

From Multiple Names to a Single Name: A Comparative Analysis of Names in Household Registers and Genealogical Records in Korea*

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This study examines naming customs in Korea during the early 20th century by comparing personal names recorded in official household registers with the names in private genealogical records. The documents examined pertain to two clans residing in a ri (里, village) in North Chōlla province. The research is based on data recovered from documents because it was not feasible to rely solely on data elicited from the memories of informants.

The research yielded two interesting findings. Firstly, the introduction of the Minjök Law in 1909 brought an end to the traditional custom in which men received a new personal name upon reaching adulthood. We assume that the difficulties of changing a name recorded in the modern register precipitated the change from multiple naming to giving a single, lifelong name at birth. Secondly, the members of a clan of yangban origin made more consistent efforts to inscribe an identical name in both documents, whereas a clan of hyangni origin did not always do so. Hence, different attitudes toward official household registers may have been upheld according to the social origin of the clan, given that the records in the household register were of particular importance for eligibility to take the civil service examination during the Chosōn period. In spite of the introduction of the modern register, traditional attitudes of the yangban continued to find expression in the naming practices of yangban clans.

Keywords: (Modern) household register, genealogical record, name, and naming, Minjök Law, Yangban and Hangni, Korea

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I. INTRODUCTION

The establishment of a modern nation-state necessitates strengthening the power of the state, i.e., the process of state power permeating private relationships. The concept of “private relationships” here is different from asocial relations, accidental relations, or private life in its modern meaning. It is not an opposite of social relations but a concept with a relative meaning used to refer to the sphere insignificantly affected or relatively independent from the influence of public relationships. In other words, a certain social relation can be considered as public or private, depending on the perspective. For example, from the position of state power, local power relations that cannot be controlled by the state either directly or indirectly can be defined as private; whereas from the position of local power, they are seen as public. Examining how state power seizes those spheres that retain private relationships of the past (from the perspective of state power) and how it molds them into public relationships is an important task in research on establishing or transitioning to a modern state.

This study will illuminate this process by comparing the names recorded in official household registers with the names in private genealogical records. In contrast to household registers, which were a tool for the state to identify the citizens and their property, genealogical records were compiled by a clan organization to track its membership and thus were to a certain extent (but not completely) outside of the public relationships regulated by the state.

We intend to examine one aspect of the modernization process that took place after the Japanese colonial government introduced household registers.¹ That is, we will discuss the process of the state power penetrating private relationships.²

¹ Our analysis does not include the household registers compiled during the Chosŏn period. In the Korean language, both the registers of the Chosŏn period and registers of the Japanese colonial period are called “hojŏk.” Unless specified otherwise, “household register” in this study refers to the modern household registers compiled after the promulgation of the Minjŏk Law in 1909. The detailed explanation about the modern household registers is provided in Section 2 of this article.

² The anthropological research using household registers was first started based on the

The genealogical records and household registers of Chosŏn, similar to parish registers in Europe and temple death registers of Japan,³ contain detailed information about an individual, such as birth, marriage, and death. For this reason, they have long been used in research on family histories, social status, and population. However, many researchers, including Kim Kuen-tae (2002) and Son Byeong-gyu (2004, 2006), have recently raised the question of the reliability of such data, since the information in the genealogical records and household registers of the time was recorded selectively, according to the intent of the person who made the record. In fact, the household registers of the protectorate and colonial periods⁴ can be considered as the first *modern* accounts of the personal information. Without

registers of Taiwan. The Japanese Empire began implementing the household registry system from Taiwan. In 1898, three years after the end of the Sino-Japanese war, the Japanese colonial government introduced the system in Taiwan on an experimental basis, and, in 1906, it started compiling the first registers of households, which became the prototype of the modern household registers. Anthropologists Wolf and Huang (1980) conducted research on the Chinese family institution by examining the case of nine Hokkien-speaking villages located in Haishan in the northern part of Taiwan. The research was based on the personal information of 32,672 people recorded in the household registers that were compiled by the Japanese government in the period from 1905 to 1945. Following this research, Pasternak (1983) studied the cases of two regions in the southern part of Taiwan. He conducted field research in Chungshue and examined the personal information recorded in the household registers of 8,786 people who resided in the Lungtu area. He offered a criticism of the research by Wolf and Huang (1980) and expanded their argument. In addition, there is a study by Harrell (1987) that utilized Taiwanese household registers in the analysis of the entry scope of genealogical records.

³ The parish register of Europe and temple death register of Japan, which have many similarities with the household registers of the Chosŏn period, recorded detailed information about the birthplace, marriage, offspring, death, and property division of local residents. As a valuable source of microdata, they have been used as research material by anthropologists and historians for a long time. For example, anthropologist Macfarlane (1978) used parish registers to examine the family institution in England from the historical perspective. Representative studies by historians on the family institution of Japan include Hayami and Kurosu (2001), and Janetta and Preston (1991).

⁴ Korea was under the Japanese protectorate from 1905-1910, and under the Japanese colonial rule from 1910-1945.

a doubt, the Chosŏn dynasty also made efforts to bring the family and other relations into the sphere of public relationships and assess them in terms of ownership of land and buildings, marriage, and inheritance. However the household register of the Japanese colonial period, in contrast to that of the Chosŏn period, was designed for state regulation of each individual in the population of the country. Moreover, the register of the colonial period was *much more modern* in that the state, on the basis of individuality, regulated and assessed, attempted to “uniformly” control all legal, economic, and social relations of a person.

This research covers the period from the time of the introduction of the modern household register in the early 20th century until the late 20th century. We will compare the personal names of the members of two families recorded in the household registers of K-ri (village), X-myŏn (town), in Sunch'ang-gun (county), North Chŏlla province with the names of the same individuals that appear in the genealogical records compiled by the respective clans. In terms of the research method and goals, this study has two distinctive features. Firstly, it does not investigate the naming customs directly since field research or interviews are unfeasible. Rather, the comparative analysis of the names recorded in household registers and in genealogical records serves as an indirect method to reveal the socio-cultural changes brought about by the introduction of the household registers in the beginning of the colonial period. Furthermore, the approach will allow us to discover what the transformation in recording names signified from cultural and social historical viewpoints. Secondly, through comparative analysis of the name recording method of two families with different socio-cultural backgrounds, we attempt to find the meaning that the names written in the genealogical records and in the household registers had in Chosŏn society.⁵

⁵ One of the authors of this study resided in the village that is the object of this research for approximately six months from December 2005 to February 2006, and June to August 2006. During this period we conducted field research and digitized the household registers. Then, from August to September 2006, we analyzed the obtained data and genealogical records and carried out additional field research. The digitization of the household registers was performed as part of the project “The Research of Family Histories for the Purpose of Finding Genetic Factors Affecting Longevity,” (led by Chun, Kyung-soo).

