, including compositional order. The enthronement volume is followed by killye [吉禮] in volume two, although in China and previously in Chosŏn, the killye was always the head rite volumes three, four, and five are all devoted to illustrated descriptions of the altar, ceremonial robes, vessels, flags, and musical instruments and other detailed accounts of ceremonial procedures, which were previously put into a separate volume of Annotated Procedures [Sŏrye 序例] in both the Five Rites of State and the Supplement. Kullye [軍禮]

\(^{11}\) Empress Min’s death is regarded to have prompted the actual founding of the Taehan Empire. See, Han Young-u, “Ulmi zibyŏn, Taehan cheguk sŏngnip gwa Myongsŏng huanghu kukjangdogam ŭigwe,” Hanguk hakbo 100 (Fall, 2000), pp. 2-57.
appears at the end of the fifth volume. Volumes six through nine again deal with Killye[吉禮], with the ninth and tenth volumes comprising Karye[嘉禮], Pillye[賓禮], Kullye[軍禮], and Hyungnye[凶禮]. Thus, in terms of the order of composition and the emphasis on details, the Canon marked a departure from previous procedures.

4. The Ritual Regulations of the Grand Rite

[Taerye ūgwe 大禮儀軌]

The Grand Rite[Taerye 大禮] was the ceremony of enthronement, but the same term in Chinese official histories was a general signifier for “Auspicious Rite,” which was the first rite of prime importance among the five rites. The Canon of the Rites of Taehan discussed above seems to have served as the principal guide for the creation of the Ritual Regulations of the Grand Rite, Taerye ūgwe. The Taerye ūgwe comprise a total of 177 pages edited in one volume with the following fourteen subsections:

- Schedules [Siil 時日]
- Ceremonial Supervisors [Chwamok 座目]
- The Memorial [Choch’ik 諡勲]
- The Bureau of Rites [Changnyewŏn 掌禮院]
- Notes on the Ceremony [Ŭju 儀註]
- Seals [Posik 寶式]
- Tablets [Kŭmch’aengmun 金冊文]
- Methods of Wrapping the Seals and Tablets [Pongwasik 封裹式]
- Pictorial illustrations [Tosŏl 圖說]
- Illustrated Order of Procession [Panch’ado 班次圖]
- Required Personnel and Materials [Kamgyŏl 甘結]
- Expenses [Chaeyong 財用]
- Awards for Personnel [Sangjŏn 賞典]
- Records regarding the Production of the Ritual Regulations [Ŭigwe sarye 儀軌事例]

The section called Siil [時日] provides the specific fabrication schedule required for seals and tablets [寶冊]. The seals, numbering a total of eleven, consisted of the Taehan Empire seals [大韓國璽] and those of the Emperor, Imperial Prince, Empress, and Imperial Princess, and tablets were the most significant insignia of state, and separate chapters, Posik [寶式] and Kŭmch’aengmun [金冊文], are devoted to the fabrication of the seals and tablets while many sections are devoted to the process of manufacturing seals and their usage in the Taerye ŭigwe. The Schedule [Siil 時日] refers to the schedule of seals and tablets and the master of ceremony was even required to take seven days of abstinence [sŏgye 誓戒] prior to the ceremony.

These are also carefully depicted in pictorial illustrations [Tosŏl 圖說]. The illustration of the procession, which will be discussed below, is solely devoted to the depiction of the transportation of the seals and the tablets during the ceremony. The official reference book for the seals, as specified in the Siil, was the Compilation of the Illustrated Manual of the Rites of the Great Ming [大明集禮圖式]. One of the objectives for founding an Empire, as presented by a group of the officials in their memorial, Choch’ik [詔勅], was to thus inherit the legitimacy of the Ming [大明之正統].

12. It is recorded that a total of nine copies of the Ritual Regulations of Grand rite Ministry of Rites [掌禮院], of Secretary [秘書院], Altar of Heaven [圍丘壇], Office of Royal Education [侍講院] and other regional storehouses of Historical Documents, such as Chŏngjok sansŏng [鼎足山城], Taebaeksan [太白山], Odaesan [五臺山], or Chŏksang sansŏng [赤裳山城]. The Odeasan copy was lost, and Wongudan copy is presently stored at Changsŏgak, and the rest at Royal Library. Presently, there are six copies at Royal Library [奎章閣] made for the storage at: Taebaeksan, Ministry of Secretary, Ministry of Rites, Chŏngjok sansŏng, Royal Library, Office of Royal Education. See Han Young-u, “Taehan cheguk...,” p. 236. The copy examined for this paper was the one made for Taebaeksan in the Kyusanggak collection. Microfilm accession number is Kyu 奎 3484, and the page numbers correspond to that of microfilm.
threshold of founding an independent empire, Chosŏn was ironically still claiming heir to the Ming era that had terminated in 1644.

