

## Royal Visits and Protocols in the Joseon Dynasty: Focusing on Wonhaeng Eulmyo Jeongni Uigwe Compiled during King Jeongjo's Reign

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### Abstract

*Joseon kings made many visits to the tombs of their preceding kings as a means of expressing their filial piety and demonstrating their legitimacy as sovereign, and King Jeongjo was no exception.*

*King Jeongjo paid frequent visits to Hwaseong where his father Crown Prince Sado's tomb, Hyeollyungwon, is located, in order to foster an atmosphere that would restore his father's honor. In 1795, which was the sixtieth birthday of both his parents, he visited Hyeollyungwon with his mother Hye-gyeonggung and held many ceremonies there. After the trip, he ordered the compilation of Wonhaeng eulmyo jeongni uigwe, royal protocols on his visit, presenting detailed accounts of the trip.*

*This paper provides an overview of the king's trips and his visits to the tombs during the Joseon period and reviews King Jeongjo's 1795 visit to Hwaseong in detail, as well as the aspects of the preparation before the visit, ceremonies held in Hwaseong, and actions taken after the trip. His visit to Hwaseong was intended to serve various purposes: to foster the milieu for the restoration of his father's honor, to show the strength of his supporting military forces by staging military drills there, and to consolidate the loyalty of the common people by granting them a host of benefits.*

**Keywords:** *neunghaeng*, royal visit, King Jeongjo, Crown Prince Sado, Hye-gyeonggung, Hwaseong, Hyeollyungwon, *Wonhaeng eulmyo jeongni uigwe*

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### Introduction

Royal visits were commonly referred to as *geodung* (movements) during the Joseon dynasty. They were also called *haenghaeng* (journey of fortune), which generally referred to long-distance trips to the outskirts of the capital as well as, occasionally, short trips within the capital. In this paper, I use the term "visit" (*haengcha*), which encompasses the meanings of both movement and journey of fortune.

Every time a king left his living quarters within the palace, it was considered in principle to be a "visit." This is because he never moved around by himself but was always accompanied by a retinue. However, moving around within the premises of the palace does not hold much significance as a royal visit, because the purpose was merely to tend to daily tasks. If a king's visit were to hold special meaning, it would at least have to entail going outside the palace.

This paper examines royal visits during the Joseon dynasty and the significance of the historical records compiled in *uigwe* (royal protocols). Among those visits, I give special attention to kings' visits to the tombs (*neunghaeng*) of their preceding kings,<sup>1</sup> as these trips entailed the longest distances and various measures that had to be taken while making direct contact with common people along the way. Among the surviving books on *uigwe*, *Wonhaeng eulmyo jeongni uigwe* (Royal Protocols on King Jeongjo's Visit to the Tomb of Crown Prince Sado in 1795, hereafter *Wonhaeng uigwe*) is the only one written on the king's *neunghaeng*. This paper presents a detailed account of various ceremonies and measures taken during the king's *neunghaeng*, with special attention to *Wonhaeng uigwe*

1. In Joseon, the tombs of royal family members were called by three different names: *neung* (陵 tomb) was used for kings and queens, *won* (園 grave) for crown princes and their wives, and *myo* (墓 chamber) for princes other than crown princes. A king's visit to these tombs was referred to as either a visit to a tomb or to a grave. In this paper, since King Jeongjo's visits to the grave of Crown Prince Sado were also visits to his father, I group them under the term *neunghaeng* (visits to royal tombs).

compiled during King Jeongjo's reign, and reviews their significance in the historical context.

### The King's Visits and *Neunghaeng* in the Joseon Dynasty

During the Joseon era, the king's visits were classified in several ways. One was by the size of the cortege (*nobu*) following a royal visit (small, medium, and large). Here, cortege refers to the implements following a royal parade and was distinguishable by its size, which varied according to the importance of the occasion. The three different corteges are summarized as follows:<sup>2</sup>

- 1) Large procession cortege
  - To receive a letter from the Chinese emperor or Chinese envoy
  - To hold a ceremony in Sajikdan (Altar for Worshiping Gods of the Earth and Grains) or in Jongmyo (Royal Ancestral Shrine)
- 2) Medium procession cortege
  - To hold a ceremony in Munsojeon (Shrine of Queen Sinui) and Seonnongdan (Altar for Agricultural Deities), or for King Munseonwang (Confucius)
  - To play archery in the archery stand or watch officers play archery
  - To conduct the military service examinations in person
- 3) Small procession cortege
  - To visit a king's tomb or go outside the palace gate

According to this classification, *neunghaeng*, which I review in this paper, would be categorization as a small procession cortege.

The second category of king's visits can be based on the five court rites. First, *gillye* (auspicious rites) included the king's attendance at ancestral rites held in Jongmyo, Sajikdan, Munmyo (Confu-

2. "Nobu" (Cortege), in *Garye* (Festive Rites) from *Gukjo oryeui seorye* (Illustrated Rubrics for the Five Rites of the State), *gwon 2*.

cian Shrine) or a royal tomb. *Garye* (festive rites) referred to ritualized visits, such as the king's visits to the queen's quarters. *Billye* (rites concerning state guests) included the king's visits to a state guesthouse to meet Chinese envoys. *Gullye* (military rites) included the formal archery ceremony of the king and officers and the military training ceremony. Lastly, *hyungnye* (funeral rites) referred to the king's visit to the tombs of royal family members during state funerals or the king's trip to Jongmyo to conduct a royal ancestral temple enshrinement ceremony after the three-year mourning period. According to this grouping, *neunghaeng* falls under the category of *gillye*.

Another way of grouping the king's visits was by the travelling distance, which could range from just outside the palace, to outside the capital, or outside the Gijeon area (today's Gyeonggi province). This takes into account the fact that the farther the king had to travel, the more days he would require outside lodging and therefore the larger the personnel and expenses that would be involved. In terms of security, a higher level of attention was required when the king traveled outside the palace. When traveling outside the capital, thousands of soldiers had to be mobilized to protect the king as there were few defense apparatuses in the outskirts. The following categories represent the king's visits according to travel distance:

- 1) Outside the palace
  - To hold a ceremony in Jongmyo
  - To hold a ceremony in Sajikdan or perform a ritual praying for rain or a good harvest
  - To visit Daeseongjeon (Hall of Confucius) in Seonggyungwan (National Confucian Academy)
  - To visit Jinjeon where the portraits of deceased royal family members were enshrined
  - To visit the king's birth home or the shrine of his parents
  - To visit Nambyeoljeon (State Guesthouse) to meet Chinese envoys
- 2) Outside the capital
  - To test the military skills of soldiers

- To visit Mohwagwan (Guest Hall of Cherishing China) to receive Chinese envoy
  - To visit the tombs of royal family members
- 3) Outside Gyeonggi province
- To visit the tombs of royal family members
  - To go to a hot spring for treatment for an illness

According to the above categories, *neunghaeng* involved long-distance travel as the king had to leave the capital or travel outside Gyeonggi province, thus incurring a large procession and high expenses.

