Current Status of Research on the Late Chosŏn Agricultural History

Lee Young-hoon

I. Introduction

This paper reviews the past twenty years of literary work done on the economic history of agriculture in late Chosŏn extending from 17th century right up to and including 19th century. Among the various aspects of agricultural history of the time, focus is given primarily to the running of the farm by the direct producer, peasants, and to the pattern of landownership. Due to space limitations, less attention will be given to agricultural productivity or the working of commercial markets for the farm products. On this subject which intend to review, there are about ten monographs and over forty articles produced since the 1960s. I have examined those containing the most substantial implications. These books and essays to be reviewed were all published in South Korea, with the consequence of excluding from this survey North Korean works, however at no great cost because Northern scholarship is not very different from here in the South, as far as this subject and approach is concerned.

*Associate Professor of Economics, Sŏnggyun'gwan University

1 Yi Se-yŏng, “Chosŏn-hugri T'oei Soyu Hyŏngt'ae wa Nongmin Kyŏngyŏng Yon'gu Hyŏnhwang”(Current Status of Research on Late Chosŏn Landownership Pattern and Farm management), Kŭndaesa Yon'guhoe(Society for Modern Historical Research)ed, Chosŏn Chungsae Sahoehaech'egi ŭi Chemye(Problems in the Late Fedual Society of Chosŏn), Hanul, 1987 This article summarizes research on late Chosŏn agricultural history done since before 1960s. Although some what repetitive it has encyclopaedic merit. Detailed bibliography at the end of the article deserves more compliment

From the very beginning, the historical, and economic historical research on the late Chosŏn was influenced by political motives, which remains true even today. It was by colonial Japanese scholars that the study on this period was launched. They characterized this era by the so-called "stagnation thesis." It was their proposition and conclusion at the same time. Their interpretation seems in retrospect to be nothing than a justification for Japanese imperial rule over Korea.

It was only natural that after the Korean people gained political independence in 1945 that this "stagnation thesis" came under strong attack and criticism. Major critical assessments however didn't appear until the 1960s, when the chaos brought about by ideological conflict, the Korean War, and political turmoil were reasonably subsided in both the North and South.

It may be inevitable that the "stagnative" character of the late Chosŏn needs to be recognized in the sense that she was late in the transition to capitalism compared with the "advanced" capitalist countries. But admitting this thesis does not necessarily imply Chosŏn's lack of a dynamic move toward modern economic growth, or in other words, the absence of the Korea-specific approach to economic development.

This perspective has led many historians to a search for an internal dynamic in the Chosŏn society. This being the case, works produced over the past twenty years heavily reflected the nationalistic sentiment prevalent vis-à-vis the imperialistic colonial rule. These political elements embodied in the historical writings do not always draw the true picture of late Chosŏn. Often they overstressed the economic performance of the period. But the errors have been corrected one by one. In brief, these works have sought a way to overcome the deleterious "stagnation thesis" and to develop a "truly" scientific-historical method in understanding the social and economic framework of the period.

II. The Advancement of the "Buds of Capitalism" Hypothesis

The pioneer of the revisionist interpretation is Kim Yong-sŏp. One cannot emphasize too much the contribution he made in this field, as he wrote eight of the ten articles which appeared in the 1960s on late Chosŏn agriculture. Although 1970s saw an increasing number of scholars who worked on the period and the retrieving of massive new historical materials, the results of his personal research and the work done by his followers still occupy the mainstream of the field.

Kim Yong-sŏp's thesis on late Chosŏn agricultural development and its historical implication, based on his research into the yang'an (land register),
hojok (household register) and, nongsô (agricultural manuals), may be summarized as follows.

First, the traditionally upheld belief that the structure of the status hierarchy was composed of “yangban—yang’in—nobî” (aristocracy—commoner—serf) can not be confirmed by the data of the distribution of landownership or of the scale of production. Moreover, he discovered that a number of low status peasants who were economically better off than the higher status residents. This implies the structural dissolution of the feudal society based on the traditional status hierarchy.

Second, the strength of the vested interests of the landowning class on the land was somewhat weakened by the above mentioned dissolution of the status system. Evidence suggest that tenant rent was lowered, and that the pattern of the rent collection was changed from t'ajak—che (sharecropping) to toji—che (fixed-rate rent), and to monetized charges.

