The Last Majestic Ornamentation of Royal Portraits of the Joseon Dynasty: The Construction of New Seonwonjeon Hall in Changdeokgung Palace in 1921 and Court Paintings

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Introduction

Both eojin (royal portraits) and jinjeon (royal portrait halls 真殿) are unique Sino-Korean words coined during the Joseon dynasty. The syllable jin 真 shared by the two words means a real figure or a portrait. Eojin refers to portraits of kings and queens and jinjeon refers to the secondary royal shrines where eojin was kept and ancestral rites were held. While the Royal Ancestral Shrine 宗廟 served as the official venue for the national rites of Joseon, these secondary royal shrines served as private temples 私廟 where the current kings expressed their love and respect for former kings. King Sejong stated, “The reason the Royal Ancestral Shrine was established to venerate the ancient rites is that the kings of the past are considered sacred, and secondary royal shrines were installed to be tended on a daily basis because deceased parents should be cared for from nearby.” This explains how to understand the original function of a secondary royal shrine.

The Korean tradition of painting portraits started during the Three Kingdoms period (mid-4th to 7th centuries). Rather than during their lifetimes, most of them were painted after the subject had died and were intended for posthumous remembrance. A portrait of the deceased was left in a mural in some Goguryeo tombs, as seen in Anak Tomb No.3 (357) in Hwanghae Province and Deokheung-ri Mural Tomb (409) in South Pyeongan Province. During the Silla period (57 BCE-935 AD), temples were maintained for enshrining portraits (jinjeon sawon 真殿寺院) where memorial portraits or statues of previous kings were enshrined and rituals were held (Park 2012). In the Goryeo period (918-1392), royal portraits began to be produced regularly, and a Taejo Portrait Hall 太祖眞殿 was built in Gaesong, Pyeongyang, and other locations to enshrine the portrait and statue of the founder of Goryeo, Taejo 太祖 Wanggeon 王建. In the palace in the capital city Gaesong, separate secondary royal shrines called Gyeongnyeongjeon Halls 景靈殿 became an institution for enshrining the portraits of successive kings (Cho 1983; Kim 2005; Hong 2012; Hong 2017). This tradition of royal portrait production and royal portrait hall construction that started in the Three Kingdoms period was passed down and systematically developed during the Joseon dynasty.

During the Joseon dynasty, royal portraits were recognized as a symbol of absolute authority no less than a living king. They were consequently managed under strict regulations regarding their production, enshrinement, and related sacrificial rites. In the imperial Joseon dynasty, the worship of the previous kings was recognized as a symbolic visual act that gave legitimacy to the succession to the throne. More fundamentally, the practice of filial piety towards the ancestors of the royal family was considered to be directly linked to the management of state affairs. Thanks to this deep-rooted tradition, the production, replication, and repair of royal portraits continued uninterrupted even during the Japanese occupation period (1910-1945) when the Joseon royal family was demoted to the Yi Royal Household 李王朝, treated as members of the Japanese aristocracy, and were banned from taking on many of their original roles.

Along with the royal portraits themselves, a royal portrait hall, was recognized as a deeply special space during the Joseon dynasty as a space for storing portraits of the king and performing sacrificial rites. A plaque reading Seonwonjeon Hall 瑞源殿 was hung in royal portrait halls where royal portraits were enshrined. The name “royal portrait hall” is a generic term for any palace building of this nature. Therefore, a royal portrait hall is a building erected to house the portraits of kings and queens and for performing ritual ceremonies on a specific date. Therefore, it can be considered a space that served both for enshrinement and rites.

There were royal portrait halls where the portrait of a single king was

1. In 1713, King Sukjong and his vassals concluded that a king's portrait should be called an eojin given that Yeonghuijeon Hall 永惠殿 was already referred to as a jinjeon. 真殿. However, even after the term was selected as the most appropriate, terms such as eojin (ruler's face 面相), yeongjeong (shadow scroll 影蹟), and shiyong (clear-eyed face 冷眼) were used in some cases during the Joseon dynasty. On the other hand, the term jinjeon appeared in the Goryeo dynasty, but it was only in the Joseon era that it became firmly established as a shrine that enshrined eojin.

2. Sejong sillok (Veritable Records of King Sejong), third day of the fifth lunar month, 1435.

3. The Joseon royal family used unique terms applied only in the royal court, and honggan 東安 mentioned in the text also falls within this category. As a term used mainly for the royal family and not among common people, honggan means “to enshrine with proprietary noble materials symbolizing the king or queen, such as royal portraits and calligraphic writings of a king.”
In other words, it can be considered a historical site and the last place which preserved the identity of the royal family by observing proper decorum for the royal portraits of the Joseon dynasty during the dark period of the Japanese occupation (Figures 3 and 4). Although “New” is added to its name as a prefix to distinguish it from the old Seonwonjeon Hall in Changdeokgung Palace, which was built in the 17th century, its original name is simply Seonwonjeon Hall.5

New Seonwonjeon Hall was established during the Japanese occupation period when the traditions of the Joseon royal family were being undermined due to the demolition, purchase, and export of palace architecture by the Government-General of Korea. However, the various objects and paintings installed in it have recently attracted attention from architectural historians and art historians since they inform about the realities of national rituals, royal portrait production, and enshrinement that were revised with the promotion of Joseon to an imperial state with the proclamation of the Korean Empire. Although New Seonwonjeon Hall has received consistent attention as an extension of the royal portrait and portrait hall systems of the Joseon dynasty, no research has been conducted exclusively on the majestic ornamentation facilities installed inside it. Moreover, it is thought that there are limitations on approaching it as a single research subject given that it was the off limits area to visitors and most of the paintings and royal regalia kept here were lost or scattered during chaotic periods such as the Korean War, making it difficult to restore their original forms. Nevertheless, researchers at national and public museums have recently discovered and published documents and other works that shed light on the construction of New Seonwonjeon Hall and the portraits that were enshrined therein, providing well-established materials for the study of the royal portraits and royal portrait halls, including New Seonwonjeon Hall, of the Joseon dynasty.6

Based on recent academic achievements, this paper examines the Joseon court painting tradition from the 14th to the early 20th century, focusing on

4. The appellation “New Seonwonjeon Hall” does not appear in historical materials. It has recently come into use as a means to distinguish it from the previous Seonwonjeon Hall in Changdeokgung Palace, which had been used as a royal portrait hall since the 17th century. All historical materials record it simply as “Seonwonjeon Hall,” without making a distinction between the old and the new versions. However, there is an example of a newspaper article from the Japanese occupation period referring to the older Seonwonjeon Hall as “the old Seonwonjeon Hall,” indicating that it was already necessary sometimes to distinguish it from New Seonwonjeon Hall at the time. In this article, I would like to use this term following the conventional academic practice and refer to the newly built version in Changdeokgung Palace in 1921 as “New Seonwonjeon Hall” to distinguish it from the other located within the same palace.

5. Seonwon 瑷源 means the source (won 資) of beautiful jade (seon 鑽). It is a term used to refer to all members of the royal family. This is why the genealogy of the Joseon dynasty is called Seonwonrook (Record of the Origin of the Jades 彰源錄) or Seonwonrook giryak (Genealogical Record of the Origin of the Jades 瑷源系譜紀略).

6. For research results related to the royal portraits and royal portrait halls of the Joseon dynasty, see the references listed at the end of this paper.
royal portraits and the other paintings that “majestically ornamented” New Seonwonjeon Hall. Specifically, the background of the establishment of New Seonwonjeon Hall will be described in the context of the production of royal portraits from the Joseon dynasty through the Korean Empire and the operation of royal portrait halls. This will be followed by an exploration of the characteristics and other information on paintings such as the royal portraits enshrined in New Seonwonjeon Hall and folding screens of five peaks and peonies used to decorate the hall.

The Background of the Establishment of New Seonwonjeon Hall, the Last Royal Portrait Hall of the Joseon Dynasty

As an absolute symbol of the king, a royal portrait within a royal portrait hall was treated with special care in its maintenance, repair, replication, and transportation during the Joseon dynasty. Royal portrait halls also enjoyed preferential treatment. It can be said that this tradition started nearly with the founding of the dynasty in 1392, albeit not without opposition. In the early days of the Joseon dynasty, it was considered most urgent to establish Neo-Confucianism as the national ideology of the new dynasty. At that time, Confucian scholars strongly insisted that royal portraits and royal portrait halls be abolished, saying that enshrining and worshiping portraits in temples was a lingering influence of Buddhism and an unwelcome legacy of the Goryeo dynasty. However, despite the continued opposition by vassals to the founding of the dynasty in 1392, albeit not without opposition. In the early days of the Joseon dynasty, it was considered most urgent to establish Neo-Confucianism as the national ideology of the new dynasty. At that time, Confucian scholars strongly insisted that royal portraits and royal portrait halls be abolished, saying that enshrining and worshiping portraits in temples was a lingering influence of Buddhism and an unwelcome legacy of the Goryeo dynasty. However, despite the continued opposition by vassals to the founding of the dynasty in 1392, albeit not without opposition. In the early days of the Joseon dynasty, it was considered most urgent to establish Neo-Confucianism as the national ideology of the new dynasty. At that time, Confucian scholars strongly insisted that royal portraits and royal portrait halls be abolished, saying that enshrining and worshiping portraits in temples was a lingering influence of Buddhism and an unwelcome legacy of the Goryeo dynasty. However, despite the continued opposition by vassals to the founding of the dynasty in 1392, albeit not without opposition.