*Neunghaeng* varied in distance depending on the location of the tomb, and the king sometimes had to spend the night in the outskirts of the capital. During the Joseon period, royal tombs were divided according to their distance from the capital.<sup>3</sup> If the king had to spend more than a day traveling, it was classified as a remote tomb. The grouping of royal tombs according to distance is presented below. This shows that *neunghaeng* could take from one to five days.

- 1) Adjacent royal tombs: one day or less round-trip  
Jeongneung (貞陵), Taereung, Gangneung, Uireung, Sareung, Seolleung, Jeongneung (靖陵), Uisomyo, Hyochangmyo, Yeonguwon, Dongchilleung, Seosamneung, Seo-oreung
- 2) Remote royal tombs: two days or more round-trip  
Gwangneung, Olleung, Jangneung, Gongneung, Sulleung, Yeongneung (永陵), Heolleung (two days)  
Jangneung, Soryeongwon, Hyeollyungwon (three or more days)  
Yeongneung (寧陵), Yeongneung (英陵), Jereung, Hureung (five or more days)

The king's visits increased in number during the second half of the Joseon dynasty. Table 1 presents the number of royal visits made by King Injo to King Jeongjo. On average, King Injo made 4.5 visits per

3. "Baeseol" (Arrangement), in *Jaeyongpyeon* (On Financial Administration) 4 from *Mangi yoram* (Book of Ten Thousand Techniques of Governance).

year, while King Yeongjo and King Jeongjo made 17.5 and 25.3 visits, respectively, which was a huge increase. This implies that King Yeongjo and King Jeongjo actively took the initiative in governance and state politics.

Table 1. Number of Kings' Visits during the Late Joseon<sup>4</sup>

Name of king	Injo	Hyojong	Hyeonjong	Sukjong	Gyeongjong	Yeongjo	Jeongjo
Period of reign	1623~1649	1649~1659	1659~1674	1674~1720	1720~1724	1724~1776	1776~1800
Number of visits	109	109	85	302	48	909	607
Annual average	4.5	10.9	5.6	6.6	9.6	17.5	25.3

The frequency of *neunghaeng* grew with the increase in king's visits. Table 2 shows the number of the king's *neunghaeng*: King Injo visited royal tombs 0.2 times per year on average, and it climbed to 2.6 times for King Jeongjo.

A large proportion of the kings' *neunghaeng* was made to visit the tombs of preceding kings. Examples were King Hyojong's visits to Mongneung (tomb of King Seonjo) and Jangneung (tomb of Wonjong), King Hyeonjong's visits to Yeongneung (tomb of King Hyojong), King Sukjong to Sungneung (tomb of King Hyeonjong), and King Yeongjo to Myeongneung (tomb of King Sukjong) and Uireung (King Gyeongjong).<sup>5</sup> These frequent visits to the tombs of preceding kings were intended to demonstrate to the populace their filial piety and to show off their legitimacy as lawful successors to the crown.

4. Cited from Kim J. (2005, 109).

5. From King Hyojong to King Yeongjo, the number of visits to the tombs of preceding kings was 4 out of 9, 3 out of 10, 12 out of 48, and 40 out of 77, respectively.

Table 2. Number of Kings' Neunghaeng during the Late Joseon<sup>6</sup>

Name of king	Injo	Hyojong	Hyeonjong	Sukjong	Gyeongjong	Yeongjo	Jeongjo
Period of reign	1623~1649	1649~1659	1659~1674	1674~1720	1720~1724	1724~1776	1776~1800
Number of visits	5	9	10	48	3	77	62
Annual average	0.1	0.9	0.7	1.0	0.8	1.5	2.6

Another trait of *neunghaeng* is that the tombs they visited were mostly those of their parents (biological fathers and mothers). It was King Yeongjo who started visiting the tombs of his parents. King Yeongjo visited Soryeongwon (the grave of his mother Sukbin Lady Choe); King Jeongjo visited Yeonguwon and Hyeollyungwon (the former and current graves of Crown Prince Sado, his biological father); and King Sunjo visited Huigyeongwon (the grave of his mother Sukbin Lady Bak).<sup>7</sup> King Yeongjo started this tradition, and it was continued by the kings enthroned after him. According to Table 3, which shows the number of kings' visits to the tombs of their parents, at least two kings after King Yeongjo continued the tradition.

### Travel Log of King Jeongjo's Neunghaeng

King Jeongjo made a total of sixty-six visits to the tombs of royal family members scattered around Gyeonggi province during his reign.<sup>8</sup> Different researchers give different figures for the number of

6. Cited from Yi (2007, 91).

7. When the grave of Crown Prince Sado was first built in 1762, it was named Sueunmyo (Chamber of Crown Prince Sado). King Jeongjo renamed it Yeonguwon in 1776 before relocating it to Suwon in 1789 and renaming it "Hyeollyungwon."

8. According to Table 2, King Jeongjo made 63 visits to royal tombs in total, which is different from my calculation. The difference is because I count each one separate-

Table 3. Number of Kings' Visits to the Tombs of Their Parents during the Late Joseon<sup>9</sup>

Name of king	Yeongjo	Jeongjo	Sunjo	Heonjong	Cheoljong	Total
Period of reign	1724~ 1776	1776~ 1800	1800~ 1834	1834~ 1849	1849~ 1863	
Soryeongwon	12	2	1	-	-	15
Yeonguwon/ Hyeollyungwon	-	31	9	2	3	45
Huigyeongwon	-	-	12	2	6	20
Annual average	0.2	1.4	0.6	0.3	0.6	

King Jeongjo's *neunghaeng*, but according to my research, it is sixty-six.<sup>10</sup>

King Jeongjo succeeded to the crown in the 6th month of 1776 and began his *neunghaeng* in February the next year. His first *neunghaeng* was to Yeongneung (永陵), the tomb of his adoptive father Prince Hyojang, and Hongneung, that of Queen Jeongseong (King Yeongjo's first wife and King Jeongjo's grandmother).<sup>11</sup> Upon his enthronement, King Jeongjo granted the posthumous honorary title of "Jinjong Daewang" (Great King Jinjong) to his adoptive father Prince Hyojang, and renamed his tomb Yeongneung, following the will of the preceding king, King Yeongjo.<sup>12</sup> King Jeongjo was crowned not as the son of Crown Prince Sado but of Prince Hyojang.<sup>13</sup> Upon his enthronement, he expressed his filial piety by raising Prince Hyojang to the status of king. He designated Yeongneung as the destination of his first *neunghaeng* and even paid a visit to

ly for cases when he visited more than one tomb during a single trip.

