

island from Öryöngdo (island) with the families of his two sons ca. 1820 A.D. The sublineages formed, respectively, by the descendants of A are B1, the senior branch (*k'unchip* : *k'un*= big, *chip*= house or family ; "big house"), and B2, the cadet branch (*chagunchip* : *chagun* = little ; "little house").¹⁾ They are so designated by members of the lineage because B1 was elder to B2.

Given the segmentary lineage system, one can point out the organizing principles of fission and fusion crisscrossing in the Han family lineage. The phenomenon of fission can be readily seen from the chart of the lineage in terms of an expanding process of organization, while that of fusion must be understood as operative in ceremonial activities of the *sije*, conducted in theory by all lineage members. At this point, fusion can be a situation of communal activity among sublineages, and fission means creating sublineages. Yet another aspect of such fission may be viewed by looking at the detailed procedures of the ceremonial activity, the goal of which is to achieve solidarity and fusion among the lineage members and sublineage groups. The crisscrossing relation between fission and fusion within the lineage creates a dynamic element in the kinship structure.

2. The Han Family *Sije*

The segmentary patterns which arise through a fusion and fission process are totally dependent on the situational circumstances. This process may perhaps be best illustrated by noting involvements in a *sije*, the rituals conducted by family members for the ancestral dead. "An important purpose of the *sije* is to emphasize and reinforce structured kinship relationships. Relatives are brought together in a social context that symbolizes their respective positions in the lineage hierarchy. Family, clan pride, and unity are given a periodic boost" (Brandt 1971 : 120).

On the occasion of the Han family *sije*, usually conducted around the end of October after the harvest, all who trace descent back to A gather at one house, creating a group consisting of as many as 80 people. Those of the same lineage from other villages may attend and participate in this communal ancestor worship as well. The Hasamian *sije*, held in an individual house, represents a local variation and is not a formal characteristic of the traditional pattern of Korean practice, where there is the designation of a special and separate place, such as

a hall. Steps in this ceremony, one which involves the entire lineage membership, may be delineated. The point must be made that through the entire procedure there is no specific allocation of tasks, no formal designation of roles beyond those relating to age status, and no sets of demands placed on individuals. It is to be emphasized that here is an involvement of an entire group bound together by ties of kinship. All are in accord with the concept that the ceremonial works to the benefit of the whole kinship entity; the result is that tasks are performed as required by the demands of the moment. Nonetheless, a well-defined series of steps appears. These reflect the interaction operative among family members:

1. The announcement of the time and place of the *sije* ceremony spreads from mouth to mouth among members of the Han family. One household assumes responsibility for the *sije* in a given year. After consultation with the elders of the lineage, the wife of the house owner recruits the labor needed to buy and prepare food. Here she calls on women, spouses of the lineage members, and thus themselves members of the lineage through marriage.

Relatively large amounts of food and labor are required. Help is needed to prepare food and the place where the ceremony itself is conducted. When the family responsible purchases a large amount of food from the market and assembles it in the village, neighbors and villagers obviously cannot fail to be aware of the impending occasion. Further, these friends and neighbors can plan to participate or to offer help for the event on the basis of closeness to the individual Han family entrusted with the ceremony.

The ceremony takes place both in the selected house and, because so many people are present, in the courtyard connected with it. The locus of the ritual is the *mobang* (corner room; see Diagram 2), a small room at the left of the house front. It is to this that group attention is directed. Here is placed the ceremonial table, one loaded with food attractively and artistically displayed. A smaller table (see Diagram 6) is placed at the left of the main board for offerings to the house guardian. This is again noteworthy, representing as it does a slight departure from mainland practice.

2. On the day of the *sije*, the house owner cleans his dwelling along with the courtyard, having borrowed dishes and tables from neighbors. The time of the event has been announced and always takes place at full high tide, the time when ancestors are held to appear. In keeping

with this view, the courtyard of the house begins now to fill with visitors. Three temporary fireplaces have been installed at the corner of the yard to form a small kitchen. One for frying meat is used by some of the young men, another is used by a young woman selected for the task of boiling soup, and yet a third is reserved for boiling hot water for dishwashing, a task also for a young woman just married into the group. Old men arriving at the place earlier may sit on a mat in the yard, discussing results of the harvest, exchanging news of markets, recalling the procedures of the *sije* held last year at so-and-so's house. Younger male members of the lineage, some of them occupying the status of son-in-law to the Han family, may work with the pans for preparing *chŏn* (fried meat and vegetables) and *chŏk* (smoked meat for ceremony) at the corner of the yard.