As a result, it can be seen that royal portraits of all outside the palaces. The purpose of this was to create an atmosphere in which both the royal court and the people were aware of the existence of former kings and adored them forever. The founder of the Joseon dynasty King Taejo, who was born Yi Seonggye, 李承敬, (r. 1392-1398) posthumously invested his father Yi Jachun 李昭春 as King Hwanjong 恒祖 and enshrined his memorial portrait in Gyeongbokgung Palace启聖殿 at Heungcheonsa Temple in Gaseong to hold ancestral rites. This is the first case of installing a royal portrait hall outside the palace after the founding of the Joseon dynasty.

After ascending to the throne, King Taejo renamed Insojeon Hall仁昭殿, which had been built by his father King Taejong (r. 1400-1418) in 1398 to enshrine a memorial portrait of his first wife (Queen Sinui 神懿王后) at Gyeongbokgung Palace, as Munsojeon文昭殿 in 1408. As this hall was used as the royal coffin hall, Seonwonjeon Hall瑶源殿 was built in Gyeongbokgung Palace to enshrine royal portraits of kings (Han 2007). Seonwonjeon Halls are the most common buildings used as royal portrait halls whether inside and outside the palace. A hall was built with this same name in Gyeongbokgung Palace, Changdeokgung Palace, and Gyeongungung Palace during the Joseon dynasty. Seonwonjeon Halls were important places for the development of painting royal portraits in the Joseon dynasty. They not only played an important function as a secondary royal shrine in the late Joseon dynasty but was also closely related to the production of royal portraits.

Some of the details of the royal portraits enshrined in the Seonwonjeon Hall in Gyeongbokgung Palace during the early Joseon dynasty can be inferred from “Youngmorok seo” (Preface to the Record of Lifelong Affection 永慕錄序) and “Chumorok seo” (Preface to Memory of the Deceased 追慕錄序) written by Shin Sukju 申叔舟 (1417-1475) in 1472 and 1473. According to these writings, there were three memorial portraits covering three generations of kings (from King Taejo to King Taejong) in Seonwonjeon Hall at that time. King Sejong had the court painters Choe Gyeong 崔涇 and Ahn Guisaeng 安貴生 paint and enshrine memorial portraits of Queen Soheon (the queen consort of King Sejong), King Seo, and King Yejong along with left detailed information on the painting and enshrinement. As a result, it can be seen that royal portraits of all

7. Taejong sillok, 19th day of the 12th lunar month, 1405.
the successive kings following King Taejong were being kept in the 15th century. Related information was recorded beginning with the reign of King Sejong, much of which is now available. However, most royal portraits of the kings enshrined here were lost during the Invasions of Japan in 1592.

To replace Gyeongbokgung Palace, which was destroyed during the Japanese Invasions, Changdeokgung, then a secondary palace, was promoted as a primary palace and a Seonwonjeon Hall was built here. This is the hall referred to as the old Seonwonjeon Hall (Figure 5) today. According to the Records of the Royal Palace (Gunggwolji) compiled in the early 19th century, the site of the old Seonwonjeon Hall was the original location of the Military Command Headquarters. In 1656, Gyeonghwadang Hall in Gyeongdeokgung Palace was relocated to Changdeokgung and renamed Chunhuijeon Hall. In 1695 it was renamed once again as Seonwonjeon Hall and used as a royal portrait hall to enshrine the portraits of King Taejo, King Sukjong, King Yeongjo, King Jeongjo, King Sunjo, King Munjo, and King Heonjong. This hall was renovated in both 1725 and 1754 as the building had deteriorated over the years, but it was no longer used as a royal portrait hall after New Seonwonjeon Hall was built in 1921.

The Seonwonjeon at Deoksugung Palace was built in 1897 after King Gojong fled to the Russian legation in 1896 and then transferred his residence to this palace. The portraits of seven kings—King Taejo, King Sukjong, King Yeongjo, King Jeongjo, King Sunjo, King Munjo, and King Heonjong—enshrined in the Seonwonjeon Hall (in Changdeokgung Palace) were replicated and enshrined here in 1900. This newly built Seonwonjeon Hall was completely destroyed in a fire, and in 1901 a hall was rebuilt near Yeongseongmun Gate in Deoksugung Palace. The destroyed portraits were replaced with new ones painted based on other existing portraits. However, the Seonwonjeon Hall reconstructed at that time was demolished in 1920 and the materials were recycled to build New Seonwonjeon Hall.

As described above, from its early days the Joseon dynasty government prepared places for royal portraits to be enshrined inside the palaces. Outside the palace, it built Taejo Portrait Halls where only royal portraits of King Taejo (Yi Seonggye) were enshrined and Yeonghuijeon Hall, where royal portraits of successive kings were enshrined (Kim 2009; Cho 2005; Lee 2006). Five Taejo Portrait Halls were built in different locations to enshrine the royal portraits of King Taejo. They were located in the birthplace of Yi Seonggye or in places of historical relevance to him: Junwonjeon Hall in Yeongheung, Jipgyeongjeon Hall in Gyeongju, Gyeonggijeon Hall in Jeonju, Yeongsungjeon Hall in Pyeongyang, and Mokcheongjeon Hall in Gaeason (Table 1). Taejo Portrait Halls were where the royal portraits of the founder of the Joseon dynasty were enshrined and have been highly revered since the early days of the founding of the Joseon dynasty. At first, it was just called eoyongjeon (royal portrait hall) and not given a specific name. However, starting in 1412 they were collectively referred to as Taejo Portrait Halls and established an identity as a palace building that enshrined the spirit of the founder of the Joseon dynasty.9

Table 1. Construction of Taejo Portrait Halls in the Joseon Dynasty

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Time of construction</th>
<th>Time of reconstruction or renovation</th>
<th>Reason for construction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Junwonjeon Hall</td>
<td>Yeongseong Province</td>
<td>Before 1398 (the seventh year of the reign of King Taejo)</td>
<td>Renovated in 1641</td>
<td>The birthplace of King Taejo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Jipgyeongjeon Hall</td>
<td>Gyeongju, Gyeongju Province</td>
<td>Before 1398 (the seventh year of the reign of King Taejo)</td>
<td>Closed after burning down in a fire in 1631</td>
<td>The old capital of Silla and the Eastern Capital of Goryeo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Yeongsungjeon Hall</td>
<td>Pyeongyang, Pyeong County</td>
<td>Before 1411 (the eleventh year of the reign of King Taejo)</td>
<td>Renovated in 1616</td>
<td>The old capital of Goguryeo and the Western Capital of Goryeo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Gyeonggijeon Hall</td>
<td>Jeonju, Jeolla Province</td>
<td>Before 1410 (the tenth year of the reign of King Taejo)</td>
<td>Renovated in 1614</td>
<td>The place of origins of the Jeonju Yi clan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Mokcheongjeon Hall</td>
<td>Gaeason, Hwangnag Province</td>
<td>In 1419 (the first year of the reign of King Sejong)</td>
<td>Reconstructed in 1901</td>
<td>The place where Taejo stayed before his enthronement</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9. Taejong sillok, 15th day of the 11th lunar month of 1412.
Junwonjeon Hall, built in 1398, is not only the first of the Taejo Portrait Halls to be built, but also has the longest history since it operated until the beginning of the 20th century (Figure 6). It is currently located in North Korea, so it is difficult to investigate it in person. However, judging from a photograph taken in 1911, it can be seen that Oesinmun Gate (exterior gate) and Naesinmun Gate (interior gate), which are passageways through which the spirits of previous kings enter and exit, are arranged sequentially from the outside of the building. The main hall housing memorial portraits is located at the back. This nearly corresponds with the layout of the buildings in the diagram of a royal portrait hall in Gukjo orye seorye (Preface and Examples for the Five Rites of the State 國朝五禮儀) in 10.

At present, the actual portrait of King Taejo enshrined in Junwonjeon Hall can be seen only in black and white photos taken in 1913 (Figure 7). This royal portrait was made in 1837 by replication of an existing royal portrait after the previous one had been damaged by a thief who broke into Junwonjeon Hall in September of that year. In the painting, Taejo is portrayed seated on a throne in a frontal position wearing an ikejongwan (winged hat 翼善冠) and a gollyongpo (royal robe 衮龍袍). Compared to the portrait of King Taejo painted in 1872 and enshrined in Gyeonggijeon Shrine, his face seems a little younger and he appears somewhat skinner. However, these two paintings are very similar in that both are frontal compositions that feature a two-dimensionally represented king’s bed and carpet. In addition, a folding screen of five peaks is placed behind the portrait in both halls, drapes hang down in front, and tassels are hung on both sides. Therefore, they show a common iconography in the portrait of King Taejo and the method of enshrining it, a practice maintained from the early Joseon dynasty.