As recorded in Ceremony Supervisors, the entire ceremony was supervised by the Bureau of Rites, which was created in 1895 under the direction of both the Imperial Household Department and the Ministry of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industry. Making the seals and tablets and preparing the Altar were some of the major responsibilities of the Bureau. Other offices were also involved, including the State Council, the Imperial Household Department, and the Ministry of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industry. The State Council had been in existence since King T'aegjong, but after the 1894 Kabo Reforms, when the Imperial Household Department was created, it was reorganized to be headed by a Prime Minister. One year later, the State Council was replaced with a Cabinet. In 1897, however, the State Council was reinstituted. Together, these four agencies, all representing recent institutional reforms of one kind or another, led the Grand Rite. Since the Kabo Reforms, a new police office with new officers was also installed, and the patrolling police officer and the police force on duty, clad with new uniforms, are illustrated in the procession at the rear guard in the Grand Rite. This again reflects the dynastic concern for emphasizing institutional reform by reinstating the Kabo Reforms.

The formal ceremony of enthronement was preceded, however, by an even more important event: the presentation of a memorial by Kojong and petitions by court officials who formally requested the declaration of an Empire to ensure the nation’s strength, sovereignty and independence. First presented

on August 29 in the Lunar Calendar, these memorials had to be resubmitted several times before King Kojong, who, feigning to be acting under obligation, consented to the enthronement and proclaimed the establishment of the Taehan Empire.

The main section of the Taerye ìgwe is “Notes on the Ceremony” [儀註]. In fact, the Õiju corresponds to the first volume of the Canon of the Rites of Taehan. The eighteen ceremonial rites in the Canon are rearranged in the “Notes,” however, and slightly modified with the addition of six ceremonies at the altar, thus expanding the killye [吉禮]. Major events included, as noted above, the tìnggìk ìi [登極儀] at the Altar, the ceremony that raised the status of the late Queen Min to Empress, the appointment of the Queen Mother and Imperial Prince and Princess, and the formal reception of officials in palace audience [賀表儀]. The master of all these events was the Heir Apparent, the Imperial Prince, who also carried out a princely ceremony one day prior to the tìnggìk ìi.

Taking place at the Altar of Heaven [wìng’gu 閔丘], the first and only tìnggìk ìi in Korean history symbolized the Korean Emperor Kojong’s acquisition of the status of Son of Heaven. (Previously, the Korean sangjonho [上尊號], the closest traditional approximation to an enthronement rite, was performed not at the Altar but within the palace.) Thus in every detail — the preparation of the altar, the enthronement itself, and the subsequent reception of officials — the Grand Rite assumed the prerogatives of the Chinese emperor, especially those of Ming emperors who also performed enthronement ceremony at the altar. The “Ceremony of the Pledge [sìgye 誓戒],” which preceded the enthronement begun in the Qing dynasty, was also incorporated in the Grand Rite, taking place in the Hall of the T’aegìk [T’aegìkchôn 太極殿], formerly known as the Hall of Middle Harmony [Chunghwajôn 中和殿]. Other borrowings from Chinese precedents can be seen in the performance of the prostrations known as “Kneeling three times and lowering the head three times [samgwe samgo 三跪三叩],” echoing the Qing sangui jiukou [三跪九叩]. Thus, although the
Grand Rite intended to succeed the orthodox Ming lineage and the Ming enthronement ceremony served as a model, the practices of the contemporaneous Qing court also offered even more immediate examples.