Most of the women working in connection with the ceremony occupy the status of daughter-in-law to the Han family or, in the case of the unmarried women, that of daughter. Old women may stand by in the kitchen and direct younger members. Males of the lineage may drop by to banter encouragingly.

An old woman shouts at the young man, "Kids, aren't you guys begotten of our ancestors? Come and help!" A woman may laughingly bring raw dough for rice cakes. Some compete to show their skill in handling mortar and pestle. Women may carry a child or grandchild on their backs, wandering in and out of the crowd. Young boys and girls play and sometimes beg food from their mothers in the kitchen. Older children may run errands, borrowing dishes or chopsticks and spoons or may bring a bunch of twigs for the fires. Some cry, engaging in teasing and fighting.

3. Guests from the kin grouping as well as villagers who attend must be received. The host family's members are busy greeting guests from their own and from other villages. These bring various gifts. The women of the house receive the female guests who may carry a *pu-dongu* (mutual help bucket: *puju* = mutual help, *dongu* = jar or bucket), a bamboo basket holding such grains as rice or barley. Male hosts greet the male guests who may in turn carry a *pjugŭm* (mutual help money: an envelope containing a gift of money). After receiving the bucket from the women and the money from the male guests, the host records the gifts and their value in his *mulmokkye*, a simple notebook retained as a memento of the occasion.

4. Elders in the lineage teach the younger the correct position of meat and fruits, the customary way of arranging ceremonial food in terms of cardinal directions. Four officiants are selected. These are rep-

