The Establishment and the Functions of the Pon’gwan System in the Koryŏ Dynasty

Chai Oong-seok*

1. Introduction

Every Korean living in this century has Pon’gwan. Most of their Pon’gwan do not correspond with their birthplaces or residential districts, and they live without any regional relationship with Pon’gwan. However, they separate their Pon’gwan from those of others so that they can acknowledge the patrilineal kinship and have a sense of clan or lineage. The convention of separating one’s Pon’gwan from those of others to distinguish one’s own family still remains. The current law requires that Pon’gwan should be put in the household register. In this way, Pon’gwan is regarded as Sŏnggwan (surname seat). It is also considered as a symbol of keeping the social order, based on patrilineal kinship, and making much of the aristocratic families.

The biggest problem of studying the Pon’gwan system is that it is hard to ignore the concept of Pon’gwan currently prevalent. However,

* Professor of Korean History, The Catholic University of Korea.

it is not right to study *Pon’gwan* with the assumption that *Pon’gwan* of the Koryŏ period is similar to that of today, because, in the early Koryŏ Dynasty, when the *Pon’gwan* system was first enforced, the use of surnames was not common and the kinship system was different from that of today.\(^1\)

This paper will attempt to inquire into the functions of *Pon’gwan* in the Koryŏ Dynasty. First, previous papers about the *Pon’gwan* system will be reviewed. Following those reviews, I will present a desirable direction for further study. Second, the establishing background and functions of the *Pon’gwan* system will be examined in relation to the fact that it had close relations with the local ruling system of the Koryŏ period. Third, *T’osŏng* (native surname) connected with the *Pon’gwan* system will be examined. Fourth, the *Pon’gwan* system probably had been changed according to the social change in late Koryŏ. The original functions of the *Pon’gwan* system will be made clear when compared with the changed aspects.

### 2. Various Views About the *Pon’gwan* System

Korean historians generally accept that the *Pon’gwan* system was used from the Koryŏ Dynasty. However, various views about its functions have been suggested.

First of all, the view that *Pon’gwan* is identical with *Sŏnggwan* is prevalent. Lee Ki-baik and Song Chun-ho suggested that the aristocracy system had been developed in Koryŏ, and one of the

---

evidence was the establishment of the Pon'gwan system in the early Koryŏ. They also presumed that the power was centralized in "The True Bone Status" in Shilla, but in Koryŏ, while the aristocrats who had different surnames were living together in the royal capital, the aristocrats from Hojok (provincial magnates) decided their native place as Pon'gwan to tell their own family from another family. In other words, Prof. Lee and Prof. Song understood that Pon'gwan was established in the historical background when the aristocracy was socially powerful.

When Pon'gwan was first established, however, not only aristocrats had it, but also whoever belonged to the status of Yang-in had it. Even Yang-in who did not have surnames yet had Pon'gwan. When the central government established the ruling system, they assigned Pon'gwan to Yang-in as well as aristocrats.

Japanese scholar Hatada Takashi studied the Pon'gwan system in relation to the particular organization of the Kunhyŏn system. Based on Pugoksŏng, Ch'onsŏng, and Kunhyŏnsŏng, he said Pon'gwan was used just to tell a clan seat from another in the Chosŏn period, but was used to identify the social status of the people in the Koryŏ period. He insisted that it was the Pon'gwan system and Kunhyŏn system that reorganized the control-subordinate relations among the clans, which originated from late Shilla to early Koryŏ.

---


Hatada’s view had a great effect on the following studies about the social history of Koryŏ including Kunhyŏnje or Pugokje. The existence of the clan in the Koryŏ period, however, is doubtful. He supposed that each village consisted of a clan, sharing the same surname, but he inferred the fact from the clan village which started organizing in the late Chosŏn Dynasty. Therefore, it is hard to accept that his inference is from historical understanding. Moreover, it resulted in the minimizing of the historical meaning of social change in late Shilla. In fact, he understood that the early Koryŏ society had the same character as the ancient society.

Rather than studying the Pon’gwan system as a means of proving aristocracy or clan of the Koryŏ period, some scholars insisted the social change from late Shilla to early Koryŏ led the society to a totally different phase and the Pon’gwan system was connected with that change. According to Kim Chŏl-jun, the change of kinship organization of the ancient society gave the opportunity for establishing the Pon’gwan system. He showed that from late Shilla to early Koryŏ, the central aristocrats of Shilla decided to differentiate their Pon’gwan, as they split into several parts according to their political and social notion, and the rural lineage groups closely related to them also split up drastically. He insisted that Hojok or Tosŏng that went through such a change should not be considered as

3 Hatada Takashi, "Koryo-ch’ŏ sseritsuki no Fu to Gëzoku (Fu and hojok in the Establishing Period of Koryo Dynasty)", Chosen Choso Shakashi no Kenkyû (Studies in Medieval Korean Social History), 1972.

the clan of the ancient society.

