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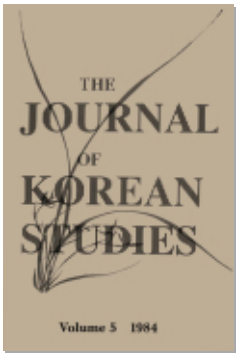

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A Study of the *Hyangan*: Kin Groups and Aristocratic Localism in the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Korean Countryside

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A *hyangan* in Yi dynasty Korea was an informal and aristocratic local group that developed in close association with the Confucian state bureaucracy and local elite kin groups. This paper is an attempt to examine the extent to which the *hyangan* functioned to meet the needs of the state bureaucracy and the local elite kin groups in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Korea. I believe that case studies of the *hyangan* can shed light on the identity, legitimacy, and structure of the so-called *hyangban (chehyang yangban).*

The term *hyangan,* literally, means a roster of local residents. Upon the admission of new members, a *hyangan* was handwritten, sealed, and stored in a locked hall of the *hyangch'ŏng* (local gentry bureau) of the magistrate *amun (yamen)* and sometimes *hyanggyo* (local government school) compounds.[1] Persons admitted to the roster

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1. For example, see Cho Yongsuk, *Ch'angnyŏng hyangan chŭngju* [Annotated roster of Ch'angnyŏng] (Haman: Sŏsan sŏdang, 1940), preface *(sŏ),* 2a. Sometimes *hyangan* may be found in part or in entirety in the *hyanggyoji* [Records of provincial schools], such as

served a lifelong tenure unless they violated the rules (*hyanggyu* or *ibŭi*), and they typically elected various officers to manage their activities and to assist the magistrate's local government. In essence, the rosters were officially approved documents not meant for publication and were kept in guarded secrecy by the members and their descendants for fear of possible abuse and forgery by non-*hyangan* members.

Typically local elite kin groups were people in the countryside whose privilege and exclusive membership by birth and marriage were sanctioned (though tacitly) by the state. They were regarded by the local people as the people of superior blood relative to other social groups because of their documentable and often documented claim of kinship connections with bureaucrats and other prominent men of the present and the past. To be sure, the state bureaucracy and the elite kin groups were two interacting sets of institutions that had contrasting value orientations and organizational behavior. The former emphasized the hierarchy based on merit, achievement, and universal principles, while the latter emphasized the hierarchy based on birth, ascription, and particularistic social customs.

The theories and practices of the *hyangan* seem to indicate that over time the *hyangan* had remained internally loyal to the state bureaucracy and resistant to change. At the same time it had become an instrument for the local elite kin groups to justify their aristocratic local status by developing and monopolizing local cultural activities. The *hyangan* was indeed more than a list of local elite residents. It functioned as a leading local organization that contributed to the rise of aristocratic localism and to the local cultural movements that developed in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Korea. The seventeenth-century *hyangan* represented major if not all yangban lineages of the county villages and became synonymous with a local elite lineage association. Admission to membership was

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Koksŏng hyangan [Roster of Koksŏng], in *Koksŏng hyanggyoji* [Records of Koksŏng provincial school] (Koksŏng, 1938) 1: 22b–25b. Sometimes original copies are still kept in *hyanggyo* buildings. I was told by Mr. Wŏn Chongho, an elderly Confucianist in charge of the *Namwŏn hyanggyo* that the originals are preserved at the *hyanggyo* and its nearby *Taebang hyangyakso* in Namwŏn. Also in Tansŏng, Mr. Kwŏn Pukgŭn, in charge of the Tansŏng *hyanggyo* took me to a locked edifice called *Hyangandang* located adjacent to the *hyanggyo* and assured me that the originals were kept there and shown only in March and September when the descendants meet for ancestral rites. The Japanese historian Tagawa Kōzō writes: "It was customary to have made two copies of the *hyangan* roster, one for the *kyŏngjeso* in Seoul and the other for the *hyangch'ŏng (yuhyangso)*. After the former was abolished (in 1603), only one copy was made for (local) use." Tagawa Kōzō, "Richō no gōki ni tsuite 2" [On the rules of Yi dynasty local rosters, Part 2], *Chôsen gakuhō* 78 (January 1976): 52.

given to all legitimate male residents of the yangban lineages and the membership was limited mainly by age requirements. Paradoxically, however, its own exclusiveness, conservative and even reactionary nature may well have constituted an agent for change in the late eighteenth century.

This article will focus on three *hyangan* of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but the characteristics of the earlier fifteenth- and sixteenth-century *hyangan* will be described first. The three *hyangan* in question, located in Namwŏn in South Chŏlla Province, and Kimhae and Ch'angnyŏng in South Kyŏngsang Province, will be analyzed to show who their members were, to what extent and how they were related to bureaucrats, how they represented local elite kin groups, and how they functioned in the development of local cultural activities such as private academies *(sŏwŏn)* and shrines *(sau)*.

THE *HYANGAN* IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

The Yi dynasty *hyangan* was originally compiled by the authority and initiative of the king and his bureaucrats. The earliest records that we have about the *hyangan* are the "Rules Promulgated by King T'aejo" *(T'aejo kohwangje ŏje hŏnmok)*, the "Rules Promulgated by Prince Hyonyŏng" *(Hyonyŏng taegun hyanghŏnmok)*, the "Preface to the Rules of Yonghŭng County" *(Sŏnhyang hŏnmoksŏ)* written in 1458 by Prince Hyonyŏng (Yi Po: 1396–1486) who was the second son of King T'aejong, and lastly the "Roster of Yonghŭng" *(P'ungp'ae hyang chwamok)*.[2]

Tagawa Kōzō noted in 1976 that the "Rules" by King T'aejo and Prince Hyonyŏng were probably the first recorded rules of the Yi dynasty *hyangan*.[3] He observed that one of the most outstanding features of these rules was the record of the member's lineage

2. Yi Po, *"Sŏnhyang hŏnmok sŏ"* [Preface to rules for Yŏnghung County], in *Hyanghŏng kwŏnil* [Rules for the countryside, vol. 1] (Seoul, late nineteenth century), *sŏ*, 1a–2b. T'aejo, *"T'aejo kohwangje ŏjehŏnmok, 41 cho"* [The rules promulgated by King T'aejo: 41 articles], in *Hyanghŏn, kwŏnil, hŏnmok*, lab. Yi Po, *"Hyonyŏng taegun hyanghŏnmok, sŏnmok 21, akmok 35, pŏm 56 cho"* [Rules for Yŏnghŭng County by Prince Hyonyŏng, 21 articles for good behavior, 35 articles for bad behavior, together 56 articles], in *Hyanghŏn kwŏn 1, hŏnmok*, lab. "P'ungp'ae hyang chwamok" [The roster of Yŏnghŭng County], in *Hyanghŏn kwŏnil, chwamok*, 1a–3b.

3. Tagawa Kōzō, "Richō no gōki ni tsuite 1" [On the rules of Yi dynasty local rosters, part 1] *Chōsen gakuhō* 76 (April 1975): 36; idem, "Gōken to kenmoku" [The rules of the Yŏnghŭng County and the rules promulgated by King T'aejo] in *Suzuki Jun sensei koki kinen tōyōshi ronsō* [Articles in Asian history in commemoration of the sixtieth birthday of Professor Suzuki Jun] (Tokyo: Suzuki Jun sensei koki kinen tōyōshi ronsō henshū iinkai, 1975), pp. 269–93. Especially relevant to my discussion is p. 284.

background in his paternal, maternal, and wife's kin groups. Indeed Prince Hyonyŏng noted in the preface that the local leaders worthy of official recognition were to be men of pure and unmixed background *(yu ch'ŏng i'bud'ak).* He argued that the local roster *(hyangnogan)* was inseparable from the official roster of the court *(sarogan)* in its function for the management of the state and society.[4] Clearly the *hyangan* was compiled to establish a new political and social order, and the local leaders were not to be independent of the court and the bureaucracy.

Prince Hyonyŏng himself is the first high official listed in the roster of Yonghŭng County, the birthplace of the royal family.[5] Of the fifty-six men listed therein, indeed thirty-seven men (66%) held official posts in the new dynasty; at least five men held the *tangsang* titles and posts as prince, lord, minister, and governor, and twenty-two men (39%) were former or retired officials of the court. Nineteen men (34%) did not seem to have official appointments and they were listed with the following titles: *pyŏlgam* and *changmu* who were locally elected officers *(hyangim)* serving the *hyangch'ŏng* and the *hyangan* group, respectively, licentiate-degree holders *(saengwŏn),* "students" *(yuhak),* and minor local titleholders. My preliminary analysis of these men seems to suggest that they were relatives of "official" members of the Yonghŭng *hyangan.*

Studies by Professors Yi Taejin and Kim Yongdŏk on the magistrate's local gentry bureau *(yuhyangso, hyangch'ŏng, hyangsadang)* have shown that there were many controversies at court over the functions of the local gentry bureau during the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[6] By the mid-sixteenth century, however, two important Neo-Confucianists, Yi Hwang (1501–70) and Yi I (1536–84) showed a keen interest in the *hyangan* by writing new rules

4. "The primary function of the roster is to distinguish between who is pure and who is mixed. The roster of officials consists of the wise men and loyal subjects who are assembled in the court to enlighten and purify the state. They serve the court and help transform the country so that peace would prevail for a long time. The roster of the countryside consists of the elders *(puro)* and the minister's sons *(kongja)* who are righteous and straightforward. They serve the countryside, and make the villages harmonious and without trouble. These are the meanings of the two rosters." Yi Po, "*Sŏnhyang hŏnmok sŏ*" lab.

5. "P'ungp'ae hyang chwamok," 1a.

