

Yi Hoe and His Korean Ancestors in T'ae'an Yi Genealogies*

Kenneth R. Robinson

Genealogies for the T'ae'an Yi descent group present an exaggerated rendering of their Koryŏ-period ancestors. The profiles deploy examination success, government service in civil and military posts, and other markers of political and/or social stature to insert these men into government positions, marriage relations, and activities where they were not present. This strategy resulted in obscuring the significance of Yi Hoe, a descent group member who passed the Koryŏ examination and served in both the Koryŏ and Chosŏn governments. That is, unlike his direct line of ancestors, Hoe's career is confirmed in outside sources. Reading his ancestors' profiles without confirming those presentations dilutes the importance of Hoe's career in government service and his historical stature within the descent group.

Keywords: Genealogies, Yi Hoe (1354-1409), historicity, Koryŏ, Chosŏn

Yi Hoe (1354-1409) is remembered today as one of Korea's most famous mapmakers. He passed the Koryŏ government's higher civil service examination in 1382 and also served in the Chosŏn government. He compiled the world map *Honil kangni yŏktae kukto chi to* (Map of Integrated Lands and Regions of Historical Countries and Capitals), completed in 1402.8 but not extant.¹ And he is credited with compiling the *P'altodo* (Map of the Eight

* Research for this paper has been supported by The Japan Society for the Promotion of Science grants B-17320093 (a group research grant) and C-19520606 (an individual grant). The author wishes to thank Takahashi Kimiaki, Edward J. Shultz, and the anonymous readers.

1. Kwŏn Kŭn, "Yŏktae chewang honil kangni to chi," in Kwŏn Kŭn, *Yangch'on sŏnsaeng munjip* (Seoul: Kyŏngin Munhwasa, 1993), 22.2a-b; the *Honil kangni yŏktae kukto chi to*, now held at Ryukoku University, in Kyoto, Japan, is not that which Yi Hoe compiled in 1402.

Kenneth R. Robinson (robinson@icu.ac.jp) is a Senior Associate Professor of History at International Christian University, Osaka

Provinces), the map of Chosŏn that the State Council (*Ŭijŏngbu*) presented to King T'aejong on 1402.5.14.² The *P'altodo* probably was the first Korean visual representation of the new kingdom, and it is generally considered to have been the base map for the image of Chosŏn in the *Honil kangni yŏktae kukto chi to*.

It is well known that genealogies printed by many descent groups in the late Chosŏn period commonly exaggerated the careers of ancestors who lived under earlier governments.³ Recent research has begun examining the genealogies of specific descent groups for how compilers enhanced and created ancestors, and what strategies those invented pasts likely served. Eugene Y. Park has shown how northern elite lineages in the Miryang Pak descent group repositioned their pasts so as to become “scions of the capital or southern local aristocracy” in Chosŏn.⁴ This author has similarly demonstrated in another study of the T'ae'an Yi how genealogy compilers modeled Chinese ancestors after Chinese elites, and considered purposes that likely informed the descent group's inflation of its profile and stature.⁵

Descent groups such as the T'ae'an Yi whose members rarely advanced through the Chosŏn government's highest civil service examinations offer an opportunity to examine in detail the composition of Koryŏ-period ancestors. So too does the fabrication of Chinese ancestors who married imperial daughters, passed civil service examinations, and served in high-ranking government posts. In the profiles from the immigrant ancestor to Hoe, or from approximately the first half of the twelfth century to the first two decades of the Chosŏn period, biographical data reported examination success, government careers, contributions to the country's defense, and marriage ties. Exaggerations, inaccurate information, and the improbability of frequent presence in the higher levels of the Koryŏ government, however, render the profiles of Hoe's ancestors unreliable. Further, the elevation of ancestors into

2. *Sŏngjong sillok* 138.9a-11a [1482.2.13]; *T'aejong sillok* 3.27a [1402.5.16]; Yang Sŏngji, “Chin sinch'an *Chiriji*,” in Yang Sŏngji, *Nulchae sŏnsaeng munjip* (Seoul: Kyŏngin Munhwasa, 1993), 4.45b. In the *T'aejong sillok* entry the country map is referred to as the “map of our country” (K. *ponguk chido*).

3. See Yi Sugŏn, *Hanguk chungse sahoesa yŏn'gu* (Seoul: Ilchogak, 1984), 32-33, for additional methods by which genealogy compilers enhanced the profiles of ancestors.

4. Eugene Y. Park, “Imagined Connections in Early Modern Korea, 1500-1894: Representations of Northern Elite Miryang Pak Lineages in Genealogies,” *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies* 21, no. 1 (June 2008), 1-27, and 6 for the quotation.

5. Kenneth R. Robinson, “The Chinese Ancestors in a Korean Descent Group's Genealogies,” *The Journal of Korean Studies*, forthcoming.

government careers in Koryŏ and Yuan China not supported by the profiles or by outside texts obscured the significance of Hoe in the history of the T'aean Yi.

The next section will read Hoe's direct line from the immigrant ancestor through this official who served in the Koryŏ and Chosŏn governments. Biographical data will be introduced, and names of offices, posts, and prestige titles will be dated where possible. Comment upon these profiles will be largely reserved for the section that then follows, where themes in the genealogy's history of the descent group also will be considered. Concentration on Hoe's direct line of ancestors allows the discussion to focus on a single category of men in the Koryŏ period. Expanding the analysis at times to include brothers and descendants will underline themes and problems already identified.

Ancestors and Descendants of Yi Hoe

The base text for this study will be the T'aean Yi's oldest printed genealogy available for this research, the *T'aean Yi ssi sebo*, a comprehensive genealogy published in five volumes in 1926 and bearing a preface from 1838 and another, undated preface.⁶ A branch genealogy of one volume printed in 1936 and also entitled *T'aean Yi ssi sebo* will be cited, too. The 1936 text includes two prefaces dated 1819.⁷ Other genealogies will be cited where relevant.

Before examining Hoe's genealogical ancestors, it will be helpful to outline the T'aean Yi descent group's success in the Chosŏn government's various examinations. Six men passed the higher civil service examination (*munkwa*), and nine others passed either the classics licentiate examination (*saengwŏnsi*) or the literary licentiate examination (*chinsasi*). A larger, more consistent presence is found in the technical fields. Genealogies, extant examination rosters, and other lists identify sixty men as having passed the military examination (*mukwa*). In the technical examinations (*chapkwa*), there are twenty-two men who have been confirmed as having passed the translation examination (*yŏkkwa*), forty-five confirmed for the medical examination (*ŭggwa*), three confirmed for the astronomy examination (*ŭmyanggwa*, *unkwa*), and two confirmed for the legal examination (*yulkwa*). And 103 men are confirmed as having entered government service through the accounting examination (*chugyŏk*, *sanbak*).⁸

6. Yi Kŭnbae, ed., *T'aean Yi ssi sebo* (Kaishū (Haeju): Ch'oe Kwangsun, 1926).

7. *T'aean Yi ssi sebo*, (Tetsuyama [Ch'ŏlsan]: Yi Kyŏngch'un, 1936), 1a-3b.

This record of absence in Chosŏn through the higher civil service examination stands in contrast to the consistent presence in high-ranking civil administration posts written into the descent group's Koryŏ-period history. Inflation and invention, which endowed the descent group with a record of participation in the highest levels of the Koryŏ government, will be seen frequently in the profiles of Hoe's direct ancestors. Those ancestors will be introduced generation by generation from the immigrant ancestor.

The T'aean Yi traced their history in genealogies to tenth-century China, but those origins and the Chinese ancestors were almost certainly constructed in the late Chosŏn period.⁹ The immigrant ancestor Li Qi, or Yi Ki in the Korean reading, is recorded as having moved from Song China to Koryŏ. Designed as the son of an important official in the Northern Song government, he married a daughter of Ch'oe Hang (972?-1024.6.5), who was of the Kyŏngju Ch'oe descent group and who passed the civil service examination in 991.¹⁰ The Kyŏngju Ch'oe was one of the elite ruling families at the pinnacle of the Koryŏ government in the tenth and eleventh centuries.¹¹ Chŏng Ch'ihŭi, author of the 1936 genealogy's third preface, identifies Qi as the eldest of his father's three sons. He dates Qi's move to Koryŏ to the reign of Emperor Xiaozong, or from sometime in 1162 to sometime in 1189.¹²

All T'aean Yi genealogies examined to date, however, list only one son for Qi's father. The genealogical father is Li Gang in these lineage records, but this relationship is not plausible. The model for the father was Li Gang, an official who served in the Northern Song and Southern Song governments in the early twelfth century. This Chinese government official fathered five boys and one girl, but none of his sons bore the name Qi.¹³

Ki's first son, Yanghwan, married the daughter of Ch'oe Su, who was of the Haeju Ch'oe descent group. The Haeju Ch'oe was another elite family in the

8. See Robinson, "The Chinese Ancestors in a Korean Descent Group's Genealogies," for citations and more details.

9. See Robinson, "The Chinese Ancestors in a Korean Descent Group's Genealogies."

10. *T'aean Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 1a; Kyŏngju Ch'oe ssi Taedongbo Chunggan Wiwŏnhoe, ed., *Kyŏngju Ch'oe ssi taedongbo*, vol. 2 (Taejŏn, Republic of Korea: Pojŏn, 1982), 4; *T'ingguarok p'yŏnch'ŏn* (Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies collection, Seoul National University), 5b.

11. Hi-woong Kang [Hugh H. W. Kang], "The Development of the Korean Ruling Class from Late Silla to Early Koryŏ," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1964, 236-245.

12. *T'aean Yi ssi sebo* (1936), 3b (Chŏng Ch'ihŭi preface).

