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 Hyegeonggung 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, Hyegeonggung, Hwaseong, Hyeollyungwon, Wonhaeng eulmyo jeongni uigwe

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1. In Joseon, the tombs of royal family members were called by three different names: neung (тельный) for kings and queens, won (외계) for crown princes and their wives, and myo (실채) 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:2

1) Large procession cortege
   - To receive a letter from the Chinese emperor or Chinese envoy
   - To hold a ceremony in Sajikdan (Altar for Worshipping 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 categorized 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 (Confucian Shrine) or a royal tomb. Garye (festival 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 visit 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

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2. “Nobu” (Cortege), in Garye (Festive Rites) from Gukjo oryeui seorye (Illustrated Rubrics for the Five Rites of the State), gwon 2.
Royal Visits and Protocols in the Joseon Dynasty

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. 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 (真陵), Taereung, Gangneung, Uireung, Sareung, Seolleung, Seosamneung, Seo-oreung
   - Jereung, Hureung (five or more days)

2. Remote royal tombs: two days or more round-trip
   - Gwangneung, Olleung, Jangneung, Gongneung, Sulleung, Yeongneung (永陵), Heolleung (two days)
   - Jangneung, Soryeongwon, Hyoelgyeungwon (three or more days)
   - Yeongneung (孝陵), Yeongneung (孝陵), 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 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of king</th>
<th>Injo</th>
<th>Hyojong</th>
<th>Hyeonjong</th>
<th>Sukjong</th>
<th>Gyeongjong</th>
<th>Yeongjo</th>
<th>Jeongjo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of visits</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>909</td>
<td>607</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual average</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Won-jong), 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). 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.

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.

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).7 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.

### Table 3. Number of Kings’ Visits to the Tombs of Their Parents during the Late Joseon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of king</th>
<th>Yeongjo</th>
<th>Jeongjo</th>
<th>Sunjo</th>
<th>Heonjong</th>
<th>Cheoljong</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Soryeongwon</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yeonguwon/Hyeollyungwon</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huigyeongwon</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual average</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

King Jeongjo’s neunghaeng, but according to my research, it is sixty-six.10

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). Upon his enthronement, King Jeongjo granted the posthumous honorary title of “Jinjong Daewang” (Great King Jinjong).

#### Table 2. Number of Kings’ Neunghaeng during the Late Joseon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of king</th>
<th>Injo</th>
<th>Hyojong</th>
<th>Hyeonjong</th>
<th>Sukjong</th>
<th>Gyeongjong</th>
<th>Yeongjo</th>
<th>Jeongjo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of visits</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual average</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

King Jeongjo made a total of sixty-six visits to the tombs of royal family members scattered around Gyeonggi province during his reign. Different researchers give different figures for the number of visits for cases when he visited more than one tomb during a single trip.

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-
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. 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. 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 Seonoreung (western five tombs), Myeongneung is very near to Gyeongneung of Deokjong and Queen Sohye, Changneung of King Yejong and Queen Ansun, and Ingeuneg 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.

But the tombs that he visited most frequently were Yeongguwon 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 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.

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 Suenmyo to Yeongguwon. 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. 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. 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 Yeongguwon 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

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.
17. Jeongjo sillok, gwon 1, 10th day, 3rd month, coronation year of King Jeongjo.
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.20

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 Hyeogyeonggung Lady Hong went with him.21 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

Jeongjo announced that he would visit Hyeollyungwon with Hyeogyeonggung Lady Hong two years later. In 1795, both Crown Prince Sado and Hyeogyeonggung 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.22

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 Seonhyecheon (Tribute Bureau) to the office,23 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.24

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 Hyeogyeonggung, he granted one to their elder, Queen Jeongsun, according to court protocols. To Crown Prince Sado, he also awarded

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 Hyeogyeonggung’s visit to Hyeollyungwon was a very exceptional one.
22. Jeongjo sillok, gwon 1, 19th day, 1st month, 1793.
23. “Yeonsoel” (Court Discussions), in Wonhaeng uigwe, gwon 1, 20th day, 7th month and 11th day, 12th month, 1794.
24. “Yeonsoel”, 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 Crown Prince Sado to that of king.25

In the 2nd month 1795, construction of a pontoon bridge across the Hangang river began, and the king and Hyegyeonggung practiced riding their newly made palanquins in the backyard of Changdeokgung palace.26 Hyegyeonggung’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.27

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.28

At dawn on the 9th day of the same month, King Jeongjo’s cortége left Changdeokgung palace and crossed the pontoon bridge at Noryangjin port. The procession had lunch at the Noryang temporary palace (Yongyang Bongjaejeong pavilion) 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 Hyegyeonggung Lady Hong.29

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 loose schedule for the sake of the elderly Hyegyeonggung. 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.30 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 Hyegyeonggung and his two sisters. Visiting her husband’s tomb for the first time, Hyegyeonggung cried so bitterly that people could hear it even at a distance, which filled the king’s heart with sorrow.31 In the afternoon, the king climbed Seojaegdae 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, Hyegyeonggung’s sixtieth birthday party was held in Bongsudang.32 When the construction of the building was

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.
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 ujagungui” (The Banquet Ceremony for Hyegyeonggung 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.33

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.34 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 Hygeyeonggung, 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 Deukjongjeong pavilion. 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Leaf Arrows</th>
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<td>3 5 2 5</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>1 1 1 1 1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sim I-ji</td>
<td>Chief Commander of Southern Approaches</td>
<td>1 1 0 0 0 0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1 2 0 0 2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Gyegogji Governor</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>4 1 3 3 3</td>
<td>14 0 1 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yi Si-su</td>
<td>Minister of Taxation</td>
<td>1 0 1 0 0 1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2 1 2 2 1</td>
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<td>Chief of the Exterior Forces of the Royal Guards Garrison</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>1 4 3 4 3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yun Haeng-im</td>
<td>Director of the Office of the 1795 Royal Visit Office</td>
<td>4 3 4 1 1 1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1 4 3 4 2</td>
<td>17 1 1 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* R=Round