9. Cited from Yi (2007, 134).

10. For the travel log of King Jeongjo's *neunghaeng*, see Kim M. (2000a, 38-45).

11. *Jeongjo sillok* (Annals of King Jeongjo), *gwon* 3, 12th day, 2nd month, 1st year of King Jeongjo's reign.

12. *Jeongjo sillok*, *gwon* 1, 19th day, 3rd month, coronation year of King Jeongjo.

13. *Yeongjo sillo* (Annals of King Yeongjo), *gwon* 103, 23rd day, 2nd month, 40th year of King Yeongjo's reign.

Hongneung on his way back, which reveals the importance he attached to his royal lineage running from King Yeongjo to Jinjong (Crown Prince Hyojang) to himself.

On his second *neunghaeng*, King Jeongjo visited Geonwolleung (tomb of King Taejo, founder of the Joseon dynasty) and Wolleung (tomb of King Yeongjo, his grandfather). After King Yeongjo passed away, King Jeongjo buried him in Hongneung, the tomb of Queen Jeongseong, and did not change the name of the tomb.<sup>14</sup> After a while, he moved it to the eastern seven tombs (Dongchilleung) and named it Wolleung, as there was some dispute over the location of Hongneung.<sup>15</sup> Now that Geonwolleung and Wolleung were in the same place, he was able to visit both during a single visit.

King Jeongjo's third *neunghaeng* was to Myeongneung, where King Sukjong, Queen Inhyeon, and Queen Inwon are interred. In Seoreung (western five tombs), Myeongneung is very near to Gyeongneung of Deokjong and Queen Sohye, Changneung of King Yejong and Queen Ansun, and Ingeung of Queen Ingyeong. When he visited Myeongneung, he visited other royal tombs nearby, too. He went to Myeongneung as many as ten times throughout his reign in order to stress his royal lineage tracing back to King Sukjong.

As seen here, on the *neunghaeng* priority list of King Jeongjo were the tombs of King Taejo, King Sukjong, King Yeongjo, and Jinjong. These were the tombs he visited most often during his reign. This record is closely connected with his notion that his royal lineage ran from King Taejo to King Sukjong to King Yeongjo to Jinjong to himself.<sup>16</sup>

But the tombs that he visited most frequently were Yeonguwon and Hyeollyungwon, which are the tombs of his real father, Crown Prince Sado. On the day of his coronation, he announced that he was "the son of Crown Prince Sado" and talked about how to treat his

14. *Jeongjo sillok*, *gwon* 1, 12th day, 3rd month, coronation year of King Jeongjo.

15. *Jeongjo sillok*, *gwon* 1, 11th day, 4th month, coronation year of King Jeongjo.

16. King Jeongjo made ten visits to Geonwolleung of King Taejo, ten visits to Myeongneung of King Sukjong, nine to Wolleung of King Yeongjo, and five to Yeongneung of Jinjong.

father with the respect he was due. It was a declaration of his intention to restore the honor of his father.

O! I am the son of Crown Prince Sado. King Yeongjo had ordered me to become the son of Prince Hyojang for the importance of royal lineage. O! You can see my intention in my letter to King Yeongjo in which I wrote that "I cannot have two fathers."

Propriety (*ye*) should be adhered to strictly, but people's feelings cannot be ignored. The procedure for the ancestral ceremony should be the same as one for a high official, and it cannot be held in the same manner as we do in Jongmyo.<sup>17</sup>

Thereafter, King Jeongjo pushed forward with measures to restore the honor of Crown Prince Sado. He bestowed on him the title of Crown Prince Jangheon, and upgraded the rank of his burial place by changing its name from Sueunmyo to Yeonguwon. He also renovated Gyeongmogung (the shrine of Crown Prince Sado), reorganized the ancestral ceremonies held there, and ordered the production of new musical instruments for the shrine. He visited Gyeongmogung shrine every month to foster the right milieu for the restoration of his father's honor.<sup>18</sup> These actions had the same meaning as King Yeongjo's actions for his mother Sukbin Lady Choe in 1753, such as granting her the title of Hwagyeong (harmonious and respectable), upgrading her chamber to Soryeongwon rather than Soryeongmyo, and calling her shrine Yuksanggung instead of Yuksangmyo.<sup>19</sup> Though he could not raise the status of Crown Prince Sado to king, he did everything to treat him with the highest possible respect suitable for a crown prince.

King Jeongjo paid his first visit to Yeonguwon in 1779 (3rd year of King Jeongjo's reign). That is, he started visiting his father's tomb after the renovation of Gyeongmogung and gradually increased his visits. After Hyeollyungwon was built at the foot of Mt. Hwasan in

17. *Jeongjo sillok*, *gwon* 1, 10th day, 3rd month, coronation year of King Jeongjo.

18. Kim M. (2001, 96-98).

19. *Yeongjo sillok*, *gwon* 79, 25th day, 6th month, 29th year of King Yeongjo's reign.



Suwon in 1789 (13th year of King Jeongjo's reign), he did not miss a year in visiting the place. His visits to Yeonguwon and Hyeollyungwon totalled thirty-one times, nearly half of all his *neunghaeng* trips. Everytime he visited Hyeollyungwon, he stayed in Hwaseong for several days, a sign of his deep love for his father. It is believed that his frequent visits to his father's tomb were intended to resolve the tragic death of his father, who had been caught in power struggles, and to reaffirm his royal lineage in court politics.<sup>20</sup>

### King Jeongjo's Visit to Hwaseong in 1795 and the Compilation of the *Uigwe*

King Jeongjo embarked on an eight-day, seven-night trip to Hwaseong in 1795 (19th year of his reign). He had been going there every year since 1789, so it was not unusual. But this time, there were two unique changes: it would be a long journey lasting for eight days and seven nights, unlike the usual three-day, two-night trips, and Hyegeonggung Lady Hong went with him.<sup>21</sup> In addition, after the trip, a compilation of royal protocols titled *Wonhaeng uigwe* was produced and printed using typeset for wide dissemination. *Wonhaeng uigwe* is the first *uigwe* printed using typeset and the only one of the surviving *uigwe* to describe the king's journey. In this section, I review King Jeongjo's visit to Hwaseong in 1795 and the compilation of the *uigwe*.

