

Royal Banquets and *Uigwe* during the Late Joseon Period

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Abstract

In the early period of the Joseon dynasty, it was common for banquets for unity (hoereyeon) and banquets for the elderly (yangnoyeon) to be held regularly once a year, and celebratory banquets (jinyeon) held on specific occasions, such as national holidays and the birthdays of royal family members. However, after the King Injo's restoration (1623), regular banquets were abolished and celebratory banquets were limited to commemorating the anniversary of a king's ascension to the throne, or celebrating the birthday of the kings. Consequently, the frequency of such banquets was significantly reduced.

Most royal banquets were celebratory banquets, and after these came to an end, the details of these banquets and the procedures involved were recorded in books called uigwe (royal protocols).

In the latter part of the Joseon dynasty, the government began to hold banquets for common people as well. Banquets were held for people over the age of seventy or eighty (regardless of social status) and provided rice, liquor, and food. The government also arranged opportunities for beggars to be fed for several days, and conducted a series of curtailments of grain loans (hwangok) and land taxes (jeonse). Such efforts were made for in the name of the royal family sharing joy and happiness with the general population.

Keywords: royal protocols, *uigwe*, *oeyeon*, *naeyeon*, *hoeryeyeon*, *yangnoyeon*, *jinyeon*.

* This paper is based on the author's several previously published articles on royal banquets.

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Introduction

In the Joseon dynasty, where there were not theatrical performances for purely artistic purposes, royal banquets provided a place for music and dance. In order to host music and dance performances and prepare drinks and food for large audiences in the palace, where administrative work and royal ceremonies were ordinarily performed, additional space was needed. Temporary facilities were built and, unlike commoners' feasts, royal rituals entailed the production *uigwe*, or royal protocols.

In 2001, I wrote a book on the subject of royal banquets, wherein I addressed them as spaces for performing music and dance. Later, I also became interested in the rituals, literature, food, fashion and architecture involved with the royal banquets. As a result, I and two other experts from various fields gathered to publish three books under the title, "Royal Banquets during the Late Joseon." These studies were made possible thanks to the records left in *uigwe*: precise records that detailed the process behind the royal banquets, beginning with initial preparation and including even the expense accounting after the banquets were over.

There are 553 kinds of *uigwe* housed in the Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies at Seoul National University, 293 in the Jangseogak Library at the Academy of Korean Studies, 191 in the French National Library, and 69 in the Imperial Household Agency in Japan. Often times, the same kinds of *uigwe* are dispersed in different places. Excepting these, only 637 kinds of *uigwe* are still in existence. Among them, nineteen are related to royal banquets.

As an integral part of society, royal banquets (*yeonhyang*) solidified human relationships and strengthened familial ties. Royal banquets were divided into four types: *hoeryeyeon*, or a banquet for unity, which brings together the king and queen and their subjects and titled ladies; *yangnoyeon*, a banquet for the elderly, which emphasized filial piety; *jinyeon*, the celebratory banquet, which commemorated auspicious occasions such as holidays and birthdays; and *sagaengnyeon*, a banquet for envoys from neighboring countries.

While there was no difference throughout the Joseon period in the number of times banquets were held for foreign envoys, the number of *hoeryeyeon*, *yangnoyeon*, and *jinyeon* greatly decreased during the late Joseon era. According to *Gyeongguk daejeon* (National Code), a legal norm produced in the early Joseon period, "banquet for unity" and "banquet for the elderly" were both held annually, and "celebratory banquets" were frequently held. However, during the late Joseon era following King Injo's restoration (1623), the once annual "banquet for unity" and "banquet for the elderly" were both nearly abolished, and "celebratory banquets" were only held on special occasions such as the commemoration of the thirtieth or fortieth anniversary of the king's ascension to the throne, or to celebrate the fortieth, fiftieth, and even sixtieth birthday of royal elders, with the effect that the frequency of such banquets was significantly reduced.

Most extant *yeonhyang uigwe*, or royal protocols, were applied to the celebratory banquet, *jinyeon*, in part because many of the other *uigwe* were lost during the Imjin War. Thus, this paper examines the royal banquet with a focus on the celebratory banquet, *jinyeon*.

Types and Composition of Royal Banquet Uigwe

Types of Royal Banquet Uigwe

There are nineteen royal protocol on banquets currently in existence,¹ most of which are housed at the Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies, Seoul National University, and the Jangseogak Library, Academy of Korean Studies.

1. There is also *Welcoming of Chinese Envoys Uigwe* (*Yeongjeop dogam yeonhyangsaek uigwe* 迎接都監宴享色儀軌), a record of a visit by Ming China's envoy in 1634. However, it is not included in the list above as it differed from other royal banquets.