13. "Nianpu," in Li Gang, *Liangqi ji*, in *Wenyuange Siku quanshu*, vol. 1126, *Jibu* 65, *Biejilei* (Taipei: Lichiang Chubanshe, 1986), 3a, 3a, 4a, 8b, 23a; Zhao Xiaoxuan, *Li Gang nianpu changbian* (Hong Kong: Xinya Yanjiusuo, 1968), 13, 13, 14, 44, 73, 192.

early Koryŏ government's ruling stratum.¹⁴ Su's father was Ch'oe Saryang, who was appointed to the senior second grade post of Left Vice Minister in the Executive Department (*Sangsŏ-dosŏng chwabogyä*) during the reign of King Sŏnjong (r. 1084.10-1094.5). Saryang died on 1092.7.7.¹⁵ In addition to being the granddaughter of Ch'oe Saryang (?-1092), Yanghwan's wife was the great-great granddaughter of Ch'oe Ch'ung (984-1068). Ch'ung was one of the most powerful officials in the first half of the eleventh century, and held the government's highest post, Chancellor, for approximately eight years.¹⁶

Su's highest post as recorded in the *T'aeon Yi ssi sebo* was the junior sixth grade Policy Monitor in the Chancellery ([*Munhasŏng*] *chŏngŏn*).¹⁷ In the 1891 *Haeju Ch'oe ssi chokpo*, Su's highest post was Director in the Bureau of Reception (*Yebinsi Kyŏng*), at the junior third grade. In the *Koryŏsa* he appears as Deputy Director in the Bureau of Reception (*Yebinsi sogyŏng*), at the junior fourth grade, and on 1106.10.19 was sent to Liao on diplomatic duty.¹⁸ As for Yanghwan, he is reported to have received the title of Grand Preceptor (*t'aesa*), which was the highest among the three honorary titles together known as Three Preceptors (*samsa*), all at the senior first rank.¹⁹

The early Koryŏ government limited access to the highest offices to a small number of families. The T'aeon Yi was not one of these families. Of twenty-six officials upon whom kings had bestowed the title of Grand Preceptor through King Munjong's reign, or into 1083.7, sixteen had served in posts of the senior first grade, nine had been honored as country founding (*kaeguk*) merit subjects, and one had received a posthumous appointment to a senior first grade post.²⁰ It would seem unlikely that Yanghwan attained an honorary title of the senior first grade. The entry for Yanghwan in the *T'aeon Yi ssi sebo* and the entries for the daughter of Ch'oe Su in *Haeju Ch'oe* genealogies do not report a government post or other details of a career that would support bestowal of a

14. Kang, "The Development of the Korean Ruling Class from Late Silla to Early Koryŏ," 245-255.

15. *Haeju Ch'oe ssi chokpo* (Harvard-Yenching Library), 1b-2a; *Koryŏsa* 10.28a-b [1092.7.7]; *Koryŏsa* 95.31b-32a.

16. For Ch'oe Ch'ung see Kang, "The Development of the Korean Ruling Class from Late Silla to Early Koryŏ," 245-250.

17. *T'aeon Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 1b; *Koryŏsa* 76.7b for the post.

18. Pak Yongun, "Koryŏ sidae ū Haeju Ch'oe ssi wa P'ap'yŏng Yun ssi kamun punsŏk: Koryŏ kwijok kamun yŏngu (1)," *Paeksan hakpo* 23 (1977: 12), 130-131; *Haeju Ch'oe ssi chokpo*, 1b-2a; *Koryŏsa* 12.26a [1106.10.19].

19. *Haeju Ch'oe ssi chokpo*, 1b-2a; *Koryŏsa* 76.2b.

20. *Koryŏsa* 60.33b-36b.

senior first rank title. The Haeju Ch'oe lineage record, however, identifies Yanghwan by the term “*T'aeantin*,” which might be rendered as “a member of the T'aeon Yi,” or, alternatively, as “a man of T'aeon.”

The *Haeju Ch'oe ssi chokpo* profile for Yanghwan identifies his father as “pu Kongsö-gong Ki,” or the father Lord Kongsö (Yi) Ki. This title is also reported for Qi/Ki in the *T'aeon Yi ssi sebo*.²¹ Perhaps a compiler of a T'aeon Yi genealogy transferred Yi Yanghwan and also, or only the title for his father from a Haeju Ch'oe genealogy, borrowed the Haeju Ch'oe descent group's prestige and history in the early Koryö period, and embellished Yanghwan and the descent group by linking his wife to Ch'oe Ch'ung.

Hoe's ancestral line continues from Yanghwan's second son, Am. He passed the “*pyölsi*” civil service examination and rose to *chwasang*, or Left Minister. Am's wife was born to Söl Haeng, of the Kyöngju Söl descent group.²²

Am's second son, Cho, passed the “*munkwa*” higher civil service examination during the reign of King Kojong (r. 1213.8-1259.6) and served under the next ruler, Wönjong (r. 1259.6-1274.6). His highest appointment was *Chönböpsa p'ansö*, or Minister in the Board of Punishments, a senior third grade post. Two prestige titles are listed, *Chosöng taebu* and *Ajung taebu*. The Koryö court used neither of these prestige titles, however. Cho received a special reward for his contributions to the defeat of Mongol forces at Koran-sa, a temple on Mt. Puyö, in today's South Ch'ungch'öng Province.²³

Examining the histories of these posts and civil prestige titles may help establish periods when Cho might have “served” as Minister of the Board of Punishments. Chönböp, the term used in the profile for this ministry, is an abbreviation of Chönböpsa, which was the name of the Board of Punishments from 1275 to 1298, from an unknown date to 1356, from 1363 to 1369, and from 1372 to 1389. During the first, third, and fourth periods, the senior third grade post was called *p'ansö*.²⁴ The first period would seem to be the only possible time when Cho could have served in the Board of Punishments. His wife was the daughter of the Nasönggun Chin Maengjae, who was of the Naju Chin descent group.²⁵

21. *T'aeon Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 1a; *Haeju Ch'oe ssi chokpo*, 1b (1891 preface).

22. *T'aeon Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 1b.

23. *T'aeon Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 1b-2b; “Munyöl-gong myoji,” in *T'aeon Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 5a-6a; *Koryösa* 77.44b-49a. For Koran-sa, see *Sinjüng Tongguk yöji süngnam* (Seoul: Myöngmundang, 1959), 18.22a.

24. *Koryösa* 76.17a-18b.

25. *T'aeon Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 1a-b.

In the next generation Chongch'öl, Cho's second son, served in the military as Junior Colonel (*nangjang*), a senior sixth grade officer. Chongch'öl married the daughter of Yu Hanp'yöng, of the Chönju Yu descent group. He was buried in Cheju.²⁶

Hoin was the second son of Chongch'öl. Known for his literary skills, Hoin served in both the Yuan China and Koryö governments. He entered the Yuan government at the seventh grade. According to a Yuan government regulation introduced in 1287, Koreans and other non-Mongol aliens who graduated from the Study Halls (*chai*) in the School for the Sons of the State (*Guozixue*) began their careers at the seventh grade. Later in his career, Hoin held the post of Attendant Censor in the Censorate (*Neitai shiyushi*), one of the key offices in the Yuan government. The post, which was of the senior second grade, would indicate that he worked in the capital.²⁷

In Koryö, Hoin received the prestige title *Chahön taebu*. During King Ch'ungsön's reign of 1308.8 to 1313.3, he served in the capital as one of the three Kaesöng deputy magistrates (*Kaesöng soyun*), whose post was of the junior fourth grade. According to the *T'aeon Yi ssi sebo* published in 1995, he subsequently held the prestige title of *Pongik taebu* and a post in the Security Council (Milchiksa), and then served as Minister in the Board of Taxation (*P'ando[sä] p'ansö*, senior third grade). He next held the prestige title of *Kwangjöng taebu* and the junior second grade post of Assistant Executive in Letters in the Chancellery (*Munhasöng chöngdang munhak*). His highest post was Left Vice Director in the Executive Department.²⁸ The *T'aeon Yi ssi Chönju punp'a Chöngju sebo*, printed in 1935, states that Hoin became Minister in the Board of Punishments (*Chönböpp[sä] p'ansö*, senior third grade).²⁹

Late in life Hoin fled to T'amna (Cheju), where he was buried in P'alwang-dong. He married the daughter of Mun Kyöng, of the Kilsöng Mun descent

26. *T'aeon Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 2a. The "Munyöl-gong myoji" has Chongch'öl's military post as *Chungnangjang*, which was of the senior fifth grade. ("Munyöl-gong myoji," in *T'aeon Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 5a-6a.)

27. "Munyöl-gong myoji," in *T'aeon Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 5a-6a; *T'aeon Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 3a; Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985), 251 item 2684, 389 item 4746, 505-506 item 6626, 567 item 7717, 352 item 4263, 593-594 item 8184, and 431 item 5350, 68.

28. *T'aeon Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 2a, 3a; "Munyöl-gong myoji," in *T'aeon Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 5a-6a; *T'aeon Yi ssi sebo*, ed., *T'aeon Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1 (n.p.: T'aeon Yi ssi Chongjung, 1995), 1.2b; *Koryösa* 76.23b-24a.

29. Yi Ch'anhong, ed., *T'aeon Yi ssi Chönju punp'a Chöngju sebo* (Seishü [Chöngju]: Songt'aekche, 1935), 3b.

group. The 1926 *T'aean Yi ssi sebo* entry for Hoin records five sons, the epitaph for the Munyöl-gong (“Munyöl-gong myoji”) in the same genealogy five sons and two daughters.³⁰

The government offices in which Hoin served and the posts to which he was appointed underwent several name changes during the Koryŏ period. First, the Board of Taxation was called P'andosa from 1275 to 1298, from after 1308 to 1356, from 1362 to 1369, and from 1371 to 1389. Each time the office name became P'andosa, the name of the highest ranking, senior third grade post changed from *sangsŏ* to *p'ansŏ*.³¹ Second, the Koryŏ court established the Left Vice Director and the Right Vice Director positions in the Executive Department during the reign of King Munjong, or between 1046.5 and 1083.7.³² Third, the court established the *chŏngdang munhak* post by the end of King Munjong's reign. This post's name changed to *ch'am-munhaksa* in 1275, and back to *chŏngdang munhak* in 1290. The post was closed at an unknown date during King Ch'ungsŏn's reign of 1308.8 to 1313.3, and later restored as *chŏngdang munhak*.³³

The three prestige titles in these profiles passed through similar changes. Regarding *Chahŏn taebu*, the Chosŏn court introduced this prestige title at the senior second rank, lower in 1392.7 when it revised the Koryŏ court's prestige title ranks.³⁴ The Koryŏ government introduced *Pongik taebu*, the second bestowal mentioned, in 1310 at the junior second rank, lower, eliminated it in the prestige title reform in 1356, restored it as the only prestige title at the junior second rank in the prestige title reform undertaken in 1362, and replaced it with two prestige titles in 1369.³⁵ The third prestige title, *Kwangjŏng taebu*, also was introduced in 1310 and eliminated in 1356. The court restored that title in 1362 and raised it to the senior second rank. The Koryŏ government subsequently eliminated the *Kwangjŏng taebu* title in 1369. Hoin could not have held the first prestige title reported, *Chahŏn taebu*,

30. *T'aean Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 3a-6a; “Munyöl-gong myoji,” in *T'aean Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 5a-6a.

31. *Koryŏsa* 76.15b-17a.

32. *Koryŏsa* 76.9a-b.

33. *Koryŏsa* 76.5a. This post belonged to the Chancellery, which was called the Naesa Munhasŏng from 981 to 1061, the Chungsŏ Munhasŏng from 1061 to 1275, the Toch'ŏmübu from 1275 to 1356, the Chungsŏ Munhasŏng from 1356 to 1362, the Toch'ŏmübu from 1362 to 1369, and the Munhabu from 1369 into the Chosŏn period. (*Koryŏsa* 76.2b-3a.) For the *chŏngdang munhak* post see Pak Yongun, *Koryŏ sidae Chungsŏ Munhasŏng chaesin yŏngu* (Seoul: Ilchisa, 2000), 359-368.