Recently, there has been criticism about the previous views. Kim Su-tae insisted that although some scholars had studied the Pon’gwan system with the theory of kinship, their views were hard to accept. He asserted that the studies needed to be done separating kinship and surnames. He said Pon’gwan was the administrative district put in the household register, and not only Yang-in but also Nobi had it. He also insisted it was a system to cope with the migration which occurred all over the kingdom from late Shilla to early Koryŏ, and was used to register and rule the households and families.

His view suggested a new direction of study, namely considering the Pon’gwan system as a way of ruling the people. However, it is not proper to study it separating from T’osŏng. Moreover, the uprooted peasants were always around in the kingdom, and the household register as a means of ruling the people had been a common system since ancient times. Therefore, without a complete understanding of the historical background such as the seriousness of the growing number of uprooted peasants, and the particular social situation in which the household register was made, the content of the Pon’gwan system in early Koryŏ could not be fully explained. In other words, it is acceptable that making out the household register provided the opportunity for establishing the Pon’gwan system, but it should be complemented by the facts which showed the characteristics of early Koryŏ society in terms of the class relationship and the change of the local society and so on, rather than being just one of

the counterplans against the migration.

Hŏ Hŭng-sik insisted that the Pon'gwan system was developed in the process of reorganizing of local magnates and their native places. Because fully acknowledging the powers of local magnates was a higher means of ruling, the government acknowledged Pon'gwan, the base of local magnates. He presumed that it was in the reign of King Kwangjong or Sŏngjong when it was established to be used in a legal document such as the household register or Chŏngan which identified the individual status, and that it was not yet commonly allowed to Yang-in in the early Koryŏ. In the case of the people who registered in Hyang or Pugok, they finally got surnames and Pon'gwan, when their status distinction was dissolved. In his study, it was found out that there was a relation between the local ruling class and the central government concerning the Pon'gwan system. However, he could not yet find out that the Pon'gwan system was possibly used as a policy for ruling the people.

There is a scholar who studied the historical meaning of the Pon'gwan system in relation to Tŏsŏng. Yi Su-gŏn insisted that in 940, the Koryŏ Dynasty enforced the act that Hojok around the kingdom should have Tŏsŏng. He also understood that Tŏsŏng satisfied the purposes that the government controlled the people by region and kinship, and Pon'gwan was the regional character of Tŏsŏng. He presumed that the dynasty bound certain numbers of people tight in a certain district according to the Pon'gwan system, so

---

6 Hŏ Hŭng-sik, Koryŏ Sahoese Yŏn'gu (A Study on Family and Kinship in the Koryŏ Period), 1981.
7 Yi Su-gŏn, Han'guk Chungse Sahoese Yŏn'gu (Studies on the Social History of Medieval Korea), 1984.
that they could not only prevent the people from being uprooted, but also use it in assigning covée to the people and selecting public officials and soldiers.

Pak Ün-gyong found that Pon'gwans was the local community where the order of the society was autonomously developed by Hojok. She insisted that because the people could migrate freely around the kingdom in early Koryŏ, Pon'gwans could not function as a means of controlling them, but that it was the unit of local administration, so that was the character of Kinhyŏnje in the Koryŏ period. She, however, has not yet found out the substance of the expression "the autonomous order of the local community."

According to previous papers, the fields the scholars are interested in can be classified into several parts. Those are the Pon'gwans system in relation to the central aristocracy, the local administration in early Koryŏ, the change of the kinship organization, the policy of embracing Hojok, and the policy of ruling the people. Through such studies, the social functions of Pon'gwans have been disclosed. The purpose of this paper is to review when the Pon'gwans system was established, what its social meaning was, and how it has been changed historically.

### 3. The Social Background

According to previous studies, the establishment time of the Pon'gwans system varies with how the scholars viewed its functions.

---

8. Pak Ün-gyong, Koryŏsidae Hyangch'onsahoe Yŏn'gu (A Study of the Local Community in the Koryŏ Dynasty), 1996
The scholars who advocated that Pon'gwan was related to the aristocracy insisted that only central aristocrats had it in the early Koryŏ Dynasty, and the common people were allowed to have it from the Chosŏn Dynasty. The scholars who advocated that it was one of the policies of embracing the local magnates insisted that in early Koryŏ, it was mainly used by Hojok, but in late Koryŏ, it was spread to the people who lived in Hyang, So, and Pugok. In addition, the scholars who advocated it was related to the local administration policy insisted that the common people had it from early Koryŏ. One of the reasons about the various opinions is that there are no historical materials just about the establishment of the Pon'gwan system.

