Imagined Connections in Early Modern Korea, 1500-1894: Representations of Northern Elite Miryang Pak Lineages in Genealogies*

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In early modern Korea, families across status boundaries desired appealing self-representations in genealogies, an increasingly popular medium for expressing status consciousness. The genealogies of the families that were neither aristocrat (*yangban*) nor commoner and yet commanded considerable cultural and economic capital have received little attention. Critiquing the genealogies of prominent northern families can shed more light on the question of whether the regional elite of P'yŏngan and Hamgyŏng provinces belonged to the aristocracy. Analyzing how the north's elite Miryang Pak lineages explained their origins, this study argues that they invented traditions wherein they were scions of the capital-southern aristocracy. Northern Miryang Pak genealogies share some characteristics in common. Above all, even the families producing prestigious civil examination degree holders generally had an undistinguished pedigree. Also, the descent group genealogies published in Seoul or the south did not record northern lines. Moreover, the northern Miryang Pak's genealogical claims were full of contradictions that ultimately did not help them win acceptance as social equals by the Seoul-southern aristocracy. While analyzing the northern elite's imagined connections, this study raises questions about their significance in periodizing Korea's social history.

Keywords: Chosŏn, status, descent, genealogy, elite

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In the last three decades, Korean genealogies (*chokpo*) have become an important form of primary source for historical research. Stressing their accuracy, the studies by Edward W. Wagner and Song Chunho have encouraged many scholars to utilize genealogies as historical sources.[1] The kind of records praised by Wagner and Song tend to be reliable genealogies produced by capital or local lineages of aristocratic (*yangban*) descent. One wonders, then, about the genealogies of others. Did they even have one? If so, then were they any different from those of aristocratic families? How can we explain such differences?

As true with any text, a genealogy requires criticism. In the Chosŏn period (1392-1910), Korean families across status boundaries desired appealing representations in genealogies.[2] As the conceptualization of kinship and descent became more strictly patrilineal among aristocrats, compilation of genealogies for more narrowly defined lineages, larger descent group segments, or even entire clan-like descent groups (*pon'gwan ssijok* sharing a common surname, ancestral seat, and putative ancestor) became widespread. Compilers of increasingly voluminous genealogies collected what earlier used to be individual household ancestry records.[3]

Descent groups without detailed documents thus had to concoct a pedigree.[4] By the nineteenth century, newer genealogies had come to

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1. Edward W. Wagner, "The Korean Chokpo as a Historical Source," in *Studies in Asian Genealogy*, ed. Spencer J. Palmer (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1972), 141-52; and Song Chunho, "Han'guk e issŏsŏ ŭi kagye kirok ŭi yŏksa wa kŭ haesŏk" (History of family records in Korea and its interpretation), in *Yŏksa hakpo* 87 (September 1980): 99-143.

2. Ch'a Changsŏp, "Chosŏn sidae chokpo ŭi p'yŏnch'an kwa ŭiŭi: Kangnŭng Kimssi chokpo rŭl chungsim ŭro" (Genealogy compilation in the Chosŏn period and its significance: the Kangnŭng Kim genealogy), in *Chosŏn sidae sahakpo* 2 (1997): 64-74.

3. Yi Sugŏn, *Han'guk chungse sahoesa yŏn'gu* (Studies in medieval Korean history), (Seoul: Ilchogak, 1984), 32-33; and Kwŏn Kisŏk, "15-17 segi chokpo ŭi p'yŏnje pangsik kwa sŏngkyŏk: sŏbalmun ŭi naeyong punsŏk ŭl chungsim ŭro" (Composition and characteristics of 15th- to 17th-century genealogies: an analysis of introductions and postscripts), in *Kyujanggak* 30 (2007): 70-74.

4. Compiled in the seventeenth century, the *Origins of Descent Groups*, the oldest extant multi-lineage genealogy, leaves various segments sharing a common surname and an ancestral seat unconnected to one another, as well as even noting hereditary local officer (*hyangni*) origins or conflicting pedigree information. For example, in the cases of an Ŭisŏng Kim descent group segment and a Ch'angnyŏng Cho descent group segment, for each the author includes two versions of a Koryŏ period pedigree and suggests that the one showing most of its Koryŏ ancestors as local officers is probably more accurate. Cho Chongun, *Ssijok wŏllyu* (Origins of descent groups), (manuscript, ca. 1657; Seoul: Pogyŏng Munhwasa, 1991), 260, 668-69. In contrast, later genealogies tend to connect such segments with a putative common ancestor and trace the genealogy further back in time, often claiming origins in China. The throne affirmed

encapsulate many problems, including: one, chronological discrepancies or anachronistic information; two, conflicting pedigrees for the same individual in various editions of a genealogy; three, unsubstantiated claims to court ranks and offices; and four, hiding nonaristocratic origins by omitting or forging the career data of certain ancestors, or even grafting the entire descent line onto others.[5] Over generations, numerically small descent groups even assumed better known ancestral seat names and asserted that they shared common ancestry with those already using the more prestigious identifiers.[6]

Previous studies say little about the genealogies of the families that were neither aristocrat nor commoner and yet commanded considerable cultural and economic capital.[7] Such families belong to the *chungin* ("middle people") class, in the broad sense of an intermediate social stratum (*chunggan kyech'ŭng*). This includes not only the narrowly defined *chungin* in the sense of government technical specialists such as interpreters, physicians, astronomers, jurists, accountants, painters, calligraphers, and musicians, as well as military officers and others among their kin, but also upper-stratum administrative functionaries (*sŏri*) and the illegitimate children (*sŏŏl*) of aristocratic men.[8]

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such claims. For example, in 1794 when King Chŏngjo (r. 1776-1800) learned that two men with the surname of Kong (Ch. Kong), the family name of Confucius (Ch. Kong Qiu, trad. 551-trad. 479 BCE), had passed the latest civil and military examinations (*munkwa, mukwa*), he was overjoyed and declared that the descendants of Confucius had come to Korea and passed the government service examinations. *Chŏngjo sillok* (Veritable records of Chŏngjo), (Seoul, 1805), 39.27a. The veritable record citations come from the modern reprint edition, *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* (Veritable records of the Chosŏn Dynasty), (Seoul: Kuksa P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe, 1955-58), 48 vols. and index. It is not certain whether Chŏngjo's statement reflects a sincere belief or a political rhetoric, but a fifteenth-century geographical treatise (*chiriji*) lists almost all known Korean surnames at the time as indigenous surnames, including Kong, as well as the surnames of Mencius (Ch. Meng Ke, 372-289 BCE) and Zhu Xi (1130-1200), respectively Maeng (Ch. Meng) and Chu (Ch. Zhu). *Sejong sillok* (Veritable records of Sejong) (1454), 149.10b, 150.30a, 151.25a.

5. Yi Sugŏn, *Han'guk chungse sahoesa yŏn'gu*, 32-33.

6. Yi Sugŏn, *Yŏngnam sarimp'a ŭi hyŏngsŏng* (The formation of the Yŏngnam rusticated literati faction), (Kyŏngsan: Yŏngnam Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 1979), 3-4. For an analysis of various genealogical maneuvers by local functionaries, commoners, and slaves, as well as marginalized aristocrats, see Sungjong Paik, "The Formation of the United Lineage in Korea," in *The History of the Family* 5, no. 1 (2000): 75-89.

7. Studies making these observations are too numerous to cite. For a recent English-language work, see Kyung Moon Hwang, *Beyond Birth: Social Status in the Emergence of Modern Korea* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004), 47-52.

8. For a more in-depth discussion on the problems of definition, see Cho Sŏngyun, "Chosŏn hugi sahoe pyŏndong kwa haengjŏngjik chungin: kyŏngajŏn ŭl chungsim ŭro" (Late Chosŏn social change and the administrative *chungin*: the capital yamen officers), in *Han'guk kŭndae ihaenggi chungin yŏn'gu* (Studies on the *chungin* during the period of Korea's transition to modernity), ed.

Many would extend the list. In late Chosŏn (ca. 1700-1910), the residents of central and southern Korea also regarded the regional elite of the north, that is P'yŏngan and Hamgyŏng provinces, as *chungin*. For example, in 1778 a memorial in the name of some 3,200 Confucian students (*yusaeng*) of Kyŏngsang, Ch'ungch'ŏng, and Chŏlla provinces in the south argued that in their own regions the descendants of illegitimate sons of aristocratic men were worse off than the northwest's "*chungin*," for the latter were even entitled to prestigious civil offices and suffered no discriminatory treatment as far as the National Confucian Academy (Sŏnggyun'gwan) and provincial school (*hyanggyo*) enrollments were concerned.[9]

Even today, the question of whether the north had a bona fide aristocracy remains controversial. The studies arguing against the existence of an aristocracy in the region stress the capital-southern local aristocracy's discriminations against the northern elite.[10] The scholars who view the latter as a true aristocracy emphasize their local elite standing, high level of education, immersion in Confucian culture, and strong status consciousness.[11]

Addressing these issues has implications for our understanding of the early modern period (ca. 1500-ca. 1894) in Korean history. Some may object to the term "early modern" by stressing that it was initially coined by historians for the period of western European history from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. To such scholars, using the term in a non-Western context is a Eurocentric exercise ignoring local particularities.[12] Of course, if the measuring

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Yŏnse Taehakkyo Kukhak Yŏn'guwŏn (Seoul: Tosŏ Ch'ulp'an Sinsŏwŏn, 1999), 68-72. Cases of a pre-seventeenth-century family producing technical specialists for more than a generation are rare, but my preliminary research suggests that some less prestigious *chungin* families began forming exclusive marriage ties to other *chungin* families only in the nineteenth century. This issue requires more research.