34. *T'aejo sillok* 1.45a-49b [1392.7.28].

35. *Koryŏsa* 77.47a-50a.

though.

In the next generation, Ch'ön was the fifth of Hoin's five sons. According to the 1926 *T'aean Yi ssi sebo*, Hoin's first son was Supreme General (*sang changgun*, senior third grade) in an unspecified army, his second son served as a *ch'öm chijungsa*, his third son was Executive (*p'yöngjangsa*, senior second grade) in either the Chancellery or the Secretariat (Chungsö Munhasöng),³⁶ and his fourth son served as Assistant Executive in Letters in the Chancellery.³⁷ The post cited for the second son, however, is inaccurate for the Koryö period. Neither the Milchiksa, nor its successor the Chungch'uwön (also Security Council), named as such in 991, included that specific post among similarly named posts.³⁸ Two of Hoin's sons, according to the genealogy, were *chaech'u*, or an official of the first grade or the second grade, and a third son held the highest-ranking post in the military. These highest government offices as reported in the genealogy resemble the career recorded for Ch'ön. The wives of these first four sons were not recorded.

Ch'ön was also known as Chang.³⁹ He passed the Yuan government's higher civil service examination ("*munkwa*") in "Zhizheng 13," or 1353. Ch'ön is recorded as having held several government positions in China. For example, he was Minister in the Ministry of War (*Pingbu shangshu*, senior third grade).⁴⁰ He held the military post of Cavalry General (*Piaoji jiangjun*) and the civil administration post of Secretariat Director (*Zhongshu ling*) "concurrently," though the latter post was "largely nominal, reserved for the Heir Apparent."⁴¹ He was the Branch Secretariat Manager of Governmental Affairs in the Liaoyang Branch Secretariat and in the Shandong Branch Secretariat (*Liaoyang Shandong deng pingzhang*).⁴² And he received what may

36. *Koryösa* 76.4a-b.

37. *T'aean Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 3a.

38. *Koryösa* 76.10b-12b.

39. Cho Chongun, *Ssijok wölyu* (Seoul: Pogyöng Munhwasa, 1991), 122. *Ssijok wölyu* was completed before Cho Chongun's death in 1683.

40. *Yuanshi* 85.25a (2140) for the profile of the Ministry of War staff; Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, 216 item 2034. This note and notes below indicate references to two printings of the *Yuanshi*. The first reference, for volume and folio, is from the 1916 printing, in five boxes. This edition was printed with ten columns and twenty-one characters per column on each folio side. The second reference, which is in parentheses, is from the typeset edition published in Beijing in 1976 by Zhonghua Shuju Chuban.

41. *Yuanshi* 85.2b (2120); Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, 379 item 4618, 193 item 1616. The King of Koryö received this bestowal in 1295.6. (*Yuanshi* 18.15b [349].) In Koryö, the post *Chungsö yöng*, written with the same characters as *Zhongshu ling*, was the highest post, at the junior first grade, in the Secretariat (Chungsö).

have been a “quasi-honorific appointment” as Great Minister of Education (*Dasitu*). Ch’ŏn also served as Myriarch Commander in the T’amna Myriarchy (*Danluo junmin wanbuhu shangwanhu*).⁴³

After returning to Koryŏ, Ch’ŏn was ennobled as the T’aean puwŏn’gun and awarded 1,300 households as *sigūp*, or prebend, but received 700 households.⁴⁴ According to the 1935 genealogy, T’aean later became the descent group’s ancestral base.⁴⁵ This ennoblement as stated in genealogies may be the reason that Ch’ŏn is identified as the historical founder of the descent group.⁴⁶ Ch’ŏn, however, was not the first T’aean puwŏn’gun. The earliest confirmed, dated bestowal of a *puwŏn’gun* title to an individual outside the royal family is from 1305. That 1305 grant is representative of a change in the ennoblement system. From 1305 if not from before, Korean monarchs also bestowed noble titles upon individuals not of the royal family.⁴⁷

Yi Taesun, a Korean eunuch favored by Qubilai Khan (Emperor Shizu; r. 1260-1294.1), received the noble title of T’aean puwŏn’gun in 1310. Taesun came from Sot’ae-hyŏn, in Yanggwang Province (Ch’ungch’ŏng Province in the Chosŏn period). King Ch’ungyŏl (r. 1274.8-1308.7) renamed Sot’ae as T’aean and raised its administrative status from *hyŏn* to *kun* because it was Taesun’s hometown and because of the Yuan government’s esteem for the eunuch. Further, the monarch appointed Taesun as the T’aean-gun *chisa*. Taesun’s younger brother Yi Kongbo, who served in the Security Council from

42. See *Yuanshi* 58.1b-2a (1346) for the Liaoyang Branch Secretariat, *Yuanshi* 92.7a-b (2332-2333) for a revision to the Shandong Branch Secretariat in 1357 that resulted in a post being renamed as Branch Manager of Governmental Affairs, and *Yuanshi* 27.9a (604) for an appointment to the Liaoyang Branch Secretariat Branch Manager of Governmental Affairs.

43. *T’aean Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 3a-5a; “Munyŏl-gong myoji,” in *T’aean Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 5a-6a; Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, 385 item 4699, 458 item 5801. See *Yuanshi* 159.15b-16a (3749) for a posthumous appointment to Great Minister of Education and *Yuanshi* 169.17a (3988) for an appointment to a living person. Regarding the Myriarch Commander in T’amna, Im Suk (1323), Pak Toson (1362), and Kim Chunggwang (1376, 1384) served as Myriarch Commander (*Wanbu*). (*Koryŏsa* 35.10a [1323.1.12]; *Koryŏsa* 40.13b [1362.10.22]; *Koryŏsa* 133.10b [1376.5]; *Koryŏsa* 135.25a [1384.8]. Munadan Buqa also served as T’amna Myriarch Commander. (*Koryŏsa* 40.13b [1362.10.22].) “Munadan” is romanized here through Korean. Also see *Yuanshi* 208.19a (4624) for an administrative history of T’amna under Yuan rule.

44. *T’aean Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 3a-5a; “Munyŏl-gong myoji,” in *T’aean Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 5a-6a; “T’aean Yi ssi Yŏngyu punp’a Kangnŏng sebo sŏ,” in *T’aean Yi ssi sebo* (1987), 15a.

45. *T’aean Yi ssi sebo*, 3b.

46. See Kim Sugang, ed., *Mansŏng taebŏ* (Taegu, Republic of Korea: T’aedong Munhwasa, 1962), unpaginated.

47. Kim Kidŏk, *Koryŏ sidae pujakche yŏn’gu* (Seoul: Ch’ŏngnyŏnsa, 1998), 145.

1310.10.3, subsequently bore this noble title.⁴⁸

The Koryŏ court promoted Ch'ŏn posthumously to the prestige title *Kŭmcha kwangnok taebu*.⁴⁹ This prestige title was introduced in 1060 at the junior second rank. The court renamed the title as *Kwangjŏng* in 1275 but reintroduced *Kŭmcha kwangnok taebu* at the junior first rank, upper in 1356. It then combined *Kŭmcha kwangnok taebu* and the junior first rank, lower prestige title *Kŭmcha sungnok taebu* into a single prestige title called *Chung taegwang* in 1362 and set this title at the junior first rank. In 1369, or after the fall of the Yuan government and the establishment of the Ming government in 1368, the court reduced the prestige title *Samjung taegwang*, which from 1362 had been at the senior first rank, lower, to junior first rank, upper and reduced *Chung taegwang* to junior first rank, lower.⁵⁰ Ch'ŏn would have to have received the posthumous bestowal of *Kŭmcha kwangnok taebu* between its reintroduction in 1356 and its elimination in 1362. This would mean that he held the ministerial rank posts in Yuan China by or in 1362, returned to Koryŏ before the prestige title reform in 1362, and died within ten years of having passed the Yuan examination in 1353. Ch'ŏn had six sons and one daughter. The daughter was married to Emperor Ningzong of Yuan China. Ch'ŏn was buried in T'aean.⁵¹

Hoe's grandfather was Yŏngsu, the first of Ch'ŏn's six sons. His posthumous name was Munyŏl-gong. Yŏngsu inherited Ch'ŏn's post, presumably that in the Yuan government, upon his father's death. He married the daughter of Chŏng Min, of the Tongnae Chŏng descent group. He returned to Koryŏ after "Yuan fell" (*Wŏn mang*).⁵² As the Yuan government permitted the inheritance of appointment to a military administration post, the statement that Yŏngsu entered Yuan service upon his father's passing likely is a reference to the T'amna Myriarchy commander position held by Ch'ŏn.

Yŏngsu held the post of Senior Colonel (*chungnangjang*, senior fifth grade) in the Koryŏ military, but genealogies do not specify the army of assignment. For his service under An U and Yi Pangsil against the Red Turbans

48. *Koryŏsa* 33.37b-38b [1310.9.11], *Koryŏsa* 33.38b-39a [1310.10.3]; *Koryŏsa* 34.26a-b [1318.2.3]; *Koryŏsa* 56.36b; *Koryŏsa* 57.49b-50a; *Koryŏsa* 120.1a-23a; *Koryŏsa* 122.21b-23a; *Sejong sillok chiriji* 149.19b.

49. "Munyŏl-gong myoji," in *T'aean Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 5a-6a.

50. "Koryŏ ūgye pyŏnch'ŏnp'yo," 1146; *Koryŏsa* 77.44b-49a.

51. *T'aean Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 3a-5a, 6a. In a branch genealogy printed in 1978 it is stated that Ch'ŏn returned to "our country" (*aŏ*) after serving in T'amna. (*T'aean Yi ssi sebo* [n.p.: s.n., 1978], 2a-b.) The phrase "our country" places T'amna outside Korea in the fourteenth century.

52. *T'aean Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 3a-b.

(*Konggŏnjŏk*), Yŏngsu gained merit (*kong*).⁵³ However, the Red Turbans attacked in 1359 and again in 1361-1362, or before Yuan fell.⁵⁴

Yŏngsu subsequently became the Chief Magistrate of the Kyŏngju Magistracy (*Kyŏngju puyun*) and still later the *Tongji milchik*.⁵⁵ The post name *Tongji milchik* may be an abbreviation of *Tongji milchik sasa*, a post in the Security Council that appears in *Koryŏsa* from 1278 to 1392. From 1362 at the latest “*Tongji sasa*” was of the junior second grade.⁵⁶ If Yŏngsu was in the Koryŏ capital in or after 1368, he would have served in the Security Council while it was called *Milchiksa* between 1362 and 1392.