The oldest historical material about the Pon'gwan system is from 1001. Therefore, it was established at least before 1001. There are various materials, dating from after 1001, showing that the Pon'gwan system was used legally for multiple purposes during the early reign of King Hyŏnjong (1009-1031). It is hard to separate its establishment of it from the use of T'o-sŏng. It was about the reign of King Kwangjong (949-975) when the surnames of men coming up from the local districts and T'o-sŏng of those districts almost coincide, so it might have been established in the early Koryŏ Dynasty.

In the one hand, another scholar insisted that the Pon'gwan system was established when the register was being made. In my opinion, the register was gradually made out by regional districts in early Koryŏ and completed throughout the kingdom around 995. Because

---
Hojok controlled the local communities independently, it was hard for the central government to fully control them by making out the registers simultaneously in early Koryŏ.

In Ch'ŏngdo-gun, the land register had already been completed before 943.11 In Kyŏnju, "the administrative districts were set up" in 955, and then the land register was completed.12 Since the Three Kingdoms period, Kyŏnju had existed as the administrative districts called Maesŏng-gun and Naeso-gun, so "setting up the administrative districts" does not mean literally that the government set up the administrative districts for the first time on that area. Instead, it is presumed that it means Kyŏnju under Hojok became to be under the control of the central government through the census of the land register and the household register. It is also presumed that in Yakmok-gun, the land register was completed in 954.13 Needless to say, before the completion of the register, the central government controlled the local societies through the Sasim system etc., but after "setting up the administrative districts," they could control those societies directly.

It might be most proper to presume that the government made out the registers from the available districts considering the power of Hojok. Therefore, it is hard to decide the exact time when the Pon'gwan system was established. But the registers were completed throughout the kingdom around 995 (Sŏngjong 14), and as the result, the Pon'gwan system might have been completed as a government

12. Koryôsa Vol. 78, Sŏkhwa 1, Chônge, K'yŏngni, Munjong, 13, 2.
13. Lee Ki-baik, Ha'n'guk Sangdae Komunso-ch'arya Chupsŏng, Jongdusa och'ungsoktap josa'n hyŏngjigu, pp. 44-50
policy.14

Let's look at the social background of why the Koryŏ government put the local societies into the ruling system by means of the Pon'gwan system.

First, let's look at the communal worship rite which was served in many local communities from the late Shilla to the early Koryŏ Dynasty. In Karakkukki in Samguk yusa, there is a record that trouble arose in Kimhue in late Shilla, between the new ruling class and the descendents of Kaya Dynasty. The trouble was about who was going to hold the memorial service for King Suro in his shrine. From the trouble, it is presumed that the newly-formed Hojok tried to take the power of the local society by controlling the communal worship rite for King Suro, which had been traditionally descended in the region. In Koryŏsegye in Koryŏsa, the residents of Wang Gŏn's base region served the communal worship rite for his ancestor Hogyŏng as P'yŏngnasan-daewang, a god, and they also worshiped ancestors of other Hojok in that region as gods. In Sinjŏng tongguk yeji sŏngram, there are many cases that Hojok or their ancestors were worshiped as Sŏnghwangsin or Sansin. It is not yet disclosed whether the communal worship rite was commonly held, but it is noteworthy that it tightened the unity of the local community ruled by Hojok. To be sure, the social organizations based on the clan had existed in the ancient society. However, the two facts in early Koryŏ are notable that The Bone Rank System, based on the clan and Kyŏngju district,

had collapsed, and the new ruling class of the local communities, *Hojo*ok, differed from the prior one in character.

My view is supported by the study on the organization and the roles of *Hyangdo*.\(^{15}\) It had been organized around the kingdom and had come into operation since Buddhism was adopted in the Three Kingdoms period. In late Shilla, it embraced the residents of *Kunhyŏn* or *Chiyŏkch’ŏn* (the united village), or it was only comprised of *Hojo*, and they used it as a means of tightening the unity of the local community.

I wrote a paper about the background of the arising of the new social relation based on regionalism in the change of the local society followed by the process of the differentiation of the peasantry in late Shilla.\(^{16}\) According to this paper, the peasants resisted the Bone Rank System which could not cope with the new social change swiftly, and as they united to protect their community, the cohesive power of the local community was strengthened. At that time, *Hojo*ok were strengthening independent power against the old ruling system of the Shilla Dynasty. In the process of amassing wealth, however, they experienced class-originated antagonism with the ruined peasants. The Buddhist temples related to *Hojo*ok were frequently attacked by the so-called army of peasant uprising. Therefore, *Hojo*ok tended to emphasize conciliation rather than conflict in their relations with the residential peasants. While they were leading the organization for the defense of the community, they ran the irrigation business and


schools, and supported the Buddhist temples for the community. They considered themselves as the leaders and protectors of the community.