Table 1. Royal Banquet *Uigwe* in Existence²

Title	Details	Types ³	Housed at
<i>Pungjeong dogam uigwe</i> 豊呈都監儀軌	Records of a banquet held in 1630 (8th year of King Injo's reign) to wish Queen In Mok (King Seonjo's queen) a long life	Inner Banquet	French National Library
<i>Gihae jinyeon uigwe</i> 〔己亥〕進宴儀軌	Records of a banquet held in 1719 (45th year of King Sukjong's reign) to celebrate King Sukjong's entrance into Giroso ⁴	Outer Banquet	Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies
<i>Gapja jinyeon uigwe</i> 〔甲子〕進宴儀軌	Records of a banquet held in 1744 (20th year of King Yeongjo's reign) to celebrate King Yeongjo's entrance into Giroso	Inner & Outer Banquets	Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies
<i>Eulyu sujak uigwe</i> 〔乙酉〕受爵儀軌	Records of a banquet held in 1765 (41st year of King Yeongjo's reign) to celebrate King Yeongjo's 42th year of enthronement and 72nd birthday	Outer Banquet	Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies
<i>Wonhaeng eulmyo jeongni uigwe</i> 園幸乙卯整理儀軌	Records of a banquet held in 1795 (19th year of King Jeongjo's reign) in Hwaseong fortress at Prince Jangheon's grave to celebrate the 61st birthday of Hyegeyeonggung (mother of King Jeongjo)	Inner Banquet	Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies and Jangseogak Library
<i>Gisa jinpyori jinchan uigwe</i> 〔己巳〕進表裏進饌儀軌 <i>Hyegeyeonggung jinchanso uigwe</i> 惠慶宮進饌所儀軌	Records of a banquet held in 1809 (9th year of King Sunjo's reign) to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the coming-of-age ceremony for Hyegeyeonggung	Inner Banquet	British Library and Jangseogak Library

- The bold line in the table above indicates the change to *uigwe* with the publication of *Wonhaeng eulmyo jeongni uigwe* (*Uigwe on King Jeongjo's Visit to the Crown Prince Sado's Tomb in 1795*).
- While "outer" banquets (*oeyeon* 外宴) featured the king and civil and military governmental officials, "inner" banquets (*naeyeon* 內宴) featured royal family members, royal relatives, and titled ladies.
- Giroso refers to a social organization for civil ministers at the senior grade of the second court rank and of 70 or more years of age. Approximately 700 people entered Giroso in the Joseon era, including King Taejo at the age of 60, King Sukjong at the age of 59, and King Yeongjo and King Gojong at the age of 51.

Table 1. Continued

Title	Details	Types	Housed at
<i>Jagyeongjeon jinjak jeongnye uigwe</i> 慈慶殿進爵整禮儀軌	Records of a banquet held in 1827 (27th year of King Sunjo's reign) to celebrate the birth of a royal grandson	Inner Banquet	Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies and Jangseogak Library
<i>Muja jinjak uigwe</i> 〔戊子〕進爵儀軌	Records of a banquet held in 1828 (28th year of King Sunjo's reign) to celebrate Queen Sunwon (Sunjo's Queen)'s 40th birthday	Inner Banquet	Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies and Jangseogak
<i>Gichuk jinchan uigwe</i> 〔己丑〕進饌儀軌	Records of a banquet held in 1829 (29th year of King Sunjo's reign) to celebrate King Sunjo's 30th year of enthronement and 40th birthday	Inner & Outer Banquets	Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies and Jangseogak Library
<i>Musin jinchan uigwe</i> 〔戊申〕進饌儀軌	Records of a banquet held in 1848 (14th year of King Heonjong's reign) to celebrate Queen Sunwon's 60th birthday	Inner Banquet	Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies
<i>Mujin jinchan uigwe</i> 〔戊辰〕進饌儀軌	Records of a banquet held in 1868 (5th year of King Gojong's reign) to celebrate Queen Sinjeong's 61st birthday	Inner Banquet	Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies
<i>Gyeyu jinjak uigwe</i> 〔癸酉〕進爵儀軌	Records of a banquet held in 1873 (10th year of King Gojong's reign) to celebrate the 40th anniversary of Queen Sinjeong installation as Queen Mother	Inner Banquet	Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies and Jangseogak Library
<i>Jeongchuk jinchan uigwe</i> 〔丁丑〕進饌儀軌	Records of a banquet held in 1877 (14th year of King Gojong's reign) to celebrate Queen Sinjeong's 70th birthday	Inner Banquet	Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies and Jangseogak Library
<i>Jeonghae jinchan uigwe</i> 〔丁亥〕進饌儀軌	Records of a banquet held in 1887 (24th year of King Gojong's reign) to celebrate Queen Sinjeong's 80th birthday	Inner Banquet	Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies and Jangseogak Library
<i>Imjin jinchan uigwe</i> 〔壬辰〕進饌儀軌	Records of a banquet held in 1892 (29th year of King Gojong's reign) to celebrate King Gojong's 30th year of enthronement and 41st birthday	Inner & Outer Banquets	Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies and Jangseogak Library

Table 1. Continued

Title	Details	Types	Housed at
<i>Sinchuk jinchan uigwe</i> 〔辛丑〕進饌儀軌	Records of a banquet held in 1901 (38th year of King Gojong's reign) to celebrate Queen Hyojeong's (King Heonjong's queen) 71st birthday	Inner Banquet	Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies and Jangseogak Library
<i>Sinchuk jinyeon uigwe</i> 〔辛丑〕進宴儀軌	Records of the banquet held in 1901 (38th year of King Gojong's reign) to celebrate King Gojong's 50th birthday	Inner & Outer Banquets	Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies and Jangseogak Library
<i>Imin sawol jinyeon uigwe</i> 〔壬寅 4月〕進宴儀軌	Records of a banquet held in 1902 (39th year of King Gojong's reign) to celebrate King Gojong's entrance into Gijoso	Inner & Outer Banquets	Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies and Jangseogak Library
<i>Imin sibirwol jinyeon uigwe</i> 〔壬寅 11月〕進宴儀軌	Records of a banquet held in 1902 (39th year of King Gojong's reign) to celebrate King Gojong's 40th year of enthronement	Inner & Outer Banquets	Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies and Jangseogak Library

As evident above, many different titles were used for *uigwe* (royal protocols): *pungjeong* (sumptuous banquet), *jinyeon* (offering a banquet), *jinchan* (offering food), *jinjak* (offering drinks), *sujak* (receiving drinks). *Pungjeong* is an abbreviation of *jin pungjeong* (offering a sumptuous banquet). *Sujak* refers to “receiving a banquet,” and is used to refer to banquet guests, whereas *jinjak*, or “to offer a banquet,” referred to the banquet host. Almost every banquet-related *uigwe* has the word *jin* in its title, which means “to offer.” Also, *pungjeong* refers to the resourceful party, and *yeon* (宴) means party; *chan* (饌), food; *jak* (爵), drink.