Third, among the designated low class peasants, he found that a number of big wealthy managerial farmers who leased a substantial amount of land. They were identified as modern agricultural entrepreneurs, who employed wage laborers to help with agricultural production, and who performed the commercial farm engagement for the purpose of commodity trade and surplus accumulation. Such big farmers were characterized by Kim Yong—sôp as the “Kyöngyönghyöng—Punong” (wealthy tenant with managerial ability) which was supposed to have been identifiable in other industrializing nations.

Fourth, he comments on agricultural productivity in accordance with his thesis. Specifically, he directly relates the so-called modern capitalist farmer with the dissemination of the transplantation in the water—culture of rice. The productivity effect of this transplantation came principally from a decrease of the labor requirement in weeding, which made possible the increased scale of cultivation and the rise of larger units of agricultural production. In other words, the so-called capitalist way of farming.

To recapitulate, Kim Yong—sôp established a picture of late Chosôn as having a full potential for the transition from the “decaying” feudal society to a capitalist economy with numerous historical cases to support this view. Thus, the period when the Japanese imperialistic scholars claimed to have been dumb and backward became the center of attention as a period of animistic, progressive development.²

² Above results are collected in Kim Yong—sôp, Chosôn—hugi Nong òpsa Yôn’gu(A Research on Late Chosôn Agricultural History) I, II, Ilchokak, 1970, 1971
If the capitalistic tendency was formed in late Chosŏn rural society, one must be able to find radical reform movements and those who led such movements that were necessary to make the transition to the modern society possible. The main objective of Kim Yong-sŏp’s research after the 1970s lay in confirming this logical probability with concrete historical facts. The reform movement led by the advanced wealthy farmers pursued the dissolution of the feudal “Landlord-tenant” relation, and the creation of modern yeomanry. This “yeomen’s reform” was the central motivating power of the peasant uprisings which became increasingly more frequent in the 19th century. The nation-wide Kabo Peasants’ War of 1894 was the most significant expression of this reform movement. As is commonly known, however, the war was lost due to military intervention by the Japanese imperialists and consequently the “yeomen’s reform” was crushed which had grown in since the late Chosŏn. Also went the spontaneous modernization from below by such reform movements.

In response to the demands of the “yeomen’s reform” from below, the ruling landlord class sought the “landlord’s reform” from above. The latter included a rational readjustment of the various heavy and unequitable governmental levies that had been the direct cause of peasant grievances, while keeping the existing feudal ownership relations intact. These two conflicting reform movements went side by side, but the latter became dominant after the defeat of the Peasants’ War of 1894. The consequence saw the Kabo reform (1894–95) and the Kwangmu reform (1897–1904). The most noteworthy among the reform measures was the Kwangmu Land Survey, intended to introduce a modern landownership right certificate system. However, before these reform measures could have prove themselves, sufficient time to Chosŏn was colonized by the imperialist military invasion.3

If Kim’s research results in the 1960s can be described as the base, those in the 1970s form the superstructure. No one yet has been able to interpret a historical era so totally in such a synthetic, structural perspective to same degree as Kim Yong-sŏp. The tenacious critical mind opposing imperialism was the driving force that carried him through to totally reconstruct late Chosŏn society. In that sense he belongs to what may be described as the group of “most fully” nationalistic historians.

Here, however, a preliminary remark on his work is in order, for the further discourse below. That is, before interpreting late Chosŏn as a “de-

3 Results of works done after 1970s on the modernistic reform of late Chosŏn are collected in Kim Yong-sŏp. Chosŏn-hugi Nong ḍapsa Yŏng’gu (A Research on Modern Agricultural History of Korea) enlarged edition I, II, Ilchokak, 1984
caying” feudal society, one has to describe the original structure of Chosŏn style feudalism. It is apparent that Kim Yong-sopp characterizes the basic structure of Chosŏn feudalism on the ‘landlord-tenant’ relationship. But it does not seem that he explicitly discussed or examined this proposition. On the contrary, in numerous places where he is supposed to mention the basic structure of Chosŏn social formation, he emphasized the balance between the landlord-tenant relationship and the “state-owner operator” relationship. The lack of self-evidence on this proposition, therefore, constitutes an Achilles heel in his whole research results. This should be remembered in the critical assessment of Kim’s work below.