It was a tendency from the late Shilla Dynasty to disclose the birthplace of the family and insist that they were a family of high repute in the local community. The former might stand for the consciousness of kinship, while the latter might stand for the consciousness of regionalism. The latter had something to do with the way of existence of Hŏjok as I mentioned earlier. On the monument of Monk Pŏbin (900-975), it was carved that he was from a family of high repute in Kobong-hyŏn, and his father became a local leader due to his family. In this way, when kinship and regionalism were combined together, expressions such as "finally became a Kunjok" or "Kunbaeksŏng" appeared, and it was the basis of enforcing the Pon’gwan system.

If the consciousness of belonging to a reputable family was closely related to the formation of the Pon’gwan system, one more complementary fact can be added to the view that it was completed around 995. Chiriji in Koryŏsa has the records about bynames of about 50 Kunhyŏn, which were fixed during the reign of King Sŏngjong. Those had elegant meanings or adopted Kunmang from China, and were actually used to identify the Pon’gwan of the ruling class. Then, it can be presumed that Kunmang was modelled politically in the process of adopting the Chinese system into the whole range of the social system in the reign of King Sŏngjong. By using the system,

the central government acknowledged the power of Hojok in the local communities and included them under the ruling system.

When the Pon’gwan system started to work in early Koryŏ, every Yang-in who was put in the household register had Pon’gwan. It was determined by the district where their households and families were registered for the first time. Only Ch’ŏn-in such as Nobi and Yangsuch’ok could not have it. Some Nobi had it but the reason is that they were originally from Yang-in.

However, even Yang-in were stratified into different classes according to Pon’gwan, that is to say, the district they were registered. The people whose Pon’gwan were special administrative districts such as Hyang, So, and Pugok, belonged lower status and were treated with more discrimination than common people, and they were assigned heavy taxes and covéé. They could not enter Kukhak (Royal Academy), nor apply to the government service examination. They could not become monks. Sometimes, when a person whose Pon’gwan was an island or a rural village performed a meritorious deed, he was allowed to move his household register to a Kunhyŏn in the mainland or a higher administrative district and live there as a reward.

Among the people who shared the same Pon’gwan, the men from Hojok were mostly assigned Chigyŏk such as Hyangni (local clerk) or Ki-in (local clerk to be hostages in the royal capital) from the government and used T’osŏng. In this way, the inner class structure of the Pon’gwan local community was officially approved by the dynasty. When they got Chigyŏk, the land called Chŏnjŏng (land

---

18 Yi Su-gŏn, Ibid., p.12.
grant) was given to them. They also had relatively more opportunities to be a bureaucrat, because only the children of the upper local clerks could apply to Chesulop, the highest examination course, and if they served as Ki-in for a certain period of time, they could become bureaucrats.

Under the Pon'guwan system, the status of each local community was not equal but hierarchical. As it was mentioned earlier, it functioned as a means of checking the identities of the examination applicants. There were some Pon'guwan whose residents were prevented from applying to the examination, and the number of successful applicants to the preliminary examination, called Hyangkong, was adjusted according to Pon'guwan. Because of the hierarchical character of the Pon'guwan system, the Pon'guwan of the high bureaucrats and the merit subjects could be promoted to a higher grade, and on the contrary, someone's Pon'guwan could be lowered because of his criminal act.

The central bureaucrats was appointed Sasimgwan (inspector-general) in their Pon'guwan, so they complemented the local administration of the central government. Although the government sent the local administrators,19 the administrators could have trouble with local clerks who had controlled there autonomously. Hence, Sasimgwan native to the local community was requested to help the government in administration, keeping the public peace and order of the community and leading the residents.

Migration of residence was limited within the Pon'guwan district to

---

19. The law prohibited the local administrator from being sent to his Pon'guwan in the Koryô period.
maintain discrimination among Pon'gwan. Most Pon'gwan coincided with the residential districts except some special cases such as migrating to the royal capital after being appointed a central bureaucrat, migrating to another district according to policy, or being exiled. If people migrated to other districts without permission, they were sent back to their Pon'gwan by force. If a bureaucrat who had migrated to the royal capital committed a specific crime, he could be sentenced to the Kwihyang penalty or Ch'ungsangho penalty to be exiled to his Pon'gwan.20 Not only the people could not migrate to another district freely, but also they could possess Chŏnyŏng only in their Pon'gwan in principle. Those territorial restriction policies were necessary to put the Pon'gwan system into effective operation.