From the nuance of each word, it appears that *jin pungjeong* was the largest type of banquet, followed by *jinyeon*, *jinchan*, and *jinjak*. When these terms were first used, banquets were titled according to their size. However, from the mid-nineteenth century, the titles were

no longer based on the scale of the event.⁵ For example, *jinchan* held in 1892 was larger than *jinyeon* of 1902.⁶

Jin pungjeong, *jinyeon*, *jinchan*, and *jinjak* are quite similar in that they were held to commemorate national celebratory affairs. In this paper, I use the term *jinyeon* to refer to all four. All *uigwe* found in Table 1 are related to royal celebratory banquets or *jinyeon*.

Unfortunately, of the records listed above, *Pungjeong dogam uigwe* (*The 1630 Royal Banquet Uigwe*) and *Gisa jinpyori jinchan uigwe* (*The 1809 Royal Banquet Uigwe*) are no longer in Korea due to the French pillaging of the Kyujanggak archive, which was located on Ganghwa Island during the 1886 French invasion. The latter was sold to a French firm before being handed over to a British person in 1891, and is now housed at the British Library. Since it was meant to

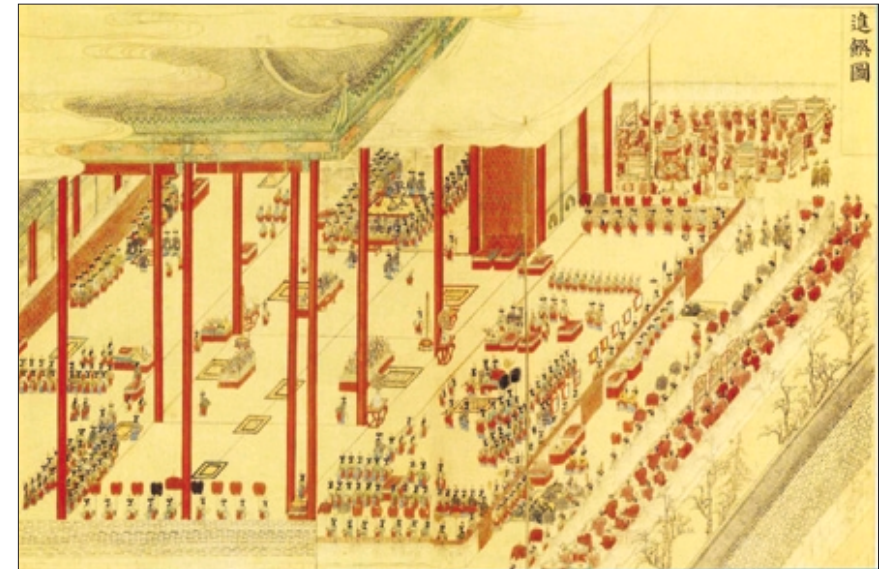


Figure 1. “Painting of a Royal Banquet” in *Gisa jinpyori jinchan uigwe*

5. Kim (2005, 14-17).

6. *Imjin jinchan uigwe* (*The 1892 Royal Banquet Uigwe* 〔壬辰〕進饌儀軌), *gwon* 3.23a-27a; *Imin sawol jinyeon uigwe* (*The 1902 Royal Banquet Uigwe* 〔壬寅 4月〕進宴儀軌), *gwon* 3.22a-24b.

be read by the king, the quality of the pictures and colors was outstanding. There is another copy of this *uigwe*, which records a banquet held to commemorate the sixtieth anniversary of the coming-of-age ceremony of crown princess Hyegyeong, housed at the Jangseogak Library of the Academy of Korean Studies. However, it is less detailed than the one meant for the king's perusal, as it was produced for the Ministry of Rites. Figure 1 is a painting of a banquet that appeared in *Gisa jinpyori jinchan uigwe*.

Composition of Royal Banquet Uigwe

As mentioned above, with the publication of *Wonhaeng eulmyo jeongni uigwe*, banquet-related *uigwe* began to take a different form. As there are only four extant *uigwe* that were produced prior to 1795, I will focus on the *uigwe* published thereafter. Also, as a commemoration of the day itself, these *uigwe* included a wide range of information ranging from the establishment of Jinyeoncheong or Jinchanso, a temporary administrative office for the organizing of the banquet; food preparation; the production of ceremonial items such as musical instruments and costumes; lists of participants, instrument players, and dancers; and prizes and accounts. Since the ceremonial procedure is the key to the *uigwe*, it will be explained in a separate chapter. Descriptions on the other parts of *uigwe* are as follows:

1) Illustrations

Each *uigwe* included numerous descriptions of seat arrangements, ceremonial procedures, songs and dances (*jeongjae*), flowers, ritual dishes, musical instruments, ceremonial instruments, the costumes of the leaders of the musical instrument (*jeonak*), male court musicians (*akgong*), female entertainers (*yeoryeong*), and Cheoyong (son of the Dragon King).