In addition to Taejo Portrait Halls, Yeonghuijeon Hall is one of the oldest royal portrait halls installed outside the palace during the Joseon dynasty (Figure 8). Yeonghuijeon Hall was built in the Hundo Territorial Ward 順陶坊, the southern administrative district of the capital Hanyang. It went through many changes during its operations over approximately 300 years and existed until just before the Japanese occupation period. This was originally the private residence of Princess Uisuk 鄭淑公主, the eldest daughter of King Sejo. The royal family purchased the site in 1610 and named it Bongajeon Hall 奉慈殿. It was converted to a shrine housing the spirit tablet of Royal Noble Consort Gongbin of the Kim clan 恭嬪金氏, the biological mother of King Gwanghaegun. It was renamed Nambeoljeon Hall and underwent a major reconstruction in 1676, after which it became a royal portrait hall housing the portraits of Kings Taejo, Sejo, and Wonjong. It was renamed again as Yeonghuijeon Hall in 1690 to emphasize its status as a royal portrait hall (Chang 2004).

Later, in 1748, a portrait of King Sukjong was enshrined at Yeonghuijeon and the number of its rooms was expanded. In 1778, portraits of Kings Taejo, Sejo, Wonjong, Sukjong, and Yeongjo were being enshrined here. Given that most of the surviving parts of jinsun jeonggeon dogam uigwe (Royal Protocol of the Extension of Royal Portrait Halls 真殿增建都監儀軌) are concerned with Yeonghuijeon Hall, it can be concluded that Yeonghuijeon Hall occupies a considerable position in the history of the operation of royal portrait halls and the enshrinement of royal portraits in the late Joseon dynasty (Kim 2011; Yoo 2011).

Rooms were added to Yeonghuijeon Hall in 1858 as the number of royal portraits enshrined there in the late Joseon dynasty continued to increase. However, Yeonghuijeon Hall was relocated to the site of Gyeongmogung Hall 景慕宮, a shrine for Prince Sado (near today’s Seoul National University Hospital) in 1900, when Usomyo Shrine 鄭昭廟 for Prince Uiso 鄭昭世子, the older brother of King Jeongjo, and Munhuimyo Shrine 文禧廟 for Prince Munhyo 文禧世子, the son of King Jeongjo, was relocated there. In this version of Yeonghuijeon Hall that was newly built in 1900, the portraits of six ancestral kings—Taejo, Sejo, Wonjong, Sukjong, Yeongjo, and Sunjo—were enshrined until the hall was demolished by Japanese authorities in 1907. With the closing of Yeonghuijeon Hall, the royal portraits enshrined there were moved to Seonwonjeon Hall in Changdeokgung Palace. They were then moved to New Seonwonjeon Hall when it was newly built within Changdeokgung Palace.12

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10. Diagram of a royal portrait hall in “Illustrated Explanations of Altars and Shrines” 堂廟圖說 in Gukjo orye seorye (Preface and Examples for the Five Rites of the State 國朝五禮儀).

11. See Taejo yeongjeong mosa dogam uigwe (The Royal Protocols for Reproducing the Royal Portraits of King Taejo 太祖御像複製儀軌) (1838), housed in Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies at Seoul National University. The color of the gollyongpo in the Portrait of King Taejo in Junwonjeon Hall is red, as can be seen in the record in Seongjeongwon ilgi (Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat, 承政院日記). Seongjeongwon ilgi. 25th day of the 12th month, 1877.

12. During the Joseon dynasty, facilities for enshrining royal portraits in addition to Taejo Portrait Halls and Yeonghuijeon Hall were operated in several places outside the palace: Yaksanggung Shrine 鄭祥宮 for King Yeongjo’s mother Lady Choi, a royal shrine located near Gyeongbokgung Palace;
The Seonwonjeon Halls in Changdeokgung and Deoksugung Palaces and Taejo Portrait Halls and Yeonghujeon Hall outside the palace continued to be in operation during the Korean Empire period (1897-1910) when the country was proclaimed an empire. After the establishment of the Korean Empire, Emperor Gojong (r. 1863-1907) continued the operation of royal portrait halls. Their management was changed starting in the reign of King Suyjong in the late Joseon dynasty and more attention to maintaining royal portrait halls and revamping the related rituals was paid. In an effort to establish a legal foundation commensurate with the status of an imperial state, in 1898 Emperor Gojong published *Ceremonies of Great Han* (*DaeHan yejeon* 大韓禮典), a law code compiled based on the *Five Rites of the State*, which had been the basis of the national liturgy of the Joseon dynasty (Yim 2007). While the *Five Rites of the State* provides uniform procedures for the rites in the royal portrait halls in its chapter “Protocol of the Ceremonies for Enshrining Royal Portraits” 俗節享眞殿儀, the *Ceremonies of Great Han* provides details on separate procedures for sacrificial rites performed in Yeonghujeon Hall, Gyeonggijeon Shrine, Seonwonjeon Hall, and Hwaryeongjeon Hall.

During the reign of King Gojong (1863-1907), replications of royal portraits of successive kings were made and royal portrait halls were actively reconstructed. National rituals were expanded as well. There were multiple drivers behind these enterprises: royal portraits deteriorated over time and royal portrait halls had been damaged in fires. Emperor Gojong’s projects included: having the portrait of King Taejo at Junwonjeon Hall in Yeongheung replicated in 1872 for enshrinement in Gyeonggijeon Shrine in Jeonju; building Seonwonjeon Hall in Gyeongungung Palace (later renamed Deoksugung Palace) in 1897; having memorial portraits of seven successive kings (including King Taejo) made; relocating Yeonghujeon Hall and reconstructing the Seonwonjeon Hall in Gyeongungung Palace in 1900; reconstructing Mokcheongjeon Hall in Gaeseong in 1901; and enshrining the portrait of King Gojong and the portrait of the crown prince at Taegeukjeon Hall in the Western Capital (today’s Pyeongyang) in 1902 (Shin 2005; Yi 2012).

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, prolific painters, both connected to the royal court and working independently, participated in the production of royal portraits. They included Yi Hancheol 李漢喆 (1812-after 1893), Jo Jungmuk 趙重默 (b. 1820), Baek Eunbae 白俊培 (1820-1901), Chae Yongsin 蔡龍臣 (1850-1941), Jo Seokjin 趙錫晋 (1853-1920), and Ahn Jungsiik 安中植 (1861-1919). Given that the folding screen “Painting of Memorable Life Events” 平生圖 depicting important events in the life of Chae Yongsin includes a scene in which he painted a portrait of King Taejo at Heungdeokjeon Hall in Gyeongungung Palace in 1900, it can be presumed how meaningful it was for painters at the time to participate in the production of a royal portrait (Figure 9).

A representative royal portrait copied during the reign of King Gojong is the royal portrait of King Taejo that was painted in 1872 and enshrined at Gyeonggijeon Hall in Jeonju (Figure 10). This work is a replication of a royal portrait of King Taejo produced in 1688 and enshrined at Yeonghujeon Hall. This is the only royal portrait of King Taejo that has been handed down to the present without being damaged among the roughly 26 royal portraits of him created during the Joseon dynasty.

With an imposing height of about 220 cm, the painting conveys a solemn atmosphere. Taejo is seated on his splendid royal bed wearing a winged hat and blue royal robe. In general, the king of the Joseon dynasty wore a red royal robe and this is what is portrayed in royal portraits. However, the royal robe in this picture is characterized by being blue rather than red. This is because a royal portrait of King Taejo was first painted in 1410 and reflected the practices of the Goryeo dynasty. The right to wear a red gollyeongpo was bestowed by Ming China only in 1444, so the color from the time of the first production a scene in which he painted a portrait of King Taejo at Heungdeokjeon Hall in Gyeongungung Palace in 1900, it can be presumed how meaningful it was for painters at the time to participate in the production of a royal portrait (Figure 9).

The solemn expression on the face of King Taejo as he gazes straight ahead, 13. In line with this, Chae Yongsin wrote a book entitled *Bongmyeongsagi* (Record of Painting at the Royal Order 奉命寫記) recording his replicating two royal portraits upon orders from King Gojong, his painting of a portrait of King Gojong in 1901, and painting high-ranking officials’ portraits. It is housed in Jangeogak Archives at the Academy of Korean Studies.

14. It is currently housed at the Royal Portrait Museum in Jeonju.
the dragon patterns adorning his shoulders and chest, abundant folds of clothing depicted in a two-dimensional rather than three-dimensional manner, and their expression of the two feet opened wide all present visual effects intended to solemnly and reverently convey the authority of the monarch. The ways in which the royal portrait is hung on a wooden baldachin, a curtain is draped in front, and a folding screen of five peaks is set behind it are all consistent with the enshrining method of the royal portrait of King Taejo at Junwonjeon Hall in Hamheung as discussed earlier. Furthermore, the same method is applied in New Seonwonjeon Hall. This suggests that the enshrinement of a royal portrait is a ceremonial rite where formalities and tradition were considered important.

Although Emperor Gojong actively reformed the royal portrait system in the Yunghuie era (1907-1910) under Emperor Sunjong’s reign, little was done to establish or reconstruct a separate royal portrait hall or to enshrine royal portraits. This was because the Japanese Resident General meticulously worked to scale down the traditional national ceremonies, eliminating the need to produce royal portraits (Choe 2002; Shin 2005).

Consolidation and Abolition of Royal Portrait Halls and the Establishment of New Seonwonjeon Hall during the Japanese Occupation Period

Construction of New Seonwonjeon Hall started in 1920, a time when Japanese colonial rule was beginning in earnest, and was completed in 1921. This construction was based on the royal portrait hall system refined over the following extended process of colonization: a total reform of the national rites during the Gabo Reforms (1894-1896); another reform of national rites during the Gwangmu Reforms (1896-1904) with the establishment of the Korean Empire; and finally the abolishment of the national rites that had been institutionalized in the Korean Empire period under Emperor Sunjong (the Yunghuie era, 1907-1910) and the Japanese Resident General’s rule (1906-1910). Among these, the most direct driver was the reduction of the national rites by the Joseon dynasty and the consolidation and abolition of royal portrait halls under Japanese colonial rule.