4. The Relationship Between the Pon'gwan System and T'osŏng

In the early Koryŏ Dynasty, the kings had strengthened the power of the dynasty by controlling and embracing Hojok. Because they recognized that Hojok was actually controlling the local communities, it was easier to use the ruling order and class structure which had existed in the local communities than to neglect them. Therefore, the government distributed Chigyŏk and T'osŏng mainly to Hojok and allowed to hand them down for generations. They became Chŏngho, and the others were called Paekch'ŏng. The government controlled the

---

20 Chai Oong-seok, "Koryŏsadae-ui Kwihyanghyŏng-kwa Ch'ungsanghohyŏng (The Kwihyang Penalty and Ch'ungsangho Penalty in the Koryŏ Dynasty), Han'guksaron (Studies of Korean History) Vol. 9, 1983,
local residents hierarchically. This policy was enforced in the process of making out the register.

The word Tōsŏng combines the surname representing kinship and the region which is the seat of that surname. Speaking of Tōsŏng, Pon'gwon coincided with Sŏnggwon. Tōsŏng was usually used in early Chosŏn, but it was made in early Koryŏ.\(^{21}\)

It is noticeable in studying Tōsŏng that each surname existed in a certain district. In the case of Ch'onsŏng, for example, Chiriji in Sejong-sillok has only the record that there were four surnames as the Ch'onsŏng of Yongdŏk-hyon, but Kyŏngsangdo-Chiriji has that the surnames existed divided into villages, presumably Chi'yokch'on.\(^{22}\) It is presumed that not only Ch'onsŏng, but also Tōsŏng, indicated by every Kunhyŏn, was based on a certain district. For instance, according to the record about Susŏng-gun and Haean-hyon in Simjŏng dongsuk yŏji sŏngram, there were four Tōsŏng in Susŏng-gun, and five in Haean-hyon. According to Chugwanyugik, however, each Tōsŏng of Susŏng-gun existed separately in three towns, and that of Haean-hyon existed separately in four towns.\(^{23}\)

The fact that Tōsŏng existed based on a certain district was also found in the survey of surnames in Hyang, So, and Pugok. Statistics shows that forty-five percent of Pugok had one surname, and twenty-five percent of Pugok had two names, so seventy-one percent of Pugok had one or two surnames.\(^{24}\)

---

22 Chiriji in Sejong-sillok, Kyŏngsang-do Yongdŏk-hyon.
    Kyŏngsangdo Chiriji, Yongdŏk-hyon.
23 Simjŏng dongsuk yŏji sŏngram Vol. 26, Taegu-dohobu, sŏngsa
24 Pak Chong-gi, Koryŏsui Pugokje Yŏng'u (A Study on the Pugokje of the Koryŏ
Then, how can this fact be interpreted?

Something like the clan village in the late Chosŏn Dynasty can be imagined. In fact, some Japanese scholars presumed from the analogy that in early Koryŏ, a lineage group, T'osŏng, formed a village. The current clan village, however, was newly formed to complement the local ruling power of the literati families by strengthening the kinship organization when their power was shaken as a result of the social change in the late Chosŏn Dynasty. It could be possible that a person who had a prevalent kinship base exercised his power in the local society, in early Koryŏ. However, it is hard to say that villages in the Koryŏ period consisted of clan group which had the character of the ancient society, considering that there was the differentiation of the peasantry, in the process of the social change in the late Shilla. Considering the character of the kinship system in Koryŏ, the bilateral kindred, it is hard to say that the local community of that time, based on T'osŏng, had the character of a clan community.25

Then, in what situation was T'osŏng used?

Recently, many Korean historians have advocated the view that T'osŏng was the surname of the local ruling class. The government succeeded in centralizing by merging the local power of Hojok. The government assigned Chigyŏk to Hojok and allowed them to have T'osŏng. When the government tried to include the local communities ruled by Hojok into the local ruling system, it was an effective way for the government to recognize the ruling power of the prevalent Hojok in each local communities, and then make them realize the


central power. This is the ruling system based on the Pon’gwan system mentioned earlier. Because patrilineal descent was relatively more important than any other descents, Sŏnggwan was the simplest way of representing kinship relation, and it was the custom that the people from the same class married each other, and each Sŏnggwan had the unit of class endogamy. Consequently, one’s social status was known by his Sŏnggwan.\textsuperscript{26} Therefore, the Pon’gwan system and Toso’ng were very closely related systems used by the government controlling the local communities in early Koryŏ.