Following this assignment in the genealogy’s entry is the post *chehak*. In the late Koryŏ period, posts named *chehak* were in the Security Council and in the Hall for Treasuring Culture, or Pomungak. In the Security Council, *chehak* appears to have been introduced in 1362 at the senior third grade, but the court changed the post’s name to *Haksa* in 1368, and then later restored the name *chehak*.⁵⁷ As “*chehak*” follows the Security Council post, it would seem likely that this term refers to the concurrent appointment which members of the Security Council held in the Hall for Treasuring Culture. In 1314 the court restored the name Pomungak, and introduced the post of *chehak*, or Deputy Director, at the senior third grade (or perhaps replaced the post of *chegŏ* with *chehak*). The court eliminated the post of *chehak* in 1356, restored it in 1362, renamed it in 1369, and in 1372 returned the Pomungak to the 1362 structure.⁵⁸ Based upon the history of this concurrent post, Yŏngsu would have served in the Security Council between 1362 and 1369 or between 1372 and 1392.

Yŏngsu also served as Minister of the Board of Personnel (*Chŏlli[sal] p’ansŏ*, senior third grade).⁵⁹ The Board of Personnel was called *Chŏllisa* from 1275 to 1298, from 1362 to 1369, and from 1372 to 1389. During each period the post of Minister was called *p’ansŏ*. In addition, King U (r. 1374.9-1388.6) is reported in the 1926 genealogy as having ennobled him as T’aeon

53. *T’aeon Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 3a-5a, 6a.

54. See *Koryŏsa* 113.1a-13b for the two campaigns against the Red Turbans.

55. *T’aeon Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 3a-b. Kyŏngju was the site of the Tonggyŏng, or the Eastern Capital. In 1308 the Koryŏ court changed the name of the Eastern Capital’s administrative center to Kyerim-bu and added the post of *yun*. (*Koryŏsa* 77.41a-b.)

56. *Koryŏsa* 76.10b-12b.

57. *Koryŏsa* 76.10b-12b.

58. *Koryŏsa* 76.27b-29a.

59. *T’aeon Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 3a-b.

puwŏn'gun.⁶⁰ If Yŏngsu held a post in the Board of Personnel following his return to Koryŏ in or after 1368, he would likely have served in that office between 1372 and 1389.

The genealogy entry states that the Chosŏn government promoted Yŏngsu posthumously to the (senior first grade) post of Chief State Councillor in the State Council, or *yŏngŏijŏng* in the Ŭijŏngbu.⁶¹ That is, the new state honored the late Yŏngsu with its highest post. This post was called "*yŏngŏijŏngpusa*" from its establishment in 1400.7 until the bureaucratic reform in 1466.1, when the name became "*yŏngŏijŏng*."⁶² As shorthand for *yŏngŏijŏngpusa*, "*yŏngŏijŏng*" appears frequently in the veritable records.

The eldest of Yŏngsu's two sons was Kyŏng. Born in 1335, he passed the Koryŏ government's higher civil service examination in 1375 together with Yi Sŏnggye.⁶³ However, none of the extant rosters of Koryŏ-period passers of the higher civil service examination reviewed in this research include a roster for an examination given in 1375. Further, Pak Yongun had not found such a reference to Kyŏng or to Yi Sŏnggye as of the publication in 1990.10 of his profiles of 1,445 men who passed the higher civil service examination in Koryŏ.⁶⁴

In 1377 Kyŏng was a former Senior Colonel in the Divine Tiger Army Infantry (*chŏn Sinhogun posŏng chungnangjang*). He served as one of the two Senior Colonels assigned to this army.⁶⁵ However, this military post is not recorded in his profiles in the genealogies reviewed in this research. The 1926 genealogy reports Kyŏng as having served as Deputy Magistrate in Kaesŏng. His highest known prestige title was *Kasŏn taebu*, which the Chosŏn court introduced in 1392.7 at the junior second rank. Kyŏng's wife was of the P'yŏngyang Cho descent group.⁶⁶ According to the 1987 *T'aeon Yi ssi sebo*, he

60. *Koryŏsa* 76.12b-14b; *T'aeon Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 3a-b.

61. *T'aeon Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 3a-b.

62. Suematsu Yasukazu, "Chŏsen Giseifu kŏ," in Suematsu Yasukazu, *Seikyū shishō*, vol. 1, (Tokyo: Suematsu Yasukazu, 1965), 287.

63. "Munyŏl-gong myoji," in *T'aeon Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 5a-6a; *T'aeon Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 3a-4a.

64. Pak Yongun, *Koryŏ sidae ūmsŏje wa kwagŏje yŏn'gu* (Seoul: Ilchisa, 1990), 325-557.

65. "Sŏngwang ch'illyŏn chŏngsa samwŏl il munsaeŋ chin [missing]," in *Komunsŏ chipsŏng* 23. *Kŏch'ang Ch'ogyŏ Chŏng ssi p'yŏn* (Sŏngnam, Republic of Korea: Hanguk Chŏngsin Munhwa Yŏnguwŏn, 1995), 311. The bottom right corner of the first folio side of written text has been lost. Hŏ Hŭngsik suggests that this damage resulted in the loss of three Chinese characters. (Hŏ Hŭngsik, *Koryŏ ū kwagŏ chedo* [Seoul: Ilchisa, 2005 reprint], 342.) See *Koryŏsa* 77.31a-b for the military post.

66. *T'aeon Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 3a-4a; Yi Sŭngso, "Ch'a T'aeon Tonghŏn un," in Yi Sŭngso,

married the daughter of Cho Wŏn, of the P'yŏngyang Cho.⁶⁷

Hoe was the eldest of Kyŏng's three sons. He was born in 1354; his father thus was 20 *se* at the birth of his first son.⁶⁸ Hoe is considered the founder of the Haeju branch.⁶⁹ He may have been an official in Hŭnghae, in Kyŏngsang Province, in 1390, where he was known to Kwŏn Kŭn (1352-1409), who wrote the commemoration for the *Honil kangni yŏktae kukto chi to*, the world map that Hoe compiled in 1402. Kwŏn had been banished to Hŭnghae in 1390, and mentioned Hoe in a note about the refurbishing of the Hŭnghae fort.⁷⁰ The presence of the two men in Hŭnghae in 1390 suggests that they knew each other from at least that time.

In 1377 Hoe passed the *sibu* qualifying examination as a Royal Academy student (*Sŏnggyun[guan] haksaeŋ*), one of thirty-eight such successful candidates. A total of fifty-seven men passed that year, four at the first grade, fifteen at the second grade, and thirty-eight at the third grade. The proctors ranked Hoe first at the second grade (*iltŭng*), or fifth overall.⁷¹ During the reign of the previous king, Kongmin (r. 1351.12-1374.9), the government had revamped the recruitment process. From 1369, students who had been called *chaesaeng* now were called *saengwŏn* and the Promotion Examination (*Sŭngbosi*) by which the court had selected *chaesaeng* became the Saengwŏn Examination (*Saengwŏnsi*). The *saengwŏn* prepared for the examination at the Royal Confucian Academy; they first passed the higher examination in 1369.⁷²

As a "*saengwŏn*" in 1382.5 Hoe passed the higher civil service examination ranked fourth.⁷³ More specifically, the proctors ranked him first among the

Sam't'an chip, in *Hanguk munjip ch'onggan*, vol. 11 (Seoul: Minjok Munhwa Ch'ujinhoe, 1989), 2b-3a; *T'aejo sillok* 1.45a-49b [1392.7.28].

67. *T'ae'an Yi ssi sebo* (1987), vol. 1, 2b-3a.

68. *T'ae'an Yi ssi songye sebo*, 2b; *Tŭnggwarok p'yŏnch'ŏn*, 1382 roster (Imsul p'allyŏn pang).

69. *T'ae'an Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 3a-5a; *T'ae'an Yi ssi Chŏnju pum'p'a Chŏngju sebo*, 4b.

70. Kwŏn Kŭn, "Hŭnghae-gun sinsŏng mullu ki," in Kwŏn Kŭn, *Yangch'on chip*, in *Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, vol. 7 (Seoul: Minjok Munhwa Ch'ujinhoe, 1991), 11.11b-14a [dated 1390.5.undated]; *Koryŏsa* 45.15a-b [1390.1.26]; "Yangch'on sŏnsaeng nyŏnbo," in *Yangch'on chip* (Keijō: Chōsen Sōtokufu, 1937); *T'aejong sillok* 17.8b-11a [1409.2.14]; *Sinjŭng Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam* 22.31b. The entry in *Sinjŭng Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam* identifies that banishment as having occurred in the Chosŏn period (*ponjo*). The Koryŏ government built forts at Hŭnghae and elsewhere along the east coast of Kyŏngsang Province in 1011. (*Koryŏsa* 82.30b.)

71. "Sŏngwang ch'illyŏn chŏngsa samwŏl il munsaeng chin [missing]," 311.

72. Hŏ Hŭngsik, *Koryŏ kwagŏ chedosa yŏn'gu* (Seoul: Ilchogak, 1981), 69-71.

73. *Tŭnggwarok p'yŏnch'ŏn*, 1382 roster (Imsul p'allyŏn pang); *Koryŏ munkwa pangmok*, 1382 roster; "Chŏnju kwagŏ sajkŏk," in *Kukcho munkwa pangmok*, vol. 1 (Seoul: Taehaksa, 1984), 55-56.

seven passers at the second, *pyöng* grade.⁷⁴ The epitaph for the Munyöl-gong and the epitaph that Hoe's youngest son wrote for his own mother state that Hoe passed as the top-ranked candidate (*munkwa changwön*). That ranking is an exaggeration, however.⁷⁵ Hoe is the only member of the T'aeon Yi confirmed to have passed the Koryö government's higher civil service examination.⁷⁶ The *Tüggwarok chönp'yön*, a list completed in the Chosön period of men who passed higher civil service examinations held by the Koryö government, records the three generations of his father Kyöng, his grandfather Yöngsu, and his great-grandfather Ch'ön (as Chang), and the father of his wife.⁷⁷

T'aeon Yi genealogies and the epitaph for the Munyöl-gong date Hoe's examination success not to 1382, the *imsul* year, but to 1383, the *kyehae* year.⁷⁸ In 1383, Yi Pangwön, who later became King T'aejong, passed the higher civil service examination ranked tenth overall.⁷⁹ The year before, in 1382, when Hoe passed the higher civil service examination, Pangwön passed the *chinsa* examination. In the rosters for the 1383 examination, Pangwön's title is "*chinsa*." The year in which both individuals are recorded in extant rosters is 1382, not 1383.⁸⁰ This pairing, though, gave the T'aeon Yi descent group two such links to the founding family of Chosön. The father Kyöng and the son Hoe passed the Koryö examination in the same years, according to the genealogy, as the father Yi Sönggye (King T'aejo) and the son Yi Pangwön (King T'aejong), respectively.⁸¹

Hoe served in the Koryö government at some point between 1382 and 1392 as *Tosa*, but the office of assignment is not specified. In the Chosön government, he held several posts of the fifth grade and higher.⁸² His career

74. "Chönjo kwagö sajök," in *Kukcho munkwa pangmok*, vol. 1, 56.