On July 23, 1908, the Japanese Resident General announced Imperial Edict No.50, which began to drastically reduce the rites performed by the Korean imperial family in the name of the revision of state rituals 享祀釐正.\(^\text{15}\) The provisions of the edict included the following: National rites should only be related to the imperial family; those rites which were considered inappropriate for the times should be abolished; the spirit tablets and royal portraits at shrines 廟, ancestral halls 祠, and palace shrines 宮殿 should be enshrined together at a new site, if appropriate; national rites, special rites, customary rites, and rites of the new moon and the full moon should not be performed if they are not essential; and shrines, regular morning court assembly days, and shamanic rituals should be abolished. Consequently, the royal portraits enshrined at Yeonghuijeon Hall, Mokcheongjeon Hall, Hwaryeongjeon Hall, Pyeongnakjeong Pavilion, Seongilheon Pavilion, Naengcheonjeon Hall, and other buildings used to enshrine royal portraits were relocated to Seonwonjeon Hall. The spirit tablets at Jeogyeonggung Shrine 儲慶宮, Daebingung Shrine 大嬪宮, Seonhuigung Shrine 宣禧宮, Gyeongugung Shrine 景祐宮, and Yeonhogung Shrine 延祜宮 were enshrined together at Yeonghuijeon Hall. Other spirit tablets were buried, and ancestral ceremonies were abolished. Therefore, Seonwonjeon Hall in Changdeokgung Palace remained as the only place in Seoul that officially functioned as a royal portrait hall. Only the Royal Ancestral Shrine and Yuksanggung Shrine 崇禮宮 remained elsewhere as spaces for ancestral rites. In other words, the Japanese Empire abolished or reduced the function of the national rites that had been expanded by King Gojong, cutting off the tradition of commemorating the kings of the past that had served as a symbol of the legitimacy of the Joseon dynasty.

New Seonwonjeon Hall can also be considered to have been built to consolidate the functions of the royal portrait halls installed in various places such as Gyeongbokgung Palace, Changdeokgung Palace, and Yeonghuijeon Hall as part of the policy on the revision of state rituals by the Japanese occupation forces that brought about the disassembly of the palaces in Seoul.\(^\text{16}\) New Seonwonjeon Hall was erected when King Gojong’s national funeral was almost completed. It can be said that its construction was deeply related to

\(^{15}\) Sunjong sillok burok, gwon 20, 23\textsuperscript{rd} day of the seventh month, 1908.

\(^{16}\) With the revision of state rituals, the Japanese Empire not only reduced the number of venues for ancestral rites but also limited the number of occasions for holding rites to twice per year in the case of ritual ceremonies in royal portrait halls (Sunjong sillok burok, gwon 2, 23\textsuperscript{rd} day of the seventh month, 1908).
the dismantling or relocation of many of the palace buildings in Deoksugung Palace. The national funeral of King Gojong ended when he was buried in the Royal Ancestral Shrine on March 31, 1921 following his death at Deoksugung Palace on January 21, 1919. During this period, materials from Hyodeokjeon Hall, Seonwonjeon Hall, and Uihyojeon Hall, which had been located in the royal portrait hall area near Yeongseongmun Gate in Deoksugung Palace, were relocated to Changdeokgung Palace to be used in the construction of new palace buildings. The merciless dismantling of Deoksugung Palace, which had lost its main resident, was a shocking event and the anger and regret of the Koreans of the time is evidenced in newspapers from the time.17

In 1908, the Japanese Empire abolished Daebodan Altar 大報壇 in the royal garden to the north of Changdeokgung Palace and placed the site under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Royal Household. Roughly 11 years later, in 1920, it began to build New Seonwonjeon Hall just a short distance to the south from the site of Daebodan Altar. The completion of New Seonwonjeon Hall was briefly mentioned in an entry dated March 22, 1921 in Sunjong sillok burok, stating that it was built on the former Northern Military Training Office 北一營 site, a military area.18 However, based on an earlier article in the Maeil sinbo from May 11, 1920 under the subtitle of “Seonwonjeon Hall will be newly built with 12 rooms on the site of the Northern Military Training Office in Changdeokgung Palace,” it can be understood that the demolition work at Deoksugung Palace was carried out on a large scale before 1921 in order to reconstruct the New Seonwonjeon Hall area.19

[...] Why has such a dignified palace [Deoksugung] been demolished so that the palace within Yeongseongmun Gate [Deoksugung], which was splendid and majestic, has become a barren field? All the palace buildings were demolished and moved to Changdeokgung Palace to relocate Seonwonjeon Hall and Uihyojeon Hall, which were located in this palace, to the site of the Northern Military Training Office behind Changdeokung Palace. Seonwonjeon Hall, which is to be rebuilt on the site of the Northern Military Training Office, originally had seven rooms because it enshrined the precious spirits of seven kings. However, five rooms will be specially added to build a 12-room large palace building [...]. The three rooms relocated from Yeonghuijeon Hall to Saseongdang Shrine in the palace within Yeongseongmun Gate will be housed in the Seonwonjeon Hall to be newly built on the site of the northern Military Training Office. The remaining two rooms will be left empty for a while to enshrine the noble spirit of His Majesty Great King Yi (King Gojong), who passed away. What will happen in the future? Will His Majesty at Changdeokgung Palace (Emperor Sunjong) be enshrined in the other room after he passes away? This is something we do not know.

It can be inferred from the above article that New Seonwonjeon Hall had seven rooms when the Seonwonjeon Hall of Deoksugung Palace was relocated; three rooms were added when Yeonghuijeon Hall was relocated to Saseongdang Shrine at Deoksugung Palace and then relocated again to Changdeokgung Palace, and two more rooms were built to make it a 12-room hall. Therefore, it was not possible to specify exactly where the building materials for the New Seonwonjeon Hall building came from. Still, based on the above article, it can be presumed that the materials of construction was acquired during the process of the demolition and relocation of the royal portrait hall area of Deoksugung during the national funeral of King Gojong.

However, relocating the Seonwonjeon Hall building from Deoksugung Palace and using it to build New Seonwonjeon Hall does not mean that the previous buildings were simply moved intact. Since several rooms had to be added to New Seonwonjeon Hall, it is highly likely that elements from other palaces were transported and used to construct the Hall. Unfortunately, the details of the construction are unknown since no official records or other documents have been preserved. However, the results of tree-ring dating on wooden members at New Seonwonjeon Hall that was performed during a repair project in 2002, basically coincided with a period between 1896 and 1899 when Gyeongbokgung Palace was being restored. Based on this, it can be confirmed that wooden members from Gyeongbokgung Palace dismantled for a reconstruction project during King Gojong’s reign were used in the construction that was performed during a repair project in 2002, basically coincided with a period between 1896 and 1899 when Gyeongbokgung Palace was being restored. Based on this, it can be confirmed that wooden members from Gyeongbokgung Palace dismantled for a reconstruction project during King Gojong’s reign were used in the construction project during King Gojong’s reign were used in the construction project during King Gojong’s reign were used in the construction

17. Maeil sinbo (Daily News), May 11, 1920: “The destiny of the palace within Yeongseongmun Gate, where even a grain of sand thinks of its owner! What can we do?”
18. Sunjong sillok burok, gwon 12, 22nd day of the third month, 1921. Because New Seonwonjeon Hall was built geographically very close to the site of Daebodan Altar, some scholars considered that the hall was being built on the site of the altar. However, New Seonwonjeon Hall was actually built south of the Daebodan Altar site, which can be found in the drawing of Changdeokgung Palace made from the 1920s to 1930s (Chang and Jeon 2013).
19. Maeil sinbo article from May 11, 1920 under the subtitle “Seonwonjeon Hall will be Newly Built with 12 Rooms on the Site of the Northern Military Training Office in Changdeokgung Palace.”
of New Seonwonjeon Hall (Cultural Heritage Administration 2002). This serves as data for better understanding the process of the construction of New Seonwonjeon Hall. In fact, even a visual examination of the detailed structure of the inner shrine of New Seonwonjeon Hall shows that they were made from different members or reassembled from existing building materials.

The Spatial Structure of New Seonwonjeon Hall and the Majestic Ornamentation inside the Hall
Location and Nearby Facilities

After passing through Donhwamun Gate (the main gate of Changdeokgung Palace) a 20-minute walk north along the wall where the palace offices were located brings visitors to the spacious grounds to the west of the rear garden. This is the precinct of New Seonwonjeon Hall. New Seonwonjeon Hall, the westernmost building in the precinct of Injeongjeon Hall, is located in the palace's deepest and most remote area and is separated from the neighboring houses by a fence. The trail leading to this place has not been frequented by people for a long time, creating a more serene and solemn atmosphere than anywhere else in Changdeokgung Palace. According to a ground plan of Changdeokgung Palace made around 1921, New Seonwonjeon Hall is located at the innermost part with a shrine room and Uihyojeon Hall in front of it. Gwaegungjeong Pavilion and Mongdapjeong Pavilion are located behind the shrine room, and Uihyojeon Hall, which was moved from Deoksugung Palace, is located in front of New Seonwonjeon Hall. The arrangement of these buildings can be seen more clearly in the illustration on the information board installed by the Changdeokgung Palace Office to show the area around New Seonwonjeon Hall (Figures 11 and 12).