9. *Chŏngjo sillok*, 6.24b.

10. Recent studies include Kang Sŏkhwa, *Chosŏn hugi Hamgyŏng-do wa pukpang yŏngt'o ŭisik* (Late Chosŏn Hamgyŏng Province and the northern territory consciousness), (Seoul: Kyŏngsewŏn, 2000); O Such'ang, *Chosŏn hugi P'yŏngan-do sahoe palchŏn yŏn'gu* (A study on the social development in late Chosŏn P'yŏngan Province), (Seoul: Ilchogak, 2002); and Kyung Moon Hwang, "From the Dirt to Heaven: Northern Koreans in the Chosŏn and Early Modern Eras," in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 62, no. 1 (June 2002): 135-78.

11. For a recent English-language work advancing this argument, see Sun Joo Kim, *Marginality and Subversion in Korea: The Hong Kyŏngnae Rebellion of 1812* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007).

12. For example, arguing that Korean scholars have gone too far in overcoming the Japanese colonialist historiography and have overemphasized progress without adequate evidence, James B. Palais identified some of the distinct features of Korean history. See his article, "A Search for Korean Uniqueness," in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 55*, no. 2 (December 1995): 409-25.

stick of modernity were calibrated in terms of, say, the English parliamentary system, the Industrial Revolution, and colonialism among others, then much of the rest of world should fall short. Thus, for example, though delineating many common historical developments throughout the world, Eric Hobsbawm had to conclude that East Asia's "proto-nationalism" lacked some of the key features of modern Western nationalism.[13]

More recently, the "early modern" has become a useful periodization term for the whole world, for which modernity is a complex mixture of conditions describing our present existence. If we were to ascribe to such chronological modernity various trends toward a widening base of political participation, greater social mobility, economic liberalization, and cultural diversity, then by definition the early modern period becomes an era showing the acceleration of these developments. As scholars in the history departments of North American universities can attest, the current historiography on the New World, Africa, the Middle East, Inner Asia, South Asia, and Southeast Asia seems comfortable with the notion of an early modern period even before they came more fully under European influence or domination.

Then does East Asia stand out? Japanese historians freely use periodization terms such as "medieval" and "early modern," though Western scholars in the Korean and Chinese history fields tend to shy away from them. Common sense alone should dictate that before the impact of Western imperialism, China, Korea, and Japan must have influenced one another more strongly than any one of them was affected by the West. As Miyajima Hiroshi points out, however, it was the Meiji era Japanese leaders' "escape from Asia" attitude that has secured Japan a special status in the Eurocentric historiography of the world.[14] Also, Japan's "successful" Westernization in the late nineteenth century apparently persuaded the West to accept its claim of special status.

Mounting recent evidence maps an early modern East Asia encompassing not just Japan but also China and Korea. To begin with, Andre Gunder Frank sees a strong continuity between the modern and early modern periods in East Asian history in spite of the intrusive Western imperialism.[15] Kenneth

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13. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 66-67.

14. Miyajima Hirosi (Miyajima Hiroshi), "Tong Asia segye sok ŭi Han'gukhak: Han'guksa yŏn'gu wa Tong Asiajŏk kwanchŏm" (Korean Studies within the East Asian world: Korean history research and East Asian perspective), in *21-segi Han'gukhak: ŏttŏkk'e hal kŏt in'ga* (21st-century Korean Studies: how to do it?), ed. Hallim Taehakkyo Han'gukhak Yŏn'guso (Seoul: P'urŭn Yŏksa, 2005), 103-4.

15. Andre Gunder Frank, *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (Berkeley: University of

Pomeranz, R. Bin Wong, Chŏn Sŏngho, and James Lewis show that up to about 1800, neither China nor Korea was significantly behind Europe in terms of state power, agricultural productivity, population growth, and living standard.[16] Moreover, as of the sixteenth century, both China and Korea each had a distinct cultural sphere wherein the popular novels such as Luo Guanzhong's *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (*Sanguo yanyi*) promoted values that the elite proprietors of the state disapproved.[17]

Just as significant a feature of modernity is the notion that one can do something about status, and we can detect relevant developments in early modern East Asia. According to Pierre Bourdieu, what one appreciates through his or her senses signifies the individual's position within a society.[18] As increased subjectivity in this regard accompanies modernity, Miyajima argues that in addition to a state powerful enough to maintain land and population registers nationwide, advances in agricultural technology, and expanded commerce, the spreading notion of lineage and the larger genealogies seeking to record the members across status boundaries characterize early modern East Asia.[19]

Critiquing the genealogies of northern elite lineages can shed more light on social change in early modern Korea where status negotiations became common. Analyzing how the north's elite Miryang Pak lineages explained their origins, this study argues that they invented traditions wherein they were scions of the capital or southern local aristocracy. Although unable to present supporting documents, the northern elite Miryang Pak claimed that they were descended from scholar-officials of Seoul, including the victims of fifteenth- or sixteenth-century literati purges who had allegedly been banished to the north.

California, Press, 1998), 103-30.

16. Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000), 32-55, 87-107, 123-43, 168-69, 241, 283; R. Bin Wong, *China Transformed: Historical Change and the Limits of European Experience* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1997), 27, 47, 83-88, 101-4, 127, 278-93; and Jun Seong Ho (Chŏn Sŏngho) and James Lewis, "Wages, Rents, and Interest Rates in Southern Korea, 1700 to 1900," *Research in Economic History* 24 (2006): 221-87.

17. In 1569, an eminent Neo-Confucian scholar-official at the time, Ki Taesŭng (1527-72), advised King Sŏnjo (r. 1567-1608) to ban the novel and similar others on the ground that they were not conducive to true moral cultivation. *Sŏnjo sillok* (Veritable records of Sŏnjo), 3.24b.

18. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1984), 184.

19. Miyajima Hirosi (Miyajima Hiroshi), "Kŭndae rŭl tasi ponda: Tong Asia ŭi kwanchŏm esŏ" (Re-examining the modern period: from the East Asian perspective), trans. Son Pyŏnggyu, *Ch'angjak kwa pip'yŏng* 120 (2003): 275-79; and idem, "Tong Asia segye sok ŭi Han'gukhak," 110-11.

Northern Miryang Pak genealogies share some characteristics in common. Above all, even the prestigious civil examination (*munkwa*) degree holders generally did not have prominent ancestors. Also, the descent group genealogies published in the capital or in the south left out northern lines. Moreover, the northern Miryang Pak claims of kinship ties to the capital or southern local aristocracy embodied discrepancies that ultimately discredited their genealogical and status claims from the perspective of the bona fide aristocracy. Let us first consider the overall extent of the Miryang Paks' examination success.

The Chosŏn Examination System and the Miryang Pak

In Chosŏn Korea, descent groups of widely varying sizes all together produced hundreds of thousands of examination passers. Between 1393 and 1894, when the Chosŏn Dynasty held the government service examinations, the number of successful candidates from a particular descent group ranged from none to thousands.[20] A descent group's examination success depended on many factors, including its size, political assets, social status, and cultural capital. Reflecting descent group populations at the end of the Chosŏn, today in South Korea the largest ones can each claim millions of members, whereas the smallest no more than scores.[21]

For at least four centuries, the Miryang Pak has been one of the most common ancestral seat-surname combinations among Koreans. Although almost none of even the historically well documented Paks and Kims of the Koryŏ period (918-1392) appears to be closely related to the royal Paks and Kims of the Silla kingdom (57 BCE, trad.-935), by the nineteenth century most

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20. Unless noted otherwise, this study bases various examination passer-related statistics on the following databases: Edward W. Wagner and Song Chunho, "Sama pangmok chipsŏng" (A collection of licentiate examination rosters), unpublished data printout (February 1993); Edward W. Wagner and Song Chunho, *CD-ROM Poju Chosŏn munkwa pangmok* (CD-ROM Expanded and annotated Chosŏn civil examination rosters), (Seoul: Tongbang Midiŏ, 2001), CD-ROM; Eugene Y. Park, "Chosŏn military examination passers," unpublished database (8 November 2007); and "Kwagŏ mit ch'wijae" (The examinations and certification tests), at Han'gukhak Chungang Yŏn'guwŏn (The Academy of Korean Studies), *Han'guk yŏktae inmul chonghap chŏngbo sisŭt'em* (Comprehensive information system on Korean historical personalities), posting date unknown, http://people.aks.ac.kr/index.jsp (accessed on 28 December 2007).

21. T'onggyech'ŏng, "Ch'ong chosa in'gu (2000)" (Total surveyed population (2000)), at *KOSIS Kukka t'onggye p'ot'ŏl: Korean Statistical Information Service* (KOSIS National statistics portal: Korean Statistical Information Service), http://www.kosis.kr (accessed on 2 January 2008).