2) Preparation of Food

According to *Musin jinchan uigwe (The 1848 Royal Banquet Uigwe)*,

263 tables were prepared for the officials of the ranks below titled ladies, along with the king's mother, king's grandmother, king, queen, and royal concubine. And 114 plates were prepared for palace eunuchs, assistant officials, male court musicians, and female entertainers. In addition, 917 other participants including soldiers on duty and cooks were given three loaves of white rice cake, three skewers of meat, and one drink each.⁷

The *uigwe* even describes the ingredients used in each food. For example, it is recorded that *chogyetang* or "chicken broth with vinegar" was made from five chickens, five abalones, ten sea cucumbers, twenty eggs, half a bellflower root, mushrooms, two cups of black pepper, two peeled pine nuts, starch, soy sauce, and vinegar. Each *uigwe* also records that *yaksik*, a traditional dessert, which was made using glutinous rice, jujubes, peeled chestnuts, honey, sesame oil, soy sauce, and peeled nuts.⁸

3) Salary

Artisans were paid by day according to their expertise. Skilled artisans, such as cooks, florists, and sculptors were paid three *doe* of rice and two *cheok* of silk, and ordinary artisans were given three *doe* of rice and cotton. Painters received two *doe* of rice and cotton, and manual laborers were paid with one *doe* of rice and cotton.⁹

4) Expense

The cost of the banquet was approximately 27,385 *jeon*, which is equivalent to 6,846 *seom* of rice. sixty-three percent of this amount went to food preparation, 20 percent to musical instruments and cos-

7. *Musin jinchan uigwe (The 1848 Royal Banquet Uigwe [戊申]進饌儀軌)*, *gwon* 2.31a-45a.

8. *Musin jinchan uigwe*, *gwon* 2.30b.

9. *Gihae jinyeon uigwe (The 1719 Royal Banquet Uigwe [己亥]進宴儀軌)*, *gwon* 1:49a-52b; *Gapja jinyeon uigwe (The 1744 Royal Banquet Uigwe [甲子]進宴儀軌)*, *gwon* 1:38a-42a; *Jeonghae jinchan uigwe (The 1887 Royal Banquet Uigwe [丁亥]進饌儀軌)*, *gwon* 2:1b-2a; *Imjin jinchan uigwe*, *gwon* 1:20b.

Table 2. Expenses for the 1848 Royal Celebration Banquet¹⁰

Item	Income	Expenditure	
Money financed by the Chongwiyeong Garrison	25,686 <i>nyang</i> 9 <i>jeon</i> 7 <i>pun</i>		
Charcoal	73 <i>seom</i> 7 <i>mal</i> 5 <i>doe</i> (36 <i>nyang</i> 7 <i>jeon</i> 5 <i>pun</i>)		
Rice sent by the Ministry of Finance	100 <i>seom</i> (400 <i>nyang</i>)		
Ministry of Military	1,500 <i>nyang</i>		
Total income			27,623 <i>nyang</i> 7 <i>jeon</i> 2 <i>pun</i>
Musical instruments		4,465 <i>nyang</i> 8 <i>jeon</i> 3 <i>pun</i>	
Costumes for female entertainers		1,053 <i>nyang</i> 7 <i>jeon</i> 6 <i>pun</i>	
Flowers		1,032 <i>nyang</i> 2 <i>jeon</i> 8 <i>pun</i>	
Food ingredients and wages		17,282 <i>nyang</i> 4 <i>jeon</i> 9 <i>pun</i>	
Folding screens		1,807 <i>nyang</i>	
Wages of artisans		1,689 <i>nyang</i> 6 <i>jeon</i> 2 <i>pun</i>	
Oil for lamps		17 <i>nyang</i> 7 <i>jeon</i> 4 <i>pun</i>	
Charcoal		36 <i>nyang</i> 7 <i>jeon</i> 5 <i>pun</i>	
Total expenditure			27,385 <i>nyang</i> 4 <i>jeon</i> 7 <i>pun</i>

10. *Musin jinchan uigwe*, *gwon* 2.30b.

tunes for female entertainers, 3.7 percent for preparing the tables and decorating the main pavilion, and 6.6 percent to the folding screens set up for the ceremony.

Ceremonial Procedures for Celebration Banquets during Late Joseon

As royal banquets (*yeonhyang*) required a great deal of space for the many guests and dance and music performances, a wide makeshift floor called a *bogyae* was usually prepared, on which the terrace ensemble (*deungga*) played music along with the performance of *jeongjae*. Ensembles were also held in the court garden. The purpose of royal banquets was not only harmony and joy, but also respect and reverence. I examine royal banquets in further detail below.

“Outer Banquets” or Royal Celebratory Banquets for the King and Officials

The royal celebration banquet for the king and officials, or “outer banquet” (*oejinyeon*) was held for the king on behalf of all officials, aides to the king, and the crown prince—the legal successor to the throne.

The king and crown prince were seated in the palace hall. Civil and military officials above the third grade were seated on the floor, and those below the third grade were seated in the courtyard. The terrace ensemble was made up of boys in their early teens, and they were called *mudong* (male dancers). Only men were allowed to attend the royal court banquet, and all of the dancers were also male.

The royal celebration banquet, or “outer banquet” was held for the king on behalf of all officials, aides to the king, and the crown prince. Table 3 describes the procedure of the banquet held to commemorate King Gojong’s thirtieth year of reign and forty-first birthday.