6. Yi T'aejin, "Sarimp'a ŭi yuhyangso pongnip undong: Chosŏn ch'ogi sŏngnihak chŏngch'ak ŭi sahoejŏk p'aegyŏng" [The movement to restore *yuhyangso* by *sarimp'a* scholar-officials: Social background for the solidification of Neo-Confucianism in the early Chosŏn dynasty], *Chindan hakpo* 34–35 (1972–73): 6–34, 6–33. Kim Yongdŏk, *Hyangch'ŏng yŏn'gu* [A study of *hyangch'ŏng]* (Seoul: Hanguk yŏn'guwŏn, Hanguk yŏn'guch'ongsŏ che 36 chip, 1978), pp. 5–29.

for their home counties and making the *hyangan* group the means of establishing a Neo-Confucian ethical and social order in the countryside. To them and their followers, Confucianism was not merely the political ideology *(chŏnggyo)* of the heavenly way *(ch'ŏndo)* from above and without, but rather it was a set of ethical-human principles *(indo)* that should be realized from below and within.[7] In essence, Yi Hwang's "Articles of Agreement for Yean County" *(Yean hyangniṗ yakjo)* and Yi I's "Rules of Haeju Hyangan" *(Haeju ilhyang yaksok)* asserted clearly that the local elite kin groups were responsible for the establishment and preservation of the ethical and social order of the countryside through the realization of self-fulfillment and social and moral purity.[8] By so asserting and defining the *hyangan* to be the local fortress of morality and culture, they addressed the problems of the local elite kin groups: a growing population of officials' unemployed relatives and descendants who lived in the countryside, and their sagging morale due most likely to the magistrate's "legalistic" (i.e., un-Confucian) control of their leadership role in the local government. Both Yi Hwang and Yi I assumed that the men of proper kinship backgrounds were superior relative to those who lacked them and that they were worthy of playing a privileged leadership role in society. Contrary to Prince Hyonyŏng's view that the government should select local leaders on the basis of pure and unmixed background, Yi Hwang advanced the view that the local people knew best who kept the family and village in moral order and therefore they should select the leaders. He stated in the preface: "Only after keeping the family and the village in order, can one be employed as an official of the court."[9]

7. For my understanding of the Neo-Confucian development in mid-Yi Korea, I benefited very much from my discussions with Professor Pak Ch'ungsŏk and from his articles. Pak Ch'ungsŏk, "Chosŏnjo hugi e issŏsŏ ŭi chŏngch'i sasang ŭi chŏnae" [The development of political thought in the late Chosŏn dynasty], *Hyŏnsang kwa insik* 2, no. 2 (1978): 147–56; idem, "Hanil yangguk ŭi kukche chilsŏgwan e taehan pigyo: hwai kaenyŏm ŭi pyŏnyong ŭl chungsimro" [A comparative study on the concept of international order in Korea and Japan, with a focus on change in the sinocentric world view during the mid-nineteenth century], *Asea yon'gu* 23, no. 2 (July 1980): 33–35.

8. Yi Hwang, *T'oegyejip* [Collective writings of Yi Hwang] (Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch'ujinhoe, 1977) 2: 440–42. Tagawa Kōzō, "Richō no gōki ni tsuite 1," pp. 54–58.

9. Yi Hwang, *T'oegyejip*, pp. 440–41. He stated that "Although our county *(Yean)* is small and limited in fertile land, it was known as the land of literature that produced many Confucian scholars. By the time of the dynastic change, our custom was appreciated as a most elegant in the countryside. But of late, we have not been as fortunate as before because many distinguished scholar-officials (from the county) died one after another. Still their families and family rules are very much alive with us, so that united we will serve the country."

To ascertain the change that took place in the *hyangan* during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, I have chosen the *Hamju hyangan,* dated 1603.[10] This *hyangan* happens to include an impressive list of 227 men who were said to be members prior to the first dated roster of 1569. Because the early rosters were twice lost in a fire before and during the first Japanese invasion of 1592, they were reproduced in 1603 by the surviving senior members of the *hyangan* after eight years of studying family records and other sources. These 227 men are listed without the years of admission and include 11 *munkwa* (highest civil service examination) passers in chronological order ranging in time of passing from 1390 to 1556. As shown in table 1, 97 men (40%) held official posts in the higher, middle, and lower echelons of the bureaucracy. The percentage of officials increases to 65 percent for the first 100 men who most likely served during the fifteenth century and include a large number of high-ranking bureaucrats such as state ministers and governors. On the other hand, the unemployed members with only licentiate degrees or the title of *haksaeng* (deceased *yuhak)* increased after the first

TABLE 1

OFFICIAL STATUSES OF THE HAMJU *Hyangan* BEFORE 1569

Official status / Listed order	Higher Post Sr. 1-3 Civ.	Mil.	Middle Post Sr.3-Jr.6 Civ.	Mil.	Lower Post Sr.7-Jr.9 Civ.	Mil.	Degree, Title, Local Post, Civ.	Mil.	Total
1–50 late 14–15th cent.	13(7)	2	9(1)	7	3	5	8	3	50
51–100 15th cent.	2(2)	1	4	14	3	2	17	7	50
101–150 late 15th cent.	0	0	6	4	3	1	14	22	50
151–200 early 16th cent.	1	0	2	1	3	0	20	23	50
201–227 mid–16th cent.	2	0	5(1)	1	3	0	11	5	27
TOTAL	18(9)	3	26(2)	27	15	8	70	60	227

NOTE: Numbers in parentheses refer to the *munkwa* passers

10. Cho Yongsuk, *Hamju hyangan* [The roster of Haman] (Haman: Sŏsan sŏdang, 1939), preface *(sŏ),* 1a–3b, *hyangan chwamok* 1a–10a.

100 members as time progressed into the sixteenth century. It is clear that bureaucrats dominated the *hyangan* in Haman during the first 100 years or so of the dynasty, but increasingly *yuhak* and other title- and degree-holders without official employment replaced the bureaucrats as typical members of the *Hamju hyangan*. It is my contention that a majority of these unemployed men were either descendants of the bureaucrat members or relatives of officials who settled earlier in Haman. Thanks to Neo-Confucianists like Yi Hwang and Yi I, the *hyangan* was given new life and a rationale that enabled the local elite kin groups to organize themselves into a more disciplined and exclusive association than hitherto existed and thereby enhanced their aristocratic social status in the countryside.

THE THREE *HYANGAN*: A LINKAGE WITH THE BUREAUCRACY

The three *hyangan* under study were published during the Japanese occupation period: the *Yongsŏng* (Namwŏn) *hyangan* in 1935, the *Kimhae hyangan* in 1912, and the *Ch'angnyŏng hyangan* in 1940.[11] Originally these *hyangan* were compiled in handwritten forms between the late sixteenth and the early nineteenth centuries. The *Yongsŏng hyangan* was compiled ten times from 1607 to 1700 with a total membership of 1,725 men, the *Kimhae hyangan* thirty-three times from 1599 to 1834 with 424 men, and the *Ch'angnyŏng hyangan* twenty-four times from 1600 to 1820 with 786 men, respectively, as shown in Appendix 1.

As administrative units, Namwŏn and Kimhae were designated as towns *(tohobu)*. Based on the available but incomplete household and population data, Namwŏn had a population of 33,136 in 1699 and 36,306 in 1759, while Kimhae had a population of 24,138 in 1711 and 33,015 in 1759.[12] Namwŏn was larger than Kimhae, both in the

11. Cho Yongusk, *Ch'angnyŏng hyangan chŭngju, 1a–51b.* No Sangjik, ed., *Kimhae hyangan* [The roster of Kimhae] (Kimhae?, 1912), 1a–24a. Yu Cheuk, ed., *Yongsŏng hyangan* [The roster of Namwŏn] (Namwŏn: Namwŏnŭp yangsaje, 1935), 1a–87b. These three *hyangan* are annotated by modern compilers with supplementary information such as lineage background and official statuses for the majority of the members. In addition to the above three, there are many *hyangan* that will shed light on the local yangban aristocracy. They include Cho Yongsuk, *Hamju hyangan*, 1a–37a; Kwŏn Pukgŭn, *Tansŏng hyangan* [The roster of Tansŏng] (Tansŏng, 1972), 1a–46b; Song Siyŏl, *Hoedŏk hyangan* [The roster of Hoedŏk] (Hoedŏk, preface dated 1672), pp. 1–54. Chong Suhan, *Koch'ang hyangan* [The roster of Koch'ang] (Koch'ang, 1935), 1a–98b. Min Kapsik, *Miryang hyangan* [The roster of Miryang] (Miryang, 1952). Kim Kyuch'ae, *Yŏngyang hyangan kojŏngok* [The chronological rosters of Yŏngyang] (Yŏngyang, preface dated 1931) 2: 1a–4b.

12. *Yongsŏngji* [The local gazetteer of Namwŏn] (Namwŏn, prefaced in 1600 by

number of the population and the size of the local administration. On the other hand, Ch'angnyŏng was designated as small county *(hyŏn),* which was the lowest administrative unit headed by the centrally appointed magistrate. Nevertheless, Ch'angnyŏng had a rapidly expanding population: from 14,342 in 1720 to 29,459 in 1756 to 33,973 in 1786.[13] They were all located so deep in the fertile south that it took between seven and eleven days to travel to Seoul, and they all suffered heavy losses and physical destruction by the invasions of the Hideyoshi armies in 1592 and 1597. There is no reference that indicates clearly the existence of the roster in Ch'angnyŏng before 1600. The local gazetteers of Namwŏn and Kimhae state that the old *hyangan* were lost in a fire during the Hideyoshi invasions.[14]

A gazetteer of Kimhae lists the names of five men who served in the *yuhyangso* when it was revived in 1489, and states in the words of Kim Ilson (1464–98) that the assembly of elders *(hoerodang, puro chongjok)* had a long tradition in Kimhae dating back to antiquity.[15] During the Japanese invasion of 1592, many Kimhae elders died in defense of the town, and it was only in the summer of 1599 that the assembly was reconvened by fourteen elders whose names were recorded in the *hyangan.* There appears to be no controversy over the selection and admission of the newly revived membership. The first roster consists of officials and scholars in residence, many of whom were wartime heroes, and their relatives. Although there is no record of any controversy over membership, the 1912 edition of the *Kimhae hyangan* is based on the revised *hyangan* of 1699 and 1832.[16] On the other hand, it is clear that the *hyangan* in Namwŏn was not restored as quickly and without controversy as in Kimhae after the war. Yi Sanghyŏng (1585–1645), a seventh-generation descendant of the aforementioned Prince Hyŏnyŏng, wrote in 1639: "While the

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Ch'oe Siong) 10: 17b. "Kimhaebu ŭpchi" [The local gazetteer of Kimhae town], in Kyŏngsang namdoji p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe, *Kyŏngsang namdo yŏji chipsŏng* [Collected local gazetteers of South Kyŏngsang Province] (Pusan, 1963), p. 254.