Hyangni who had Toso’ng did not only take care of administrative affairs for the government and the local residents, but was in charge of controlling his Pon’gwan community autonomously. In early Koryŏ, the local ruling class organized religious organization such as Hyangdo and used it as a complementary policy. Based on Buddhism, Hyangdo was organized around the kingdom and set up Buddhist statues, stone pagoda, and Buddhist temples, and actively sponsored religious events. Hyangni led the organization and activities of Hyangdo and used it as a means of tightening the unity of the local community.\textsuperscript{27}

Hyangni from Toso’ng could become a bureaucrat through examination or by military achievements. The classes who used Toso’ng continued to differentiate while they were still existing as the source population of the ruling class. One of them happened to be the central bureaucratic aristocrats. Then they interfered in controlling


\textsuperscript{27} Cha’i Oong-seok, \textit{Ibid.}, 1989

the local community of *Pon'gwan* as *Sasingwan*, while they were living in the royal capital, and used *Tosŏng* as a means of boasting their family.

One's surname and *Pon'gwan* were not decided only by the patrilineal descent. In early Koryŏ, the native seat of a member of the royal family member was decided in the following way. If one's maternal grandfather was not from the royal family, one followed his surname and *Pon'gwan*. If he was also from the royal family, one followed one's grandmother's. If she was also from the royal family, one followed those of a relative of the next generation, who was not from the royal family.\(^{28}\) We can find that the royal members sometimes followed their maternal grandfather's *Pon'gwan*. It might be thought that this practice was a special case of the royal family, but there are many evidences to the fact that it was also applied to the common people. According to the biography of *Im Yŏn* in *Koryŏsa*, his father migrated to *Chinju* and married a daughter of *Hyangni* there, and then took *Chinju* as his *Pon'gwan*. From the beginning of Koryŏ, there was *Rim*, one of *Tosŏng*, in *Chinju*, so *Im Yŏn*’s family which newly migrated there at the mid-13th century did not belong to the native *Rim*. Perhaps he followed his mother's *Sŏnggwan*. According to the registering rule in early Koryŏ, the children with one parent from *Pugok* and the other from *Kunhyŏn* registered in *Pugok*, and the children with both parents from *Pugok* were divided into two parts, the half belonging to their fathers' *Pon'gwan* and the other half belonging to their mothers'.\(^{29}\) In this case, *Pon'gwan* was


\(^{29}\) *Koryŏsa* Vol. 84, Hyŏngbŏp1, Hohon
not decided by patrilineal descent, but by political force. Moreover, in 1198, the man whose surname sounded like T'ak had to follow his mother’s surname, and if his father's and mother’s were the same, he had to follow his grandmother's or maternal grandmothers', because T'ak was the name of the king.\textsuperscript{30}

5. The Functional Change of the Pon'gwan System

The functions of the Pon'gwan system was changed as the society changed since the 12th century. As the differentiation of the peasantry was being accelerated, the peasants left their Pon'gwan. Therefore, the policy of controlling residence by the Pon'gwan system could not operate well.\textsuperscript{31} Instead of sending the uprooted peasants back to their Pon'gwan by force, the government began to make them register at the current residential districts and levy taxes on them at the same time. The discrimination against Hyang, So, and Pugok, the system that discriminated against the people according to their Pon'gwan, could hardly be maintained as the resistance against it became stronger.

While government made the peasants register at their current residential districts instead of their original Pon'gwan, men who were assigned special Yŏk (the obligation for the kingdom) including Hyang-yŏk were sent back to their Pon'gwan by force. However, as the

\textsuperscript{30} Koryŏsa Vol. 21, Sinjong 1, 5, khae.

\textsuperscript{31} Chai Oong-seok, "Koryŏhugi Chibang Chibajeongch'ae-Yaek-ui Pyŏnhwa-wa 'Kongho'-ui Paak (The Change of the Local Administration Policy and the Registration of 'Kongho' in the Late Koryŏ Dynasty)," Nonmunyp (Research Journal of the Catholic University of Korea) Vol. 1, 1995; ibid., 2000
local society was changed, it was hard for Hyangni to retain control, and their Yok became harder, so they tried to evade their Yok. As Hyangni migrated to other districts, the number of Soksŏng (newly registered surname) which rarely had the aboriginal character, was increased. Besides, as the separation of Sajok (literati family) and Ijok (clerk family) accelerated, it happened frequently that Sajok moved out of their Pon'gwăn to find better areas to live, or they moved to their mothers' hometowns or wives' hometowns and made the base of local life there. Consequently, the separation of Pon'gwăn and the residential district was increased.