The majority of Korean research related to the names in household registers has been conducted by linguists. These scholars have studied the process of changing native Korean names to names in Chinese characters (Choi, B. 1980), and the process of creating female names during the colonial period (Jo, G. 1981). Such research, however, failed to examine the transformations in the name recording method during the colonial period to customs of the same period. Neither did it investigate the meaning of the changes from the perspective of social and cultural history. People in the Chosŏn society were addressed in different ways—an adult name (*kwanmyŏng*, 冠名), childhood name (*amyŏng*, 兒名), courtesy name (*cha*, 字), pen name (*aho*, 雅號), a name referring to one's town of origin (*taekho*, 宅號), and a posthumous name (*siho*, 諡號)—depending on changes in social status, age, and other conditions. Among these names, the childhood and adult names were used before and after a coming-of-age ceremony. A childhood name *amyŏng*, also referred to as *yumyŏng* (乳名), or as *kamyŏng* (假名, temporary name), was given before or after one's birth by an elder in the family. An adult name was given after the coming-of-age ceremony or a wedding. According to Chang, C. (1995: 124), the coming-of-age ceremony during the Chosŏn period took place at dawn 10 to 30 days before the wedding day or on the day a groom was leaving his home to perform a wedding ceremony. However, commoners usually did not hold a coming-of-age ceremony separately but acquired an adult name by substituting a coming-of-age ceremony with a wedding or having the two ceremonies performed at once. In addition, in everyday life, a courtesy name was used more frequently than an adult name.

This research examines the names recorded in genealogical records and household registers. Many scholars refer to these names as the “real names,” or “adult names.” They do not make a clear distinction between a real name, adult name, name recorded in a genealogical record, or name in a household register; or consider them identical. However, as will be discussed later, there is an undeniable difference between the names in genealogical records and in household registers as far as the purpose of the accounts was different. While an adult name was given in connection to the coming-of-age ceremony, a name in the genealogical record or a name in the household register was an institutional name registered in the account by a different organization—

the state or a clan—in order to estimate and control the private relationships within the organization.

2. An Overview of the Village and Data

1) *An Overview of the Village*

Since olden times in Sunch'ang, the nobility, or yangban, was associated with three last names: Sin (申), Söl (薛), and Yang (楊). Two of these families—the Söl from Sunch'ang and Yang from Namwön—have resided in K-ri, which is the object of this analysis, for many generations. The Sunch'ang Söl clan first came to G-myön of Sunch'ang-gun seeking refuge from the Yi Chagyöm rebellion during the Koryö period in the 12th century. They moved to L-ri located in the same myön with the K-ri during the early Chosön period. Then, around the 16th century, a branch of the clan settled down in K-ri and has resided there until now. During the early Chosön period, the Söl clan produced several prominent figures, such as a taesasöng (an official of a vice-minister rank in charge of scholastic affairs) and a Minister of War, but during the second half of the Chosön period none of the clan members achieved an important position. Among the Söl clan residing in X-myön in particular, no one became a famous civil servant, Confucian scholar, or passed even a lower-level government examination during the latter period. Nevertheless, the Sunch'ang Söl clan did not engage in party strife and maintained its power in the province (Yang, M. 1999: 342-345). They are generally evaluated as the *hyangni*⁶ that kept a hold on the Sunch'ang area until the late Chosön period.⁷

The Namwön Yang clan settled in Kumi-ri, Tonggye-myön of Sunch'ang-gun in 1379 (the 5th year of the reign of King U), somewhat later than the Sunch'ang Söl. They expanded to several myön in Sunch'ang-gun and moved to K-ri of X-myön in Sunch'ang-gun in the 19th century (during the reign of King Sunjo). The branch of the Yang clan who live in K-ri moved there directly from Gumi-ri and have lived there since then. The Namwön

⁶ Hyangni refers to the clerks who ran day-to-day operations in the local administrative districts (Hwang, K. 2004: 2).

⁷ See the research of Korean Religious History Research Society (1998) on the records related to Sönghwang-taesin discovered in Sunch'ang-gun.

Yang clan residing in Sunch'ang-gun consistently produced people who passed minor state examinations, outstanding civil servants, and Confucian scholars until the end of the Chosŏn period. Some of the examples include Yang Hoe-yŏng (1682-1768), Yang Chong-hae (1744-1815), and Yang Seok-ryong (1800-1869), all of whom were descendants of Sangmaedang Yang Sa-min (1531-1589), just as the Yang clan residing in K-ri was. Among the figures mentioned above, Yang Seok-ryong is particularly noteworthy, as he passed the minor *chinsa* examination in 1858 and taught many students in Seoul. Two of his pupils—Kim Pyŏng-hak and Kim Pyŏng-guk—became prime ministers (Yang, M. 1999: 346-352). However, among the members of the Namwŏn Yang clan who settled in K-ri in the 19th century (probably due to the short history of their clan's residence in K-ri), no one succeeded in rising to an important government position. Several members reached the positions of sŏngonggam, kagamyŏk, and ch'ambong, which were low-ranking positions corresponding to the 9th chong grade. Nevertheless, during the Japanese colonial period, two brothers from the Namwŏn Yang clan in K-ri became the heads of X-myŏn and exercised power over the area for two decades—from 1925 until the liberation (1945). In other words, the two families that are examined in this paper represent two upper classes of Sunch'ang-gun, the hyangni and yangban.

Originally, it was not planned to include questions about profession in the population survey (*minjŏk-josa*) that started in 1909 for the purpose of compiling first household registers (*minjŏkbu*). But in August of that year the chief of the Police Administration issued an order related to the “matter of recording the profession of a household head in household registers [*minjŏkbu*],” based on which, in February of the following year, the register department classified professions for the survey into 11 categories (Lee, H. 1997: 13). These were: (local) public officer, agriculture, commerce, mining, manufacturing, fishing, day labor, yangban, yusaeng, other, and no profession. According to the “Population Statistics Table,” “the word yangban refers to the offspring of someone who served as civil servant in the past; while yusaeng means a person who raised his family's status by studying the Confucian classics as a profession.” In the interpretation of Lee, H. (1997: 35), the reason for the Japanese officials to classify yangban and yusaeng as professions at the time when such people had already lost the privileges and made their

Table 1. Professional Composition of X-myŏn in 1909 (Based on Data in Lee Hun-Chang 1997)

Gun - myŏn	Households	Males	Females	Population	Public service	Yangban	Yuaeng	Commerce	Agriculture	Fishing	Manufacturing	Mining	Day labor	Other	No profession	Sum	Unit: person	
Sunchang-gun	11,229	27,464	24,670	52,134	25	13	515	636	10,348	0	58	0	124	0	78	11,797		
XA-myŏn	585	1,551	1,406	2,957	1	1	18	9	568	0	2	0	4	0	4	607		
XB-myŏn	557	1,419	1,417	2,836	1	1	7	19	521	0	9	0	6	0	6	570		

Table 2. Households Recorded as Confucian Scholars Engaged in Agriculture in K-ri (The Number in Front of the Place of Clan Origin Is the Address).

Year of Cancelled Register	Head of Household
1911	6-4, Gyöngju Yi
1912	1-6, Sunch'ang Söl
1913	6-2, Namwön Yang; 4-2, Chinju Kang; 6-10 Sunch'ang Söl
1914	5-1, Sunch'ang Söl; 4-6, Sunch'ang Söl; 3-8, Jinju Gang; 5-4, Chuksan An; 1-2, Kimhae Kim; 1-10, Sunch'ang Söl; 4-3 Sunch'ang Söl

living through ownership of land, farming, or working as public officers was the perception that yangban “never engaged in manufacturing.” There was also the intention in this survey to identify the special characteristics of the Chosön society and economy. In any case, in the results of the survey, yangban and yusaeng often overlapped with other professions. According to the statistics of the 1909 population survey, the number of households and distribution of professions in the XA-myön and XB-myön, which correspond to the current X-myön of Sunch'ang-gun, were as shown in Table 1.