A royal court banquet is by and large made up of three stages: First, the crown prince and prime minister offer the first, then the second cup of wine to the king along with a congratulatory message.

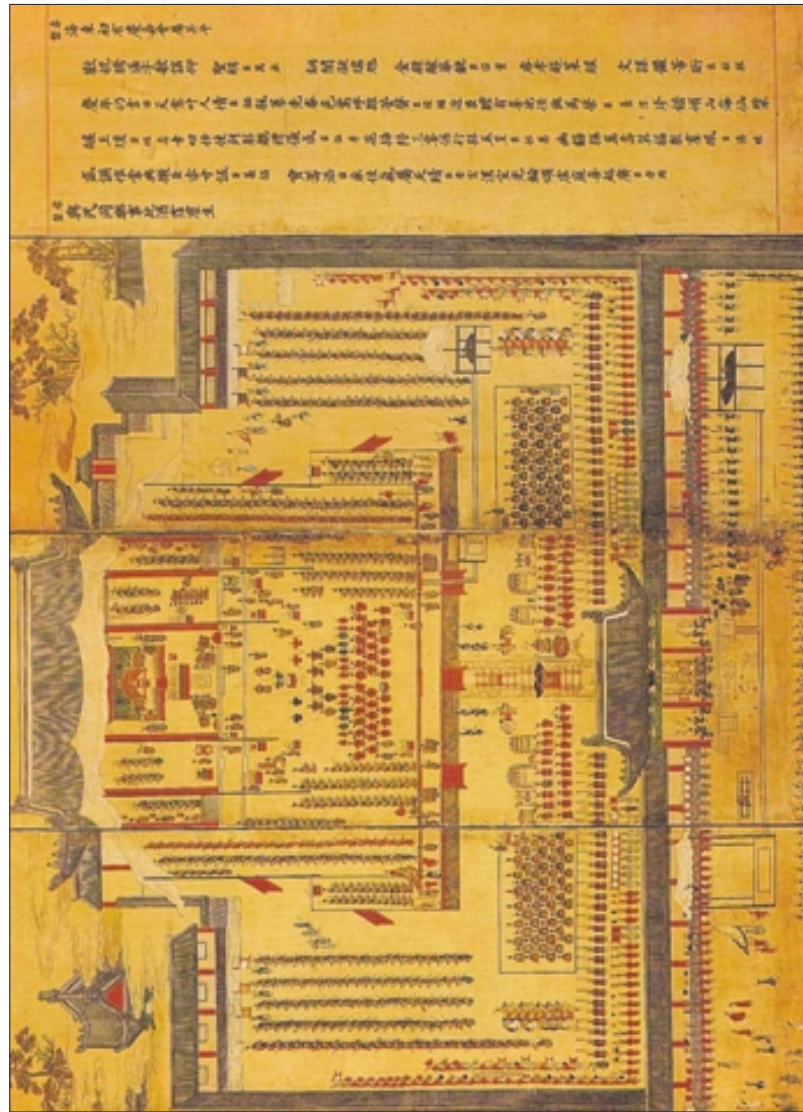


Figure 2. "Painting of the 1829 (29th year of King Sunjo's reign) Royal Cerebratory Banquet for the King and Officials"¹¹

11. It is housed at Ho-Am Museum Art.

Table 3. 1892 (29th year of King Gojong's reign)
Royal Celebratory Banquet for the King and Officials¹²

The king took his seat.
All those in attendance including the crown prince bowed four times to the king.
The royal meal was prepared.
The crown prince offered the first cup to the king.
The king gave a reply address to the crown prince's congratulatory message.
Tea was offered to the king.
The prime minister offered a second cup to the king.
The king gave a reply address to the prime minister's congratulatory message on behalf of all the officials.
All those in attendance, including the crown prince, expressed their wishes for the king's longevity.
All those in attendance including the crown prince bowed four times to the king.
A meal was offered to the crown prince.
The first drink was offered to the crown prince.
Tea was offered to the crown prince.
Food was offered to all of the officials.
A second cup was offered to the crown prince.
The king, crown prince, and all officials had their third through ninth drinks in the proper order.
The tables were cleared.
All those in attendance including the crown prince bowed four times to the king.
The king descended from the royal seat.

They then express their wishes that the king "lives a thousand years." Second, the first drink is offered to the crown prince, as he will be next to ascend the throne. Third, the king, crown prince, royal relatives, and all civil and military officials have drinks in the proper order.

12. *Imjin jinchan uigwe*, gwon 1:58b-67b.

As seen from the banquet procedure above, the king and all officials have the third drink together, because the officials are recognized as being responsible for assisting the king in ruling the country. The “outer banquet” is a banquet for the king and ministers who are bound to a sense of propriety, and thus its ritual etiquette is very strict. For this reason, when royal relatives and officials have drinks, they first move aside and prostrate themselves with a humble bow. After taking a drink, they prostrate themselves again before returning to their seats. For both the crown prince and officials, the drink is served at the same place, which is inside the hall.¹³ This is because they all participate in helping the king to rule the country.

The Royal Celebratory Banquet for the Royal Family

“Inner banquets” *naeyeon* refer to those offered to elderly royal family members, and were hosted by the royal family and relatives who were related to each other by blood and marriage. In contrast to the “outer banquets” held for the king and officials, where the king is always the honored guest, “inner banquets” for the royal family were meant to honor the dowager queen, king, and queen.