Improving the centralizing ruling system in the early Chosŏn Dynasty, the government tried to partly control the residential district and Yok by using the Pon'gwăn system. For instance, in 1424, the government made Yok-ri (station clerks) register their families and households as other common people, but to take the station where they were working at as their Pon'gwăn to prohibit them from moving out of the station. So, the government could send them back to their original station after investigating their identification papers when they were detected moving away.\(^{32}\)

In 1435, when the government discussed about the northern frontier defense policy, the similar policies were suggested. Because there was no T'osŏng in P'yŏng'an-do, the residents in that province had a tendency to drift easily. Therefore, an opinion was suggested that the government must have the residents of P'yŏng'an-do migrate to the frontier district and register there, and then treat them as T'osŏng, considering that T'osŏng preserved the order of the local community

\(^{32}\) Sejong-sillok Vol. 25, Sejong 6, 7, kyesa.
in the southern provinces.\textsuperscript{33} The government could not control every local community through the Pon’gwan system, but using it was considered in some special cases.

In order to rule a local community effectively and to complement the problems when the local administrators from other districts controlled a local community, the central bureaucrats from T’osŏng were appointed to the Sasingwan. They took charge of controlling the residents of his jurisdiction, judging their identifications, helping the government to levy taxes on them fairly, and keeping the manners and customs. Similarly, the Kyŏngjaeso system was operative in early Chosŏn. These systems meant that the government used the autonomy of the local society, because it was hard to control the local communities just through local administrators. In 1466, Yang Sŏng-ji once requested to distribute the northern frontier districts to the merit subjects as their Sigŏp. He thought that it was hard to control those districts, because there was no T’osŏng. He, therefore, insisted that the government must distribute the districts to the merit subjects as their Sigŏp, and make them to control the districts with local administrators. He also said the controlling system was similar to that of Sŏngnyang.\textsuperscript{34}

However, as it was mentioned earlier, T’osŏng was a means of identifying the family of the bureaucrat in the royal capital. Despite the social change after the 12th century, the ruling class of Koryŏ respected Choknang (family reputation).\textsuperscript{35} Under the situation, even

\textsuperscript{33} \textit{Ibid.}, Vol. 76, Sejong 19, 1, ümnu

\textsuperscript{34} \textit{Sejo-sillok} Vol. 40, Sejo 12, 11, kyŏngso.

\textsuperscript{35} \textit{Sung-shih} Vol. 487, Monograph, On Koryŏ.

\textit{Hisŏn-ho Feng-shih Kao-li T'u-ching} Vol. 8, On People
though they left their Pon’gwan district, they used it as a means of identifying their families. As the separation of Pon’gwan and the residential district became serious, the Pon’gwan system could not function as a local ruling system, so one of its functions, identifying the aristocrat family, was highlighted.

Moreover, when the idea making much account of the patrilineal kinship was spread out, Pon’gwan was used as a means of identifying the patrilineal kinship. Since the 16th century, the publication of the genealogy tables had been popular, and the study of it had been regarded as important. Then, Pon’gwan was considered to be the same as Sŏnggwan. Some Pon’gwan would be integrated into the reputable clan. Some clans would insist that their surname originated from China.

Let’s look at the marriage custom. Some people had the thought that if they shared the same surname, they would be from the same originator regardless of Pon’gwan. In the Koryŏ Dynasty, the royal family used to have incest marriages, so the prohibition of marriage among the people who had the same surname was hardly accepted as a social rule. But Kim Pu-sik criticized the endogamy with Confucian morals in the mid-12th century. According to the message from King Ch’ungsŏn in 1308, the endogamy of the royal family and of the bureaucrats was prohibited. Kwajŏnpŏp established in 1391 included the provision that anyone who reported a couple who had the same surname could take their land.

However, kin was not distinguished only by surnames. Most of the people who had the same surname but different Pon’gwan could marry, because they thought they had no kinship. Sometimes, if they thought they were from the same clan, they did not marry
irrespective of the surname and Pon'gwan. In the case of the bureaucrats in Koryŏ, they tended to avoid marriage when they had the same surname and Pon'gwan, but the classes under Hyangni did not avoid marriage in that situation. In the 17th century, the common people would still not avoid marriage when they had the same surname and Pon'gwan. However, as the social morals based on the patrilineal kinship had become strong, that kind of marriage declined, and in the late Chosŏn Dynasty, the marriage of a couple whose surname was the same but Pon'gwan was different was prohibited.

6. Conclusion

The Pon'gwan system have had various social functions since its establishment in early Koryŏ. It has been formed and changed socially and historically. Therefore, some functions disappeared, and some functions were strengthened according to the times.