As shown in the table, the survey recorded 18 households in X-myön, whose household head's profession was yusaeng. Since the number of households in K-ri, filed as “agriculture and *yusaeng*” in chejökbu⁸ for 1909-1914 is 12, there were significantly more yusaeng in this village than in other villages of the same myön. Household heads of only six clans in the area—Kyöngju Yi, Sunch'ang Söl, Namwön Yang, Chinju Kang, Chuksan An, and Kimhae Kim—are categorized in chejökbu as yusaeng, but those who had a large number of households and actually exercised leading authority in K-ri were the Sunch'ang Söl and Namwön Yang families (Table 2).

In 1930, there were 26 households of the Sunch'ang Söl and 16 households of the Namwön Yang in K-ri (Chosen Governor-General, 1934). By 1989, the numbers had decreased to 15 households of the Sunch'ang Söl and seven of Namwön Yang. Currently, only five to six households of the two

⁸ *Chejökbu* (除籍簿) is an account of registers cancelled because the head of the household moved the domicile or died.

families combined reside in the village. Among the 2,833 people who had their domicile recorded as K-ri between 1909 and 2002, the Sunch'ang Söl amounted to 724 people (26 percent), while 448 people (16 percent) were Namwön Yang.

2) Introduction of the Data

Before going further into the discussion, it is important to define the main sources of data for this research: household registers and genealogical records.

(1) Household Register (*Hojökbu*, 戶籍簿)

Precise assessment of households was a basic task for the rule of the state as early as the Chosön period. Since the national budget and defense depended on the number of households, the state strove to compile household registers every three years to obtain exact figures. Nevertheless, it usually failed to record more than half of the actual number. Against this backdrop, the population survey that took place at the same time as the enforcement of the Minjök Law (民籍法, Population Survey Law) in 1909, constituted significant progress, although it did not reach the scale of the 1925 national census. Establishing the population registers was considered “along with the land survey, the most essential task, since the compilation of population registers is the basis of human resources and all kinds of administrative affairs,” (내부경무국, 민적사무개요, 1910: 70, cited in Lee, H. 1997: 3). Therefore, the population survey and land survey made up an important foundation for the Japanese rule.

The core contents of the Minjök Law enacted under the Japanese Government-General were the transplantation of the Japanese-style *ie* (家, family) and *koshu* (戸主, household head) institutions, which led to the emergence of the head of a household as the patriarchal head of a family (Park, B. 1992: 16). Nevertheless, the so-called “Japanese style family institution”⁹

⁹ Ueno (1994: 69-74) argues that the Japanese *ie* (家) system, in which the firstborn son becomes the successor based on the paternal line, may seem like a remnant of the long-term feudalism, but according to the results of the recent studies in family history, *ie* was introduced by enacting Meiji civil legislation and thus is an invention of the Meiji government. Namely, a strictly exclusive paternal stem family existed before the Meiji period mainly in the samurai class and was hardly present among

was much more modern in character than the Chosŏn household register. The latter was an account for the state to assess for the purpose of imposing duties, whereas the “population register” (*minjŏkbu*, 民籍簿), which was created based on the population survey, was introduced by the *state* to confirm and regulate the status of all citizens within a family.

In contrast to the three-year term of the household register during the Chosŏn period, the population register during the colonial period was compiled only once, after which changes in the family situation were continuously recorded in it. The exceptions were when a head of household died, moved, or the register of the entire family was cancelled for other reasons, at which time a new register had to be created. The system initially adopted by the Minjŏk Law was not based on the principle of voluntary report like the current one, but designated one person as responsible for registration who then made the first report. After that, a local police officer persuaded and induced that person to record any changes. And then, if a household survey discovered an unreported fact or the person violated the reporting duty, he was subject to punishment. However, a law revision of 1915 abandoned the previous population survey method and the responsibility for compiling registers was transferred from the police to the *myŏn* administration.

Later, the Minjŏk Law was replaced with *Chosŏn Hojŏk-ryŏng* (Chosen Household Registry Order), whose implementation started in 1923. The order considerably enhanced the efficiency of the household registry institution. Firstly, it set up detailed rules for the contents of the register: its format, correction procedures, and the priority order of household members. In addition, to prevent the possibility of losing an account, all household registry documents were created in two copies that had to be stored separately in local courts. Finally, in registering all changes in the family status—marriage, birth, death, dissolution of adoptive relationship, moving out, and restoration of a family—the existing rule of factuality gave way to the principle of report (Park, B. 1992).

commoners. During the Edo period, the samurai made up 3 percent of the population, or 10 percent if counted with the family members; and the remaining 90 percent formed various types of households. The Meiji government first devised the civil law in 1870, but due to numerous conflicts with the existing customs, it took about 30 years before the law was enforced in 1898.

One big transformation that occurred with the enforcement of the Household Registry Order was the change of the name on the account from *minjökbu* (民籍簿, population register) to the same name of that used in Japan (and is still used in Korea), *hojökbu* (戶籍簿, household register). Noteworthy, however, is that despite the change, previous paper forms were retained and the new forms were used only in the case of adding a new account.¹⁰ Thus, the paper forms entitled *minjökbu* (population register) appeared in the household registers and cancelled registers for a long time even after the Chosön Household Registry Order came into force. In this article, we use the word “household register” to designate all such accounts.

No major institutional changes were introduced in the Household Registry Law after the liberation until the 6th revision in 1989, which significantly weakened the institution of the head of household. In terms of the household register, an important change occurred during the 1st revision of the civil law in 1962, when it added the system of establishing a new family by law (establishing a new family through marriage, Article 789). The system prescribed that a family formed through a marriage of a son, except the firstborn son, be automatically recognized as a separate family and a new household register for it be compiled. Due to this system, the household register changed from the extended family type where parents and all brothers were recorded in one account, to the monogamistic stem family type.

The household registers of K-ri, which constitute the main source of data for this research, have been preserved until today in satisfactory condition

¹⁰ Although it cannot be seen in the illustrations included in the “Changes in Paper Forms for Household Registers until 1923” Appendix of this article, the words *minjökbu yongji* (population register form), *minjökbu* (population register), and *hojökbu* (household register), are printed on the folded part of the double-faced forms of the accounts. While the early accounts used the *minjökbu yongji* forms, later, in accordance with the order “The Issue Regarding Rewriting of Population Registers, August 1914,” all the registers, except the cancelled ones, were rewritten on the new forms entitled *minjökbu*” (See Sadame 1915: 297-301). The *hojökbu* forms, introduced when the Chosön Household Registry Order took force in 1923, did not replace the *minjökbu*, but were used in addition to the latter in the case of a new account needing to be compiled. Therefore, the *minjökbu* and *hojökbu* forms coexisted for a long time.

without big losses since the enforcement of the Minjök Law in 1909.¹¹ In this study, we focus on the household registers of the period from 1909 to the beginning of computerized recording in 2002.