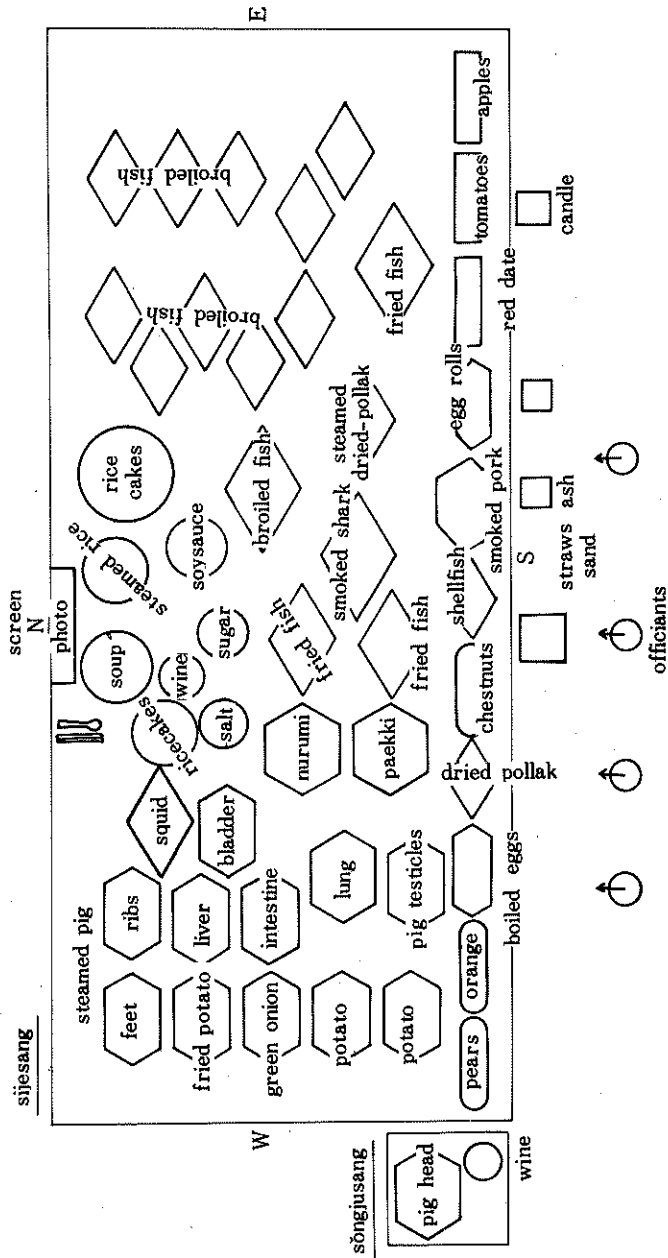


Diagram 6. The Arrangement of a Ceremonial Table : Sije

resented by men from each of four generations. The selection is not made in advance but informally at the moment. The ritual begins with lighting a candle. Before the main *sije*, the *chegwan*, the four males, serve the *sŏngju* (a guardian spirit of the individual house)²⁾ using the head of a pig on a small table (*sŏngjusang*) beside the main ceremonial table (*sijesang*). The procedure of these officiants is to bow to the ancestral spirits who are designated as white rice papers and placed on the food laden ceremonial table.

The *chegwan* bow in unison three times to the ancestral spirits. Between the first and the second and the second and the third bows they assume a standing position while the senior of the officiants moves chopsticks from dish to dish. After bowing, the *chegwan* burn the rice papers and seek to let them fly into the air, the idea being that Han family ancestors are then sped favorably to a spiritual home. Some adults and children watch the 30 minutes ritual activity.

There is always discussion among senior members as to the management and conduct of the *sije*. Conflict may arise between the two sublineages. Each holds to the interests of its own subgroup to the fore in the conduct of lineage business. In an ideal pattern of the *sije*, this ceremony should be conducted by the first son's offspring of the founder of the lineage in their genealogical order. However, the *sije* of the Han group in Hasami is conducted under a rule which calls for an alternation between the senior branch and the cadet branch and under yet another which rotates individual households within their respective sublineages. For example, the *sije* in 1976 was held G5's house. He was responsible for the preparation of the ceremony, designating the place for it as well as providing the food and necessary utensils. Since he is a descendant of B1, it follows that one of B2's sons was obliged to prepare for the *sije* in the succeeding year while yet another member of B1's offspring would then be in charge of the ceremony in the following year.

While the *chegwan*, officiants for the ceremonial service, are carrying on the *sije* ceremony inside the temporary ceremonial room, informal discussion among the adult males regarding the perennial issues in the lineage is carried on in the courtyard. As an example, the chief issue in 1976 was the problem of a section of land, the lineage's communal property. Theoretically, the Han family group rented its communal land to someone wishing to cultivate it. The group normal-

ly received grains and labor from the tenant. This rental was formerly used for purposes of the *sije* and allotted to each host, helping to defray the costs of the ceremonial event. The question of concern arose in 1976, however, and the lineage was much exercised because of communal holdings which it had been forced to sell under a circumstance which reduced the income of the group. The end result was that each lineage member entrusted with the ceremony has now to bear the major costs by himself.

The specific problem arose in this way:

In the late spring of 1956, there was a rumor that someone had buried his mother in a part of the Han family's land in Öryöngdo island. This is in another county and was the ex-village of the Han family at the time before the founding ancestor A (in the Han family's genealogy) moved into Hasami. Nearly all of the adult males in the lineage gathered and sailed to the neighboring island, an event which took place on the *paekchung* (ceremonial day, 15th day of the seventh month in the lunar calendar). They unearthed the corpse and brought it to Hasami and buried it in the sand by the seashore. The land in Öryöngdo island was rented to villagers there, a group whose surname was Ryong. The truth was told, and they realized that the skeleton was one belonging to the Ryong family in Öryöngdo. Further, they affirmed that the Ryong family was related to them affinally, through an ancestral marriage. The mother of the founder of the Han family in Hasami, a man, named Pyök (A in the chart of the Han family genealogy, see Diagram 5), came from a family of birth with the Ryong surname. It was said that because emotions of the Han family ran so high, the Ryong group was afraid to appear at the original grave even though they knew what was going on. No one in the Han family disagreed with the action to disinter the skeleton and to bury it in the sand at Hasami. A month or so after this incident, a young man visited the village head and begged for a return of his grandmother's skeleton. The village head himself could not make a decision without consulting members of the lineage and thus summoned an emergency meeting to deal with the problem. Lineage members were furious and threatened the visitor with farm tools.