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35. “Eosa” (King Plays Archery), in Wonhaeng uigwe, gwon 1.
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 Hwasung and another 10,000 nyang was spent on food for starving people on Jeju Island.³⁶ 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 Hwasung, as well as 200 nyang each to Gaeong and Ganghwa.³⁷ 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.³⁸

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 Hwasung.³⁹ Uigwe Office was created within Jujaso, the equivalent 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).⁴⁰ 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.⁴¹

**Significance of the 1795 Royal Visit to Hwasung**

As we have examined above, King Jeongjo’s visit to Hwasung in 1795 was a very special one. The schedule was unusually long; it was the only time he had brought Hyegeyeonggung Lady Hong with him on his travels; and various events were held in Hwasung 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 Hwasung 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

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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.
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 Hyegyeonggung.\textsuperscript{42}

King Jeongjo made his first visit to his father’s chamber Sueunmyo in 1765 (41st year of King Yeongjo’s reign) as crown prince.\textsuperscript{43} 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 \textit{Seungjeongwon ilgi} (Diaries of the Royal Secretariat).\textsuperscript{44} 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 \textit{Seungjeongwon ilgi}, and the next day King Jeongjo visited Sueunmyo again to deliver the message.\textsuperscript{45} 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 \textit{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 Hyegyeonggung. Hyegyeonggung’s actual birthday fell on 18th day of the 6th month, so the King held her sixtieth birthday party again in Chang-

gyeonggung palace on her real birthday that year.\textsuperscript{46} It seems that the focus of Hyegyeonggung’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 Yeoju, he went to Seojangdae in the Namhansanseong Fortress and held day and nighttime drills.\textsuperscript{47} Thus, it was not the first time that day and nighttime military training sessions were included as part of his tomb visits (\textit{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

\textsuperscript{42} “Jeongyo” (Decrees) in \textit{Wonhaeng uigwe}, gwon 1, 10th day, 12th month, 1794.
\textsuperscript{43} Yeongjo sillok, gwon 106, 26th day, 9th month, 41st year of King Yeongjo’s reign.
\textsuperscript{44} Yeongjo sillok, gwon 127, 4th day, 2nd month, 52nd year of King Yeongjo’s reign.
\textsuperscript{45} Yeongjo sillok, gwon 127, 5th day, 2nd month, 52nd year of King Yeongjo’s reign.
\textsuperscript{46} “Bupyeon” (Appendix [Supplement]) 1 in \textit{Wonhaeng uigwe}, jeongyo (Decrees), 18th day, 6th month, 1795, and “Yeonseol” (Court Discussions), 18th day, 6th month, 1795.
\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{48} In 1793, he expanded Jangyongwi into Jangyongyeong in order to add the security service of Hyeollyungwon and installed the post of jangyong 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 jangyong oesa, chief of the exterior forces of Jangyongyeong stationed in Hwaseong. Afterwards, King Jeongjo continued to augment the exterior forces of Jangyongyeong.\textsuperscript{49} 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.\textsuperscript{50} 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.\textsuperscript{51}

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.\textsuperscript{52}

The party for elders held in Hwaseong was a special one, too. It took place the day after the birthday party for Hyegyeonggung, 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.\textsuperscript{53} At the party in Hwaseong, many sixty-year-old people were invited, too, being of the same age as Hyegyeonggung.\textsuperscript{54}

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 Hyegyeonggung 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

\textsuperscript{50} Jeongjo sillok, gwon 37, 13th day, 1st month, 17th year of King Jeongjo’s reign.
\textsuperscript{51} Jeongjo sillok, gwon 47, 12th day, 9th month, 21st year of King Jeongjo’s reign.
\textsuperscript{52} On his 1793 visit to Hwaseong, one civil service candidate and two military service candidates passed the examinations.
\textsuperscript{53} “Yangno yeonui” (Party Ceremony for the Elderly) from Garye (Festive Rites) in Gukjo oryeui (Five Rites of the State), gwon 3.
\textsuperscript{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. He also received letters of complaint from common people and immediately addressed them; as many as 127 complaints were collected during the visit. 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 Hyegyeonggung would reach all people. Below is what Sim Hwan-ji said about the meaning of the 1795 Royal Visit Grain.

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 Hyegyeonggung reach far. This has made our benefits infinite and helped us have a better life.

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 Yeongjo 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 Hyegyeong-
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 碑花隆柳亭 haengcha 行次
billye 碑立 haenghaeng 行幸
changhyu 彰休 Heolleung 建陵
cheomsu 尖裕 Hongjae jeonseohuimok 弘聖全書
choeong 蹶容 huimok 禮獄
Daeseongjeon 大成殿 Hureung 厚陵
Dongchilleung 東七陵 hyanggyo 麗校
Eulmyo jeongnigok 乙卯禮國計 Hyebyeonggung 慧陵宮
Gangneung 閣陵 Hyeoallyungwon 閣陵園
garye 貢禮 Hyochangmyo 孝昌宮
goodung 敬禮 hyebin 惠錫
gilleye 喜禮 Hyogang 李康
gimnyeong 基命 hyungnye 儲禮
Gongneung 恭陵 jahui 慈獻
gullye 廟禮 Jangneung 陽陵
Gwangneung 景陵 Jangneung 陽陵

Royal Visits and Protocols in the Joseon Dynasty

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