13. "Ch'angnyŏng hyŏn ŭpchi" [The local gazetteer of Ch'angnyŏng County], in *Kyŏngsang namdo yŏji chipsŏng,* p. 187.

14. *Yongsŏngji,* 1: 4b, 3:9a–10b. Yu Cheuk, *Yongsŏng hyangan,* preface 2ab. "Kimhaebu ŭpchi," p. 259. No Sangjik, *Kimhae hyangan,* pŏmye sinjŭng, 3ab–4a.

15. "Kimhaebu ŭpchi," p. 259.

16. No Sangjik, *Kimhae hyangan,* preface 1b–2a. This preface was written by No Sangjik in 1912, two years after the Japanese occupation of Korea, in a rented house of the upper Amnok (Yalu) River. He writes: "I wrote these words so that we will not forget the testament of the ancient nation *(koguk chi ŭi)."* He does not tell us why he was at the border of North Korea and if he was involved in the anti-Japanese resistance movement *(ŭibyŏng),* a proud tradition of the *hyangan* in Kimhae.

sadaebu [in Namwŏn] looked down upon and hated taking local responsibility *(hyankwŏn)* and could not agree on anything among themselves after the war, men of opportunity became rampant and managed to register themselves in the *hyangan* and use the membership as a ticket for their private gain."[17] He further informs us that the *hyangan* of this sort had to be burned because of their irregular and disorderly nature. Yi drafted a Resolution *(wŏnŭi)* and Articles of Rules *(Yaksok-chomok)* in 1639, and 106 new members were admitted to the roster in that year.[18] The *Yongsŏng hyangan* includes, however, additional five rosters with a total of 325 men who were admitted prior to 1639. These early rosters were most likely what Yi Sanghyŏng and the members of the 1639 reexamined and approved upon revision. At any rate, it is clear that Namwŏn, which was a more populated and important town than Kimhae and Ch'angnyong, also had a *hyangan* that was several times larger during the seventeenth century.[19]

To what extent was the *hyangan* linked to the bureaucracy? Was the *hyangan* of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries an elite local association primarily for official residents and their relatives? Certainly the members who were officials on home leave or in retirement were an important link with the local and capital bureaucracy. To begin to answer these questions, I will confine the present inquiry to the fundamental problem of the official background of the *hyangan* members.

As shown in tables 2a, 2b, 2c and 2d, the official backgrounds of the three *hyangan* reveal two major characteristics. First, a majority of the members of the three *hyangan* who were admitted in the first half of the seventeenth century (during the reigns of Kings Sukchong, Kwanghae, and Injo) were holders of official posts, ranks, or titles. Indeed, they comprised more than 70 percent. Second, these official members decreased rapidly to less than 30 percent by the mid-seventeenth century (during the reigns of Kings Hyojong and Hyŏngjong). A majority of the members never served in the government and remained only as *yuhak*. Such a rapid decline of the official members continued in the early eighteenth century (from the later period of Kings Sukchong to Yŏngjo's reign), keeping them below 10 percent of the total membership.

17. *Yongsŏngji* 3: 9b.
18. Ibid., 3: 9b–10b.
19. The size of the membership of the three *hyangan* are compared by reign years in Appendix 3.

TABLE 2a

THE BUREAUCRATIC STATUSES: THE YONGSŎNG (NAMWŎN) *Hyangan*

Years of Admission	Higher Sr.1-Sr.3 Civ.	Higher Sr.1-Sr.3 Mil.	Middle Sr.3-Jr.6 Civ.	Middle Sr.3-Jr.6 Mil.	Lower Sr.7-Jr.9 Civ.	Lower Sr.7-Jr.9 Mil.	Others (licentiate, military) Civ.	Others (licentiate, military) Mil.	*Yuhak* A	Total B	% A/B
1607	3 (1)	1	41	17	21	8	18	18	53	180	29.4
1623	3 (3)	1	25 (2)	5	8	1	16	14	72	145	49.6
1639	3	0	22	3	8	0	14	9	47	106	44.3
1655	2 (1)	0	18 (2)	6	3	1	30	7	152	219	69.4
1679	2 (2)	1	33 (1)	4	10	0	24	23	339	436	77.8
1700	1 (1)	0	20 (3)	6	7	0	28	15	543	620	87.6
1721	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	18	19	94.7
TOTAL	14 (8)	3	159 (8)	41	58	10	130	86	1224	1725	71.0

NOTE: Numbers in parentheses refer to the *munkwa* passers

TABLE 2b

THE BUREAUCRATIC STATUSES: THE KIMHAE *Hyangan*

Years of Admission	Higher Sr.1-Sr.3 Civ.	Higher Sr.1-Sr.3 Mil.	Middle Sr.3-Jr.6 Civ.	Middle Sr.3-Jr.6 Mil.	Lower Sr.7-Jr.9 Civ.	Lower Sr.7-Jr.9 Mil.	Others (licentiate, military degree, & title only) Civ.	Others (licentiate, military degree, & title only) Mil.	*Yuhak* A	Total B	% A/B
1599–1604	1	1	2 (1)	5	13	2	3	1	6	34	17.6
1613–49	1	0	13	2	6	1	3	5	27	58	47.0
1654–72	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	2	38	43	88.4
1678–1703	0	0	0	3	1	0	3	6	64	77	83.1
1728–74	1	0	3	3	0	1	3	2	192	205	93.7
1785–1834	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	7	100.0
TOTAL	3	1	19 (1)	13	20	4	14	16	334	424	78.8

NOTE: Numbers in parentheses refer to the *munkwa* passers

TABLE 2c

THE BUREAUCRATIC STATUSES: THE CH'ANGNYŎNG *Hyangan* AT THE TIME OF ADMISSION

Statuses / Years of Admission	Higher Sr.1-Sr.3		Middle Sr.3-Jr.6		Lower Sr.7-Jr.9		Others (licentiate, military degree, or title only)		*Yuhak* A	Total B	% A/B
	Civ.	Mil.	Civ.	Mil.	Civ.	Mil.	Civ.	Mil.			
1600–1607	0	0	12(1)	5	8	7	1	4	10	47	17.2
1614–48	0	1	2	2	2	2	4	3	71	87	81.6
1650–69	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	29	30	96.7
1718	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	34	34	100.0
1735–57	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	6	208	217	95.9
1784–1832	0	0	2	0	0	0	4	2	363	371	97.8
TOTAL	0	1	18(1)	8	10	9	10	15	715	786	91.0

NOTE: Numbers in parentheses refer to the *munkwa* passers

TABLE 2d

THE BUREAUCRATIC STATUSES: THE CH'ANGNYŎNG *Hyangan* AFTER ADMISSION

Statuses / Years of Admission	Higher Sr.1-Sr.3		Middle Sr.3-Jr.6		Lower Sr.7-Jr.9		Others (licentiate, military degree, or title only)		*Yuhak* A	Total B	% A/B
	Civ.	Mil.	Civ.	Mil.	Civ.	Mil.	Civ.	Mil.			
1600–1607	0	1	15(1)	7	9	8	5	1	1	47	2.1
1614–48	0	1	19	2	2	5	7	1	50	87	58.0
1650–69	0	0	5	1	0	0	2	0	22	30	73.3
1718	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	32	34	94.1
1735–57	0	0	10(1)	4	0	1	6	5	191	217	88.2
1784–1832	0	0	10	5	0	0	8	8	340	371	91.4
TOTAL:	0	2	60(2)	19	12	14	28	15	636	786	80.9

NOTE: Number in parentheses refer to the *munkwa* passers

Indeed the revival of the *hyangan* in Namwŏn and Kimhae and the founding of the Ch'angnyŏng *hyangan* after the war were due largely to the efforts of the local elite residents who were typically officials or likely candidates for office. In Ch'angnyŏng ten *yuhak* members at the time of their admission from 1600 to 1607 eventually joined the bureaucracy or acquired, save one, a formal mark of status such as a degree or a title. Many of these men were local wartime leaders who organized militia and defended towns during the Japanese invasions. Surely the government needed their support for the defense and reconstruction of the countryside. The wars provided the local elite residents more opportunities for official recognition, employment, and promotion thanks to their wartime merit and contributions than during peacetime. Also, as we shall note later, these early members were active supporters and builders of the private academies and shrines that enabled them and their children to study for the preparation of the government examinations. It is quite possible that many official members of the early seventeenth century regarded the magistrate as a co-partner in local administration. Indeed the *hyangan* appears to have been an informal club for the officials residing in the countryside, and its rules and regulations seemed to assure the magistrate that the local leaders were loyal to the throne and convince him that their cooperation was essential to the moral and social order of the countryside.