Walking along the path in Changdeokgung Palace leading to New Seonwonjeon Hall brings one first to the Oesinmun Gate of New Seonwonjeon Hall on the left, marked as a gate in the ground plan of Changdeokgung Palace. It is presumed that people originally went through this gate and then Naesinmun Gate to reach the main hall (Figure 13). Following the small road in front of Oesinmun Gate leads to Naesinmun Gate and the main hall. To the left of Naesinmun Gate is a shrine room, to the right is the fence around Uihyojeon Hall, and beyond the fence, the roof of New Seonwonjeon Hall can be seen spreading wide (Figure 14). During ancestral rites in the Joseon dynasty, it was customary to pass through the royal portrait hall in order from Oesinmun Gate through Naesinmun Gate to the main hall since the three structures were built facing each other in a straight line. However, in the case of New Seonwonjeon Hall, not only did the axis of the buildings tilt to the left, but part of the land was sold during the Japanese colonial period and private houses were built outside Oesinmun Gate. Now, the precincts of the hall are delineated by a wall between it and Choong Ang High School.

Uihyojeon Hall, which is located in front of New Seonwonjeon Hall, was originally a building in Deoksugung Palace that was used as the royal coffin hall for Empress Sunmyeong 純孝皇后 (1872-1904), the wife of King Sunjong when he was Crown Prince. Mungyeongjeon Hall 文慶殿 in Gyeongbokgung Palace was relocated to Deoksugung Palace to become Uihyojeon Hall in 1904. Today's Uihyojeon Hall settled in its site only after Mungyeongjeon Hall in Gyeongbokgung Palace was relocated to become Uihyojeon Hall in Deoksugung Palace, which in turn was relocated again to become today's Uihyojeon Hall in Changdeokgung Palace. Uihyojeon Hall was closely related to the production of royal portraits during the Japanese colonial period when it was used in 1935 and 1936 as a temporary shrine for repairs and replication of royal portraits to be enshrined in New Seonwonjeon Hall.

Gwaegungjeong Pavilion and Mongdapjeong Pavilion behind the shrine room are buildings that existed before the construction of New Seonwonjeon Hall. Gwaegungjeong Pavilion is presumed to be where the soldiers of the Northern Military Training Office of the Military Training Command practiced archery, but the date of its establishment is unclear. At the base of Gwaegungjeong Pavilion is a rock inscribed with “Gwaengungam” 挂弓巖. Based on the sexagenary year (the giu year) inscribed on the rock, it is presumed that the pavilion was built in 1849. Mongdapjeong Pavilion is a multi-storied pavilion that stands behind a square pond. Originally built on the site of the
Northern Military Training Office by the military training commander Kim Seungeung 金聖應, this pavilion was hung with a plaque bearing the name Mongdapijeong Pavilion after King Yeongjo saw it from Daebodan Altar and named it as such (Han 2003).

**The Majestic Ornamentation inside the Hall**

New Seonwonjeon Hall is 14 kan wide in the front and four kan along the side, including the extra kan on the left and right sides. On either side of the hall are two Offering Offices 陳設廳, a space for preparing ancestral rites. New Seonwonjeon has a low ceiling and stretches wide laterally, like the Royal Ancestral Shrine. Such structures limit the sunlight entering through the lighting windows, generally leaving the interior very dark. This type of building amplifies the solemn and respectful atmosphere of the ancestral rites space. Other than the extra kan on the left and right, the remaining 12 kan consist of niches 龜室, enshrining royal portraits from King Taejo to King Sunjong. In front of these niches, a worship space of about two kan in width was prepared without partitions (Figure 15). There is a narrow half-kan chamber on the left and right sides of Rooms 1 and 12, and all floors, including the floor of the worship space, are covered with mats.

Every niche has a uniform size and shape. A red blind 朱簾 with a tortoise and shell pattern woven from thick bamboo strips with a red cloud-patterned muslin cloth attached to the back was hung to partition off the niches (Figure 16). This blind is also called a tortoise-patterned blind 龜紋簾 because of its ornamentation. The red blind is a royal craft used only in spaces related to the king or queen, such as the palace, the royal portrait hall, and the Royal Ancestral Shrine. It is a kind of hanging screen that was used to decorate the walls of the inner court 內殿 or the surface of a small palanquin carrying a spirit tablet 神輿. A red blind can be frequently found in various paintings of court ceremonies during the Joseon dynasty, as they were used to represent both majesty and authority at court events and ceremonial venues (Jang 2011; Seok and Han 2016).

On the front side of the niche, the top and edges are decorated with a wooden openwork structure called a yueum punghyeol 流音風穴, and inside is a wooden baldachin, a structure for enshrining a royal portrait (Figure 17). Inside each wooden baldachin there is a device for hanging a royal portrait. The width and height of the wooden baldachin are slightly different for each niche. The reason for the differences may be that wooden baldachins were relocated along with the transportation of the royal portraits from various palace buildings, as suggested by the aforementioned Sillok entry related to the establishment of the construction of New Seonwonjeon Hall in 1921. The wooden baldachin's accessory furniture, the king's bed, and other ritual objects were originally lacquered in red. At present, however, they are all lacquered in yellow, probably to suit the formalities of an imperial state after the declaration of the Korean Empire. The details of the composition of the niches are as follows.

The splendid yueum punghyeol installed on the front of each niche is engraved with auspicious patterns such as phonies, peaches, arabesques, and elixir plants. It is done in openwork to also function as a lighting window. The wooden baldachin placed inside each niche is a rectangular space with an open front but enclosed on three sides. Under the canopy 寶蓋, which corresponds to the ceiling, there is a royal couch 龍平床, a folding chair for a royal portrait 御眞交椅, and a footstool 踏掌. The royal couch was set on a king's platform 御榻. According to the Royal Protocol for Reproduction of Royal Portraits (Eojin mosu dogam uigwe 御眞摹寫都監儀軌), the official term for the canopy ceiling is “floating dragon” (buyong 浮龍). The canopy is engraved with two dragons facing each other as they play in the clouds with a magic pearl in the center. The lower part is in contact with the triangular ornament of the folding screen of five peaks. The dragon is a five-clawed dragon that fits the formalities of a vassal state. This seems to be because the wooden baldachins built before the Korean Empire period were reused.

A folding screen of five peaks was installed in the center of the wooden baldachins. Two narrow screens 挨幅 were installed on the left and right sides, each presenting the iconography of the folding screen (Figure 18). The prototype for the folding screens of five peaks and narrow screens at New Seonwonjeon Hall can be found in a diagram in the Royal Protocol for the Reproduction of Royal Portraits produced in 1901 (Figure 19). According to this diagram, the folding screen of five peaks in the center should be framed by a flooring board 御板 and a railing and have narrow screens on the left and right sides. Clouds and a mountain with five peaks is drawn on the center, left, and right screens, and triangular ornaments 草葉 engraved with floral medallion motif patterns are attached above. A silk cloth woven with dragon patterns is attached along the edge of the narrow screens. This is almost identical to the
folding screens of five peaks in New Seonwonjeon Hall. Finally, a four-panel folding screen of peonies stretched wide along the wall behind the wooden baldachin. Since the distance between the wooden baldachin and the folding screen of peonies on the back is very narrow, around 50-60 cm, it is highly likely that the folding screen was attached first, and then the wooden baldachin was installed.

A densely woven deunye (floral woven mat) was laid on the royal couch, a folding chair for a royal portrait was placed in front of it, and a footstool gakdap was set underneath it. A dapjang is a small pedestal placed in front of a couch and used to rest your feet or to step up on it. This is also described as a footrest (gakdap) in the Veritable Records of the Joseon Dynasty and was recorded as an object to be placed with a folding chair. It seems that the pattern of the mat on the royal couch was originally painted, but now only faint traces remain. A folding chair is generally made together with a footrest as a single unit, but in the case of New Seonwonjeon Hall the folding chair and footstool were produced separately. If the portrait is small, it is placed on the chair and if it is large, it is placed in front of the chair. This is a symbolic representation of a seated living king.

The form and composition of these niches were designed for accessorizing royal portraits to serve the deceased king as if he was still alive. A similar facility for majestic ornamentation can be found in Gyeongsigjeon Hall in Jeonju, where the royal portrait of King Taejo is enshrined. Judging from the related accounts in Nambyeoljeon jungjeoncheong uigwe (Royal Protocol for the Reconstruction of Nambyeoljeon Hall) in 1677, the system for such facilities seems to have become firmly established with the reinstitution of majestic ornamentation facilities after the Japanese Invasions of Korea in 1592.

The royal portraits enshrined in New Seonwonjeon Hall were taken to Busan during the Korean War, but most of them were subsequently lost in a fire. Many of the various utensils and royal regalia used in ritual ceremonies have also been lost. It can be seen in a photograph taken in the 1980s that some regalia (nobo) used for the transportation of royal portraits or ancestral rites remained in front of the niche, but they were all transferred to the National Palace Museum of Korea in Seoul in 2005. Those regalia include yellow parasols (hwangol), yellow umbrellas (hwangsan), fans, knives, and spears. However, given the fact that the royal relics were not preserved in their original places due to the events of the Japanese occupation period and Korean War, it is necessary to confirm whether the regalia known to have been recovered from New Seonwonjeon Hall was ever actually used.