5. Pictorial Illustrations [Tosŏl 圖説] in the Ritual Regulations of the Grand Rite

Pages 101 through 121 in the Taerye ǔigue (Figure 1) contain illustrations and verbal accounts of the seals, seal boxes, tables, tablets, jades (both the ch’angbyŏk 蒼璧 and the hwangjong 黃琮), and golden staff [kŭmjŏl 金節] needed to perform the Rite (Figures 2-4). In earlier texts of Annotated Procedure [序例] of the Five Rites, Tosŏl also includes depictions of costumes, musical instruments, and ceremonial apparatus such as flags, parasols, and carriages. The jade pyŏk and jong, symbols of heaven and earth, respectively, as well as the golden kŭmjŏl were first introduced for Kojong’s Grand Rite, and again indicate his ascension to imperial rank. The format and method of illustration seen here, however, is taken from the traditional “Illustrated Account of Ceremonial Vessels [Chegi tosŏl 祭器圖説]” in the Five Rites of State (1474, Figure 5), which may be traced to Chinese sources such as the Southern Song books on imperial ceremonies. The Xinding sanlitu [新定三禮圖 Newly Annotated Illustration of the Three Rites; Figure 6], for example, compiled in 1175, contains illustrations of ceremonial vessels accompanied by detailed descriptions that include notes on typology, use, and size. In Taerye ǔigue, it was not the stylistic changes but rather the changes in the content that was a greater matter of concern. This reflected the dual spirit of the time: conservative and progressive. The perpetuation of the royal power within was as important as the enrichment of the
nation and consolidation of the military. In China also, the stylistic manner of drawing court rites, the *liqi tushi* [禮器圖式], showed very little change throughout the centuries and was not subject to the new artistic developments, thus seeming to be reflective of the constant perpetuation of the royal lineage. As evident in the Illustration of Procession below, the *tigwe* in Chosŏn served a similar purpose, particularly during a period when kingship was at stake.

6. The Illustration of Procession [Panch’ado 班次図] of the Ritual Regulations of the Grand Rite

Among the twenty-three ceremonies of the *Taerye* noted in the Notes [儀註], the Panch’ado illustrates the four consecutive events comprising the procession of seals and tablets; the ceremonies are recorded in the “Bureau of Rites” section of the text, under the heading of the “Ceremony of Seals” [Posik 寶式]. Their illustrations point to the fact that seals and tablets were considered the material symbol of the inauguration of the empire. First, depicted in the Panch’ado is the jade seal of the Emperor [okpo 玉寶] and the tablet of the Imperial Prince [ch’aeokpo 創寶] being moved to the palace following their fabrication (Figures 7-12). The first page (Figure 7)\(^4\) comprises top officials of the four chief offices, appropriate for the Grand Procession: the Prime Minister of the Imperial Household Department Minister of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industry Minister of the Bureau of Rites and Academician of the Office of Special Advisers [弘文館 學士] are accompanied by Secretaries and clerks. The participants in this scene correspond to

\(^{14}\) p. 122 in the microfilm.
those listed in the Chwamok who were the principal figures in the execution of Taerye ŏigwe and they formed the front line to lead the procession. Since the figures are depicted from behind in the illustration, however, the first scene appears to be the rear end of procession moving towards the left. Following is the procession of carriage carrying ceremonial equipments for the imperial prince: the seal and the tablet of the imperial prince and the court attendants carrying ceremonial seats and table (Figure 8), and the procession of dragon pavilion and fragrant pavilion (Figure 9). Next follows the procession for the emperor: carriage carrying the seal of the emperor (Figure 10), procession of the pavilions (Figure 11), which are all headed to the palace (Figure 12).

The second event is the jade seal of Emperor being taken to the Altar (Figure 13). The third event is dedicated to the deceased Empress: the tablet of the Empress is being carried to the ancestral shrine [pinjŏn 廟殿] (Figures 14, 15). Finally the procession is for both the Imperial Princess and the Empress Dowager Myŏnghŏn, who was the queen of King Hŏnjong [憲宗, r. 1834-1849]: the carriage carrying the gold seal and the tablet of the Imperial Princess (Figure 16) and the Jade seal of Empress Dowager are being taken to the palace (Figure 17). The composition and the order of each of the four events is almost identical, as the whole purpose of the illustration was to symbolize the ranking order of the imperial status. Coloration was also used for this purpose. The processional figures and equipments for the emperor and the empress are all painted in yellow-gold, while those for the rest are painted in red with some green and yellow accents.