How then can we account for the rapid decline of the official members and the rise of *yuhak* nonofficial members after the mid-seventeenth century? Did the loss of official members weaken the function of the *hyangan* as a link to officialdom? It may be argued that the *hyangan* lost its political influence by losing its official members by the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, for in Namwŏn the *hyangan* was no longer recorded after 1700, and in Ch'angnyŏng the *hyangan* began to record men who were deceased at the time of admission, thus making the *hyangan* more a ritual body than an assembly of elders working with the magistrate. Only in Kimhae, however, did the *hyangan* seem to survive the seventeenth century with its original function intact, though it also came to a virtual close by 1774. It is clear that when a majority of the members became only *yuhak*, the *hyangan* as a group had difficulty in dealing with the magistrate's bureaus, especially the one for *hyangni* petty officers *(chakch'ŏng* or *sŏngch'ŏng).* Namwŏn may be a case in point. A resolution *(wŏnŭi)* was made twice by the *hyangan* members in 1693 and 1694, calling for the strict enforcement of the election rules for the *hyangim* (officers of the *hyangch'ŏng),* the *hyangim*'s adherence to the opinion of the *hyanghoe (hyangan*'s assembly), and the *hyanghoe*'s

strict control over the petty officials working in the *chakch'ŏng* and *hyangch'ŏng*. [20]

Both Tagawa Kōzō and Kim Yongdŏk noted that the *hyangan* of the mid-seventeenth century was no longer the same *hyangan* of the early seventeenth century. First, the new "Ordinances for Post Commander" *(Yongjang samok)* in 1654 strengthened the military aspect of the magistrate's bureaus and turned the local yangban away from the local administration. Tagawa argued that the yangban families kept a distance from the personnel matters of the magistrate bureaus because they were increasingly administered by the military men and corrupt petty officers of *hyangni* background. Second, it was stated that the "Rules Permitting the Men of Illegitimate Birth to Official Appointment" *(Sŏryu sot'ong chŏlmok)* signified a belated recognition of the social reality of eighteenth century Korea where underprivileged social groups in the countryside such as the illegitimate people, the middle people *(chung'in)*, and commoners managed to join the *hyangan* as a means of upgrading their social status.[21]

A lack of the "official" members probably meant the *hyangan*'s decline in political leadership in the countryside. However, despite this change, the *hyangan* continued to serve the local elites as a link with the state bureaucracy, even without the official members present, because the *hyangan* was, contrary to the view of Tagawa and Kim, made up of descendants of the earlier and prominent official members. Furthermore, the reason for the rise of nonofficial *yuhak* members and the subsequent decline of the *hyangan* was not because the nonyangban were admitted, although such irregularities were reported and no doubt practiced occasionally, but rather because the legitimate descendants of *hyangan* members who were entitled to join the *hyangan* increased dramatically during the relatively peaceful period from the mid-seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries. The opportunity for official employment was virtually nonexistent for a majority of these descendants who stayed in the countryside. Because of the *hyangan*'s unwritten but strictly enforced rule, as we shall note later, that all the resident descendants were to be admitted to the *hyangan* at a certain age, it became impossible if not impractical to organize an assembly and to hold an election: That the *hyangan* roster was kept in guarded secrecy by the descendants even after it was long discontinued is testimony that the *hyangan* served the local

20. *Yongsŏngji* 3: 9b–10a.

21. Tagawa Kōzō, "Richō no gōki ni tsuite 2," pp. 78–81. Kim Yongdŏk, *Hyangch'ŏng yŏn'gu*, pp. 47, 55–62.

yangban as a credible and authoritative link to the bureaucracy at the local level.

THE THREE *HYANGAN:* A LINKAGE WITH THE ELITE KIN GROUPS

Through the analysis of the selected lineages *(ssijok)* that are represented by the members of the three *hyangan,* I shall examine the following theses. First, a majority if not all the members were descendants of Yi dynasty officials, and they came from a majority if not all of the local branches of the yangban lineages that resided in the county of a *hyangan.* Second, *hyangan* membership was given in principle to all the local male adults who were legitimate descendants of officials. Third, the members were typically related to one another through their paternal, maternal, or wife's relatives and ancestors.

The *hyangan* members came from fifty-eight lineages in Namwŏn, thirty-seven lineages in Kimhae, and twenty-six lineages in Ch'angnyŏng (see Appendix 2). The members whose lineages cannot be positively identified (therefore of questionable yangban status) comprise 15 percent in Namwŏn, 8.6 percent in Kimhae, and 7.8 percent in Ch'angnyŏng. Because the original rosters typically recorded only name, title, and sometimes place of residence, it is quite possible that some of them can be located in the genealogies or the local gazetteers of the counties where they might have moved after admission. Those "missing" members averaged 10 percent of the total membership, and this fact alone can hardly support the thesis that the *hyangan* was usurped by nonyangban families, that is, those who were not connected properly with official ancestors in the lineage.

Now let me compare further the three *hyangan* by lineage. As noted earlier, Namwŏn had by far the largest number of lineages that belonged to the *hyangan.* It was after all the most populated and important town of the three. On the other hand, Ch'angnyŏng had the smallest number of lineages, and only two, the Ch'angnyŏng Sŏng and the Kwangju No, dominated the *hyangan* membership. It appears that the more populated and the higher the administrative unit was, and the larger the size of the *hyangan,* the less disproportionate the distribution of the membership by lineages. It also seems clear that the physical size of the lineage in residence was a more likely factor for greater representation in the *hyangan* than the political success that the lineage attained nationally. For example, the top ten lineages in Namwŏn and Kimhae were by no means the famous lineages that attained national prominence and yet they had

more members than nationally famous lineages in residence.[22] In Ch'angnyŏng, the Ch'angnyŏng Sŏng was a famous lineage nationally, but it also happened to be the largest group in its place of origin *(pon'gwan).* It is, however, rare to find *hyangan* lineages that were native to the place of the *hyangan.* A majority of the lineages that belonged to the *hyangan* were nonnative; they originated elsewhere and moved in during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. There are numerous cases to illustrate this point, but let me cite just one of them. The leading lineage in Kimhae, the Ch'ŏngju Song, were descendants of Song Sŭngun who became headmaster of the National Academy but resigned the post in protest against the official purge of 1453 and moved to Kimhae with his family to settle there. His son, Song Sukhyŏng, was one of the first five officers elected to the *yuhyangso* in 1489.[23]

The *hyangan*'s rules and regulations do not clearly stipulate who was entitled to join. They were primarily concerned with the procedural and disciplinary matters of the members, such as election of officers, supervision of petty officials, code of behavior, and rules of punishment. However, on the basis of the selected lineages that belonged to the *hyangan* and the members' family and generational order listed in their own genealogy, I would tentatively conclude, subject to further evidence from the census registers and genealogies, that *hyangan* membership was typically given to all the legitimate (properly born) adult males of the local elite kin groups mainly on the basis of their age at the time of recruitment and revision. This conclusion is based on the limited analysis of four lineages: the Sunhŭng An of Namwŏn, the Ch'ŏngju Song and the Kwangju An of Kimhae, and the Kwangju No of Ch'angnyŏng.[24]

22. Among the top ten lineages in Namwŏn and Kimhae are the Hŭngdŏk Chang, the Chinju So, the Chŏnju Ch'oe, the Namwŏn Yang and Pang, and the Puan Kim, all in Namwŏn, and the Ch'ŏngju Song, the Kwangju An, the Kimhae Hŏ, the Ch'angnyŏng Chang, and the Chaenyŏng Yi, all in Kimhae. These lineages were by the nation-wide success of the *munkwa* examinations no match to the nationally prominent lineages that belonged also to the *hyangan,* such as the Kyŏngju Kim, the Chŏnju Yi, the Ch'ŏngju Han, and the Sunhŭng An in Namwŏn, and the Munhwa Yu, the Kimhae Kim, the Ch'angnyŏng Cho, and the Ŭisŏng Kim in Kimhae. For the complete list of the lineages that belonged to each of the three *hyangan,* see Appendix 2.

23. Song Sukhak, *Ch'ŏngju Song-ssi sebo* [Genealogy of the Ch'ŏngju Song] (Kimhae: Togangje, 1927) 1: 1a. "Kimhaebu ŭpchi" in *Kyŏngsang namdo ŭpchi chipsŏng,* p. 259.

24. I might add that several other lineages have also been examined by some of my students in the graduate seminar at Koryŏ University in the spring of 1981, including the Chŏnju Ch'oe and the P'ungch'ŏn No of Namwŏn, and the Ŭlsŏng Kim of Kimhae. Their findings support those of my own presented here. Unfortunately there are no

Comparison of *hyangan* members by their years of birth, death, and admission to the *hyangan,* and by their place in the family and genealogical order reveals that persons who did not join the *hyangan* were typically those who had either died or moved out or were too young (below twenty years) at the time when their relatives were admitted to the *hyangan.* The average interval between the times of admission varied from sixteen years in Namwŏn to six years in Kimhae and five years in Ch'angnyŏng.[25]

The varied frequency of the roster revision suggests that age was indeed taken into consideration to control the size of the *hyangan,* especially in a very populated town like Namwŏn. In general the average age of admission ranged from the early twenties to the early forties.[26] The higher the age for admission, the more limited the membership.

The *Ch'angnyŏng hyangan* has revealed an interesting and somewhat bewildering practice for the admission of the new members after the mid-seventeenth century. For example, all the members of the Kwangju No after 1637, save two men, were admitted only after their death.[27] And this practice seems evident in all the lineages that belonged to the Ch'angnyŏng *hyangan.* Indeed the rosters after the mid-seventeenth century consisted largely of deceased men who were typically sons, grandsons, or great-grandsons of the mid-seventeenth century members. This seemingly abnormal practice is

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extant census registers that are available for the places of the three *hyangan* in question. I have written elsewhere, however, that nearly two out of every three households in Tansŏng County in South Kyŏngsang Province were affiliated with the *hyangan* through the membership of a household head *(hoju)* or one or more of his and his wife's four ancestors. See Fujiya Kawashima, "An Elite Kin Group in the Countryside: A Study of the Tansŏng Hyangan in Mid-Yi Dynasty Korea," paper presented to the annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Washington, D.C., in March 1984, p. 12.

25. The *hyangan* in Ch'angnyŏng admitted mostly deceased members, especially after the roster of 1669, and therefore, the average year that I have calculated to be five years refers to the normal or regular *hyangan.* The average year for all the *hyangan* compiled between 1600 and 1820 is ten years, if we ignore this seemingly unusual practice.

26. The average age of admission to the Kimhae *hyangan* by the Ch'ŏngju Song and the Kwangju An are summarized in Appendix 4.

27. No Sangjin, *Kwangju No-ssi sebo* [Genealogy of the Kwangju No] (Ch'angnyŏng, 1930) 1: 17a–23a, 2: 39a–91a, 3: 1a–11b. Of 108 members of the Kwangju No lineage only nine entered the *hyangan* in the 17th century, all between 1600 and 1639. The persons who became members in their lifetime are No Igwŏn (1710–87) who became a member in 1784 and No Igi (1744–1816) in 1784. I must add that the genealogy is not consistent in listing the death year of all members so that there may be more who did join the *hyangan* when they were alive.

evidence of the change that took place in the *hyangan,* but it is difficult to conclude whether admission upon or after death was meant for posthumous inclusion of the member's relatives who missed the chance of admission in their lifetime, or as a ritual act by the descendants united in "*hyangan* kin groups."