New Seonwonjeon Hall and Court Paintings

Enshrinement and Replication of Royal Portraits after the Construction of New Seonwonjeon Hall

New Seonwonjeon Hall was built as part of the revision of the state rituals of the Joseon dynasty by the Japanese imperial government. After its construction it was used as the sole location in the palace where ritual ceremonies for the former kings of the Joseon dynasty were performed. The royal portraits enshrined here were also subject to ongoing management.

The interior of New Seonwonjeon Hall includes 12 niches, spanning from Room 1 (for King Taejo) to Room 12 (for Emperor Sunjong). The royal portraits enshrined here were transported to Busan during the Korean War, but most of them were lost there in a fire. Some of the portraits that were only partially damaged are now kept at the National Palace Museum of Korea. The original locations of the royal portraits that were enshrined at the time of the establishment of New Seonwonjeon Hall in 1921 can be found in Sunjong sillok.

22. Nobu means regalia used in royal processions or royal processions equipped with regalia. It has its origins in the Goryeo dynasty and was formally stipulated in Gukjo oreui serye (Preface and Examples of the Five Rites of the State) (1474). Regarding the regalia used for transportation of royal portraits to New Seonwonjeon Hall, see, for example, "Enshrinement of King Gojong’s Portrait at Seonwonjeon Hall" (1928) and "Rites for Relocating the Portraits and Enshrining the Royal Portrait of Emperor Gojong at Seonwonjeon Hall" (1928) and "Rank-positioned Procession for Enshrinement of the Royal Portrait of Emperor Sunjong," "Rank-positioned Procession for the Royal Portrait of Emperor Gojong and Empress Myeonggoeung," and "Rites for the Enshrinement of the Royal Portrait of Emperor Sunjong at Seonwonjeon Hall." Although existing regalia were used again in most cases, those used for transporting the royal portraits to the chambers for Emperor Gojong and Emperor Sunjong were produced anew.
Seonwonjeon Hall was newly built in the rear garden of Changdeokgung Palace on the former site of the Northern Military Training Office. The royal portraits of Kings Taejo (which had formerly been enshrined at the old Seonwonjeon Hall); Sejo and Wonjong (formerly enshrined at Yeonghuijeon Hall); Sukjong, Yeongjo, Jeongjo, Sunjo, Munjo, and Heonjong (formerly enshrined at old Seonwonjeon Hall); Cheoljong (formerly enshrined at Munhanjeon Hall); and Gojong (formerly enshrined at Jungwhajeon Hall) were enshrined after its completion, and libation ceremonies were subsequently performed there.23

It can be seen in the above record that the royal portraits enshrined in the old Seonwonjeon Hall, Yeonghuijeon Hall, and Jungwhajeon Hall at Deoksugung Palace were transferred without replicating them after the completion of New Seonwonjeon Hall in 1921. This fact is also confirmed in “Enshrinement of King Gojong’s Portrait at Seonwonjeon” in the Royal Protocol for the Ancestral Temple Enshrinement of Emperor Gojong and Empress Myeongseong, which records the process of the burial of King Gojong and Empress Myeongseong in the Royal Ancestral Shrine. It describes other royal portraits and related items that were relocated from Jungwhajeon Hall in Deoksugung Palace to New Seonwonjeon Hall together with the Portrait of Gojong. It is also recorded that on March 20, 1921, the royal portraits enshrined in ten rooms of the Seonwonjeon Hall of Changdeokgung Palace and the royal portrait of King Gojong enshrined in Jungwhajeon Hall at Deoksugung Palace were moved and enshrined in New Seonwonjeon Hall, and King Sunjong performed a libation at the time.24 This relocation of royal portraits from Deoksugung Palace to Changdeokgung Palace drew considerable public attention to the extent that it was extensively reported in newspapers. Furthermore, these reports contain a scene of Joseon officials moving the royal portrait chest and the rank-positioned process of transferring the royal portrait from Deoksugung Palace to Changdeokgung Palace. This illustrates the tradition of the enshrinement of royal portraits that continued into the early 20th century (Figure 21).

At the time of the establishment of New Seonwonjeon Hall, eleven royal portraits ranging from King Taejo to King Gojong were enshrined. In 1928, two years after the death of Emperor Sunjong (1874-1926), his ancestral tablet was enshrined in the Royal Ancestral Shrine. Consequently, the hall came to house a total of 12 royal portraits.25 The process of enshrining and painting royal portraits is recorded in detail in “Enshrinement of King Gojong’s Portrait at Seonwonjeon” in the Royal Protocol for the Ancestral Temple Enshrinement of Emperor Gojong and Empress Myeongseong.26 In 1928, a royal portrait of Emperor Sunjong was produced by Kim Eunho (1892-1979), a renowned royal portrait painter at the time. According to Kim’s autobiography entitled One Hundred Years of Paintings and Calligraphy (Seowha baengnyeon 創世百年), after Sunjong became emperor in 1907, Kim was commissioned to paint a portrait of him on the recommendation of Emperor Gojong. In 1916 he painted a portrait of Sunjong to be enshrined in the Daejojeon Hall of Gyeongbokgung Palace as part of his official work as a royal portrait painter. A total of seven royal portraits of Sunjong were originally enshrined at New Seonwonjeon Hall. While most of them were destroyed during the Korean War, the royal portrait of Sunjong in a yellow imperial robe that Kim painted in 1928 has been passed down with more than half of the picture plane burned (Figure 22).

It is presumed that no royal portrait to be enshrined in New Seonwonjeon Hall was produced for a while after the royal portrait of Sunjong was painted in 1928. After seven or eight years, royal portraits were repaired in 1935, and the royal portrait of King Sejo in Room 2 and that of King Wonjong in Room 3 were copied in the same year. Kim Eunho also played a leading role in these efforts. The process of the replication of the royal portraits at this time can be found in Seonwonjeon yeongjeong sugae deungnok (Transcribed Records for Repair of Memorial Portraits at Seonwonjeon Hall 瑣源殿影幀修改謄錄) (1935) and Seonwonjeon yeongjeong mosa deungnok (Transcribed Records for Coping of Memorial Portraits at Seonwonjeon Hall 瑣源殿影幀摹寫謄錄) (1936), both housed in the Jangseogak Archives at the Academy of Korean Studies. Until 1935, a total of 46 royal portraits were enshrined in New Seonwonjeon Hall. Additional two replications of royal portraits of King Sejo and King Wonjong

23. Sunjong sillok burok, gwon 12, 22nd day of the third month, 1921.
25. Sunjong sillok burok, gwon 17, sixth day of the seventh month, 1928.
were made in 1935, resulting in a total of 48 royal portraits finally being enshrined. The replications of the two royal portraits were made because the Royal Household Agency 李王職 at the time suggested that there were no duplicates of the royal portraits of Kings Sejo and Wonjong, so they should be made in case of emergency. The entire process from replication to enshrinement was carried out from April 1935 to January 1936, and the royal portraits were completed in 1935. The Royal Household Agency supervised the overall project, and Kim Eunho did the drawings. The royal portrait of King Sejo was painted first, followed by the royal portrait of King Wonjong, and then mounting was carried out on both at the same time. Based on two transcribed records, Table 2 summarizes the details of the royal portraits enshrined in New Seonwonjeon Hall after the replication of the royal portraits of Kings Sejo and Wonjong was completed.

Table 2. Royal Portrait Enshrined in New Seonwonjeon Hall after 1936

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Room No.</th>
<th>King</th>
<th>Attire</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Initial place of enshrinement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Taejo</td>
<td>Winged hat</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Junwonjeon Hall (1900 replication)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sejo</td>
<td>Winged hat</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Yeonghuijeon Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Wonjong</td>
<td>Black gauze cap</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Yeonghuijeon Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Black gauze cap</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1935 replication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Sukjong</td>
<td>Winged hat</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Jungryeongjeon Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Winged hat</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Yeonghuijeon Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Yeongjo</td>
<td>Black gauze cap</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Naengjeongj跟不上ing Pavilion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ceremonial attire</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Naengjeongj跟不上ing Pavilion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Winged hat</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Horsehair hat</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hat</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Seonwonjeon Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Winged hat</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Naengjeongj跟不上ing Pavilion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Jeongjo</td>
<td>Crown for traveling</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Pyeongnakhjeong Palace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Military attire</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Hwaryeongjeon Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Military attire (smaller portrait)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Hwaseong Haenggung Palace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Crown for traveling</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Seonwonjeon Hall</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since most of these royal portraits presented in Table 2 were lost in a fire during the Korean War, it is difficult to know their original appearance. However, it can be seen in the table that the kings were portrayed in various forms of attire, such as a winged hat, a crown for traveling, a black gauze cap,
The Last Majestic Ornamentation of Royal Portraits of the Joseon Dynasty

Kim Eunho left a reminiscence about the production of royal portraits during his lifetime. In an interview with the Hankook ilbo in 1973, he recalled that he had replicated the portrait of King Sejo around 1928 ("My History: Kim Eunho," which appeared in the press from January 5 to February 18, 1973). For this reason, it had been believed for some time by the art history community that the picture of Kim Eunho working at Uihyojeon Hall (Figure 23) was taken in 1928. This has recently been corrected. It is thought that this may have been confused with the time when he produced the portrait of King Sunjong.