(2) Genealogical records (*jokbo*, 族譜)

As we have seen in the overview of the village, there are two main families in K-ri—the Sunch'ang Söl and Namwön Yang. This research used the data of *Comprehensive Genealogical Record of the Kyöngju and Sunch'ang Söl* (慶州淳昌薛氏大同譜) published in 1994, and *Comprehensive Genealogical Record of the Namwön Yang* (南原楊氏大同譜) published in 1998.¹² These genealogical records contain information on a man's birthdate, date of death, his wife, and male offspring. The format of the two records is similar. The only difference is whether the birthdate and other dates prior to the Japanese colonial period are written only in the years of a king's reign (for example, "3rd year of the reign of Chöngjo;" the case of the Sunch'ang Söl clan), or along with the dates in the western calendar (the case of the Namwön Yang clan). Also, as is widely known, women's names for a long time were not entered in genealogical records. That is, only the name of the husband, his clan, and their sons—such as "female, wife of Kim A from Ulsan, son Kim B"—would be recorded.¹³ Although it is possible to identify the female based on the

¹¹ In many other myön, accounts of cancelled registers were partly destroyed or disappeared during wartime or for other reasons, and often the only available accounts are the copies of the registers compiled after 1925, when (with the implementation of the Household Registry Order) a court was required to keep a copy. In contrast, X-myön did not experience such circumstances and was able to preserve well even earlier accounts. Moreover, since the period of storage for cancelled registers is 80 years, the early registers, according to law, should have been incinerated. But the office of X-myön has been keeping separately the cancelled registers whose storage period had passed. Recently, all the cancelled registers, including these, have been digitally scanned and are managed as a database.

¹² We also referred to *Genealogical Records of the Kyöngju and Sunch'ang Söl* (1988), when necessary. The volume is a photo reproduction of the genealogical records published in 1912, 1948, and 1970.

¹³ This is the case of the women born in the family and not the spouses of the male members. The spouses, for a long time, were indicated only with the information about the clan and her father's name, such as "wife, daughter of Kim A from Kyöngju."

name of her husband in the household register, we would not be able to fulfill the task of this research—the comparison of names in genealogical records and in household registers.

On the other hand, the genealogical records, depending on the person, recorded his initial name (*chòmnyǒng*, 初名) or the “name in the household register” (*hojök-myǒng*, 戶籍名)¹⁴ as well as the courtesy name, and pen name. Of course, the records pertain only to men. Among these, the initial name, according to the *Great Dictionary of the Korean Language*, refers to “the name that was given to a person at first,” (Han’gŭl Society 1992: 4119). However, it is not clear when and how this name was created. The entry on “name” (Compilation Department of Encyclopedia of Korean Culture 1991: 792) in the *Encyclopedia of Korean Culture* explains what a childhood name and adult name are but does not provide any information on an initial name. In our view, “initial name” stands for all the names that a person had prior to the current one. In fact, one can find instances of name changes during the late Chosŏn period in the household registers of Tansŏng-hyŏn.¹⁵ As for the “names in the household register,” they appear only in the genealogical record of the Sunch’ang Sŏl clan. We have verified that these names are identical with the names actually recorded in the household registers. The comparison of courtesy names and pen names demonstrated that there were no instances when these names matched the name in the household register.

3. Comparison of Names Recorded in Genealogical records and Household Registers

1) Sunch’ang Sŏl Clan

In order to compare names in genealogical records and household registers, we first needed to convert the information recorded in household registers to the format of genealogical records. When the head of a household died, a new register, with a new head of household, was compiled for the rest of the household members, while the previous register was entered in the account

¹⁴ Hereafter, we put quotation marks around a “name in a household register.”

¹⁵ There is a study that analyzed the alteration of names based on the case of household records of Pŏbmulya-myŏn in Tansŏng-hyŏn (See Jung, J. 2000: 747-752).

Table 3. Number of Cases in Sunch'ang Söl Clan by Birth Year and Gender

Birth Year	Female	Male	Total
1846 – 1879		15	15
1880 – 1889		12	12
1890 – 1899		18	18
1900 – 1909	1	13	14
1910 – 1919	2	17	19
1920 – 1929	2	20	22
1930 – 1939	8	23	31
1940 – 1949	19	28	47
1950 – 1959	29	35	64
1960 – 1969	30	43	73
1970 – 1979	29	36	65
1980 – 1994	29	35	64
Total	149	295	444

* In this and following tables the periods exceeding a decade are in bold.

of cancelled registers. Also, in case some household members moved out due to such reasons as marriage, their names were erased from the existing household register and entered in a new register.¹⁶ As a result, the information on one family line was divided into several registers. Thus, our initial task was to combine these multiple registers and reconstruct them into a single family line such as in a genealogical record. Then, we compared and matched each reconstructed line with the data of the genealogical records. To do so, we looked for one or more family member(s), whose names, birth date(s), and names of parents and spouse(s) were identical in both types of data. After we found the corresponding lines by identifying the same family members, it was easy to match the information about other family members, even when the names were recorded differently.

Using this method, we were able to identify the same members of the Sunch'ang Söl clan in the clan's genealogical record and household registers and obtain information on 444 people whose cases (Table 3) could be used for the name comparison. As mentioned earlier, the number of the Sunch'ang

¹⁶ About the transformations of the domicile institution, see Lee, S. (2005).

Söl who appear in household registers is 724, but 280 people among them had to be excluded from the comparative analysis. Very few of these involve cases where we were unable to find a matching record (i.e., when we failed to identify in the genealogical record a person from the family line reconstructed with the information of household registers), and the majority pertain to the people recorded in household registers but omitted in the genealogical record.¹⁷ In addition, we could not include in the comparison the women whose names, in accordance with the custom described earlier, were not recorded, even when we were able to confirm that the same person appears in both types of records. This is the reason why among the 444 people in Table 3, only 149 are women and the remaining 295 are men.¹⁸ There were also cases when a person recorded in the genealogical record was absent in household registers. Since we examined household records of only one village (*ri*), we could not obtain the information about the offspring born after a head of household moved his domicile to a different village, unless they moved back to K-ri, which we investigated.

In Table 3 we organized the cases by birth year as recorded in the genealogical record.¹⁹ The person with the earliest birth year was born in 1846, with the latest birth year in 1994. The number of those who were born before the compilation of population registers began is about 60, whereas the number of people born during the colonial period is close to 80.

One of the characteristic features of the Sunch'ang Söl genealogical record is a significant number of cases where either an initial name or a “name in household register”²⁰ was documented. All of them are males and their

¹⁷ The men and women who died young (or before marriage) are not recorded in genealogical records.

¹⁸ Table 3 also demonstrates that with time more women's names appeared in the genealogical record.

¹⁹ For the two cases in which the genealogical record clearly contained errors, we corrected the years (1890→1880, and 1916→1946) using the earlier editions of the records (published in 1912, 1948, and 1970). For the single case where the year of birth was omitted in the genealogical record, we referred to the year (1987) provided in the household register. For the discussion about the scope of genealogical records and household registers, as well as the relationship between dates of birth and death in the two types of records, see Park, H. et al. (2008).