To what extent were the *hyangan* members related to one another? This questions involves a complex set of affinal relations that the Korean elite maintained in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and what I propose to examine is undoubtedly confined to a very narrow area of their kinship relations. I have examined only the cross-lineage marital relations among the members who belonged to the aforementioned four lineages: to see how many members were related to other members by such marital relations as their own (wife's father), brothers (brother's wife's father), sisters (sister's husband), sons (son's wife's father), daughters (daughter's husband), and grandchildren (grandchildren's spouse). I found that such affinity by close marital relations existed in 5 of 11 members of the Sunhŭng An lineage in Namwŏn (45%), 10 of 54 members of the Ch'angnyŏng Song lineage (19%), only 4 of 30 members of the Kwangju An (11%) in Kimhae, 20 of 108 members of the Kwangju No (19%) in Ch'angnyŏng.[28] To be sure, a late Yi dynasty genealogy has only limited coverage for a wife's paternal and maternal ancestors, let alone her relatives, and sister's and granddaughter's husband's background. There is no question, however, that if the maternal ancestors and relatives of the members were identified by cross-examination of the relevant genealogies (which admittedly is a formidable task) a ratio of the affinity by such marital relations would increase considerably. A famous mid-seventeenth century Confucian scholar-official Song Siyŏl (1607–89) remarked in his preface to his *Hoedŏk hyangan:* "Although there are three prominent names of Kim, Yun, and Song in Hoedŏk County, they are in fact one kin group that is related by marital ties."[29] Although my present study is far from adequate in measuring the extent of all such ties, it is true that the *hyangan* played a significant role in bringing the local aristocratic kin groups together in their shared belief in the social and moral purity of their countryside.

28. An Chonghwa, *Kwangju An-ssi chokpo* [Genealogy of the Kwangju An] (1922) 2: 1a–2b; 8: 1a–9b; 17: 1a–3a. An Chongyong, *Sunhŭng An-ssi chokpo* [Genealogy of the Sunhŭng An] (1920) 2: mok-sŏng. No Sangjin, *Kwangju No-ssi sebo* 1: 17a–23a; 2: 39a–91a. Sŏng Hŏyŏng, *Ch'angnyŏng Sŏng-ssi chokpo* [Genealogy of Ch'angnyŏng Sŏng] (Ch'angnyŏng, 1927) 1: 1a–43a.

29. Song Siyŏl, *Hoedŏk hyangan,* dated 1672, a handwritten copy, no pagination.

THE THREE *HYANGAN* AND ARISTOCRATIC CULTURAL LOCALISM

The rise of the *hyangan* is closely related to the development of aristocratic cultural localism in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Korean countryside. After the Hideyoshi invasions, it was by and large the *hyangan* members who were responsible for the construction and repair of numerous cultural edifices in the countryside, such as private academies *(sŏwŏn),* shrines *(sau),* and other buildings for educational, social, and ritual purposes *(che, chŏng, tae, tang).* These edifices became local centers and cultural symbols for a variety of educational and social activities. During the period of relative peace after the mid-seventeenth century, many local Confucianists who had limited opportunity for official employment increasingly devoted themselves to the ideals of self-fulfillment, self-sufficiency, and moral and social purity in the countryside. Some called themselves, with a certain elitism, *yain* (a man of the countryside) or *chehyang cho'sa* (a scholar of the countryside). That as many as 368 private academies were built during the reign of King Sukchong (1675–1720) alone is testimony to the extent of local cultural activities.[30] The subsequent decline of the private academies after the early eighteenth century was primarily because government policy limited and even dismantled the private academies whose political and economic interest came into conflict with government interest.[31] Although the political and economic functions of the private academies and other local edifices declined somewhat, their social and ritual functions probably increased under the patronage of the local elite kin groups.

Why and how, then, were the *hyangan* in Namwŏn, Kimhae, and Ch'angnyŏng associated with the private academies and other cultural edifices of their locality? Can we argue that the *hyangan* was a local gentry association responsible for building and managing them? To answer these questions, one must look into the histories of these edifices during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

In Namwŏn, there were seven private academies built between 1579 and 1703, three of which were chartered *(sa'aek)* by Kings Sŏnjo and Sukchong in 1600, 1686, and 1697. In addition, there are fifteen

30. Min Pyŏngha, "Sŏwŏn ŭi nongjang" [The farm-estate of the private academies], in *Hanguksa ron* 8 (1981): 142. James B. Palais, *Politics and Policy in Traditional Korea* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), pp. 115–16. *Chŭngbo munhŏnbigo* [Encyclopedia, enlarged and supplemented], preface dated 1907 (Seoul: Tongguk munhwasa, 1971) 211: 1a–19b; 212: 1a–42a; 213: 1a–4a.

31. MinPyŏngha, "Sŏwŏn ŭi nongjang," p. 149. Kang Chujin, "Sŏwŏn gwa kŭ sahoejŏk kinŭng [The private academies and their social functions], in *Hanguksa ron* 8 (1981): 84–87.

shrines and twenty-one other buildings *(chŏng, tae, che, tang)* that were used for teaching and learning, poetry reading, ancestor worship, private retreat, and relaxation.[32] The gazetteer of Namwŏn published in 1702 records the amount of land and property including slaves, books, and buildings, and provides us with an insight into the nature of the academies as private foundations in the countryside.[33]

Chŏng Manjo pointed out in his study of the Sosu (Paeg'undong) academy, the first chartered academy in Korea in 1550, that the private academy was originally set up in the countryside to promote local education and to conduct Confucian rites *(chesa)* in memory of early worthies *(sŏnhyŏn).*[34] To be sure, the *sŏnhyŏn* could include sages and philosophers of China, but in the private academies of Namwŏn, Kimhae, and Ch'angnyŏng, all the early worthies were Korean. The private academies and shrines in Namwŏn enshrined twenty-three and sixty-one men, respectively. Twenty-one men (25%) of the total eighty-four men were members of the *hyangan,* and an additional forty-one men (49%) were either "distant" brothers (genealogically speaking) or direct ancestors of some members.[35] In other words, sixty-two men (74%) of those who were enshrined were either deceased members of the *hyangan* or members' deceased relatives or direct ancestors. In particular, twenty-three men who were enshrined in the academies came from fourteen different lineages *(ssijok),* and all but one lineage were the lineages that belonged to the *hyangan.* Again if one could successfully identify the member's maternal and wife's lineage backgrounds, the percentage of the *hyangan* members who were related to the enshrined men would likely increase. The practice of enshrining native sons or scholars related to the residents occurred not only in Namwŏn but also in Kimhae and Ch'angnyŏng.

In addition to these twenty-two private academies and shrines, there were twenty-one local edifices in Namwŏn, of which nine were built and owned by *hyangan* members and twelve by their relatives and ancestors. These edifices were inherited and maintained by the descendants and served them as aristocratic symbols of their commitment to the Confucian Way.

32. *Yongsŏngji* 3: 3a–9a.

33. Ibid.

34. Chŏng Manjo, "Chosŏn sŏwŏn ŭi sŏngnip kwajŏng: Chungjong nyŏngwan sarim ŭl ŭihan kyohak chinhŭngjek kwa kallyŏn hayŏ" [The establishment process of the private academies in the Chosŏn dynasty: In reference to the strategy of the *sarim* scholars to promote study during King Chungjong's reign], in *Hanguksa ron* 8 (1981): 39–40.

35. *Yongsŏngji* 2: 8a–19b.

In Kimhae there was only one private academy called Sinsan which was rebuilt and chartered in 1609 for the noted Confucianist Cho Sik (1501–72). He was born in Samga and moved nearby to Kimhae, where he lived and taught for more than thirty years. His disciples who survived the war, such as An Hŭi, Hwang Seyŏl, and Hŏ Kyŏngyun, along with Cho Sik's descendants of the Ch'angnyŏng Cho lineage, were responsible for the reconstruction of the academy, which had been destroyed during the Japanese invasion. These same people were also members of the Kimhae *hyangan* of the early seventeenth century. In addition, there were five shrines in Kimhae devoted to eight men, of whom three, including Hŏ Kyŏngyun, belonged to the *hyangan,* the rest were native scholars and wartime heroes whose descendants belonged to the *hyangan.*[36]

That *hyangan* members were the ones who built and managed the academy may be further evident in the case of the Sinsan academy. Its roster, entitled the *Ch'ŏnggumnok* (a roster of the "blue-gowned"), lists fifty-seven men affiliated with the academy from the early seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries.[37] Twenty-nine were recorded as residents of Kimhae, but the remaining twenty-eight men were residents of Seoul and elsewhere who were typically high officials and established scholars. Of these Kimhae residents, twenty men were members of the *hyangan* and the rest were probably all member's relatives.

The gazetteer of Kimhae lists eight additional edifices that were built mainly by the magistrates, and therefore they were more official in character. The only building that is clearly related to the *hyangan* is the pavilion called Sanhaejŏng, built for Cho Sik by Song Yunchung and Yu Pangsik, who were grandsons of Song Tohang and Yu Chemu who entered the *hyangan* in 1729 and 1753, respectively.[38]

In Ch'angnyŏng, all but one of the private academies and shrines were built after the late seventeenth century. The Kwansan academy, the oldest and most important, was built in 1620 and chartered in 1651.[39] It enshrined Chŏng Ku (1543–1620), who was probably the most revered Confucian scholar in Ch'angnyŏng. He

36. "Kimhaebu ŭpchi" in *Kyŏngsang namdo ŭpchi chipsŏng,* p. 256.

37. "Sinsan sŏwŏn ch'ŏnggŭmnok" [The roster of scholars in Sinsan academy], in *Kimjuji chŏryak* [The essence of the Kimhae gazetteer] (Kimhae, preface dated 1912), 20b–23b.