III. Succession and Development

The research on the “buds of capitalism” in the 1960s had been carried out not only in the field of agricultural history but in such broad fields as commerce and industry, thus taken as a whole they make the topic the central focus of the discipline. This turbulence was also reflected in a somewhat agitated atmosphere of the history profession, and in “the empty tendency to over exaggerate and beautify the capitalistic elements found in late Chosŏn, and to misinterpret the period as already in the ambit of capitalism,”4 an appropriate warning by Song Ch’an-sik.

One may regard the research done after the 1970s on the agricultural history of late Chosŏn was nothing more than succeeding to develop the original theme of the “buds of capitalism,” although there may be found other directions, some merely repeating the results of Kim Yong-sopp’s work, while others making certain critical revisions. Song Ch’an-sik, despite his well-perceived warning, is one of the most reknown scholars, as far as the capitalistic elements in the agricultural sector are concerned. He was able to discover historical evidence which had existed in Kwangjak(large-scale farming tenants) in the 18th century with increasing farm size, who took advantage of the dissemination of transplantation and the consequent saving of weeding labor costs.5 Growth of large-scale farming tenants was facilitated by the change in the rent payment pattern toward toji-che(fixed-rate rent), which guarantees them their share of agricultural surplus. It also indicated that the appearance of Kwangjak farmers speeded up the dis-

4 Song Ch’an-sik, Yicho-hugi Sukong ᄀisposable Kwanhan Yŏn’gu(A Research on Handicrafts in Late Yi-Chosŏn), Ins of Korean Studies, S N U , 1973

5 Song Ch’an-sik, “Chosŏn-hugi Nong ᄀisposable Issŏsŏi Kwangjak undong”(Kwangjak movement in late Chosŏn Agriculture), Yi Hae-nam Paksa Hwangap Kinyŏm Sahaknon-ch'ong(Historical Essays in Memory of the 60th Birthday of Dr Yi Hae-nam), 1970
soution of the peasant class, and the creation of a massive day-laborer class.

The landlord-tenant relationship in late Chosŏn, and its characteristics have been examined by several other scholars. In the 17th century, the age of land reclamation, tenants obtained the right to cultivate reclaimed land in return for their labor which they supplied to the landlord for the reclamation. The normal interpretation of this situation is that it reflects an important change in the landlord-tenant relationship, from the feudal relationship characterized by personal obligation and extra-economic coercion, to a simple economic relationship, which may be naturally anticipated in the transition stage from feudalism to capitalism. With regard to the rent payment pattern, two articles on Kungbangch'ŏn (royal family lands) and Aณmundunch'ŏn (public lands and garrison farms) are noteworthy, in that they traced the process toward a fixed rate, and toward commutation.

Among the research done since the 1970s which tried to critically revise Kim Yong-sŏp's work to some extent, and to develop the "buds of capitalism" hypothesis into a higher theoretical and empirical level, the following three examples are typical of this type of approach.

First of all, Miyajima's study opposed the interpretation by Kim Yong-sŏp and Song Ch'an-sik, of the productivity effect of the dissemination of transplantation. It is claimed that although transplantation has saved about a half of weeding labor which was required under the past direct sowing system, this did not in itself make the meaningful expansion of the farming scale possible. This is because in order to "structurally" increase the scale of running a farm, labor productivity should be raised proportionally not only

6 Yi Kyŏng-sik, "17 segi ū T'o Je Kaegan kwa Chuje be chŏn'gae" (Reclamation and the Deployment of the Landlord-Tenant Relationship in 17th Century), Han'guksa yon'gu 9, 1973.
Song Ch'an-sŏp, "17, 18 segi Sunch'an Kaegan ū Hwakdae wa Kyŏngyŏng Hwakdae" (Enlargement of Reclamation and the Pattern of Farming Operation in 17th and 18th Century), Han'guksa saron 12, 1985.
7 Chŏng Ch'ang-ryŏl, "Yiho-hugi ū Tunchŏn e taehayŏ" (On Tunchŏn in late Yi-Chosŏn), Yi Hae-nam Paksa Hwagap Kmyŏn Sahak nonch'ung (Historical Essays in Memory of the 60th Birthday of Dr Yi Hae-nam), 1970
Yi Yong-ho, "18, 9 segi Chdae Hyŏngt'ae ū Pyŏnhwa wa Nong ū Kyŏngyŏng ū Pyŏntong-Kungjang't'o, Dunt'o rŭl chungsimu'o-" (Changes in the Rent Payment Pattern and the Farm Management in the 18th and 19th Century—Focusing on Royal Farm Lands and Garrison Farms), Han'guksa saron 11, 1984.
8 Miyajima Hiroshi, "Yiho-hugi Nongsŏ ū Yŏng'gu—Sang gŏch'ŏk Nong ū Palsŏn kwa Nongnoch'ŏk Sokyŏngyŏng ū Haeche rŭl chungsimu'o-" (A Study on Agricultural Technology Manuals in Late Chosŏn-dynasty Development of Commercial Farming and the Dissolution of Servile Peasantry), Inmun hakpo 43, 1977.
in the weeding process, but in every labor process from plowing to harvesting.