#### *Preparing for the Trip*

In the first month of 1793 (17th year of King Jeongjo's reign), King

20. After 1789, King Jeongjo visited Hyeollyungwon every year. In contrast, he visited Jinjong's Yeongneung only five times and stopped altogether after 1792. *Jeongjo sillok*, *gwon* 34, 25th day, 7th month, 16th year of King Jeongjo's reign.

21. During the Joseon dynasty, royal women were forbidden from visiting royal tombs, so Hyegeonggung's visit to Hyeollyungwon was a very exceptional one.

Jeongjo announced that he would visit Hyeollyungwon with Hyegeonggung Lady Hong two years later. In 1795, both Crown Prince Sado and Hyegeonggung would be sixty years old, so he wanted to console his widowed mother and demonstrate his filial piety by visiting his father's tomb with his mother. He also promised to hold a banquet at the temporary palace in Hwaseong after their return from Hyeollyungwon.<sup>22</sup>

Preparations for the journey were in full swing with the opening of Jeongniso (1795 Royal Visit Office) in the 12th month of 1794. He ordered the establishment of the Office in Jangyongyeong (Royal Guards Garrison) and appointed officials to work there. To finance the visit, he transferred 100,000 *nyang* from Seonhyecheong (Tribute Bureau) to the office,<sup>23</sup> which was part of the interest revenue from government grain loans. Upon the establishment of the 1795 Royal Visit Office, officials studied the records of *Royal Banquet Uigwe* (*Jinchan uigwe*), which was compiled during the reigns of King Sukjong and King Yeongjo, in order to make plans for the banquet to be held in Suwon.<sup>24</sup>

When the next year dawned, King Jeongjo held ceremonies to grant respectful titles to royal elders. Queen Jeongsun (King Yeongjo's second wife), who would have been fifty-one years of age, was awarded the title "Sugyeong" (meaning "pleasant and honorable"). Crown Prince Sado, who would have been sixty had he been alive, received a posthumous honorary title composed of four words—*jangyun* (model of ethics), *yungbeom* (rise of courtesy), *gimyeong* (foundation of command), and *changhyu* (rest in radiance)—and Lady Hong received the title "Huimok" (meaning "beautiful and graceful"). Before granting a respectful title to Crown Prince Sado and Hyegeonggung, he granted one to their elder, Queen Jeongsun, according to court protocols. To Crown Prince Sado, he also awarded

22. *Jeongjo sillok*, *gwon* 1, 19th day, 1st month, 1793.

23. "Yeonseol" (Court Discussions), in *Wonhaeng uigwe*, *gwon* 1, 20th day, 7th month and 11th day, 12th month, 1794.

24. "Yeonseol", in *Wonhaeng uigwe*, *gwon* 1, 13th day, 12th month, 1794.

a jade book and golden seal in addition to the eight-character title. This was a radical move, considering the custom of bestowing a four-letter title and a silver seal on crown princes. Hidden in this move was King Jeongjo's intent to lift the status of Crown Prince Sado to that of king.<sup>25</sup>

In the 2nd month 1795, construction of a pontoon bridge across the Hangang river began, and the king and Hyegyeong practiced riding their newly made palanquins in the backyard of Changdeokgung palace.<sup>26</sup> Hyegyeong's palanquin was manufactured in Saboksi (Office Breeding Royal Horses), while those of the king and his two sisters were ordered from the Jeolla Provincial Office.<sup>27</sup>

### *The Trip*

The trip lasted for eight days and seven nights, from the ninth to the fifth day of the leap second month in 1795. Let us take a brief look at the main events held in Hwaseong by date.<sup>28</sup>

At dawn on the 9th day of the same month, King Jeongjo's cortege left Changdeokgung palace and crossed the pontoon bridge at Noryangjin port. The procession had lunch at the Noryang temporary palace (Yongyang Bongjaeong pavillion) and reached the temporary palace in Siheung by evening. They spent the night there. Along the way, the king checked the status of preparation each time the procession came to a stop and inspected the food carefully before offering it to Hyegyeong Lady Hong.<sup>29</sup>

On the 10th day, they departed from Siheung and had lunch at the temporary palace in Sageuncham before arriving at the temporary palace in Hwaseong. King Jeongjo used to cover the distance from Seoul to Hwaseong in a day on horseback, but this time, he kept a

25. Kim M. (2001, 105-107).

26. "Yeonseol", in *Wonhaeng uigwe*, *gwon* 1, 25th day, 2nd month, 1795.

27. "Yeonseol", in *Wonhaeng uigwe*, *gwon* 1, 20th day, 11th month, 1794.

28. On the main events in Hwaseong, see Han (1998, 158-250).

29. "Yeonseol", in *Wonhaeng uigwe*, *gwon* 1, 9th day, leap 2nd month, 1795.

loose schedule for the sake of the elderly Hyegyeong. When the procession came to Janganmun gate in Hwaseong, he changed into ceremonial military attire and went through the procedure of entering a military camp, because the king's visit also served as a military drill.

On the 11th day, the main events scheduled for the visit began in Hwaseong. In the morning, the king visited the *hyanggyo* (provincial public Confucian school) gate in Hwaseong, held a ceremony in Dae-seongjeon (Hall of Confucius) and delivered an encouraging speech to the students. He returned to Nangnamheon and held a special session of government service examinations for local residents in and around Suwon, selecting five candidates for civil service and fifty-six for military posts. Civil examinations were taken in Uhwagwan, while the military test results were announced in Nangnamheon.<sup>30</sup> Military service examinations had already been taken one month prior. In the afternoon, the king attended the rehearsal of the birthday banquet in Bongsudang hall.

On the 12th day, King Jeongjo visited Hyeollyungwon with Hyegyeong and his two sisters. Visiting her husband's tomb for the first time, Hyegyeong cried so bitterly that people could hear it even at a distance, which filled the king's heart with sorrow.<sup>31</sup> In the afternoon, the king climbed Sejangdae in Hwaseong and supervised military drills in person until nightfall. Torches were used in nighttime drills and even civilians living inside the fortress put torches over their house gates. With about 3,700 soldiers participating, the drill was carried out in an orderly fashion in the presence of the king.

On the 13th day, Hyegyeong's sixtieth birthday party was held in Bongsudang.<sup>32</sup> When the construction of the building was

30. *Jeongjo sillok*, *gwon* 42, 11th day, leap 2nd month, 19th year of King Jeongjo's reign.

31. "Yeonseol," in *Wonhaeng uigwe*, *gwon* 1, 12th day, leap 2nd month, 1795.