38. "Kimhaebu ŭpchi" in *Kyŏngsang namdo ŭpchi chipsŏng,* p. 256. No Sangjik, *Kimhae hyangan,* 14b, 18b.

39. "Kimhaebu ŭpchi" in *Kyŏngsang namdo ŭpchi chipsŏng,* p. 256. *Chŭngbo munhŏnbigo* 213: 22a.

was responsible for the education of the local elite families who provided the leadership in organizing the *hyangan* and building the academy after the war. Chŏng Ku, a Neo-Confucianist without a government degree, was a native of Sŏngju, and he took the first official appointment in 1580 to serve as magistrate of Ch'angnyŏng where his close relatives lived not far from his own native place. During his three-year tenure, he set up four schools *(sŏje, sŏdang)* to educate the sons of the local elite families. Upon his departure for his later successful career in the central and local government, he left the school buildings and books as official gifts *(chŏngŭp)* to his best students, including his own sister's son, No Kukhong.[40] Chŏng Ku's success in Ch'angnyŏng supports the thesis of Edward W. Wagner who writes: "More often, I surmised, the aspirant to such a post [the appointment to a county close to his own county of residence] has solid lineage ties in the county near home he was named to head, and his appointment would promote the interests of his lineage and of himself."[41] Chŏng Ku's disciples, such as Sŏng Anŭi, No Kukhong, Sŏng Ch'ang, Yang Hoguk, No Seho, An Su, and Song Chin, were all important in defending the county by organizing militia against the Japanese invaders. After the war, they became the founding fathers of the *hyangan* in 1600 and served as staff members *(wŏnin)* of the Kwansan academy, which they had built in 1620. Many of Chŏng Ku's disciples were later enshrined in two academies and three shrines that were built between 1695 and 1795.[42]

In addition, members of the *hyangan* and their relatives built and owned as many as thirty-two edifices that may be classified in three categories: the recreation hall *(yugeso),* lecture hall *(kanghakso),* and ancestral ritual hall *(pongsŏnso).* Especially noteworthy are many ancestral ritual halls built by the leading lineages of the *hyangan,* such as the Ch'angnyŏng Song, the Kwangju No, the Ch'angnyŏng Cho, the Milsŏng Yang, the Pyŏkchin Yi, and the Changyŏn No.[43] The descendants met there in the spring and autumn to perform ancestral rites, and solemnly pledged to follow the footsteps of their common and distinguished ancestors. These edifices constituted a substructure of the more formal private academies and shrines, and

40. No Chinhŏn, "Okch'ŏn ho" [Writings of No Chinhŏn], in Kwŏn Yŏnha, preface, *Kwangju No-ssi seho* [Writings by generations of the Kwangju No] (Preface dated 1824 by Kim Hŭijin and Yu Taejwa) 1: 3ab *(yŏnbo, kan).*

41. Edward W. Wagner, "The County Magistrate in Yi Korea: A Silhouette," paper presented to the New England Conference, Association for Asian Studies, Amherst College, October 1977, p. 1.

42. *Yongsŏngji* 2: 8a–19b.

43. Ibid.

served as a personal as well as a communal reminder of their aristocratic cultural heritage in the countryside. It would be wrong to romanticize the role of the *hyangan* in the development of elite cultural localism in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Korea, but it was an informal organization for the elite local kin groups to promote and preserve local cultural diversity as "scholars of the countryside."

CONCLUSION

The thesis I have presented in this paper surely requires further elaboration and documentation based on the case studies of more *hyangan* records. Only with more case studies can we begin to put together the puzzle of the diverse local elite groups and their structure in mid-Yi dynasty Korea. A social history of the local groups, especially that of informal groups, such as the *hyangan,* has not been adequately studied in comparison with formal organizations, such as the *yuhyangso.*

The local yangban still remains a puzzle, but the *hyangan* provides us with a clue for understanding the identity, legitimacy, and structure of the local yangban because of its largely "unwritten" but documentable practice and its emphasis on proper lineage backgrounds. The local yangban and the hyangan changed as the society changed, and the process of change can be illustrated in figure 1.

The horizontal line represents societal values ranging between the diametrically opposed values underlying power (i.e., might is right) and Confucian ethics (i.e., right is might), and similarly the vertical line represents the institutions ranging between the bureaucracy (i.e., centralism by merit) and the elite kin groups or yangban lineages (i.e., localism by ascription). As shown in figure 1, we have four enclosures, each representing a contrasting cultural-social setting relevant to the local yangban and the *hyangan.* The development I have discussed in this paper seems to suggest that the local yangban and the *hyangan* went through a cycle in a clockwise

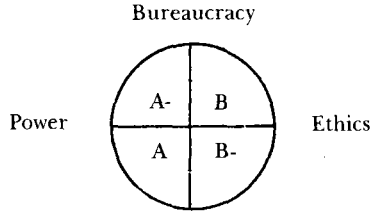

Fig. 1. Elite Kin Groups

movement from the enclosure A to A-, A- to B, and B to B- from the early fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries.

First, the early Yi dynasty government did not attempt to wipe out the aristocratic local kin groups that originated in the Koryŏ dynasty, but rather tried to select and protect those kin groups that produced men of loyalty and merit for the new dynasty. The Yi bureaucracy sanctioned the selection of the elite kin groups for the consolidation of power at the local level. Some of the capital officials and their descendants moved out to settle in the countryside, and organized the *hyangan* under close supervision of the central bureaucracy to control local power. Thus occurred the first transformation from enclosure A to A-: from the late Koryŏ local magnates and their aristocratic clans to the capital officials with their families and relatives in the countryside.

Second, the capital officials in retirement and on home leave assumed leadership in promoting education and family rites in the local community. The private academies and local cultural edifices they built after the mid-sixteenth century contributed to the rise of elite cultural localism among the rural yangban. They consisted not only of officials but also a growing number of their descendants who increasingly lacked official posts or degrees. The *hyangan* remained supportive of but grew more autonomous of the central bureaucracy by drafting its own rules regulating its membership, decision-making, and group conduct. The national crises during and following the Japanese and Manchu invasions strengthened local ties and the cultural localism of the elite kin groups. Thus the second transformation from the capital officials to the ethically oriented local yangban. Similarly the *hyangan* no longer became an instrument of central power, but a self-regulating elite local group. While loyal to the throne it also aimed at self-fulfillment and moral and social purity in the countryside.

Third, the *hyangan* consisted largely of nonofficials and nondegree and nontitleholders after the late seventeenth century, and it became further removed from bureaucratic power positions and became mainly an elite cultural institution that served the local yangban families. The eighteenth century *hyangan* was an expression of elite cultural localism, because it symbolized the culmination of a process of local cultural and ideological change that began in the mid-sixteenth century. The growth in the members of the elite kin groups coupled with their diminishing opportunities for official employment made them more conscious of the success of their ancestors in gaining office and perhaps more competitive in select-

ing marriage partners from prestigious families. The sheer size of the yangban population (i.e., those who could claim the legitimate succession of their noble descents) ultimately made it impractical if not impossible for the *hyangan* to continue after the late eighteenth century. Thus the third transformation from B to B-.

Despite their growing exclusion from bureaucratic power positions, the *hyangan* members seem to have been internally loyal to the system and resistant to change. Their cultural elitism and localism remains, it seems to me, as an important characteristic of the Korean intellectuals in the following centuries.[44]

44. Fujiya Kawashima, "Kankoku chishikijin no genkei: sonbi no kachi ishiki" [An archetype of the Korean intellectuals: The value system of the local yangban aristocracy], *Ajia kōron* 10 (November 1981): 81-88.

APPENDIX 1

Hyangan MEMBERSHIP BY YEARS OF COMPILATION

A. *Namwŏn (Yongsŏng)*

Compilation number	King	Reign year	Year	Month	New members	Notes
1	Sŏnjo	?	?	?	41	
2	Sŏnjo	?	?	?	43	
3	Sŏnjo	?	?	?	43	
4	Sŏnjo	40	1607	?	53	
5	Injo	1	1623	?	145	
6	Injo	17	1639	?	106	
7	Hyojong	6	1655	?	219	
8	Sukchong	5	1679	?	436	
9	Sukchong	26	1700	?	620	
10	Kyŏngjong	1(?)	1721(?)	10	19	Supplement to *Hyangan* no. 9
TOTAL					1,725	

B. *Kimhae*

Compilation number	King	Reign year	Year	Month	New members	Notes
1	Sŏnjo	32	1599	8	14	
2	Sŏnjo	33	1600	11	4	
3	Sŏnjo	34	1601	11	5	
4	Sŏnjo	37	1604	11	11	
5	Kwanghae	5	1613	11	8	
6	Kwanghae	14	1622	11	3	
7	Injo	1	1623	11	5	
8	Injo	5	1627	11	4	
9	Injo	14	1636	11	8	
10	Injo	19	1641	11	5	
11	Injo	23	1645	11	15	
12	Injo	27	1649	11	10	
13	Hyojong	5	1654	11	4	
14	Hyŏnjong	5	1664	11	21	
15	Hyŏnjong	9	1668	11	11	
16	Hyŏnjong	13	1672	11	7	
17	Sukchong	4	1678	11	18	
18	Sukchong	12	1686	11	14	
19	Sukchong	15	1689	11	11	
20	Sukchong	16	1690	11	4	
21	Sukchong	24	1698	11	10	
22	Sukchong	28	1702	11	6	
23	Sukchong	29	1703	11	14	

B. *Kimhae, continued*

Compilation number	King	Reign year	Year	Month day	Number of new members	Notes
24	Yŏngjo	4	1728	11	12	
25	Yŏngjo	5	1729	11	33	
26	Yŏngjo	6	1730	11	2	
27	Yŏngjo	7	1731	11	26	
28	Yŏngjo	8	1732	11	49	
29	Yŏngjo	29	1753	11	52	
30	Yŏngjo	42	1766	11	4	Yŏngmyo 44, *pyŏngo*
31	Yŏngjo	50	1774	3.22	27	Yŏngmyo 52, *kabo*
32	Chŏngjo	9	1785	6	5	Rec. royal injunction
33	Sunjo	34	1834	11	2	Rec. royal injunction
TOTAL					424	