At the “inner banquet” held in 1848 king’s grandmother, queen, and concubine were in a hall, while the kind and titled ladies—*jwamyongbu* and *umyeongbu*—were on the ceremonial stage. The two groups (kind and titled ladies) were divided by a beaded blind. In addition, the king’s relatives and son-in-laws, and family members of the king’s wife and mother were seated in the garden. The blind was used to divide the men and women.

At banquets for the royal family, where the queen and titled ladies were in attendance, female entertainers performed music and dance. After the latter part of the eighteenth century, male musicians played accompaniment, and a curtain was used to separate the queen, crown princess, and titled ladies from these male musicians.¹⁴

13. *Imjin jinchan uigwe, gwon* 1:58b-60a.

14. Kim (2003, 237-249).

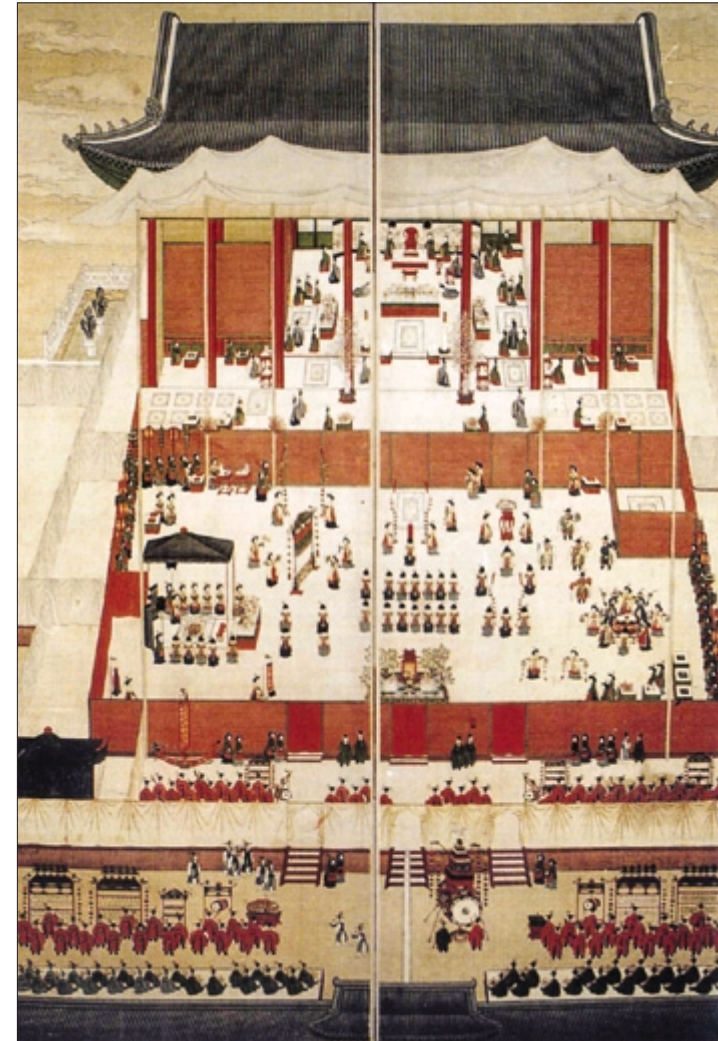


Figure 3. “Painting of the 1848 (14th year of King Heonjong’s reign) Royal Banquet for the Royal Family”¹⁵

15. It is housed at the Jeonju National Museum.



Figure 4. "Painting of the 1829 (29th year of King Sunjo's reign)
Royal Banquet for the Royal Family"¹⁶

This type of banquet was held to commemorate the thirtieth anniversary and forty-first birthday of King Gojong in 1892 and the sixtieth birthday of grandmother of King Heonjong in 1848, respectively.

Banquets for the royal family were also divided into three procedures. For example, when a banquet was held for the king's grandmother, the king and queen, regardless of their current status, were considered son, daughter-in-law, grandson, or grandson-in-law.

In the case of royal family banquets, the king and queen first offered two rounds of drinks to chief guest (the king's grandmother of the previous king), followed by the offering of drinks and congratulatory messages by royal family members. In some cases, they did

16. It is housed at the Ho-Am Museum Art.

Table 4. *Royal Celebratory Banquet for the Royal Family
on September 25, 1892*¹⁷

The king and queen took their seats. All those in attendance, including the crown prince, bowed four times to the king and queen.

A meal was served to the king and queen.

The crown prince offered the first drink to the king and offered a congratulatory message. The king took the first drink and gave a reply address.

The crown prince offered the first drink and a congratulatory message to the queen. The queen had the first drink and gave a reply address.

The crown princess offered the second drink to the king.
A congratulatory message was offered to the king.

The king had the second drink.
The king gave a reply address.

The crown princess offered the second drink to the queen and offered a congratulatory message. The queen had the second drink and gave a reply address.
Tea was offered to the king and queen.

A meal was served to the crown prince and princess.

Third through seventh drinks: Representatives of the titled ladies, princes, and royal relatives offered drinks and congratulatory messages in the aforementioned manner, and the king and queen gave their replies.

All those in attendance expressed their wishes that the king "live a thousand years."

All those in attendance, including the crown prince, bowed four times.

A meal was offered to the titled ladies and lower-ranking attendants.

The crown prince accepted a drink from first the king, then the queen, then a female butler.

The crown princess accepted a drink from first the king, then the queen, then the court butler.

Tea was offered to the crown prince and princess.

All those in attendance, including titled ladies, had a drink.

The tables were cleared.

All those in attendance, including the crown prince, bowed four times to the king.

The king and queen descended from their seats.

17. *Imjin jinchan uigwe*, gwon 1:67b-87b.