Tempers erupted, and men from the Han lineage began to assault the visitor. The man ran away crying revenge. After several months, some senior members of the lineage were subpoenaed by the civil authorities. Some were jailed, and the group was obliged to pay a large

penalty. At this time, they had to sell their whole communal land so as to meet this fine.

Most of the senior members of the Han family gather on a straw mat to discuss the improvement of the *sije* and to designate the next individual responsible for conducting the ceremony.

In 1976, according to the rule of alternation for conducting the *sije*, someone from Myöng-ch'un's (B2) offspring is a candidate for the next turn. This is because Sang-suk (G5), a member of the senior branch is conducting the ceremony this year. However, Sang-so (G7) is absent from the village, and Sang-mun (G6) and Sang-ki (G9) are unmarried. Although Sang-bok (G8) is married, he is not able to handle the ceremony because of limited house space and his recognizedly lower social and economic status. For the next choice, the elders in 1976 fail to find an appropriate candidate to conduct the ceremony from the side of senior branch instead of from the side of the cadet branch in the G generation. This is because Sang-son (G1), Sang-t'ae (G2), and Sang-ki (G9), all of whom are available, are nonetheless unmarried. Finally, elders called Pyöng-hwa (H2) and Pyöng-man (H3) and asked them to assume the responsibility. Both were unhappy about the elders' choice of themselves as candidates and complained. Both insisted on the primary rule of conducting the ceremony in alternation between the senior and the cadet branch. In other words, "As a son of *k'ünchip* held the ceremony this year, one *chagünchip* has to be responsible without any kind of consideration." Elders cannot force or persuade either Pyöng-hwa or Pyöng-man to accept the burden but persist in asking their cooperation and participation for the benefit of the lineage.

An alternative way of conducting the ceremony without changing the rule of alternation and imposing individual economic sacrifice is suggested. Ki-bong (E4), the oldest member of the Han family in Hasami, proposes organizing a *kye* (rotating credit association, see Chapter 6) to underwrite the *sije* and thus to effect a substitution for the loss of the communal property income. His idea is considered practical and supported by nearly all lineage members. However, when the management of the *kye* is discussed, the lineage divides on the basis of the views of members of the two sublineages. Members of the cadet branch hold that every household should bid the same

amount of money or of grains to carry on the *kye* because all members of the Han family are descendants of Pyök (A in the Diagram 5). But those of the senior branch maintain that the management of the institution should be conducted by the two sublineages separately. This meant that each sublineage should bid the same amount. According to the latter viewpoint, members of the cadet branch would pay more than those of the senior one because the total numbers of households in the cadet branch are fewer than those of the senior branch. Briefly stated, this argument takes into account the priority between individual membership versus sublineage affiliation. Discernible is the dynamic process of the segmentary lineage system through the recurring aspects of fusion and fission.

Thus in 1976, there was no formal resolution of the pending issues, either of the selection of a person to be in charge of the preparation of the next *sije*, or of the organization of *kye* as an alternative way of continuing the communal ceremony. Pong-su, a powerful figure in this lineage, remarked that there would be no final decision in the formal public debates. He stated: "It will be worked out informally later because everyone knows what the problem is and they are going seriously to think about it as time goes on. It is difficult, but we can work out a solution."

3. Seniority

Generally speaking, Korean groupings have been buttressed by the system of patrilineages and are much concerned with relative age. This is a basic element in interpersonal relationships as well as in general social behavior and creates an essentially gerontocratic society. The dominant idea of social relationships among persons and/or groups influenced by Confucian ideology appears to be the concept of *örün* (the elders). All must be arranged and kept in order of age. One popular expression in Korean says, "There is an order in age even if you drink cold water." In other words, the ranking system in Korean culture has been meticulously developed under the idea of *örün*, the relative ages of individuals. The concept applies not only to kinship but to any type of social interaction. An *örün* must be venerated by the younger in all circumstances while he, in turn, is expected to provide exemplary virtue to those younger than himself. A further related element in the concept of *örün*, which is also based solely on