²⁰ There were six cases where a “name in the household register” was recorded in the

Table 4. Number of Initial Name and “Name in Household Register” Cases by Birth Year—Sunch’ang Söl

Birth Year	Number of Cases
1859–1889	4
1890–1909	21
1910–1949	13
1949–1989	9
Total	47

distribution by the birth year is shown in Table 4. The majority of such cases are those who were born before household registers started to be compiled in 1909. The number sharply decreased from 1910. Nevertheless, initial names and “names in household registers” continued to be occasionally recorded for those who were born after 1910. Especially remarkable is the fact that even in 1979, 1982, and 1989 there were cases when the genealogical record documented as a separate category a “name in a household register.”

The comparative analysis of the names in genealogical records and household registers yielded three types of patterns. Pattern A is one in which a name in the genealogical record was identical with the name in the household register. Pattern B is when an initial name or a “name in the household register” recorded in the genealogical record was the same as the name documented in the household register. In Pattern C, none of the names in the genealogical record were identical to the name that appeared in the household register. When a name was recorded with different Chinese characters pronounced in the same way, it was treated as one name. Instead, we put such instances in a separate subcategory. The completely identical names were classified as Pattern A1 (and B1), whereas the names recorded with different characters but pronounced in the same manner were included in Pattern A2 (and B2). Pattern B3 was reserved for the cases when a “name in the household register” was documented separately in the genealogical record.²¹

genealogical record. The birth years of these people are 1890, 1907, 1921, 1979, 1982, and 1989.

²¹ As pointed out earlier, “names in the household register” documented in the genealogical record in all the cases were identical to the names actually recorded in

Table 5. Number of Cases by Gender and Pattern—Sunch'ang Söl

	Pattern A			Pattern B				Pattern C	Total
	1	2	Total	1	2	3	Total		
Female	130	5	135 (90.6%)					14 (9.4%)	149 (100%)
Male	215	8	223 (75.6%)	15	5	6	26 (8.8%)	46 (15.6%)	295 (100%)
Total	345	13	358 (80.6%)	15	5	6	26 (5.9%)	60 (13.5%)	444 (100%)

Table 5 demonstrates the distribution of cases by gender and by pattern. Since all the cases of an initial name or a “name in the household register” recorded in the genealogical record pertain to men, there is no female in Pattern B. In contrast, 8.8 percent of men belong to that category. Similarly, only 9.4 percent of the females fall into Pattern C, in comparison to 15.6 percent of the male cases. As a result, 90.6 percent of females are classified as Pattern A, whereas among men the share of this pattern is 75.6 percent.

Let’s look at the characteristics by birth year as reflected in Tables 6 and 7. While the scarcity of female cases obscures the trend, in the case of males the time of a drastic change in the ratio of identical names is relatively clear. It is the 1900s and 1910s. The fact that the transformation occurred at the time when the Minjök Law was enforced is hardly a simple coincidence. In other words, there is a strong connection with the beginning of compilation of household registers that were different from the registers of the previous period.

Next, let’s examine the distribution of patterns by generation and limit the discussion to the male cases (Table 8). “Generation” here stands for a generation of offspring in a family line, calculated from the first progenitor of the clan. We need to look at the generation along with the birth year because, in the Korean custom, clan members belonging to the same generation are supposed to have the same, pre-determined Chinese character inserted in their personal names. Nevertheless, as is seen in the table, the discrepancy

household registers.

Table 6. Number of Cases by Birth Year and Pattern (Males)—Sunchang Söl

Time Period	Pattern A			Pattern B				Pattern C	Total
	1	2	Total	1	2	3	Total		
1846 – 1879	6		6 (40.6%)					9 (60%)	15 (100%)
1880 – 1889	2		2 (16.7%)	1			1 (8.3%)	9 (75%)	12 (100%)
1890 – 1899	1		1 (5.6%)	7	1	1	9 (50%)	8 (44.4%)	18 (100%)
1900 – 1909	1		1 (7.7%)	3	3	1	7 (53.8%)	5 (38.5%)	13 (100%)
1910 – 1919	10	3	13 (76.5%)	2			2 (11.8%)	2 (11.8%)	17 (100%)
1920 – 1929	16		16 (80%)		1	1	2 (10%)	2 (10%)	20 (100%)
1930 – 1939	20		20 (87.0%)					3 (13.0%)	23 (100%)
1940 – 1949	22		22 (78.6%)	1			1 (3.6%)	5 (17.9%)	28 (100%)
1950 – 1959	33	2	35 (100%)						35 (100%)
1960 – 1969	40		40 (93.0%)					3 (7.0%)	43 (100%)
1970 – 1979	31	3	34 (94.4%)	1		1	2 (5.6%)		36 (100%)
1980 – 1994	33		33 (94.3%)			2	2 (5.7%)		35 (100%)
Total	215	8	223 (75.6%)	15	5	6	26 (8.8%)	46 (15.6%)	295 (100%)

by generation is smaller than in the analysis by birth year. It means that the birth year had a more profound influence than the character common for a generation.

To compile the very first population registers, Japanese police officers

Table 7. Number of Cases by Birth Year and by Pattern (Females)—Sunch'ang Söl

Time Period	Pattern A			Pattern C	Total
	1	2	Total		
1905 – 1909	1		1 (100%)		1 (100%)
1910 – 1919	1		1 (50%)	1 (50%)	2 (100%)
1920 – 1929		1	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	2 (100%)
1930 – 1939	7		7 (87.5%)	1 (12.5)	8 (100%)
1940 – 1949	15	2	17 (89.5%)	2 (10.5%)	19 (100%)
1950 – 1959	27		27 (93.1%)	2 (6.9%)	29 (100%)
1960 – 1969	25		25 (83.3%)	5 (16.7%)	30 (100%)
1970 – 1979	28	1	29 (100%)		29 (100%)
1980 – 1993	26	1	27 (93.1%)	2 (6.9%)	29 (100%)
Total	130	5	135 (90.6%)	14 (9.4%)	149 (100%)

Table 8. Number of Cases by Generation and by Pattern (Males)—Sunch'ang Söl

Generation	Pattern A			Pattern B				Pattern C	Total
	1	2	Total	1	2	3	Total		
59 th Generation	1		1 (100%)						1 (100%)
60 th Generation	7		7 (53.8%)	1			1 (7.7%)	5 (38.5%)	13 (100%)
61 st Generation	6		6 (21.4%)	2	1	2	5 (17.9%)	17 (60.7%)	28 (100%)
62 nd Generation	35	3	38 (58.5%)	11	4	1	16 (24.6%)	11 (16.9%)	65 (100%)
63 rd Generation	70	3	73 (89.0%)			1	1 (1.2%)	8 (9.8%)	82 (100%)
64 th Generation	69	2	71 (89.9%)	1		2	3 (3.8%)	5 (6.3%)	79 (100%)
65 th Generation	27		27 (100%)						27 (100%)
Total	215	8	223 (75.6%)	15	5	6	26 (8.8%)	46 (15.6%)	295 (100%)

and military police received a report from the head of a *myŏn* and visited each and every house and household. That is how the survey of names of the people born prior to 1909 was accomplished (Lee, H. 1997: 11; Lee, Y. 2004: 6). However, once a population register was made, household members had to report a new birth with the date and name of the child. After a name was registered, to change it one had to go through a complicated procedure of receiving permission from the court. We believe that this difference in the registration method caused such a remarkable discrepancy in the ratio of pattern A among men. Another interesting finding is that the ratio of pattern A among the males born prior to 1889 is somewhat higher than that among males born in the period of 1890–1909. The insufficient number of cases does not allow for making a definite conclusion, but it is plausible that the very first survey documented more names similar to the names in genealogical records among adults than among juveniles. This feature has to do with the naming customs of the late Chosŏn period.