Pak and Kim descent groups were claiming descent from, respectively, King Kyŏngmyŏng (Pak Sŭngyŏng, r. 917-24) and King Kyŏngsun (Kim Pu, r. 927-35) of Silla. In the case of the Miryang Pak, who by then were tracing their origins to the eldest among the historically undocumented sons of Kyŏngmyŏng, genealogies, military examination (*mukwa*) rosters (*pangmok*), and household registration (*hojŏk*) records alike show that in the late Chosŏn, the Miryang Pak came from all walks of life, including aristocratic ministers, *chungin* interpreters, commoner conscripts, and private slaves. At the dynasty's end, the Miryang Pak was the third most popular identifier among the populations of many counties in Kyŏnggi Province surrounding Seoul[22] and for decades, Miryang Pak has been the second most common label in South Korean census surveys.[23]

The Miryang Pak, however, did not do so well in terms of maintaining a strong presence in the power structure. For example, when it comes to producing high state councillors (*sangsin*, senior first rank), "literati par excellence" (*munhyŏng*, senior second rank),[24] and queen consorts (*wanghu*),[25] all indicators of prestige and power, the Miryang Pak produced just one high state councillor and one literatus par excellence but not a single queen consort.[26] Of course, it may be misleading to credit an entire, clan-like descent group for these distinctions, but comparing various descent groups' performances in such categories gives us a sense of how at least their most prominent segments or branches fared. In this light, the Miryang Pak were not all that impressive in comparison to other descent groups that produced

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22. O Sŏng, *Han'guk kŭndae sangŏp tosi yŏn'gu: Kaesŏng, Inch'ŏn ŭi hojŏk taejang punsŏk ŭl chungsim ŭro* (Studies on commercial cities in modern Korea: an analysis of the Kaesŏng and Inch'ŏn household registration collections), (Seoul: Kukhak Charyowŏn, 1998), 179.

23. The Kimhae Kim and the Miryang Pak have been the two most populous "descent groups" in South Korea, at least for four decades as reflected in the census surveys taken in 1960, 1985, and 2000. *Han'guk sŏngssi taegwan* (Panorama of Korean surnames), (Seoul: Ch'angjosa, 1971), 46-47, 62, 270-71, 276; *Sŏngssi ŭi kohyang* (Origins of surnames), (Seoul: Chungang Ilbosa, 1989), 225, 745; and T'onggyech'ŏng, "Ch'ong chosa in'gu (2000)" (accessed on 2 January 2008).

24. In order to be known as a "literatus par excellence," an individual had to serve as the director (*taejehak*) of both the Office of Special Counselors (*Hongmun'gwan*) and the Office of Royal Decrees (*Yemun'gwan*), as well as concurrently holding the position of director (*chisa*) or headmaster (*taesasŏng*) of the National Confucian Academy. Han'gukhak Chungang Yŏn'guwŏn, "Taejehak," at *Emp'asŭ paekkwa sajŏn* (Emp'asŭ encyclopedia), posting date unknown, http://100.empas.com/minbaek/index.html (accessed on 2 January 2008).

25. This category does not include royal concubines (*hugung*), of whom a king could have more than one at a given moment while there could be only one queen consort.

26. *Sŏngssi ŭi kohyang*, 752, 2557-58.

Table 1. Powerful Chosŏn Descent Groups

Descent group	Numbers produced		
	High state councillor	Literatus par excellence	Queen consort
Chŏnju Yi	22	7	0
Andong Kim - both "old" (*ku*) and "new" (*sin*)	19	6	3
Tongnae Chŏng	17	2	0
Ch'ŏngsong Sim	13	2	3
Yŏhŭng Min	12	3	4
Ch'ŏngju Han	12	1	5
P'ap'yŏng Yun	11	1	4
Taegu Sŏ	9	6	1
Namyang Hong - both "Tang" and "indigenous" (*t'o*)	9	3	1
Munhwa Yu	9	1	1
Yŏnan Yi	8	7	0
Ch'ŏngp'ung Kim	8	3	2
Andong Kwŏn	8	3	1
Yangju Cho	8	3	1
Kyŏngju Yi	8	3	0
Yŏnan Kim	8	2	1
Tŏksu Yi	7	5	0
P'ungyang Cho	7	4	2
Pallam Pak	7	2	2
P'yŏngsan Sin	7	2	0

Note: Exact numbers vary slightly from one primary source to another, and I cite verifiable highest figures.
Source: *Sŏngssi ŭi kohyang*.

powerful aristocratic lineages, including the twenty descent groups that each produced at least seven high state councillors (table 1).

All the same, a large population apparently increased the likelihood of a descent group's examination success. For the Chosŏn period, the Miryang Pak ranks seventh among the descent groups that produced civil examination passers, accounting for 261 out of 14,607 degree holders (1.8 percent), and second among the military examination passers, numbering 1,257 out of 34,866 known graduates (3.6 percent). As for the licentiate examination (*samasi*, *saengwŏn-chinsasi*) which qualified a successful candidate to study at the National Confucian Academy and prepare for the civil examination, the Miryang Pak ranks sixth, claiming 754 out of 40,649 known licentiates (2.0

percent).[27] The least highly regarded competition, that is the technical examination (*chapkwa*) testing a candidate in foreign language, medicine, law, astronomy, or accounting, saw 167 out of 6,115 known degrees going to the Miryang Pak (2.7 percent), again placing it in the sixth place among descent groups.[28]

The Miryang Pak case reflects the increased overall examination success of the northern residents in the late Chosŏn. Unlike the technical examination that the Seoul *chungin* families began monopolizing in the seventeenth century, late Chosŏn civil, military, and licentiate examination graduates were increasingly from the north while those from Seoul and the surrounding Kyŏnggi Province maintained a lion's share of roughly half the degrees granted. All this was at the expense of the southern residents of Kyŏngsang and Chŏlla provinces.[29] In fact, throughout the Chosŏn dynasty, the Miryang Pak from Seoul alone account for respectively 37.6 percent, 30.2 percent, and 26.5 percent of all Miryang Pak civil, military, and licentiate examination graduates.[30] Even more impressively, in late Chosŏn the representation of northern Miryang Pak among examination passers saw an overall increase, though the peak was the eighteenth century for both the civil and military examinations (table 2).

Nonetheless, the Seoul-southern local aristocracy did not view the northern elite as social peers.[31] As true with the wealthy, cultured specialist *chungin* of Seoul who also won greater access to the degrees, court ranks, and offices other than those in technical services,[32] northerners generally could not attain certain

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27. Ch'oe Chinok, *Chosŏn sidae saengwŏn-chinsa yŏn'gu* (A study on the Chosŏn classics and literary licentiates), (Seoul: Chimmundang, 1998), 15, 137, 267.

28. The Miryang Pak total counts some individuals more than once, as they passed more than one technical examination. Yi Namhŭi, *Chosŏn hugi chapkwa chungin yŏn'gu: chapkwa ipkyŏkcha wa kŭdŭl ŭi kagye punsŏk* (A study on the late Chosŏn technical-examination *chungin*: an analysis of the technical examination passers and their pedigrees), (Seoul: Ihoe Munhwasa, 1999), 161-62.

29. Edward W. Wagner, "The Ladder of Success in Yi Dynasty Korea," in *Occasional Papers on Korea* 1 (1974): 7-8; idem, "The Civil Examination Process as Social Leaven: The Case of the Northern Provinces in the Yi Dynasty Korea," in *Korea Journal* 17 (1977): 22-27; Ch'oe Chinok, *Chosŏn sidae saengwŏn-chinsa*, 204; Yi Namhŭi, *Chosŏn hugi chapkwa chungin*, 110; Yi Wŏnmyŏng, *Chosŏn sidae munkwa kŭpcheja yŏn'gu* (A study on the Chosŏn period civil examination graduates), (Seoul: Kukhak Charyowŏn, 2004), 101-14, 179, 223; and Eugene Y. Park, *Between Dreams and Reality: The Military Examination in Late Chosŏn Korea, 1600-1894* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007), 87-100, 105-14.

30. Yi Wŏnmyŏng, *Chosŏn sidae munkwa kŭpcheja*, 194, 220.

31. Studies analyzing this phenomenon are too numerous to cite. For recent monographs, see O Such'ang, *Chosŏn hugi P'yŏngan-do sahoe palchŏn yŏn'gu*, 21, 53-64, 187-204; and Sun Joo Kim, *Marginality and Subversion in Korea*, 35-65.

Table 2. Changing Representation of Northern Miryang Pak Among Examination Passers

Examination type	Northern Miryang Pak passers/all passers (%)					Total
	1393-1500	1501-1600	1601-1700	1701-1800	1801-1894	
Civil	0/ 950 (0.000)	0/ 1,848 (0.000)	4/ 2,767 (0.145)	14/ 3,505 (0.399)	9/ 3,722 (0.242)	27/12,792 (0.211)
Military	0/ 502 (0.000)	1/ 2,680 (0.037)	14/12,210 (0.115)	111/11,980 (0.927)	35/ 5,483 (0.638)	161/32,755 (0.492)
Licentiate	0/ 575 (0.000)	1/ 5,246 (0.019)	7/ 9,708 (0.072)	24/ 9,628 (0.249)	74/13,229 (0.559)	106/38,386 (0.276)

Note: The above figures do not include examination passers of unknown residence or period of degree acquisition.