Another royal portrait completed by Kim Eunho in 1935, Portrait of Wonjong, has also survived although roughly half of it has been burned (Figure 25). Fortunately, it is in good enough condition to recognize the shape of the face, the chest insignia, and the posture. While the kings in the other royal portraits from the Joseon dynasty wear a royal robe, King Wonjong wears a black gauze cap and a black ceremonial robe with his hands clasped together. It was drawn using the iconography of a typical meritorious vassal’s portrait from the 17th century. Along with Portrait of Sejo, which has been lost, Portrait of Wonjong is the last work created in the tradition of royal portraits of the Joseon dynasty during the Japanese occupation.

27. When the Korean War broke out, thousands of royal artifacts, including the 48 royal portraits enshrined in New Seonwonjeon Hall, were moved to a warehouse at the Busan Gugak Center in Donggwang-dong, Busan. Most of them, however, were destroyed in a fire on December 26, 1954. Among the portraits enshrined in New Seonwonjeon Hall, each of the portraits of Kings Taejo, Wonjong, Cheoljong, and Sunjong are in the collection of the National Palace Museum of Korea, although they are not intact after being burned.

28. Kim Eunho left a reminiscence about the production of royal portraits during his lifetime. In an interview with the Hankook ilbo in 1973, he recalled that he had replicated the portrait of King Sejo around 1928 ("My History: Kim Eunho," which appeared in the press from January 5 to February 18, 1973). For this reason, it had been believed for some time by the art history community that the picture of Kim Eunho working at Uihyojeon Hall (Figure 23) was taken in 1928. This has recently been corrected. It is thought that this may have been confused with the time when he produced the portrait of King Sunjong.

29. It is suggested that this iconography and composition for the folding screen of five peaks is a reflection of “nine elements resembling each other” (九如圖) in the Book of Songs (Yi et al. 1997), but it is not consistent with the iconography of folding screens of five peaks from the Joseon dynasty. The originality of a folding screen of five peaks stands out in that it is has unique iconography and style that was created indigenously during the dynasty.
style over time. In the 19th century, the shapes of the mountains and waves were drawn realistically and naturally, but they developed into a schematic and standardized style as seen in the screens at New Seonwonjeon Hall (Yi 2012). Comparing the New Seonwonjeon Hall versions with the one installed behind Portrait of Taejo in Gyeonggijeon Hall, a subtle difference in period can be noticed.

The folding screens of five peaks at Gyeonggijeon Hall were painted at the same time as the replication of the Portrait of Taejo in 1872 (Figure 27). In the Gyeonggijeon Hall version, five peaks seem to have receded slightly, and the waves below them occupy more than half of the screen, giving greater weight to the waves than to five peaks. On the other hand, the pine trees on the left and right are relatively small in size, and the trees with their abundant needles are rendered realistically. When comparing the folding screens of five peaks at Gyeonggijeon Hall with those of New Seonwonjeon Hall, the most striking difference is the expression of five peaks. It can be seen that the folding screens of five peaks at New Seonwonjeon Hall show the more formalized style of the early 20th century compared to the one at Gyeonggijeon Hall where the mountains and valleys seem realistically expressed compared to the somewhat schematic wave pattern, and a unique brushstroke is applied to depict the texture of mountains. Nevertheless, upon close examination of the folding screens of five peaks at New Seonwonjeon Hall, it can be found that there are some differences in the iconography and expression, which can be divided into the following three main categories (Table 3).

| Table 3. Classification of Iconography in the Folding Screens of the Sun, Moon, and Five Peaks in New Seonwonjeon Hall |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Category 1 (Rooms 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7) | Category 2 (Rooms 8, 9, 10, and 12) | Category 2-1 (Room 11) |
| ![Image of Category 1] | ![Image of Category 2] | ![Image of Category 2-1] |

In the first category, among the groups of rocks drawn under five peaks, two large rectangular rocks are expressed spread apart toward each side. Seven of the twelve folding screens in the rooms followed this iconography, suggesting that they were drawn based on the same reference. However, there are differences in the coloring and details of their expression, such as emphasizing the rock edges with a deep navy blue to create a three-dimensional effect or exaggerating the rocks.

In the second category, symmetrically arraigned small rocks are densely shown under five peaks. The five screens found in Rooms 8, 9, 10, and 12 are cases in point. The third and final category contains only the example from Room 11 (for Emperor Gojong). As a variant of the second category, it looks similar to its predecessors at first glance, but it is different in that one of the rocks in the group below the central peak is shown protruding obliquely to the left. It is unclear whether the differences in the works in these three categories are due to differences in the production times or in the artists. Considering that the size, color, and technique of the works are all similar, however, they are thought to have been painted at about the same time.

Folding screens of peonies and plum blossom screens

The folding screens of peonies, which are attached to the walls at the back of the niches in New Seonwonjeon Hall, are also an important subject among the royal paintings of the Joseon dynasty along with folding screens of five peaks (Figure 28). In the Joseon dynasty, paintings of sea, cranes, and peaches were often used at various funeral and memorial rites at a royal portrait hall, royal coffin hall, or spirit tablet shrine. Folding screens of peonies were one of the most broadly used decorative paintings at the royal court for various events and ceremonies, including enshrining spirit tablets at the Royal Ancestral Shrine (Lee 2007; Shin 2009; Park 2012). While the folding screens of five peaks at New Seonwonjeon Hall show slight differences in their details, the peonies are drawn with the same materials, iconography, and style, suggesting that all the folding screens of peonies in the 12 rooms may have been produced around the time of the construction of New Seonwonjeon Hall to be installed there.

There are four-panel folding screens of peonies in the niches at New Seonwonjeon Hall. In the account of the process of producing royal portraits
for the Seonwonjeon Hall of Deoksugung Palace in 1901, the Record of Replication of Royal Portraits records that a four-panel peony screen was made to be placed in Seonwonjeon Hall. Based on this record, it can be seen that four-panel folding screens of peonies were placed at the royal portrait hall just like at New Seonwonjeon Hall. Each of the four panels is about two meters tall, and its borders are surrounded by decorative navy blue silk. The painting is done on paper attached to the panels. In the basic design, four or five trees are stretched out over a small hill, and 12 brightly blooming peony flowers and their leaves are abundantly arranged on each branch. While the hills are painted in a two-dimensional manner, the branches and petals are shaded to create a three-dimensional effect. Although repeated iconography can create a monotonous impression, the placement of moss dots on each branch and the application of a dark orange color to the tip of the petals and leaves add brilliance to the overall screen.

Due to the narrow space between the wooden baldachin and the wall, it is not easy to view the entire picture plane of the folding screens of peonies in New Seonwonjeon Hall. However, their appearance can be inferred based on an almost identical work housed in the National Palace Museum of Korea (Figure 29). The folding screen of peonies at the National Palace Museum of Korea shows the style of peony screens popular in the late Joseon dynasty in that it is made with four panels; the shapes, colors, and style of the peonies are identical with its counterparts in New Seonwonjeon Hall; and its borders are lined by decorative navy blue silk. Like a folding screen of five peaks, it also shows a style of decorative court painting that was popular after the 19th century.

Meanwhile, along with the folding screen of five peaks and folding screen of peonies installed in common in each room, a plum blossom painting is attached to the western wall of Room 1 (for King Taejo) (Figure 30). A plum blossom painting can also be found in the Taejo Portrait Hall in Gyeongjeon attached to the western wall of Room 1 (for King Taejo) (Figure 30). A plum blossom painting is also not large enough to create a hall with a magnificent size of 14 kan in front and niches of 12 kan inside, elements from many other palace buildings were taken

Originally, the plum blossom painting at New Seonwonjeon Hall was attached to the entire left wall surface, but currently about half of it has been peeled off. It has a composition with long plum branches extending from the bottom of the picture plane where a stream, rocks, and water plants are seen. It is painted in dark colors on silk. A thick layer of white lead powder 胡粉 was applied to express the texture of the petals, and green moss dots were intermittenly set on each branch. White paint was placed around the moss dots, an expression found in court paintings of the late Joseon dynasty.

The stream seen at the bottom has no waves or expressed textures but was painted simply in a solid navy blue color to give a very flat and simple impression. It uses cobalt blue (yangcheong 洋靑) and ultramarine blue (yangrok 洋錄), chemical pigments introduced to Korea at the end of the 19th century, indicating the changing environment in the production of royal paintings and the temporal context of New Seonwonjeon Hall.

Conclusion

In this paper, the background of New Seonwonjeon Hall and the sculptures and paintings installed for the majestic ornamentation of royal portraits were examined based on research into royal portraits in the Goryeo and Joseon dynasties.

New Seonwonjeon Hall was built in the early 1900s, a time when the respective palace’s private shrines were being busily dismantled and relocated along with the reduction of the national ceremonies of the Joseon dynasty under Japanese colonial rule. It was the last place where portraits of the successive kings of the Joseon dynasty were enshrined. In the meantime, there has been only a vague idea about the construction process of New Seonwonjeon Hall. It was newly established by relocating palace buildings from Gyeongbokgung and Changdeokgung Palaces during the Japanese colonial period. However, upon examination of newspaper articles, glass plate photographs, and various other records, it can be confirmed that the construction was done in conjunction with the dismantlement of Deoksugung Palace during the national funeral of King Gojong. However, since the Seonwonjeon Hall of Deoksugung Place alone was not large enough to create a hall with a magnificent size of 14 kan in front and niches of 12 kan inside, elements from many other palace buildings were taken
and used. Therefore, the royal portraits enshrined here were not made anew but are repurposed versions formerly enshrined in several royal portrait halls, including in Deoksugung Palace, Yeonghuijeon Hall, and the old Seonwonjeon Hall. This also reflects the colonial policy of minimizing the tradition of ancestor worship of the Joseon dynasty by consolidating the royal portrait halls installed in several places during the Joseon dynasty into a single site.