Then how different are the names of the people born prior to 1909 in the genealogical record and household registers? Since our data includes only one case of a female born before 1909, let us focus only on the male cases. All the male names in the genealogical record follow the rule of using a common character for the same generation. There are 58 cases of males born prior to 1909 and the names of all of them as recorded in the genealogical record abide by this rule.²² However, the situation is different with the names in the household records. While the names of the descendants belonging to the 59th (one person) and 60th (13 people) generations are generally in accordance with the custom,²³ among the 61st (22 people) and 62nd (22 people) generations the common character can be found in just three cases. Although having a name following the common character rule recorded in a household register does not mean that the same name was documented in the genealogical record,²⁴ there was a custom of giving a name unrelated to the

²² The common characters for the 59th – 62nd generations are, respectively, In (仁), Kyu (奎), Chin (鎭), and Su (洙).

²³ The names of two people of the 60th generation (born in 1881 and 1898) did not follow the rule of the common character.

²⁴ Such instances are four people of the 60th generation and one person of the 61st generation.

Table 9. Number of Initial Name Cases by Birth Year and by Pattern—Sunch'ang Söl

Time Period	Pattern A			Pattern B			Pattern C	Total
	1	2	Total	1	2	Total		
1859 – 1889	1		1	1		1	2	4
1890 – 1909	2		2	10	4	14	3	19
1910 – 1949	5	1	6	3	1	4	3	13
1950 – 1989	3		3	1		1	1	5
Total	11	1	12	15	5	20	9	41

common character before one became an adult. And it is this custom that is likely to account for the disparity of names in the genealogical record and in the household registers.

What is the relationship between the initial name, which often appears in the genealogical record of the Sunch'ang Söl clan, and the patterns revealed during the comparative analysis? If we examine the distribution by pattern of the 41 cases that have an initial name recorded, 12 of them are in the first category (Pattern A), 20 in the second (Pattern B), and nine should be considered Pattern C. Compared to the cases of the people born before 1909, the number of cases of the initial name being documented in the genealogical record gradually decreases for the people born in 1910 and later, and the ratio of Pattern C also becomes smaller. The frequency of the third pattern also goes down. We can presume that even if people continued giving initial names after 1910, the trend was to report in a household register a name suitable for the genealogical record, i.e. a name with the Chinese character common for the generation.²⁵

Finally, let's examine the cases of name changes. Though difficult, it was possible to change one's name in a modern register and we discovered several such instances in the household registers that were used for this research. The majority of the names changes in the Sunch'ang Söl clan occurred in connection to the forced adoption of Japanese names during the colonial period. Names were changed to the Japanese style, or a name of a child born

²⁵ Among the people born after 1910, nine fall in the third category (Pattern C). The name of only one of them did not follow the common character rule.

during that time was first reported as a Japanese name and after the liberation turned back to the Korean style. There were four cases that constituted an exception. Two of them took place after the genealogical record was created. The other two happened in 1914 and 1915, and in both cases the names before and after the change are different from the names in the genealogical record, which means that the name change in the household registers was not related to the name in the genealogical record.

2) *The Namwŏn Yang Clan*

We applied the above described method to another important clan in K-ri—the Namwŏn Yang. Here, we had 285 people whose names could be used for the comparison. As mentioned earlier, the number of the Namwŏn Yang that appear in the household registers is 448 people. Similarly to the approach we used for the Sunch'ang Sŏl clan, we had to exclude 163 people mainly because of the method of recording information in the genealogical record.²⁶ However, among the 285 people, 12 women have their names but not the birth dates documented. Thus, the number of cases where birth years are known is 273 (Table 10). The person with the earliest birth year was born in 1842, with the latest birth year in 1997. 30 people were born before the first population registers were compiled and 80 people were born during the Japanese colonial period.

Initial names that appear several times in the Sunch'ang Sŏl genealogical record are absent in the genealogical record of the Namwŏn Yang clan, with the exception of one case. Even the exceptional case falls into the third category (Pattern C), so Pattern B cannot be observed at all in the Yang clan's records. The number of cases by the pattern is summarized in Table 11.

A comparison of ratios of the patterns reveals several differences between the Namwŏn Yang and the Sunch'ang Sŏl. First, the frequency of Pattern C for both the men and the women is lower in the Namwŏn Yang clan. We can presume that the Namwŏn Yang have made more efforts to match the names in the genealogical record and household registers. This difference is more pronounced for the males. Namely, in the case of females, the ratio of

²⁶ For the information about the coverage scope of household records for the two clans, see Park, H. et al. (2008).

Table 10. Number of Cases by Birth Year and Gender—Namwŏn Yang

	Female	Male	Total
1842 – 1879		10	10
1880 – 1889		4	4
1890 – 1899	1	6	7
1900 – 1909	1	7	8
1910 – 1919	1	10	11
1920 – 1929	6	14	20
1930 – 1939	12	21	33
1940 – 1949	17	14	31
1950 – 1959	22	19	41
1960 – 1969	24	21	45
1970 – 1979	12	18	30
1980 – 1997	18	15	33
Total	114	159	273

Table 11. Number of Cases by Gender and Pattern—Namwŏn Yang

	Pattern A			Pattern C	Total
	1	2	Total		
Female	110	8	118 (93.7%)	8 (6.3%)	126 (100%)
Male	149	4	153 (96.2%)	6 (3.8%)	159 (100%)
Total	259	12	271 (95.1%)	14 (4.9%)	285 (100%)

Pattern C is 3.1 percent lower than that observed in the Sunch'ang Sŏl clan (9.4 percent), whereas for the males, the ratio is 11.8 percent lower than that for the Sunch'ang Sŏl (15.6 percent). As a result, the ratio of Pattern C in the Namwŏn Yang clan is higher for the women than for the men. The situation is the opposite for the Sunch'ang Sŏl clan.

Let's examine the special features by the year of birth as shown in Tables 12 and 13. Whereas in the Sunch'ang Sŏl clan the ratio of Pattern C was high among the people born prior to the beginning of population register compilation, the trend is hardly found in the case of the Namwŏn Yang. In other words, the Namwŏn Yang clan seems to have had a strong notion that “the name in the genealogical record equals the name in the household register” even before the introduction of the modern registry institution.

Table 12. Number of Cases by Birth Year and Pattern (Males)—Namwŏn Yang

Time Period	Pattern A			Pattern C	Total
	1	2	Total		
1842 – 1879	9		9 (90%)	1 (10%)	10 (100%)
1880 – 1889	4		4 (100%)		4 (100%)
1890 – 1899	6		6 (100%)		6 (100%)
1900 – 1909	6		6 (85.7%)	1 (14.3%)	7 (100%)
1910 – 1919	10		10 (100%)		10 (100%)
1920 – 1929	14		14 (100%)		14 (100%)
1930 – 1939	18	1	19 (90.5%)	2 (9.5%)	21 (100%)
1940 – 1949	13		13 (92.9%)	1 (7.1%)	14 (100%)
1950 – 1959	19		19 (100%)		19 (100%)
1960 – 1969	19	2	21 (100%)		21 (100%)
1970 – 1979	16	1	17 (94.4%)	1 (5.6%)	18 (100%)
1980 – 1995	15		15 (100%)		15 (100%)
Total	148	4	153 (96.2%)	6 (3.8%)	159 (100%)

Neither is there a particular tendency in the distribution of patterns by the generation.