32. "Hwaseong bongsudang jinchan ujangui" (The Banquet Ceremony for Hyegyeong in Hwaseong Bongsudang) in "Uiju" (Notes on the Ceremony) from *Wonhaeng uigwe*, *gwon* 2.

completed, he gave it that name to “wish (her) a long life” and wrote the tablet for the building himself. That day, something worthy of the name occurred there. Hyegyeonggung sat near the north wall of Bongsudang facing the south and the king sat in the east. Also present were his two sisters, relatives, and ladies of court and of officials. Hyegyeonggung received seven cups of liquor, the first of which was offered by the king as his congratulatory remarks were being read:

Today is 13th day of the leap 2nd month, sixtieth year of Emperor Ganlong’s reign (1795). *Hyogang* (filial and strong), *jahui* (generous and joyous), *jeongseon* (virtuous and gracious), *huimok* (beautiful and graceful), *hyebin* (merciful lady), Dear Mother, you inherit the laudable virtue of the court and enjoy a long life with a heart as gracious as the ocean. May blessings reach your children and happiness reaches you. I’m so happy that you are here with me today and I can offer you a drink to celebrate this happy occasion. Profound joy flows in me as you have a long life. The sound of adoration resonates far and wide. O! On this happy occasion held on this beautiful spring day, everything on earth is blessed and returns the favor of heaven. May you have a long blessed life and may eternal peace be with you. With overflowing joy, I would like to offer you a drink. Happy birthday and hundreds of thousands of more happy returns.<sup>33</sup>

That day, Hyegyeonggung received seven drinks, a few less than the nine drinks reserved for the king and queen. But at the beginning and the end of the banquet, King Jeongjo had arranged for his own poem that he had written for the occasion to be recited, and for the Cheoyong and Cheomsu (pointed sleeve) dances to be performed after the offering of seven drinks.<sup>34</sup> This was designed to make the ceremony

33. *Jeongjo sillok*, *gwon* 42, 13th day, leap 2nd month, 19th year of King Jeongjo’s reign.

34. “Singing His Majesty’s Poem at the Beginning of the Banquet in Bongsudang, Hwaseong” and “Singing His Majesty’s Poem at the End of the Banquet in Bongsudang, Hwaseong” in “Akjang” (Chapter on Music) from *Wonhaeng uigwe*, *gwon* 1.

for Hyegyeonggung, crown prince’s wife, on par with that of the queen, who would have received nine drinks on such an occasion.

On the 14th day, the king distributed rice to the poor at Sinpungnu pavilion in Hwaseong Fortress. Porridge was provided to people who had been starving for some time. The king asked for a bowl of porridge and tasted it himself. All 4,819 people received rice that day. In the morning, the king held a party for seniors in Nangnamheon hall. It was attended by the king, fifteen officials on his entourage, and 384 elderly residents of Hwaseong. At the party, the king ate the same food that was offered to the elderly. He gave presents to each one: a *pil* of silk, a walking stick made of goosefoot with a pigeon-shaped handle, and a yellow silk strip for the stick. The official events in Hwaseong concluded with a feast for the elderly.

Now it was time for the king to take a rest. The king checked the construction progress at the Hwaseong Fortress, which had started the year before in 1794. In the afternoon, he held an archery match with officials in Deukjungjeong pavillion. The king earned the highest score of all players, higher than military officers who practiced military drills as part of their daily routine. The archery scores from that day are presented in Table 4.

The 15th day was the departure day for returning to Seoul. The king came to the Siheung temporary palace and spent the night there. The next day he returned to Seoul via Noryang. On his way out of Siheung, he met people on the road and asked them if they had any complaints to make. Hearing that they would be required to perform two rounds of public service that year, he promised to resolve the problem for them.

### *Wrapping up the Visit*

Upon returning to Changdeokgung palace, King Jeongjo executed measures to complete the visit. On the 17th day, he ordered the removal of the pontoon bridge across the Hangang river. On the 19th day, he closed the 1795 Royal Visit Office, which had been tasked to prepare for his trip to Hwaseong. On the 21st day, he sent food to the



Table 4. Archery Scores in Hwaseong (14th day, leap 2nd month, 1795)<sup>35</sup>

Name	Occupation	Leaf Arrows							Small Arrows	Leaf Arows, Cotton Tartget						Leaf Arrows, Nighttime		
		1R	2R	3R	4R	5R	6R	Total		1R	2R	3R	4R	5R	Total	1R	2R	Total
Jeongjo	King	4	4	4	4	4	4	24	3	5	5	5	5	4	24	3	2	5
Hong Nak-seong	Prime Minister	1	1	1	0	0	0	3	0	1	1	1	1	1	5			
Sim I-ji	Chief Commander of Southern Approaches	1	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	2	0	0	2	5			
Seo Yu-bang	Gyeonggi Governor	2	1	1	1	1	1	7	0	4	1	3	3	3	14	0	1	1
Yi Si-su	Minister of Taxation	1	0	1	0	0	1	3	0	2	1	2	2	1	8			
Jo Sim-tae	Chief of the Exterior Forces of the Royal Guards Garrison	3	4	3	2	1	1	14	1	4	3	4	3	4	18	2	0	2
Yi Gyeong-mu	Chief of Military Training Agency	3	3	1	1	1	1	10	1									
Seo Yu-dai	Chief of the Interior Forces of the Royal Guards Garrison	3	4	3	1	2	2	15	1	4	2	4	4	4	17	1	0	1
Seo Yong-bo	Chief Commander of Northern Approaches	2	0	0	1	1	1	5	0	1	0	3	2	1	7			
Yun Haeng-im	Director of the Office of the 1795 Royal Visit Office	4	3	4	1	1	1	14	1	4	3	4	2	4	17	1	1	2

35. "Eosa" (King Plays Archery), in *Wonhaeng uigwe, gwon 1*.

Table 4. Continued

Name	Occupation	Leaf Arrows							Small Arrows	Leaf Arows, Small Tartget						Leaf Arrows, Nighttime		
		1R	2R	3R	4R	5R	6R	Total		1R	2R	3R	4R	5R	Total	1R	2R	Total
Yi Man-su	Acting (Interim) Director of Gyujanggak [Acting Chief Librarian of Gyujanggak]	0	2	1	1	1	0	5	0	2	0	1	4	3	9	1	2	3
Yi Ik-un	Chief of Military Affairs Bureau	2	2	2	2	1	0	9	1	3	4	4	4	3	18			
Nam Gong-cheol	Acting (Interim) Director of Gyujanggak [Acting Chief Librarian of Gyujanggak]	1	0	0	0	1	2	4	0	2	1	2	1	2	8			
Seo Jun-bo	Young Scholar at Gyujanggak	1	2	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	2	2	1	2	10			
Jo Seok-jung	Young Scholar at Gyujanggak	1	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	2	2	1	2	2	9	0	0	0
Oh Ui-sang	Commander following king's palanquin	4	2	3	2	3	3	17	1	4	2	3	4	4	17	1	0	1
Yi Seok		3	4	3	3	3	1	17	0	4	3	2	2	2	13	0	1	1
Yi Gwang-ik		4	2	2	2	2	3	15	1	4	3	4	3	2	16	1	1	2
Yi Ui		4	2	2	2	1	3	14	1	2	3	4	5	3	17	1	1	2
Jo Ki		1	2	3	3	3	3	15	0	3	4	3	4	3	17	1	0	1

\* R= Round

officers who had made an extra effort in taking part in the trip. On the 13th day of the 3rd month, he held a martial arts competition for the soldiers who had escorted him on the visit and awarded prizes.