Although New Seonwonjeon Hall was born over the grim process of modern Korean history, the internal enshrinement facilities, furniture, crafts, and paintings comprehensively reflect the centuries-old traditions of royal portrait production and the royal portrait hall system of the Joseon dynasty. In addition, the folding screens of five peaks and those of peonies installed in each room are also significant in that they demonstrate the unique artistic culture of the Joseon dynasty as representative ceremonial decorative paintings. As presented in the diagrams from transcribed records, the folding screens of five peaks were made of flooring board, pillars, and triangular ornaments and fixed into the wooden baldachin, with a narrow screen at its sides and a painting of the sun, moon, and five peaks at its center. Furthermore, a geometrical formative aesthetic was pursued by using synthetic pigments introduced from the West and omitting the texture of objects. It thus provides a glimpse into the trends in court painting in the early 20th century when the objects in a landscape were deviating somewhat from the previous realistic style towards the schematic.

Each of the folding screens of peonies is attached to the wall behind respective wooden baldachin and consists of four panels. Their size and style are almost identical with those recorded in the royal protocol related to royal portraits from the early 1900s, helping infer the width of the wooden baldachin’s left and right when placed in a royal portrait hall. Rich leaves were drawn around the peonies in full bloom and the decorative effect was maximized by emphasizing the red color at the tips of the leaves. This is a style shared by the peony paintings produced in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

This article focused on the related paintings from the perspective of the management and “majestic ornamentation” of the royal portrait halls in the Joseon dynasty. It revisits the tradition of court painting that continued until the mid-1930s after the abolition of the Academy of Painting, the office in charge of painting during the Joseon dynasty. The historical realities of New Seonwonjeon Hall are expected to be clarified through intensive future research on the restoration of the 48 royal portraits enshrined in New Seonwonjeon Hall and other crafts found there.

Translated by Jinsook YOU

Figures

![Figure 1. Wooden Baldachin at Geunjeongjeon Hall in Gyeongbokgung Palace (photo courtesy of Gyeongbokgung Management Office)](image-url)
Figure 2. Wooden Baldachin in New Seonwonjeon Hall in Changdeokgung Palace (photo by the author)

Figure 3. Front View of New Seonwonjeon Hall in Changdeokgung Palace (photo by the author)

Figure 4. Plaque (“Seonwonjeon Hall”) on New Seonwonjeon Hall at Changdeokgung Palace (photo by the author)

Figure 5. New Seonwonjeon Hall at Changdeokgung Palace (photo by the author)

Figure 6. Front View of Junwonjeon Hall in Yeongheung, Hamgyeong Province, taken in 1913, glass plate (photo courtesy of National Museum of Korea)
Figure 7. Portrait of King Taejo Enshrined in Junwonjeon Hall in Yeongheung, Hamgyeong province, taken in 1913, glass plate (photo courtesy of National Museum of Korea)

Figure 8. Front View of Yeonghuijeon Hall, taken in the early 1900s, glass plate (photo courtesy of National Museum of Korea)

Figure 9. Anonymous, “Copying a Portrait of Taejo,” the fifth screen in painting of the memorable life events of Chae Yongsin, early 20th century, color on silk, National Museum of Korea (photo by the author)
The Last Majestic Ornamentation of Royal Portraits of the Joseon Dynasty

Figure 10. Jo Jungmuk, Park et al. Portrait of King Taejo, 1872, color on silk, 218.0x150.0cm, Royal Portrait Museum, Jeonju

Figure 11. Area of New Seonwonjeon Hall as Recorded in the Floor Plan of Changdeokgung Palace (Academy of Korean Studies 2009, 48)

Figure 12. Signboard Showing the Arrangement of Buildings at New Seonwonjeon Hall in Changdeokgung Palace

Figure 13. Oesinmun Gate of New Seonwonjeon Hall in Changdeokgung Palace (photo by the author)
The Last Majestic Ornamentation of Royal Portraits of the Joseon Dynasty

Figure 14. Naesinmun Gate of New Seonwonjeon Hall in Changdeokgung Palace (photo by the author)

Figure 15. Interior of New Seonwonjeon Hall in Changdeokgung Palace (photo by the author)

Figure 16. Bamboo Blinds Installed to Left and Right Sides of the Wooden Baldachin in New Seonwonjeon Hall in Changdeokgung Palace (photo by the author)

Figure 17. Niche and Wooden Baldachin in New Seonwonjeon Hall in Changdeokgung Palace, Room 2 (for King Sejo) (photo by the author)
Figure 18. Narrow Screens Installed in the Wooden Baldachin at Room 1 (for King Taejo) in New Seonwonjeon Hall in Changdeokgung Palace
(photo by the author)

Figure 19. Diagram of the Folding Screen of Five Peaks Recorded in Royal Protocol for Royal Portrait Production, 1901
(photo courtesy by National Palace Museum of Korea)

Figure 20. Footstool from New Seonwonjeon Hall in Changdeokgung Palace, Room 1 (for King Taejo)
(photo courtesy of National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage)

Figure 21. Article in Maeil sinbo on the Relocation of the Royal Portraits from Deoksugung Palace, February 18, 1920
(photo courtesy of the National Library of Korea)
Figure 22. Kim Eunho, Portrait of Emperor Sunjong, 1928, color on silk, 256.6x120.8cm, National Palace Museum of Korea (National Palace Museum of Korea 2015, 86)

Figure 23. Kim Eunho Copying Portrait of King Sejo in Uihyojeon Hall in Changdeokgung Palace (Lee 1978, 27)

Figure 24. Kim Eunho (presumed), Sketch for Portrait of King Sejo, 1935, ink on paper, 186.5x131.8cm, National Palace Museum of Korea (photo courtesy of the National Palace Museum of Korea)

Figure 25. Kim Eunho, Portrait of King Wonjong, 1935, color on silk, 280.0x104.6cm, National Palace Museum of Korea (National Palace Museum of Korea 2015, 64)
Figure 26. Folding Screen of the Sun, Moon, and Five Peaks Installed in the Wooden Baldachin in Room 3 (for King Wonjong) in New Seonwonjeon Hall in Changdeokgung Palace (Cultural Heritage Administration 2002, 9)

Figure 27. Folding Screen of the Sun, Moon, and Five Peaks behind Portrait of King Taejo, 1872, Gyeonggijeon Hall in Jeonju (Jeonju National Museum 2010, 59)

Figure 28. Folding Screens of Peonies Attached to the Wall behind a Wooden Baldachin in New Seonwonjeon Hall in Changdeokgung Palace (photo by the author)

Figure 29. Anonymous, Folding Screens of Peonies, four-panel folding screen, early 20th century, color on silk, each 332.5x69.5cm, National Palace Museum of Korea (National Palace Museum of Korea 2021, 216)
References


Figure 30. Plum Blossom Painting (detail) Attached to the Wall in Room 1 (for King Taejo) New Seonwonjeon Hall in Changdeokgung Palace, 1921 (presumed), color on silk (photo by the author)
The Last Majestic Ornamentation of Royal Portraits of the Joseon Dynasty


Abstract

This paper examines the background of the construction of New Seonwonjeon Hall in Changdeokgung Palace, the current state of the royal portraits of the Joseon dynasty that are stored there, and the court paintings installed to decorate the space where these eojin (御真 royal portraits) are installed, such as folding screen paintings of five peaks and folding screen paintings of peonies. New Seonwonjeon Hall was constructed in the rear garden of Changdeokgung Palace in 1921 by recycling elements from royal buildings brought from Gyeongbokgung Palace and Changdeokgung Palace. In the early 1900s the Japanese Government-General of Korea implemented a policy of minimizing the national rites for the royal family of the Joseon dynasty, and the shrine buildings in the respective palaces were demolished. Although this place is part of the dark history of the Japanese occupation period, it is also the last jinjeon (royal portrait hall 眞殿) ever built and enshrines the final 48 portraits of the kings of Joseon. Furthermore, it is a historical site housing relics related to royal portraits. Although most of the royal portraits in this hall were lost during the Korean War, folding screens of five peaks and folding screens of peonies and other royal paintings that decorated the areas around the eojin have survived, shedding light on the way paintings were installed inside a royal portrait hall, the traditional decoration known as “majestic ornamentation,” and the state of court paintings from the time after the Academy of Painting 圖畵署 was abolished until the mid-1930s. In conclusion, it is the only surviving royal portrait hall and shows the tradition of royal portrait production and “majestic ornamentation” 祇殿 from the Joseon dynasty. New Seonwonjeon Hall offers important data on the trends in court painting, which did not cease even under Japanese colonial rule.

Keywords: New Seonwonjeon Hall, royal portrait, royal portrait hall, majestic ornamentation, Deoksugung Palace, folding screen of five peaks, folding screen of peonies, Kim Eunho