Table 5. Royal Celebratory Banquet for the Royal Family
in March 17, 1848¹⁸

The king's grandmother took her seat. All those in attendance, including the king, bowed four times to the king's grandmother.
A meal was served to the king's grandmother.
The king offered the first drink to the king's grandmother and a congratulatory message. The king's grandmother had the first drink and gave a reply address.
The queen offered a second drink to the king's grandmother along with a congratulatory message. The king's grandmother had the second drink and gave a reply.
Tea was offered to the king's grandmother.
The concubine Gyeongbin offered the third drink to the king's grandmother. A congratulatory message was offered to the king's grandmother. The king's grandmother had the third drink. The king's grandmother gave a reply address.
A meal was served to the king, queen, and Gyeongbin.
Representatives from each of the titled ladies, concubines, and royal relatives offered drinks and congratulatory messages in the aforementioned manner, and the king and queen gave a reply address.
All those in attendance expressed their wishes that the king's grandmother "live a thousand years."
All those in attendance, including the crown prince, bowed four times.
A meal was offered to titled ladies.
The king, queen, and Gyeongbin each accepted a drink from the king's grandmother in turn.
Tea was offered to the king, queen, and Gyeongbin.
All those in attendance including titled ladies had a drink.
The tables were cleared.
All those in attendance including the king bowed four times to the king's grandmother.
The king's grandmother descended from her seat.

18. *Musin jinchan uigwe*, *gwon* 1:26a-37a.

not offer drinks.¹⁹ After offering congratulatory messages, they expressed their wishes that the chief guest would "live a thousand years." Second, the chief guest offers drinks to the royal family members, including the king, queen, crown prince, and crown princess. Third, titled ladies, royal relatives, and other relatives take drinks.

"Inner banquets" were held for family members who were bound to each other emotionally. The chief guest offers drinks to the king, queen, or crown prince and princess, while expressing their feelings. This type of banquet was informal compared to the royal courtyard banquet, and therefore titled ladies, royal relatives, and other relatives were not required to prostrate themselves before drinking, and were only required to sit on their knees. There were remarkable differences between men and women in terms of how drinks were supposed to be offered to the chief guest. For example, in 1892, the crown prince and princess offered drinks to the king and queen inside the palace hall. Titled ladies offered drinks from behind a curtain, whereas princes and royal relatives did so from outside it.

Characteristics of Royal Banquets during Late Joseon

Gyeongguk daejeon, a legal instrument composed during the early Joseon period, stipulated that banquets for unity and the elderly be held once a year, while celebratory banquets were held on traditional holidays, such as Dano and Chuseok, and on the birthdays of royal family members. For example, during the reign of King Seongjong, when the new dynasty's laws and institutions were being completed, the rules of *Gyeongguk daejeon* were faithfully observed. Banquets for unity and the elderly were performed almost every year, and celebratory banquets were held several times a year. For example, in 1488, *jinyeon* were held nine times.

19. Three cups were offered in 1827 and in 1848, two cups in 1868, and seven cups in 1829.

However, from the reign of King Jungjong (r. 1506-1544), royal banquets were suspended during bad harvest years. Since King Seonjo (r. 1567-1608), banquets for unity and the elderly were no longer held. It is believed that royal banquets were only held on national holidays, when there was occasion to celebrate. Hence, during the twenty-six years of King Injo's reign, only two banquets were held; during the eight years of King Hyojong's reign, only one was held; and during the forty-six years of King Sukjong's reign, only six were held.²⁰

King Hyeonjong (r. 1659-1674) attempted to hold a banquet for his mother and grandmother, but failed to do so due to the recurring bad harvests. Ultimately, he was unable to hold any banquets during the fifteen years of his reign. Song Jun-gil, then sixth state councilor (*hwachamchan*), told the king that true filial piety lay in sharing the joys and sorrows of the people rather than holding a banquet for his mother and grandmother. On the fifth day of the ninth month of 1665 Song Jun-gil stated:

If a banquet is held during an extremely bad harvest year, people will think that the state is not doing anything to help the poor. How can you persuade the people otherwise? If there is a disparity between the king's policy and heavenly will and the people's feelings, the monarch will not have filial piety.²¹

For that reason, the number of banquets in late Joseon was remarkably reduced compared to early Joseon. In the latter part of Joseon, banquets for unity and the elderly disappeared and celebratory banquets were held only once every few years. As the scale of the celebratory banquet grew, it came to encompass two types of banquets.

In the twelfth month of 1657, a celebratory banquet was held for the queen dowager, and rice, liquor, and food were given to elderly

20. Kim (2003, 46-47, 84-101).

21. *Hyeonjong sillok* (Annals of King Hyeonjong), *gwon* 11, 9th month, 6th year of King Hyeonjong's reign.

people over the age of eighty. In the eleventh month of 1677, the Queen Dowagers were presented with a banquet, and elderly people over seventy years of age living in Seoul and local regions regardless of social status were given rice.²² Also, in 1706,²³ 1710,²⁴ and 1728, royal banquets were held to offer rice and meat to the elderly.²⁵ The elderly were often honored in this way through banquets.

In addition, land taxes (*jeonse*) were lowered,²⁶ and grain loans (*hwangok*) cancelled. In 1766, after a banquet, beggars in the capital were invited to eat their fill.²⁷ On the occasion of the sixtieth birthday of Hyegyeonggung in 1795, the poor were given three *mal* of rice each, and were said to have returning home singing with pleasure.²⁸

While there are no extant records of people receiving such benefits after royal banquets held during the early Joseon period, these acts of charity were taken for granted during the latter part of the era. This is apparent from the fact that, in 1795, when the street was filled with beggars who had shown up at a court banquet, the king said, "How can we make them leave without having anything? Give them food, rice cakes, and fruit."²⁹ The following illustration captures the scene of distributing rice to the poor at Honghwamun gate.