However, a different picture emerges in the examination of name changes. Among the cases that were used for the comparative analysis, there were six people who changed their names for reasons unrelated to the enforced adoption of Japanese names. The cases of the four people among them who were born prior to 1911 are presented in Table 14. All four of them were born shortly before or right after the beginning of population register compilation; all had a name different from the genealogical record documented in a household register; and all had their names changed to the one matching the name in the genealogical record.

It is possible to include these cases in Table 12 because when they were first recorded in population registers their names in the registers differed from the names in the genealogical record. If we do so, the percentage of Pattern C among the males born in the 1900s would increase considerably from 14.3 percent to 57.1 percent. Caution is needed in interpreting this finding since the sample is small. Still, we can presume that, at least at the time of compiling the first population registers, the Namwŏn Yang, similarly to the Sunch'ang Sŏl (although not to the same extent), reported the names

Table 13. Number of Cases by Birth Year and Pattern (Females)—Namwŏn Yang

Time Period	Pattern A			Pattern C	Total
	1	2	Total		
1897~1909				2 (100%)	2 (100%)
1910~1919		1	1 (100%)		1 (100%)
1920~1929	4	1	5 (83.3%)	1 (6.7%)	6 (100%)
1930~1939	11		11 (91.7%)	1 (8.3%)	12 (100%)
1940~1949	15		15 (88.2%)	2 (11.8%)	17 (100%)
1950~1959	20	1	21 (95.5%)	1 (4.5%)	22 (100%)
1960~1969	23	1	24 (100%)		24 (100%)
1970~1979	12		12 (100%)		12 (100%)
1980~1997	15	3	18 (100%)		18 (100%)
Total	100	7	107 (93.9%)	7 (6.1%)	114 (100%)

Table 14. Cases of Name Change—Namwŏn Yang

Generation	Birth Date	Name in Household Register	Name in Genealogical Record	Date of Name Change (In Household Register)
29th	April 30, 1905	A-ch'ang (昌) → Sang (相)-B	Sang (相)-B	July 9, 1913
29th	July 21, 1908	C-ch'ang (昌) → Sang (相)-D	Sang (相)-D	July 9, 1913
30th	July 25, 1908	Chong (宗)-E → F-hŭi (熙)	F-hi (熙)	August 21, 1930
30th	May 7, 1911	Chong (宗)-G → H-hŭi (熙)	H-hŭi (熙)	August 2, 1930

different from those in the genealogical record. Nevertheless, members of the Namwŏn Yang clan obtained permissions in 1913 from the head of the police department, and in 1930 from the Namwŏn branch of the Jŏnju District Court, and changed their names. This demonstrates the effort of the Namwŏn Yang to match the two types of names.

4. Conclusion

1) Transformation of Naming Customs

Using the household registers and genealogical records of the major families that resided in one village of Sunch'ang-gun, North Ch'olla Province, we examined the changes in the method of recording names. We were able to make the following conclusions.

At the beginning of population register compilation, there were many cases where names different from that recorded in the genealogical record were reported. However, once the government completed the inspections, compilation of the records had already been completed and the newly born were entered in a household register after their birth was reported; the number of such instances significantly decreased. The share of identical names in genealogical records and household registers gradually rose and reached 90-100 percent after the liberation. No clear time-specific trends were observed in the female cases, but for the males we discovered an important transformation that occurred around the time of making the very first population registers in 1909. In both clans (if the name changes are considered in the case of the Namwön Yang), the ratio of identical names among those who were born in 1900-1909, i.e. those who were minors at the time of the first register compilation, is much lower than among those who were born after 1909. That it was common at that time to report a name different from the genealogical record can be explained by the misunderstanding of what a household register was and thus continuing to practice the custom of the Chosŏn period.

The results of this analysis conform to findings in a survey conducted by the Secretariat of the Japanese Government-General in Korea (Secretariat of Cōosen Governor-General, 1934). According to *A Survey Study of Korean Names and Clans* (2005: 117 and 201), after the Korean court issued the ordinance prohibiting topknots, the practice of tying one's hair in a topknot and wearing a gat hat started weakening and Western-style hats came into fashion. After the Minjök and Hojök Laws were implemented, people had to report births, so they had to give a child a name before reporting his birth. In addition, as children were entered in household registers when their birth was

reported, the custom of the Chosŏn period that distinguished a childhood name from an adult name underwent a critical change. The practice of giving a childhood name rapidly disappeared and children were given adult names from the very beginning. The results of our research suggest that the starting point of this change was the period of introducing the modern household register institution (the enforcement of the *Minjŏk* Law) in 1909.

What caused the transformation? One factor to be considered is the difficulty of changing one's name. "Name change" here stands for the old custom of changing one's name when coming of age. As the practice did not fit with the modern registry institution, the problem had to be addressed. We were able to observe that the people of the time dealt with the issue by matching the names in household registers with genealogical records. A household register was one's identification record, so the name documented in it could not be arbitrarily changed. If someone wanted to correct it, court permission was necessary. As a name change became difficult, people opted for adopting an adult name from the start. Of course during the Chosŏn period changing one's name required in principle a formal permit. But based on how often name changes occurred, we can speculate that it was usually possible just by providing information about the change in a report card (*hogu tanja*).²⁷ In addition, as will be explained in detail later, a name in a household register during the Chosŏn period did not regulate the public relationships of an individual to the extent a name in the modern household register did.

The second important finding of this research is that the transformation of naming customs of two clans residing in the same village proceeded in a different fashion. Instances of having a name different from the genealogical record documented in a household register were observed in both clans that we compared—the Sunch'ang Sŏl and the Namwŏn Yang. However, the ratio of identical names was very high among the members of the Sunch'ang Sŏl clan who are unlikely to have been minors using childhood names at the time of population register compilation—i.e., those who were born prior to 1900. In contrast, the ratio was very low among similarly aged members

²⁷ *Hogu tanja* (戶口單子) refers to a document used during the Chosŏn period to report family status to the local governor. It was compiled by the head of a household during the period of the household survey, generally every three years.

of the Namwŏn Yang clan and comparable to that of the people born in the 1900s. It means that the Namwŏn Yang, even before the Minjŏk Law, tried more actively than the Sunch'ang Sŏl to match the names in genealogical records and registers. Moreover, after the law was enforced, the Namwŏn Yang went through complicated procedures to gain permission from the police and a district court to change the names that were documented in a household register differently from the genealogical record, so that the two were identical. In short, irrespective of the time period, the Namwŏn Yang clan made a larger effort than the Sunch'ang Sŏl to ensure that the names in two types of records corresponded perfectly. On the other hand, at the time of the compilation of the first population registers in the Sunch'ang Sŏl clan, there were so many instances of having different names in the genealogical record and household registers, that we can say the members in reality had two formal names. Although a major transformation in the naming customs took place with the obligation to report a name, the members of the clan were not eager to pursue a name change and have the previous record corrected.