The Ceremony of seals took place on September 17 through 19 in the Lunar Calendar and each day different seals and tablets were moved either to the palace or to the altar according to the text in the Taerye ŏigwe, but in the Panch’ado, four events are marked as four independent procedures to clarify the role and the usage of the seals and tablets. As noted above, karye, in memory
of the assassinated Queen Min, was performed at the funeral shrine to reenact the succession rite. Special importance was also given to Queen Mother Myeonghun [明憲皇后], who was the oldest living female member of royalty then, by making seals and tablets. Her succession was intended to create an unbroken lineage from Hyeongjong to Kojong, who was not of the direct royal lineage, similar to King Yongjo who was mentioned above.

During the reign of King Yongjo, when the *Supplement to the Five Rites* was completed, there was an increase in the number of *ųgwe* devoted to Presenting Honorary Titles and the Correction of the Simplified List of Royal Lineage [*Sŏnučon poryak sujong* 奢源自略修整]. King Yongjo, not having come from the royal line, may have felt it necessary to amend the lineage and legitimize his authority. And it is interesting to note that the status of the female members of the royal house were utilized to mend the broken lineage. In the process of solidifying the political authority within, there emerged a necessity for the enthronement ceremony. In this regard, King Kojong’s situation was similar to that which prompted such numerous amendments of the *Lineage* and such emphasis on the role of female royalty during King Yongjo’s reign.

Kojong even crowned five additional emperors posthumously starting from the founder of Chosŏn, King T’aejo, in an effort to legitimize his own emperorship as recorded in *The Ritual Regulations of Posthumous Presentation of Titles to Taejo, Jangjo, Chongjo, Sunjo, and Yikjong* [太祖莊組正祖純祖翼宗追尊時儀軌]. 15 Aside from revealing the significance of seals and tablets as tools of legitimacy, the unusual choice of illustrating only the Ceremony of Seals among all the ceremonies performed suggests that legitimacy was a prime concern of the Grand Rite on both official and personal levels.

The Ceremony of Seals involved a procession comparable to the

15. *T’aejo Jangjo Chŏngjo Sunjo Yikjong ch’ujon si ųgwe* [太祖莊組正祖純祖翼宗追尊時儀軌] (Kyujanggak collection, Kyu 奎 13236).
Grand Procession [*taega nobu 大駕 卤簿*] which was traditionally mobilized for the ceremony of Receiving the Imperial Letter [*yŏng choch’ïk 迎詔勑儀*] or Sacrificial Rite at the Ancestral shrine [*宗廟*] and at the Altar of Earth and Grain [*社稷*], participated by high-ranking officials. During the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 220), the first steps were taken to institutionalize the imperial ceremony with the recording of specific terms and definitions in official histories. In the chapter on “Carriage and Costume [*yufu 輿服*]” in the *Hou Hanshu* [*後漢書*], the Grand Procession [*dajia 大駕*], the Legal Procession [*fajia 法駕*] (with a carriage on an ordinary scale), and the Small Procession [*xiaojia 小駕*] are defined based on the scale and significance of each procession. The Grand Procession, prepared for processions to the Altar of Heaven, was composed of eighty-one carriages and attended by top ranking officials. The Legal Procession, also used in processions to the Altar of Heaven, had a relatively reduced scale and was accompanied by only sixteen carriages and fewer people of lower rank. The Small Procession was used for processions to the Altar of Earth and ancestral shrines. The carriage used in the procession resembled a war carriage [*bingche 兵車*] indicating that the procession was basically a military formation.

Each section of Panch’ado of *Taerye ‘ügwe* (Figures 7-17) is arranged in the same manner of the Illustration of ranking order [*paebando 排班圖*] of the Grand Procession, which is also illustrated with characters in the *Canon of the Rites of Taehan* (Figure 18), also appears to have the order of the front and rear reversed due to the direction of the characters, in this case from left to the right. Although the left end is the front line, it appears to be the rear end.

The Prototype for Panch’ado

The illustration in the Panch’ado is composed of simplified figures shown in back or profile views that are arranged in a very rigid, symmetrical format. The printed outlines of the figures make the image seem even more mechanical. Also, the directional flow of the procession does not correspond to the points of view that are visually represented, as briefly mentioned above. This archaic mode of diagrammatic composition, which disregards the consistency of perspective, has been used in all of the extant panch’ado of ūigue since the early seventeenth century but does not seem to have any matching prototype in Chinese precedents.