In early Koryŏ, its purpose was to control the people's residential district, status, and covée. Every Yang-in had it from the beginning. Moreover, it was used as a means of controlling the local societies by using their inner order. When the controlling power of the central government was weakened in the late Shilla, Hojok set up organizations which defended the local communities, and ruled their districts independently. The Koryŏ Dynasty made efficient use of the power of Hojok by the Pon'gwan system. The government distributed T'oṣŏng and Chogyŏk to them and entrusted them with controlling the local communities. The government also appointed the bureaucrat from T'oṣŏng to Sasimgwan and complemented the local administration. As we know from the existence of Hyang, So, and Pugok, the government
made hierarchical distinction among Pon’gw an. To keep the system, the residential district and Chéunjông were limited within Pon’gw an. The special systems, the Kwihyang penalty and Ch’ungsangho penalty, were operative.

As the separation of the residential district and Pon’gw an had become serious since the 12th century, the functions of the system had been changed. The government could no longer bind the people to live in their Pon’gw an. Instead, the functions of identifying the aristocrat families and checking the patrilineal kinship, were strengthened. Pon’gw an functioned as Sônggw an from the middle and late Chosôn Dynasty. The system contributed to keep the ruling system of the Middle Ages when kinship and regionalism among Yangban were regarded as important as well as individual ability. In China, it had already disappeared since the Sung Dynasty. Compared with that, it still legally exists in Korea even though its functions have become weakened. The reason for the maintenance might be that family consciousness have wielded strong power over Koreans.

(Translated by Jee Min-jung, The Catholic University of Korea)
GLOSSARY

Chesulöp  製造業
Chigyök  職役
Chinju  鏡州
Chiriji  地理志
Chiyökch'on  地域村
Chokmang  族望
Chosön  朝鮮
Chugwanyugik  周官六翼
Ch'onsöng  村姓
Ch'ungsangho  充常戶
Ch'ünsön  忠宣
Ch'ón-in  賢人
Ch'öngdo-gun  淸道郡
Chöngan  政案
Chöngho  丁戶
Chöngjöng  田丁
Haean-hyön  解顔縣
Hogyöng  虎景
Hojok  豪族
Hyang  鄉
Hyang-yök  鄉役
Hyangdo  香徒
Hyangkong  鄉貳
Hyangni  鄉吏
Hyönjong  顯宗
Ilk  吏族
Im Yön  林衍

Karakkukki  駕洛國記
Kaya  加耶
Ki-in  其人
Kim Pu-sik  金富軾
Kimhae  金海
Kobong-hyön  高熾縣
Koryö  高麗
Koryösa  高麗史
Koryösegye  高麗世系
Kukhak  國學
Kunbaeksöng  郡百姓
Kunhyön  郡縣
Kunhyönje  郡縣制
Kunhyönsöng  郡縣姓
Kunjok  郡族
Kunmang  郡望
Kwajönpop  科田法
Kwangjong  光宗
Kwihyang  歸郞
Kyöngjaeso  京在所
Kyöngju  慶州
Kyöngsang-do  慶尚道
Kyönu  見州
Maesöng-gun  買省郡
Naeso-gun  來蘇郡
Nobi  奴婢
Paekchöng  白丁
 Pon'gwan 本貫
Pugok 部曲
Pugokje 部曲制
Pugoksŏng 部曲姓
Pyŏngnasan-daewang 平那山大王
Pyŏng'an-do 平安道
Pŏbin 法印
Sajŏk 士族
Samguk yusa 三國遺事
Sansin 山神
Sasimgwan 尋審官
Sejong sillok 世宗實錄
Shilla 新羅
Sigúp 食邑
Sinjŏng tongguk yŏji sŏngram 新增東國興地勝覽
So 所
Soksŏng 續姓
Suro 首路
Susŏng-gun 壽城郡
Sŏnggwon 姓貫
Sŏnghwangsin 城隍神
Sŏnghyang 姓鄉
Sŏngjong 成宗
T'ak 卓
Tosŏng 士姓
Wang Gŏn 王建
Yakmok-gun 若木郡
Yang Sŏng-ji 繼誠之
Yang-in 良人
Yangsuch'ŏk 楊水尺
Yŏk 役
Yŏk-ri 驛吏
Yŏngdŏk-hyon 盟德縣
<Abstract>

The Establishment and the Functions of the Pon’gwan System in the Koryŏ Dynasty

Chai Oong-seok

The Pon’gwan system was established to control the residential districts, statuses, taxes and covée of the people by the Koryŏ Dynasty, and was built up through the social change, collapse of the The Bone Rank System and rising of the local Hojok power from the Shilla to early Koryŏ. It was established in consideration of the situation that each local community was ruled autonomously by Hojok. Every yang-in had it from the beginning, and it could not be identified with Sŏnggwan like that of the later period.

As the residential district and Pon’gwan were separated from the 12th century, its functions have been changed. The government could not bind the people to live in their Pon’gwan any longer. Instead, the functions, identifying the aristocracy and checking patrilineal kinship, became strengthened.