75. "Munyöl-gong myoji," in *T'aeon Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 5a-6a; "Puin Yi ssi chi pijji," in *T'aeon Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 6b-7a.

76. Yi Hyojin, "Koryö-mal kwagö ch'ulsin kwallyö ü sönghyang kwa chöngch'i tonghyang," unpublished Master's Thesis, Tonga Taehakkyo, 2004, 21 Table 6.

77. *Tüggwarok p'yönch'ön*, 1382 roster (Imsul p'allyön pang).

78. *T'aeon Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 3b; "Munyöl-gong myoji," in *T'aeon Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 5a-6a; *T'aeon Yi ssi songye sebo*, 2b; *T'aeon Yi ssi sebo* (1987), 2b-3b.

79. *Tüggwarok p'yönch'ön*, 1383 roster (Kyehae kunyön pang).

80. "Chönjo kwagö sajök," in *Kukcho munkwa pangmok*, vol. 1, 60 (for the 1382 roster) and 61 (for the 1383 roster).

81. *T'aeon Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 6b-7a.

82. Gari Ledyard, "Cartography in Korea," in J.B. Harley and David Woodward, eds., *The History of Cartography*, volume two, book two: *Cartography in the Traditional East and*

derailed temporarily soon after the founding of the new government.

In 1394 Pyŏn Chungnyang (?-1398), Hoe, who then was a Section Chief, at the senior fifth grade, in the Board of Military Affairs (*Pyŏngjo chŏngnang*), and Pak P'o criticized the most powerful men in the new government over the form of governance since 1392. Pyŏn argued that administrative authority and military authority should not be held by the same people. It is best, he continued, when the royal family holds military authority and the officials hold administrative authority, but at present Cho Chun (1346-1405), Chŏng Tojŏn (?-1398), Nam Ŭn (1354-1398), and others hold both military authority and administrative authority, and this truly is not good. Pyŏn subsequently repeated these views to Yi Hwa, whom King T'aejo had named a Country Founding Merit Subject (*Kaeguk kongsin*) in 1392.8, soon after the government's establishment.⁸³ Hwa subsequently informed King T'aejo. The monarch summoned Pyŏn, who expressed the argument again and added that Pak shared his and Hoe's view. Two days later, King T'aejo banished Pyŏn to Yŏnghae, in Kyŏngsang Province, Hoe to Sunch'ŏn, in Chŏlla Province, and Pak to Chukchu (as Chuksan from 1413⁸⁴), in Ch'ungch'ŏng Province. Further, he stripped Pyŏn and Hoe of their posts.⁸⁵ Pak's participation was significant because he was a military official and King T'aejo had named him a Country Founding Merit Subject in 1392.8.⁸⁶

Their exiles were not permanent. Pyŏn held a government post on 1398.1.23 (Royal Academy Headmaster, senior third grade; *Sŏnggyungwan Taesasŏng*). Pak is next known to have been in government service (*Chungch'uwŏn kyŏm Hwangju suryŏng*) in 1396.3.⁸⁷ As for Hoe, the court is known to have appointed him to two posts (*Chi Tanju sa and Tanju Chamokso chegŏ*) in Tanju (from 1413 as Tanch'ŏn⁸⁸), in the Northeast

Southeast Asian Societies (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 245.

83. *T'aejo sillok* 1.52b-53b [1392.8.20].

84. *Sejong sillok (chiriji)* 149.8a-b.

85. *T'aejo sillok* 6.16b [1394.11.4]; *T'aejo sillok* 6.16b [1394.11.6]; *Kukcho pogam*, vol. 1 (Seoul: Sejong Taewang Kinyŏm Saŏphoe, 1976.6), 1.10a-b; Chŏng Tojŏn, *Sambong chip*, in *Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, vol. 5, (Seoul: Minjok Munhwa Ch'ujinhoe, 1991), 14.20b-21a [1392.7]. The *Kukcho pogam* and the entry in Chŏng Tojŏn's collected writings date this criticism to 1392.

86. *T'aejo sillok* 1.52b-53b [1392.8.20].

87. Pyŏn Chungnyang; *T'aejo sillok* 13.2b-3a [1398.1.23]; Pak P'o: *T'aejo sillok* 9.3b [1396.3.7]. Pyŏn Chungnyang had not yet returned to the government when his father Pyŏn Ongnan died on 1395.1.23. The obituary for Pyŏn Ongnan identifies Chungnyang as having "reached the [senior third grade] post of [Royal Secretariat] Fifth Royal Secretary" (*kwan ch'i Ubusingji*). (*T'aejo sillok* 7.2a-b [1395.1.23].)

District (*Tongbuk-myŏn*; later as Hamgyŏng Province, among other names). The date of the first appointment is not known; the second appointment occurred on 1398.2.3.⁸⁹

Hoe had returned to the capital by 1402.5, when the State Council presented to King T'aejong the map of Chosŏn that Yang Sŏngji (1415-1482) later attributed to him and referred to as the *P'altodo*. He compiled the *Honil kangni yŏktae kukto chi to* map while Legal Secretary (*kŏmsang*), or an official responsible for compiling state documents, including law codes.⁹⁰ Perhaps it was service in this post that led to Hoe's assignment to compile the world map in 1402. In 1403.8 he was First Secretary in the State Council (*Ŭijŏngbu sain*), and held this post in 1403.10, too.⁹¹ One year later, in 1404.10, Hoe, who then served in the Board of Punishments (*Hyŏngjo ūrang*), was exiled to Ongjin County, in Hwanghae Province, one of fourteen officials banished on the same day.⁹²

In 1407 King T'aejong gave Hoe the opportunity to visit Ming China. As a Director in the Office of Royal Sacrifices (*Ammul Pongsang[sŏ] yŏng*), Hoe served as the higher-ranking of the two Bursars in the 1408 New Year embassy. The Crown Prince (*seja*), the Yangyŏng Taegun Yi Che (1394-1462.9.6), who was the first son of King T'aejong, led the embassy as Envoy (*chinp'yosa*). He was fourteen *se* when the embassy departed from Hansŏng in 1407.9. Hoe's superiors included Yi Mu (1355-1409), who was the embassy's third-ranking member as *chinjŏnsa* and one of the officials who had supervised the compilation of the *Honil kangni yŏktae kukto chi to*.⁹³

In Nanjing the embassy lodged at the hall for visiting envoys

88. *Simjŏng Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam* 49.23b.

89. *T'aejo sillok* 13.4b [1398.2.3].

90. *T'aejong sillok* 3.27a [1402.5.16]; *Sŏngjong sillok* 138.9a-11a [1482.2.13]; Yang Sŏngji, "Chin sinch'an Chiriji," in *Nulchae sŏnsaeng munjip*, 4.45b; Kwŏn Kŭn, commemoration to *Honil kangni yŏktae kukto chi to*.

91. Legal Secretary (*Choyeso Kŏmsang*): *T'aejong sillok* 6.1b-2a [1403.7.16]; State Council First Secretary (*Ŭijŏngbu Sain*): *T'aejong sillok* 6.8b [1403.8.21], *T'aejong sillok* 6.19b-20b [1403.10.11].

92. *T'aejong sillok* 8.24b [1404.10.22]; *T'aejong sillok* 8.23a-b [1404.10.21]; *T'aejong sillok* 8.24b [1404.10.22]. The post in the Board of Punishments that Hoe held may have been eliminated in the bureaucratic reforms introduced on 1405.3.1. (*T'aejong sillok* 9.5a-6b [1405.3.1].)

93. *T'aejong sillok* 14.29a-30a [1407.9.25]; *Chŏnju Yi ssi Yangyŏng Taewŏngun Hamyanggun p'a sebo* (P'yŏngt'aek, Republic of Korea: Yi Pyŏngsik, 1993), 1a. In the 1392.7 reforms to the bureaucracy inherited from the Koryŏ government, the Chosŏn court placed the *Pongsangsi yŏngsa* (Office of Sacrificial Ceremonies Superintendent; two officials) at the ninth grade. (*T'aejo sillok* 1.45a-49b [1392.7.28].)

(*Kuaitongguan*). At the New Year's greeting, the Crown Prince presented horses, gold and silver objects, and local products to the Yongle Emperor.⁹⁴ The emperor bestowed gifts upon the Crown Prince, a set of gifts upon thirty-five members from Yi Ch'önu (?-1417), who as the First Vice Envoy (*Pu[sal]*), and already ennobled as the Wansangun and then as the Wansanhu, was the embassy's second-ranking member and the highest-ranking official, through assistants (*chongsagwan*). He also bestowed lesser gifts upon seventy-eight participants in lower positions.⁹⁵

During the embassy Hoe gained, or advanced, a reputation for poetry. The emperor suggested that the guests visit the Chaodian-gong palace and the Linggu-si, Dianxi-si, Dianjie-si, and Nengren-si temples. The Second Vice Envoy (*Pu[sal]*) Yi Nae (1362-1416), the Attendant to the Envoy (*sijongguan*) Maeng Sasöng (1360-1438), the Scribe (*söjanggalwan*) Söl Ch'ing, and Hoe later accompanied the emperor to Linggu-si. This temple was northeast of the city wall and inside Yingdian-fu's outer wall.⁹⁶ At the temple, the emperor urged each of the Koreans to continue his own poem praising Buddhism (K. *ch'anbulsi*) and submit their efforts.⁹⁷

This poetry exchange is also mentioned in the *T'aean Yi ssi sebo*'s profile of Hoe. According to that text, the Yongle Emperor urged his foreign guests to add a linked verse to his poem. None dared pick up a brush. Hoe did, though, and presented his verse to the emperor. The Yongle Emperor later presented him with myriad gifts.⁹⁸ Hoe's poetic skill was remembered in later lists of Korean brush names and rosters of Koryö-period examination passers.⁹⁹ His

94. *Taizong shilu* 75.1a [1408.1.1].

95. *Taizong shilu* 75.1a-b [1408.1.7]; *T'aejong sillok* 15.13b [1408.4.2]; *Chöngjong sillok* 3.4a-7b [1400.1.28]; *T'aejong sillok* 4.12b [1400.5.8]. Yi Ch'önu was later ennobled as the Wansan Puwöngun. (*T'aejong sillok* 27.3a [1414.1.13].)