What can account for the dissimilarities in the responses of the two clans to the household registry system of the Japanese colonial period? The reason is most likely to be found in the differences of the socio-cultural backgrounds of the two clans during the Chosŏn period before the implementation of the Minjŏk law by the Japanese authorities. And through these socio-cultural backgrounds we will be able to see certain characteristics of the household registry system of the Chosŏn period and its influence on the society. The Namwŏn Yang clan residing in Sunch'ang-gun until the 19th century produced many more government officials and scholars than the Sunch'ang Sŏl clan. In contrast, none of the members of the Sunch'ang Sŏl residing in X-myŏn of Sunch'ang-gun became a famous man of letters or a Confucian scholar, or passed a state examination during the late Chosŏn period. However, until the end of the Chosŏn dynasty they maintained a strong power in the area as hyangni. We believe that these socio-cultural backgrounds are closely connected to the ratio of identical names in the household registers and genealogical records.

A household register of the Chosŏn period was the grounds for issuing the document called *chunhogu* (准戶口) that served as a proof of one's identity. The state at that time conducted regular household surveys and compiled

household registers based on the report cards *hogu tanja* that were prepared and submitted by each household. These household registers allowed the state to assess the population. The *chunhogu* had a practical use of verifying one's identity in connection to state examinations (Hwasöng City History Compilation Committee, 2005). In other words, during the Chosön period, a person who planned to take a state examination or enter the government service had to match the records in his household register and the clan's genealogical record in order to obtain a document that would confirm his identity to the state. Naturally, the Namwön Yang who advanced to public posts more often than the Sunch'ang Söl made more efforts to make the entries in household registers and the genealogical record identical. In addition, as mentioned above, two brothers from the Namwön Yang clan who lived in this village became the heads of myön during the Japanese colonial period and this must have facilitated their adoption of the Minjök Law regulations. To obtain a public post during the colonial period, it was necessary to clarify one's status in various types of public relationships, including that recorded in household registers, much more rigorously than during the Chosön period. For the same reason the Sunch'ang Söl, who rarely entered the government service and stayed as a powerful hyangni group in the area, made relatively less effort than the Namwön Yang clan to match the names in report cards with the genealogical record. Accordingly, they continuously performed the coming-of-age ceremonies during which a person would be given an adult name. To the household surveys conducted by the state, they responded by documenting in the genealogical record the name in the household register.

To sum up, the Sunch'ang Söl clan demonstrated a smaller interest than the Namwön Yang clan in merging their external social relations (public relationships) with the internal social relationships (private relationships), and eventually were able to isolate a part of their private relationships from the public relationships. Obviously, with the enforcement of the *Minjök* Law, this kind of separation disappeared. Nevertheless, such a socio-cultural background of the Sunch'ang Söl clan provided a context for initial names and names in the household register often appearing in the genealogical record even after the *Minjök* Law.

2) *From Multiple Names to a Single Name*

Until now, many scholars in the discussions of names during the Chosŏn period have labeled the names recorded in household records as “real names.” If that is the right definition, what shall we call the names in genealogical records? The results of the comparative analysis of the Sunch’ang Sŏl clan raise doubts as to which name is “real,” and whether a “real name” existed at all. Perhaps the concept of real name was created by modern society? Is it a historical product of the public relationships of the state integrating the private relationships?

The naming customs during the Chosŏn period were very complex: one acquired a different name depending on age, education, skills, livelihood, etc., and a name could also change posthumously based on the person’s achievements. These kinds of customs have almost completely disappeared during the last hundred years. Certainly, one still has a different name in different social networks. There are still people whose name in a household register does not match their genealogical record; some people use a courtesy name or nickname instead of the real one. But there is a fundamental difference between such instances on the one hand and the historical period and problems discussed in this study on the other. In the contemporary period, the usage of nicknames and courtesy names is extremely limited compared to the Chosŏn period. Such names serve as a medium representing intimacy in private relationships, and not the private relationships of a clan or genealogical records as they did in the past. This transformation also means that clan organizations and genealogical records are now considerably less important in defining one’s social status and identity. Of course, similarly to the Chosŏn period, such names cannot be used in public relationships at the state level. Even if someone is better known to the world through his nickname or stage name, he cannot go by it not only in government service or when taking a formal examination, but also in such public relationships as signing a contract, registering ownership, voting, etc. In this context, the notion of a “real name” and public relationships have permeated deeper in our lives than they did in the past.

There is no doubt that the population survey and consolidation of the household registry institution by the Japanese colonial authorities facilitated the disappearance of differences between a name in a household register

and a name in a genealogical record, along with the custom of acquiring an adult name through a coming-of-age ceremony. However, we cannot say that only the household registry institution of the Japanese colonial period had a “modern character” (in the sense that it incorporated private relationships in the public relationships of the state). That is because a household registry institution also existed during the Chosŏn period and, in the case of the Namwŏn Yang clan, it played an important role in bringing a type of private relationships—genealogical records—into the sphere of public relationship. However, its intervention was not as “complete” as that of the household registry institution of the colonial period. Thus a clan could adopt a flexible response, as the Sunch’ang Sŏl did by making initial names; or actively try to match names in household registers and genealogical records, just as the Namwŏn Yang clan did. In other words, the difference between the household registry institutions of the colonial period and of the Chosŏn period is not simply institutional. We argue that it lies in the intention of the Japanese Government-General to achieve, through household registers, a control over all public relationships of an individual en bloc—his legal rights and duties such as ownership, inheritance, etc.²⁸ The land survey carried out since the mid-1910s can serve as a typical example of an undertaking that accelerated such changes. In everyday life, the establishment of a modern educational system—the modern school institution—must have exercised a profound influence. Unlike in private relationships (in a village or inside a family), only the name that appeared in official records, i.e., the name in a household register, could be used at school. It is not surprising then that the expansion of the national educational institution of elementary school significantly affected naming customs.

In this study we compared only two types of names—names in household registers and in genealogical records, and the names documented by the state and the clan. Therefore, we cannot know whether the process of integration

²⁸ When filling in land registers, *yangan* (量案), and other similar documents, the gentry of the Chosŏn period were reluctant to use their own names. They did not put their names as they were recorded in genealogical records or family records, or their adult names, but instead gave a slave’s name or their status (Rhee, Y. 1988: 56, 456). This demonstrates that during the Chosŏn period, the institutions of household registry and proprietary relations were not managed uniformly.

into one name was taking place also at other layers, such as the names used in a village or family. That is because we did not intend this research as a study of names” everyday appellations. As stated earlier, we defined our goal as an analysis of the method of recording names in household registers and genealogical records to examine one aspect in the process of the state permeating private relationships. In addition, generalization of our research to the entire country is not possible. The database included just 729 people, which is not nearly enough compared to the sample sizes in the studies of foreign anthropologists and historians described above.²⁹ It is our hope that the research on the modernization of names makes a major step forward as scholars build up case studies about larger numbers of people in diverse regions.

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²⁹ Due to the Privacy Protection Act and other reasons, obtaining access to household registers in Korea has become more difficult than it was in the past, and the digitization of large amounts of data requires considerable time and human resources.

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