Judging from extant tomb paintings, such processions were painted as early as the Western Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 8). The silk banner excavated from the Mawangtui tomb no. 3, Changsha illustrates a full-scale processional scene where the master of the tomb is accompanied by his retinue some of whom are carrying flags (Figure 19). Similar processional scenes, in the form of “painting of outing [出行圖],” depicted from a bird’s eye view were produced frequently as one of the major scenes in tomb painting in the subsequent periods. A more informative depiction of the positions of men and a clearer description of costumes, flags, and carriages appears in the Tang dynasty tomb of Zhang Yichao (ca. 864) (Figure 20) in Dunhuang, cave no. 156. Like other elaborate Tang processional images, this scene is full of detail and liveliness compared to the more rigid symmetrical format of earlier tomb paintings.

The earliest extant Chinese painting of an imperial procession is the “Grand Carriage Procession [大駕鹵簿]” attributed to the Northern Song period (960-1127) (Figure 21). Featuring a list of personnel,

17. The attendants are supposedly the clay figures that were buried with the deceased. Zhongguo meishu chuanji, huihuapien, Vol. 1, p. 32.
carriages, and other ceremonial equipment written across the top, the painting shows the procession from a bird’s eye view without much overlapping, making the image more readable.

A second painting, “Procession of the Jade Carriage,” attributed to the Southern Song period (1127-1279), shows meticulous care in the depiction of its royal subject (Figure 22). According to four Qing dynasty inscriptions attached to the painting, the work was formerly attributed to Gu Kaizhi [顧愷之, ca. 345-ca. 406] but was later credited as a work from Southern Song, based on records of a jade carriage made during the Xiaoxing era [紹興, 1131-1162]. The scale of imperial escorts was reduced by half after the Song capital moved to the South, and this change is clearly apparent in the painting. The image also reveals an interest in providing a detailed description of carriages and costumes. As the earlier attribution to Gu Kaizhi indicates, such imperial processions may have been painted ever since the Eastern Jin period [東晉, 317-420]. With the Restoration Movement [zhongxing 中興] of the Southern Song, much attention was directed to the elaboration of imperial ceremony, even if it was necessarily pursued at a diminished scale.

During the Song dynasty, ceremonial regulations were reformulated, leading to the use of more specific terms for the types of rites and procedures. In the Songshi [宋史], a separate chapter entitled the “Ceremonial Guard [Yiwei 儀衛]” describes processions and contains detailed lists of the titles of participants as well as the number of flags, carriages, horses, and other processional paraphernalia required for the imperial ceremony, which were included in the earlier texts in the chapter of “Carriages and Costume [Yufu 輿服].” The officer in charge of processional carriages was the Minister of the Military.

Department [bingbu shangshu 兵部尚書], while the Prime Minister was in charge of the Grand Rite. Thus the procession of carriage mobilized for imperial usage was basically a military affair, as was the case in the Han era, as mentioned above.

Various types of military formations are also illustrated in another text of the Song dynasty, the Wujing zongyao [武經總要 Comprehensive Essentials on Military Books], compiled by Zeng Gongliang [曾公亮, 998-1078] and published during the Renzong era [仁宗, 1042-1063]. Significantly, the strategic arrangement of military carriages and the illustrated military instructions (Figure 23) are represented with characters and are thus essentially the same as various paibando of the Chosŏn dynasty as shown in the paibando of the Grand Carriage (Figure 24). More importantly, the direction of the characters correspond to figure arrangement in Panch’ado with characters in the center portion depicted in one directional flow as if viewed from the back and from a bird’s eye view. The characters on either side of the center are arranged in a symmetric order as if in a split representation. Here it must be remembered that the pictorial illustrations, especially for the ìgwe, had the explanatory function of pictorial diagrams in which the figures simply replace written characters. Since the primary concern of the Panch’ado was to record the exact details of the ceremonial procedure, the spatial ambience may not have been taken into consideration and this may be the reason why the archaic mode of presentation was maintained up to even the last production of the ìgwe. This is evident when the illustration of ìgwe is compared with the procession painting of contemporaneous Qing (Figure 25) where the representation of spatial illusion and three-dimensionality is taken as importantly as the exact documentation of all the paraphernalia of the procession.
The Production of ǚigunge