96. For the temples and for Mt. Zhong, see *Da Ming yitong zhi*, the Ming government gazetteer completed in 1461. (*Da Ming yitong zhi*, [Taipei: Tongyi Chuban Yinshua Gongsu, 1965], 6.6a-b, 6.18b.) Linggu-si received this name during the Emperor Hongwu's reign. (*Yingdian-fu zhi*, in *Yingdian-fu zhi – Jiangnin-xian zhi*, [Beijing: Zhongguo Shudian 1992], 23.1a-b.) Dianxi-si does not appear in the *Da Ming yitong zhi* or in the *Yingdian-fu zhi*. This temple name may be a mistake for Yongfu-si, which is written with similar characters. (*Da Ming yitong zhi* 6.19a; *Yingdian-fu zhi*, 23.5a.) For maps showing the location of Linggu-si, see "Du Cheng tu," plate no. 193, in *Zhongguo gudai dituji: Ming-dai*, (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 1994), and Edward L. Farmer, *Early Ming Government: The Evolution of Dual Capitals* (Cambridge, MA: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, 1976), 52.

97. *T'aejong sillok* 14.14a [1408.4.2]; *T'aejong sillok* 14.15b-16a [1408.4.2].

98. *T'aean Yi ssi sebo*, 3a-4b.

99. *T'aean Yi ssi sebo*, 3a-4b; Tongnam hobo (Seoul: Asea Munhwasa, 1980), 278 (2.41b); *Hobo* (Seoul: Kukhak Charyowön, 1994), 424; Maema Kyūsaku, *Meisefu* (Seoul: Asea

writings were collected in a “five-volume *munjip*.”¹⁰⁰

The embassy returned to Chosŏn by ship. While at sea, pirates (*haejök*) boarded one or more of the vessels, but soon returned to their boats without inflicting any damage or stealing any items.¹⁰¹ This attack adds another to the list of maritime incidents and coastal raids between 1350 and the early 1420s.

King T'aejong appointed Hoe as Right Second Censor in the Office of the Censor-General (*Saganwŏn usagan*) on 1409.4.16, a special director in the newly-established Bureau of Record Checking (Swaegwŏnsaek pyŏlgam) on 1409.4.19, and Left Second Censor in the Office of the Censor-General (*Saganwŏn chwasagan*) on 1409.Intercalary 4.29.¹⁰² (He may have held the second appointment concurrently with the first and third assignments. Both Second Censor posts were of the senior third grade.) The Left Second Censor post and the appointment to the supernumerary post of Second Deputy Director in the Hall for Treasuring Culture (*Pomungak chikchehak*) are noted in genealogies.¹⁰³ The fullest rendition of these two posts is as *T'ongjŏng taebu Saganwŏn chwasagan taebu Pomungak chikchehak*.¹⁰⁴ The prestige title *T'ongjŏng taebu* was at the senior third rank, upper.¹⁰⁵

Hoe also is identified as the Left Second Censor in the Office of the Censor-General and as the Deputy Director in the Office of Royal Decrees (*Saganwŏn chwasagan Yemungwan chehak*).¹⁰⁶ The Koryŏ court introduced the Deputy

Munhwa, 1976), 32; *Haedong myŏngin hobo*, vol. 3, “Kok ho” entry; *Hobo*, “Kok ho” entry, (manuscript text, The National Library of Korea [Kungnip Chungang Tosŏgwan]); *Soksu Ch'ŏnggu hobo*, “Kokcha ho” entry, 2a; *Taedong myŏngga hobo* (Keijō: Song Kyuhŏn Chat'aek, 1936), “Kok” entry; *Hobo*, “Kok ho” entry, 11b (manuscript text, The National Library of Korea); *Hobo*, “Kok ho” entry (manuscript text, The National Library of Korea); An Chongji, ed., *Taedong innul chi*, 162; “Chŏnjo kwagŏ sajök,” in *Kukcho munkwa pangmok*, vol. 1, 1382 roster; “Chŏnjo kwagŏ sajök,” in *Kukcho munkwa pangmok*, vol. 1, Maema Kyōsaku Bunko, Tōyō Bunko, 1382 roster; *Haedong pangmok*, vol. 2, Yonsei University Library, 1382 roster.

100. *T'aean Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 3a-5a; Hwang Chŏngha, “Chosŏn hugi sanwŏn ūi yŏngu: T'aean Yi-ssi sarye punsŏk ūl chungsim ūro,” *Han'guksa yŏn'gu* 66 (1989: 9), 50, citing the preface to the *T'aean Yi ssi chokpo* printed in 1971.

101. *T'aean Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 3a-5a.

102. *T'aejong sillok* 17.24a [1409.4.16]; *T'aejong sillok* 17.24b [1409.4.19]; *T'aejong sillok* 17.35a [1409.Intercalary 4.29]. More specifically, the full titles of the two Second Censor posts are *Saganwŏn Usagan Taebu* and *Saganwŏn Chwasagan Taebu*.

103. *T'aean Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 3a-5a; Nam Kon, “Haengjang,” in Yi Sŭngso, *Samt'an chip*, in *Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, vol. 11 (Seoul: Minjok Munhwa Ch'ujinhoe, 1989), 1a. The Second Deputy Director post was at the third grade when the court renamed the Hall for Treasuring Culture as the Hall of Worthies (*Chiphyŏnjŏn*) in 1420.3. (*Sejong sillok* 7.30a [1420.3.16].)

104. Nam Kon, “Haengjang,” 1a.

105. *T'aejo sillok* 1.45a-49b [1392.7.28].

Director post into the Office of Royal Decrees at the junior third grade in 1362. He served at the senior third grade near or at the end of his career. But it is unclear when the court raised Deputy Director of the Office of Royal Decrees to junior second grade.¹⁰⁷

In 1409, Hoe fell ill with a stomach ailment. Despite his wife's concerns and medical treatment provided by the government office in Haeju, he died on 1409.6.3 (July 15, 1409, following the solar calendar). The court posthumously promoted him to Inspector-General at the Office of the Inspector-General (*Sahŏnbu taesahŏn*), which, at the junior second grade, was the highest-ranking post in that office. He was buried in the eighth month on Mt. Tonghwa, in Haeju County.¹⁰⁸

Hoe's wife was the second daughter of Yi Maengun, of the Ongjin Yi descent group.¹⁰⁹ This descent group is also known as the Hwasan Yi. Haeju County and Ongjin County shared a border, Ongjin being to the southwest. She was born on 1363.2.6 (February 20, 1363), and passed away in 1427.2 at the age of 65 *se*. Her grave and her husband's grave share(d) the same burial site (*tongwŏn*).¹¹⁰

Hoe raised three sons and one daughter. In the *T'aean Yi ssi sebo* they are listed sons first, daughter fourth. However, in the *Ssijok wŏllyu*, which lists only one son and the daughter, the daughter is listed before the son, who was Hoe's second son. As the *T'aean Yi* genealogy in the *Ssijok wŏllyu* also lists a daughter before a son in two other generations, it seems quite possible that this genealogy presents the birth order.¹¹¹ If it does, then the birth order of Hoe's four children becomes son, daughter, son, and son.

Hoe's three sons raised five sons and two daughters, his daughter three sons and three daughters. The five grandsons born to Hoe's sons raised six sons and three daughters. None of his sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons passed the higher civil service examination or achieved posts of the rank he attained, however.

106. *Haesŏ ūpchi*, in Yi T'aejin and Yi Sangr'ae, eds., *Chosŏn sidae sach'an ūpchi* 33: *Hwanghae-do* 3 (Seoul: Han'guk Inmun Kwahagwŏn, 1998), 125; Yi Kyŏngch'un, ed., *T'aean Yi ssi sebo* (1936), 8b-9a.

107. For Deputy Director of the Office of Royal Decrees as a junior second grade post see *Sejong sillok*, *Oye, Karye ūsik, Sangch'amŭ*, 132.51b-52a.

108. *T'aean Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, "Puin Yi ssi chi piji," 6b-7a; *T'aean Yi ssi songye sebo*, 3a.

109. Yi Wŏryŏng, ed., *Hwasan Yi ssi chokpo* (Taejŏn, Republic of Korea: Hwasan Yi ssi P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe, 1987), 1-5.

110. *T'aean Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 3a-5a.

111. *Ssijok wŏllyu*, 122.

Hoe and several of the Korean ancestors in his direct line passed government examinations and served in high-ranking court positions. Despite their history of presence and participation in the Koryŏ government over each generation from Yanghwan, the first ancestor to be confirmed in outside sources is Hoe's great-grandfather Ch'ŏn (also known, as noted, as Chang), in the list of the four ancestors in the *T'inggwarok chŏnp'yŏn*. As will be shown below, the author(s) of the profiles embedded Hoe's ancestors into patterns and events in Koryŏ history. This new past inscribed into a knowable past of state examinations, government offices and positions, service in Yuan China, and defense was to imbue the descent group with enhanced stature in the late Chosŏn period.

Designing Korean Ancestors

Much of the biographical data above has been introduced without criticism. But as indicated already, the accuracy of profiles of Hoe's ancestors (and some immediate descendants, too) may be questioned. The 1926 *T'aean Yi ssi sebo* and other of the descent group's genealogies depict the Koryŏ-period ancestors introduced above through representational strategies that inflated the stature of its members and thus the descent group, too, in Koryŏ. These strategies included civil service examination systems, government service in Koryŏ, government service in Yuan China's empire, military valor, and imperial marriage.

Success at civil service examinations opened doors to government service and its attendant social stature and, potentially, political stature. The genealogies report frequent achievement in Koryŏ, and also in early Chosŏn, civil service examinations. In the profiles of Koryŏ ancestors, this created a constant presence of descent group men in Korean officialdom from the eleventh century into the early fifteenth century. Other men reached high-ranking military posts. In constructing a new means of entry into Yuan government service for Ch'ŏn, the genealogist(s) deployed the potential for employment through the triennial Yuan examination.

In Hoe's direct line of ancestors, five men are reported as having passed civil service examinations in Koryŏ and Yuan China. In addition, Sung and Ham, two men not in Hoe's direct line, are reported as having passed a "*munkwa*" examination during the reign of King Kongyang (r. 1389.11-1392.7) and the "Investiture Examination" (*Ch'aekpongsŏ*) held "in Jianwen 2 during the reign of King T'aejong," or in 1400, respectively. As T'aejong assumed the throne in

the eleventh month of that year, this examination could only have been held in the eleventh month or the twelfth month. However, the Chosŏn government gained investiture from the Emperor of Ming China after 1400. Sung was the highest-ranked passer (*changwŏn*) of the former examination, and Ham was the first son of Sung. Neither name appears in available examination rosters, however.¹¹² It is more likely that an examination that celebrated an important achievement in the Chosŏn government's first years was invented for an ancestor to pass. The image of consistent presence in state governance is blurred by inaccurate information for examinations in Koryŏ and Yuan China.