Sources: Wagner and Song, "Sama pangmok chipsŏng"; Wagner and Song, *CD-ROM Poju Chosŏn munkwa pangmok*; Park, "Chosŏn military examination passers," unpublished database; Ch'oe Chinok. *Chosŏn sidae saengwŏn-chinsa*; and Yi Wŏnmyŏng, *Chosŏn sidae munkwa kŭpcheja*.

prestigious positions virtually reserved for the capital and southern aristocrats. For example, while a military examination passer from a prominent family of Seoul military aristocracy could successively hold royal herald (*sŏnjŏn'gwan*), district magistrate, provincial troop commander (*pyŏngma chŏltosa*, *sugun chŏltosa*), Five Military Division (*O Kunyŏng*) commander (*taejang*, *yŏngjang*), and even vice-minister (*ch'amp'an*) positions, northerners and capital *chungin* alike typically could not advance beyond lower provincial military, palace sentinel (*sumunjang*), or Five Guards (*O Wi*) general (*chang*) posts.[33]

Considering that in late Chosŏn the increasingly officeless Kyŏngsang and Chŏlla local aristocrats maintained their elite status by birth while the capital *chungin* remained inferior, what was the perceived social status of the northern elite?[34] An extensive body of scholarly literature has analyzed various forms of

32. Song Chunho, "Chosŏn sidae ŭi kwagŏ wa yangban mit yangin (I): munkwa wa saengwŏn-chinsasi rŭl chungsim ŭro hayŏ" (The aristocracy, commoners, and the government service examination in the Chosŏn period (I): the civil examination and the classics-literary licentiate examination), in *Yŏksa hakpo* 69 (March 1976): 113-23; Kim Yangsu, "Chosŏn hugi sahoe pyŏndong kwa chŏnmunjik chungin ŭi hwaltong: yŏkkwan, ŭigwan, ŭmyanggwan, yulgwan, sanwŏn, hwawŏn, agin tŭng kwa kwallyŏn hayŏ" (The late Chosŏn social change and the activities of technical specialist *chungin*: interpreters, physicians, astronomers, jurists, accountants, painters, and musicians), in *Han'guk kŭndae ihaenggi chungin yŏn'gu*, 198-216.

33. O Such'ang, *Chosŏn hugi P'yŏngan-do sahoe palchŏn yŏn'gu*, 30-36, 210-32, 248-52.

34. The late Chosŏn aristocracy shared some key characteristics. Above all, an aristocrat had to be descended from a famous ancestor, who was either a central official or a scholar at the

discrimination from which the northerners suffered.[35] Since the specialist *chungin* of Seoul, as well as administrative functionaries and the descendants of illegitimate children of aristocrats, all had a blemished pedigree in the sense of having at least one nonaristocratic ancestor at the beginning of the Chosŏn or later,[36] the ancestry of northern elite lineages requires scrutiny. A closer look at the genealogical claims of the northern Miryang Pak elite is in order.

An Undistinguished Pedigree

A late Chosŏn elite lineage tends to be one of three types in terms of their examination success and office holding patterns. The Seoul aristocracy included those producing mostly civil examination passers and civil officials, and such lineages dominated court politics. However, some capital aristocratic families specialized in the military branch of officialdom and played a supporting role in politics. Outside western central Korea, namely Seoul, Kyŏnggi Province and the parts of Hwanghae, Kangwŏn, and Ch'ungch'ŏng provinces bordering Kyŏnggi, where both types of aristocratic families generally resided or had land, local elite lineages produced a smaller number of examination passers and relatively minor officials at best.[37] Among such local

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beginning of the Chosŏn dynasty, and had to demonstrate an impeccable pedigree comprising only aristocratic ancestors. Accordingly, an aristocratic man took in a woman of lower status only as a concubine, and an aristocratic father without a natural son by his wife could pass down his status only by adopting an agnatic nephew or kin of the nephew's generation. Second, an aristocratic family maintained at all costs a cultured lifestyle entailing proper Confucian rituals and education. Third, a family's aristocratic status had to be acknowledged for generations by the society in general and other aristocrats in particular. Song Chunho, *Chosŏn sahoesa yŏn'gu: Chosŏn sahoe ŭi kujo wa sŏngkyŏk mit kŭ pyŏnch'ŏn e kwanhan yŏn'gu* (Studies in Chosŏn social history: research on late Chosŏn society's structure, characteristics, and change), (Seoul: Ilchogak, 1987), 160-64, 242-59.

35. Recent monographs include Kang, *Chosŏn hugi Hamgyŏng-do wa pukpang yŏngt'o ŭisik*; O Such'ang, *Chosŏn hugi P'yŏngan-do sahoe palchŏn yŏn'gu*; and Sun Joo Kim, *Marginality and Subversion in Korea*.

36. More research is needed on this question. My ongoing research suggests that some specialist *chungin* families descended from the illegitimate sons of aristocratic men while others had risen from lower social status. See Eugene Y. Park, "The 'Middle People' (*Chungin*) and Historical Agency in Modern Korea: Varied Social Trajectories as Reflected in Genealogy Production," unpublished manuscript, 11.

37. Ch'oe Sŭnghŭi, "Chosŏn hugi yangban ŭi sahwan kwa kase pyŏndong: Sŏnsan muban'ga No Sangch'u ŭi sarye rŭl chungsim ŭro" (Office holding and changing family fortune among the late Chosŏn aristocracy: The case of No Sangch'u from a military family of Sŏnsan), in *Han'guksa non* 19 (1988): 355-84.

elite lineages, genealogies of those based in the north are hard to trace, including even the passers of the prestigious civil examination. Whereas two-thirds of civil examination passers appear in *A Comprehensive Genealogy of Ten Thousand Surnames* (1931), a text recording Chosŏn's most prominent descent lines, one can expect to find an additional one-quarter or so of the passers in other sources, while most of the seemingly untraceable ten percent of civil examination graduates were P'yŏngan or Hamgyŏng residents earning their degrees toward the end of the Chosŏn.[38]

The northern Miryang Pak are not exceptional in this regard. Over the years, I have been able to trace among the Miryang Pak 222 out of 261 (85.1 percent) civil examination passers, 370 out of 1,257 (29.4 percent) military examination passers, 478 out of 754 (63.4 percent) licentiates, and 59 out of 167 (35.3 percent) technical examination passers.[39] In comparison, among the northern Miryang Pak, none of whom is known to have passed the technical examination monopolized by Seoul *chungin* lineages, so far I have located in genealogies only 13 out of 27 civil examination graduates (48.1 percent), 7 out of 165 military examination graduates (4.2 percent), and 19 out of 106 licentiates (17.0 percent). Most northern Miryang Pak degree holders hailed from more obscure families, it seems.

This is evident in two nineteenth-century editions of civil examination passer genealogy texts (*munbo*) recording many northerners.[40] For a given degree holder, each edition records up to ten generations of patrilineal ancestors, as well as his maternal grandfathers and fathers-in-law, with information on each antecedent's highest degree, rank, or office.[41] In just three out of eleven of these recorded cases of northern Miryang Pak civil examination passers was there another civil examination graduate from the family and in three other cases, no other family members other than the civil examination passer himself was an examination passer, rank holder, or

38. Wagner, "The Ladder of Success in Yi Dynasty Korea," 3.

39. I have consulted the genealogies of various Miryang Pak descent group segments, eight-generation genealogies (*p'alsebo*) of degree holders, multi-lineage genealogies (*chonghappo*), and local gazetteers with some family information on renowned native sons.

40. "Munbo" (A genealogy of civil examination graduates), manuscript, between 1891 and 1910, Changsŏgak collection (K2-1744), The Academy of Korean Studies, 3 vols. (*ch'aek*); and "Samban p'alsebo" (An eight-generation genealogy of three orders), manuscript, 1890, Changsŏgak collection (K2-1755), The Academy of Korean Studies, 8 vols. (*ch'aek*).

41. For any individual who had an adoptive father and a natural father, these sources recorded both, as well as his respective patrilineal ancestors. Also, if an examination passer had more than one wife during his life time, then all of them and their fathers were recorded, though concubines and their fathers were not.

official.[42] If even the genealogically traceable northern Miryang Pak civil examination passers could only present less-than-impressive pedigrees, then we probably cannot expect the ancestors of untraced degree holders to have been more illustrious.

Even the northern Miryang Pak literati commanding nationwide respect as eminent scholars were from families of no particular distinction. The case of the brothers Pak Munil (pen name Unam, 1822-94) and Pak Muno (pen name Sŏngam, 1835-99) is illustrative. Hailing from a Miryang Pak lineage of T'aech'ŏn in P'yŏngan Province,[43] Munil was a disciple of the famous Neo-Confucian scholar Yi Hangno (pen name Hwasŏ, 1792-1868) and maintained intellectual dialogues with some of the most renowned Confucianists of the time, such as Ch'oe Ikhyŏn (pen name Myŏnam, 1833-1906). Munil received several appointments before dying in office as his home county magistrate,[44] and the government even honored him with a posthumous title (*siho*).[45] Likewise, the younger brother Muno won acclaim as the top scholar in the northwest and served as a county magistrate.[46] Interestingly, the 1925

42. The eleven civil examination passers from the north are as follows, with numbers of renowned ancestors in parentheses: Pak Pongjin (none); Pak Chonghyŏng (two licentiates, one officeholder); Pak Munbin (two civil examination passers, two officeholders); Pak Such'ang (two officeholders); Pak Pyŏnghyŏp (one officeholder); Pak Naegyu (two licentiates, one civil examination passers); Pak Pyŏngsŏ (one officeholder); Pak Munsang (one civil examination passer, one military examination passer, four officeholders); Pak Yongp'yo (none); and Pak Chinyŏng (none). "Munbo," 2.6a-7b; and "Samban p'alsebo," 2.55a-57b.