It is apparent that as Neo-Confucianism began to take root in Joseon society, the idea that the king should share the joys and sorrows of his people, and that the joys felt at banquets should be extended to the people, was accepted.

22. *Sukjong sillok* (Annals of King Sukjong), *gwon* 6, 11th month, 3rd year of King Sukjong's reign.

23. *Sukjong sillok*, *gwon* 44, 8th month, 32nd year of King Sukjong's reign.

24. *Sukjong sillok*, *gwon* 48, 5th month, 36th year of King Sukjong's reign.

25. *Yeongjo sillok* (Annals of King Yeongjo), *gwon* 19, 9th month, 4th year of King Yeongjo's reign.

26. *Sukjong sillok*, *gwon* 55, 9th month, 40th year of King Sukjong's reign.

27. *Yeongjo sillok*, *gwon* 107, 8th month, 42nd year of King Yeongjo's reign.

28. *Wonhaeng eulmyo jeongni uigwe* (*Uigwe on King Jeongjo's Visit to the Crown Prince Sado's Tomb in 1795* 園幸乙卯整理儀軌), *gwon* 1:12a; 34ab.

29. *Wonhaeng eulmyo jeongni uigwe*, appendix 1:2b.



Figure 5. “Distributing Rice at Honghwamun Gate”
in *Wonhaeng eulmyo jeongni uigwe*³⁰

30. *Wonhaeng eulmyo jeongni uigwe* 圖幸乙卯整理儀軌, gwon 1:62.

Concluding Remarks

Joseon society, which was built on the Confucian ideology, stressed the idea of propriety (*ye* 禮) and music (*ak* 樂). To this end, *Gukjo oryeui* (Five Rites of the State), a ritual canon, was legislated during the initial period of the dynasty, along with *Gyeongguk daejeon*. Most rites found in *Gukjo oryeui* are concerned with music, since *ye* (propriety), which focuses on respect and humility, and *ak* (music), which focuses on harmony and joy, are mutually complementary. In the same manner, royal banquets (*yeonhyang*) were included in *Gyeongguk daejeon*, and their ceremonial procedure appears in the *Gukjo oryeui*, as the banquets served to solidify social ties.

Until the reign of King Seongjong, when the new dynasty’s spiritual and material foundations were consolidated, banquets for unity and for the elderly were held annually, and celebratory banquets were performed on national holidays—New Year’s Day, Dano, and Chuseok—as well as on the birthdays of the king, king’s mother, and king’s grandmother.

However, with the advent of the Sarim group, which stressed the practical aspects of Neo-Confucianism during King Jungjong’s reign, banquets were not held during times of disaster. Following the reign of King Seonjo in particular, regular banquets for unity and for the elderly disappeared completely, with banquets for the royal family being held only at the anniversary of the king’s ascension to the throne and on his birthday. Thus, every banquet held during the late Joseon era was a celebratory one. Unlike those of early Joseon, people were usually given hand-outs after banquets during late Joseon, which was regarded as important for consolidating social unity. This is closely related to the entry of the Sarim faction into the political arena. Currently, nineteen types of banquet-related *uigwe* remain in existence. In conclusion, it can be ascertained from the banquet procedures that what Joseon Confucian literati sought was not so much a space for entertainment as a space for sharing joy with the people and realizing the harmony of propriety (*ye*) and music (*ak*).

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GLOSSARY

<i>akgong</i>	樂工	<i>Jinyeoncheong</i>	進宴廳
<i>bogye</i>	補階	<i>jwachamchan</i>	左參贊
<i>Cheoyong</i>	處容	<i>jwamyyeongbu</i>	左命婦
<i>chogyetang</i>	醋鷄湯	<i>mudong</i>	舞童
<i>deungga</i>	登歌	<i>naeyeon</i>	內宴
<i>Gisa jinpyori jinchan uigwe</i>	己巳進表裏進饌儀軌	<i>oeyeon</i>	外宴
<i>Gukjo oryeui</i>	國朝五禮儀	<i>pungjeong</i>	豐呈
<i>Gyeongguk daejeon</i>	經國大典	<i>Pungjeong dogam uigwe</i>	豐呈都監儀軌
<i>Hyebyeonggung</i>	惠慶宮	<i>sagaengnyeon</i>	使客宴
<i>hoeryeyeon</i>	會禮宴	<i>sarim</i>	士林
<i>Honghwamun</i>	弘化門	<i>sujak</i>	受爵
<i>hwangok</i>	還穀	<i>uigwe</i>	儀軌
<i>jeonak</i>	典樂	<i>umyeongbu</i>	右命婦
<i>jeongjae</i>	呈才	<i>Wonhaeng eulmyo jeongni uigye</i>	園幸乙卯整理儀軌
<i>jeonse</i>	田稅	<i>yaksik</i>	樂食
<i>jin pungjeong</i>	進豐呈	<i>yagnoyeon</i>	養老宴
<i>jinchan</i>	進饌	<i>yeonhyang</i>	宴享
<i>Jinchanso</i>	進饌所	<i>yeoryeong</i>	女伶
<i>jinjak</i>	進爵		
<i>jinyeon</i>	進宴		