According to Miyajima, the basic source for the development of the productive force in Chosŏn agriculture up to the late 18th century lay in the intensive use of labor input and the resulting land productivity increases. This was the way by which the structural instability of running a farm since early Chosŏn was overcome. For example, he could find that in case of superior farm managements in advanced agricultural regions, frequency and care in weeding process did not diminish even after the introduction of the transplantation technique. Thus, the so-called 'Kwangjak' farmers in the 18th century were characterized by a relatively backward existence, low productivity extensive cultivation, just the very same grievances which contemporary agricultural specialists notice.

Miyajima maintains it was not until the 19th century that the "buds of capitalism" came into being. In the 19th century, technological improvements produced new agricultural implements and other tools of labor which allowed farmers to pursue higher labor productivity. Under this pattern of productive force development "19th century Kwangnong" finally emerged. In essence, Miyajima's work has significance in that he relocated the "buds of capitalism" in one-century later, supporting this by more rigorous analysis of production structure and productivity patterns.

Secondly, the work of Yi Se-yŏng attributed the "buds of capitalism" to other social segments than those designated by Kim Yong-sŏp. He began by pointing out that Kim Yong-sŏp's "wealthy managerial tenants" were unlikely to have prospered in the changing practical reality of late Chosŏn, he sought the possibility of rising "buds" in the yangban t'oho lokal aristocracy), the elite class in the rural society. Although they were composed of landowning class who could control the rural society, they were politically excluded from the central power system since the late 18th century. In active response to this situation, they tried to accumulate agricultural surplus by producing for the market, both in their directly managed farms and in the land they rented out.

In the historical cases that Yi Se-yŏng studied, it was these landowners who were mainly responsible for the commercial production and trade of the rice crop, which were widely dispersed having the periodic rural markets (Changsiti) as the local point. Besides renting out land, some of these landowners practiced demesne farming by hiring a kind of wage laborers,

---

9 Yi Se-yŏng, "18,9 segi Yangban t'oho ŭ Chju Kyŏngyŏng" (The Rural Aristocracy and their Agricultural Management in 18th and 19th Century), Han'guk munhwa 6, 1985
or Hyŏpho, who were lower class peasants housed within the landowners' residence.

His attempt to identify higher class landlords, and not the lower class peasants as the caretaker of the "buds of capitalism" was quite controversial. By this reformulation, he alluded to a rise of the Prussian type Junker management in late Chosŏn, and the possibility of the reform from above. Anyhow, his work is a rare example which intended to scrutinize the "buds" from so broad a view, encompassing political condition, structure of agricultural commodity trade, and the residential status of the emerging wage laborers in late Chosŏn.

Lastly, To Chın-sun's research utilized quantitative data compiled from direct agricultural source materials. This could have made his results appear more, or probably the most, reliable among the works of the kind. Using samples of Kungbangchŏn (royal family lands) in the 19th century Chaeryŏng, Hwanghae province, he examined the relation between tenants and the intermediate owner (Chungdapiju) who functioned in the royal manor. Kim Yong-sŏp used to characterize these intermediate owners which existed in such large estates as wealthy farmers, who comprised a higher class of farm management. That is, it was understood that wealthy farmers leased land from the landlords, a part of which they rented out to tenants, on the basis of their independent right of cultivation. This was the mechanism by which they were able to act like intermediate landowners.

The above interpretation was challenged by To Chın-sun's work. Since the intermediate landowners rented out land by large lots, and they acted like pure landowners alienated from the direct production process, they may not be constructed as wealthy farmers who emerged from the peasant class. To Chın-sun believes that these intermediate landowners had themselves strongly identified with the landlord class, and their right over land did not come from the right of cultivation, but was a kind of ownership right as it stood.