43. It is not certain whether T'aech'ŏn had more than one elite Miryang Pak lineage, but a nineteenth-century local gazetteer lists the Miryang Pak as one of T'aech'ŏn's fourteen descent groups. "T'aech'ŏn-hyŏn ŭpchi" (T'aech'ŏn county town gazetteer), hand-copied edition, 1834, reprinted in Han'guk Inmun Kwahagwŏn, *Chosŏn sidae sach'an ŭpchi* (Privately compiled Chosŏn town gazetteers), (Seoul: Han'guk Inmun Kwahagwŏn, 1989), vol. 51, *P'yŏngan-do* 7 (P'yŏngan Province 7), 405. The local Miryang Pak produced a civil examination passer (1849) and two licentiates (n.d., 1723), but I cannot determine if they and the Munil-Muno brothers were from the same lineage. Unfortunately, the T'aech'ŏn gazetteer does not provide any information to shed light on this.

44. *Sŭngjŏngwŏn ilgi* (Daily records of the Royal Secretariat), 1866.07.72b, 1866.10.1a, 1882.08.116b, 1888.04.105b, 1894.07.80a, 1894.09.127a. I used a modern reprint edition, *Sŏngjŏngwŏn ilgi* (Seoul: Kuksa P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe, 1967-68), 15 vols. Since this edition does not provide the original bound volume (*ch'aek*) numbers, my citations denote a volume by the year and the lunar month that it covers.

45. Pak Ŭnsik (1859-1925), who was a famous Korean independence activist and the president (1925) of the Republic of Korea Provisional Government (1919-45), studied Nature and Principle Learning under Munil. "Pak Munil," "Yi Hangno," "Ch'oe Ikhyŏn," and "Pak Ŭnsik," at Han'gukhak Chungang Yŏn'guwŏn, *Han'guk yŏktae inmul chonghap chŏngbo sisŭt'em*, posting date unknown (10 January 2008). Pak Munil's writings are available in the *Unamjip* (Collection of Unam's writings), (Yŏngbyŏn, n.d.), Kyujanggak collection (Kyu 12628), Seoul National University, 12 vols.

Genealogy of Korean Descent Groups traces the ancestry of the two brothers back just four generations, merely labeling their great-great-grandfather, Fourth Minister-without-Portfolio (*Tongji Chungch'ubusa*) Pak Kyŏnghu, as a descendant of a certain Pak Hyu, who in turn is simply noted as a descendant of a Koryŏ civil official, Pak Hyŏn (ca.1250-ca.1337).[47] This record in an early twentieth-century genealogy most likely reflects the two brothers' own knowledge of their ancestry, which for centuries evidently lacked individuals of distinction.

All the same, the fact that even such eminent Miryang Pak of the north hailed from descent lines not known for degree, rank, or office holders is not damning evidence against their claim to aristocratic status. In fact, in stark contrast to the prominent aristocratic families based in western central Korea, in late Chosŏn local aristocratic lineages of the south generally were not producing examination passers or members of officialdom, especially after the political factions wherein they tended to belong suffered a series of defeats.[48] Thus we need to consider other reasons why the capital and southern aristocrats refused to treat the northern elite as their social equals. In spite of the genealogical claims of northern elite lines, how the genealogies published in Seoul or the south recorded them requires attention.

Absence from the Genealogies Compiled Elsewhere

In late Chosŏn, descent groups endeavored to compile and periodically update genealogies that were meant to record all verifiable members. Although the task was daunting and many descent groups even had to concoct pre-Chosŏn pedigrees, authors generally scrutinized relevant documents before recording the members. In spite of obvious differences in the degree of political power wielded, the capital and southern aristocratic families continued to acknowledge one another as social peers.[49] As aristocratic fathers without a legitimate son typically adopted an agnatic nephew or kin of the nephew's

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46. *Sŭngjŏngwŏn ilgi*, 1895.01.26b, 1895.03.9a; and "Pak Muno," at Han'gukhak Chungang Yŏn'guwŏn, *Han'guk yŏktae inmul chonghap chŏngbo sisŭt'em*, posting date unknown (accessed on 10 January 2008). His writings are available in the *Sŏngamjip* (Collection of Sŏngam's writings), (n.p., 1904), Kyujanggak collection (Kyu 6680), Seoul National University, 4 vols.

47. Song Kyesŏng, *Ch'ŏnggu ssibo* (Genealogy of Korean descent groups), (n.p., 1925), 7.82b-83a.

48. Park, *Between Dreams and Reality*, 88-90.

49. *Ibid*., 119-41.

generation, even if the adoptee was a very distant relative, genealogies were crucial for demonstrating such relationships.[50] At the same time, a "special genealogy" (*pyŏlbo*) section toward the end of the genealogy set recorded the descent lines with questionable membership claims.[51]

The largest of the twelve major descent group segments (each descending from a Koryŏ period figure) as recognized in late Chosŏn by the Miryang Pak is an illustrative example. Among the 222 genealogically traceable Miryang Pak passers of the prestigious civil examination, in various nineteenth- and early twentieth-century sources we find 100 claiming membership in the segment known as the Kyujŏnggong "branch" (*p'a*), so named after the office of its founding ancestor, the aforementioned Pak Hyŏn. A typical example of a source recording such genealogical claims is *A Comprehensive Genealogy of Korean Gentlemen* which, published in 1913, comprises a section on prominent Koreans of the day and a much longer section devoted to thousands of brief biographical profiles voluntarily submitted from throughout Korea, including hundreds of entries on status-conscious northerners.[52] Since the nineteenth-century editions of civil examination passer genealogies record each degree holder's patrilineal ancestors for up to ten generations, and thus not quite link him to one of the twelve recognized Miryang Pak descent group segment founders back in Koryŏ, the claims as recorded in *A Comprehensive Genealogy of Korean Gentlemen* shed some light on the northerners' family backgrounds.

Such northern Miryang Pak lineages tend to be missing from the late Chosŏn Miryang Pak genealogies published in Seoul or the south. Among the 100 Miryang Pak civil examination passers belonging to the Kyujŏnggong branch, 21 were northerners. Amazingly, none of the 21 appears in the Seoul-edition Kyujŏnggong branch genealogies compiled in 1620, 1662, 1742, and 1922, and even the 16-volume 1980 edition, wherein the majority of those recorded most likely do not even belong there, includes just one of the 21 northerners.[53] Although claiming membership in the Kyujŏnggong branch, the

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50. Mark Peterson, *Korean Adoption and Inheritance: Case Studies in the Creation of a Classic Confucian Society* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell East Asia Program, 1996), 100-106, 163-90.

51. Song Chunho, *Chosŏn sahoesa yŏn'gu*, 96; and Paek Sŭngjong, "Wijo chokpo ŭi yuhaeng" (Popularity of forged genealogies), in *Han'guksa simin kangjwa* 24 (February 1999): 80-83.

52. Ōgaki Takeo, *Chosŏn sinsa taedongbo* (A comprehensive genealogy of Korean gentlemen), (Keijō: Chosŏn Sinsa Taedongbo Parhaeng Samuso, 1913; rpt. Seoul: Asea Munhwasa, 1985), 516-70.

53. *Miryang Pakssi Kyujŏnggongp'a sebo* (A genealogy of the Kyujŏnggong branch of the Miryang Pak), (Keijō: Miryang Pakssi Kyujŏnggongp'a Taedongboso, 1922), 33 vols; and

family of the Pak Munil and Pak Muno brothers discussed above is not in any of the five editions either. In fact, the three Chosŏn editions generally do not record northern lines, either excluding their alleged early Chosŏn (1392-ca. 1550) ancestors still living in Seoul or the south or, in one case, even marking the individual with a notation, "no heir" (*muhu*), whereas the twentieth-century editions offer spotty coverage riddled with contradictions as discussed in the section further below. Moreover, the 1620, 1662, 1742, and 1922 editions all exclude the northern passers from a list of members earning the civil examination degree. Such a listing provides information on, among other things, the degree holder's given name, courtesy name (*cha*), the year and type of the examination passed, the most prestigious office attained, and the father's name. Considering the importance and prestige of the civil examination in Chosŏn Korea, the descent group segment had every reason to be proud of the members who passed it, as it brought honor to the kinship group as a whole.[54] Then how can we explain the northerners' absence from these lists?

Actually, various late Chosŏn Miryang Pak genealogies do record specialist Seoul *chungin* and illegitimate-son lines if their links to early or mid-Chosŏn (ca. 1550-ca. 1700) aristocratic ancestors were well documented. The table of

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Miryang Pakssi Kyujŏnggongp'a taedongbo (A comprehensive genealogy of the Kyujŏnggong branch of the Miryang Pak), (Seoul: Miryang Pakssi Kyujŏnggongp'a Taedongboso, 1980), 16 vols. The 1620, 1662, and 1742 (6 vols.) editions are in private possession, and I consulted the digitized version on the web at "Kyujŏnggongp'a chokpo (taedongbo)" (Kyujŏnggong branch genealogy (comprehensive genealogy)), at *Miryang Pakssi Kyujŏnggongp'a homp'eiji* (Homepage of the Kyujŏnggong branch of the Miryang Pak), 27 October 2006, http://gyujeong.co.kr (accessed on 7 November 2007). As is true for any common ancestral seat-surname combination in South Korea, a large percentage, if not the majority, of included individuals in published Miryang Pak genealogies do not belong there. I estimate that among the Miryang Pak, ostensibly the second largest "descent group" (population 3,031,478 in 2000) in South Korea, no more than 20 percent appear in known Miryang Pak genealogies. I base my calculation on the fact that the descent group's reportedly largest segment, the Kyujŏnggong branch, which reportedly accounts for 70 to 80 percent of all pedigreed Miryang Pak, produced the 16-volume 1981 genealogy set, and the estimated number of individuals recorded therein is no more than 200,000. My experience in looking up some descent lines of this set in older editions suggests that up to half of the 200,000 are of the families that have made their way into the Miryang Pak genealogy in the last two, three centuries.