Other important tasks in the wrap-up included the handling of the remaining funds and the compilation of royal protocols of the visit. Of the 100,000 *nyang* of funds transferred to the 1795 Royal Visit Office, 60,000 *nyang* was spent for the visit and 40,000 *nyang* remained unused. Of the remaining funds, 10,000 *nyang* was appropriated to purchase *dunjeon* (land reserved for the army) in Hwaseong and another 10,000 *nyang* was spent on food for starving people on Jeju Island.<sup>36</sup> The remaining 20,000 *nyang* was distributed to all the provinces to buy *eulmyo jeongnigok* (1795 Royal Visit Grain) and use it for grain credit funds. So, 2,000 *nyang* was sent to Gyeonggi province, 3,200 *nyang* each to Chungcheong, Jeolla, and Pyeongan provinces, 4,000 *nyang* to Gyeongsang province, 1,000 *nyang* each to Gangwon, Hwanghae, and Hamgyeong provinces and Hwaseong, as well as 200 *nyang* each to Gaeseong and Ganghwa.<sup>37</sup> The funds dispatched to the provinces were redistributed to counties and sub-counties by the governor. King Jeongjo distributed the 1795 Royal Visit Grain to each of the 300 some places across the country, because he wanted to celebrate the joyful event of the court with everyone in the nation.<sup>38</sup>

Next on the list was the compilation of *Wonhaeng uigwe* as a record of the entire visit. The day that he closed the 1795 Royal Visit Office, King Jeongjo ordered the compilation and typesetting of the *uigwe* in order to leave to future generations as evidence of his visit to Hwaseong.<sup>39</sup> *Uigwe* Office was created within Jujaso, the equiva-

36. "Gyesa" (Reports from Officials) in *Wonhaeng uigwe, gwon 2*, 14th day, 2nd month, 1795; *Jeongjo sillok, gwon 42*, 14th day, 2nd month, 19th year of King Jeongjo's reign.

37. *Jeongjo sillok, gwon 42*, 13th day, leap 2nd month, 19th year of King Jeongjo's reign.

38. "Gyeonggi gwanchalsa Seo Yu-bang janggye" (Report by Gyeonggi Governor Seo Yu-bang), in *Wonhaeng uigwe, gwon 3*.

39. "Gyesa" (Reports from Officials), in *Wonhaeng uigwe, gwon 2*, 19th day, leap 2nd month, 1795.

lent of the modern-day National Printing Office, and the compilation got underway with the king's keen attention and encouragement. The *uigwe* was sent to print after proofreading on the 15th day of the 8th month of 1795, and printing was completed in the 3rd month of 1797. The *uigwe* was printed in *jeongni* type, which was created for the special purpose of printing the *uigwe*. Later, *jeongni* type was used for printing books of close association with King Jeongjo, such as *Hongjae jeonseo* (Complete Works of King Jeongjo).<sup>40</sup> When the typeset copies of the *uigwe* were produced, one copy was given to Hyegyeonggung and thirty-one to King Jeongjo, as they were the main participants in the trip, and ten were stored in the West Library of Kyujanggak. The government agencies and officials who had joined the visit all received a copy. Altogether, 102 copies were printed. A complete dissemination list was included in the *uigwe*.<sup>41</sup>

### Significance of the 1795 Royal Visit to Hwaseong

As we have examined above, King Jeongjo's visit to Hwaseong in 1795 was a very special one. The schedule was unusually long; it was the only time he had brought Hyegyeonggung Lady Hong with him on his travels; and various events were held in Hwaseong in addition to the tomb visit. In addition, after the trip, an *uigwe* containing detailed descriptions of the visit was produced. Now, let us examine the significance of the visit.

#### *An Event to Restore the Honor of Crown Prince Sado*

King Jeongjo's trip to Hwaseong in 1795 had the meaning of celebrating happy occasions of the royal court. It was the year of several royal events such as the twentieth anniversary of King Jeongjo's coronation and the fifty-first anniversary of Queen Jeongsun. But what was more

40. On *jeongni* type, see Kim M. (2000b, 53-64).

41. "Jeongyo" (Decrees), in *Wonhaeng uigwe, gwon 1*, 24th day, 3rd month, 1797.

meaningful to him than those events was that it was the year of the sixtieth anniversary of both his parents, Crown Prince Sado and Hyebyeonggung.<sup>42</sup>

King Jeongjo made his first visit to his father's chamber Sueunmyo in 1765 (41st year of King Yeongjo's reign) as crown prince.<sup>43</sup> Crown Prince Sado passed away in 1762, so it was three years after his death. After his second visit to the chamber in 1776 (52nd year of King Yeongjo's reign), he asked King Yeongjo to remove unfavorable records about Crown Prince Sado in *Seungjeongwon ilgi* (Diaries of the Royal Secretariat).<sup>44</sup> He thought that unless the aged King Yeongjo settled the problem while he was still alive, it would pose a potential problem to him after he became king. King Yeongjo permitted the deletion of related records in *Seungjeongwon ilgi*, and the next day King Jeongjo visited Sueunmyo again to deliver the message.<sup>45</sup> This marked the first momentum of the move to restore the honor of Crown Prince Sado.

After his coronation, King Jeongjo took a series of actions towards this end. He granted Crown Prince Sado the honorary title of Prince Jang-heon and upgraded his burial site from a chamber to a grave. He built a shrine for Crown Prince Sado named Sueunmyo and shortly after that, renamed it Gyeongmogung. In 1789, he built Hyeollyungwon in a geomantically auspicious place and took further actions. By visiting Hyeollyungwon every year, he displayed his strong will to restore Crown Prince Sado's honor and made it even more explicit in his 1795 visit, this time, by going there with Lady Hong. The literal meaning of *Wonhaeng uigwe* was a "compilation of royal protocols on the visit to Hyeollyungwon in 1795."