In the 1926 *T'aean Yi ssi sebo* Hoe, his father Kyŏng, and Sung are recorded as having passed Koryŏ civil service examinations, and Hoe's great-grandfather Ch'ŏn as having succeeded at the Yuan government's examination. However, of the forty-one males identified from the seventh generation to the fourteenth generation, or from Yanghwan's generation to that of Kyŏng and including ancestors not in Hoe's direct line, twenty-eight are reported as having held a civil administration post in Koryŏ or in Yuan China, six are reported to have held posts confirmed to be Koryŏ military posts, and seven are recorded without a government post. Among the twenty-eight males reported as having held a civil administration post in Koryŏ or in Yuan China, six are reported to have held Koryŏ government posts of the junior first grade, the senior second grade, or the junior second grade, that is, to have been *chaech'u*. Calculated differently, setting aside the six descent group members identified as Koryŏ military officers and the seven members recorded without a government post, nearly one-fourth of the twenty-eight males reported to have held Koryŏ civil administration posts are said to have been *chaech'u* officials.

The six men identified in the 1926 genealogy as having been *chaech'u* are found in the eighth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth generations. The first ancestor so historicized was Yanghwan's first son, Am. He is the only one among these six ancestors to have been in Hoe's direct line of descent. The next two *chaech'u* officials were an elder brother of Hoin and a nephew of Hoin born to another elder brother. The other three ancestors were two elder brothers of Ch'ŏn (who is reported to have held posts of similar rank in Yuan China) and the sixth son of Ch'ŏn. Ancestors who are reported to have been

112. For these two men see *T'aean Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 2b. The "Koryŏ-cho kwagŏ sajŏk" dates an examination held in 1388 (Hongwu 21) to "Kongyang wŏllyŏn" and a second examination in 1390 (Hongwu 23) to "Kongyang 2." Yi Sung is not listed in either examination roster. ("Koryŏ-cho kwagŏ sajŏk," in *Kukcho pangmok* [Seoul: Kukhoe Tosŏgwan, 1971], 531-534.) Yi Ham is not listed in rosters of successful candidates of the higher civil service examinations conducted during T'aejong's reign. (*Kukcho pangmok*, 6-14.)

chaech'u are found in successive generations in two instances: the elder brother of Hoin and Hoin's nephew, and Ch'ön's two elder brothers and his sixth son. In both cases the second holder was a nephew to the man (Hoin's elder brother) or the men (Ch'ön's two elder brothers) in the previous generation.

Also reported, and almost certainly introduced into the history of the T'aean Yi descent group, are appointments as ministers in the six boards. In Hoe's direct line of descent, Cho, Hoin, and Yöngsu held such posts. Hoin and Yöngsu, who, to remind, was Hoe's grandfather, also served in one or more of the three departments (Samsöng). In addition, two of Yöngsu's younger brothers are recorded as having been ministers in the Board of Works (Kongjo) and the Board of Taxation (Hojo), respectively. The younger brother Yöngbal would have served as the *Kongjo pansö*, or Minister of the Board of Works, either until 1356 or from in or after 1389.11, two periods when this office was called Kongjo.¹¹³ The other younger brother, Yönggün, would have served as the *Hojo chönsö*, or Minister of the Board of Taxation, from in or after 1389.11, when the office was first called Hojo.¹¹⁴ However, the post of Minister was not called "*chönsö*" after 1389.11, but "*pansö*" between 1389.11 and 1392.7.¹¹⁵ The absence of other biographical data about these two brothers and their invisibility in the *Koryösa* strengthens the view that they did not serve in these posts.

The number of *chaech'u* officials, six, and the number of ministers, five, is remarkable, especially as the *Koryösa* does not mention any of Hoe's ancestors. Through the 1926 T'aean Yi *ssi sebo* (if not in an earlier genealogy, such as the 1871 printing,¹¹⁶ which I have not examined), the descent group ascribed to itself significance in the Koryö government, and in Koryö history, from the late eleventh century or the early twelfth century to the end of the fourteenth century. This history likely also served to help balance the descent group's consistent absence from among passers of the Chosön government's higher civil service examinations.

The accomplishments attributed to Hoe's great-grandfather Ch'ön fitted a broader pattern of Korean service in the Yuan China government during the period when it influenced administration in Koryö. The Yuan court initiated recruitment through the civil service examination in 1313. This ladder to service had three rungs: the provincial examination, the metropolitan

113. *T'aean Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 5b; *Koryösa* 76.20a-21a.

114. *T'aean Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 5b; *Koryösa* 76.15b-17a.

115. *Koryösa* 46.31a [1392.1.28]; *Koryösa* 46.38b-39a [1392.4.22].

116. Hwang, "Chosön hugi sanwön üi yön'gu," 48 note 3, 50 note 13.

examination, and the palace examination.¹¹⁷ The provincial examination for which Koreans sat took place in Koryŏ. Successful candidates proceeded to the Yuan capital for the metropolitan examination. Koreans are known to have passed twelve of the eighteen metropolitan examinations held between 1315 and 1368 and to have served in Yuan China.

However, the Yuan court did not hold a metropolitan examination or a palace examination in 1353, the year in which Ch'ŏn is said to have passed. The entry for Ch'ŏn does not specify the type of examination for which he sat, but the posts listed in his profile indicate that he would have passed the metropolitan and palace examinations. However, Ch'ŏn is not included in a roster completed in the Chosŏn period of Koreans that passed Chinese government examinations in the fourteenth century and earlier.¹¹⁸ The Yuan government conducted the metropolitan and palace examinations in 1315, 1318, 1321, 1324, 1327, 1330, 1333, 1337, 1339, 1342, 1345, 1348, 1351, 1354, 1357, 1360, 1363, and 1366. Of these eighteen recruitment exercises, only those conducted in 1337 and in 1339, the latter restoring the three-year interval, diverged from the three-year cycle initiated with the 1315 and 1318 examinations. The years in which Koreans passed are the years in which the Yuan government conducted the metropolitan examination. Ch'ŏn does not appear in Ko Hyeryŏng's list of fifteen Korean passers of the Yuan examination, either.¹¹⁹

Judging from the year "1353," Ch'ŏn did not pass the metropolitan examination. If he did not, then he did not hold the posts in China that are listed in the genealogy. The profile for Ch'ŏn, though, placed him among Koreans that passed the most prestigious civil service examination for which they were eligible and placed him in the currents of Yuan-Koryŏ/Koryŏ-Yuan relations. Service in the Yuan government would seem to have been an accepted symbol, and trope, of stature when Ch'ŏn's profile was composed.

In the 1926 genealogy is another effort to enhance the descent group's prestige and political status, and add luster to its history, through Koryŏ state examinations. As noted, Hoe and his father Kyŏng are reported to have passed their examinations in the same cohort as (the future) King T'aejong and his

117. For the Yuan government's civil service examinations see Benjamin A. Elman, *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 33-37, 628-629, 646, and 649.

118. *Tŭnggwarok p'yŏnch'ŏn*, 1b-2b.

119. Ko Hyeryŏng, *Koryŏ hugi sadaebu wa sŏngnihak yŏn'gu* (Seoul: Ilchogak, 2001), 94-131. Also see Chang Tongik, *Koryŏ hugi oegyosa yŏn'gu* (Seoul: Ilchogak, 1994), 173-178, 206-214.

father (the future) King T'aejo, respectively. Extant examination rosters do not record these two fathers, and Hoe's successful candidacy is dated in genealogies to one year later so as to match the year in which King T'aejong, then Yi Pangwŏn, passed the higher civil service examination. The putative successes of his father and his great-grandfather endowed Hoe with examination passers in two of the three previous generations.

The inflation of achievement continued for descendants of Hoe in the early Chosŏn period. Wŏnho, who was a grandson of Hoe, is reported to have passed the higher civil service examination ranked first (*changwŏn*). However, in the profile the Chosŏn government held that examination in "Chengde 13," "during the reign of King Tanjong." This monarch's reign lasted from 1452.5 to 1455. Intercalary 6, but Chengde 13 is the equivalent of 1448, or the thirtieth year of King Sejong's reign (r. 1418.8-1450.2). That Chinese reign period ended in 1449.9 upon the enthronement of a new emperor. Wŏnho does not appear in the comprehensive list of higher civil service examination passers.¹²⁰ The genealogy also has him as Town Magistrate of Kimhae County (*Kimhae [Toho]pusa*, junior third grade), in Kyŏngsang Province. And Hoe's great-grandson Chi is reported to have passed the *munkwa* examination, to have held government office (*sŭptŏk[kwan]*), and to have received posthumous promotion to the junior third grade post of Second Inspector in the Office of the Inspector-General (*Sahŏnbu chibŭi*).¹²¹ Chi, too, is not listed in available rosters of *munkwa* passers.

Augmentation did not overlook a sibling of Hoe, either. According to the 1978 *T'aean Yi ssi sebo*, Chŏn, who was the third son of Kyŏng and the youngest brother of Hoe, passed an examination during the reign of King Chŏngjong (r. 1398.9-1400.11). Further, Su (or, alternatively, Sok), the third son of Chŏn, is reported as having passed the literary licentiate examination during the reign of King Munjong (r. 1450.2-1452.5). Hyoil, who was the son of Chŏn's first son Sŭng, also is reported as a successful candidate of the *munkwa* examination.¹²² None of these three men, Chŏn, Su, or Hyoil, are confirmed in extant examination rosters.

The assertion of *tongbang* relationships with King T'aejo and King T'aejong used examinations to link descent group members and the descent group to the ruling family of Chosŏn. According to the 1926 genealogy, King

120. *Kukcho pangmok*, 15-30, 32-35, 72-74.

121. *T'aean Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 7b-8a.

122. Chŏn: *T'aean Yi ssi sebo* (1978), 2b; Su: *T'aean Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 5b; *T'aean Yi ssi sebo* (1978), 2b; Hyoil: *T'aean Yi ssi sebo* (1936), 9a.

T'aejong announced during a visit to Hwanghae Province in 1416 that he would appoint descendants of the T'aeon Yi as County Magistrate of Munhwa County because the two fathers and the two sons had passed Koryŏ civil service examinations in the same year, respectively.¹²³ In that genealogy the descent group claimed royal favor in the Chosŏn period based upon a relationship established through the Koryŏ examination system that cannot be substantiated through available examination rosters. The genealogies deployed the higher civil service examination to several maneuvers designed to burnish and to enlarge the descent group's presence in the central governments of Koryŏ and Chosŏn, at least in the latter state's first decades.