54. Even for the less highly regarded military examination, people attached great significant to its degree certificate, the "red warrant" (*hongp'ae*). In 1638, according to a royal messenger (*sŏnjŏn'gwan*) returning from P'yŏngan Province and reporting on local conditions, the mobilized soldiers who had passed the previous year's local military examination and yet had not received their red warrant papers stressed that the certificates will be a great honor for their descendants. *Pibyŏnsa tŭngnok* (Record of the Border Defense Command), 5 *ch'aek*, 1.388d-389a. As the original version of this source lacks pagination, I indicate the text's original *ch'aek* number, followed by the volume and page numbers according to the modern reprint edition, *Pibyŏnsa tŭngnok* (Seoul: Kuksa P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe, 1982), 28 vols.

contents for the late nineteenth-century *chungin* genealogy, the *Record of Surname Origins*, lists thirteen *chungin* Miryang Pak lines, and out of the thirteen I have found two so far in the late Chosŏn Miryang Pak genealogies compiled by the Seoul or southern branches.[55] Also, the civil examination passer listings found in aforementioned editions of the Kyujŏnggong branch genealogy even include some passers descended from illegitimate sons. The aristocratic compilers of these genealogies, then, cared more about the veracity of membership claims than the social status of the members. As mentioned above, Miyajima regards this pattern as a significant development in early modern Korea.[56]

Does the fact that the late Chosŏn Miryang Pak genealogies published in the capital or the south recorded some members of less than bona fide aristocratic status suggest that the compilers were somehow unaware of the existence of northern lines? Indeed, in modern times due to the political division of Korea since 1945 and the lack of travel or communication by ordinary citizens across the divide, much of the limited information on the northern lines recorded in modern South Korean genealogies are yet to be updated. In the case of pre-1945 Korea, however, there is no evidence suggesting that communication between, say, Seoul and the north was any more difficult than that between the capital and the south. To the contrary, in late Chosŏn a government-sponsored trade between Korea and China stimulated the growth of the northwest's increasingly commercialized towns such as Ŭiju and P'yŏngyang, and these regional centers saw a heavy traffic of goods and people.[57]

In the end, then, we need to take another possible explanation more seriously, that is, perhaps the capital or southern local aristocrats who compiled Miryang Pak genealogies did not find credible the northerners' claims of membership in the descent group. As mentioned, those whose claims were questionable still won admittance into a special section toward the end of the genealogy set. Evidently in the case of the northern Miryang Pak lines, even such an arrangement was beyond consideration by the compilers living in Seoul or the south. Let us now take a closer look at the nature of genealogical claims

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55. Yi Ch'anghyŏn, *Sŏngwŏnnok* (Record of surname origins), (manuscript, ca. 1874; Seoul: Osŏngsa, 1985), 4-5.

56. Miyajima, "Tong Asia segye sok ŭi Han'gukhak," 110-11.

57. Kuksa P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe, *Han'guksa* (Korean history), (Kwach'ŏn: Kuksa P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe, 1997), vol. 33: *Chosŏn hugi ŭi kyŏngje* (The late Chosŏn economy), 384; O Such'ang, *Chosŏn hugi P'yŏngan-do sahoe palchŏn yŏn'gu*, 139-50, 312; and Sun Joo Kim, *Marginality and Subversion in Korea*, 80-85.

made by the northern Miryang Pak themselves.

Problematic Claims of Connections to Aristocratic Lines

As mentioned in the introduction, historical research on Korea has utilized genealogies with relatively little insights on how patterns of representation varied among status groups. In late Chosŏn, study of genealogical records and descent groups (*pohak*) was an essential branch of knowledge for the erudite. An aristocratic intellectual was familiar with the history and genealogy of not just his own family but also of others, and it was virtually impossible for a social newcomer to pass himself off as a genuine, pedigreed aristocrat.[58] In the primary sources ranging from the veritable records (*sillok*) to private essays to genealogies themselves, one can find aristocratic complaints about forged genealogies full of contradictions such as claims of descent from supposedly famous scholar-officials whose existence cannot be independently verified, chronological discrepancies, and conflicting pedigree claims.[59]

The genealogies actually recording the northern lines, generally missing from the editions published in Seoul or the south, embody many such irregularities, and the northern Miryang Pak are no exception to this. For example, the Miryang Pak lineage of Chŏngju that produced two civil examination passers and a licentiate in the late nineteenth century is not only missing from the capital or southern editions of the genealogy of the Kyujŏnggong branch in which it claimed membership, the provenance of the founding ancestor, a certain Pak Hŭngdun who reportedly first relocated to the north, is shrouded in mystery.[60] The lineage members claimed that Pak was the inspector-general (*taesahŏn*) when he was banished to the north during one of the sixteenth-century "literati purges" (*sahwa*), but the veritable records make no mention of him. In fact, I have found no reference to him anywhere else besides some twentieth-century sources.[61] Since the inspector-general at the

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58. Song Chunho, "Han'guk e issŏsŏ ŭi kagye kirok ŭi yŏksa wa kŭ haesŏk," 114-29.

59. Song Ch'ansik, *Chosŏn hugi sahoe kyŏngjesa ŭi yŏn'gu* (Studies in late Chosŏn socioeconomic history), (Seoul: Ilchogak, 1997), 622-30; and Paek Sŭngjong, "Wijo chokpo ŭi yuhaeng," 74-80.

60. Reliable pedigrees of the lineage's nineteenth-century examination passers are found in "Munbo," 2.6b; and "Samban p'alsebo," 2.55b. The ancestors recorded in these sources do not appear in the 1922 and 1980 editions of the genealogy of the Kyujŏnggong branch of the Miryang Pak, both published in Seoul.

61. *Chosŏn sinsa taedongbo*, 569; and Cho Yongsŭng, *Han'guk kyehaengbo* (A genealogy of

time was the head of one of the censorate (*taegan*) organs flexing its muscle against the higher-ranking officials that they deemed morally reproachable, it is extremely unlikely that he as a purge victim would have escaped the attention of the later compilers of the veritable records who were biased in the censorate's favor.[62]

Besides claims of descent from supposedly famous central officials whose existence we cannot independently verify, chronological problems are common among northern Miryang Pak genealogies. In the case of another Chŏngju Miryang Pak lineage, a remarkable family that produced nine civil examination passers between 1684 and 1894, its alleged connection to a capital line entails too many generations. Thanks to more reliable sources such as the late Chosŏn civil examination rosters and two nineteenth-century civil examination passer genealogies, we know the names of several early seventeenth-century members of the Chŏngju line.[63] The problem is that *A Comprehensive Genealogy of Korean Gentlemen* (1913), which uncritically records genealogical claims of those submitting their own biographical sketches, shows a central official, Pak Sanghyŏn (1559-1641), as their ancestor, but the late Chosŏn genealogies published in Seoul do not record among his descendants the actual, known seventeenth-century ancestors of the Chŏngju Miryang Pak.[64] Moreover, their names do not use the generational characters (*hangnyŏlcha*) distinguishing the names of the actual descendants of Sanghyŏn.[65]

Some northern Miryang Pak genealogies even make conflicting pedigree claims for a given descent line, and the Miryang Pak lineage of Ŭiju is a case in point. Descended from a certain Pak Ch'ŏdong (1519-83), the lineage was one of the most prominent local families, and its members are well documented in the various local notable listings in a mid-nineteenth-century Ŭiju gazetteer.[66] In

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Korea), (Seoul: n.p., 1980), 2.979-81.

62. Major monographic studies on the censorate's political role during the period include: Edward W. Wagner, *The Literati Purges: Political Conflict in Early Yi Korea* (Cambridge, Mass: East Asian Research Center, 1974; distributed by Harvard University Press); Chŏng Tuhŭi, *Chosŏn sidae ŭi taegan yŏn'gu* (A study on the Chosŏn period censorate), (Seoul: Ilchogak, 1994); and Ch'oe Idon, *Chosŏn chunggi sarim chŏngch'i kujo yŏn'gu* (A study on the structure of the mid-Chosŏn rusticate literati politics), (Seoul: Ilchogak, 1994), 28-196.

63. "Munbo," 2.6a; and "Samban p'alsebo," 2.55b.

64. *Chosŏn sinsa taedongbo*, p. 569; and *Miryang Pakssi Kyujŏnggongp'a taedongbo*, 1.225.

65. *Mallyŏk kyŏngsinbo* (1620), *Sungjŏng iminbo* (1662), and *Yŏngjo imsulbo* (1742), at "Kyujŏnggongp'a chokpo (taedongbo)," at *Miryang Pakssi Kyujŏnggongp'a homp'eiji*, 27 October 2006, http://gyujeong.co.kr (accessed on 14 June 2008).