Nine copies of Taerye ǚigunge were made to be stored at different archives: five central offices including Kyujanggak and four archives in the four different mountain sites. The present version in the Kyujanggak collection was made to be stored at Mt. T’aibaik [太白山]. A project of this importance and magnitude may have required a workshop of painters of a considerable size, and according to records in the Personnel section of the Taerye ǚigunge, Kim Kyujin [金圭慎, 1868-1933], Secretary in the Imperial Household Department [宮內府主事], directed the illustration of the text. Only thirty years old at the time, Kim had arrived in Seoul in 1896, just one year before being called to court for the important assignment. Previously, he had studied abroad for nine years, returning from China in 1893. In the view of the much older court painter Cho Sŏkchín [趙錫鎰, 1853-1920], who had been involved with numerous ǚigunge projects beginning in 1886 and had waited until 1902 to be promoted to Secretary in the Bureau of Rites [掌禮院主事], Kim Kyujin’s appointment was rather surprising. Kim may have been appointed because he was thought to be familiar with Chinese ceremonial painting; his knowledge would have been beneficial for a project that aspired to match the level of the Chinese imperial ceremony.

It is important to note, however, that both the Panch’ado and the Tosŏl of the Taerye ǚigunge are simpler in representation than other ǚigunge. The simplification of the pictorial representation does not seem to be due to the financial circumstances, since the total number of ǚigunge produced during Kojong’s nine years as emperor matched those produced during the twenty-three years of the reign of King Chŏngjo (r. 1777-1800). Moreover, the total number of ǚigunge produced during his entire reign as king and emperor (1864-1906) nearly matched the number of those made during the reign of King Yongjo (r. 1725-1776), indicating the shared concern
of the two rulers with authority. When the *Canon* and the *Supplement* are compared, it is also apparent that the institutional system of King Yongjo served as a model in certain aspects. The Paibando of the Grand Procession within the City Wall (Figure 18) in the *Cannon of Taehan Empire* is in the same format as that in the Annotated Procedure of the Supplement (Figure 24), though with changes in the titles of officers. Clearly, the production of *igwe* reflected the royal concern and the most important objective of the Grand Rite was institutional reform, signified by the new officers and the specific ceremonial apparatus which symbolized the proclamation of the Empire. The expense of the endeavor was extraordinary, however. A total of 35 pounds of silver (approximately 21 kg) and 41 pounds of gold (approximately 25 kg) were used to create ten seals, and 15.5 pounds of gold (approximately 9 kg) and 4.5 pounds of silver (approximately 3 kg) were used to manufacture three tablets. Again, these figures point to the fact that the prime concern was the making of the seals and tablets.

7. Conclusion

The Grand Rite of the Taehan Empire was a composite rite, consisting of eighteen separate ceremonies, fourteen *karye* and four *hyungnye*. While Chinese Enthronements were comprised simply of *karye*, the Grand Rite of King Kojong represented a unique

20. In my earlier paper on the Taehan Empire, I analyzed the number and content of *igwe* and their significance in understanding the reigns of the Chosŏn kings. During the reigns of King Yongjo and King Kojong, the number of *igwe* produced outnumbered those of other reign periods: A total of approximately 90 *igwe* were produced during Yongjo’s 51 years on the throne and about 85 *igwe* were finished during Kojong’s 42 years. Also, the ceremony of Correction of the Royal Lineage took place 22 times and 18 times during the reigns of King Yongjo and King Kojong, respectively.
combination of karye and hyungnye.

While confined within the Kyongun Palace, the king was preoccupied with matters of confidence and legitimacy. His Grand Rite served to confirm an identity and status equal to the Chinese Emperor. If the series of ceremonies were symbolic of imperial status, the seals and tablets functioned as tools to firmly establish identity. Significantly, the Panch’ado of the Taerye ŏigwe focuses on the procession of seals and tablets to the palace and the Altar of Heaven, the primary concern being the exact description of the order of the guards and the ceremonial apparatus rather than pictorial verisimilitude. Thus, the panch’ado was simply a pictorial version of the paebando, as was the case in all of previous ŏigwe. Although the Taerye ŏigwe conformed to the tradition of Chosŏn ŏigwe — a tradition reflected even in the ŏigwe of Kojong’s own wedding ceremony of 1866 (Figure 26) — it was simplified to the point of becoming a mechanical diagram. Although the scale of the pictorial record was thus reduced, as if representing a solemn declaration of identity, the scale of the ceremony and funds expended for its completion must have exceeded other ŏigwe. The ŏigwe of Grand Rite must be regarded as having a significance far beyond that of simple archival records. Instead, they can be seen as signifiers of a definite political and diplomatic manifesto and a reflection of the spirit of a time when royal self-assurance was carried to the point of absolutism and fostered a misguided attempt to achieve national independence and enrichment.
Figure 1.
Cover, *Taerye ūgwe*, 1897, hand colored woodblock print. 44.2×31.7 cm. Kyujanggak Collection.
Figure 2.
Seal of Emperor, Tosŏl, Taerye ṭaegwe, 1897, p. 102, hand colored woodblock print. 44.2×31.7 cm (one page). Kyujanggak Collection.
Figure 3.
Jade ch’angbyok, Tosŏl, Taerye ṭįgwe, 1897, p. 121, hand colored woodblock print. Kyujanggak Collection.
Figure 4.
Jade hwangjong and gold staff kɨmjangɨl, Tosōl, Taerye ŭigwe, 1897, p. 121, hand colored woodblock print. Kyujanggak Collection.
Figure 5.
Illustrated account of ceremonial vessels (Chegi tosŏl), *Annotated Procedure of Five Rites of State (Kukcho orye ui sorye)*, 1474, chap. 1 (Photographic reprint, Kyongmunsa, 1979, p. 372).