The T'aeon Yi also embellished the genealogical version of their social stature and political stature through marriage. The immigrant ancestor Li Qi/Yi Ki and his son Yanghwan married women from the Kyŏngju Ch'oe and the Haeju Ch'oe families. Qi/Ki's birth in the genealogies to Li Gang, a famous official in the Northern Song and Southern Song governments, inserted him upon his invented arrival into the equivalent layer of political society in Koryŏ. As noted, these two Korean families circulated in the ruling stratum of the early Koryŏ government. The Kyŏngju Ch'oe sent nine men into the government, and six of them became *chaech'u*. The Haeju Ch'oe sent at least thirteen men into the government between 981 and 1146, and eight of them became *chaech'u*.¹²⁴ More recent ancestors of Hoe married with the Tongnae Chŏng and the P'yŏngyang Cho descent groups in the fourteenth century. Members of these two descent groups entered Koryŏ government service through the civil service examinations.

In addition, a daughter of Hoe's great-grandfather Ch'ŏn is reported to have married into the Yuan imperial family. The imperial son who became Emperor Ningzong wed that daughter. Her entry in the 1926 *T'aeon Yi ssi sebo* is marked by four empty circles following the character for "daughter" (yŏ). The emperor's temple name and title, "Yuan Ningzong Huangdi," were printed in the top row of that folio side.¹²⁵ This emperor died in 1332, or more than twenty years before Ch'ŏn is said to have passed the Yuan court's higher civil service examination and entered government service in China. If she married in 1330 at the age of 15 *se* and was born when her father was 20 *se*, then Ch'ŏn would have been born in 1296. He would have been 58 *se* when he passed the

123. *T'aeon Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 6b; *T'aeon Yi ssi songye sebo*, 4a, 2b.

124. John B. Duncan, *The Origins of the Chosŏn Dynasty* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000), 59-68.

125. *T'aeon Yi ssi sebo*, vol. 1, 6a.

examination (not held) in 1353. Another way to calculate Ch'ön's possible birth year is through Hoe and Hoe's father. Born in 1335, Kyöng was 20 *se* at Hoe's birth in 1354. If Kyöng's father Yöngsu was 20 *se* at Kyöng's birth, then Yöngsu was born in 1316. If Ch'ön was 20 *se* at Yöngsu's birth, then Ch'ön was born in 1297. He would have been 57 *se* when he passed the examination (not held) in 1353.

The marriage with the imperial family recorded in the genealogy fit another pattern of Yuan-Koryö/Koryö-Yuan interaction. That betrothal inserted the T'aean Yi among Koryö families whose daughters were sent to the Yuan court. However, Ch'ön's daughter does not appear in Chang Tongik's list of Korean women married to elite men in Yuan China.¹²⁶ That is, there seem to be no outside sources that confirm the genealogy. This husband of Ch'ön's daughter was born in 1326, became emperor in 1332 at the age of seven, ruled for fifty-two days, and died in the eleventh month of 1332. His name was Irinji(n)bal, his widow was "Empress Ta-li-yeh-t'e-mi-shih."¹²⁷ With Ch'ön's inflated record of success and service in Yuan China, his daughter's marriage to Emperor Ningzong, and the promotion of his sons to the highest-ranking posts in two of the six boards, Hoe's great-grandfather is a special presence in the genealogies and the descent group's constructed history.

In the peninsula, marriage linked the T'aean Yi to other northwestern descent groups. Yanghwan, as noted, is reported to have married with the Haeju Ch'oe. From the second half of the fourteenth century into the fifteenth century, Hoe married with the Hwasan Yi (confirmed), Hoe's father with the P'yöngyang Cho (not yet confirmed), Hoe's daughter with the Yangsöng Yi (confirmed), and Hoe's younger brother Chön with the Kaesöng Wang (not yet confirmed). Over three consecutive generations in the late fourteenth century and the early fifteenth century occurred four marriages with two descent

126. Chang Tongik, *Koryö hugi oegyosa yön'gu*, 178-181. Also see Xi Lei, *Yuandai Gaoli gongnu zhidu yanjiu* (Beijing: Minzu Chubanshe, 2003), 36-50, for a list of eighty entries regarding Yuan court demands of the Koryö court for young female consorts from 1231 to 1363 in extant records.

127. David M. Farquhar, *The Government of China under Mongolian Rule: A Reference Guide* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1990), 429, 365 note 289. In Pinyin, the name of the empress becomes Da-li-ye-te-mi-shi. George Qingzhi Zhao renders the empress' name without the hyphens. He translates her biography in the *Yuanshi* as follows. "Empress Daliyetemishi of Ningzong was from the Onggirat clan. She was designated as Empress in the tenth month of the third year of the *Zhishun* era (1332). She died in the twenty-eighth year of the *Zhizheng* era (1368), and was buried and received sacrifices together with Ningzong." Her year of birth is unknown. A photographic reproduction of a portrait of Daliyetemishi accompanies Zhao's translation. (George Qingzhi Zhao, *Marriage as Political Strategy and Cultural Expression: Mongolian Royal Marriages from World Empire to Yuan Dynasty* [New York: Peter Lang, 2008], 252.)

groups with ancestral bases in Hwanghae Province (Hwasan Yi and Yangsŏng Yi), the Koryŏ royal family (albeit almost certainly to the daughter of someone distant from the monarch), and one descent group with its ancestral base in P'yŏngan Province (P'yŏngyang Cho). Hoe's daughter was the mother of Yi Sŭngso (1422-1484), who passed the classics licentiate examination ranked first in 1438, passed the higher civil service examination ranked first in 1447, reached the senior second grade post of Sixth State Councillor in the State Council (*Ŭijŏngbu Chwach'amch'an*) in 1482.¹²⁸

The genealogy also displays the T'aean Yi as participants in important trends and events during the Koryŏ period. The three generations of Hoin, Ch'ŏn, and Yŏngsu lived in Yuan China, and Hoin and Ch'ŏn are reported to have served in the Yuan government in posts of improbably high rank. The T'aean Yi genealogies thus presented members as active in the Yuan government and contributing to the administration of Yuan China, Koryŏ, and T'amna. The author(s) of the profiles apparently considered government service in the Mongol empire in the fourteenth century worthy of exaggeration and emulation, and not a scar on the descent group or the individual's reputation.

Two examples of participation in regional events also enliven the depictions of ancestors. First, Cho is reported to have fought against the invading Mongols at Koran-sa temple. Second, upon returning to Koryŏ after the fall of the Yuan government, Yŏngsu fought against the Red Turbans and was recognized for his meritorious service. These two ancestors are depicted as having helped protect the country against external aggression.

To speculate, the genealogies concentrated on Ch'ŏn because the *Ssijok wŏllyu* begins its record for the T'aean Yi with him. From his move to Yuan (*ip Wŏn*) and service as Myriarch Commander in the T'amna Myriarchy for the Yuan government grew a profile that treated him as having passed the Yuan higher civil service examination, served in posts superior to the T'amna command, married his daughter to an imperial son who would become, or had already become emperor, and received royal ennoblement as the T'aean Puwŏngun. And listing this profile behind two older brothers who were presented as having reached *chaech'u* posts in the Koryŏ government set his career as normal among his siblings. The *Ssijok wŏllyu* exposes his presence in the higher-ranking Yuan positions as accessories added after Cho Chongun

128. *Sŏngjong sillok* 149.17a-b [1482.12.25]; *Sŏngjong sillok* 162.8a-9a [1484.1.10]; *Kukcho pangmok*, 28-29. Sŭngso received the honorary title of Yangsŏnggun in 1482.3. (*Sŏngjong sillok* 139.2a [1482.3.2]; reported again in *Sŏngjong sillok* 144.18b [1482.8.13].)

completed this collection of lineage records around 1657. Hoe is the first member in his direct line of Koryŏ ancestors for whom several aspects of his career and activities can be confirmed in outside texts.

Conclusion

The genealogy was the best medium for advancing a past of higher political and social stature. For the T'aean Yi, embellished profiles of Korean ancestors were attempts to enhance the descent group's history, disseminate its claimed contributions to the political and social histories of Koryŏ and Chosŏn, and raise its social stature in Chosŏn. Success in government examinations, service in civil administration posts of the third grade and higher, and marriage with prominent families in Koryŏ and the imperial family in Yuan China would reflect the descent group well in late Chosŏn society. So too would the presence of Chinese ancestors and in-laws in high-ranking government positions in Northern Song and their contributions to the spread of Neo-Confucianism. Might those involved in compilation have expected few contemporary readers to endeavor to verify information about the Koryŏ ancestors, and thus the history, presented in the genealogy?

The fictions for the forefathers were the core of the project of inventing a past and constructing a memory of that past. History was a seed for this form of writing, and a veil for the exaggerations built in part upon the seeming accuracy of details. The genealogy performed history work in providing a new past confirmed in part by genealogy as a genre of history writing, and it performed memory work in constructing a shared recollection among, at the least, descent group members. Descent provided discourses through which stature could be claimed in a historical culture, a phrase which Daniel Woolf describes as “a convenient shorthand for the perceptual and cognitive web of relations between past, present, and future,” that validated genealogy compilation.¹²⁹ How historical culture in the late Chosŏn period encouraged

129. Daniel Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture 1500-1730* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 9. Woolf also notes “the desire of certain worthies [in England] to trace their family ancestry back to the remotest antiquity” (Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past*, 9.) I thank my colleague, Kei Nasu, for introducing me to Woolf's writing on historiography. And similar practices may be found in Japanese genealogies. For example, the Ochi, a samurai family, traced their origins to Emperor Kōrei, a mythological emperor who “reigned” from 290 B.C.E. to 215 B.C.E. (“Ochi keizu,” in *Gunsho ruijū keizubushū*, vol. 6 [Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1985], 136.) Tokugawa Ieyasu's invention of a family link to Minamoto Yoritomo, placement in the Minamoto lineage, which traced back to Emperor

and validated invention of the past, especially within a text that carefully presented, and could also correct, biographical data of men and women of the Chosŏn period, is perhaps a theme for future research.

As for Yi Hoe, he is the first member of the T'aean Yi descent group confirmed as having passed a higher civil service examination in Koryŏ or Yuan China. He is the first member whose bureaucratic career can be followed outside the genealogies. And because his career has been confirmed in other sources, he is the first man in the Koryŏ generations whose profile can be read with confidence in its accuracy.

The exaggeration of his ancestors, however, recast Hoe's career as typical among men in the Koryŏ generations. He, rather, was a rare example in the T'aean Yi of accomplishment in categories that enhanced political stature and social stature in the late Koryŏ period and the early Chosŏn period. Reading Hoe's life without examining the profiles of ancestors would have left his significance in the T'aean Yi's history obscured by hagiography.

Seiwa, having been considered of benefit for assuming the post of shogun, is but another example.