66. See Kim Ŭngsu, *Yongmanji* (Yongman (Ŭiju) gazetteer), (Ŭiju, 1849), reprinted in *Chosŏn sidae sach'an ŭpchi*, vol. 50, *P'yŏngan-do* 6 (P'yŏngan Province 6).

spite of their local elite standing, the Ŭiju Miryang Pak were not sure about how they were related to a capital Miryang Pak line of prominence in fifteenth-century politics: the Ŭiju line appears at two different locations in the sixteen-volume 1980 edition of the Kyujŏnggong branch genealogy.[67] Interestingly, the coverage at one location is much more extensive in terms of the number of descendants recorded while at another location the coverage is spotty, with many members left without any descendants recorded. It appears then that after perhaps generations of family members' uncertainty about where they belonged and maintenance of at least two genealogical traditions, one somehow prevailed over the other.[68]

Some of these Miryang Pak lineages were from northern localities famous for overall success in the civil examination. Among the 233 locales that produced at least one civil examination degree holder between 1393 and 1894, Seoul ranks first with at least 5,502 graduates (37.6 percent), followed in a distant second place by Chŏngju, which produced 321 graduates (2.2 percent). As for the two other northern counties mentioned so far, T'aech'ŏn ranks thirty-sixth (tied with one other county) with 52 civil examination graduates (.4 percent), and Ŭiju ranks seventieth (tied with two other counties) with 32 (.2 percent).[69] Interestingly, after Seoul the locale that produced the most licentiates, rather than civil examination passers, was Andong, an aristocratic stronghold in culturally conservative Kyŏngsang Province.[70] Since the largely officeless local aristocracy of the south based their status claim on illustrious ancestors and cultural capital played an assisting role, their attraction to a degree not linked to an official appointment is a counterpoint to the northern local elite's attraction to a civil examination degree that, at least in principle, made its holder eligible for an office.[71]

Of course, the northern elite too were mindful of culture. Fully conversant

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67. *Miryang Pakssi Kyujŏnggongp'a taedongbo*, 1.230-32, 234-35, 14.218, 251-54.

68. The northern local elite lineages that have made their ways into voluminous modern editions nonetheless had to present their records already embodying invented traditions. In July 1992, when I spoke with Pak Chongwŏn, the head of the Miryang Pak lineage association (*chongch'inhoe*) headquartered in Suwŏn, Kyŏnggi-do, he showed me the genealogy of an elite northern lineage that could actually be found in the modern genealogies of two different descent group segments. Apparently the members of the lineage in question were not sure how it connected to a late Koryŏ Miryang Pak scholar-official of Kaesŏng, the Koryŏ capital.

69. Based on the data from Yi Wŏnmyŏng, *Chosŏn sidae munkwa kŭpcheja*, 301-9.

70. Ch'oe Chinok, *Chosŏn sidae saengwŏn-chinsa*, 185-86.

71. For a study on the sociocultural significance of a licentiate degree in the late Chosŏn, see Song Chunho, "Chosŏn hugi ŭi kwagŏ chedo" (The government service examination system in the late Chosŏn), in *Kuksa'gwan nonch'ong* 63 (1995): 45, 83, 88-89.

in Neo-Confucian learning, the north's most prominent families maintained various institutions mirroring those of the southern aristocracy such as local agencies (*hyangch'ŏng*) and local elite registers (*hyangan*).[72] In fact, in the case of the Miryang Pak, they ranked eighth among the top local descent groups in terms of the number of members recorded in the Chŏngju elite register.[73]

Although these sociocultural manifestations of status consciousness had an economic foundation too,[74] demonstrating aristocratic descent from the ancestors nationally recognized for Confucian virtues, scholarship, and government service was crucial for nationwide recognition by others as aristocrats. The well-to-do northern families sought to earn military examination degrees and military posts or even a civil examination degree,[75] but the genealogy of a bona fide aristocrat had to demonstrate descent from early Chosŏn scholar-officials. Such "latent entitlement" of the aristocracy, as aptly put by Wagner,[76] meant that no self-respecting aristocratic family of Chosŏn could compile and show off a genealogy in which the ancestry could be traced back only to the fifteenth or sixteenth century – actually a common pattern among the Seoul *chungin* families as recorded in the nineteenth-century *Record of Surname Origins*.

Previous studies have suggested that many, if not the majority, of northern elite lineages may have had nonaristocratic origins. Due to the relatively late extension of Korean administrative control into the north, spread of elite Confucian culture may have been slower, though this question requires further research.[77] Also, since the early Chosŏn government settled the north en masse

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72. Sun Joo Kim, *Marginality and Subversion in Korea*, 26-32.

73. Kim Sŏnju (Sun Joo Kim), "Chosŏn hugi P'yŏngan-do Chŏngju ŭi hyangan unyŏng kwa yangban sahoe" (The local elite register of late Chosŏn Chŏngju, P'yŏngan Province, and aristocratic society), in *Yŏksa hakpo* 185 (2005): 78. A Chŏngju town gazetteer published in 1899 records 241 civil examination, 304 military examination, and 102 licentiate examination passers without providing any family background information. *Chŏngju ŭpchi* (Chŏngju town gazetteer), (n.p., 1899), reprinted in *Chosŏn sidae sach'an ŭpchi*, vol. 48, *P'yŏngan-do* 4 (P'yŏngan Province 4), 306-20. In contrast, an older edition of the town gazetteer does not even have a section listing the examination passers. See "Chŏngju ŭpchi," manuscript, 1851, Changsŏgak collection (K2-4304), The Academy of Korean Studies.

74. O Such'ang, *Chosŏn hugi P'yŏngan-do sahoe palchŏn yŏn'gu*, 135-50, 205-9, 312-19; and Sun Joo Kim, *Marginality and Subversion in Korea*, 26-34, 66-88.

75. O Such'ang, *Chosŏn hugi P'yŏngan-do sahoe palchŏn yŏn'gu*, 205-209; and Sun Joo Kim, *Marginality and Subversion in Korea*, 69-72, 85.

76. Edward W. Wagner, "Social Stratification in Seventeenth-Century Korea: Some Observations from a 1663 Seoul Census Register," in *Occasional Papers on Korea* 1 (1974): 53.

77. O Such'ang, "17, 18 segi P'yŏngan-do yusaengch'ŭng ŭi chŏngch'ijŏk sŏngkyŏk" (Political nature of 17th- and 18th-century P'yŏngan Province's Confucian student stratum), in *Han'guk*

with farmers, soldiers, and convicts among others, we can posit that a significant proportion of late Chosŏn northern elite families may have been from humble backgrounds, although many aristocrats too could have relocated to the north.[78]

In light of their significant cultural and economic capital, the problems with the genealogical claims of the northern Miryang Pak reflect a status consciousness if not even insecurity. The northern elite Miryang Pak lineages had no choice but to claim imagined connections to the aristocracy of Seoul or the south in pursuing desirable self-representations. Whether such a presentation was persuasive and, if so, to whom, are questions relevant for understanding early modern Korea.

Status and Modernity

A forged genealogy is a form of invented tradition that ultimately bolsters the prestige and legitimacy of power holders.[79] The practice was not the monopoly of northern elite, as families throughout Korea resorted to this same strategy. All the same, such families certainly were not the prominent aristocratic lineages that produced top players in court politics or the officers of local agencies in southern counties during the mid-Chosŏn heyday of the latter institution. As true with other social climbers in early modern Korea, the northern elite Miryang Pak lineages' claims of ties to Seoul or southern aristocratic families stood on the premise that being an aristocrat was a superior, normative mode of existence. Since the aristocracy of the capital and the south based their status claims on birth while denigrating others, the invented traditions of northern elite Miryang Pak sustained a hegemonic discourse.[80]

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munhwa 16 (December 1995): 93-126. Sun Joo Kim, though, notes that this explanation requires reconsideration. Sun Joo Kim, *Marginality and Subversion in Korea*, 209-10, n. 62.

78. Sun Joo Kim, *Marginality and Subversion in Korea,* 20-21. Kyung Moon Hwang argues that the north's population "essentially" descended from migrants of lower social status and Jurchen natives. See Hwang, "From the Dirt to Heaven," 147-50.

79. Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Tradition," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1-9.

80. The manner in which socially influential actors defend self-aggrandizing ideals such as the importance of genealogies contributes to the reproduction of the existing power structure that they dominate. As such, hegemonic discourse favors the power holder. Joseph V. Femia, *Gramsci's Political Thought: Hegemony, Consciousness, and the Revolutionary Process* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 24-26.

Before further assessing the invented traditions of northern Miryang Pak in relation to the late Chosŏn hegemonic discourse, though, we need to consider how representative the Miryang Pak cases were. Only a small quantity of household registration records for the north are extant, and none predates late Chosŏn, that is too recent to shed any light on the apparently obscure origins of northern elite lineages.[81] I have not examined every single elite lineage of all the counties in P'yŏngan and Hamgyŏng provinces to offer firm statistics, but I do find that the aforementioned patterns evident in northern Miryang Pak genealogies are common among other northern elite lineages.