Along with the evolution of these intermediate owners, he paid attention to the possibility that a handful of tenants who rented a large portion of land from the intermediate owners could grow into wealthy farmers. Thus, in the sense that he did not neglect the conceivability of the "buds of capitalism" in late Chosŏn, he belongs to the central tendency of the profes-

---

10 To Chın-sun, "19 segi Kungjang'o csŏui Chungdapiju wa Hangŏ-Chaeryŏng Yŏmulpyŏng Chang'e ril chungsimirŏ-(Intermediate Landowners and their Rent Resistance in 19th Century Royal Family Land-Focusing on the Yomulp'yoeng estate in Chaeryŏng) Han'gul saron 13, 1985
sion dominant since the 1960s. But his theme of multiple structure within Kunghangchôn i.e., ‘Kunghang (royal family)–intermediate owner–tenant’ relationship carefully supported by quantitative evidence, lay practically outside the existing frame of past interpretation of late Chosôn. In reality his work raised fundamental questions about the traditional way Chosôn society had been interpreted.

IV. Criticism–A Search for a New Historical Vision

As already noted, main currents of late Chosôn agricultural history revolve around the “buds of capitalism” hypothesis. Against this heavy stream, a few remained critical, and pursued a different characterization of late Chosôn, among whom the best known is Ahn Byŏng-t’aee. Above all, he pointed out the methodological weakness embodied in the “buds” hypothesis. That is, the “buds” thesis rests on a so-called “hyperbole”, overemphasizing only bright aspects of late Chosôn. For example, commodity, money, market, or wage labor each which has its own long history and has its raison d'etre respectively. Unless these elements were brought together into an organic composition by the social division of labor, the “buds of capitalism” are not guaranteed. Those who followed the “buds” hypothesis are criticized by Ahn Byŏng-t’aee for having constructed this hypothesis merely by collecting these elements without empirically investigating whether they were organically combined. Such “a-historic” methodology falls in the same error that the “stagnation” thesis did, he emphasized, and therefore the former cannot be depended on in overcoming the latter.

Ahn Byŏng-t’aee insisted that historians need to clarify the historical background and the development process of those facts earlier stagnationists drew on. With this in mind, he pioneered the difficult task of examining Chosôn’s centralized authoritarian power system and the state’s rule over the land, which came to be known as “Asiatic characteristics.” However, for no other reason than that he resided and worked in Japan, he could not come up with adequate empirical support for his distinguished premises.

From a different angle, Sin Yong-ha critiqued Kim Yong-so’s “buds” thesis. While warning against the predilection of the hypothesis, he emphasized the necessity to “empirically discern and analyze the whole historical material as much as possible concerning the changes and developments” of late Chosôn rural society, and then to “extract those streams which distinct-

11 Ahn Byŏng-t’aee, Hanguk Kûndae Kyŏngchesa Yŏn’gu (A Research on Modern Economic History of Korea), Ilbon’yŏngronsang, Japan, 1975
ly revealed themselves from within.\textsuperscript{12}

Lee Young-hoon's research on late Chosön agricultural history\textsuperscript{13} was initiated within such an atmosphere. He started by examining the long run differentiating trend of farm management manifested in Kunbangch'ön, Amundunch'on and ordinary private land from 17th century through the late 19th century. Numerous cases he investigated, though a little different from one to another, showed a common tendency of long run differentiation. That is, while the average scale of farm management had been diminishing over time, that of the higher class farmers was diminishing more rapidly, and the share of the land cultivated by them had decreased. Whereas, the scale of farming by the lower class peasants and the share of their land operation had increased. In other words, he presented a series of historical facts that were quite opposite to those expected from the long accepted proposition, the polarization of farm management.

In order to evaluate this trend toward "egalitarian petty farming" in Chosön historically, he proposed the following. Rather than comprehending farm management in the period to have been represented by a single mixture of social status or the composition of agricultural labor force, it may be more appropriate to conceptualize the farming population to have comprised two different classes. one the yangban class(aristocrats) and higher commoners and who utilized unfree labor like their serfs, the other the lower commoners or serfs whose farm management was dependent on the former. The "standard" farm operation of early Chosön was by the former. So poor was their reproduction structure that the latter were not economically able to maintain their own household independently, nor were their legal or social status as independent households officially recognized.