Figure 6.
Figure 7.
The Prime Minister of the Imperial Household Department, Minister of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industry, Minister of the Bureau of Rites and Academician of the Office of Special Advisers are leading the procession accompanied by Secretaries and clerks. *Panch’ado, Taerye ūgwe*, 1897, p. 122, hand colored woodblock print. Kyujanggak Collection.

Figure 8.
Procession of carriage carrying the seal and the tablet of the imperial prince and the court attendants carrying ceremonial seats and table, depicted in *Panch’ado, Taerye ūgwe*, 1897, p. 123.
Figure 9.
Procession of figures carrying pavilions for ceremonial vessels, “dragon pavilion (yongjong)” and “fragrant pavilion [hyangjong]” for the imperial prince and the procession of musicians depicted in Panch’ado, Taerye ŏigwe, 1897, p. 124.

Figure 10.
Carriage carrying the seal of the emperor. Panch’ado, Taerye ŏigwe, 1897, p. 125, hand colored woodblock print. Kyujanggak Collection.
Figure 11.
Procession of figures carrying pavilions for ceremonial vessels, “dragon pavilion (yongjang)” and “fragrant pavilion [hyangjang]” for the emperor and the procession of musicians depicted in Panch’ado, Taerye ḫigungwe, 1897, p. 126.

Figure 12.
Procession of the vanguard (sun’gyom) in ceremony for transporting seals and the tablet to the palace. Panch’ado, Taerye ḫigungwe, 1897, p. 127.
Figure 13.
Carriage carrying the jade seal of the emperor heading for the Altar of Heaven depicted in Panch’ado, *Taerye ŏiguwe*, 1897, p. 128.

Figure 14.
Figure 15.
Procession of the vanguard (sun’gŏm) in ceremony for transporting seals and tablets of the late empress to the funerary shrine, depicted in Panch’ado, Taerye ǐḡwe, 1897, p. 134.

Figure 16.
Carriage carrying seal and tablet of Imperial princess, “Illustration of Processional Order (Panch’ado),” Taerye ǐḡwe, 1897, p. 136.
Figure 17.

Figure 18.
Arrangement for procession of Large Carriage within the city depicted in *Canon of the Rites of Taehan*, 1897, p. 394, Ink and brush on paper. Changsŏnggak Collection.
Figure 19.
Processional scene, from Mawangtui tomb No. 3, Changsha. Western Han dynasty, 2nd century B.C. color on silk, 94×212 cm, Hunan Provincial Museum.

Figure 20.
Military procession, Tomb of Zhang Yizhao, Tunhuang Cave 156, lower southern wall about 864, Tang dynasty, 130×830 cm.
Figure 21.

Figure 22.
Procession of Jade Carriage, Southern Song. Color on silk. 26.6×209.06 cm (painting only), Liaoning Provincial Museum, Shenyang.
Figure 23.

Figure 24.
Arrangement for Procession of Large Carriage within the City depicted in *Annotated Procedure of Precedent Guide to the Supplement to the Five Rites of State*, 1744, woodblock print (Photographic reprint, Pŏchech’ŏ, Pŏche charyo, 1982), p. 126.
Figure 25.
Grand Procession of Emperor, Qing, Qianlong period, 18th century, color on paper, 49.9×1745 cm, Liaoning Provincial Museum, Shenyang.
Figure 26.