Even among the top five descent groups recorded in the Chŏngju elite register, incredibly none descended from an independently verifiable early Chosŏn scholar-official from Seoul or the south.[82] A case in point is the local Yŏnan Kim line, arguably the most preeminent lineage of northern Korea, descended from a certain Kim Anju, reportedly the magistrate (*puyun*) of Kaesŏng.[83] Although the family produced fifty civil examination graduates,[84] a seventeenth-century multi-lineage genealogy, the *Origins of Descent Groups*, which unlike later descent group genealogies leaves various descent group segments unconnected and notes discrepancies with pedigree claims, ceases the coverage of the ancestors of the Chŏngju Yŏnan Kim five generations before Kim Anju.[85] Two later sources devoted to recording Chosŏn's prominent lineages, the *Genealogy of Korean Descent Groups* (1925) and *A Comprehensive Genealogy of Ten Thousand Surnames* (1931), stop the coverage of the Chŏngju line respectively three and six generations before him.[86] Interestingly, the supplementary volume of *A Comprehensive Genealogy of Ten Thousand Surnames*, which came out two years later and incorporated more questionable pedigree claims of those excluded from the original

81. Unlike the much better covered southern counties such as Tansŏng and Ulsan, most of the original copies of surviving household registration records for other counties are currently in Japan, and all of them are dated post-1800. Tōyō Bunko Tōhoku Ajia Kenkyūhan (Chōsen), *Nihon shozai Chōsen koseki kankei shiryō kaidai* (A bibliographical guide to the Korean household registration-related documents in Japan), (Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko, 2004), 342-45.

82. On the leading lineages of Chŏngju as recorded in its elite register, see Kim Sŏnju, "Chosŏn hugi P'yŏngan-do Chŏngju ŭi hyangan unyŏng kwa yangban sahoe," 73-78.

83. *Yŏnan Kimssi Kaesŏng Puyun'gong p'abo* (A genealogy of the Kaesŏng Puyun'gong branch of the Yŏnan Kim), (Seoul: Yŏnan Kimssi Chimunhasŏngsa Yugan'gong Chonghoe Kaesŏng Puyun'gongp'a Chihoe, 1972).

84. Wagner, "The Ladder of Success in Yi Dynasty Korea," 8.

85. *Ssijok wŏllyu*, 264.

86. *Ch'ŏnggu ssibo*, 5.53a; and *Mansŏng taedongbo* (A comprehensive genealogy of ten thousand surnames), (Keijō: Mansŏng Taedongbo Kanhaengso, 1931), 1.178b.

compilation, included Kim Anju, though ending with him.[87]

In addition, the Chŏngju Yŏnan Kim genealogy itself embodies problems. For example, although the Kaesŏng magistracy was an important second-rank civil office, the alleged post holder, Kim Anju, does not appear in any of the dynastic histories, local gazetteers, or literary collections that I have checked. Moreover, many names of the lineage's early Chosŏn brothers do not share a generational character. Considering that by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries an aristocratic descent group's affinal sphere ranging from brothers to second cousins generally were using a generational character or radical (in the case of a single-character given name), the Chŏngju Yŏnan Kim pattern makes us wonder if the genealogy had come to connect originally unrelated lines or the northern elite as a whole had a culture different than that of the capital or southern aristocracy.[88]

Problematic genealogical claims of even the most prominent northern elite lineages such as those of Chŏngju had sociopolitical implications. To the aristocrats of Seoul and the south, their all-too-well-known discriminatory rhetoric stressing the north's lack of a true aristocracy justified excluding the northern regional elite from central political structure. The northern elite on the one hand and the capital and southern elites on the other concurred that the latter were aristocrats, but the agreement lacked reciprocity. As Sun Joo Kim has recently demonstrated, the 1812 Hong Kyŏngnae rebellion in the northwest was not so much a populist uprising or a class struggle as an expression of the regional elite's frustrations over status negations with the center.[89]

The rebellion, as well as the later external stimulus of imperialism, accelerated the demise of rigid status hierarchy and elicited from the northern elite varied responses toward genealogy production. Some chose to continue inventing traditions, as reflected in the various aforementioned early twentieth-century sources. Probably more widespread a reaction, though, was to reject the old hegemonic discourse by ceasing to participate in genealogy compilations. The Koreans with such an attitude tend to show relatively little respect for Confucian culture, an orientation that I encounter commonly among the educated from P'yŏngan or Hamgyŏng region as well as the

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87. *Mansŏng taedongbo sokp'yŏn* (A comprehensive genealogy of ten thousand surnames: supplement), (Keijō: Mansŏng Taedongbo Kanhaengso, 1933), 76b.

88. Ch'oe Chaesŏk, "Chosŏn sidae ŭi chokpo wa tongjok chojik" (Chosŏn period genealogies and descent group organizations), in *Yŏksa hakpo* 81 (1979): 67-73.

89. Sun Joo Kim, *Marginality and Subversion in Korea*, especially 42-65.

descendants of Seoul *chungin*.[90] Though genealogy remained a very common form of publication even during the period of Japanese colonial rule (1910-45), also strong at the time were public expressions of contempt toward genealogy compilation as a meaningless, if not even evil, old practice.[91]

Still others have continued to update their genealogies for the sake of recording their ancestors. This was especially true for the northern families that produced prominent leaders in politics, business, or culture at the old dynasty's end. In the case of the Suwŏn Paek of Chŏngju, modern editions of their genealogy proudly record all the civil examination graduates and central officials as well as famous figures in modern times such as Paek Nakchun (1895-1985), an important figure in modern Korea's educational, cultural, and religious circles.[92]

The northern elite's varied responses to the demise of status hierarchy topped by the aristocracy show that early modern Korea's social formation allowed room for ambiguities. Social groups such as the northern regional elite

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90. For example, Pak Pyŏnghae, interview by author, Seoul, South Korea, 5 October 1995; Kim Yongsŏn, interview by author, Ch'unch'ŏn, South Korea, 29 June 1999; Pak Kŭndong, telephone interview by author, Ansŏng, South Korea, 13 September 2004; Chu Ja Cho, telephone interview by author, Chicago, Illinois, 27 September 2004; Pak Yŏngil, telephone interview by author, Taejŏn, South Korea, 4 October 2004; Chu Ja Cho, interview by author, 27 May 2007, Chicago, Illinois; Pak Kŭndong and Pak Yŏngil, interview by author, Taejŏn, South Korea, 7 July 2007; Chŏng Semin, interview by author, Seoul, South Korea, 19 July 2007; Ch'a Ilhwan, interview by author, Seoul, South Korea, 31 July 2007; Pang Kijun, telephone interview by author, Puyŏ, South Korea, 22 September 2007; Kim Ho, interview by author, Seoul, South Korea, 10 October 2007; Kim Hyŏn, Sŏngnam, South Korea, 17 December 2007.

91. For example, in 1926 an editorial in a major Korean daily newspaper criticized the importance that in what it claimed should be a modern environment, the capital Seoul, many Koreans continued to attach to genealogy publication as a vestige of feudal practice elevating the aristocracy above everyone else. The editorial rhetorically asks what meaning does boasting of one's aristocratic ancestry have when Koreans have lost their nationhood to Japan. "P'yesŭp nu'gwan put'ŏ kaehyŏk haja (4): chokpoyŏl kwa yangbansim" (Let us first reform undesirable customs (4): genealogy fever and aristocratic mind), in *Tonga ilbo*, 14 September 1926. Reflecting this attitude in 1928, the Kyemyŏng Club, a social reform organization formed in 1918 by 33 intellectuals from diverse backgrounds, urged Koreans not to waste national energy on genealogy compilation which it also branded as a feudal practice. "Chokpo kanhaeng ŭi yŏp'ae" (Persisting evils of genealogy compilation), in *Chosŏn ilbo*, 1 February 1928.

92. The modern genealogies recording the Chŏngju Suwŏn Paek in detail are: Paek Hakche, *Suwŏn Paekssi Chŏngju chokpo* (The Chŏngju Suwŏn Paek genealogy), (Chŏngju: Anyŏng Sandang, 1940), 3 vols; and Paek Sunje, *Suwŏn Paekssi Chŏngju p'abo* (Genealogy of the Chŏngju branch of Suwŏn Paek), (Seoul: Suwŏn Paekssi Chŏngju P'abo Kanhaenghoe, 1995). For a recent study on the hopes and frustrations of the Chŏngju Suwŏn Paek in the late Chosŏn period as revealed through a member's writings, see Sun Joo Kim, "Negotiating Cultural Identities in Conflict: A Reading of the Writings of Paek Kyŏnghae (1765-1842)," in *The Journal of Korean Studies* 10, no. 1 (Fall 2005): 85-120.

did not abandon status negotiations, though strategies evolved. Of course, even into the twentieth century in many locales, aristocratic lineages continued to maintain status-consciousness, but the extent to which such an attitude structured the society had begun decreasing long before the forces of imperialism spurred Chosŏn Korea to pursue more far-reaching reforms.[93] These complexities of late Chosŏn social change are among the defining features of the early modern period in Korean history.

93. Paek Sŭngjong, "18-19 segi Chŏlla-do esŏ ŭi sinhŭng seryŏk ŭi taedŭ: T'aein-hyŏn Kohyŏllae-myŏn ŭi sŏryu" (Emergence of newly risen forces in Chŏlla Province in the 18th and 19th centuries: the illegitimate sons of Kohyŏllae-myŏn, T'aein County), in *Yi Kibaek Sŏnsaeng kohŭi kinyŏm Han'guk sahak nonch'ong* (Festschrift in commemoration of Mr. Yi Kibaek's seventieth birthday), (Seoul: Ilchogak, 1994), 2.1339-67.