The highlights of King Jeongjo's trip to Hwaseong were his visit to Hyeollyungwon and the sixtieth birthday party for Hyebyeonggung. Hyebyeonggung's actual birthday fell on 18th day of the 6th month, so the King held her sixtieth birthday party again in Chang-

42. "Jeongyo" (Decrees) in *Wonhaeng uigwe, gwon* 1, 10th day, 12th month, 1794.

43. *Yeongjo sillok, gwon* 106, 26th day, 9th month, 41st year of King Yeongjo's reign.

44. *Yeongjo sillok, gwon* 127, 4th day, 2nd month, 52nd year of King Yeongjo's reign.

45. *Yeongjo sillok, gwon* 127, 5th day, 2nd month, 52nd year of King Yeongjo's reign.

gyeonggung palace on her real birthday that year.<sup>46</sup> It seems that the focus of Hyebyeonggung's birthday party in Hwaseong was less on the party itself than on the venue, considering that Hwaseong was a city built by King Jeongjo in order to protect Hyeollyungwon.

The King demonstrated his sincere filial piety during his trip to Hwaseong. Considering that in Confucian ethics, filial piety develops into devotion and loyalty to the king, the filial piety he displayed on his trip operated as pressure on his officials to show their loyalty by working for the restoration of Crown Prince Sado's honor.

#### *An Occasion to Demonstrate the King's Power through Military Drills*

King Jeongjo utilized the trip as more than an occasion to visit his father's tomb; he used it as a venue for military training involving the large-scale movement of forces and competition in terms of martial skills. Marching on horseback in ceremonial military attire at the time of his departure from the palace, King Jeongjo appeared like a commander leading an army into battle.

Before this trip, in 1779 (3rd year of his reign), he held large-scale military drills during a tomb visit. Returning from the visit to two Yeongneung tombs in Yeosu, he went to Seojangdae in the Namhansanseong Fortress and held day and nighttime drills.<sup>47</sup> Thus, it was not the first time that day and nighttime military training sessions were included as part of his tomb visits (*neunghaeng*).

The year 1795 was an important year in the overhaul of Jangyongyeong. Jangyongyeong originated from Jangyongwi, a special security force created by King Jeongjo in 1785 (9th year of his reign). He assigned the royal security service to Jangyongwi and designated chief commander of Jangyongwi on his special order. This signified

46. "Bupyeon" (Appendix [Supplement]) 1 in *Wonhaeng uigwe, Jeongyo* (Decrees), 18th day, 6th month, 1795, and "Yeonseol" (Court Discussions), 18th day, 6th month, 1795.

47. On the military training in the Namhansanseong Fortress in 1779, see Kim M. (2004, 116-118).

the king's intent to take control over military commands that had been under the main influence of powerful long-time officials.<sup>48</sup> In 1793, he expanded Jangyongwi into Jangyongyeong in order to add the security service of Hyeollyungwon and installed the post of *jang-yong naesa* to head the interior forces of Jangyongyeong focusing on royal guard service. Hwaseong was upgraded to a "special city" (*yusubu*) and the magistrate of Hwaseong assumed the post of *jang-yong oesa*, chief of the exterior forces of Jangyongyeong stationed in Hwaseong. Afterwards, King Jeongjo continued to augment the exterior forces of Jangyongyeong.<sup>49</sup> The 1795 military training was significant as the Hwaseong-based exterior forces of Jangyongyeong played a major role.

King Jeongjo beefed up the outer forces of Jangyongyeong in order to protect Hwaseong, the city of Hyeollyungwon, and to take control of the military and overhaul the central army commands. The military training held in Hwaseong in 1795 served to demonstrate the military strength he had maneuvered to build over an entire decade.

#### *An Occasion for the Yangban and the Elderly*

The day after his arrival in Hwaseong, King Jeongjo held a special session of government service examinations and selected five civil officers and fifty-six military officers. Only Hwaseong residents were allowed to take the examinations. It was a common practice at the time that kings selected civil and military officials during a tomb visit. For example, in the examinations held during King Jeongjo's visit to Hwaseong in 1793, Yun Ji-seung and several other residents of Hwaseong were selected for civil service.<sup>50</sup> Moving from Jangneung to Hyeollyungwon in 1797, he offered a special session of civil service examinations to Confucian students in ten villages around the area.<sup>51</sup>

48. Bae (1991, 217-232).

49. Kang M. (1996, 198-204).

50. *Jeongjo sillok*, *gwon* 37, 13th day, 1st month, 17th year of King Jeongjo's reign.

51. *Jeongjo sillok*, *gwon* 47, 12th day, 9th month, 21st year of King Jeongjo's reign.

The 1795 special examinations at Hwaseong were held to boost the morale of the local *yangban*, following the usual custom. What was different this time was the relatively large number of people selected.<sup>52</sup>

The party for elders held in Hwaseong was a special one, too. It took place the day after the birthday party for Hyegeyonggung, and fifteen officials from Seoul and 384 local elders were in attendance. The officials who came from Seoul to join the party were in their seventies, while those from Hwaseong were mostly in their eighties. The age cut-off applied to local invitees was eighty, using the same criteria for participants of the annual party for the elderly held by the king in the palace.<sup>53</sup> At the party in Hwaseong, many sixty-year-old people were invited, too, being of the same age as Hyegeyonggung.<sup>54</sup>

King Jeongjo's 1795 visit to Hwaseong was the only time during the Joseon period that a party for elderly people was thrown by a king during a trip to a local place. He did so to share the joy of the happy occasion of Hyegeyonggung with as many people as possible.

#### *A Gesture for the General Populace*

King Jeongjo held a party for local elders in Hwaseong and handed out rice to the poor. It was a gesture intended to benefit the people of Hwaseong and allow them to join in the celebration of the happy event of the court. In Joseon, the king's visit was called a "visit of fortune," as it was supposed to bring fortune, i.e., economic benefits, to the people.

Passing through the villages, he made direct contact with people on the road and used this proactively as an opportunity to attend to their problems. When he arrived at Siheung on his way to Seoul, he

52. On his 1793 visit to Hwaseong, one civil service candidate and two military service candidates passed the examinations.

53. "Yangno yeonui" (Party Ceremony for the Elderly) from *Garye* (Festive Rites) in *Gukjo oryeui* (Five Rites of the State), *gwon* 3.

54. Among the elderly who attended the party, 6 from Seoul and 168 from Suwon were 60 years of age.

asked the local people if they had any difficulties. The king would do whatever he could to help during an ordinary royal visit. This time, as it was his mother's sixtieth birthday, he spared no effort to take actions that would benefit them. In Siheung, the king exempted people of grain credit payments deferred from the previous year.<sup>55</sup> He also received letters of complaint from common people and immediately addressed them; as many as 127 complaints were collected during the visit.<sup>56</sup> This was a common practice during the king's *neung-haeng*.