The distinction between these two different categories of farm management was fading away as the agricultural productivity increased in late Chosön. Increased productive force due to, for example, rice transplantation—the historic character of which was clarified by Miyajima as already mentioned above—raised the socio-economic position of the lower, dependent farm management to a higher independent bracket. In contrast, higher class farmers either shrank economically due to the backwardness of their extensive cultivation, or were gradually transformed to landowners by renting out

\textsuperscript{12} Sin Yong-ha, Sŏp'yŏng Kim Yong-sŏp, Han'guk K'undae Nong ḍpsa Yŏn'gu, (Book Review of Kim Yong-sŏp, Han'guk K'undae Nong ḍpsa Yŏn'gu) Han'guksa yon'gu 13, 1976

\textsuperscript{13} Results of his work were collected in Lee Young-hoon, Chosŏn-hugi Sāhoe kyŏngchesa(The Socio-economic History of the Late Chosŏn), Hankalsa, 1989
part of their land to prosperous lower class farmers. This direction toward relative equalization of the scale of operation and the change in composition of the productive force made up the practical content of the above mentioned long run agricultural differentiation. Lee Young-hoon argued that this was the economic base located behind the dissolution of the traditional status system comprised of "yangban-yang'in-nobr" during late Chosôn.

His results have the following analytical implications, which his more recent works tried to clarify both empirically and theoretically. First of all, landlord-tenant relation was not dissolving but was consolidating in late Chosôn. In this regard, original landownership pattern in Chosôn may well be recharacterized as having less of landlord-tenant relationship. Then, the direct conflict between the above-mentioned "standard" farm management pattern and the state apparatus may surface to the center of the historically reconstructed Chosôn society. The instability of the landlord-tenant relationship observable in late Chosôn is now not a piece of evidence supporting the "buds" hypothesis which purports it being the dissolution of feudal relations, but a remnant phenomenon not yet completely overcome even in the transition period of late Chosôn.

In summary, Lee Young-hoon's interpretation of the historical development of late Chosôn maintains that state control of land was gradually denied, private landownership of farmers in general raised to a higher substantial level, and the landlord-tenant relationship enhanced structurally. Despite the fact that the growth of such a landownership pattern demolished a large part of the peasant class and threatened the traditional state apparatus, which contemporary ruling class deplored, nevertheless behind these economic declines and chaos arose the lowest class farm management to a higher socio-economic status. It was this emerging lower peasant class who led the reform movements in modern Korean society, from civil disturbances to the peasants' war in 19th century to the rent disputes and land reform in the colonial era.

We have reviewed two different streams of research in late Chosôn agricultural history. The difference between the two seems so huge that it is a difficult to expect them be reconciled quickly. It stems from the shallowness of research in this field, as can be seen by the number of published articles since the 1960s, just a mere 40. It is hoped that a larger number of specialists accumulate new material and overcome this divisive situation.

Given such a hopeful situation, below two points need to be highlighted. First, historical research should be free from political or ideological influences. For instance, although the research on late Chosôn society began
mainly to overcome the "stagnation" thesis, and had inevitably strong political, and nationalistic tendency, the stagnation thesis is now gone to a fossil museum as Korea entered the capitalist development stage. Second, a comparative historical research is considered worthwhile in studying late Chosön society. The stagnation thesis could have been formulated by comparing Korea with Japan. But the fact that the comparison was made only to Japan has narrowed the viewpoint of many scholars so far, and blinded them of such facts that Korea, by its internal dynamic, was practically abandoning premodern community and status system, and was obtaining "highly developed" private landownership pattern, before the intrusion of capitalism from abroad. These advances may be correctly revealed only when they are put in a wider and more comparative perspective.

(Translated by Yang Dong-hyu)
GLOSSARY

Amundunchön 衛門屯田
Changsi 場市
Chaeryǒng 載寧
Chungdeppu 中衛主
Hojok 戶籍
Hyŏpho 傷戶
Kabo Peasants' War 甲午農民戰爭
Kabo reform 甲午改革
Kwangjak 廣作
Kuangmu reform 光武改革

Kungbangchön 宮房田
Kyŏngyŏnghyŏngpunong 經營型富農
Nobu 奴婢
Noru 納書
T'ajak-che 打作制
Toy-che 賭地制
Yangban 阳班
Yangban t'ohō 阳班土豪
Yangm 良人