C. *Ch'angnyŏng*

Compilation number	King	Reign year	Year	Month day	New members	Notes
1	Sŏnjo	33	1600	10.4	35	Roster & new roster
2	Sŏnjo	40	1607	7.16	12	
3	Kwanghaegun	6	1614	1.3	6	
4	Kwanghaegun	10	1618	1.27	14	
5	Kwanghaegun	11	1619	12.26	2	
6	Kwanghaegun	14	1622	1.3	29	
7	Injo	11	1633	4.10	9	Rev. old rosters
8	Injo	16	1638	1.3	9	
9	Injo	17	1639	1.3	5	
10	Injo	20	1642	1.3	9	
11	Injo	21	1643	1.3	2	
12	Injo	22	1644	1.30	1	
13	Injo	26	1648	1.5	1	
14	Hyojong	1	1650	1.3	2	
15	Hyŏnjong	10	1669	8.18	28	Rev. (old) rosters
16	Sukchong	44	1718	5.3	34	
17	Yŏngjo	11	1735	1.11	2	Rev. roster of 1717(?)
18	Yŏngjo	24	1748	1.11	127	Rev. rosters 15 & 17
19	Yŏngjo	33	1757	2.15	88	Rev. roster 18
20	Chŏngjo	8	1784	4.17	123	Rev. (old) roster
21	Chŏngjo	10	1786	12.17	12	
22	Sunjo	17	1817	12.17	133	
23	Sunjo	20	1820	6.6	94	Rev. (old) roster
24	Sunjo	32(?)	1832(?)	?	9	Rev. roster 16
TOTAL					786	

APPENDIX 2

Hyangan MEMBERSHIP BY CLAN AFFILIATION

A. *Namwŏn (Yongsŏng)*

Years / Clans	1607	1623–39	1655	1679–1721(?)	Total Members	Rank
Hŭngdŏk Chang	9	19	14	75	117	1
Kyŏngju Kim	14	20	15	50	99	2
Chinju So	6	13	14	64	97	3
Chŏnju Yi	5	9	10	54	78	4
Chŏnju Ch'oe	10	9	7	51	77	5
Namwŏn Yang	12	8	8	41	69	6
Namyang Pang	5	11	18	31	65	7
Puan Kim	3	14	5	33	55	8
Ch'ŏngju Han	3	7	8	37	55	8-1
Sunhŭng An	6	7	8	33	54	10
Ch'angwŏn Chŏng	4	4	4	31	43	11
Kyŏngju Yi	3	4	6	30	43	11-1
Kwangju Yi	1	4	9	27	41	13
Haman O	5	3	6	24	38	14
Yŏnan Kim	6	4	5	15	30	15
P'ungch'ŏn No	0	6	1	23	30	15-1
Saknyŏng Ch'oe	3	5	5	15	28	17
Kyŏngju Chŏng	0	3	5	19	27	18
Munhwa Yu	0	1	5	21	27	18-1
P'yŏnggang Ch'ae	5	4	4	13	26	20
Naju Chin	1	4	4	14	23	21
Sangju Yi	0	3	5	15	23	21-1
Andong Kwŏn	2	4	6	10	22	23
Chinju Ha	1	3	3	14	21	24
P'ungsan Sim	3	3	0	15	21	24-1
Haeju O	4	4	2	10	20	26
Yangch'ŏn Hŏ	2	3	4	11	20	26-1
Namwŏn Yun	2	2	1	12	17	28
Hapch'ŏn Yi	3	1	3	10	17	28-1
Chuksan Pak	4	6	3	3	16	30
Namwŏn Chin	3	3	1	9	16	30-1
Changyŏn Pyŏn	1	4	3	7	15	32
Namwŏn Yang	2	3	4	6	15	32-1
Sunch'ŏn Kim	1	1	1	11	14	34
Hongju Yi	3	2	1	7	13	35
Changsu Hwang	4	1	0	4	9	36
Onyang Kim	1	2	0	5	8	37
Sŏsan Yu	4	0	0	3	7	38
Hwasun Ch'oe	0	0	1	6	7	38-1
Wŏnju Wŏn	2	1	1	2	6	40

A. *Namwŏn (Yongsŏng), continued*

Years Clans	1607	1623–39	1655	1679–1721(?)	Total Members	Rank
Yonggwang Yu	0	0	1	5	6	40-1
Nŭngsŏng Ku	2	1	0	2	5	42
Pyŏkchin Yi	0	3	0	2	5	42-1
Haeju Chŏng	0	1	0	4	5	42-2
Ŭnjin Song	0	0	1	3	4	45
Haman Cho	0	1	0	2	3	46
Changhŭng Ko	0	0	1	2	3	46-1
Kimhae Kim	0	0	1	2	3	46-2
Chinju Hyŏng	0	0	0	3	3	46-3
Ch'ŏngsong Sim	1	1	1	0	3	46-4
Kwangju An	1	0	0	1	2	51
Tongnae Chŏng	0	2	0	0	2	51-1
Yŏnan Yi	0	0	0	2	2	51-2
Hapkye T'ae	0	0	0	2	2	51-3
Okch'ŏn Cho	0	0	0	2	2	51-4
Namyang Hong	0	0	0	1	1	56
Chŏnju Yu	1	0	0	0	1	56-1
Ch'ilwŏn Yun	0	0	0	1	1	56-2
Origin not yet identified (A)	32	37	14	190	263	
TOTAL (B)	180	251	219	1,075	1,725	
A/B %	18.8	15.0	6.4	18.1	15.2	

B. *Kimhae*

Years Clans	1599–1604	1613–49	1654–72	1678–1703	1728–74	1785–1834	Total Members	Rank
Ch'ŏngju Song	4	5	6	14	25	0	54	1
Kwangju An	2	9	2	5	18	0	36	2
Kimhae Hŏ	1	6	5	6	17	0	35	3
Kimhae Kim	5	2	4	6	17	0	34	4
Ch'angnyŏng Cho	2	4	5	8	10	0	29	5
Chaenyŏng Yi	3	5	3	4	10	0	25	6
Ŭisŏng Kim	1	3	4	5	10	0	23	7
Kwangju No	0	0	3	7	12	0	22	8
Munhwa Yu	3	3	1	2	8	0	17	9
Ch'angnyŏng Chang	1	0	2	2	9	0	14	10
Chŏnju Yi	0	3	0	3	5	0	11	11
Chinju Kang	0	0	1	1	6	0	8	12
Namp'yŏng Mun	0	0	0	0	0	7	7	13
Hamjong Ŏ	5	1	1	0	0	0	7	13-1
Tongnae Chŏng	0	0	2	1	3	0	6	15
Posŏng Sŏn	0	0	0	0	6	0	6	15-1
Ch'ŏngdo Kim	0	0	0	2	4	0	6	15-2
Haman Cho	0	0	1	2	3	0	6	15-3
Hyŏnp'ung Kwak	0	1	1	2	2	0	6	15-4
Milyang Son	0	0	0	1	3	0	4	20

B. *Kimhae, continued*

Years / Clans	1599–1604	1613–49	1654–72	1678–1703	1728–74	1785–1834	Total Members	Rank
P'ap'yŏng Yun	0	0	0	0	4	0	4	20-1
Ch'angnyŏng Sŏng	0	0	1	0	3	0	4	20-2
Miryang Pak	1	1	0	0	1	0	3	23
P'yŏngsan Sin	0	1	2	0	0	0	3	23-1
Haesan Hwang	2	1	0	0	0	0	3	23-2
Koryŏ Pak	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	26
Namyang Pang	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	26-1
Iksŏng Pae	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	26-2
Kwangsan Kim	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	29
Sangsan Kim	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	29-1
Sunhŭng An	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	29-2
Andong Kwŏn	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	29-3
Yangch'ŏn Hŏ	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	29-4
Indong Chang	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	29-5
Inch'ŏn Yi	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	29-6
Chinju Yu	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	29-7
Ch'ŏngsong Sim	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	29-8
Origin not yet identified (A)	1	10	0	4	21	0	36	
TOTAL (B)	34	58	43	77	205	7	424	
A/B %	3.0	17.2	0	5.2	10.2	0	8.5	

C. *Ch'angnyŏng*

Years / Clans	1600–1607	1614–48	1650–69	1718	1735–57	1784–1832	Total Members	Rank
Ch'angnyŏng Sŏng	21	35	9	13	68	127	273	1
Kwangju No	1	8	0	9	23	67	108	2
Milsŏng Yang	2	4	3	0	10	20	39	3
Chinju Kang	2	3	2	1	14	12	34	4
Ch'angnyŏng Cho	3	2	1	2	11	13	32	4-1
Sŏhŭng Kim	2	5	2	2	10	9	30	6
Chinju Ha	2	3	1	0	7	15	28	7
P'ap'yŏng Yun	0	0	1	0	7	17	25	8
Sŏnsan Kim	1	2	0	2	5	13	23	9
Pyŏkchin Yi	4	3	1	1	5	8	22	10
Changyŏn No	5	3	2	0	6	5	21	11
Kwangju Yi	0	1	1	1	6	11	20	12
Milsŏng Son	0	3	2	0	6	9	20	12-1
Kwangju An	1	4	1	0	5	3	14	14
Ch'angnyŏng Chang	0	2	1	0	4	2	9	15
Habin Yi	0	0	0	0	2	5	7	16
Posan Kwak	0	1	0	0	0	3	4	17
Ch'ŏngju Chŏng	1	1	1	0	0	0	3	18
Suwŏn Paek	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	19
Chŏnju Yi	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	19-1

C. *Ch'angnyŏng, continued*

Years Clans	1600–1607	1614–48	1650–69	1718	1735–57	1784–1832	Total Members	Rank
Kŭmsan Kim	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	21
Talsŏng Pae	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	21-1
Tamyang Ko	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	21-2
Sunch'ŏn Pak	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	21-3
Anak Yi	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	21-4
Hamp'yŏng Yi	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	21-5
Origin not yet identified (A)	1	5	2	3	23	30	64	
TOTAL (B)	47	87	30	34	217	371	786	
A/B %	2.1	5.7	6.7	8.8	9.4	8.1	8.1	

APPENDIX 3

MEMBERSHIP OF THE THREE *Hyangan* COMPARED IN SIX PERIODS BY REIGN YEARS

Reign Years	Namwon Original	Later added	Kimhae Original	Special	Ch'angnyŏng Original	Revised
Sŏnjo 32–41 (1599–1608)	180	-	34	-	47	-
Kwanghaegun 1-Injo 27 (1609–49)	251	-	58	-	78	-
Hyojong 1-Hyŏngjong 15 (1650–74)	219	-	43	-	2	28
Sukchong 1–46 (1675–1720)	1056	-	77	-	34	-
Kyŏngjong 1-Yŏngjo 52 (1721–76)	-	19	205	-	-	217
Chŏngjo 1-Sunjo 20 (1777–1820)	-	-	-	7	-	371
TOTAL	1,706	19	417	7	161	625

SOURCE: Yu Cheuk, *Yongsŏng hyangan*, 1a–87b; No Sangjik, *Kimhae hyangan*, 1a–24a; Cho Yongsuk, *Ch'angnyŏng hyangan*, 1a–51b.