Furthermore, King Jeongjo wanted to do something for everyone in the nation in commemoration of his 1795 visit to Hwaseong. For this, the "1795 Royal Visit Grain" was purchased with the 20,000 *nyang* of remaining funds. The grain was supplied to 300 counties and sub-counties across the nation for equal distribution, a symbolic act taken out of the hopes that the blessing of Hyebyeonggung would reach all people. Below is what Sim Hwan-ji said about the meaning of the 1795 Royal Visit Grain.<sup>57</sup>

His Majesty (King Jeongjo) said, "The people are my children, but I did not give them beef and liquor to feed them and make them drunk. How would I not feel sorry for that?" So, the funds left in the 1795 Royal Visit Office were distributed to the provinces to buy seed grains at the rate of one *nyang* for each bushel. From the next year, they were handed out in spring and collected back in fall. People used it for seed or food during the farming season. His Majesty endowed us with good seeds to last a long time. All of this comes from His Majesty's filial piety to make the mercy of Hyebyeonggung reach far. This has made our benefits infinite and helped us have a better life.

55. *Jeongjo sillok*, *gwon* 42, 16th day, leap 2nd month, 19th year of King Jeongjo's reign.

56. *Jeongjo sillok*, *gwon* 42, 19th day, leap 2nd month, 19th year of King Jeongjo's reign.

57. *Jeongjo sillok*, *gwon* 47, 7th day, 10th month, 21st year of King Jeongjo's reign.

In celebration of the happy royal event of 1795, King Jeongjo wanted to share the joy with his people by distributing the benefits evenly among them. The 1795 Royal Visit Grain was sent to counties and sub-counties across the nation and used to finance grain loan credits. In some cases, however, it produced unanticipated adverse effects and did not work out as the king intended.<sup>58</sup> Nonetheless, we need to take note of his belief that to do something beneficial for the people as king is to practice filial piety as a son. This means that if the king practiced good governance, he became a filial son.

## Conclusion

The king's visit was a sort of festival to bring the people together. From the standpoint of the public, it gave them a chance to see the king, view a grandiose parade, and receive concrete benefits. People called it a "visit of fortune" as it actually brought them economic benefits. From the viewpoint of the king, it was an opportunity to get out the message that he was the legitimate successor of the crown and the sovereign ruler of the nation. Thus, in the late Joseon period, kings increased the number of visits outside the palace.

Among the king's visits, *neunghaeng* often involved long-distance travel, so it was an opportunity for the king to make direct contact with people on the road, hear their problems, and take measures to address them. Joseon kings stressed the legitimate transfer of the throne from preceding kings to them by visiting their tombs. King Jeongjo and his successive kings visited the tombs of their fathers to raise the status of their fathers. King Jeongjo's trip to Hwaseong in 1795 was a special one marked by a visit to the tomb of his father Crown Prince Sado and the celebration of his mother Hyebyeong-

58. In the 11th month, 1795, Bibyeonsa (Border Defense Command) reported that in Chungcheong province, the 1795 Royal Visit Grain was not distributed equally according to village size and there were cases of forced hand-out and collection. *Jeongjo sillok*, *gwon* 43, 9th day, 11th month, 19th year of King Jeongjo's reign.



gung's sixtieth birthday. After the trip, *Wonhaeng uigwe* was compiled and printed in typeset for dissemination, making it the only royal trip of Joseon kings left on record.

*Wonhaeng uigwe* provides very detailed accounts of King Jeongjo's eight-day, seven-night trip to Hwaseong in the leap 2nd month of 1795. While emphasizing the visit to his father's tomb and the celebration of his mother's birthday, he also meant for it to be helpful by fostering support for the restoration of his father's honor. In addition, he intended it as an occasion to consolidate the loyalty of his supporters and common people by showing off his achievements and granting benefits to the people. After the trip, he hastened to compile an *uigwe* to maximize the publicity of his endeavor.

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## GLOSSARY

Banghwa Suryujeong	訪花修柳亭	<i>haengcha</i>	行次
<i>billye</i>	賓禮	<i>haenghaeng</i>	行幸 幸行
<i>changhyu</i>	彰休	Heolleung	獻陵
<i>cheomsu</i>	尖袖	<i>Hongjae jeonseo</i>	弘齋全書
<i>cheoyong</i>	處容	<i>huimok</i>	徽穆
Daeseongjeon	大成殿	<i>Hureung</i>	厚陵
Dongchilleung	東七陵	<i>hyanggyo</i>	鄉校
<i>Eulmyo jeongnigok</i>	乙卯整理穀	<i>hyebin</i>	惠嬪
Gangneung	康陵	Hyegyonggung	惠慶宮
<i>garye</i>	嘉禮	Hyeollyungwon	顯隆園
<i>geodung</i>	거동 舉動	Hyochangmyo	孝昌墓
<i>gillye</i>	吉禮	<i>Hyogang</i>	孝康
<i>gimyong</i>	基命	<i>hyungnye</i>	凶禮
Gongneung	恭陵	<i>jahui</i>	慈禧
<i>gullye</i>	軍禮	Jangneung	章陵
Gwangneung	光陵	Jangneung	長陵

<i>jangyong naesa</i>	壯勇內使	Seolleung	宣陵
Jangyongwi	壯勇衛	Seonggyungwan	成均館
Jangyongyeong	壯勇營	Seonhyecheong	宣惠廳
<i>jangnyun</i>	章倫	Seonnongdan	先農壇
Jeleung	齊陵	Seo-oreung	西五陵
Jeongneung	貞陵	Seosamneung	西三陵
Jeongneung	靖陵	<i>Seungjeongwon ilgi</i>	承政院日記
<i>jeongni</i>	整理	Soryeongwon	昭寧園
<i>jeongseon</i>	貞宣	Sueunmyo	垂恩墓
<i>Jinchan uigwe</i>	進饌儀軌	Sugyeong	綏敬
Jongmyo	宗廟	Sulleung	順陵
Jujaso	鑄字所	Taereung	泰陵
Mohwagwan	慕華館	Uhwagwan	于華觀
Munsojeon	文昭殿	Uireung	懿陵
<i>neunghaeng</i>	陵幸	Uisomyo	懿昭墓
<i>nyang</i>	兩	Yeongneung	寧陵
Olleung	溫陵	Yeongneung	永陵
<i>pil</i>	疋	Yeongneung	英陵
Saboksi	司僕寺	Yeonguwon	永祐園
Sageuncham	肆勤站	Yongyang	龍驤
Sajik	社稷	Bongjeojeong	鳳翥亭
Saleung	思陵	<i>yungbeom</i>	隆範
Seojangdae	西將臺	<i>yusubu</i>	留守府