APPENDIX 4

AVERAGE AGE OF ADMISSION TO THE KIMHAE *Hyangan*: THE CH'ŎNGJU SONG AND THE KWANJU AN LINEAGES

Years of Admission	1599–1604	1613–49	1654–72	1678–1703	1728–74
Ch'ŏngju Song	35	27	25	29	36
Kwangju An	33	34	-	38	43

SOURCE: Song Suhak, *Ch'ŏngju Song-ssi sebo* 1:1a-2:34a; An Chonghwa, *Kwangju An-ssi chokpo* 1:2a-17:3a.

GLOSSARY

PEOPLE

An Hŭi 安憙
An Su 安璹
Cho Sik 曹植
Chŏng Ku 鄭逑
Chŏng Manjo 鄭萬祚
Hideyoshi 秀吉
Hŏ Kyŏngyun 許景胤
Hwang Seyŏl 黃世烈
Hyojong 孝宗
Hyŏngjong 顯宗
Hyonyŏng 孝寧
Injo 仁祖
Kim Ilson 金馹孫
Kim Yongdŏk 金龍德
Kwanghaegun 光海君
No Kukhong 盧克弘
No Seho 盧世厚
Sŏng Anŭi 成安義
Sŏng Ch'ang 成攢
Sŏng Chin 成振
Song Tohang 宋道恒
Song Siyŏl 宋時烈
Song Sukhyŏng 宋叔亨
Song Sŭngun 宋承殷
Song Yunchŭng 宋允增
Sukchong 肅宗
T'aejo 太祖
Tagawa Kōzō 田川孝三

Yang Hŏguk 揚許國
Yi I 李珥
Yi Hwang 李滉
Yi Po 李輔
Yi Sanghyŏng 李尙馨
Yi T'aejin 李泰鎭
Yŏngjo 英祖
Yu Chemu 柳再茂
Yu Pangsik 柳邦栻

CLANS

Anak Yi 安岳李
Andong Kwŏn 安東權
Chaenyŏng Yi 載寧李
Changhŭng Ko 長興高
Ch'angnyŏng Chang 昌寧張
Ch'angnyŏng Cho 昌寧曹
Ch'angnyŏng Sŏng 昌寧成
Changsu Hwang 長水黃
Ch'angwŏn Chŏng 昌原丁
Changyŏn No 長淵盧
Changyŏn Pyŏn 長淵邊
Ch'ilwŏn Yun 漆原尹
Chinju Ha 晉州河
Chinju Hyŏng 晉州邢
Chinju Kang 晉州姜
Chinju So 晉州蘇
Chinju Yu 晉州柳
Ch'ŏngdo Kim 淸道金
Ch'ŏngju Chŏng 淸州鄭
Ch'ŏngju Han 淸州韓
Ch'ŏngju Song 淸州宋
Ch'ŏngsong Sim 淸松沈
Chŏnju Ch'oe 全州崔
Chŏnju Yi 全州李
Chŏnju Yu 全州柳
Chuksan Pak 竹山朴
Habin Yi 河濱李
Haeju Chŏng 海州鄭
Haeju O 海州吳
Haesan Hwang 檜山黃
Haman Cho 咸安趙
Haman O 咸安吳

Hamjong Ŏ 咸從魚
Hamp'yŏng Yi 咸平李
Hapch'ŏn Yi 陜川李
Hapkye T'ae 陜溪太
Hongju Yi 洪州李
Hŭngdŏk Chang 興德張
Hwasun Ch'oe 和順崔
Hyŏnp'ung Kwak 玄風郭
Iksong Pae 益城裴
Inch'ŏn Yi 仁川李
Indong Chang 仁同張
Kimhae Hŏ 金海許
Kimhae Kim 金海金
Koryŏ Pak 高麗朴
Kŭmsan Kim 錦山金
Kwangju An 廣州安
Kwangju No 光州盧
Kwangju Yi 廣州李
Kwangsan Kim 光山金
Kyŏngju Chŏng 慶州鄭
Kyŏngju Kim 慶州金
Kyŏngju Yi 慶州李
Milsŏng Son 密城楊
Milsŏng Yang 密城楊
Miryang Pak 密陽朴
Miryang Son 密陽孫
Munhwa Yu 文化柳
Naju Chin 羅州陳
Namp'yŏng Mun 南平文
Namwŏn Chin 南原晉
Namwŏn Yang 南原楊
Namwŏn Yang 南原梁
Namwŏn Yun 南原尹
Namyang Hong 南陽洪
Namyang Pang 南陽房
Nŭngsŏng Ku 綾城具
Okch'ŏn Cho 玉川趙
Ŏnyang Kim 彦陽金
P'ap'yŏng Yun 坡平尹
P'osan Kwak 苞山郭
Posŏng Sŏn 寶城宣
Puan Kim 扶安金
P'ungch'ŏn No 豐川盧
P'ungsan Sim 豐山沈
Pyŏkchin Yi 碧珍李
P'yŏnggang Ch'ae 平康蔡

P'yŏngsan Sin 平山申
Saknyŏng Ch'oe 朔寧崔
Sangju Yi 尙州李
Sangsan Kim 尙山金
Sŏhŭng Kim 瑞興金
Sŏnsan Kim 善山金
Sŏsan Yu 瑞山柳
Sunch'ŏn Kim 順天金
Sunch'ŏn Pak 順天朴
Sunhŭng An 順興安
Suwŏn Paek 水原白
Talsŏng Pae 達城裴
Tamyang Ko 潭陽高
Tongnae Chŏng 東萊鄭
Ŭisŏng Kim 義城金
Ŭnjin Song 恩津宋
Wŏnju Wŏn 原州元
Yangch'ŏn Hŏ 陽川許
Yŏnan Kim 延安金
Yŏnan Yi 延安李
Yŏnggwang Yu 靈光柳

OTHER NAMES AND TERMS

amun 衙門
chakch'ŏng 作廳
changmu 掌務
che 齋
chehyang cho'sa 在鄕處士
chehyang yangban 在鄕兩班
chesa 祭祀
Chŏlla 全羅
ch'ŏndo 天道
chŏng 亭
chŏnggyo 政敎
chŏngŭp 傳給
chungsin 中人
haksaeng 學生
hoerodang 會老堂
hyangan 鄕案
hyangch'ŏng 鄕廳
hyanggyo 鄕校
hyanggyu 鄕規
hyanghoe 鄕會
hyangim 鄕任
hyangkwŏn 鄕權

hyangni 鄕吏

hyangnogan 鄕錄案

hyangsadang 鄕射堂

hyŏn 縣

ibŭi 立議

indo 人道

kanghakso 講學所

Koryŏ 高麗

Kwansan 冠山

Kyŏngsang 慶尙

munkwa 文科

Paeg'undong 白雲洞

pongsŏnso 奉先所

pon'gwan 本貫

puro chongjok 父老宗族

pyŏlgam 別監

sa'aek 賜額

sadaebu 士大夫

saengwŏn 生員

Sanhaejŏng 山海亭

Samga 三嘉

sarogan 仕錄廳

sau 社宇

Sinsan 新山

sŏdang 書堂

sŏje 書齋

sŏngch'ŏng 星廳

Sŏngju 星州

sŏnhyŏn 先賢

Sosu 紹修

sŏwŏn 書院

ssijok 氏族

tae 臺

Taebang- 帶方

hyangyakso 鄕約所

tang 堂

tangsang 堂上

tohobu 都護府

wŏnim 院任

wŏnŭi 完議

yain 野人

Yonghŭng 永興

yuch'ŏng i'bud'ak 有淸而不濁

yugeso 遊憩所

yuhak 幼學

yuhyangso 留鄕所

NAMES OF RULES AND ROSTERS

Ch'angnyŏng hyangan chŭngju 昌寧鄕案增註

Haeju ilhyang yaksok 海州一鄕約束

Hamju hyangan 咸州鄕案

Hoedŏk hyangan 懷德鄕案

Hyonyŏng taegun hyanghŏnmok 孝寧大君鄕憲目

Kimhae hyangan 金海鄕案

Koch'ang hyangan 居昌鄕案

Miryang hyangan 密陽鄕案

P'ungp'ae hyang chwamok 豐沛鄕座目

Sinsan sŏwŏn ch'onggŭmnok 新山書院靑衫錄

Sŏnhyang hŏnmok 璿鄕憲目

Sŏryu sot'ong chŏlmok 庶類疏通節目

T'aejo kohwangje ŏje hŏnmok 太祖高皇帝御製憲目

Tansŏng hyangan 丹城鄕案

Yean hyangnip yakjo 禮安鄕立約條

Yongjang samok 營將專目

Yongsŏng hyangan 龍城鄕案

Yongsŏng hyangan yaksok jomok 龍城鄕案約束條目

Yŏngyang hyangan kojŏngnok 永陽鄕案考整錄

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